

VIKRAMA BAHU OF KANDY

The Portuguese and The Franciscans
(1542-1551)

O. M. da SILVA

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DEDICATED TO MY WIFE

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PREFACE

In this little book I have sought to narrate the attempts to establish an alliance with the sovereign of Portugal made by Vikrama Bahu, king of that picturesque kingdom of Kandy in the central hills, which disappeared from the map of Ceylon only as recently as 1815 and of also the consequent efforts of the Franciscan missionaries to convert him and his family to Christianity and plant the seeds of the Christian gospel there. The factor motivating Vikrama Bahu would appear to have been his fear of his two relatives, Mayadunne, king of Sitāvaka with his bid for overweening hegemony over the Island and his elder brother, Bhuvanaka Bahu, king of the kingdom of Kōttē and emperor of Ceylon, who claimed the kingdom of Kandy as an ancient seigniory of his kingdom.

The story really begins with the arrival of a Portuguese adventurer, named, Nuno Alvares Pereira¹, the natural son of a Portuguese count in July 1542 at Vikrama Bahu's mountain fastness and capital of Sengadagala, the world-famed Kandy of today. Soon after this, on Pereira's advice ambassadors were on their way with presents and olas of gold requesting the Portuguese governor Martim Affonço de Souza to establish a factory for trade at Trincomalee. The gubernatorial reply was favourable and sometime in February 1543 a Fleming, named Meles Vam Dirsque arrived at the Kandyan capital with an Eurasian interpreter-designate of the proposed factory and with news that Miguel Ferreira, the veteran Portuguese warrior and Amaro Mendez, the factor-designate would be at Trincomalee by the 15th of March. They did arrive as promised, but unfortunately the hostility of a local brigand did not permit Pereira to take the full complement of 2,000 men accompanying him to Trincomalee and Ferreira and his party eventually left through fear and annoyance. Thereafter appeals were made by Vikrama Bahu and Pereira but with the confiscation by Sankili, king of Jaffna of the precious stones and money sent to Ferreira and Mendez to finance the project it was virtually shelved.

By early 1545 Vikrama Bahu's attention was diverted by a campaign of invasion by Mayadunne and Bhuvanaka Bahu and in this predicamental position, he, acting chiefly on Pereira's advice, attempted to get military aid from the Portuguese and in return promised to embrace Christianity. Every source of potential help was tapped by him and Pereira, resulting in appeals being written in early October to the new governor Dom João de Castro by four of the leading Portuguese nationals in the kingdom of Kōttē, Duarte Teixeira, a retired Portuguese official, Francisco Alvares, the ouvidor, Antonio Ferreira, the guarda mor and the padre *guardião* friar João de Villa de Conde, the Franciscan chief in Ceylon. Friar Antonio Padram, their spokesman arrived at Goa in December 1545 with their

1. Vide Schurhammer p. 148 note 1.

letters, and an *ola* from Vikrama Bahu and a letter from Pereira, both of which had been handed over to a visiting Portuguese George Velho, who had been prevented by ill-health from acting as Vikrama Bahu's ambassador at Goa. The governor's young son, Dom Alvaro de Castro, was also the recipient of a gift from the crown prince of Kandy, Karalliyade *Bandāra*. The governor decided to accede to the request for military assistance immediately and to go in person next September, circumstances permitting or else to send a substitute. Vikrama Bahu's and Pereira's impatience resulted in the former's secret baptism on March 9th, 1546 by the Italian friar Francisco de Montprandone from *Kōttē*. Meanwhile the governor despatched a small contingent under the command of that busy-body of a nobleman called Andre de Souza along with friar Antonio Padram and *Symão* de Coimbra. The contingent, which arrived at Sengadagala after Vikrama Bahu had been forced to make peace owing to the treachery of his army officers, was a failure.

Thereafter chiefly due to the efforts of the Franciscan missionaries another contingent was sent in 1547 under the leadership of Antonio Moniz Barreto and friar João de Villa de Conde. But, this too proved a dismal failure largely due to the prejudice created in Vikrama Bahu's mind by the scandalous behaviour of the first band of Portuguese and the skilful anti-Portuguese propaganda of Bhuvanaka Bahu, who had in reality remained in the background of the campaign and rendered assistance to Mayadunne on the sly. Barreto anticipating a treacherous attack from his royal host beat a hasty retreat through the principality of the Seven Korales and *Sitāvaka*. Bhuvanaka Bahu was suspected of having instigated Vikrama Bahu. Mayadunne cashed in on the excellent hospitality he had extended to Barreto and his men on their retreat and became a vassal of the sovereign of Portugal after negotiations with Barreto in Ceylon and governor de Castro at Goa. But not long after this Bhuvanaka Bahu managed to gain the ear of governor Jorge Cabral through his maternal uncle Dom Jorge de Castro, who had been living for a short time in self-imposed exile in the kingdom of *Kōttē*. Consequently Dom Jorge returned to Ceylon with an armada carrying 600 expeditionaries to help Bhuvanaka Bahu against Mayadunne. Dom Jorge had instructions to lead his men up to Sengadagala after he had dealt with Mayadunne and either to punish Vikrama Bahu for the bad reception given to Barreto or else to help him if he was still inclined to mend his ways and carry out a pro-Christian policy. Vikrama Bahu, who, it would appear, had been warned of a joint plan of invasion by Bhuvanaka Bahu and Dom Jorge earlier, swooped down on Dom Jorge's men and routed them completely. This had a serious repercussion on Bhuvanaka Bahu, who once again was suspected of having instigated Vikrama Bahu to act in this manner and the viceroy designate Dom *Afonso* de Noronha, who accidentally stumbled on the shores of Ceylon owing to hostile

winds, after investigation, confirmed this suspicion largely owing to the prejudicial atmosphere in Franciscan circles and the reports of a wastrel of a nephew of his and recommended for his sovereign's serious consideration, whether Vikrama Bahu should be dethroned and a part of his kingdom given to Mayadunne's son, who had created a very favourable impression on him when on a delegation on his father's behalf.

The main purpose of this book has not been merely to record the historical facts relating to Vikrama Bahu and his dealings with the Portuguese and the Franciscan missionaries, but rather to take the reader behind the scenes and portray a composite picture of how men, both Occidental and Oriental, secular as well as religious, lived, thought, wrote and acted in the centuries gone by and how statecraft was conducted and international relations operated by couriers, clerics, laymen and diplomats trudging through animal infested forests and up mountains and sailing stormy seas in small craft with the ever-present risk to life and limb. To achieve this end I have resorted to setting forth all the available material and also of digressing at the risk of being boring. I have also been constrained to repeat names for the sake of clarity. I hope, however, that the reader will be forbearing with the short-comings of this work.

I must thank my wife and my good friend Mr. D. J. Gnanaprakasam, Proctor S.C. Colombo for having given me the necessary encouragement to write this book and three other good friends of mine, Mr. H. E. R. Abeysekera of the editorial staff of the Times of Ceylon for having devoted many hours in reading the script and discussing some aspects of this work very helpfully and Mr. H. C. Wijesinghe, presently municipal commissioner of the municipality of Dehiwela - Mount-Lavinia and Mr. H. A. I. Gunetilleke of the University of Ceylon for having read a part of the script and encouraged me to have this little book published.

I must also thank three charming persons, who hail from distant Portugal, Dr. José de Campos Alves, the former chargé d'affairs of that country in Ceylon, his successor, Dr. Sergei de Sacedura Cabral and his wife Madam de Sacedura Cabral for having so kindly elucidated some difficult passages of the Portuguese documents. I must also thank the authorities of the Colombo museum for having provided me with the photographs, which are published in this book. I am also indebted to the very informative notes in Peiris and Fitzler and Schurhammer and Ferguson's Couto.

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ABBREVIATIONS

P. & F.: Pieris and Fitzler.

R.A.S.C. (C.B.): Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch).

Sch.: Schurhammer.

Vol.: Volume.

Vols.: Volumes.

Kings of Ceylon and Governors of Portuguese India representing
Dom João IIIrd of Portugal (from 1542-1551).

Bhuvanaka Bahu, king of Kōttē and emperor of Ceylon.

Mayadunne *Bandāra*, king of Sītāvaka.

Vikrama Bahu, king of Kandy.

Chekarasa Sekaram (Sankili), king of Jaffna.

Governor Dom Martim Affonso de Souza (May 1542-September 1545).

Governor Dom João de Castro (September 1545-June 1548).

Governor Garcia de Saa (June 1548-June 1549).

Governor Jorge Cabral (June 1549-November 1550).

Viceroy Dom Affonso de Noronha (November 1550-September 1554).

CHAPTER I

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the central mountains of *Ceylon, with a good part of the contiguous territory, formed a kingdom called "Kande-uda-rata", meaning in Sinhala "the country on the mountains" from which term was derived the Portuguese appellations Candihure^a and the more popular Candea, Camde, Cande and Quande and Camdia. Its four main provinces were the dissavas of Harciya-pattuwa¹, Panciya-pattuwa², Udu-nuwara³ and Yatinuwara⁴; varying degrees of suzerainty being also exercised by its ruler over the principality of Uva⁵ and the chieftaincies or vanniates of Madakalapuwa,⁶ Tirikonamalee,⁷ Panewa,⁸ Kotiar⁹ and Yala¹⁰ and the vidanes^b of Bintenne,¹¹ Wellassa¹² and Maturata. The vanniyaars or chieftans of Tirikonamalee and Batecalou were like their subjects Tamils^c.

The capital, hitherto, amidst the green valleys and wooded hillocks of Gampola was transferred by Sēnāsamata Vikrama Bahu towards the middle of the last decade of the fifteenth century or towards the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century to Sengadagala^{d13} which took its name from the rock cave, which can be seen today high above the palace of the last king of this kingdom. A charming legend hangs around the founding of the new capital.

According to tradition the rock cave derived its name from being the abode of a venerable brahmin hermit called Sengada. One day while out hunting, the king, who was looking for a more easily defensible capital than Gampola strayed far beyond his usual haunts till he found himself near Sengada's abode and was "introduced to the old Brahmin who received him with many salaams and profound bows. The King told this Sage, this man of sanctity and wisdom, what his mission was. Begging the King's pardon, old Sengada retired to the inmost of his cavern, put on his capacious turban, filled a leather wallet with some stones or pebbles, and respectfully desired the King to follow him. He proceeded in the direction of what is now St. Paul's,¹⁴ which was then a big jungle, and threw a stone into it. A hare sprang up from amongst the brushwood and began running at a great rate. Sengada threw another stone, upon which another jackal sprang up and pursued the hare. This did not continue for long, for strange to say, the jackal

*Portuguese : *Cellão, Ceylão, Ceylam*

Portuguese :

1. Arciapatu

2. Panciapatu

3. Hurunura

4. Hetanura

5. Vua

6. Batecalou, Matecalou (modern Batticaloa)

7. Triquinamalle, Triquilamale, (modern Trincomalee)

8. Paneua

9. Cutiar

10. Jalla, Jala, *Oupalão*

11. Vintena

12. Vylarem

13. Modern Kandy, also being called Senkadagala again.

14. Church

gave up the chase and turned tail; upon which he was pursued very closely by the hare who turned aggressor. The jackal followed by the hare soon disappeared from sight. The King and his nobles were astonished at this state of things, and asked the Sage to give them an explanation, "dost thou not see, O King," he said, "that this is the place which the gods have ordained for the establishment of thy kingdom? This is the Jayebumi or victorious ground. Thou, O king, will be well protected in this place by the forests and the mountains, and instead of flying before thine enemies, thou wilt turn round and put them to flight." The King was so impressed with what old Sengada had said, that looking upon him as a sort of divine oracle, he removed the seat of his kingdom very shortly afterwards from Gampola and built a palace for himself at this spot . . . Old Sengada continued to live behind the palace, giving counsel and advice to the King for many years until he was gathered to his fathers".¹⁵

The capital beautifully situated, not far from the banks of the river Mahaveli,¹⁶ was but a small township typical of feudal times, yet in contemporary eyes it was well qualified by virtue of being the seat of the king to be referred to as a city and an illustrious town,¹⁷ while even Portuguese visitors called it a city.¹⁸ The royal residence came to be known as the Sirivarddhana palace. The residential population was comprised for the most part of courtiers and chief officers of state, such as mudaliyars and *aratchies*,¹⁹ their families and retainers and most probably some traders and merchants both Sinhalese²⁰ and Indian. Royal activity embellished the town with places of Buddhist worship and soon yellow-robed members of the Buddhist clergy were among the most prominent townfolk. Vikrama Bahu,²¹ who is the central figure of these pages erected a two-storeyed building for the upasatha²² ceremony and eighty-six tiled houses for them. He also built on a plot of land, not far from the palace, a *cetiya* for the relics of the Lord Buddha. The ancient *chronicles*²³ of the *Cūlavamsa* also says that this monarch decided to hold the ceremony of admission to the order of Buddhist monks and "had many dwellings put up on the bank of the river. Thither he brought the bhikkhus dwelling in the three provinces and instituted a great festival. Then after specially inviting from among those bhikkhus a body of thirty-five bhikkhus with the Grand thera Dhammakitti²⁴ at the head, he made them celebrate a great festival and grant admission to the Order to three hundred and fifty-five able sons of good family whom he had himself chosen". Royal houses were also maintained in the town, where visitors of state could be lodged and entertained at the king's expense. The capital, which had at all events begun to gather that aura of romance and colour that envelops it today, was popularly called by the Portuguese after the name of the whole kingdom.

15. Portuguese : Mauenili, Mahāvālukananga in the *Cūlavamsa*.

16. Portuguese : Chingalaz

17. Also Dharmakirti

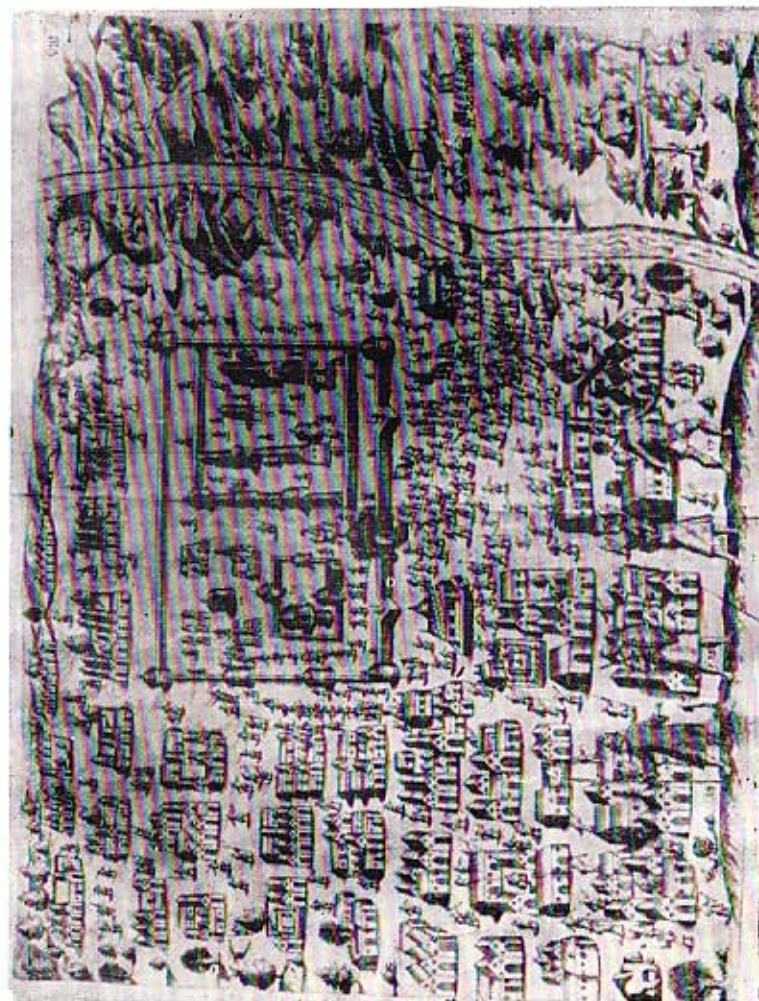


PLATE I

The Candeotaz,¹⁸ as the Portuguese called the inhabitants of this hill-country kingdom, had struck them as being poor, but kindly, courageous¹⁸, light-footed and disciplined and trained in the art of warfare. Nature had in those distant days equipped Cande admirably for a war-time economy, as, except for salt and fish, food was plentiful; the carnivorous Portuguese finding poultry and beef, in particular, very cheap. The chief products were rice, *tana*,¹ *warago*,^m kurukkan, ebony, sapan, wax, honey, ginger, pepper, cinnamon, areca and precious stones, specially, sapphires, emeralds, cat's-eyes and rubies. In a simple agricultural and feudal economy state expenditure could not be said to be a drain on the royal exchequer, of which, elephants, especially the tusked variety and gems formed important items. In time of war the king could muster a large army of bowmen.

On information gathered after a brief visit to Sengadagala and supplemented with accounts heard from visitors to the kingdom, Andre de Souza, a Portuguese nobleman, whom the reader will meet in these pages gave the following description to his sovereign *Dom*¹⁹ *João* III of Portugal:²⁰ "This Kingdom of Candia lies in the middle of the Island of *Ceilão* and is thirty leagues^a from the nearest point of the Kingdom to the sea, and thirty to the *Lugares*.^o The country is fertile, with much food of all kinds; there is a lack of fish and salt: when there is a war, they have everything else in abundance.

The commercial products of his Kingdom consist of elephants, wax, areca, and precious stones. It also produces much cinnamon. It has sufficient money, because it spends little; it has precious stones in abundance, and they are priced low; for in his Kingdom he has twelve gem fields from which they get gems, which are sapphires, emeralds, cat's-eyes, and rubies small and good. The Kingdom is to a great extent inhabited and the population is large. Of fighting men they have 20,000 and all use bows. They have no other arms.^p

All this I know of a verity and I have learnt it very well from many people who were there and I too have already been there on one occasion. There are some very great mountains at the entrance at every point where people come, and they have great passes which they can defend with a small force. It is for this reason the Kings of *Ceilão* are not able to enter it. Within the country is very level, resembling the plain of Santarem."²¹ Not very different to Andre de Souza's description was that of another Portuguese sojourner, friar *Symão* de Coimbra, who will also figure in these pages. Writing²² to the monarch of Portugal he stated "For it is a place so strong, that even if one had

18. Plural of Candeota. Vide, Queyroz (Portuguese text) pages 54, 210 etc; and Queyroz (English text) page 61.

19. A title

21. In Portugal

20. Letter of 20-12-45, P & F.

22. Letter of 25-12-46, P & F.

the whole power of the Turk it cannot be taken, since there is much dense forest, and also every munition of war in abundance, with much food and meat; for a cow does not cost more than a *tanga*²³ and a hen five *reis*²⁴. It is overflowing with abundance, as there are found there much pepper and also ginger and numerous forests of cinnamon. As much sugar as you want can be got there; and also it will yield wheat. I mention nothing else, for it seems to me to be unnecessary".

Whatever the abundance of food was in Sengadagala, the first Europeans to come to grips with the problems of living there found conditions far from congenial, despite the fact that they were honoured guests of the sovereign. Bread and wine, to which the Portuguese palate was accustomed to as a matter of daily fare, were unobtainable. It is no wonder then that de Souza after being used to the sumptuous fares of the tables of Goa,²⁵ washed down with generous quantities of wine, should have found his sojourn of about four weeks far too distasteful to his liking, as evidenced in his letter to the governor of Portuguese India at Goa:²⁴ "here there is no bread nor wine but only plenty of work and very bad food to eat and worse to drink, with risk of death". This reminds one that modern Kandy's water problem is really centuries old and one can legitimately infer that dread water-borne diseases were an ever present menace to public health. De Souza was, however, not alone in his complaints, for, his compatriot and fellow sojourner, friar Antonio²⁵ Padram informed the governor of his living conditions thus: "The people are kindly, food is bad, the water is cold; few care to remain here in this depressing place hemmed in by mountains. Everything is in the King's hands. The inhabitants are poor; it is impossible to write and describe everything".

Hemmed in by mountains as Sengadagala was, its inaccessibility was its chief shield against foreign occupation, yet paradoxically and ironically enough the time soon came when for this very reason the rulers of the kingdoms of Kōttē and *Sitāvaka*²⁶ attempted to occupy it. There were several points of approach to it, such as Batecalou, Triquinamalle, Jafanapatam,²⁷ Yala, Negumbo²⁸, Kōttē and Columbo²⁹, the most popular being the two last mentioned via *Sitāvaka*. The route via *Sitāvaka* was, perhaps, not very different from the "Great Road" of the 17th & 18th centuries & early 19th century.³⁰ The would-be traveller to Sengadagala had to be well-armed both against man and beast, as for the most part the journey would take him through remote villages, merciless rugged mountains or dense forests, which were the home of the leopard, bear, elephant and venomous

23. Also Guoa

24. Letter of 27-5-46, P & F.

25. Antonio del Padron (Faria y Sousa).

26. Portuguese: Cota, Quota. Ceitavaca, Ceytavaca & Seitavaca.

27. Portuguese: Jafanapatão; 28. Nigumbo, Gubumbo, (Sinhala: Meegomuve).

29. Portuguese: Culumbo, Quolombo, Qulambo (Sinhala: Kolon-tota, modern Sinhala, Cōlombe).

30. R.A.S. (C.B.) New Series Vol: IV Part II page 143.

reptiles. Food and water were scarce and unless well-provided he would have to rely on his powers of endurance and be quite resigned to have hunger and thirst as his constant travelling companions.

The Portuguese during the first 37 years of their presence in Ceylon evinced little or no interest in the fortunes of this mountain kingdom, whose rulers, perhaps, never entertained fears of a serious threat to their throne. The encampment of hostile armies twice in 1511^s was the result, on the first occasion, of an attempt by the new king Jayavira to shake off the yoke of suzerainty by withholding on his accession the symbolic payment of tribute to the king of Kōttē and on the second, of his raising the standard of rebellion. These were but only punitive campaigns, both of which were bought off, the first, by giving three lacs of *panam*¹, two elephants and Jayavira's daughter to wife to Kirawella Ralahami, the commander-in-chief of the invading army and the second, by presenting Sakalakala Walla of Udugampola, a younger brother of king Dharma Parakrama Bahu of Kōttē with a pearl umbrella, a conch, a shield and a neck ornament as tokens of homage. At this time the kings of Kōttē as heirs of the ancient monarchs of Ceylon claimed suzerainty over the other rulers of the Island and were generally referred to as the kings of Ceylon by the Portuguese.

a. Means "the mountains above" according to the Portuguese historian de Queyros.

b. A smaller chieftancy.

c. The inhabitants of Trincomalee and Batticaloa had a close affinity with the sea-faring communities of the south-east and south-west coasts of India. In about 1551 when civil war broke amongst the inhabitants of Trincomalee some of the chieftans went with their ruler, who was a minor to the Paravars of the Pearl Fishery on the south-east coast of India, became Christians and returned with a 1,000 of them to fight (*vide* documents 125 and 126, Vol. 2, Schurhammer).

The inhabitants of Batticaloa were called Mukkuwas, a term derived according to the Hobson-Jobson (1903) from the Malayalam and Tamil word Mukkuvan, meaning a diver. Francis Xavier refers to the fishing community of the coasts (later called the Malabar Coast) of the kingdom of Travancore as Macuas (*vide* document 18, Schurhammer, Vol. I). It would appear that with time the term Mukkuwa was of general application to the sea-faring communities of the south-east and south-west coasts of India.

d. The *Vannipola sannasa* relating to a grant of land to two craftsmen for painting an image of the Buddha was made at the palace of Senkadagala in the 20th regnal year. The document, according to Codrington is spurious, being a modern copper plate, but the text is genuine. The king's name is given as *Sri Saṅgabō Sri Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bahu*. The *Galgane Vihare Tudupata* relating to a grant of fields and lands to the great nephew of the head of the Sakala dik vijaya valiya ransa *koṇḍa Parākrama* Bahu Pirivena for the furtherance of the Galgane Vihare in *Sēdeniya* was made at the Sirivarddhana palace in *Senkhandapura* in 2052 A.B., (1510 A.D.) The king's name is given as *Sri Sēnāsampat Vikrama Bahu*. A copy of this document existed in the Temple Lands Commissioner's case No. 4, according to Codrington. A copy or rather precis existed according to Codrington in the Kandy District Court case No. 383 of a grant in favour of the Kuttingal vihare also known as the Radāgoda vihare and the Vēravala vihare. It was made in 2052 A.B. (1510 A.D.) by Srisena Samasata Wikrama Bahoo in the Dalada Maligave of the

illustrious Town of Senkadagala. The words Dalada Maligave according to Codrington was the translator's embellishment. The *Kobbākaduva* vihare Sannasa relating to the grant of land in the village of Kobbākaduva to the elder Srimat *Mēnavara* Mavela Ratavalli was made in the 37th regnal year at the Sirivarddhana palace at Sengadagala. The king's name is given as *Srimat Siri Saṅgabō Sri Sēnāsammata Vikrama Bahu*. According to Codrington this sannasa existed in a copy in the Temple Lands Commissioner's case 291.

The text of the four sannasas appear to be genuine considering that though they came from separate custody there were certain features of remarkable similarity, for example, the king's name being nearly the same in all the four of them, while the Vannipola and Kobbākaduva sannasa appear to have been witnessed by one and the same person, his name in the former being Sanhas Sivatta *Naināru* and in the latter Sanhas Sivatta *Nayināru*. The other two sannasas, namely, the Galgane and Kuttingal both made in 2052 A.B. (1510 A.D.) appear to have been witnessed by one and the same person, his name being Sannas *Sivattēva Kala Perumālu* in the former and Sannissiwatte Kulapperumalum in the latter.

According to a rock inscription at Gaḍalādeniya quoted below there was a new king in 1511 A.D.

"On the first of the waning moon of Nikini in the year of Buddha 2054. At this time (our) great king (Ja) ya-(vi)ra from the Five Countries . . . Dharmakirtti Svame . . ." According to the *Kobbākaduva* Sannasa Vikrama Bahu was in the 37th year of his reign, so assuming that he ruled for 37 or 38 years at least, he should have ascended the throne in 1473 or 1474 A.D. and if one accepts the Vannipola Sannasa, which was made in the 20th regnal year, Sengadagala became the capital in 1493 or 1494, for it was made at the palace, the existence of which would also indicate that it was the seat of government. It is, of course, possible that the capital was yet only in the process of being transferred to Sengadagala. On the other hand if the Vannipola sannasa is rejected and the Galgane Tudupata is accepted Sengadagala was the capital at least by 1510 A.D. as the grant was clearly made at the palace at Sengadagala in 2052 A.B., that is 1510 A.D.

According to Kandyan tradition Sengadagala was founded by Vikrama Bahu, who ascended the throne in 2085 A.B., that is in 1543. He is also believed to have built the Natha Devale. This tradition cannot be correct in the light of the evidence adduced. Besides when Nuno Alvares Pereira the first European visitor reached Kandy in July 1542, Sengadagala was already the capital and neither he nor his compatriots, who went later ever mentioned that the capital had been recently founded. Vikrama Bahu could not have built the Natha Devale because the Sagama inscription of the period of Bhuvanaka Bahu Vth speaks of a shrine of the God Natha in Senkadagala. *Vide* Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. III, page 240 and Vol. IV, page 27; Ceylon Literary Register (3rd Series), Vol. II, page 289; R.A.S. (Ceylon Branch) Journal Vol. 32, page 64.

According to the Rajavalia Senkadagala would appear to have been the capital by about 1521 at least because it was so when Mayadunne fled for help to Jayavira Bandāra before the Vijaya Bā Kollaya, (in Portuguese Vigia-Bau Code) as the assassination of Mayadunne's father Vijaya Bahu was called, took place in 1521. Today the Parliamentary electorate of Kandy is called Senkadagala. For a description of the palace and town in later Portuguese times *vide* Queyros, pages 59 and 60. Father S. G. Perera, S.J., in his History of Ceylon says Sengadagala became the capital of the Kandyan kingdom in 1540.

The old names for Kandy were as follows:—

Senkhandasela-Sirivaddhana (*Cūlavamsa*); Senkadagala, Sengadagala, Senkhandapura (Sannasas, *vide* R.A.S. (C.B.) Vol. 32, page 64; Palnagure Faria Y. Sousa; Senkadagala (Rajavalia); Palnugare, page 258, Queyroz;

at 58 Queyroz refers to *Badulē* as being the capital of the Kandyan kingdom, but this is evidently a mistake due to his probably following the writer of the account of the disastrous expedition to Uva of Constantine de Saa de Noronha in 1630, *vide* page 22 of Perera's translation. That this was a slip of the writer is quite clear for on a reading of page 65 of Perera's translation it is apparent that *Badulē* was the capital of the principality of Uva (which was a principality although referred to as a kingdom). Kandy is also called Maha Nuwara, a name coming down through the centuries.

- e. From a lecture by Mr. J. B. Siebel reproduced in the Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union, Vol. 44, No. 3.
- f. *Vide* translation of Galgane Vihare Tudupata sannasa and Vēravaala sannasa at pages 73 and 75 respectively. R.A.S. (C.B.) Vol. 32.
- g. *Vide* Peiris and Fitzler, page 130.
- h. A mudaliyar was the official designation for a high-ranking officer of the Sinhalese king, including a military officer. The term was used by the Dutch and the British during their rule in Ceylon, though it was not applied to the identical posts to which it referred in Sinhalese and Portuguese times. The post of aratchie has diminished in importance being generally given to village headmen, viz., vidane aratchie.
- i. Vikrama Bahu, according to tradition supported by 18th century documents, was ruling in the middle of the 16th century. (*Vide* Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. III at page 242). *Vide* also Chapter I, Note d above.

This monarch seems to have had many aliases: Jayavira Pandar (Faria Y. Souza); Viravikkama king in 2084 A.B., that is 1542 A.D., (*vide Cūlavamsa*—Geiger's edition), page 220; Jayavira Bandar, Ferguson's translation of Couto Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XX, No. 60, page 124; Codrington says that according to the allusive epithets of the Rajaratnākārāya his name may have been Vira Vikrama or Vikrama Bahu (*vide* Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vol. III at page 241-242). The Natha Devale inscription dated 2085 A.B., 1543 A.D., relates to a grant made by king Sir Jayavira Mahavada vun-tana to the people of *Dumbara* Pansiyapattuva, Matale and Uwa Tun-kinda and of the village of Alutgama for their services during an attack of the Portuguese referred to as Parangi (in the inscription). This may possibly refer to the arrival of Miguel Ferreira at Trincomalee to establish a factory on the invitation of Vikrama Bahu and was no doubt magnified by Vikrama Bahu and a grant made in order to allay the opposition to foreign elements entering his kingdom. There was no attack by the Portuguese by any stretch of imagination in 1543 A.D. Vikrama Bahu may be the same monarch referred to in the Rajavalia (Gunesekera's edition, page 65) as the monarch Jayavira Bandāra to whom Mayadunne fled for assistance against Vijaya Bahu. Queyroz at page 203 says the king of Kandy ruling at the time of the Vijaya Bā Kollaya was Jayavira Bandāra *Astāna*. As the Vijaya Bā Kollaya occurred in 1521 Vikrama Bahu may have been ruling in 1521 as in 1546 according to friar *Symão de Coimbra* (*vide* document 40, page 180, P. & F.) he was only 60 years old and would appear to have been a veteran at statecraft (*vide* document 27, page 130 and 131; document 29, page 148-149; document 40, page 180, P. & F.). Moreover none of the Portuguese visitors refer to him as a new king, which fact they would have naturally adverted to if he had ascended the throne in 1542 or 1543 as the *Cūlavamsa* and tradition indicate respectively. Besides it is quite clear that he was ruling in early 1542 when Nuno Alvares Pereira received his invitation to come to Sengadagala.

- j. A meeting among the Buddhist monks.
- k. The religious activities of Vikrama Bahu as recorded in Chapter I are from the *Cūlavamsa* and may not seem altogether contradictory to his attempts to become a Christian, which after all were due to political

expediency, for friar Antonio Padram speaks of his religious fervour for Buddhism, which took the shape of his building pagodas and of his aversion to anyone but slaves becoming Christians and his sale of those of his subjects, who did become Christians secretly (*vide* document 38—Peiris and Fitzler).

- l. A kind of grain.
- m. A kind of millet.
- n. The modern league is a varying measure, approximately about 3 miles. The Portuguese league of the 16th and 17th centuries was certainly much longer considering the distances given in the Portuguese documents in Peiris and Fitzler and Schurhammer and also that Queyroz says that the distance right round the Island was only 150 leagues. It was most probably 4 miles as Queyroz at page 2 says that Mapane (as modern Mount Lavinia was called in Portuguese times) was 2 leagues from Colombo. The above estimate may be not far wrong as the glossary in a journal of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama says that a Portuguese league was 20,568 feet & that the Portuguese pilots at a conference at Badajoz (Spain) in 1525 claimed that it was 4 Italian Miles.
- o. Inhabited country.
- p. They also used spears in warfare (*vide* Queyroz, page 61), while swords and daggers were also in use.
- q. An Indian coin about 60 reis in value and which survived in Goa according to the Hobson-Jobson till the early part of this century.
- r. Portuguese currency; the word is the plural of real which was also a Spanish coin. The real was based on an imaginary unit and a thousand made a milreis which would be nearly a dollar.
- s. The account of the Rajavalia (Gunasekera's edition, page 61-62) which states that Dharma Prakrama Bahu of Cota had to deal with a rebellion from a new monarch in Kandy and the Gaḍalādeniya rock inscription referred to in a Note indicating a new king as ruling in 1511, would seem to indicate that the two campaigns took place in 1511.
- t. This was worth about 10 reis in the Sinhala kingdoms, while in the kingdom of Jaffna it was worth about 30 reis, which was its value in the Choromandel coast of South-East India as well. The Portuguese term was fanam. At first it was a gold coin but was latterly of silver or base gold. The Sinhala term panam was, no doubt, derived from the Tamil panam, which according to the Hobson-Jobson was derived from the Sanskrit word pana to barter, though the form panam directly was of Arabic origin. The word panam still means money in Tamil today and is used in Sinhala now to refer to six cents.

