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Early Christianity in Ceylon

27
A 17th Century Narrative



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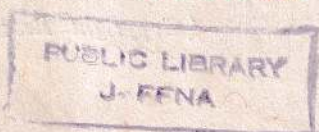
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CHAPTERS ON THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO CEYLON

TAKEN FROM THE
CONQUISTA SPIRITUAL DO ORIENTE
OF
FRIAR PAULO DA TRINIDADE O.F.M.

27

20744



Translated and Annotated
by
THE RT. REV. DR. EDMUND PEIRIS O.M.I.
Bishop of Chilaw, Ceylon
and

FRIAR ACHILLES MEERSMAN O.F.M.
Lector of Church History, Franciscan Friary Bangalore, India

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Plates

(in the centre of the book)

Plates I, II, III are reproduced from paintings still preserved in the Convent of St. Francis of Assisi in old Goa built about the year 1520 and considered the chief Franciscan Monastery for the East. Each scene represented on canvas is described in Portuguese in an inset to the right hand corner of the picture. (cf. *O Oriente Portugues*, No. I, Dec. 1931 pp. 52, 53). The translation of each inset appears under the picture.

IV, the Image of Our Lady of Miracles from a photograph taken in 1932.

INTRODUCTION

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Life and Works of Friar Paulo Da Trindade O. F. M.

These chapters on Ceylon, an English translation of which is herewith presented to the lovers of Ceylon history, have been taken from Paulo da Trindade's chronicle entitled: **Conquista Spiritual do Oriente**. Since this work exists in manuscript only, furthermore since the author is relatively unknown, in order to be able to form a judgement as to its value, it is necessary to speak not only about the author, but also about the chronicle in general and about the copy which has survived the ravages of time and place. Hence the division of this Introduction into three parts.

I. A Short biography of Paulo da Trindade O. F. M.

Fr. Paulo da Trindade died at Goa on the 25th of January, 1651, at the age of eighty.¹ Hence he was born in 1571. According to the author of *Mitras Lusitanas*, he was born at Macao, a Portuguese possession in China,² almost certainly of Portuguese parents. Who his parents were, we are not informed, neither do we know how he came to join the Franciscans in Goa. Perhaps his father was in Government service and had been transferred to the latter city, where he became acquainted with the Friars. It is also possible that he met the Franciscans in his native Macao, decided to join them and was sent to India. At any rate, the next record we possess of him dates back to 1595. He was then a cleric in Bassein near Bombay, finishing at least part of his priestly studies at the local St. Anthony's Friary.³ It is not likely that he followed the whole course of philosophy and theology at Bassein. He must have completed it at Goa. He himself tells us that he had had as one of his lecturers or professors Fr. Manoel Olivete O. F. M., a Scotist and a close friend of Andre Furtado de Mendonca, who at one time, governed Portuguese India, but whether this was at Bassein or Goa he does not tell us.⁴

After his ordination, which we presume took place at Goa, he must have continued his studies to obtain his Master's Degree in Sacred Theology. He was appointed, perhaps even

simultaneously, as Lector of Theology at St. Francis' Friary, Goa. Later on, after St. Bonaventure's Friary, Goa, was completed and inaugurated as the House of Study of the Franciscan Province of St. Thomas on the 13th of July, 1618, he, as the most prominent Lector of Theology, conducted a theological disputation, as was customary in those days.⁵ He lectured at the new Friary during the years 1618 and 1619, since during this period he composed a number of works. It can be presumed that he remained there a few years longer, for on the 14th of March, 1622, he signed some documents as Provedor of the Sancta Casa da Misericordia, a post he must have held together with that of Lector of Theology.⁶ But even beyond this date he must have occupied this post, since he is officially referred to as Mestre Jubilado e Sagrada Theologia, a title he would not have been allowed to use, unless he had taught a good number of years and had given proofs of scholarship and learning.⁷

At one time, Paulo da Trindade was Guardian or Superior of St. Barbara's Friary, Chaul, but during which years we are not informed.⁸ In his *Relacao Defensiva*, Miguel da Purificacao O.F.M., tells us that in the course of his life Fra Paulo had been Rector in several Franciscan Rectorates or Parishes, had visited in the name of the Archbishop of Goa all the parishes in Bardez and in the North, Bombay, Bassein, Salsette, Damaun etc., finally that he had been elected Definitor or Counsellor of his Province and Commissary General of all the Franciscans in India.⁹ However, he fails to mention the names of the places where he was occupied in the ministry or the dates on which he was appointed to various offices.

From other sources we know that in 1629 he was in Bardez, Goa.¹⁰ According to his own testimony he was in Salvador do Mundo, Bardez in 1630.¹¹ In the same year we meet him in the North, on which occasion he compiled the various statistics of the Parishes, which he later incorporated into his *Chronicle*. Perhaps he was Visitor at the time and thus had access to all rolls and documents. It was, perhaps, on this occasion too that he visited and said Mass in Our Lady's chapel in Karanja-Island.¹²

As we have already mentioned, he was also appointed Commissary General over all Franciscans in India. He must have

been elected to this post already in 1633, for on the Sunday within the Octave of the Epiphany, 1634, he presided at the Chapter of the Franciscan Province of the Mother of God.¹³ He also presided at the Congregation of the same Province which was convened on the 14th of June 1635.¹⁴ At the Chapter of St. Thomas' Province, which was summoned in 1635 and at which it was decided to send Fr. Miguel da Purificacao to Lisbon and Rome to plead the cause of the Indian Provinces, he too presided. Perhaps, it was for this reason that Fr. Miguel de Purificacao dedicated his *Relacao Defensiva* to him.¹⁵

On the 16th of April, 1636, he became Deputy of the Holy Office of Goa. He was a member of this body for a number of years.¹⁶ One author mentions that he was Bishop Elect of Malacca, but this might only mean that he was proposed as such by the Portuguese authorities.¹⁷

According to a report of 28 December 1651, a new Inquisitor General was to be appointed. A list of candidates was prepared and Paulo da Trindade's name was placed No. I. But since he had recently died, Lucas da Cruz O.P. was appointed. Hence we must conclude he died in 1651. The original text runs as follows:

“...succedeo na via do Inquisidor General Fr. Lucas da Cruz da Ordem de San Domingos por ser morto Frei Paulo da Trindade que vinha em primeiro lugar...” (Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon: Documentos Remettidos da India, Vol. 61; f. 581 v. It is taken from the Report of the Viceroy, dated Goa, 28 Dec. 1651).

Besides the Chronicle, from which we have taken these chapters on Ceylon, Paulo da Trindade wrote a number of other works chiefly on Canon Law and Moral Theology. Sbaralea gives the following list which he culled from the *Bibliotheca Lusitana* of Barbosa Machado:¹⁸

- (1) *Theologia Moralis*, MS. in Fol. quam dicit servari in Provincia S. Thomae.
- (2) *Juramento del Rey D. Alfonso Henriques. Embaixador que el Rey D. Manoel mandou a Roma; inventario de*

Presente, que o Embaixador levava a Sua Santidade, e outras noticias curiosas: quem librum, MS. ex Barbosa obtulit Fr. Alfonsus a Matre Dei Academiae Regiae Ulisiponensi.

- (3) Recopilacao do poder e authoridade que tem os Confessores Mendicantes assim Prelados como subditos por virtude dos seus privilegios para absolver e dispensar particularmente nas partes da India Oriental e Occidental. Extabat Barbosae tempore, ut ipse testatur, Ulissipone in coenobio Sti. Francisci.

In 1937, when we were at the Library of the Instituto Vasco da Gama, Goa, we came across a volume containing at least a number of Paulo da Trindade's works. The titles of these works are transcribed as they were then copied from the official catalogue of the Institute. They are: Tratado dos privilegios que gozam os Religiosos mendicantes composto pello charissimo Irmão Frey Bonaventura das Chagas¹⁹, Frade Menor recoleto e lente da sagrada Theologia e definitor da Provincia de Madre de Deus da India Oriental em 1614.1 em Vol. 4 de 215 pag. excel. caligrafia.—Treslado extraido do original de propria letra de dito Fr. Bonaventura pelos Irmãos Fr. Joao dos Martyres e Fr. Luis da Conceicao, como se declara n'uma certidao lavrada por elles a Fl. 202, dd. 16 Aug. 1627, a qual seguem varias addicoes posteriores do Padre Fr. Paulo de Trindade com a respectiva tabaoda ou Indice remissivo.

Breve recopilacao do poder e authoridade que tem os confessores mendicantes assi subditos como prelados por virtude de seus privilegios para absolver e dispensar particularmente em as partes da India Oriental e Occidental, composto pello Padre Fr. Paulo da Trindade, Lector da Prima Sagrada Theologia a 20 Fev. 1618-30 pag.

Explicacao dos casos reservados da nossa ordem composta pelo Rev. Paulo da Trindade, Lector da Prima da Sagrada Theologia em o Collegio de S. Bonaventura da cidade de Goa em 21 de Jan. de 1619-28 pag.

Bound together with these writings, which carry Paulo da Trindade's name, the volume contains a few other works, but

we doubt whether they were composed by him. Hence we are not including them here.²⁰

2. The Conquista Spiritual do Oriente of Paulo da Trindade O. F. M.

The Conquista Spiritual do Oriente of Paulo da Trindade O. F. M. is a description of the work of the Franciscans in India and in the neighbouring regions. Now the Franciscans were the first religious to initiate missionary work in these countries. Moreover, for several centuries they were one of the largest religious bodies and counted a goodly number of eminent men. Hence any historian wishing to compile a history of the Catholic Church in these regions will find in Paulo da Trindade's chronicle a good amount of first-rate material.

But Paulo da Trindade in recording their history did not isolate the Franciscans from their contemporaries, nor did he place in a kind of vacuum. Hence his chronicle contains a fair amount of contemporary history, also a number of items concerning the ancient history of the country, the traditions, the manners and customs among the people, descriptions of temples, caves as when he gives what may be the earliest description of the Elephanta-caves near Bombay etc. Hence his chronicle is valuable to complete a history of that era, record the traditions and beliefs current among the people or to acquire a knowledge as to the conditions of certain monuments during this period.

However, in composing his chronicle, Paulo da Trindade remains a child of his age. At times he is very credulous as far as ancient traditions are concerned. These he records with fidelity and apparent relish. Moreover, in the spirit of his time and in the fashion of contemporary chroniclers, whatever even remotely borders on the extraordinary and the miraculous, he reports. Not that we wish to deny the possibility of miracles or deny God the right to hear man's prayers and interfere in His Creation, but neither would we subscribe to the veracity of all he reports as miracles.

In recording these extraordinary and miraculous happenings Paulo da Trindade considered he had a duty to do so. As he writes in his Introduction, the Franciscans were being criticized. Reports were being circulated abroad and had even reached

Rome. That there were things worthy of censure may be taken for granted, as in all endeavours in which human beings are involved. The youthful enthusiasm of the early pioneering days had vanished, in places the inevitable "choke-law" had caught up with them and they were occupied in the ordinary care of souls; some were not so eager to learn the language of the country, some had volunteered for India, who might better have remained at home. There was interference on the part of officials, a sowing or encouraging of dissensions. There were even Friars who did not live up to their profession. But to generalize these abuses and condemn the Friars, past and present alike, was unjust. Hence Paulo da Trindade decided to write an apology in their defense.

Now the records of their positive achievements would have been sufficient to refute these general charges. But in the spirit of his age he is of the opinion that as long as he can point to sanctity of life or heroism or the miraculous, he has completed his defense. In this, he reminds us of ancient hagiographers, who neglected almost completely the human element in a Saint or in the work of God's Church and concentrated on bringing out the divine and the miraculous or what they considered as such. In this connection we would like to quote an observation Cardinal Schuster made, when discussing St. Gregory the Great's Life of St. Benedict: "Hence Gregory systematically passes over chronological or biographical matters when they are not connected with the miracles which were exclusively of interest to him".²¹ In the same way Paulo da Trindade at times neglects chronological, biographical and historical matters, in which we are interested and concentrates on the miraculous, the heroic and the extraordinary. In revealing these details, so it must have seemed to him, he had completely vindicated the Friars.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, Paulo da Trindade has contributed largely to our knowledge of this period. He was, indeed, able to do so. He had travelled extensively, had, in the name of the Archbishop of Goa, officially visited many regions, had examined books and documents. He had been a member of the Board of the Holy Office. For a number of years as Commissary General he had been the head of all the Franciscans in India and the neighbouring countries, also of

those in Ceylon, and hence all the Archives had been placed at his disposal. Moreover he was a Master in Sacred Theology and possessed a trained mind. Finally, he could consult many of his confreres. It is almost certain that Francisco Negrao helped him in composing his work, as they were contemporaries. Since this Francisco Negrao also worked in Ceylon it might be of interest to devote a few paragraphs to this outstanding figure.

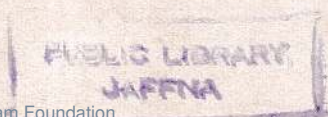
As far as we are aware there does not exist a biography of this Friar. In his "Relacao Defensiva", Miguel da Purificacao O. F. M., writes: "Fratr Franciscus Negrao qui ad hanc almam Romam accessit, ortus in India, Praedicator, virtutibus et litteris praeditus et aliquos edidit libros, fuit Guardianus et Commissarius in Ceilao, Custos in Malaca, Pater Provinciae et Rector in multis fidelium domibus et convertit quamplures ad fidem catholicam"²²

According to this rather terse account, Francisco Negrao was born in India. Rev Fr S. G. Perera S J, who translated Queyroz's chronicle, "The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon", says he was of Italian descent²³ This explains why Pietro della Valle speaks of him as "Negrone" or "Negraone". Negrao was born in Chaul, South of Bombay, around the year 1569, for in a letter, dated 7 Sept, 1629, he writes that he is sixty years old.²⁴ When and in which Friary he joined the Franciscan Order, we are not informed. In 1595 we meet him as second-in-command at Mannar, his Superior being another famous missionary, Manoel de S. Mathias.²⁵

In 1619 Pietro della Valle met him in Isfahan when he was proceeding to Rome on business of the Order. It was on this occasion he obtained a Brief from Gregory XV, permitting him a second six-year term as Rector of Mount Ponsur near Bombay.²⁶

For a time he was Commissary of the Franciscans in Ceylon. During his incumbency 31 General Baptisms were held at which some 6500 baptisms were administered.²⁷ In his letter dated 7 Sept 1629 he gives the number of baptisms as 7534.²⁸

As we have seen, Miguel da Purificacao informs us that Francisco Negrao occupied the post of Custos of Malaca, which included not only the Friary in that city, and the one at



Macao in China²⁹, but also a small number of mission-stations in the neighbouring regions Finally it is reported that in 1634, he was residing in Calicut.³⁰

Fr. Francisco Negrao was a scholar and historian. He wrote a chronicle on the works of the Franciscans in India and Ceylon, a copy of which, according to Pietro della Valle, he carried with him to Rome in 1619, to have it published. When Valle met him in Goa in 1623, he was still waiting for news regarding the publication. Unfortunately it was never printed. According to Barbosa, a manuscript copy was still in existence in 1747, but it was most probably destroyed when St Francis' Friary, Lisbon, went up in flames the night of the great earthquake in 1755.³¹ Any copy which might have been deposited in Rome must have disappeared during the many Roman risings.

Francisco Negrao was very much interested in Oriental culture and learning. From ancient chronicles he made up a list of the kings of Ceylon. He was the first European to give a description of Anuradhapura, the ancient capital of Ceylon. As to his knowledge of Oriental lore, the pains he took and the method he followed to acquire it, we may give this rather long quotation from Pietro della Valle:

"Concerning the genealogy of Brahma and the other fabulous Indian gods and what belongs to their vain theology, I refer the reader to the books of Father Francisco Negrone or Negraone, as the Portugals call him, who writes fully thereof in his Chronicles of the things done by those of his Order in India, written in the Portuguese language; and I think he is the first and perhaps the only modern writer who hath given account of this matter in Europe; the said Father having been assisted therein for information by most fit and sufficient interpreters, namely the Fathers of his own Religion, good divines, skilled in the Indian tongue and perfectly intelligent of these matters, who also read and interpreted the very books of the Indians to him and were likewise his interpreters in the discourses, which he had often with the learned Indians concerning their religion, as himself frequently told me. Besides which he wanted not other helps, because being appointed Histriographer to his Order, he was abundantly supplied with what was needful to that office; he

conversed long in the Kingdom of Bisnaga³², where the religion and sciences of the Indians have their principal seat; as also in the island of Zeilan, which many take to be the ancient Tabrobana, and in other countries for this very purpose. He made many peregrinations expressly to see places and things conducing thereunto and was assisted by the Vice-roys themselves and governors of the Provinces subject to the Portugals, who sent him to all places accompany'd oftentimes with whole bands of soldiers, where the wayes were not secure; in brief, without sparing cost, pains or diligence he professedly intended (superintended) this business for many years together with all kinds of convenience and authority. Lastly, he was some years since sent by his Order into Europe in order to print his works and in the year 1619, as I came through Persia, I saw him at Sphahan and during his short abode there by means of a friend got sight of his papers, but had not time to read them as I desired".³³

In his chronicle Paulo da Trindade dedicates several chapters to Oriental learning and religion.³⁴ He also discusses various practices and makes a distinction between those which are forbidden and those which converts from high castes might be permitted to observe even after Baptism. This he does when he reports the sessions held in Goa to determine how far the Raja of Tanur was allowed to retain certain customs of his high caste after Baptism³⁵. Traces of these decisions can be found in Papal Bulls and in the Acts of the Provincial Councils of Goa.³⁶

Now there is no doubt that any scholar with an inquiring mind, like Paulo da Trindade possessed, could have gathered this knowledge on his own. But is it too much to assume that at least a part of this knowledge or a deeper insight into these matters he obtained in discussions with Francisco Negrao? After all they were confreres and must have lived at least for some periods in the same Friary, for they were contemporaries and almost of the same age. Moreover, Francisco Negrao seems to have been generous in allowing others to make use of any information he had been able to collect. Queyroz tells us that he had not only made use of his chronicle, but also of his "notes, comments, memoirs".³⁷

Besides making use of Negrao's information, as we presume Paulo da Trindade also made use of historical publications which existed in his day, such as Barros, Gonzaga etc. Here and there he quotes them by name, but it is certain that in the fashion of the times, he frequently used their material without acknowledging his indebtedness.

Paulo da Trindade's chronicle, like that of his confrere, had never been published. Like Francisco Negrao, he did make an effort to have it printed. The Imprimatur he had obtained from the Goa authorities is dated 1643. But even though it was never published, it has been extensively used. Queyroz has made use of it extensively.³⁸ It is practically certain that Franciscan chroniclers and also other historians like Faria y Souza³⁹ have made use of its contents. Jorge Cardoso too copied much of its information. The extracts he made and incorporated into his "Agiologia Lusitana" still exist.⁴⁰ After this, however, it seems as if Paulo da Trindade's *Conquista Spiritual* was completely forgotten.

However before finishing these paragraphs one would like to ask the question : When did Paulo da Trindade finish his work ?

It is not possible to say when he actually completed it. We know that in 1630 he was occupied with gathering materials. Further the Imprimatur he had obtained from the authorities, dated back to 1643. However it must have taken him several years before he was able to complete the final chapter and obtain permission to publish it. (Censors in those days took at times a couple of years to perform their task.) Hence we would say that for all practical purposes he had finished around 1636-7. We are led to this conclusion since, as far as we are aware, he does not report anything beyond these years.

On the last page of the copy which has been preserved, there is written : "Tudo quanto digo nesta obra da conquista spiritual do Oriente sojeito as em cura da Sancta Igreja Romana que he coluna da uerdade." And next to these lines, on the margin, we find date: 1638.

3. The Copy of Paulo da Trindade's *Conquista*

As far as is known there exists only one copy of Paulo da Trindade's *Conquista Spiritual do Oriente*. It is preserved in the Vatican Library, Rome, and bears the number: Cod. Lat.

No. 7746. It consists of 1193 pages or folia. On the first page the following note appears :

“Ego infrascriptus fidem facio et attestor praesens transumptus Historiae Patris Fratris Pauli a Sanctissima Trinitate, cuius titulus est Conquista Spiritual de las Indias Orientales, in tres partes seu libros distributa quarum prima pars continet capitula septuaginta duo, pars secunda octoginta novem capitula, et tertia pars centum et octodecem capita, de mandato Reverendissimi Fratris Joseph Ximenes Samaniego⁴¹ scriptum et absolutum in hoc Conventu S. Francisci Matritensi, hodie die vigesima quinta mensis Martii anni 1679, fideliter et de verbo ad verbum concordare cum suo originali in hoc Archivo Generali Ordinis asservato, saluo semper (one word illegible) in cuius veritatis testimonium (one word illegible) die, mense et anno supradictis. Fr. Marcus Brunus, Archivista Generalis Ordinis.”

From the above it is evident that this copy was made at Madrid at the Franciscan Friary, called S. Francisco el Grande since it served as the alternate Generalate of the Order from 1528 to 1835, and at its famous church the Royal Court attended divine services. A part of the Order's archives were housed there and it must have been there or in the Library that the copy Paulo da Trinitade sent to Madrid must have found a place. During the disturbances which characterized the first part of the nineteenth century Spain, the original copy must have disappeared.⁴²

But the copy, which had been made by the order of the General, must have been sent to Ara Coeli Generalate, Rome. At the time there was a group of Friars engaged in the study and writing of the history of the Order and there was need of information concerning the activities of the Friars in the Orient.⁴³ This copy must have been preserved either in the Archives or in the Library, but when the Friary was attacked and looted during one of the Roman risings, it disappeared. Somehow it was rescued and ultimately found its way to the Vatican Library.⁴⁴

The first to have utilized Paulo da Trinitade's chronicle after its rediscovery by Leonard Lemmens O.F.M., seems to have been Aniceto Chiappini O.F.M., who quotes it in his continuation of the *Annales Minorum* of Wadding.⁴⁵ Latterly a good deal of attention has been paid to this work. Wicki S.J. has referred to it in his *Documenta Indica*.⁴⁶ He has published long extracts

regarding Franciscan Schools and Seminaries in his "Der einheimische Klerus in Indien."⁴⁷ D'Mello in his book on the native clergy in India had made use of it.⁴⁸ In Ceylon, Fr. S.G. Perera S.J. translated into English the first three chapters of Book Three and published them in the Ceylon Literary Register (3rd Series).⁴⁹ In other words, Paulo da Trindade has come into his own, all due to the one copy which has survived. A photostat copy of the Vatican Manuscript was brought to Ceylon by Rev. Fr. J. A. Karunakarar of the Diocese of Jaffna, who most generously placed it at our disposal. It is from this copy that the translation of all the chapters on Ceylon has been made.*

As far as this translation of Paulo da Trindade's chapters on Ceylon is concerned, we have endeavoured to give as literal a rendering as possible, since it is a source-book we are dealing with. However, we have frequently cut up the long phrases which are so characteristic of the chronicles of that period. Moreover, we have not always been able to resist the temptation to curtail, in a few instances, his verbosity when introducing a new subject. This in no way, however, has interfered with the description of any new historical event. It might have been better, had we done so more frequently.

Numbers on the margin e.g.F. 707, on each page, refer to the folios of the manuscript. All proper names are spelt as in the Portuguese text. The same name will sometimes be found differently spelt in different places. The modern spelling of such names is indicated within round brackets for the guidance of the reader. Portuguese words for which there are no proper English equivalents have been retained.

Acknowledgements

We wish to thank most sincerely Rev. Fr. A. Karunakarar of the Diocese of Jaffna, for his generosity in lending us the excellent photostat copy of the Vatican Manuscript of this work, which he brought from Rome, and in allowing us to use it for our translation. We are indebted to the Government Archives Department of

* At the time our translation was made, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente Part III*, edited by Fr. F. Felix Lopes O. F. M. (1967) was not available to us. Our translation is, therefore, altogether based on the Vatican Manuscript.

Ceylon for graciously supplying us with a photo-copy of the above photostat.

✠ E. P.
A. M.

Declaration

This work is the joint effort of two editors; but Bishop Peiris desires to state that he would not have ventured on this task were it not for his learned collaborator, Rev. Fr. Achilles Meersman O. F. M. He was born in Ghent, Minnesota, U. S. A.; he joined the Franciscan order in 1922 and was ordained Priest in 1929. For some years, he taught in St Anthony's College, San Joao d'El-Rey, Minas Geraes, Brazil, where Portuguese is the predominant language. In 1935, he came to Karachi, taught in Colleges and did missionary work. In 1951, he was transferred to Bangalore, where he still teaches and does historical research. He is an acknowledged authority on the history of the Franciscans in India, and has published several books and articles on the subject.

Note: Owing to the lack of appropriate types, we have indicated *c* with the cedilla, i. e. *c* sibilant, and long vowels in Sinhala and Tamil words, with italics. The diphthong *-ao* at the end of many Portuguese words carry over it a mark known as the "til", which gives it a nasal sound, as if written - *aon*.

THE SPIRITUAL CONQUEST OF THE EAST

by

PAOLO DA TRINIDADE O.F.M.

Book 3, chapters 1 — 56

Concerning the Famous Island of Ceylon and Some of Its Outstanding Features

One of the most famous islands of this Orient is that of Ceylon which deserves a very special place in this history not only on account of the striking things with which nature has adorned it, but also on account of the singular services which the Friars of St. Francis were able to render to God and to the Portuguese Crown, for they were the first preachers of the Gospel the island ever had. Many of them on account of their preaching underwent great troubles. Some even lost their lives, and watering with their blood the new shoots they had planted, F. 708 converting to their doctrine many thousands of the inhabitants. Among them were princes and persons of royal blood, of whom was Dom Joao Pereira (sic) Pandar,¹ the King of Cota and grandson of the Emperor of the whole island, who through the instruction of our Friars received baptism and on his death, since he left no heir, at the advice of the same Friars bequeathed his Kingdom and the rights he has to the whole island to the Portuguese Crown. Finally the services which the sons of this holy Province of St. Thomas² rendered and still render to God and His Majesty are so great that, even though they would have rendered no others in India, still these would suffice to make them worthy of much praise and marks of great respect and more abundant favours than they have received from their ministers.

In order that what we are about to write concerning each one of these things in particular, may be clear, we will begin by giving a description of the Island and of the more noteworthy things it contains.

This Island is situated opposite Cape Comorin and has an oval shape. It is extended along the Indian coast in a north-eastern direction. Its point, which lies more to the South, is situated on the sixth degree, whereas the northern extremity lies almost on the tenth. Hence its length is about seventy-eight leagues and its breadth up to forty-four and all around one hundred and fifty.

In these parts they hold that in ancient times the Island was linked up with the mainland, which is separated from it, a distance of more or less sixteen leagues. All this territory was eaten away by the sea, as has happened in other parts as well.³ It is here that they fish for pearls and hence it is called the fishery coast (Pescaria).

This Island has many names, some given by the inhabitants, others by foreigners.⁴ The Greeks and Latins called it Taprobana, which signifies "remote island". For this reason some have said that Taprobana, was Sumatra since it is still more remote than Ceylon.⁵ However if we judge the matter according to the location which Ptolemy gives Taprobana, then we must necessarily conclude that this Island is not Sumatra, but Ceylon, as Joao de Barros has clearly shown.⁶

The people of the Choromandal Coast (thus the mainland which lies opposite) seeing the Island populated and cultivated by the first inhabitants, gave it the name of Ilhanare or Tronate which in the language of Malabar is the same as Kingdom of the Island.⁷ The natives call it Lamiab, and is the same as Holy Land. According to tradition this name was given by the first king, who seeing the beauty of the country, the abundance of fruits, the serenity of the atmosphere, the fragrance of the forests where all was cinnamon mingled with many kinds of tasty and fragrant fruits, was of the opinion that no other name was suitable. Indeed all those who have landed on this Island and experienced the excellencies with which it has been endowed by nature, acknowledge that it was reasonable to give it this name. Moreover they say that if today the terrestrial paradise exists in this world, it was here that it was established by the Author of creation. F. 709

The Arabs and Persians in their geographies call it by the ancient name of Serandib, which means "something big." It seems that in those remote ages, about which the geographers write, it was far bigger than it is today. The inhabitants hold that formerly the Island measured 700 leagues in circumference and that it was eroded by the sea. If this is true, then we can accept the opinion of those inhabitants who affirm that this Island was linked up with the Maldives and that the sea divided and separated them. Ptolemy speaking of the Island

says it was formerly called Salica and its inhabitants Sali. In the days the Chins captured the Island, the foreigners who came thither for commercial purposes called it Simondi.

However, the name which at present is commonly accepted is that of Ceylon, even though its etymology is not certain.⁸ Some hold it is derived from Cinhale which means the island of the Lion, because the first, a certain Vijabao Cumaria (**Vijaya Kumaraya**) is said to have been the grandson of a lion. Others are of the opinion that it was thus called on account of a shipwreck, a large fleet of the Chins suffered in the shoals of Chilao, for Nilao means shallows, and Chinalao, the shallows of the Chins. In the course of time this name by dropping some letters and absorbing others became Ceylon, by which this Island is commonly known in the whole of the Orient.

The inhabitants of this Island are generally called Chingalas, a name they gained from the Chins who in former days were the lords of this island, of the entire Choromandal Coast, a part of the Malabar and of the Maladives. The inhabitants bear witness to this fact, as also the many buildings and names they left behind. Since their first and chief settlement was near Ponte de Galle⁹ on the land which faces the South and East, where they founded a city, called Tanarcari,¹⁰ of which a great part still stands to this day; those who lived in the centre of the Island called those who dwelt there Chingalas, which corresponds to the Chins of Galle. In the course of time the name was taken from their descendants and generally applied to all the inhabitants of the Island, who bear no other name than that of Chingalas.¹¹

F. 710 The country-side is most fertile and exceedingly beautiful, the reason for this being that it is irrigated by many meandering rivers, which descend from the / mountains situated in the middle of the Island where it rains almost throughout the year. Hence there is an abundance of provisions, chiefly rice which is the staple food of these people. In the district of Calou it is so plentiful that they call that part Batecalou, which is the same as "the country of rice", since "bate" is the word they use for rice.¹²

The forests consist of cinnamon and fruit-trees, like orange, and thorn-trees, which grow wild. The whole year there are

fruits and flowers. There are many cattle, cows and buffaloes, whence they obtain much butter, which is widely exported. Finally both fruits and grains, local as well as foreign, when planted and sown produce such an abundance that it seems that nature, as it were, wants to show off and prove her fertility. And if the soil were helped by the work and industry of the inhabitants, it would be even more fertile. But they are very little inclined to this, not only on account of the natural laziness which reigns among them, but also because the kings declare themselves the heirs of all their vassals, and at their death appropriate all their substance and allot to the children what they wish. That is the reason why the inhabitants are not keen on acquiring properties and do not wish to kill themselves acquiring any.

The air is pure and excellent. There is an abundance of fish and the sea produces both pearls and seed-pearls. Neither are they lacking in spices. Besides cinnamon, which grows only here (at least good quality, because what is found in other parts is wild and gross), they produce pepper, cardamon, bragil (brazil-wood), some dyes too, which the inhabitants make use of to dye their clothes.

It produces many precious stones, especially rubies, sapphires, agate¹³ and many others besides the above-mentioned three. They are the finest in the whole of the Orient. As far as metals are concerned only iron is found and mined in two places, viz. in Candea (Kandy) and Tanaura (**Devinuvara**). However gold is not encountered, in this matter the ancients have erred.

There are many palm trees, which constitute one of its chief riches. Their elephants are the best there are, because they are tractable and handsome, more so than those of other parts, and thus the others when they meet, acknowledge their superiority. They are very valuable and are sold in Cambay,¹⁴ Narasinga¹⁵ and Malabar.

The people are presentable and well disposed, have sound bodies, even though by nature they are neither martial nor inclined to warlike occupations. Those in the mountains are pagans, whereas the majority of those living in the ports are Moors. Their kings are supposed to be descendents of the Sun, and only those who could claim such a descent were entitled to become Emperors of the whole Island, which dynasty, however, ended shortly after we (the Portuguese) arrived in India.

Chapter 2

F. 711 Concerning the Kingdoms which are found in the Island and other matters of interest

When the Island began to be populated and for a long time afterwards, there was but one king who was lord of the whole Island. Some say his name was Vijabao Cumaria. They believe he was the grandson of a lion, as we already have noted. One day this lion, seeing a young and beautiful damsel of royal blood, kidnapped her and took her to the forest and by her had a son who was called Cinhale, which means lion's blood.¹ The boy grew up and having reached manhood wanted to know who his father was. When his mother told him it was that lion, which lived with her in the house, he feared lest one day the lion being without game, might eat him up, as he daily saw him devouring other animals. He waited until he had gone to rest and when sleep held him fast, he killed him.

This Cinhale, also known as Cinjaba Cumaria (**Simhabahu Kumaraya**) married one of his sisters and had a son by her to whom he gave the name of Vijabao Cumaria (**Vijaya Kumaraya**). The latter fitted out a ship and provided it with 500 persons from the Choromandal Coast of which he was a native,² and landed on the island of Ceylon, which at that time was as yet not populated, and enamoured with its beauty and fertility, peopled it with the persons he had brought along. He was the first king of this island, which, as we have seen above, became known as Cinhale, which appellation after it had been corrupted became Ceylon, since he was the grandson of a lion.

Others tell a different story, and it too contains as little truth as the one we have just recounted. They say that the first settlers of the whole territory which was from beyond the Ganges to the East, lived like brute animals, without laws, without king, without any human dignity, living in caves and maintaining themselves with roots and fruits from the woods. It then happened on a clear and calm day, while many of these barbarians were gathered together on the field of Tanacari, waiting for the sun to rise to adore it, as was their custom, since they considered it a god, they saw a ray of the sun, which

appeared in the East, and, striking the earth, make an opening. From this opening there emerged a very handsome man and by his presence filled those barbarians with great wonder. Running up to him they asked who he was and what he wanted. He replied that he was the son of F. 712 the sun and that God had sent him to those countries to teach the inhabitants to live like human beings and draw them away from the ignorance in which up to then they had been living, as if they were brute beasts. All of them threw themselves at his feet and accepted him as their king and lord. He immediately began to organize them, giving them laws and teaching them to live in settlements and to cultivate the soil. By extending his empire he became the lord of the great kingdoms of Pegu (Burma), Tenasserim (Malaya), Siao (Siam), Camboja, Cochinchina and of all the territory up to 40 degrees North. After a long period of time one of these descendents (to whom they give the name of Surianos, the caste of the sun), who was the king of Tanacari, had a son called Vijiya Raja whom, on account of his restless character and bad manners, he exiled from his kingdom and ordered to go out and discover new countries together with a number of young men who were his companions.

The first country they took was this island of Ceylon and being pleased with its location and fertility, they remained there and began populating it, marrying the daughters of the inhabitants from the mainland, the Fishery Coast, which lies just opposite. This took place about 500 years before the coming of Christ.³

This monarchy in Ceylon lasted many years until, on account of the many vicissitudes time always carries with it, it was divided into various kingdoms, which is the state in which we find it today. There are only four kingdoms, even though some writers claim there are more. However, the others they mention are more in the nature of princedoms or districts and never had kings of their own. The four kings are the following: the one of Cota (Kotte), Coitauaca (Sitavaka), of Candea (Kandy), and of Jafanapatao. The one of Cotta was always Emperor, to whom the other kings and lords paid vassalage. The last Emperor was Bolegabau (Bhuvaneka Bahu), the grandfather of the King Dom Joao, whom our Friars

baptized and who on their advice left his Kingdom of Cotta to the Portuguese Crown. Vua (Uva) was never an independent Kingdom, but was always subject to the Kingdom of Candia, and the Kings of Candea sent there a governor.

Besides these kingdoms there are also some princedoms, such as the Seven Corlas and the Four Corlas. In these never were there princes confirmed (in the government), who were the sons of the Kings or who were descended from their dynasty, but they always had there some notables and among these the one who was the most powerful was accepted as Prince. Corla is extensive like a town with an own boundary. The Kingdom of Cotta is the largest of all and has two governors, the one the Dissaua of Mature (Matara), and the other the Dissaua of F. 713 Dinauaca (Denavaka). These governors, are appointed by the King of Cotta.

The Kingdom of Candea is situated in the middle of the Island among high mountains and together with the principality of Vuua (Uva) is very extensive. It consists of some twenty Corlas. It is located in difficult terrain and there are no roads except over mountains and through forests. There must be about 14,000 men there capable of bearing arms and of these 4,000 are real recruits and only the latter are paid. The others are obliged to serve during the wars by virtue of a contract the King made with them, by which they are dispensed from paying the Crown what others have to pay which amounts to one half of their produce. Only these are given arms, guns, spears, arrows which are distributed through the villages. The people of this Kingdom of Candea are warlike, however industrious and treacherous. The principal town is not surrounded by walls, neither does it have any forts, and the houses are all built with straw. In this Kingdom there is a mine where they dig for precious stones and every year they are able to capture about ten elephants with tusks.

Concerning the Kingdom of Jafanapatao we will speak when the time comes. On this island of Ceylon besides the four kingdoms and two Princedoms, to which we have referred, there are also twelve Lords, some of whom live on the seaboard, on the shore where it turns to the opposite coast,⁴ others in the wilder parts, in the forests. They are not obliged to pay any

tribute of the Kings, but as an acknowledgement of their vassalage once a year they send a present consisting of two tusks of ivory, 500 bags of musk,⁵ ten loads of plumage⁶ to feather the arrows and two maunds of wax, and all this each one has to give.

There are many interesting things we could write about at length. However, to avoid confusion, we will only speak about a few, also because these things are not relevant to the history we are writing. One of the chief points of interest is what they call Adam's Peak, which is a very high mountain, a day's journey from our fortress of Sofragao towards the East and twenty leagues from the coast. It is situated between two peaks and the Chingalas say that they pay her homage; indeed their contour is a sufficient reason for them to say this, for it seems as if they lifted up their heads and inclined them again, seeing the height and pride of this mountain, which rises to an altitude of six or seven leagues. In places it is so steep that for a space of 30 arm-lengths one ascends by means of an iron chain, when one comes across a plain of so small an area, that it must be no more than 30 paces in diameter. In the middle there is a stone measuring two "covados"⁶ wherein there is a footprint of a man, the length of two palms, which is held in great reverence, for they say it is the footprint of Budum (**Buddha**), who is one of their gods and whom they say was a giant, eighteen carpenter's "covados" tall. / Our people call it the peak of Adam F. 714 and say the footprint is his, but its proper name is Sarmanala (**Samanala**). During the first two months of their year, which are April and May, an infinite number of Chingalas climb this peak on pilgrimage. From other parts too many pilgrims come; even from places situated on the mainland at a distance of over a thousand leagues they arrive to visit this sanctuary. Many die on account of the great cold which reigns there. Others fall and are dashed to pieces, because the slope is steep, as also because the winds, which blow, are violent. Those who arrive at the top wash themselves in a small lake, which is there and they are then freed of all their sins.

Leaving Sofragao, at the foot of the peak, nature has carved out of a rock a house so vast, that it can easily contain all the people who go on pilgrimage and, they say, it can hold two thousand people. They say there is a similar house on the side, where the Candea-river flows.⁷

On this mountain the four major rivers of the island of Ceylon take their rise. They are all perennial and they meander about and are divided in such a manner that one goes to the North, the other to the South, another to the East and the last to the West.

As one of the points of interest, they refer to a bridge which is close to Rajapure⁸ and runs straight up to a temple which is there. It must be about half a league long and so wide that two men on horse back and one man on foot can easily pass. This bridge is supported on three rows of most beautiful, stone pillars and the top is entirely paved with large and beautiful tiles. The ancients here say that a washerman (whom we here call mainato) had it built that his son might not wet his feet; but this is a fable. It seems as if this work is Roman. They believe that the Romans ordered its construction to honour the temple there in the days they maintained commercial relations with the inhabitants of the island of Ceylon. This is clear as well from the writings of the ancients as from the things which they found, which testify to this truth, such as some copper coins, discovered in 1575 and which were inscribed with the words: "Claudius Imperator Romanorum". And Pliny writes that in the days of Claudius four ambassadors arrived in Rome from this island of Taprobane, which, as we have seen, is that of Ceylon.⁹

The salt pans, where salt is reclaimed by nature itself, form another item, which deserves a place among the interesting things we meet on this Island. The salt-works are located in the territory of Balane. It is day's journey to Panaua and is very extensive and beautiful.¹⁰ During three months, July, August and September, it is filled with salt water, which over the shore and sand flows into this place and, being retained there, by means of the rays of the sun becomes most excellent
F. 715 salt and white like / snow. The inhabitants of Galle and Matura, as well as those of Candea, provide themselves with it, and there is such an abundance that it is impossible to exhaust it. Our treasury-officer has rented these salt-pans out for one hundred 'pardaos' in favour of the King,

Besides, in this island there are two artificial lakes of water, with which the rice-fields are irrigated. One is situated in Mangul-Corla, half a league from Rajapure (Anuradhapura),

which in Chingala is called Norauaua (**Nuvara Veva**), an area of three leagues in circumference. It is entirely surrounded by an earthen bund, thrown up by hand. Below, at the surface of the water it is faced with cut black stone, very well fitted together. At the end there is a stone arch through which the water is let out. The water seethes and boils on account of the force with which it enters the arch. It is thus forced through stone pipes and flows underground for a quarter of a league, to reappear and irrigate beautiful fields of rice. In this small arch, about which we spoke, there is a stone slab with which they can cut off the water and by means of which they can regulate the water as they wish. The other artificial lake, since it is larger, is called Malauaua (**Kalaveva**), which means a large lake. It is situated two leagues before reaching the one we spoke about and is about seven leagues in circumference and is constructed like the former and with it they can irrigate many rice-fields.

Chapter 3

Concerning the Forts and Power the Portuguese have in the Island of Ceylon

The Island of Ceylon was sufficiently attractive to draw the Portuguese to her ports, desirous as they would be to enjoy her riches, as we know they were, seeking as they did distant lands where profit was not so great and the effort and danger far greater. However, this was not the case, for it was by accident they stumbled on the Island, without up to then having had any intention of seeking it. It was only by chance they had no knowledge of its existence, either because they were occupied with defending themselves against the Camorin¹ who attacked them frequently with his powerful fleet or because they were content with the pepper they found and with which they loaded their ships. They had no thought of Ceylon / until by accident they came across it. This happened in 1505, when Dom Francisco de Almeida was Viceroy of India.²

Having been informed that the Moors who come from Malacca, Sumatra, Bengal and other ports in order to escape our fleets, navigated towards the Red Sea through the Maldiv Islands,³ which are sixty leagues from Cochin, and wanting to thwart them, he sent his son, Dom Lourenco, with a fleet of nine ships to the said Maldives to intercept these Moorish vessels. But due to faulty navigation they arrived opposite Cape Comorin, where on account of the strong currents, common in these regions, they landed at the port of Galle of this island of Ceylon, where they were received with great honour by the king of the country.⁴ He sent Dom Lourenco a present, consisting of refreshments, and asked him to bestow his friendship and peace since the Moors, who had arrived from Malabar, had informed him of the great victories the Portuguese had gained on the Camorin and of the power of their fleets. Since also he was afraid they might destroy his country and burn all the ships which were in the port, he preferred to place himself under their obedience than undergo the fury of their arms.

And thus promising to give each year as a tribute to the King of Portugal four hundred measures (bares) of cinnamon

under condition that his ports would be under our protection to defend them against those who on our account might want to damage them, he immediately ordered Dom Lourenco to be given the cinnamon of that year, which he received under condition, as we have said, that we defend and safeguard his harbours. With the permission of the King, a stone was carved with the arms and motto of the King of Portugal as a sign they had taken possession, which they thereby did. And since the tribute of cinnamon was punctually paid and the Viceroys of India, the first years after its discovery were overoccupied with other matters of great importance for the security and consolidation of this state, as in particular were the conquest of the island of Goa and the seizure of Malacca, they did not care to build a fortress on this Island of Ceylon, as the King, Dom Manoel, in his letters had so often recommended, until the Governor, Lopo Soarez,⁵ in the last year of his Governorship, which was the year 1518, departing from Cochin with a fleet of seventeen ships, went there personally and erected one.

Arriving at the port of Colombo, he detailed a party to visit the King with a rich present, which he had brought along for him, and ordered them to say that the reason for their coming to this port of Colombo was to build a F. 717 fortress there for the security of the Portuguese, who for commercial reasons were settled there, as he had been told to do by the King of Portugal, his Lord. They had to point out the great advantage which would accrue, since besides the commercial interests, the continuous assistance of the Portuguese would make him secure against his enemies. The King, who already in the days of Affonco d' Albuquerque was thinking of this project and greatly desired our alliance⁶ for reasons we already alluded to, readily granted leave to erect a fortress, ordering the Governor to be visited and offered a present.

On the morrow of the following day, however, when Lopo Soares wanted to disembark and commence the construction of the fortress he found in the place where he wanted to erect it, some ditches, like trenches with palisades, where a good amount of artillery and a group of archers were posted. The cause of all this was the hatred the Moors bear us in these parts. Understanding that were the Portuguese to enter, it

would be their destruction they began badgering those of the Council to make the King withdraw his consent, representing to him the many inconveniences, which would follow were we to have a fortress there.

Lopo Soares, after counsel with the Captains, disembarked attacked the trenches with many bombardments and defeated the enemy, killing many of them. The following day he commenced the construction, since he had already prepared all the materials. The King seeing all this, also the damage they had suffered from ours and the little protection they had received from the Moors, made a virtue of necessity, and ordered his Governor to proceed to Lopo Soares and offer him excuses and tell him on his behalf that he was pleased to grant his permission to erect a fortress there.

Lopo Soares ordered him to say that the fortress had to be built, since El Rey, his Lord, had thus commanded and that on account of the resistance he had offered the Portuguese at the advice of the Moors, he would have to be a vassal of the King of Portugal with the obligation to pay each year as tribute three weights (bares) of cinnamon, twelve strings (anneis) of rubies and sapphires mined in Ceylon, and six elephants for the services of the factory at Cochin. On his part El Rey, Dom Manoel and his successors, assumed the responsibility of defending them from their enemies. This peace-treaty having been concluded, they continued the construction of the fortress and having completed it, they gave it the name of Our Lady of Virtues (N. S. das Virtudes). Then having appointed his nephew, Dom Joao da Silveira, as Captain and having given him a sufficient number of men for its defense, also having appointed Antonio de Miranda F. 718 Aseuedo as Admiral (Capitao mor do mar) of the fleet / of four ships, he departed for Cochin.

Nowadays, besides the fortress, we have here in Colombo a city, whose proper name in the language of the country is Calahamba (Kolamba). It is derived from a mango-tree which grew on the spot where the St. Laurence's Church now stands. This was the first church the Portuguese built on that Island, whence they call it the city of St. Laurence, and have included his grill in its coat of arms.⁷ Since this tree was either old or

barren they named it Colahamba, which means a mango-tree with only leaves, and the word being corrupted became Colombo⁸.

The city is one of the best and biggest in India. There must be some 500 married Portuguese besides many people of the country, all inhabitants of this same city. The houses are all beautiful and new, as are also the streets. On the bay-side it is entirely protected by walls built of mud and logs (taipa), which were thrown up when Dom Francisco Roxo and Manoel Mascarenhas⁹ were Captains General. On the land-side it is protected by walls and splendid bastions which the city itself had ordered built at own costs. On the south-side there is a beautiful lake which the Chingalas call Calapana,¹⁰ which serves very well as a defense. Outside the city for half a league there are nothing else but palm-groves and refreshing gardens, also many, beautiful houses almost like a painting.

Inside the town there are four monasteries, of Our Holy Father St. Francis, which was the first to be founded, St. Dominic's, St. Augustine's and one of the Society of Jesus. Many vessels touch this city. They come from other parts, bring salt and clothing and take away cinnamon, betel-nut and other merchandise of the country. This fort and city of Colombo has its Captain sent by His Majesty. Besides there is a Captain General for the conquest of the Island, since the King, Dom Joao Perea Pandar, at his death on the advice of our Friars bequeathed the rights to the whole of the Island to the Portuguese Crown, as we will see further down.¹¹ This Captain General ordinarily has his official residence in a place called Maluana (**Malvana**), two leagues from the City of Colombo, always following the famous river Calane (**Kelaniya**). The army has its headquarters in a place called Manicaucare (**Menikkadavara**), seven leagues from Maluana, and is surrounded by very high mountains and situated in a valley or in a not very extensive field. The air and water, however, are excellent. It is there the headquarters of our army is located, in the midst of territories we have conquered, that from there we can rush to help wherever necessary. The shelters are made of mud and wood. Day and night there are guards on the roofs of ammunition-dumps, only these being tile, all the rest being straw.

In the days Dom Hieronimo de Azevedo¹² was General, there were in this place a thousand Portuguese. Today, however, there are no more than four hundred, from among whom they must provide Jafanapatao, Tiriquimale F. 719 (Tirikunamale) / and Sofragao where there are always garrisons. Of the four Kingdoms there are in this Island, we have conquered the one of Cotta, the one of Ceitauaca (Sitavaka) and half of the Seven Corlas and the same of the Four Corlas, which, as we have mentioned, form the two Princedoms of the Island. Besides twenty seven Corlas are also conquered.

The principal seaports are the following : Colombo, where the fortress is situated, Putalao (Puttalam,) Chilao, Caimel (Kammala), Calatura, (Kalutara) Gale, Beligao (Veligama). Much more could be conquered if it wasn't for the injustice, the force and tyranny with which the Portuguese have treated the poor natives. This is the reason too why several times they revolted against them. On these occasions, the Friars Minor suffered great damage, for not only did those who revolted destroy many of our churches, but also took the lives of many who ministered to them, as we will narrate in fuller detail further down. They give other reasons why the conquest of the Island of Ceylon was not completed, but we will now remain silent on that matter, not to give the impression that we are out to attack somebody.

Chapter 4

Concerning the Agras, which are the lands where they mine precious stones in the Island of Ceylon, and how they hunt Elephants, and concerning the Income the Royal Treasury derives from this same Island.

The Chingalas call the places where precious stones are found in Ceylon Agras, a name which is derived from the verb, Garanaua,¹ which means to extract stones. By adding an A, which denotes the place, and further corruption the word Agra is formed, which means that in that place the stones are mined or the country of precious stones. In the Dissaua² or neighbourhood of Sofragao, there are four of these Agras or villages where these stones are found. They are inhabited by people occupied in this work. Some are called elders³ and they are the ones who give orders to the others. Others have as duty to explore the places where stones are found, which they recognise by certain plants which grow there. Others are coolies who do the digging. Others, after the pit has been dug to a depth of two arm-lengths, say whether there are stones in the veins / which run through the earth. Others called F. 720 "Sanganes" which means guards, serve as such.⁴ Others have as their task to distinguish the good from the bad and in this they are excellent masters. Finally over all of them there is a Portuguese Captain, sent by El Rey who is called "Vidana das Agras"⁵ who is the Superintendent over all these officials and who alone is responsible for the discipline in those four villages. The manner of extracting the stones is as follows: As soon as the time to do so has arrived the Portuguese Captain or Vidana das Agras sends a message to the elders, who in turn summon the people. As soon as they have gathered together, they all go to the spot where those charged with recognising where stones may be found, have said there are some. Arriving there the elders give orders to the coolies to dig. After having dug the length of a man, at times two men, from the veins visible in the earth, the discoverers make out that there are stones whereupon the Sanganes are put on the alert. Then all the stones, both good and bad are taken out until the working is exhausted. The stones which they found, are handed over to those whose office it is to distinguish them, who separate the

genuine from the false, and sew them up in cotton cloth. The chief Sangane, who has the royal seal, puts three or four or many seals and they are carefully taken to Malauana and handed over to the Treasury Officer (Veedor da Fazenda), who has them weighed in "corjas"⁶ and sold in Colombo.

In this Island of Ceylon, there are two precious-stone-mines, one in the Kingdom of Candia, the other in that of Cotta, in the neighbourhood of Sofragao. Sometimes they discover more, at other times less, and once in the year 1625, when Antonio de Miranda Coutinho was Vidana das Agras, they found eleven thousand, between good and bad, as was certified by the then Treasury Officer of Ceylon.

In treating on the stones of Ceylon, I will not fail to mention here the stone which was found in 1562, which was such a wonderful stone that it deserves a place in this our story. This stone was of a grayish colour, the size of an egg. Inside seven heavens, differently coloured, could be distinguished, also among these heavens the figure of a woman with a child in her lap, all natural and colours. They hold that this figure was that of the Blessed Virgin with her most Blessed Jesus, because, besides being such a wonderful stone, it was miraculous as well, for having placed it in water and having given to drink of this water, it cured many sick and helped the women to have safe delivery. The Governor Francisco Barreto⁷ took it to F. 721 the / Queen, Donna Catherina, who esteemed it greatly.

As far as the elephants are concerned, we have already said that they are the biggest and best of the whole Orient. They belong to the Royal Treasury and hence nobody is allowed to hunt them except with the permission of the Treasury Officer. The General or the Treasury Officer orders Dissaua or chief of the Corlas, which is the territory where many are encountered, to institute a hunt. The latter sends a message throughout the Corlas or territories subject to him for all the men to gather in certain mountains or forests with axes and other arms. As soon as the people, at times more than seven hundred, have come together, their chiefs and officials make them cut heavy and tall trees. Then in a place marked out for this, they keep on enclosing an area in from two sides. The mouth, where it has been left open, must be a third of league broad and then it narrows down like certain kinds of nets, till it ends in a very

narrow passage-way, through which only one elephant can pass. This road or passage-way they block at the extremity with many trees.

After this has been constructed, their army personnel, musketeers as well as archers, is called and soon a thousand men are at hand and begin to beat the woods, as many being on one side as on the other. Then with shots and arrows, cries and clatter, they drive the elephants till they enter the corral.⁸ They do this with such noise that it is like witnessing warfare, for the shots from the guns and muskets are so numerous from both sides that frequently disasters take place and many wounded, of whom some even die. Having made the elephants enter the mouth and forced them into the corral, the musketeers continue to drive them in such a way that they enter one by one that kind of bag or narrow passage of logs, which they had made for this purpose.

The first one arriving at the end of the passage-way and not being able to continue forward, since it is blocked with stout trees, neither being able to retrace its steps, since it is very narrow and therefore he is unable to turn around in it, he remains there as in a stable. The hunters seeing this, pass a number of thick beams through and thus he is imprisoned like in a cage. They then approach more closely and tie him with very strong cords and thus they do with all those that have entered the corral. The hunt, in which at times ten, twelve or more are caught having come to an end, the Cornacas (mahouts) the ones who manage these wild animals, arrive bringing tame **alias**⁹ which are female elephants. Each one of these elephants they very carefully tie in the midst of four **alias** and thus they bring them to Maluana where a very high stable with a straw roof has been built for them and there step by step they are trained.

Over the men who tame the elephants and over another caste of people, whose duty it is to go out every day/ in the F. 722 morning and evening to collect fodder for them to eat, there is a Captain or Vidana, appointed by El Rey, who has his commission and income from the four villages where the people, who serve him, live. They pay him his dues and he can always make four hundred cruzados clean. After the elephants are thoroughly trained and there are buyers, they take them to

Colombo to sell. They are sold for covid¹⁰ and measured at the haunch¹¹ and each covid is worth a thousand pardaos¹² and there are elephants of three and three and a half covids.

After they have been sold, they are embarked on large boats, called champanas¹³ in the following manner. They construct a kind of shoot of wood and strong planks, reaching from the land to the champanas and so narrow it can contain only one elephant. They can close it from both ends by means of stout poles. They bring the elephant and make him walk backwards so as not to see the sea. The cornaca (mahout) urges and spurs him till he enters the champana, where he is immediately and securely fastened. They then unfurl the sails, traverse the gulf¹⁴ which measures some fifty leagues and land on the mainland, where they sell them to the pagan kings, whose whole status depends on the possession of many elephants and which they make use of to wage war.

To give some information concerning the amount this Island of Ceylon brings up or is able to bring up for the Royal Treasury, we can begin with the elephants, on which we have just treated. In the kingdoms we have conquered about twenty elephants with tusks can be captured per year, though some years there are more. These can be sold for 10,000 xeraphins¹⁵ though all do not fetch the same price. And to capture these elephants, it does not cost El Rey anything, since hunters are obliged to this service, except when it is question of a large elephant, in which case they are allowed certain advantages and are given some cloth and jewels, according to custom.

The precious stones are not always the same, neither as far as quantity nor as far as quality is concerned, for at times they extract more and of more value, at times less and of less value. Ordinarily they should extract ten or twelve thousand each year, both good and bad. They are dug without any expense to the Royal Treasury, for they who mine them are obliged to do so on account of the villages and lands which a long time ago have been allotted to them. Only when they find a stone of extraordinary value, are they given some cloth and jewels, as we have remarked concerning the elephants.

They are able to produce every year two thousand weights (bares) of cinnamon and they are able to supply more if they

are ordered to do so. This is besides the five hundred weights which as outcasts, the Chalias¹⁶, according to ancient custom, have to pay. And to prepare the cinnamon it costs five or six larins¹⁷ a weight or bar. A bar is equal to twelve arrobas and an arroba to thirty-three arratels.¹⁸ If this cinnamon is taken to Colombo each bar is worth six or seven pardaos.

Each year they produce six / or seven thousand measures¹⁹ F. 723 of betel-nut each measure containing twenty six thousand betel-nuts. To gather and prepare them it only costs four larins a measure. If taken to Colombo they are sold at nine or ten larins.

There is not much pepper in the Island, though it has always been valued. If the inhabitants understood that the land could produce it in abundance, they would not fail to plant it, since it would not cost them much labour on account of the great fertility of the soil, in which they merely have to sow or plant to produce marvellous crops. When Dom Hyeronimo de Azeuedo²⁰ was Captain of this Island, about twenty or thirty years ago, they made great efforts to have the inhabitants plant pepper, even obliging them under grave penalties, but even with all this strictness they did not produce a larger quantity. And what we are able to gather in the territories subject to us amounts to about a hundred and fifty measures (quintal), more or less.²¹

The taxes from the villages were very little, since they were neither rented out nor organized. Those that are, bring up four thousand xeraphins. But if they rented them all out and if those who rented them were free from the obligation to supply betel-nut and from other dues, by which they must perform certain services and thus are impeded from looking after the estates, they would bring up a large quantity of money. In the twenty seven Corlas we have conquered, about which we have spoken above, there must be about four thousand villages, since, as we have said, a Corla is like a town or city in Portugal, of which some are large, others small. There are Corlas six leagues long, others more, others less extensive and all of them contain villages. And in these four thousand villages of our Corlas, there must be fifteen thousand adults, who have the obligation to go each year and pay homage to El Rey, in this case to Captain General, once in

the beginning of their year, the other time when the rice has ripened.²² Each time they go, they must bring a cloth, worth three larins or simply three larins. The poorer people to go to these two occasions and each one, according to a contract, from time immemorial current among them, pay something. Some pay a larin, others more according to custom. All this money is collected in each village and the headman (maioral) takes it in a bisalho²³ to present it to El Rey. Besides this, the twelve Lords,²⁴ we said live on this Island of Ceylon, though they are not obliged to pay tribute to the Kings, notwithstanding do so as an acknowledgement of their vassalage and once a year dispatch a present consisting of two tusks of ivory, five hundred quantities (papo) of musk (algalea), ten weights of bird-feathers to feather the arrows and two maunds of wax and this quantity is sent by each Lord. I will not speak of other things, since they are of minor importance.

How the Emperor sent Ambassadors to Portugal to ask El Rey Dom Joao III to send our Friars to baptize him and preach the Faith to his subjects and how this came about.

One of the ordinary means God, Our Lord, in His divine providence made use of to bring some of the Kings of this Orient under the sweet yoke of His Holy Law, was the dangerous position in which their enemies placed them. Some of them seeing themselves defeated, hard-pressed and in danger of losing their kingdoms and realizing how valuable for their security the favour of the Portuguese would be, since the latter were feared on all sides on account of their famous victories which they had gained over their enemies on land and on account of their powerful fleets by which they had become the masters of the seas, resolved to have recourse to them, to plead their favour and also help against their enemies and in order to oblige them still more accepted our Holy Law. And they were not deceived in this their opinion, for we see from examples, of which the history of India is full, how many, who were on our side in the wars, not only were victorious over their enemies but also became so powerful that they were feared by those whom before they had feared. And as proof of this truth, let it suffice to recount what happened in Ceylon with the King of Cotta, who at the same time was the Emperor over the whole Island. His name was Bonegebago (**Bhuvaneka Bahu**). Finding himself hard-pressed by Madune (**Mayadunne**), his brother, King of Ceitavaca (**Sitavaka**), who waged continuous war to usurp the Emperor's throne, he determined to become a Christian. For this purpose he sent Ambassadors to El Rey, Dom Joao III, who at that time reigned in Portugal, to be under greater obligation to do so, he asked that, by means of his Portuguese, he defend him against his enemies. And though he did not merit from God to put his resolution into execution, which was to receive Baptism, still his grandson, who at his death succeeded him as Emperor, entered into his place as also other Chingala Kings, Princes, Prince-heirs, and persons of royal-blood, who, leaving the false superstitions of their idolatries, embraced the truth of Christ's Faith through the

medium of the Friars Minor, who in exchange for much blood, which they shed in this work and in exchange for the F. 725 lives / many of them lost, gained many thousands of souls for heaven.

This Bonegebago was the son of Vigebago Pandar (**Vijaya Bahu Bandara**), crowned Emperor of the whole Island of Ceylon. With his two brothers, Reigao Pandar (**Raygam Bandara**) and Maduna Pandar (**Mayadunne Bandara**), he conspired against his father and together they killed him in order to gain possession of his throne. The one who perpetrated the deed was the youngest Madune, who attacked him with a sword and killed him.¹ God afterwards punished him with the same punishment, allowing one of his sons Raju (**Raja Simha**) to kill him. The one as well as the other were great enemies of the Portuguese. When Vigebago Pandar had been killed, the whole of the Island was divided among the three sons. The eldest, Bonegebago, became the head of the Empire and received the Kingdom of Cotta with the seashore, from Putulacao (**Puttalam**) to the shallows². The second was allotted Reigao Corla (**Raygam Korale**), Passadu Corla (**Pasdum Korale**) Palenda (**Pelenda**) and other territory. Finally the third was given the Kingdom of Caitauaca (**Sitavaka**) and the Four Corlas, which lie on the edges and at the foot of the mountains of Candea.

Bonegebago did not have any heirs except a very beautiful, legitimate daughter by name of Cura Adaas (**Kuda Adahasa**³) who married a prince very closely related to Bonegebago. He was the Lord of Madampe by the name of Videa Bandar (**Vidiye Bandara**). From them was born Videa Pala Astane (**Vijayapala Asthana**), who died without issue and Darmapala Pandar (**Dharmapala Bandara**), who as King of the Kingdom of Cotta became a Christian and was called Dom Joao Parea Pandar (**Dom Joao Periya Pandar**), the last king of Ceylon. Bonegabago seeing that outside of this Dom Joao he did not have any heirs except his grandson, sent to Portugal a Brahmin by name Proita Rala (**Purohita Rala**) who knew Portuguese very well, as Ambassador to El Rey, Dom Joao, and to the Queen, Dona Catherina. He, in the (King's) name took with him a large, well-carved figure of ivory representing the person of Bonegebago, together with a smaller figure representing the person of his grandson, Darma Pala Pandar,

He, in the (King's) name offered it to El Rey, Dom Joao, asking him to confirm and by oath to assure that his grandson Darma Pala Pandar would be king and heir to his Kingdom of Cotta. This was granted in the See of Lisbon⁴, when at a grand function the King of Portugal swore that Darma Pala would be King and heir to the Kingdom of Cotta.

The Emperor of the whole Island of Ceylon and King of Cotta, Bonegebagu, was being pressed by continuous wars which his brother, Madune, the King of Ceitauaca, waged against him to take the Emperorship from him. Though he was not completely destitute of help and did not lack the favour of the Portuguese, since he was our friend, still wanting to put them under greater obligation, not only to defend him against / his enemies, which they were already doing, but also F. 726 with armed force to destroy them and thus free himself from the annoyance which he daily suffered from Madune, he debated with himself concerning the best means to achieve this end and decided that the best means he could choose was to become a Christian. And thus he instructed his Ambassador, whom he had sent to Portugal in the year 1542, that, on meeting El Rey, Dom Joao III, he should also make known to him this decision, and that in order that he might be in a position to execute his plan, he should send Friars of St. Francis, concerning whom he had received satisfactory reports, for he had often spoken with them both in his own city of Cotta and at our fortress of Colombo, where ordinarily our Friars were, accompanying the soldiers who were there, as they were accustomed to do in these parts, since they are the ordinary Chaplains and companions of the Portuguese. The joy the King felt at hearing this decision was great, as great as his zeal to bring all the people of the Orient under the yoke of Christ, since he is more desirous of extending over all these territories the Evangelical Law than the sovereignty of his Crown.

For this enterprise he selected six Friars, all preachers and of approved virtue. As leader he chose the venerable Father, Friar Joao da Villa do Conde⁵, who was renowned for his preaching and was of exemplary life. He ordered them to be provided with all the things they would need during their journey and he gave them very favourable letters for the King of Cotta who had asked for them to be sent, and also for the

Viceroy of India. They made the voyage in the fleet which that year left Portugal and which was captained by Diogo da Silueira. He was also accompanied by the Ambassador of the King of Ceylon who has been very well dispatched by El Rey, to whom the latter had paid great honour and had conceded everything he had petitioned. In due course, all arrived in Goa⁶ where the Viceroy resided and to whom the venerable Friar Joao da Villa do Conde gave the letter of El Rey. Seeing that the Ambassador had much business to transact, which would detain him in Goa, he asked the Viceroy to be allowed to go with his companions during that monsoon. This petition was granted together with all the things he might have need of during his journey and which El Rey had recommended in his letter. The evangelical preachers⁷ reached Colombo safely and were very well received by the Portuguese of that fortress, who were waiting for them, since they had come to know that the King of Cotta had asked for them from the King of Portugal to make him and all his Kingdom Christian, at which news they had been highly pleased.

F. 727 Three days after their arrival they went to the King, to whom they presented the letter from El Rey, Dom Joao, and also one from the Governor of India⁸. He received them with great honour and offered them many things, thus showing he was highly satisfied to see them in his Kingdom, where he promised them, they would never lack anything, since, besides having the obligation to grant them many favours, for he himself had asked for them, he was by character and nature meek, affable and liberal. For the time being our Friars contented themselves with these signs of goodwill. They were in high hopes as far as the fruits they expected are concerned, and were very much satisfied with the dispositions of the King. They reserved for a future day the talk about religion, since this was their first visit.

After a few days they returned to the palaces of the King and the six Religious began to speak on the things of our Holy Faith not only to him, but also to the great ones who assisted at his Court, explaining to them how necessary it was for their salvation to accept the Faith of Christ, receive Baptism and abandon the errors of their pagan religion. In the measure Fr. Joao da Villa do Conde, as the excellent preacher

he was and very fervent and zealous for the salvation of souls, explained these things, the King, who was steeped in idolatry began to show grief and pain in his face and gave to understand that to hear these things displeased him. To which the servant of God replied : What is the grief which I perceive in you, Oh King ? Receive this my word, for it is for your own welfare Put aside this fear, for this is the only road which leads to Heaven. If this is what you have so long desired and through your ambassadors requested from the King of Portugal, promising to become Christian and receive Baptism, why do you now wish to turn back and refuse to abide by your word ? To which the King replied : It was not this I ordered my Ambassador ask of the King of Portugal neither have I at present the intention of becoming a Christian. When my Ambassador shall return, only then will everything be done properly. For the time being, be of good cheer and concerning what you wish to fulfil in me, I will not fail you.

Great was the grief the servant of God felt in his soul on hearing the pagan King, who showed himself so rooted in paganism, replying just the opposite to what his Ambassador had told him to expect. And recommending the matter to God, from whom that good work should come, he awaited the arrival of the Ambassador. He did not tarry long, having satisfactorily concluded all the things the King had recommended him, as well in Portugal with El Rey Dom Joao III as in India with his Governor. After he had given him the letter and some rich presents, which he brought with him from His Highness, he (the ambassador) personally told him that he should take the Friars, who were there into account, because they were / very great religious and that he should approach F. 728 them in everything as far as the Faith of Christ, which they had come to preach, is concerned, for it was the sum total of truth. He should also understand that whatever he did to them, he did to the King of Portugal and that he would obtain from the latter only that which they would ask in his name and were he to do the contrary and deceive them, the King would take it very ill and feel himself highly offended,

For a while the King reflected on the things the Ambassador had told him. The less he was interested in securing the salvation of his soul and in the Faith our Friars preached to

him, the more desirous he was, not to endanger his state by offending the King of Portugal, who in a very special manner had written to him concerning his conversion. And ordering our Friars to be called and receiving them with great honour and pomp, he again promised to bestow his favour and help in everything, which touched them and as a sign of all this he gave them seventy crusados, at the same time promising he would give them one hundred each year. To which they replied: This money which you offer, may it remain with Your Majesty, for we did not come from Portugal to Ceylon with so much trouble and amidst so many dangers to seek your money, but your soul and those of your vassals. And if you become a Christian know that you are bestowing great treasures upon us and by doing so you are giving us everything you can possibly give us. Because the God whom we adore and whom we serve for whose love we came here, He alone is our riches and all our good, and He will provide us with whatever we need for life, with which we are content. Therefore, if you too want to receive this Lord as your God and adore him from your heart, submit yourself to His Law, be baptized and possess the same Faith we possess, and both we and the King of Portugal will be propitious to all your affairs and in all our letters we will give true information regarding these matters and he will be your friend and favour you in all your needs. Besides, one of us will go to Portugal to deal with the affairs of your Kingdom, for we hold it a great thing to save a soul and there is no difficulty, no danger we would not gladly submit ourselves to, in order to gain such a soul.

The King then replied: This is a serious and difficult matter and demands much consideration and ripe thought, and therefore, we must not proceed with haste, which would be temerity and rashness, but with deliberation, for thus prudence and right reason teach us. In the meantime, trust in me, for, as you know, all things have their time. When our Friars heard this very doubtful reply, they decided to change their tactics and said that, since he did not want to become a Christian, he should at least grant them the alms they wished to ask for. / By all means, I will grant whatever, you ask for, he replied, as long as do not make me a Christian at once. As your Majesty is aware they replied, there are in this Kingdom two laws which are unjust and against all reason.

The first one, made by your predecessors, reads that when one of the vassals happens to die, they (the kings) become the heirs, his wife and children being excluded from the inheritance. The second, still worse, was promulgated by you. In it you have ordered that all those of your Kingdom who accept the Faith and are baptized, lose their properties. Now since you have given your word to grant us whatever we ask, except to make you a Christian at once, this is what we request, that by general law, to be promulgated in the whole of your Kingdom, you order that whosoever becomes a Christian can retain all his properties, so that none of the officials and ministers can cause them any harm, and another, by virtue of which, if a Christian happens to die, his wife and children, if they too are Christian, can inherit his property and that Christian children of pagan parents can inherit on their death, also vice versa, that Christian parents can leave their property to their pagan children. We ask these things from Your Majesty because they are observed in the Kingdom of Portugal and in all Christian countries. The king conceded what they requested, and accordingly he ordered and wrote to all his Captains and officials. The servants of God then decided not to worry him for some time.

Chapter 6

How the venerable Friar Joao da Villa do Conde continued to make efforts to convert the Emperor of Ceylon and in confirmation of the Faith he preached, offered to pass through fire and concerning the dispute he had with his scholars, and the disastrous end this unfaithful King had.

After some days, since the desire which these servants of God had to win this soul and also the others for God did not allow them any rest, they decided to continue the attack they had begun on the hardened heart of that King. And appearing in his presence, with humble but most efficacious words they began to persuade him to discontinue the vain and false adoration of his idols, since they were but stone and wood, and that he should be willing to embrace the Faith of the true God and
F. 730 His Son, Jesus Christ, who for our salvation / had come to the world to assume our humanity, and since in His infinite mercy He bestowed this overgreat grace to whomsoever He enlightened and taught the way of His salvation, he should profit by it and should not wish to lose it by ill-will.

