

THE TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL CONQUEST OF CEYLON

FERNAÓ DE QUEYROZ

TRANSLATED FROM PORTUGUES BY
S.G. PERERA

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BOOK 3

OF THE

CONQUEST OF CEYLON

CHAPTER. 1

THE VICEROY CONQUERS AND PEOPLES ANEW THE ISLAND OF MANAR [AND] SUCCOURS CEYLON AGAINST MADUNE.

HAVING despatched, as we said, the vessels from the Kingdom to Cochim, the Viceroy at once set sail for Manâr at that time, as was pointed out, subject to the King of Jafnapataõ. There he had appointed Uraçinga; and for a tributary Prince he well deserved that name, which means 'Little Lion'; and he was so fortunate as to suffer for the Faith with the rest. Others succeeded [him], all hostile to us; and when the Viceroy captured it, it was governed by Mahata, to whom [the Viceroy] gave timely warning of what he intended, but, as he prided himself as much on his valour as on his loyalty to the king, relying on his garrison of 3,000 Chingalâz, he replied that he awaited him with arms, being provided with ramparts, two pieces and some muskets, to which they were less accustomed than to the bow and arrow and calachurro[1]. This reply hastened the landing, and as [the Viceroy] entered the town, he resisted with his men, was defeated, and killed. This encounter over, the Viceroy set about erecting a fortalice of stone and mud, desiring according to present circumstances

[1] Calachuro, 'a kind of knife, short and slightly curved'—Boc. 419; 'a short sabre (traçado) two and half palms (long)'—Rib. 47; 'small broadswords (terçado)'—Menezes 190. The designation *Kalansuri Arachchi* is probably a survival of this word. (J. 14, p. 175.)

to convey to Manâr the Christians of the Fishery coast, where Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho was Captain, to whom he wrote the following letter :—

'The conquest of the Kingdom of Jafnapataõ and of the Island of Manâr are both due to one reason, and though the results are different, let us be patient till they agree, and accept as a good fortune what Heaven disposes. What [fortune] I had you know, and I am content with it, as it is
P 318 God's will, and He knows | why, giving me easily Manâr, where I am ; and I await you with all the Christians who live in that country, to whom I have written not to grieve at quitting their fatherland when this [land] invites them with its greater ease and liberty, since the Holy Martyrs purchased it for them in gratitude for the Faith which came to them from that country, when Saint Francis Xavier was going about there, recalling to life the Christianity that was dead either for lack of Teachers or on account of the inconstancy of the Natives. Let them not think of despising an offer so just and incur the wrath which is reserved for the disobedient, nor [forget] that Heaven punishes those who are ungrateful for its favours. Here is a fruitful country in exchange for a barren one, safety for peril, happiness | for misfortune. I F 176v
hope that when you represent to them what they gain, they will consider that what I promise them is not only an easy thing, but a great good fortune. And you with them will render a great service to the King, better than in the Coast where the Fishery will be continued and, as the principal [fishery] I seek is that of souls, here you can win two kinds of rewards, one from his [the King's] hands, the other from God's. And thus you will be obliging me in such a way that what I possess will be little in comparison with what I owe you.'

This letter reached the Coast of the Fishery along with another for the Christian Paravâz, which was read to them by their writers or *canacanoles*. And though it seemed to all a hard thing to leave their thorny and arid lands, (yet) on account of the information which Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho gave them, they made ready for the journey. This emigration was due to the continual injuries and murders received at the hands of the neighbouring Badagas, and of the troops of the petty Kings of Caetarro,[1] Lord of those shores, called at this

[1] In his *Vida do Ven. Pedro do Basto* p. 61 the Author says : 'In the year 1542, The Lord of Tuticorin the capital of the town of that coast (of the Fishery) was a Knight whom they called King of Cayetarro, who was Lord of other neighbouring towns besides Tuticorin, a lordship which was completely destroyed, being conquered by the Nayque of Madure.'

time Bisminayque, who had recently fallen upon Punicâle with an armed band : And to avoid these oppressions, the Viceroy desired to put them under Portuguese dominion and the protection of that praca. The Badagas greatly resented this move, both because of the plunder they gained in these robberies and because they envied them the habitation they had chosen ; and they made many attempts to divert them, but without avail, and as already at this time many lived in Jafnapataõ, by their means and with threats, the King also tried to prevent the emigration. Coutinho who persuaded them to it, brought them to Manâr in some ships which the Viceroy sent in charge of Pero de Lemos at the time when the Portuguese were carrying stones for the fortalice, the Viceroy himself acting as engineer with as much pleasure as if he were building a house for his Christians. There went to meet them the Bishop, D. Jorge Themudo, with a cross borne before him ; and after thanking them for the service they rendered to the King and the pleasure they gave the Viceroy, he blessed them and made a long speech pointing out to them the favour which God did to them by bringing them to that Island in which they would see manifest signs
P 319 of those happy | Martyrs who had given their lives for Christ. The speech was still going on, when the Viceroy came with a small retinue and publicly thanked all and welcomed them with embraces full of affability, as he was wont to do, with the other gentlemen, and as the procession of Catechumens passed by, being on horseback, he took a little child in his arms and took him therein to the church. He did many honours to Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho, entrusted the fortalice to him, and when the latter did homage therefore, he said these words : 'I had to go to the Fishery to find such a good Captain. Now you hold his place, try to keep it, remembering that you do more by improving it | than I in conquering it.' F 176