CHAPTER 2

The trend of events in the forties would have it that Vikrama Bahu of Cande should strain and strive for an alliance with the Portuguese. He had, perhaps, already as early as 1542, fears that Bhuvanaka Bahu¹, the king of *Kōttē* would sooner or later attempt to annex his kingdom, while of the plans of that monarch's younger brother, the restless and over-ambitious Mayadunne², king of Sitāvaka he had good reasons to entertain serious qualms. The Portuguese with their reputation for superior weapons and military tactics, doubtless, appeared the best choice as allies.

News of Vikrama Bahu's desire to have an alliance with the Portuguese sovereign reached the ears of Nuno Alvares Pereira, who was at Negumbo at the time. He was a Portuguese soldier of fortune and an educated one to boot, being the natural son of Count da Feira, and had arrived in India with his two brothers only in 1542 in the company of Andre de Souza. Ready as he was to strike when the iron was hot, he wrote to Vikrama Bahu, informing him that if his wish was as great as he was made to understand he could place the matter before the governor in Goa. This was, apparently, welcome news to that monarch, who lost no time in despatching messengers with an "*ola*"^a to Negumbo in search of him. Consequently, after an arduous journey, he made his appearance in Sengadagala sometime in July of the same year and had the distinction of being the first European to do so. He made such an impression on Vikrama Bahu that he became his close confidant, so much so that another compatriot of his, friar *Symão* de Coimbra in writing to his sovereign in Portugal, said of him³ "Your Highness should remember this Nuno Alvarez Pereira who is with this King, as he has laboured much over this work. Both for that and also he has served your Highness in these parts, is he deserving of whatever favour you do to him. For he is a man of great worth and the King does nothing except as he tells him, and he is his Veador da *fazenda*,^b and if he knew his language he will rule the Kingdom".

Not many days had to pass before Pereira's presence at the court of Sengadagala produced results for by August ambassadors carrying olas of gold and a gift of a ring, studded with a large cat's-eye and four small ones were on their way to the Portuguese governor Martim Affonso de Souza, with the request to establish a feitoria or factory for trading purposes at Triquinamalle. The party also carried letters from Pereira confirming the wishes of Vikrama Bahu in the matter. A good port was a much felt need and the lack of one a serious handicap, so that that astute monarch inspired,

1. Portuguese : Boneca Bau, Buhanebabahu

2. Portuguese : Madune Pandar

3. Letter of 25-12-46, P. & F.

no doubt, to some degree by Pereira may have well conceived the possibility of the deep blue sheltered bays of Triquinamalle reinforced by the presence of a naval power blossoming into the premier port of the Island.

The proposals from Sengadagala met with approval at Goa and by February 1543 Meles Vam Dirsque, a Fleming arrived at Sengadagala accompanied by a *mestizo*^c interpreter, popularly called a *topaz*,^d who was to act as the interpreter for the proposed factory. The Fleming also brought the welcome news that *Miguel Ferreira*,^{e(1)} the aristocratic veteran warrior and Amaro Mendez,^{e(2)} factor-designate were already at *Negapatão*,^f and would be at Triquinamalle by March 15th with a full reply to Vikrama Bahu's questions. Vikrama Bahu was so jubilant that he despatched Pereira along with a *mudaliyar*^g and 2,000 men to meet them. On the way they met one of the ambassadors returning from the successful mission to Goa, accompanied by Gaspar Carvalho, who was carrying letters from the governor for Vikrama Bahu and Pereira and were informed that Miguel Ferreira and Amaro Mendez and 70 or 80 Portuguese were already at Triquinamalle. On hearing this Pereira and party broke journey for four days, when a brahmin, who was coming from Triquinamalle informed them that there were only 20 or 25 Portuguese there. This disconcerting piece of news made them halt for 10 days. It so happened that the Portuguese referred to by the brahmin were actually mutineers, who shortly afterwards left for *Negapatão* and Goa.^h

Meanwhile a brigand, who held sway in the surrounding area sent threatening messages that the people would arise against the mudaliyar and cut all communications between Pereira's party and Ferreira at Triquinamalle. So Pereira hurriedly sent word to Meles Vam Dirsque and Carvalho of the situation, so that Vikrama Bahu could be informed of the delay. Meanwhile Ferreira managed to inform Pereira through a *topaz* that he would abandon the project of the factory and leave Triquinamalle, if he failed to make his appearance within the next three days. Pereira now pleaded with the mudaliyar for baggage-carriers, in case Mendez and Ferreira should decide to visit Sengadagala, but he was reluctant to part with more than 30 or 40 men and promised to despatch a further 300 later on.

Although anticipating violence, Pereira was forced to proceed to Triquinamalle, where he elucidated the position to Ferreira and Mendez, stating that he had sent a messenger to the king and that more men had failed to turn up, because, contrary to earlier reports, the Portuguese were so few in number. The mudaliyar had sent a henchman of the brigand with Pereira for two days, and on the expiry of this period, this man with a Portuguese speaking ambassador from Sengadagala, who had obviously turned traitor, delivered a written message

4. Portuguese : Negapatam, *Negapatão*, on the Choromandel coast, India.

to Ferreira to the effect that both he and Mendez could proceed to Cande if they wished, but if they hoped that the king or the mudaliyar would join them at Triquinamalle⁵ "they swore to him on behalf of the King and the Queen and their son that neither the Captain⁶ nor the King who should come, will arrive in that country". Ferreira, who naturally could not read a word of the message, looked to Pereira for an explanation and was told not to heed them as they were malicious and lying camp-followers of the brigand. Pereira, who now found himself in a difficult and embarrassing position asked Ferreira and Mendez to wait for five or six days more as messengers from Sengadagala should arrive by then. The messengers, however, did not arrive, although Vikrama Bahu had despatched them with 500 baggage-carriers. The situation was made more annoying by the failure of the mudaliyar to honour the promise he made to Pereira earlier of despatching 300 baggage-carriers to Triquinamalle from his camp.

The Portuguese were impatient and wanted to leave now on the score of the scarcity of provisions and agreed to wait for only two days more. Food was by no means scarce, as the mudaliyar had 300 oxen laden with rice at the time Pereira had left him. In reality, fear and annoyance were the causes for their attitude. However, before Ferreira and Mendez left Triquinamalle they approved of Pereira's proposal that they, including himself, should go to Jafanapatam and send a message to king Chekarasa Sekaram,⁷ the tyrant usurper-king, better known to history as Sankili⁸, asking for a safe conduct for himself through his territory, so that he might be able to proceed to Cande to find out what the real position was. The request was granted, but Pereira apparently took a circuitous route for he was arrested and taken to the capital⁹ of Sitāvaka, also called by the same name. Here he was detained for four or five days by the crafty Mayadunne, who took the opportunity to impress on him that he was ready to be a vassal of the king of Portugal as that monarch already appeared to be a friend of his. He also made proposals in respect of Triquinamalle, obviously hoping that an alliance would materialize but, however, failed to dissuade Pereira from returning to Sengadagala and could not either persuade him to accept a present, so at least Pereira would have Dom João de Castro, governor de Souza's successor believe.

No sooner had Vikrama Bahu heard of Pereira's plight than he sent a number of men in search of him to Sitāvaka, and not being aware of the real identity of the band of mutineers, who had touched earlier at Triquinamalle, sent a party in search of them as well and also despatched a trustworthy man of his with a message for Ferreira and Mendez. The brigand was still, perhaps, a nuisance on the direct route

5. Letter of 13-10-45, P & F.

6. The mudaliyar

7. Portuguese : Xagā Raja Pandara

8. Portuguese : Sangili

9. In modern Avissawella

to Triquinamalle and the messengers were not daunted to take the longer route via Galla.¹⁰ Meanwhile those of the king's men, who had accompanied Pereira on the abortive trip to Triquinamalle, returned to Sengadagala and knowing that their royal master's disappointment would be too great were afraid to divulge the truth and tried to pacify him with the story that Ferreira's party would return soon with more men and provisions. At this juncture Pereira returned on the 15th of July 1543 from his short detainment in Sītāvaka and five days later a Portuguese of Ferreira's band arrived via Galla with a man-servant, who had taken an oath of secrecy on his behalf at Triquinamalle. Vikrama Bahu with the characteristic impulsiveness of feudal despots ordered the latter and another man-servant attached to the mudaliyar, who earlier in the year had set out with Pereira to meet Ferreira, to be put to death as he failed to extract from them the real happenings at Triquinamalle. Fortunately for them, Pereira intervened and pleaded successfully that their lives be spared until the full facts were forthcoming on the return of Ferreira's party.

Towards the end of July a Portuguese messenger, whose presence at Sengadagala Pereira ascribes to his own foresight, was despatched with *olas* from the king to governor de Souza requesting him to come and finalize the proposed project at Triquinamalle. He also carried letters from Pereira explaining in detail the reason for the failure of Ferreira's mission and also giving an account of his talks with Mayadunne and of his offer to pay tribute and become a Portuguese vassal. The messenger traversed the difficult terrain of the route to Batecalou with trepidation and from there sailed to meet the governor in the Baixos de *Chilam*,¹¹ the shallow waters around Adam's bridge, off Mannar. Enthusiasm seemed to get the better of Amaro Mendez, for, even before the governor could speak to the messenger, he had sent him back post-haste with letters for Vikrama Bahu and Pereira, promising to be at Triquinamalle during the whole of January of the ensuing year,¹² even if he should have to beg for funds from friends owing to Vikrama Bahu's inability to send the same because of the hazards of the road. However, if it was possible, he requested a reply through the same messenger before his arrival at Triquinamalle. Accordingly the messenger was sent back at the end of November with royal *olas* and letters from Pereira with a request to finalize the matter of the factory. At the same time a presentation of a golden bracelet and precious stones was also sent, the former being meant for the governor as a token of Vikrama Bahu's sincerity. The messenger returned to the Island reaching Jayavardhana *Kōttē*,¹³ the capital of the kingdom of *Kōttē*, also popularly

called *Kōttē*, sometime in January 1544 with replies for Vikrama Bahu and Pereira from the governor and Amaro Mendez as well. He was, however, afraid to proceed to Sengadagala owing to the executions by Mayadunne of a mestizo from *Coulam*¹⁴ and a servant of Pereira, who had been carrying a message and letters for him. In this predicament situation he handed over the correspondence to Manoel Roiz Coutinho, the *guarda-mor* at the palace of *Kōttē*, who unfortunately handed them over to a messenger, a *perro* by caste, in the pay of Bhuvanaka Bahu, who saw to it that it did not reach the addressees at Sengadagala.

By July Vikrama Bahu was once again sending *olas* along with letters from Pereira to Miguel Ferreira to find out whether Amaro Mendez was on the Choromandel coast and why the matters pertaining to the proposed factory and alliance were not finalized. Amaro Mendez, who was at *São Thomé*,¹⁵ seemed to be bereft of his former enthusiasm, for, he replied that he would be ready, provided the funds were forthcoming, adding that the same could be sent by the route taken by the messengers.

Meanwhile there was great opposition at the court of Sengadagala to the financial implications of the Triquinamalle project. In addition, under the guise of friendship Bhuvanaka Bahu continued to make Vikrama Bahu nervous by informing him of his own experiences with the Portuguese, who, he said, would fleece him of his money as they had done in his own case, without rendering him assistance against Mayadunne. On the 2nd of October a message and letters were received from Mendez and Ferreira. Soon after this Pereira's counsel prevailed and Vikrama Bahu agreed to send 10,000 *chacrans*¹⁶ and two precious stones weighing over three *calamnjās*¹⁶ to cover the cost of the expedition and the construction of the factory. The gold and jewels were duly tested before they were sealed by Pereira, who guaranteed their safety once they reached the hands of either Ferreira or Amaro Mendez or Antonio Mendez, the captain of *Negapatão* or any other officer of the king of Portugal.

A Portuguese, to whom Pereira intended to entrust this precious packet being ill, it was despatched on the 5th of November through one of Vikrama Bahu's trusted men, who was accompanied by some fellow Candeotaz and a Portuguese, named Francisco Luis, who claimed to have been living quite close to Pereira's birth place in Portugal and also to have served a Portuguese nobleman, named de Castro, whose son, Dom *João* de Castro was in the month of September of the following year¹⁶ to succeed, strangely enough, to the post of governor in Goa and play an active part in the events narrated in these pages.

10. Modern Galle; Portuguese: Gale, Guale, Galla; Sinhala: Galla.

11. Also Chilão

12. 1544

13. Meaning in Sinhala: Fortified City of Victory

14. Also *Coulão*, *Coullão*, modern Quilon on the west coast of South India.

15. Portuguese: São Tomé, Sam Tomé

16. 1545

Vikrama Bahu's men, were instructed to proceed via Jafanapatam, because they had already in the past taken this route and returned without any mishap. On reaching Jafanapatam they were told that Amaro Mendez had left for Goa.^p Faced with this situation Vikrama Bahu's man decided not to proceed, but to stay on Jaffnese soil with the money and jewels, sending Luis with two men to *Negapatão* with the letters and olas he was carrying for Ferreira. The two men returned to Jafanapatam with a *catamaran*,^q which Antonio Mendez, the captain of *Negapatão* had sent on behalf of Ferreira. They also brought an ola for Sankili, most probably, requesting a safe-conduct through his territory for the rest of their party, but on seeing it, he was so infuriated that he ordered the two men back to *Negapatão* and proceeded to confiscate the money and jewels.

Evidently, the authorities at Goa had been considering the opening of negotiations with the court of Sengadagala of some importance for the Portuguese *ouvidor*^r, Francisco Alvares, resident at the city of *Kōttē* had, on instructions from governor de Souza, paid Vikrama Bahu a visit sometime early in the year 1545^s in order to gauge the earnestness of his appeal for an alliance.

Meanwhile in March of the same year his men returned to Sengadagala after their demoralizing experience in Jafanapatam and had the very embarrassing task of reporting not only the confiscation of the money and jewels but also a threatening message from Sankili to the effect that if in future messages were sent to the Portuguese through his kingdom the lives of the messengers would be forfeit.

- a. A palm leaf specially prepared and used for writing, hence to the Portuguese the ola was a letter in Sinhala.
- b. Controller of the Treasury.
- c. An Eurasian, having an European father and an Asiatic mother.
- d. According to the Hobson-Jobson, a term used for dark half-caste Christians of Portuguese descent. The Sinhala equivalent tuppahi is applied as yet to the poor artisan class of Burghers in Ceylon, often dark-skinned and Portuguese speaking.
The words "topaz" and "tuppahi" like the Anglo-Indian term *tōpee*, meaning hat seems to be derived from the Hindi word *topi* meaning hat. Some say that tuppahi is derived from the Sinhala *do-bhashiya* meaning two-tongued. The Portuguese called an interpreter "topaz" apparently, because usually he was a hat-wearing Eurasian, speaking both Portuguese and a native language. In later Portuguese times there were the Tuppahi regiments called Tuppases.
- e. (1) Miguel Ferreira, who was a native of Alcobaça in Portugal was considered an expert on Ceylon affairs by the authorities at Goa. In 1525 he distinguished himself along with a handful of his compatriots and Bhuvanaka Bahu's forces under Saluppu Aratchi against the forces of the Zamorin of Calicut in the vicinity of Colombo. For the part he played in 1539 to help Bhuvanaka Bahu, *vide* Chapter 12, Note e. Ferreira, according to Queyroz, was "tall of stature, lean of face, with large eyes, a short

beard, a pointed nose, a large head, thin limbs and withal hardy and well proportioned". According to the same historian he would appear to be one of the noblest Portuguese in the East for he never exploited his official position to his own advantage and did not seek promotion by resorting to flattery and was satisfied to live modestly and died a bachelor at San Thomé at the ripe old age of 82 leaving some natural children behind. Mannar and Mantota were granted to him & his heirs in January 1546 by João III of Portugal (*vide* document 23 P. & F.).

(2) Amaro Mendez was the chamberlain of the governor Martim Affonso de Souza in 1541 and returned to Portugal in 1546.

- f. Still existing.
- g. The Portuguese text mentions the word "*capitao*" of which the Sinhala equivalent would be *mudaliyar*.
- h. The text says India, but generally in these documents Goa appears to be referred to as India, perhaps, because it was the seat of the Portuguese governor.
- i. The Sinhalese called the Gulf of Mannar *Silama* from which term the Portuguese *Chilam* or *Chilão* is derived.
- j. A son of a Portuguese named Lazaro Martinz married to an Indian woman at Quilon.
- k. Commander of the king's Portuguese guards.
- l. This word means low-caste and like the English word *pariah* is probably derived from the Tamil *paraiyar* meaning drummer, a low-caste even today among the Tamils of Jaffna.
- m. A Portuguese settlement 8 miles south-west off modern Madras, India, named after St. Thomas, the Apostle, who is said to have suffered martyrdom here. Now a part of Madras and still called San Thome or St. Thomas' Mount.
- n. A South-Indian coin of gold.
- o. 4.38 grams; the term is still in current usage in the trade of the silversmiths and goldsmiths.
- p. India is the word in the text (P. & F. page 80) but as mentioned earlier in Note g above Goa is meant.
- q. Derived from the Tamil "*katta-maram*" meaning tied tree and applied to a raft of logs lashed together with rope, such boats are still used in Jaffna and Negombo. In the latter place they are being used with motors. Until about 15 years ago Indian fishermen used to come in these rafts to Ceylon. These rafts are probably being still used in South India today.
- r. A judge.
- s. This must have been before the return of Vikrama Bahu's men from Jaffna in March, 1545, as in his letter of the 12th September, 1545, to Alvares Pereira mentioned the confiscation of the money and jewels by Sankili.

CHAPTER 3

Bhuvanaka Bahu and Mayadunne being, no doubt, alarmed about the progress of Vikrama Bahu's negotiations with the Portuguese had by this time realized the futility of a cold war and began to make a concerted attack on him; Bhuvanaka Bahu, however, remaining in the background of the campaign. The beginning of the war saw Vikrama Bahu making an all-out bid to get military aid from the Portuguese. He now decided to embrace Christianity in return for help from Goa. Pereira was the chief architect^{1a} of this line of action, having painted to him a glorious picture of the pre-eminent position among his royal rivals Portuguese military power would place him in. Rulers, both in South India and Ceylon at the time, were aware that the desire to evangelize and add to the number of the Roman Catholic fold was one of the strongest motivating forces of Portuguese imperialism and did not hesitate to exploit this weakness when the exigencies of their particular situation demanded and often held out the promise to become Christians, realizing this to be the best bait to obtain military support from the Portuguese authorities. The ouvidor Francisco Alvares's visit to Sengadagala may also have impressed on Vikrama Bahu the possibility of getting assistance from the governor and weighed with his decision to become a Christian.

Thus it was that on the 3rd of April 1545 a letter, asking for help was handed over to a Gujerati brahmin yogi, who was on a visit to Sengadagala for delivery to Duarte Teixeira, a retired Portuguese official resident at *Kōllē* but influential withal. The letter, which was in Pereira's hand but signed by the king and his son, the crown prince, Karalliyade Bandāra^{1b}, divulged the anxiety of the royal personages to become Christians in return for military aid against Mayadunne. Mention was also made of an *ola* from the prince of the Sete Corllas² stating that he wished to be a Christian. The presence at court of chieftans from the vanniate of Triquinamalle desirous of joining the Christian fold along with 3000 of their followers was also adverted to along with a brief reference to the Triquinamalle project. At the same time Vikrama Bahu, undaunted by the failure of the past months, sent *olas* along with letters from Pereira through the same brahmin to Miguel Ferreira entreating him to act as if he was there personally and to finalize the matter of the factory and alliance at his (Ferreira's) expense, promising to reimburse him as soon as he arrived at Triquinamalle. The brahmin was expected to send them some news, but was silent and they had to be satisfied with a letter



PLATE II

1a. Doc: 22. 29. 38 P. & F.

1b. Portuguese: Caralea Bandar, Carauliade Bandar, Maha Astāna.

2. Seven Korales. Korale means a district, Portuguese: In singular Corla, Caurale, Corola.

from a man, to whom he had given a lift in his boat, stating that he had crossed over to the Choromandel coast. Towards the end of June another letter in Pereira's hand but signed by the king and his son was sent to Teixeira asking for help and reiterating the fact that there were potential converts to Christianity in Cande. The letter was sent through a Canarese, who had brought Pereira a letter from Gaspar Carvalho. In one of the two letters to Teixeira, most probably, the first, he was apprised of the confiscation of the money and jewels by Sankili. At the same time royal letters to Ferreira and Mendez about the project of the factory were also despatched through the same Canarese messenger. A letter similar in content, purport, handwriting and signatures to those written to Teixeira was sent to the ouvidor Alvares at *Kōttē*. In addition it also evinced Vikrama Bahu's pleasure at Alvares' visit to Sengadagala. Two other letters had been transmitted earlier to Alvares through a messenger, a *perro* by caste, who had arrived with messages from Tammita Suriya *Bandāra*^b; the lord chamberlain of the royal palace of *Kōttē*. This messenger accounted to Pereira for his failure to bring a reply to the fact that when he handed over the letters Alvares was about to journey to Negumbo with Teixeira to accord a welcome to some Christians. Evidently Vikrama Bahu and Pereira were in a desperate plight to have entrusted the letters to this man as he was the very same man, who as mentioned earlier, was in the pay of Bhuvanaka Bahu.

Communications between Sengadagala and the city of *Kōttē* were becoming increasingly difficult owing to the war and where normally five or six days would have sufficed for messengers from either point to reach their destination, several days were taken now and that at great risk and according to Antonio Ferreira, the *guarda-mor* a message by sea could be sent only via the port of Batecalou. On the 10th of September 1545 Francisco Alvares' letter^c giving high hopes of assistance from the authorities at Goa was delivered to Vikrama Bahu by a messenger from the city of *Kōttē*, who also brought him a letter from Teixeira and a small *ola* as well. Pereira also received through the same messenger two letters and proceeded to explain all the correspondence to Vikrama Bahu, stressing the great emphasis placed on the propagation of the Christian faith by the king of Portugal and his subjects.

On the 12th of September Pereira replied³ to Alvares complaining that only garbled versions of his messages were delivered orally to the king and himself and that neither the interpreter he referred to had come nor had any messages from him been delivered for the last four or five months although messages to Vikrama Bahu from the

3. Letter of 12-9-45, P. & F., n Sch: doc: 23 the letter is addressed to the ouvidor and *guarda mór* at *Kōttē*.

city of *Kōttē*⁴ were a regular monthly feature. He further complained that "the Brahmin of Portugal" as *Srī Radaraska Pandita*,⁵ whom *Bhuvanaka Bahu* had sent to the court of Lisbon in 1542, was popularly called by the Portuguese, had sent thrice through another *brahmin*^d nonsensical and boastful messages of the power he wielded, stating that the affairs of the kingdom of *Kōttē* were in his hands. *Pereira*, however, consoled himself with the thought that that brahmin's day of repentance would dawn one day and further mentioned that *Alvares's* visit to *Sengadagala* was most opportune and might bear fruit. He also stressed the sincere desire of the king and crown prince to be Christians and informed him that the former had asked him to say that both of them were prepared to entrust themselves to the king of Portugal and the governor and "to take nothing more nor less than the road" which the governor points out to them. *Pereira* also stressed that if *Vikrama Bahu* "did not have the desire to be a friend he would not have sent so many messages; up till now he was a friend; now he wishes to be Your Worship's friend and companion in the Faith". A request was made in the same letter on *Vikrama Bahu's* behalf as follows: "He requests from the King our Lord and the Lord Governor, that if he does not come or someone with whom he can finish this business, your Worship should take charge of them and look after them in the same way as he has charge of those Princes⁶. And if he fail to do all that they bid him, and takes another path, then let them abandon him altogether and destroy him". *Alvares* was also informed that *Vikrama Bahu* says "that if the Governor does not come nor men from India, and if you are unable to give him any relief in respect of that which he has mentioned, that you should immediately send and tell him; then he will do what seems best to him. Till this message comes, he will remain without doing anything in regard to himself... As for the War, he will keep it up without making any decision till a reply comes to him from your Worship. And if the decision is to make an attack from there, there is no need to recommend it to him as I know well he has such an intention".

Vikrama Bahu appeared to be in such straits that *Pereira* informed *Alvares* in the same letter that he was even prepared to allow the governor to dictate the choice of a son-in-law, whether it was to be *Bhuvanaka Bahu's* grandson, *Dharmapala Bandāra*⁷ or one of the Sinhala princes at Goa or any other person. The absence of replies to the letters sent previously through the low caste messenger was adverted to and a definite reply to this letter asked for thus: "The affairs of this King are in the condition which I mention to your

4. The Capital

5. Vide chapter 3, note b.

6. The Sinhalese princes at Goa.

7. Portuguese: *Tiomapala Pandarym*; also called *Dharmapala Astāna*.

Worship, in the hope of a reply. Many matters are taking place here which I am not able to write about now". *Pereira* also stated that because *Vikrama Bahu* was in a hurry he did not mention the others, who were privy to that monarch's secret plans concerning Christianity and apprised *Alvares* of the impatience of the crown prince to become a Christian and of his determination to cross over to Goa to achieve this objective, if he failed at *Sengadagala*. In adverting to the letters he had sent *Teixeira* about the potential converts to Christianity, of those from *Triquinamalle*, he wrote, "and they have sent a message with the Brahmin who has gone and some of them are now fugitives in *Jafanapatão* and some are hoping for nothing else but this". Of the prince of the *Sete Corllas* he wrote "Also of another message which I have here in an *ola* from a *moço*^e who is now in the *Sete Corllas*, to the effect that he was anxious to be a Christian, and that they should show him the way how he should come among the Portuguese, to become such. It seems to be desirable to send people there; if your Worship can send some message to him, try and do so; because they are of this nature and wish for this and they have no other way. It is sufficient to send and tell him if he is in need of any matter, that he should say so. His mother is here at the palace of the King and she never stops sending to me to recommend this son, that the Portuguese should save him, and that she will follow them by the same road which he takes". *Pereira* also informed *Alvares* that *Vikrama Bahu* expected him to open the road to *Sengadagala* both for the coming of the governor and the transport of "the bell from *Mallaca*". The letter ended on an optimistic note thus: "There is nothing more to tell your Worship till I see the message and when it comes I shall do what your Worship directs. We are near to doing great things in this *Camde*; your Worship should labour in that which is now in your hand. May the Lord God be with us all in this *Camde*". The bell referred to by *Pereira* was evidently brought from *Malacca* by the Portuguese authorities as a present for *Vikrama Bahu* and was obviously meant to anticipate the Christian church that would inevitably rise, sooner or later, in his capital in the wake of the domestic and foreign policies pursued by him.

Feeling against the Portuguese and Sinhalese Christians was very high at the time in the kingdoms of *Kōttē* and *Sitāvaka*, and towards the middle of September 1545 governor *Dom João de Castro*, who had entered his term of office early in the same month, had on instructions from the sovereign of Portugal sent an ambassador *Duarte Barbudo* by name to the kingdom of *Kōttē* on a fact finding mission and also for the express purpose of taking *Bhuvanaka Bahu* politely to task for not becoming a Christian and for persecuting his Christian subjects. The Franciscan *head*^f in Ceylon, friar *João de Villa de Conde*, popularly and officially called the *padre guardião* and his companion friar *Antonio Padram* had also travelled with the ambassador to Ceylon.

Despite the far from cordial relations Bhuvanaka Bahu had with the Portuguese and the Franciscan missionaries, the combined efforts of Vikrama Bahu and Pereira were successful in getting support among the leading Portuguese nationals in the kingdom of *Kōttē*.⁸ Their points of view as evidenced in their letters written in the first week of October 1545, were, however, different, though it is obvious that they had consulted each other. With the news of Vikrama Bahu's desire to become a Christian, hopes of an Island-wide conversion glimmered strongly in the mind's eye of the Franciscan head in Ceylon, as is evident at the end of his letter to the governor in which he gave a brief account⁹ of ambassador Barbudo's audience with Bhuvanaka Bahu at which he himself was present. "The conversation" he wrote "was too long to permit of my setting it in writing. The King continues a heathen, just as he was before; he allows the Christians to be badly treated, for he does not care for them, as will be explained to you in greater detail by the Padre Frei Antonio, on whom I rely in every thing; for he has ample experience of the whole country, and is full of zeal, and understands affairs. He is coming there to convey to your Lordship the results of his experience, and at the same time to report a new incident which has now supervened: it is that the King of Cande wrote to the Ouvidor and to an honoured individual who lives here,¹⁰ to the effect that he along with his son were willing to become Christian, if they would assist him against this King's brother who is at war with him.

If this King turns Christian, to my thinking there can be no better road for the conversion of all the Kings and people of this country to our faith; because it is not doing wrong to anyone, whereas if he were supported by us, everyone would be greatly annoyed.

The Padre will give your Lordship a more detailed account.

The love of the Lord God helps and favours us; for besides God we have no other help. May God in his love speedily grant to you which he desires for his service". It would clearly appear that the idea of military assistance being rendered to Vikrama Bahu did not seem repugnant to friar *João's* religious susceptibilities, for all he thought was that in the circumstances it was not feasible.

Antonio Ferreira, the new guarda mór, who had also arrived recently with the ambassador, analysed the situation shrewdly in his letter to the governor. He was not sanguine at all, he wrote¹¹ about the sincerity of Vikrama Bahu's desire to be a Christian and did not believe that he would implement his promises, though he thought he might

8. Most probably resident in the capital & Columbo.

9. Letter of 4-10-45, P & F.

10. Duarte Teixeira

11. Letter of 5-10-45, P & F.

do so because he needed the Portuguese to defend him. Bhuvanaka Bahu, he said, was friendly with his brother Mayadunne because of his being convinced that the governor would force him to carry out his wishes. He saw the possibility of military assistance to Vikrama Bahu forcing those two monarchs to their knees and promised to do his best to see that Vikrama Bahu will stand up to the forces against him by holding out to him hopes of assistance from Goa. Duarte Teixeira, after adverting¹² to the letters received by the ouvidor and himself from Vikrama Bahu and the failure to establish the factory at Triquinamalle, which he attributed as being perhaps either due to the "untruths" characteristic of the Islanders or due to the avarice of his own countrymen, informed the governor that the sincerity of Vikrama Bahu had to be put to the test, but that in any case room should not be left for it to be said that a golden opportunity of working for God had been thrown away. Quite apart from this, he felt military assistance would result in foiling the plans of those two monarchs to make the kingdom of Cande a base from which to operate against the Portuguese and would consequently make them attribute this to God and induce them to join the Christian fold. Teixeira and Ferreira like friar *João* informed the governor that friar Antonio with his experience of the Island would be in a position to elucidate matters further. Francisco Alvares, the ouvidor, made a brief non-committal report, informing the governor of Vikrama Bahu's pleasure with his visit to Sengadagala, and also mentioning that he had sent a letter to Vikrama Bahu giving him high hopes of assistance and that he found the letters of that monarch and Pereira to be of the same tenor of purpose. Both Alvares and Teixeira mentioned that they were forwarding Vikrama Bahu's letters for appropriate action to be taken. Friar Antonio was to have been despatched with all the correspondence but, as will be noticed, was detained till November and friar *João*, who was to have gone instead, at the last moment allowed him to sail with ambassador Barbudo.

Towards the middle of October Pereira wrote¹³ to the governor apprising him of the abortive attempts to establish the factory, trying, however, at the outset to impress on him that his personal presence at court was due to Vikrama Bahu. "It was inconvenient" he wrote "that he should bring me here, and not another". He also stressed the king's persistent requests as a sign of his strong desire to forge an alliance with the sovereign of Portugal and further emphasized the fact that he still wanted assistance to establish the factory with a permanent factor, despite the fact that his seat of residence was 30 leagues in the interior and that he had news of the daily disputes between the king of *Kōttē* and the Portuguese factors. He also did not fail to mention that Vikrama Bahu was prepared to make an

12. Letter of 5-10-45 P. & F.

13. Letter of 13-10-45, P. & F.

annual tribute of 15 tusked elephants and 300 oars of beech^g for the galleys, in addition to the tribute mentioned in the other letters and to pay the factor and clerks of the proposed factory the same *ordenados*^h as their counter-parts received at *Columbo*ⁱ. He also indicated that the proposed 20 Portuguese guardsmen would receive the same *soldo*^j and *mantimento*^k paid by the sovereign of Portugal to his guards. Vikrama Bahu's zeal to be baptized with his son and household was also mentioned; due emphasis being made about the greater possibilities of conversion if the governor came in person to Sengadagala. Pereira also mentioned that Vikrama Bahu would never be able to maintain cordial relations with the avaricious Mayadunne, who would, he said, never be satisfied with gifts, but would want the kingdom of Cande, which goal he was very near attaining with the assistance of Bhuvanaka Bahu, who was the chief obstacle to the establishment of the factory and the cementing of the alliance between the sovereigns of Portugal and Cande.

Pereira also referred to Vikrama Bahu's leanings towards Christianity and his pro-Portuguese policy as being the cause of those kings intensifying their campaign against him, also mentioning that if the Portuguese authorities had been within easy reach, the crown prince would have joined the governor and that his absence from the Portuguese camp was fraught with the grave danger of their losing everything, as, if Mayadunne broke into the kingdom and entrenched himself in the capital, it would be difficult to dislodge him, as he was popular and well equipped with *artillery*^l and in addition the mountainous terrain and the existence of only five or six passes and the self-sufficient economy of the kingdom made it easily defensible. He further apprised the governor that failure on his part to extend a helping hand at this juncture would be fatal to Vikrama Bahu and spell victory to Mayadunne. Most probably, as a safety valve, he briefly touched on the desire Mayadunne evinced personally to him of being a vassal of Portugal, when he had been detained at Sitāvaka earlier in the previous year, adding, however, that if Vikrama Bahu proved recalcitrant he would furnish him with Mayadunne's proposals regarding Triquinamallē. Mention was also made of Vikrama Bahu's personal appeal to ambassador Barbudo and the guarda mor, Antonio Ferreira to use their influence with Bhuvanaka Bahu to terminate hostilities and that their failure to achieve this would result in his defection from the alliance and the Christian fold. He also indicated that till the governor arrived at a decision 30 or 40 soldiers should be sent to Sengadagala, the road being open at the moment.