However, Friar Joao (who as Superior insisted the most) seeing that the King showed displeasure with these words, though his coldness had not turned to hardness as ordinarily happens, called the Ambassador, whom the King had sent to Portugal and in the presence of the whole Court, asked him saying: Did you not promise to the invincible King of Portugal that the King of Ceylon would accept our Law and become Christian, if he sent him some learned Friars of St. Francis, who knew how to give instructions in the things of our Holy Faith? How come that this promise has not been fulfilled and that they have gone back on their word?

The Ambassador replied to him: What I said to the King of Portugal was only that it would be good were he to send to my King some Friars and religious men to teach him the things of your Christian religion, for I was certain he would believe and receive Baptism. This is what I told him and nothing more.

Friar Joao, seeing this and understanding that the King and his Ambassador had failed him, began to despair of his

conversion, since the King showed himself ever more obstinate. He, however, not despairing of God's goodness and help decided to use tactics, since in the midst of so much hardness and obstinacy, there was nothing else to do. He, therefore, very carefully and perseveringly inquired whether there were any priests, well versed in their law and that those he might choose and concerning whom he had a high opinion as to their wisdom, might be called to his presence, since he wanted to dispute with them both the pagan and the Christian doctrine, and that the one who was overcome in the dispute, should concede that the other Law was better and the true one and pass over to it and profess it.

The King consented, saying he would be very well pleased to ascertain the truth. He ordered the most learned, called and appointed a guard to see that all appeared in his presence. Having arrived and all being gathered before the King and his whole Court, and a numerous crowd had assembled to witness the outcome of the dispute, our Friars arrived accompanied by our Captain and all the other Portuguese who at that time were residing there. Friar Joao began and said to the King: Now that we have gathered to dispute which law is the true one and which we must follow, order your men that they propose the chief doctrines and difficulties of their law, so that I may deal with them satisfactorily. I will not do that, said the King, for this belongs / to you, as it is you who have made the F. 731 challenge. Friar Joao, though much put out, said it would be done in the following manner. I will propose the doubts and they will give solutions. When this was accepted by all, the evangelical preacher proposed these questions, viz, What is God? What do you mean by Paradise? What is an Angel? Finally, what is vice and sin?

To these questions, since they were ignorant, they were not able to reply and therefore they began disputing among themselves and creating confusion. The King, still full of confidence, seeing this, appointed three from among them, who seemed more expert in the affairs of their law, and who were willing to continue on the field, but who in the manner of those who cannot express themselves clearly, still endeavoured to reply satisfactorily to the questions which had been put. But as they were not well versed, though overbearing and presump-

tuous in their opinions, it was all in vain, since they lacked the grace of the Holy Ghost, who in similar occasions usually enlightens our minds and even extinguishes the light of their reason, which devoid of Faith, in many cases becomes blind and weak. The more they tired themselves in replying to the proposed questions, the more they were confounded and embarrassed. And the number of errors they made and the number of unwise things they said was so great that the bystanders laughed and their laughs were so frequent that these teachers of errors were confused and ashamed. Some were even indignant to see neither the King nor his scholars were able to defend the doctrines they professed. The King wanting to put an end to the dispute, from which so much confusion had resulted, gave the Friars the excuse that the best scholars were not present and concluded the session with saying, that since many and very learned men followed this doctrine he too wanted to follow it and die in it, for it was sufficient for him to do what they did and follow the road they followed, since he was satisfied with being what they were.

The King, seeing how little he and his scholars had gained in this dispute, but on the contrary had lost in the esteem of the people also, since it had lasted fifteen days, he ordered that it be closed. Friar Joao thereupon profited by the occasion to say to the King; Neither you, Oh King, nor your scholars have been able to solve the questions I put, neither do you wish to take more time to reply to them. How come that you have not understood that you are not able to do so, since you have not learned in the school of the Holy Ghost, F. 732 which exists only in the Catholic Church, where / they teach these truths. At least grant me permission to solve my own questions and at the same time to explain to you the things which are of importance for your salvation. This, replied the King, I will never grant because it is not necessary. Whatever I have received from my parents and learned on the lap of my mother, only this I hold necessary to save my soul. The rest I hold for superfluous. I neither mind to know nor to hear.

Though this seemed to be the absolute will of the King, notwithstanding, the Preacher of the Gospel wanted to continue and he said: Since neither with words of truth nor with valid reasons I am able to convince you of the truth, at least allow

me to convince you by means of miracles and the power of God. For this reason order a huge pyre to be built and after it is lit we will enter it, both I and one of your priests, whom you may choose and of whom you have a high opinion, and of the one who leaves the fire without being burnt, his doctrine will be held as true and observed by all. Or if you prefer both will enter the river which is just opposite and which is full of crocodiles, and the one to enter without being hurt, he will be considered the winner and only he will be listened to by all and obeyed.

The King replied that no such thing was required and that each one should follow the law he preferred, and as for him he would not abandon what he had learned from his elders and that from now on no one should speak on this matter. To which Friar Joao replied to the King: Is this the way you despise the friendship of the King of Portugal which upto now you have respected so much? To this the King answered: Neither for the King of Portugal, nor for two kings like him will I abandon the law in which I was reared and be assured that I will never accept your Law. And were they to oblige me, I would rather abandon my Kingdom than do this. However, you and your Friars preach your law in the whole of my Kingdom, for which I grant your permission. And those who wish to accept it, let them become Christians and I will be pleased with this and on my part I will not harm them. And for those who do not wish to accept it, I will not bear any guilt and thus they cannot impute anything to me.

The King said this because he knew very well that none of his vassals would receive Baptism, because by means of his Brahmins and Jangatares (sanghatthera) he meant to spoil this work.¹ These Brahmins and Jangatares of Ceylon correspond to the ancient Druids of France, the Ginnosophistas of Egypt and the Philamines and other priests of Rome. As persons consecrated to God and religious men they live in the temples, though in a separate and distinct place like our monasteries. It is their duty to teach the people their pagan superstition, placate the godhead or rather the devils with their sacrifices and prayers, offer sacrifices to the idols and intercede for the people. Their garb consists of a soft yellow tunic which reaches from the belt to the feet, and a cloth stole of

the same colour which is thrown over the left shoulder towards the right and reaches down to the knee, the rest of the body remaining uncovered.

They, though pagan, are friendly towards our Friars for they consider them as following the same profession, especially since like us they go out each day and in silence beg for alms from door to door, and the farther away they live from the other pagans, the higher is the veneration in which they are held. And they are held so highly that pagans from India come to Ceylon on account of these their Jangatares, not with less devotion than the Moors go to Mecca on account of their Mohamed. And the pagan who is able to carry to his country a bit of earth from this Island of Ceylon, is held by others as really rich and blessed, for so great is the blindness and ignorance of these unfortunates.

To take up the thread of our history, with this permission, though it had been insincerely given, our Friars began to preach the Gospel to all the gentiles of this Island. Only Friar Joao da Villa do Conde remained with the King, who, like another Pharaoh, continued to harden his heart. The King seeing that through the preaching and holy lives of these servants of God, many were converted and received Baptism, he, though secretly, began to make plans to undo this holy work. Seeing, however, that he was unable to do so, since there were many and every day their number increased, throwing aside the mask, he officially forbade under pain of death anybody henceforth to receive Baptism. Two of his courtiers who had become Christians, he deprived of all their properties.

All these caused our Religious to become disconsolate, seeing that the hardness and cruelty of the King had led him to such extremes that he even threatened with death-penalty those who wanted to receive Baptism. And thinking that they might find a remedy for such evil with the Captain and other Portuguese at our fortress in Colombo, (they approached them but) they were not willing to come to their aid, moved perhaps by their own personal interests, which has more than anything else impeded the propagation of our Faith in the Orient. But though human aid failed them, divine aid did not and with great harm to the unfaithful King. It happened that a number of Portuguese were walking along with their muskets and that

one of them without knowing what he was doing put a bullet through the unfortunate King, / while at twilight at the F. 734 hour of the Trinity-bell he was standing at one of the windows of the palace in Calane (Kelaniya) together with our factor. After a few days he succumbed, thus paying for his hardness by God taking away his life and his kingdom and what is more tragical, by condemning him to the eternal punishment on account of his unfaithfulness, after having shown so great a desire and after having done so much to receive the true Faith. Whatever it may be, the intentions he had could not have been the welfare of his soul or else it was a certain sin to which he was inclined, which made him incapable (of receiving the Faith) and did not allow him to reach the purpose of his resolutions and thus he departed this life in an unfortunate manner and in infidelity. And though at the time they did not know who had killed him, later on they came to know that it was a mulatto² who by chance had fired the musket. He fled to Bengal and from there sent a message saying that it was he who had killed him by accident and that therefore nobody should be blamed. The author of the sixth Decada da Asia³ says that his name was Antonio de Barcellos.⁴

Chapter 7

How the Friar Joao da Villa do Conde baptized the new King of Cotta, who succeeded to the Emperorship of Ceylon and concerning the progress they, with his support, made in the conversion of the Inhabitants of the Island.

The divine goodness did not allow all the holy desires of the servant of God, Friar Joao da Villa do Conde to be frustrated. He had desired and worked so hard to bring the King by means of Baptism into the bosom of the church. Now in place of him, God gave him his grandson, the son of one of his daughters, who succeeded him in the kingship and whom Friar Joao converted and not without tears and joy of heart baptized with his own hands, on whom too he imposed the name of Dom Joao in honour of Dom Joao III, who then reigned in Portugal. This King, Dom Joao Parea Pandar was a very good Christian and ever after lived under the discipline of the Friars of St. Francis and the favour and protection of the Portuguese, who defended him as long as he lived and maintained him on the throne/ notwithstanding the opposition of Madune, his uncle. The latter persecuted him continuously and waged cruel war against him for many years. As soon as he heard that his brother Bonegebago had died and that his grandson had been raised to the throne in his stead, he flew into a rage and calling his army together went to a place not far from the city of Cotta where the King was with all his courtiers, who had just sworn allegiance to him as their King. The proud Madune sent an embassy to him to say that he had come to be acknowledged as their real king, since on the death of his brother nobody, except himself, could put forward a claim. He also made them understand that were they not willing to acknowledge him, he had come with his army to enter and destroy the city and inflict a cruel death upon all.

The nobles of Cotta did not take this message of Madune serious. They replied to him that they already had a King, to whom, more than to him, belonged the sovereignty and thus they had no other King to obey and acknowledge. They also said that if he wanted to wage war they were ready to defend

themselves and even, if necessary, to lay down their lives for their King. On being undeceived concerning their attitude, Madune resolved to attack the city and began approaching it.

Those on the inside however did not leave the initiative to him, but organized themselves as well as possible and took along all the Portuguese that were there. This encouraged them greatly to exert themselves to the utmost and thus they attacked Madune's camp, killed many people and forced him to retreat with his army in great affliction of heart. But since he was ambitious, as long as he lived (and he lived many years), he never gave up his pretensions to the throne, waging continuous war with his nephew. In this war he was at times successful, fortune inclining itself now to one side, now to the other. Eut Dom Joao was able to maintain himself in his Kingdom with the help of God and the favour of the Portuguese, who, as we have said, throughout supported and helped him. This lasted for more than twenty-five years until Madune was killed by one of his own sons, called Raju (**Rajasimha**), a constant enemy of the Portuguese. In order to obtain the kingship, he had killed him, paying the evil Madune had perpetrated with the same coin as he had done to his own father, whom he had killed to obtain the Kingdom, as we have mentioned above.

With the favour of the new King our Religious continued to preach the Faith and garnered a rich harvest. Besides the King, they converted and baptized his father / and all courtiers, F- 736 also the Queen, his wife, who was the daughter of the King of Candia (**Kandy**) with all the ladies of her Court. And since they lacked a church where they could hear the word of God and assist at Mass and other Divine Services, the servants of God made use of a famous temple, which was there. They removed all the idols, some of which were of metal, others of stone, others of wood. Some of them they burnt, others they reduced to powder. They then consecrated it as a temple of God and as a house of prayer, sprinkling Holy Water and reciting prayers which are usually said when a Church is dedicated. In this church they taught and they dedicated it to St. Anthony, where we have a Friary and a school for boys.

The number of converts increased to such an extent that, helped by God, within a few months they converted almost

three thousand souls and within a radius of thirty leagues, built twelve churches where they taught the truths of our Holy Faith.

Something noteworthy occurred at the dedication of the new church, which, as we have already remarked, had been made from a temple which the inhabitants considered as one of the more famous ones. On the night following the dedication cries and howls of many jackals, animals like dogs or foxes found in these parts of India as well as in many parts of Africa, were heard. The blind gentiles were convinced that they lamented and wept on account of the removal of the idols. At this many grew frightened and laying aside their superstitious practices, gladly received the true doctrine of Christ.

The way our Friars cherished and the care they lavished upon the Christians of Ceylon was always exceptional, since it cost them and still costs them many labours. Among them there was no one who loved them more deeply than the venerable Friar Joao da Villa do Conde, who neither held nor treated them except as children, whom he had borne through the Gospel. Thus he grieved over their calamities and miseries, as a loving mother grieves over her child. So seeing some of their needs, not only of individuals but also of the King, who frequently was hard-pressed on account of the cruel and continuous war Madune inflicted upon him, he returned to Portugal¹ to inform El Rey, Dom Joao III, who was still reigning, about both the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Island. From him he brought many favours and instructions for the Viceroy of India, in which the King ordered that he should with great care provide the Island with fleets and soldiers and

F. 737 that he should care for / the King to maintain him in the possession of his Kingdom, which was always done.

Chapter 8

**How greatly both His Majesty and His Holiness
esteemed the Conversion of the King Ceylon, Dom
Joao Parea Pandar and concerning a number of other
items in particular.**

The news of the conversion of this King was received with great rejoicing in Portugal, for they understood that, since he had accepted the Faith, his subjects too would accept it, because ordinarily the people follow the example of those who rule them. In fact this is what happened. Soon after the King was baptized, his courtiers, the Queen and the greater number of his subjects too were baptized. But who rejoiced the most was the Queen, Dona Catherina, who during this period governed the Kingdom of Portugal for El Rey Dom Sebastiao, her grandson, who was still only a boy. She considered herself fortunate since during her reign so many should have been won over for Christ. This she made known in a letter written at Lisbon, the 21st. of March, 1559 to the Custos of the Custody, Friar Belchior de Lisboa¹ which reads as follows :

Friar Belchior de Lisboa. I, El Rey, send you greetings. Through Friar Pedro de Bethlem² I received your letter and from it and from the one of Friar Joao da Villa do Conde, I learned how Our Lord was served to enlighten the King of Ceylon and bring him to the knowledge of the truths of our Holy Faith, from which I received great satisfaction and I praise God, Our Lord, for having allowed this work, from which such great things are expected to have been accomplished in my days. May it please to confirm and ordain that His name be praised on the Island where upto the present He has been so often offended by the Princes. As far as the help the said King has requested from the Governor³ against Madune is concerned and the hope he has been given that he should be aided, I am sure the said Governor knows how happy I am to favour those who follow the path of truth and that he will make provisions for anything which may concern the said King. From the education and learning of the nephew of the King of Ceylon⁴ who was educated in St. Francis Friary, Goa,

and whom the Governor sent to this country, I notice the care you and the Fathers of your Order take of the things pertaining to the service of God and from this I derive great satisfaction. Concerning the said King / I will remember what you ask and the reasons you pointed out. As far as the works you say you have initiated in Bassein⁵ and Bardez⁶ is concerned and the request you make for me to recommend you to the Governor, I am writing to the Viceroy Dom Constantino⁷ my beloved nephew, that he favour you in everything which may be in conformity with the needs of those parts and you may send your petitions to him. On account of the reasons you allege I approve that you order them to continue the work on the Oratory of S. Thome, which was under construction when you arrived.⁸ I also approve the study of Theology you organized at Goa and the course of Arts and Grammar at Cochin⁹ and I derive much pleasure on account of the service which it may render to God in those parts. Antonio de Aguiar composed it. Upto here the letter of the Queen.

At the Court of Rome too they rejoiced exceedingly at the news of the conversion of this King and Pope Gregory XIII wrote him a letter in reply to another of the King¹⁰ and in which he granted many favours and which faithfully translated from the Latin into our language says as follows :

GREGORY XIII, POPE: To our dear son and noble personage, health and apostolic blessing. We were pleased beyond belief with your letter, and with your piety in acknowledging the Catholic faith and persevering there-in with the utmost constancy ; for that is the beginning and foundation of all blessings and of that felicity whereunto we were created by God, in whose name we embrace your nobility and count you of the same rank and number as all other Catholic Princes. Nor is there anything which on your behalf we do not desire to effect which that influence and authority wherewith we have been set by Our Lord Jesus Christ to preside over His holy Church ; for all Catholics, wherever they may be, we regard as entrusted to our care and solicitude ; you above all, whom as a tender plant the great goodness of Christ Himself has transferred from that mighty and vast desert of heathenism to the most fertile and cultivated field of His Church, and whom —to use the words of the Apostle Peter — he has desired to be

of a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a perched people, that you may declare his virtues who hath called you out of darkness unto his marvellous light.

We are therefore writing to the King of Portugal, as required by you, and we recommend you to him as much as we are able. Only we warn you not to let the perversity of any man, or the weight of wrong-doing, draw you away from the true faith and your holy purpose: for that would be the greatest of all evils, and you would thus be going back to the most abject servitude of Satan, from which the highest goodness and the blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ have delivered you. We do not cease to pray for you nor shall we ever weary of recommending your affairs to the King, interposing therein all the weight of our authority. Given at Rome from St. Peter's, under the seal of the fisherman, this first day of July, 1578 / the seventh of our F. 739 Pontificate.

This letter as well as that of El Rey are preserved in the original in the Archives of St. Francis Friary, Goa. This King was very Catholic and a good Christian and as long as he lived Madune, King of Ceitauaca, and Raju, his son, persecuted him. The Portuguese always helped them with their fleets in these wars, but since the Captains of the fortress of Colombo and the officials of El Rey, under the pretext of defending him against his enemies, were too interested in his income and the royal property and interfered more than necessary in the affairs of the government of his Kingdom he ordered the Notary public of Ceylon (tabaliao publico das notas de Ceilao) to draw up a document (instrumento publico de procuracao) in which he appointed the following persons as his procurators: The Minister General of our Order, Friar Chrisostomo da Madre de Dios¹¹, Lecturer in Sacred Theology, Guardian and Commisary of Ceylon, the Provincial Minister of Portugal, Dom Andre, Bishop of Cochin and Governor of the Archdiocese of Goa¹², Rui Sedrinho de Mesquita, Apostolic Inquisitor of Goa and the Custos and Commissary General of this Custody of St. Thomas. They were to look after his affairs and procure the welfare of his Kingdom. At the same time he drew up a memorial or a list, addressed to the above-mentioned persons, in which he enumerated all the things he wanted and which they were to procure some from His Holiness, others from the King of Portugal, others from the Viceroy of India.

After having received Baptism, as a favour to Christianity and the orphans of his Kingdom, that they might be baptized, educated and taught, by building schools for them and thus encourage the spread of Christianity, he gave all the lands belonging to the temples to be entirely utilized for the abovementioned schools and for the upkeep of the orphans. But since in the year 1570 this King fell into extreme poverty and need on account of the tyrant Madune having usurped almost his whole Kingdom, it seemed right to our Religious, who were then residing in Ceylon and to Friar Martinho da Guarda, Guardian of Colombo (since it would also redound to the service of Our Lord) to return to the said King the lands and income of the temples for his expenses and thus to provide in his needs. But since he was also a Christian, he did not want to consent to this, except under certain conditions and that he would only accept it as long as he was in need, declaring in an authentic document that it was his intention of accepting and retaining the said lands and revenues of the temples only as long as he was dispossessed of his Kingdom and that as soon as

F. 740 he regained it, as he hoped to do in God, he would / return them to the school or schools for the upkeep of the orphans in the manner he had ordained. But since the cupidity of a few is more powerful than the intention of this King, the revenues of the temples were appropriated for El Rey, our Lord, not without great discredit to us, accusing us that we acquired possessions in Ceylon something Our Rule forbids us to do, as if our Churches and schools and what is worse the orphans,¹³ sons of pagans, whom we baptized, were obliged to observe the strict poverty of our Religious profession. But in order that a better understanding may be obtained concerning this matter, we will treat it more fully in the following chapter.

Chapter 9

How the King of Ceylon, Dom Joao Parea Pandar, donated the lands and revenues of the Temples of his Kingdom for the upkeep of the Colleges our Friars founded and of the orphans who were educated there and how they were taken away by order of His Majesty.

That vessel of election and doctor of the gentiles, the Apostle St. Paul counselled those who only recently had transferred from the darkness of infidelity to the Kingdom of Light, to use those things which upto then had served the devil, to serve God in order that those things which had served as instruments to offend the Divine Majesty, might be used for His glory. This is what Dom Joao Parea Pandar did, the King and Emperor of Ceylon, who, as soon as he, through the ministry of our Religious had accepted the Faith of Christ and had been baptized, ordained that the lands and revenues, which he and his predecessors had endowed the temples with, should be utilized for the maintenance of the schools which he wished to have on this Island and Kingdom of Ceylon, where the orphans who had been baptized would be educated.

And though, when he made this endowment, he made it in the abovementioned form, as is clear from the provisions, notwithstanding, in order that his intention might be rightly understood and made known to all that the revenues, of which he had disposed, were not meant for our Friars, who by virtue of their Rule and the high perfection of their state are incapable of possessing them, except for the schools of orphans, which he wished to have in the whole of his Kingdom / he F. 741 ordered a document to be drawn up, ratifying these his intentions. The original of this document is preserved at St. Anthony's Friary, Colombo, and reads as follows :

"Dom Joao, by the grace of God, Parea Pandar, King of Ceylon: To all who may read this document ratifying the alms and gifts, I make known that considering the benefits which have accrued unto me and still accrue on account of the knowledge of the Holy Catholic Faith of Christ, Our Lord,

which I received through the instrumentality of the Fathers of the Order of the Blessed Seraphic Father St. Francis, who always co-operated with me for its increase, as behoves the salvation of my soul, and favoured me continuously in spiritual as in temporal matters, at the instance and petitioning of Friar Joao da Villa do Conde, one time Guardian of the College of the City of Cotta,¹ metropolitan City and head of my Kingdom and domains in the time that the greater part of them were in my possession, by whose hands I was made a Christian, I grant to the said Fathers as alms and gifts, the revenue of the temples and the sites of Calane, on the one side as well as on the other side, of the temple of Dalade (*Dalada*), which has become the Church of St. Saviour (S. Salvador); and thus of all the temples of my kingdom and domains with all their income, lands, gardens, fields, rents, vassalages, as and in the manner as formerly my predecessors and I had granted all the above-mentioned to the same temples; as soon as I acquired true knowledge, on receiving the waters of Baptism, I renounced it all and placed it all at the disposal of the said schools. And having come to know with certainty that the said Fathers by virtue of their Rule are forbidden to accept fixed incomes, nor, according to their profession, are capable of possessing, I approved that the lands and revenues, I and my predecessors had offered to the temples, since at that time I had come to the knowledge of the true Faith, that these revenues should be utilized for the upkeep of the school and schools the said Fathers should organize and possess in these my kingdoms and domains and that they should appoint a certain person or persons who should take care and charge of these revenues and with them, as alms given for the good of the said schools, upkeep them; this I approve in the above manner on seeing and knowing that the intention of the said Fathers was nor is any other than the service of God and the salvation of our souls, without reserving anything for themselves as their profession demands, for which purpose in the year 1573, at the insistence F. 742 and petitioning of Friar Martinho da Guarda of the said Order resident in the said City of Cotta, I, in writing ratified the grant of the alms, as can be seen in the letter which I wrote to the said Fathers, which they must have preserved to comply with its instructions or when there was need to refer to it. And now Friar Manoel dos Santos, Guardian of St. Anthony's

College of this city of Colombo, where for many years I have fixed my seat and where I reside with my Court, has asked me in the name of the same Lord, to ratify these gifts and alms. It pleases me to ratify and once again grant the income, which I hereby do of all which has been mentioned, as and in the manner as is contained in the letter and I grant it for the said St. Anthony's College and the colleges which the said Fathers may organize wherever and in whatever parts an opportunity of doing so may arise. In case Bishops, Prelates or other Fathers of whichever Order it might be, or in whatever manner or whatever era, come to this Island, they cannot interfere in the affairs of the said temples, revenues, vassalages and the rest, as I have said. Only the said Fathers of the Order of St. Francis have these rights, for as has been said our obligation is to them, also since it is my good, last and sane will, as it always was, is and shall be. And if by chance they discover that I have made a grant contrary to this and either before or after this one (something I do not remember) to any other person and persons of another Order, by virtue of this present document I declare it null and void and of no value, because, as has been said, this one is to be held as valid and it is my will that it be considered as having validity both in Court and outside from the date on which it was granted by me to Friar Joao and for ever after. And I ask His Majesty as a favour that he too consider it as such and all his judges. I also notify my and other people, who should be informed, that they may not have any doubt concerning this matter, nor impede its execution. And the person or persons the said Fathers may appoint should be given possession of everything as has been said, giving them sufficient time to do so, for by these letters present, from this day forward, they should be placed in charge. Given in this city of Colombo of the Island of Ceylon, under my sign and seal of my royal coat-of-arms, the 19th of January 1591. The Secretary Antonio Ribeiro ordered it written and signed."

This same grant and in the manner it is written, he himself made again and confirmed in his last will before he died. And when Mathias de Albuquerque was Viceroy of India he also confirmed it in the name of His / Majesty in the year 1596. As F. 743 reasons for doing so, he gave the great services the Fathers of St. Francis during the last hundred years upto the present had rendered this Island of Ceylon in the conversion of the souls,

baptizing the King of Cotta and his whole royal family, always working constantly as true servants of God, accompanying the armies of His Majesty, risking their lives, some even undergoing martyrdom for the Faith as happened in 1594 in the Kingdom of Candea, where four Religious of the said Order suffered glorious martyrdom and as gallant soldiers witnessed to the truth of our Faith. As reasons too he gave the great amount of work they performed in the territory of His Majesty, exerting themselves and administering the Sacraments on all sides at all fortified places and garrisons, as is amply described in the provision he ordered written. By virtue of this document and of the above-mentioned grant of the King, Dom Joao Parea Pandar, our Religious who lived in Ceylon appointed the Syndic³ of St. Anthony's, Pedro da Selua, to administer the said properties of the temples and to take charge of them.

The Captain General, Dom Hyeronimo de Azeuedo⁴ gave him the possession of some of these fields which had been accepted in order to bring up and teach the orphans and augment the number of Christians in that Island.

But as there are never lacking evil persons and depraved natures who always try to make something, so also there were some ministers and officials of His Majesty, who under the guise of zeal for his service and increase of his revenue (a title very much used in India to do things against justice and reason) wrote to him saying that our Friars in Ceylon possessed revenue against the purity of our Rule and stating that the income of the temples, about seventy thousand cruzados, so they said, was very high, wherewith His Majesty could easily pay the emoluments of the Bishop and Captain of Cochin and all the Rectors of the Island of Ceylon and that enough would be left over to help the fleets. Finally they suggested to His Majesty that it might be of service to order his treasurer of Ceylon that he rent out in favour of the Royal Treasury the villages and domains of the temples of the Island, allowing withall a sufficient amount for the upkeep of the schools and Parishes of the said Island. This was soon executed notwithstanding the protests the said Pedro da Silva made against the orders of His Majesty.

F. 744 In order that those who have no knowledge of our state and may clearly understand that in this matter the purity of the Rule which we profess, was in no way affected, it might be well to

draw the attention of the reader to the fact that, according to what was said in the beginning of this history, the chief reason why the Friars Minor came to the Orient was none other than the promotion and spread of our Holy Faith by converting these peoples. To achieve this end the Popes allowed them to baptize and administer all the Sacraments as is clear from the **Motu Proprio** of Paul IV, and other indults and concessions to which Friar Manoel Rodriguez refers in the first volume of his treatise on questions relating to Religious, Q. 31, Art. 13. There he boldly discusses the questions and adds that the main reason for these concessions was that the Friars, in preaching and administering the Sacraments to the above-mentioned peoples, would increase and spread the Faith.

And thus they drew us from our solitude and made us participate in the cares of the ministry and in doing so, they showed the great trust the Holy Apostolic See in similar matters always had in us. The Kings of Spain and Portugal imitated their example and though they could have sent other ministers for this enterprise, allowed only us to initiate the work. And since the easiest way to convert these people is the example of their own children and countrymen, the said Kings, in a prudent and Christian manner, sought to establish and erect schools in these parts, where at their expense the orphans and new Christians would be taught in order that having been properly instructed in the doctrine of our Faith, they could afterwards help our Friars in the conversion of their relatives and countrymen.

For this purpose they erected in Bardez⁵ the College of Reis Magos and on the island of Salsette the one of Manapacer⁶, in Cranganor the one of S. Diago⁷ and others in other parts, which were endowed by devout individuals, as can be seen in the title-deeds of these foundations. Experience too has shown the excellent results through these schools, as we already have pointed out.

Don Joao Parea Pandar, King of Ceylon, after he had become a Christian and had been baptized, realizing the great good which resulted from these Seminaries and schools, decided that there should be such institutions in his kingdom as well. He entrusted them to the care of our Friars, as is clear from

the documents he ordered drawn up and finally approved and confirmed in his last will.

F. 745 Our Friars having been entrusted with them, there is no doubt they were allowed to run these schools both licitly and without harm to their consciences, not only in the spiritual such as baptizing, preaching, and administering the Sacraments to the gentiles who were brought up and taught there, but also to those already instructed and baptized and who were further being instructed in the Faith, as is clear from the concessions and indults granted, but also in the temporal, for the King of Ceylon, being aware of the fact that our Friars by their Rule and profession were not allowed either themselves or through an interposed person to deal with money or have revenues⁸, by official documents ordered that there should always be a person, nominated by them, who would care for these revenues in the place and in the name of the said King. This arrangement could in no way be considered as an interposed person, since he was not the agent of the Friars, but of the said King. Moreover according to the commentators of our Rule, such as Cordoua, there can only be question of dealing in money through an interposed person, when a Friar on his authority constitutes and deposes another to receive, expend or give money, which is not the case here, since everything is done by the authority of the King and in his name.

And as far as appointing a person is concerned who in the name of the King takes charge of the revenues, this in no way goes counter to the purity of our Rule, since such an appointment is merely *de facto* and not *de jure*. Therefore the Friars Minor can appoint an executor of the testament, who will deal with money without their transgressing their Rule, as Bartolo teaches and also Friar Manoel Roiz in the third volume, Q. 7, Art. 2, of his *Questiones*. Cordoua too defends this same opinion. Thus the Friars may appoint a person, who manages the revenues of their schools, since such a person is not an interposed person of the Friars, but of the King, in whose name he is substituted and by whose authority he has been appointed.

And if there remained any scruple (which is not the case), Pope Gregory XIII has removed it completely by a Brief, which

he issued in favour of the Christianity of the Orient and which begins "Dilecte Fili salutem concedimus tibi", by virtue of which he allows the Friars who have been sent by the Minister General of their Order through the Syndic to receive and expend in favour of the Indian Christians all the alms and moneys, which the Kings, Princes, and other individuals might offer or give them, which is clearly / contained in the above-F. 746 mentioned Brief.

From the revenues of a number of fields of the temples, His Majesty (King of Ceylon) provides for the maintenance of the Churches we have in this Island of Ceylon and thus (for other Churches too which we have in other parts, which are not maintained by His Majesty (King of Portugal) and for which the Friars by their own industry have procured the maintenance) each year in India we save the Royal Treasury twenty-two thousand Xeraphins, which they would have to spend, were they to pay us as they do the others in virtue of the Padroado, and thus we render a not insignificant service.

Chapter 10

Concerning the great devotion the King of Cotta, Dom Joao Perea Pandar, always extended to our Religious and concerning a certificate he, on a certain occasion, passed in their favour.

It is something natural for noble and generous souls to be grateful, not only by being mindful of what they have received but also by translating this gratitude into deeds as we see the Syrian General Naamun¹ doing, who through the intercession of Eliseus was cured of leprosy in the river Jordan and who offered the latter a rich and costly present in recognition of the benefit he had received. The generous Prince, Dom Joao Perea Pandar, was ever mindful of and by deeds manifested his gratitude for the grace of Baptism he had received through the hands of the Friars Minor, in which his soul had been cleansed of the leprosy of sin. As the noble and generous prince he was, he was ever grateful and hardly knew how to show his gratitude never missing an opportunity of declaring to the whole world their praises and coming to their aid in their need. As soon as he was baptized he offered our Religious all the revenues of the temples, as we have already recounted in the previous chapter. But since on account of the sublimity of their Profession and the rigour of their Rule they did not accept them, he applied them to the schools they established. In the memorial he composed, which we have already mentioned, in the previous chapter, one of the things he recommended to the Procurator was that they seek some privileges from His Holiness for our Friars who F. 747 were occupied in the ministry in his / Kingdom of Ceylon. And being aware that there were not lacking adversaries, who wanted to discredit and calumniate us as far as the Christianities where we resided is concerned, he ordered a certificate to be drawn up, signed by him and sealed with the royal coat-of-arms of his kingdom, in which he recounted the many services we have rendered in Ceylon not only to God, but to His Majesty as well. At the same time he enumerated the many benefits he had received from us and told His Holiness and His Majesty that we should not lack gratitude and that it seemed to him that he was unable to thank them adequately. And to show his attitude

towards our affairs, we will transcribe here his certificate, which reads as follows:-

Dom Joao Perea Pandar. I certify that from the time the Portuguese entered this Island of Ceylon, no other Religious, from among the many who reside in these East Indies, preached the doctrine of the Holy Gospel except the Franciscan Fathers, by whom I and many of my Kingdom and of the Kingdom of Candea, Ceitaua and of the Corlas were instructed. From the day I was baptized by the venerable Friar Joao da Villa do Conde, whom I held as my father and master the said Fathers supported me in all the troubles and great needs in which I found myself, troubles of wars, combats, sieges, some of these sieges so severe that in one of them in the days of Pedro do Thaide Inferno², in Preacota, they were in such straits that they were forced to eat elephants, horses, dogs and cats and in company of Francisco Gomez Leitao they were forced to eat human flesh. In the days of Balthazar Guedez de Souza³ in one of the five terrible sieges they had, they killed Friar Martinho da Guarda and Friar Luiz, a preacher and his companion, who were occupied in preaching the Gospel in this Island.⁴

During these afflictions and those in the days of Diogo de Mello⁵ and of other Captains who had succeeded him and during the famous sieges of Manoel de Souza Coutinho, who at one time was Governor of India,⁶ and during the one of Joao Correa de Brito⁷ and during the attacks on fortified places of Raju together with Simao de Brito de Castro and during all the other persecutions Raju Singa Pandar my chief enemy and the enemy of the State of India, inflicted upon me, during all these trials the said Fathers were my companions. They went about instructing, preaching, personally helping those who found themselves in predicament and in the midst of these tempests working with great zeal for the good of souls, erecting many crosses in these regions, erecting many churches where they administer the divine Sacraments to the glory of God and the satisfaction of the people, instructing the children, teaching them read, write and sing in a number of Seminaries and schools they established for this purpose, by means of alms they had begged. From these boys, educated by the Friars some became priests and others, who were the

sons of Portuguese parents became Religious⁸. In maintaining themselves in the work of such great charity and in helping me to maintain myself in this Kingdom, in caring for me, they as it were despised their own lives. I have often seen them offering their very lives out of pure zeal for the honour of God and the welfare of Christianity, as happened in Candea where Friar Pascoal⁹ in the days of King Maastane¹⁰ whom he had baptized, offered himself and also Friar Andre de Souza¹¹ in Triquenemale, who accompanied him with great troubles.

Afterwards in the days of El Rey Dom Phillipe, the Friars Duarte Canoca, Francisco do Oriente and Angelo laboured in the said Kingdom of Candea with great danger to their lives. And before all this in Jafanapatao, a Kingdom situated on a point of this Island towards the South (of India), in the company of the Viceroy Dom Constantino, they killed Friar Belchior, a man of great distinction, virtue and zeal for the honour of God¹². And now in Candea the Fathers who found themselves in the company of the Queen of the said Kingdom,¹³ whom they had baptized and in that of Pedro Lopez de Souza¹⁴ conqueror of this Island, in the disaster which occurred, were killed. They were Friar Lucas dos Santos Commissary in those parts and a pioneer in the missionary work of this Island and a great helper of mine, Friar Simao da Luz¹⁵, Friar Manoel Pereira, and Friar Francisco das Chagas¹⁶ who were cruelly wounded over their whole bodies, their noses cut off, except Friar Francisco, who, after he had been badly treated, then tied to a stake and then anew tormented, died. Besides these, two more Friars, Friar Pedro de Christo¹⁷ was badly wounded and his nose cut off and Friar Concallo who too received wounds.

And since the services they rendered to God and to His Majesty are so vast and the debt we owe them is so great that we are unable to reward their Holy Order, whose genuine poverty and great disinterestedness for the things of earth have greatly edified us, and since they are in need of certain favours, I ardently request His Holiness to grant them, and I also beg His Majesty to order his Viceroys, his Captains of this State of India and those of this Island, to grant them. And I ordered this drawn up, also because Gaspar Salgado,

a Brother of the said Order requested me. It will go by four routes¹⁸. Given at this fortress of Colombo, under my sign and sealed with the Royal seal of my Kingdom, the 1st. of December 1594.¹⁹

Not only did he order this certificate to be drawn up, which together with many others we will refer to further down, is preserved in the original in the Archives of St. Francis Friary, Goa, but in all the letters he wrote to His Majesty, he always reminded him of the great services which our religious rendered in this Island of Ceylon, and requested him to favour them.

After having been baptized, in imitation of the great Constantine, not only did he give permission for the doctrine of Christ to be preached in the whole Kingdom of Cotta, and churches to be built, but he also gave the Royal Palace which he had in the City of Cotta and where he held his Court, that the Friars might there establish their monastery. As long as he lived (and he lived many years) he never withdrew from the obedience to our Friars and in everything followed their advice. Even more. He was bringing up a boy whom he loved very much and who ate with him from the same plate, which is a sign of adoption among them and whom he wanted to make his heir, since he did not have any sons of his own who could inherit his Kingdom. Our Friars were able to prevail upon him to declare the King of Portugal as his heir. Thus in his last testament he ordained, instituted and declared him as the legitimate and universal heir of the above mentioned Kingdoms and domains and everything to which he had any right²⁰. On this the Portuguese base their just and legitimate claim to conquer this Island of Ceylon.

That he might no less show his devotion in death, than he had while alive, in the same testament he ordered that his body be clothed in our habit and buried in our church of St. Anthony at Colombo. There he lies in the sanctuary in a marble sepulchre built in the wall on the Gospel-side.²¹

Chapter 11

Concerning the Other Kings, Princes and Persons of Royal Blood, whom the Friars Minor converted and baptized in the Kingdom of Cotta and in other Kingdoms of the Island of Ceylon

F. 750 Christ our Redeemer, as one who had fathomed our nature, rightly remarks that the princes of the priests and the Pharisees, who were the great men in the Synagogue, did not accept the doctrine, which he preached to them with such clarity and confirmed by such illustrious miracles, because they were desirous of human glory.¹ This appetite for honour is so strong in us that frequently we do not see the truth however clear it is represented to the eyes of our minds or having come to know it, refuse to embrace it with our wills. Thus we see that among those who are converted, the smallest number belong to that group who possess greater glory in this world, such as Kings, Princes and other potentates who, because they do not abandon temporal goods, allow the eternal to perish, which they would have enjoyed for ever. When hardened and obstinate persons are converted, it is manifestly a proof of the power of God's grace, who has called them, and of the industry of those who as instruments of God brought about such conversions. For this reason, some Doctors have said that the Apostle of the Gentiles and the Vessel of Election was called Paul, he having first borne the name of Saul, because he had converted and baptized a great personage of the world, the Proconsul Sergius Paul,² thus proving that converting a powerful figure is indeed a great feat of which the evangelical preachers can rightly boast, assuming the names of those they have converted as trophies of their preaching.

As if for an Apostle and such a great minister of the Gospel as St. Paul was, converting a great man of the world was considered a feat, then there will not be anybody who can tarnish the honour of the Friars Minor, for by their preaching they have brought under the yoke of our Holy Faith not one, but many Kings, Princes and other powerful persons of this world, as we will see in the course of this our history. In view of so great achievements, the invidious should cease

criticizing, for, when they endeavour to diminish the honour due to these evangelical preachers accusing them of lack of zeal in the conversion of the pagans, they will encounter these and other achievements which constitute their glory. To mention only the conversions they made in the Kingdom of Ceylon, where we still work, not only did they convert and baptize the King / Dom Joao Parea Pandar, Emperor of the F. 751 whole Island, and his Queen, the daughter of the King of Candia, together with all the nobles of the Kingdom of Cotta, as we have already narrated, but also many Kings and Princes and Lords of royal blood, as we will now recount in this chapter.

In the year 1546, Bonegabago (**Bhuvanekabahu**), King of Cotta, handed over to the Friars two of his sons³ to be baptized and taken to Goa, to Dom Joao de Castro, the then Viceroy of India.⁴ At the same time he asked for the help of men and ships to conquer the Kingdoms of Candea and Jafanapatao, for the conquest of which his father, the King, had given all the money necessary to pay for this aid. After these Kingdoms had been taken, they would assume the obligation of paying tribute, according to what could be considered just and reasonable.

The King had sent these two sons, because he had decided to appoint one of his grandsons as heir to his Kingdom, whom later on our Friars also converted as Dom Joao Parea Pandar. In fact with the consent of the King of Portugal, he did bequeath his Kingdom to him. And though the Viceroy agreed to send help since it seemed to those of his Council convenient to do so, withall nothing was done, since the boys died in Goa, the one shortly after the other.⁵

In the year 1550, when the Viceroy, Dom Affonso de Noronha⁶ came to Ceylon, the King of Cotta gave him his cousin⁷ to take along to Goa, where he handed him over to our Friars to be baptized. They gave him the name of Joao and when the Viceroy returned to Portugal, he took him along. El Rey Dom Joao honoured him greatly and when he sent him back to India he granted him a generous allowance for his maintenance. He married the daughter of a gentleman in Goa, where he died and lies buried in our Friary of the City of Goa.

Friar Duarte Chanoca and Friar Francisco do Oriente⁸, a native of Goa, who were very zealous workers for the Christian

cause in Ceylon, converted and baptized Dom Manoel, the King of the Seven Corlas and Bilacem (Velassa) and his Queen, Donna Beatris, together with the Princess, Donna Antonia, her daughter, who always lived under the direction of our Friars in the Island of Manar and in Ceylon. With great F. 752 troubles / and risk to their lives, these same Friars entered the Kingdom of Beras (Veddass), who are a rude and barbarous people and live in a province deep in the interior of Ceylon. There they baptized their Queen and gave her the name of Donna Catherina. They always lived according to the instructions they received from the Friars Minor among the Christians of Mantotta.⁹

Friar Manoel dos Santos, who at one time was Guardian and Commissary of the Island of Ceylon, while he was President¹⁰ of our Friary at Colombo, baptized on the 23rd. July, the feastday of the glorious St. Anne of the year 1594, Dom Antonio, the King of the Seven Corlas and also his nephew, aged fourteen, on whom he imposed the name of Dom Francisco. Pedro Homen Pereira,¹¹ the Captain of the fortress of Colombo, was godfather to both. The same Friar Manoel dos Santos, on all Saints' Day, the 1st. of November, baptized Dom Phelippe, King of Ceitauaca, aged eleven or twelve, who had already been raised to the throne and as King of the said Kingdom was being obeyed.¹² His godfather was Dom Joao Parea Pandar, King of Cotta. On the same day he baptized the Queen of Ceitaua (Sitavaka), aunt to Dom Phelippe a woman of age, who governed for him. She was called Donna Catherina and her godfather was Captain Pedro Homen Pereira and her godmother Donna Catherina, wife of Dom Joao Parea Pandar.

On the 8th. of December, the day the Church celebrates the feast of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, of the year 1594, the same Father baptized one who had been the wife of the great Modiliar Brique e Naginge (Vikramasimha) who governed the Kingdom of Ceitauca and Cotta in the name of El Rey Joao Parea Pandar, their Lord, and was given the name of Donna Maria. He also baptized her son and the son of the same Modiliar, who was called Dom Phelippe and a daughter of the same, aged two months, whom they gave the name of Donna Catherina, and the father of Donna Maria who was called Pedro Homen Pereira, since the Captian of Colombo

was his godfather and bore this name. He also baptized the wife of this same Pedro Homen, who was the mother of the above-mentioned great Modiliar and who received the name of Donna Anna. All these baptisms, performed by Friar Manoel dos Santos are entered in the Baptismal Registers of our church of St. Anthony, at Colombo.

In the year 1556 our Religious baptized more than seventy thousand souls of a people they call Careas¹³ who live in the sea-ports of Ceylon. The first to receive Baptism was their Captain, whom they call / Patangati,¹⁴ which means that he is, as it were, F. 753 their King. We have knowledge of this remarkable man's conversion from a letter El Rey Dom Joao III of Portugal wrote to our Custos, Friar Francisco das Chaues, the original of which is preserved in the archives of St. Francis Friary, Goa, and which reads as follows :-

Friar Francisco das is Chaues¹⁵. I, El Rey, send you many greetings. I read the letter which you wrote to me and it pleased me to see the good information it contains concerning Antonio Pereira de Lacerda,¹⁶ whom the Viceroy, Dom Pedro,¹⁷ sent to Ceylon as Captain, whom, it seems to you, Our Lord is served in favouring in everything he does with a good intention and conscience, from all of which I derive great pleasure. I was also pleased to read the information you gave, how Our Lord was served in enlightening, by means of the Religious of your Order, the Carea people, whom, as you say, live in the sea-ports of Ceylon, and, so they say, number more than seventy thousand, whose Captain, acknowledged by El Rey of Cotta, is called Patangati, which means that he is, as it were, their King. And for this I give praise to Our Lord and recommend to you, that is as far as in you lies, you take care that the necessary means may not be lacking to achieve the end, which should be expected from such a beginning and from the fact that, according to your representations, the conversion of these people is genuine. I was also pleased to know the results of the mission-work among the people of Bacaim and at the boy's College¹⁸ concerning which I have written to the Governor¹⁹ and the Captain of Cochin as to what it seems to you should be done. Antonio d' Augiar drew this up on the 20th. of March, 1557.

Chapter 12

How the Religious of our Order entered the Kingdom of Candea in the Island of Ceylon and concerning the Kings they there converted and baptized.

Candea, as we have said, is one of the Kingdoms of Ceylon and is situated in the interior, almost in the heart of the Island. It is surrounded by lofty and steep mountains. The road which leads there is arduous. Due to this fact and likewise to the warlike nature of the inhabitants and the rugged terrain, whence they can repel the enemy, its conquest has cost the F. 754 Portuguese dearly. / It has cost them more than all the others as Pedro Lopez de Souza¹ and Constantino de Saa², who as Generals in the conquest of Ceylon at the entrance to this Kingdom were both killed and their armies routed, could testify. It has not cost our Religious, who preached the Gospel there, less, for, as we will see further down, several lost their lives in the service of God and His Majesty and for the salvation of souls.

The first to enter this Kingdom were Friar Pascoal, the Commissary, and Friar Goncallo, his companion. This took place in 1547.³ They were well received by the King, who was called Jaucra Pandar (**Jayavira Bandara**), who favoured them in everything and allotted them a large piece of ground and whatever they needed to build a church, which they immediately did and placed it under the invocation of the Immaculate Conception. They remained here sometime, preaching the Faith and converted many, even the King, though he did not receive Baptism on the advice of Madune (Mayadunne), King of Ceitauca, his first cousin, son of a brother of his father, and our chief enemy who sent him a message saying that were he to become a Christian his people would revolt against him and kill him. This revolution on the part of the King put an end to the conversion-work, which upto then, with his favour, had flourished.

However in 1562, he sent a message to the Viceroy, Dom Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo⁴, to send some of our Religious, telling him through his ambassador that he wanted

to become a Christian. Friar Joao Caluo⁵ and Friar Pedro de Magdalena, both Religious of great virtue and zeal, were dispatched, who arriving in Manar informed the King that they had arrived in that island. The King immediately sent them many coolies and five hundred patacas⁶ for their expenses, which they handed over to a certain Bernardino d'Affonceca, who at present is the Vicar Prior of the chief church of Our Lady of Assumption in the city of Colombo and who served as the Syndic of the said Fathers and as their interpreter, since he knew how to speak very well. All three made their way by land and arrived near Candea, close to the river, where the King sent some persons to meet them, and also another five hundred patacas.

The next day they arrived at the Royal City, where they were provided by the King and greatly honoured. He also sent them another five hundred patacas, all of which they deposited with the above-mentioned Syndic, intending to spend it on the church they wanted to establish after baptizing the King, as he had promised. After they had rested from the fatigues of the journey, they paid a visit to the King, to whom they gave the letters the Viceroy had written and also a present of two thousand patacas he / had sent. Since the main reason for their coming had been his conversion, they immediately broached the subject saying the Viceroy had sent them to teach the doctrine of the true God and to baptize him and all his people. The King, who again had changed his mind, shied away from this subject and conversed with them on general subjects. The Religious, however, did not cease proposing to him the word of God, explaining to him the need of Faith and Baptism for the salvation of the soul. On this subject they held several disputes, but were unable to persuade him to receive Baptism. For generally when these kings ask the Viceroy for Religious to preach in their Kingdoms and administer Baptism, they do so only because they are moved by self-interest or human respect and, as soon as the need ceases, they change their minds about becoming Christians. F. 755

The two servants of God seeing that they were wasting their time, and after having tried all means to bring about his conversion, after three months they requested his permission to return to Goa and render an account to the Viceroy who had sent them. The King understood that the Viceroy would take

his inconstancy ill. He, therefore, exerted himself to detain them at his Court and sent them another five hundred patacas and made excellent promises to them. But they, since they had come to that Kingdom not to seek money but souls, sent the money back, not only the five hundred, which he then offered, but the thousand which he had previously granted. The King strongly objected to this, saying that it was an insult which they had inflicted upon him, for they rejected what he had given with such great good-will. With good words the Friars tried to placate him saying that their Rule and Profession forbade them to accept money and that they had accepted what His Majesty had offered, to erect a church which they intended founding in that City, since they had been under the impression that he wanted to be a Christian, as he had said, but since His Highness had determined not to be one, there was no reason for them to have houses nor accept his money.

The King was amazed to witness this despising of money, unusual among them and said to his courtiers: Are there really men in this world who refuse money and who do not wish to receive it? And giving them permission to leave, they departed and returned to Goa, very much dissatisfied that they had not been able to plant the Faith of Christ in that Kingdom. But though they did not experience the fruits of their labour nor witness the results of their ardent desires, God was pleased that
 F. 756 others should witness it / , for our Religious did not abandon this enterprise, but returned there, preached the Faith and gained much fruit, converting many of those people, erecting the church in the same royal City of Palnagure⁷, where the Christians gather to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments and even the King, though not Jauira Pandara (**Jayavira Bandara**), but one of his sons called Maastana (**Maha Asthana**) who was baptized by Friar Paschoal, as we have already related.

In order to understand the whole situation, it is necessary to know that Jauira Pandara was married to two women, Gampale Biu Pandara (**Gampola Biso Bandara**) and Antana Biu Pandara (**Hantana Biso Bandara**) and by each of them had a son⁸. The one of Gampale Biu Pandara was called like his father Jauira Pandara, and the one of Antana Biu Pandara took the name of his mother and was called Maastana, which means the great Astana.⁹ The latter was the elder.

Each one of these mothers wanted her son to succeed to the throne. The father who favoured the younger son, seeing this, took the side of Madune, the King of Ceitauaca, whereas on the contrary Maastana leaned heavily on the King of Cotta, Bonegebago, our friend.

Maastana, in order to secure his rights to the throne began to collect the important people of the Kingdom around his person and as soon as he was sure of their support, he feigned friendship with his father and his brother. One day, as they were all leaving the city of Palnagura where the court was, on passing a rotten bridge, which in those days crossed the river Ganur (**Gannoruva**), he allowed his father to cross first and as soon as he had passed to the other side, he gave orders to those whom he had brought for this purpose, to cut down the bridge.¹⁰ He also ordered war-drums to be beaten and as those of his party, the chief Araches (Araccis) and Modiliars, assembled, Jauira found himself in such a predicament that he fled to Madune, whence, he waged war as much as possible on his son.

The latter as he was favoured by the King of Cotta and consequently by the Portuguese was always able to defend himself, and, as his brother, with whom he competed for the throne, had remained in his hands, after a few days he ordered him to be executed. Then in order to secure the throne more firmly, he asked help from the King of Cotta, who sent him three hundred Portuguese. Pedro da Silva took them there, but since he had to leave for India, he had appointed Antonio Feo¹¹ in his place, a man of great prudence, strong character and a ruler.

Friar Paschoal, whom we have referred to above, accompanied them. He preached the truth of our Holy Faith and worked so intensely that he converted the King, whom he baptized, some nobles of his Kingdom and many people. / He founded F. 757 a church under the invocation of the Immaculate Conception in the royal City of Palnagura, where King Maastana resided, which church Friar Francisco do Oriente rebuilt when he went there with Pedro Lopez de Zousa since he found it completely in ruins.

Maastana's Government did not last many years, for soon Raju (**Raja Simha**), the son of Madune, rose up against him. The latter unable to take that Kingdom by arms since it was

also defended by the Portuguese, attempted to take possession of it by conspiracy with the inhabitants. He conspired with Vira Sundra Mudiliyar, father of the tyrant Dom Joao,¹² who later became King of Candea, as we will see further down. He organized parties who gave him an entrance by way of the coast, from where the Portuguese were struggling to gain the mountains of Balana. Maastana seeing this called the Portuguese, who at the time were no more than one hundred fifty, and Antonio Feo who commanded them, and together retreated through the territory of the Veras (Veddas) and landed in Tricanamale, where Friar Andre de Zousa joined him in the company of Dom Luiz Coutinho, whom Dom Diogo de Menezes¹³ had sent to the rescue of Candea.

It was there in Trincanamale that King Maastana died of small-pox and also his children and wives. Only the Queen escaped. She afterwards married Dom Joao who about a year later would be the King of Candea. She was also the mother of Dom Philippe who died in Candea. She was "anteada" of the King and his second cousin.¹⁴

Chapter 13

How Dom Phelippe, who was converted by our Friars and baptized at St. Francis Friary, Goa, was raised to the throne of Candea.

For a period of seventeen years, the cruel and impious Raju was in possession of the Kingdom of Candea. He aspired to being the Emperor and absolute Lord of all the Kingdoms of Ceylon. But since we always receive / the penalty of our F. 758 misdeeds, he finally lost his Kingdom, to the great affliction of his heart. It occurred in the following manner. Tired of all the troubles the wars had cost him and of the enormous expenses he had made, short of men, since so many had died during the past sieges, finding himself without those Captains who had supported his cause, he retired to his Kingdom of Ceitauaca, and, since he was not able to do anything else, ceased striving to accomplish his designs. Finally, in the days of Simao de Brito de Castro¹, when Manoel de Souza Coutinho was Governor of the State of India², and he had ceased to take precautions, fortune, which up to then had favoured him and allowed him to build up that state, wanted to deprive him of it and thus balance the accounts. A certain Dom Francisco Visugo Modiliar, grandson of Gampale Pandar³, having decided to gamble everything, either to acquire that Kingdom or die in the attempt, in disguise entered the Kingdom of Uva (Uva) which is subjected to that of Candea, and by means of his "aio"⁴ incited the people to revolt against Raju.

Since man is inclined towards the novel, and moreover since the people were tired of this tyrant on account of his many cruelties, it was not difficult to incite them to revolt against him. The said Modiliar, Dom Francisco, was proclaimed King and, as absolute monarch, ruled that Kingdom of Candea for a period of six months. He then offered it to Dom Phelippe, who by then had arrived in Manar from Goa, not only because by right it belonged to him, but also because he enjoyed the favour of the Portuguese. This Dom Phelippe, was closely related to the King of Cotta on the part of his father and on the part of his Iaxadra Biu Pandara (**Yasodhara Biso Bandara**), second cousin and "anteada" of King Maastana.⁵

Our Religious who educated this prince and baptized him, seeing that he was the legitimate heir to the throne of Candea, and also that this was a good opportunity to acquire it, advised him to go to Goa and present himself to the Viceroy, Dom Duarte de Menezes⁶, who was then still alive and governed India, and request him for help to take possession of his Kingdom, since it belonged to him by right, and in order to oblige him still more, to ask him to do him the honour of being his godfather, since he was yet not baptized, and that he would declare himself the vassal of the King of Portugal. With this proposal in mind, he came to Goa, accompanied by our Fathers. He was received with great honours and the Viceroy was pleased in granting whatever he asked. He lodged in St. Francis Friary, Goa, and was there baptized by the Archbishop, Dom Vicente,⁷ the godfather being the Viceroy and he was assisted by Friar Gaspar de Lisboa⁸, the Custos of the Custody. He was given the name of Dom Phelippe. Together with him, a legitimate son was baptized whom they named Dom Joao / Prince-heir to all his Kingdoms, about whom we will speak further down. All this took place in the year 1588, more or less.

Loaded with favours the Viceroy had granted, he went to Manar. He also carried with him an order for the Captain of that fortress, Joao de Mello de Sam Payo to install him in Candea. While he was there our Friars advised him that, since he was installed on the throne of that Kingdom by order of the King of Portugal, he and his son, Dom Joao, who already had been sworn as Prince, should bequeath it to Dom Phelippe I of Portugal, in case neither he nor his son, Dom Joao, had any children. This they did and appointed him their heir. A document to this effect was drawn up in the presence of Joao de Mello de Sampaio, and three of our Religious, viz : the Guardian, Friar Bartholomeo de S. Sebastiao, Friar Rodrigo das Chagas⁹ and Friar Pedro Drago,¹⁰ who also signed it.

In the meantime, a message had arrived from Candea, from Dom Francisco Visugo Modiliar, who, as we have said, ruled the Kingdoms for six months, to install him. On hearing this the Captain of Manar, Joao de Mello de Sampaio, ordered Dom Phelippe to be accompanied to Candea by Antonio de Magalhaes, son of the writer of the municipality (escrivao da Camara) of Lisbon and thirty Portuguese and Miguel Fernandez

Modiliar with two hundred native soldiers. It was still winter and though there were outposts of the Raju throughout the Corlas and the outskirts of Candea, he was everywhere peacefully received and elected as King by all the inhabitants of that Kingdom. All this reached the Raju's ear while he was residing in Ceitauaca. He felt it deeply, to see how that Kingdom, which had cost him so dearly to subject it to his Crown, had been snatched from his hand by a single person without any effort, unless it be to risk his life. And though he knew that at that time Dom Phelippe was in the company of Joao de Mello and three hundred Portuguese, trusting in his good fortune, which had always favoured him in his enterprises, he resolved to return to Candea and attack it with all his forces.

Leaving his Kingdom of Ceitauaca and all its fortified places well provided with men and munitions behind, especially the great fort and the one of Gurubabelle (*Gurubabila*), which lies near Malvana and the small fort which is the key and principal gateway to Ceitauaca, where he posted a guard of his most valiant and trustworthy men, with great haste he took to the road. Though he made such haste, the haste with which the Captain of Ceylon, Simao de Brito, as soon as he heard of Raju's coming to Candea, hurried from Colombo / was still F. 760 greater. With all his men, about three hundred Portuguese and six hundred native troops, he hurried to the great fort, which was defended by two thousand crack troops, two Princes, three or four Modiliars and fifteen or twenty Araches. They were, however, not able to defend it against the fury of our troops. Many enemies were killed, among them one Prince and some of the Modiliars and Araches.

A message was sent to Raju and the leaders in his Kingdom urging him to return if he did not want to see everything lost like the great fort. Obligated by necessity, he abandoned the Candea-campaign and returned to Ceitauaca. On the return-trip, having already arrived somewhere between Ruanella (*Ruvanella*) and Ceitauaca, at a stopping-place, where he was forced to wait under a tree, while he was walking there, they gave him a heavy blow on the hollow of the foot (*pela alma do pee*), from which he afterwards died.¹¹ His own people fearing him because they had lost the great fort, arranged it in such a way that both at the first and second treatment the wound was

filled with poison. In a few days he died, being sixty years old, and having reigned as absolute monarch almost the whole Island, when Pedro Homem Pereira was Captain¹² and Mathias de Albuquerque Viceroy of India.¹³

At the news of the death of Raju, his chief enemy, Dom Phelippe, rejoiced and the few years he lived he remained peacefully in Candea where he died, not without suspicion of his death having been hastened with poison. During the whole period our Religious remained with Dom Phelippe, the King of Candea, especially Friar Duarte Chanoca and Friar Francisco do Oriente, accompanying him always and building up a fervent Christian community, converting many pagans to our Holy Faith and administering the Sacraments to those already baptized.

And since the church of the Immaculate Conception, which Friar Paschoal had built, as we already have noted, on account of the wars and past tumults had been severely damaged and ruined, they began rebuilding it. Religion flourished greatly, but it all came to an end, at the death of the King. Prince Dom Joao, his only heir having been expelled, as we will see further down, the Kingdom was usurped by that tyrant Dom Joao, who apostatized and became a persecutor of our Religion and also of the Portuguese, as is proven by the great number of martyrs, as we will have an opportunity of relating later on. In the Kingdom of Candea our Religious also baptized the Queen and called her Donna Catherina, and also many people of rank and persons of royal blood.

Chapter 14

F. 761 **Concerning the two Princes of Ceylon, Dom Joao and Dom Phelippe who were baptized and educated at the College of Reis Magos.**

Our Religious always treated with great love and care the tender shoots they had planted in Ceylon, i. e. the new Christians they had formed in those Kingdoms. They showed great charity towards them, on many occasions risking their lives in their service and for the preservation of the Christian Faith, particularly in Candea, which in this respect, was watered several times with the blood of the members of this Order, as we will see, this being the ordinary benefit we derive from similar missions in this Orient.

Dom Joao came to Candea as Prince. He was the son of Dom Phelippe, King of the same Kingdom, concerning whom we have spoken in the preceeding chapter. Together with his father he had been baptized at St. Francis Friary, Goa, after which in his company, he came to Manar and thence to Candea, where the people proclaimed him their Prince, as we have already noted. On the day following the death of his father, he was raised to the throne of Candea, as he was the only son and heir.

But some notables seeing that he lacked the active support of the Portuguese, who had put Dom Phelippe, his father, on the throne and also his son, seeing the former dead, rebelled against him. The head of this conspiracy and revolt was one of his vassals, called Dom Joao, who, expelling him from the country, had himself proclaimed King and absolute Lord and became a constant enemy of the Portuguese,¹ as we shall see.

Dom Joao, having been dethroned, left the country, with his grand-mother the old Queen, to save his life which they were trying to take, as they already had taken his throne, and went to Vaicota (Vahakotte)², and from there to the Corlas, where Matheus Mendes de Vasconcellos, by order of the General of that territory, Cosme de Lafetar, met him and took him to Manar. During all these troubles and dangers, our Friars always accompanied him, especially / Friar Francisco do Oriente, who F. 762 looked after him with the love of a father.

During this revolt many of our Religious lost their lives. As we will see further down, together with Simao Lopes during the retreat, Friars Simao da Luz³ and Manoel Pereira were killed. They had come to accompany him and work as chaplains to the army, hearing confessions, encouraging our soldiers, preaching the Law of God and His Gospel to the pagans. Then Friar Lucas dos Santos, came to Candea as Commissary of that Kingdom, together with four companions to perform missionary work. They had come to Candea, accompanying the Queen of that Kingdom, whom Pedro Lopez⁴ had ordered Francisco da Silva Castelhamo to fetch. Of these four companions two were also killed with him. The other two were taken prisoners, ill-treated and the nose of one of them cut off.

From Manar Dom Joao was taken to Colombo and lodged at our College where he remained until the arrival of Friar Hyeronimo de Spirito Sancto.⁵ Custos and Commissary General of this Custody of St. Thomas. Meeting him there and also Dom Phelippe, the grandson of Raju, King of Ceitauaca, whom the Portuguese had captured in an encounter, which they had with the enemy, and our Religious had already baptized and placed in our College, it seemed appropriate to him, not only for the welfare of the Island, but also their education, to transfer them to Goa, which he did registering them at the College of Reis Magos in Bardez. These two princes remained fifteen years in this College, where besides Christian doctrine and good morals they learned to read and write and were also taught Latin.

The Council of Portugal then declared that it would be good to take them from India and bring them to Portugal. In the company of Andre Furtado⁶ who had finished his term of office as Governor of India and that year returned to Portugal, and of Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes⁷, who also made the voyage, having been placed in charge of two serious Religious, who had been ordained subdeacons, as had been ordered by the same Council of Portugal, they embarked and eventually landed safely in Portugal. They were received in Lisbon with great honour, the Conde da Vidigueira, Dom Francisco da Gama, the then President of the same Council, having gone to the quay to meet them, since it was while he was Viceroy the first time⁸ that they came from Ceylon. Having disembarked, they were lodged in our St. Francis Friary of Lisbon, where the Marquez de Castal

Rodrigo, Dom Chistrouao de Moura, the Viceroy of Portugal ordered them to be visited. After a few days, in the company of the same Conde da Vidigueira, they went to the palace where the Viceroy received them with great honour.

After having shown them the magnificence of the Royal Palaces, the fort, the warehouses and all the other things, they returned to our St. Francis Friary until His Majesty was informed of their arrival. Through his Council he ordered that they should be registered one each, in the two Royal Colleges of Coimbra, St. Peter's and St. Paul's. Each one should receive two thousand cruzados a year until they had finished their studies, when they would be provided with Bishoprics.

Dom Phelippe, who had studied the course of Arts, accepted the grant His Majesty offered and went to Coimbra, where he died, while being lodged in our Friary, called S. Francisco da Ponte, and before he had been received into the Arts' course, did not accept the privilege of going to Coimbra, but requested His Majesty to grant him an income and a status in conformity with his rank. The King allotted him an income of four thousand cruzados per year from the Royal Treasury, to be paid at the India-House, from the royal taxes imposed on the ships that come from there until such time a vacancy occurred from which he could draw an income, or he be given an ecclesiastical benefice, since Dom Joao had already been ordained a priest.

But since at the India-House they paid his allotment very irregularly he asked His Majesty for permission to appear before his royal presence, to demand the right he possessed to the Kingdoms of Candea, Betlacem (Velasce) and the Seven Corlas, all of which by inheritance from his father Don Phelippe, belonged to him. He was received with great honours by His Majesty and in his hands renounced the rights he had to the above mentioned kingdoms. His Majesty then made him a Grande of Spain ordering him to be vested accordingly and be given a rank among the Bishops. He also granted him another four thousand cruzados per year and with many other gifts sent him back to Portugal, where, as we are writing this, he is still living in grand style.

Chapter 15

How in the Kingdom of Candea one of our Religious always resides who is the arbitrator in the affairs pertaining to the peace-treaty with the Portuguese, and concerning the Church and the Christian Community we have there.

Though this chapter according to its content should be placed, so it seems, further down, / where with God's help we hope to treat on the services the Religious of this Order render El Rey, still, since it pertains to the Kingdom of Candea, about which we have been writing, it seems to us more convenient, not to spoil the thread of our history, to place it here. It should be noted that ever since the Portuguese entered into a treaty of peace with the King of Candea (which took place about twenty years ago) there was always a Friar of ours who resided there as arbitrator in the things of the peace-treaty. This peace was established when Dom Hyeronimo d' Azevedo¹ was General of that territory, through one of our Religious named Friar Gasper da Magdalena,² a person of great authority, who had been many years in those parts, garnering a rich harvest of souls. He had also been Guardian and Commissary of that Island and since he knew the inhabitants and the Portuguese well and moreover was endowed with a sane judgment, the General twice chose him as Ambassador to that Kingdom to establish peace, which with great prudence he accomplished to the satisfaction and credit of the Portuguese.

Among other things they laid down in the treaty, was that there should always be an arbitrator in that Kingdom. The King who was well informed concerning the qualities of another Friar of ours, called Friar Joseph de Nossa Senhora³, a great servant of God and a native of Chaul⁴, asked the General that he be appointed arbitrator, assuring him that on the part of the King there would be no breach as far as the faithful observance of the peace-treaty is concerned, if he was allowed to retain this Religious of ours as arbitrator. He was held in such veneration that he was only known by the name "holy Father". Indeed his life and the example he gave, correspond to this opinion and to the fame of his virtue, proving that it was not founded on air,

as the King himself, when speaking with those he liked best, frequently testified, revealing the sanctity he had observed in him.

Since he was so greatly esteemed in life, his death was deeply felt, all being of the opinion that they had lost an excellent worker of that Christian Community. His death came about in the following manner. Some vassals, disgruntled because the king had made peace with the Portuguese, revolted against him. Their leader was a renegade by the name of Antonio Barreto. They wanted to kill him and attacked his palace and taking into consideration the fury with which they made the attempt, they would have succeeded, if the King, having come to know of the conspiracy, with women, children and his treasure had not fled to the forests. The rebels seeing that they were not able to kill the king / wrecked their vengeance on the Father. They went in F. 765 search of him and cruelly put him to death with lance-thrusts.

After the Portuguese had killed the renegade, Antonio Barreto, and wiped out the rebels, the King returned to the City. In the place of Friar Jozeph another Friar was sent by the General as arbitrator. This office was always filled by our Friars, such as, Friar Bernardo da Cruz, Pedro dos Anjos, Manoel de Eluas⁵, and others, who always resided in that Kingdom, whence they were able to send many and very important messages to our General concerning the designs of the enemies, at times even with risk to their lives.

And when the Captain General, Constantino de Saa⁶ wanted to build a fortress at Triquinimale (**Trincomalee**), as His Majesty had ordered, thinking that this might upset the King of Candea and be a cause of war breaking out, something he feared and did not want, he asked Friar Eleuterio de S. Tiago⁷, who had just completed his term of office as Prelate and Commissary of the Island, whether he was willing to proceed to Candea and there with his authority and prudence reassure the King not to prevent them (as they feared) from erecting the fortress. The General was not disappointed, for the Father finding the King and all his followers so alarmed that they wanted to flee to the forests, reassured them and persuaded them not to abandon the City, giving them satisfactory reasons why we wanted to build the fortress. In all the dispute which arose during its construction, he did the same, proving by examples the loyalty of the

Portuguese. In this way he was instrumental in bringing the work peacefully to an end, even the King at times helping.

He was so intimate with the King, that several times he was able to speak in his presence and that of his courtiers on our Holy Religion, proving that it possessed the truth and refuting the errors of the pagan sects. He confounded them to such an extent that the King once remarked that one Portuguese sufficed to close the mouths of all, without their being able to say anything. And the trust the King placed in him was so great that he offered him two of his sons to be baptized, at the same time requesting him to approach the General to give him the two nieces of Changali (**Sankili**)⁸, who had been raised to the throne of Jafanapatao, for these two boys. This wish was never realised, as it did not seem to be of any service to His Majesty, since it might serve as a means to disturb that kingdom under the pretext that it belonged to his sons through their wives. Finally when the Friar wanted to come to Colombo, as he had been ordered to do by his Superiors, the F. 766 King felt his departure so deeply / that laying aside the sword he always kept in his hand, he came to him with open arms and embraced him heartily. He held him that way for some time in front of all his courtiers who were all amazed to witness this, since it was something very unusual. And thus he bade him farewell much against his will. There were tears in his eyes and also in the eyes of the courtiers and they all wanted him to remain there always.