Meanwhile, Vikrama Bahu egged on, perhaps, by Pereira seemed not unwilling to leave any potential source of help, however trivial, untapped, for towards early October 1545 he recruited the services of a Portuguese called Jorge Velho, elevated him to the rank of ambassador and commissioned him with written instructions to go to

Goa to present his case for help before the governor.* Of him, Pereira wrote¹⁴ in his letter to the governor, mentioned above, that he would personally convey the abuse Bhuvanaka Bahu was heaping on the Portuguese and also further explained that Vikrama Bahu distrusting his own circle of courtiers had got his son to inscribe an ola in Sinhala, but as he had doubts as to whether the request included in it would be complied with, had directed him to write this letter and had affixed his signature to it as an assurance that "he will perform and accomplish, and everything else which the *ambassador*^m conveys in his *Regimento*".ⁿ Whatever Pereira's motives were, whether they were purely personal aggrandizement or mixed ones of serving Cande, Portugal and himself, he had certainly learnt the art of serving two masters, pleasing both and whipping up their enthusiasm as well.

Pereira's letter and Vikrama Bahu's ola were handed to Velho, who en route to Goa, was struck down by a serious illness in November at Columbo and consequently delegated his task to the Franciscan head. Velho, however, had taken his mission seriously and wrote¹⁵ to the governor of the anxiety of the monarch of Cande to have his personal presence at his baptism, and of his son and subjects¹⁶ also being anxious to be Christians and mentioned his readiness too to acquiesce in the choice of a husband for his daughter, emphasizing that he should come by January of the ensuing year¹⁷, as this was the latest that that monarch could hold out against the powerful combined war machines of Kōttē and Sitāvaka, whose kings were pressing him because of his desire to be a Christian. Of Vikrama Bahu's absolute dependance on the governor, Velho wrote, "He looks to the Lord God to defend him from them till your Lordship comes to his aid" and of his farewell from the palace, he wrote thus "And when I parted from him he clasped my hands very warmly and told me to accomplish his business and bring it to a finish with your Lordship as if he should come in person, and he continued in this hope and had no other wish except to see this accomplished". Velho assured the governor that he was personally convinced of that monarch's sincerity for otherwise he said would not have undertaken the mission and mislead him. Being also convinced of the importance of the governor's mission, he entreated him "for the love of God to come and help and set matters right for this king, as it concerns the salvation of the whole Island, so many men, so many women, so many children and so much wealth: for the love of God let them not perish, especially as Your Lordship has a reputation here for honour, zeal, the service of God and the protection of Christians". He also advised him to

14. Letter of 13-10-45, P & F.

15. Letter of 13-11-45, P & F.

16. The reference no doubt is an exaggeration or would be, perhaps, true of a section of the aristocracy.

17. 1546

make his journey via the Baixos de Chilam to Triquinamalle, where Vikrama Bahu would welcome him in person. This letter Velho handed over to the Franciscan chief along with the correspondence he had received at the court of Sengadagala and another letter for the governor's son, Dom Alvaro de Castro, whom he had already kept informed of developments.

The Franciscan chief, notwithstanding the entreaties of Bhuvanaka Bahu not to proceed and promises to comply with his wishes in the matter of Christianity, embarked on the boat, which was to carry ambassador Barbudo back to Goa. Bad weather in the port of Columbo made him change his mind and after three days on board he disembarked. Soon after this, he proceeded to brief friar Antonio Padram as to what he should say to the governor, for whom he also handed an explanatory letter¹⁸ from himself, in which he emphasized that one of the two reasons which brought him back to the shores of Ceylon was news of Vikrama Bahu's desire to become a Christian. Advising strongly that this was not an opportunity to be thrown away, he wrote, "my opinion is that you ought to bring it to a conclusion, for I feel that so great is the desire of your soul for this task unless for our sins we neglect it and a work of such magnitude has no one in our time to keep it on. I am sending these through that padre for the love of God, as to what I ask from you, order them to be given, for we have need of them". He also informed the governor that ambassador Barbudo would be in a position to furnish him with facts about Vikrama Bahu. All the correspondence, which he was to have carried was duly handed over to friar Antonio¹⁹.

18. Letter of 17-11-45, P & F.

19. Including the letters written by Teixeira, Ferreira, Alvares and himself in early October.

- a. He was born in Africa, where his father served and died. He also served in Africa and the straits of Gibraltar and had accompanied Count Priol on an expedition to Turkey and had come to Ceylon during the time of viceroy Garcia de Noronha, counting 40 years service altogether. He had held the post of *voador da fazenda* or controller of the Portuguese Royal treasury in Ceylon, but was ousted by Antonio Pereira, who had bought it. For complaints of losses suffered by him, *vide* P. & F., page 65.
- b. Also called Tāomatey Samparamprimal in the decree granted by João III of Portugal appointing him and his heirs hereditary chamberlains of the kings of Kōttē. This decree (*vide* document 14, Vol. 1, Schuhammer) was among those made to redress Bhuvanaka Bahu's grievances, which he complained of through the two ambassadors despatched by him in 1542 to the court of Lisbon to get the golden effigy of his grandson Dharmapala crowned as a part of his plans to ensure Portuguese recognition and protection on his (the grandson's) accession to the throne. This chamberlain had the aliases of Tammita Rala and Sembahap Perumal as well. He had been entrusted with the education of the children and grandson of Bhuvanaka Bahu, whose kinsman he was. He was also the brother of Bhuvanaka Bahu's

son-in-law, the redoubtable warrior Vidyē Bandāra and later embraced Christianity in Goa in 1555 under the name of Francisco Barreto and acted as regent for a time during his nephew Dharmapala's minority. The two ambassadors referred to above were Salappu Aratchi and the brahmin *Srī* Radaraksa Pandita, who later embraced Christianity under the Portuguese name of Dom Afonso de Loronha in 1552 at Goa.

- c. *Vide* his letter of 6-10-45 in P. & F.
- d. This brahmin had come in the company of a Buddhist priest, who had left for Matecalou (Batticaloa). Pereira refers to the Buddhist priest as a Chamguatar, a term evidently derived from the Sinhala Maha Sangha, meaning priesthood.
- e. A term used for young men and personal male servants.
- f. The Sinhala embassy to the court of Lisbon (referred to in Note b above) on the express instructions of Bhuvanaka Bahu asked for missionaries and in 1543 friar João de Villa de Conde and four other colleagues travelled to Ceylon with the two returning ambassadors. Friar João also had a hand in the education of Bhuvanaka Bahu's grandson.
- g. Most probably a local wood resembling beech.
- h. Salary of an official.
- i. The text mentions Cota, meaning, of course, the kingdom of Kōttē of which Colombo, where the factory was situated was a part.
- j. The pay of a soldier.
- k. Food or subsistence allowance.
- l. Viceroy Affonso de Noronha informed his sovereign in his letter of 27-1-52 that Mayadunne had tranqueiras and estancias (fortifications) of artillery "that the soldiers of Italy could not construct them better".
- m. Jorge Velho, according to document 32, P. & F., he was at San Thomé in June, 1546.
- n. Instructions to an official, usually from a king.

The implementation of the governor's decision to send succour to Vikrama Bahu took the shape of a small expeditionary force led by Andre de Souza, who was already acquainted with conditions prevailing in the courts of *Kōttē* and Sengadagala. He had in 1544 on the instructions of governor de Souza gone to the city of *Kōttē* with two Franciscan friars⁷ and been successful in persuading Bhuvanaka Bahu's son, *Yugo Bandāra* to embrace Christianity and had made arrangements to take him to Goa for baptism. This had sparked off a crisis at the royal court, culminating in the assassination of that young prince and the flight of his cousin, who had been baptized as Dom João, along with his godfather de Souza to Cochim. The two were shortly afterwards followed to Cochim⁸ by the deceased prince's younger brother, who embraced Christianity there under the name of Dom Luis, along with some aristocratic Sinhala followers. From Cochim the party sailed for Goa, where the two princes lived under the vigilant eye of their godfather, who restlessly conceived grandiose plans for them. The sovereign of Portugal was not aware of de Souza's appointment to the command of the expeditionary force, but, doubtless, would have approved of it, for in asking governor de Castro to make his own decision as to whether Jafanapatam should be given to Bhuvanaka Bahu in return for an annual tribute of 400 *quintals*⁹ of cinnamon and the cancellation of debts due to him or to St. Francis Xavier's candidate, the brother of the brahmin king murdered by Sankili, who promised to become a Christian or to Dom João, he wrote⁹ of de Souza as follows: "And when you reach a decision on the matter as it seems to you most to the service of our Lord and myself, as I have very good reports regarding Andre de Souza who came from *Ceylão* and it was he who laboured to make him a Christian and saved him from the death which the King wished to inflict on him, it is my pleasure that you send him with him and give the office of *Capitão*^d and Guarda Mor, of which for these reasons it is my pleasure to make him a *mercé*."¹⁰ De Souza would have his sovereign believe that he had been in recent correspondence with Vikrama Bahu and been invited by him.

The task which lay before de Souza and his band of countrymen was by no means enviable. They were to convert the royal family of Cande to Christianity, avert a military disaster and in addition arrange the marriage of Vikrama Bahu's daughter to prince Dom João. The last mentioned objective, however, had to be, omitted owing to his untimely death of small-pox along with his cousin at Goa in January 1546. The religious programme of the party was to be carried out by friars Antonio Padram and *Symão* de Coimbra, who had in reality been selected by the governor's

7. Document 15, P. & F.

8. Portuguese *Quochym*, *Cochym*.

9. Letter of 8-3-46 P. & F.

10. Letter of 20.12.45 P. & F.

original choice for the expedition, namely, the padre custodian, Antonio do Casal, who most probably owing to the pressure of official duties in Goa dropped out. It is seemingly unbelievable that such a small number of men, hundreds of miles from their base, should have been considered sufficient to defend a capital, let alone a kingdom. Incredible though it may seem to the modern ear, in those distant times the superior fire-arms and military training of the Portuguese may have given them an advantage out of proportion altogether to their small numbers over an enemy of poor training and inferior arms.

The story of the attempts of the Franciscan missionaries to plant the seeds of the *gospel* in the kingdom of Cande is a classic example of how the spread of Christianity in the Island was inextricably entangled with political intrigue; the religious confraternity finding it necessary to work hand in glove with the temporal authorities and even individual adventurers.

Meanwhile in Goa Andre de Souza had made preparations for the journey to Sengadagala, equipping his own *catur*^f and collecting the necessary personnel as well. On the 15th of January 1546 he sailed on the first lap of his long and dangerous mission, accompanied by friar *Symão* de Coimbra and 15 Portuguese, two of whom were his kinsmen, named, Pero Vaz Queto¹¹ and Guomes *Ferreira*^g. The party broke journey at Cochim for about a month, victualling and collecting more volunteers. The governor had apparently changed his original decision to send 30 or 40 men for on his instructions de Souza was provided here with provisions for 50 men. Even this number de Souza naturally considered inadequate for the task before him, for as will appear, he mustered nearly 80 men. Friar Antonio Padram, who was here, was very reluctant to join him on the ground that the Sinhala princes at Goa had died, but in reality, according to de Souza, was afraid to undertake this trying and hazardous journey owing to the obvious lack of men, money and boats. At this juncture Miguel Ferreira touched at Cochim with a letter for friar Antonio from the governor and informed him that he was proceeding to Calle¹² with two men sent by the governor in order to contact the brahmin claimant to the throne of Jafanapatam.

De Souza's zeal, which knew no scruples permitted him to steal a fusta^h and sail off at midnight on the 15th of February. This was an era when it would appear that the Machiavellian doctrine that the end justified the means was practised in unashamed nakedness, for de Souza unreservedly informed the governor of this light-fingered operation of his. He, undoubtedly, was expecting that it would add to his stature as a loyal, brave and efficient subject of his majesty, the king of Portugal. He was, perhaps, the counter-part on land of the Elizabethan sea-dogs of the calibre of Sir Francis Drake.

11. Guedez in Sch. Vol. I. p. 366.

12. On the Fishery Coast; Portuguese variations: Callepatnã, Quallpatanam; modern Kayalpatnam.

According to friar Antonio, however, they left Cochim on the 18th of February with 35 Portuguese in a *fusta* which had been hired for 30 *pardaos*¹. Much to Ferreira's chagrin, friar Antonio, who had earlier volunteered very enthusiastically to join him, had left Cochim without as much as a word to him and he followed in hot pursuit, only to find on reaching Calle that the friar had sailed away as the brahmin, mentioned above, had refused to meet him. De Souza's party sailed on and reached Beadala¹³, a station on the Indian side of the Pearl Fishery on the 20th of February, where once again, according to de Souza, friar Antonio attempted to stay back on the score that the governor had instructed him to join Ferreira. They next proceeded to *Mourão*¹, on the Ceylon side of the Pearl Fishery, where they met Ayres de Figereido, the captain of the Fishery, according to whom, friar Antonio was vexed to hear that two friars were already on the way to Sengadagala, as this meant that a march was being stolen over him.

Meanwhile in November 1545 Pereira had received the first letter from the Franciscans in the lowlands of the Island. It was from the Franciscan head and was signed by friar Antonio as well and explained that the latter was on his way to the governor to present the message sent by Pereira on the instructions of Vikrama Bahu. After the receipt of this letter Pereira explained to Vikrama Bahu the history and objectives of the Franciscan brotherhood. Negotiations, which continued through the medium of the pen with the Franciscan chief and Duarte Teixeira were the sole consolation to Vikrama Bahu and Pereira in their isolation. Becoming rather impatient they had in February 1546 sent a mestizo, a personal servant of the latter with letters and an *ola* to the Franciscan head in the city of *Kōttē* assuring him of Vikrama Bahu's desire to become a Christian and begging of him to come with as large a number of men as possible. It was impossible to accede to this request as the roads were impassable at the time owing to the war and so it was decided that friar Francisco¹⁴ de Montprandone, an Italian and another *compatriot* friar^k of his should go via Yala accompanied by Pereira's servant. A part of their route lay through Mayadunne's territory and they were arrested by his officers. Friar Francisco and Pereira's servant, however, managed to proceed and reached Sengadagala on the 1st of March; his *compatriot* was imprisoned in the city of *Sitāvaka* and the Franciscan chief had to travel up to obtain his release.

Friar Francisco was evidently a persuasive monk and in little over a week his efforts at evangelism at the court of Sengadagala bore fruit and to him fell the signal honour of baptizing the first crowned head in the Island. On the 9th of March about two hours before

dawn Vikrama Bahu was secretly baptized under the name of Dom Manoell, Pereira's servant, the mestizo, mentioned earlier, acting as god-father and interpreter at the ceremony. On the next day, following royal instructions Pereira sent a message to the Franciscan chief through the same servant, asking him to inform the governor of Vikrama Bahu's conversion and baptism and also to announce it with great pomp, provided he had a sufficient force of men or else to keep it secret until the opportune moment arrived. This important and exciting piece of news reached the Franciscan headquarters in the city of *Kōttē* on the 14th March 1546 when the Franciscan chief was away at *Sitāvaka* in connection with the release of friar Francisco's companion and it was received by friar Antonio Padram, who had already arrived with de Souza and party from India. When coasting the shores of the Island de Souza's *fusta* had struck a rock and sprung a leak and after working the pump for two days and nights it had limped into the port of Columbo. De Souza and friar Antonio had then proceeded to send a message and letters to the court of Sengadagala about their arrival and intended departure for Galla, where they asked that a message be sent as to where Vikrama Bahu would wish them to proceed to.

Before they left Columbo, they had an audience with Bhuvanaka Bahu, of which there are two versions. Friar *Symão* de Coimbra says that Bhuvanaka Bahu did not comply with the governor's request to assist them and not to aid Mayadunne in his campaign against Vikrama Bahu, thus forcing them to take the longer route via Triquinamalle, 100 leagues away. Friar Antonio, however, says that Bhuvanaka Bahu advised them to be on their guard against Mayadunne and to go via Triquinamalle as it was outside Mayadunne's territory. The latter version seems to be the more plausible, as Bhuvanaka Bahu had not broken openly either with the Portuguese or with Vikrama Bahu. Moreover de Souza's chief grievance was not against the king of *Kōttē* but rather against the *guarda mor* Ferreira, whom he informed¹⁵ the governor as being most unco-operative in the matter of finding transport for his party, as, although he had two *fustas* at his disposal he had advised them to proceed to Galla, 20 leagues away to charter more vessels. Writing¹⁶ to the sovereign of Portugal nearly 20 months after their experiences at the city of *Kōttē*, friar *Symão* de Coimbra also complained of obstructive tactics on the part of Ferreira. According to de Souza, Dame Rumour attributed his attitude to the bribes he had received from Bhuvanaka Bahu. It is also interesting to hear¹⁷ from friar Antonio that at the audience de Souza in whom modesty was not a redeeming feature tried to make it apparent that he was in command of the ex-

15. Letter of 27-5-46, P & F.

16. Letter of 25-12-46, P & F.

17. Letter of 7-6-46, P & F.

13. Vedalai, on the Ramad Coast near Rameswaram.

14. Also Francisco

pedition and boasted that he had already expended 20,000 *pardaos* on the voyage. Born braggart that he was he had according to friar Antonio also broadcasted to the inhabitants of Columbo that he had fitted out the expeditionaries at his own expense.

At Columbo de Souza obtained a *champana*^m and sailed with his party for Galla, where the inhabitants on seeing them got scared and fled. But his men managed to seize some of them, including some women and, doubtless, after their fears had been allayed, the inhabitants proved helpful for he was able to borrow a new *parao*ⁿ of large dimensions and to purchase a *fusta*^o for 70 *pardaos* as well. The two boats were loaded for 20 days at his expense and under his personal supervision with food, *calazes*^p and all the paraphanelia necessary for the long voyage to Triquinamalle. Some Sinhala sailors were engaged and he consented to some local Christian volunteers, whom he had met on an earlier visit to the Island, joining him, much to the surprise of friar Antonio, who considered Portuguese personnel an essential requirement of the hill-country monarch's request for help.

The letters despatched by de Souza and friar Antonio from Columbo had reached the court of Sengadagala on the 17th of March and Pereira on royal instructions promptly replied to Galla, stating that peace had been made on terms giving 25,000 *pardaos* to Mayadunne, who in addition demanded Vikrama Bahu's daughter in marriage and his crown as well. According to friar Antonio, news that Vikrama Bahu had sued for peace by giving 20,000 *pardaos* reached them when they were at *Mourão* and in addition they had heard that he was expected to hand over his daughter before the end of the Sinhala year, in March or before the end of *April*.^q This would indicate that the peace was concluded in February, which seems most unlikely, as when news of Vikrama Bahu's secret baptism reached the city of *Kōttē* on the 14th of March no mention was made of it. The peace was most probably made in March after the secret baptism on the 9th and shortly before the 17th, when news of the arrival of de Souza's party at Columbo reached Sengadagala. Friar *Symão*'s version stands the test of examination, for even Pereira in giving an account¹⁸ to the governor of the salient happenings from November 1545 to the end of May 1546 makes no mention of the peace having been concluded before the baptism. Besides in view of his subsequent behaviour it is most unlikely that Vikrama Bahu would have consented to his baptism after he had concluded peace. It is equally possible that if news of the conclusion of peace had reached de Souza at *Mourão* that he would not have proceeded to Cande as he was having problems on his hands with his own men and one of the chief objectives of his mission, namely, to help Vikrama Bahu to stave off a defeat would have ceased to exist and

18. Letter of 29-5-46, P. & F.

with it hopes of converting the royal family would have seemed very dim. If de Souza did proceed after receiving news of the peace at Galla, it must be borne in mind that it was on Vikrama Bahu's express invitation, which held out hopes of a successful mission. Even if peace had been concluded in February it is well nigh improbable that it would have reached de Souza's party at *Mourão*, because Miguel Ferreira in informing¹⁹ the governor that Ayres de Figereido informed him that friar Antonio was highly irritated to hear that some friars were on their way to Sengadagala did not mention it. It would appear more likely that the peace was concluded in March after the baptism because even governor de Castro informed²⁰ his sovereign that Vikrama Bahu had embraced Christianity out of sheer necessity in order to obtain help against his oppressor Mayadunne, and friar Antonio more or less reiterated²¹ the same version to the governor and to the bishop of Goa. It is most likely that the long and arduous journey to Sengadagala had played tricks with the memory of the old friar as indeed his version of other incidents in his letters reveal.

At Galla de Souza's party were also informed of Vikrama Bahu's secret baptism under the Portuguese name of Dom Manoell by a friar, who had been invited from the city of *Kōttē* and that it was being kept a secret until their arrival through fear that attempts to assassinate him might be made by his subjects. They were entreated to hasten to Triquinamalle, where arrangements had been made to conduct them to Sengadagala. Accordingly the expeditionaries embarked and sailed for their port of disembarkation, but were able to get only as far as Yala, 15 leagues away. The *fusta* was not happy with its 80 passengers and de Souza obviously not wanting to risk sailing any further broke journey, beached the *parao* at a lonely spot and despatched the *fusta* to Triquinamalle with the baggage in charge of a compatriot as it was too large to be *beached*^r at Yala.

19. Letter of 28-3-46, P. & F.

20. Letter of 16-12-46, Vol. 2, Sch.

21. Letters of 7-6-46, & 25-11-46, P. & F.

- a. *Vide* document 4, P. & F.
- b. De Caminha was the treasurer of Goa in 1542 and came to India in 1500 and according to Correa was considered one of the noblest settlers in Goa in 1543.
- c. The term is derived from the Arabic quintar and approximates to 100 pounds or 112 pounds or 100 kilograms.
- d. *Capitão* mor or commander in chief of the army.
- e. A reward from a king, usually a privilege granted for good services rendered.
- f. A narrow sailing boat, quite light and speedy. The Portuguese also took to building these craft.
- g. It is most likely that de Souza's relatives set out with him from Goa and did not join him at Cochim as mention is only made of his meeting friar Antonio there.

- h. The fusta was a light boat of Moorish or Asiatic origin and was also built by the Portuguese. It was rigged with lateen sails.
- i. A silver coin of changing value. It was originally an Indian gold coin about 360 reis in value. According to the Hobson-Jobson the term was derived from the Sanskrit *pratapa*, meaning majesty, splendour, etc. There was also the silver *pardao* worth about 5 tangas or 300 reis.
- j. According to Queyroz it was a league south of Mannar (*vide* page 2). Father Schurhammer says it is probably Murungan, but does not say whether he is referring to a place in Ceylon or India. There is no such place in modern Ceylon, except of course for Murunkan near the Giant's tank, which could not possibly be the place as it is inland. Friar Antonio says that as soon as they reached *Mourão* they asked what the news in the Island was and this would indicate that it was most probably located in Ceylon. Despite Queyroz I like to think that it was modern Marichchukaddi centre of the Pearl Fishery in recent times, 30 miles south of Mannar.
- k. Either friar Pascoal or friar *Gonçalo*.
- l. The Portuguese text mentions merely 20,000 and I have inserted *pardaos* as it was most probably what was intended by friar Antonio.
- m. The name is probably derived from the Chinese word *sampan*, which refers to boats. It was used by the Moorish traders on the west coast of India during the Portuguese period, and could carry about 20 or 25 aboard.
- n. A boat of Asiatic origin, today a popular river boat for carrying goods in Ceylon.
- o. According to friar Antonio, de Souza borrowed a *champana* at Galle.
- p. Most probably some preparation of pork.
- q. Knox says (at page 129) that the month of March was the new year's tide of the Kandyan Sinhalese, while Ribeiro (at page 44) says the Sinhalese *Auruda* (meaning year in Sinhala) began with the new moon in March.
- r. De Souza speaks of having two fustas at Yala, probably a mistake on his part. De Souza says in his letter of the 27th May 1546 (*vide* P & F page 134) that the fusta was sent with his baggage "on the way to Choromandell" but Pereira says (*vide* P & F page 138) that de Souza told him that the fusta was sent to Trincomalee with a Portuguese, Miguel Fernandez, who was at Trincomalee with a band of 20 compatriots says (*vide* P & F page 154) that the fusta arrived with a man in charge of the baggage. Friar Antonio says the baggage was despatched in the fusta to Trincomalee. Most probably de Souza wrote loosely meaning that the fusta was sent to Trincomalee but took the route that would be taken from the Eastern Coast of Ceylon to the Choromandel Coast — most probably to Negapatão owing to the unfavourable conditions that prevailed at Trincomalee the baggage was not unloaded; even Fernandez is silent on this point indicating that in fact the baggage was not unloaded. De Souza by the time he wrote the letter on the 27th May 1546 being aware of conditions at Trincomalee must have expected the fusta to proceed to the Choromandel Coast though in fact he had earlier informed Pereira that the baggage had been despatched to Trincomalee.

The Prince Dom João says so to the Portuguese sovereign (in Sch:document 40) while Andre de Souza informs his sovereign (in Sch: document 39) that the governor's intention was to put both Dom João and his cousin Dom Luis in possession of the port and Yugo's domains.

CHAPTER 5

Meanwhile on the 24th of March the Franciscan chief returned from Sitāvaka to the city of *Kōttē*, after having obtained the release of friar Francisco's companion and lost no time in announcing Vikrama Bahu's conversion with as much pomp and ceremony as conditions obtaining in the country would permit. According to Miguel Fernandez, an influential Portuguese resident of Columbo,^a the news from Sengadagala was a crushing blow to the kings of *Kōttē* and Sitāvaka. Quite apart from spelling defeat to Bhuvanaka Bahu's attempts to stop Vikrama Bahu's conversion, it also meant that an actual alliance with possible military support from the Portuguese was in the offing. To the Franciscan fraternity^b the news was a full scale triumph, as Vikrama Bahu was the biggest catch to fall into their net. In their enthusiasm they took his sincerity for granted and lost sight of the possible shallowness of his conversion. Finding opposition from his own subjects and influential foreign elements in his kingdom messages were sent, obviously by Pereira, to the lowlands, presumably to the Portuguese officials like the factor and guarda-mór and the ouvidor and the Franciscan head asking that help be sent to him via Triquinamalle¹. The Franciscan head responded promptly and proceeded by stirring sermons and eloquent appeals to whip up enthusiasm, both for him and the Christian cause among the Portuguese residents in the kingdom of *Kōttē*, to whom, like their fellow-compatriots elsewhere, no cause was greater or served as a better excuse for their actions than the glory of God and their king.

Answering the friar's challenge was Miguel Fernandez, who leaving his wife, children and property neglected, as he put it in a letter² to the governor, decided to help in a cause, which would, as he thought, pave the way for the conversion of the whole Island. Fernandez gathered 20 compatriots, whom he equipped for an expedition to Sengadagala. A fellow Portuguese national called Antonio Gonçalves supplied his fusta for the first lap of the journey to Galla, where they expected to join de Souza's party. Strangely enough, Fernandez had decided on this course of action after a discussion with Antonio. Ferreira, the guarda-mór, whom Pereira like de Souza considered an obstacle to the progress of their plans. Pereira actually informed³ the governor that Fernandez and his party were impeded by Ferreira. Inclement winds prevented Fernandez' party from sailing to Galla and they returned to Columbo, sending a message to de Souza that they would proceed to Triquinamalle, sailing via

1. Letter of 10-6-46, P & F.

2. Same letter as above.

3. Letter of 29-5-46, P. & F.

Baixos de Chilam, and wait for him. Despite Ferreira's obstructive tactics they managed to reach their destination and remained there for 17 days. At this juncture de Souza's fusta, which had been despatched from Yala, made its appearance and the Portuguese on board informed them that his companions had proceeded on foot to Sengadagala from Yala 50 leagues away. Thereafter Fernandez sent four messengers to Vikrama Bahu and de Souza, hoping to get a reply from either of them. None of the messengers returned, which fact he attributed to the blockade of the road and the port of Triquinamalle by the lord of the port with the assistance of Mayadunne and Bhuvanaka Bahu. Pereira's servant, the mestizo, who had accompanied the party from Columbo was, most probably, one of the messengers, as by the end of May 1546 he was back at Sengadagala.

Meanwhile Pereira had received news of the departure of de Souza's party from Galla and had left for Triquinamalle on royal orders. He was accompanied by a large number of people, including soldiers and over 500 baggage-carriers, as a contingent of about 150 Portuguese were rumoured to be on their way. The mudaliyar⁴ accompanying him stopped in the Tapare district, within the kingdom of Cande with the majority of the men, while he proceeded to Triquinamalle about 12 leagues away with 500 baggage-carriers and 200 soldiers. When he and his party were about a distance of three leagues from their destination he received a barrage of threatening messages from the local inhabitants to the effect that they were coming to fight. It was so nerve-racking in its intensity that pandemonium reigned supreme in his camp and on Good Friday, the 23rd of April, he was left with only four loyal servants, who were anxious to beat a hasty retreat, as four leagues had to be traversed before inhabited Candeota territory was reached. He was thus prevented from contacting Miguel Fernandez's band of volunteers. He was, of course, at the time not aware of their real identity, but later in assessing the situation in a letter to the governor, he, unlike Fernandez, attributed the audacious and obstructive behaviour of the local inhabitants to the paucity of Fernandez's party. These experiences were not new to him, as the reader will remember that in 1543 when he was on his way to meet Miguel Ferreira at Triquinamalle he met with a similar reception from a local brigand. Meanwhile, he had received a message from Vikrama Bahu and letters from friar Francisco informing him of the arrival of de Souza's party at Sengadagala and he hastened back and joined the mudaliyar and his party, with whom it had been impossible to communicate owing to the hostile guards in the area.

4. Capitão in the Portuguese text, vide chapter 2, note g.

- a. Pereira in his letter of 29-5-46 refers to Fernandez as a resident of Cota, but according to document 100 of volume 2 Schurhammer and document 50 of Peiris and Fitzler he was a resident of Colombo. Of course the term Cota could have been used in the wider sense of the kingdom of Cota, just as in document 100 mentioned above Ceilam is used meaning Colombo.
- b. According to written information dated 17-11-46 (vide P & F) given by Bhuvanaka Bahu to Francisco d'Ayora, captain of the Portuguese sovereign's carreira, to be conveyed to the governor in Goa in connection with the services rendered to Christianity by him, he had as soon as the first Franciscans landed in Ceylon set apart 200 pardaos a year for their expenses, the whole or part of which he had ordered to be given to a Portuguese national to be spent on them as they had refused to accept the money from him. He had in addition later made an annual grant of 50 pardaos for their churches in the Island during his lifetime and that of his grandson Dharmapala. During the factorship of Duarte Teixeira he had made a further grant of 10 bahars of cinnamon, and out of the sale proceeds of 10 bahars of cinnamon given as a further grant to their churches Antonio Pesoa had got a silver chalice and an incensory made. According to the brahmin ambassador (in his letter of 28-1-51 to the queen of Portugal) Bhuvanaka Bahu had permitted the erection in the centre of his capital of "two important churches, where up till now no insult was ever offered to them, but instead great honour and respect, as it is right should be the case".

CHAPTER 6

Andre de Souza's journey to Sengadagala was no mean achievement, considering that he had single-handedly to meet the cost of the whole expedition, except for the provisions supplied at Cochin on the orders of the governor. He had also to collect the personnel and equip them with arms and ammunition. Besides, qualities of leadership, such as tact and firmness, were called for on such a long and arduous journey, more so as his men were drawn from varied strata of Portuguese and Sinhala society. Most probably his sailor-personnel as far as the shores of Columbo were Indians as his compatriots were all fighting men. According to him his relatives and friends tried to dissuade him from undertaking the journey, while the people he met at the various ports tried to frighten him about the perilous nature of the expedition. In addition he had to handle a mutiny, which accounted for the defection of as many men as he took to Sengadagala. Moreover, it would appear that there was little or no love lost between him and friar Antonio, whose word as a man of God would, undoubtedly, have carried some weight when dissatisfaction broke out among the men. He could therefore, perhaps, only rely on his two relatives in time of trouble. The hardships of the long trudge from Yala are best described in his own words: "we alone with our arms by our sides and with a small stock of food, began our march, and after thirteen days on the road, reached the cidade of Cande. On the way we suffered much hunger and much more thirst; for two days we lived on the fruits of the forest and at two other places we met the troops of Madune Pandar, who had come to stop us on the road. They did not trouble to fight with us, as we were coming well secured because I was bringing with me some Christians of *Ceilão* and we were a large body of people. In this fashion it pleased the Lord God that we should all get through in safety without any falling ill or dying up till now". Of the same journey friar Antonio Padram had to say,² "we took the road on the chance that we would find it shorter and less difficult. We walked forty leagues through mountains and forests, so rugged that I had not seen the like of them before nor do I expect again".

The expeditionaries and the two friars trudged through a good part of Mayadunne's territory but did not meet with any opposition and though it was rumoured that a large number of his men had massed at a pass they did not encounter any at it. As soon as Vikrama Bahu heard that the Portuguese had entered his kingdom, he saw to it that they were welcomed with traditional hospitality. Food

and transport in the shape of elephants and palanquins were provided and they were escorted to within two leagues of the royal palace. They were received here by the chief officials and courtiers of the palace. De Souza now, much to the annoyance of friar Antonio, made it clear to everyone that he was the leader of the party. Shortly after this, the Portuguese visitors proceeded to the royal city of Sengadagala, which they entered on Maunday Thursday, the 22nd of April.^a On Vikrama Bahu's express orders one of the principal temples in the city was given to be converted into a church and it was probably this one which came to be called by the Portuguese "the Church of Our Lady of Conception".^b The time being inauspicious, according to local astrological beliefs, an audience with the king was not granted for five days, but they were lodged and entertained at royal expense: servants, both men and women, being supplied to serve and wait on them. Left to themselves the friars and their countrymen and their low-country Sinhala Christian brethren organized themselves and on Easter morning, the 25th April, the first mass ever in the kingdom was celebrated with a solemn procession and a sermon. One can well imagine what a disturbing effect these strange white men and their ceremonies must have had on the local population.

The first royal audience to be granted to the leaders of the expeditionary force and friar Antonio took place in accordance with custom at night.^c Friar Antonio has left an account of this audience, which took place at about 2 a.m. in the morning, about five days after their arrival.³ "We went to visit him and offered our services as Your Lordship directed. Andre de Souza began the conversation by saying that he had brought his kinsmen, *fidalgos*,^d highly honoured men. We went to the palace with the King who remained very satisfied and cheerful. There he gave him a sword. He began at once to ask for money so vigorously that the King saw that he would not go. Nor was what he said in accordance with his speech. He agreed to give three thousand pardaos, which he had offered to whomever should open the port of Triquinimalle for him". On the matter of Vikrama Bahu's gift to him, de Souza says, however, that he received a gift of a *collar*.^e Meanwhile Pereira and party returned to Sengadagala on Friday the 30th of April to find the Portuguese visitors well entertained and awaiting his arrival. On the day following Pereira's arrival friar Antonio and de Souza had their second royal audience, which evidently he had been instrumental in arranging for them. The governor's letter⁴ to Vikrama Bahu was now shown by friar Antonio for the first time and was read out by Pereira. At this same audience, Pereira would have the governor believe that he informed Vikrama Bahu that as "we", meaning, no doubt, Andre de Souza, friar Antonio and

1. Letter of 27-5-46, P & F.

2. Letter of 7-6-46, P & F.

3. Letter of 7-6-46 to the governor, P & F.

4. Letter of 29-5-46, P & F.

himself, had arranged for five mudaliyars to receive the waters of holy baptism that he should arrange the same for the queen and the wives of the mudaliyars. Vikrama Bahu is then supposed to have expressed the wish to postpone the baptism of the crown prince and the princess and the rest of the royal household until the governor or his son Dom Alvaro arrived in person.

Friar Antonio, on the other hand, asserts in his letter⁵ to the governor that it was the king, who ordered the baptism of the mudaliyars against their wishes, it being a clever ruse of his to forestall them from stirring a revolt against him, as they were the five leading chieftains of the realm. Andre de Souza, however, informed⁶ the governor that soon after his arrival at Sengadagala, Vikrama Bahu announced his conversion and his subjects began to be rebellious and that "He, as a Prince and a shrewd man, dissimulated and assured his people that he was not a Christian and did not intend to be one, but that he said he was in order to deceive the Portuguese, so as to take his revenge on Madure. With this he tried to soothe and pacify the country and the Padre". The old friar, was, however, not satisfied with Vikrama Bahu's double-dealing and went with Pereira to talk it over with him. De Souza says that he did not know what transpired at the audience, but that both Pereira and friar Antonio came away displeased and asked him to ask for Vikrama Bahu's permission for the expeditionaries to leave or else that he (Vikrama Bahu) should fulfil the promise he had made to the governor. Accordingly de Souza went before the assembled Portuguese to speak to Vikrama Bahu, who explained "what was happening in the country and the reason why he acted thus: if the Padre and the Portuguese wished to leave, he was prepared to speak before them since he was a Christian. The Portuguese were waiting anxious to leave dissatisfied and half mutinous at what the Padre told them," continuing de Souza says "I appeased them as best I could, so that neither the King nor the people of the country should know of it. I begged the King to be pleased to make them a present in payment of their labour. He very gladly did so of his free will. To each he presented fifty pardaos, and four pardaos a month as *soldo*,⁷ with mantimentos, and rice in abundance for their households; and in this manner all remained satisfied". The rank and file of his men being so placated, de Souza says that he asked Vikrama Bahu for some satisfaction by arranging for the baptism of the crown prince and his sister. The royal reply was to beg that these two be made Christians by the governor personally and to order the baptism of the five mudaliyars.

The truth relating to the events leading up to the baptism of the five mudaliyars lies, perhaps, between Pereira's and friar Antonio's version, while de Souza's seems most exaggerated. It is most un-

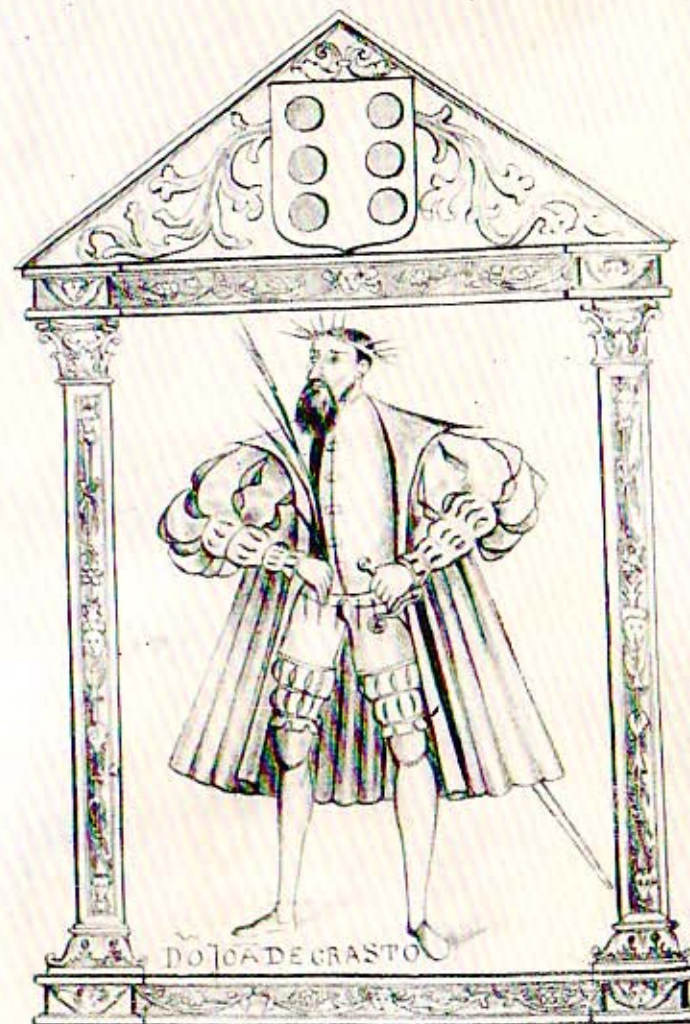


PLATE III

5. Letter of 7-6-46, P. & F.

6. Letter of 27-5-46, P. & F.

likely that in view of their mutual antipathy that the friar would have asked de Souza to threaten Vikrama Bahu and that Pereira would have openly joined them into forcing Vikrama Bahu's hands. Moreover it was barely two weeks since the Portuguese had arrived and Pereira had also just returned from Triquinamalle, so that it was most improbable that impatience would have overcome them so soon. Moreover, Pereira and friar *Symão* clearly indicate that the baptism did take place on the Sunday after Easter, that is a little more or less than 48 hours after Pereira's return to court. So, it is most unlikely that all the events mentioned by de Souza as being a prelude to the baptism of the mudaliyars did occur within so short a space of time. Besides the nobility were jealous of Pereira's influence over the king and were, as friar Antonio says,⁷ "anxious to see him outside the king's commands" and it is therefore most improbable that Pereira, and his compatriots, who to the majority of them must have been but corrupt foreigners bent on misleading their sovereign, would have wielded sufficient influence over the five mudaliyars so as to be able to arrange for their baptism. He and Vikrama Bahu must have discussed the matter much earlier, for, according to him,⁸ Canaca mudaliyar, who was one of the five mudaliyars was for nearly a year before his baptism addressed by Vikrama Bahu by his future christian name *Martim Affonso*. It is, of course possible that Pereira convinced Vikrama Bahu of the advantages to be derived from the baptism of his leading subjects. It is also equally possible that Vikrama Bahu to whom statecraft came naturally was in reality the author of this move.

Whatever the circumstances leading up to their baptism were, the five mudaliyars on the night of Low Sunday, the 2nd of May were baptised with Catholic names and Portuguese surnames following Portuguese practice overseas. The king's nephew mudaliyar Dara took the name of Dom *João* de Castro, mudaliyar Canaca that of *Martim Affonso*, as already mentioned, while the other three mudaliyars took the names of Pero Vaz, Nunoalvares and Andre de Souza.⁸ According to friar Antonio, the mudaliyars after their forced baptism ceased to fraternize with the Portuguese. Their baptism was, undoubtedly, political in complexion, for in de Souza's opinion it put Vikrama Bahu in a stronger position than if the prince and princess had been baptized, in which case, he says, the whole kingdom might have revolted. It would appear, according to Pereira, that there was opposition to the baptism of the mudaliyars from their own wives and kinsmen and that a riot was imminent, the situation being saved by the crown prince, who threatened to become a Christian unless the mudaliyars kept their word. In fact, according to friar *Symão* de Coimbra some others were also baptized with them and the

7. Letter of 7-6-46, P. & F.

8. Letter of 29-5-46, P. & F.

Portuguese were also desirous of baptizing their wives and the royal family as well, but rioting actually broke out. Information⁹ given by him to his sovereign indicates that the difficulties experienced were due to the administrative machinery being upset as the kingdom was half in revolt after the recent war and to the anti-Portuguese propaganda of the kings of *Kōttē* and *Sītāvaka* and the paucity of the expeditionaries, while Vikrama Bahu's railing against his Portuguese allies also contributed to the turmoil among his subjects. This seeming contradiction is best explained by the fact that he wanted to show his subjects that he did not like the Portuguese, but that he wanted to exploit them for his own purposes. This was most likely in view of de Souza's account of events leading up to the baptism of the mudaliyars. Like friar *Symão*, Pereira also believed that opposition to Vikrama Bahu was due to the paucity of the Portuguese expeditionaries and to the unrest following the recent war. He also indicated to the governor that the queen and the wives of the mudaliyars were awaiting the arrival of a larger force of auxiliaries in order to embrace Christianity. The general impression Vikrama Bahu had by now successfully given the Portuguese was that he was awaiting more reinforcements to permit the baptism of his subjects.

Vikrama Bahu now felt that it was high time to reimburse de Souza with a degree of finality. As already mentioned at the very first royal audience de Souza had broached this question and he had promised to pay 3,000 pardaos. He now proceeded to implement it, receiving full co-operation from Pereira and friar Antonio, while de Souza grumbled at every turn. De Souza, who had been expected by the governor to lead 50 men up to Sengadagala had, no doubt, hopes of recruiting another 12 to make up this number because on friar Antonio's directions the additional gold and monies given by Vikrama Bahu were to be distributed among 50 men at the rate of a *pam*^h of gold weighing 20 *calamjas* and 2,000 *fanams*¹⁰ of local currency for each man. Six hundred pardaos were given to de Souza, of which 400 was for him and a 100 each for his two kinsmen Pero Vaz Queto and Goumez Ferreira, who considering the payment too meagre expressed their dissatisfaction. However, the rank and file of the 36 lascarins,¹¹ who were consulted by friar Antonio considered the payments quite adequate. De Souza, who was thoroughly disgruntled, at first maintained that his expenditure amounted to 1,000

9. Letter of 25-12-46. P. & F.

10. The *panam*, vide chapter 1, note t.

11. Vide chapter 10, note c.

*cruzados*¹ and friar Antonio chided him for this excessive claim, drawing his attention to the fact that the full quota of 50 men had not come and that they had not even spent two months, for which period the governor had furnished the provisions. Pereira, however, says that de Souza claimed that his expenditure exceeded 700 pardaos, while de Souza informed the governor that he had presented Vikrama Bahu with gems worth 200 cruzados and expended 800 pardaos on the expedition and would not accept anything without his approval and that he was prepared to submit a detailed statement of expenses incurred by him. Friar Antonio assured Pereira that the treatment meted out to de Souza was more than ample as Vikrama Bahu had also promised an additional gift to him. De Souza, however, refused stubbornly to accept the payment without the governor's approval. In this stalemate situation a letter of the governor's was shown by friar Antonio to Vikrama Bahu, on whose orders it was read out to the expeditionaries, who got quite annoyed to find no mention of de Souza's leadership. This was apparently done to call off de Souza's bluff and undermine his influence over them. He was quite equal to the occasion, averring that his appointment as leader of the expedition was a matter of verbal agreement between him and the governor. The truth was; undoubtedly, on de Souza's side, the initial expenses for the expedition, as already mentioned, being from his privy purse and as will appear later the governor had sent instructions to friar Antonio at Cochim to hand over the leadership of the expedition to de Souza. Moreover, the spearhead of Portuguese expansion abroad being the aristocracy, the authorities often relied on the support of individual noblemen like de Souza.

The situation among the Portuguese did not improve and serious disputes divided their camp and caused Pereira a major headache, as he was at pains to prevent the king from getting wind of it. De Souza in order to counteract friar Antonio's attempts to discredit him was resourceful enough to form three *bandeiras*¹ and appoint a *meyrinho*.^k This had the psychological effect of giving a fillip to their flagging sense of patriotism and he became a hero and to quote the friar's own words¹² "some said that they would go wherever he went. The result was that the documents which your Lordship gave me of such honour, and the favours you conferred on me, for which the Lord repay you, since they were to help his holy religion, profited me but little here, and they wished to drive me, who am a friar, altogether out of the land".

On the 23rd of May 1546 the first mail to be received, since the arrival of the Portuguese, reached Sengadagala from the city of *Kōttē* with replies to letters sent earlier. Miguel de Carvalho, the factor informed de Souza, Pereira and friar Antonio that the immediate

12. Letter of 7-6-46, P. & F.

marriage of Vikrama Bahu's daughter to Bhuvanaka Bahu's grandson Dharmapala had been arranged. Over this de Souza pressed Pereira to influence Vikrama Bahu. Apparently this was a move on the factor's part to win over Bhuvanaka Bahu, who in his heart of hearts may have been uneasy about his unpredictable brother, who had besieged his capital several times in the past. It would appear that the factor had been spurred by the fact that transport for the entourage of the princess was readily available in the shape of horses brought by men who were on their way to Maç allepatam.¹³ The Franciscan head informed Pereira that despite displeasure in the past Bhuvanaka Bahu had many an audience with him and was in a conciliatory mood as never before, so much so that he (Bhuvanaka Bahu) was reluctant to allow him to return to Columbo. This would appear to be but a suave facade on the diplomatic front on the part of the monarch of Kōttē, so that he might carry on his anti-Portuguese propaganda. In fact he had sent an ola to Vikrama Bahu asking him whether it was true, as the Portuguese asserted, that he had become a Christian but that he (Bhuvanaka Bahu) would not believe that "Blood so wonderful as his and so related to the Sun" would disgrace himself and that he should not dishonour himself and make such a mistake and that he would become a pariah and that even if he informed him that it was true, he himself would not believe it; it being all a pretence because of the war with Mayadunne and his own failure to intervene and stop hostilities. He further advised him to act wisely without ruining himself and his country and to follow his own example, indicating that he had sent for friars from Portugal and promised to become a Christian in order to get what he wanted, but once they had arrived neither did he become one because he did not wish to disgrace himself nor had he been willing that his subjects should become Christians. He further advised Vikrama Bahu not to worry about the Portuguese for they were but brigands bent on pillage and plunder, so much so that he would not dare to wear a collar round his neck and asked him not to put any faith in them and recounted a number of foul acts perpetrated by them.¹

All this had the desired effect of shaking Vikrama Bahu's confidence not only in his own line of action, but also in the Portuguese and hampered the work of the Franciscan missionaries at Sengadagala as well. Nevertheless, on his orders Pereira wrote to the Franciscan chief that the governor would want him to persuade Bhuvanaka Bahu to join the Christian fold and also gave him hopes about the marriage of the princess and advised him as to what he should do till the arrival of the governor. This letter was written and despatched with the utmost secrecy owing to powerful opposition to Vikrama Bahu's policy from the nobility. According

to friar *Symão* it would appear that Mayadunne would have been more acceptable as king of Cande and that Vikrama Bahu, who could muster an army equal in numerical strength to the combined armies of Kōttē and Sītāvaka had been forced into the shameful peace-terms owing to the treachery of some of his own army officers, who had been bought over by Mayadunne and that he was biding his time to mete out punishment to them.

The presence of the small band of Portuguese had, however, put Vikrama Bahu into higher spirits and given him greater courage, as in replying to a message of the redoubtable Mayadunne he had had the audacity to demand the return of his money and the reimbursement of expenditure incurred by him, the former being, no doubt, what he had paid as part of the peace-terms and the latter being the monies expended on the war. As an alternative he requested symbolic payment in the form of a Portuguese style *cabuya*^m and a *barrete*.ⁿ Another and more tangible result of the presence of the Portuguese visitors was that Mayadunne was checked according to friar *Symão*, from having both Vikrama Bahu's crown and daughter.¹⁴ "And so his people" he wrote to his sovereign "were making him give his daughter and his crown, and in fact he would have given her if we did not come at the time we did. Because as soon as Madunc learnt we were with him, he sent word that he did not want her that year, because it was not a good year". Another result according to the same friar, was that Vikrama Bahu "confessed himself a Christian both in his kingdom and outside thereof". De Souza claimed the credit for this declaration as being due to his personal presence at Sengadagala and even went to the extent of informing¹⁵ the governor that that monarch's baptism was the direct result of an appeal written by him, while on board the boat bound for Ceylon, asking him to become a Christian as his men were afraid that once they were at Sengadagala he would go back on his word and prevent them from leaving, but that they would readily follow him if they knew that he was a Christian. The court of Sengadagala came to be looked upon as the place to which all desiring to be Christians should make their appeals. Ambassadors from the vanniates of Triquinamalle and Batecalou and appeals from the prince of the Sete Corilas had come for this purpose, while some influential kinsmen of the two deceased princely proteges of the Portuguese also indicated their desire to become Christians. The truth was that the neighbouring potentates considered the embracement of Christianity as the surest road to win the protection of the Portuguese. In fact long before they had arrived at Sengadagala, as the reader will remember, when news of Vikrama Bahu's attempts to cement an alliance with them had spread, there had been overtures from Triquinamalle and the Sete Corilas.

14. Letter of 25-12-46, P. & F.

15. Letter of 27-5-46, P. & F..

13. Modern Masulipātām a seaport 215 miles north of Madras City.

Towards the end of May 1546 Vikrama Bahu and his son inscribed olas¹⁶ for the governor. Vikrama Bahu stated that Pereira's letter represented his own wishes as he had authorized him to write on his behalf and that for that reason his ola was brief. He further mentioned that he had learnt much about the Portuguese and was desirous of having a factory established in his kingdom and of making an alliance with them and with this end in view had asked for a factor and friars and had even embraced Christianity as soon as a friar had arrived unlike the king of Kōttē, who having asked for friars, no sooner they arrived, not only refused to become a Christian but forgetting the assistance rendered in the past to him by the sovereign of Portugal was averse to his subjects embracing Christianity and persecuted and expropriated the property of those of them, who did so. He also said that his son and household would follow his example and become Christians as soon as the governor or his son arrived in Sengadagala. He praised Pereira, stating that if one Portuguese could have accomplished all this if he (the governor) came the whole Island would become Christian and ended the ola by entreating him to come or to send his son and to accept the word of the friar or that of his own servant who, he said, spoke on his behalf.

The ola of the crown prince reflected at once the vanity of youth and an awareness of his own integrity, which was the natural concomitant of his sincerity of purpose. He was not without ambition and his burning desire to be a Christian was equalled by as strong a desire to be placed on the throne of Jafanapatam. Falling in line with what would appear to be the custom of the period, when communications between countries were difficult and personal contact well nigh always involved hazardous journeys, the young prince lost no time in blowing his own trumpet by apprising the governor of his virtues and also of his potentialities in the political and religious chess-boards of the Island. He stated that his letters did not contain falsehoods as he was not like other kings and that he would not become a Christian by stealth like his father, but rather would embrace it openly and be a Sun to cover all his people and the whole Island. But as he was not able to include in an ola all that was in his heart, he said, he had authorized Pereira to write on his behalf. He further asked the governor to question the friar about his sincerity of purpose, and said that once he became a Christian he would be a Standard for everyone and people would be only too delighted to be Christians and that he would make a Sun of all his people. He entreated him for the sake of the love he bore God and Holy Maria to come and make him a Christian. The princes who had been at Goa were his cousins, Yugo's mother being his mother's sister and so the treatment they had received at his hands and what was intended for them, he said, he considered as done to himself and

16. Copies of olas are in friar Symão's letter of 25-12-46, P & F.

asked that he himself be looked after in the same fashion. He ended his ola with an exhortation to the governor to come and make him a Christian and save his soul and that of many others as well. The two royal olas were enclosed with Pereira's letter of the 29th of May, of which more will be said later.

On the crown prince asking Pereira to inform the governor that he would wish him to come to Sengadagala and¹⁷ "give him this immense honour", Pereira assured him that the governor "has reserved an immense honour for him" and that he would always meet with kindness at the hands of the Portuguese authorities and asked him and his father to make friar Antonio, who had decided to return to Goa, their spokesman, which they did, the queen, Santana Devi¹⁸ and her daughter following suit. At the same time the king resolved to send a trusted and esteemed courtier as ambassador to Goa to give the governor an oral account of the happenings in his kingdom and also request that either he or his son should come. As a precautionary measure, he also decided to send a trustworthy man, named Antonio Collaço with a *duplicate*⁹ of Pereira's letter along with the ambassador, so that if friar Antonio failed to get through with the letters, he could deliver the duplicate and give an eye-witness's account as well. Collaço, whom Pereira considered reliable was in any case to have accompanied the friar. Pereira's personal servant, the mestizo, who has figured so prominently, was also to be sent on Vikrama Bahu's orders, as he happened to be the godfather of the ruler of Triquinamalle and it was, perhaps, thought that his presence in the party might make matters easy for them there. It would appear that Miguel Fernandez and his band were expected to join them, if they were still at Triquinamalle.

It is certainly intriguing as to how the honour of being the godfather of royalty should have befallen Pereira's servant so easily. He was, probably, quite young and well-endowed by nature with more than the average powers of vigour and stamina, as is evident from his many journeys between Sengadagala and the city of Kōttē and considering that Vikrama Bahu permitted him to be his godfather he seems to have enjoyed his confidence and also to have been of respectable *parentage*⁹.

17. Letter of 29-5-46, P & F.

18. Portuguese: Antana Dio Pander, Queyroz, page 704.

a. While friars Antonio and Symão say that they entered the city on Maunday Thursday (vide P & F pages 148 & 176) de Souza says they reached the city on the 25th April (vide P & F p. 130) I have preferred the version of the two friars as Easter fell on the 25th April and friar Symão says that they celebrated Easter Sunday with a solemn mass and procession and this could not have been possible if they had arrived on that very day; besides it is safer to follow a more plausible version given by two people to that given by an individual.

- b. Queyros at page 258 says the church was built in 1547 in the Kandyan capital, which was called Palnugare.
- c. The Kandyan kings granted audiences to European ambassadors in the night. Vide Pybus page 79, Boyd page 213, Percival page 404 giving an account of general Hay Macdowall's mission to the last king of Kandy, for Macdowall's reference to it vide Ceylon Literary Register, volume II page 457
- d. A Portuguese nobleman, the word literally means son of a somebody.
- e. An ornamental necklace worn by men both orientals and occidentals, often studded with gems.
- f. According to friar *Symão* (in Peiris and Fitzler, page 177) each man was paid four pardaos a day as soldo (salary), but this must be an error because Schurhammer's text at page 422 of the Portuguese original has four pardaos every month.
- g. The first two names were those of the governors of Portuguese India, who figure in these pages, the third appears to be a part of the name of one of de Souza's relatives, while the fourth and fifth are the names of Pereira (cramped together though) and of de Souza respectively.
- h. A coin of varying value in gold and also of silver.
- i. This coin derives its name from the fact that it was introduced by king Affonso in view of the crusade proclaimed in 1453. In fact the term *cruzado* in Portuguese means crusader and crusade (meaning the coin). In 1510 the *cruzado* of Goa was worth 420 reis.
- j. A small unit.
- k. An official who maintains law and order.
- l. Pereira's version of the anti-Portuguese propaganda of Bhuvanaka Bahu corresponds with friar *Symão's* account (vide letter of 25.12.46, in P. & F.) so there can be no doubt as to whether Vikrama Bahu did in fact receive a letter from Bhuvanaka Bahu, which Pereira writes about in his letter of 29-5-46.
- m. A long coat worn by men even today in Ceylon and India, introduced by the Portuguese, though the term is derived from the Arabic *kabā* or vesture.
- n. A cap of European style. Does the ceremonial hat worn by Kandyan chieftains owe anything to the *barrete*?
- o. It would appear that the translation of Pereira's letter of 29-5-46 which appears in Peiris and Fitzler was made from the duplicate, the Portuguese text of which appears in volume I of Schurhammer document 64.
- p. He could not have been a menial. It is not clear as to when he acted as godfather of the ruler of Trincomallee. Boys of respectable parentage did take employment under men of importance and Pereira as the natural son of a count had a place in Portuguese society and was not unimportant as he had succeeded in making the governors at Goa interested in Vikrama Bahu.

CHAPTER 7

Friar Antonio intended to proceed to Goa via the overland route from Sam *Thomé*, much to Pereira's surprise, without an interpreter. His dissatisfaction with Vikrama Bahu, probably, made him silently predict a bleak future for Christianity in Cande because he did not consent to leaving friar Francisco behind. This friar's decision added to Pereira's discomfiture at having to handle the situation single-handed. Obviously de Souza was not very co-operative and Pereira probably considered the older man a potential rival to his position at court. Andre de Souza informed the governor that fear of the all pervading presence of Death among their miserable living conditions was the real motivating cause for the friar's decision:¹ "and not through zeal for the service of God; if that were his anxiety, he is at the time and place for the purpose. Here there is no bread nor wine but only plenty of work and very bad food to eat and worse to drink with risk of death; that is the reason. If he does go, before God and my conscience it will be against the wish of the king and all the rest of us". It is possible that though there was no love lost between the friar and de Souza that the latter was averse to the friar's departure as it might have affected the team work, which was so essential for the success of their mission or it may be that in writing to the governor de Souza wanted to counter any possible allegations that would be made by the friar. It was just as well that he did so, as the friar did, as already mentioned, complain to the governor that his countrymen were anxious to drive him away. It is quite possible that de Souza was not far wrong about the reasons for the friar's decision, for the friar himself, as already mentioned in the opening pages, had given the governor a very unfavourable report of the conditions under which he had to live and work.

It would appear according to de Souza that after he wrote his first letter to the governor on the 27th of May events took a turn which nearly forced him and his compatriots to give their blessings to friar Antonio's decision to leave Sengadagala to the extent of even supporting him openly. And it would appear that one day, sometime after the 29th of May^a and before the 7th of June, the irascible old friar had gone to the palace and in front of the assembly of courtiers had handed over his papers, evidently as a token of his resignation from the mission. The leaders of the expeditionary force also followed his example and handed over their papers. Vikrama Bahu shrewdly handed over all the papers to de Souza's custody, deciding that the friar should not go without the governor's sanction. The Portuguese surprisingly approved this move on the part of the

1. Letter of 27-5-46, P. & F.

king on the ground that the governor had sent instructions to the old friar at Cochim to hand over the leadership of the mission to Andre de Souza. Although at first Vikrama Bahu, as mentioned earlier, had acquiesced in the friar's decision to leave Sengadagala to the extent of commissioning him to be his spokesman at Goa and the Portuguese had now as mentioned above supported the friars' resignation, the change of attitude of that monarch and his visitors may have been that they were timorous of the possibility of an adverse report being made by the friar to the governor. The attempted resignation of the Portuguese may have even been but make-believe enacted with Vikrama Bahu's and Pereira's knowledge in order to pacify the old friar for de Souza informed the governor in his second letter from Sengadagala that they could not get into his head that Vikrama Bahu would not openly practise Christianity until the governor came or sent reinforcements. Even if the scene at the palace had been partly staged de Souza, of course, could not be expected to mention this to the governor.

It was thus finally settled by Vikrama Bahu that friar *Symão* de Coimbra should go to Goa with the letters and olas, which friar Antonio was to have taken. Friar Antonio on the other hand² informed^b the governor of the hostility of his compatriots and of their desire to drive him from Sengadagala and that Vikrama Bahu stepped into the picture and took him under his wing and gave him a house and asked him to look after the royal interests and that he remained in the mountain capital, to quote his own words, "admonishing and chiding the Portuguese, warning them as is my custom not to set an evil example in a new country, to wit, that they should not go by night to the city nor show so much thirst for money, a matter at which the king is scandalized".

Meanwhile the governor had been expecting a report from de Souza and the old friar and both of them wrote to him, the former towards the end of May and the latter in the first week of June about their salient experiences since leaving the shores of India. De Souza opened his letter in a boastful fashion, characteristic of himself, asking for a reward for services rendered:³ "I shall give your Lordship an account of this country although Padre Antonio is going there; as I think I have a great advantage over him in my knowledge thereof and this was the reason which moved me to come here in the manner I did without assistance from Your Lordship, and though I was seriously advised by my relations and friends not to do so; the desire I had of serving God and the King our Lord and Your Lordship by showing in deeds what I am, urged me to undertake this task which is held in such little honour by the men of today. I hope in the kindness of the Lord God that, since I am employed in his service and the work

is his, he will move the goodwill of the King our Lord and of Your Lordship, to give me a *mercê*". Of Vikrama Bahu, he said "on my conscience, my honest belief—that the King is a Christian and is anxious to make his children and all his household and the kingdom, Christians; and this must perforce happen if Your Lordship comes or sends someone. Necessity, profit, revenge putting aside the spiritual works of the Lord God—these or each one of them, is now moving him to be a Christian. He is in Your Lordship's hand, be pleased to carry out the task". He wanted the governor to come by September as originally intended, as he felt the situation was deteriorating and becoming hopeless for both Vikrama Bahu and the Portuguese. "If you do not come in the summer" he said "we shall be undone, and he⁴ too. I submit this to you truthfully as I understand and see it; I leave the matter in your Lordship's conscience; for you sent us here to write to you the truth: because so important is your coming for this Island and the Christians therein, that beyond doubt all will be Christians. For the King of Batecalou and of Triquanamalle have ambassadors here, who wished to be Christians. We are not attending to that matter as we are few. Similarly there is another lord whose territory adjoins *Jafanapatão*, and whose seignory extends over twenty or thirty leagues.⁵ Also there are other Lords, kinsmen of the Princes who died there".

He also informed the governor that the kings of Kōttē and Sītāvaka were greatly worried about his intended visit to Cande. About Vikrama Bahu's desire to place his son on the throne of Jafanapatam, he made a non-committal reference: "*Jafanapatão* has done us great wrong; this King is asking your Lordship to place his son there. These works so marvellous has the Lord God begun in your Lordship's time. May he be pleased in his boundless mercy to inspire you to decide what is most to his sacred service". He also stated that if he had brought the men, who had mutinied, the governor's proposed expedition could have been dispensed with. Of friar Antonio, he was far from complimentary, as already mentioned in these pages, apprising the governor of his reluctance to join in the expedition and of the reasons motivating his decision to leave Sengadagala. Of Pereira, he was strangely very silent.

It is difficult to assess the honesty of de Souza's summing up of the situation. At all events it was not possible for him to admit the failure of the expedition. One cannot help but wonder whether his personal enthusiasm and belief in the cause he was espousing had not both deliberately and unconsciously made him exaggerate the chances of Christianity spreading just as the followers of certain creeds both religious and political are prone to today! In all

2. Letter of 7-6-46, P & F.

3. Letter of 27-5-46, P & F.

4. Vikrama Bahu

5. The prince of the Sete Corllas.

fairness to him it must be borne in mind that the crown prince, Pereira, Velho, friars *João* and *Symão* shared his view. This was chiefly due to the fact that in those distant times, particularly in the Orient, in the absence of popular or democratic movements, the man in the street looked up to his ruler and the nobility for leadership, so that the chances of Christianity flourishing once Vikrama Bahu had steadfastly embraced it with Portuguese support must have looked quite propitious. That both the sovereign of Portugal and the Franciscan missionaries believed this to be a factor governing Sinhala society is evident from ambassador Barbudo's instructions to ask Bhuvanaka Bahu to enter the Christian fold.

Like de Souza, friar Antonio had gauged the political complexion of Vikrama Bahu's interest in Christianity but unlike him condemned his insincerity, writing⁶ to the governor as follows: "We found the King become a Christian and no one else, by night and in an undignified manner, at the importunity of Nuna Alvarez who told him that he had no other means of safety against Madune, unless he became a Christian, when he would at once obtain Portuguese. They sent to Cota for a frade, Frey *Franciscano*,⁶ an Italian, a good padre, who baptized him thus. As he became a Christian by night so he remains in the darkness of night, with all his customs, without receiving or wishing for our teaching. He does not know to make the sign of the Cross nor is he willing that any member of his household should be made a Christian The King gives this reason, that he is waiting, and when the governor or his son comes, he will make everyone Christian as he would have the power to defend himself. He wishes for three things from us, namely, honour, the safety of his kingdom, and vengeance on his enemies. None of these can he achieve without your Lordship or greater assistance from you. As to his religion and salvation of his soul, there is nothing at present till he sees the matters which he desires. He is now old, old as a heathen".