With the recall of Friar Eleuterio, it was necessary that Friar Jozeph de S. Francisco take his place in that Kingdom. He had been the former's companion and since he knew the language of the country well, he was of great service since he was able to send the General some important messages of service to His Majesty. As long as he was there he never ceased preaching to the inhabitants and even to the King, as he had done also in another mission to which he had been sent for this purpose, by his Superiors of the Order. This Religious, too, was well-liked by the King, who treated him always with great kindness. He entrusted his sons to him and he taught them reading, writing and Christian doctrine. To prove this statement, I will reproduce here the letter the King sent to El Rey, Phelippe 111^o, when he succeeded to the throne of Spain, which reads as follows :-

This country is situated at such a distance that they cannot accuse me of discourtesy on account of the tardy fulfilment of my duty as vassal, which I am of Your Majesty, for it was only this winter I was informed of Your succession to the throne of your Empire, which, God grant, may increase, He allotting to Your Majesty a long life to enjoy it amidst the peace and tranquillity of your vassals. I, as one of your vassals, ask this, to remind Your Majesty that he order his Captains that they maintain this peace as far as I am concerned, bearing in mind the desires with which I have been imbued ever since I acquired this Crown, not failing in anything in the service of Your Majesty and whatever your Captains have demanded of me. I have entrusted my sons to the Franciscan Friars to make of them whatever may be of service to God and to Your Majesty. These Religious deserve to be remembered by Your Majesty, since they have served in this Island with great satisfaction not only to the Kings, Your Majesty's predecessors, but also mine, in particular in the Kingdom of Candea, where they have shed their blood for the increase of the Faith and the service of Your Majesty. And this is what they seek, neither gold nor silver, neither are they desirous of anything except to win souls for God, for which reason only these should be entrusted with the ministry among the Christians, at least for this Kingdom of Your Majesty it is only these I ask for and not for any others, for though we are pagans and living far away, we do understand that virtue consists in despising the things of the world and its riches. May God keep Your Majesty for many years. From this Kingdom of Candea and Island of Ceylon, the 24th of September, 1625. The King of Candea. /

F. 767

The original of this letter is preserved in the Archives of St. Francis Friary, Goa. Here in Candea we have a church dedicated to Bom Jesus, which the Christians attend, some of whom have been converted by the Father who resides here, others, who have come here from other parts on business and those that are here, have charge of this church.

Chapter 16

Concerning an attack the General Dom Hyeronimo de Azevedo made on the Kingdom of Candea and how one of our Religious behaved during it and concerning a few similar cases

Before the peace-treaty between the King of Candea and the Portuguese, on which we have spoken in the preceding chapter, was concluded, there was always a cruel and continuous war waging between the two. When Dom Hyeronimo de Azevedo,¹ who later became the Viceroy of India, was the General of this territory he decided to attack this City of Candea. According to the opinion of many, this is one of the most beautiful places in India. It is laid out like our towns with roads so broad that three persons can easily pass. It is also there that the King has his Court. For this enterprise, which was considered risky, the General assembled all the men he could, five thousand Lascarins, the Chingali (Sinhalese) soldiers and seven hundred Portuguese with more than two hundred muskets on rests and two thousand bullets and a great quantity of powder. In this company there were also two of our Religious, Friar Gaspar da Magdalena and Friar Manoel de S. Jozeph,² something usual in this Island as in other parts of India, for there is hardly a fleet or a garrison where there is not one of our Friars to hear the confession of the soldiers and encourage them in battle.

They set out the 1st of August, 1611, and on the 6th of the same month they arrived at the Fort of Bellane (**Balane**), which belonged to the enemy, but which they found completely dismantled. The General remained there almost two weeks, utilizing the time to fortify it and surround it with a strong stockade. He left Antonio da Costa Monteiro there with two companies of soldiers and two hundred native men from Mature (**Matara**) and continued his way. Arriving at the river of Candea³ they found it strongly fortified, for on the other bank the whole army of the King of Candea was assembled, consisting of more than two thousand five hundred guns (espingardas) besides many muskets (mosquetes)⁴ and the soldiers well defended by stockades. Moreover the current of / the river was strong and so deep, it reached up to the breast. It was filled with stones

so smoothened that it was impossible to stand on them except with the greatest difficulty. And what was worse, it was filled with thorns, called "elephant thorns"⁵, which had been woven into mats and then sunk by means of stones placed in the middle of them.

After the signal for the attack had been given by the trumpets, Friar Manoel de S. Jozeph lifted up the Cross which he carried near where the Chief Captain was. As soon as the soldiers saw this, they prostrated themselves to adore it, asking God to pardon their sins and also victory over the enemy of His name, and having kissed it they entered the river. But they found it so well fortified that they were unable to go forward. As soon as the enemy saw our men entering the river they let loose with all their guns. This lasted half an hour, our men in the meantime standing there without any protection against the bullets. But God was pleased to protect them, for not a single one was killed and only a few wounded. However, Friar Gaspar da Magdalena seeing that all the men had stopped and that the first fervour of S. Thiago⁶ had ebbed away, threw himself into the river, taking the Cross with him and appealed to the soldiers to follow such a true and valiant Captain as was the Lord, whose image he held in his hands. His words had such an effect that each one of the Captains and soldiers wanted to cross over to the other side and throwing themselves into the river, some walking, others swimming, with their swords in their mouths, crossed over to the other bank.

The enemy seeing the determination of our soldiers, abandoned the place, though, since there were so many, they could not all escape and some fell into our hands and their heads cut off. Our men then attacked the City and entered it, found it burnt and dismantled, for during the two weeks that the General had been detained to fortify the fort at Ballane, the enemy had time to escape to the forests, taking with them their valuables. But they did burn down the royal palace which was still standing and which was storeyed and most sumptuous and a number of temples of which are among the most beautiful ever seen. And since there was nothing more to be done the General retreated, satisfied with the victory and at the same time thanking God who had granted it.

When our army crossed the river, which had formed the main obstacle at the beginning, many saw in the middle a Lady dressed in white, whom they held to be the most Blessed Virgin Mary, who always helped and favoured the Portuguese against the enemies of her Son and thus they attributed their
F. 769 victory to her. Our Friars too had their share in it, for they were the instruments which God used to force our men to cross the river, they having been the first to throw themselves into it.

Not only on this occasion, but on many other occasions as well, were our Religious of great advantage to the soldiers they accompanied, as will be clear from what we will narrate in the course of this history. Here, however, to prove our statement, we will only relate what happened on three other occasions.

In the days of Affonso Pereira de Lacerda, the first Captain of the fortress of Colombo⁷, our men had an encounter with those of Raju⁸ in the fields of Calane (Kelaniya). Friar Joao Caluo (concerning whom we have already spoken) was present at this battle from the beginning to the very end. At one stage he saw our men in flight and the enemy with many elephants in full pursuit. With another companion he rushed to our men, a Crucifix in his hands, and with many words encouraged them. Running towards the elephants, who with great fury were causing much havoc among our men, in the name of God he ordered them to desist. Marvellous to relate, these wild beasts stopped then and there and with them the whole army. They all ceased following our men, who were all able to save themselves and retreat to the fortress, which was situated, from the place where this occurred, a distance of of two leagues away.

When Manoel de Zousa Coutinho⁹ was Governor of India, two of our galleys went to Chaul to fetch the Ambassador of the Moghul who was there. The Captains of these ships were Dom Francisco Mascarenhas and Dom Francisco Rolim, who reaching the river Carapatao, eighteen leagues from Goa, were attacked by a powerful fleet of the Malabarians, consisting of many gallevats¹⁰ and captained by the famous Moor, Catamurca. And since the galleys were alone, without any other auxiliary ships, and the enemy were numerous, they were hard-pressed.

Though our men defended themselves with great courage, still they were in very great danger, because many had already been killed and those who survived were mostly wounded.

In Dom Francisco Rolim's galley Friar Gaspar de Lisboa, our Custos,¹¹ was travelling. With a Crucifix in his hand he walked amidst the bullets and arrows, without any other protection except his Faith, exhorting our men, with great diligence hearing the confessions of those who had fallen and encouraging those who fought. At this our men recovered their courage and though they were few / and all wounded, despising F. 770 the danger in which they found themselves, encouraged by Divine Grace and the words of His servant, they fought like lions until the Malabarians, seeing the force with which they were defending themselves, left them and retired, much put out because they had lost the prize they had already considered theirs. This escape in those days was held to have been miraculous and the Governor thanked the said Custos in a special manner for all his efforts, for to a great extent it was due to him that our men had defended themselves so courageously.

When the General of Ceylon, Constantino de Saa,¹² in the year 1629 had declared war against the Kingdom of Candea and had assembled an army to attack it, on crossing the river, hearing some gunshots from the other side, a general confusion broke out among our men, for it seemed to them that the King was there with the whole army. Just then there arrived from Candea a messenger with a letter for the General from Friar Francisco Negrao who was residing there with great peril to his life. In the letter he wrote that as soon as they had crossed the river, they should press on towards the City, for he let them know that the King had no more than three hundred native troops, because he had sent the bulk of the army to Jafanapatao. He also told them that they should not worry about him, that he had already offered his life for the service of God and King and if they found him killed, which he held as certain, they should bury his body.

Having received this letter he assembled his Council and read it to the Captains. There ensued a difference of opinion among them. Many were of the opinion that they should remain where they were and should not attack the City. They

were moved by self-interest and preferred peace to war, because during peace they could sell their wares, but during wars they had to risk their own persons. However the majority remembering how correct the said Father's warnings generally were, decided to finish the enterprise and attack the City. They entered it and found it abandoned. It was not more than two hours that the King had retreated to the forest, just the time they had been deliberating. If they had come immediately, as they had been told to do by Friar Francisco Negroao, they would have captured the King. Even then they destroyed the City, put fire to the royal palace and pulled down the temples. After having razed the City, the General, at the advice of the Father, sent Domingos Carualho, Dissava of Mature, with all his men and Luis Teixeira, Dissava of the Seven Corlas and all his troops to Jafanapatao in pursuit of those of Candea. They attacked them and gained a great victory, killing over three thousand and also their chief Captain, a relative of the King of Candea and the second in rank of that Kingdom.

**Concerning the many Religious of the holy Province
of St. Thomas who were killed on the Island of Ceylon
while preaching the Faith and converting the
inhabitants.**

Preaching to the infidels and shedding one's blood ordinarily go together. Hence the saying of St. Cyprian that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of Christianity, not only because the more martyrs, the more converts, but also since it is impossible to gather the harvest from the fields, unless first the seed has been planted. Thus it is also not possible to garner a rich harvest of souls, unless the fields of paganism have been watered with the blood of preachers. And this is the reason why the Apostle, St. Paul, who by experience knew what preaching and shedding one's blood meant, described the Apostles marked for, "morti destinatos"¹. From which one can infer that where the preaching is not accompanied by the shedding of blood, either there is little fruit or else the Faith is not preached with that clarity and that courage it demands, for it is certain that if "Christ and Him crucified" is preached, the only subject one should preach on according to St. Paul, then the Gentiles will ridicule and the Jews be scandalized.²

With this in view it should not surprise us to see the Friars Minor shedding their blood in Ceylon, for they were the first to preach to the inhabitants, raising amidst their idols and pagan practices the standard of the Cross, breaking down the temples of their false gods and destroying the idols. The first to shed their blood were Friar Martinho de Guarda, Superior,³ and his companion Friar Luiz, who after having preached the doctrine of Christ to many, and on account of this preaching and their exemplary life, had converted many to our holy Faith, were killed by the enemies of our Religion, when Madune (*Mayadunna*) besieged the city of Cotta, the metropolitan city of the kingdom of the same name. As we already narrated, this tyrant wanted to be absolute lord of the whole Island and therefore wanted to put Dom Joao Parea Pandar (*Periya Pandar*), his nephew and King of Cotta, to death. And though the first time he attempted / to besiege Cotta, those on the

inside helped by the Portuguese, who always favoured this King because he was a Christian and our friend, stormed his army and put it to flight, notwithstanding, due to his obstinate ambition, he never ceased waging war to gain his end. He assembled many men from his Kingdom of Ceitauaca (Sitavaka) and returned to besiege the city of Cotta, where the King resided. During one of the big attacks the enemy launched, when our men went out to engage them, the two above mentioned Friars were killed, while they were hearing the confessions of the wounded and were helping the infirm.

On this same occasion one of our Lay Brothers was killed. He had gone out on an errand for the church of Cotta and was taken prisoner in a boat by the fleet of the Samorim which was patrolling the Island of Ceylon for Madune. He was taken to Negombo and there killed by the Malabarians. On another occasion when this same tyrant besieged Cotta, three of our Friars were killed in a pass called Preacota⁴, which is a kind of neck (of land) which joins this City to the land, since it is a kind of island, surrounded by the river which is impassable except by boats. Since this pass was very dangerous, the Captain of Ceylon, Balthasar Guedes de Zousa⁵ had fortified it very well and had posted there for its defense a Portuguese Captain and forty of the most courageous and trusted soldiers.

As soon as the enemy had surrounded the City, they opened the attack with elephants which they had brought for this occasion, and concentrated on Preacota. Though our men defended themselves valiantly, killing many enemies and turning many of the elephants back with special spears (lancas de prego), during one attack more furious than the others, they were beaten and the enemy entered Preacota. Immediately the King together with the Captain Balthasar Guedes de Souza with others of their company, rushed to their aid. At their head came the venerable Friar, Simao de Nazareth, with five or six other Friars, who during the height of battle were always in the thick of it, encouraging the troops with the Crucifix raised aloft, and calling upon the Most Holy Name of Jesus, begging Him to help those battling for His Holy Faith. But the fury of the enemy was such that they killed many of those who were fighting at the pass of Preacota, among them three of our Friars and twenty Portuguese. The

King and the Captain seeing the peril they were in, invoking divine help, came to their aid with all the rest of their men and they pressed the enemy so hard that they were able to throw them out, killing more than four hundred and forcing them to retreat almost in complete confusion. F. 773

The King and the Captain, without taking any rest set immediately to work, repairing and fortifying Preacota on the inner side with great care and diligence. And because they still feared the enemy, who was completely defeated, they agreed that it was of importance to send some one to India to inform the Viceroy about the predicament they were in, that he might send them men and ammunitions, of which there was a great shortage. But they doubted whether it was possible to get through, since all the roads had been taken by the enemy. Then one of our Friars seeing their predicament volunteered to go thus risking his life for the service of God and the relief of the City. He took a Chingala as his guide, plunged into the very thick wood, where elephants abounded, and after great labour and risk within two hours arrived in Colombo, the distance between the two places not being more than a league and a half.

Having arrived at our fort, he described the danger we were in and handed the letters of the King and of the Captain Balthasar Guedes de Souza over to the Governor of the military post,⁶ in which they asked him to furnish the bearer of these letters with a boat to proceed to Tutucurim. This was soon arranged and in a small boat (tone)⁷, he crossed over to Tutucurim, where he met Diogo de Mello Coutinho, the Captain of Manar, who had heard of the predicament Cotta was in, had come to her aid with a number of ships loaded with men, ammunition and provisions. And learning from the Friar what was taking place, he immediately left for Colombo, taking with him Antonio da Costa Trauacos, who had first arrived from Cochin as chief Captain of six ships. The next day they entered the bay, bringing the much-needed help, the news of which was quickly passed to the enemy. After they disembarked they made ready to go to Cotta. In all there were about four hundred men. They were about to set out when they heard the news that the enemy had retreated with the loss of two thousand men, who had been killed during the siege. They gave many thanks to God, who had delivered them from such a cruel enemy and

after having provided himself with the necessary men, ammunition and provisions Diago de Mello returned to his fort in Manar.

Madune as long as he lived and Raju, his son, after him continued the war. The City of Cotta was besieged five times F. 774 and in one of them, / our men were so hard-pressed and in such dire straits that they ate elephants, dogs, cats and whatever unclean animals they could find.⁸ During all these sieges our Friars helped, one of them being Friar Simao de Nazareth, who was so highly esteemed for his sanctity that the soldiers said that God supported them on account of his holiness. This Religious led a very exemplary life and after the war, he became the Custos of St. Thomas, as has already been pointed out.

Chapter 18

How Tribuli Pandar, son-in-law of the King of Cotta destroyed some of our Churches and killed some of our Friars and how the chief Chamberlain of the King of Cotta received Baptism from the hands of our Friars.

The Church which the Friars minor with the help of God had established on the Island of Ceylon was flourishing. Almost without number were those who through their preaching and labours received Baptism. Numerous too were the idols they destroyed and the churches they built. Undoubtedly the whole Island would by now have been converted, if it hadn't been for the continuous wars they waged with the Portuguese in which many ministers of the Church were killed, many churches destroyed, and of those already converted and baptized, some lost their lives, others captured and disappeared. We have already referred to some of these wars. In this and the following chapters we will mention others. And not the least of them was the one Tribuli Pandar¹, the father of Prea Pandar, King of Cotta, who on account of the death of his father-in-law wanted to succeed to the Kingdom, which he easily could have achieved had he not lacked the favour of the Portuguese, and whom they never wanted to support, since he was a bad man and a tyrant.

Once before on account of some offences he had received from him, Dom Duarte de Eca², Captain of the fortress, had arrested him in Colombo; but since he was resourceful and cunning, he was able to escape from the prison he was in.³ Then assembling many men, he began to wage a cruel war against us, destroying many places, which were subject to the Portuguese Crown, such as Panature, / Calature (**Kalutara**), Macuna F. 775 (**Maggon**) Barbarim (**Beruvala**), Galle, and Beligao (**Veligama**). And since he was filled with an implacable hatred not only for the Portuguese, but also for the Christian Law, they professed, he ordered the Churches which our Friars had erected in the above-mentioned places, to be set on fire and destroyed. He also cruelly put to death those who administered to these churches and many of the Christians they had formed there.

He ill-treated them, even tortured them, all of which took place in the year 1555. Concerning the number of these servants of God who on this occasion were killed none of their names are known.⁴ All we know about them, is what we already have said, for either on account of the carelessness of the writers or on account of time, which erases everything from the memory, the knowledge of their heroism was lost and their names were buried with their bodies as has happened not only to these but also to many others, the memory of whose martyrdom has come down to us, but not their names, as in the course of this history we will see.

The Portuguese did not wait long to take revenge on this cruel enemy. As soon as they had come to know what had taken place, they attacked him and pressed him so hard that he was obliged to retreat to the Seven Corlas. Seeing that we did not leave him in peace there, already partly discouraged, he went to the Prince of Urumgure⁵, which is one of the Corlas, since he was a close relative of his. He received him well and lodged him, offering him all he needed to prosecute the war. But this Tribuli was so bad and perverse that he repaid him by murdering him one night and taking his city. He then fortified it and took possession of the Palace and the treasures of the Prince with the hope of conquering all the Seven Corlas. He therefore assembled an army with which he penetrated into the Corlas, conquering their territory. But God did not allow so great perversity to remain unpunished. The inhabitants seeing such ingratitude and tyranny came together and formed a league against him, in their manner swearing that they were willing to lose their lives to avenge the Prince and in the defense of their country. Then to be more certain of their venture, they sought the favour of the Portuguese and requested the Captain of Colombo, Affonso Pereira de Lacerda⁶ to help them. He was only too glad to do so, since he was their common enemy and hated by all. Together they began waging war from the upper reaches and Raju the son of Madune, King of Ceitauaca, who was also his enemy, attacked him from the opposite direction. They pressed him so hard that fearing he would not escape with his life, in desperation he chose to save his person and await a more favourable opportunity. One night by unknown paths he escaped F. 776 ed to Jafanapatao with / his wife, mother-in-law and treasure.

The King of Jafanapatao, who was an enemy of the Portuguese, received him with great joy and promised to help him against them, since it seemed a good opportunity to expel them from Ceylon, for which purpose they began soliciting aid from relatives and friends. But this conspiracy ended up by the King of Jafanapatao killing Tribuli Pandar on account of his treasures⁷ which he appropriated and thereby becoming very proud and powerful. But he too had to pay for his crimes for his Kingdom was destroyed by the Viceroy Dom Constantino de Braganca⁸, as will be seen further down. With the disappearance of Tribuli Pandar, the Portuguese recovered the above-mentioned places, which had been taken from them, and the Friars returned to rebuild the churches and provide them once more with ministers. These did not remain standing very long, for, as we will see in the next chapter, in the war Raju waged not only were these, but all the others we had in Ceylon, destroyed.

During the war with Tribuli Pandar, it happened, God ordaining, that out of so much evil, some good would come, that the Chief Chamberlain of the King of Cotta who was a great Lord in that Kingdom, was converted and baptized. This happened in following manner. In the days Tribuli Pandar was in the prison in which Dom Duarte,⁹ the Captain of Colombo, had put him, Madune was the King of Ceitauaca. As we already have said, he aspired to becoming the Emperor of the whole Island of Ceylon, and with this in mind, he wanted to kill his brother, the King of Cotta and his son-in-law Tribuli Pandar, for by killing both and expelling the Portuguese, which he thought an easy task, he would be the sole and absolute ruler of Ceylon. Having come to know about the differences between Tribuli and the Portuguese, moreover confident that everything would go according to his desires and convinced that he would succeed, he secretly sent trustworthy persons to Tribuli Pandar to persuade him to take revenge for the insult the Portuguese had inflicted upon him, at the same time offering him all the money and men he might need. Tribuli Pandar accepted this offer and Madune sent him six hundred Chingalas with their Mudaliyars or Captains. With these re-enforcements Tribuli Pandar began to wage war against the Portuguese. Madune Pandar, who was very cunning, seeing that Tribuli Pandar was now involved with the Portuguese sent Ambassadors

to the Captain of Colombo, who already in these days was Affonco Pereira de Lacerda¹⁰, to greet and welcome him and at the same time to offer him his friendship against Tribuli Pandar.

F. 777 The Captain, who did not fall into Madune's traps / accepted his friendship and they agreed to wage war upon Tribuli Pandar. And since Madune greatly feared the chief Chamberlain (Camereiro mor) of the King of Cotta and his brother-in-law Alaca Mudaliar¹¹ and one of his sons, a native Captain, understanding that these three might prove to be an obstacle to his designs, since they were powerful persons and great warriors, he made the Captain Affonco Pereira believe that it was these three who had advised and convinced Tribuli Pandar to cause harm to the Portuguese. And as one of the conditions for peace, he demanded that all three should be taken prisoners, which the Captain immediately put into effect jailing all three. The Chief Chamberlain, however, to avoid any unpleasantness which might break out since he was so well-liked by the inhabitants, he sent to Goa, to the governor of India, Francisco Barreto.¹² The latter received him with honour and ordered him to be lodged in our Friary at Goa, where he was treated with great kindness in order to gain his good-will and to see whether on this occasion they would be able to gain his soul to God.

They spoke with him so much, that he surrendered to our Faith, and wished to become a Christian. They informed the Governor, who was highly pleased. It seemed to him that in this manner he would be more loyal and from an enemy would become a friend and in order that he might be still under greater obligation to him, he wanted to honour him by being his godfather. His Baptism was administered with great solemnity in St. Francis' Church, Goa. The Governor with many Fidalgos all in festive attire, attended. Our Custos, Friar Francisco de Chaues, baptised him and gave him the same name as the Governor, calling him Francisco Barreto. In course of time, which lays bare and reveals all things, they came to know that he had been put in prison without any guilt and that all had been a trick on the part of Madune, who had wanted to wage war on the King of Cotta and the Portuguese, which he soon did. The Governor having been informed of the truth and the innocence of his godchild, allowed him to return to Ceylon, loaded with honours and gifts.

Chapter 19

Concerning other Friars Minor who on various occasions were killed in Ceylon.

With good reason we can say of the Christianity the Friars Minor planted in the Island of Ceylon what God through His prophets said concerning the vine / of Sabbaoth, the Synagogue F. 778 which was planted in blood, that is, the copious blood which the Prophets in the course of time shed in and for her. The water with which the Friars irrigated the new shoots they planted on this Island, was the blood many shed in the service of God and for the good of souls. The Province of St. Thomas was more beautifully adorned on account of this shedding of blood, than the Island with all the rubies it produces. Concerning those who were martyred in the war with Madune¹ and the revolt of Tribuli Pandar, we have already spoken in the two previous chapters. We will now treat on those who on various occasions were martyred by other tyrants. Beginning with Raju, the son of Madune, the King of Ceitauaca, as long as he lived, which was many years, the hatred he had inherited from his father for the Portuguese and the name of Christ, continued. He wished with all his might on the one hand to expel the Portuguese from the Island and on the other to extinguish the name of Christ. To gain these two ends he never ceased waging cruel war against those places, which belonged to the Portuguese Crown, destroying some, subjugating others. At the same time he demolished all the churches the Friars in those days had in Ceylon, which exceeded twenty and also put to death their Administrators and all those who professed the doctrine of Christ. Who and how many Friars lost their lives we are unable to give. However, we do know that this King reaped the fruits of his evil deeds by dying miserably, as we have already narrated, thus confirming the saying that a bad death corresponds to an evil life.

With the death of Raju the Portuguese hoped to recover whatever they had lost in Ceylon. They, therefore, immediately sent word to the Viceroy who was Mathias de Albuquerque² who, seeing the wonderful chance he had, dispatched Pedro Lopez de Souza³ as Captain of that territory with many



men and ammunition together with two Friars of our Order he arrived. They were Friar Simao de Luz, a native of Goa, an exemplary Religious and highly respected for his virtue, and Friar Manoel Pereira, who too was a Religious of fame. They came to accompany the Captain in his campaign and in the field they heard the confessions of the Portuguese troops and encouraged them. At the same time they preached the Law of God to the inhabitants. It was in this same campaign that Friar Francisco do Oriente came as Visitator to Ceylon together with Brother Affonso and Father Joao da Cruz, a Malabarian Secular Priest, an excellent Father, good Theologian and preacher, who had been the Vicar of Manar for eleven or twelve years.

Pedro Lopez de Souza penetrated into the mountains and F. 779 took up quarters / in Palnagura⁴ from where he ordered Francisco da Silva Castelhana, a married man from Colombo, to bring the Queen of Candea to put her in possession of that Kingdom, since the King, her husband, had died.⁵ He came immediately and together with him there arrived Friar Lucas dos Santos, who had been appointed Commissary in the Kingdom of Candea, and three other Friars: Pedro de Christo⁶ and Francisco Contreiras, both natives of Cochin and Goncallo, only a cleric, a native of Manar. And though Pedro Lopez de Souza was a very good Captain and had been many years in India, notwithstanding he was defeated by Dom Joao Chingala, who had usurped the Kingdom of Candea. The Queen was captured and he was killed, his groin pierced through, and already dead, his nose was cut off. Almost the entire company was killed, for of the five hundred men only some fifty escaped and all of them their noses were cut off.

During this disaster Friar Simao da Luz was killed at the side of the General. They had pierced his chest. Friar Manoel Pereira was killed in the field. He had had his stomach ripped open. Friar Pedro de Christo was taken prisoner with five or six wounds and his nose cut off. He remained in captivity at Candea for five years, and underwent so many hardships that to describe them obliges us to devote a separate chapter to them. Friar Lucas, the Commissary, was taken to Dom Joao, naked, his nose and lips cut off and four or five wounds on his chest and sides. And since he had been his teacher when he was at

our College of Colombo together with other boys of the country, when he saw him in that state of damnation, being an apostate, a cruel tyrant and an enemy of Christianity, with great zeal for the honour of God, he began to upbraid him publicly, representing to him the evil he was doing by abandoning the Law of Christ for the vain glory of the world. But since he had already made a pact with the devil, he repaid his master who had taught and educated him by ordering him to be put to death. They tied him to a stake and in imitation of the glorious St. Sebastian, shot arrows at him and thus he lost his life for the confession of his Faith and the honour of God.

He was indeed a martyr of Christ and thus he was frequently called by Fr. Antonio of the Society of Jesus, and exemplary Religious and Doctor "in utroque"⁷ when he spoke about him, since all we have narrated had taken place in his presence and in the presence of Father Joao da Cruz, the Vicar of Manar. Friar Francisco das Chagas, after they had cut off his nose, was cruelly put to death. Friar Francisco Contreiras, a native of Cochín, was taken prisoner very much wounded. F. 780 They say that Dom Joao ordered him to be tied to one of the one hundred twenty stakes, to which the Portuguese who were still alive were fastened, and there encouraging his companions to accept their death with patience, he with them was killed by knife and spear-thrusts. Friar Goncallo, the cleric, since he was very young, was taken by a prominent Chingala, who hid him in his house until the fury of the war was spent. He then presented him to Dom Joao, who on account of some benefits he had received from him, allowed him to go to Manar, where he was cured of some wounds he had received.

Friar Pedro de Lisboa⁸, who was there during the revolt, was taken prisoner together with the above-mentioned Friar Francisco do Christo. After their wounds were healed, the same tyrant Dom Joao sent them to Colombo to negotiate a peace-treaty with Dom Hyeronimo d' Azevedo,¹⁰ who had come from Goa as Captain General in place of Pedro Lopes de Souza, who had been killed. Since the terms offered were unacceptable to the General, they returned to Candea with the reply. Without any fear for the great troubles they would have

to undergo, they accepted captivity and wished to suffer it freely not only on account of their word which they had given the tyrant to return, though he could not have obliged them to do so, but also because their presence there was important and necessary to the more than two hundred Portuguese and the large number of Christian Indians, who had been taken prisoner during the disaster, and who were in great need to receive from them the Sacrament of Confession when they died, or when the tyrant ordered them to be put to death, or to encourage them when he ordered many of them to be tortured to force them to deny their Faith. The help these two servants of God were able to give was great and many Portuguese did not deny their Faith nor allowed their ears to be pierced, which in India is a very common mark of their religion, but preferred to be tortured to death, suffering with great fortitude and constancy, since they were being helped by the advice, the encouragements and prayers of those Friars Minor. By doing this they were risking their lives, but they had already offered them up to God for this service, for the good of these souls redeemed by His Precious Blood.

Since this tyrant was desirous of having these poor Christians, whom he had taken prisoner, deny their Faith, he never ceased forcing them to do so, either by promises of liberty and riches or by threats of cruel torments. Having been F. 781 informed that the two Friars /, who were with them, encouraged them to remain firm in their Faith, the King ordered them to be ill-treated on several occasions, at times they were even taken by the executioners to be beheaded. Though they were never executed for reasons known to him, still they were cruelly scourged, in this manner satisfying the desires he really had of putting them to death. They continued many years in this state, especially Friar Pedro de Christo, until they were finally liberated from their captivity as we will see in the following chapter.

Chapter 20

Concerning the great torments and excessive labours Friar Pedro de Christo underwent during his captivity at Candea.

Before treating on other Friars who too were killed in Ceylon, it seemed reasonable to delay a bit and in this Chapter give more detailed account of all that happened to this true soldier of Christ, from off his capture at Candea to the day of his release. What happened to him is so remarkable, that it is worthy to be remembered and deserves a special place in our history. We have already told that one of the Friars who accompanied Friar Lucas dos Santos, the Commissary of Candea, was Friar Pedro de Christo. He arrived at the place where the General, Pedro Lopez de Souza, was waiting for the Queen of the Kingdom of Candea to place her on the throne of that Kingdom. He arrived just at the time the defeat took place, which was on the 9th of October 1594. Seeing that things were not going well Pedro Lopez determined to retreat with all the soldiers and the warriors he had brought, to Ceitauaca. Just then the rebel Dom Joao attacked with such fury that he defeated them, killing the General and many Portuguese, and taking the others as prisoners to Candea, as we have already related. During the fray, Friar Pedro heard the confessions of the wounded and encouraged them. For this reason he was often left behind with very few companions. Already wounded by four arrows and two sword thrusts, a group of native soldiers came upon him while he was hearing the confessions of some ten or twelve soldiers. / The soldiers were put to death and the F. 782 Friar thinking he would receive the same fate, knelt down to receive the fatal blow. One of the soldiers thrust him with a spear, on which he fell to the ground. Thinking he was dead, like his companions, they stripped him of everything, leaving his body naked.

At this time Dom Joao had promised ten fanams¹ to any body who would bring him the head or the nose of a Portuguese. The native soldiers therefore began to search among the dead to cut off the heads or noses. Among them they encountered Friar Pedro, who was lying unconscious

on account of the quantity of blood he had lost. They forthwith cut off his nose, without him feeling anything. Thus he remained the whole day. The next day he arose, half-dead, and began walking towards where the tyrant was, which must have been a quarter of a league. The whole way he heard the confessions of the wounded he found still alive. They were amazed to see him who had not eaten or drunk for three days and who had lost so much blood on account of his wounds, that it seemed as if there was no blood left in his body.

On the way he met those one hundred and twenty Portuguese whom, as we have said, Dom Joao ordered to be tied to a similar number to stakes and later on to be speared to death. The Friar tried to confess and comfort them as well as possible, telling them to accept death with patience since they were being killed for God and in the service of their King. After having shriven them, he went to the gate of the tyrant, who hearing that he was naked, sent him a cloth to cover himself. He then ordered him to be brought into his presence and seeing him so badly wounded, ordered him to be treated, which they did with herbs from the forest. That whole night he remained there. As soon as it was morning the tyrant went to the City, taking several prisoners with him. The Friar, on account of his wounds, however, was unable to accompany them. But they had hardly left the house, when the inhabitants thereof threw him out, insulting him and threatening to put him to death. They thus obliged him to take the road to the City. Though it is only half a league, it took him five days. During all this time he had nothing to eat or drink. The wounded he met on the way he confessed and encouraged. The inhabitants seeing this, took it amiss and beat him, which the servant of God suffered with great patience. On approaching the City, he met a native, who took away the cloth, with which he was covered and wanted to kill him. The Friar knelt down and gladly accepted his fate, but just three others arrived on F. 783 three elephants/, who dissuaded him saying, that he should not dirty his hands on such a low being as the Friar was and thus they let him go, not, however, without insulting him.

When he arrived at the city-gate, the guards did not allow him to enter and threatened him with the lathis they had in their hands, thus forcing him to take another road. Seeing

himself without any recourse and in such dire straits, courage left him and he fell to the ground unconscious and half-dead. Some Christians found him there and carried him to a hut where there was a Portuguese Captain. He remained there, couple of days until a Portuguese lady, who had accompanied the Queen of Candea, having come to know his need, sent him a piece of cloth to cover himself. Thus he remained for several days in the greatest misery, his wounds full of worms and without nourishment except a little **canji** (gruel), which the Christians gave him as alms.

In this state he remained about six months, since his wounds healed slowly due to a lack of remedies and the little food he was able to acquire, just a little rice which a Mohamedan Faraz² gave him of that which was meant for his horse. When he was somewhat better, he went around begging, and what he was able to obtain, he shared with the other prisoners. Whenever he could, he heard their confessions and wherever he met them he reminded them of the Faith they professed, telling them many things, which was one of the chief causes why they did not despair with the miserable life they were leading in captivity and become pagans, which was exactly what the tyrant wanted. The latter seeing that the Friar was the chief obstacle to his designs, ordered him to go to Colombo. The Portuguese prisoners realising that his absence would cause them great harm, threw themselves at his feet and with tears in their eyes begged him not to desert them. And though the Friar understood the risk he was taking by remaining, he wanted to do just that, preferring the spiritual good of so many Christians to his own life. Then the tyrant came to know of this, he dissimulated, because he pretended he wanted to conclude a peace-treaty with the Portuguese and he thought the Friar could bring this about more easily and more according to his designs. With this in mind he began treating him better and granted him favours such as permitting the Portuguese prisoners to beg and commuting the death-sentence of two Christian Araches (aracci)³, at the same time saying that from now on he would pardon all out of love for the Friar. But this favour/did not last long, since the Portuguese did not F. 784 agree with him concerning the conditions for peace. He therefore began treating him with cruelty under the pretext that the Friar had secretly written with many warnings against him to

the General. He ordered that two chains be attached to him and he be tied with a chord to a stake of Cazero-wood. He also forbade the people to give him anything to eat. This lasted until there arrived a letter from the General Hyeronimo d' Azeuedo, in which he said there would be no peace-talks unless the Friar attended them, even if they expelled him as they had done (to other negotiators), who had treated on matters pertaining to peace and whom he did not treat with the faithfulness he should have. After this the tyrant again treated him with consideration, but seeing that neither that time the peace-treaty was concluded, he returned him to prison. Then learning that the Friar had informed the General that a native whom he trusted was in correspondance with Dom Joao, he ordered forty armed men to take him to the place where justice was administered and have his hand cut off. When they had already placed his hand in the fork, there arrived a message not to cut it, but to take him to the City and tie him to a tree. He remained there three days in the sun and rain, without anything to eat, since the tyrant had forbidden anybody to come near him under pain of death. Then seeing that on account of the exposure he was swollen up, and fearing lest he die, he ordered him to be taken to a village where they threw him in a room with many guards, so that nobody could speak with him, as he suspected that it was through him that the General knew of certain defenses. This was indeed the case, for preferring the common good and the service of the King to his own safety, by all possible means he passed on to our people in Colombo whatever went on at Candea.

But the Lord who does not abandon his own and helps them in their greatest need, while this His servant was suffering from hunger, His divine Providence ordained that every day a chicken would lay an egg next to his pillow. And He allowed an elephant, of which the tyrant Dom Joao was very fond, to fall sick, and, since those who understood these matters could not cure it, he had recourse to his sorcerers to whom he promised great things if they restored his elephant to health. But Heaven ordained that the elephant become worse. The Friar seeing this and having great confidence in God, took the chord with which he was girded, though he was without his habit, and gave it to a native Christian with orders to place it on the sick elephant. He also had the tyrant told that he should not despair,

but should hope in God, that by means of the chord of his Holy Father, St. Francis, his elephant would be cured. The chord was placed on it / and after making the sign of the Cross the elephant at once stood up, to the admiration of all who were present. F. 785

It was this which soothed the tyrant more than anything else. He ordered that the Friar be brought before him and said that he was very grateful for the health of the elephant. The Friar replying said that by this he could see that the God of the Christians, whom he had abandoned, was the true God. To which the tyrant answered that he knew this to be true. Notwithstanding such a reply, he was not converted. Due to certain annoyances he experienced on the part of the Portuguese at Manar, who refused to admit two Brahmins he had sent to the island to procure cloth, he once again began to persecute the Friar on whom he took revenge for whatever we did against him. He ordered two chains with two hooks to be attached to him and then led to a temple they were constructing, to carry stones and mud. But thinking that they were leading him away to be martyred, he went gladly, telling the prisoners he met on the road that God had finally remembered him.

But seeing that the natives ordered him to work on a temple, he said that he was a priest of Christ and that the house they were building was for the devil and that therefore he would not work on it even if they killed him. The natives then replied that he should do what the King had ordered him to do, otherwise they would put him to death. Thereupon the Friar pleaded with them to kill him rather than make him do such a thing. They then informed the tyrant, who ordered him to return.

During the five years he was kept in captivity, he was often tormented until finally the Lord saw fit to free him by means of the peace which ensued. All these things we have taken from sworn declarations, preserved at the Archives of St. Francis Friary, Goa. As long as he lived, which was many years, for he died very old, he remained in the Island of Ceylon, working for the Christian community there.

Chapter 21

**Concerning the other Friars who too were killed in
Ceylon during the period D. Hyeronimo d'Azeuedo
and Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira were Captains
General.¹**

F. 786 The many troubles our Friars underwent for the conversion of the inhabitants in the Island of Ceylon and the blood they shed, in no way diminished / their zeal in the service of God, in which they were occupied. On the contrary, every day new recruits gladly offered themselves to be companions to those who died amidst so many troubles, hoping thus to share in their crowns. There does not seem to have been a single General of this territory, during whose term of office there were no Friars who did not offer their lives and blood as a sacrifice. Continuing our story we meet Dom Hyeronimo d'Azeuedo, who, as we have already seen, succeeded Pedro Lopez de Souza. During his term of office too there were revolts. In the first revolt the following Friars were with him in the field: Friar Henrique de S. Antonio, Friar Gaspar dos Reys, a native of Bacaim and Friar Esteuao de Jezus, a native of Goa. Our army consisted of four hundred men. The enemy troops, who actually fought, numbered twelve thousand. In fact they had thirty thousand in the field whence they could draw replacements and reinforcements. For since the rebel Domingos Correa Chingala had entitled himself the Liberator of the Chingala Nation, there was not a single person in the Island who did not join him. For two days and two nights our men fought, always retreating, surrounded on all sides by the enemy and attacked by a living circle, without having any time to eat or rest.

While they were in these straits, Friar Gaspar dos Reys heard that they had called for him and that valiant Captain, Henrique Alvarez da Silua, who had just been wounded by a bullet, had asked for confession. And although the danger was evident, he went to console him and hear his confession, and while he was doing so, he received bullet-wounds in both his legs, but even this was not sufficient to deter him from finishing hearing his confession. And seeing that he could not move on account of both his legs being broken they placed him on an

elephant and tied him so that he would not fall off. Then when the enemy, firing their guns and muskets, attacked, the elephant fled from the road and with great force rushed into a forest which in that part was very thick. Since the Friar was tied down and unable to jump from the elephant, since he also lacked the strength, he was torn to pieces by the thorns and branches, parts of his body being strewn on all sides.

Friar Esteuao de Jezus was taken prisoner, his nose cut off and he was wounded in seven places and left for dead. However he was still alive and only later died in Nigombo (Negombo). On the same occasion the Friars Pedro de Lisboa, Sebastiao da Luz and Manoel da Trindade² were taken prisoners. The rebel Domingos Correa was later captured, taken to Colombo, where he paid for his misdeeds by being quartered.

Later some Araches, in the service of Mudaliyar/Simao F. 787 Pinto, revolted and attacked Nagao (Navagamuva) where Friar Ignacio de S. Luzia³, a nephew of the General Dom Hyeronimo, resided. They set fire to his church and house and they would have killed him if he had not fled after he had been warned about the rising. It is also known that the Moors who live in this Island, seeing the fruits of conversion our Friars were reaping and being declared enemies of our Faith gave poison to a number of them, of whom two died.

In the retreat of the same General Dom Hyeronimo d'Azeuedo from the Kingdom of Candea, five of our Friars accompanied the army, all of whom underwent great trials. Two of them were ordered to remain at two fortified posts, one of whom was captured by the enemy and taken to Candea. Of those who were stationed at other posts, not a few were killed. Thus in Maluana (Malvana) they seized and beheaded Friar Francisco das Lapas, a native of Setubal.⁴ At Caimal they speared Friar Francisco de Cananor⁵ to death, cut his head off and took it to Candea. The same they did in Nigumbo to Friar Bernardo de Concepcão,⁶ a native of Goa.

In Ceitauaca the enemy captured Friar Antonio Silvestre, the father and support of the soldiers, and after having stripped him of his habit, they pierced his ears and passed a chord through. Then one of them put his habit on to ridicule our Christian Religion, took the Missal from which the Father

used to say Mass, and forming a procession with others proceeded, all the while pulling the Friar along by the chord and saying "ora pro nobis". After they had tormented him in this manner, they threw him down and cut off his head. In Talapitim (**Talampitiya**) they beheaded Friar Andre de Setubal⁷, on whom the natives, when they stripped him, found a very coarse hair-shirt.

Together with these Friars, not only were the churches of which they were Rectors destroyed and set on fire, but also almost all the other churches we had in the Island, which were many. In the City of Colombo, where only women and our Friars had remained behind, since the General had taken all the men to Candea, as soon as the news arrived of the defeat, the wives began to mourn the deaths of their husbands and our Fathers, taking up arms, went to defend the walls and bastions.

When Dom Nuno Alvarez Pereira was the General of Ceylon, during the revolt of the year 1616, Friar Boaventura de S. Francisco died at the fort of Balane, when that place was besieged by the King of Candea.⁸ They suffered hunger and great want, since the siege was so well-conducted that they did not dare to open the gate / of the fort to obtain provisions, all the food inside having been consumed. Due to the many trials and lack of sustenance the Friar died. During the same revolt Friar Joseph da Madre de Deos⁹, a Religious of holy life, was killed. The General had posted him in Candea as arbitrator to insure the observance of the stipulations of the peace treaty, which had been concluded with the King of that Kingdom. Some Captains revolted because he had entered into this peace-treaty; they came into the City of Candea, pierced the above-named Friar with a lance and his body thrown to the animals, as we have already recounted.

Chapter 22.

Concerning the great revolt, which took place in the whole Island of Ceylon during the term of office of the General Constantino de Saa,¹ and in which four of our Friars were killed during the defeat of his army and two captured.

The Island of Ceylon has been well-watered with the blood of many Friars Minor who were put to death while working for the conversion of souls and in the service of God and His Majesty. But just as there was never a shortage of the enemies of the Faith, in the same manner there was never any lack of opportunities for the preachers to lose their lives. Now the occasion on which four of our Friars were deprived of their lives was extraordinary, in the sense that it took place when the Island was at peace, being at the time almost entirely under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese. But whether it was a lack of prudence on the part of those who governed or what is perhaps nearer the truth, our sins, at any rate when we least expected it, we found ourselves with the whole country in revolt, the General dead, his army defeated, and what caused us more grief, many Religious killed, the churches profaned, destroyed, razed.

And since the catastrophe was so great, there was not a lack of warnings from heaven, for thus the testimony of worthy witnesses taken down by order of the Ordinary, about the feast of the Beheading of St. John², during a moonlight night there appeared over one of our churches of the same invocation, a red flag which could be seen by many from a great distance. Since this is the well-known sign of war, they generally held that it was the portent of the war which took place after a year. The chief cause of this great / defeat F. 789 was not so much the strength of the enemy, but the betrayal of some of ours, in particular of a certain Chingala Christian, called Dom Theodosio³, who was a Captain of a large contingent of native troops, who served under his banner and fought for us in our army. He had secret dealings with the King of Candea and he promised to present him with the head of the General, Constantino de Saa. He waited for the arrival of the General, who was coming to erect the fortress of Baticalau (**Batticaloa**), to cut his head off and take it to Candea, as he had promised.

But Friar Antonio de Peixoto, one of our Religious, was warned of this betrayal by one of the chief Mudaliars of Mature (**Matura**) where he was Rector. He in turn warned the Dissaua (**Disave**) Joao Cardosinho, who immediately sent men to fetch him from the road where he had been waiting with three hundred native troops. They brought him to the General and Friar Peixoto showed him an ola⁴, on which he had been able to lay his hands. This letter was from the King of Candea to the said Dom Theodosio, written in reply to one he had written promising the King to finish the General off. But Constantino de Saa was so fond of this man and so blinded that he did not believe anything and began to ridicule the idea. He said it was all a trick on the part of the King of Candea to sow enmity with the Portuguese, of whom he knew Dom Theodosio to be a great friend and servant. And thus he remained in the graces of the General and thus too God very often allows man to be deceived, when He wishes to execute the decrees of His just wrath.

The traitor Dom Theodosio having come to know that it was through our Friar he had discovered the betrayal, began to hate and persecute him, formulating many false testimonies against him, to deprive him of the Rectorate of Mature, for he realized that the Friar alone would be able to trace his designs, since he knew the language of the country⁵ and was intimate with the inhabitants, who all, both soldiers and civilians, flocked to him, and were he to be expelled from Mature, his designs would not be discovered. And to reassure the General even more, he married an honourable mestica girl⁶ from Colombo, dressed in the Portuguese fashion with a gilt sword and rich trappings, with which artifice the General felt so safe that he said: I wonder whether Friar Peixoto will now say that Dom Theodosio is going to revolt. To which the Friar replied to the one who had told him what the General had said: Tell the Captain General from me that from now on he has to fear a revolt
 F. 790 on the part of / Dom Theodosio even more, for everything he has done, he has done in order to lay hands on him and do it at his leisure. The Chingalas have little respect for women, for they abandon or accept them at will. I know them very well, have lived with them for twenty-five years and have witnessed three revolts and know they cannot be trusted.

And as the Friar had predicted, thus it came to pass, for this native became the head centre of the rising and accomplished the

death of the General, who had done so much for him. He did not lack opportunities to perpetrate this crime, for the General made the bad decision of wanting to return to Candea to destroy it again since the previous year he had but lightly punished them, as we already have noted.

Assembling an army, which consisted of some four hundred Portuguese, besides native troops and followers, with the traitor Dom Theodosio in charge of many of them, ammunition and other warlike gear, they marched on Vuua (Uva), which is a Kingdom subject to Candea and where the King of Candea had appointed his son King of that territory⁷. Entering the principal city, which bears the same name⁸, he destroyed it and levelled it to the ground. While returning victoriously, they were met on the road by the King of Candea and his army. This army was powerful and what was worse, our native soldiers under the traitor Dom Theodosio and others who too had joined the rebellion, had agreed with the King of Candea that as soon as our own army was engaged, they should all join him and together attack and defeat us. This plan was executed, the Divine Justice who never sleeps, but only seems to overlook our faults, so as to punish us with greater severity, permitting. The army was defeated, the General killed and the rest of the Portuguese taken captive to Candea⁹. This disaster, deeply felt, because so unexpected, took place in the month of August, 1630. Four of our Religious were killed: Friar Manoel da Trindade, who was in the company of the General as Chaplain to the army, Friar Jozeph de S. Francisco at Cotauata (**Kottevatta**), which came under the jurisdiction of Mature, Friar Marcos de S. Catherina at Diauela (**Dikvella**) and Friar Manoel da Concepcão at Paredua (**Paradava**)¹⁰ the three last-named being Rectors. At the same time their Rectorates with all the others, were destroyed.

Friar Antonio Peixoto almost joined their company, for as soon as Dom Theodosio saw our army defeated and the General killed, on account of the ill will he bore the Father, dispatched a soldier of his/, of the Chalea caste, who immediately left for Bilitote F. 791 (**Velitota**), where the Friar was serving as Rector, to kill him. But since God wanted to preserve him from that danger, he did not find him in the church, which he had re-erected in that place. And since the soldier did not meet him and had received some charity from the Friar, he sent his nephew to tell him in his name that if he wanted to escape with his life, he should withdraw to Colombo, letting him

know that he had come by order of the rebel Dom Theodosio to take his head, and that if he did not discover him, he thereby would be excused. Having received this message, he withdrew and escaped that danger, from which God in His mercy had saved him. Together with the Portuguese, who were led captive to Candea, two of our Religious were taken along, who too had been captured by the enemy. The one was Friar Joao de Turim, who was stationed at the fort of Sofragao (**Sabaragamuva**) and the other Friar Luiz da Concepcão,¹¹ who was at the pass of Nacolagao (**Nagalagam**).

The four forts of Manicavara (**Menikkadavara**), Sofragao, Maluana (**Malvana**) and Caleture (**Kalutara**), which we possessed in the interior were taken, since they were weak and badly provisioned. Together with them the fifty-four Churches we had in the Island of Ceylon were destroyed. Finally all the territory which had been subject to us, at our defeat, rebelled, only Galle, Nigombo and the city and fortress of Colombo remaining in our hands. The King of Candea, together with three Princes, his sons, and all those who had rebelled, arrived in the month of August to besiege us. They burnt and destroyed everything in the surrounding area, since there were not enough men in the City to defend it, since the walls in many places were in ruins and the godowns without arms or ammunition. And though we were so badly provided, it was a great mercy on the part of God that we were able to defend ourselves against the overwhelming power of the enemy. Since the chastisements He imparts are those of a father, He was pleased to rid us not only of the enemy outside, but also of the Moors who were inside and who had conspired with the King of Candea to set fire to the City and open the gates. But by the mercy of God they came to know about this betrayal and the would-be-perpetrators were all put to death and our people fortified themselves with stockades and new walls. Some of the women and children of the rebels left the city. Then they placed all the pieces which had been repaired in convenient positions, with which preparations and care and the Divine favour they were able to defend the City.

Chapter 23

How our Friars behaved during this rising as far as the service of His Majesty is concerned.

The City of Colombo was in such a pitiable state and there was F.792 such a shortage of all those things necessary for its defence that the inhabitants, seeing the power of the enemy who were able to approach the gates and touch them with their spears, felt utterly dismayed. The walls were partly in ruins, partly lying on the ground and without the customary strong bastions and pieces of artillery. The godowns were without arms and ammunition, the men who would take up arms were few, for those that would have been able to do so, were either dead on battle-field or prisoners in Candea.

They were so hard-pressed and the necessity so great that even those whose profession it was not, such as the Religious, especially the Friars of our Order, since they were more numerous than all the others put together, were forced to take up arms. In these days there were thirty of our Friars in the City, for since the country was in rebellion and the Churches they had, had been destroyed and set on fire by the enemy, all those who were in charge of them retired to the fortress, except those who were killed or captured and those in Galle and Nigombo. They began by dividing the care for the defence of the City among themselves, not sparing any labour, but reserving the greater share for themselves as if it were their inheritance to participate in all the labours the Portuguese underwent in India, and in particular in Ceylon, for no misfortune ever overcame them in which the Friars were not involved, which is apparent to anybody who studies the sieges and perils (*perali*), as they term rebellion there, which took place and in which they suffered great hunger, found themselves in straits and what is more, shed their blood and suffered cruel deaths.

To begin, let us take Colombo, which is the most important point we have in the Island. On account of a lack of additional fortifications in the walls, it was necessary to strengthen them with care. The Guardian of the Friary at his expense ordered a very strong shelter to be built and incorporated into the walls, capable of having from twenty to thirty persons and one heavy piece of artillery. He placed a number of Friars there who could guard

and defend the City on that side, which is called Mapani¹ (*Mapana*), one of the most dangerous posts, just opposite the enemy. And though they were provided with arms, such as muskets, guns, fire-pans and other war-equipment, whithal what they mainly depended on was prayers, which they with great insistence offered to God, since it was not only proper to their profession, but also they realised that it was of greater effect and importance in times of danger. Our Friars were guards in the bastion of S. Joao and in the one called F 793 El Rey and in some houses belonging to Diogo de Sousa, which / looked out over the lake where there was a fort and where at night they had their quarters to patrol the City.

The pieces of artillery were all lying on the ground, since all their wooden supports were rotted away. To repair them our Religious gave all the timber they had in the house, which was considerable. They also took the wheels from the carts, which served for the functioning of the Friary, in order to move the guns. And since there was a great shortage of bullets, they gave the organ-pipes, which was made of lead. They also supplied benches from the church for the shelters. Since they feared the enemy might cross the river, the Father Guardian offered the City and its General to patrol it, supplying a sufficient number of men, under condition however that they give them boats. Since they were not available this very important offer was not accepted. And since the Chief General of war, who had taken charge of that fortress of Colombo since the death of the General, Constantine de Saa, was in great need of a person who knew the language and could read the olas, which came from the rebels and certain persons who were with the enemy and reply to them with the necessary prudence, composing them in such a manner that no treachery, something they greatly feared, might result, he could not find any other Religious who could serve as such, except our Friar Antonio Peixoto, concerning whom we have already spoken and who was proficient in that language and had mastered it many years ago, because it was twenty years since he had begun his labours among the Christians of that Island and several times had been attached to the army, besides serving at the frontiers, for this reason, to deal with the spies and instruct them accordingly, he ordered him to serve in the Madre de Deos Bastion, which too was near the enemy. And in a number of sortees which the Chief Captain, Lancarote de Seixas, made on the enemy, he took him along and he always accompanied him gladly, especially

on the occasion the Dissaua of Sofragao, who was one of our rebels, was killed, when with a Crucifix in his hands he encouraged the men to advance and check the attack of the enemy, who were numerous and we, few, and moreover exposed to the continuous fire of the guns nearby.

And in the course of the second revolt, which took place shortly after the great revolt, while he was with the army outside the walls, this same Religious not without risk to his person, was partly instrumental in capturing the rebels, who were put to death by order of the General, who then was Dom Phelippe Mascarenhas², Captain of Cochin, who had come to the rescue of the fortress, as soon as he had heard what / was taking place. And since ordinarily sieges are accompanied by famine and shortage of provisions, there was such a scarcity, also a punishment from Heaven, in Colombo, that one measure of rice (even then it was not always available) was selling for one larim, for which one formerly obtained twenty measures and at times even thirty. Hence there broke out a great mortality especially among the poor people, who always in similar circumstances suffer the most. And those who died each day were so numerous that they were unable to bless the bodies, as is customary, and bury them and they were found on the roads without there being place to intern them. Many slaves who could not bear the hunger, which they suffered at the houses of their masters fled and went to the enemy. Thus at one and the same time the City was suffering from the same three scourges, with which God threatened King David for having made a census of the people.³ And it seemed to Him sufficient if David were punished with a punishment he himself should choose, but there, according to His just judgement, He willed that the City should be punished by all three at the same time, suffering a hard-pressed siege, a cruel pest and desperate famine.

F. 794

Seeing the great need, the Guardian of our Friary sent a Religious to Nagapatnam, to bring provisions. He embarked in one of the champanas⁴ which were setting out from Colombo with the same purpose, to procure provisions for the City. They found the provisions so dear that those of the champanas did not want to buy them, preferring to await the arrival of the new harvest which was expected soon. Withal, taking into consideration the straits the City of Colombo was in, our Religious took them as he found them, at a high price and loaded them on a boat which was going to

Galle, and which too was loaded with provisions. At the plea and request of our Religious he agreed to take them to Colombo, which he did.

F. 795 As soon as the General, Dom Phelippe Mascarenhas, learned of his arrival, he immediately sought the Friar and said: My Father, in this champana not a Franciscan Friar has arrived, but St. Francis himself. Know, your Reverence, that it is three days that I have dispatched four hundred native troops to Nigombo, because there was no food for them, and now I have enough rice to feed the native soldiers another six days and if this champana had not arrived, there would have been no other remedy than send them away too. And he asked him to tell the Father Guardian in his name that also the rice which they had bought for the Friary, should be deposited with the rest in his godown and since he had been / Syndic of the Friars in Cochin, whenever they needed any, he would provide it, which he did. And for the Captain of the champana, besides paying him well for the rice which he took, leaving only enough for the man's family, in the name of His Majesty bestowed a village upon him, for having come to the aid of the fortress when it was in such straits.

During this same period the fortress of S. Cruz at Galle was in as great a need of men and all things necessary for its defense. The Friar who was Superior there, offered the Captain all the things which were in the Friary. He gave him stones and lime, which were on hand for the construction of the church, for the building of the walks and shelters. At the request of the Factor, he also lent the bell for the guard, since the fortress of His Majesty lacked one, El Rey, though the lord of such riches, being so very poor in this Island of Ceylon. This bell was broken in pieces while in use by the guards. The said Guardian with five of his subjects, helped in the various works, carrying stones on their backs and what was of greater value for the defense of the fortress, they too served as watchmen and guards by day and by night. And in a sortee, which they made at Biligao (*Veligama*), one of the our Friars accompanied the army, fulfilled his obligation and did not refuse to do anything which might be of service to God and His Majesty. The five Friars who during this revolt were stationed at the fortress of Nigombo, they too showed great readiness in helping wherever required, not only as far as the spiritual is concerned, such as hearing confessions and administering the Sacraments, but also as far as the temporal is concerned such as standing guard, carrying materials and going into combat.

Chapter 24

How the Portuguese recovered whatever they had lost in Ceylon and concerning the peace they concluded with the King of Candea and how at his request our Friars were appointed as arbiters.

God, who is infinitely good, is wont to visit those whom He has chastised with double measure of favours and mercy. Rightly has the Royal Prophet understood this truth where in one of his psalms he writes: "Merciful is the Lord and just, yes, our God is merciful"¹. St. Ambrose pondering on this verse, remarks that the prophet calls God once only just, but twice merciful, giving to understand that as it were the measure of mercy is encompassed by many mercies. "Twice he mentioned mercy, once justice" says the holy Doctor, "justice occupies the middle and it is contained by a double wall of mercy"². And thus it is in very truth, for His goodness shines forth in such a manner that He does not want His justice to inflict punishment for our sins unless it first breaks through the stony walls of His mercy, so that since thereby the edge of the sword has been dulled, the thrust might be softened and there be place for benignity for those He must chastise. We see this clearly in the revolt of Ceylon, how He tempered His justice with mercy, for it is clear that if He had acted according to our guilt, He would have allowed us to remain in the hands of the enemy and nothing of what we had done in Ceylon would have endured. But swayed by His goodness, He allowed His justice to be accompanied by great mercy.

The first time He helped us, was at the time of the betrayal of the Moors, as we have already noted in the previous chapter, for if it had been effected, that would have been the end of everything, but He allowed it to be discovered and all were forthwith put to death and the City of Colombo thereby saved. At the same time He gave orders (which was indeed a great mercy) that, though our forces were so unequal, in the end we prevailed and were able to recover everything we had lost and that the King of Candea sued for peace and though the victor, did so much to bring it about, as if he were the vanquished. Let us now recount how this happened. We have already recounted how the General of Ceylon, Constantino de Saa was killed, also concerning the defeat of our army and the general insurrection on the part of those living in the territories under

our jurisdiction. As soon as the sad news arrived in Cochin, Dom Phelippe Mascarenhas left that fortress where he was Captain, and as a good fidalgo and loyal vassal of His Majesty, with his person and money, in a very brief time came to help us in our need. He sustained all the burden of that revolt, until Goa provided us with a Captain³ and men, when Dom Phelippe returned to his fortress.

F. 797 Our troops leaving the City, where the enemy had surrounded them, frequently had skirmishes, but they always came out on top. The King of Candea seeing this, retired to his / Kingdom with the greater part of his army, leaving behind some Captains as his representatives, so that, aided by the rebels, they might continue the war, though with less hope of success than these same rebels had given them to hope. In those days it also happened that the rebel Dom Theodosio, having obtained a safe-conduct, came to us, the same who as we have seen was the chief instigator of the rebellion. Afterwards due to certain indications they discerned in him, our people began to suspect that it was all pretence, so that, placing our trust in him, he would be able to bring rebellion in the territory of Mature (*Matara*), to be the Dissaua of which he laid claim, and destroy our fort there. At the same time he had made arrangements with Abiaquao (Abhayakōṇ)⁴, another rebel, to do the same at Sofragao. The first to suspect his honesty was one of our Religious, about whom we have already spoken, called Friar Antonio Peixoto, who, since he knew the language well and for more than twenty years had dealt with the Chingalas and had come to know them, gave the alarm that it was a question of betrayal and that they were rearming. He communicated what he felt to the General and to the City of Colombo, in particular to Antonio de Motta, who resided at Matura as the chief Captain of the Portuguese.

And though in the beginning it seemed to some that it was a question of suspicion only, they soon arrived at certainty when Dom Theodosio fled to the other side of the river, where the above-mentioned Antonio de Motta went and captured him. He immediately brought him back and had him handed over to the General, who was in Colombo, who kept him in irons till he could be transported to Goa, where the Viceroy imprisoned him and later sent him to Ceylon to stand trial. Thus by the favour of Heaven, we were able to discover the noose in which they wanted to ensnare us.

The King of Candea then, seeing the state of our affairs, that the Portuguese had already forts in six places of the Island, viz, at Nigombo, five leagues from Colombo, at Petigaldeni (**Pitigaldeniya**), twelve leagues distant, in the country of Mature, twenty-eight leagues distant, and in Gandole (**Gandolaha**), each one of which forts had its Captains, Dissauas, Modiliars and Araches, who uninterruptedly were on their guard in the stockades and bastions, their arms always at hand and, so we believe, inspired by God, who seemed to be on the point of laying the scourge aside, since the war had already lasted more or less two years, when things were in this state, the King of Candea solicited peace, sending four Portuguese, whom he had as prisoners, to request the General to send a safe-conduct for his ambassadors / who would treat on this matter. F. 798

After the General had sent the safe-conduct, two Modiliars arrived as ambassadors accompanied by three Portuguese and one of our Religious, called Friar Luiz da Concepcão, who too had been a prisoner. When they approached Colombo, where the General⁵ was residing, the Captain of the fortress, accompanied by many people, went outside the City to receive them. The following day, after they had rested from the fatigues of the journey, they were heard. But since the King of Candea requested certain things to be inserted in the peace-treaty, which demanded more authority, the General replied that he could not agree and that if he wanted, he could send his ambassadors to Goa and there negotiate with the Viceroy and that in the meantime they could postpone everything and institute a cease-fire until a message and decision was received from the Viceroy. With this message from the General they returned to Candea and it seemed well to the King to negotiate with Goa. He sent two of his most important Modiliars together with some Portuguese, whom he had held captives and the above-mentioned Friar Luiz, who departed from Colombo, arrived in the harbour of Goa on the 9th of March 1633, and there received with all the honours due to ambassadors. The substance of their message was the following: The King of Candea desired everlasting peace with the Portuguese and wanted to be considered a brother-in-arms of the King of Portugal. At the same time he wanted to liberate the more or less two hundred and fifty Portuguese, whom he had captured in the course of the past war, among whom were the chief Captain of the Field (*Capitão moor do campo*), Francisco Barbosa⁶ and two Dissauas, who were among the best and most important men in the

Island, viz. Luiz Teixeira, Dissaua of the Seven Corals and Domingos Carvalho, Dissaua of Mature, and that in return for them, of the two elephants he was obliged to pay each year as tribute to the King of Portugal, henceforth he would only be obliged to send one. Further he requested that the fortress of Batecalau with adjacent lands should henceforth belong to him, since it was his and the Portuguese had built that fort against his will and against the provisions of the peace-treaty, which had been negotiated at the time Dom Nuno Aluarez Pereira was General of Ceylon.⁷ Furthermore, he asked that a Franciscan Friar should reside in Candea as arbitrator, as had always been the case. And since the King of Candea had three sons and wanted the youngest, who is called Divima Rajaru Masthana⁸, of whom he was very fond, to succeed him, he, smart as he is, ordained that his ambassadors should come in his name and for this reason had placed him in possession of the said Kingdom, in the same manner as he had made the eldest, Comara Sinja Astana (**Kumara Simha Asthana**), King of Vua (**Uva**) and the middle one, Vichapala Astana (**Vijayapala Asthana**), King of Mathale. And he ordered these

F. 799 ambassadors to come in the name of the youngest son, / because he feared lest on his death the eldest might take the Kingdom of Candea, to whom it belonged by right and in this way, by means of peace-treaty, the Portuguese would be obliged to favour him, giving to understand that the one who had the Portuguese on his side, would undoubtedly prevail and be King of Candea.

These then were the chief points the ambassadors wanted to discuss. On the whole, they were in accordance with the views of the Viceroy, since it was to our benefit to conclude a peace-treaty with the King of Candea, for then all our territory, which had revolted, would immediately return to our obedience as indeed they did from the time they began negotiating the peace-treaty. At the same time we would be able to rescue the Portuguese who were captive in Candea and otherwise would have ended their lives there, as had happened to those who were captured at the defeat of Pedro Lopez.⁹ Or if we had to ransom them for money, it would have cost the Royal Treasury very much. However, the things he asked in the Treaty were such that it was not proper for the State to concede them, especially as far as the fortress of Baticalous was concerned. They wanted us to hand it over to them and this was the chief point on which they argued for several days. They were not able to come to a settlement on this point, because on the one hand the ambassadors insisted that the fortress should pass over to the King of Candea,

since it had been erected without his consent, and was located in his territories, something he felt deeply as also the fact that we had constructed the fortress of Triquinimale (**Trincomalee**) in the same manner, without his consent, which fortresses had both been founded by order of His Majesty, when Constatino de Saa was the General of Ceylon, something he had complained about, as is clear from a letter he wrote to the Father Guardian of Colombo, which is in our possession, in which he refers to this insult, alleging that he had always been a loyal vassal of His Majesty and that he never wanted to consent to the presence of Dina Marca's people in that fort of Triquinimale, where they had arrived in seven ships and it was only due to his desire to preserve the friendship of the Portuguese (that he had done nothing about it). It was for this reason that he insisted with the above-mentioned Guardian, who was a person the General owed respect, that he interfere in this affair, since he was a King who had always been a friend of the Christians and the Franciscan Friars, to whom he had confided his own sons to instruct and educate, handing them over to Friar Joseph de N. Senhora and Friar Francisco Negrao in the days they resided in Candea as arbitrators.

On the other hand it did not seem right for us to abandon these forts, especially the one at Baticcalau, which was the one they argued about, not only on account of a loss of prestige, but also on account of the risk, since it was possible for our enemies from Europe to come there, as they already had done, with the intention of erecting a fort, it being a sea-port, where, besides being convenient for their negotiations, they would have a foodhold and disturb the Island of Ceylon. And though the King of Candea had solemnly sworn never to allow this, still one cannot trust him, since he is an enemy and any difference he may have with the Portuguese or any opportunity time may offer him, might turn out to the great detriment of the State of India. F. 800

Thus things stood for many days without their being able to come to a decision concerning the peace-treaty, until finally after many talks they agreed on the following. The King of Candea is obliged to surrender all the Portuguese in his power. For a period of six years, instead of the two elephants he is obliged to pay, he will only pay one. The fort of Batecalou will belong to the Portuguese. The surrounding country-side however will

belong to the King of Candea. The income from the Customs in that port will be equally divided between the two parties. Finally it was agreed that there should always be an arbitrator in Candea from among the Franciscan Friars and that this peace-treaty should last for ever. The treaty having been drawn up, the Viceroy ratified it in the customary fashion on the 3rd of April, 1633.¹⁰

The same month the ambassadors left for Ceylon, satisfied with what they had achieved. And since the territories which had revolted, with the establishment of peace, returned to the jurisdiction of the Portuguese as formerly, our Religious began to visit the Christians, that were there, erecting temporary churches of mud and straw, which would serve till the arrival of the order to rebuild them with the same perfection they were in when they were destroyed by the rebels. From this Friary of St. Francis at Goa some things pertaining to the divine cult, which our poverty was able to collect, were sent, such as ornaments, vestments, chalices and missals. At the same time the Major Superiors gave orders to the Rectors, who on account of the revolt had left Ceylon, to return to their Rectorates and that in place of those killed others should be sent. Thus with the help of God, we returned to those numerous Christians we had on that Island, for the glory of the same Lord.

F. 801 The only thing that had still to be done was for the King of Candea to ratify the peace-treaty in the same manner as the Viceroy had done. But he delayed for reasons known to him, till the General who at that time was Diogo de Mello de Castro¹¹, tired of delay, proposed battle so that the King might take a decision, either to wage war or to ratify the peace-treaty. With this resolution he assembled his army and went in search of the enemy at his own gate, deploying his men in front of the City of Candea, where the King was, from there he sent one of our Religious well-versed in the Chingala language, and experienced in the affairs of the / Island, having worked among the Christians there some twenty years with great devotion and zeal, who on being presented to the King, told him that he had come in the name of the Captain General to inquire as to what decision he had wanted to take regarding the question of the peace-treaty his ambassadors had brought from Goa. The King, who is resourceful and prudent, raised some difficulties, among others that he had not been made a brother-in-arms of the King of Portugal,

as he had requested the Viceroy to do, for the other Kings of India, who were considered such, did not deserve it any more than he did. To this the Religious satisfactorily replied that if he performed the works of a brother of His Majesty, like the King of Cochin did, who never betrayed him, then His Majesty would accept him as a brother and true friend and not only remove his disabilities, but also grant him privileges of greater value than his whole Kingdom. Finally after a good deal of parleying, he ratified the peace-treaty and presented the Friar with the two hundred and twelve Portuguese, who were being held as captives. The Friar returned to the great joy and contentment of all, for having terminated this affair as all had desired.

In the days this was taking place, the youngest son of the King, who, as we have seen, had been proclaimed King of Candaa, poisoned his eldest brother in order to possess his throne more securely and, so they believe, he will do to his second brother, for ambition and the glory of ruling can effect all this in man, to achieve and preserve which, they are willing to throw overboard all other obligations, even those towards their own blood-relations.

After peace had been re-established, the Captain General seeing how much our Religious had helped and considering the great service he would be able to render to God and His Majesty, the same Captain General Diogo de Mello de Castro entrusted him with all the affairs and *careas*¹² (thus petitions and requests are called here) of the native soldiery, who had been forced from their villages and were being maintained by the Portuguese. In order that each one should receive what had belonged to him, the Captain himself signed the *olas*, since it was for this very reason that the natives were in revolt. Everything was done with great prudence and justice and without human respect and was the reason why all did not perish during the war (they had not cultivated the land for three years) and they were able to conclude such an honourable peace-treaty.

This Friar is well-versed in the Chingala language, preaches to the natives in it and since he realizes how fond they are of music and poetry he composed and put on / many plays in their own Chingala language on the lives of the Saints, of Christ, Our Lord, and of Adam and Eve. He also composed verses on the Passion

F. 802

of the Saviour, with which, on account of the lamentations they contained and the melody and tune, he at times had the whole congregation in tears and some of the Gentiles who were present received the Faith and were converted. Furthermore, very often he defended in public the honour of God, preaching His doctrine to the inhabitants, of whom many, in particular those living on the frontiers refused to be baptized, unless he defeat with arguments the priests of the idols and the changatars¹³ to the greater glory of the Christian name. Due to his intense zeal for the salvation of souls, he converted and baptized a large number. With great labour and industry he built twelve churches in the Island of Ceylon and many other parts, which he all did for the service of God, as the singular minister of the Christian community he is. His name is Friar Antonio Peixoto, concerning whom we have spoken above.