The crown prince, however, unlike his father had registered a very favourable impression on the old friar. Of him, he wrote⁷ thus, "The Prince his son is of the age of the one who died there, but he is strongly built, skilled in arms, a man of few words, and intelligent. He says he is not going to be a Christian by stealth; that when your Lordship comes or sends for him to this Island, he must go and meet you and entrust himself to you. At present he wishes to learn; of him we can take account though he is still a new plant. The people are well disposed towards him but dislike his father, who affords reason for that; your Lordship must see of what weight this is; and also provide for the honour of God and our holy religion". He did not hesitate to espouse his candidature

6. Letter of 7-6-46, P. & F.

7. Letter of 7-3-43, P. & F.

for the throne of Jafanapatam, "My poor judgment and opinion is this, that if your Lordship is able to come now to Jafanapatam, you should come and place this Prince there; and from there return to Goa". He advised the governor to be in touch with Vikrama Bahu who, he said, was prepared to meet him at any port he wished. Continuing, he said of that monarch "Your Lordship sees this Island is entirely stirred, and when he realises your power he will be on your side and keep the country quiet. If you or your son Dom Alvaro do not come everything will be discredited, and we shall turn back from the work we have begun. The last resort is a Captain such as Dom Jorge de *Castro*⁸ with a force of 300 men or more".

It cannot help but strike one that the old friar's summing up of the situation, even if devoid of the fanatical zeal of a missionary, seemed full of realism. Though Vikrama Bahu was undoubtedly unpopular with him, he and Pereira had probably persuaded him to their point of view in the matter of placing the crown prince in Jafanapatam. The friar may have been also convinced by the prince himself of the immense potentialities in the field of evangelism if he was installed as a Christian monarch there. Friar Antonio's relations with Pereira appear to have been not uncordial, for, of him he wrote⁸ "When your Lordship comes or sends someone, I shall say who is Nuno Alvarez and what he deserves, as he is the chief and because of the toil and disappointments he suffers over the Portuguese. Also they are anxious to see him outside the King's commands".

Pereira also wrote⁹ to the governor informing him of the developments since the arrival of the Portuguese, apparently leaving special pleading for his personal intervention in Sengadagala to the others, for, he only touched briefly on this point in his letter of the 29th of May "There are various matters which it is necessary to report to your Lordship, for they refer to the Christianity and there is a strong movement in this Island for the people to adopt it. As I do not know how to sum these up in a few words, I omit them, reminding your Lordship with reference to the said matters, of the necessity of your coming".

By about early June the optimism and enthusiasm with which de Souza had undertaken the expedition had given way to pessimism and despondency, as evidenced in his second letter¹⁰ to the governor. He openly admitted his inability to control his countrymen: "They are going about here quite out of control and utterly reckless. It is not sufficient to know how to govern them; there is need of the greater powers of your Lordship for that purpose, and he who has

8. Letter of 7-6-46, P. & F.

9. Letter of 29-5-46, P. & F.

10. Letter of 10-6-46, P. & F.

to govern them must have those powers. I do not venture to govern them and so evil a land as this. The greatest favour which I can obtain is permission to leave the country". He intimated that he was prepared to wait till September for a reply and if the governor or someone did not arrive to take charge of his band of compatriots he would hand them over to Vikrama Bahu and go away. "This is not such a country or King or Portuguese that any but men without soul or conscience should be sent here", he wrote and also made it clear that he did not get on well with friar Antonio: "I am not writing to your Lordship to complain of Frey Antonio, since it is enough to know his condition. He is old and narrow minded. The king does not get on well with him owing to his condition." Unlike in his first report to the governor he did not mince words in criticizing Vikrama Bahu, of whom he said "Other matters I omit till when your Lordship comes, but, on God and my conscience, the King is much worse; nothing else is happening in the country".

He adverted to the scene friar Antonio created in the palace and to his own financial position and mounting debts, asserting that he had not accepted any payment from Vikrama Bahu, but that he was quite pleased to have spent his money in the service of God and his King and that avarice had not brought him to Cande. He, however, asked the governor for a reward, "I beg your Lordship" that you give me the *mercê* of entrusting to me a voyage to Bengala¹¹ in a ship of *cayro* or in a fusta and from there to Ormuz, to help me to reduce my debts. Because it is now two years since the Princes, whom God keep, came. With this voyage, I exceed 2,000 cruzados of debt. Let your Lordship remember my services, that for these twenty-three years I am going about these parts without any *mercê* being rendered to me".

He ended the letter with the news of the impending combined attack by the kings of *Kōttē* and *Sitāvaka* and assured the governor that although they were running short of gun powder he and his band of fellow-nationals would do their duty "as loyal Portuguese and true Christians". However, unlike in his first letter, where he stated that friar Antonio was leaving through fear of the living conditions in the capital, he stated that he was leaving "owing to his dissatisfaction with the country and with the King; for he found that he was already a Christian but does not observe his Christianity".

Meanwhile Miguel Fernandez and his comrades had held on at Triquinamalle for about 50 days^f when the people of the area, who had organized a boycott of the sale of goods to them, decided to resort to violence. More than 500 hostile men armed with swords and daggers sallied forth against them, but the small band of Portuguese held out valiantly and as Fernandez says "we were saved by

11. Bengal

a miracle for the struggle was such that a frade¹² who was going with me had to come to the rescue, and it fell to his share to kill three. And because three men had wounded me and food was running short, and for many days I waited there at this port without receiving any message, nor did I expect any as circumstances were against us, I set sail and made my way to Neguapatam". Here, Fernandez explained to *Christão d'Ourrea*, the captain of the port, the plight of Vikrama Bahu and of the Portuguese party in Sengadagala, from whom he had no message at all and appealed to him as a fellow-Christian to muster some men, stating that with a force of less than 300 men he could return to Triquinamalle and force his way to Cande to help Vikrama Bahu. He also informed him that as the governor could not possibly at that juncture send help, he was even prepared to go home and bring 800 pardaos to finance the expeditionary force and fleet. The captain, who was apparently lacking in both initiative and enthusiasm, refused to act without gubernatorial instructions. So Fernandez abandoned the whole matter and satisfied himself by sending a report¹³ to the governor from Negapatão and returned to Ceylon. Actually, by about the end of May 1546, both Vikrama Bahu and Pereira were aware of the presence of Fernandez's band at Triquinamalle for a passing reference to them was made in Pereira's letter to the governor as follows:¹⁴ "the men who came to Trycanamale are fighting, and we have no message from them if they are living or had left as they had no port or road open". Doubtless, the dissensions among de Souza's men did not give Pereira a free hand and a settled state of mind to arrange for any relief to be sent to them.

Meanwhile matters had not improved in Sengadagala. The dissatisfaction and restiveness among the Portuguese continued and Vikrama Bahu and Pereira were anxiously waiting for news and help from Goa. Friar *Symão de Coimbra*, who was going in place of friar Antonio to Goa started sometime in the second week of June. According to the friar, he had to undertake the journey because it was too late to send a message to the governor through the ship carrying Bhuvanaka Bahu's tribute of cinnamon from Columbo as the monsoons were at their height and he made his way to the vanniate of Batecalou, because it was a power friendly to Vikrama Bahu, in order to take a boat to *São Thomé*. At Batecalou he was received and entertained by the vanniyar, who being intrigued by the cross he was carrying in his hand asked him what it was. This led the holy man, so he¹⁵ would want his sovereign to believe, to give an explanation as inspired by the Lord God and also to state that

12. A friar

13. Letter of 10-6-46, P & F.

14. Letter of 29-5-46, P & F. vide page 47 where Fernandez's band was expected to join Vikrama Bahu's messengers to Goa.

15. Letter of 25-12-46, P & F.

the cross was the device of the heraldic coat of arms of the monarch of Portugal, whose magnificence and power he took the opportunity to boast. The vanniya was very impressed and said that as the king of Cande had become a Christian he too would like to follow his example. Accordingly the friar gave him instructions on the fundamentals of the Roman Catholic faith and he was on the point of entering the Christian fold, when an aunt of his began waging war on him and owing to this contingency he decided to get his son and heir, who was also the heir-presumptive to the principality of Yala¹⁶ as well, baptized by the friar, excusing himself on the ground that he would become one after the governor arrived or sent someone else on his behalf. Accordingly, the friar baptized the 12 year old crown prince and the regedor, the chief judge of the principality as well, the former taking the name of Dom Luis at baptism.

The vanniya then proceeded to inscribe an ola¹⁶ to the governor, in which he averred his disappointment, owing to the uncertain conditions in his territory, at not being in a position to be baptized and to be able to call himself a Christian and emphasized that all the same he was one at heart. He mentioned his son's baptism and entreated the governor to come or send someone to make the crown prince of Cande and himself Christians. He also further averred his paramount desire to be a friend and vassal of the king of Portugal and to place his son and himself under that monarch's protection, requesting the governor to protect him as a Christian vassal and stating that it was his wish that the king of Portugal should use his principality as though it was his own and that he could proceed to build in the port of Batecalou "naos, navios, gallions" and catures" for which he was prepared to supply the necessary timber. He ended the ola by saying that he could question the friar further as he had instructed him adequately.

Before the friar left, the vanniya, who despite his 70 years was a keen hunter, made a request for two hunting dogs of good breed, while his son asked for his wooden cross and received it. Taking a boat he reached *São Thomé* about August when the island of Dio, Bacaim¹⁷ and Chaull¹⁷ were being besieged. Miguel Ferreira, whom the friar met here, wrote a letter¹⁸ to the governor, which he, most probably, forwarded through him, stating that he would report on the situation in Cande and *São Thomé* and asking the governor to act with circumspection in giving orders for the implementation of his policy with regard to Jafanapatam and Ceylon. Most probably because the Choromandel coast was agog with the preparations of veterans like Ferreira, who were gathering their fellow-countrymen

16. Copy of the ola in friar *Symão's* letter of 25-12-46, P. & F.

17. Portuguese centres north & south of Bombay respectively; the former being later known as Bassein.

18. Letter of 15-8-46, P. & F.

to go to the succour of the western coast, which was aglow with the tumult of war, friar *Symão* sought the security of travelling on terra-firma to Goa, even though it meant an arduous 200-league journey through the hostile territory of the emperor of Bisnaga¹⁹.

Meanwhile the Portuguese had become more restive and²⁰ "wept there" for Vikrama Bahu "to give them more money, after this they said, that they must go" and this made him "the most disconsolate man in the world, lamenting and speaking of the calamity of his fate and the hour he had taken the name of a Christian and many other things, that stones would have pity but they would never have pity for him". Despite all his protestations they had insisted on leaving. Then the crown prince, following a custom, which appeared to be common to both the Candiotaz and the Portuguese in such an emotional crisis, had called for a dagger and prayed in the name of God and of Holy Maria and the king of Portugal that they should accomplish the task for which they had come or else kill him with that dagger "and finish doing everything which they desired". At this point a mudaliyar, who had embraced Christianity begged them to have pity on the young prince, but they were relentless and departed. Vikrama Bahu grief-stricken followed them for about²¹ "half a league and fell on his knees and begged compassion" and asked them to wait for 10 days more because it would then be sufficient time for a reply to come from the governor and promised to make his household Christian and stated that every Portuguese in his kingdom could leave, if he did not keep his word. Even this failed to move them and they left, making him feel, as he complained, the most disconsolate and dishonoured man in the world. They eventually arrived at Columbo towards the third week of November 1546. In their company was the disgruntled old friar Antonio and Andre de Souza¹ as well. One of them carried letters from friar Francisco, who remained behind, to the Franciscan head giving an account of Vikrama Bahu's plight and the circumstances under which they had left. Vikrama Bahu had sent a letter through the same man to the Franciscan head, pleading with him to come and finish matters and not leave him in the lurch as friar Antonio had done. On learning more details of the scene from some of de Souza's men the Franciscan head decided that it was high time that he placed the facts before the governor and embarked immediately on the galleon of the *carreira* of the sovereign of Portugal, which was under the command of Francisco d'Ayora. On the very day that it reached Cochim, news of the governor's great victory at Dio also arrived. The friar broke journey here, and wrote a letter²² to his

19. Vijayanagar

20. Letter of friar *Symão* of 18-12-46, Vol. 2 Sch.

21. Same letter—This looks like an exaggeration—this was what friar *Symão* had heard.

22. Document 76A, Vol. 2 Sch.

sovereign briefly intimating the failure of the mission to Sengadagala and of his being on a personal mission to Goa to ask the governor to set matters aright in Cande. He also forwarded for his sovereign's perusal two letters he had received from friar Francisco.

Meanwhile from the shores of Columbo friar Antonio had lost no time in writing²³ to the bishop of Goa. He stated that he had come with Vikrama Bahu's permission to collect 300 Portuguese to fight Mayadunne and to occupy the lands of the rulers neighbouring Cande for the crown prince as he was poor and who in turn for such a mundane reward was prepared to join the Christian faith. He also analysed the position at the court, stating that Vikrama Bahu was a hypocrite and ignored the Christian faith the moment he realised that he had nothing to gain from it and was hostile to the extent of building pagodas and permitting the conversion of only slaves and enforcing the sale of any of his subjects, who embraced Christianity and also denying openly any knowledge of the promises made to the governor in letters, asserting that he had merely affixed his signature to them, the contents being solely attributable to Pereira, who had deceived him into believing that "the Senhor Governor would come to crown him and he would be Emperador over the Island, and everyone would kiss his feet and be his vassals and tributaries, and he would take vengeance on Madune who would return to him the money which he got from him by the treaty of peace; and that he sees none of this, and that the Portuguese will take his lands from him to make his country Christian; when the Senhor Governor accomplishes this, this cannot be, nor is it reasonable or just".

Strangely enough, the old friar asserted that he had eye-witnessed the truth of Vikrama Bahu's allegations and ended his letter by saying that neither Pereira nor friar Francisco would have the courage to admit that he was not a Christian. The majority of the letters written by Pereira on Vikrama Bahu's behalf were invariably accompanied by royal *olas* which, one would be justified in presuming, more or less reiterated the same requests as were made in the letters. The original *olas* are not available, but copies in Portuguese of the two *olas* inscribed in May 1546 by Vikrama Bahu and his son to the governor as incorporated by friar *Symão* in his letter²⁴ to the Portuguese sovereign, give the lie direct to friar Antonio's version. And so does Vikrama Bahu's letter²⁵ to the Franciscan head after the departure of de Souza's party asking him to come up to Sengadagala and not to leave him in the lurch as friar Antonio had done. De Souza also negatives friar Antonio's version when he wrote to his sovereign on the 20th December, 1545 that Vikrama Bahu had "sent signed statements"

23. Letter of 25-11-46, P. & F.

24. Letter of 25-12-46, P. & F.

25. Doc. 76A, Vol. 2 Sch.

that "he and his children and all his Kingdom" would become Christian "under pain of losing his Kingdom."

It may be argued that no reliance should be placed on the copies of the *olas*, as the contents, quite apart from possible errors of translation, may have been even fabricated, partly or wholly by friar *Symão* in order to defend Pereira's integrity. This would indeed be a far cry and can be countered by reminding the reader that the necessity for fabrication did not present itself to friar *Symão*, because most probably at the time of writing from Goa he may not have been aware of the aspersions being cast by friar Antonio and Vikrama Bahu on Pereira's letters. Moreover in making the Portuguese copies of the *olas* he would have been able to get assistance at Goa. The authenticity of the copies can be indirectly tested by the fact that his account²⁶ of the anti-Christian and anti-Portuguese propaganda of Bhuvanaka Bahu more or less corroborate the version given by Pereira in his letter of 29th May 1546 to the governor. Another point for the authenticity of the copies is that in the copy of the prince's *ola* the prince says that his father "became a Christian by stealth and I shall never become one in such fashion"²⁷ and friar Antonio in his letter of the 7th June 1546 informed the governor that the prince told him that he will not become "a Christian by stealth".

Yet, assuming that Pereira's letters contained exaggerated promises of his own making, the governor in Goa must, undoubtedly, have had the *olas* read and translated and thereby discovered the true extent to which Vikrama Bahu was prepared to go in return for assistance and could also have easily taken Pereira to task for misleading him. There were the Sinhalese *princes*^k in Goa and their followers, in whom the Portuguese authorities should have had sufficient confidence for the task of reading and translating Sinhalese correspondence from Ceylon. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the Portuguese administrative machinery overseas had always interpreters at hand. The reader will remember that one of the first acts in connection with the proposed factory at Triquinamalle was to send an interpreter to Sengadagala.

It could be undeniably true that friar Antonio did in fact see Pereira get the king to affix his signature on the letters written in Portuguese by him, but it is also not incompatible with the possibility that Pereira, who had easy access to the king, had already discussed and obtained royal approval as to what the contents of the letters should be. It is also important to bear in mind that friar Antonio had already praised Pereira in his letter to the governor from Sengadagala and that he should have changed his mind about him may have been due to his genuine belief in Vikrama Bahu's version or to the fact that the bitterness of failure had clouded his mind. That the latter is the greater possibility appears to be the reason

26. Letter of 25-12-46, P. & F.

27. Letter of 25-12-46 Pl & F.

for the friar's disparaging reference to the crown prince for whom he indicated the highest regard earlier to the governor. Moreover friar *Symão's* long letter to the sovereign of Portugal written on Christmas day of the year 1546 negatives the aspersions cast on Pereira by his companion in the Christian faith, for he not only praised him as already mentioned in the opening pages, but also mentioned Vikrama Bahu's desire for Portuguese help and of his going to the extent of declaring openly before the rank and file of de Souza's men that he desired Portuguese assistance and placed himself, his household, treasure and his whole kingdom in the hands of the governor, whose bidding he was prepared to do, even if it were to go to Portugal. No doubt, as already mentioned in these pages, Pereira was largely responsible for committing Vikrama Bahu to a pro-Christian policy for the sole purpose of obtaining assistance from the Portuguese authorities and must have exaggerated its potentialities. To believe that Vikrama Bahu's gullibility was so great so as to be misled and fooled for nearly four years by a "humble²⁸ practicing *soldado*", as Vikrama Bahu, according to friar Antonio, called him, would not only be an insult to Vikrama Bahu but to the ruling Sinhalese families of the time. Moreover, Andre de Souza should have been, perhaps, shrewd enough to have detected the game that Pereira was playing. But it was against friar Antonio that he made a complaint on his return to Goa. It is more likely that the astute Vikrama Bahu took shelter under the cloak of ignorance of Portuguese, and sought to shift the burden of responsibility to Pereira's shoulder. One might also ask the question why was it that Vikrama Bahu continued to keep such an unscrupulous man as Pereira at his court and had, even after the departure of Andre de Souza and his men, written²⁹ to friar *João* de Villa de Conde, who was at Goa informing him that he had asked the governor to establish a factory at Triquinamalle and appoint Pereira to the post of factor and to bestow hereditary rights of succession in respect of it to his *descendants*^m.

28. Letter of 25-11-46, P. & F.

29. Friar *João's* letter of 16-3-47, P. & F.

- a. De Souza's letter of 27-5-46 and Pereira's letter of 29-5-46 state that friar Antonio is to leave, but after Pereira's letter was dated he mentions in what appears more like a postscript that friar Antonio was not leaving, but that friar *Symão* would explain the circumstances for this to the governor if he reaches his destination as the king had asked him to undertake the mission.
- b. Friar Antonio's account of receiving royal protection and being asked to stay back definitely refers to the scene at the palace. In his letter of 7-6-46 to the governor he has strung together this incident along with an account of the final payment of de Souza's expenses, which took place shortly after the baptism of the five mudaliyars on the 2nd of May and an argument about the leadership of the expedition and the formation of *bandeiras* by de Souza which resulted in his (de Souza) becoming a hero among his men. These two

incidents obviously took place sometime before the 27th of May that is before Pereira and de Souza wrote their two letters. The formation of the *bandeiras* besides quite definitely occurred long before the friar wrote his letter because when de Souza wrote his second letter on the 10th of June he had become despondent and disgusted with the behaviour of his men, which metamorphosis could not have happened within the short interval of three days that elapsed between the writing of the friar's letter and his second letter. That the friar's version is a compressed version of events is also clear from the fact that he does not mention his earlier decision to leave Sengadagala sometime in May and of Vikrama Bahu and the royal family making him their spokesman.

- c. A mistake for friar Francisco in P. & F., which does not appear in Schurhammer's text, *vide* document 64, Vol. 1.
- d. He will figure later in these pages.
- e. The word means the outer shell of the coconut and so probably meant some kind of raft lashed with coir.
- f. According to Fernandez, so it would have been about the end of May when the local inhabitants commenced to attack his party.
- g. He was the nephew of the queen of Yala.
- h. Men of war, merchant vessels or smaller fighting boats and a larger type of vessel, respectively, the last type of boat being particularly used in the East by the Portuguese for the royal *carreira* (*vide* Note j).
- i. The document speaks of the men returning "with their captain" (*vide* document 76A, Vol. 2, Schurhammer) and this could perhaps only refer to Andre de Souza. It seems strange that friar *João* should refer to him in this manner, but on the other hand he may have found it a convenient alternative to using de Souza's name, especially as there was no doubt that he was the commander of the expeditionaries. It would also seem most unlikely that de Souza would have remained in the Kandyan capital especially after his letter of 10-6-46.
- j. The term means road, way, rest, profession in modern Portuguese. During the 16th century it was used for the annual commercial voyage made by a ship of the sovereign of Portugal to the overseas possessions. The command of the vessel was a very lucrative one and was given for meritorious services. Francisco d'Ayora was a nobleman of high integrity as evidenced in Bhuvanaka Bahu's letters (*vide* documents 36, and 37, P. & F.) and appears to have been a regular visitor to the Island.
- k. According to Peiris, Vol. 1, page 538, Note 11, it would appear that the Kandyan prince Sinha Bandar acted as *lingoa* (interpreter) to the captain of *Negapatão* in South India. The prince was known to the Portuguese as Dom Philip (after baptism), prince of Candea.
- l. A soldier; Pereira was definitely an educated man as his letters would indicate.
- m. Moreover the precautionary measure taken by Barreto at the conference (*vide* Chapter 9) by having the agreement drawn in both Portuguese and Sinhala so that Vikrama Bahu may not be in a position to go back on his word seems to definitely indicate that he was not so innocent about the contents of the letters Pereira wrote. Peiris and Fitzler at page 29 support friar Antonio's version, but omit all references to the Sinhalese *olas* which accompanied Pereira's letters.

CHAPTER 8

When friar *Symão* de Coimbra arrived from Sengadagala the governor had been busy preparing a fleet to go to the relief of Dio and consequently did no more than to accept the correspondence and write back of the troubles he was surrounded with and of his going on a campaign to Cambaya,¹ but promising as soon as he returned, time permitting, to come personally to Sengadagala or to send his son Dom Alvaro in his place. Of this decision he informed² his sovereign *João* III, whose fervour for the conquest of souls was well known to his pro-consuls abroad. As a matter of fact, he had written³ to the governor earlier informing him that the greatest service, which could be rendered to him was the successful propagation of the Christian faith. The governor in his letter, mentioned above, confessed to his sovereign that he found it difficult to act or take a decision or give an accurate picture of the scene at Sengadagala because the reports from the friars and the Portuguese laymen were so contradictory. It would appear to him, he wrote, that Vikrama Bahu had become a Christian to make it incumbent for help to be given against Mayadunne, who was pressing the campaign against him. He had accordingly sent 40 *arquebusiers*^a to help him and friar Antonio to instruct him in the Christian faith. But the friar, he wrote, had not found things to his liking and had written of his thorough dissatisfaction with him, while some of the other Portuguese, however, had tried to make him believe that he was a true Christian and prepared to make his son and his whole kingdom enter the Christian fold and that friar Antonio was embittered by the fact that another friar had the honour of converting him. There were some other Portuguese, however, who informed him, he wrote, that Vikrama Bahu was motivated by self-interest and political expediency, while he himself was inclined to think that the dissensions among the Portuguese, which were sufficient to kill them, sprang from the 3,000 *cruzados*^b they had received. He ended his letter by stating that despite the confusion and difficulties in Cande he would predict "a rosy and bright" future for Christianity there and that he would place his son in command there and would, if the wars gave him the time, strive hard to achieve this end there as well as in the other parts of Ceylon, because no triumph could be more glorious in this world. At the moment, however, he could not yield to pressure from religious circles, though well-intentioned, owing to the military problems facing him.

1. Gujerat

2. Letter of 16-12-46, Vol. 2, Sch.

3. Letter of 1-12-45, Vol. 1, Sch.

Meanwhile friar *João* had arrived in Goa sometime in December 1546, when friar *Symão*, who was already sour after the cold gubernatorial reception he had received was feeling impatient after well-nigh three and a half months barren of any tangible results, appealed⁴ to the governor, who was at Dio, giving him a full story about the departure of the Portuguese from Cande as gathered both from friar *João* and the letters brought by him as well. He asked the governor to address his mind as early as possible to this matter as the existence of Christianity in these parts was at stake and that otherwise "the satisfaction" the Portuguese royalty would derive from the progress of Christianity "would be turned to disgust and suffering". He also pressed the claims of the crown prince of Cande to the Jaffnese throne as against the lawful brahmin claimant, stressing that he was issued from the lawful line of the kings of *Kōttē* to whom it belonged in ancient times and that he was also the heir of the deceased prince *João*, whom (the governor had sworn in as the king of Jafanapatam and that if it was to be given to anyone at all he should be considered, if for no other reason than to atone for the wrongs done to him by the Portuguese and also as a peace offering to his father, Vikrama Bahu.

A week after he wrote to the governor was Christmas and the pious and enthusiastic friar *Symão* spent a good part of that joyous and holy day writing to his sovereign *João* III a long letter,⁵ which looked more like an important official despatch, informing him of his experiences in Ceylon and particularly of his arduous journey to Sengadagala and of his sojourn there. His portrayal of Vikrama Bahu was as follows:—"This King is greatly feared by his people, since if he does not effect what he desires at the moment, he achieves it in his time, as he hopes to do to those who were traitors to him. He is a man sixty years and does not eat opium or drink arrack, nor does he wish that in the whole of his Kingdom they should do so, a very great matter for those parts, and which greatly prevails in the Kingdom of Cota". The friar attributed the governor's indifference to Vikrama Bahu's requests and the propagation of the Christian faith to his preoccupation with Dio and considered the anti-Portuguese propaganda of Bhuvanaka Bahu largely responsible for the failure of the mission to Cande. "The result was" he said "that as this King had never seen Portuguese and did not understand us or know our customs, he was in great confusion and did not place as much confidence in us as was needed, and the Christianity made no progress in consequence of all these impediments I mention above, and various others. Finally, and as matters were in this state, I undertook the task for the honour of the Lord God and the service of your Highness;

4. Letter of 18-12-46, Vol. 2, Sch.

5. Letter of 25-12-46, P & F.

I came at the bidding of this King through two hundred leagues of country of enemies of our holy faith, for I came through Bisnagua". He also stated that if the governor or his son had gone last September to Cande as promised, the whole Island would have become Christian and the kings of *Kōttē* and *Sitāvaka* consequently humbled and the other rulers of the Island would have joined the Christian fold, when they found favours showered on Vikrama Bahu by him. The friar denounced the use of force to evangelize the Island, but advocated a policy of patience with the adult Christian converts and greater concentration on the indoctrination of their children who, he said, would instruct their fathers and their own children in time to come. He portrayed Bhuvanaka Bahu as an enemy of Christianity but indicated his full confidence in the sincerity of Vikrama Bahu's desire to be a Christian. He also conveyed to his royal master verbal instructions he received from Vikrama Bahu about his anxiety to have a Portuguese factory and to be his vassal and to pay a tribute of as much elephants, iron, resin, and beech as was wanted by the governor. In his letter friar *Symão* also incorporated a copy of Vikrama Bahu's ola to the governor, adding after it, that everything in it was true and that as he was the first monarch to embrace Christianity he should be elevated above all the other monarchs of Ceylon.

Also realizing that the path of the Cross would not be smooth or tenable in the hill-country without the support of Portuguese arms, the friar with the eye of a born soldier lauded to his royal master the strategic value of Ceylon and of Cande in particular, and also of having the Island's monarchs as vassals from the point of view of the defence of India. He also incorporated a translation in Portuguese of the ola which he had carried from the crown prince of Cande to the governor and vouched for the truth of the prince's averments. "Such are the contents" he said "of the ola which this prince sent to the governor, and I am certain everything he says is true; for although he has not had the water of baptism, he is so much a Christian in heart and will, as any other who has received it; because he had wished to be a Christian before the father was willing to be so without his son, although he did not know it; so that when he saw the father had become one before the Portuguese were in the country, he then waited till they should come, so that if they should be a hundred he might join them at once and become a Christian. But when we came and he saw so few and that they could not defend themselves if he joined them, he waited telling us what was his decision, that if we wished it, the others might become Christians immediately, but that he was unwilling to be like his father; that just as he wished for his own salvation, he also desired that of his people; wherefore he did not become so at the time". The young prince had evidently won the heart of the friar for in continuing he painted a glowing picture of him as follows: "He wrote his ola to the governor in the manner I set out above, and I am certain, Senhor, that he is a young man of

whom all the expectations of his growing to be a great man both in the religion of the Lord God as in other matters; because his thoughts are not of a *black*,^c but of one who greatly desires to copy the Christian Kings, both in his manner of life as in all else; for he says that when he becomes a Christian he will not have in his house any but Portuguese, and that he is not going to be waited upon except as is Your Highness. He asked me how they called the first King of Portugal; I replied that he was Don Afonso Ammriquez; he said that they must name him also the same. He is a man greatly beloved by the people, very gentle, inclined to good, not mean but open handed; a man of a few words but decisive, and in his bearing a gallant gentleman. I cannot say much. He is strongly inclined to the matters of our holy faith and is anxious to spread it; he is already much opposed to the pagodes he formerly worshipped, and is a nephew of the King of Cota, being a son of one sister who was married to his father, and also another sister. And this his mother is now dead".

He also boosted the prince's potentialities as a spiritual and temporal leader and once more espoused his candidature to the throne of Jafanapatam on the ground that he was a cousin of the deceased princes, but quite wrongly asserted that the king of *Kōttē* had no objection to their installation there. He also made a point of the fact that the Portuguese, whom stormy seas drove to the Jaffnese shores, were both plundered and murdered by Sankili, a great enemy of the Christian faith and also emphasized that 500 households in the Jaffnese peninsular were clamouring to be Christians and that the brahmin candidate for the throne was old and unfit and that if the prince was enthroned there a great fillip would be given to the Christian faith. He ended his letter by narrating his experiences in Batecalou and commending Pereira, as already mentioned earlier in these pages.

Meanwhile friar *João* de Villa de Conde appears to have carried on incessant propaganda for the despatch of help to Vikrama Bahu on the ground that the people in Ceylon were disposed to be baptized and all that was wanted was some military support for him as he was already baptized. Convinced of this, the bishop of Goa, Juan de Alburquerque wrote on the 28th of December 1546 to the governor at Dio stating that his son Dom Alvaro should be sent to Cande and that if this was not possible during the current year, 150 soldiers under the command of a captain should be sent to prop Vikrama Bahu up and that at any rate after the monsoons of the following year Dom Alvaro should be sent. The bishop, being desirous of making a personal contribution to the spread of Christianity, declared his desire to throw off considerations of old age and sickness and to go not in his official capacity, but as an ordinary parishioner and also mentioned his readiness to beg for alms to cover the expenses of the journey, barring the cost of the passage. The letter was despatched through friar Antonio do Porto, who was in charge of some friars,

who had been recently sent by the sovereign of Portugal. Two days after the bishop had written the above letter, that is on the 30th December he received a letter⁶ from the governor informing him of the adverse gossip and criticism made by the friars against himself.

The bishop replied⁷ on the same day consoling the governor that their critics could mercifully only bark but not bite: "I received" he wrote "a letter from Your Lordship on the 30th of December and with it another copy of another, which I endured in sadness seeing and reading things so unreasonable, to say they come from friars, how much should they owe you, and they speak without rhyme or reason, Your Lordship being so very blameless. You know well, Lord, what Indian mouthfuls are and how you are placed as a pattern to suffer and to like it. Give, Lord, thanks to God, because they can bark, but cannot bite you, because your virtues and service do not permit it". He further promised to discuss the adverse criticism with the padre custodian, friar Antonio de Casal, whom he described as being as saintly as saint Francis. He also enclosed a verbatim copy of a letter he had received from a friar Antonio Piquino⁸ stationed in Ceylon about Vikrama Bahu. He ended the letter by asking the governor not to grow cold about the proposals of that monarch but to pray to God for guidance in the matter.

On the 22nd of January 1547 the bishop wrote to Dom Alvaro de Castro repeating what he had written earlier to his father about assistance to Vikrama Bahu and asking him in case he did not have the time to go to Cande to use his influence with his father for a contingent of 150 men and a captain to be despatched there. He also once more declared that he would beg for alms personally to provide the expenses for 12 or 15 lascarins⁸ of the proposed contingent and to accompany it as he put it "in order to make some fruit before I die". This letter was sent to the governor at Dio in early February through friar João de Villa de Conde, who was accompanied by friar Symão de Coimbra. The padre custodian, friar Antonio de Casal, who had returned from Cochim also proceeded to Dio. The friars took counsel with the governor about the problem of Vikrama Bahu and accomplished no mean achievement, for they not only persuaded him of the importance of the mission to Cande but also got him to agree to equip an expeditionary force as well. Consequently friar João de Villa de Conde on returning to Goa lost no time in extolling both in public and private places his virtues and the great services he was rendering in the matter of the propagation of the Christian faith in the kingdom of Cande. The governor's decision was, perhaps, partly due to the fact that he had no good reason for further prevarication,

6. Vol. 2, Sch.

7. Vol. 2, Sch.

8. Vide chapter 10, note c.

more so as his hands were free after the victory at Dio. Moreover it would appear, as already indicated, that he was afraid that clerical influence at the royal court of Lisbon would damage his reputation and bring both ruin and disgrace upon himself and his son.