Chapter 25

Concerning the unfortunate loss of the galley from Achem¹ which was lost on its way to help break the siege of Ceylon and concerning what happened to two of our Religious who were travelling in it.

As soon as definite news had arrived in Goa concerning the revolt in the Island of Ceylon and the death of the General of that territory, Constantino de Saa, and the loss and defeat of our army, the Viceroy of this State, who was the Conde de Linhares, Dom Miguel de Noronha², with great diligence and care began making plans how to send the necessary help. Among other things he sent an excellent galley, which with others had been captured at Malacca from the Sultan of Achem by the Captain General Nuno Alvarez Botelho³, with two hundred and fifty of the best soldiers and together with it an "urca"⁴ in which had embarked almost five hundred other troops. These two vessels with reinforcements, the best they could furnish in those days, the Viceroy dispatched from Barcalor⁵, where they had formed part of the fleet with which the latter had come to the South. Since the galley was big and beautiful and since it had been taken at Malacca from the Achems and reminded them of that victory which was one the greatest they gained in India, Dom George d'Almeida, who had been / chosen to succeed Constantino de Saa as Captain General of Ceylon,⁶ selected it as his flag-ship, since he would thus travel with more pomp and majesty.

F. 803

After the vessels had been properly provisioned, they departed from the harbour of Barcalor on the 23rd February, 1630. In the galleon two of our Religious embarked, one who was to be the Guardian at Manar, called Friar Miguel de Madre de Deus⁷, and the other, Friar Joao de S. Maria who had been Guardian and commissary of Ceylon, and who was proceeding to Ceylon as Visitor of the Kingdom of Jafanapatao.

The galley was not water-tight and hence very often during the day and night they had to use both pumps to take out the water that had entered. The masts, which had been renewed at Goa, were longer than necessary, especially the middle-one (mesena) which was far too big and heavy. Hence it was difficult

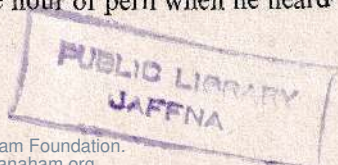
to manoeuvre the ship and opposite the harbour of Mangalore⁸ or the river Carnate, when trying to turn the rings and heavy iron chains, to which the rigging was attached, gave way on one side. Northwithstanding they continued the journey and on the 2nd of March the second Sunday of Lent, they were off Cochin where they were detained one day. This proved to be detrimental to our voyage, for the day of the full moon was approaching, which was 14th of the same month, the day we doubled Cape Comorin. On the second Sunday of Lent we entered the Gulf and at nine that night there arose a heavy wind from a northwesterly direction and it was necessary to turn the galleon, which manoeuvred badly and in tightening the rigging, the blocks broke in two and came down with such force and vibration that the mast came loose from its holder and after a short space of time broke, the top-sail with the greater part (of the mast) crashing into the sea. It was the mercy of God that it did not fall on the galley, for then it would have split it open and nobody would have escaped. Even then the piece that fell, opened a wide breach. Three days they fought the rising water. On the last day the Pilot declared that there were no hopes any more. Secretly with the general and the Captain of the galley, Antonio Suarez Viuas⁹ and some other men they decided to abandon the ship at midnight and embark in the small life-boat.

F. 804 At the appointed hour all the above-mentioned embarked in the small boat. The General ordered the two Friars to be called. One of them, Friar Joao de S. Maria, came immediately and embarked, but the other Friar Miguel da Madre de Deus, since he was midships hearing the confessions of the soldiers, who were preparing for death, they could not reach to give him the message and thus he remained in the galley. But since God is always attentive to those who are engaged in works of charity helped him in a miraculous manner, for having finished the confessions of the last soldiers, and knowing nothing about the life-boat, God, Our Lord, interiorly moved and impelled him in such a manner that, without knowing what he was doing, he ran to the side where the boat was and seeing what was taking place, without even returning to procure his Breviary, he jumped straight into the boat which was about to leave the galley, and after the General had already given orders to a servant to kill with a knife which he had handed him, anybody who tried to jump into it, for it was already overloaded. This servant had tried to impede Friar Miguel's entry or kill him, from which peril too God saved him, for He ordained that the knife should slip from his hand and that he only receive a light wound, which he felt only after he was in the boat, at hearing which the General and the others loudly laughed.

After all had embarked, they left the galley, which almost immediately broke up and within a few hours sank with all on board. And though the peril in which those in the life-boat was not as great, it was sufficient for all to realise that their lives were not worth anything. The boat was small, and the passengers, twenty-nine in all, too many. There was one barrel from Cananor and another small one with water and six measures of rice, not even sufficient for one single day. Moreover they were not in the Gulf of Ceylon, but in the one which lies between the Maldivé Islands and the Indian coast, which is greater and on both sides is more than thirty leagues distant from the land. They had no oars, no sails, no other recourse than the mercy of God who is wont to send help when the need is greatest. It pleased Him to save the lives of those who were embarked, for a very fresh wind arose, which whipped up the waves and struck the boat as if to submerge it. In reality however such was not the case, for the waves pushed the boat forward. After three days they arrived on land, to the great satisfaction of all, who already had given themselves up for lost. That they escaped with their lives and reached land in the above manner they attributed to a miracle, to the merits of St. Joseph, since the second day after the loss of the galleon was his feast-day.

The land they had reached was one of the Maldivé Islands. They did not want to land on the principal one, in which the King of those Islands resided and as much as the natives tried to bring this about, they refused to go there, for fear they would be robbed and also because they would miss the monsoon-winds and if they were to remain there, it would mean that all would die there. They remained two weeks on this island and on account of the bad water and lack of provisions all fell sick. Of the original group of twenty nine, a third died. The two Friars both fell ill and so badly that one of them, the second day after they left for Cochim, died. That was Fr. Joao de S. Maria. Friar Miguel was so bad that all considered him dead, but God allowed him another lease of life, through the merits and intercession of the Virgin, His Mother, whom he had invoked with faith. One day with greater fervour he was calling on her, he found himself all at once so much better, that it even caused surprise to the General that he said, that it was indeed a miracle he was still alive. F. 805

This Religious once told me that before making this journey, for many days he had asked God, Our Lord, that He give him an opportunity of serving Him in a special manner, and that when he found himself on board during the hour of peril when he heard



confessions of the soldiers, some of whom had not gone for a long time, it seemed to him that God had heard his prayers, for when he had the intention of embarking on the galley of Manoel da Camara, who was on his way to take over his post as Chief Captain of Cape Comorin and who on account of his being related to him wanted to take him along and even lodge him in his own cabin, he refused to embark on the galley where he did not have the opportunity of gaining so many merits, which service at the same time was not without special help on the part of God, for He saved him from so many dangers and preserved his life, which so often he was on the point of losing. Indeed those who escaped with their lives, embarked on a raft and crossed the Gulf and in six days arrived in Cochin, whence the General proceeded to Ceylon and Friar Miguel came to Goa, and there as vocal¹⁰ attended the Provincial Chapter, which was just then being held.

Chapter 26

Concerning the many and great services the Franciscans rendered to the King in the Island of Ceylon and during its conquest.

During the conquest of this Orient the two powers, secular and ecclesiastical, were so closely united that rarely did one move without the other being involved, for the secular arm conquered only with that right which the preaching of the Gospel bestowed, and the preaching could only have effect when accompanied and favoured by those in arms. Thus the two powers always worked in unison and also helped each other in such a manner that when on the one hand the Kings favoured the ministers of the Divine Word, on the other hand the latter interested and exerted themselves in the affairs which pertain to the royal service.¹ This can be seen in the Island of Ceylon, where we can truly say / that the Friars Minor cared for the affairs of the King not with less concern than they did for the affairs pertaining to their profession, undergoing many labours and placing themselves in no less grievous dangers to serve the King than they did to serve God, since they held that in this way too they were serving Him. Since we cannot reproduce everything pertaining to this subject, we will content ourselves with referring to certain matters among many, which are contained in authentic certificates, the originals of which are preserved in the archives of St. Francis Friary, Goa, since they are of qualified persons and suffice to remove any doubt from even the scrupulous. They are the following: one from the Bishop of Cochin, Dom Sebastiao de S. Pedro² who later became the Archbishop of Goa under whose jurisdiction the Island of Ceylon resorted; another of Constantino de Saa, Captain General of the territory in that same Island; another from the City of Colombo. We will not reproduce them entirely to avoid repetition, since some of their contents we have already described in the respective places.

F. 806

The substance of these letters is that that the Friars Minor were the first to preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of Ceylon and baptize. They build many churches, erected many Crosses and converted many Kings, among them Dom Joao Perea Pandar, King of Cotta and Emperor of the whole Island, who at the advice of the Friars bequeathed this Kingdom to the Portuguese Crown, as he himself declared in his last will. Many too were killed in

the service of God and His Majesty. They served as Chaplains in the armies and at the forts and as more territory was being conquered, in these campaigns they suffered hunger and thirst and sleepless nights, the usual concomitants of any war, especially in this Island. In those early days, when there was so very little relaxation, they frequently had to sleep in the rain and mud, at times they had to stand the whole night in water upto their knees, without even having to lean against. And as they erected a fort in the interior, where Portuguese troops were to be stationed, immediately some Franciscan Friars were appointed to serve there.

F. 807 And not only in the armies / but at the forts as well they looked after the wounded and sick, for whom, moved as they were by charity, they brought medicine along. They also looked to their spiritual welfare, dispensing the Sacraments of Confession, Communion and Extreme Unction.

When the need was great and there was great want, that all the soldiers might not perish, the Friars served as infirmarians, taking great care of their charges and reminding the General and other Captains to supply the necessary things for the sick. Frequently they themselves went out to beg for alms in order to help them. And the labours they underwent in these charitable ministrations were so great, many suffered, even died of over-work, for in this matter they were on the same level with the soldiers and the living conditions of these soldiers were the worst in the whole of India.

On several occasions soldiers were captured and taken to Candea. Friars were then sent by their Superiors and the Captain General to confess and console the captives. They went gladly, though they knew they were risking their lives. At the same time by order of the Captain General they were told to negotiate with the King of Candea to see whether they could not obtain the release of the prisoners. And though the tyrant did not listen to them, still the Religious were able to be of great service there, hearing the confessions of the captives, encouraging them to bear with patience the hardships of their imprisonment, at the same time leaving behind some alms they had brought. And though the tyrant was severe to these visits of the Friars, being suspicious of them and even threatening to kill them were they to return still this did not deter them and they returned to console the captives. The tyrant coming to know of this, ordered them to be brought before him with the intent of having them put to death, but God, Our Lord, softened his heart and he satisfied his anger with words, hurling insults and threats at them, all of which they gladly suffered.

As it is usual for fights and dissensions to break out among soldiers, the Friars would hasten to bring about peace and friendship. Thus it happened that the soldiers revolted against the chief field-captain and went to kill him. They would have done so, if it hadn't been for the Friar, who was in the army as chaplain and who concealed him and secretly smuggled him to Colombo. At the request of these same soldiers the Friar, as chief Captain of the army, took charge of the army, until the General had investigated why the soldiers had mutinied and revolted. All this happened to Friar Bernardo de S. Maria, when Gomez da Silva was chief field-Captain (capitao moor de campo).

All these duties they performed in the days they were solely in charge of this vineyard, but even the present time they are occupied in the same service. Though other Religious are there/ now, still the more laborious tasks are taken up by them. Thus they continue in the army at Manicauare (Menikkadavara.) and in the fort at Balane where the site is unhealthy, the air bad, the whole place almost uninhabitable, so that the soldiers have to be rotated every two months. And every time the army has to penetrate enemy territory and in all assaults, the Friars of St. Francis are present. In the course of these operations they have comported themselves in a manner which should be placed on record. Thus, Friar Gaspar de Magdalena, a zealous Religious, very popular among the troops and a great worker for the Christians in Ceylon, where he was at one time Guardian and Commissary, frequently served in the army in the stockades during the various campaigns when he was wounded, as happened at "the stockade of the dead (tranqueira dos mortos)" — thus named on account of the high number of deaths — where he was badly wounded. After this, because he was highly esteemed and was a man of great experience, the General sent him as ambassador to the Court of Candea to arrange a peace-treaty, which he succeeded in doing to the satisfaction of both parties. This peace lasted upto the last revolt in which the General Constantino de Saa was killed, as we already have related.

F. 808

Friar Manoel Banha³ too accompanied many expeditions and remained on the frontiers of Candea in the fort of Balane, where he underwent many trials, till the enemy with their own King at their head came to besiege them, but on whom they were able to gain a splendid victory. In other skirmishes we find other Friars, such as when once the enemy attacked at night with war-elephants and broke through and it was due to a Friar that they were not completely defeated. In like manner Friar Joseph de Madre de

Deos served in the army and for eight years accompanied it in all its expeditions and assaults, and since he was well-known and popular in the days they concluded the peace-treaty in Candea, the King himself asked him to reside there as arbitrator, and where during a rising he was pierced by a spear, as we have already related.

F.809 These and others are the services the Friars Minor rendered to His Majesty in the Island of Ceylon. On purpose we have refused to relate them all, in order not to bore the reader. We content ourselves with saying that taking into consideration the many services they rendered, His Majesty rightly ordained that no other religious should enter the Island, except those of our Order.⁴ This was done in 1594 when the Cardinal was governing Portugal⁵, as is clear from one of the decrees, the original of which is preserved in the archives of St. Francis' Friary, Goa. It seemed to him that they alone were sufficient for that enterprise in which / they already had rendered so many and so great services to God and to the Crown. And though this was not observed,⁶ later on, after the whole Island was conquered and there was need of a greater number of workers, more than our Custody could provide, since the number of Friars was not so great and they had commitments elsewhere too, still they always had a special consideration for our Friars as for those who were the first to plant the Faith there.

Moreover His Majesty, considering it to be for the welfare of his service, ordained that a Religious should serve on the Board of his Treasury and that the Guardian and Commissary of the Franciscans should occupy this post, which is clear from a decree he drew up in the year 1619. This is observed and it is of considerable benefit, because many things are arranged which were formerly done without any order, on account of the great liberty the officials enjoyed.

Chapter 27

How we have in the Island of Ceylon fifty four churches and more than seventy thousand Christians.

Though converting souls and bringing them to the light of Faith is a supernatural work and proper to God, for no man can come to the Son (as He Himself has asserted) unless the Father attracts him¹, still nobody can deny that the industry, the labour, the care, the diligence of the minister is of importance, for both in the supernatural and natural order, the ordinary way for the First Cause to operate is by means of secondary causes. Consequently we can affirm that when many are converted, in the first place, God must be praised, as being the principal Cause of these effects. Withal the ministers too are worthy of praise, since they were the instruments, through whom these effects were realised. And among such workers we must rank the Friars Minor, who laboured for the conversion of this Island of Ceylon and brought many souls to Christ and propagated the Faith in the whole Island and built many churches.

Concerning the first Friars Minor, Friar Joao da Villa do Conde and companions, who arrived in the Island, it may be said that in the space of a few months they converted close on to three thousand souls and erected twelve churches. They and others, who succeeded them, continued the work. The number of converts were multiplied / and also the number of churches², so that by 1631, F. 810 the year the last revolt broke out, as we already have related, the Franciscans had fifty-four churches, each with its own minister and seventy one thousand seventy four Christians, all baptized by our Friars, as is clear from a sworn affidavit, drawn up by Constantino de Saa, Captain General of the Island and dated the 23rd November, 1628 and which we have here at hand. The churches we have are the following:

(1) The Church of Nagao (Navagamuva)

The first church, we wish to mention, is the one dedicated to the glorious Doctor St. Jerome. It is very big and beautiful and is situated near Maluana (Malvana) where the Captain General resides. Along the river³ towards the West, in a village called Nagao, which in Chingala means nine villages for it was that many the Kings had given to the temple (a most sumptuous and large building with stone pillars) there where it stood, our church now stands. We have 2123 Christians there.

(2) The Church of Mapitigao (Mapitigama)

In the direction opposite to the Church of Nagao, more upstream and towards the East stands the devotional church of Madre de Deos. It is situated in a place where the Cingalas had an insignificant temple, as is apparent from the few traces that are left. The village where our church stands, is called Mapitigao, which in their language means the big field of the village. Indeed it is so vast and beautiful that you could build there a large town with plenty of people, for which reason it was chosen as the residential seat of the Captains General, until Maluana was chosen. Out of devotion, Dom Hyeronimo d'Azeuedo,⁴ Viceroy of India, when he was Captain General of Ceylon, had it built and entrusted to our Order. It is adorned with a reredos and other necessary things. At present it is badly damaged on account of the rising waters of the river. They wish to move it to a higher spot, about a gunshot from the old site. We have there 1278 Christians.

(3) The church of Dampe

F. 811 About half a league North-East of Mapitigao stands the church of Dampe, the title of which is Our Lady of the Assumption. It is situated on a hillock surrounded by green valleys. This village is called Dampe or Dampeheja, which means "the mortinhos are ripe," which word by syncopation became Dampe.⁵ Dom Hyeronimo d'Azeuedo, in the name of the King gave us this village as an alms, so that with the revenues thereof our Friars could be looked after at the Friary of Colombo, when they fell ill while working at the Christian mission-stations. This church is not very large, but very well built. On its rolls it has 723 Christians.

(4) The church of Calane (Kelaniya)

About a league from Colombo in the direction of Maluana on the banks of the river Calane stands the church of the Glorious St. Anne, where we have 1555 souls.

(5) The Church of St. Bartholomeu of Calane.

On the bank of the same river, away from the city of Colombo, stands the church of St. Bartholomeu, situated in a place where formerly the Kings of Kotte had a palace where they went for relaxation,⁶ of which at present only the foundations exist. This Church had 1107 Christians on its rolls.

(6) The Church of Betal (Vattala)

On going by land from Colombo to Negombo, on passing the river which comes from Calane, on the side of Betal, we have a small church dedicated to St. James, built on the same spot where formerly the inhabitants had a temple. 730 Christians belong to it.⁷

(7) The Church of Matual (Mutwal)

Half a league from Colombo one comes across the place where the beautiful river Calane, thus called and known for its sweet and crystal clear waters, throws itself into the sea. In this place, which the Portuguese call Matual and the Chingalas Modere, i.e. harbour or estuary, we have a beautiful and well finished church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, to which 1036 Christians belong. In the same place we have a good College, which our Friars built to educate orphan-boys, but the officials of El Rey do not give the grant, as ordered by him and thus it is without any boys.

(8) The Church of Cidade Nova.

F. 812

From Matual towards the East, about a cannon-shot away, Cidade Nova (New city) is located. It was founded by Constantino da Saa⁸, when he was Captain General, for the wives of the Araches (aracci) of the native soldiers and the other warriors and from the Seven Corlas, to guarantee the security of the territory, for if we have the wives, we are to a certain extent sure that they will not revolt and go over to the King of Candea, as they formerly did on many occasions. We have here a small church, well built, but we have only 200 Christians, because the rest are pagans. The Church is dedicated to the Holy Cross and the feast is celebrated in May.

(9) The Church of St. Thomas

In the neighbourhood of Colombo we have the beautiful church of the Apostle St. Thomas, in which there is a small stone pillar with a Cross carved on it, of the kind the glorious Apostle St. Thomas used to make with his own hands. This was the first church we built on the Island, and there the Pai dos Christaos⁹ resides. There are very few Christians attached to it, for the majority the Secular Fathers took away from us for a Church which they founded in the same place. Even then the Friar who resides there baptizes many inhabitants.

(10) The Church of Cotta (Kotte)

Half a league from the city of Colombo towards the South we have a small church dedicated to N.S. do Parto¹⁰. There must be some 300 Christians there. Towards the East about a good cannon-shot away one can still see the vestiges of the big City of Cotta which was destroyed by Raju.

(11) The Church of Dicuella (Dikvella)

Two leagues from the great temple and City of Tanuare¹¹ on the seashore towards the South, stands the village of Dicuella which in Chingala means the big river-bank (ribeira) on account of the large sand-stretch which surrounds it from North to South. Formerly it belonged to the great *capuas*, ministers of the temples. At present from its revenues three of our churches are supported. The church here is called St. Lucy's and has more than 2000 Christians on its rolls and each day the number is increasing.

F. 813 (12) The Church of Bohoubaranda (Bambarenda)

On leaving the church of Dicuella, which is the last one we have in the direction of Galle and going towards Tanuare, one league from the latter place and one league from the former, one comes across a small church dedicated to St. Anthony. It is situated in the village of Bohoubaranda, which is one of the large villages of this Island and that is the meaning of Bohoubaranda, very large village,¹² because it is two leagues long and four all round and each year they sow sixty measures (jalas¹³) of rice, which are equivalent to six moios¹⁴ of Portugal. Formerly it belonged to Raju, the Emperor of the Island. At present this Church has only about 300 Christians, since it is only a recent foundation, but every day the number is increasing.

(13) The Church of Tanuare (Devi Nuvara)

A league from the above-mentioned church stands the city of Tanuare. In former days it was very famous on account of a temple, very large and consisting of many buildings, which was called Deua Rajuruo, and from it the city received its name, Deu-anuura, which means a city of God. All the important officials live here and also the dancing-girls, who formerly were numerous and brought in much money for the temple, but who are very few, as also the servants of this temple. It had the revenues of some seventy villages. On the spot where the buildings of this temple,

which, after the Law of God was preached, were destroyed and razed to the ground, stood, we built a big and beautiful church, with three naves, divided by stone pillars. We have there 2400 Christians and each day more are converted.

(14) The Church of Mahature (Matara)

Mahature is a strong place, surrounded by a river, where the Dissauas have their residences. Formerly it was called Mahapata-tana which means big town¹⁵ because in those days it really was such and thickly populated by Chatins (Cettis)¹⁶, merchants. At present it is called Mahature, which means large port, because the river which circles it, enters the sea at this point and through it many champanas (hanban) and other vessels enter to barter their goods. We have a church here dedicated to N.S. da Victoria. It is one of the great churches of the Island and to it belong 2400 Christians.

(15) The Church of Cottavatta (Kottavatta)

F. 814

Upstream from Mahature, about a league and a half towards the East, in a village called Cottavatta, which means the fort of the garden¹⁷, because formerly there was a small fort in a garden, we have the church of N.S. de Piedade. The reason for building this church and the number of Christians there, we will give in the following Chapter.

(16) The Church of Paradua (Paraduva)

Upstream towards the North about two and half leagues, in one of the villages, from which His Majesty draws the revenues for the upkeep of our Friars who work among the Christians of this Island, is the village called Paradua, which means the island-road, because here the river flows towards an island, we have a Church under the invocation of St. Joachim, the father of the Virgin, Our Lady, which, since it is of recent date, has no more than about 600 Christians, but where each day they are baptizing more people.

(17) The Church of Mirseu (Mirissa)

On taking the road from Mature to Biligao, one arrives at a beautiful bay, two leagues in length, where we have a church dedicated to N.S. da Boa Viagem (Our Lady of Good Voyage), situated in a village called Mirseu. The Chingalas say this name

is derived from the fact that formerly it was covered with cospes and that the people lived on shell-fish (Port. marisco), which thrive between the rocks of the sea-shore and is called "mirisa".¹⁸ To this church 438 Christians belong.

(18) The Church of Biligao (Veligama)

In the port or bay of Biligao, which in Chingala means "shore-village" and where a Portuguese Captain sent by His Majesty resides, we have a beautiful church dedicated to St. Michael. It has on its rolls some 200 souls.

(19) The Church of Angama (Ahangama)

F. 815 Going along the beach from Biligao towards Galle for about a league and turning in towards the land for a distance of a gunshot (tiro de bombardia) on that spot / we have a small church dedicated to N. S. dos Remedios (Our Lady of Remedies.) It is situated in a village called Angama i.e. "village of the horns (cornos)", since the Chingalas were accustomed to celebrate certain feast days by using these horns, for which celebration the revenues of the village were devoted.¹⁹ There are more than 1000 Christians in this parish.

(20) The Church of Cogula (Kokgala)

On following the shore from the church of Angama for a league one meets the village of Cogula, which means "the rock of the gulls", for in Chingala "coum" means "gull" and "agala" rock.²⁰ It is thus called because there is a beautiful lake, half sweet, half salty water and in the middle there is rock where almost always gulls are seen. Near this lake, a musket-shot away from the sea stands the Church dedicated to the blessed St. Joseph, Spouse of the Virgin Mother of God and Our Lady. This church has 1500 souls on its rolls and for many years one of our Religious resided there, a great servant of God called Friar Pedro dos Anjos, by whose prayers and merits God has performed many miracles, some of which we will mention further down to the praise and glory of this same God. The said Friar Pedro dos Anjos has made a book in which he has written down the names of another thousand Christians, whom he has baptized with his own hands, from the time he arrived in Ceylon and in the various churches he has administered.

(21) The Church of Codagodim (Kodagoda)

Having passed the lake of Cogula, a distance of a league, and walking inland another league and a half in a northeasterly direction, one arrives at a beautiful village called Codagodim (this name is derived from a question a King asked on seeing the village: after he had traversed mountains and forests and had come upon this place, he asked: Condagodim, i.e. what kind of a country is this; to which the people who were there replied that he was in it and thus the question became its name and it bears this name, though somewhat corrupted, upto the present). Here we have an excellent church under the invocation of the Birth of Christ Jesus (Nascimento). There are some 1200 Christians there.

(22) The Church of Galle

Galle is the Southern-most part of the Island, where the Portuguese have a port with a Captain, very well protected by walls and bastions. We have a very / fine church there under the invocation of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, with cloisters and quarters where we administer the Sacraments to more than two thousand Christians living outside the fort.²¹ F. 816

(23) The Church of Vacuella (Vakvella)

A league to the North of Galle and near the river Vacuella; (it is thus called on account of a bend it makes here, and where the waters are sweet and crystal clear) we have on one of its banks a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist with over a thousand Christians.²²

(24) The Church of Reigama (Raigama)

On the way from Galle to Colombo, about a two leagues' walk, we have a good church dedicated to St. Louis, the Bishop,²³ The name of Reigama, which means "royal vilage", because formerly it belonged to the King. About 1200 baptized persons belong to this church.

(25) The Church of Ienduem²⁴

Going from Reigama in the direction of Colombo, a distance of a little over a league, one comes across a village called Ienduem, which means "sword of the devil", because it had formerly been offered for the expenses of the "sword of the devil" which the inhabitants venerated. We have here a Church dedicated to N. S. de Guadalupe with 600 Christians.

(26) The Church of Mandampe (Madampe)

Walking along the beach of Tostagem, which is the longest in the Island, a little more than half a league, one arrives in a village called Madampe thus called because once upon a time a Prince seeing a dense grove of "mortinhos" exclaimed "Madampesa", the big mortinhos are ripe.²⁵ It is delightful there, like Venice, and made up of a group of small islands and a beautiful lake. These small islands are inhabited by many Christians, who live in fertile gardens and whence they come to church in small boats, called "tones"²⁶. The church is dedicated to St. Clare, and is well-constructed and new. Some 1300 Christians live there.

(27) The Church of Vilitotta (Velitota or Velitara)

F. 817 A league from Madampe stands the village Vilitotta, which means "a port on the shore or beach." It is inhabited by miserable outcasts, Chaleas, captives of El Rey, who prepare cinnamon. Also the captives / of the other officials live there and they are more cruelly treated than the Israelites were by the Egyptians and suffer great injustice and tyrannical treatment. Perhaps it was a punishment for these and other outrages the Portuguese perpetrated on the inhabitants of this Island, that God took it away from them during the last revolt. We have here a good church, dedicated to the Three Kings (Reis Magoss) with more than 2000 Christians.²⁷.

(28) The Church of Cosgodem (Kosgoda)

A league and a half distant from the church of Bilitota stands the village called Cosgodem, which means "place of the jak-fruit," because there are so many of such trees there. We have a fine church there under the title of N. S. da Boa Viagem and more than 500 Christians.

(29) The Church of Alicam (Alutgama)

Two leagues from Cosgodem, there is a wonderful river abounding in fish and on both banks many villages amidst palm-groves. There the port and village of Alicao, which in Chingala is called Alut Gama i.e. new village, is located. The Portuguese have a captain there, sent by His Majesty. We have a church dedicated to the glorious St. Anthony with more than 2500 Christians.

(30) The Church of Meteuelli²⁸

Going up the river from Alicao a distance of four leagues, one meets a village, named Meteuelli, i.e. boat of sand (barco de area), which is one of those villages, from the revenue of which His Majesty supports our churches. We have a church there dedicated to St. Peter of Alcantra and since it is only of recent date, there are only a little over a hundred Christians there.

(31) The Church of Macune (Maggona)

From the port of Alicao, along the shore towards Colombo, after having walked a league and a half we come across a village called Macune, where we have a church dedicated to the glorious Apostle St. Peter, with 900 Christians.²⁹

(32) The Church of Calature (Kalutara)

Going along the shore from Macune, after walking two leagues, we see the fort / of Calature, new and strong, and where there is a Portuguese settlement along a beautiful river, which descends from Adam's Peak and is one of the four which take their rise there. Near this fort and nearer a beautiful lake, which is formed by the sea, we have a new and well-built church dedicated to the Stigmata of Our Holy Father St. Francis. More than 1300 Christians belong to this church.³⁰

F. 818

(33) The Church of N. S. da Saude on the opposite side of the river Calature.

Crossing the river of Calature, which on account of its dark-coloured waters is thus called, since the original name Calutotta means "Black or dark Port," and the name by corruption became Calature, on the side which goes towards Colombo, on a height along this same river one comes across our church of N. S. da Saude where there are more than 1300 Christians.³¹

(34) The Church of Galpata (Galepata)

Going up the river, after having walked two leagues, about the distance of a good musket-shot beyond the village Diagama, which means "water village" since it is ordinarily water-logged on account of the high-waters of the river, there stands the village Galpata, which is the same as "the village of the low rocks," since, like Diagama, where there are some big rocks in the river,

which seem outside the water, and make the passage very difficult at high-water and many boats which arrive from Sofragao, are lost, so also in Galpata there are rocks in the river and the same dangers are encountered and hence the name of the place. In the same village, where formerly the devil was worshipped in a temple, the ruins of which are still visible, we have a Church dedicated to the glorious St. John the Baptist, which, since it is only of recent date, has only a little over a hundred Christians.³²

(35) The Church of Vrauarem (Uduvara)

Going two leagues up this same stream from the church of Galpata, there stands another church under the invocation of Our Lady of St. Lucas, situated in the village Vrauaram, which means "further up," which name is derived from a saying of a King, who, on asking his men where they should construct a fort and a stockade among the Portuguese, replied "Urauara" "farther up," a place which corresponds to this village. Some 500 Christians reside there.³³

(36) The Church of Sofragao,³⁴

F. 819 Six leagues from the church of Galapata stands the fortress of Sofragao, a name which was taken / from a kind of large leaf which in Chingala is called "habara." This word together with "gao," which means village, became "habaragao" and corrupted by the Portuguese, Sofragao. The Dissava and the Chief Captain of the native population reside here. There we have a church, dedicated to the Saviour, with over 1500 Christians, Portuguese as well as Chingalas.

(37) The Church of Panadure

Returning downstream from Sofragao to Calature, then walking along the beach towards Colombo for about two leagues, we arrive at the river and village of Panadure, thus named because formerly they used to place a light there so that the fishermen could find their way back to the mouth of the river. As this beacon (candea) could be seen from far they began calling the village Panadure which is the same as "light from far." Near the river there, we have a beautiful church dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen and more than 1200 Christians.

(38) The Church of Gorcana (Gorakana)

Going up the river Panadure, for about a league, we come across an island, which lies in the middle of the river and is called Due (*Duva*). Opposite this island stands the village of Gorcana, thus named on account of a Gorgeira, which formerly stood there and which is a tree bearing a kind of sour fruit, which the people use instead of vinegar. In this village and near the river we have a church under the invocation of Bom Jesus (Good Jesus), where there are more than 400 Christians.³⁵

(39) The Church of Raigam Corla

Upstream from the church of Bom Jesus, in an easterly direction, after having walked a league, one enters the pass of the village of Bolgare (Bolgoda), a name given to the river-fishermen, who do not go to the high seas to fish and are considered a low caste by the Chingalas. After this village we meet Ramacune (Rambukkana), which belongs to the Augustinian Friars, where they have a church.³⁶ Whence we go to the village Vidagama (Vidagama) in Raigao Corle, in which place, where a temple once stood, there rises the Church of Our Lady of Miracles (N. S. dos Milagres). Over 1300 Christians are attached to this church.

(40) The Church of the Mount (Morro)

F. 820

Coming along the shore from Gorcana for about a league, one encounters a hill, extending along the sea-shore, where on turning inland for about the distance of a cannon-shot (*tire de bombard*) one perceives on a height a well-built church, dedicated to the Holy Cross, to which some 1450 Christians belong.³⁷

(41) The Church of Veral (Veragala)

About a league inland from the church of the Mount (Morro) stands a new church, dedicated to Our Lady, with a group of recent Christians, numbering about five hundred.

(42) The Church of Nigombo

In the fortress of Nigombo, five leagues North of Colombo we have a beautiful church, dedicated to the Mother of God (*Madre de Deos*) and almost two thousand souls.³⁸

(43) The Church of Pitipao⁷Care (Pitipan Karai)

On the other side of the river from Nigombo, in the direction of its mouth, we have a small church dedicated to the Holy Ghost with over 700 Christians.³⁹

(44) The Church of Chunapite (Hunupitiya)

About half a league North of Nigombo we have a church of the Most Holy Trinity and there the Friars administer the Sacraments to 2000 souls.

(45) The Church of Bonavolana (Bolavalana)

Half a league South of the above mentioned church, in the village of Bonavolana we have a nice church under the patronage of Our Lady of Remedies (N.S. dos Remedios), with more than 2200 Christians.⁴⁰

(46) The Church of Galalua (Galloluva)

Half a league distance from the Church of Our Lady of Remedies towards the East, in a village called Galalua, which signifies "head of stone," because at one time there was a man who played "cabecadas" with any person and always won, we have a new church with cloisters. It is called the Church of S. Maria de Jesus (Holy Mary of Jesus) and has over 1600 souls on its rolls.⁴¹

F. 821 (47) The Church of Vilicare (Velisara)

A league distant from the above mentioned church towards the South in a village called Vilicare i.e. crown of sand, we have a church with more than 700 Christians.⁴²

(48) The Church of Gampaha

A league from the above church, stands Gampaha i.e. five villages. Almost all the inhabitants are Chaleas, men who prepare cinnamon for El Rey. Here stands Holy Cross church to which a thousand souls belong.⁴³

(49) The Church of Salpe (Halpe)

A league East of Nigombo, in the village Salpe we have a church dedicated to St. Bonaventure and over 1300 Christians resort under its jurisdiction.

(50) The Church of St. Benedict of Palermo

In the village of Caragama (Godigamuva) half a league from Salpe we have a church dedicated to St. Benedict of Palermo, with over 300 souls.

(51) The Church of Palanachena (Pallansena)

After walking a league along the shore North of Nigombo and then turning inland a distance of a cannon-shot (tiro de sphaera), one comes across a church dedicated to S. Diogo, where the Friars administer the Sacraments to some 1450 souls.

(52) The Church of Vilicara (Velikada)⁴⁴

Going from the church of Betal (Vattala) to Nigombo by the road which runs inland (there is another road along the shore), after having walked a little over a league, one arrives in a village called Vilicara, and on the confines of the village, Nagode, we have a church dedicated to the Stigmata of Our Holy Father, St. Francis, with over 1100 Christians.

(53) The Church of Andugao (Dandugama)⁴⁵

A good league from the above church, near the river of the crocodiles (Rio dos Lagartos) in the village Andugao we have a Christian community and Church dedicated to the glorious St. Pascal / Baylon. The Christians number about 200.

F. 822

(54) The Army Church

At Manicauare (Manikkadavara), nine leagues from Colombo, a place, as we have already pointed out, where the army has its regular quarters, we have a beautiful church under the title of the Holy Cross. One of our Friars is already in residence there, who is Rector both of the Portuguese who belong to the army, and the inhabitants of the country. The number of Portuguese is not constant, sometimes being more, sometimes less. The people living in the bazaar and in the villages of the chief Captain number about 1300.

(55) The Church of the Kingdom of Candea

In the City of Candea, a place where the King of the Kingdom resides, and two and a half days' journey from the place where our army has its quarters, we have a church where the Friar who is appointed arbitrator, lives. The King supports him. It is his duty to warn the Captain General about anything of importance which may occur there and thus his service is of great value to His Majesty. There are no Christians there except those who have fled there, but who generally do not go to Church, since they know that thereby they please the King. The Church is dedicated to Bom Jesus and is the last of the list of churches we have. All the Christians of these fifty-five churches were converts and baptized by the Franciscan Friars.

Chapter 28

How the Church of N. S. da Piedade was founded and concerning the many natives whom our Religious converted there

The village of Cottauatta (Kottavatta) resorted under the jurisdiction of the parish of Our Lady of Victories of Mahature (Matara). A number of Christians resided there, who, since they lived at a distance of more than one and a half leagues, suffered some inconveniences, which our Friars tried to remedy. Since they lived so far away, they could not come on time to hear Mass on Sundays and days of obligation. Moreover, when they fell ill, unless they immediately sent for the Father, they risked dying without confession. / Finally, it was very troublesome to take the bodies of those who died, to the church for burial on account of the long distance by river, for which they needed boats, which were not available to all, since some were very poor. Hence it happened at times that some of them were deterred from making the effort and buried in the forests, thus showing that the misery of their poverty was of greater effect than their religious zeal. On account of these and other inconveniences which these Christians, because they were new, felt deeply, they began to seek a solution. For this reason our Religious, who were in charge, consulted the Lord of the village, who was an honourable Portuguese and served as Chief Captain and Dissava of the territory of Mahature, by the name Joao Cardoso de Pina. He was a very good Christian and greatly favoured the Christian Community and its ministers. Seeing the need of founding a new church in his village of Cottauatta, he readily agreed, since he had compassion on account of what the inhabitants suffered, of which he was well aware, since almost everything passed through his hands. Thus with his advice and consent and above all with his help Friar Antonio Peixoto, who was then the Rector of the Church of Our Lady of Victories of Mahature, under whose jurisdiction these Christians resorted, founded the church of Our Lady of Pity (N. S. da Piedade).

F. 823

This Religious, as we have already said on several occasions, is one of the best workers we at present have in Ceylon. He has been there some twenty years and is constantly occupied in the ministry, baptizing, instructing, converting many thousands of the inhabitants. He works with great zeal and industry. What is of great advantage to him is that he knows the language of the country so well, that for many years he has been teaching it to the other

F. 824 Friars and preaches in it to the delight of his hearers. And since the Lord of his village loved his Christian religion (a quality found, in few Portuguese in those parts, for interested as they were only in their own welfare, they were more out to collect money than to gain souls for Heaven), taking advantage of his position, the Friar immediately went to the village, called the inhabitants together and preached the Faith of Christ to them. And since in this work he was blest by God, he converted many, who convinced of the emptiness of their superstitions, embraced the true doctrine of Christ, God Our Lord. Having gathered a big group, he arranged a very solemn Baptism, for which occasion he invited the Guardian of Colombo and Commissary of the whole Island of Ceylon, Friar Eleutherio de S. Thiago, the above mentioned Chief Captain and Dissava of Mahature and some other Portuguese whom he could bring together, who all gladly came because they understood this to be a work pleasing to God.

The night before the Baptism, they staged a play in their own language, composed by the same Friar, who was an excellent poet in that language. They presented the life and death of the great St. John the Baptist, his preaching, his baptizing. Everything was done with great perfection, explaining in particular the reason why he was martyred, which was because he had reprehended King Herod for having taken his brother's wife, something which is very common among these people too, because the wife of one brother, is the wife of all the other brothers as well. The play was staged at night, for such is their custom and all the people of the district, both Christians and pagans, attended, for the latter are always anxious to witness similar spectacles which for them is a grand diversion, enjoying as they do poetry, something they hold in great esteem.

On the following day they prepared the church where the Baptism was to take place and before beginning the function the above-mentioned Father Rector ascended the pulpit and preached in the language of the country. After the sermon he descended from the pulpit and began arguing with two Changatas (these are like masters and doctors, and these two were very learned in their doctrine and greatly esteemed) in front of all those to be baptized and with clear and evident arguments he refuted all their errors. They were publicly defeated, on seeing which all with one voice began to cry out and say that they wanted to be Christians and be freed of the errors in which they had upto then lived so blindly. The number that was baptized was high, over six hundred and among them eighty from among the elders and the prominent.

In order that it might be clear to all that they were being baptized of their own free will and without force or violence, before receiving Baptism the above-mentioned Chief Captain asked them and told them that if they did not wish to be Christians of their own free will, he did not want them to be either. To which all replied that they wanted to receive the doctrine of Christ, because it was true. And in order that they might exercise their free will better, on their asking him to free them of certain obligations in the village, he refused to accede to their request and once more told them that if they did not want to become Christians voluntarily and for the salvation of their souls, they and all that were there, should leave. To which again they replied that they wished to receive Baptism and be Christians and ratified this their will by bringing their wives and children.

This procedure is followed at all our general Baptisms and serves to refute those who, when they are unable to accuse us of laziness and not making any converts, affirm with little truth and less conscience that the Christians we make are by force./ In this way showing that there is nothing new in the world, neither anything old, believing one thing and disbelieving others. In the end the administration of Baptism was held with great solemnity. This took place in the year 1626. From then onwards many from that village are being baptized since the Rector enjoys the favour of the Dissava and is able to lead them where he wants, because, as we have already pointed out, these inhabitants are very much swayed by their Captains and Dissavas. And one of the greatest hindrances the Religious experience in the conversion work in this Island, all the inhabitants of which they would be able to convert, is the opposition on the part of the Portuguese Lords of the villages, for self-interest and cupidity count more than the honour of God and the salvation of souls.

F. 825

Chapter 29

Concerning a number of miracles God in His almighty power performed in some of the above-mentioned churches of Ceylon

Miracles have always been an important accompaniment of the preaching of our Holy Faith. Since the mysteries of Faith are supernatural and transcend the natural capabilities of our minds, when in confirmation thereof a number of miracles take place, the mysteries are more easily believed, the truth one preaches is confirmed and those who preach are better listened to and trusted. Moreover, those who listen to the instruction, moved by miraculous and extraordinary occurrences, more easily allow their minds to be convinced and their wills to be conquered. Even those who are already converted, witnessing these marvellous phenomena are confirmed in the Faith. Thus we see how when the holy Apostles were sent into the world by the Redeemer to preach the Gospel, with the power they had received, they performed such stupendous miracles that they converted many cities, even entire Kingdoms and Provinces.

The Divine Goodness in His Providence did not fail when the Gospel was preached in this Orient, for He was pleased to confirm the Faith by many and formidable miracles, as is clear from this history. In this and in the following chapter we will treat more in particular on the number of notable miracles which took place in this island of Ceylon and which the Divine Omnipotence designed to work in some of our Parishes, we will begin by narrating what

F. 826 took place at the Church of the Glorious/St. Joseph in Cogula (Kokgala), when Friar Pedro dos Anjos, a man of known virtue, was Rector there. The said Friar worked many years as missionary in Ceylon. rendered many services to God, converted several thousand inhabitants on account of the edification and good example he always gave. Through his prayers and the merits of the glorious St. Joseph, God worked many remarkable miracles, some of which have been authenticated by the Vicar of the Island, Joao de Paiua, at the request of Friar Joao de S. Maria, Guardian and Commissary of our Friars in Ceylon, as is clear from an authentic instrument drawn up by the Dean of Galle, Miguel Vaz de Mattos, which I have at hand and which is preserved in the archives of St. Francis Friary, Goa. These are the miracles mentioned therein.

To Catherine de Souza, wife of Augustinho Sacco Moniz, both living at the fortress of Galle, there was born a blind son, whom at Baptism they named Lazaro. The mother tried all manner of remedies to see whether she could open the eyes of the child, all to no account. They remained closed, even worse, blood and matter oozed out. Despairing of any human aid, she decided to have recourse to God, offer the child to Him and avail herself of the merits and intercession of St. Joseph. She, therefore, took the child, which was by then forty days old, and went on pilgrimage to the church of the glorious Patriarch and with great devotion and faith asked Friar Pedro dos Anjos to say a Mass in honour of St. Joseph, so that GOD through his merits and intercession might cure her child of blindness. The Friar agreed to perform this act of charity. He went to the altar to say the Mass and the child was placed near him. Before the Mass was finished, marvellous to say, the boy opened his eyes. They were healthy and clear and thus they remained up to the present.

On Sunday a group of women and children and one baby in arms were crossing the stream in a **tone** to come to Mass. Arriving in the middle of the river, the boat overturned. As soon as the people in the church heard their cries they rushed out, also Friar Pedro dos Anjos, the Rector. The people seeing that those of the **tone** were drowning, moved with compassion asked the Friar to plead with God for them, since they were his parishioners and were coming to hear Mass in his church. Obeying this request, he hurriedly returned to the church, threw himself on his knees in front of the altar of the glorious Patriarch and insistently recommended their need to God and to the intercession of the Saint. In the meantime the **tone** had filled with water and was almost sinking, when those standing on the shore saw the baby in arms walking on the water/inside the **tone** without sinking or rocking from side to side, but like a buoy floating on the water. All were astonished and attributed this marvel to St. Joseph and the prayers of his devout servant. The mother of the child sank to the bottom and after quite a time came up again where the **tone** was and seeing her little son took him with one hand and with the other the **tone**. Thus she remained until those on land rescued her and brought her to the shore, where on realizing that her three year old daughter was not there, she began to lament and with tears to beg those present to help her daughter who had gone to the bottom of the river. Though some persons entered the river and dived, they did not find her. However, after about an hour they saw her on the water and brought her to land almost dead and without any sign of life. Then after abandoning their efforts to revive her, they brought her to the church and asked the Father to recommend her to God and to the glorious Saint. The Father vested for Mass, for it was

F. 827

time, and ordered them to place the child, whom all had considered dead, near the altar of the Saint. It was something marvellous, for, when the servant of God finished Mass, the child was conscious and considerably better, after which she returned safe and sound to her house. And all praised God.

A Christian woman by the name of Francisca, a native of a village called Catecuranda (Katukurunda), married to one of its leaders, had a three year old daughter called Catherina, who neither spoke nor heard nor seemed to have any consciousness and who was always gnashing her teeth. For this reason the parents had placed her on a piece of sack-cloth in a corner of the house, without hardly ever paying any attention to her. A friend called Magdalena Fernandez, seeing them disconsolate, told them that, since the child was in such a condition that they could not do anything for it, they should take it to St. Joseph's church of Cogula, and that he would grant it the health they desired. This advice seemed good, so they took the little girl, went to the said church and spoke with the Rector, the same Friar Pedro dos Anjos, telling him their need and the remedy they by their prayers had come to ask of St. Joseph, the glorious Patriarch. They, therefore, asked him to say Mass on the altar of Saint/Joseph for this intention. The Father filled with compassion for the girl, who hardly seemed alive, said Mass with great devotion, read the Gospel over her and blessed her with Holy Water. And behold a miracle! The child began to speak, was able to hear and showed she had come to her senses. Moreover she ceased to gnash her teeth, as she had been accustomed to do. In everything she was perfectly healthy. All those present praised God, who thus honours the Saints.

In the village of Raigama, where stands the church of St. Louis the Bishop, who was Friar of the Order, the devil frequently appeared, on account of which the inhabitants were depressed. After the church was founded by our Friars and the greater part of the inhabitants baptized at a General Baptism, from that day the devil ceased to appear, to the great amazement of the people. Other miracles were wrought through the merits of the glorious Saint, but we will not describe them for fear of boring the reader.

Chapter 30

Concerning other miracles which were wrought through the merits of the Blessed Virgin and Mother of God in her church in the Island of Ceylon.

The Blessed Virgin is so powerful with God, because she bore Him in her womb. Hence we should not be surprised that through her intercession so many miracles are wrought, especially in favour of the sinners, whose advocate she is, obtaining for many of them relief in their needs, as the one who is indeed the tree of life which the Evangelist saw in his Apocalypse, the leaves of which, he says, are meant for the welfare of the nations. Among the many churches we have in India dedicated to her and which are noted for their miracles, there is one in Ceylon called N. S. de Mandanale (Our Lady of Mandanale)¹ where so many miracles occur that it is something to be amazed at. Since it is not possible to list all the miracles which have been and still are being wrought, because they are innumerable, we will content ourselves with giving those which happened in a period of four months during the year 1622. The knowledge of them has come to me through one of our Religious, the Rector of the church himself.

On the 5th of August of the above year, the Bada of Morro², more dead than alive, was taken on a stretcher/to the Church on the day of the first feast in honour of Our Lady. With great faith he looked up at her statue and asked her to restore his health. Almost the same instant, he jumped up from the stretcher and on his own legs walked home, though it was eight years that he was bedridden with an incurable sickness. At the same time in the presence of two thousand people, in a loud voice he said that it had been Our Lady herself who had ordered him to go to her church. The impression created by the miracle was so great that many began to weep and the concourse of people was so great that nobody could enter the Church. F. 829

On the 22nd. of the same month a Canarim³ who had lost the use of both hands and feet asked Our Lady either to restore his health or give him permission to give five fanams to the devil for him to cure him. In the sight of all he all at once leaped up without any signs of illness. To show his gratitude towards Our Lady he served her sanctuary for two years.

Antonio Goncalves, son of Pedro Goncalves, lame for four years went on a Saturday, the 5th of September in a palanquin to Our Lady's church. Together with him went another man, who had been the porter of St. Francis' church and who had been lame in both legs for three years. Both recovered the use of their legs so that they were able to walk home by themselves, leaving the palanquin for their wives, who remained in the church.

From the 13th to the 16th of the same month of September, Our Lady worked the following miracles. A lady from Quilapane (Kirilapane) had been twelve days in labour and was dying. Belchior Veloso, majordomo and treasurer of Our Lady's sanctuary ordered her to be brought to the side of the church and anointed her with oil from the lamp. The pains suddenly grew so intense that she hardly had time to leave the church and in the nearest house she was delivered of a baby-boy. Another lady had a bullet in her stomach. After taking some oil from Our Lady's lamp, she spat it out and recovered her health. A boy, named Lazaro, was covered with leprosy. He anointed himself with the oil from Our Lady's lamp and in the presence of all those who were in the church, was cured. A Carea lady from St. Lawrence's Point (da ponta de S. Lourenco) had her arm paralysed for such a long time that it was completely withered. After applying the same oil, it became healthy again. Pedro de Amaxeira, a Portuguese, had been ill of an incurable disease for many years. After having taken some oil of Our Lady's lamp he was cured and in gratitude he donated a Flos Sanctorum.⁴ The wife of the ex-Meirinho⁵ of Calane (Kelaniya) had become/almost blind and she recovered her sight. The same happened to a pagan inhabitant of Saltipiti Corla (Salpiti Korale), who had been blind for many years. In all, during this period there were nine miracles.

F. 830

From the 28th of September to the 10th of October, Our Lady worked the twelve following miracles. Antonio d' Almeida, after touching the statue, had his fingers cured. A little girl of three years, the daughter of Donna Maria, who was dumb and unable to walk, having been offered to Our Lady, immediately began to talk and walk. Pedro Mendez, very ill with acute pain, after taking some of the oil was forthwith cured. The same happened to Antonio de Pedrosa, to a man from Goa and to Friar Aluaro da Purificacao, a Religious of our Order, who all were cured of acute pain after applying oil from Our Lady's lamp. A page of George Fernandes d' Abreu suffering from gout after taking some oil, recovered. A son of the same George Fernandes d' Abreu, being almost dead, was carried to the church in a balance. After his weight in money had been offered, he re-

covered his health. On another occasion too this same child was cured. A Portuguese boy was so swollen that they despaired of his life. After applying oil, he recovered his health. A son-in-law of Gaspar Cardozo, a Portuguese, suffering from an incurable sickness, after being anointed with the oil, was restored to health. A deaf and dumb child from the neighbourhood of Mapitigao (Mapitigama), after having been offered to Our Lady, recovered his senses. A Carea, who lived in the garden of Scipiao Rodriguez at Colombo, being all swollen up, was completely healed.

During the month of October upto the 10th of November, Our Lady wrought eighteen miracles, curing several persons of various infirmities. One of them was the wife of Francisco d'Aguiar, a member of the Franciscan Third Order, who already speechless and a candle in her hand, on being offered to Our Lady, the same moment recovered her health and went to thank Our Lady and in thanksgiving donated twenty pardaos⁶. The white Bada of Boheme de Chanda⁷ was ill and all swollen up. In a stretcher he came to the church to ask Our Lady to cure him of an infirmity, from which he had suffered for twelve years. He was instantly relieved of it and returned home on foot. Donna Maria da Costa, who was lame, was delivered of a dead child. They were presented to Our Lady and the child recovered its life and the mother her health. These are the three chief miracles of this period.

During the month of November Our Lady worked thirty miracles of which, in order not to bore the reader, we will give only the more outstanding ones. Francisco Barbosa suffered from an affliction of the eyes. Using some oil from Our Lady's lamp, he was cured. Isabel Coutinho, an inhabitant of Calane had an incurable wound in the throat. On taking some oil she was cured. A son of Balthasar Moniz, who was brought dead to the church of Our Lady, returned to life. The wife of one of the leaders of Calane, who had lost her mind, on being brought to the church, recovered it. A girl from Beomede near Maluana⁸, neither ate nor spoke. On being brought to Our Lady, she began to speak and eat. A blind man from the neighbourhood of Nigumbo anointed his eyes, recovered his sight and returned to his country. George de Aguilar, who had his mouth badly twisted and who also suffering from other complaints, as soon as he offered a wax head and had anointed himself with oil, was restored. A small child who had fallen into a tank, on its parents recommending it to Our Lady, found it unhurt on the top of the water. Besides these miracles over sixty persons were cured during these same four months. Several times it happened that workmen fell from the top of the church where they were working. On no occasion were they in any danger, but immediately got up and continued their work.

F. 831

Innumerable are the boys who have run away and have been found through the intercession of Our Lady. An extraordinary miracle occurred when they wanted to place the reredos, on which Our Lady was painted, inside the church. The door was too narrow, but by divine power it entered to the great amazement of all who witnessed it. A boy who had fled away from his master, the painter of the reredos of Our Lady, when the latter began painting the face of Our Lady, reappeared without anybody knowing how or when he had come. On several occasions it happened that the pilgrims arriving at the church in early morning, not finding light, neither in the church nor in the house of the Rector and for this reason being annoyed, since they were unable to light their candles, found that the lamp was lit by itself. Finally numberless are the miracles Our Lady works in this church, for which reason there are always pilgrims and many novenas are held amidst great concourses of people. May she and her Blessed Son be praised forever. Amen.

Concerning a letter which the Bishop of Cochin wrote to His Majesty against our Rectorates in Ceylon and what they decided at the Conscience-Board of Portugal in reply to it.

The molestations on the part of the Bishops of East India we at times suffered on account of the particular institution of the Rectorates (sobre o particular das Rectorias), which by the order of His Majesty we have there, were so many and grave that we would have been overcome by them and satisfying their desires would have abandoned them, if we had not considered on the one hand the great service rendered to God by the conversion of souls and on the other hand the favour we found against them both in the benignity of the Holy See and in the royal heart of His Majesty. And if we saw that this ministry resulted in some temporal profit for the Order, we could say the interest for the same helped to create a sentiment for them, but maintaining this would be unreasonable, for in the end it is an ordinary thing in the world to acquire with labour and preserve its goods. But, as far as we are concerned, the accusation loses all its meaning, for what we gained from this office was nothing else but labour and sweat, hunger and thirst, many dangers and finally much bloodshed and lost lives. And for this we have to suffer so many molestations from those who rather had the obligation and every reason to favour and help us. To suffer the latter is heavy indeed and to do so, much help from heaven is needed. In order to give some information concerning this truth to those who will read this history, in order that they may understand the reasons for our complaints, leaving aside encounters we have had on this point, I only wish to reproduce here a letter which a Bishop of Cochin¹ under whose jurisdiction Ceylon resorts, wrote to His Majesty in 1617 and what the Conscience-Board² (Mesa de Consciencia) after mature thought decided to write in reply. The letter reads thus:

In the Island of Ceylon I have fifty-three churches, of which nine are administered by the Religious of the Company,³ and the Secular Priests only have the chief church of Colombo and that of Galle. All the others are administered by the Religious of St. Francis. These Religious do not acknowledge the Bishop and the Prelate of those churches, neither do they ask for jurisdiction over these sheep, to administer the Sacraments to them. The Franciscan Custos is the Bishop who appoints and removes the Vicars, gives them juris-

diction and thus he deprives me of my office and makes himself Prelate of these sheep and churches and provides for them and I am only Bishop to render account to God for the souls and to confirm. From this state of affairs many disorders have resulted, for the Vicars that have been appointed to those churches are young Friars and as such some of them have done things against their life and profession. Your Majesty must give orders that the Franciscan Friars, who reside in the Island of Ceylon in the churches and in the territory of Mantotta and Manar and Jafanapatao, and those of the Company who reside in the Island of Ceylon acknowledge me as the Bishop of those churches and as Pastor of those sheep and that the Franciscan Custos and the Provincial of the Company of the South⁴, should not appoint Rectors or Vicars without my orders, because I am the Prelate who must provide and examine and give jurisdiction and not the Custos or Provincial who are not the Prelates of those churches. Otherwise there will always be disorders and they will scandalize the Christian people and offend the sheep of Your Majesty and of your ministers. Your Majesty must also give orders that the officials of your treasury in Ceylon and Manar and in all other parts of this Diocese should not pay salaries to these Religious, who might be Vicars, Rectors, Assistants, neither to their Syndics⁵ unless they are certain they have been appointed by me, because in that way it will be possible for me to be acknowledged as Prelate and my sheep will also recognise that I am the Prelate and not the Custos and Provincial. I beg of Your Majesty that he order the Custos and the Major Superior of the Franciscans to cede to me the church of Nigumbo and the one of Matual and the one of St. Thomas and the one of Mature, and those where there are Portuguese or European Christians and those situated in seaports in the Island of Ceylon and those of Jafanapatao and of the Islands close by and the church of Aripo, for I need them for pearl-fishing (para fazzer a pescaria) and the one of the Carcas in Manar, because it is in accordance with the service of God and of Your Majesty. I am Bishop of Secular Priests and I have many whom I must accomodate, that I might be better served and obeyed. This just petition I make to Your Majesty in order to avoid violence and scandals. Neither does it seem right that I should be troubled when I have Your Majesty as King and Lord, who will know how to dispose of such reasonable requests. In almost all the churches which the Franciscan Friars have in this Diocese, their Custos has appointed Friars as Rectors and Vicars who do not know the language of the country and hence the souls of the faithful suffer and die without the Sacraments and I weep and cry and the Custos accomodates his friends and Christianity perishes and Your Majesty pays salaries to those who neither serve nor deserve them. And though the

Archbishop Dom Frei Aleixo at the Fifth Provincial Synod⁶, which was celebrated at Goa, with much foresight provided that no Vicar / or Rector or Assistant should be appointed unless he know F. 834 the language of the country, this is not observed, neither am I able to make these Religious observe it, neither the others for the other Prelates neglect the observance thereof. Therefore Your Majesty should pass orders that they petition confirmation of this Council from the Pope in order that the Religious be obliged to observe it or else give express orders that there should not be a single Vicar, Rector or Assistant who does not know the language of the country and that they be appointed and examined by the Ordinaries, neither that they should be paid any salary from the Treasury of Your Majesty and thus with the help of the royal arm everything will be well done, if the ministers of Your Majesty obey your orders and help the Bishops and have the Religious seek the power and jurisdiction as Canon Law, the Council of Trent and the Sacred Congregation of Cardinals order. Thus the continuous dissensions and disobediences will be avoided and also the occasions of agitating against the Bishops, from which grave scandals necessarily flow. Since they excuse themselves, I myself am writing to Your Majesty and with all humility I beg of you to remedy these things for Your Majesty has the power, which I will in no way question. Moreover Your Majesty has the obligation to maintain me peacefully in the jurisdiction of my sheep.

His Majesty ordered this letter to be referred to the Conscience-Board, where they were to discuss how best to reply to it. After mature deliberation and after ample information had been obtained, it was decided to send the following reply:

In the letter of the Bishop of Cochin, dated 3 November 1617, in the first three clauses, he says that in Ceylon there are fifty-three churches, of which only two are administered by Secular Priests and the others by the Religious of the Company and of St. Francis, who do not acknowledge the Bishop as Prelate, neither do they request him for jurisdiction over the sheep, but the Franciscan Custos himself appoints and removes the Vicars and grants them jurisdiction, from which state of affairs many disorders have resulted. It seems to us that in this matter nothing should be changed since those Residences are entrusted to those Religious and it is a practice, which has been used and is still in use in India, for the Porvincial and Custos to appoint the persons for the Residences and these are considered as being presented in the name of His Majesty⁷, without any further jurisdiction. Thus it is in the Residences in Salcete and Bardes⁸ of the Archdiocese of Goa, concerning which procedure nobody complains nor has ever complained, since it is in conformity with the

practice which is observed in the Indies of Castella (Mexico) and Peru. However Your Majesty should warn the Franciscan Custos and the Provincial of the Company to appoint only persons of exemplary life and virtue and of a sufficient age so that they can take proper care of the souls and that he should be informed concerning their behaviour, so that any harm which may have been caused, may be repaired. In the fourth paragraph he says that His Majesty should order the Franciscan Friars who reside at the churches of the Island of Ceylon and in the territories of Mantota, Manar and Jafanapatao and the Fathers of the Company to acknowledge him Bishop of those churches and Pastor of the sheep and to forbid the Franciscan Custos and the Provincial of the Company of the South to appoint Religious in them without his order. It is our opinion that they should write to Viceroy of India that they pass orders that the Religious who are placed in the Residences of that Christianity, should acknowledge the Bishop of Cochin in the same manner as the Franciscan Friars and the Religious of the Company do, who are stationed in the Residences of Salcete and in Bardes near Goa and when the Provincials appoint Religious there, it should be under the same conditions as are currently required by the Archbishop, which seems quite satisfactory, for a Bishop should not have more to say than an Archbishop, neither is it right that something new be introduced which might harm the Treasury of His Majesty. In the fifth paragraph he asks His Majesty for an order to be sent to the officials of His Majesty's Treasury, forbidding them to pay salaries to the Religious who reside in the Residences of his Diocese as Vicars, or Rectors, unless it is clear that they have been posted there by his orders. It is our opinion that they should write to him not to be disturbed and that he should not intend such innovations against the practice, usages and customs of the Padroado of His Majesty and that he should observe those which prevail in the other Residences, as we have pointed out above. In the sixth paragraph he asks His Majesty to order the Franciscan Custos to cede to him the churches of Nigombo and the one of Mature and all others where there are Portuguese or European Christians and those in the forts or in the sea-ports of the Island of Ceylon, also those of Jafanapatao and neighbouring islands and the church of Aripo because he needs them for the pearl-fishing, and the one in the village of the Careas in the island of Manar because he is the Bishop of the Secular Priests and he has to provide for many, moreover, in order to avoid scandals and spare him embarrassment.⁹ It is our opinion that they should write the same as has been said above, that he should not disturb himself and first prove the claims he makes on those churches, also whether his predecessor presented ministers for them and by what authority they were provided for up to the present. As far as the native Secular Priests from the country

are concerned, of whom there are none, he should provide for them. In the seventh paragraph he says that the Religious in the Residences do not know the language of the country¹⁰ and that therefore many die without the Sacraments. It is our opinion that they should write to him, that, by the ships of 1618, a decree, drawn up by the Conscience-Board, was sent in which it was declared that if the Prelates within three years do not present Religious who know the language, then all their churches will be taken away from them. Lisbon, 27 October 1618.

On our part we could say a good deal in reply to the letter of the Bishop of Cochin, but since the members of the Conscience-Board have done it so adequately, we will not take the trouble. The only thing we wish to call attention to, is that when the letter was written to the King we had in Ceylon many elderly and grave Religious who supported the Christian Communities there by their example and virtue. Moreover the number of those who knew the language of the country was great. Some of them were most learned in the language and not only preached and administered the Sacraments with the required fluency, but even composed books in it. But the great desire, which the Prelate had, was to provide the Secular Priests of his Diocese with the churches watered with the blood of the Friars Minor and this made him say things which were absolutely untrue, as is clear to anyone and all know who struggle in these territories. F. 836

Chapter 32

Concerning the hindrances and disturbances which have prevented our Friars from achieving greater success in the Christianization of Ceylon.

“O Full of guile and of all deceit, child of the devil, enemy of all justice” is what the Apostle St. Paul called Elymas the magician, who tried to prevent the Proconsul Sergius Paulus from accepting the doctrines the same Apostle was preaching, as we find in the thirteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. He was satisfied with punishing him by word but also in deed, blinding him, so that, deprived of his sight, he sought somebody to lead him (in order that we may understand, says our learned Nicholas of Lira ¹ commenting on this passage, that those who hinder the preaching of the divine word incur the darkness of guilt and if they do not repent, also those of hell). If God were to deprive all those who have prevented the preaching of His doctrine and the conversion of many infidels through the preaching of the Gospel, of their sight, like He did Elymas the magician, there would be many blind today in the island of Ceylon not only among the inhabitants, concerning which we should not be surprised, much less hurt, but among the Portuguese who live there and possess villages, some of whom/ allow themselves to be blinded by self-interest to such an extent that they lose sight of the obligation they, as Christians, have of favouring the Christianization of the people. Even worse, they are an impediment to the spreading of the Faith among the inhabitants, in so far as they prevented the Friars Minor from reaping the fruit of their continuous preaching.

F. 837

His Majesty having received some information concerning this point some four or five years ago, as the Catholic Prince and zealous for the honour of God and the salvation of the souls of his vassals he is, ordered an inquiry to be made and some, having been found guilty, were deprived of their fiefs and punished, accordingly. But since the guilty themselves were the ones who had to supply information and give testimony, the whole inquiry had little effect. The Prelate, the one who at the time occupied the post of Commissary in Ceylon suspecting this, ordered all the Religious of his jurisdiction, under obedience and pain of excommunication, to tell truthfully what they as witnesses knew of the case so that he would be able to inform His Majesty of the whole truth. And some of the information which resulted from this inquiry, we will relate here, so that it may be apparent how just the judgement of God was, for

in the same period that these things were being done in Ceylon by the Portuguese, He punished them by allowing the revolt in the days of Constantino de Saa, also by allowing the worst chastisements to overcome them, viz. war, famine and pest, as we already have pointed out.

The first case, which we will recount, concerns a Rector who had ordered a temple to be pulled down which they were erecting in the Parish. The meirinho of the church found some metal idols there. The pagans sent a message to the lord of the village, who happened to be there and who immediately ordered some men to bring the meirinho to his presence, together with all those who accompanied him. Then taking from his hands the idols and holding othem in his own hand he said: "Have these idols harmed any person or the Rector? Now all of you go away and do not return to this village to make similar things." And with that he gave the idols back to the persons to whom they belonged.

A Portuguese contacted this same Rector and asked him to be allowed to erect a Cross in his village and also a shelter where he could call the people together and instruct them and find out whether they wanted to become Christians. The Religious on hearing this, lifted up his hands to Heaven and thanked God for such an exceptional offer and display of devotion on the part of the lords of the village, and repeated these words of Christ Our Lord "I have not found such Faith in Israel"². And with this he gave him the permission he asked. A few days later he met the man and asked him whether he still persevered in the resolution he had made. To which the man replied/ asking the Rector to excuse him, for his relatives had forbidden him to do any such thing, otherwise he would lose his share of the profits. And though he realized it was an evil advice, he did not have the courage to go against it. There were Portuguese who thanked God that they had no Christians in their villages.

F. 838

The first lands to be conquered in Ceylon were the so-called lands of the "tranqueira grande"³, situated about two leagues from the fortress of Colombo and one league from Maluana, where the Captains General reside, for which lands a Portuguese is appointed with residence there, who is called the Captain of the "tranquerira grande," with whom our Religious often conversed, reminding him that they were the first lands to be conquered, some forty years ago, and were so close to the City that it did not seem right to have so many pagan souls there without their receiving Baptism. This would have been an easy matter and to achieve this purpose,

one word would have sufficed, for the inhabitants are so submissive to those under obedience they find themselves, that nothing more would have been required to make them Christians than to tell them to do so, in which case they would have consented. But however much we pleaded with this Captain that he perform this work so pleasing to God, he always refused. He even went further and told these inhabitants, who were already instructed and only needed the word of the Captain, that when the Friar asks you to be baptised, you must say that you will speak with me. And when he speaks with me, I will tell him that I will speak with you and thus we will let the time go by. And thus he acted, and the inhabitants remained without Baptism on account of this bad Christian. Moreover this Portuguese had forbidden anyone from his village to be baptized or married without his permission and whoever did so anyway was put in irons and fined a good amount of money.

The Rector of the church of the Mother of God of Mapitigao and of Maluana sent his meirinho to Raygama, accompanied by other persons to capture certain people, who were actually performing certain ceremonies in honour of the devil and after the meirinho had taken the "jadesse"⁴ i.e. the master of these diabolical ceremonies, the inhabitants joined together and freed the prisoner from the hands of the meirinho, at the same time beating and inflicting wounds on him, saying loudly that it was the lord of the village of Raygama, who was a Portuguese, who had ordered them to do this. When a complaint was lodged with the General, he did nothing about it. Of such cases there are many, but we will not speak about them in order not to bore the reader.

F. 839 When His Majesty promulgated certain decrees in favour and for the increase of Christianity, among other things he ordered that that all pagan captives of other pagans, who were converted and baptized while their lords remained pagans, should be set free. At the request of some pagans the Captain General drew up a decree, to be published over the whole Island, forbidding anybody to become a Christian without having been examined by him.,

And the boldness of some is so great that they even lay violent hands on the Religious themselves for having done that, to which their conscience and office obliged them. When the Rector of the church of N. S. do Cabo (Our Lady of the Cape) in Tanauare (Devinuvara) did not allow the then Dissava of Mature to take a native boy from the church, he came with a group of armed men, made him a prisoner and took him bound to his house. The Rector of Alicao was taken by the Captain of that fort and given a beating from which

he suffered a long time, for which purpose he together with his wife had gone to the church to find him. All the women, who were in his house, were taken away and treated very badly. He did this only because he had ordered him to observe the Sundays and Feast-days as was his obligation, which he refused to do. At the church of St. Anne in Calane a man from Colombo hurt the finger of the Rector, because he had forbidden him to take what was not his. The Captain of Nigumbo ordered the clerk of the church to be taken prisoner because, accompanied by the meirinho of the same church, he went to capture a man living in concubinage and because he helped and defended the Christian against him, that they might not be excessively punished.

Finally it would be an impossible task to count the number of times the poor Rectors of those places were insulted, offended and what not, only because they wanted to do that which they understood to be beneficial and necessary for the welfare of their sheep. The treatment the Portuguese mete out to the converts is so tyrannical and cruel that it causes amazement. They torment these unfortunates as if they were enemies of the Faith, ordering them to stand in the sun in a circle they have drawn and if they leave the circle, they must pay a fine or they place a heavy stone on their occiputs with thorns underneath. The same type of torture they apply to the women tying off their teats. There was a Captain at one of the forts of Ceylon who ordered them to be hung up by their thumbs from a peg, which had been attached to the wall for this purpose, just high enough from the floor that the unfortunate scarcely touched the ground with their toes, and there they remained till they died. And now see whether the Decios and the Domicianos⁵ and other tyrants could have done more to invent new tortures to torment the Christians. And all this the Portuguese do in Ceylon to these poor people to make them pay the unjust tribute, which they have imposed, to pay which contributions they sell whatever they have and after they have nothing left to sell, they sell or pawn their children in order to free themselves from vexations. And this in general over the whole Island, without there being any possibility for redress. All this constitutes a great hindrance for the propagation of the Faith, for the pagans seeing the injustices and cruelties the Portuguese lords of the villages inflict upon their Christian relatives, say, when we ask them to embrace the Faith: Why do you want me to become a Christian, when among you there is no justice and everything is done by force and unreasonably as we constantly see our Christian relatives being treated, whereas we pagans are free of all this. And with this they look us in the face. This is one of the reasons why many refuse to be converted and why there are so many revolts in the

F. 840

Island and this is what those who during such periods have fled to the mountains say, that they have revolted because they cannot bear such injustice any longer.

Besides these hindrances and offenses to the Service of God and Christianity and the propagation of His Catholic Faith, the lords of the villages cause great harm by making use of the Moors as their *canacapoles*⁶, appointing them to other posts and giving them jurisdiction over the inhabitants, on account of which they become most proud and are given ample opportunity to convert many of the inhabitants to their religion. And though His Majesty has often ordered the Moors to be expelled from the Island, since he understood that they cause harm to the Christian Religion and on account of their presence endanger the Island, still this was never realized, though it is of such importance for the security of this territory as they are enemies of our law. It was evident during the last revolt in the days of Constantine de Saa, how opposed they are to us, for they had intrigued with the enemies, to betray the fortress and kill all the inmates. And they would have carried this out, had we not been warned that they were about to betray us. Upon which we averted this evil, killing all the guilty, who were with us inside the walls of the same City. May it be the will of God, Our Lord, that this serve as as a sufficient warning for the Captains General, who may in the future rule Ceylon, to expell such evil people from the Island, for by experience we know their attitude towards us. But

F. 841 I fear self-interest will be of greater consideration than the service/ of God and of His Majesty.

It is of great importance for the spread of Christianity in this Island, to expell the Jadeecas, Nagatas, Barabajas, Capuas and Chagatares, for they are the teachers of the pagan ceremonies, their preachers and the defenders of paganism, and, since they live in the midst of recent Christians, they are constantly urging them to sacrifice to the devil and to return to the blindness of their idolatries and superstitions.

These are some of the things which hinder the growth of Christianity in Ceylon, which with very little cost could be remedied, if it wasn't for the great love of money, which has taken hold of all, to acquire which they close their eyes to reason, trample under foot human and divine obligations, to the detriment of their consciences⁷.

Chapter 33

Concerning thirty-one General Baptisms which one of our Religious performed in less than five months in the Island of Ceylon in the year 1610

Concerning the white and shorn sheep, with which the Holy Spirit in the fourth chapter of the Canticle of Canticles compares the teeth of His Spouse, the Church, to prove that they were not barren, but prolific, says: "All come with twins and there is none barren among them".¹ By the teeth of the Church St. Gregory understands the preachers whose office it is, as it were, to bite out² the vices and sins, and reprehend the sinners and who therefore are also compared to salt, as St. John Chrysostom points out, which bites and cauterizes. They should be sheep, meek and humble, because these are the virtues with which one easily conquers the hearts of the Orientals. They should be white and washed, free from the stain of sin, in order to be able to bite more efficaciously, for those who are reprehensible themselves can hardly reprehend others. They should be shorn, that is, they should be detached from the things of this world, for the less they are occupied with the earth, the better they will be able to treat on Heaven. Finally they should not be barren, but prolific, for, as the same St. Gregory says, only he deserves the name of preacher, who by means of his preaching brings forth children to God.³

Friars Minor of the Province of St. Thomas cannot be called barren, for they have brought forth many in the East Indies. They were the teeth of the Church for the Orient they always bit and fought vice and sin, especially idolatry, which was so widely practised, converting thousands of idolaters to the Faith of Christ by means of their preaching, behaving like sheep always meek and humble, free from the stain of sin, some of them being great servants of God that in life and after death they worked many miracles. They were so shorn i.e. detached, that they refused to accept gold, silver and precious things many Oriental kings offered them. Finally by their preaching and the administration of Baptism they brought forth many children for God, which is clear from this our history, where we treat of the many General Baptisms, which they celebrated in all parts of the Orient, and from the many converts they made. It will be apparent too from this chapter where we will see how one Friar alone, in less than five months, brought to the bosom of the Church some seven thousand five hundred souls in thirty-one General Baptisms he celebrated in the Island of Ceylon.

F. 842

The name of this Friar is Francisco Negrao, well-known in these parts not only on account of his zeal for souls, but also because he was entrusted with the office of chronicler. After he had occupied the post of Custos of Malacca⁴ he was sent by the Superiors to Ceylon as Commissary of that Island. As soon as he arrived, he immediately made plans to harvest a good crop for God. He worked so hard that he was able to realize his plan, which was to convert many pagans within a short time. The method he adopted was the following. As soon as he arrived at one of the Rectorates we had in that Island, he ordered the Lord of the village, who belonged to the jurisdiction of that church, to appear and requested him to gather all the inhabitants that were in the village. After all had been assembled Frar Francisco Negrao ordered Friar Antonio de S. Thome,⁵ who knew Chingala, to preach to those people the truth of our Holy Faith and the foolishness of their idols. When this had been done, he asked whether they were convinced of the uselessness of their idols and enlightened as to the truth of the doctrine of Christ, whether they wanted to be Christians and be baptized, in which case they should remain in the church where it would be administered to them. Those who did not wish to be Christians could freely go, for nobody would be forced to be one. Those who desired to be Christians (generally they were the majority) in a loud voice replied that voluntarily and of their own accord they wanted to be Christians, for they understood that the doctrine of Christ was the true one. At this the ones who refused would go and all those who agreed remained/. Then the said Friar Antonio de S. Thome would clearly and in their own language instruct them, beginning with the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity. He would explain this doctrine as clearly as possible, according to the limits of their understanding at the end he would ask them whether they firmly believed in this Mystery. On their replying that they did, he would explain to them the other articles of our Faith, the ten Commandments of God, and the five Commandments of the Church, which they would have to observe and then, since they were adults, he would try to move them to repentance and sorrow for all their sins. Finally having placed them all in order, the Father Commissary would baptize them with great solemnity, performing all the ceremonies customary for such acts. Not only were many of our Religious present, but also all the Portuguese who resided in that district.

F. 843

In this manner he performed at various churches thirty-one General Baptisms, five in the village of Vilitota at the church of the Three Kings (Reis Magos). The first occurred on the 27th. of May 1610, the second on the following day when 653 souls were baptized. The third took place on the 30th of the same month when 125 per-

sons were baptized. The fourth on the first of July, when 420 were received. The fifth occurred on the 8th of July on which occasion 306 souls received Baptism. At Madampe 400 were baptized, on the 29th of May, which happened to be the vigil of Pentecost, and on the 30th of June another 208 souls were received. At Mahature 335 received Baptism at two General Baptisms, the first on a Saturday evening the 19th of July and the second on the following day, a Sunday. At Biligao, three General Baptisms took place in the church of St. Michael, the first on the 13th of June, the second on the 14th and the third on the 22nd of the same month. At the first two 408 were baptized and at the third 55. At Mipe they administered Baptism four times, the first on the 7th of June, the second and third on the eight and the fourth on the 24th of the same month. In the first three 850 were baptized and in the fourth 190. In Galle, at our church of the Immaculate Conception 168 were baptized on the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul (29th June). At St. Anthony's church, Alicao, Friar Francisco Negrao held four General Baptisms in the month of July, the first on the 4th, when 265 persons, the second when 212 persons, the third on the 9th when 127 persons, the fourth on the 11th when 201 persons, were baptized. Besides the General Baptisms held in this same church, Friar Bartolomeu de Piedade⁶, the Rector of that Parish, baptized on the 9th of July, 127 persons of the village Birbiri (Barberin or Beruvala). They had seen/ so many inhabitants being converted and receiving Baptism, that they were moved and approached the aforesaid Rector and asked for Baptism. At St. Peter's church in Macune, on the 5th of July 250 persons became Christians. At the church of our Holy Father St. Francis in Calature, at two General Baptisms, 297 were baptized. On the 12th, 13th and 14th of July at the church of Paniture (Panadure), dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, 434 persons were brought to the Faith and baptized by Friar Francisco Negrao. Afterwards, on the 20th of September, the Rector of the church, Friar Manoel dos Santos, baptized another 600 souls. The aforesaid Commissary was not able to perform the ceremony, as he was occupied elsewhere, however, it was done at his order. At Salpe, 155 were baptized on the 18th of August. At Calane, in our church of St. Anne, two General Baptisms were held, one on the feastday of that light of the Church, St. Augustine, when 300 were received, the other on the 31st of August when 225 were baptized. Finally at the church of the great Doctor, St. Jerome, in Nagao (Navagamuva), the last General Baptism was held when 109 souls were baptized on the 1st of September, 1610.

F. 844

These Baptisms were of great value to Friar Francisco Negrao when he was in Rome, where he showed certified documents concerning them, which at present are in my possession. The Cardinals were amazed and lifting up their hands gave thanks to God when they heard him say that he had brought some seven thousand, five hundred souls to the bosom of the Church and that he himself had baptized almost all of them. And the Pope Paul V⁷, who then occupied the throne of St. Peter, honoured him and spoke several times with him. When he went to kiss his foot, before returning to India, he made him an Apostolic Preacher and Father of the Province, and one of the Cardinals, whose name I do not remember, made him his Theologian. He returned to India in order to complete his works, for he was the chronologer of this Province of St. Thomas. If he had been able to publish them, he would have been greatly esteemed, but since they were never printed, they remained as they were. They were the following: The first part of the Chronicles of this Province of St. Thomas; Excellencies of our Holy Father St. Francis and his Seraphic Order; Reliquary of the Franciscan Order; Evangelical Norms; and others. After he had finished them, on going to Rome to have them published, he died at Mascot in the monastery of the Augustinian Friars. He was a native of Chaul and received the habit in this Province when it was still a Custody, made his studies and passed the examination of preacher, became the Custos of Malacca and Commissary of Ceylon, where besides these thirty-one General Baptisms, he rendered great services to God and His Majesty, especially when he was arbitrator in Candea, where he was in charge and where he also taught one of the Princes, the son of the King of Candea to read and write⁸. From there he sent a good deal of information to the Captain General Constantino de Saa who afterwards publicly confessed that they had been of the greatest importance and that, next to God, he owed the victory he had gained over the King of Candea, when he destroyed the country and burnt the palace, to the warnings the aforesaid Friar had given. He was buried in the above-mentioned monastery of Mascot.

Chapter 34

Concerning the Kingdom of Jafanapatao and its first King

Jafanapatao is one of the Kingdoms in the Island of Ceylon, the proper name is Jafanaimpatao, and means the settlement of the Lord Jafana, for in their language **Patalao** is place or settlement, and **mi**, the word in the middle means the Lord¹ and Jafana is the name of the founder of this kingdom. But the word after being corrupted, became Jafanapatao. The land of this kingdom, though rich in forests, formerly lacked land for the cultivation of rice, the staple food of those parts. For this reason the Kings of Ceylon considered this country a land without value, which indeed it then was, for the inhabitants lived only on what they fished in the sea and what they reared on land. Hence for a long time the man who ruled there was only a Vindana, some one like an Abegao.² Afterwards when through the labour and industry of the inhabitants it had become more valuable, it was converted into a territory where Araches (*aracci*), the same as Captains ruled. Finally it became a territory for Modiliars, i.e. Governors of the Kingdom. And in this category it remained for many years until, due to the good work on the part of the inhabitants and the commerce with foreigners, it grew in importance to such an extent that its renown reached the Court, which was then in the Kingdom of Cotta.

While Maprauera Mabahu (Maha Parakrama Babu) was reigning, a certain Panical, (Panikkan) a foreigner of the mountains of Malabar, of a place called, Tulunar, usurped the throne (*aquelle imperio*). He was very experienced in the use of arms. For this reason the King sheltered him with great love and honoured him with the title of Mudiliar. Afterwards he married and had two sons who were brought up in the palace and whom the King greatly loved. Afterwards seeing they had grown up and that on the part of the mother they were closely related and fearing lest on his death, they might revolt against one of his grandsons, whom, since he had no son, he had sworn as King, he decided to kill them. This design he confided to a captain of whom he was very fond. Since the latter/ was of a noble character, he advised him not to do so, but instead to send the one whom he feared most to the Kingdom of Jafanapatao with some honourable title, where at the time a certain Modiliar of the same King ruled, but, who, with the whole territory, had revolted against him and had persecuted his vassals.

F. 846

The advice seemed good to the King. So the Modiliar, who had given this counsel, with the permission of the King went in search of the son of Panical and raised his hands to him and gave him the title of Prince. The Prince's name was Chamba Periyamal (Champak Perumal). With this title and a goodly array of men he went to Jafanapatao and put to fire and sword all those who opposed him, took possession of the Kingdom and established himself there, paying tribute he owed King of Cotta with great regularity. Thus he was the first to rule the Kingdom of Jafanapatao with the title of Prince.³

In the course of time some Brahmins, natives of the Kingdom of Gusarate⁴ called Arus, who claim to be sons of the Sun and of royal blood, came to the state of Madura⁵, and with the support of that Naique built the temple of Ramananiam.⁶ From there they began trading with the Kingdom of Jafanapatao. One of them married the daughter of the King and thus established relationship with the royal house and in the end their descendants became the heirs of the Kingdom. Finally in the days of George de Mello de Castro⁷, called Punho, Captain of Manar a serious contention arose with the then king, called Cochim Neina, in which a party declared that the throne did not belong to him, but to another, a relative of his.

To decide the matter the aforesaid George de Mello, whom they appointed arbitrator, was called in and after having examined the reason of both parties and the rights they alleged in support of their claims, George de Mello found that Cochim Neina was an intruder and that the throne did not belong to him. He, therefore, at the request of the people, deposed him, put him in prison and raised the other to the throne. But Cochim Neina, as soon as he knew George de Mello had retired, deployed such industry, that with the help of his partisans, the one who recently had become king was killed and he himself was freed from prison and regained his Kingdom. George de Mello was immediately notified of this and made arrangements with a very valiant and strong lascarin, a native of the Kingdom of Jafanapatao and obliged him by means of presents and promises to assassinate Cochim Neina, who had assumed the throne. The lascarin with great skill and daring did what he had been told to do and after he had killed him, swam the river and gave the news to

F. 847 George de Mello. When the latter was certain of the matter, he hastened to Jafanapatao and with the approval of the people proclaimed Pereapula King.⁸ On his death, the "crooked" king, called Pera Xagra Pandra⁹ succeeded him, the same that Andre Furtado put to death, as we will see further down.

Adjacent to Jafanapatao there are a number of small islands, the main one being Manar, which at present is ours and where we have a fortress, founded in the days of the Viceroy Dom Constantino de Brazanza¹⁰ as we will see. When in 1543 Governor Martin Affonco de Souza¹¹ was near the Island of the Cows¹² with a powerful fleet of forty-five vessels, he sent a message to the King of Jafanapatao asking whether he wanted peace, whether he was willing to obey the King of Portugal and whether he was willing to pay an annual tribute. He agreed to have above him such a great power as that of the Portuguese of whom he had never been friends, on the contrary, he had always favoured the enemies of the State. He immediately drew up a document admitting his vassalage and handed it over to the Governor. He obliged himself to pay each year to the Portuguese Crown five thousand pardaos and two elephants. He immediately paid two years in advance and together with this surrendered much artillery, which he had in his possession, taken from our vessels which had been shipwrecked on that coast. But though he became our vassal and paid tribute, the animosity he had towards the Portuguese never left him. This was revealed by his acts which in the course of time caused him a great deal of trouble, and finally the total destruction of his Kingdom, as we will see in the following pages.

Chapter 35

How the Venerable Friar Belchior de Lisboa, Custos of this Custody and four Companions were the first religious to preach the Faith in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, where they were put to death by the inhabitants.

F. 848 Great was the disappointment the Religious of this holy Province felt when they were unable to penetrate the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, to cultivate those fields, so thickly populated with pagans, in the same manner as they had done in the other Kingdoms of Ceylon. They greatly desired and rightly so, to see the true God acknowledged in every country of this vast Orient. They wanted all to receive the pure and holy doctrine of the Gospel and abandon the wicked superstitions of idolatry. In this Kingdom, however, the King who was then reigning, resisted stubbornly. Besides being an enemy (not openly though) of the Portuguese, to a very high degree he was also opposed to the Catholic Religion, not allowing any of his vassals, under pain of death and the loss of all their goods, to embrace it. Withall God, who was aware of the ardent desire of our Friars, wanted at least in some measure to satisfy them by giving them an opportunity, not of making many Christians, but at least of producing many martyrs.

This evil king had committed many heinous crimes, from which it appeared that he was one of those who had made a pact with the devil. In the first place, he had in a tyrannical manner usurped the throne, thereby dispossess his eldest brother. Moreover in order to hold it more securely he made efforts to lay hands on him and assassinate him. However, his eldest brother to retain his life fled, passed over to the mainland with some of his followers and journeying for more than two hundred leagues arrived in Goa, where he sought the aid of the Portuguese against the tyranny of his brother. To oblige them to come to his aid more readily, he adopted our Law and received Baptism. To this must be added another crime of no less perversity, thus accumulating, as ordinarily happens with the obstinate. When he came to know that the Prince of Ceylon, Tribuli Pandar, whom we have already mentioned, had come to ask his help in the war he wanted to wage, overcome by cupidity forgetting the respect he owed his guests, he had him murdered and took possession of all the treasures he had brought along.

But the climax of his wickedness this tyrant reached when he ordered all the inhabitants of the Island of Manar, which was under his jurisdiction, who had accepted the Law of Christ and had become Christians, to be slaughtered. He made no distinction of persons, age or status, but had them all killed by sword, six hundred men, women and children¹. They were killed in a place called Patin, which later on in memory of this event, was known as the Valley of Martyrs. These crimes of this cruel tyrant amazed and were deeply felt by the Portuguese. When the knowledge of them reached the ears of the Catholic King of Portugal, Dom Joao III, he on several occasions ordered the Viceroy to punish him, but since they were occupied with many other affairs of State this command was not executed. However, when Dom Constantino de Braganza was Viceroy, urged by letters of His Majesty, who never ceased to recommend this affair, he decided to go personally to Jafanapatao. Having assembled a large fleet, consisting of twelve galleys, ten galleots, and seventy boats with oars, he left Goa on the 7th of September, 1560.

In these days Friar Belchior/de Lisboa was the Custos of St. F. 849 Thomas Custody, a religious of exceptional virtue and zeal for the salvation of souls, who on another occasion too had accompanied Dom Constantino, when the latter went to take the territory and city of Damaun², as we have already related. Understanding that this was an excellent opportunity for the Friars to introduce themselves into that Kingdom and preach the Faith to the inhabitants, as they so ardently desired, he did not want to entrust this enterprise to another, but went himself, selecting four companions of like spirit to accompany him.

The Viceroy began the voyage and made for Jafanapatao. In a thicket he ordered an altar to be prepared, where very devoutly a Mass in honour of Our Lady, whom they had chosen as their advocate for the success of the expedition, was celebrated. The Viceroy and the greater part of the notables and soldiers went to Communion. The Bishop of Cochin, Dom George Themudo³, who had wanted to accompany the expedition, since that Island resorted under his jurisdiction, gave the blessing to all and granted an Indulgence, which the Popes at the instance of King Dom Manoel had conceded to all who in India might be killed in the wars waged for the Faith of Christ. They then all disembarked and after a few encounters made themselves master of the City, which at the time was depopulated. They found a good deal of artillery, also some other things, which were appropriated by the soldiers. From a temple, which was held in the greatest veneration, they brought to

the Viceroy a tooth of Bogio⁴, wrapped in gold and encrusted with precious stones, which these blind people venerated as one of the most sacred objects of all those they adored. The Viceroy was informed of this latter fact and they also declared that there existed an enormous treasure, on account of the great esteem in which it was held by the inhabitants of India, as we will recount in detail in the following chapter.

The King fled from the City to a fortress, situated a league and half away⁵ and very well fortified with bastions and some sort of towers (cubellos). Seeing that the Portuguese were not allowing him to remain there, but were on the way to seek him, he crossed over to the other side, leaving his Kingdom in our hands. Afterwards, however, taking counsel, he sent ambassadors to the Viceroy and sued for peace. This was granted under the following conditions. The King would be allowed to remain in his Kingdom as before, but should swear fealty to the King of Portugal. The treasure of Tribuli Pandar had to be surrendered. Moreover, the Island of Manar where he had martyred the Christians, would be ours. After the peace-treaty had been signed and sealed the Viceroy left the City and crossed over the river. There he remained two weeks, while those things were being handed over, which the King in the treaty had promised to do. It amounted to some eighty cruzados. He also surrendered some olas with descriptions concerning the places/

F. 850 in the Kingdom of Cotta where the treasures of Tribuli Pandar were buried. These amounted to some three hundred thousand cruzados.

While the Portuguese were occupied in gathering earthly treasure, our Friars were busy collecting souls for the treasury in heaven. They spent the days in instructing and baptizing. Since the City and Kingdom were ours, many were persuaded to accept the Faith. But since the Chingalas⁶ are by nature warlike, they conspired against the Portuguese who were totally unaware of this. Then attacking with great force the place where they knew the Portuguese were, they killed all those whom they encountered. Arriving at the place where our Custos and his companions were instructing and baptizing, occupied as they were in this holy ministry, they attacked them like ferocious lions, killing all of them and wetting their bodies with the water with which they were baptizing, thus paying good with evil, for they put to death those who were endeavouring to enter their names in the Book of Life⁷.

The place where these servants of God were martyred and where formerly stood the royal palace, and is called Copai, is at present occupied by the Christian Community and the Church⁸. When

the Viceroy saw that the whole country was in revolt, with his whole fleet he crossed over to Manar to take possession of it and build a fortress. Then he ordered the Captain of the Fishery Coast with all the inhabitants of Punicale⁹ to cross over, in order to escape the molestations the Naique of that region frequently inflicted upon them. And since in the fleet there were a number of Friars who had escaped the conspiracy and wished to convert the people, the Viceroy made them remain in that Island, where they immediately founded a house and began to convert the inhabitants, gathering much fruit, as we shall see further down. And though for the time being Christian penetration, initiated by our Friars, ceased in Jafanapatao, withall, since they had those holy martyrs in Heaven, who did not cease to plead with God to remember those souls redeemed by His Precious Blood, our Friars afterwards were given an opportunity to preach the Faith and plant it in such a manner that it would not be eradicated but on the contrary grow to such an extent that almost the whole Kingdom would be converted, as it is today and as we will see further down.

Chapter 36

Concerning the Tooth of the Bogio, which was found in Jafanapatao and what was done about it on the advice of the Theologians

F. 851

The unfortunate inhabitants of the Orient were so blinded by the devil especially as far as the adoration of false gods is concerned, that they held as divine and adored wicked persons, animals, inanimate objects and what is worse of all even the devil himself, representing him under the lowest and most horrible forms. Among the different kinds of abominations which they held in veneration, was the tooth of a white Bogio, which, as we have related, the Portuguese took when they destroyed the city of Jafanapatao. They held that this tooth had belonged to their Budao, whom they esteemed as a great saint, who, after he left Ceylon, where he had performed many marvellous things, went to Pegu, everywhere teaching the true law which they should profess and working amazing wonders. When he was about to die, he pulled this tooth from his mouth and sent it to Ceylon, where it is so highly esteemed that among all the Orientals there is nothing so sacred and divine as this. Every year the King of Pegu¹ used to send ambassadors to Ceylon with rich presents, so that they would allow this precious tooth to be imprinted, like a seal in wax, in certain preparations of amber, musk and other aromatic gums, which for this purpose they brought in a gold container and thus obtain the impression of its structure, its length and thick ness, so that, since they could not possess it, they at least possessed its outlines.

Once when Dom Joao Parea Pandar, the King of Cotta, was in need of money, to obtain it from the King of Pegu, he made use of this interesting invention. He had a false tooth made, wrapt it in gold, encrusted it with precious stones and placed it in a small box made of precious metal. Without the knowledge of the Portuguese he sent it to the King of Pegu and made him believe that it was the tooth of Bogio. He said he was sending it to him because he was now a Christian. The King of Pegu could hardly contain himself for joy, for having obtained this treasure from Ceylon, for thus he considered it. He judged himself to be the most fortunate King of the whole dynasty, for only in his days, the Kingdom of Pegu was found worthy to possess such a precious object. He, therefore, ordered it to be received amidst grand festivities and in return sent the

King Cotta a very large ship loaded with provisions and other things of great price, at which the King was highly pleased, for this has been the object of his trick.²

When the people came to know what had happened in Jafanapatao, and how the tooth, which was so greatly cherished, had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese, not only those of the Kingdom, who in particular were touched on account of the loss, but also the others were deeply moved, because it was in the hands of Christians, the declared enemies of this false superstition and feared lest it be burnt and ground into powder, as it deserved to be. However, knowing that self-interest reigns in all, some tried to ransom this their precious relic, offering a large sum of money, not considering the price that might be demanded, because however exorbitant it might be, it was little, as long as they recovered what they desired. Who worked most for this was the King of Pegu, who having been informed of what was going on, summoned a Portuguese nobleman who was in that Kingdom and asked him to conduct the negotiations. He pleaded with him to go to Goa and settle the matter with the Viceroy obtain the tooth for him that he would pay whatever they wanted. The nobleman agreed to do whatever he could. The King despatched him with many presents and together with him, his ambassadors, through whom he ordered the Viceroy to be given a hundred thousand cruzados in gold, jewels and other costly objects for the tooth. He also ordered that more should be given in case they demanded more. At the same time he obliged himself to maintain peace with the State in perpetuity and provide the fortress of Malacca with provisions whenever there was need and made many other offers. F. 852

The ambassadors reached Goa and were well received by the Viceroy. After having heard them, he said he could not accede to their request unless he first heard his Council. He placed the matter before his Council. It did not seem a bad idea to accept the money, since the State was short of money and there were so many things to be taken care of. It did not seem to them that there was any question of an offence to God, since those who sought the tooth were idolaters, and since they adored stone and wood, and in the same manner the tooth, already it did not seem to be of any importance. Finally they alleged so many reasons in their conversations with the Viceroy, that they had to consent to its sale. But the Archbishop, Dom Gaspar³, a man of learning and singular virtue, concerning whom we have already spoken, came to know what was going on and expressed amazement at the advice given. He went to the Viceroy and told him that he could not do such a thing without

offending God greatly, for in this manner they were supplying them an opportunity of giving honour, due to God alone, to this tooth, an abominable and low object. In order that his opinion might have effect, he was not content with giving it in private, but he also gave it in public, speaking about it from the pulpit in the presence of all the nobles of Goa, explaining to them, as the good theologian he was, the malice hidden in such an action.

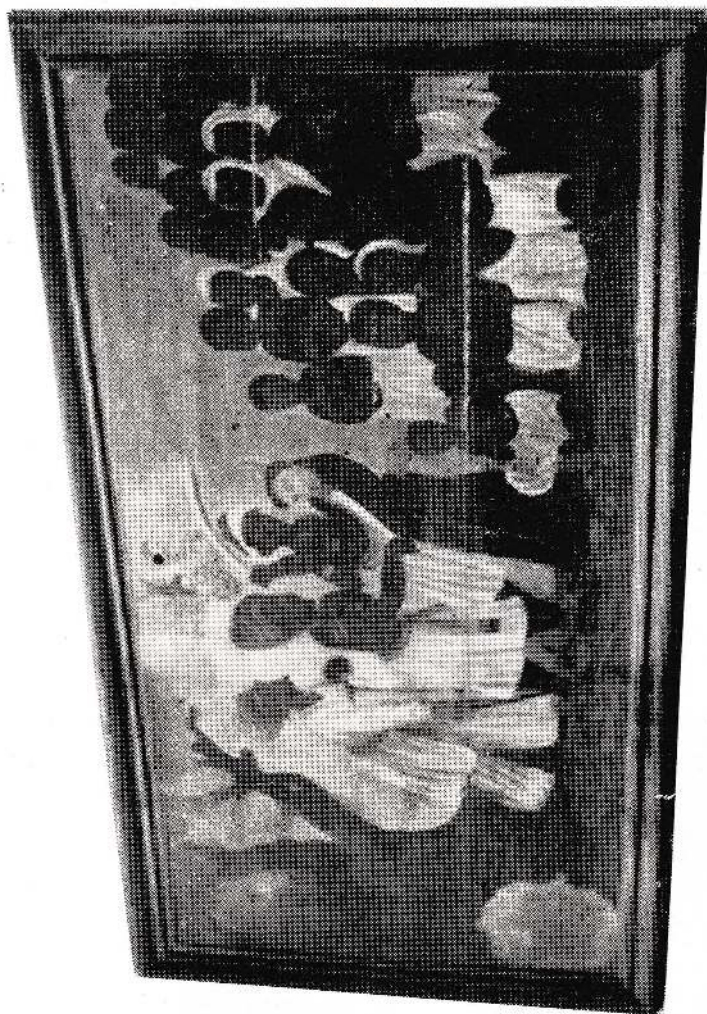
F. 853 These warnings on the part of the saintly Archbishop prevailed upon the Viceroy and he decided to place the matter before the General Council, for which purpose he convened the Archbishop, the Inquisitors and the Major Superiors of the Religious Orders, each one with his own theologian, all the Captains, the elderly noblemen, together with the officials of the Treasury. After all were assembled, the Viceroy gave the reason why he had called them, i.e. to know what he should do with regard to the request of the King of Pegu, explaining on the one hand the large sum of money which was offered and on the other hand the great needs of the State. He however concluded that he would not do anything which might be contrary to the service of God and His Highness. And though the laymen all voted in favour of the tooth, the Theologians declared that it was not allowed to make such a sale for it provided them with an opportunity to perform new idolatries. Since the Viceroy too was a Christian, hearing their opinion he accepted it, upon which no one in the assembly contradicted him. A document was then drawn up and signed by all. A copy of this document is still preserved in the Archives of Goa.

After this resolution had been passed, the Viceroy ordered the Treasurer to bring the tooth, and after it was shown to all and examined to see whether it was the identical one, he handed it over to the Archbishop, who in the presence of all threw it in a mortar and pulverized it with a pestle. He then threw everything in a brazier and finally the ashes and rests were scattered over the river. Thus was that superstitious tooth destroyed, which was so greatly venerated in the Orient⁴. And though it was taken ill by some who judge things according to flesh and blood, conforming themselves to the rules of human prudence, withall it was well accepted and worthy of praise, for they preferred the honour of God to the vile interests of money and chose rather to please the King of Heaven than one of earth. After all the divine favour is of greater importance for the stability of Kingdoms than all the riches of earth.

PLATE I



“The Venerable Fathers Fr. Martinho da Guarda Gam of Ceylon and Fr. Luiz, his companion, were imprisoned by the King of the same Kingdom, who ordered them to be killed through hatred of the Faith; after various torments their heads were cut off. 11th of April 1552”
(*cf.* p. 193)



“Venerable Father Fr. Melchior, native of Lisbon, the Guardian of this Province, whilst baptizing a large number of gentiles in Jafanapatao, was killed through hatred of the Faith by the Moors with blows of an axe, 17th of December 1550 (? 1560).”

(cf. pp. 53, 66, 178 ff.)

PLATE III



"In the Kingdom of Candea in the Island of Ceylon, in the year 1694 (1604), Venerable Fathers Fr. Lucas, assistant Commissary of the District, Fr. Simao da Luz, Fr. Manuel Pereira, Fr. Francisco das Chagas and Fr. Francisco Contreyras suffered glorious martyrdom; the first of them, after receiving many wounds tied to a post was pierced with darts, and the rest were killed in the field by infidels with various tortures, except the last, who after being severely beaten, was tied to a stake from where he exhorted his companions to firmness in the Faith and its reward; he followed them to death."

(cf. pp. 66, 82, 102, 103, 187)

PLATE IV



Image of Our Lady of Miracles of
Jafanapatao, now preserved in the
church of S. Pedro, Piedae, Goa.
(rf. Ch, 52)

Chapter 37

How far the Kingdom of Jafanapatao was destroyed by the Great Andre Furtado: Our Friars once again set to work to establish Christianity in that Kingdom, and concerning the founding of the Church of N. S. dos Milagres.

With the death of the Venerable Friar Belchior de Lisboa and his companions, the Christian Community which they had established with so much zeal and fervour ceased to flourish. The cruelty of the pagan King and/ the implacable hatred against the Christian Religion, which filled him, never allowed us to begin, until he was completely defeated and killed by the great Captain Andre Furtado. This barbarous tyrant was so insolent that he had taken a name Puni (Puvi) Raja Raju, which means the King of Kings of earth. He was so cruel that on the slightest pretext he put his vassals to death. He was so great an enemy of the Portuguese and of the Faith of Christ that he never allowed a Religious in his territories. Moreover he profited by every occasion to favour our enemies, as when he allowed the tyrant Dom Joao, King of Cadea, concerning whom we have already spoken, to pass through his country and helped him against us by providing him with powder and ammunition. F. 854

Finally, the Viceroy who at that time was governing India and whose name was Mathias de Albuquerque¹, wishing to punish him, on the 10th of August, which in these parts is still in the winter, of the year 1591, sent Andre Furtado with a fleet of twenty ships. With great difficulty and no less danger he left the harbour of Goa Velha (Old Goa), and continuing his journey arrived opposite Cananor. There the Guardian of the Friary, which we have there, Friar Antonio da Madre de Deos, a grave and learned Religious, visited him, taking as refreshments some fruit from the garden and some barrels of water. The Captain appreciated this greatly and since he was devoted to our Order and knowing that there were eighteen Friars in this Friary, asked the Guardian to have all the Priests say Mass for his intention as long as he was occupied with the enterprise and also that he should take particular care to recommend him and his fleet to God.

Thereupon he left Cananor and arriving opposite Calicut, he met three ships from Meca, of which he sunk two and one, which surrendered, he took to Cochin and left it there. From there he departed in great haste in search of the famous Corsair, called Cata-

muca, who with a powerful fleet of twenty-two covered galleys (galeotas de cuberta) had gone up the Cardiuu-river. He attacked it and defeated it, killing many of the enemy, Encouraged by these victories and still more by the fortune which always accompanied their Chief Captain, they arrived in Jafanapatao.

F. 855 The King, appraised of their coming, hastily began to fortify the bank of the river with stockades on the spot where he thought they would disembark. But, our men, who had been warned, chose a spot, called Columbo (Columbutturai), where they safely disembarked, notwithstanding the enemy who tried to disturb them. From there they went to Lugar ² where later the first church we had in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao was founded under the invocation Nostra Senhora da Victoria / (Our Lady of Victory). Then, marching in good order from there to Nelur (Nallur), where the royal palaces and city stood, about half a league from the embarkation-point, the King sallied forth to meet them with his whole army, when on encountering each other, a good battle ensued. And though enemies were far more numerous and attacked with force, our men broke them up and defeated them, killing any number of them.

The King finding himself in this state, to save his life, which he had risked, sought shelter in a nearby temple, where, on being discovered, he was killed. His head was cut off and raised aloft on a long spear, so that it could be seen by all. After this glorious victory, the valiant Captain pacified the inhabitants, assembled the Mudi-liyars, who, as we have said, are their governors, and all the other people and made them swear to acknowledge the King of Portugal as King and Lord of the Kingdom of Jafanapatao. In the name of the King of Portugal he appointed as Governor and raised to the throne a younger cousin of the deceased King, called Aper Ragera Chegara Pandara (Pararajasekeran Pandar), until such time as he or the Viceroy of India appoint another.

In the days of this new King, our Friars began once again to found churches and establish Christian centres in this Kingdom of Jafanapatao. Though the King was a pagan and as such an enemy of our Law, withall, since he had been raised to that dignity by the Portuguese, he always showed a certain amount of respect for them and, thus at times, with good grace, at times, with bad grace allowed the preaching of the Faith and the conversion of his vassals.

The first church was founded in the following manner. A native Christian from the days of the Viceroy Dom Constantino, called Antonio Fernandez, erected in the place where Andre Furtado

had settled his army along the beach, a small straw hut, in which he placed a small Cross, of which this devout Christian took great care, decorating and cleaning it every Saturday. At this little house our Friars, who came from and went to the Kingdom, always found shelter, until the days when Friar Lucas de S. Francisco (whose glorious martyrdom by the tyrant Dom Joao of Candea we have already related) became the Commissary for those territories, and ordered Friar Pedro de Christo to take charge of it. After he had obtained permission to build a church from the King, he erected it in a locality very well suited for the purpose and which the King himself designated. However, since he had very little money, he constructed it of mud and straw. He dedicated it to Our Lady of Victory, as a memorial to that victory Andre Furtado had gained in that Kingdom. This took place in 1602.

The following year/Friar Francisco do Oriente arrived as Rector of this church and as Commissary of those territories. Since he was very zealous for the conversion of souls, he set to work to convert and baptize many of the inhabitants, to whom he preached the doctrine of Christ with intense fervour and whom he edified with his exemplary life. Once when he went to the island of Tanadiua (Tanadivaina), which is nearby, to erect a Cross, which he was wont to do in all places where he resided, he left his companion, called Friar Andre de S. Joseph, in charge of N. S. da Victoria. But since these inhabitants did not like to see that church of the Christians founded in their territory, whom, on account of past occurrences, they hated, one night on the Vespers of Our Lady of the Assumption (14th August) they set fire to it. As it was mostly made of straw, the fire spread so rapidly, that it would have burnt the Friar who, unawares of what was taking place, was asleep in his cell: but it was the will of God that a boy of the house feeling the heat rushed over and awoke the Friar. When he came out, he found the church so enveloped by the flames that he had no hope of saving anything, not even the reredos of Our Lady. But she gave so much courage to three married Portuguese who lived there, that they entered the church and notwithstanding the fire, which was sweeping the roof, carried out the reredos. They had hardly taken it out when the roof structure fell to the ground all in flames. Some of the inhabitants, who had rushed to the fire, seeing this, with wonder exclaimed: Behold the God of the Christians, who did not allow the structure to fall until the Portuguese had taken it out! Friar Francisco do Oriente, on hearing what had taken place, was deeply hurt. He hurriedly went to the King and complained about what his vassals had done to the church, saying that since they had burnt it down, he would inform the Viceroy of India, who would know how to avenge this offence.

F. 856

The King, though they presume this offence was committed with his knowledge, showed himself grieved at what had taken place and said to the Friar that if he knew who had had the boldness to commit this crime, he would have him and all his descendents upto the fourth generation put to death. However he should not worry, for he would order the church to be restored to its original condition. Early the next morning, he left his royal palace with his Modiliars, Araches and some men of his guard and arriving at the settlement, he went to the door of the church and seating himself on some boards which were there, he ordered the Taleares (Taleari) to have some palmyra-trees cut down and shaped, because he would not/leave the spot until everything had been put in place.

Everything was done very rapidly and at sunset all the material had been gathered and shaped. Since the day was finished, they did not erect anything. This was done the following day, for the King had ordered, under grave penalties, that all should assemble on that spot and not leave it until the church of the Fathers was finished and restored to its original form. All this was exactly carried out. Our Friars resided some ten or twelve years at this church of N. S. da Victoria, after which they constructed one of stone and lime to which they moved, as also Our Lady, under the title of Our Lady of Miracles, on account of the many that were being wrought in the house of the craftsman, as we will relate further down. The church was erected by Friar Pedro de Betancor ³, a great labourer in these areas.

After he had gathered all the materials, he wanted to erect it in a mosque which stood there, since its location was very well suited for the purpose. Not knowing he could bring this about, since the Moors to whom it belonged would never consent to this, some Portuguese, who lived in the locality, having come to know about the desire of the Friar, and thinking that in this way they could render a service to God and His glorious Mother, secretly set fire to the mosque, which, since it was made of straw, completely burnt down. The Moors complained to the King, but since he was a friend of Friar Pedro, calmed them and satisfied them. They settled in another place and built their mosque there, leaving the old site for the church. Thus did the King favour our Religious not only in this matter, but in others as well, and, even though he was a pagan, Friar Pedro had gained his good will to such an extent, that he always helped them in their work, frequently giving them alms, when he knew they were short of funds, telling them that they should not cease to work, but at the same time warn him if they were in need. In fulfilment of this

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promise, besides many other alms, he gave them the Island of Tanadiua, which he had donated to Friar Niculao da Cruz, for the support of the same church and for the upkeep of the boys' school we have there.

Friar Pedro was helped not only by the King but also by other native Lords, his friends, such as the Lord of Changali ⁴, who for the same purpose donated the villages of Visauil and Laur, which formed part of his patrimony, the Naique of Tanjaor, who gave him another village on the gulf. With this help Friar Pedro completed his church, houses and dwellings for the Friars, with the dormitories, the workshop and enclosures, everything done to perfection. The Portuguese, who lived there, seeing this large complex and thinking such large buildings unnecessary/in a pagan Kingdom, murmured against Friar Pedro. These criticisms the Friar refuted by saying, not without prophetic insight: Gentlemen, let me finish what I have begun, for a time will come when you need it. This house will be your only refuge, also for your children and wives and family. And it did not last long before they personally realised the truth of this statement, for not once, but many times conditions changed to such an extent that they were forced to take shelter in the church and defend themselves against the inhabitants, by whom they would certainly have been killed and their wives and children captured and their goods robbed, if they hadn't had this fortress, which was completed as such and where they could find shelter. F. 858

When after some years Philippe de Oliueira ⁵ conquered this Kingdom, he fortified himself in this church and remained there as long as the campaign lasted, and especially when the Badigas revolted ⁶ which was a very dangerous period, when too the Portuguese of that settlement sought shelter there with their possessions and families.

During the early period, the provisions of El Rey, which were meant for the upkeep of the army, were kept in its storerooms. Even upto the present day, the powder, ammunition and war-materials are kept in the attics above the cells of the Religious. On this occasion (the campaign of Dom Philippe) the Religious worked hard in the service of God and of His Majesty. They accompanied the Chief Captain in all the sallies they made, also the soldiers when they attacked the stockade. They also stood guard and assisted at all the battles which were fought during this war. In the same manner, the church of St. John the Baptist we have in the Quay of the Elephants ⁷ (no Cais dos Elephantes) was of great value, since it served as a fort and helped to thwart the Malabarians, who tried

to enter that fort and support the enemy. And when the rebels from Europe, for the same purpose, i.e. help the inhabitants, came to take that point, they were repulsed in that place by ours, when the only persons to defend it were Friar Antonio de S. Bernadino⁸, who was Rector of that church and native of that place, who making use of a few pieces on the beach, fired many rounds and thus defended the entrance to the river and made the enemy, to their sorrow, desist. In this way they behaved valiantly and preferred to risk their lives than the name of the Portuguese nation.

F. 859 The first stone of this church of Our Lady of Miracles was laid on the 8th of May 1614, on which day the feast of the glorious Ascension of Our Lord fell. It was performed with great solemnity. Together with Friar Pedro all the Friars of the Kingdom and the adjacent islands had assembled for this purpose. Besides this church, which as we have said/is the principal one we have in the district of Jafanapatao, during the reign of the pagan King we had another four or five, outside the ones we had in the neighbouring islands and in the territory of Mantota. The Christian Community we had there numbered more than eleven thousand, all converted and baptized by our Friars. However after the death of this King and after the Kingdom was captured by the Portuguese, the number of faithful and churches increased, as we will see further down.

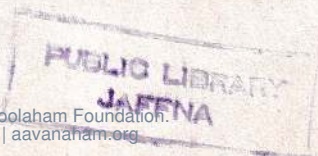
Chapter 38

How in the Island of Tanadiua and other Islands adjacent to Jafanapatao our Friars founded several churches, especially the one dedicated to St. John the Baptist.

The fervour which animated our Friars to propagate the doctrine of Christ and convert the souls in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, was so great that they were not satisfied with the church of Our Lady of Miracles, but built others in all the neighbouring Islands, such as Purgandiuva, Tristao Galayo, Pagode, the Island of the Brahmins and Tanadiua.¹ In the Island of Tanadiua we have the church of St. Joseph, also at Alipiti and Mandadiua, the one of N. S. da Saude (Our Lady of Health) of Valena, the one Our Lady at Charuane, (Saravani) and the one of St. John the Baptist, which is the principal one. This Island of Tanadiua, which lies opposite the town of Jafanapatao, was given by the pagan King to the college of N. S. dos Milagres in the second year of his reign. A copper plate of this endowment, which is preserved in the archives of St. Anthony's Friary, Cochin, was given to Friar Niculao da Cruz², who had been appointed Visitor to those parts by the Bishop of Cochin, Dom Andre de S. Maria, about the year 1595.

The place where they founded the church of the Holy Precursor, is called the Quay of the Elephants. It was chosen for this purpose by Friar Francisco do Oriente, since he considered it very suitable, in the year 1603, in the days he was Commissary of that territory and Rector of the church of N. S. Da Victoria of Jafanapatao. Leaving his companion at the latter church, he went to the above mentioned place, and, with a group of people he had taken along, began to make a clearing in the forest in order to plant a Cross, as was his custom. This Friar had such a devotion to the holy Cross of Christ, Our Lord, that he never went anywhere without carrying one either in his hand or in his cinture, and wherever he could/he planted a Cross, which he venerated with so much devotion that he would fall on his knees, kiss the ground and urge those present to do the same, and to preserve this custom. After having prepared the spot, as we have said, with great devotion he erected a Cross and near it a small hut, in which he could hardly stand erect and there he lived. The King of Jafanapatao, having been informed of this, resented it very much that the Friar had had the audacity of erecting a church in his territory without his permission and full of anger commanded an Arache,

F. 860



i.e. a Captain, to go with two hundred men to the Cross and throw it into the sea and also anybody who dared defend it. The Arache departed, but the Friar had been informed about the order of the King and when the former arrived at the place, he found the Friar on his knees, his arms outstretched like a Cross, considering how fortunate it would be if his fate would be the same as that of that holy sign.

On arrival the Arache saw the Friar on his knees in that position and addressing his soldiers said: the King has ordered the Cross and whoever defends it to be thrown into the sea. Nobody is here to resist except this poor Friar, but who is going to lay hands on this Labaqui i.e. Jogue? Let us go away and let the King order somebody else, And thus he returned without touching the Cross. He told the King what he had seen and he, since his anger had subsided for the time being, dissimulated. But after some time, when the Friar was in a neighbouring island, on a complaint lodged by the Balallas³, the King ordered it to be torn down and thrown into the forest. When the Friar was informed of this, he immediately wrote an *ola* to the King about what they had done to the Cross, and because he respected him on account of his eminent virtue, he ordered the same Balallas to return the Cross to the spot, which they did much against their wish.

F- 861 After a number of years Friar Pedro Betancor was ordered under obedience to erect that church on the Quay of the Elephants. This Friar, whose name occurs in this chronicle, was one of the best workers we had in these parts. Seeing that the King refused to grant him leave to erect the church there, he constructed a hut over the water on some stilts, to which he retired with those who had accompanied him, for the spirit which animated him did not allow him to abandon his assigned task. He recommended the success of his enterprise to God, who shortly afterwards sent him relief. It happened that Lancarote de Seixa, the Head of the Treasury (*vedor da fazenda*) of His Majesty, passed through these parts coming from Tricalamale. Seeing the Friar in these conditions and having been informed that the King did not want to grant him permission to erect the church, he sent him a message and asked him in his name and in that of the Viceroy of India, who was his friend, to grant it. The King thereupon gave the necessary permission. As soon as leave had been granted, they all returned to land and after cutting down a piece of the forest, which was very thick there, they constructed a hut where the Friar said Mass in honour of the glorious Precursor of Christ, to whom he would dedicate the church, to the great joy of all. Then they continued their work and cleared another piece, where the big church and house, which we have there, was founded. This took place in 1604.⁴

Afterwards this same Friar, who loved to build churches and convert souls went to Manar, where there were already many Christians, but since some lived far from the church, he built them another. He also built the large church of Our Lady of Miracles in Jafanapatao, as we have already related. After we had taken possession of the Island of Tanadiua, which the King had given us for our College, as has been said, with his own hands he baptized all the inhabitants, so that there remained in the whole Island not a single pagan. In the year 1605, there were more than four thousand souls. He asked the Talians, i.e. the Elders (*Talaivan*) and leaders of the villages, for each of them to give him one of their sons to educate them and be his companions. And since there were so many Christians in the Island, he constructed another church under the title of N. S. da Saude. And since he was untiring in the service of God and the welfare of his neighbour, he frequently crossed over to Jafanapatao to make converts, such as those he made at Point Pedro (na Ponta da Pedras) and at Panangaro⁵ and in the whole Kingdom, where he converted and baptized many among whom the white Modiliar (Mudiliar branco), Dom Pedro, who was one of the Governors of the Kingdom, another Arache Modiliar and many notables and nobles of the Royal Household. He was also instrumental in introducing Christianity to Mantota, where we already have from three to four thousand Christians. All this happened in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao while the pagan King, who ruled there, was still alive. After his death, when the Portuguese took possession of the Kingdom, many more churches were built, and between the years 1624 and 1626, alone, our Friars baptized fifty-two thousand souls and the Prince and the Queens and other persons of the Royal House, as we will see further down.

Chapter 39

Concerning the churches we have in the regions of Mantota and a number of cases of particular interest which occurred there.

F. 862 The region of Mantota lies on the opposite side of the Island of Ceylon, where too Jafanapatao is situated. The latter borders on it, and beginning with Batalou and Tricalamale its jurisdiction reaches as far as Pareangali.¹ The region of Mantota, however, extends from Pareangali to Aripo Charaue², more or less some three or four leagues of coast-line. The region of Mantota is subject to the Captain of Manar. It is rich in horned-cattle (gado vacum)³, hence there is an abundance of milk and butter. There is a good deal of honey and rice and other vegetables for which they have fields which they sow. In the forests there are elephants, bears⁴, deer and wild boar in great numbers, also many fruit-trees from which the inhabitants maintain themselves.

All the Christians in this region, and there are many, were converted by the Franciscan Friars. Who laboured there the hardest was Friar Betancor for in the days of obedience sent him to these places, there were only a few, whom our Friars from Manar had made. He displayed such zeal in the conversion of these people that he brought the majority of them to the knowledge of our Holy Faith and founded the church of N. S. da Saude and others, so that at present our Friars have five churches in all: N. S. da Saude of Mantota, N. S. da Boa Viagem (Our Lady of Good Voyage), N. S. da Salvacao (Our Lady of Redemption) of Nanata (Nanattan), S. Tiago of Pareangali (Pari-yarikandal) and S. Cruz of Chitueli (Chiruveli). Though the last two belong to the district of Jafanapatao, the jurisdiction of which, as we have said, reaches down to Pareangali, they are situated closer to Mantota.

In the aforesaid church of N. S. da Saude, the principal one of Mantota, there is a statue of Jesus at the age of twelve, considered very miraculous. It was made in Jafanapatao where the craftsmen reside. It happened that when the sculptor, a pagan by the name of Picha (Piccai) sawed a piece of wood for the arms, he found in it a piece of gold, weighing ten fanams. Friar Antonio de S. Maria⁵, the Rector of the church of N. S. da Saude and one time Commissary in that region and a steady worker in the vineyard of the

Lord, who had ordered the statue, was in Jafanapatao when they found the gold. The craftsman only told him that the statue would be miraculous. When the Friar asked him why, he only replied him that one day he would tell him. After two days when he had fashioned the arms, at the time wanted to attach them, the right arm burst open and they found another eight fanams of gold. The man went home very much satisfied and with wonder at what he had seen with his own eyes told some friends, adding that he was afraid to tell the Friar lest he take the gold as a relic. However he was reassured and showed it to the Friar and all the other Friars who resided in the house of Jafanapatao, who were all amazed. F. 863
Seculars who came to know also marvelled, and a certain Manoel de Zousa, a notable who was married there, bought it and with great devotion hung it in a small casket from his neck.

The fame of the miracle of the gold spread and they began making crosses from the piece of wood, of which the image of the Child had been made. And Friar Antonio returned to his house at Mantota, taking with him that precious statue and placed it in the church of N. S. da Saude, where the Holy Child is venerated by all. Many approach it with great devotion and He is served by performing miracles and cures for these people. A woman was cured by drinking water in which this wood had been steeped. She was very ill and was not able to retain anything, and on drinking this water was cured. By the time this was written, five sick persons had been cured. All this took place in the year 1632.

The same Friar brought, together with the statue of the Child Jesus, to the church of Mantota, an image of Our Lady and on the same day, the feast of St. Ursula and Companions it rained for the time in many days. The peasants who had sown their fields had begun to worry about the lack of rain and had even wept. The Friar, aware of this, promised to place the statue in her niche, in the following month of November, on the feastday of her Presentation. When the time came to gilt her hair, almost the same moment they touched her hair with the gold, it began to rain, eight days, to the great satisfaction of all, since there had been such great need, and fields already swon. They understood that through the merits of the Virgin, her Son had done this favour and the Friar fulfilling his promise, solemnly placed the statue on her altar on the day of her Presentation.

He also brought along a statue of St. Anthony with the intention of giving it to the church at Manar, but arriving at Mantota, it became so conspicuous on account of the many miracles, that he

had to change his decision, for the Saint, who until then was unknown to the people (something to be amazed at), wanted to make himself known to them by returning to them things they had lost three or four years ago, thus helping many poor who were not able to work. Moved by devotion towards the Saint and forced by what God, Our Lord, had done through his intercession, with great insistence they begged the Friar not to remove the Saint, something he eagerly granted and thus complied with their legitimate desires. This Friar in a letter he wrote to St. Francis Friary, Goa, to a grave Religious, who is the actual Definitor of the Province, related three cases, which he considered miraculous. Since he is a trustworthy writer, I have recounted them for the glory of God, who was pleased to open the fountains of His mercy for these new Christians so that they might be confirmed in the Faith and possess a greater devotion towards His Saints.

F. 864

At the church of the Holy Cross of Chittiueli,⁶ which as we have said is listed among those belonging to Mantota, the following occurred: When Friar Fernando de Visitacao⁷, as Rector in that place, there was an honourable native Christian by the name of Don Antonio of the Malabar caste (casta Malauar), who was the head of a village called Capate and whose mother, though himself had been a Christian for many years, was still a pagan. Every time he spoke to her about becoming a Christian, pointing out to her that her son was already one, she invariably replied that the time had as yet not come. One day she walked from her house to the church, a distance of about a quarter of a league and addressing the Friar said that it was now time for her to become a Christian. The Friar gladly baptized her after having instructed her properly. After the Baptism she returned in her own to the house, without giving any signs of sickness. On the following night when all were asleep, she entered into her death-struggle and knowing she was to die, she repeated the name of Jesus. Her son, having been awakened, saw she was in her last agony and only had time to place a candle in her hand. With the most Holy Name of Jesus on her lips she expired. All who remained were convinced that her name was written in the book of Life, for she knew how to die.

Chapter 40

Concerning the great tribulation which overtook the new Christians of Jafanapatao on account of their persuasion and how our Friars came to their assistance

From the experience we have gained in the Orient, we know that the harvest, which the ministers gather from their preaching, is very meagre in the territories subject to the pagan Kings. Though there is no lack of persons who have been enlightened by God and grasp the truth of His Law and are willing to accept it, withall/they are filled with fear for those who govern them and therefore either do not profess His doctrine or, if they do, are subjected to so many evils that the others who see them, fearing lest the same ill-fortune befall them, do not even want to hear the name of Christian. For those who rule the people, are themselves ruled by the ministers of the temple, who generally are Brahmins, open enemies of Christianity. On their advice, unjust laws are promulgated against all who receive Baptism. Some are despoiled of their lands, others of their goods others of the positions they occupy or may occupy, and since the love of these things, on account of the weakness in which our humanity is held due to original sin, is so difficult to uproot from the human heart, the fruit we garner from our preaching is not abundant, though there are many who have grasped the truth, but few who have the courage to profess it. F. 865

What is most tragical is that even Kings, who are friendly towards the State and are vassals of the King of Portugal and seek to preserve our friendship, do not feel themselves obliged to favour our Religion, as is clear from the King of Cochin, who, though he is a great friend of the Portuguese and a brother-in-arms to El Rey, frequently heavily penalized those who accepted our doctrine. In this matter the King of Jafanapatao followed his footsteps. Though he was our vassal and had received the Kingdom from our hands (for he was the one Andre Furtado¹ had designated on the death of his uncle, as we have already related), he never ceased to discourage his vassals from accepting the doctrine of Christ.

In these days Fr. Manoel de S. Mathias was the Rector of Jafanapatao concerning whose zeal for the salvation of souls we have already spoken in the course of this history. Very often when he was with the nobles of the Kingdom or with the King, he tried to persuade them to abandon the vanity of their gods and accept the true doctrine of Christ, for only in this doctrine salvation is found.

He disputed with the Brahmins and since he was well-acquainted with the stories of their religion, he convinced them and put them to shame, pointing out the errors in their own writings and how unworthy of veneration were those whom they considered gods. On the one hand they felt the ridicule which each day they heard concerning their gods, on the other hand they saw how, due to the preaching of this servant of God, many were converted and baptized. This was the reason why they sought means to expell the Friar, without incurring the indignation of the Viceroy of India and the Portuguese, and, at the same time, /hinder the wonderful progress Christianity was making. And after debating long, and being taught by the devil, they agreed that all persons of whatever status they might be, on meeting a Christian should spit (which is considered a great insult among them) and say: O unfortunate and low person, you who have abandoned your gods, you are the disgrace of your forefathers and your parents, for you have accepted as your God one who was scourged and crucified.

F. 866

And since the majority of the Christians were noble and of the better class, this was the best way of combating our Religion the devil could have invented. And since nothing else could be done against this devilish plan, it was decided to choose two of their most learned and considered men to debate with two scholars among the Christians. The one (Christian) was already old but the most learned in the country. He had been a teacher of Guirandao,² which is their Latin and in which the Vedas, their Scriptures, are written. He was of a noble family, since he was the son of a Prince of that Kingdom, whose Christian name I have been unable to discover, but whose pagan name was Chatampi. The other was a weaver, by the name of Paul, who know how to read and write, and while still a pagan had gone to Chilabalao,³ to the coast, on pilgrimage, and other famous temples more than twenty times. He had brought many books pertaining to their sect to this Kingdom. Since he had good common sense and was enlightened by God, seeing the evil of the idols and the wickedness of their followers, and on the other hand considering the celestial doctrine of our Holy Faith, he came to our Church, which in these days was nothing more than a hut, was converted and baptized by the Friar. This Christian, Paul, was filled with such enthusiasm, that he seemed to be a disciple of St. Paul. He preached our doctrine to all with such liberty, as if he were a preacher by profession. He confounded the pagans and converted many, bringing them to the Rector by day and by night, whenever and however possible, since there existed a law, promulgated by the King that whosoever converted a pagan, not only

he but also the one converted should be put to death. On account of his zeal for the conversion of souls, the pagans called him Cotta Padre i.e. black Father. Since he was the chief helper of the Friar, the King ordered him to be taken and put in prison. His purpose was to put him to death, but fearing the Friar, he tried to make him apostatize from our Holy Religion, arguing continuously with him. But he was not able to achieve anything, since the Holy Ghost had formed him with His grace. After twenty days he was released and went to the church to hear Mass. The Rector, with three or four married Portuguese was standing near the door of the church and seeing him enter the church, asked him what the King had wanted. To which he replied "The soul belongs to God, whoever wants the body can have it," and went to the church. The Portuguese were all edified, seeing the fortitude and courage of a recent Christian. Seeing how the King persecuted those whom he knew wanted to become Christians, for he captured them and loaded them with irons or exiled them to the forests, and of those who were converted, he imprisoned their relatives and persecuted them in other ways as well and ordered them to be told that if they returned to paganism, he would release their relatives and would grant them other favours, since he saw all this, he offered to go to Goa at his own expense and lodge a complaint with the Viceroy. The King was so opposed to these two Christians that he asked the Rector to send them outside his Kingdom. Since they disturbed the peace, he wanted to send them to Manar where he would very honourably support them. To this suggestion the Friar replied that if they had committed any crime, he would gladly do so, but if it was because they were good Christians, and showed others the way to Heaven, neither should His Highness make such a request, nor anyoody else comply with it, but rather die to preserve and defend them. F. 867

The King and his Council having finally decided what we have already related, viz: that a pagan on meeting a Christian should spit on the ground, and insult him in the manner we have described, he ordered this decision to be carried into execution. Since the Christians were greatly perturbed on account of this novel treatment they received, the Rector found it necessary to offer a remedy, even if it were necessary to expose himself to all the dangers of the world. He choose three men, natives of the country, who knew how to speak well. One of them was his topaz⁴ whom he paid sixty pardaos a year besides his food, because he was the best in the whole of Malaur and in those parts, and a very good Christian as well. He went with him to Nelur, the place where the King resided and had his palaces, and where every evening a fair, i.e. a Chandeas⁵ was held to which many people flocked. Before the fair began, the Friar

went among the Chantins (*chetti*), who after the Brahmins are the most honourable caste of this Kingdom, who were standing opposite a shelter near the Royal palaces, which shelter had a number of windows through which the King could watch whatever took place at the fair.

F. 868 As soon as they saw the Friar, many gathered around him, among them one who was considered the most learned in their errors. When these people were assembled, the Friar ordered a boy of from five to six years old to recite the Credo in Tamil as loudly as possible. He did this and since he had a good voice, all heard him, the King in his shelter included. After the boy had recited the Credo, the Friar explained it to the bystanders, who asked some questions and were satisfactorily answered. And when they had grasped the nobility of our doctrine, he proved to them that the greatest honour which man could possibly have, was for the Creator to suffer for the salvation of souls, not in so far as He is God, but in so far as He is man. This he explained in such an evident a manner, that all were satisfied.

After this he ordered the boy to recite commandments in the same manner. The people were delighted at their perfection and how conformable they were to natural reason. Again they put questions, especially about killing, for, they said, if God has forbidden us to kill, why do you kill cows, for the fact that we kill them amazes them, since for them the cow is something divine. After all this, the Friar said he had preached this Law of the true God and King not once, but many times to all the Princes and Modiliars and other notables of the Kingdom and to the Brahmins in their own temples and that no one had been able to point out any flaw neither had they noticed anything which might be a reason for them to ridicule it or which might be a dishonour to those who profess it. Rather should they be ashamed of following the Law they professed, for it was full of wickedness and turpitude, as he himself had so often pointed out to them. Thereupon he began recalling many of their errors against natural reason, recounting the stories about their false gods, mentioned in the Vedas, some of whom were changed into pigs, others into jogues and mendicants, and others, whose lives and morals were so bad, that they were adulterers and murderers and committed crimes too shocking to be mentioned, and what was worst of all, those who committed them, were held as gods.

He concluded his discourse by saying that these are the gods a man should be ashamed of adoring, not of Him who in His overgreat goodness and mercy wanted to be born of a most pure Virgin and become man, of His own free will, die on a Cross to free us from the slavery of sin and take us to Heaven. Having stated all these things with much fervour, the people were very much confused and thenceforward did not dare to spit or insult the Christians, on the contrary, when they saw them, they turned their faces away, ashamed of their gods and thus an end was put to this evil which could have caused much damage to the propagation of Christianity.

Chapter 41

How on a certain occasion eight hundred Christians from Jafanapatao embarked, leaving their country that they might not be deprived of their Religion

F. 869 Concerning the Prophet Elias, Sacred Scripture in the 15th chapter of the 3rd Book of Kings, tells us, after he had killed the false prophets of the idol Baal, seeing himself threatened by Queen Jezabel, he fled to the desert and went to Mount Horeb, where he hid in a cave. God visited him there and finding him sad and afflicted asked him the reason for his sorrow. To which he replied that it was his zeal for His Law, for though the sons of Israel had an obligation to observe it, they did just the contrary and abandoning Him, had acknowledged the idol Baal as their God. God then told him that he should not be disconsolate, because not all the Israelites were idolaters and had taken Baal as their God. There were eight thousand in Israel who had preserved the Faith and had not bent their knees to Baal.

The great ease with which some native Christians return to the cult of the idols, which they once abandoned, has given many persons an opportunity of holding that they were very poor Christians and their Christianity was not very deep. There were indeed many of them who received our doctrine as the truth, who believed that there is but one God and that all idols are false and inventions of the Brahmins. Now the inconstancy of some should not prejudice us against all, for it is clear that among those who accept our doctrine, there are both good and bad. If this was not the case, Our Lord would not have compared the Faith to a net which is spread in the sea and catches all kinds of fish, which are brought to the beach and the good ones selected and the bad ones thrown away. Whoever considers the sons of Israel and sees how often they fell away from the Faith, seeking idols and abandoning the adoration and cult of the true God, though they were born of Patriarchs, taught by prophets, overwhelmed with so many divine blessings, enlightened by so many wonders, which God performed in Egypt and throughout their journey in the desert, will not be surprised to discover that these were poor Christians have at times regressed, for some are only recent converts, the parents and relatives of others are still pagans,

some of their relatives are even teachers of their doctrine. Moreover they are rude and have been brought up in these errors and superstitions. Therefore we should rather thank God for the mighty strength of His grace, for though they are such, He has brought and still brings many of them to the bosom of the Church, some of whom are so good, as if they were Christians from their birth.

To prove the truth of this statement we could quote some examples and we will do so in the course of this history, but for the present let it suffice to narrate here now, from among such a small and recent community as that of Jafanapatao eight hundred men were found who abandoned their country, their lands and all they had and embarked for foreign shores, in order not to endanger their Religion. This is sufficient proof to show that among the native Christians, there were many who did not bend their knees to Baal.

It all happened as follows: When Airez de Saldanha¹ arrived in India as Viceroy in the year 1600, he found a number of complaints lodged against the King of Jafanapatao. The King had granted the right of passage to the King of Candea (with whom we were at war) to transport powder, salpetre, sulphur, cloth and other articles, which arrived from the Chromandel coast in champanas, were discharged at the seaports of Jafanapatao and then by bullock-carts taken to Candea, whence they brought musk, precious stone and betel-nut. Though the King of Jafanapatao was our friend and even our vassal, withall, on account of the profits involved, he allowed this passage against the very provisions of the peace-treaty, thus causing great harm, for in this manner the King of Candea was able to fortify himself, and provide himself with the ammunition he needed for the almost continuous war he waged against the Portuguese.

These were the first complaints the Viceroy received at Cochín, the place where he arrived in India. He therefore ordered Manoel Barreto da Silua, the chief Captain of Manar to go to Jafanapatao to negotiate in this matter and if necessary mete out punishment for these and other misdemeanours. The Captain of Manar assembled as big a fleet as possible, almost 300 Portuguese and 700 Careas, which was sufficient for this expedition. He arrived in Jafanapatao but the King who had been informed why he came refused to deal with him unless on a war-basis for which he had assembled his army, which amounted to some twelve thousand men.

The Rector of the house there, Friar Manoel de S. Mathias, visited the Captain in his *manchua*². He received him gravely and said he had been informed that he refused to leave Jafanapatao. Since he had been sent by the Viceroy to chatise the King, it was not right that a Religious should remain there, as they would kill him. To which the Friar replied that if all the Christians of that Kingdom would embark he would do the same, but even if only two remained, he would be the third, because he was their shepherd and it was not becoming to leave the sheep in danger, while he would be seeking security. However, if it was necessary for his companion to embark with all the ornaments and the bell of the church, he would immediately see to it. The Captain sarcastically remarked that the Christians were such that even if they were ordered to do so, only about four would obey. In the end the Friar returned to his church and seeing that things were taking a turn for the worst, for they were taking up arms, he went to the King, on the way meeting many armed persons, who however made place/ for him and showed him courtesy.

F. 871

On entering the palace, he found all the doors open and the King seated on a velvet chair, robed in a beautiful Cabaia (*cabaya*), surrounded by many princes and Modiliars, all standing. After having greeted him in the customary fashion, he turned to the Princes and said: What evil has this King and this Kingdom done that you try to destroy both? And turning to the King, he said: What evil have these princes and people done to you that you wish to destroy them? Do you not know that the King of Portugal is a father and as such treats his people, also that he is a mighty lord and chatises them, when they do not behave as children? He replied that he knew this very well and that it was three days and three nights that he had been sitting in that chair, without eating or drinking or sleeping. He added that the Moors had come to tell him that the galeot of the Chief Captain was pulled up on dry land and that they could easily take it, but that he had sent them away, for, though he had enough men to combat Manoel Barreto and defeat him, afterwards another might come, whom he would not be able to overcome. He therefore placed everything in his hands, since he was the Father of the Portuguese, and holding his cord he said they should go and speak with the Captain, wherever he wanted the parley to be held. The Friar approved of the terms and said that he would speak with the Captain and added that with trust in God, everything would turn out right. He went to the General to give an account of what had transpired at the King's. Of the little over one thousand native Christians, about eight hundred had already embarked without their having been told or ordered to do so. The only thing which had urged them was the realization that in case of war with the Portuguese, if they

were to remain in the country, the King would force them to abandon their Faith, as was the custom. They therefore preferred to lose everything, rather than expose themselves to the danger of losing their souls.

For this reason they embarked in the fleet of the Captain who decided to take them to the Island of Tanadiua, which belongs to us. Some of them had come from a distance of two or three leagues, did not know whither they were going, neither did they bring anything along except what they had on their backs. This caused great admiration to the Captain. It seems that God wanted to show how wrong was the opinion he had of these Christians, hence he was greatly edified. The Portuguese could not stop wondering at such Faith among these new Christians. Several days they remained in the boats and the Rector and his companion took great trouble to provide them with all necessities, till finally the Captain came to a satisfactory agreement with the King/ and the peace-treaty having been signed F. 872 the Christians disembarked and each one went back to his own home.

Chapter 42

How Chingali proclaimed himself King of Jafanapatao on the death of King Para Raxa Chegra Pandara

Above we related how Andre Furtado de Mendonca, after having subjugated the Kingdom of Jafanapatao and killed that wicked King, in the name of His Majesty, had appointed one of his nephews, Para Raxa Chegra Pandara as Governor and King of that Kingdom. He was confirmed in office by the Viceroy Mathias d'Albuquerque and lived 28 years in his Kingdom. When he was about to die, knowing he could not appoint a successor without order from His Majesty or his Viceroy in India, he called one of his elder brothers, named Arca Guerari Pandara¹ and entrusted the Kingdom to him. He also asked him to write to the Viceroy informing him that he had a son, seven or eight years old, and requesting him that when this boy had come of age, he be allowed to succeed him and in the meantime he, the elder brother, rule. At the same time he urged him to maintain peace and friendship with the Portuguese.

When the King had died, the brother went to the royal palaces and was acknowledged as Governor of the Kingdom. This lasted only a few days, for some other relatives of the same royal blood, began to cause disturbances, as each one of them desired this position for himself. The one who aspired most to the post of Governor was Chingali Cumara (Sankili Kumara), who gathering a group of his party one day went to where the Governor was staying, at a time he was not on his guard, which is at midday, when the inhabitants repose. The Governor, on seeing him, was surprised and fearing what it could be, asked him: Son, why have you come like this? This is not the time to be wandering about.

The Chingali replied: You will soon see; and with that he killed him and a Modiliar who was with him. Then leaving the palace, he ran to the houses of the others, who were of royal blood and who might succeed to the Kingdom, and setting fire to their houses, killed them all, except one, who escaped, a brother-in law of Chingali, called Lecu Cumara², whom he later captured and had his eyes put out, thinking that if he alone remained, he could retain the Kingdom in peaceful possession. He then had himself proclaimed King and was obeyed by the Modiliars and the people though they had the intention of killing him as soon as he would leave the palace.

Sensing the opposition on the part of the Modiliars, he decided to put them to death. He, therefore, ordered them to be called. Walking up and down in a large hall, which served as a fencing-school, he spoke with them for a while, after which he entered another house or room, where they said he had dug a pit to bury all the Modiliars in. The latter, seeing him restless and suspecting something, the last time he entered that room, for the whole time he was going in and out, they all went outside and grouped themselves together. When Chingali returned and did not find anybody, he pretended not to care.

On account of this and other cruelties he perpetrated on his vassals and also because he had decided to leave the Kingdom on his death to one of his nephews, and it was many days since the Prince, the son of the deceased King, had been seen and it was not known by the tyrant Chingali, all the people assembled at the gates of the palace and with shouts and cries demanded to see Chingali. They said that if he wanted to be King and ruler, he should grant these things. In the first place he should give them their Prince and heir to the Kingdom. Secondly, he should surrender those who had killed the other heirs. Thirdly, he should expell the dancing-girl he had taken with him and marry one of the Queens.