Neither his past experiences nor the lapse of time seem to have diminished Vikrama Bahu's ardour for the furtherance of an alliance with Portugal for friar João de Villa de Conde, as already mentioned, on his return to Goa found awaiting him a letter from that monarch stating that he had requested the governor to establish a factory at Triquinamalle and to appoint Pereira as its factor as he had promised the post to him and his descendants on a salary to be fixed by the governor and further also to appoint Duarte Teixeira as his son's tutor and guarda-mor of the Portuguese guard. Apparently Teixeira from his retirement in Kōttē had by letters cleverly worked himself into the good graces of Vikrama Bahu, while Pereira in his loneliness may have considered a fellow-countryman a good ally and rather encouraged his nomination to the post. A Portuguese guard appears to have been a sine-qua-non of a stable alliance with the Portuguese for it symbolized in a very practical form the protection the sovereign of Portugal afforded his vassals and Vikrama Bahu evidently intended having one. Friar João appealed by letter⁹ to the governor to grant Vikrama Bahu's request, if it would not be prejudicial in any way, adding that he himself would derive great personal satisfaction from such an eventuality.

Meanwhile the expeditionaries were equipped and towards the end of March 1547 were given an excellent send-off by Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, now appointed the veador da fazenda. Antonio Moniz Barreto, who 26 years later was to rise to the eminent position of governor-general of the Portuguese Eastern settlements went as the commander of the expedition and was accompanied by friar João and two friars sent by the padre custodian of the Franciscans. The contingent received a warm reception at Cochim from the factor Antonio Correa and the ouvidor Salvador de Lião. From here friar João wrote¹⁰ a short letter to the governor, intimating to him that the gubernatorial interest in the mission had accounted for the good treatment they had received so far and that his personal presence was necessary, failing which, it was absolutely essential that he should send his son Dom Alvaro to Ceylon. He also intimated that he had undertaken such a difficult mission because the work of God was involved. Of the commanding officer, Barreto, he wrote "Your Lordship gave me a Captain of such good parts as can be found in one man. May it please our Lord to give him grace, that, while your Lordship does not come, much work will be done there". He also promised to report on the situation in Ceylon so that the governor would be in a position to give a solution to the difficulties they experienced.

9. Letter of 16-3-47, P & F.

10. Letter of 4-4-47, P & F.

On touching Cape Comorin, Barreto thought it was time he took some drastic action to augment the scanty number of his forces and decided to press men into his service. He accordingly broke journey for the purpose of examining all passing fustas, which were engaged in transporting horses, so that he might force the men in them into his service. Evidently he had a licence from the governor to act in such a high-handed manner for he had one to requisition the services of a fellow-aristocrat and former companion in arms, Antonio de Bryto, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Dio. Here at Cape Comorin the ruler Nyquee Traudim, who was being harassed by nuisance raids of the warrior Badeguas sent a Christian spokesman to say that Barreto should meet him on a matter affecting the service of the sovereign of Portugal and his governor. Nyquee Traudim came to the sea-shore and entreated Barreto to meet him and unfolded a sorrowful tale of woe, of how the Badeguas had overrun his territories and how he had mustered a large number of subjects, including Christians and intended with Barreto's help to drive them out, as their fighting strength was limited to 500 horsemen with worn-out horses and 3,000 infantrymen and that many of them were already in flight on hearing of his (Barreto's) arrival. He promised to confiscate all the property of the coastal Moors and hand it over to Barreto and his men, and build a fortress for the sovereign of Portugal at his own expense at Calle, where the Portuguese could remain, much to the advantage of the Christians of the area. In addition, he promised on becoming a vassal of that monarch to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 pardaos and to surrender the inland and marine revenue of the Fishery Coast and the revenue from pepper of Coulam as well. To prove his earnestness he gave Barreto an ola, in which his promises were reiterated and another to friar João de Villa de Conde in which he promised to become a Christian before the year was out. All he wanted was that Barreto and his men should accompany his cavalry and infantrymen in a campaign against the Badeguas in order to assure himself of victory and promised a reward of 2,000 pardaos to Barreto's men, further assuring him that not more than 15 days were wanted to subdue his enemies. He said that he was not in a position to give more security for fulfilling his promises other than his personal presence and the ola and wanted Barreto to pledge as hostages all his men in his fusta and order them ashore.

Barreto and the friar were at first acceptable to the terms, but on further consideration it was decided that the former should not act without the governor's knowledge and express instructions. Another weighty factor for this decision was that Barreto thought he might lose his men in the campaign and be faced with failure here as well as with the inability to accomplish his mission to Sengadagala. Moreover, it was considered that he would also jeopardize the security of

the Portuguese at *Negapatão* and the Choromandel and Fishery Coasts, as such action on his part would amount to an act of war on the emperor of Bisnagua, whose subjects the Badeguas were.

Barreto's party sailed from Cape Comorin and reached Calle on the 18th April. They were well received by Ayres de Figereido, captain of the Fishery and broke journey for about four days provisioning and preparing two catures for the expedition. Up to now Barreto had with great difficulty mustered only 60 fighting men, among whom were those, who had gone to the assistance of de Bryto and himself and sailed on the same *galliot* to Dio and fought together there. Now once more he decided to press men into his service and accordingly sent a cature in advance of his party to the Baixos de Chilam to remove all men travelling in the passing boats without a travel permit from the governor. According to Barreto, there was quite a considerable number travelling without the requisite documents. It would appear that the victims of his campaign of recruitment were all Portuguese nationals as the final composition of the contingent he took up to Sengadagala indicates.

The Badeguas and with their encouragement the Moors in this part of the coast terrorized the Portuguese and beat up and even killed those of the native population, who were Christians and even expropriated their property and enslaved them, so much so that many of them embraced Mohammedanism in order to avoid such a horrible fate. Consequently a wave of prejudice against the Christian faith sprang among the local Christian communities throughout the Fishery Coast because, whereas formerly with Portuguese patronage they formed the upper strata of local society, now tables were turned on them in the absence of it. This was specially so at Calecare¹¹ and Beadala, where the populations were formerly wholly Christian, but were so exasperated now that they did not want to see Portuguese nationals or even approve of their presence in the land. In Calle, too, the Badeguas were lording the place, but were not strong in numbers and fled on the approach of Barreto's contingent, fearing a punitive purpose for its appearance. On learning that it was merely in transit they retraced their steps and their chieftain sent to ask for a safe-conduct to see Barreto, but when it was granted did not dare to avail himself of it. Meanwhile Barreto on being informed of some Christian women, who had turned Muslims, sent a request to the Badegua leader to have them produced before him. The request was complied with and when the unfortunates appeared before him, he ordered them to be punished. This was meant to serve, no doubt, as a deterrent to potential renegades and also to exhibit the strong long arm of Portuguese authority.

11. Also called Kilakarai

On the 22nd of April,^f the day of sailing for the Baixos de Chilam Barreto and friar João wrote letters¹² to the governor recounting their experiences. The friar, realizing that in order to arrest the persecution of the Christians in these parts there should be military support, recommended the former for this task after the mission to Sengadagala had been accomplished and requested a reply by the ship carrying Bhuvanaka Bahu's tribute of cinnamon, ending his letter as follows: "I hope in God that he will give your Lordship of much calm and peace and the winning of many spiritual treasures in this task: and that which your predecessors took in coffers so ill guarded from which they profited so little, your Lordship should place them in that secure place where eye has not seen nor has ear heard the things which God has prepared for those who love him. Who may be pleased to increase the life and prosperity of your Lordship for his service." Barreto in his letter stated that it was not possible in the prevailing monsoons to go to *Negapatão* and *São Tomé* for more men and then proceed to *Trinquinamalle*, but that he intended to go to Sengadagala to find 100 men with Vikrama Bahu's help, with those Portuguese who were already there^g and if that monarch honoured his promises made to the governor he (Barreto) would go to the Choromandel coast and return with more reinforcements to fight his royal adversaries in accordance with gubernatorial directions. He asked for a speedy reply, because in case Vikrama Bahu was un-co-operative in the matter of making his subjects Christians, he (the governor) would not want him to spend his time there as he could return to India and prove himself more useful there. He also mentioned that he considered the force he had with him adequate for the defence of Cande and ended his letter with a request for the favour that provision might be made for him and the veterans of the battle of Dio to collect their pay and that in addition he be granted the privilege of sending a trustworthy man to Bengala on a trading venture.

Barreto was apparently successful in collecting 40 more men in the Baixos de Chilam, for he landed at Batecalou with a 100 fighting men. He had altered the scheduled disembarcation at *Trinquinamalle*, probably because he had been informed when in the Baixos de Chilam that arrangements had been made for his reception at Batecalou. Gomes da Silva to whom this difficult task had been assigned acquitted himself well and as will be seen was rewarded later on. At Batecalou Barreto, friar João and the other friars reaped the fruits of the seeds of goodwill sown by friar *Symão* in the latter part of the previous year and met with the most unexpected success. The evangelistic zeal of the friars, no doubt, received a fresh impetus. The ruler of Batecalou, who as the reader will remember, had evinced his pro-Portuguese and pro-Catholic inclinations during friar *Symão's* sojourn there, readily became a Christian with a consider-

12. Letters of 22-4-47, P & F & Vol. 2 Sch.

able number of his subjects. The sons of the dowager princess of Benachym¹³ and some chieftians of her principality also joined the Christian fold. More success in the shape of converts would have been met with here, according to Barreto, if he had been able to stay longer, which he could not, for Vikrama Bahu, who appears to have been informed in advance of his port of disembarcation sent a pressing message by ola, asking him to hurry as Mayadunne and the prince of the Sete Corllas were trying to forestall him and enter his capital. In addition, Vikrama Bahu had also despatched 2000 men and a friar, who was, most probably, friar Francisco along with seven or eight Portuguese to meet him. The Portuguese both lay and clerical persuaded Barreto that that monarch would honour the promises he had made to the governor in his letters and give his attention to the matter of the conversions to Christianity the day after his arrival at Sengadagala. It would appear that in the face of the news of the threatened attack on Vikrama Bahu's capital, Barreto reconsidered the adequacy of the forces he had with him. Apparently the normal congestion of traffic in the sea-lanes of the Baixos de Chilam, which he could prey on for more men during the monsoon thinned with its termination for he informed¹⁴ the governor that he was not in a position to collect more men as the monsoon was over and it was not possible to go to the Choromandel coast for this purpose owing to the time involved and so it would appear he adhered to the decision he had made when he was at Calle, namely, of going up to Sengadagala to explore the real situation. To quote his own words: "I could not collect more as the monsoon was already past and it was not possible to go to Choromandel and return here this October, and I knew of the need in which they told me Camde stood, and that the King might be lost or change his decision. I resolved to go to Cande with so few people to see the King's decision and what men he wanted. If he carried out everything he wrote to your Lordship, and sent to say through his ambasador, that he would make his children and people Christians, and announce to his people that he was one, as he was baptized at night very secretly, but concealed it from his subjects; and would not make many images resembling those of the heathen and nothing of the Christian: as soon as this conversion took place I would leave him eighty men who are sufficient to defend him and his country against every other King who should war with him; and then go to the Choromandell for as many more as possible; and to go and return would not occupy more than two months".

13. Probably Bintenna

14. Letter of 11-10-47, P & F.

- a. The reference is to de Souza's contingent, but actually there were only 38 Portuguese in number without de Souza, but with him and the man who, was sent to Trincomalee with the baggage the number was 40. An arquebusier was a soldier using an arquebus or portable gun.
- b. The governor's mistake. Vikrama Bahu gave 3,000 pardaos and not 3,000 cruzados.
- c. The term is not used disparagingly but was a form of expression to indicate an Asiatic as distinct from an European.
- d. According to Schurhammer this was none other than friar Antonio.
- e. A small galley or fighting vessel.
- f. At the outset of the letter Barreto says that he is leaving the following day, meaning the 19th, but seems to have changed his mind for later on he says that he is leaving today, meaning the 22nd of April. *Vide* his letter of 22-4-47, Vol. 2, Schurhammer.
- g. It is possible that some Portuguese adventurers had found their way to the Kandyan capital for when Barreto landed at Batticaloa, Vikrama Bahu sent 7 or 8 Portuguese and a friar to meet him.

CHAPTER 9

Accordingly Barreto, having beached his fleet and despatched letters to the governor via *Negapatão*, made haste to reach Sengadagala. A 50-league journey lay ahead of his party and like their predecessors, de Souza's party, before them had to undergo the hardships of hunger and thirst and climb difficult and deserted mountainous terrain and traverse enemy territory for a good part of the time and in addition were little experienced to marching under arms in the tropics. Yet according to Barreto they did¹ "all this with much content, as it was serving God, and your Lordship so ordered me". As they reached the environs of Cande the rulers of the petty chieftaincies appeared to have been infected with the mania of entering the Christian fold, for they came out on their own with their subjects and asked for the water of baptism. The first experience of this kind occurred when Barreto and his men had broken journey for the night on the banks of a stream. The ruler of Wellasa with about 60 of his leading subjects came and asked to be baptized. Further on, the ruler of a Corlla² followed suit. The rush was due to the fact that these people were scared that Barreto would treat them harshly and expropriate their lands and hand them over to those Candootaz, who embraced Christianity.

Vikrama Bahu was so elated with joy to hear of the approach of the Portuguese party that when they were about a league from Sengadagala he went out personally and gave them a rousing welcome, marked with the customary pomp and "tokens of rejoicing"³ which according to Barreto "could not be exceeded". After proceeding to the capital, Barreto rested for 8 days without an audience with Vikrama Bahu, during which period the chief noblemen of the court saw him and assured him that as soon as the crown prince was baptized they would feel honoured to have their own baptism arranged by him. He now felt quite reassured about Vikrama Bahu's sincerity and after he had a few interviews with him broached the subject of the crown prince's baptism and the public announcement of it along with that of his own conversion, assuring him that there were enough Portuguese to defend his kingdom. He also stated that after the baptism he would send for more reinforcements or personally go for them, leaving those he had brought up to Sengadagala under the command of a captain. Barreto apparently met with the startling royal reply that he would not proclaim himself a Christian and that neither was there the slightest necessity for his son to be one nor would he consent to the conversion of his subjects until the kingdom of Mayadunne with the whole of the

1. Letter of 11-10-47, P & F.
2. Probably the Two Korales
3. Same letter as above.

Island up to the kingdom of Jafanapatam was handed to him. Barreto finding him unreasonable left, but returned afterwards to thrash the matter further out with him. On the following day he summoned Barreto to his presence and on his arrival harangued him, denying that he had written anything and of having knowledge of the contents of the letters written to the governor because he had never personally written them and of having ever entertained the intention of making his son or his subjects Christians, but affirmed that on the contrary it was the Portuguese, who had promised everything he now requested and that he would be a Christian only after their promises were fulfilled.

The attitude of the monarch must have made Barreto both disillusioned and furious and also realize the futility of his presence in Cande for he was preparing to pack and leave, when Vikrama Bahu sent his chief officials to dissuade him from doing so and summoned him to his presence, stating that he was prepared to do what he said that he had promised. A conference followed, at which Vikrama Bahu and his chief courtiers, Barreto, the friars and the rest of the Portuguese were present. Deliberations covering 20 days bore fruit in the shape of a document embodying the promises Vikrama Bahu intended to fulfill in return for assistance. It was drawn in Portuguese and signed by Vikrama Bahu and some witnesses and in order to forestall any attempts on his part to deny knowledge of the contents of the document a copy of it was made in Sinhala and signed by him. Both documents were entrusted to Barreto. Vikrama Bahu showed indications of carrying out his promises, but once more at this juncture, pressure was brought to bear on him successfully by Bhuvanaka Bahu. In fact, shortly before Barreto arrived at Sengadagala Vikrama Bahu had sent his daughter to the kingdom of Kōttē to be wedded to Bhuvanaka Bahu's grandson, prince Dharmapala. The monarch of Kōttē had kept the princess in a palm grove for over a month, refusing to receive her as long as the Portuguese remained in Cande, stating further that he did not want her for his grandson if Vikrama Bahu became a Christian and that he would only receive her after the Portuguese had left. Vikrama Bahu fell an easy victim to these insults and intimidations, giving the assurance that he would not become a Christian. It is interesting to hear that Bhuvanaka Bahu did in fact keep his word and welcomed the princess only after he had heard that Barreto had severed relations with Vikrama Bahu.

Meanwhile Vikrama Bahu's decision not to become a Christian and deny his secret baptism had reached Barreto's ears. It also became quite clear that Vikrama Bahu had no intention of honouring his agreement, particularly, as Barreto was informed by a man, most probably a Candeota, that he had collected a large number of his subjects, among whom were 2,000 *espingardeiros*^a armed with excellent *espingardas*,^b which instruments of warfare, as irony would have it, Andre de Souza's men had during their sojourn taught the Condeotaz to make.

Moreover, to Barreto the malafides of Vikrama Bahu seemed evident from the fact that he insisted that he should take the difficult route to Batecalou and in addition refused to furnish him with provisions for such an arduous journey. Having already experienced the difficulties of that long and deserted mountainous route with its ever present threat of destruction through hunger, he decided to take the road to the kingdom of Kōttē, as it was closer and also because Bhuvanaka Bahu being a vassal of the king of Portugal, he felt the chances of survival better as he and his men could expect help on the journey. Accordingly he asked his *lascarins*⁴ to destroy all their baggage as there were no baggage-carriers. It was indeed a desperate band of men, who marched out with only their *espingardas* in their hands and plenty of bullets and powder round their waists and with *lints*^c alight and perhaps only dim hopes of reaching their destination.

With them went a thoroughly disappointed and disillusioned friar *João* and his colleagues. He was, however, not an embittered man. On reaching the boundary of Cande, Barreto and his men, who were really now in flight, encountered a large number of Candeotaz all along the pass, which led into the principality of the Sete Corllas. This massing of men, according to Barreto, was only make-believe on the part of Vikrama Bahu, in order to impress on the prince of the Sete Corllas that Barreto was not merely seeking to pass through his territory, but actually intending to seize it for him (Vikrama Bahu) and he had even got the prince's mother, who was a virtual prisoner at his court, to send a message to her son to this effect.

The Candeotaz tried to close the pass and prevent the Portuguese from passing, but fortunately Barreto had taken the precaution of sending one of the Franciscan friars and a Portuguese ahead to inform the prince of his being only in transit through his territory and asking for permission to pass. No reply having been received as yet, the guards at the pass refused to let Barreto's party proceed as they found it difficult to believe that he only wished to pass through and suspected that he had some other plans up his sleeve and thinking that the Candeotaz massed at the frontier were in league with him, asked him to order them to disperse.

That night was certainly an unhappy one for the retreating Portuguese. Of it, Barreto says⁵ "As it was night we slept there between two armies, we passed it with much trouble and alarms. The other was not more than a stone's throw away and we were in the middle and the forest was thick and the sea thirty leagues away". Having already tasted of the pangs of hunger for two days on the following day Barreto and his men retraced their steps back for another half a league towards a town, which had a well built dagoba⁶. They were able to

4. Vide chapter 10, note c.

5. Letter of 11-10-47, P & F.

6. Perhaps Gadaladeniya

procure plenty of food and cattle, here the latter were cooked into huge chunks of meat. Having rested for a week, on the 8th day they burnt the remnants of their baggage and marched with the meat in their knapsacks in such a determined fashion that the guards at "the silver bridge"^a leading to the Sete Corllas opened it and let them pass. Thereafter they traversed the territory without any mishap and entered the kingdom of Sitāvaka. Here they expected hostile treatment and rightly so in Barreto's opinion, for one of their main objectives in going up to Sengadagala was to render assistance against Mayadunne. To their amazement, they found that he had all but laid the red-carpet out for them. Astute man that he was, he had already hatched plans for making allies of the very men, who had come to destroy him and on his express orders they found food ready for them throughout his territory. Until they reached Negumbo their march was happily punctuated with acts of courtesy and friendly visits from the aristocracy of the areas they were passing through. When they reached the kingdom of *Kōttē* they were naturally surprised to find that on their approach villagers abandoned their dwellings and fled into the forests and rather than sell them food concealed it. Barreto's men were, as already mentioned earlier, little accustomed to marching under arms in tropical terrain and the added tension of having to be on the alert to a sudden attack made the journey more strenuous than the one from Batecalou to Sengadagala, although it was shorter. So it was a straggling foot-sore band of warriors, who reached Columbo towards the early days of September 1547. It is interesting to note that Barreto's successful retreat made him a legendary figure in his own time. So much legion were the heroic actions credited to him and his men of fighting against great odds that even Diogo do Couto and *Fernão de Queyros*, Portuguese historians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, gave credence readily to them. Barreto's retreat, though devoid of actual fighting, was certainly a highly commendable feat.

- a. A soldier using a hand-gun.
- b. A kind of hand-gun, musket or arquebus.
- c. A wick used for firing the touch-hole of the arquebus.
- d. This was the main bridge and probably had some distinguishing mark, which was referred to as silver in Sinhala.

CHAPTER 10

In Columbo Barreto waited in expectation of a visit from Bhuvanaka Bahu or for at least a message from him. The proximity of Columbo to the city of *Kōttē* and the fact that the astute Mayadunne continued to woo his friendship by sending gifts to him at regular intervals and Vikrama Bahu's welcome in person at Cande may have led him to expect a royal visit. After the lapse of nearly 20 days Bhuvanaka Bahu sent a close kinsman of his to see him and he took the opportunity to complain bitterly of the treatment he met with on his retreat.

Towards the last day of September or the first of October 1547 Bhuvanaka Bahu sent a message to Barreto, requesting him to pay an official visit on behalf of the sovereign of Portugal and his governor, as what he had to tell him concerned the former. At the audience, which ensued the monarch stated that he wished to clear himself of the accusations levelled against himself for Vikrama Bahu's failure to become a Christian and asked him to frame the charges. The Portuguese commander then proceeded to enumerate them, and included the obstacles he was putting to the progress of Christianity and also complained of the bad reception he had received in his kingdom during the retreat from Sengadagala. He also stated that the ruler of Uva,¹ who was a vassal of Vikrama Bahu and the other noblemen and noblewomen, who had come in the entourage of the Candea princess along with the elephants and jewels should be released.

In Columbo, Barreto was facing difficulties, different to those on his ill-fated expedition. The maintenance of his 100 men was a drain on his privy purse. Moreover, every one of them had his own batman. Shrewd man that he was, he now saw a solution to his financial predicaments and a means of recuperating the losses incurred by him on the venture to Cande by a letter of demand addressed to Bhuvanaka Bahu sequestering the whole of the entourage of the princess, including the elephants and other valuables until instructions from the governor came. Not satisfied with this, he demanded the sequestration of the princess herself. After this he waited kicking his heels impatiently for his boats to arrive from Batecalou to remove him and his men, whose numbers had swelled to 150; the new-comers were probably swashbuckling adventurers, who had joined his camp in Columbo.

1. Schurhammer's text, page 470 mentions Rua instead of Uva, but the footnote indicates with a question mark Uva. The English translation of P & F mentions Uva.

He next proceeded to send a report² to the governor, in which he recounted briefly the failure of his mission and his retreat and his recent brush up with Bhuvanaka Bahu. He justified the sequestration of the princess as a counter-move to Bhuvanaka Bahu's attempt to check the progress of Christianity by getting her married to his grandson, although he was fully aware that the Franciscan head in Ceylon had letters from Vikrama Bahu to the governor promising to get her married to a Sinhala ruler of the governor's choice, once she became a Christian. He acknowledged the receipt of the governor's letter sent through Pero Froes⁴ and promised to carry out the orders mentioned in it. He ended his letter by recommending Antonio de Bryto a *mercê* for his 11 years of service in India, a good part of which was spent with him. He especially merited this, he said, for the great valour he displayed at Dio, where he was burnt and wounded and of which he himself was an eye-witness and also for the hardships he underwent in Ceylon. He asked as a personal favour that de Bryto, be given an *esmola*⁵ from his salary as he was in straitened circumstances and also permission to return to Portugal because ill-health in the previous year had prevented him from availing himself of the governor's *mercê* of 100 pardaos and the licence to return to Portugal. He also asked that the governor's letter commending him to the king of Portugal, which had been given in the previous year be renewed. Barreto handed over to de Bryto his letter along with the ola he had received from Vikrama Bahu soon after his arrival at Batecalou and also the agreement resulting from the 20-day conference at Sengadagala.

From Columbo friar João de Villa de Conde also wrote³ on the same day as Barreto a letter to the governor, full of self-reproach for having induced him to equip the expeditionary force. It was, he stated, his personal sinfulness, which was largely responsible for the failure to bring the kingdom of Cande into the Christian fold. He gave an apologetic explanation as follows: "Above everything I admit to your Lordship that I could not satisfy my conscience if I failed to act as I did, when I was importuned with many ollas⁴ and letters from the king and the two frades⁵ who were there and a certain Nun Alvres⁶ who brought him to this stage; the result of which was that I became liable to render an account to God for so great a perdition if I did not in that matter do what I could. Further the men, fidalgos and others, who came from there and told me that the King was ready to make everyone Christian, induced me to go and ask your Lordship for help. I was led to the same conviction by the very urgent letters

2. Letter of 11-10-47, P & F.

3. Letter of 11-10-47, P & F.

4. Variation of the word ola.

5. Friars

6. Nuno Alvares

of the said King which I got after starting from Dio, and the 2,000 men whom he sent for us and our baggage to the port of Batecalou where we disembarked, and an ola he wrote for us and which Antonio Moniz is sending to your Lordship, as well as his public admission before us and his people, of his desire to make all Christians. These which suggested so great a likelihood of completing a business so lofty, led me to go and deceive your Lordship, as I myself was deceived; and they have brought me to such confusion that I do not know with what eyes I shall appear before you; as for my labours I consider them well spent because of the cause on which they were spent".

He apologized for having asked for the expeditionary force and funds to finance it and also for the burning of the baggage on the retreat. The attitude of Vikrama Bahu towards Barreto, he attributed to that monarch's own wickedness, the persuasive propaganda of Bhuvanaka Bahu against the Portuguese and the deplorable conduct of the first band of Portuguese expeditionaries. The last two reasons of the friar's analysis were substantially correct and as for the first it might be replaced by the more charitable explanation that Vikrama Bahu was trying to make the best of a bargain into which he had been reluctantly forced by the exigencies of the political situation. The friar also mentioned the personal losses suffered by Barreto by the destruction of his personal property and on the maintenance of the lascars during the expedition and at Columbo as well, and praised him for the admirable manner in which he handled the most difficult of situations. He did not forget to commend the *lascars*,^c who never for a moment, he said, gave Vikrama Bahu cause for complaint on the score of avaricious or ill-disciplined conduct. He consoled the governor with the thought that no one would be able to reproach him for not co-operating in such a sacred matter as the expedition to Cande. The failure of the mission would prejudice the progress of Christianity, while at the same time, he said, that he had no respect for the inhabitants of the Island as some embraced Christianity to obtain favours and others refrained from doing so through fear of persecution. He touched briefly on the conversion of the chieftains neighbouring Cande and ended his letter by thanking the governor for his kind letter.

Meanwhile Mayadunne, feeling that the time was ripe for personal talks invited Barreto to Sitāvaka. Having accepted the invitation, Barreto sometime between the 12th of October and the 26th of October, 1547, sailed up the Calane^{7a} river in a catur to within four leagues of the capital, at which point Mayadunne, who had travelled downstream in a *tonē*^d met him. The talks, which were certainly most satisfactory from the point of view of the aristocratic Portuguese warrior and the Sinhala warrior-king, covered^{7b} the question of evangelism in the Island. Mayadunne being a noted

7a. The modern Kelani

7b. Doc: 49 P & F

antagonist of the gospel, one can justifiably imagine that he must have given the assurance that he would not hamper its progress. Barreto, who, undoubtedly, was still smarting under his humiliating experiences at Sengadagala quickly fell in with Mayadunne's plans to make a joint attack on Cande and agreed to put them before the governor along with his request to become a vassal of the king of Portugal.

The salient points of Mayadunne's proposals were embodied in a letter,⁸ which was handed to a kinsman of his, who was to act as his ambassador and accompany Barreto to Goa for the purpose of negotiating the proposed alliance. The letter, which was in Portuguese, mentioned how he had craved in the past to be a vassal of the king of Portugal and how this opportunity had been always denied him, although he had informed former governors of his desire and had been prepared to pay a reasonable tribute. Now it was apparent he said, how Vikrama Bahu had deceived not only the governor by the way he acted towards Barreto, but also himself by arranging the marriage of his daughter to Bhuvanaka Bahu's grandson.⁹ He offered to lead an army in person into the hill-country kingdom, provided the governor agreed to make a "mercê" of it to his son in the name of the king of Portugal. As far as the military commitments of the alliance were concerned, he requested 200 armed Portuguese and was prepared to defray the expenses of the fleet, which would bring them to the shores of the Island and even agreed to pay the soldo of whatever number of expeditionaries, who set foot on the shores of the Island. He also stipulated that half of Vikrama Bahu's treasure in bullion and precious stones, which, he was sure, they would capture, should go to the crown of Portugal, while the other half with the governor's approval should go to reimburse himself in respect of the expenses of the campaign. He was apparently expecting Barreto to return at the head of the contingent, for he requested that he should not leave till the end of the campaign, which he optimistically expected to be short and victorious. He also made a demand for the *mercê* of Chilaw⁹ out of the 10 ports of the Island, so that he might trade directly with the Portuguese and promised to pay the tribute, which the governor considered reasonable. In addition he asked for the Pitigal Corlla, which served as a corridor from his kingdom to Chilaw and asked that further questions on the matter be discussed with his ambassador. In conclusion, he admitted rather naively that he had on purpose treated Barreto and his men well on their retreat in order to please the governor and win a good name for himself and also mentioned that Barreto would give an account of their talks.

8. Letter of 26-10-47 P & F.

9. Sinhala: Halavata, P & F text mentions Ceylão a mistake no doubt, Vide P & F, page 211.

Mayadunne's volte-face in attempting to win over the Portuguese was motivated by the dictates of his own self-interested policy, which aimed at Island-wide supremacy. If successful in his new line of action he would not only have out-manoeuvred his two royal rivals of Cande and Kōttē and tilted the balance of power in his favour, but the latter would have lost that semblance of supremacy to which he clung so precariously. Not long after Barreto's return from Sitāvaka with Mayadunne's ambassador, Bhuvanaka Bahu realized that it was time that he made an attempt to allay his anger and proceeded to offer him a very tempting bribe of 10,000 pardaos so that he might not paint an unfavourable picture to the governor and inform him of his collaboration with Vikrama Bahu. The money was ostensibly to all intents and purposes to reimburse Barreto for the losses he had incurred on the ill-fated mission to Sengadagala. He, however, displayed a virtue rare among the Portuguese of that era in the East and refused to accept it, thus winning the added respect of his countrymen. About the middle of November, 1547, he set sail for Goa with Mayadunne's ambassador.

Matters having come to a standstill from the point of view of friar João he also embarked on Barreto's boat. It would appear that Barreto's fleet for which he had been waiting did eventually turn up from Batecalou, for the friar says that two pioneer fellow friars, who had originally come out with him from Portugal and who were disappointed with the results of their efforts in the field of evangelism followed him to Cochim, in what he calls "our galleon" presumably, referring to one of Barreto's boats. It would appear from the tenor of a letter¹⁰ of the bishop of Goa to the governor that the two friars had accompanied friar João to Cande. The friars disembarked at Cochim and friar João sent a short letter¹¹ to the governor appraising him briefly of the developments regarding Mayadunne and also of Bhuvanaka Bahu's attempt to bribe Barreto, whose outstanding integrity and humanitarian considerations for his men and liberal expenditure on them merited a reward, while due praise, he said, should be rendered to God for the like of a man of his stature. He also mentioned receiving information that the 10,000 pardaos Barreto had refused would be forwarded to the governor as an appeasement. He mentioned that his six years of fruitless toil were quite sufficient and asked the governor if he approved of the return to Portugal of his two colleagues and himself to forward a licence from the padre custodian and also to furnish them with the necessary expenses, but at the same time indicating his resignation to postpone the trip if he so desired. He also mentioned that the governor as a God fearing man should be in a position to advise him and recommended Guomes da Silva for a reward for the excellent

10. Letter of 26-11-47 Vol. 2 sch.

11. Letter of 27-11-47, P & F.

services rendered at Batecalou. Consequently, da Silva did in fact become the recipient of a gubernatorial *mercê* and was allowed to transport five *bahars*¹² of cinnamon, which he had brought from Ceylon to Ormuz for sale there. The governor's award¹² also mentions that he was going to that port as the captain of a fusta, this was also probably a promotion for efficiency.

The bishop of Goa, who was at Cochim also wrote¹³ two letters to the governor about his plans for reorganising the church in Portuguese India and of establishing colleges, including one in Ceylon, for the training of future generations of priests, not forgetting to mention the intended departure of the friars. It is possible that friar João stayed at Cochim, considering it useless to proceed to Goa till the governor's decision was known or it may well be that he was reluctant to show himself so soon in Goa as he may have been sensitive to the possibility of being the laughing stock in circles there. In fact before his arrival at Cochim Ruy Gonçalvez de Caminha had written from Goa¹⁴ to the governor at Dio stating that Christoum Dourya¹⁵ had arrived from Cochim with the news of the disastrous experience of Barreto and that people were laughing at the friars and the Christian faith.