Chingali finding himself in this predicament and knowing that all the people were assembled, did as if he were willing to abide by their decisions. He appeared at one of the windows and raising his hands aloft, made a cringing gesture to the people. Then taking the boy-prince in his arms, he showed him to the people, who as soon as they saw him, recognized him, fell on their faces, thus reverencing him as their King and Lord. Then convinced that he would have to surrender the killers, before opening the doors Chingali ordered the people to assemble outside the walls, which they immediately did. However, the people becoming suspicious at what might happen, surrounded all the palaces. At the time they could only lay hands on the Modiliar, who had been the cause of the brother-in-law having his eyes plucked out, and with many insults they dragged him around the palaces, where they left him dead.

After this had taken place, Chingali, who had been informed that the Modiliars were gathering the people against him, since he was not courageous, did not dare to wait for them, but accompanied by five thousand men he had there with him, went to the Quay of the Elephants³ to fortify himself there in the church of St. John the Baptist which is such that it can serve as a fortress and key to the whole Kingdom. The Modiliars seeing themselves rid of Chingali and his whole Government, fell from one error into another, for,

F. 874

as we have said, on abolishing the Government of Chingali, they invited a Prince (thus they call all those of royal blood who also can inherit the throne), a nephew of the wicked King, whom Andre Furtado killed, who was residing in Ramancor (*Ramesvaram*). They sent ambassadors to tell him he should come immediately, if he wanted to take possession of the Kingdom, for he would never find a more favourable opportunity than this when the Government was in their hands. He need not fear the Portuguese, for the majority had been killed, and, to overcome the rest, only a small force was required. The Prince though he wanted to come and be King, something he desired more than anything else in the world, and also understood that this was a wonderful opportunity, withall, allowing prudence to prevail, he waited for a second invitation, which, as well will soon see, indeed was sent.

In the meantime Chingali did not neglect to do what he could. Desirous of gathering a larger force to have himself obeyed in the Kingdom, he asked help from the Naique of Tangaor (*Tanjore*), which is situated on the other coast. He immediately set out with many Badagas⁴. As their Captain he appointed the King of the Careas, Varana Gulata (*Varnakulattar*), an implacable enemy of the Portuguese. When Chingali thought he had enough forces to subdue the Kingdom, he crossed over to the Island of Cardiu⁵, near Jafanapatao and separated from it by small bar called "falsa"⁶. When the Modiliars and the rest of the people came to know this, they all joined together and went in search of him. When they arrived, a spirited battle ensued, each side trying to defeat the other. Though the Modiliars fought valiantly and as good knights, they were defeated and retired, each one to the place which seemed best. When the people found themselves without leaders, they went to Chingali and brought him to their houses and accepted him as their King and Lord, and for some months there was peace in the land.

Chapter 43

**How the General of Ceylon sent help to Jafanapatao.
Chingali captured and His Majesty proclaimed King of
that realm.**

Rightly does the Prophet and King in one of his psalms compare the glory of the wicked to a reed, which the first passer-by plucks, for, though at times with divine assent they realise their pretensions, it lasts so brief that it seems they rose more to experience confusion than to possess glory. A proof of this truth we find in the case of Chingali, whom God allowed, after he had killed so many Princes, to assume the sovereignty, but which served only for his confusion, for what he ultimately gained was a trip in irons to Goa, where he was beheaded. However, in a way he was fortunate as well, for though he lost his Kingdom and his life, he did not lose his soul, as we piously believe, for finding himself at the gates of death and being enlightened by Him who knows to lead men along diverse ways to salvation, he asked for Baptism and died a Christian and in death edified the world as much as he had scandalized it in life. F. 875

As we have said, this tyrant remained only a few months in the possession of his Kingdom, enjoyed peace and was acknowledged as King. It seems as if the deceitful world only allowed him to enjoy it for a brief period of time, just to take it away again. For Constantino de Saa, the General of Ceylon, having been informed of all these disorders, wanted to put things right, as that Kingdom belonged to his jurisdiction. For this purpose he sent Philippe d'Oliveira (at the time he was the Chief Field-Captain)¹ with two hundred soldiers and many lascarins to the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, with instructions as to what had to be done. Having arrived, not however without many troubles as it was the dry season, he presented himself to the Friars Minor at the church of N. S. dos Milagres and from that hour chose Her as his Advocate for the enterprise. He then set himself to the task for which he had come and asked the Rector of that house, Friar Manoel de S. Maria², whose aim was to serve both God and His Majesty, to approach Chingali and tell him that he had come to make three demands. Firstly, he demanded that the Badagas who were there be handed over. Secondly, he should surrender the King of the Careas whom he brought from the other coasts to gain the Kingdom, for he knew very well that both the Badagas and that King were enemies of the Portuguese. Thirdly, he should pay to the Treasury of His Majesty the money which he owed for the elephants he had purchased.

F. 876 The Friar acceded to the request and went to Chingali. He told him what Philippe d'Oliueira demanded. The King replied that as far as the Badagas and the King of the Careas were concerned, he would never surrender them, as they had come at his request. The only thing he would do, was to tell them to return to their territories. As far as the money for the elephants was concerned, he would immediately pay five thousand pardaos, and another five thousand three months hence. Having given this reply, he did not feel secure where he was, namely in some of his houses, since the Arache Dom Luiz had burnt down the royal palaces, and transferred to a temple where he seemed to be more secure./ There he ordered his men, fully armed, to be deployed and allowing the old hatred for the Portuguese to surge up in him, he ordered the Rector to be called, as also a Portuguese gentleman from the Island of the Cows, by the name of Antonio Rebello, a man highly respected in those areas. Then holding an unsheathed sword in his hands, he said: Gentlemen, tell the Chief Captain to embark for Ceylon and when he has arrived in Malanuale ⁴, three days journey from this Kingdom, I will make the Badagas and the King of the Careas also embark for their countries. Then too I will send the five thousand pardaos for the elephants.

Philippe d'Oliueira understood that this message was nothing else but a trap and realised that he would not be able to accomplish his aim unless by the force of arms. Therefore, on the following day, after having attended a Mass in honour of Our Lady, to whom he had recommended his enterprise, he ordered the drums to be beaten and the men to be placed in order by their Captains. Then they marched outside the town, the Dissaua, the Captain of the native troops, in front. They had gone less than a quarter of a league when they met the troops of Chingali face to face, who on seeing them discharged their guns not once but twice. Thereupon the Dissaua, Luiz Cabral, attacked just when the Chief Captain was hurrying to their aid. But already they were weakening to such an extent, that when they saw him, they fled, leaving their arms on the field. After they had pursued them a certain distance and had killed many of them, the Captain ordered the signal to retreat to be blown.

While they were retreating with the spoils, the King of the Careas with his men followed them. Thereupon our men turned and attacked fiercely, so that they too were repulsed, leaving their arms behind. And if it hadn't been that there were many thorns on the ground and our men without shoes, on that day they would have gained a stupendous victory. They would have finished all of them. But even

then they cut off more than hundred heads which the Captain presented to N. S. dos Milagres to whom he had recommended the enterprise. They remained on the battle-field to see whether they would return. On seeing that they did not come back, he marched his men to Nelur, where it seemed there was a better place to lodge his men, in a temple which was there.

The Chingali, from the encounter he had with the Portuguese, which was the first he had had, understood what powerful enemies they were. Therefore, to re-inforce his army, which had been badly demoralized, he secretly fled to the other coast. However, the Chief Captain was informed of his flight and hurriedly sent two boats in pursuit. Half-way the Gulf they caught him and brought him to the Chief Captain. With heavy irons on his feet he was secured in his own quarters. From there he was sent to Ceylon, to the General Constantino de Saa, who, in order to finish the matter, sent him a prisoner to Goa, to the Governor of India, Fernando d'Albuquerque⁵. The matter was placed before the Court and he was condemned to be beheaded.

F. 877

During the whole period he was in prison, our Friars from St. Francis Friary, Goa, went to visit him. Seeing that this was a good opportunity, they persuaded him that though he would lose his life, he need not lose his soul and therefore should accept the doctrine and receive Baptism, the only means of salvation. Being favoured by God, he said that he wanted to become a Christian. The same Friars baptized him and gave him the name of Dom Philippe. The same they did to his wife, to whom they gave the name of Margarida d'Austria. The Archbishop, Dom Frei Christouao⁶ was their godfather. For the occasion they were robed according to their status. His desire to become a Christian was so great, that in a very short time he learned the doctrine and confessed that from his childhood he had had the desire of receiving our Faith, since he understood (as Friar Pedro de Betancor, of whom he was a good friend had often told him) that it was the only true Religion, but that due to his being amongst his own, he had not been disposed to accept it. He therefore thanked God because he had brought him to the truth and the sanctity of His Law. He admitted too that he didn't mind dying, since he was dying a Christian, and that it was better to be a Christian coolie than a pagan King and that it pleased him more to have received the Law of Christ, than to have possessed many Kingdoms.

After the death-sentence had been read out to him, which he courageously heard, they placed a devout Crucifix on his table, with which he often conversed, so that those who understood were amazed. On the day he was to be beheaded, they built a stage on the

Quay of the Viceroy, decorated it with black cloth and placed thereon a carpet with a red velvet cushion. Accompanied by many Friars, who never left him, he arrived at the place. He did not allow his hands to be tied as is the custom, saying that it was not necessary, that he gladly underwent death. With the sweet name of Jesus on his lips, he was beheaded. After his death he was vested in the habit of our Order, which he had asked for before execution, and accompanied by our Friars, taken in procession to our St. Francis' church and there honourably buried in the Chapter-hall. His wife was placed in the convent of the Converts, where she still lives, to the edification of all.⁷

F.5878 To return to Philippe d'Oliveira, after he had captured/Chingali and sent him to Goa, he reorganised the whole Kingdom. Seeing that he was being obeyed by all, he assembled all the Modiliars, who are their Governors, and all the notables and he made them swear to acknowledge His Majesty as the King of that Kingdom, which they all very solemnly did. He then in the name of His Majesty swore to maintain peace and justice, to respect their privileges. He wrote all this to the Viceroy of India, Dom Joao Coutinho,⁸ Conde de Redondo, who rejoiced at these tidings and in the name of His Majesty thanked him and confirmed him in his post with the title of Governor of that Kingdom, thus proving that where merits abound, acknowledgement is not wanting.

How the Chief Captain, Phelippe de Oliueira comported himself during the first revolt of Jafanapatao and how the rebels were defeated

Though after the imprisonment of Chingali (Sankili), the whole kingdom had sworn allegiance to His Majesty and on the whole were enjoying peace, still there were some who roused by ambition, caused disturbances. In particular, there was a certain Arache, who recently (for fear he would otherwise have been put to death) had become a Christian and was called Dom Luiz, who already in the days of Chingali, of whom he was a bitter enemy, had gone to the other coast to plead for help and had assembled many men to have a Prince, who resided in Ramanancor, proclaimed as King. This Dom Luiz ¹ after Chingali had been captured and while the Chief Captain, Phelippe de Oliueira, was governing the Kingdom, from the coast where he was, began to disturb the country, courting the chief people and persuading them to revolt and proclaim the above-mentioned Prince as King. As soon as he had gained their good will, it seemed to him to be of importance to come to an agreement with the Danes ², to have them attack our Church on the Quay.³ After making themselves masters of that port and informing the Prince of what had been done and concerning the forces he had gathered, he asked him to come to where he was, to conquer the Kingdom, for this was the best opportunity. With this he came to Jafanapatao, where, assembling more than twenty-five thousand men, he went to the temple-fortress, where our men were/on the 2nd of (?), 1620.⁴ F. 879

At the time the Chief Captain had very few men at his disposal. Since he had accomplished his task, he had sent the army under the command of his son-in-law, Antonio da Mota, to Ceylon ⁵ and had only retained thirty Portuguese as a guard. Being of a courageous nature he did not lose his spirit on seeing himself surrounded by so many enemies and so few men on his side. On the contrary, he showed a cheeful countenance and began to put everything in order so as to be able to hold out till help would reach him from Ceylon. He did not doubt that it would arrive, for the General Constantino da Saa ⁶ had been informed. He put Francisco Pereira Senior in charge of the Portuguese of the place, who numbered some twenty, to defend our Church of N. S. dos Milagres. Of the thirty

soldiers he sent some to the church on the Quay to defend it and others he retained and placed under the command of Hyeronimo Botelho, regulating everything in such a manner as to be able to defend the temple where he was.

Dom Luiz having assembled all his troops, without waiting for the Prince, who wanted to see how everything worked out, marched to where the Chief Captain had established himself. Having placed some of his men in ambush, he set fire to one of our churches, which was nearby, with the hope that our men might rush to put out the fire and when they were outside the temple, he would be able to wipe them out easily, since they were so few and he with so many at his disposal. On seeing that they did not budge from their positions, he came to the town, to our church of N. S. dos Milagres and besieged it. However, our men, who only numbered some thirty, defended themselves so valiantly, that however hard they tried they were unable to approach it. Many were killed in the attempt because they were so many and were bunched together. They did not waste bullets on them, but with musket-shot and powder-pans kept them at a distance from the Church. Seeing how little they advanced, they returned to the town and the houses of the Portuguese, which they looted.

F. 880 It seemed to the Modeliards that with so many men they could not fail to capture the place. They therefore returned to the place where the Captain was in his fortress and with great impetus attacked. Again all their attempts came to nothing, for those inside defended themselves, killing many enemies. On seeing this they again desisted. In this state they remained almost a month. During this period our men withstood many assaults, in all of which they caused great damage to the enemy. They did not make any sorties because they were too few. They were satisfied with patiently undergoing these trials until help should arrive from Ceylon, which they expected any moment, for the General Constantino da Saa having heard of the siege, immediately despatched some ships by sea and an army by land. By sea he sent three ships loaded with men and ammunition under the command of Andre Coelho, an old and experienced Captain, who in years bygone captured a ship, on account of which feat he became famous in these parts. By land he sent Luiz Teixeira, Dissaua of Seven Corlas, an experienced and determined war-captain, with a hundred Portuguese soldiers and a thousand five hundred lascarins.

The three ships made a prosperous voyage and in short time arrived in Jafanapatao, where after disembarking the men and unloading the ammunition they went to the Chief Captain in his fort,

who received them with great joy. Luiz Teixeira within a few days entered the Kingdom. On his way he treated many of the inhabitants cruelly, which at the time seemed necessary. Arriving at the fort, he too was well received by the Chief Captain, who, finding himself so well provided, with the approval of his Captains decided to go out and meet the enemy. After having arranged all things accordingly, and after having recommended himself to Our Lady of Miracles and invoked her protection, also after all the men had gone to confession and Holy Communion, entrusting the fortress to Antonio de Motta, his son-in-law, and some men, with the rest he left the camp in search of the enemy army. Having encountered it, a brisk battle ensued and though the enemies were numerous and fought valiantly, still they were not able to turn the attack and fled, leaving many dead on the field.

After this victory, for which the Captain did not cease to thank Her, whom he acknowledge as the one who had granted it, he remained on the spot for several days, pardoning those who returned to obedience (of whom there were many), punishing those who did not. After the whole area had been reduced to obedience and peace had been re-established, he returned to his fort,. One day's journey before arrival, he received a message that the Prince of Ramancor had landed and that some people of the Kingdom had rallied around him. He had brought some six or seven hundred Malabarians, good warriors, along. Having marched for several days he arrived at a temple near Putur, two leagues from our fortress, with the intention of attacking it.

Phelippe de Oliueira, having been informed of all this, the first thing he did was to ask our Friars, who were attached to the church of N. S. dos Milagres, to say Mass for the welfare of the army and/the success of the war. After all had again gone to Confession and Communion, at midday, a time when the army was not on the alert, he ordered the army to march, silently, without the noise of instruments, not to give the enemy knowledge of their intentions. On sighting them, they attacked with such fury, discharging their muskets and grappling with them, that in a short space of time, they defeated them. Many were killed, the others throwing their arms down, fled into the forests. The Prince, seeing his army defeated, thought it the better course to surrender. On seeing Luiz Teixeira, who was reforming his army, he threw himself at his feet. He, however, lifted him up, took him by the hand and presented him to the Chief Captain, who was on his way to the town to thank Our Lady for the great victory. Inside the Friars were organizing a procession and came out with Cross and canopy to receive him. On seeing this

F. 881

the Captain stood against the wall and said that he would not proceed a single step, unless they took the canopy away, for the victory was not due to him but to God and His Blessed Mother.

Having put the canopy aside, Friar Manoel d'Eluas, who was then Commissary in those parts, placed a palm in his hands, which he kissed and forthwith returned saying that it should be given to Luiz Teixeira, who walked to the left with the Prince between them. After all had entered the church, while the Prince remained at the door the Chief Captain took the flag from one of the ensigns and with a fine gesture placed it at the feet of Our Lady on top of the steps. Then kneeling down, he prayed devoutly, thanking Our Lady for having obtained this victory from God and offering her this flag. Then rising, with Her permission, he handed it over to the officer (alferes) and returned to the fort, in the company of the Prince, a prisoner, whom he put in irons and afterwards sent to Ceylon, to the General Constantino de Saa.

This Prince was a young man of about twenty, light-complexioned, tall, with a good appearance. His beard was just beginning to form. He seemed to be of a cheerful nature and there was something royal in his bearing. With the permission of the Captain he was placed in a verandah, whence he could see the people. He spoke to them in the following manner: You with your crazy talk have disturbed me and your deceit has been the cause of my being in this state. These and other things he said with great passion, then turned around and walked inside.

F. 882 Thenceforward all returned to our jurisdiction, and bringing *their arms along, as the Chief Captain had ordered, they handed them over/* to the Modeliars, who were there already, for they had come from outside and seeing how badly things had been managed by their own, joined us. In this way more than a thousand five hundred guns were collected, besides bows and arrows and swords, both ordinary and broad-swords. The Danes who were waiting for a message from the King, having been informed as to what had taken place and that his army had been defeated, sailed to their own country. Dom Luiz, the Arache, somehow had been able to make his escape and came to the coast to ask the Naique for help. He then began a new war, as we shall see. However, they did lay hands on his wife, children and many of his household. The woman finding herself a captive, without hope of receiving any help from her husband, in despair committed suicide. Thus did the rebels come to their end, through a just judgement on the part of God, who allows the bad to perpetrate evil deeds, so that they may be punished with greater severity.

Concerning the second revolt of Jafanapatao and how
Phillippe d'Oliueira defeated the Badagas

After having gained this victory, the Portuguese enjoyed peace for a number of months. They were obeyed both by the Modeliards and the people. Nothing occurred which could have aroused any suspicion. But the enemy of peace (it seems he understood that a great harvest of souls would be reaped during the period of peace), not satisfied with past performances, began to invent others. He hoped to achieve something through Dom Luiz, who, as we have said escaped and went to the Coast. There he met the Naique of Tanjaor, to whom he told many lies and made him believe that with little effort, since there was no King of their own there, he would be able to conquer that Kingdom. He also told him that the majority of the Portuguese had been killed, that the survivors lacked the necessary equipment and that on seeing his army in the Kingdom they would depart and flee to the forests. He told the Naique so many things that in the end he was convinced and resolved to conquer the Kingdom. To bring this about, he sent two thousand Badagas, who are the best and most valiant warriors of his Kingdom. As Chief Field-Captain he appointed Cheni Naique, who belonged to the notables of Tanjaor, and as General Barnagolate the King of the Careas who on another occasion had grappled with the Portuguese.¹ F. 883

As soon as the *casados*² of Negapatao had heard of the designs of the Naique, in whose territories that city is situated, they hurriedly and very secretly sent a warning to the Chief Captain Phelippe d'Oliueira. At the same time they sent him some barrels of powder, a quantity of lead and other war equipment, for which he expressed his thanks, adding that he would not fail them in showing gratitude with deeds. In these days already we were more strongly fortified and in a better position to defend ourselves, because the temple had been broken down, which up to then had served as a fort, and all had retired to the house of N. S. dos Milgres, which had been fortified by a beautiful bastion, the foundations of which had been laid on the 15th of August, 1620, and dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption. On the opposite side another bastion had been erected the church being in the middle and surrounded by strong walls with *ceiteiras*³ and parapets.

After everything had been properly arranged, they all awaited the coming of the enemy, which occurred on the 5th of December, 1620. In order not to show any weakness, rather the contrary, it seemed good to them to go in search of them at Nelur, which lies half a league from the place they said the army had settled. Having assembled and occupied the places the Captain had allotted each man, they set out on the march. Friar Antonio de S. Phelippe⁴, as on other occasions, marched next to the Captain, a Crucifix in his hands. However, when they arrived, they were not there and they were obliged to retire, hoping to discover their designs. They did not delay long in searching for us. Our men rushed them and with great force attacked them firing their harquebuses, killing many. However they retorted and many of ours were wounded, for these fought valiantly and as men who knew the dangers of war and were trained.

F. 884 The Chief Captain, seeing the battle and aware of the danger we were in, attacked. He himself took the lead, but was recognized by the Badagas, who seeing near him the standard of Christ, sent seven lance-bearers to attack him. One of them wounded him on the mouth, ripping his lower lip and could easily have killed him, if God had not saved him for the welfare of that new Kingdom. The lance-bearer did not remain unpunished, for recommending himself to Our Lady of Miracles, whom he always bore in his heart and invoked in all dangers, he attacked the man who covered himself with a steel shield, and wounded him with his sword in such a manner that he died on the ground. The same he did with another. The others, seeing the strength of their adversary, fled. Finally/ to cut the story short, our men pressed them so hard that they fled and abandoned the field, not however without having first covered it with the dead. Our men then moved to the town where Friar Antonio de S. Phelippe had already taken the wounded and sheltered in the sacristy, where the Friars were then staying, since the rest was all occupied by soldiers. The Friars themselves moved to some huts near the Sanctuary of the church.

The enemy having experienced how different we were from what they imagined, feeling themselves insecure, began to entrench themselves about a league from the town and there they remained, not daring to attack us. Since they had lost many men, they asked the Naique for more, the brother of the King of the Careas taking the message. Whereas they did not receive any re-enforcements, we did. On the 14th of January, 1621, there arrived from Ceylon three Companies of ninety men each and a thousand lascarins. The Chief Captain then organized an army of a hundred and fifty Portuguese, besides the Lascarins and went in search of the enemy, who, as we

have said, were entrenched. He himself went on alone and spread the bulk of the army about the field, with the rear-guard near the big temple where we formerly had our fort. When those in the front had advanced up to the small temple, the enemy came out to receive them, but our men kept the small temple as their support, since at the entrance of the street the muskets on rests had been set up, which were so perfectly aimed that at the first firing, hardly a bullet was wasted and almost all those who had come in the front ranks were laid low. Our Lascarins made such haste in cutting off the heads, that in no time they informed the Chief Captain that a hundred had been beheaded. The Captain considering this and as a prudent man understanding that this could not be explained naturally, for only the front ranks had battled, asked: "Who killed them?" While saying these words, he glanced at the Crucifix, which the Friar held in his hands, knelt down and with him the rest of the party, and thus gave to understand that it was the power of the Lord, for whose Faith and honour he fought, which had brought about such destruction with so few and in such a short time.

Afterwards the enemy fought on for a short while, but seeing the great number of casualties, retreated towards their stockade. While the Lascarins were occupied in cutting off the heads of the fallen, our forces advanced towards their stockade, but when they arrived there, they discovered that it had been abandoned. They only found a great quantity of arms: muskets, guns, spears, bombs, powder and firing-pots. After having gathered all these spoils, they remained a few days in the fields of Putur to see whether the enemy would return. F. 885

The Captain too remained for some days to pacify the region. All the inhabitants, who returned to his jurisdiction, and they were many, he received with benignity. He rescued more than one thousand five hundred from the hands of the Chingalas, who had come from Ceylon to help, and had captured them during the war. The Captain after having rescued them sent them in peace to their homes, to their great contentment. And since he still awaited the help which the Badagas had asked from the Naïque, he sent word to his army to proceed to Chauacheira (Chavakachcheri), appointing Antonio de Mota, his son-in-law as the Captain thereof. Leaving the road leading up to the stockade of the Badagas, sown with headless bodies, the heads of which had been hung up by the hair from the trees or were lying on the ground, they retired to our settlement just at the moment that our Friar had gotten hold of the Captain at the door of the church, when he was trying to escape from the reception he knew they had prepared for him. From there they led him to the Sanctuary of

N.S. dos Milagres, chanting the *Te Deum*. Having thanked Our Lady and her Blessed Son for the grace of so great victories, he retired to his quarters.

After a few days news arrived from Negapatao saying that the Naique had sent more Badagas. At this the Chief Captain ordered three Captains to proceed with their Companies to a place called Rock-point (Ponta das Pedras: Point Pedro). At the same time he sent word to the army, which was at Chauacheira to go to the same place to impede the enemy. However, they disembarked safely, since they had missed each other, and went to a beautiful meadow, near a lake. They numbered about one thousand five hundred. Their Captain was a close relative of the Naique, whom he had appointed Governor of the Kingdom. He had even brought along the Moderliars and other officials with their wives, children, even cages with birds, dogs and cats, so certain were they of conquering that Kingdom and taking possession of it.

F. 886 As soon as the Chief Captain received information concerning their landing, he sent a letter to the Captain of the army with instructions. Then as one who has placed his full trust in N. S. dos Milagres, he went to the church, ordered all the candles to be lit on all the altars and together with our Friars, prayed from four o'clock/ in the evening till dawn, when he asked them to say Mass, which he attended with great devotion. He remained in the church until a letter arrived from the Captain of the army, in which he wrote: You may thank God for the victory He has granted us. Already they have decapitated some five hundred bodies. At this news he went to Our Lady and with tears in his eyes and with deep humility kissed the ground in the presence not only of the Friars, but of the seculars as well. Then with joy he ordered the bells to be rung and in thanksgiving the *Te Deum* to be sung.

Soon another letter arrived from the same Captain of the army, in which he wrote that they had already decapitated eight hundred and so many of the enemy had been killed, that there were not enough persons to behead them all. Thus were the Badagas finally defeated, without any loss to ourselves, which indeed was a miracle. Having collected the booty, our army marched to Nelur, leaving the battle-field covered with headless bodies.

The Chief Captain, that the victory might be suitably celebrated, ordered the chief Alferes with the flag of Christ, and accompanied by all the Captains and Companies that had remained behind to guard the town and church, to go to Nelur and bring the victorious

army. Then the whole group began the grand march. On the lances were affixed the heads, more than nine hundred, which had been cut off from the fallen. They brought along the arms and prisoners they had captured. Shortly before their arrival, the Chief Captain and the Friars with a Cross came out of the church to meet them. On arriving at the entrance an Arache Modelliari unwrapped the head he carried and threw it at the feet of Chief Captain. It was the head of the General and Governor, whom the Naique had sent. After singing the *Te Deum* and the customary oration in thanksgiving, the Ensign placed the flag near the altar of N. S. dos Milagres, where it belonged and all returned to their quarters. This victory was gained on the 11th of February, 1621. On the following day a Solemn High Mass was sung. The rest of the day was spent in feasting. Thus was the great victory and defeat of the enemies celebrated. Revolts in this Kingdom ceased, and up to the present peace has reigned, under the obedience of His Majesty and a Portuguese Governor, who since then has been appointed. The Arache Dom Luiz, who was the cause of all these disorders, finally met his reward. He was killed by Madune, who ordered his daughters to be taken away.

Chapter 46

Concerning a number of miracles wrought by Our Lady of Miracles during the Badaga war and how the Chief Captain Phelippe d'Oliveira attributed to her queenly favour the glory of his victories.

F. 887 Whoever reads this history will discover how the Mother of God, the Queen of Angels and Our Lady favoured the Portuguese in a special manner on various occasions when they were conquering these countries, showing herself good towards them, but terrible towards their enemies, in such a manner that in many dangerous battles, the enemies were defeated, whereas they emerged as victorious. Thus we have seen what happened at the second siege of Diu¹ and in the one at Chaul². On many other occasions as well, when we fought far more powerful armies, we have been visibly helped by the Virgin to achieve glorious victories. But she showed her greatest favour in the conquest of Jafanapatao, which was achieved more through her intercession than by our arms. Phelippe d'Oliveira understood this and openly confessed that he owed the glory of his conquests to Our Lady of Miracles, whom, on entering this Kingdom and learning how many wonders She performed, chose Her as his special helper and recommended himself with good faith to her in this church. He never went out to battle the enemies without begging Her favour. At times when news arrived of victories gained, he was in the church praying, as happened when the Badagas were defeated, the first time, as we have narrated.

Frequently our Friars have heard him say: Fathers, all the victories I have gained in this Kingdom have been miraculous. Our Lady of Miracles have granted them to me. Therefore all thanksgiving and praise is due to Her, for, as far as I understand, I was heading for disaster, but Our Lady has always directed me along the road which lead to victory. Once when one of our Friars was preaching on the feast of Our Lady of Miracles in his presence, he repeated there his words. After the Mass he went to him in his cell and thanked him for what he said and repeated the words several times.

There was no shortage of miracles by means of which Our Lady in a visible manner wanted to show that it was She, who granted the Portuguese these victories. Once in the course of the dangerous war with the Badagas, it happened that, while our front

ranks were battling, as we have already related, the shots could be heard at our church. The wives of the Portuguese, who had sought shelter there, frightened and full of fear lest disaster overtake them since the enemies were many and valiant, went to beg for mercy from Our Lady of Miracle, in whose house they were. Some were in the choir, others in the sanctuary and with tears and beating of the breast they began to plead for Her help. Then there appeared from the niche where Our Lady was, a brightness, the splendour of which they could not bear so that they bowed their heads deeply towards the ground. At the same time they felt in their hearts a confidence that Our Lady would help them, as indeed She did, conceding us the victory. The Image of the Virgin, which, as we will see further down, is imperfect and unpainted, was seen that day by all with face and hands coloured a vermillion and thus they remained for a period of two weeks. They were the same two weeks in which our army was in Putur and defeated the Badagas. F. 888

Before these wonders which were witnessed by all, on the day the enemies disembarked, as afterwards related by some of them, they saw on the bank of the river a beautiful Lady who asked them: What do you seek in this Kingdom? Why have you come, unfortunates? You will not be able to return to your countries. All these things were known to all and served to encourage them in the midst of all dangers and to increase the devotion all had towards Our Lady, especially Phelippe d'Oliueira, who in recognition of so many favours never went with his army to battle without having first come to church and dipped the flag to Her. He also ordered that the flag should always be placed in Her chapel. Thenceforward this has always been the custom.

Since Our Lady is linked up with everything that pertains to this Kingdom, when after the conquest they erected the fortress, they did not want to give it any other name but Our Lady of Miracles and thus it is called in all the court-papers and documents. And this Our Lady is held in such veneration, that many Religious do not dare to say Mass on Her altar, out of pure fear and reverence, withall the Captain, against the opinion of the Religious, determined that on her feast day, She should go in procession through the streets of the town, carried on a *charola*³, especially designed for this purpose and adorned with the most precious jewels of the country. The reason he gave for this decision was that as it was Her city and had been conquered through Her intercession, it was good for Her to visit it and bless it once a year, and thus it is carried out each year.

F. 889 Since the Religious of other Orders realized how much everybody owed to *this Our Lady*, they often said: *Your Reverences* must tell the Fathers to regulate their feasts in such a manner that they do not clash with any feast held in the church of Our Lady of Miracles and even if they do have some solemnity in another church, they should not fail to attend any function here, even if it is only a High Mass. This has been always observed.

He took such great care to increase the devotion to Our Lady that if any singer arrived, he immediately engaged him. If he could serve in the army as well, he would engage him as such and thus he would gain his livelihood, otherwise he would maintain him at his own expense. As long as he lived, however much occupied as he was, he never failed to attend the Litanies which were sung at night, the Mass which was said on Saturdays in honour of the Immaculate Conception and the Litanies, *Salve* and *Tota Pulchra*⁴ sung every Saturday night. The people too attended these functions and all the soldiers. Many carried candles so that in the church it did not seem night but bright day.

In this church there is a confraternity of Our Lady. He was its leader as long as he lived. Following his example all the Captains and soldiers were enrolled. On Saturday, by turns, they take charge, decorate the church and provide the altar with beautiful candles. And these things they do with great devotion and perfection. Even in death he wanted to demonstrate his great affection by ordaining that his body be buried in Her chapel, where it remained until it was transferred to a stone tomb erected in the same chapel.

While speaking of this famous Captain, we should not fail to mention one virtue, among others he possessed, viz. the great reverence he showed our Religious, in particular the esteem in which he held our Order. Thus it frequently happened that he was on his verandah speaking with the Modeliars and Araches, when he received word that one of our Religious had arrived. He would immediately arise and go to the head of the staircase, which was quite a distance, and in their presence (for they accompanied him) he would kneel down and kiss their habit. And if the Religious out of humility or courtesy would try to avoid this, he would say: Let me do this, Father, in front of all the people, for just as I show respect, they too will do the same. Very often he would say to the notables of the Kingdom, who were conversing with him: I am your Captain. I take the place of the King of Portugal and I have the power to put you to death, if you deserve such punishment. This

Friar (and he would point to him) however, and all the other Fathers in this Kingdom are above me and if they wish to take me, I shall cross my arms and go to prison. And if I want to provide a native Christian with an office, for which he has requested me, I must first demand a writing from Father to know how he behaves whether he is a good Christian and only then can I give him the office he has asked for.

It is certain that if our Friars and others were able to convert many inhabitants, as they did, it was only on account of the favour he always showed. As long as he lived, he performed praiseworthy works. It was he who founded the House of Mercy (Casa da Misericordia)⁵, and with his alms a large portion of the church of Our Lady of Miracles was constructed. Besides he built four of our churches, the House of the Dominicans and of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, both of which houses he himself maintained until provided for by the Viceroy of India. We may believe that he who performed so many pious works on earth, now enjoys the reward for them in Heaven.

Chapter 47

How the Bishop of Cochin, taking into consideration how much our Friars worked and still work for the Christian cause in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, gave them authority and permission to erect churches and exercise the office of pastors in the whole of this Kingdom

The Head of the household, who early in the morning went out to seek labourers for his vineyard, as St. Matthew writes in Chapter XX of his Gospel, on every occasion found men who were willing to work. Thus he found some in the morning, at the third, sixth and ninth hours, even at sunset. This seems to prove that they were desirous of working. Moreover it seems that, since it was in the public market-place that the head of the household went seeking for them, it was for any service they were offering themselves. When offering oneself in this manner should not be criticized, how much greater is it not, and a proof of charity, to offer oneself to God on similar occasions, as we see the Prophet Isaias doing. He relates in the sixth chapter of his prophecies that on hearing God ask whom He should send and who would preach to the people of Israel, he offered himself saying: "Here I am, send me."¹

F. 891 St. Gregory of Nazienzen, commenting on these words, notes that this offer was a mark of special/charity, since it seemed to the prophet, that the people, to whom he would preach, would profit greatly by it: "With gladness, he offered himself."² For he saw how God remembered the people. Therefore not counting the labours he would have to undergo in preaching the word, he offered himself to God to work in His service for the good of souls.

The first labourers to be called by the Father of the household, God, Our Lord, to work in His Indian vineyard were the Friars Minor. King Manoel sent them in the first fleet, which came to these parts to conquer them, as we have already related³. In all the other fleets which this Catholic King, who was also zealous for the conversion of the inhabitants, dispatched to the Orient, he always sent some of our Religious along. He, as well as his successors, always found them willing to accept this assignment. They served with all exactitude not only in the morning i.e. in the first years after the discovery, when India was conquered, but during

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this whole period up to the present, which, on account of our sins, I am not sure whether we should not call it the evening and the end of this Oriental Monarchy or not. During all these one hundred and thirty and some years no occasion to convert the inhabitants arose in which the Kings of Portugal and the Viceroy of India and the Bishops did not make use of them for similar enterprises, because from experience they knew the good account we gave and the willingness with which we accepted these labours. Frequently, moved by zeal for the honour of God and the spiritual welfare of the neighbour, they themselves came forward, not as if they were powerful in the affairs of the world or desirous of possessing riches, but to spread our Holy Catholic Faith. They were not ashamed to beg for these opportunities and offer themselves, as we already have pointed out in this history. Moreover in this chapter we will point out how the Friars Minor, on seeing what a wonderful opportunity was given them, as it were, to help Our Lord to realize the designs He had in view when He allowed the Conquest of Jafanapatao, which the great Captain Phelippe d'Oliveira undertook and completed, thus opening the door wide for the conquest of many souls as well, when the Friars saw this opportunity, they again offered themselves both to the Viceroy and the Bishop of Cochin, Dom Frei Sebastiao de S. Pedro, ⁴ to continue the apostolate which they initiated many years ago and had carried out to the great good of the souls.

They thanked them for the service they wanted to render God and gladly gave them permission and charged them with its spiritual conquest. They allowed them to erect new churches, besides those they had already built and also permitted them to act as Parish-priests, as they had been doing up to that time. To show the good opinion the Prelates of the Church had concerning our Friars, at least when they did not allow themselves to be blinded for some reason or other, I will reproduce a document which the above-mentioned Bishop drew up. He did not happen to be one of those, we have had in the Orient, who showed us affection. This will bring out the truth more clearly, since we must presume it was the truth and not some excessive affection which prompted him to say such things regarding the Friars. The document reads as follows: F. 892

"Dom Frei Sebastiao de S. Pedro, by the Grace of God and of the Holy Roman Church, Bishop of Cochin and Member of the Council of His Majesty. To all those who may read this document, health in Jesus Christ, Our Lord. We make known to all, that, considering the great merits the Religious of St. Francis have gained in spreading the Christian Faith in Ceylon and since they were the first

to preach the Law of God in the Island of Ceylon, converting many souls, undergoing martyrdom and great labours for the spreading of the Catholic doctrine; considering too that it is many years since they entered the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, where they have many churches and have converted many people and also that it was due in great part to them that Chingali, who usurped that Kingdom was taken prisoner; considering among other things that the said Religious have educated the Prince-heir of the Kingdom and have inspired him with love for our Holy Faith; hoping every day that through the instrumentality and instruction of the said Religious the whole Kingdom will be baptized, we are pleased to determine that the said Religious exercise the ministry in the whole Kingdom of Jafnapatao up to Ponta das Pedras and Triquilamale and Batecalou, that in the aforesaid district, where they have laboured so much and still labour, they be allowed to erect churches, as many as they deem necessary, also in the neighbouring Islands, for all of which we grant them permission and authority, so that they can preach the Faith convert the inhabitants and administer the Sacraments to those who are Christians and to those who will be converted. We further order the Captain of Manar or the person who may govern the Kingdom of Jafanapatao to favour the said Franciscan Friars in everything and allow them freely to make use of these our provisions. Given at our Fortress of Manar under our sign and seal of our Chancery, the 20th of July, 1619. ⁵ /Antonio de Coelho drew this up. Dom Frei Sebastiao, Bishop of Cochin.” The original of this document is preserved in the Archives of St. Francis Friary, Goa. That the Bishop did not make a mistake in what he said concerning our Religious, will be seen in the following chapters.

F. 893

Chapter 48

How our Religious converted and baptized the Prince of Jafanapatao, his mother, the Queen and other persons of the Royal House

It may be of value to discuss at this point the copious harvest our Friars reaped in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao. We will begin with the Prince heir and other Royal persons whom they converted and baptized.

When Para Raxa Chegra Pandara ¹, King of Jafanapatao, died, he left a son of six or seven behind, whom at death he entrusted, together with his Kingdom, to his eldest brother, as has already been related. After Chingali staged a revolt, it is clear that the life of this innocent boy was in danger, for he who had taken such care to kill all those of royal blood, would not fail to seek the life of the Prince of the Kingdom, the last son and heir of the late King. But God, who watched over him, in His Divine Providence sent the Friars Minor who not only saved the life of his body, but also infused a new life into his soul by converting him to the Faith of Christ and making him a Christian.

For, the Queen, his mother, seeing that Chingali had tyrannically taken possession of the Kingdom at the cost of so much Royal blood, knowing too what he intended doing with the Prince, her son, handed him over to Friar Luiz de S. Diogo, ² Rector of the church of Our Lady of Miracles. Placing him in his arms, not without many tears, she said he was no longer her son but belonged to him and that if Chingali were to kill him, he would have to render an account to God, for she had placed him in his charge. The Friar received him with great charity. Chingali having been informed, like a ray of lightening appeared and wanted to take him from his arms. Shouting he demanded that he let him loose, but the Friar did not consent. The boy, too, as if he were older and realized the danger, on seeing Chingali, clung to the Friar as tightly as possible, even with his teeth, which caused great compassion among those who were present and who equally by their tears showed pity. F. 894

After the Chief Captain, Phelippe d'Oliveira captured Chingali, as we have already narrated, he again entrusted the Prince to the Friar, but this time by order of the Court and His Majesty.

The whole time the Friar looked after him and since there was no more secure place than his cell, he kept him there. He was completely responsible for him and he protected him with much care, that he never lost sight of him, and for safety's sake he made him sleep in his own cell and on his own pallet, barring the door and fastening two strong locks to the windows.

After the Arache, Dom Luiz had revolted, as has been related, he insisted and on many occasions sent messages with great promises of money, asking the Friar to hand over the boy, but the only result of this insistence was that the Friar redoubled his vigilance in such a manner that in the midst of so many and so great enemies, who wanted to spill his blood, he escaped with his life, the Friar being another priest Joiada to Prince Joas.³ Afterwards Phelippe d'Oilueira the Chief Captain, seeing that it was necessary for the pacification of the Kingdom to remove the Prince, he sent him to Ceylon, together with his mother, the Queen and other persons of the Royal House, who were handed over to the General Constantino, who in turn entrusted the same Prince to our Friars. They sheltered him for a time in St. Anthony's Friary⁴, where they taught him good habits and Christian doctrine. Since he was under their obedience, he slowly grew to love this Doctrine, so much so that he was fond of talking about it. He often asked the Friars to baptize him, since he already knew the Christian doctrine. However it was postponed until the arrival of the Provincial, Friar Gaspar da Conceicao⁵, who on visiting the Island and finding the Prince, ordained that Baptism should take place very solemnly and amidst festivities, since he merited this special treatment, not only because he was a person of quality, but also because he showed such ardent desire to be admitted to the bosom of the Church.

F. 895 When everything was being prepared Friar Antonio da Nossa Senhora⁶, who resided in Candea as Arbitrator, arrived with a message from the King of Candea⁷ for the General Constantino de Saa, requesting the General to give him the Princess, the daughter of the deceased King (who was one of the persons who had come from Jafanapatao), as wife for his son, the King of Uva and heir to the Kingdom of Candea, and that for this favour he would pay thirty thousand cruzados. At the same time he promised the Friar that, if he would succeed in this matter, he would grant him many favours. But since she was about to become a Christian, neither the General nor the Provincial agreed. Not for any price in the world would they fail to baptize these persons. This proved to be a service to His Majesty as well, for it was the intention of the King of Candea, in this manner to acquire by right the Kingdom of Jafanapatao.

Those who were to be baptized numbered in all seventy-five. After they had been properly instructed by our Friars, the Baptism was solemnly performed on the 18th of June, 1623. When all the bells of the City started ringing, our Friars, not only those of the local Friary, but the Rectors, who had all gathered, too, went in procession to the house which served as municipal office at the end of the road called "straight" ⁸, where the Prince, the Queen, his mother, and all those to be baptized were waiting. Having arrived at the place, they sent a message to the General Constantino de Saa, who immediately came, accompanied by the Captain of Colombo, the Notary of the City (ouidor da cidade), the Head of the Treasury (vedor da fazenda), many soldiers and other people. He went where the Prince was and hung a beautiful golden chain with reliquary around the neck. The Prince, the Queen and his cousins were richly clothed and the rest too, all according to their rank.

After all had assembled, they left the Municipal Office and proceeding through the principal streets of the City, which were wonderfully decorated with rich Chinese drapings hanging from the windows, they arrived at our church of St. Anthony where everything had been prepared for that solemn act. The first to be baptized was the Prince, who assumed the name of Dom Constantino de Saa, since the above-mentioned General of Ceylon was his god-father. The Provincial baptized him. All were baptized in order and with great solemnity. The Guardian of the Friary baptized the Queen and they called her Donna Clara. Her god-father was the Head of the Treasury, Ambrozio de Freitas. Of the Royal House two sisters of the Prince were baptized: Donna Isabella and Donna Maria. Together with them were also Dom Diogo, brother-in-law of the deceased King (whom Chingali had blinded, as we have related), Donna Maria, his wife and sister of the King with their three sons and one daughter. The names of the sons were Dom Phelippe, Dom Francisco and Dom Bernadino and of the daughter, Donna Ignes. Besides these, many more were baptized, in all seventy-five. After the function, which was performed with all possible solemnity, all returned to their homes, except the Prince and the sons of the blind man, who went to the Friary where they remained till ordered by the Viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde de Vidigueira. ⁹ There they were placed in the Royal College of Reijs Magos, where they were instructed in Latin and good morals. ¹⁰

F. 896

Chapter 49

How the Prince of Jafanapatao was invested with the habit of our Order, was professed and how he bequeathed the rights he had to the throne of that Kingdom to the Portuguese Crown

One of the principal effects of the coming of the Son of God to the world was that Kings and powerful Princes submitted to the yoke of His Law, humbled themselves and received the doctrine of His Holy Gospel. In this sense some commentators have explained that verse taken from the third Chapter of the Prophet Habacuc: "The ancient mountains were crushed to pieces. The hills of the world were bowed down by the journeys of His eternity"¹ By "The journeyes of His eternity," they understand the journey of the Eternal Word made from Heaven to earth, after having assumed our humanity and having become man to save man, as a commentator remarks: "God Himself came to us by the Incarnation."² By mountains they understand the monarchs, kings and princes of the world, who undoubtedly are the ones who are raised up, and by hills those who are raised up and puffed up on account of their pride.

These, harking back to the Evangelical doctrine which the Son of God brought to the world and Himself taught and after Him the Apostles and their successors, surrendered themselves to His Faith, obeyed His commands, humbled them selves and subjected themselves to the Gospel. Though it is true that the preaching of the Gospel was meant for all and that the Sovereign Pastor of our souls received all into His flock great and small, lords and slaves, F. 897 Princes/and vassals without distinction of persons and considers not what we are, but what we have become by His grace, withall it cannot be denied that it is a great honour to our Holy Faith that the great and powerful of this world too have been converted, for in this we can discern the power of Divine Grace, which is potent to subdue the proud and hardened hearts of men, generally Kings, who the more earthly goods they possess, the less they aspire to those of Heaven and the higher they have been raised up in dignity, the more insolent in their pride they become. Thus we see that, though God is the Lord of glory and majesty, He is honoured as King of Kings, as we see in the Book of Revelations where St. John

says that Christ bore as distinctive mark: "The King of Kings and Prince of Princes"³. And though the Kings of the Orient showed themselves less willing to subject themselves either on account of their lack of understanding or on account of their attachment to their superstitions or on account of their luxury in which they have been brought up, notwithstanding there are not a few, who removing all these hindrances, accepted the divine invitation and decided to share in the "journeys of His eternity." The Friars Minor, sons of this province of St. Thomas in the East Indies, were instrumental in converting some of those Princes, as is clear to anybody who has carefully read this history. One of these Princes is the Prince of Jafanapatao, concerning whom we have already spoken. He was converted by our Friars; from them he learned Christian doctrine and good morals, giving so good an account of himself as will be seen in this chapter.

This Prince remained some seven or eight years at our Royal College of Reys Magos in Bardez, where he learned to read, write, sing and also Latin. Almost from the beginning he was desirous of abandoning the world, which he realised was full of deceit, and of serving God. Many times he revealed these his wishes to the Superiors of the Order. By deeds he tried to prove that his desires deserved to be realised. Having reached the canonical age⁴ as laid down in the Council of Trent and having been sufficiently instructed in Latin, he was given the habit at St. Francis' Friary, Goa, on the 4th of February 1632. Persevering in his vocation he completed his Novitiate, the whole time having given proofs of virtue, which is the chief/obligation of this state, serving with great industry and cheerfulness, exercising himself in humility (which is paramount in our Order), with so much good will, that this virtue, like a jewel, added splendour to the pure gold of his royal descent. F. 898

In order that his Profession be celebrated as solemnly as possible they sent word to the Viceroy of India, Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares⁵, who wanted to assist at this function, as also all the nobles and notables of the City. Neither did the Superiors of the other Orders fail to attend. With their Religious they wished to enhance the solemnity of the occasion. In the presence of all, he made his Profession in the following year 1633 and assumed the name of Friar Constantino de Christo. Before his, however, wishing to make his testament and dispose of all his goods, at the advice of our Religious, who in everything guided him, he renounced in writing all the rights he had as Prince and heir to the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, to the Crown of Portugal. In order

that the reader might see the reason and the prudence of what he did, we will faithfully transcribe his testament, which is as follows:

F. 899

"I declare that I am the legitimate son of Para Raxa Pandara⁶, King of Jafanapatao, and of his wife, Queen Dona Clara and as such the said Kingdom of Jafanapatao, belongs to me by right of succession since I am the Prince and the son of the aforesaid King, who was always faithful and obedient to His Majesty and his ministers, and during all the years he reigned fulfilled all his obligations and never revolted nor disobeyed. And since at the time of his death, which was a natural death and due to illness, I was only a boy and in a formative stage unable to govern the said Kingdom, he entrusted it to one of his brothers and my uncle to put me in possession of it, when I reached the proper age. In the meantime the revolt of Chingali took place, who in a tyrannical manner endeavoured to usurp the said Kingdom and take possession of it, to realize which aim he put the Governor, my uncle, to death and many other persons of the Royal House. It this way he gave an opportunity to the Viceroy to intervene with arms, capture Chingali, execute him, appoint a Captain and build a fortress in that Kingdom. According to the right, I, as successor, enjoy, since God has been pleased to bring me to the knowledge of His Holy Catholic Faith but also to make me a Religious in this sacred Order, where I received Baptism and the good education its Religious gave me, obeying their counsels and conforming myself to Dom Joao Parca Pandar, Emperor of the Island of Ceylon and Dom Philippe, King of Candea, who since they died without heirs, at their death legitimately bequeathed their Empire and Kingdom to El Rey, our Lord, I renounce all rights, dominion, titles to the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, by whatever claim I hold them, to the King of Portugal, my Lord, so that he may dispose of, use and enjoy it as he deems fit and I renounce the possession I have or had of this Kingdom and I assign to the said Lord, with all clauses, conditions, and other things required by law, which I hereby hold as having been expressed and declared as if each of them had been specially mentioned."

Authentic copy of this testament was sent to His Majesty, the King of Portugal, by his mails (vias).

Chapter 50

How in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao between the years 1624 and 1626 our Friars baptized fifty-two thousand souls, among them two Queens and one Princess and almost the entire nobility of the country.

One of the things the valiant Captain Phelippe d'Oliveira kept in mind after he had conquered the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, was to give order that the whole country should be converted to Our Holy Faith and become Christian. It seemed to him that with this he could at least partially discharge the obligations he had to God for having granted him so many favours in this Kingdom, for having allowed him to gain so many victories. At the same time these vassals would be more faithful to His Majesty and would not rebel so easily, since all would follow the same law. After he had pacified the country, with this thought, worthy of his generous soul, in mind, he wrote a letter to the then Commissary General of this Province/ Friar Luis da Cruz, ¹ in which, after he had related how generous God had been to him during the conquest and how fortunate he had been in having been able to bring his enterprise to successful conclusion, which was to give this new Kingdom to His Majesty, he very insistently begged him to send many Religious. He had determined with the blessing of God and the industry of the Friars, to convert all the inhabitants, to achieve which purpose he promised all his support not only for the conversion-work, but also for the building of the churches which had to be re-erected. The religious of this holy Province considered this opportunity as if fallen from Heaven. Hence they valued it highly and thanked God who deigned to make use of them to gain many souls for Him.

F. 900

Though many volunteered for this work not all were sent, only so many as seemed necessary for the time being. Some of them were learned, as the Chief Captain stipulated. However there were a sufficient number to cope with the work of instructing the large group of people. Being blest by God, there were so many who were converted and received Baptism that between 1624 and 1626, they baptized in that Kingdom fifty-two thousand souls and afterwards some more, among them all the nobles and notables of that country. On the 2nd of August, 1622, two Queens, both sisters and wives of the deceased King, Paragera Sagra Pandara (Pararajasekara Pandaram), were baptized, also one of his daughters, about twelve or thirteen years old, and a large number of people. They were received at our church of N. S. dos Milagres, when Friar An-

tonio de S. Maria was Rector there. It was he who had laboured and converted the two Queens, who in the beginning proved to be quite obdurate. When Baptism took place, they put two tables in the church. At the first, which was placed in the Sanctuary, the two Queens and the daughter were baptized. They were given the names of Donna Clara da Sylua and Donna Antonia; the child was called Donna Catherina. Their godfather was Phelippe d'Oliueira. At the second table, which was placed in the nave, the wife of the white Modeliyar, Dom Pedro de Batancor, was baptized together with two sons and one daughter. She was given the name of Donna Maria, and the sons Phelipes. Together with them were also baptized the wife of the Arache Modiliar, Dom Francisco Batancor, who was called Donna Clara, and two of her small brothers who were called Phelipes. After them a Talear² of Nauale with his wife and three sons were baptized. He and the sons were called Phelipe, but she Donna Maria. The Rector gave this Talear a *Flos Sanctorum*³. He read it from cover to cover and afterwards argued with the pagan's asking them why they did not receive Baptism, telling them all he knew from the *Flos Sanctorum* and the Catechism. Phelipe d'Oliueira was the godfather of all these persons. He was happy to act as such, since their conversion was due in great part to him. After this, many of the dependents of the Queens were baptized. On this day more than three hundred people were baptized.

After the Baptism, the elder of the two Queens asked the Rector to bring the small statue of Our Lady which was on the altar. When he had carried it to where she was standing, she lifted her hands to Heaven, then making a deep bow, she took her daughter by the hands and ordered her to place her hands near those of Our Lady, which she did, after which she kissed her. Then addressing the statue, she said: "Lady, now all three of us are your servants. I ask you to show yourself a Mother to us. Be a help to this orphan" Then turning to the Rector she said: "I beg of you to make this same request to Our Lady, that she grant us this favour, for you take the place of the father." After having kissed the feet of Our Lady, which was also done by the Princess and the other Queen, they retired to their homes.

These two Queens and the Princess were sent to Ceylon together with the Prince and his mother and other persons of the Royal House by the Chief Captain, Phelippe d'Oliueira, as he considered it necessary for the service of His Majesty. There they remained for some time. The Head of the Treasury, Lancarote de Seixas, however, sent the two Queens and the Princess back to Jafanapatao. The Prince, his mother and one of his sisters remained in Ceylon.

All of them had been baptized by our Friars, some in Ceylon, others in Jafanapatao, as we have related.

Besides these Baptisms, they held three General Baptisms, the first on the Vigil of the Immaculate Conception ⁴, the second on the feast day itself and the third on Our Lady of the O's ⁵ of the year 1624. They were held with great solemnity in the church of Our Lady of Miracles. Many princes of this Kingdom were baptized as also a great number of people. Three Modiliars, who are the Governors of the Kingdom, were baptized, the fourth one having been baptized long ago by Friar Pedro de Betancor, as we have already related. Also almost all the Araches, who are the Captains, with their families, in all more than five hundred, and almost all the Brahmins too and the heads of the temples, both native and foreign, with their wives and children, in all one hundred and fifty. They arranged with Phelipe d'Oliueira to expel from the Kingdom the other foreign Brahmins, who refused to be converted, since they might impede the spread of Christianity. Moreover two Baneas and two Adiuiras from Panangamo ⁶, who are like Dukes and Marquises, with some fifty or sixty of their dependents and relatives received Baptism. Also some twenty Camaras ⁷ i.e. men who deal with the Royal House, four of whom were Princes, nephews of the King and four hundred Careas, men and women. In this way all the chief persons of this caste which is one of the principal ones of this Kingdom joined the Church; also nine Patangatins, i.e. the heads of the nine districts or villages. Besides these, at another baptism, more than six hundred boys and girls, children of the Careas, below the age of ten and eleven, were received. F. 902

At all these three General Baptisms there were sermons in the language of the country, preached by Friar Antonio de S. Bernadino, Rector of N. S. dos Milagres and by Friar Francisco de S. Antonio, Rector of the church of St Philip and St James of Nelur, both experts in the native language. The Chief Captain Phelipe d'Oliueira, the Dean of that Kingdom and a great number of persons, not only Christians but pagans as well attended these solemnities, especially when the Modiliars were baptized, since they were such important persons, when all attended with candles. By their example they moved many to do the same.

Beside these Baptisms which were general, they performed many others privately, so that almost the whole Kingdom is Christian. I conclude this Chapter by stating that if there had been a Viceroy as zealous for the conversion of the people as Phelipe d'Oliueira, Governor of the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, there would be few pagans left in Goa, Salcete, Bardez and other parts of this State.

Chapter 51

Concerning the Churches we founded in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao after it was conquered by the Portuguese and acquired for the Crown of Portugal, and concerning the number of Christians we have at each of them.

F. 903 The Prophet Isaias wanting to inform the people how many over the whole world would be converted to Christ through the preaching of the Apostles says: "Who are these that fly as clouds, and as doves to their windows?" ¹ Commentators have rightly remarked that the Prophet in this text compares the Apostles to clouds and doves; to clouds, because they dispense water to render the land fruitful and because the Apostles have scattered Christ's message like sweet showers over the whole world, as the Psalmist says: "Their sound has gone forth into all the earth and their words unto the ends of the world" ² and to doves, because they are so prolific, and the children the Apostles have brought forth by means of their preaching, are so numerous, according to that word of the Doctor of the Gentiles: "By the Gospel, I have betgotten you" ³. Then as it were congratulating the Church on account of the great multitude that, through the preaching of the Apostles, have been gathered, Isaias adds: "Then shalt thou see and abound and thy heart shall wonder and be enlarged, when the multitude of the sea shall be converted to thee, the strength of the Gentiles shall come to thee," ⁴ as it were addressing the Church and saying how much she should rejoice on account of the large number of converts; she should rejoice with her whole heart, when she sees that the Faith which came to her through the Holy Apostles has spread among all the nations of the world, among Kings, Princes and Monarchs, extending gloriously to the confines of the earth, her (message) re-sounding throughout in every region of her kingdom.

F. 904 The Friars Minor too were fleeting clouds and prolific doves in this land of the Orient, for they traversed all the Kingdoms and Provinces, from the Cape of Good Hope to the distant Islands of Japan. To all they preached the Faith and converted a vast number among them many Kings, Princes and notables, thus by their labours giving glory to God, honour to the Order, and satisfaction to the Catholic Church/ by extending its limits to include all these Kingdoms. What they did in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao may serve as an example. There, especially between the year 1624 and

1626, they converted many, held several General Baptisms and brought the knowledge of our Holy Faith to many Princes and Queens, as has already been related. They also erected many churches, both on the mainland and on the neighbouring islands. The number of these churches and the number of Christians at each one of them for the year 1634, when the following calculations were made, we will briefly reproduce here.

The principal church in this Kingdom is the one dedicated to Our Lady of Miracles, the foundation of which, we have already described at some length. It is a Guardianate and there the Commissary of that Kingdom resides who is ordinarily Guardian as well. All the Religious who work in that Kingdom, in Mannar and in Mantota resort under his jurisdiction. We have 630 Christians there i.e. those who are able to go to confession (viz. adults). Besides these there are 187 children who follow the catechism classes, in all 817, the babies in arms not counted.

Attached to this church is a College or school with from fifteen to twenty pupils, who are maintained by the sweat and poverty of the Friars ⁵. They are taught to read, to write, to sing, to play musical instruments and Latin. ⁶ Daily they praise Our Lady of Miracles, under whose protection they battle, in the morning singing the hymn "O Gloriosa Domina" with versicle and oration. At two o'clock they sing the hymn "Ave Maris Stella", also with versicle and oration. At night-fall they chant the Litanies with the Salve antiphon which begins with the verse "Tota Pulchra es Maria", again with versicle and oration. This last the people attend. Since it is a devotion among the Portuguese here, the Blessed Sacrament has been reserved in this church for a number of years to the consolation of the people and the Friars, who understand that they are being helped by His presence and feel secure with his defense in the midst of many enemies.

The second is called N. S. da Saluacao (Our Lady of Salvation). It is situated in the village Nelur or more correctly Nalur, which in their tongue means "good village" or "good land." Since it indeed was such, Chingali and another King before him, had his royal palaces there. In this parish, Friar Pantaleao da Madre de Deos, ⁷ F. 905 when he was Rector there, baptized 7000 souls with his own hands. Daily, more than six hundred children are taught. With their Crosses, which have been distributed in various quarters of the town, they come to the church, singing the Christian Doctrine in the language of the country, which is Tamil and which the Friar knew perfectly. At present this church has 3700 ⁸ adults and more than 870 children, in all 4640 Christians.

The third church is situated in the village of Chauacheira (Chavakachcheri) and is dedicated to the Stigmata of Our Holy Father St. Francis. It has 2700 adults, 1467 children and 207 babies-in-arms, in all 4374 faithful

The 4th church is in Cachai (Kachchai) and is dedicated to St. Anthony. It has 3825 adults and 1320 children, in all 5145 Christians.

The 5th church of N. S. de Guadalupe is situated in Copai (Kopai), the place where formerly the royal palaces stood and where the enemies of our Faith in the days of the Viceroy, Dom Constantino de Braganca, killed the venerable Friar Belchior de Lisboa,⁹ Custos of this Custody and his companions, who were converting and baptizing the inhabitants. At present, there are 2015 adults, 581 children, in all 2596 souls.

The 6th church is the one under the invocation of N. S. do Parto (Our Lady of Delivery) and is situated in Manipai. It has 2292 adults and 1107 children, in all 3399 persons.

The 7th church stands in Uriur (Urelu) which means "seven villages" the number of villages in that jurisdiction. It is dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. In numbers 1215 adults, 1106 children, in all 2321 Christians.

The 8th church is the one at Ponta das Pedras (Point Pedro) under the invocation of N. S. da Boa Viage (Our Lady of Good Voyage), and has 3956 adults, 556 children, in all 4512 souls.

The 9th church, called N. S. da Victoria (Our Lady of Victories) and located in Putur, has 2260 adults and 260 children, in all 2520 Christians.

The 10th church, situated in Cateuelli (Karaveddi)¹⁰ and dedicated to the Madre de Deos (Mother of God), has 1930 adults and 1300 children, in all 3230 persons.

F. 906 The 11th church in Chudocolim (Chundikkuli) is called St. John the Baptist and numbers 2050 adults and 400 children, in all 2450 Christians.

The 12th church in the one at Urupeti (Uduppidi) and counts 4000 adults and 1500 children, in all 5500 faithful.

The 24th church of N. S. da Conceicao (Our Lady of the Conception) at Elauro (Illaur) has 1100 adults and 600 children, in all 1700 souls.

F. 907 The 25th church is that of the Modiliars, who are the four/Governors of the Kingdom. Besides these and the Araches, who are like lords and Captains, and their families, there are no other Christians in that place.

According to this census we have 71,438 Christians in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao and on the adjacent Islands. All or almost all were converted and baptized by our Fathers during the last ten years. Moreover 400 were baptized in the month of August, 1634, while this chapter is being written. An equal number will be baptized in the near future, as the Commissary of that Kingdom whom, I, in the Capacity of Commissary General had asked to make these lists with all care, wrote to me. These numbers do not include the Christians we have in the churches of Mantota, who really belong to this district, but concerning whom we have already spoken. During these ten years, too, many had died.

At all these churches our Friars reside and exercise the office of Parish Priests. All of them know the language of the country. many preach in it, some are masters and teach the others, such as Friar Francisco de S. Antonio, Friar Antonio de S. Bernardino, Friar Matheus de Christo, of whom the last mentioned speaks such perfect and excellent Tamil, that were you to hear him and not look at his face, you would think he was a Chingala and not a Portuguese. And Friar Francisco de S. Antonio is so well-versed in this tongue that he translated the Symbolum Fidei of Cardinal Bellarmine¹⁵ and the first part of our chronicles. He is also translating the other parts. There were other Friars, who, too, were experts in the language, but who have died, such as Friar Antonio de S. Bernardino, Friar Gaspar dos Anjos and others.

Chapter 52

Concerning the famous Statue of Our Lady of Miracles at Jafanapatao

The glorious Apostle, writing to the Corinthians¹, says that the signs and wonders God performs, are meant for the infidels and not for the faithful, for, since they are a confirmation of the truth of our Holy Faith, they are necessary for those who are not firmly founded in it. Hence from experience we know that God performs more miracles among those who are occupied with the conversion than those working with the faithful. Thus we see in this Orient some images, which are so miraculous², that if they were in Spain or in other parts of Europe, they would rank among the foremost sanctuaries of Christianity. Among these Our Lady of Miracles does not occupy the lowest place. Even before it was completed, God wanted to adorn it with His miracles, for the first to experience this was the sculptor himself, who shaped and fashioned it in his own house.

In 1614, Friar Francisco de S. Antonio who was Rector of this Church (it was then still known by its former name: N. S. da Victoria), ordered an image of Our Lady for the High Altar to be carved from a piece of wood he had brought from Cochin. As the sculptor, a pagan by the name of Annacutti was working at it on the 25th of the above year, a pagan called Engabanu visited him. Not wanting to sit on the ground, he sat on the image; but he had hardly taken his place when he was thrown with force to the floor. Arising he said to the image: You have thrown me to the ground, but I will sit again and I would like to know whether you will do it again. But the image threw him with greater force a goodly distance, so that his clothes were torn and he himself half-conscious. The bystanders, the craftsman and his wife, were no little amazed, and began to respect the image more than they had upto then.

Afterwards it happened that the daughter of the sculptor, chewing betel-nut, when she expectorated what she was chewing, some of it fell on the image. Her father scolded her and told her to clean it and that she should not do this again. When the girl wanted to clean it, she was thrown on the ground unconscious at which Annacutti and his wife became frightened. After a number of days, the craftsman, wanting to work on the image, sat down on it, but he too was thrown on the ground/ where he remained for a quarter of an hour speechless and unconscious. On recovering, he felt pain in his back and found a wound in his leg, made by the iron with which he was going to work on the image.

F. 909

All who came to know of these happenings were amazed and the fame of this Statue began to spread. Many sick sought cures for their infirmities, as Phelipa do Prado did, who for a long time suffered from pains in the stomach and from a thorn which had pierced her foot and which it was impossible to remove. Moved by the fame of the miracles which the image wrought, she went to the sculptor's house, where it still was on the 12th of June, 1614. Standing before the Statue she began to talk to her and asked her to relieve her of those pains. Then taking a shaving of wood which had come from the wood of which the Statue was made, she put it in her mouth and within a short time the stomach pains ceased and the thorn was forthwith expelled. All this was seen by those present. On the same day a daughter of Christouao, Meirinho³ of the same Parish, whose eyes pained and exuded matter and blood and who was unable to see anything, upon the father hearing what was taking place, and promising oil for the lamp of Our Lady, was completely cured within two days.

These and other miracles were wrought while the Image was still in the house of the craftsman, who was both amazed and frightened and did not dare to proceed with the work. He, therefore, went to the Rector and told him what he had seen with his own eyes and asked him to remove it, as he did not want to work on it any longer. The Father was surprised to hear all these things and thanked Our Lord for having revealed by means of this statue the truth of His doctrine in the midst of all the inhabitants, who were still pagans. That those marvels might always be remembered, the Rector sent a petition to the Captain and judge of Jasanapatao, Amador Trauasos de Zouza, in which he asked him to make a judicial inquiry concerning the miracles which had taken place in the house of the pagan sculptor, Annacuti, to the glory of God and praise of the Blessed Virgin. The Captain agreed and drew up a document with the testimonies/ of the witnesses, in which the above-mentioned miracles are narrated and some others as well. This document is preserved in the Archives of that Residence, from which a copy was made by a trustworthy person and which is in my possession.

F. 910

As the Rector and the Church-wadens wanted the Statue to be finished they tried to reassure the sculptor, pointing out to him what wonderful service he would be rendering to Our Lady by doing so. That he might more readily be persuaded to do so, they went to his house and there constructed an altar under a kind of pavilion. At the same time they told him to put on his best clothes and with covered head work on it. But even then he did not dare to touch it, for when he tried to work on it, he was thrown to

the ground. Finally the Rector and the wardens, seeing there was no other solution, decided that the Statue should remain as it was and in a solemn procession be taken to the Church of Our Lady of Victory on the 24th of July, 1614. For the occasion all assembled, Friar Pedro de Bentancor the then Commissary, all the Friars from Manar, another Priest who was there and all the Portuguese. They all went to the house of the sculptor, but when they arranged the procession to bring the Statue, a message was brought to Fr. Commissary saying that a group of armed men had arrived, sent by Chingali to prevent them from passing through the streets where the royal palaces were located. Thereupon the Commissary sent two Portuguese to inform the King and show displeasure with Chingali. Thereupon he sent word that not only was the procession allowed to pass through the street, but that if necessary he himself would accompany it. At this reply, which seemed to be the reply of a Christian King and not of a pagan one, all rejoiced. With joy and devotion the procession began to move. The Portuguese carried the Statue of Our Lady on their shoulders. The Commissary, in vestments, walked under a canopy, bearing according to custom some relics. When they arrived at the palace, the King, the Queens and children were standing under an awning which spanned the road, to see the procession/. They were not a little surprised to see it. F. 911 All the roads were filled with people, many of whom, after the Kingdom was conquered, became Christians., The Statue of the Blessed Virgin also was borne along the road, revealing as usual, her power. A pagan seeing all these festivities, in a loud voice said: "I am astonished to see the Portuguese, who are men and now more than the others, wearing festive apparel and celebrating, carrying on their shoulders a piece of wood from Annacutti's house to their church." Hardly had he said these words when a stray bullet hit him in the head and he fell dead to the ground, a just punishment, for it is clear that He who did not allow Oza to touch the Ark of the Covenant⁵ when it was about to fall, would not allow a pagan with his blasphemous tongue to touch His Most Holy Mother prefigured by the Ark. The punishment did not stop there, for the bullet passed through and hit a Topaz Christians, who was neareby and hurt his arm either because he had laughed at what the man had said or had not upbraided him. But since he was a Christian, after he had committed this fault, he repented, asked to be taken to the church of Our Lady where, after he had made a novena, he was cured and returned home.

Another pagan behaved in a better manner. Seeing the procession and knowing why it was held, he raised his hands to Heaven and said: "Lady, if thou art what they say thou art, cure my son who is down with small-pox. I will give you the only palm tree

I have and also a fanam for oil." The same hour the child became better and when he was fully recovered, the father came to the Rector and told him to look after the palm tree, for he had given it to Our Lady in thanksgiving for the cure of his son.

After the procession had arrived at the church, they placed Our Lady on a small altar in the middle of the church, which was thenceforth no longer called Our Lady of Victory, but Our Lady of Miracles. Since the beginning and the middle of the procession was marked by extraordinary occurrences, so also was the end. All kissed the feet with great devotion and humility, but a Topzaz went and kissed her hand, at which his mouth was wounded and much blood spurted out in the sight of all the bystanders. Acknowledging his guilt, with sentiments of grief he humbled himself, and many times kissed / her feet and begged pardon.

After all had kissed her feet, one of the Friars with great reverence placed the Statue on her altar in the sanctuary, where she continued to perform wonders and to be true to the name which had been given her, Our Lady of Miracles. The pagan who had made the Image, when he was about to die, called one of the Friars and told him that he wanted to become a Christian. He was baptized and died a Christian, all through the intercession of Our Lady, as we may assuredly believe.

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Chapter 53

How many sick from various parts of the South have recourse to Our Lady of Miracles of Jafanapatao and there seek relief for their infirmities

Man is so self-centred, that even in the things of God, which should be esteemed because they are His, only those are considered, which are of immediate profit to himself. St. Luke noted this already when he spoke of the multitude from Judea, Jerusalem, Tyre and Sidon who flocked to Christ "to hear and to be healed by Him of their infirmities."¹ They come not only to hear His word, but also, and this was perhaps the main reason, to recover their health. Now if this happened to the very Son of God, we should not be surprised to see this happen to His Mother, who though she is everywhere the same, withal we go there where she has opened gates of her mercy and has come to our aid, such as in the church of Jafanapatao, where so many miracles have taken place, that people not only from Jafanapatao flock there, but from the whole of Ceylon, from S. Thome, Negapatao, Manar and other parts. They come on pilgrimage, begging her aid in their infirmities. She graciously hears their pleas and grants what they ask according / to the measure of their desires. In order not to bore the reader we will not recount all the miracles. However, we will describe a number to the glory of God, who is the author of all good and in honour of His Most Holy Mother. F. 913

The wife of the syndic of the Friars, Simao de Abreu, was unable to open her mouth or speak. They forced some water in which they soaked a piece of wood of Our Lady and forthwith she was able to speak and after a few days she was fully recovered. When Manuel Carualho, a Cassado and an inhabitant of Manar came to make some novenas to Our Lady of Miracles, his son fell ill. In order to bleed him they placed him on a basket and however hard the barber tried to perforate the vein, he was unable to do so. Trying to discover the reason why even the lancet doubled up, they found that the basket contained some shavings from the wood of Our Lady's Statue. On discovering this, they hastily removed them. When the barber tried again, the lancet entered the vein, to the amazement of all.

When a native Christian by the name of Antonia together with some friends went to a well to wash, she lost her ear-rings, which she felt deeply. When not even her friends were able to account

for them, she went to the church of Our Lady of Miracles and prayed that she might recover them. While she was taking her siesta, she saw a most beautiful Lady, with a sparkling jewel in Her hand, who said: "Woman, your ear-rings are not lost. Go back to the well where you have washed and a little further than where you have searched, you will find them under the skin of a *balanga* ². The one who took them hid them and put the skin there to recognize the spot." Awakening, she hurried to the place and found them as she had been told, at which she gave many thanks to Our Lady.

A pregnant lady came to Our Lady's church and in her great devotion she filled a barrel. On account of the excessive work she had a flow of blood and became exhausted. Her relatives seeing this promised oil for Our Lady's lamp and when the promise was fulfilled, she was cured.

F. 914 Paulo Perez, an inhabitant of Carul ³ was blind and dumb. He promised gold eyes to Our Lady of Miracles and to go on a pilgrimage to her shrine. Wonderful to relate, he was able to see and began to speak. He came to Our Lady's church in Jafanapatao to finish his novena. For three days he put some oil from Our Lady's lamp and at the end he was able to talk clearly and distinctly and thus he returned to his home cured and without any defect.

Our Lady has worked many such miracles. Almost every day people come to beg her for favours and many are granted, some by placing that miraculous wood in their mouths, others by promising oil for Our Lady's lamp. We hold ourselves from describing further extraordinary occurrences, where these things were involved, and pass over to others worthy of note.

In 1621, a large and beautiful vessel, belonging to an inhabitant of Oricha⁴, departed from Bengal. Francisco de Souza, a Portuguese soldier was the Captain. After leaving land, a terrible storm arose, which brought the mast of the top-sail down, killing a number of slaves. The storm increased in fury, so that in a short while the ship was without sails and it was necessary to cut down the main mast when even the foresail and the *mácena* ⁵ dropped into the sea. All were frightened at seeing the danger they were in. They tried to lighten the ship by throwing everything into the sea, but notwithstanding all these precautions, they remained in the grip of the storm. At this a Portuguese merchant by the name of Manoel Rodriguez Texeira, talking with others, said: "Let us have recourse to Our Lady of Miracles of Jafanapatao, for only she can deliver us from the peril we are in. At once all began to call loudly on Our

Lady, promising alms. God was pleased to have their prayers heard, for almost immediately the fury of the storm abated and a calm ensued, so that they could safely reach the coast of Negapatao. Praising Our Lady for having delivered them from death, from two pieces of the capstan they made a Cross and placed it on the prow at the same time attaching a cloth "bolcochino" ⁶ to it. Then they made for Negapatao. The vessel, however, notwithstanding the wind which could have served them and the rudder, turned towards Jafanapatao. By this those on the ship understood that it was the will of God and of the Virgin, His Mother, and steered towards the latter place. Calmly the ship made its way and in a few days arrived safely. When they were on the point of entering the Caes ⁷, they found themselves in greater danger because they had come without taking on a pilot from the land who knew the entrance. They drifted on to a bank, which lies off the point of the Island of Cardina, where it began to ship water. Thereupon they again asked F. 915 Our Lady of Miracles to guide them. They were freed from this danger and miraculously the vessel swung loose from the shallows, entered the channel and arrived at our church of St. John the Baptist.

Disembarking, they all went to the church of Our Lady of Miracles to give thanks for the great favour, carrying on their backs the small sail with which they had navigated. They offered it to Our Lady as they had promised. After a few days they brought a generous alms and ransomed it. And the devout person, who had induced them to call upon Our Lady, on his part gave one hundred cruzados and two carpets for her altar. The vessel was repaired and made a prosperous voyage to Malacca and thence to Bengalla.

One Christmas night, when all the Religious were chanting the Matins in the church of Our Lady of Miracles at the time they were in the chapel for the ceremonies of the three Homilies, at the *Te Deum*, when they were singing the verse "Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem, non horruisti Virginis uterum", all those present saw Our Lady beautiful and resplendent, as if she had been painted that day, and her whole face lit up with joy. This was the more remarkable since it had neither been painted nor finished before it had begun to perform miracles in the sculptor's house, as already been pointed out. And the Chief Captain, who was then present in the chapel and had noted the same, asked Friar Miguel Varela of the Order of St. Dominic, who was at his side serving as assistant, whether our Friars had ordered it to be painted for the occasion. When he said they had not, he was astonished and thanked God who on every occasion wishes to honour His Most Holy Mother.

Chapter 54

Concerning the great disaster which struck the inhabitants of Jafanapatao and how Our Lady of Miracles came to their aid.

F. 916 On the 20th of February, 1627, the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, in the days of the waning moon, the clouds began to race from side to side covering the sun and turning day into night. Up to Sunday the winds increased in velocity. These things, however, did not cause any surprise among the inhabitants of the place since they seemed to be similiar to those to which the people, also of the rest of India, were accustomed. At two o'clock in the afternoon they went to the church of Our Lady of Miracles, to hear the sermon on Our Lord carrying His Cross. Then since the winds had somewhat abated and no rain had fallen, the procession began to move. However they were not able to go very far, for all at once the winds veered with great fury and forced them to turn back, to the regret of all. From that moment onwards the storm increased in intensity, as if it wanted to destroy everything.

The whole of Sunday night the wind and rain continued. On Monday morning you could make out the ruins of many houses and buildings. The skies continued to be covered with thick clouds, so that everything was dark with the shadows of night. The winds continued their fury and the rains fell in floods. The waters in the river rose and the waves seemed like mountains and began flooding the town. On seeing this, the women, who are more easily filled with fear, thinking it was the last day of their lives, rushed to Our Lady of Miracles, in whom they had placed their only hope of escape from this peril.

Such was the fear for the beseiging waters, that without further thought they rushed out of their houses just as they were. Many filled with fright at seeing the roads flooded, that they fainted and had to be helped by others. Husband abandoned wife, the father the child and all fled as fast as they could to the church, men and women, big and small, did nothing else but in loud voices beg God for mercy and help from Our Lady of Miracles. And since the Religious were in the same church/ not only ours but also those of the Society of Jesus, who had come for the Holy Cross procession, which, as we have said, was about to be held, at their urging all went to Confession.

F. 917

In the meantime the level of the water had risen to such an extent that they reached the front of the church. At the same time, the winds blew with such violence that the whole structure trembled, as if it was made of thin sticks. This caused great panic, for they feared that the whole structure would come down and be the cause of their deaths. While all were in such affliction, expecting to die any moment, our Friars began the Litany of Our Lady. With sighs and tears the people accompanied them, pleading with Our Lady, that her church might not become their grave.

While all this was going on, in the midst of all the confusion a devout Friar saw Our Lady place her hand under the feet of the Child she carried in her arms, as if she was about to embrace Him. From that moment the wind began to die down and the waters ceased to advance. On the contrary they receded to their natural course, to the boundaries nature or rather the Author of nature had fashioned for them. Though the storm continued the rest of that day and part of the night, they were not sad, for they had great hopes of escaping that danger through the merits of Our Lady of Miracles, whom they hardly knew how to thank for their lives, she, as it were, had given them.

Many houses and other buildings of the town were destroyed. Also all the churches we had in that Kingdom came down, except the one of Our Lady of Miracles, which was undamaged. Afterwards all these churches were rebuilt by our Friars not without great labour and expense. After the storm the Friars, convinced that such an exceptional storm could not have been permitted by God, unless it was on account of the sins of the people, ordained that a penitential procession be held, to which they invited the Dominicans and the Jesuits, who were there. On the Friday after the first Sunday in Lent, all the Religious gathered at the church of Our Lady of Miracles, together with all the people and the Chief Captain/ Phelipe d'Oliueira. At two o'clock a sermon was preached, after which the procession set out. All our Friars joined carrying their symbols of penance: iron chains on their legs, bones of the dead in their mouths, skulls around their necks. At the sight all broke out in sighs and cries. Behind came the Chief Captain with a Crucifix in his hands. But since he was ill, he only carried it up to the door of the church, when it was taken over by the Jesuit Rector, who was near him, as also the other Jesuit Fathers, who all carried lighted torches. In front of them the Dominican Vicar walked with a companion and a group of flagellants. In this order they traversed the streets of the City and late in the evening they returned to the church, where beating their breasts and crying aloud they pleaded

F. 918

for God's mercy. With this, the solemnity came to an end, to the edification of all the inhabitants of the City, some of whom had been taken away during the scourge, others, who almost had received punishment from the Divine Justice, but now, so we believe, have reformed and merit to live henceforth in greater security. With which we leave them, to speak of some Friars of holy life, who died and lie buried in the church of Our Lady of Miracles.

Chapter 55

Concerning a number of Friars who died in the Lord at the church of Our Lady of Miracles at Jafanapatao, in particular concerning Friar Pedro de Betancor

In this church Friar Pedro de Betancor lies buried. He was the one who founded it and who was one of the great promoters of Christianity in that area. He was a native of Ilha Terceira (Ilha 3a), son of a Fidalgo. While a young man he came to India and after he had served His Majesty in his fleet for a few years, he was vested with the habit of this Custody, at the time the Bishop of Cochin, Dom Frei Andre was Custos.¹ He always showed himself a great servant of God. Among his virtues, his charity and humility shone. And since he was possessed of great/ zeal for the salvation of souls, his Superiors appointed him to the ministry, in which almost his whole life he was occupied, leaving to others all the honours which, worthy as he was, they often invited him. But they could never get him to accept them. When he was elected Guardian of St. Anthony's Friary at Bacaim he renounced the Guardianate, otherwise he would not be able to convert the pagans, a service in which he gave great glory to God. F. 919

He was Rector at Mantota when there were only few Christians there and one had to risk one's life. He built a large and beautiful church of stone, with a tiled roof, on a spot where once a temple stood. He also erected some storied houses of stone and with tiled roofs. He converted many people there and was highly esteemed on account of his great virtues. As long as he was in those parts, so distant from any kind of help and from our fleets, no enemy put in an appearance there, for, though he was their pastor as far as administering to his flock is concerned, to defend them from the enemy he was their Captain. Thus it happened a couple of times that some men from Candia came to loot the people. He then set out with his own men, marched two leagues into the interior and routed them, even capturing some booty.

In his patio (court-yard) he had a certain fruit-tree called wild quince, the only one in the whole vicinity. Whenever he wanted to see somebody, he would send one of its leaves, adding that he wanted to meet that person at such and such a place, and even if the person in question was in the forests or twenty leagues away or

in Jafanapatao, he would immediately come, because they held him as their King and obeyed him in everything. In this way he was able to solve the many differences which arise among these people, and convert many to the Christian religion, because in him they found help and support in all their troubles. His charity was so great that he would risk his life for the least of them and did not rest till he had saved him, liberating him from the great anxieties he might find himself in.

F. 920 *At the Custodial Chapter which was celebrated in the days of Friar Miguel de S. Bonaventura*², he was sent to Ceylon, but the Bishop of Cochin, Dom Andre, sent him back to Manar (in which district Mantota is situated) through the Superiors of those parts, with orders to place him at the Caes dos Elephantes, at a church he wanted to found. He gave an account of this and asked the consent of the Visitor/whom the said Custos, Friar Miguel de S. Bonaventura, had sent to Cochin with all his powers. He was Friar Manoel de S. Mathias, a Definitor, who asked his Lordship how it was possible to do so, for were they to construct this church, the King of Jafanapatao would order our church in Jafanapatao to be set on fire and our Friars to be expelled from his Kingdom and ask the Captain of Manar for others. This he would undoubtedly do, writing to Goa and to Portugal that the Franciscan Friars had caused a rebellion in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao and that for this reason he had burnt their church down and expelled them from his Kingdom and that he would be satisfied if they would send other Religious, which would be to the discredit of our Order. If His Lordship wanted this church to be built, the order should come from the King or from the Captain of Manar or at least the King should give his consent. The Bishop replied that the order had thus been given because some ships were expected from Goa and that everything should be executed as ordered.

At this the Visitor sent an obedience to Friar Pedro, in which he wrote that he would allow him to remain in Manar, where he had been sent at the instance of the Bishop of Cochin. However, he was warned under no circumstances to build the church which they planned on doing in the Island of Tanadiua, on the point called Caes dos Elephantes, unless he had first obtained the permission of the Viceroy or the Captain of Manar or the King of Jafanapatao. Shortly afterwards permission from the Viceroy at Goa arrived and also some ships with Lancarote de Seixas and some from Manar. As soon as they arrived the King ordered our church at Jafanapatao to be set on fire, since he took it very badly that they were about to construct a church on the Caes. He also gave Lancarote de Seixas

six or seven thousand patacas and two for the Viceroy, not to permit a church to be built on the Caes. But gentleman and Christian as he was he refused to accept them and obliged the King to re-erect the church of Jafanapatao he burnt down, at his own expense and at the same time surrender the Island of Tanadiua to our Friars, for it had been given to them, and allow them to build a church on the Caes.

Everything was executed according to orders and Friar Pedro de Betancor built a large church and some houses. He defended that point and coast with a "besteiro," which is a kind of boat, and other boats in such a manner that neither the Paros³ nor the Badagas were able to inflict any damage, as long as he was there. Dom Hyeronimo de Azeuedo⁴, when he was General of Ceylon, repeatedly asked (the Superiors) not to remove this Friar on account of the great services he rendered there to God and the King. So much so that, when afterwards he was Viceroy of India and preparing a fleet at Cananor/not finding anybody to command it, in the Hall of his Palace, in the presence of many nobles who were present, said that since there were no nobles to serve His Majesty, he would have to call Friar Betancor and make him Cheif Captain of Malauar. He spoke these words from what he knew of his zeal during the period he was in Ceylon for besides being a man who knew no fear, he was also feared by the enemy because he was a poor Friar. They feared him so much as if he were a Captain. Moreover he was zealous in the service of the King, which he must have inherited from his parents, who always were in his service. He was so highly esteemed in the whole Kingdom of Jafanapatao and so greatly venerated in the whole Gulf that once a Visitator, who had gone to those parts, told the Senior Prince (Principe Grande) that he would leave him there as the Chief Father (he appointed him Commissary). At which he smiled, made a sound, stepped a pace forward and said: When was he not a great man, after having erected the church of Our Lady of Health in Mantota, and three or four more and the one dedicated to St. John the Baptist on the Caes dos Elephantes": as we already narrated at length.

F. 921

He went to Manar where he founded another church, since the people lived at great distance from one another. Though he was so occupied with material affairs, he never neglected the work of the conversion of souls. On the contrary, he was ever intent on making converts, building churches and bringing all under the yoke of our Holy Faith. At Jafanapatao he converted many at Ponta das Pedras and Panangaro (Panankamam) and in the whole Kingdom. Among those whom he converted was the white Modeliar, Dom

Pedro, and the Arache Modiliar, besides many other notables and nobles of the Royal House. Even the King himself wanted to be baptized when he was dying, but this was thwarted by Changali. After he had built four or five churches in Manar and commenced the Christianization of Mantota, where there were already three or four thousand Christians, after he had built three churches in the Kingdom of Jafanapatao and had gained many souls for Christ, he finished the church of Our Lady of Miracles, which as we have said, is the chief church in the Kingdom., At the same time he was one of the most important persons, who brought about the conquest of that Kingdom. He died in 1619 at the age of sixty and lies buried in the Sanctuary (of O. L. of Miracles), in the exact place, while still alive, he said he would be buried.

F. 922 In the same church Friar Antonio de S. Bernardino was buried. He was one of the great missionaries who worked there. He knew the language very well and preached in it. He made many converts. Friar Antonio da Porciuncula ⁵ is also buried here. He was Custos and Commissary General of this Custody of St. Thomas, concerning whom we have already spoken in the first book, when we treated on all the Custodes of the Custody. In the world, before entering the Order, he was for many years Chief Judge (desembargador) and judge of civil law-suits (Juiz dos feitos). He also served as Chancellor and held jurisdiction over several forts, where he could have enriched himself, but never did accept anything outside his salary, so that when, after fourteen years as Judge and entered the Order, he left three thousand seraphins, whereas some of his companions who had served shorter periods in the same position possessed many thousands of cruzados and houses with furniture and silverplate. And just as when he was in the world he despised riches, so also when he was in the Order he did the same. He observed poverty and never did he ever possess anything more than his habit and tunic, both patched and mended. He received the habit in this Custody in the year 1595 and throughout his religious life lived as a true son of his Holy Father, St. Francis,. He led a blameless life, showed great zeal for the honour of God and the things pertaining to God. He was assiduous in attending choir and liturgical functions. When he was the Major Superior of this Custody he followed the common life, accepting the common fare. He frequently said when proposals were made, that he cared more for the Order than for his friends, hence he preferred to let down the latter than the former. For some eighteen to twenty years he was a Deputy of the Holy Office where, he was greatly esteemed on account of his learning, virtue and authority. His Majesty also appointed him Judge of the second instance of the Knights of this State ⁶.

When he tendered his resignation in a letter he wrote to His Majesty Phelipe III, who had already heard of him and had been informed that his father, Phelipe II, had sent him to this Custody as Custos and Commissary General with the title of Reformer, the King refused to accept his resignation. When the Count Admiral Dom Francisco da Gama, the second time he was sent out as Viceroy of India 7, went to the Court to kiss the hand of His Majesty, the latter spoke with him concerning Friar Antonio da Porciuncula's resignation. When the Viceroy arrived in Cochin and the Friar went to welcome him, he addressed him the following formal words: F. 923
 When before embarking for this State, I went to kiss His Majesty's hand, he said that there was a certain Friar of the Order of St. Francis, by the name of Friar Antonio da Porciuncula, who by letter had resigned as Judge of the second instance. See yourself whether on account of advanced age he is unable to serve me any longer, in which case accept his resignation, and appoint another Religious in his place, but if he is still able to serve me, do not accept it. Now I see Your Reverence is still well disposed and that you have no excuse to stop serving His Majesty in this office in which you have served him so well.

Notwithstanding all these qualities, he underwent many trials the last quarter of his life, during all of which he showed great constancy and fortitude. Finally having been expelled to Manar, he was greatly troubled both by persecutions and infirmities. On going to Jafanapatao he fell ill on the way and when he arrived he was very bad. Still he received the Last Sacraments. He died in the year 1627 and was buried in the church of Our Lady of Miracles.

Friar Amador da Madre de Deos, a native of Cochin, while he was Rector of a church in Chauacheiro of this Kingdom of Jafanapatao, was beheaded by the inhabitants during a rebellion. He was a very good Religious, very much given to prayer and contemplation, a man of great simplicity and innocence. He was zealous in the ministry and helped the people considerably, since he knew the language of the country very well and thus fed his sheep by his example and instruction. His death took place in 1631.

In the year 1634, on the 13th of July, the day before the feast of our Seraphic Doctor St. Bonaventure, Friar Francisco de Jesus died. He was a native of Goa, a preacher and a good Religious. At the time of his death he was Guardian of Our Lady of Miracles' Friary and Commissary of the Kingdom of Jafanapatao. His death was deeply felt, since he was a Religious who gave great satisfaction to all. He loved poverty, was zealous in the cause of Religion



F. 924 and respected by all. The day before his death, he dreamt that a Friar had unexpectedly expired. We may piously believe that in this manner God wanted to reveal his death to him, for on awaking from this/dream, he told the other Friars and added that he did not know whether he was that Friar or not. With this thought in mind he went to Confession, said Mass and prepared himself for death. The following morning he awoke unable to speak and at two o'clock he returned his soul to God, while the Bishop of S. Thome held him in his arms. This bishop was Dom Paulo da Estrella ⁸ of the Third Order Regular of our Holy Father St. Francis, who was on his way to his Diocese and who only a few days ago had arrived. It was he who conducted the funeral. Not only did our Religious attend, but also those of the other Orders and all the people and the Captain General Balthasar da Camara de Noronha⁹, who before the body was interred, knelt down and kissed his feet.

Chapter 56

Concerning the Island of Manar, the Christian Community we have there and few items of special interest.

The Island of Manar is situated at the northern-most extremity of Ceylon, at the cape of the Shoals of Ceylon (Cabo dos Baixos de Ceilao) ¹. It belonged formerly to the Kings of Jafanapatao, near which it is situated. At present, however, it belongs to the Portuguese Crown, for after the Viceroy Dom Constantino de Braganca destroyed the Kingdom of Jafanapatao and defeated its King, he took this island as a punishment for his misdeeds, transferred his whole fleet there and built the fortress we at present possess there. And since the Portuguese who lived in Punicale on the Fishery Coast were frequently molested by the Naique of Tanjor, to whom the territory belongs, which resulted in no little discredit to the State of India and afforded pretexts for war, the same Viceroy sent a message to Captain Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho ² to come with all the inhabitants of that place and take up their abode in the Island of Manar ³. He handed the fortress over to him, of which he then took charge. All came gladly, for by doing so they did not lose the advantages they had at Punicale, since they remained in the same neighbourhood and were rid of the injuries and molestations of that Naique. And since the Viceroy had information concerning the great care the Friars took of the souls and the zeal they had for the conversion of the people, which he had been able to witness when/our Custos Belchior de Lisboa and his companions were killed, he left some of them behind in this Island. They immediately with great zeal began to preach the Gospel to those barbarous islanders and converted many. They immediately constructed a church, which was the first one and dedicated it to the Mother of God, where upto the present our Friars officiate and administer the Sacraments to the recent converts and daily convert others, so that the number who have been baptized by them is great.

F. 925

In this church there is a statue called the Face of Our Lady (Vulto de Nossa Senhora), which was brought from Rome. People have a great devotion to it on account of the many miracles which Our Lady has wrought through it. Once a married pagan lady who was barren came to the church. She lit a candle and made a vow that were she to have children, every Saturday she would come with a candle for her altar and some oil for her lamp. She was heard and after some time had a son.

Another lady, a Christian, when her son died, brought the child to the church and with great devotion offered it to Our Lady, asking her to obtain life for it from her Son. Wonderful to see, almost the same moment, her petition was granted. The child lived and she took it back to her home.

In the town of the Careas there was a Christian who, due to some sickness, became blind. Every day he prayed to Our Lady and asked her to restore his eyesight. One day she appeared to him and told him to go to her church at Manar and that when he would arrive at the spot from which it can be seen, he would recover his eyesight. He went and it happened as Our Lady had said, for on arriving at the spot where the church is visible, he recovered his eyesight. He remained there and served Our Lady there in her house. Other miracles too she had worked and still works. For brevity's sake we refrain from mentioning any more.

F. 926 In this island there is place called Patim, ⁴ which was watered by the blood of many martyrs. The King of Jafanapatao, a great enemy of Christians, having come to know that many of his vassals had embraced Christianity, sent a Captain with soldiers, who put all the Christians he found to the sword, without making any distinction of persons, of age or status. Those who underwent martyrdom for our Holy Faith numbered more than six hundred men, women and children. He was not satisfied with shedding so much blood, but sought out the Christians in all possible ways, using all the stratagems his diabolic/fury inspired him. All those he found he put to the torture in an endeavour to force them to renounce the Faith they professed. God favoured many of them during this battle they sustained for His cause and He confirmed them in the confession of His Name, so that they preferred to lose their lives than to renounce their Faith. In memory of these glorious martyrs this place is called throughout the Orient the Town of the Martyrs.

In this Island we have a great servant of God, of whom we only know that he was commonly called the Fleming, since he was that by nationality. ⁵ He served for many years in the ministry and in the conversion of the inhabitants. He was a very holy Religious and wrought many miracles. Hence he had many encounters with the devil, who pestered him in a visible manner, such as snatching away his Breviary when he wanted to say it or extinguishing the candle. But the servant of God would place himself in the form of a Cross and the Breviary would return and the candle would be lit. Many other wonders he worked, but on account of the lapse of time they have all been buried in oblivion and only a brief note concerning them has come down to us, which served more as a motive for regret than for writing.

When Manoel de S. Mathias, a grave Religious of this Province and full of zeal for the salvation of souls was Superior at Manar⁶ and Commissary of that area he went to Putalao (Puttalam), as it belonged to his jurisdiction, built a church there and baptized many persons. The Chief Modeliar of Manar and Putalao, Manuel do Prado and Captain Manoel Barreto da Silva were a great help to him. He also instructed three hundred men who lived a distance of two leagues from there and converted a house into a church, which the same Manoel do Prado had given him, and said Mass there.

When as a voter he was obliged to proceed to Goa to attend the Custodial Chapter, which was to be celebrated, his companions were charged with administering Baptism to those people, which they did with great diligence. During this General Baptism something extraordinary took place, which caused great amazement among the Christians who were being baptized and also among the pagans who were present. While they were being baptized outside the church, because there were so many, it began to rain. All wanted to rush into the church, but the Fathers told them to remain where they were and not to be disturbed. On all sides the rain fell. Only there it did not rain until the ceremonies of Baptism had been completed, when they all retired to the church, and it began to rain there too as in other places.

At the entrance to the harbour of Manar (na ponta da barra de Manar) we have the church of St. John the Baptist with a group of Christians, concerning which we have already spoken.

We will conclude this chapter by giving some information about a number of trees which are found in Manar and which are of a peculiar nature. The inhabitants call them "caparapules," but we call them Judas-trees. ⁷ The country-side is covered with them. They are very big, and in the hollow part (their trunks are generally hollow and empty) a bed can easily be contained. They are ordinarily without leaves and produce some fruits, which resemble the bag painters generally depict Judas with and contain thirty black seeds, as if to represent the thirty coins for which Judas sold Christ. It is remarkable that though these trees are so big, they do not produce anything for human use, not even firewood, except that from the bark they make cords with which to hang criminals. The ancients of that country have observed another thing to be wondered at, viz. that all remain as they are, the small not growing taller nor the big ones increasing in any way. Hence very rightly they have called these trees, Judas-trees, for there they find his symbols, the bag and the

F. 927

arm, the former the symbol of the guilt, the latter that of his punishment. The people believe that these trees are of the same kind from which the cursed Judas hung himself. God only knows the secrets thereof, but it is undoubtedly something remarkable.

It is also well-known that this area is flat, without any hills. Hence there are no fountains and all the people drink water from wells fashioned in the sand, as all the ground is sandy. Since the water which they draw from them is dirty and mixed with mud, nature or rather the Author of nature has provided them with certain beans, of which there are plenty and which when ground and thrown into the water in a short space of time attract all the dirt to the bottom of the vessel. Thus the water becomes clear and clean as if from a running fountain.⁸

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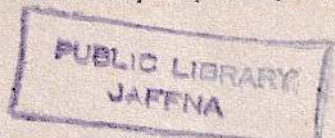
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NOTES

Introduction:

- (1) Barbosa Machado, III, 526; Streit, V, 227.
- (2) Nazareth, *Mítras Lusitanas*, II, 256.
- (3) Lopes, 185.
- (4) Paulo da Trindade, 1, 71.
- (5) *Idem*, 1, 51.
- (6) J. Ferreira Martins, *Os Ultimos dias de Ormuz*, O.P., XXI (1914), 123.
- (7) Chapter-Lists, Mother of God Province, MS. 20r.
- (8) Paulo da Trindade, II, 44.
- (9) "Frater Paulus de Trindade ortus in India (sic), Lector jubilatus, deputatus S. Officii, qui fuit guardianus in Chaul, et visitator in partibus Aquilonis et in Bardes pro Archiepiscopo, Diffinitor et Commissarius generalis in Indiae partibus, qui adhuc viuit vir doctus, litteris et vitutibus praeditus, et habens ad gubernium requisita et magna cum prudentia illas gubernavit Provincias, qui librum edidit dictum propugnaculum spirituale partium orientalium et est valde utilis, fuitque Rector in multis Rectoriis seu fidelium domibus pluresque convertit et baptizavit" Miguel da Purificacao, 61, v.
- (10) Wadding, XXVII, 131.
- (11) "Na Freguezia do Salvador do Mundo... e se veo confessar comigo que entao moraua na mesma Igreja... Nesta mesma casa, confessei outro christao de terra, home velho e simples... Succedo isto em o anno de 1630". Paulo da Trindade, 1, 59. From the above it is clear that he knew Concani, the language spoken in Goa.
- (12) Paulo da Trindade, 11, 44.
- (13) Paulo da Trindade, 1, 48; Chapter-lists of the Mother of God Province, MS. 20r. According to Barbosa Machado, he was nominated as such by the then V.G. of the Order, Francisco Henriques. This must be a mistake, for in the years 1632-3 Antonius and not Franciscus Henriques was Vicar General and as such ruled the Order since the General had died.
- (14) Chapter-lists, l.c., 21r.
- (15) Miguel da Purificacao, 19v; Streit, *Bibl. Miss.*, V, 128; Civezza, *Saggio*, 473.



- (16) Barbosa Machado, III,526. We find him present at several meetings during the years 1649—1650. Pissurlencar, Assentos, III,129,150
- (17) Nazareth, Mitras Lusitanas, II,256. He must have obtained this information from Barbosa Machado, III,526.
- (18) Sbaralea, III,315.
- (19) Bonaventura das Chagas O.F.M., the 6th of Feb. 1623, celebrated as Apostolic Commissary the first chapter of the Mother of God Province. Paulo da Trindade, I, 48; Chapter-lists of the Mother of God Province, MS., 5r.
- (20) The titles of these doubtful works can be found in Meersman, The Franciscans in Bombay, 233.
- (21) Cardinal Schuster, O.S.B., St. Benedict and his Times. Translated by G. J. Roetger, O.S.B., St. Louis, 1951,2.
- (22) Miguel da Purificacao, 12v.
- (23) Queyroz, 14.
- (24) Wadding, 27,448.
- (25) Lopes, 187.
- (26) Wadding, 25,621.
- (27) Miguel da Purificacao, 15v.
- (28) Wadding, 27,129.
- (29) Concerning the Custody or Vice-Province of Malacca and how it was finally incorporated into the Mother of God Province in India cfr. Lopes, 209; Meersman, the Franciscans in Bombay, 28-33.
- (30) Queyroz, 209.
- (31) Queyroz, Fr. Perera's Introduction, 14—15..
- (32) Reference is to the Vijayanagara Empire, also called Bisnaga or Narasinga by Portuguese Chroniclers. It is not possible to discover what part he visited. It cannot have been the ancient capital, since around 1565 it had been destroyed by the Mohammedans.
- (33) The Travels of Pietro della Valle. From the old English translation of 1644 by G. Havers, edited by E. Grey, London, Hakluyt Society, 1892.
- (34) Paulo da Trindade, 1,66,67,68. Besides these there are many others where he gives descriptions of certain temple-caves or where he recounts various traditions.

- (35) Paulo da Trindade, II,66,68.
- (36) Bullarium Patronatus Portugaliae, II,32.
- (37) Queyroz, rf. Index, under Negrao, Francisco.
- (38) Queyroz, 721,723 etc.
- (39) The copy Paulo da Trindade sent to Madrid passed through the hands of Manoel de Faria y Sousa. Lopes, Para a Historia, 44.
- (40) "Nat Bibl. da Ajuda em Lisboa no MS. S-11-10, intitulado Jus Codex Lusitanus Sanctitatis, a ff. 175-198, conservam se extractos que para seu uso tirou Cardoso". Lopes, l.c., 44.
- (41) Joseph Ximenez Samaniego O.F.M. was General of the Franciscan Order from 1676 to 1682. Holzapfel, 691.
- (42) Streit, Bibl. Missionum, V,227, says that a copy exists at the Franciscan Friary, Madrid. Perhaps he presumed the original copy had been preserved, as indicated in the Vatican copy. When Lopes made inquiries at Madrid, it was not there. Lopes, Para a Historia, 44.
- (43) Holzapfel, 584.
- (44) L. Lemmens O.F.M., De Sorte Archivi Generalis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum et Bibliothecae Ara Coelitanae tempore Reipublicae Tiberinae (An. 1698-99), Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, XVII, (1924), 53.
- (45) Wadding, 27, 449. This volume was completed around 1926. C.C.de Nazareth knew that Paulo da Trindade had composed a chronicle. Mitras Lusitanas, II,256. From his work, however, it does not seem that he ever saw or made use of it. M. Muellbauer, Geschichte der Katholischen Missionen in Ostindien, Freiburg, 1852,36, says that Paulo da Trindade, besides the Conquista Spiritual, wrote a chronicle of the St. Thomas Province as well. This is obviously a mistake. The Conquista is the Chronicle. He must have made the error due to the fact that, according to his own acknowledgement he had never been able to consult Trindade's Conquista.
- (46) Wicki, Doc. Indica, II,XXII.
- (47) Wicki, Der einheimische Klerus, 67 rs.
- (48) Carlos Mercês de Mello: The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India. Lisboa, 1955, Bibliography.
- (49) Ceylon Literary Register (3rd Series), IV, (1935), 331, 475,528.

Chapter 1

1. **Dom Joao Periya Pandar:** Don Juan Dharmapala, King of Kotte, whom the Sinhalese called *Maha Bandara* (the Great Prince), and the Portuguese "Periya Pandar," after the Tamil "Periya Pandaram."
2. The Franciscans had two Provinces in India, one called St. Thomas and the other Mother of God. Concerning the origin of these two provinces, cfr. Meersman's "The Franciscans in Bombay," pp. 1—26. In Ceylon, the Friars of St. Thomas' Province were exclusively in charge. However, the Friars of the Mother of God Province had one house in Colombo. It is strange that Paulo da Trindade does not mention it, since it was established during his life-time. According to the list of Friaries presented at the General Chapter of the Order held in Rome in 1612, the Friars of the Mother of God Province had a house in Colombo (*Wadding*, XXV, No. 10). It seems that it was subsequently abandoned, for the Friary of this Province at Colombo, the origin of which we can trace, was founded at a later date. Regarding the foundation of this Friary, which was dedicated to the Mother of God, there are two versions. *Wadding* (XXVII, 134) says that after the 28th December, 1629, Fr. Miguel de Nossa Senhora tried to found a Friary in Colombo, but due to the opposition on the part of the St. Thomas' Province, who were already established there, he only succeeded in doing so in 1633. On the other hand, Nazareth (*Mitras Lusitanas*, 11, 79) reports that Bishop Rangel, O.P. of Cochin, under whom Ceylon resorted wrote a number of letters in 1636 to his Vicar General in Ceylon, asking him to help the Friars of the Mother of God Province to establish their Friary in Colombo. These letters were actually written after the Friars had settled there. Perhaps this is an indication that they were encountering opposition. At any rate the original Chapter-lists give us the facts with the exact dates. The Friary was established during the Provincialate of Antonio da Conceicao (1934—37). The first Superior was Angelo de S. Antonio and his companion was Joao Baptista. The first Mass was celebrated on the 21st of April, 1635. The first canonically elected Superior with powers to vote at the Chapters was Diogo da Conceicao. According to the same Chapter-lists of the Mother of God Province, the following Friars were appointed as Superiors of Colombo:

1637, Diogo da Conceicao; 1638, Ignacio de S. Antonio; 1640, Balthazar da Natividade, 1643; Boaventura dos Anjos; 1646; Luiz da Purificacao, Diogo de S. Maria, 1647; Thomas de N. S. do Pilar, Francisco de S. Jeronymo, 1649; Francisco de S. Jeronymo, 1650; Joao da Natividade, 1652; Antonio dos Anjos, 1653; Francisco de S. Jeronymo.

Regarding Luiz da Purificacao, the Chapter-lists remark: "e como renunciace a Guardinia depois da poce canonica e seu lugar foi eleito Diogo de S. Maria." At the chapter of 16 July, 1655, Antonio de Deus was appointed the Guardian but he was not able to enter Colombo, as the Dutch were besieging the city. Therefore Jose da Conceicao governed the Monastery as Presidente-in-capite. At the Congregation of July 1656 no Guardian was appointed for Colombo, as the Dutch had taken the city on 10 May 1656. cfr. Chapter-lists of the Mother of God Province MS.

3. **Rajavaliya** (English translation: p. 27) speaks of a great sea-erosion. "Be it known that at that time the sea was about 7 *gaw* (1 *gavuva* = 5600 yards) from Kelaniya. The Guardian deities of Lanka having become indignant, the sea began to encroach."
4. Ancient names for Ceylon, cf. *C.L.R.* (3rd Series), Vol. 1, pp. 193-198, 293-296, 361-365, 468-471, Vol. II, pp. 87-93, 186-189, 261-263, 303-307, 375-380, 412-416; Vol. III, 318-324, 365-369, 414-421: *Ancient Geography of Ceylon* by Eugene Burnouf.
5. cf. *Couto*, Dec. V., Bk. I, ch. vii, in *JCBRAS*, Vol. XX No. 60, p. 80: "...it is the true Taprobana of Ptolemy, regarding which there has been such confusion amongst geographers, and the reasons why all of them thought this to be the island of Camatra."
6. "...where will be seen the delusion under which some modern writers labour in saying that the Golden Chersonese, which we call Sumatra, is Taprobana, and the rest that the ancients fabulated regarding these two islands." Barros, Dec. III, Bk. ii, ch. i, in *JCBRAS*, ib. p. 34.
7. **Ilanare** from the Tamil *Ilan-nadu*, the country of Ilam (Ceylon). "Ceylon was known to the ancient Tamils as Ilam and Ilamandalam and it has continued to be so known to the present day. From Ilam came Silam, Sihalam and Sinhalam, and from Silam came Zeilon of the Portuguese, Ceilan and Sielan of the Dutch and Ceylon of the English." (*Ancient Jaffna* by C. Rasanayagam, p. 102).
Tronte and **Tranate** may be from Tamil Tiru-nadu, which means "the sacred country".
8. For another discussion regarding the etymology of the word "Ceylon" and also regarding the ancient names of the island cfr. Paolino S. Bartolomeo O.C.D., *Viaggio*, 371 ss.
9. "The port in Ceylon which the Chinese vessels made their rendezvous was Lo-Le (Galle), where, it is said, ships anchor, and people land." (*Tennent's Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 614). But, the name "Chingalas" (Sinhala) has nothing to do with Chins or the Chinese. Paulo da Trindade is repeating Barros, Dec. III, Bk. ii, ch. i.; *JCBRAS*, l. c. p. 33.

10. **Tanarcari**, which Barros calls Tanabare, is Devinuvara or Devundara or Dondra, at the Southern extremity of the Island. "The trilingual inscription discovered in Galle is unique in that it is a foreign inscription in Ceylon recording gifts to local shrines. It is in Tamil, Chinese and Persian, and records gifts made to a Hindu, a Buddhist and an Islamic shrine by Cheng Ho at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He was the leader of an expedition sent into these areas by a Ming emperor" (*History of Ceylon* by the Ceylon University, Vol. I, p. 72.)
 11. **Chingalas** or Sinhala- because Vijaya's legendary ancestor was a Simha or lion, his followers acquired the name of Sinhala.
 12. **Bat** is the Sinhala word for boiled rice; neither in Sinhala nor in Tamil is there a word like *calou* meaning Kingdom, or country. Batticaloa or Maticaloa is derived from Madakalapuva which signifies "muddy lagoon."
 13. **Agate**: "Olho de gato": these stones were much sought after in Ceylon. They belong to the group of "crisoberil." Dalgado, II, p. 120.
 14. **Cambay** is the name they used to designate Gujerat in India.
 15. **Narasinga**, as also Bisnaga were used by the Portuguese to designate the former Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar in India.
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Chapter 2

1. cfr. *Dipavamsa*, ch IX and *Mahavamsa*, ch. VI: these two works are the ancient chronicles of Ceylon.
2. Vijaya was from Lala or Lada, modern Gujerat and not from the Coromandel Coast. (cfr. *Dipavamsa*, ch. IX, vs. 5).
3. Traditionally the year B.C. 543.
4. "ao longo do mar na volta da contra costa" in fol. 713.
5. **Musk**: "papos de algalea". Dalgado, II.166, has the following: "papo e o nome que os nossos indianistas davam ao saco e pale que encerrava almiscar, que assim se consevava melhor e era mais apreciado." We have presumed that "algalea" is the same as "almiscar" or musk.
6. "Covado" was a measure taken over from the Portuguese and at one time very much used in India. It must be a length of some 35 cm. Dalgado, s.v. "covid."

7. Queyroz, Bk. 1, ch. 5, p. 38:" "At the foot of this peak there is a cavern like the Donda Cave of Pelayo capable of holding 2000 souls, in which the Pilgrims are sheltered; and on the side of Candea there is another of the same kind."
8. **Rajapure:** Anuradhapura. Parker's Ancient Ceylon, p. 243:" A highway formerly ran northwards from Anuradhapura through what is now Northern Province, the ancient Nagadipa. It crossed the Malwatta-Oya by a bridge formed at the ends by stone posts fixed in rocks in the bed of the river, a few of them being still visible at the banks, according to information given to me by the villagers." cfr. also p. 405. Also, Ceylon Historical Journal Vol. X. pp. 8-30.
9. cfr. C L R. (3rd.Series), Vol. 1 pp. 179 ff; *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 155,162.
10. Balanc: may be Valave in Magam Pattuva. Queyroz, Bk. 1, p. 5: "abundant salt pits formed by nature in the lands of Valave, a day's journey from Paneva (Panava) which are filled with salt water in July, August and September."

Chapter 3

1. **Camorim:** Zamorin was the name given to the rulers of Calicut (India). Though Hindus, most of the prominent subjects were Mohammedans. Hence they are very often represented as Mohammedans. Moreover, they were opposed to the Portuguese and at times formed alliances with other Mohammedan powers to oust the Portuguese.
2. Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Viceroy of India, occupied this position from 1505 to 1509. cfr. *Saldanha*, 1,33. Concerning the Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese, cfr. idem, 35-36; and *JCBRAS*-No. 59, pp. 284-385.
3. Paulo da Trindade must have culled this information from Barros. cfr. *Decadas of Barros*, Ed. Lisboa, 1628, Decada I, Livro X, p. 203; *JCBRAS*- No. 60, p. 22.
4. cfr. *JCBRAS*, New Series, Vol. VIII, part 2, pp. 213-223.
5. **Lopo Soares de Albergaria** was Governor of India from 1515 to 1518. *Saldanha*, 1,47.
6. **Afonso de Albuquerque** was the head of the Portuguese power in India from 1510 to 1515, cfr. *Saldanha*, 1,37.
7. St. Lawrence was a 3rd century Roman Martyr, who was placed on a grill and roasted. Hence he is often represented with a grill.

8. **Colahamba:** rather *kola-amba*, in Sinhalese 'a leafy mango-tree.' the popular etymology of the name Colombo, as recorded by Knox 1. The Dutch coat-of-arms of Colombo has a leafy mango-tree with a dove (Lat. *columba*.)
9. He must be referring to Manoel Mascarenhas Homem who was Captain General of Ceylon from 1614 to 1616 and Francisco de Menezes who was Captain General from 1613 to 1614.
10. **Calapana** for Sinhalese 'kalapuva,' which means a lagoon or inlet. Later on this inlet became known as 'Beire.'
11. Dom Joao Perea Pandar or Dharmapala bequeathed his Kingdom to Portugal by an instrument dated 12 August, 1580. He died 27 May 1597.
12. Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo was Captain General of Ceylon from 1594 to 1613.

Chapter 4

1. **Agras—Garanava:** In Sinhalese *akara* means 'gem pit' or 'gem land,' and '*garanava*' to sift or cleanse.
2. **Dissava**, in Sinhalese means 'a district or province' and also the Governor of such.
3. **Elders** i.e. headmen, in Sinhalese '*vidane*,' which means, one who conveys the orders of Government to the people.
4. **Sanganes:** in Sinhalese *kankanama* means an overseer.
5. **Vadana das Agras:** the headman of the gem-lands.
6. **Corjas:** in Portuguese or *corje* in Anglo-Indian. Dalgado.... suggests that the Malayalam *korchchu*, which means a 'threaded string, (like a string of pearls) or 'bundle of thread' derived from the verb *korkk*, 'to thread,' is the original of the Port. word *corja*, cfr. A. X. Soares: s.v.
7. **Francisco Barreto:** was Governor of India from 1555 to 1558. Saldanha, 1.103. He was the last Governor to be nominated by Joao III, who died in 1557 and was succeeded by Donna Catarina. Since this stone was discovered only in 1562, and given to Rainha Donna Catarina, it cannot be that Francisco Barreto offered it, but most probably Antonio Moniz Barreto who was Governor from 1573 to 1575. Saldanha, 1.129.
8. **Corral:** an enclosed space or pen to hold live animals: in Ceylon an enclosure or palisade for decoying and capturing wild elephants.

9. **Cornacas:** from the Sinhalese word *kurunayaka*, "whose duty it was to tame the elephants." Pieris, Vol. II, p. 67.
Alia in Sinhalese denotes an elephant which has no tusks. "It is a curious fact that, whilst in Africa and India both sexes (of elephants) have tusks, with some slight disproportion in the size of those of the females: not one elephant in a hundred is found with tusks in Ceylon, and the few that possess them are exclusively males." (Tennent, Vol. II, pp. 273, 274).
10. **Covid**, probably from Portuguese 'covado,' a cubit or ell. cfr. Dalgado s.v.
11. Queyroz Bk. I, p. 75:" They (elephants) are sold by cubits (covados) measured at the hip, 1000 pardaos per cubit, and there are elephants of three and a half cubits."
 Tome Perez says elephants are not measured 'pela anca' or at the haunch or hip, but at the front. He says "elephants are sold by the cubit: they are measured from the tip of forefoot to the top of the shoulder." Suma Oriental of Tome Pires (1512—1515). Edited by A. Cortesao, Hakluyt Society, London, 1949, Vol. I, 86. also cfr. Tennent, Vol. II, p. 337 n.
12. The value of a **pardau** depends on whether it was of gold or silver. We presume that the latter is meant, and then its value was more or less half a rupee, perhaps a little more nowadays. cfr. Dalgado, s.v.
13. **Champanas:** Champana or sampan, a small boat used in Malaya, China and parts of India. Sampan means three boards.' Dalgado, s.v.
14. Must be the Gulf of Mannar, called by the Portuguese chroniclers the Gulf or Sea of Chilao (Chilaw).
15. The name of Xeraphin and pardau were promiscuously used and have therefore the same value. cfr. Dalgado, s.v.
16. In a Memorial presented by the "Chingalaz" to the General Diogo de Melo de Castro (1633-1635), the "Chaleaz," after a short statement about their past, complained that a sentence that came from Goa was declared making us slaves of the King: and this for no other purpose, than that those who plotted it may rob us in safety, under the name of slaves" (Queyroz, Bk. VI, pp. 1018, 1019).
17. **Larins:** larim is a coin worth from 60 to 100 reis. They also spoke of tangalarim. Hence it must have had the value of an anna. cfr. Dalgado, s.v.
18. **Bar**, bares, babars, a weight used in large trading transactions. It varied according to localities and articles of merchandise. Queyroz, p. 73, states that half a bar was equal to two quintals, Couto says the same (VIII, 1,2). Arabic *bahar* Skt. *bhara*, Malaylam *bharam* and

in Sinhalese *parama*, which is equal to about 5 cwts. cfr. Hobson-Jobson s.v. *bahar*.

Arroba: a Spanish, Portuguese and Brazilian weight, cfr. Valdez, s.v. **Arratel**, a pound, sixteen ounces: in Sinhalese *rattala*."

19. **Amanao** (measure): in Sinhalese 'amana' a grain measure composed of 4 *palas*: also a measure of 24,000 arecanuts. cfr. Codrington's Glossary, s.v.
 20. Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo was Captain General of Ceylon 1594—1613.
 21. **Quintal** is a hundred-weight.
 22. Probably this refers to the custom, which existed among the Sinhalese, in the days of their kings, to take the first "fruits" of their harvest as a tribute of allegiance to their Kings. It was called the '*alut sal mangalaya*,' the new rice festival. cfr. Knox, Part II, ch. iv.
 23. **Bisalho:** *bizalho de pedras*, bejewelled bag (Sgh. *ratna paiya*) cfr. Gonsalvez' Vocabulario, s.v.
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Chapter 5

1. Vijaya Bahu VII (1509-1521) was despoiled of his kingdom by his three sons, Bhuvaneka Bahu, who became King of Kotte, Raigam Bandara, who received the principality of Raigama, and Mayadunne, the youngest, became the King of Sitavaka. Although Mayadunne led the plot against his father, it is not certain that he killed him with a sword. *Rajavaliya*, the well known Sinhalese chronicle says: "When night came on, several persons were told to kill Vijaya Bahu: but they said, "We will do no hurt to our king." Then a stranger, Salma by name, was engaged to assassinate Vijaya Bahu." (p. 76).
2. **Shallows** may be the islands to the North of Puttalam and Kalpitiya.
3. **Cura Adaas:** for Kuda Adahasa or Adahasim, a young member of the Royal Family, a prince or princess (Sinhalese). cfr. Queyroz, p. 220: "the King not having more than a daughter named Subudara Banduge (Samudra Devi)—others call her Cura Adaz." Also History of Ceylon, Vol. 2, p. 732: *Rajavaliya* (Sinhalese edition), pp. 18, 50, 55.
4. **Purohita Rala:** the tutor or adviser, usually a Brahmin. His name was Sri Ramaraksa Pandita. For his signature see *Quellen*, Tefel XXII, 6.
5. Several letters of Joao da Villa do Conde have been published by Schurhammer and Voretzsch in "Ceylon Zur Zeit des Konigs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Franz Xavier", Leipzig, 1928, also by Silva Rego,

Doc. III 495:505. He was greatly esteemed by all. He, together with St. Francis Xavier, Antonio do Casal, O.F.M. and Pedro Fernandez Sardinha, the V.G., were present when the Viceroy, Joao de Castro, died in 1548. Cfr. Letter of Francis Xavier, dated, Cochín, 22 Oct. 1548. Silva Rego, Doc. IV, 78. It might be good to add here what H. Henriques S.J. in his letter, dated, Mannar, 19 Dec. 1561 says about his missionary method: 'Em Ceylon esta hum grande cantor mallavar, ja Christao, com quem hum Padre de Sao Francisco, per nome Frei Joao da Villa do Conde tem tirado muy singular doutrina em prosa e em maneyra de cantigas que se ca costumao, e que se aprendem nas sescolas: e assi outras cantigas de louvor de Dios e da Virgem que se costumao a cantar como entre nos os mininos orfaos. Ja ha dias que este cantor tinha isto feyto e sabendo que se azia aqui a pescaria de alyofar, mandou aos principaes patanguatin ho que tinha feyto, do que elle alias ja era galardoadado do dito padre Frei Joao' (Silva Rego, Doc. 451).

6. Joao da Villa do Conde together with the Sinhalese Ambassador, set sail on 25 March 1543 and arrived in Goa on 3rd September 1543 cfr. Couto, VI, IV, 7: Queyroz, 235, n. 2.
7. The Companions of Friar Joao da Villa do Conde seem to have been: Antonio do Padrao, Simao de Coimbra, Goncalo and the Italian Francisco de Monteprandone. cfr. L. Lemmens, O.F.M. "Zu dem, Anfangen der Franziskanner Mission auf Ceylon," Franz. Studein XV (1928) 177. Antonio do Padrao was one of the famous Franciscans of the early period. Around 1530, he was the Commissary of India. He also visited the Sorra, in Malabar. He too took part in the first siege of Diu. There exists one of his letters to the King, dated 1530: Silva Rego, II, 139. Of Simao de Coimbra there exist two letters: (I) Ceylon, 25 Ap. 1546: Civezza, Saggio, No. 118: (2) Goa 18 Dec. 1546: Silva Rego, Doc. III, 416.
8. This must be Martin Afonso de Souza, Viceroy of India, from 1542—1545: cfr. Saldanha, I, 78.

Chapter 6

1. **Jangantares** represents Sanghatthera, elder of the assembly of (Buddhist) monks.
2. **Mulatto**: one who is the offspring of a European and an Asiatic or African. Originally it meant a 'young mule' the offspring of a stallion and a she-ass: hence, one of mixed race. The word is analogous to mestico. (A. X. Soares, s.v.)

3. This must be Couto, who continued the *Decadas of Joao de Barros*. cf. *Decada VI*, Bk. ix, ch. xvi.
 4. 'Bhuvaneka Bahu...started with the Portuguese and Sinhalese army as though he meant to make war, and took up his quarters at Kelaniya. There he opened the doors of the uppermost storey of the royal pavilion, built over the water: and as he walked about, looking up and down the river the Portuguese fired a shot, which struck the king on the head, and instantly killed him. Some say that this hurt was done of set purpose: others that this was done unwittingly: God alone knoweth which is true.' (Rajavaliya, p. 79).
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Chapter 7

1. There are a few references to the departure of Friar Joao for Portugal. Archbishop Joao de Albuquerque O.F.M. of Goa refers to it in his letter, dated Goa, 6 Dec. 1548. According to what he says, it seems that things in Ceylon were not as they should be and needed some attention on the part of the King: "diz (Frei Joao) que vay dar-lhe comta das cousas de Ceilao, para lhe por V. A. remedio." Silva Rego, Doc. IV, 150. Joao Soarez in his letter, dated, Challe 20 Jan. 1549, refers to the Friar's going to Portugal. cf. Silva Rego, Doc. IV, 247. One of the complaints Frei Joao had to make to the King, seems to have been the way the Portuguese were misbehaving in Ceylon, especially as far as the King of Kandy is concerned. cf. Letter of Simao de Coimbra, O.F.M., to Dom Joao de Castro, Goa, 18 Dec. 1546. Silva Rego, Doc. III, 416. St. Francis Xavier too speaks of his departure in his letter to Joao III, dated Cochin, 26 Jan. 1549: Silva Rego, Doc. IV, 270.
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Chapter 8

1. Paulo da Trindade refers to Belchior de Lisboa in various parts of his Chronicle. He says of him that he organized the studies of the Friars at Cochin and Goa (1,51), that he was with the Viceroy, Dom Constantino de Braganca, (1558-61), when he took Damaun on 2-2-1559 (1,71), that he was Custos two years and as such was killed when he accompanied the Viceroy to Jaffna (1,79).
2. Paulo da Trindade says that Pedro de Belem was Custos five years. It is difficult to say which years, perhaps about 1565. He also says that he built the Franciscan residence at Candolim, Bardez, Goa (1,19).

3. He must have made these requests to Francisco Barreto who governed from 1555 to 1558. cfr. Saldanha, 1,103.
 4. cfr. Queyroz, p. 304: Couto, Dec. VI, bk. ix, ch. 18 (in JCBRAS, Vol. XX, No. 60, p. 155).
 5. Concerning the works of the Franciscans in and around Bassein, cfr. Meersman, "The Franciscans in Bombay," 103 ff.
 6. Regarding the work of the Franciscans in Bardez, cfr. F. X. da Costa "Anais Franciscanos em Bardez," Nova Goa, 1926: Meersman "The Franciscans in India" 26, ff.
 7. Dom Constantino de Braganca, Viceroy, 1558—61.
 8. This is a very precious reference to the Franciscans in Mylapore, which might help to determine when the Franciscans settled in that City.
 9. Paulo da Trindade refers to this letter of the King where he discusses the organizing of the Studies in the Custody by the then Custos, Belchior de Lisboa. (1,51).
 10. The reference must be to a letter, dated Colombo, 26 Jan. 1574, the King wrote to Pope Gregory XIII. It was published in "Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae" 11,219—220. cf. CALR, VI. 27 ff.
 11. Regarding Friar Chrisostomo da Madre de Deos, Miguel da Purificacao says the following: "Frater Chrysostomus de Matre Dei ortus in India, fuit Lector in sacra Theologia, Magister Magistrorum et saepius Prelatus Guardianus in Chaul, Guardianus et Commissarius in Ceilao, Guardianus et Commissarius in Cochin, pluribus annis Deffinitor in dicta Provincia et Rector in dictis domibus fidelium et plures convertit et baptizavit." At the Chapter of 1595 he was appointed Superior of the Friary of Quilon. cfr. Lopes, 187.
 12. Dom Andre de S. Maria O. F. M., became Bishop of Cochin in 1588. cfr. Nazareth, Mitras Lusitanas, 11,69. He was Governor of the Archdiocese of Goa from 1593 to 1595. cfr. Saldanha, 1,364. By virtue of the Bull of Gregory XIII, dated 15 Dec. 1572, the Bishop of Cochin had to take charge of the Archdiocese of Goa, if it fell vacant, until it was provided for. cfr. Bullarium Patr. Port., 1,232.
 13. About the baptizing of orphans cfr. Paulo da Trindade, 1,72-5th Provincial Council of Goa (1606), Bull. Patr. Port., I, Appendix, 114.
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Chapter 9

1. This must be St. Anthony's, Cotta (Kotte), to which Paulo da Trindade refers later in Chapter 27 (10).
 2. Mathias de Albuquerque was Viceroy from 1591 to 1597. cfr. Saldanha, 1,143.
 3. A Syndic is ordinarily a layman who in the name of the Holy See administers the alms received by the Franciscans for their use: at present very often a Friar is appointed Apostolic Syndic.
 4. Jeronymo de Azevedo, Captain General of Ceylon 1594—1613.
 5. Reis Magos was the first residence the Franciscans built after Bardez was allotted to them. The first building was put up in 1555 by Friar Joao Noe O.F.M. cfr. F. X. da Costa, *Anais Franciscanos em Bardez* 5; Paulo da Trindade, 1,56.
 6. Manapacer i.e. Mt. Painsur on Salesette Island near Bombay. Regarding this College cfr. Meersman, "The Franciscans in Bombay," 155 ff. This school was founded by Antonio de Porto O.F.M., after 1547.
 7. This was the first Seminary founded after the Portuguese came to the East. It was established around 1540 by Friar Vicente de Lagos O.F.M. cfr. Paulo da Trindade, 11,70,71.
 8. Paulo da Trindade refers here to the fact that according to their Rule the Friars are not allowed to have any fixed income for themselves or any dealings with money "either themselves or through an interposed person." Rule of St. Francis of Assisi, Chapters IV, VI.
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Chapter 10

1. Syrian General Naaman: cf. 4 Kings ch. V (Vulgate); 2 Kings ch. V (RSV).
2. Pedro de Ataide Inferno was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1564 to 1565. cf. Queyroz, 419.
3. Balthazar Guedez de Souza, was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1560 to 1564.
4. Queyroz reports that Friar Martinho da Guarda and Friar Pedro de Belem were hanged in the year 1563 during a siege. They belonged to a group of five or six Friars who were working under Friar Simao de Nazareth. cf. Queyroz, 419.
5. Diogo de Mello was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1565 to 1568.

6. He was Governor of India from 1588 to 1591. cfr. Saldanha, 1,143. From about 1578 to 1583 he was Captain Major of Ceylon.
7. Joao Correa de Brito was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1583 to 1590.
8. During this period the Religious Orders rarely accepted any Indians into their ranks. As far as the Franciscans are concerned their policy was dictated by Papal Legislation. cfr. Meersman O.F.M., "The question of admitting Indians to the Franciscan Order," in *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, Beckenried, Switzerland, XIII (1957) 29—34.
9. In 1544 Friar Pascoal, the Commissary and his companion Friar Goncalo entered the Kingdom of Kandy and in 1547 built a church and dedicated it to the Immaculate Conception of the Bl. Virgin Mary. For a time it stood in Palnugare (Senkadagala Nuvara), the Metropolis of that Kingdom. cfr. Queyroz, 257,258 n.
10. Jayavira Bandara, King of Kandy. cfr. Queyroz, 705
11. Paulo da Trindade mentions a Friar Andre de Souza, who was at one time Guardian of the Friary of Bassein, Bombay. 11,24.
12. Friar Belchior de Lisboa was killed when the Viceroy Constantino de Braganca, Viceroy 1558—61, came to Ceylon.
13. Queen of that Kingdom: Dona Catharina of Kandy.
14. Pero Lopes de Souza was Captain General of Ceylon in 1594.
15. Friar Simao da Luz was at one time stationed at Bassein, Bombay Trindade, II, 22. In 1595, he was at Thana: Lopes, 188.
16. Friar Francisco das Chagas was in residence in Cannanore in the year 1595: Lopes, 187.
17. In 1595, Friar Pedro de Christo was the Rector of St. James' College, Cranganore: Lopes, 189.
18. "Via" literally "way," can be rendered by route or mail, since on account of the danger of shipwreck, copies of same letter were sent by various ships or routes or mails.
19. We have compared Paulo da Trindade's copy of King "Parea Pandar's" (Don Joao Dharmapala) certificate with the original. They are identical, only the spelling has been modernized. This was done either by Trindade himself or by one who made the copy of his Chronicle. The original bears a seal and the signature of Friar Manoel dos Santos, Guardiao. Moreover, it is officially certified by "Esteuao Figueira, ouvidor com alcada por sua Magestade nesta cidade e fortalesa de Columbo da Ilha de Ceilao."
20. The instrument of donation is dated 12 August 1580 and was published by Biker, Coleccao de Trados, 1,180-184.

Chapter 11

1. The reference is probably to the text: "For they loved the glory of man more than the glory of God": John, XII, 43.
2. cf. Acts of the Apostles, XIII, 7 ff.
3. cf. Queyroz, pp. 259,304,328: they were Bhuvaneka Bahu's natural sons, the children from a subordinate queen.
4. Dom Joao de Castro was Viceroy of India from 1545 to 1548. cf. Saldanha, 1,82.
5. They died of small-pox, cf. Pieris, I, iv 99; *O Oriente Portuguez*, No. 1, Dez. de 1931, states that Princes Dom Joao of Sitavaka and Dom. Teodosio of Uva were buried in the church of S. Francis of Assisi, Goa. (p. 47).
6. Dom Afonso de Noronha was Viceroy of India from 1551 to 1554. Dom Afonso did go to Ceylon, but not in 1550 as Trinidad affirms. The way he acted in Ceylon was very bad. cf. Saldanha, 1,94,98.
7. cf. Queyroz, pp. 304,305, Couto, Dec. VI, Bk. IX ch. 18 (JCBRAS, No. 60 p. 155).
8. Friar Francisco do Oriente in 1595 was Superior of the Friary of Nagapatnam. cf. Lopes, 187. When he was there and the town was attacked, he refused to flee to Mannar, but remained with the numerous Portuguese and native Christians who were not able to escape. Miguel da Purificacao says of him: "Friar Francisco de Oriente fidei praedicavit Regi de Bisnaga et Naiquis (qui tamquam Reges sunt) de Gingi et Taniaor (Tanjore)". 56. He died at Bassein near Bombay in the month of April 1611. Regarding his missionary method Trinidad says the following: "Onde querque estaua, aprendia logo a lingua da terra e depois q. sabia ler e eserever nella, mandu chamar aos amis doutos, q. sabia haver naquelle lugar, quer fossem gentios, quer Moros, quer Judeos e practicaua com elles muitas vezes sobre as couzas das suas leis e nossas e assi foi muito docto e sabia muito de todas as seites, o que Ihe servia de grande meio para as refutar et mostrar dos seus seguidores a falsidade d'elleas, e porq. de melhor vontade e com mais gosto ouuissent ellas e soubessem os misterios da nossa sancta fee os punha em versos (que os fasia excellentes na sua lingua) e mandua os centar no dia de Natal no presepio e em outos dias de festa assinaldos a ainde quando elles o vinhao conuersar daua ordem com que ouuissent aquelle celestial musica...." II,25.
9. President in former days was used to denote the second-in-command in a Franciscan Friary.
10. Pedro Homem Pereira was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1591 to 1594.

11. For Dom Phelippe, the grandson of Rajasinha of Sitavaka rf. Queyroz, p. 708.
12. Brique e Naringe stands for Vikramasimha, commander-in-chief of the lascarins or country troops. rf. Queyroz, p. 501, also pp. 424, 429, 434, 554.
13. Careas: people of the coastal districts, from Tamil 'karai,' which means coast.
14. Patangati: from the Tamil 'pattankatti,' one on whom a title (pattam) is conferred (lit. tied).
15. Friar Francisco das Chaves was custos probably from 1556 to 1559. In the Chapter list of 1595 there is a Friar Francisco das Chaves mentioned as resident in Chaul. If it is the same Friar, he must, indeed, have been very old. Lopes, 185. Paulo da Trindade says that he died in Bassein. 1,19.
16. Paulo da Trindade must be referring to Afonso, not Antonio Pereira de Lacerda, who was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1555 to 1559.
17. Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, Viceroy of India, 1554-1555. Saldanha 1,102.
18. Refers to the College of Manapacer, or Mount Poincur.
19. He must be referring to Francisco Barreto, Governor of India, 1555-1558. Saldanha, 1,103.

Chapter 12

1. Lopez de Souza was Captain Major of Ceylon in 1594.
2. Constantino de Sa was Captain General of Ceylon from 1618 to 1620, and from 1623 to 1630.
3. According to Queyroz they entered this territory in 1544 and built the church in 1547. rf. Queyroz, pp. 257-258.
4. Dom Francisco Coutinho was Viceroy of India from 1561 to 1564. rf. Saldanha, 1,112.
5. Regarding Friar Joao Calvo, Trindade says that one day he told Brother Francisco de Monte Sion, the Sacristan, to call the Guardian to give him the last Sacraments, since he was going to die. They concluded that he had received a special revelation during his Mass. Indeed he died at St. Francis' Friary, Goa. rf. Trindade, 1,25.
6. Patacas: "Spanish dollar, or piece of eight (reals): a rixdollar. The British rixdollar being valued at 1sh. 6d. and the rupee at 2 sh., the word is now used for a sum of 75 cts. (Ceylon)". Glossary s.v.

7. **Palnagure:** "This name properly represents "Ingale-gal-nure" (Senkadagala Nuvara) of the Ajuda Ms. which says, ff. 38-9, "The name of this Metropolis, they say, is Ingale-gala-nure, which means 'city built of stone by Chingales,' cf. Knox 'Hingcdagal-neura,' as much as to say the City of the Chingulay people,' p. 7". Queyroz, p. 258, n.
8. Jayavira married "two wives, one named Antana Dio Pandar, of whom was born Maha Astana, which means great Astana, and another named Sempale (Gampole) Dio Pandar, who had another son called after the father, Jayavira Pandar." rf. Queyroz, p. 704.
9. Maha Astana is not a proper name but a title of royalty.
10. cfr. Queyroz, p. 704.
11. Feo or Feyo: cfr. Queyroz, p. 705.
12. Tyrant Don Joao: Konappu Bandara, who, at baptism, took the high-sounding name of Dom Joao of Austria, and, at his succession to the throne of Kandy, became Vimala Dharma Suriya I.
13. Dom Diogo de Menezes was Governor of India from 1576 to 1578. rf. Saldanha, 1,130.
14. The relationships among personages of the Sinhalese royalty of this period are very confusing. Paulo da Trindade here and in the next chapter is not clear on this subject. It is so in Queyroz (pp. 704-706), too. For a discussion on the Kandyan dynasty refer C. L. R. 3rd Series, Vol. II, p. 289-296 and pp. 343-351.
Anteada: *enteada*, step-daughter according to Vieyra, and daughter-in-law according to Valdez. cfr. Pieris, Vol. I, ch. x, note 7.

Chapter 13

1. Simao de Brito de Castro was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1590 to 1591.
2. Manoel de Souza Coutinho was Governor of India from 1588 to 1591. rf. Saldanha, 1,143.
3. Visugo Modiliar: Baldaeus speaks of a Visego Modeliyar of Negombo in 1612. (ch. 11, p. 57). About this Modiliyar, Queyroz has 'Dom Francisco Cejaja Modeliyar grandson of Sampale Tandere' i.e. Gampola Bandara. rf. p. 705: also History of Ceylon, Vol. I: part. 2, p. 681.
4. "Aio": in Queyroz, p. 183, *ayo* governor or tutor of a young nobleman; Seneschal on p. 929. The feminine form is 'ayah,' a governess.

5. *rf.* Note 14 in previous chapter. Dona Maria is referred to in some Portuguese documents as "rainha velha," the old queen.
6. Dom Duarte de Menezes was Viceroy of India from 1584 to 1588. *rf.* Saldanha, 1,142.
7. Dom Joao Vicente da Fonseca was Archbishop of Goa from 1580 to 1586. *rf.* Saldanha, 1,363.
8. Friar Gaspar de Lisboa came out as Custos to India together with the Viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes (1585-1588). *rf.* *Trinidade*, 1,71. He was present on 9th June 1585 at the Synod of Goa. *Bull. Patr. Port. Appendix*, 1,60. Present at the General Chapter at Rome in 1587. *Wadding*, XXII, 139. Fr. George Mansaert O.F.M. of Rome has written that there exist two letters of Gaspar de Lisboa, dated 7.12.1587 and 23.11.1589, both of which he signs as Custos and Commissary General.
9. In 1583, Fr. Francisco Gonzaga O.F.M., the General of the Order from 1579 to 1587, ordered that a number of Friars should study at the two Colleges the Order had at Coimbra, so that the Indian Custody might have some learned preachers. He himself appointed the first four: two sons of Portugal: Francisco Bocarro and Joao Pompeo, and two sons of India, Rodrigo das Chagas and Francisco de S. Miguel. *cfr.* *Trinidade* I,20. In 1595, we find Friar Rodrigo das Chagas in Cochin, *cfr.* Lopes, 184.
10. In 1595, Friar Pedro Drago was at the Friary in Negapatnam. *cfr.* Lopes, 187.
11. **Rajavaliya** says: "There (at Petangoda) a bamboo splinter ran into the King's (Rajasimha's) foot. Thereupon, the astrologer Dodampe Ganitaya, by influence of magic prevented the poison of the wound from being extracted. Be it known that prince Raja Suriya brought magical influence to bear upon the wound.' (p. 94).
12. Pedro Homen Pereira was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1591 to 1594.
13. Matias de Albuquerque was Viceroy of India from 1591 to 1597. *cfr.* Saldanha, 1, 143.

Chapter 14

1. Don Joao (of Austria) or Vimaladharmasuriya I, took part in the siege of Colombo in the time of Captain Joao Correa de Brito, "wherein he was fatally wounded by two lance wounds, but he recovered to our misfortune, for becoming dextrous in arms and afterwards apostate-

tizing from the Faith, he seized the Kingdom of Candea and was one of the worst enemies we had in that conquest." (Queyroz, p. 439).

2. About Vahakotte see *Orientalist*, Vol. II, pp. 184-186.
3. Friar Simao da Luz in 1595 was stationed at Thana. Lopes, 188. At one time he resided at the Friary of Bassein near Bombay. *Trinidade*, 11,22.
4. Pedro Lopez de Sousa, was Captain General of Ceylon in 1594.
5. Fr. Jeronimo do Espirito Santo of the Province of Arrabida in Portugal was sent as Custos to India by the General. He arrived in Goa at the end of 1594. In 1595 he celebrated a Custodial Chapter and enacted special statutes for the Custody. His term of office was a great blessing for the Friars of India. For further particulars regarding him cfr. Lopes, 165; *Trinidade*, 1,19,64. After finishing his term, he returned with Friar Sebastiao Pestana, Joao de S. Miguel to Portugal, but was killed at Ormuz in 1597 or 1598. Lopes, 166; *Trinidade*, II, 7.
6. Andre Furtado de Mendonca was Governor of India in 1609. rf. Saldanha, 1,150.
7. Dom Alexio de Menezes O.S.A. became Archbishop of Goa in 1595. He governed upto 1610 when he returned to Portugal. rf. Saldanha, 1,364.
8. Dom Francisco da Gama was Viceroy from 1597 to 1600, and from 1622 to 1627. cfr. Saldanha, 1,144,154.