Meanwhile Vikrama Bahu being, perhaps, rather remorseful over the Barreto episode and in a mood to appease the governor, had sent Bhuvanaka Bahu the artillery, which the Portuguese had abandoned. If one is to believe some of the Portuguese residents of Colombo, named, Christovam Rabelo, Amrique de Matos, Belchior Rodriguez and Miguel Fernandez he had also entrusted Bhuvanaka Bahu with 12,000 pardaos for Barreto's reimbursement. Bhuvanaka Bahu is said to have denied this, but in proof of the fact that he had received it, they alleged that two days before the ship carrying his annual tribute of cinnamon sailed he had given about 50 of Barreto's men, who were there, 25 pardaos each. This fact they urged to the governor as proof that Bhuvanaka Bahu was the chief obstacle to Vikrama Bahu's pro-Christian policy and the progress of Christianity in the Island and in their joint petition¹⁶ to the governor they warned him that though Bhuvanaka Bahu passed for a friend, he was the greatest enemy of the Portuguese and that his persecution of the Sinhala converts drove them back to the temples and that many more did not join the Christian fold for lack of protection against their sovereign's persecution. They proceeded to threaten to have no other alternative but to leave their plantations

12. Dated 3-2-48; document 107, Vol. 2 Sch.

13. Letter of 26-11-47 Vol. 2 Sch.

14. Letter of 27-11-47, Vol. 2 Sch.

15. Captain of *Negapatão* referred to as Christovao d'Ourrea earlier.

16. Letter of 27-11-47, P & F. Compare with Caminha's letter of 9.1.48 in Sch: vol. 2 repayment of 25 pardaos by Bhuvanaka Bahu to Barreto's men (also page 86 of this book).

owing to the hardship inflicted daily on them, both families men and bachelors. They complained, they said, not so much because they had to pay Bhuvanaka Bahu "*direitos*"¹⁷ as directed by their sovereign, but because of the arbitrary amounts involved in respect of them and anchorage dues in the ports, so much so that they had to pay even when a boat had nothing of value, such as a *last*^h of sand or stone. They asked the governor to see that they received some concession in these matters as is done in other parts and ports, also complaining of the devaluation of Portuguese currency as a result of which a gold pardao was worth only four tangas, the majority of the fanams being counterfeit. Bhuvanaka Bahu they said "always takes trouble to please the Captains of the cinnamon ship who come here, calculating that if he satisfied them and some of the more powerful, he can do to the rest all the evils and offences he likes, if your Lordship and the other governors are not told the truth so as to punish him as he deserves". They ended their petition with a demand for justice and an assertion of their loyalty as follows: "There will be here in this Island forty of us residents, and though we are far removed from the service of the King our Lord, through our not being so much in contact as those of Cochim, we stand very ready with our property and persons whenever we are needed, like loyal Portuguese. We entreat your Lordship to do us the favour of informing yourself of the truth regarding the matters set out above, and when informed about them, to provide with us justice, and not acquiesce in our being tyrannised over by this heathen King, as we are. For we have no hope that anyone will protect us save your Lordship. Your Lordship should inform yourself from the frades who are going from there and also from every other person, so long as he is not some dependant of this same King, and in this case you will do us much favour and justice".

Friar Antonio ever since his return from Cande had remained at Columbo, as he himself in the language of exaggeration said¹⁷ "crippled by old age and a discredited figure". It would appear that the displeasure between him and de Souza had increased into a yawning gulf and had not been buried and forgotten by the latter, who saw to it that the governor held an inquiry at Dio into the former's conduct. The old friar's poor health had, however, not succeeded in killing his interest in the politics of the Island and the propagation of the Christian faith therein. He wrote¹⁸ in November, 1547, to the governor, stating briefly that the inquiry, which had been held about himself was not necessary as he was sending in defence a true statement of the facts. He praised Barreto's integrity in not having fallen into a pitfall by accepting Bhuvanaka Bahu's bribe. He was quite a realist and although aware that Mayadunne was notoriously anti-Christian saw the advantages of an alliance with him and

17. Letter of 25-11-47, P & F.

18. Letter of 25-11-47, P & F.

strongly recommended it, for he said that that monarch and Bhuvanaka Bahu were together nearly driving the Portuguese out of the Island. He warned the governor against false advisers, and also informed him of the mud and wattle and palm-thatched churches and the many Christians in the Island and indicated that it was the duty of the Portuguese to maintain Christianity for the sake of their honour, as the trade in cinnamon was in their hands. He was of the view that a show of strength was necessary for Christianity to progress, asserting that the spread of the Christian gospel would be automatic once a fortress was built in Columbo.

Bhuvanaka Bahu had been secretly preparing to wage war and since about January or February 1547 buildings had been constructed in the forests, apparently to quarter his army and store munitions and food. Two Portuguese, the veteran Duarte Teixeira, and a *Mestre*¹ Luis were accused by the above-mentioned Portuguese residents of Columbo of being his chief technical advisers and of having inspired his activities and of also being more loyal to him than to their own sovereign. Encouraged, no doubt, by these two, Bhuvanaka Bahu had, when the ship carrying the tribute of cinnamon was about to sail, that is probably sometime in November, prohibited by proclamation anyone from going to Sitāvaka and clamped a boycott on the movement of all goods to that kingdom as well. The governor was informed of all these developments by the Portuguese residents in their petition.

- a. He appears to have been a regular visitor to the Island and was perhaps already captain of the ship carrying tribute. He was in the Colombo harbour in October, 1547, and October, 1550, *vide* P. & F., documents 45 and 57.
- b. The word means charity and therefore it probably means that it will be an act of charity in paying his salary.
- c. The term here as used by friar João (*vide* document 46, P. & F.) and friar Antonio (*vide* document 29, P. & F.) refers to the Portuguese expeditionaries of Barreto and de Souza respectively as there were only local Christians from Galle accompanying de Souza's party and no soldiers, either Indian or Sinhalese accompanying the two sets of expeditionaries. The reference by the bishop of Goa in document 83, Vol. 2 Sch: to his readiness to find the costs of equipping 12 or 15 lascarins by begging alms also proves clearly that the term refers to the Portuguese soldiery as it was a Portuguese fighting force that Vikrama Bahu wanted. There is also the case of a Portuguese soldier at Goa calling himself Pero Fernandez Lascarim (*vide* document 33, Sch:). Later, however, the term lascarin referred to Asiatic soldiers fighting under the Portuguese flag and the name continued up to Dutch and British times. Lascorreen street in Colombo commemorates this band of soldiery. The word is derived from the Persian lashkar meaning a soldier. The English term lascar meaning an Indian seaman is probably derived from the Hindi lashkar which again, no doubt, is derived from the Persian lashkar.
- d. A canoe made of one solid log for use in rivers.
- e. The reference is to the peace terms between Mayadunne and Vikrama Bahu according to which the latter was to hand over his daughter to the former.
- f. A varying measure about 3 quintals and 4 quintals according to Couto and Correa respectively; a quintal varying from 100 lbs to 112 lbs.

- g. Customs duties and taxes.
- h. The ballast used to ensure stability of the boat. It also became a measure of weight.
- i. *Mestre* meaning master was a term applied to a person in a trade, business or profession.

CHAPTER 11

For about the next two and half years (1548-1550) the threads of Cande fade into the background to give way to those of Sitāvaka and Kōttē, which in turn were instrumental in shooting them back into the main web of our Story.

Not to be out-manoeuvred in the field of diplomacy by Mayadunne, Bhuvanaka Bahu in early January 1548 despatched his nephew, a presentable young man, as his ambassador in order to calm an irate governor about the occurrences of the last year. He sought the mediation of the governor's favourite, de Caminha, who was at Cochim and with this end in view his ambassador broke journey there and handed him a letter in which he poured forth his pitiful plight and the maltreatment he received at the hands of the Portuguese and gave his version about the experiences of Barreto and his men. Mention was also made that the artillery, which Barreto had abandoned in Cande was now lying with the factor in Columbo and that those of Barreto's men, who were in Columbo, were given 25 pardaos each as compensation by him and that Barreto had been offered 5,000 pardaos and afterwards 7,000, but refused to accept less than 10,000 and when this sum was forwarded to him he refused to accept it and asked that it be sent to Mayadunne's ambassadors¹ on the score that he had to return to Goa.

Bhuvanaka Bahu's ambassador was accompanied by a servant of the factor at Columbo, most probably, the notorious Gaspar de Azevedo and de Caminha found it most annoying and his patience taxed by the fact that this servant was not permitted to talk to him except in the presence or hearing of the ambassador. News that the governor had interviewed and despatched Mayadunne's ambassadors reached Cochim and proved a severe blow to Bhuvanaka Bahu's ambassador. Melanchoalia seized him, but de Caminha cheered him up and asked him to proceed to Goa, assuring him that everything would turn out well. All the information de Caminha gathered from Bhuvanaka Bahu's letter and from a friar Antonio *Peyuenyno*² in Ceylon was duly transmitted to the governor by letter,³ in which he did not report unfavourably on Bhuvanaka Bahu but rather seemed to accept his version that the conditions in Ceylon were deplorable. "It appears to me that according to the way they treated him" he wrote "he had to take refuge in the mountains and leave Kōttē to the King our Lord, because he says, that he is a vassal of the King our Lord and that he has no life and they leave him nothing to eat nor to sleep nor to write a letter to Your Lordship. It appears that from *Ceilão* you had news and the King of *Ceilão*, that

he should give me a pension, and the factor advised me, that I should take it. I replied to him in the manner of Your Lordship, that the counsel was good, but that he should keep it for himself, and that now I believed what the King of *Ceilão* says, namely, that now they had not placed a man as factor—allcayde mor,^b who was not a bigger drunkard and more of a rascal and more of a thief than him".

Meanwhile Francis Xavier had reached Cochim on the 13th of January 1548 from his sojourn in Molucca and Malacca and had met friar *João*, who was still awaiting a reply from the governor. These two missionaries discussed the precarious position of Christianity in India and Ceylon and Xavier soon afterwards wrote a letter³ to the Portuguese sovereign informing him that Ceylon would become Christian in the space of an year and the kings of Malabar, Cape Comorin and other parts as well, if the governor would only extend his protection. About the Indian mission Xavier asked him to accept the accounts of the friars^c Domingos, Peregrino and Diogo, who were returning shortly to Portugal and that of friar *João* about Ceylon.

Meanwhile Mayadunne, who was bent on maintaining, if not increasing, the same degree of cordiality with the authorities in Goa sent an elaborate camping pavilion made of palm-leaves adorned with a border of painted straw with 26 posts of cane reinforced with iron, and three ironless shafts on which it was placed. The gift was duly entered on the 4th of March, 1548, by Gomez *Serrão*, the treasurer and Manuel *Falcão*, clerk of the treasury in the books of the treasury at Goa. It is most probable that it was in return for this token of friendship that governor de Castro had sent a Portuguese banner, which Mayadunne proudly displayed as a symbol of his vassalage. Before Mayadunne could reap the fruits of his newly won alliance, governor de Castro breathed his last on the 5th of June. He was succeeded by Garcia de Saa, who wrote to Bhuvanaka Bahu, stating that he had been asked by his sovereign to repay a loan due to him, and also intimating his sovereign's displeasure with him for not joining the Christian fold, despite the fact that his ambassador, Sri Radaraksa Pandita at the court of Lisbon in 1543 had said that he would do so. Bhuvanaka Bahu tactfully asked him to take his own time to repay the loan as the situation in India necessitated heavy expenditure on the army and volunteered to stand in readiness to go personally to his aid.

Some months after the new governor had assumed the reins of office captain Fernandez de Vascomcelos, who had been detailed by the late governor de Castro to report on the alleged grievances of Bhuvanaka Bahu against Portuguese officials arrived in Columbo. On the spot inquiries were conducted satisfactorily by him and the good name of the Portuguese rehabilitated and much to Bhuvanaka Bahu's joy he felt that he was once more a king in his own

1. De Caminha refers to ambassadors in his letter of 9-1-48, vol. 2 sch.

2. Letter of 9-1-48, vol. 2, Sch.

3. Letter of 20-1-48, Vol. 2 Sch.

kingdom. Cordial relations being thus established with the authorities at Goa when the cold war between *Kōttē* and *Sitāvaka* seemed to break into an imminent attack by the latter, Bhuvanaka Bahu was not ashamed to hasten personally to the captain and ask him in the name of his Portuguese overlord to stay and help him to ward off the attack.

The Roman Catholic missionaries had always considered India and Ceylon a good field for their activities and were concentrating in particular on the latter. In December 1548, friar Diego Bermudez, the vicar-general of the Dominicans in Goa, wrote⁴ to the sovereign of Portugal praising the zeal of friar *João*, despite the travails he underwent in Ceylon, but decried the Portuguese officials, whom, he said, would sell their souls and the whole of Ceylon to the devil for a mere *toston*,⁴ although it was clearly their obligation to see to the welfare of the converts to Christianity so that they may not turn apostates. The bishop of Goa also wrote⁵ to that monarch stating that for three years he had palavaed the virtuous and zealous friar *João* to stay for the difficult task of labouring for God and his faith but that now he was determined to return to Portugal to give him an account of the affairs of Ceylon and obtain a solution from him. He asked that the friar be received well and be given a good hearing as the bloody complicated Ceylon scene may not be easily understood in Portugal, mentioning that "much constancy and prudence was needed for the music of conversion among the unbelievers".

At about the same time as the two clerics mentioned above wrote, Bhuvanaka Bahu also indulged in a bout of letter-writing⁶ in order to allay any fears or doubts the sovereign of Portugal entertained about his integrity. He emphatically denied ever having promised to become a Christian. Of this, he said, boldly "Your Governor further wrote to me that your Highness is somewhat displeased with me because my ambassador when in the *Reyno*^e told you that I was going to become a Christian. This is a statement I did not make to you, nor did Your Highness write to me such a thing through him; I only hear this being said by the Friar *João* de Villa de Conde, the *Guardião*. In reply I wrote to him that I would not pursue a double course, because there are in this world your friendship and my God; but I repeat this to Your Highness, because, as this is the work of God, it is not to be achieved by force. He will decide when it is most to his service". He dismissed the accusation that he victimized the converts to Christianity, thus "And as to what Your Highness wrote to me of the evil treatment I give to the Christians and how I oppress them when they come to become such, I stand astonished at the sight of a man so bold as to tell you

4. Letter of 6-12-48, Vol. 2, Sch.

5. Letter of 6-12-48, Vol. 2, Sch.

6. Letters of 7-12-48 & 11-12-48, P & F.

or to write to you that which is not the case; and regarding this I can be called a *mofino*,^f since they do not thank me for the good which I do alike to them as to the Portuguese your subjects; because I never know to do ill to one who does it to me; how much more in the case of the Christians whom your Highness recommends to me so greatly. In order to ascertain the truth of that matter, I desire you to send it to me by a document for Your Highness to learn the truth". It was he who was the victim, he said: "and in respect of this and the rest, it is I who have less power in this land, and this for the love of you". He aired his grievances against the Portuguese officials, such as the personal affronts he had to bear at their hands, their obstructive tactics, their collusive action in encouraging into his ports *undesirables*,^g who played havoc with his subjects, who were thus forced to migrate to other parts of the country, leaving the ports deserted. He particularly mentioned Gaspar d'Azevedo, the factor, who was a thorn in his side and who, he said, had discovered that non-co-operation was the best formula to extract favours from him. He was specially angry with him for having failed to bring to book some drunken Portuguese, who had killed his cousin, *mudaliyar Tennagom*,^h the governor of Galla. He also complained bitterly of the scheming factors who sought to deprive him of a vehicle for complaints against them by attempting to deport his Portuguese clerk Antonio d'Afonso Sequeira, who had been recommended to him by the late governor de Castro. In view of these annoying experiences he asked that the Portuguese monarch be so gracious as to despatch decrees enjoining that no Portuguese be permitted to remain in any port except that of Columbo, and that no one interfered with Sequeira and that his own complaints be adjudicated upon by a judge, who was above board and who if there was substance in them, should commit them with a report to the governor for further action.

By now friar *João* had been waiting patiently for over an year to leave for the court of Portugal, where as already mentioned, he was to make a personal report on the progress of the missionaries and the obstacles and difficulties they encountered. He was eventually expecting to sail in the early part of 1549 and this was the occasion for letters to be handed to him for transmission to the Portuguese king. Friar Antonio do Casal, the padre custodian of the Franciscans in Goa, in the second⁷ of the two letters he wrote, reviewed briefly the progress of Christianity in Ceylon, stating that he could never go there because the viceroy did not permit him to leave him nor did he have to give directions to the friars, who went directly there as the custodian at Cochim attended to them and there were always three or four of them there. He attributed the stagnancy of Christianity to Bhuvanaka Bahu, the Portuguese and the local inhabitants, who did not desire to become

7. Letter of 21-1-49, Vol. 2, Sch.

Christians except for reasons of self-interest and said that he had asked the friars, who were grumbling to be contented with the fact that that monarch had been good enough to permit the erection of three churches and Christian schools and the preaching of the faith in his kingdom. He also touched on the difficult mission Barreto had undertaken to Cande and the treachery of Bhuvanaka Bahu as being the root cause of Vikrama Bahu's defection. He commended Barreto's honourable conduct and scorn for ill-gotten wealth in the face of the tempting bribe of 10,000 pardaos; details, he said, could be obtained from friar João. Francis Xavier, who was still at Cochim, having got wind of Bhuvanaka Bahu's attempt to get into the good graces of the Portuguese monarch, wrote a letter⁸ to him to counter any favourable impressions. It was full of home-truths, almost amounting to impertinent insult, the smart of which he sought to soothe by talk of his "disinterested affection" for him. "I am not writing to your Highness" he wrote in detail of the facts of disfavour and evil treatment shown to those who are Christians and converted to our holy faith, since the Padre Frei João de Vila de Conde who is going there will report them to your Highness with all truth. Your Highness ought to give many thanks for the great trouble he has taken in these parts of India in the service of God and the relief of your Highness' conscience. For the physical toils which the Padre Frei João underwent in these parts of India, even though they might be numerous and great and continuous, are insupportable when taken with the troubles of the spirit over the evil treatment which the Captains and Factors inflict on those who are newly converted, when it is their duty to help them; it is as it were a kind of martyrdom to have patience and see destroyed what has been obtained with so much labour.

We have here definite information that the King of *Ceilão* is sending to Your Highness great boasts of the services he is rendering your Highness; you may know for certain that God has a great enemy in *Ceilão* in the King and this King is favoured and does all the mischief he can only with your Highness' favour. It grieves me to write this, for finally we are afraid here by our experience of the past that he is going to be more favoured by your Highness than are the Frades of *São Francisco* who are in *Ceilão*. Finally experience has taught me that your Highness has no power in India to spread the faith of Christ, while you have power to take away and enjoy all the temporal riches of India. Your Highness must pardon me for speaking so plainly; the disinterested affection I have for you compels me to do so, as I feel as it were the judgment of God who at the hour will reveal that no one however powerful he may be, is able to escape. Senhor, as I know what happens here, I have no hope of their carrying out here the commands and provisions which are needed in favour of Chris-

8. Letter of 26. 1. 49, P & F.

tianity, and therefore I am as it were fleeing to Japan so as not to lose more time. Regarding what has happened the Padre Frei João is taking certain memorials from the defenceless Christians of Cape Comorin; may your Highness be a father to them, since Miguel Vaz,⁹ of a verity their father, is dead May our Lord grant to your Highness to feel within your soul your most holy wish and give you grace to accomplish it to perfection just as it might be your desire to have it accomplished at the hour of your death when you are about to render to God an account of all your past life, which hour will be sooner than your Highness thinks. Therefore be prepared since Kingdoms and Seignories finish and have an end. It will be a novel matter, of kind which has never befallen your Highness, to see yourself at the hour of death disposed of your Kingdoms and Seignories and entering on others where it will be strange thing for you to be ordered, which God forbid, out of Paradise".

9. He was vicar-general at Cochim.

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- a. The reference is to friar Piquino being a variation of spelling.
 - b. An officer in charge of a fortress. When, however, a trading post or feitoria overseas was guarded by soldiers the feitor or factor was also called an alcaide-mor.
 - c. The bishop actually refers to them as the fathers of Piedade, which was the Franciscan Province to which they belonged. Vide also page 295 vol. I sch.
 - d. A gold or silver Portuguese coin of varying value, deriving its name from the king's head stamped on it. It was of French origin in design.
 - e. The term used for Portugal.
 - f. An unfortunate.
 - g. These were adventurers, generally Portuguese.
 - h. The modern form is Tennekoon.

CHAPTER 12

After about an year in office Garcia de Saa passed away and was succeeded in June 1549, by Jorge Cabral, whose relations with Bhuvanaka Bahu did not open on a very happy note. The imperial coffers at Goa being rather depleted, he sent a demand for a loan of 30,000 cruzados in the name of his royal master, but Bhuvanaka Bahu promptly refused it on account of his own financial predicaments. In addition to this unfortunate episode Bhuvanaka Bahu's unpleasant relations with the Portuguese officials continued and they insisted that the *Regulations*^a which the Portuguese sovereign had promulgated to redress his grievances, out of deference for the Kōttē ambassadorial delegation in Lisbon in 1543, were cancelled on the orders of governor Cabral. Bhuvanaka Bahu refused to believe this unless he was furnished with some documentary proof. To make matters worse captain de Vasconcellos, on whom he had showered praise for the manner in which he had accomplished his special assignment in the previous year, now turned against him and confirmed the cancellation of the Regulations. According to Bhuvanaka Bahu his so-called admirable conduct in the past had been induced by expensive gifts. He had also given him a sum of 5,000 *xerafins*^b for the purchase of some goods, which had not been brought by him as promised and he had ordered that the said loan be added to the state debt due to himself from the sovereign of Portugal. Instead of agreeing to do this, de Vasconcellos proceeded to demand a discharge note from Bhuvanaka Bahu and on receiving a refusal launched a villifying campaign against him and even went to the extent of sending messages to Mayadunne to the effect that Bhuvanaka Bahu and his grandsons were in the palm of his hands and that he would barter the kingdom of Kōttē for money from him (Mayadunne), not hesitating to repeat the same with impudence in public.

Bhuvanaka Bahu was now definitely stirred and afraid that governor Cabral would be hostile to him and despatched letters¹ in December to Dom Luis, the brother of the king of Portugal, Count da Castanheira, the *vedor da fazenda* of Portugal and Dona Catherina, the queen of Portugal. The first two letters, which were of the same tenor and almost of identical phraseology complained of the oppressive malpractices of the Portuguese officials, both the captains of the *carreira* and those resident, who, he wrote, devised ways and means of extracting money from him and ignored the Regulations and were even ready to assist Mayadunne and connived at the misdeeds of the Portuguese residents. If the king were aware of these activities, the culprits would be severely dealt with, and he endured all this, he

1. Three letters of 11-12-49, P & F, Vol. 2, Sch.



PLATE IV

wrote, on account of "the old and true friendship which he always had and shall always have towards" him. He begged them to use their influence with him to get him to write to the governor to see to the strict observance of the Regulations, which he said, he would have returned long ago as being of no value, but for the fact that they emanated from a king so great. The disgraceful conduct of de Vascomcellos was also narrated and mention was made that it was a matter of deep regret that he was not in a position to comply with the request made by governor Cabral for a loan of 30,000 cruzados and asked that excuses be made to the king on his behalf. The letter to the queen was a brief one and touched first on what has always throughout the ages been nearest to a woman's heart, namely, precious stones. He thanked her for her letter handed to him by her jeweller Diogo Vaz, whose efficiency, he said, ought to be rewarded and assured her that he had ordered all the assistance and jewellers he wanted to be given him. He also mentioned that his wife and grandsons and himself were in good health although he was harassed by the Portuguese captains and begged her as follows: "I shall kiss your Highness' Royal hands to have my matters brought to notice before His Highness by you so that he should make provision regarding them as over his own Kingdom, since he has in me so loyal a Vassal and servant". In conclusion he asked her to make excuses for his inability to have advanced the loan to the governor.

Towards the end of 1549 Mayadunne's patience seemed to be at an end and every source within his power was tapped in order to reach his objective, the throne of Kōttē despite João III's categorical recognition of Bhuvanaka Bahu's grandson as the heir to it. Mayadunne spent restless days and nights and in his obsession to still forever the king and prince of Kōttē had recourse to the assassin and the poisoner. An adept at winning over people, he raised the filthy cancer of bribery in the ranks of the mudaliyars of Kōttē and openly stated that his sword would decide the succession to the throne. He prepared feverishly for a large scale invasion and at a distance of eight leagues from the city of Kōttē large quantities of artillery, powder and other paraphernalia of warfare were collected and fortifications with *tranqueiras*,^c defensive walls and *baluartes*^d set up. Once again the districts outlying the city, which years earlier he had overrun with the assistance of the forces of the Zamorin of Calicut, were occupied.

Bhuvanaka Bahu anticipating a siege of his capital by Mayadunne decided that it was high time to appeal to Goa, but was timorous of getting a rebuff. Fortuitously for him, a Portuguese nobleman, named Dom Jorge de Castro had taken asylum in his kingdom and most probably struck a friendship with him as he was not a stranger to the city of Kōttē having come in 1539 as a captain of Miguel Ferreira's

expeditionary forces.² This man had been ordered by governor de Castro to proceed to Malacca and marry Garcia de Saa's daughter to whom he was betrothed. He had, however, cast aside his moral obligations in the matter, ignored the gubernatorial order and married a mistress of his, who hailed from Malacca and then proceeded to Ceylon to avoid the wrath of his former fiancée's father, who had succeeded as governor. He happened to be the maternal uncle of the new governor Cabral and volunteered to go to Goa to prepare the ground for Bhuvanaka Bahu's appeal. With the dawn of 1550 the veteran brahmin ambassador, Sri Radaraska Pandita was despatched from the palace of *Kōttē* with a tempting sum of 10,000 pardaos for the governor as a loan for his king. He explained the nightmare Bhuvanaka Bahu was going through and made a request for help to expel Mayadunne from *Sitāvaka*. The governor after consultation with his council of captains and cavaliers decided to accede to the request, for apart from being the older vassal Bhuvanaka Bahu made an attractive offer of a contribution in cash of 20,000 xerafins and 10 elephants for work in the ports of the king of Portugal and promised an additional annual tribute of 150 bahars of cinnamon. Moreover, Mayadunne with his bid for overweening hegemony over the Island was considered dangerous and capable of driving the Portuguese out with the consequent loss of revenue to the Imperial Portuguese treasury. Viceroy designate Dom Affonso de Noronha, who will figure later in these pages, seems to have gathered on his first sojourn in Columbo and Cochim that captain de Vascomcellos had disclosed that up to the time of the brahmin ambassador's arrival at Goa Bhuvanaka Bahu had already given governor Cabral a sum of 95,000 xerafins. This source of information seems unreliable as it was tainted with animosity, Bhuvanaka Bahu and de Vasconcellos, as already mentioned having fallen out with each other. Besides it also carried an insinuation of bribery against Cabral, which does not bear the test of scrutiny in view of Bhuvanaka Bahu's three letters to the queen and the infanta and *vedor da Fazenda* of Portugal in December, 1549, stating that he had refused the loan Cabral had demanded from him. According to information de Noronha had received it would appear that Bhuvanaka Bahu had demanded an expeditionary force of 200 men from governor Cabral.

No time was lost in the implementation of the governor's decision and an armada and an expeditionary force of 600 men were equipped. A record of the terms on which help was to be granted was drawn, so that when in 1551 de Noronha, wrote³ from Cochim to his sovereign that the armada and expeditionary forces had been equipped at the expense of the Imperial Treasury and a silence maintained about the

2. Vide note e

3. Letter of 16-1-51, P & F.

cash brought by the brahmin ambassador from *Kōttē*, he was being defamatory of governor Cabral, whom he actually at the time was going to succeed to in office at Goa. In fairness to de Noronha it might be stated that he was most probably not aware of the existence of the document relating to the terms of assistance. It was, however, not becoming of him to rush to conclusions on information which appears to have been more in the nature of malicious gossip. It is interesting to learn according to the brahmin ambassador that a copy of the document was to be sent to the queen of Portugal for scrutiny.

In the first quarter of 1550 Dom Jorge de Castro returned to the Island of his self-imposed exile as captain-major of the expeditionary forces and fleet. Having weighed anchor at Columbo, he and his men disembarked and marched to the royal city of *Kōttē*, where Bhuvanaka Bahu received them with great warmth. Feverish activity went apace, with Bhuvanaka Bahu mustering an army of 5,000 strong. One can well imagine the air of anxious expectancy that must have hung over the Island with the anticipated clash between the royal brothers of *Kōttē* and *Sitāvaka* and also the stir and excitement caused by the Portuguese expeditionaries, the largest to appear so far in the city of *Kōttē*, the *last* having made their appearance well nigh over a decade ago under the command of Miguel Ferreira in 1539, as already mentioned.

After several weeks of preparation the combined *Kōttē*-Portuguese forces marched out from the city of *Kōttē* along the banks of the Calane river towards *Sitāvaka*. Dom Jorge de Castro and his men were in the van, Bhuvanaka Bahu and his army making the rear. Mayadunne gave up his hold on the parts outlying the city and withdrew to a fortified *tranqueira* on the banks of the river at *Navagamunka*^f about four leagues away from his capital. From here he launched a surprise attack and succeeded in killing only a handful of Dom Jorge's men, about 5 or 6 in number and in accounting for a number of casualties.

The Portuguese routed Mayadunne's forces and put them to flight and proceeded with their allies towards the city of *Sitāvaka*, which like the kingdom took its name from the *Sitāvaka-ganga* on either of whose banks it was nestling amidst the encircling hills. In the southern part of the city the royal-palace fortress stood on elevated ground. It was a magnificent building with three gates on each side, its frontal approach being served by a flight of 20 handsome broad steps. When the victorious forces entered the capital they found a mock welcome awaiting them. Mayadunne, in the midst of the disaster that was descending on him had, apparently, been seized by a spirit of devilry and had decorated his palace with "white ceiling cloths stretched, curtains hung around, and lamps lighted above it".⁴ Bhuvanaka Bahu, however, took up residence in it.

4. Rajavalia, page 67.

The Portuguese sacked a part of the city, destroying the magazine and collecting a lot of loot in the shape of gold, drugs and other valuables. Dom Jorge proceeded to make his quarters in this ill-fated part of the city. Bhuvanaka Bahu's men were no less innocent, and "were the ones who stole most, because like house robbers they dug and disinterred much treasure" so records the Portuguese historian de Couto. On Bhuvanaka Bahu's orders guards were placed on duty at places of Buddhist worship, which along with the famous Berendie kovil, shrine of the Hindu deity Paramesvara⁵ in the northern sector of the city, and owing its magnificence according to tradition to two decades of continuous labour of 2,000 men came out unscathed, as Dom Jorge out of deference for Bhuvanaka Bahu enjoined strictly that they should not be touched.

Mayadunne, who had now set up court in Batugedera⁶ in Dinavaca⁷ did not hesitate to stoop in order to conquer and stepping down from the pedestal of his personal pride sent ambassadors to plead for mercy and a reconciliation. Through them he admitted his past misdeeds and successfully played on the tender cord of fraternal affection. Dom Jorge indicated to Bhuvanaka Bahu that he had no desire to stand in the way of a fraternal reconciliation and that it was up to him to make a decision, which was consonant both with his own personal interests and that of the well-being of his kingdom. Accordingly Bhuvanaka Bahu and Dom Jorge sent two of their representatives, the former a mudaliyar and the latter, Andre de Souza, who had, apparently, returned to the shores of the Island with the expeditionary forces. The two emissaries, who were to sound Mayadunne with concrete proposals as a starting point for further peace talks, informed him that he was to have the option of paying liquid cash or of supplying a cargo load of goods for a Portuguese vessel and of reimbursing Dom Jorge in respect of the expenses incurred on his armada. Mayadunne did not wish to commit himself to such exorbitant peace terms and maintained a silence and the two emissaries had to return without a reply. Bhuvanaka Bahu, who was, doubtless, quite vexed at the situation, thought it was high time that they proceeded to drive him away from his place of refuge and offered Dom Jorge as an inducement for joining in the campaign 40,000 xerafins, of which 20,000 was to be in cash and the balance to be set-off against a debt owing from the governors to him. Dom Jorge deliberated with his captains and fellow-aristocrats and it was decided that he should accede to the request as it coincided with the interests of their royal master.

5. Portuguese: Paramisura. English Paramasiva; Berendi is derived from Bhairava Andi, which like Paramasiva is another name for Siva.

6. The village still exists.

7. The principality allotted to him after the assassination of his father in 1521 (Vijaya-Ba-Kollaya). The modern name is Denavaka applied to a small part of the ancient principality.

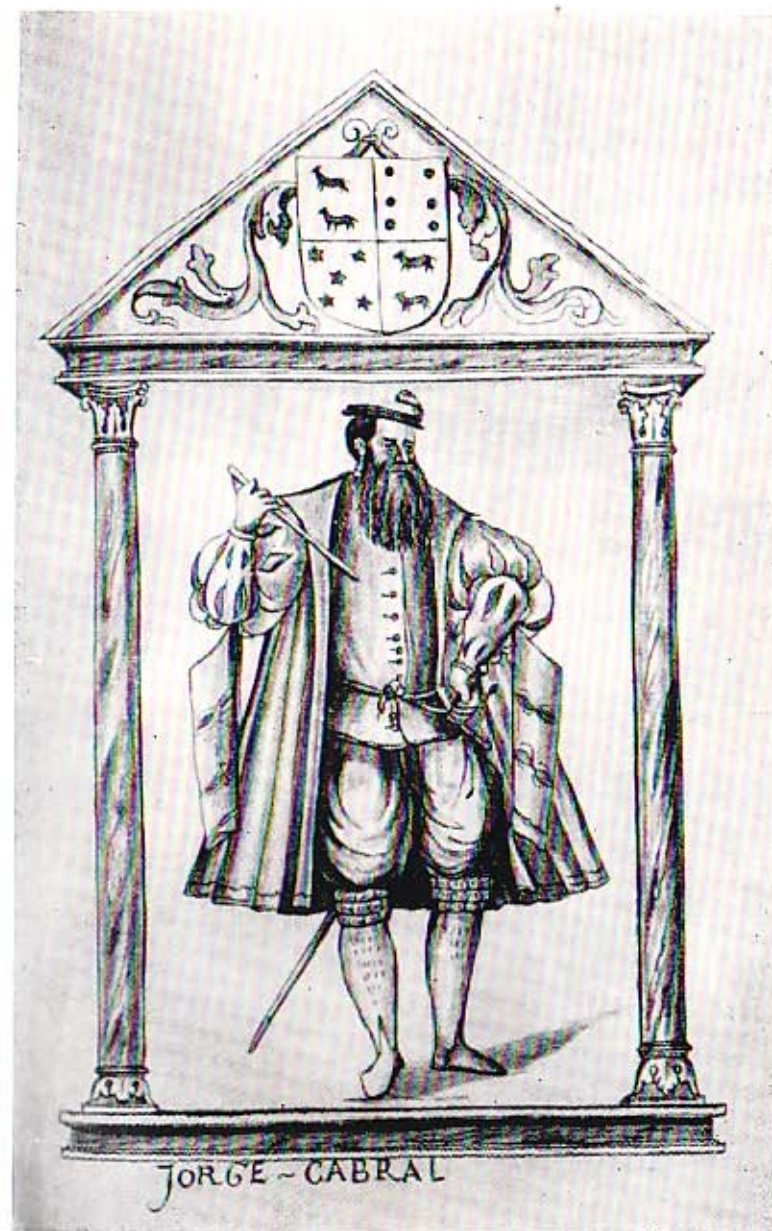


PLATE V

The authorities in Goa were still smarting under the humiliating treatment Barreto had received at the hands of Vikrama Bahu and so it would appear that Dom Jorge's regimento from the governor enjoined him to go on a punitive mission to Sengadagala or if circumstances were favourable and Vikrama Bahu was again inclined towards the Christian faith to give him all the necessary assistance to fulfill his earlier pledges to make it the established religion of his kingdom. It appeared to Dom Jorge that it was the first of the alternative instructions that he would have to follow. He had in the circumstances entered into an agreement which was signed by Bhuvanaka Bahu, a Portuguese officer and himself, according to which the combined Kōttē-Portuguese forces should attack Vikrama Bahu and the spoils of the campaign whether they were lands, money or other valuables should be divided equally between Bhuvanaka Bahu and the sovereign of Portugal, the former making it quite clear that Dom Jorge's assistance in the contemplated campaign against Mayadunne was a condition precedent for his honouring his obligations under the agreement.

At this stage, when both the Kōttē and Portuguese camps were geared for a drive against Mayadunne, friar Antonio, who was on his way to the court of Sengadagala made a dramatic appearance and exploiting the fact that he was an agent of the much venerated Pope held out the threat of excommunication over the heads of Dom Jorge's troops, if they stepped out against Mayadunne and instead bade them proceed to Cande. He was apparently now on the best of terms with Vikrama Bahu and intended to prop up his pro-Christian policy. The Portuguese troops encouraged by the long arm of Papal authority, became rebellious of de Castro's authority and refused to obey him. Heavy torrential rains and floods made the roads impassable and Bhuvanaka Bahu decided that the campaign should be abandoned. Dom Jorge, though thus saved the embarrassment of having to enforce his authority, was not prepared to do so as he was timorous of gubernatorial reactions at Goa to the cancellation of the 40,000-xerafin agreement entered into earlier. He consulted his chief aides and arrived at what they considered a compromise solution. Another agreement was accordingly drawn up in terms of this solution and signed by Bhuvanaka Bahu and Dom Jorge, the former agreeing to pay 10,000 pardaos immediately towards the expenses of the latter's troops. This amount would appear to have been considered a set-off against the 10,000 xerafins⁸ due under the 40,000-xerafin agreement for immediately after the agreement in respect of it was entered into another agreement was immediately drawn up according to which the payment of the balance 30,000 xerafins was to be submitted for the governor's consideration for waiver in accordance with his sense of fairplay and justice. This document was later being forwarded by

8. Vide chapter 12, Note b.

Bhuvanaka Bahu according to his brahmin ambassador to the queen of Portugal and after perusal and consideration if she thought that the 10,000 pardaos should not be paid it was to be considered a loan to her. A case for waiver of the 30,000 xerafins was made by the brahmin ambassador in his letter⁹ to her on the ground that his royal master Bhuvanaka Bahu was in no way guilty of a breach of the 40,000 xerafin contract as the intervention of bad weather and friar Antonio had made it impossible to proceed with the campaign against Mayadunne.

Soon after this, however, peace was made with Mayadunne, who came back to his capital for the purpose and was received with fraternal embraces by Bhuvanaka Bahu. The former undertook not to make wage war on the latter and to consent to the restoration of the territories over-run by him and to pay 100,000 *pagodes*⁸ towards the expenses of Dom Jorge's fleet and to provide provisions and serving men for the projected expedition against Vikrama Bahu.

Meanwhile Dom Jorge had received messages and letters from Sengadagala, most probably from friar Antonio, to the effect that Vikrama Bahu was prepared to be a Christian together with others, who were already Christian. At the same time Vikrama Bahu was apprized according to the brahmin ambassador by friars Antonio and Gomçalo and a French officer named *Pero Bruzil*,^h who had gone secretly to Sengadagala, of Bhuvanaka Bahu's and Dom Jorge's pact to invade his kingdom. Friar Antonio seemed to have got over his aversion to Vikrama Bahu, which he had cultivated during his sojourn at Sengadagala in 1546. Vikrama Bahu could not have been serious about his pro-Christian programme, but in all probability was only trying to keep the door open for further negotiations with the Portuguese authorities in case the exigencies of his relationships with Mayadunne required recourse to assistance from them. The friar's resurrected hopes in Vikrama Bahu could be, perhaps, explained by the fact that like a true missionary he was acting in the belief that it was never too late and not impossible for a man to mend and redeem himself.

Bhuvanaka Bahu tried to dissuade Dom Jorge from believing that Vikrama Bahu would ever become a Christian and warned him and his officers that they would only meet with the treacherous conduct he had been guilty of towards the Portuguese in the past. Bhuvanaka Bahu, however, assured him not to entertain qualms about the agreement entered into with him earlier and that if he should come with his men to Calane he would supply food and shelter for 6 days and also attend to all their requirements and that after that they could take the safer route to Cande through his kingdom via Negumbo. He also promised that his son-in-law, prince *Vidiyē*

9. Letter of 28-1-51 P & F.

Baydāra,¹⁰ would join him with a force of men. But it would appear that Dom Jorge was obstinately determined to march to Sengadagala and insisted that he had no option but to carry out the regimento of the governor. And so he parted company with Bhuvanaka Bahu, who contributed seven elephants towards the Portuguese expedition and a mudaliyar of his, for whom Dom Jorge had made a special request, most probably because he wanted him as a guide. Dom Jorge's attitude in going up without adequate military support was certainly puzzling for according to information given to Dom Affonso de Noronha he had received threatening messages from Vikrama Bahu not to step his kingdom. Perhaps, he did not reckon with the difficulties of the mountainous terrain and the great advantage opposing forces would have thereby and was bent on carrying out the letter of his instructions and perhaps even had secret hopes of meeting with success at the court of Sengadagala, where others had failed before. As Andre de Souza was enjoying Dom Jorge's confidence one cannot help but wonder whether he had any hand in the course of action Dom Jorge took.

Before Dom Jorge's departure for the hill-country capital Bhuvanaka Bahu insisted on and secured from him a written statement to the effect that he was undertaking the expedition at his own risk and against his express wishes. This was done because that monarch was anticipating only black disaster to befall the Portuguese commander and was desirous of exculpating himself from all accusations of having conspired with Vikrama Bahu.

Meanwhile the monarch of Cande, who had been informed of the march of the Portuguese expeditionaries to his kingdom mustered his forces, prepared his defences and got ready to give them a hot reception of arrows and bullets. When they were about a league from Sengadagala, hordes of Candeotaz descended upon them in the narrow mountain defiles and routed them completely, killing about 200 and putting a large number out of action. Utter confusion reigned among the ranks of Dom Jorge's men and in disarray they sought to save themselves by rushing into the dubious safety of the surrounding jungles. The seven elephants from Kōttē and the baggage and ammunition of the Portuguese fell into the hands of the victorious Candeotaz.

Dom Jorge's defeat was complete. Some of his men were swallowed by the forests, but as they got further away from the scene of their defeat some semblance of order was restored. Mayadunne, who must have had news of the debacle that was Dom Jorge's fate, made haste to ingratiate himself with the Portuguese authorities and resume his vassalage of the king of Portugal and negotiate for the restoration of the Bhuvanaka Bahu's territories, which he had been forced to

10. Portuguese: Tribule Pandar, Triaia Pandar, Vidia Pandar.

surrender by the recent peace terms entered into after the successful invasion of Sītāvaka by Dom Jorge. When the retreating Portuguese were in the heart of Mayadunne's kingdom a mudaliyar¹¹ of his, armed with an ola, welcomed Dom Jorge in the name of his royal master and invited him and his men to rest and refreshments for some days and promised to give all the assistance they required on their journey. Dom Jorge was intuitively prompted not to accept the offer, which he thought was only a trap for him and his men. Thirty of his wounded men were, however, not in a fit condition to proceed any further and he was forced to take the risk of leaving them there, until such time as he could make arrangements to remove them. The mudaliyar, who was palavered by him with promises of a liberal reward, accepted charge of the wounded Portuguese in the name of the king of Portugal. However, five or six days after Dom Jorge's departure the unfortunate men were liquidated. He was quite outraged at this piece of news and sent captain Guomez da Sylva¹ to Sītāvaka to demand an explanation. Mayadunne sought to exonerate his mudaliyar by stating that an unidentified band of 40 Candeotaz under the leadership of a mudaliyar¹² had made a quick sortie and massacred them and fled thereafter. Bhuvanaka Bahu's brahmin ambassador and courtier Sri Radarasaka Pandita writing¹³ to the queen of Portugal about Mayadunne's explanation states as follows: "This it is clear is a great farce. As forty Chingualas by themselves would not dare to attack thirty Portuguese, how much more so within the lands of Madune, where his people were in strength. It is very well known that the arms, money and clothes of the Portuguese all came into the hands of Madune".

11. Capitão in the Portuguese, text, vide chapter 2, note g.

12. Capitão in the text.

13. Letter of 28-1-51, P & F.

- a. These were decrees of the king and were called alvaras (*vide* P. & F. and Schurhammer, Vol. 1).
- b. A Portuguese silver coin about 300 to 360 reis in value, also known as the *pardão de Ceilão*.
- c. A defensive palisade.
- d. Defensive positions.
- e. Mayadunne had sought the help of the Zamorin of Calicut in order to overwhelm Bhuvanaka and over-run his kingdom and in 1539 the governor sent Miguel Ferreira to *Kōttē* to check him.
- f. The village still exists along the banks of the Kelani river on the old road between Colombo and Avissawella at the 13th mile-post.
- g. A gold coin used in South India at the time and even probably current in Ceylon.

- h. He is most probably the officer, who according to Couto was responsible for the Portuguese defences at the seige of Catifa in 1551. According to Couto he was accompanied by soldiers when he went up to the Kandyan capital but this must be a mistake because the brahmin ambassador in his letter does not mention this.
- i. He was without doubt the same person who received Barreto and his expeditionaries at Batticaloa.

CHAPTER 13

Portuguese prestige was at a very low ebb as a result of Dom Jorge's debacle, which had also succeeded in stirring some degree of patriotism in the Sinhala breast and Bhuvanaka Bahu's subjects, quite oblivious to the fact that Dom Jorge's troops had come in friendship in response to their king's pressing requests for succour were haughty and insulting towards the Portuguese in their daily dealings and ridiculed them at every turn. Viceroy Dom Affonso de Noronha informed¹ his sovereign that he found the Island "in a very restless and excited condition, and the Chingualas very overbearing towards the Portuguese in consequence of the victory which the King of Cande obtained over them when Dom Jorge went there." In another letter to his sovereign he said² "I find the Portuguese have lost so much prestige that the people of the country tell them at every opportunity to go to Candya". In fact de Noronha had accidentally stumbled on to the shores of the Island in 1550, hostile winds and stormy seas having driven his boat hither while he was on his way to Goa to take over the reins of government.

Of this phase of his long journey de Noronha says³ "After sighting the Cape we went on to the altitude of forty degrees, where we encountered a tempest so terrible that it threw the pilots out of their calculation to such an extent that no longer did we know where we were going; and while some thought that we could be on the way to Cocotoraa⁴ and others that they were very near the Island of Matualo,⁵ at dawn on the 17th of October we sighted *Ceylão* without there being a man on board who knew it. Nearly all the people in the ship, both noble and also otherwise, were sick, but they were so well looked after and tended that, our Lord be praised, no more died than two moços and a slave. From this I judge that the majority of deaths are due to lack of nursing and the deficient supply of necessary articles".

By about the 19th of October de Noronha's ship the *S. Pedro* had sailed into the port of Columbo to take shelter from the stormy seas. The sick were landed ashore and left to convalesce, most probably at the factory in Columbo under the care of the factor, Gaspar de Azevedo. From Pero Froes, captain⁶ of the ship, which carried the tribute of cinnamon for the king of Portugal, de

Noronha learnt of Garcia de Saa's death and that Jorge Cabral was administering the government. Pero Froes painted such a picture of the task confronting him as viceroy of India that de Noronha informed⁷ his sovereign that "he gave me such news about India that they made me forget the troubles of the sea in the other greater ones which I saw I was going to find there". Although he was still not clothed with the mantle of office, Froes had considered his unexpected arrival a God-send⁸ "to soothe down some agitation and wicked ideas which existed in *Ceylão* owing to which there was ferment there a short time before", and during the 10 days sojourn in the Island he spent sometime investigating the cause for Vikrama Bahu's sudden attack on Dom Jorge's expeditionaries. When he stepped ashore, he was a guest of the Franciscan monastery of Santa Antonio at Columbo.

Friar Antonio, who had by now returned from Cande confirmed the rumour current in some circles, most probably Christian and Franciscan, that Bhuvanaka Bahu had written to Vikrama Bahu instigating him to attack Dom Jorge's forces. On this piece of information de Noronha surmised that Bhuvanaka Bahu must have informed Vikrama Bahu that Dom Jorge's troops were ill-disciplined and armed with a "scanty stock of powder" both factors of which he described as contributory to their defeat. He informed his sovereign that he was convinced of Bhuvanaka Bahu's implication and guilt and as proof adduced the fact of the marriage alliance between *Kōtū* and Cande and that in the frequent correspondence between each other they adverted to their close ties of kinship and friendship. He also asserted that Bhuvanaka Bahu's guilt was further confirmed by the fact that he had failed to take to task his subjects, who some weeks before his arrival had taken the law into their hands and committed acts of lawlessness and even razed a church to the ground and pulled down the customary cross, which every Roman Catholic church had as a distinguishing mark and still has today in Ceylon.

De Noronha, who had set out with a bias against Bhuvanaka Bahu as a result of adverse reports reaching Portugal, was also naturally easily susceptible to the prejudicial atmosphere in the Franciscan monastery, more so as he was partaking of its hospitality. A young Portuguese nobleman, named Dom Dioguo de Noronha, who had come with the expeditionaries of Dom Jorge de Castro fanned the flames of prejudice. It would appear that he had become a firm favourite with Bhuvanaka Bahu and as Sri Radaraksa Pandita, the brahmin ambassador, informed⁹ the queen of Portugal "repaid him by doing in his palace and in the city things so different from what

1. Letter of 27-1-52 P & F.

2. Letter of 16-1-51 P. & F.

3. Letter of 16-1-51

4. Socotra, still on the route from Colombo to Europe.

5. Probably Laccadives

6. He was most probably so, vide chapter 10, note a.

7. Letter of 16-1-51, P. & F.

8. Letter of 16-1-51 P. & F.

9. Letter of 28-1-51 P. & F.

gentlemen do that I am ashamed and think it bad manners to write to Your Highness". Bhuvanaka Bahu was constrained to ask Dom Jorge to arrest and deport him. After his arrest, however, he was let on parole, no doubt, his word of honour as an aristocrat being accepted. But the young man had broken parole and fled to the city of Sitāvaka where, once again Mayadunne, who was collecting Portuguese to officer his men in a campaign against Bhuvanaka Bahu welcomed him.* This young knave happened to be the nephew of the visiting viceroy-designate and when Bhuvanaka Bahu complained against him, according to the brahmin ambassador, he "began to say that he was a traitor and that he would prove it" and gave "information according to his version, and as the viceroy made it clear that he was his uncle, there was no one to contradict him".

Of the accusation levelled at friars Antonio and Gonçalo and the French officer Pero Brazil on the one hand and against Bhuvanaka Bahu on the other as being responsible for Vikrama Bahu's attack on Dom Jorge's troops it must be said that it is most unlikely that the former party would have informed on fellow servants of the crown of Portugal, while the latter apart from reasons of gratitude to an ally, who had come to his rescue in his hour of need would in view of the Barreto episode have shrunk from the risk of falling into disfavour with the Portuguese authorities again. Besides, it is also most unlikely that news of the activities of the two friars and the Frenchman at Sengadagala, which would have been of their very nature secretive in the circumstances, would have reached the palace at Kōttē. It is equally unlikely that even if Bhuvanaka Bahu was guilty of secretly instigating Vikrama Bahu by letter that with the security measures customarily taken in palaces throughout the ages that friar Antonio would have had access to such information. At the most the allegations seem to be accusations and counter-accusations of the two opposing camps of the Franciscan monastery at Columbo and the royal palace at Kōttē. It is more likely that Vikrama Bahu was kept informed of developments in the Kōttē-Portuguese camp at Sitāvaka by spies or that his frontier guards and patrols sent out to reconnoitre alerted him to the march of Dom Jorge and his expeditionaries.

Bhuvanaka Bahu, who, no doubt, was feeling very uncomfortable with all the calumnies cast on him, journeyed to Columbo to meet de Noronha. At the meeting he brandished as his chief weapon of defence the document, which Dom Jorge had given him exonerating him from all responsibility for any calamity which might befall him on his expedition to Cande. On the matter of the church, which was razed to the ground Bhuvanaka Bahu's defence was that the friar had built it in Tanavare¹⁰ in the premises of the temple, which was

the premier place of Buddhist worship in the Island and at that without a license from the bishop or the governor or of the custodian of the friars and without the express instructions of the Chapter of his religious order. Moreover the friar, he asserted, had built it on the pretext that it was to be a school for boys but later had given it a name and called it a church, and this had naturally outraged the local inhabitants. De Noronha impressed on Bhuvanaka Bahu that as a vassal of the king of Portugal it was his duty to serve the interests of that monarch and that¹¹ "with regard to the good treatment of all Christians and their churches, that was the chief matter in which he could render service". It would appear that at the audience Bhuvanaka Bahu was angling for an opportunity to offer a bribe, for, de Noronha says of him "and in the interview we had he was anxious to act on the point that the hearts of governors are in their purses". Not having the courage to do so or thinking the time was not opportune, he had after the audience was over, sent a tempting offer of a present of cinnamon and elephants worth a considerable sum of money. According to de Noronha he had scornfully refused it, stating that he had come to India "to do justice" and could not betray his sovereign's trust in him, but that as Bhuvanaka Bahu said he was under obligations to that monarch, who had enjoined his governors to pay special attention to him above all his other vassals and as the wars in India needed much money, he had asked for a loan of 10,000 pardaos to replenish the treasury and to pay the soldiers, adding that by this act he could redeem his reputation and reduce the gravity of the charges levelled at him. Bhuvanaka Bahu had replied saying that he was not in a position to comply with his request as he had no money and had in the past given large sums to the previous governors and disbursed 50,000 pardaos on Dom Jorge de Castro and his armada.

Meanwhile Mayadunne had got wind of the presence in Columbo of the distinguished Portuguese visitor. Soon after de Noronha's meeting with Bhuvanaka Bahu, an ambassador arrived from the court of Sitāvaka to ask him whether he would grant an audience to his royal master's son and heir. The ambassador met with a favourable reply and the crown prince of Sitāvaka, who was reputed to be a very staunch Christian journeyed to the port of Columbo, where he was conducted aboard the ship of the viceroy designate. The young prince presented his father's case ably, stating that his father considered himself a vassal of the king of Portugal, whose banner given to him by governor Dom Jorge de Castro he bore. Of his father's vassalage, past acts of help bore ample testimony and he did not merit the acts of Dom Jorge in taking his lands and handing them over to Bhuvanaka Bahu. It was the money which Bhuvanaka Bahu had given Jorge Cabral, he said, which was responsible for this

10. Dondra.

11. Letter of 16-1-51, P. & F.

act of confiscation. He also raised the question of the succession to the throne of Kōttē, asserting that his father asked for justice and in return was prepared to pay as reasonable *pareas*^b as was fixed by the king of Portugal or de Noronha himself. At the end of the address the prince presented some jewels, which de Noronha refused, although they were obviously intended for the queen of Portugal, as he felt that their acceptance would have compromised himself unduly, especially as he had to arbitrate on the dispute between the two royal brothers. He was, undoubtedly, acting on the well known adage that justice must not only be done, but must appear to be done. And instead, he presented the prince with a cabaya of crimson satin in the name of the king of Portugal, and feasted him on board. This was indeed an unique function being the first of its kind and the forerunner of the many naval receptions in the modern port of Columbo. De Noronha accepted Mayadunne as a vassal of the king of Portugal and assured the young prince that he would, as ordered by his royal master, bring an impartial mind to bear on all matters that would come up before him and that, as it was necessary that he should in all fairness hear Bhuvanaka Bahu's version as well, he had already despatched a message to him about the matter.

He excused himself from investigating into the matter of the succession immediately by saying that as the weather had changed for the better he had to be on his way to India, where pressing matters of state required his presence but that the prince's father and uncle should send their ambassadors to *India*^c to present their cases and that he, as commanded by his royal master, would "do justice to all". He also informed the prince that his father should not wage war on Bhuvanaka Bahu, but should rest content with the territory he held in accordance with the agreement arrived at with Dom Jorge de Castro until a decision was reached on the matter in issue with Bhuvanaka Bahu, and also assuring him that he would settle the matters pertaining to the Island in accordance with the best interests of his royal master.

It is interesting to hear that friar Antonio Padram was also present at this audience on board the Portuguese vessel. Before de Noronha left he instructed the Gaspar de Azevedo, the factor and alcaide-mor that an *Assurance*^d should be given to Mayadunne as he was entitled to it as a vassal. The factor was also instructed to see that there was no breach of the peace by the royal brothers and was strictly enjoined in no case to sponsor a war by helping Bhuvanaka Bahu. In view of the fact that Bhuvanaka Bahu had sent de Noronha the patent he had received from the king of Portugal recognizing his grandson as the next king of Ceylon and rumours of his vast treasure having floated to his ears, he instructed the factor that in the event of the sudden demise of that monarch, he should seize the treasure and not recognize his grandson as the new king, but should await

instructions from him. Before he left he made some attempts to ameliorate the conditions of the local Christians and also to eliminate unruly elements of fellow-nationals.

After the audience granted by de Noronha to Mayadunne's son, Bhuvanaka Bahu became nervous and thinking better of the former's request for a loan and "apparently fearful of proceeding against him without orders, and like a man who was distrustful or lay under a charge or whose good qualities were slighted", hastened to despatch the doyen of his ambassadors, the brahmin Sri Radaraksa Pandita with some money. But it was too late, for he reached the port of Columbo only to find that de Noronha had sailed on the 29th of October".¹² for Goa.

De Noronha broke journey at Cochim where he received a letter from Peter Froes informing him of the monies sent to Columbo and hoped that he would bring it. The brahmin ambassador, however, says that de Noronha sent a message by a catur requesting Bhuvanaka Bahu to forward the money. The latter version seems more probable for the ambassador arrived at Cochim with a sum of 10,000 xerafins. Dom Jorge de Castro met de Noronha, it would appear, at Cochim and informed him that a sum of 15,000 pardaos was still due from Bhuvanaka Bahu on the contracts entered into during the campaign against Mayadunne and handed over the originals of the instruments of contract to him in order to facilitate recovery of the monies, having already despatched copies of them to the sovereign of Portugal. De Noronha, however, was shrewd and indulged in a spot of sharp practice, clearly not in keeping with his position as a courtier and representative of the king of Portugal. He proceeded to accept the money brought by Bhuvanaka Bahu's ambassador not as a loan, but in part payment of the monies due on the contracts. Besides, the 20,000 pardaos, which had been agreed upon by the two contracting parties should be discharged, were also now debited to Bhuvanaka Bahu's account. As for the contract, which had been agreed upon earlier should be submitted to the governor's consideration for cancellation de Noronha informed the ambassador that he would have to obtain legal advice on the matter. The ambassador was naturally disgusted and annoyed as would appear from the manner in which he pithily summed up de Noronha's conduct in his letter¹³ written from Chocim to the queen of Portugal "In every point the King of *Ceilão* has carried out his contracts, both the one he made with the governor Jorge Cabral, as the one he entered into with Dom Jorge de Castro. So far as I see, it appears to me that the viceroy holds the contracts binding to the extent of the king making

12. 1550.

13. Letter of 28-1-51, P. & F.

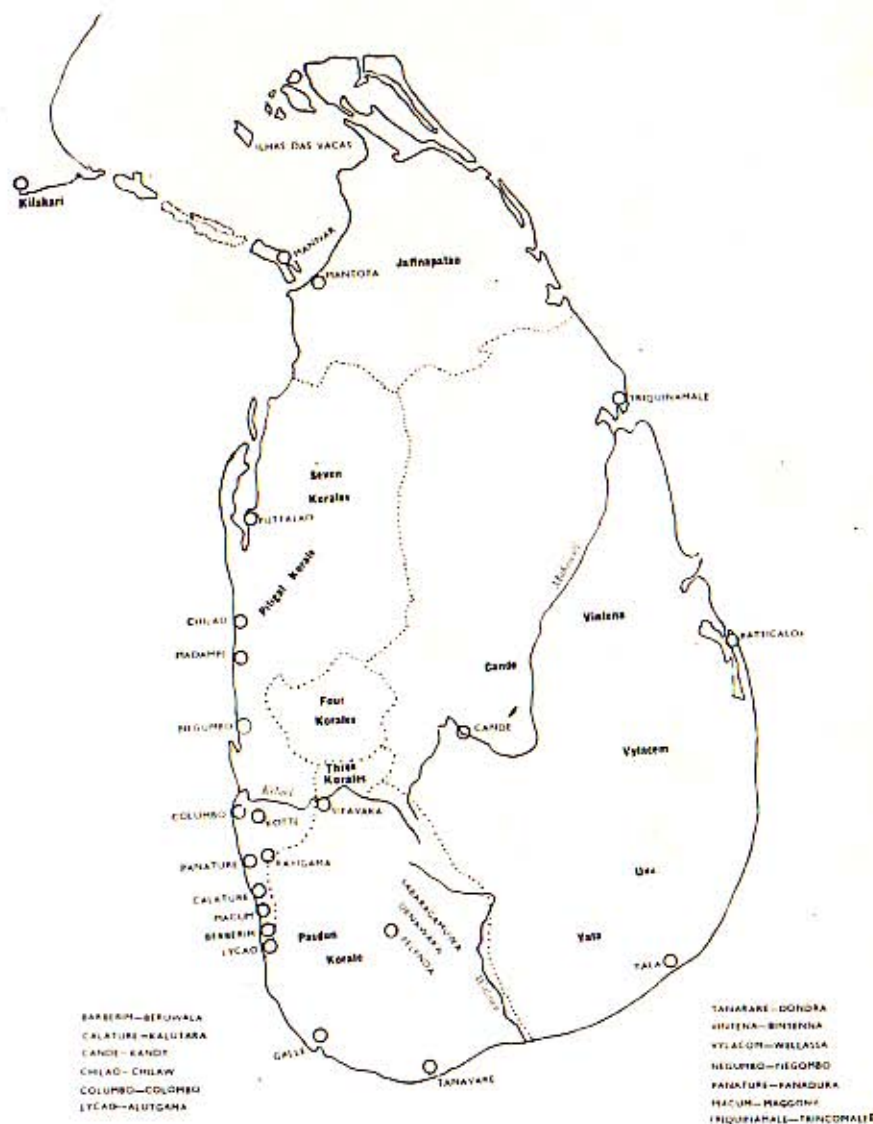
payments, but not to the extent of himself carrying out for the king's benefit that which is due to him under their provisions as against Madune his brother, and holding as effective the peace which the two made, and which was signed by them and by the captain-major of the armada in your Highness' name. This is a matter about which I am greatly astonished for when the truth is dying and coming to life again, I do not know what to say".

Mayadunne also had not lost time in sending a representative of ambassadorial rank close on de Noronha's heels to Cochim. To use de Noronha's own words with regard to the two ambassadorial delegations¹⁴ "and because it is their custom to carry on negotiations with cunning and falsehood, after hearing them and examining the documents they presented, wherein each one set out his rights, I was of opinion that it was impossible to give a definite ruling with regard to the inheritances of the kings and the differences between them without sending to Ceylão a very trustworthy person to find out the ancient custom thereof and about the succession of the kingdoms and seigniories." He however, procrastinated and kept the ambassadors waiting, to the annoyance specially of the brahmin ambassador and only just prior to his embarkation for Goa on or about the 28th of January,¹⁵ he would appear to have informed them that he would send a *letrado* and an experienced nobleman to investigate into the matter of the succession to the kingdom of *Kōtē* specially by questioning "aged people who have the knowledge" of Sinhala customs.

While at Cochim he made a long report¹⁶ of his experiences in Ceylon, giving a brief history of the tussle between Bhuvanaka Bahu and Mayadunne during governor Cabral's regime, mentioning also Dom Jorge's defeat and its aftermath. Of his desire to punish Bhuvanaka Bahu, he wrote, "According to what I think of him both with regard to the king of Candia and this further affair, I am of opinion that he ought to receive some punishment, and it would not have been a great matter to deal with him in a different way if I had the necessary means".

He would appear to have been very impressed by and favourably disposed towards Mayadunne's son, whom he had met in the port of Columbo, for he recommended for his sovereign's serious consideration whether the kingdom of Cande should be invaded and conquered and Vikrama Bahu dethroned. "Much precious stones can be obtained", he wrote "especially in the kingdom of Candya, the king of which deserves a severe punishment for the death of the Portuguese. I think it will be necessary to decide regarding him whether he should be removed from being king and whether his king-

MAP OF CEYLON IN PORTUGUESE TIMES
(1542-1551)



14. Letter of 27-1-52 P. & F.

15. 1551

16. Letter of 16-1-51, P. & F.

dom should be conquered (which can be done with little trouble if we have Madune on our side), and a portion of the kingdom given to his son, who am told is a very good Christian. There can be there a mine of gems for your Highness, which would yield you a large revenue, and his treasure which is said to be great, or a good share of it."

Although de Noronha did not commit himself, Bhuvanaka Bahu's ambassador felt his pulse and finding out what way the wind was blowing, in order to stem the dice from being heavily loaded against his royal master wrote a long letter¹⁷ from Cochin, already mentioned above, to queen Dona Catherina of Portugal, whom he, perhaps, knew personally as a result of his visit to the court of Lisbon in 1543. In it he gave an account of the tussle between Mayadunne and Bhuvanaka Bahu from the time of governor-Cabral up to de Noronha's sojourn at Cochin. "I cannot omit to suggest", he wrote "Gentile and Bramene though I be, that changes so extraordinary and so unjust as the good being adjudged evil and the evil good, are manifest signs of the end of the world. What can be more monstrous than to hold Madunne as the good man, after he had ordered the murder of thirty Portuguese on his own soil, men entrusted to a captain of his by a captain-major of your Highness: and to decide that he was free from blame in the matter, and to lay blame on the King my master, though he is the vassal and tributary of Your Highness through all his life and right to the end of his days, though he has entrusted his grandsons to your Highness, though his friendship and loyalty are so distinguished for so long a time, though the Portuguese through the whole of his realm enjoy as much liberty as if it were their inherited *Casals*^f and *quintas*.^g

Let your Highness be the judge and throw into the scale his faults and the merits of Madune, and so give your decision as you see each one's merits and his service."

In 1551 the year following de Noronha's departure from Ceylon, Bhuvanaka Bahu departed from these earthly scenes under tragic circumstances as already mentioned. On hearing this, de Noronha hurried to *Kōttē* like a blood hound on the trail of the vast treasures rumoured to have been left by that monarch. He embroiled the affairs of the kingdom of *Kōtte* badly, quite apart from disgracing the good name of his king, who on hearing of his nefarious activities ordered him to disgorge the valuables he had seized. The policy he adopted found himself aligned against Mayadunne the very man whose friendship he had recommended to his sovereign should be pivotal in shaping policy towards Vikrama Bahu. Consequently he found himself routing Mayadunne's army and sacking his capital including the famous Berendi Kovil. Shortly after this he attempted to arrest *Vidiye Bandāra*, the young king Dharmapala's ambitious and valiant

17. Letter of 28-1-51, P. & F.

father, but the news of the outbreak of fighting in India made him hurry away from Ceylon. Having thus to contend with two of the most powerful personalities in the Island, namely, Mayadunne and *Vidiyē Bandāra*, de Noronha's early proposals for dethroning Vikrama Bahu and partitioning his kingdom sank into the limbo of neglect, and so the curtain drops on the story of Vikrama Bahu, the Portuguese and the Franciscans.

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- a. Portuguese renegades from the kingdom of *Kōttē* had a welcome from Mayadunne.
 - b. Tribute from a vassal to his overlord.
 - c. De Noronha probably asked the ambassadors to be sent to Cochin because he broke journey there for nearly over three months.
 - d. This appears to be a type of guarantee which in certain circumstances the vassal was entitled to have from the feudal overlord.
 - e. A jurist or lawyer. A jurist and judge named Sebastian Pinheiro was despatched to Ceylon but he arrived only after Bhuvanaka Bahu's assassination.
 - f. Farms.
 - g. Villas.