Chapter 15

1. Jeronymo de Azevedo was Captain General of Ceylon from 1594 to 1613.
2. Friar Gaspar da Magdalena was in Colombo in 1595, however not as Superior. cfr. Lopes, 186.
3. In 1595, Friar Jose de Nossa Senhora was in Colombo. cfr. Lopes 186. Miguel da Purificacao says about him: "El Padre Frey Joseph de Nossa Senhora, hijo de la India, predicador de mucha autoridad y virtud despues de auer servido a V. M. los exercitos de Ceilan veynte annos, fue alanceado y muerto estando por rehenes en Candea por ordin de V. Magestad." 15.
4. Chaul the modern Revadanda, lies South of Bombay. It was one of the earliest forts the Portuguese possessed in that area. The Franciscans at one time had two Friaries there. cfr. Meersman, "The Franciscans in Bombay," 178.

5. In 1595, Manoel de Eluvas was appointed the first Superior of the Franciscan Residence of Tuticorin, South India. cfr. Lopes, 190-I. In 1606 Dom Andre de S. Maria O.F.M., Bishop of Cochin, nominated him Dean of Tuticorin and Ceylon. cfr. Nazareth, "Mitras Lusitanas", 73,161. Miguel da Purificacao says of him: "Frater Emmanuel de Eluas fidem praedicavit Regi de Joa (Java)". 56 r.
6. Constantino de Sa was Captain General from 1618 to 1620 and from 1623 to 1630.
7. Eleutero de S. Thiago in 1595 was still a student either of Philosophy or Theology at the Friary of Bassein, Bombay. cfr. Lopes, 185. He also worked in Bengal and in Burma. cfr. Meersman "Franciscans in India, 100,182, also "The Franciscans in the Burmese Kingdoms of Ava and Pegu." Archivo Francis. Hist. XXXI (1938), 358,
8. rf. Queyroz, pp. 711-712. The King of Kandy was Senerat (1604-1635), and Sankili was Pararasa Sekaran (Hendarmana Sinha): (1519-1615), or Sankili (Kumar), who was king of Jaffna from 1615 to 1618.
9. Philip III, became the King of Spain in 1598. Hence Paulo da Trindade must be referring to the accession of Philip IV, which took place in 1621.

Chapter 16

1. Jeronymo de Azevedo was Captain General of Ceylon from 1594 to 1611.
2. When Friar Ephraim de Nevers O.F.M. Cap. came to Madras around the year 1640 Friar Manoel de S. Jose was the Vicar of the Luz church at Mylapore and Commissary of the Franciscans on the Coromandel coast. cfr. Oriente Portuguez, X (1913), 215.
3. River of Candea: Mahaveliganga.
4. Mosquete: a musket or wall-gun.
5. Elephant thorns: probably *maha-andara* or *katu-andara* (Sinhalese): botanical name, *Dichrostachys cinerea*: a thorny shrub, the branches of which seem to have been used for making the thorn-gates, set up by the Sinhalese Kings at convenient spots on the high-ways. About these Knox says: "These thorn-gates which I here mention. . . are made of a sort of Thorn-bush or Thorn-tree: each stick or branch whereof thrusts out on all sides round about, sharp prickles, like Iron Nails, of three or four inches long. . . These sticks or branches being as big as a good Cane, are platted one very close to another, and so being fastened and tied to three or four upright spars, are made in the fashion of a door." (pp. 86, 87).

6. S. Thiago: a war cry of the Portuguese invoking St. James or S. Thiago. cfr. Queyroz, p. 322.
 7. Affonso Pereira de Lacerda was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1555 to 1559. He was not the first Captain Major of Ceylon.
 8. Raju is Rajasimha, the King of Sitavaka.
 9. Manoel de Sousa de Coutinho was Governor of India from 1588 to 1591. cfr. Saldanha, 1,143.
 10. Galeotes, i.e. gallevats. The name applied to a kind of galley or war boat with oars, of small draught of water, which continued to be employed on the west coast of India down to the latter half of the last century. cfr. Hobson-Jobson, s.v.
 11. Gaspar de Lisboa, as already pointed out, came out as Custos in 1584 and was Custos at least up to 1589, perhaps even up to 1591.
 12. This was Constantino de Sa's second term of office as Captain General of Ceylon which lasted from 1623 to 1630. Several documents concerning Constantino de Sa and Kandy have been published by Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,265 ff.
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Chapter 17

1. "Morti destinatos", i.e. appointed to or destined for death. It is taken from St. Paul: "For I think that God has exhibited us apostles as last of all, like men sentenced to death," 1 Cor. 4.9
 2. Refers to the following text of St. Paul: 'But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews indeed a stumbling block and unto the Gentiles foolishness.' 1 Cor. 1.23.
 3. This took place in 1563. cfr. Queyroz, 419.
 4. Preacota: Tamil *pira kottai*, outer fort, and Sinhalese *pita kotte*, the extramural suburb of a fortress. In Queyroz, p. 29 etc. "Parca-Cota."
 5. Balthasar Guedes de Souza, Captain Major of Ceylon, 1560-'64.
 6. Alcaide-mor: Alcaide was a constable or captain of a fort or castle, and alcaide-mor, the governor of a fort or castle.
 7. Tone: a small river or coastal boat, with mast and oars. Tamil, *toni*.
 8. The Portuguese were so closely besieged that: "Dom Pedro de Ataide (1564—65) mandou salgar cadaveres para o sustento da guarnicao, a pesar des exortacoes em contrario de Simao de Nazare." Saldanha, 1,15. He must have obtained this information from Faria y Sousa, 1,11, C 11, p. 425.
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Chapter 18

1. Tribuli Bandar: from Tamil *Teruve Pandaram*. *Teru* in Tamil and *Vidiya* in Sinhalese represent *Street* in English. He is also known as *Vidiye Bandara*.
 2. Duarte D'Eca was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1552 to 1553.
 3. cfr. Queyroz, p. 315: Couto Dec. VI, Bk. x, ch. xii (JCBRAS, No. 60, p. 161).
 4. cfr. Queyroz p. 316 where the names of some of the Friars killed during this persecution are given.
 5. cfr. Couto, Dec. VII, Bk. iii, ch. v (op. cit. 175) speaks of Urungure. Queyroz mentions Urugare Patu (p. 51) and Uruvare (pp. 510, 511). Uruvara is Uduvara. Urungure is perhaps Kurunegala.
 6. Affonso Pereira de Lacerda was Captain Major of Ceylon from 1555, to 1559.
 7. cfr. Couto loc. cit. in JCBRAS, No. 60, pp. 176, 195, 196.
 8. Constantino de Braganca, Viceroy of India 1558-1561. Saldanha 1,106.
 9. Dom Duarte D'Eca rf. note 2.
 10. Affonso Pereira de Lacerda rf. note 6.
 11. Alaca Mudaliyar: Couto loc. cit. (JCBRAS, p. 177) has also Alanca Modeliar.
 12. Francisco Barreto: was Governor of India from 1555 to 1558. cfr. Saldanha, 1,103.
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Chapter 19

1. Madune: *Mayadunne* of *Sitavaka*.
2. Mathias de Albuquerque was Viceroy of India from 1591 to 1597. cfr. Saldanha, 1,143.
3. Pedro Lopez de Souza, Captain Major of Ceylon, 1594.
4. Palnagure: rf. Ch. 12, note 7.
5. The King of Kandy who is said to have died must have been Dom Phelipe Jamasimha, who was the son of Karaliyadde Bandara. If Dona Catherina was the daughter of Karalliyadde, as is generally supposed, then Trinidade's statement here is incorrect. After Dom Philipe Jamasimha, his son, Dom Joao, a boy of twelve years was proclaimed King of Kandy by the Portuguese. He was ousted from the throne by Konappu Bandara who then seized the kingdom and assumed the name of Vimaladharma Suriya I, strenthening his claim

to the throne by marrying Dona Catherina then a young girl of about 15 years.

6. Friar Pedro de Christo was Rector of St. James' College or Seminary at Cranganore, Malabar. cfr. Lopes, 189.
 7. "In utroque" stands for "in utroque jure," i.e. in both laws, ecclesiastical and civil.
 8. Pedro de Lisboa in 1595 was in residence at St. Anthony's, Colombo. cfr. Lopes, 186.
 9. Friar Francisco de Christo in 1595 was residing at the Friary at Mangalore. cfr. Lopes, 188.
 10. Jeronymo de Azevedo, Captain General of Ceylon, 1594-1611.
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Chapter 20

1. **Fanam** "A gold coin, the tenth of a pagoda; and also a silver coin of the same size and weight struck by the King of Kandy. Also in Ceylon a coin of account, one-twelfth of a rix-dollar. This under the British Government, was struck in copper, and also as a token in silver. A fanam is now reckoned as 6 1/4 or 6 cents." (Glossary s.v.) In Sinhalese *panama*.
 2. **Faraz:** In Goa it was the name given to one of the lowest castes. It is also used to designate those who looked after the horses. cfr. Dalgado, s.v.
 3. **Araches:** (in Sinhalese *aracci*). "Originally the headman of a military department such as Atapattu or Hevavasama; at present in the Kandyan provinces a headman in charge of a village or a group of villages, and sub-ordinate to the Korala; in the low-country a headman over several Vidanes, and below a Muhandiram in rank; also an honorary rank" (Glossary, s.v.)
 4. **Cazado** (in Ms.) we presume it to be the *cazero*, the name of the tree, whence strychnine is drawn. cfr. Dalgado s.v. In Sinhalese, *godakaduru* (*Strychnos Nux vomica*).
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Chapter 21

1. Jeronymo de Azevedo, Captain General from 1594 to 1611; Nuno Alvarez Pereira Captain General from 1616 to 1618.
2. Friar Manoel da Trindade was at the Friary of Colombo in 1595. cfr. Lopes, 186.

3. Friar Ignacio de S. Luzia was Rector of St. Michael's church, Mahim, Bombay, in 1595. cfr. Lopes, 190.
4. According to Nazareth this Friar Francisco das Lapas was a native of Bassein near Bombay. cfr. Nazareth, Clero de Goa, 308. Miguel da Purificacao (15 r) says of him: "El Padre Fray Francisco das Lapas, himo de la India fiu nuerto en Maluana en servicio de V. Magestad."
5. Miguel da Purificacao (15 r) says of him: "El Padre Fr. Francisco de Cananor, hijo de la India, fue muerto en Caymal en servicio de V. Magestad."
6. In 1595, Friar Bernardo da Conceicao was stationed at Bombay Island cfr. Lopes, 190
7. Friar Andre de Setubal in 1595 is listed as a Clero at the Friary of Cochin. cfr. Lopes, 184.
8. King of Candea was Senerat.
9. In 1595, Friar Joseph da Madre de Deos was only Cleric at S. Barbara's Friary, Chaul, cfr. Lopes, 185.

Chapter 22

1. Constantine de Saa was Captain General of Ceylon, 1618—1620 and 1623—1630.
It was during his second term of office that the great revolt occurred.
2. Feast of the Beheading of St. John, the Baptist: 29th August.
3. This revolt of Dom Theodosio was discussed at the Council of State's meeting on 10 October 1630. cfr. Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,298.
4. 'Ola': Tamil *olai* means leaf, palm-leaf, which is used to write on cfr. Dalgado, s.v.
5. cfr. Chapters 24 and 28 about this Friar's knowledge of Sinhalese.
6. Mestica: Mestico means one of mixed breed, a half-caste. cfr. Dalgado, s.v.
7. Senerat, King of Kandy (1604—1635), divided his Kingdom between his own son Rajasimha, to whom he allotted "the Five Countries above the Mountains," practically the modern Kandy district, with the title of King, and the other sons of Dona Catherina, Kumarasimha and Vijayapala, who obtained Uva and Matale respectively.
8. Badulla was the capital of the Province of Uva.
9. The battle took place on the plains of Vellavaya, on a spot known as. Randenivela, cfr. Pissurlencar, Assentos 1; Queyroz, pp. 770—778 and "The Expedition to Uva made in 1630", translated by Fr. S. G.

Perera S.J., Colombo, 1930.

10. Paraduva: also Paradava in Giruva Pattu East.
 11. In 1595 Friar Luiz da Conceicao was residing at the Friary of Colombo. cfr. Lopes, 186.
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Chapter 23

1. Mapani: *Mapana*, the great plain; the flat land extending from Galle Face to Mount Lavinia, the suburb to the South of Colombo.
 2. Pissurlencar has published a number of documents pertaining to Dom Philippe Mascarenhas and his reports concerning affairs in Ceylon. cfr. Assentos, 1,309, 348, 355, 361, 527, 528. Philippe Mascarenhas was Captain General of Ceylon from 1630 to 1631.
 3. This incident is narrated in chapter 24 of 2 Kings (Douay), or 2 Samuel (RSV).
 4. Champana: *Sampana*, "a kind of small boat or skiff. The word appears to be Javanese and Malay." (Hobson-Jobson, s.v.)
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Chapter 24

1. cf. Psalm 114,5 (Douay)
2. "Bis misericordiam posuit, semel iustitiam, in medio iustitia est, gemino septo inclusa misericordiae" St. Ambrose.
3. Philippe Mascarenhas was succeeded as Captain General of Ceylon by Jorge de Almeida, 1631—1633. At the Council of State's meeting of 14 May 1631 there was a question of the Viceroy himself Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares (1629-35), going to Ceylon, since there were rumours that the galley in which Jorge de Almeida sailed, had foundered and he had gone down with it. The galley was indeed shipwrecked, but he and others were saved. Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,348-349.
4. Abhayakon: cfr. Pieris, Vol. I, p. 422 and no. 63.
5. Jorge de Almeida, Captain General of Ceylon, 1631-1633 and 1635-1636.
6. In the *Livro das Moncoes*, 14,195 there is a document dated 3 January 1631 in which the following occurs: "... e depois de dous dias de retirada se perdeo (Constantino de Sa) morrendo todos os Portuguezes de que somente escaparao duzentos e tantos, segundo de affirma.

- Ê que estauao catiuos em Cãdea côm capitao mor de Cãmpe Francisco Barboza, Luis Teixeira, Manoel Pestana e Domingos de Carvalho dissauas. E que levantandosse toda a jilha, baixou El Rey de Cãdea con todos os de aleumatados e forao sobre a fortaleza de Colombo parecendolhes a levasse por asalto." Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,525.
7. Nuno Alvares Pereira, Captain General of Ceylon, 1616—1618.
 8. Diuima Rajuru Masthana: Deva Rajasimha Maha Astana, who became King of Kandy as Rajasimha II, after the death of his father, was the son of Dona Catherina and Senarat. The *Rajavaliya* says: "This queen (Dona Catherina) having become attached to king Senarat and lived with him, gave birth to a prince, who was called Deva Rajasimha" (p. 100).
 9. Pedro Lopez de Souza, Captain General of Ceylon, 1594.
 10. This peace-treaty, under the date 15 April 1633 and entitled "Contratto de pazes feito com El Rey de Cãdea Maastana, o anno 1633. Com o V. Rey Dom Miguel de Noronha (1629-35), Conde de Linhares" was published by Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,573—7.
 11. Diogo de Mello de Castro was Captain General of Ceylon 1633-35 and 1636-38. In both instances he succeeded Jorge de Almeida.
 12. Careas: from Sinhalese *Kariya*, which means business, suits, negotiations.
 13. Changatar: represents Sanghatthera, elder of the assembly of Buddhist monks.

Chapter 25

1. Achem, Atjeh, Acheen etc., a Mohamedan Kingdom on the N. W. corner of Sumatra. cf. Hobson-Jobson, s.v.
2. Dom Miguel de Noronha, Viceroy of India from 1629 to 1635.
3. Mention is made of this victory of Nuno Alvarez Botelho in a letter of the Viceroy to the King, dated 3 December 1630. cf. Assentos, 1,520. Paulo da Trindade too treats of this siege of Malaca. III.88.
4. Urca: a sloop-rigged vessel.
5. Barcalor: Barcelor, "Bacanore and Barcelore: two ports of Canara often coupled together in old narratives, but which have entirely disappeared from modern maps. . ." Hobson-Jobson, s.v. Bacanore.
6. It is generally assumed that Philippe Mascarenhas succeeded Constantino de Sa as Captain General of Ceylon, but this may be an indication that he was only acting. As such he functioned from 1630 to 1631.

7. Friar Miguel de Madre de Deus in 1599 was residing at St. Anthony's Friary, Bassein. cfr. Lopes, 184. In 1619 he was Rector of Mapuca, Bardez, Goa, converted the whole village of Moira. cfr. *Trinidade* 1,19. In 1626 he was Rector of N. S. da Esperanca, Bombay, when a combined English-Dutch fleet attacked the place. cfr. *Trinidade*, 11,17; Meersman, *The Franciscans in Bombay*, 58. Regarding him Miguel da Purificacao says: *Frater Michael de Matre Dei ortus in India, Praedicator, et virtutibus ornatus, qui fuit Virsitator Custodiae de Malacca, Guardianus de Manar, Guardianus et Commissarius in Bacaim, qui adhuc vivit et ab omnibus magni aestimatur, et fuit Rector in multis Rectoriis, convertit et baptizavit quam plures et totum populum huius loci dicti Mora prope civitatem Goanensem.*" 63 r.
8. Mangalore, a port on the Canara Coast in India, where the Portuguese at one time had a settlement.
9. That Antonio Soares Vivas was saved is apparent from the Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of State of 10 Oct. 1630. cfr. *Assentos*, 1,299.
10. Vocal here means one who has the right to vote at the Chapter.

Chapter 26

1. It might be said that on account of the Padroado rights conceded to the Portuguese and Spanish Kings, the co-operation between the two powers, ecclesiastical and civil, was at times too close and the interference of the one in the other's affairs, too great.
2. Dom Sebastiao de S. Pedro, Bishop of Mylapore in 1606, transferred to Cochín in 1615, became Archbishop of Goa in 1625. cfr. *Nazaréth, Mitras Lusitanas*, 11,74,175; *Saldanha*, 1,364.
3. Friar Manoel Banha composed a Vocabulary of Konkani, the language spoken in Goa and neighbouring territories. Cunha Rivara's *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani: Grammatica da Lingua Concani composta pelo Padre Estavao, Nova Goa, 1857, CXVII*. Also "The Printing Press in India" by A. K. Priolkar, p.223.
4. A letter of the then Custos, Friar Joao Noe says: "Eu fuy com ho viso-rey a Ceylam. Ho Pryncipal emtemto foy, pera visytar os Padres q' que la moram. Foram Padres Domynycos e da Companhia tambem porque pedi eu so viso-rey que os levase, pera nos ajudarem a obra, cuydamo que el-Rey se fyzese crystao. Parece que nam mereceo a ele Noso Senhor per sua maldade se-lo. Os Padres tornaram para a India. Os nosos fycaram na obra que comasaram, aomde

levam grande trabalho especialmente por o rey ser gemtyo, de que recebem grandes desgostos. . " Letter of Joao Noe O.F.M., to Joao III, dated Cochim, 28 Jan. 1552. rf. Silva Rego, Doc. V,100. The Viceroy who went to Ceylon was Affonso de Noronha, Viceroy, 1551-1554. rf. Saldanha, 1,99.

5. There exist two Royal letters dated Feb. 1602 and 15 Feb. 1603 allowing other Religious to enter Ceylon. The Franciscans protested and another Royal letter was issued on the 23rd March 1604 to resolve the differences. cfr. Nazareth, Mitras Lusitanas, 11,163. When there was a conflict between the Franciscans and the Jesuits, Dom Andre de S. Maria O.F.M., the then Bishop of Cochim under whom Ceylon resorted, divided the territory between them. cfr. Id. II,70. cfr. also CALR, Vol II, pp. 25-27.

Chapter 27

1. "No man can come to me, except the Father who sent me, draw him," John, VI 44.
2. In order to trace the development of the work of the Franciscans in Ceylon, it might be good to give the number of places they occupied in 1552. In 1552. they had: "Os lugares, donde os Padres rezydem: esta hum mosteyro, domde esto ho gardiam (Colombo). Em Negombo he huma ygreja e em Berberym (Beruvala) outra; e em Gale, que he o prymcypal porto, esta outra, e em Lycao (Veligama) e nestas esta hum frade em cada huma pera bautizar e emsynar aos que vem ha fe." Letter of Joao Noe O.F.M., the Custos, to Joao III, dated Cochim, 28 Jan. 1552. rf. Silva Rego, Doc. V,100.
3. Kelaniya river, or Kelaniganga.
4. Jeronymo de Azevedo, Captain General of Ceylon, 1594—1611.
5. Dampe should be Dompe in Gangaboda Pattuva, Siyane East.
6. "The Pleasure Palace of the Kings of Cota." Queyroz, p. 714.
7. There is now a chnrch dedicated to the Holy Rosary.
8. Constantine de Sa was twice Captain General of Ceylon, 1618-1620 and 1623-1630. It is not clear during which term of office this church was built.
9. Pai dos Christaos, i.e. the Father of Christians a priest specially nominated to look after conversion-work and the new converts.
10. N. S. do Parto: Our Lady of Release or Delivery. The site of this church is the cemetery of Livremento, off Jawatte Road, in Colombo.
11. Tanuare is Devinuvara, later known as Devundara or Dondra.

12. Bohoubaranda: Bambarenda
13. **Jalas or nele** says Queyroz (p. 715) *Yala* (Sinhalese) is 20 amunams, a grain measure; *naliya* (Sinhalese) from Skt. *nali* the joint of a bamboo: a measure of capacity. rf. Glossary s.v.
14. Moios or Moyos: a hogshead, a measure (for corn). Valdez s.v.
15. **Mahapatana**, means the great plain. *Maha-patuna* would mean the big town.
16. Chetti is the name given to the caste of merchants.
17. Cottavatta or Kottavatta means the garden of the fort.
18. Marisco (Port) is *muhudu-bella*, in Sinhalese. (rf. Vocabulario s.v.). Mirissa is a variety of cockle, small in size, found clinging to sandy rocks by the sea.
19. Queyroz has Anjame (p. 716). Ahangama in Talpe Pattuva is meant here.
20. Koggala or Kokgala means "the rock of the gulls" :*kok* (gull) and *gala* (rock).
21. "Its name should be Galgue (Gal) which in the Chingala language means 'stone,' for the town is situated on a rock" (Queyroz, p. 35).
22. Vakvella within the Four Gravets in the Galle District.
23. St. Louis, the Bishop, is different from St. Louis, King of France. The former was a Franciscan and Bishop of Toulouse.
24. Ienduem: Queyroz calls it Vadum (p. 716), which is Vadduva: but the author's etymologizing suggests Vaskaduva, the adjacent village. But there is a village named Viyanduwa in Bentota Wallallaviti Korale, Galle District.
25. Mortinhos: Sinhalese *madam*, Eugenia Jambolana.
26. **Tone** boat, from the Tamil "toni".
27. cfr. Queyroz, pp. 1018 etc.
28. Meteuelli, probably Metiyalamulla in Paiyagala and Maggon Badda.
29. The church at Maggon retained the title of "St. Peter" until the year 1858, when it was changed into the Immaculate Conception of the Bl. Virgin.
30. This church stood on the hill overlooking the river, Kaluganga.
31. N. S. da Saude: Our Lady of Health.
32. Galapata in Munvattebage Pattuva. (rf. JCBRAS, Notes & Queries Vol. XXIII pL. IV. No. 29; CALR, Vol. VI. p. 40.)
33. Uduvara in the same Pattuva.
34. Sofrogao or Sabaragamuva, by which Ratnapura is meant. "The present Devale is built on the site of the Portuguese Fort and Church. (Queyroz, p. 717, note 7.)

35. Gorgeira or (Sinhalese) *goraka*: *garcina cambogia guttifera*.
36. The Augustinians came to Ceylon in 1606. Rambukkana church was erected when Augustinho da Graca was Prior of Colombo, 12 November 1618—1 December 1628. There were 2700 souls at Rambukkana. cfr. Chronicle of Manoel de Ave Maria, O.S.A. (Silva Rego, Doc. XI, 212).
37. As one approaches Moratuwa from the South, this hill is to the right and quite prominent. It is known in the neighbourhood as Palliyagodella, the 'church mount.'
38. The principal church in the town of Negombo is still dedicated to the Mother of God.
39. Most probably Pitipana to the south of Negombo, bordering the sea.
40. Bolavalana the church of Our Lady of Remedies. It was a place of pilgrimage down to the Dutch times, when it was destroyed and a Protestant school built on its site. (rf. JCBRAS, No. 3, p. 30).
41. Galoluva: in Dasiya Pattuva.
42. Velisara in Ragam Pattuva.
43. The present Catholic church in Gampaha is dedicated to the Holy Cross.
44. Vilicara is Velikada in Dasiya Pattuva.
45. Dandugama cp. Kimbulapitiya (Sinhalese *Kimbula* means a crocodile).

Chapter 30

1. Mandanale: probably Mandavala in Siyana Kcrale East, Ganga boda Pattuva.
2. Bada: the treasurer of a village or district in Ceylon. Also one who leased out the public domain. cfr. Dalgado, II, p. 460.
Badu (Sinhalese) means rents: *badu nayaka*, badde nilame, the superintendent of rents.
3. Canarim: is used to denote an inhabitant of Goa, though strictly speaking it means an inhabitant of Canara. It is also used to denote the people of other Portuguese settlements in India such as Bassein. cfr. Dalgado, sv.
4. Flos Sanctorum, was the Lives of the Saints written in Tamil by Fr. H. Henriques S.J. and printed in Punicale in 1586. (Printing Press in India by Priolkar, 1958, p. II). But probably the "Legenda Aurea," the Golden Legend by Jacobus de Voragine OP. is meant here. This book was very popular during this period.

5. **Meirinho**: an usher, an elder among the laity, a catechist. "No new teachers or Merinhos are to be appointed without its being proved after proper inquiry that they are well conducted and of the orthodox faith" (Instructions from the Governor-General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon, 1656-1665. Transl. by Sophia Pieters, 1908, p.82).
6. **Pardaos**: Originally the pratapa or pageda. Then applied to various gold coins of about the same value. Finally a coin of account equal to 300 reis, also called pardao xerafim, its silver equivalent.
7. **Boheme de Chanda**: in Queyroz (p. 725) Boemedechanda: probably Bomeriya Ihala and Pahala (upper and lower), both in Palic Pattuva, under the D.R.O. of Hevagam. *Kanda* (in Sinhalese) means "hill."
8. **Beomede** near Malvana, not identified.

Chapter 31

1. During this period Dom Sebastiao de S. Pedro was Bishop of Cochim. "...mas tem aspera e vehemente natureza de que se deixa levar e dizer e escrever muitas cousas com menos fundamento e consideracao da que se requer em que tem seu officio e dignidade" (Nazareth, Mitras Lusitanas, 11,75—6).
2. **Conscience-Board**: a Board of theologians to deal with cases of conscience.
3. The Jesuits had two Provinces in India, the one of Goa, the other of Malabar or South.
4. cf. n. 4 ch. 30.
5. **Syndics**: the members of the Committee which administered the temporal affairs of the monks.
6. The Fifth Provincial Council of Goa was held in 1606. According to the Accao Terceira, Decreto 9no., Parish-Priests could not be appointed unless they knew the language of the Parishioners. Bull. Patr. Port., I, Appendix, 123.
7. The Religious in India did have special Faculties which they received either directly from Rome or from the King who enjoyed the Padroado-rights. As far as Faculties from Rome are concerned we have the following: "Omnes religiosi praediti erant facultatibus a Romano Pontifice concessis ad administranda sacramenta et alia officia curae animarum exercenda." F. de Veiga Coutinho, 59, who quotes a document from the Arq. Nat. de Torre do Tombo, Sectio Corpo Cronologio, II, 84-6.

8. In Salcette, Goa, (not to be confused with the Island of Salsette near Bombay) the Jesuit Fathers were in charge, in Bardez, Goa, the Franciscans.
9. In the original: "Porque he Bispo de Clerigos e tem muitos para accomodar para se escusare escandalos e a elle descomporse."
10. In the course of these chapters Paulo da Trindade has pointed to many Friars who knew the language. Moreover there existed legislation on this matter. Thus at the Chapter of 1595 the following was enacted: "Manda o Custodio e Commissario Geral por assim lho mandar Sua Magestade que todos os Padres que andao no ministro da Christiandade aprendao a lingua das terras onde estao..." cfr. Lopes, 191. In 1602 Miguel de S. Boaventura, Custos 1602-1606 ordained that there should be a house where Sinhalese is taught to the Friars. cfr. Trindade, 1,64. Manoel de S. Mathias in the days Jeronymo de Azevedo was Captain General of Ceylon (1594-1611), organized classes in Sinhalese for the Friars. cfr. Trindade, 1,27. Vide Appendix II. In a report the Franciscan Provincial Simao de Nazareth wrote to His Majesty on 13 December 1629 the following: "Em Ceylao estao 50 Religiosos velhos e benemeritos de exemplo que ha muitos annos la residem e todos confessam e pregam na lingua..." cfr. Nazareth, Mitras Lusitanas, II,163.

Chapter 32

1. "Oh, full of guile etc." Acts, XIII, 10.
Nicholas of Lyra O.F.M. was born in 1270 and died at Paris in 1340. He was at one time Professor at the Sorbonne. He was the foremost exegete of his time. cfr. Thomas Plassmann O.F.M., Nicholas of Lyra, Cath. Ency. XI, 63.
2. Matthew, VIII, 10
3. Literary "the great stockade."
4. From the Persian 'jadu,' magic, Hobson-Jobson, s.v.
5. Decius and Domitian were Roman Emperors who persecuted the Christians during the first centuries.
6. Canacapoies: from the Tamil *kanakkappillai*, a clerk, accountant, agent. Missionaries also used the term to denote a catechist, or procurator of the Christians cfr. Dalgado, s.v.
7. Already in 1546 Simao de Coimbra O.F.M. in a letter dated 18 December 1546 complains about the Portuguese. cfr. Silva Rego, Doc. III, 416. Many of the revolts were due to the Portuguese themselves. cfr. Saldanha, 1,98 ff. St. Francis Xavier too complained about the

bad treatment meted out to the new Christians. St. Francis Xavier to Joao III, dated Cochin, 25 January 1549. cfr. Silva Rego, Doc. IV, 270.

Chapter 33

1. Canticle of Canticles, IV, 2.
 2. We have not traced this passage in the works of St. Gregory, but we do find it in St. Bede's works as quoted by St. Bonaventure. cfr. the latter's Comm. in Lucam 10, No. 3.
 3. "Profecto praedicator dicendum non est si supernaturales filios gignere contemnit": St. Gregory.
 4. Regarding the Custody of Malacca, the appointing of Custodes from India and the subsequent incorporation of this Custody into the Indian Province of the Mother of God cfr. Lopes, 186.
 5. In 1595 Friar Antonio de S. Thome was in Colombo. cfr. Lopes, 186.
 6. Friar Bartholomeo da Piedade in 1595 was residing in Colombo. ib.
 7. Paul V was Pope from 1605 to 1621.
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Chapter 34

1. Jafanapatao is the Lusitanized form of the Sinhalese Yapapatuna. For the origin of Yalpanam, the name used by the Tamils for that city, cf. Ancient Jaffna by C. Rasanayagam C.C.S., 1926, ch. VI, pp. 284 ff.
2. In Portuguese "abegao" means a farmer's servant. (Valdez s.v.) Vindana for Sinhalese *vidane*, a headman.
3. Sapumal Kumaraya or Champak Perumal, the son, actual or adopted, of Parakrama Bahu VI, conquered Jaffna about the year 1447. But that he was the first to rule over Jaffna, is not correct.
4. Gujarat, a province situated by the Arabian Sea, and to the North of Bombay. Arus: Aryans or Aryas.
5. Madura: a city in South India, Madurai.
6. Ramanaor: must be Rameswaram situated on the point of the Indian mainland nearest to Ceylon, just near Adam's Bridge.
7. George de Mello de Castro was appointed Captain of Ceylon during Dom Luiz de Athaide's first year as Viceroy. He was Viceroy from 1568 to 1571. cfr. Queyroz, 423.

8. Pereapula: Periyapulle Segarajasekaran, ascended the throne of Jaffna about the year 1570 (cfr. Ancient Jaffna, ch. VIII, p. 374.)
 9. Pera Xagra Pandara: his full name was Puviraja Pandaram Pararajasekaran, who became king about the year 1582. (ib.)
 10. Constantino da Braganza, Viceroy, 1558-1561. Regarding his expedition to Ceylon and the founding of the Mannar fort in 1561 cfr. Saldanha, 1,109.
 11. Martino Afonso de Souza, Governor of India, 1542-1545. cfr. Saldanha, 1,78.
 12. There are two islands to which the Portuguese gave the name of Ilha das Vaccas, i.e. the Island of Cows. The one is located near Bassein to the North of Bombay (cfr. Silva Rego, Hist. 1,463) which according to Della Valle (p.9) was called Terra di S. Giovanni by the English. The local name was Arnala. (cfr. Oriente Portug. III, (1906), 77.) The other is located near the Jaffna Peninsula and called Portugal Divo and Neduntivu. The Dutch called it Delft Island. cfr. Queyroz, 56,251.
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Chapter 35

1. They were killed by Sankili or Chekarasa Sekaram, King of Jaffna from 1519 to 1561. The massacre took place in 1544. cfr. Wicki, Doc. Ind. 1,59.
2. Damaun was taken by Constantino de Braganza, the 2nd of February 1559. cfr. Paulo da Trindade, 11,18; Saldanha, 1,106; Letter of L. Frois S.J. dated 18 November 1559, in Silva Rego, Doc. VII, 304; Wicki, Doc. Indica, IV, 278.
3. Dom George Themudo O.P., was consecrated the first Bishop of Cochín on 8 Jan. 1557. In 1567 he became the Archbishop of Goa. cfr. Nazareth, Mitras Lusitanas, 11,67.
4. Tooth of Bogio: Tooth of the Buddha.
5. Fortress: of Nallur.
6. H. Henriques S.J. gives a different version of the martyrdom: "Se levantou assi a terra contra nos e mataram logo Custodio de S. Francisco, com outros Portugueses, em sua companhia, que hiam a desfazer hum pagode, o qual, por entam, nao disfizeram, que ja estavam determinandos fazer a guerra, des aquele dia que o mataram." He further states that the reason for the revolt was the behaviour of the Portuguese and continues: "Davao tambem em rezao que, se tardavam em os vir bautizar que os metiam no tronco, ho que he grande

desombra pera elles..." H. Henriques S.J. to Diogo Laines S.J., dated Costa da Pescaria, 8 Jan. 1561.cfr. Silva Rego, Doc. VIII, 267.

7. Book of Life: roll of those who shall be saved. It is a Biblical expression. cf. Ps. 68, 29: Philip. 4,3: Apocalypse, 3,5: 20, 27: 22, 19 etc.
 8. Earlier in this same chapter, Patim was said to be the place of the massacre. What is meant here is that the Christian Community and church were in Patim as well as in Kopai.
 9. Punicale: Punnaikayal or Punnakayal in Tirunelveli District, S. India.
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Chapter 36

1. Pegu, the name of a Kingdom which formerly existed in the Delta of the Irawady, Burma, cfr. Hobson-Jobson, s.v.
 2. The veneration in which the King of Pegu held the sacred Tooth relic of the Buddha is mentioned in Queyroz, pp. 364,365, though in another context.
 3. Dom Gaspar de Leao Pereira de Ornelas arrived in Goa as Archbishop in 1560. After having governed seven years he resigned and retired to the Franciscan Friary, Daugim, Goa. In 1574, Gregory XIII obliged him to reassume the government of the Archdiocese. He died in 1576. cfr. Saldanha, 1,363.
 4. cfr. Faria y Souza, Asia Portuguesa, 11,410. Queyroz, pp. 364,365. The Buddhists in Ceylon maintain that the relic which Vidiye Bandara carried away to Jaffna and which fell into the hands of the Portuguese was only a replica of the sacred Tooth relic. It is said that the "Relic was removed after King Dharmapala's conversion, by one Hiripitiye Diwana Rala to Sitawaka and given to Mayadunne." (The Odyssey of the Tooth Relic by H. S. de Zylva, p. II and pp. 22 ff). Vidiye Bandara died in 1556 and Dharmapala became a Christian in 1557. The Savul Sandesa (vss. 109,118) written by Alagiyavanna, the great poet, about the year 1587, mentions a temple of the Tooth Relic at Delgamuva.
- cfr. also Memoir on the History of the Tooth Relic of Ceylon by Gerson da Cunha, 1875.
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Chapter 37

1. Mathias de Albuquerque, Viceroy of India, 1591-1597. cfr. Saldanha, 1,143.
2. Lugar: lugar dos Careas, the village of the Careas, most probably the modern Eurukalampaddi, in Mannar. (cfr. The Martyrs of Mannar by Fr. Antoninus O.M.I., p. 13).
3. Friar Pedro de Betancor was then Commissary of the Franciscans in Jafanapatao. cfr. Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,12,
4. Lord of Chingali: probably Sankili Kumar (ruled over Jaffna about the year 1617).
Visaui: Visavilam in Valikamam North. **Laur:** Allarai in Ten maradchi (?).
5. Philippe de Oliveira was in Jaffna already in 1619. cfr. Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,50. In a document of 6 Feb. 1623 he is given as "Capitao mor de Jafanapatao." cfr. idem. 148.
6. **Badigas:** Vadagar (Tamil) Northerners, either the Telugu people who invaded the Tamil country from the kingdom of Vijayanagara, or one of the races occupying the Nilgiri hills, speaking an old Canarese dialect, and apparently a Canarese colony, long separated from the parent stock. cfr. Hobson-Jobson, sub. Badega.
7. Quay of the Elephants, Kayts. The Portuguese "cais" is the origin of Kayts.
8. In 1595, Friar Antonio de S. Barnardino was only a cleric residing at St. James College, Cranganor. cfr. Lopes, 189. In a letter of Philippe de Oliveira, Capitao mor de Jafanapatao, dated 27 July 1619, Friar Antonio de S. Bernardino is called: "grande seruo de Deus e zeloso do seruico de sua magestade." Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,55.

Chapter 38

1. **Tanadiua:** Tana-divaina (island of Kayts). cfr. Queyroz, p. 55, note.
2. When Dom Andre de S. Maria O.F.M. went to Cochin to take possession of his See, Friar Nicolao da Cruz accompanied him with some other Friars to found St. John de Baptist's Friary in Cochin. cfr. Trindade, 1,38,42. The Bishop also appointed him visitor of the Missions in Tuticorin and Ceylon. cfr. Nazareth, Mitras Lusitanas, 11,73,99.
3. **Balallas:** the Vellala, the cultivator caste of S. India.

4. It seems strange that Lancarote de Seixas is mentioned in Ceylon as early as 1604. He has certified a Tombo in Ceylon on the 20 September, 1618. In 1630, he was Capitao de Jafanapatao and in 1631 Vedor da Fazenda. cfr. Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,59,353,502,525.
 5. **Panangaro:** Panankamam in Mantai division.
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Chapter 39

1. **Pareangali:** probably Pariyarikandel in Musali division.
 2. **Aripo Charaue**, perhaps Arippuveddukulam in Musali division.
 3. Horned-cattle: probably the buffalo is meant here.
 4. In the original "orsos" for "ursos" bears.
 5. In 1595, Friar Antonio de S. Maria was residing at St. Francis Friary, Goa. cfr. Lopes, 183. Miguel da Purificacao says of him: "Frater Antonius de S. Maria natus in India convertit et propriis baptizavit manibus novem millia." 66 r.
 6. **Chitineli** probably stands for Chiruveli (in Musali division).
 7. In 1595, Friar Fernando da Visitacao was residing at the Friary of Bassein. cfr. Lopes, 184.
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Chapter 40

1. Andre Furtado de Mendonca, when Matias de Albuquerque was Viceroy (1591-1597) defeated the pirate Cuti Muca and the King of Jafanapatao. cfr. Saldanha, 1,143. vide sup. chapter 37.
 2. **Girandao:** this represents *grantham* ('the book' i.e. leaves tied together by a string) and is properly applied to the character, Devanagiri alphabet, in which Sanskrit books are written. But early Portuguese writers used the word to mean Sanskrit. (Queyroz, p. III,n)
 3. **Chatampi:** stands for Tamil *sattambi*, a teacher. (rf. Glossary, s.v.)
 4. **Topaz:** a term used in the 17th and 18th centuries for dark-skinned or half-caste claimants of Portuguese descent and Christian profession. cfr. Hobson-Jobson, s.v., and C. A. L. R., Vol. II, pp. 62, 124, 191,282. But here it is used to denote a profession or trade, perhaps a catechist.
 5. **Chandea:** Tamil *chandai*, a fair, a bazaar.
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Chapter 41

1. Airez de Saldanha: Viceroy of India, 1600-1603. cfr. Saldanha, 1,146.
2. Manchua: a large cargo-boat, with a single mast, and a square sail, much used on the Malabar coast. cfr. Hobson-Jobson, s.v.
3. Cabaya: this word, though of Asiatic origin, was perhaps introduced into India by Portuguese, whose writers of the 16th century apply it to the surcoat or long tunic of muslin, which is one of the most common native garments of the better classes of India. cfr. Hobson-Jobson, s.n.

Chapter 42

1. Arca Guerari Pandara: Arasakesari Pandara, who became Regent for the minor son of Pararajasekaran in 1615.
2. Lecu Cumara: probably Alaguem Modeliyar, mentioned in Queyroz p. 465.
3. Quay of the Elephants: Kayts.
4. Badagas, ile. Northerners, used to denote the people from Vijayanagar Empire. They were opposed to the Christians. This hatred dates back to the time the Paravers of the Fishery coast embraced Christianity and placed themselves under the Portuguese. cfr. Hobson-Jobson s.v., Dalgado, 1,76. St. Francis Xavier had a good deal of trouble with them. cfr. G. Schurhammer S.J., *Iniquitribem and Beteperumal Chera and Pandyan Kings in South India*, 1544. *Journal of Bombay Historical Society*, III (1930), 19. Not only did they threaten the Christians on the Fishery Coast, but also of the Choromandal Coast Negapatnam. Letter of Joao da Villa do Conde O.F.M. to Dom Joao de Castro, dated Kayalpatnam, 22 April, 1547. cfr. Silva Rego, Doc. III, 503—4.
5. Cardiuu, Karaitivu, Kayts.
6. Falsa in Portuguese means dissonance, deficiency. What is meant here is not clear.

Chapter 43

1. In the minutes of the meeting of the Council of State held at Goa on the 27th July 1619, Philippe de Oliveira is called "capitao mor de Campo." cfr. Pissurlencar, *Assentos*, 1,50. A number of documents pertaining to this revolt may be found in the same volume. In a document dated 8 January 1620 Philippe de Oliveira is called, "capitao da fortaleza e Reino de Jafanapatao." cfr. id. 113.

2. Friar Manoel de S. Maria in 1595 was residing at St. Francis Friary Goa. cfr. Lopes, 183. In 1629, he was in Bardez, Goa. cfr. Wadding, XXVII, 131.
3. cfr. Pissurlencar Assentos, 1,52,50.
4. Malanuale: in Queyroz, p. 644 Maliavale.
5. Fernao de Albuquerque, Governor of India, 1619-1622. cfr. Saldanha, 1,153.
6. Dom Frei Cristovao de Sa e Lisboa, Archbishop of Goa, 1616,-1622. Saldanha, 1,364.
7. This must be a mistake. Dom Joao Coutinho was Viceroy from 1617 to 1619, therefore preceded Fernao de Albuquerque. This took place during the term of office of the latter's successor, Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde da Vidigueira, Viceroy for the second time from 1622 to 1627. cfr. Saldanha, 1,154: Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,148.

Chapter 44

1. Don Luiz: he is mentioned at a meeting of the Council of State on 26 October 1618. cfr. Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,12.
2. The Danes in 1610 founded an East India Company. The King of Tanjore, Raghunath Nayak, ceded a part of Tranquebar to them by a treaty, dated 19 November 1620. From there they tried to extend, their influence and oust the Portuguese. They also tried to enter Ceylon. cfr. Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,351, also JCBRAS, No. 79 pp. 169-180.
3. Quay, i.e. Kayts. The church of the Holy Cross.
4. Temple-fortress at Nallur. cf. chapter 43.
5. By Ceylon, in this place and often elsewhere, is meant that part of the Island distinct from the Jaffna peninsula.
6. This must have taken place during Constantine de Sa's first term of office, 1618-1620.

Chapter 45

1. Barnagolate: Queyroz, p. 468, Barna Gulata, i.e. Varunakulattar.
2. Casados, i.e. married men, used to denote Portuguese settlers. Nega-patnam in those days was a Portuguese settlement.
3. Ceiteiras: a defense work, the nature of which is not clear.
4. Friar Antonio de S. Phelippe was residing at St. Francis Friary, Goa, in 1595. cfr. Lopes, 183.

Chapter 46

1. Diu: The second siege of Diu, a fort still in the hands of the Portuguese on the Indian Kathiawar coast, took place in 1546. cfr. Saldanha, 1,83.
 2. Trindade must be referring to the siege of Chaul, South of Bombay, which took place in 1570. cfr. Meersman, Franciscans in Bombay, 42; Paulo da Trindade, 11,46.
 3. Charola; a litter for carrying images in a procession, also a niche for images: Queyroz, p. 506, uses the word for a "howdah" too, because of its similarity to a 'processional litter.' Ferguson, in JCBRAS, No. 60,245 says, "I suspect that in *charola* two words, one of Latin and one of Eastern origin, have been confused." Portuguese lexicologists, however, derive *charola* from the French *charier* and *cheroble*.
 4. *Salve*, the well-known prayer to the Blessed Virgin, "Hail Holy Queen"; and *Tota Pulchra* (Thou art all beautiful), the popular salutation to her.
 5. Casa de Misericordia: i.e. House of Mercy, a charitable institution invariably incorporating a hospital, found in almost all Portuguese settlements.
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Chapter 47

1. "Ecce ego mitte me," Isaias, VI, 8
 2. "Prae animi laetitiae se ipsum obtulit," St. Gregory Naziensens.
 3. He refers to the coming of the Franciscans or Friars Minor with Cabra in 1500. Friar Henry of Coimbra O.F.M. and seven other Friars accompanied him. cfr. Trindade, 1,14.
 4. Dom Frei Sebastiao de S. Pedro, Bishop of Cochin in 1615. He remained there nine years when he was transferred to Goa. cfr. Nazareth, Mitras Lusitanas, II,74.
 5. That the Bishop of Cochin was to come to Mannar is mentioned in a Requerimento, dated 5 June, 1619. cfr. Pissurlencar, Assentos, 1,60.
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Chapter 48

1. Para Raxa Chegra Pandara: Pararajasekeran Pandara (1591-1615), also called Hendaramana Cinga.
2. Friar Luiz de S. Diego was, in 1595, studying his philosophy or theology at St. Anthony's Friary, Bassein. cfr. Lopes, 185. Regarding

him Miguel da Purificacao says in his report to the Spanish King: "Y otro hijo de la India chamado Fray Luis de S. Diogo conuirtio y bautizo milares de almas y entre ellas muchas personas Reales, y otros muchos, que hazem lo mismo porque predicam en la misma lengua de los Indianos. . . ." 16 r. In 1720, Clemente de S. Iria O.F.M., Provincial, writes: "Frei Luis de S. Diogo converteo e baptizeo ao principe herdeiro do Reino de Jafanapatao que se chamou Dom Constantino, que foi frade filho desta Provincia (St. Thomas), que foi guardiao dos "Reis Magos" (Bardez) e do nosso convento de Goa, com o nome de Frei Constantino de Christo. Silva Rego, Doc. V 417.

3. Joas was the only descendant of the Royal House who escaped Atalia's purge. The priest Joiada brought him in his seventh year to the temple to be acknowledged as King. cfr. IV Kings, II,2.
4. Presumably at St. Anthony's Friary, Colombo.
5. Friar Gaspar da Conceicao was Provincial during the years 1622-1624 cfr. Trindade, 125,38; Wadding, XXVI, 222. In another place. Trindade speaks about these baptisms. There he says that Friar Constantino de Christo was baptized by Gaspar da Conceicao in 1623 at Colombo. cfr. Trindade, 1,65.
6. In 1595 Friar Antonio de Nossa Senhora was residing at the Friary of Negapatnam, cfr. Lopes, 187.
7. King of Candea: Senerat.
8. Road called "straight" (rua direita): this was a long straight road which ran from the City parish church(at that time situated somewhere near the modern landing jetty) to the Port Reina (near the modern Kayman's Gate.) Half way on this road was the City Hall with its municipal offices, and opposite it the beautiful church of St. Paul, belonging to the Jesuit Fathers. Rua direita is the genesis of what is now Main Street.
9. Francisco da Gama, Conde de Vigueira, Viceroy of India, 1597-1600 and 1622-1627. cfr. Saldanha, 1,144, 154.

Chapter 49

1. Habacuc, III,6.
2. "Id est Deus ipse ad nos per Incarnationem venit."
3. Apocalypse, XIX,16 "And He hath on His vesture and on His thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS and LORD of LORDS."

4. Canonical age: age prescribed by the Sacred Canons of the Church for Religious profession. Trent Sess. 25, chapter XV says: "In no Religious Order whatever, whether of men or of women, shall profession be made before the completion of the sixteenth year, and no one shall be admitted to profession who has been under probation less than a year after the reception of the habit."
 5. Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, Viceroy of India, 1629-1635. cfr. Saldanha, 1,154.
 6. Para Raxa Pandar: Pararajasekeran.
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Chapter 50

1. Friar Luiz da Crus: was Commissary General of all the Franciscans in India and Ceylon probably in 1622. cfr. Trinidade, 1,21.
 2. Talar: chief of a village or the watchman of a village in South India and Ceylon. cfr. Dalgado s.v. The Tamil word is *talaiyar*, and occurs in Dutch documents relating to the Northern Province in Ceylon. cfr. Glossary s.v.
 3. Flos Sanctorum, see note 4 of Chapter 30.
 4. Vigil of the Immaculate Conception, i.e. 7th December.
 5. Perhaps a special feast-day of Our Lady, during the period of Advent when the great antiphons, the so-called "O" antiphons are recited during the Divine Office. They are recited from Dec. 17 to Dec. 23 included.
 6. Baneas: strictly speaking is a Jain from Gujerat, who is a merchant. Europeans and others use it to denote any Hindu merchant, in the same way as Chettim is used among the Dravidians. cfr. Dalgado, I,93. Adiviras: "a term used by Fr. Negrao evidently, for it occurs with the same explanation in Soledado. Hist. Serafic. III,842, "Adiviras which means Duke or Marquis." Queyroz, p. 659, note.
 7. Camaras: for *kumara*, princes.
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Chapter 51

1. Isaias LX, 8.
2. Psalm XVIII,5.
3. I Cor. IV,14.
4. Isaias LX, 5.

5. This is an indication that they were not receiving any grant from Government for the maintenance of this school.
6. Some of those who studied Latin may have gone for the Priesthood.
7. Friar Pantaleao in 1595 was only a cleric studying either Philosophy or Theology at St. Anthony's Friary, Goa. cfr. Lopes, 184.
8. In the original there is written "alma de Confissao," i.e. those who are old and able enough to go to Confession. We have simply translated it by adult. In the original too we find "meninos de doutrina", i.e. children who receive Catechism instruction. We have translated this term by children.
9. This took place, as has already been said, in 1560.
10. **Catuelli**: probably Karaveddi in Tenmaradchi. Phillipus Baldaeus says: "The third province is Waddemarache where there are 3 churches. . . . The first church is called Catavelli which with the adjacent house are built of good bricks, having also an excellent summer-house situated on an eminence with a fine view of the surrounding flat lands" (Ceylon by Ph. Baldaeus, Ch. 45., p. 332). On page 357, is a picture of this church.
11. **Uuludu Matual**: Eluthumadduval in Tenmaradchi. "The last church in Tenmaradchi in Illondi Matual to which belongs also the village of Nagar Kojel where there stood a famous pagode in earlier times." (ib. p. 332). On page 345 is a picture of this church.
12. Island of the Brahmins: Ramesvaram
13. "Nindundivu (Neduntivu) or the Long Island is called from its length which extends to 5 or 6 leagues, the Portuguese call it Ilha das Vacas, that is the Cow Island, because of the large imports of cattle thither from Tonday" (ib. 340).
14. St. Robert Cardinal Bellarmine (1542-1621), Doctor of the Church wrote "An Explanation of Christian Doctrine in Dialogue Form."

Chapter 52

1. 1 Cor. XIV, 22.
 2. Images themselves are not miraculous, but God deigns to hear our petitions through the intercession of a Saint who is represented and whom we honour as a Servant of God.
 3. Meirinho: a sacristan, a sacristan's assistant, a catechist.
 4. 2 Kings, VI, 7.
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Chapter 53

1. Luke V,15
 2. Balanga: Tamil 'vilankai,' wood-apple fruit. (*Feronia Elephantum*)
 3. Queyroz, p. 675, has Carcel instead of Carul. Carcel is Karisal in Mannar Island.
 4. Oricha must be Orissa in Bengal Province.
 5. Bolcocinho: seems to be some kind of emergency-sail.
 6. Caes: quay or wharf.
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Chapter 55

1. Friar Andre de S. Maria was Custos from 1583 to 1587. cfr. *Trinidade*, 1,19; *Meersman*, *Franciscans in Bombay*, 12.
 2. Friar Miguel de S. Boaventura was Custos from 1602 to 1606. cfr. *Meersman*, *Franciscans in Bombay*, 13.
 3. Paros: small boats used both for commercial and war purposes. cfr. *Dalgado s.v.* Perhaps people using these boats is meant here. In Sinhalese the word "paruva" is used for a large flat-bottomed barge.
 4. Jeronymo de Azevedo, Captain General of Ceylon 1594-1611, Viceroy of India 1612-1617 cfr. *Saldanha*, 1,151.
 5. Friar Antonio da Porciuncula was appointed Custos and Commissary General by Pedro Gonzales of Mendonza, Cismontane Commissary General. The latter occupied this position from 1606 to 1610. cfr. *Trinidade*, I, 19,45;11,23.
 6. Caualleiros Freire is the term used here. Freire means brother of a military Order. Which military Order is meant here, we do not know
 7. He became Viceroy for the second time in 1622 and served up to 1627. cfr. *Saldanha*, 1,154.
 8. Dom Paulo da Estrella T.O.R. was consecrated Bishop of Mylapore in 1631; governed two years, seven months; died 9 Jan. 1637. It must have taken him a long time to come out. cfr. *Nazareth*, *Mitras Lusitanas*, II,178.
 9. We have not found Balthasar da Camara de Noronha listed anywhere as Captain General of Ceylon. Bishop Paulo da Estrella in a letter dated, S. Thome (Mylapore), 23 June 1634 mentions him as "Capitao Mor at Jafanapatao." cfr. *Pissurlencar*, *Assentos*, II,506.
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Chapter 56

1. In Cypriano Sanchez' Map of Ceylon (circa 1560-65), the sea to the South of Mannar Island is called Baixos de Chilao, the Shoals of Chilaw, and the name seems to have been common among the Portuguese. rf. Queyroz, p. 4.
 2. Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho is mentioned as "Capitao da Pescaria" in a letter of B. Dias S.J., dated 5 Dec. 1560. cfr. Silva Rego, Doc. VIII, 180.
 3. The Christians from Punicala on the Fishery Coast came to Mannar only after the 26th. Jan. 1561, for on that date Joao de Mesquita S.J. writes: " Pareceo bem deixar estes Christiaos do Comorim em huma Ilha que se chama Manar. . . .", Silva Rego Doc. VIII, 322.
 4. Patim rf. note 8 of Chapter. 35.
 5. He must be referring to Friar Pedro dos Anjos, who belonged to the Franciscan Province of Germania Inferior. In those days this Province comprised parts of present-day Belgium and Holland. Hence as Fleming he could have joined this his home Province. Wadding only mentions that he was a saintly religious and worked miracles. cfr. Wadding, XXVI, 223.
 6. Manoel de S. Mathias is listed as Superior of Mannar in the Chapter-list of the year 1595. cfr. Lopes, 187.
 7. *Adansonia digitata*. Baobab Tree. A medium-sized tree, native of Central Africa, famous for the great age and enormous size of trunk to which it attains. It has become well established and bears fruit in the dry Northern part of Ceylon, where it has been long ago introduced by Arab traders. rf. Macmillan's " a Handbook of Tropical Gardening and Planting" (1914), p. 440.
 8. These beans represent what is called in Sinhalese *ingini eta*, (bot) *Strychnos Potatorum*, the clearing nut. "This is called *Ambuprasada* in Sanskrit for the reason that if the seed is rubbed round the inside of an earthen pot and muddy water is afterwards poured into it, it has the quality of throwing down all the suspended matter and rendering the water clear and fit for use." (Attygalle's Sinhalese Materia Medica (1917), p. 116.)
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APPENDIX I

The following extract too is taken from Paulo da Trindade's *Conquista Spiritual Do Oriente*, Part I, chapter 27.

Concerning Manoel de S. Mathias and the great zeal he always had to preach to the Gentiles

This Religious came from Portugal very young and donned the habit in this Custody, at St. Anthony's Friary, Cochín. He studied, was approved as preacher and, on account of the great opinion they had of his virtue, he several times became Prelate, Definitor and Guardian of Goa. He was a man of great perfection and of much prayer and very zealous, concerning the common good of the Order and the honour of the Brethren, with whom he always treated with great benignity and charity. As far as poverty is concerned, he was a very image of it, since he only possessed one habit and that very poor and mended, a tunic and a cord. He never made use of a bed, sleeping on the ground, a book as his pillow. He was very abstemious and ordinarily was satisfied with the first dish, leaving the rest for the poor. He never drank wine, not even when he became old and weak, neither did he relax his fasting however weak and ill-disposed he might be. Also when he was sick, it was necessary for the Superior to order him under obedience or the doctor, who attended on him, to oblige him. He was very penitential and always treated his body with severity. The hairshirts he made use of were of three kinds: one was ordinary, with which he girt himself, the other was a cloth-girdle (*gibao de panno*) covered on the inside with coarse hair, and the third was a pair of trousers of the same make. And when he scourged himself, he did so with such asperity that the blood flowed freely. Very often the Superiors had to moderate his cruel penances, since they considered it necessary to do so on account of his health. He was very good to the poor and when he was Superior he gave them generous alms and when a subject he encouraged others to do so. Nobody ever heard him murmur or speak ill of others, neither did he allow others to murmur in his presence. And in his labours which were many, especially in the last quarter of his life, he showed great patience, neither did anybody ever see him angry or upset, however much he might be troubled. Even those who persecuted him, he always spoke to them with a smile on his face as if he had never been treated badly by them. And though he often possessed the power to take revenge, he never did so, on the contrary he showed himself more benign, gave his hand, honoured them and favoured them as much as possible. And if they had any reason, even though only the semblance of one, he gave this as an excuse for what they did to him. He only spoke of the good others possessed, and remained silent concerning the evil.

But what seems to have impressed many of his contemporaries was his insatiable thirst and fervent desire for the conversion of souls, in which work he was engaged for many years and with copious results. In this point he was unremitting and never lost an opportunity. Every time he met a Brahmin, he would preach the Faith to him and would quote their doctrine, of which he possessed great knowledge, to him and with the same confuse and confound him.

When he lived in the regions of the infidels like Jafanapatao, Cananor and others, he would gather fruit from the orchard and dispatch it to kings and notables, that he might be permitted to preach in the settlements and with his preaching he gathered much fruit. He converted the King of Porca (Porkad), which is situated in Malauar, though he did not baptize him, as we will recount when treating on this kingdom.

In Aldona¹ where he was only Vice-Rector for four months, he converted more than seven hundred souls. When Rector at Jafanapatao, while he was there which was from the Chapter to Congregation², he was always occupied in preaching the Faith to the King, who was a Gentile and he never spoke with him unless about his conversion, refuting his errors and those of his Brahmins with whom, in his presence, he held many disputes. And in the period he was there, he converted and catechized almost six hundred souls, not without few expenses which he liberally expended, sparing it from his own mouth.

From Manar, where he was Commissary of those regions³, he went to Putilao (Puttalam) to build a church and baptize many Christians and catechize three hundred men, who lived two leagues distant, and built (there) another church and afterwards sent one of his companions to baptize them.

In Coulao (Quilon) where too he was Rector, he converted many people and of these there were so many that of these he baptized, within one year, three hundred, adults and children, died of small-pox, a sickness which the people of the country consider like a plague. In Triuilar (Tiruvella) he also gathered abundant fruit for the granary of the Church.

When he was Guardian in Ceylon and commissary he organized in the Friary classes of the Chingala (Sinhala) language ordering some of the neighbouring Rectors, who were less proficient in the language, to attend and he made them remain the whole week studying and on Saturdays he sent them back to say Mass in their Rectorates on Sundays and then return. The teacher was Friar Antonio Castelhana who knew that language very well. And thus they continued this work, until they knew to read and write in the language and administer perfectly the Sacraments in it. And he was so zealous in the conversion-work that Hyronimo de Azevedo⁴, who then was General there and later became Viceroy of India, said that had he remained longer in the Island he would have converted it almost entirely to our Holy Faith. And though he remained only six months, since they

took him away and made him Guardian of Goa, he had built up in Sofragao (Sabaragamuva) a Christianity of two thousand souls. And in Nagao (Navagamuva), which is close to Maluana (Malvana), he held a Baptism-service on St. Jerome's day (30th September) of more than two thousand souls, whom he had converted and instructed, which was attended by the same General, Dom Hyeronimo, and the Dean and even the Modeliars⁵ and more people of his caste (caza) which he had brought to our Holy Faith.

When he was Rector at Siuli (Siolim) in the island of Bardez in the days of Friar Manoel Pinto⁶, from his Rectorate he brought for a General Baptism which was then held, two hundred catechumens and left to his successor one hundred sixty in less than a year he was there, besides many others whom he baptized in the church.

Going North in the company of the Custos, Friar Miguel de S. Bonaventura,⁷ he baptized at St. Blaise's church more than two thousand souls who all belonged to one village called Irlemparlem, situated in the island of Salsette in the North⁸. Finally his zeal was so ardent to bring the Gentiles in, that it was the only thing he seemed to care about. Since what he did on the mainland while he was at Aldona, eminently showed his zeal, what he there did in particular we will reserve for the following chapter, where we will treat more widely on it⁹.

While he was Guardian of this Friary of St. Francis, Goa, it happened that they came to ask that the Friars for the love of God should accompany the body of a woman, who, being very poor, did not have anybody to do so. Since this was the first accompaniment that had been asked for the love of God since he had entered into this Guardianate, he determined that it should be done very solemnly and thus he gathered all the Friars of the Friary, upto the number of one hundred and twenty with the old and the preachers and went in search of the house of the dead person, which was above the "Tres Boticas"¹⁰ and arriving there, since she was poor and without resources, though she was Portuguese, they only met there the standard of the Misericordia¹¹ with its Chaplain and a Brother with the staff (vara) who was a certain Dom Joao de Lima, an honourable nobleman and a great friend of ours. The Friars went up in search of the deceased and the said Brother with them, and they found her in a poor tenement in great poverty. And the nobleman, prudent though he was, considered on the one hand the poverty and wretchedness and that not even the Vicar had come to bury her, but had ordered the Chaplain to do so, and on the other hand considering the honoured accompaniment of the Friars, which could not have been more, he went in search of the Viceroy himself and told him loudly and with great admiration: "Blessed and praised be God, for when all fail the poor, then he sends the poor themselves to honour and accompany them." The deceased was carried on the shoulders of the Friars and they gave her a solemn burial, to the great satisfaction of those who

Cópia do Livro
Luzes da Casa
de S. Francisco

then came and those who afterwards heard of it, especially when it was known that the poor woman was the mother of one of our Friars, a very important Religious called Friar Francisco de Jerusalem ¹² who having been transferred to the Province of Portugal, on account of his virtue, learning and prudence was elected Custos and Commissary General of this Custody ¹³, which appointment he did not wish to accept, the reason for which we do not know, perhaps because he was very old and did not dare to undergo the troubles of the journey. And this his mother, at one time had been very rich and had been very charitable towards the Friars, and God wanted to repay the devotion of hers, who on account of her poverty was forgotten, by ordaining that these Friars, without knowing what they were doing, should honour her at the time of her greatest need.

Friar Manoel de S. Matthias composed a number of books ¹⁴, very valuable for those who are occupied in the ministry of the Christians, especially one in which he recounts all the stories and feats which the Gentiles of this Orient invented concerning their false gods, and he refutes these with great erudition and in good style, in the manner of a dialogue. The great knowledge he possessed concerning their books helped him very much.

He died in this Friary (St. Francis, Goa) on a Saturday, the 5th of June 1632, considered by all a great servant of God and son of our Holy Father, St. Francis.¹⁵

Notes to Appendix I

1. Aldona: a village in the Goan Province of Bardez. The Franciscans were entrusted with the conversion-work of this area in 1550. rf. F. X da Costa: *Anais Franciscanos em Bardes*, 22; Meersman: *The Franciscans in India*, 35; Paulo da Trindade, 1,55 ff.
2. Since Chapters were held every three years and Congregations half way between two chapters, his stay lasted about one year and a half.
3. This must have been in 1595. According to the Chapter-lists of that year besides Manoel de S. Mathias the following Friars were there: Francisco Negrao, Joao da Madanela, Sebastiao de S. Philippe, Cosmas da Annunciacao. Of the latter a note is added: "que ora esta em Mantota." rf. Lopez, 187—188.
4. Jeronimo de Azevedo was Captain General of Ceylon 1594—1611, and Viceroy of India 1612—1617.
5. Modeliars: term used for a superior headman in Ceylon. also a caste-title among certain Tamil people. rf. Hobson-Jobson s. v.; Queyroz, 5,4 60, 96.
6. He refers to the days Manoel Pinto was the Custos of the Franciscans in India. When he occupied this post is difficult to say. He was appointed by Francis Toulouse O.F.M., General of the Order, 1587—1593. He served, so it seems, one three year term and is re-

- ported as having been Custos in 1591. rf. Paulo da Trindade, 1,19; 1,64.
7. Miguel de S. Bonaventura was Custos 1602—1606. rf. Meersman: *The Franciscans in Bombay*, 13.
 8. The Rectorate of St. Blaise, Amboli, Salsette Island, Greater Bombay, still exists. Irlem Parlem is perhaps the original of the present Vila Parle. rf. Meersman, *the Franciscans in Bombay*, 145.
 9. This chapter (1,28) is entitled: How Fr. Manoel de S. Mathias went to the Gentiles on the mainland and what happened there. We are not translating this portion as it does not refer to Ceylon.
 10. Tres Boticas: literally "Three Shops."
 11. The "Misericordia" was a charitable institution found in all Portuguese settlements.
 12. Perhaps the same Friar Francisco de Jerusalem who in 1595 was Rector at Espirito Santo, Salsette Island, Bombay. rf. Lopez, 190. It could be the same, since Paulo da Trindade says he became very old.
 13. The Custody of St. Thomas in India. During this period the Custos and Commissary General were taken from the Province of Portugal on which Province the Custody depended until it was erected into a Province.
 14. Muellbauer (323) gives the name of one Manoel de S. Mathias' books: *Dialogos par ensinar a los Indios la doctrina Christiana*.
 15. In another place (11,53) Paulo da Trindade tells us that he also worked in Mangalore.
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APPENDIX II

In the Archivo Ibero-Americano (XIII, 1953, 183 ff) Fr. F. Felix Lopes O.F.M., published the Chapter-lists of the Chapter of 1595. Since this periodical is not readily available in this country, it might be good to publish the data concerning Ceylon and places with which contacts were maintained. It contains:

Convento de Colombo

Guardiam o Pe. Fr. Manoel de S. Vicente, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Pedro de Lixboa, pregadore e confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Mathias da Madre de Deus, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Sebastiao da Cruz, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Francisco dos Anjos, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Antonio de S. Thome, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Manoel da Trindade, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Antonio de Coimbra, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Ignacio de S. Joao, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Bernardo Menor, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Baltezar o Pita, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Luis da Concepcão, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Antonio de Bouzelas, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Bertholameu da Piedade, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Matheus da Concepcão, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Antonio de Santiago Dantas, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Diogo Pasanha, pregador e confessor Jafanapatao;-o Pe. Fr. Antonio de Visitacao, sacerdote;-o Pe. Fr. Gaspar de Madanela, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Antonio de S. Silvestro, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Antonio de S. Pedro, confessor de Frades e de homens;-o Pe. Fr. Sebastiao de Christo, confessor de Frades e de homens;-o Pe. Fr. Antonio da Apresentacao, pregador e confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Francisco de Vila Vicoza confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Joao da Madanela, confessor, Manar;-o Pe. Fr. Francisco d' Asumpcão, pregador;-o Pe. Fr. Miguel dos Martires.

Choristas: Fr. Tiburcio, subdiacono; Fr. Francisco da Cruz, subdiacono.

Leigos: Fr. Genipulo; Fr. Antonio de Lixbao, Goa.

Vigairaria de Nosso Padre S. Francisco de Negapatao

Vigairo-o Pe. Fr. Francisco do Oriente, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Pedro Drago, prezidente, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Semiao das Chagas, pregador e confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Sebastiao Pestana, sacerdote;-o Pe. Fr. Antonio de Nossa Senhora, confessor.

Leigos: Fr. Manoel Contreiras.

Madre de Deus de Manar

Vigairo Fr. Manoel de S. Mathias, confessor e pregador; -o Pe. Fr. Francisco Negrão, pregador e confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Joao de Madanela;-o Pe. Fr. Sebastiao de S. Phelipe, confessor;-o Pe. Fr. Cosmo da Anunciacao, confessor, que ora esta em Mantota.

Mantota

-o Pe. Fr. Pedro Betancor, confessor.

Ilha das Vacas

-o Pe. Fr. Antonio de S. Anna, pregador e confessor.

Jafanapatao

Vigairo O Pe. Fr. Angelo de Salvador, confessor; -o Pe. Fr. Diogo Pracanha, pregador e confessor.

Putalao

O Pe. Fr. Antonio de S. Francisco, confessor.

Tutucurim

Reitor -o Pe. Fr. Meno d' Elvas, pregador e confessor.

APPENDIX III

EXPLANATION OF CERTAIN TERMS USED AMONG THE FRANCISCANS

Commissariat: Part of a Province or Custody which for the sake of good government is separated and constituted into a unit with its own Superior who rules only with that amount of authority committed to him by the Provincial or Custos. Such a unit could develop into a Custody and Province. Formerly Ceylon was a Commissariat of the St. Thomas Province, with headquarters at Goa. In 1633, it, together with all Friaries within the Diocese of Cochin, became a Custody, the St. Anthony's Custody of Cochin, but did not survive the Dutch conquest of these territories.

Commissary: Head of Commissariat.

Commissary General: Representative of the General for certain regions, who manages the affairs of the Order with that amount of authority committed to him by the General. Formerly there was such an office for the Portuguese Franciscans in the East. (A. Meersman O.F.M., *The Institution of Commissaries General for the Portuguese Franciscans in the East*, Arch. Franc. Hist., 59 (1966), 105—38).

Custody: Vice-Province.

Custos:(a) Head of a Custody

(b) Second-in-command of a regular Province: Vice-Provincial

Definitor: Consultor either of the Province or of the General.

Definitorium: body of consultors, if of the General, it is called the Definitorium Generale, if of the Provincial, the Definitorium Provinciale.

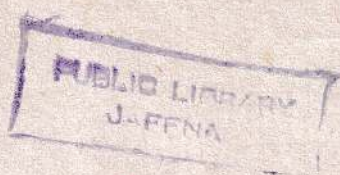
Discreet: member of the Discretorium, the consulting body of a Guardian.

General: the head of the Order: also called Minister General

Guardian: Superior of a regularly constituted Franciscan Friary.

Hospice: a small or temporary Friary.

Vicar: the second-in-command of a Franciscan Friary.



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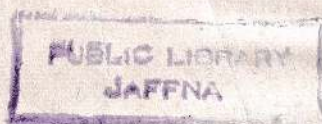
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