But because the King of Jafnapataõ took up arms against the new inhabitants favouring for the purpose the Badagas who were in his Kingdom by freeing them from the services imposed on the Natives, he again displeased his people to such an extent that remembering former tyrannies, in which he still continued, they dispossessed him of his Kingdom, driving him out of it with a bastard son by name Puvi Rajâ Pandaraõ to whom he had handed the Government. The Viceroy rejoiced at the news ; however for greater security he left in the sea ten ships under the charge of D. Pedro de Noronha with the Captains Rodrigo da Serra de Moraes, Constantino de Azevedo, Ambrosio Mascarenhas, Rodrigo Figueyra, Afonço de Valadares, Cosmo Diniz, Francisco Trancozo,

Joaõ Fernandes, and Pedro de Souto. The Religious of St. Francis immediately erected a Church under the invocation of the Mother of God, and in every other respect a new commonwealth was formed; but when Constantino de Bragança had retired, they did not remain there many years, but returned to the Coast of the Fishery. The Viceroy, after giving a fresh order and entrusting that Christianity to the Religious of St. Francis and to those of the Society of Jesus, despatched as Captain of Columbo Baltezar Guedes de Souza dividing his fleet into three squadrons: and thence he sailed for Cochim. The reason for this change of Captain was the complaint against the behaviour of D. Jorge de Menezes [viz.] that he did not hesitate to risk Portuguese soldiers in war on the score of destroying the Enemy, which we shall now proceed to narrate after relating the events of Jafanapataõ and Manâr.

Madûne was ill at ease seeing the Viceroy engaged in Jafnapataõ, and fearing that when that enterprise was over, he would fall upon him and take his Kingdom from him, he forestalled him, and under the same Rajâ Cinga Bandar he continued the war on Cota, Calane and Columbo, doing great damage in the villages of Betal, Peleagore, Telingue, Matual, Veragore[1] and others, giving no quarter, cutting down the palm groves and fruit trees from which the besieged could obtain any sustenance for life, leading 6,000 carâbiners and
P 320 Musketmen with other | troops, which made a large army D. Jorge mustered 300 Portuguese and 700 Lascarins. In this year of [1]560, Madûne encamped his army partly at short distance from Cota partly near Columbo, holding the harbour which the Viceroy would make for and impeding reinforcements. Diogo de Melo Coutinho to whom D. Jorge had entrusted the defence of Cota, attempting to deliver an assault on Rajû, who was investing it, found him so well prepared that he was forced to retire with some loss. Madûne, on the other hand, attacked the town of Columbo where | F 176v
he was only able to raze and burn some houses, killing some Christians of the country, the first inhabitants of the place; and because the assault took place at night, D. Jorge wished to sally out of the fortalice, but they all dissuaded him from the purpose. He sallied out at break of day, but the Enemy had already retired into his quarters. To curb this audacity, he sent word to Diogo de Melo to be ready to attack the two camps of the enemy at the same time. He desisted, however, from this purpose, as he came to know that the enemy had

[1] Wattala, Peliyagoda, Telangipata, Mutwal, Weragoda.

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news of it. Many and various were the assaults on the one and the other praças, but they were valiantly resisted without the Enemy getting the better in spite of all his diversions and force. The natives, seeing their property destroyed and that the Enemy gave no quarter asked D. Jorge for a remedy or else for permission to deal with Madûne. Menezes felt this novelty, seeing its consequences, and though he was not naturally a mild man, he was forced to resort to prudence and determination, promising them to take satisfaction for these losses and injuries, and he added benefits to kind words. Leaving some to garrison Columbo, he passed with the rest to Cota and determined to attack Rajû with a larger force, thinking that, if he were beaten, it would be easy to defeat his Father.

He divided the 300 Portuguese into six companies and these into three corps. As Captain of the first and Chief, he appointed Francisco Gomes Leytaõ, to whom were subject Antonio Dias da Lomba and Henrique de Matos. Of the second, the Chief was Fernaõ Alurez Negreyros, with Pero Jorge Franco and Manoel Lourenço; keeping to himself 30 Portuguese and 300 Lascarins, the Chingala Francisco Barreto leading 800. He was the first to defy the Enemy with four musket shots on the evening of the 24th of October of the aforesaid year [15]60. The latter, as soon as he had sight of our men, gathered his men without making up his mind to meet the challenge, because face to face and man to man, without ambushes or other advantages, we were ever dreaded in Ceylon and throughout Asia generally. To add to this Jorge had given out: 'That Madûne was killed and defeated by 2,000 Portuguese whom the Viceroy had sent from Jafanapataõ, and that with the same force he was going to give him battle.' The enemy had
P 321 notice of this in the daylight watch and though some | refuted it, it was so much credited by the whole army that Rajû was confused and undecided what to do. Taking counsel on the matter they agreed that it was a trick of D. Jorge, and that it was impossible for the Viceroy to send so large a reinforcement, and that there was no news of any mishap to Madûne, though the distance was small from one camp to the other, and that however great the victory might have been, | the F 177
Portuguese could not attempt a second with such haste without first attending to the wounded; but that for greater safety it was better to await the Enemy in quarters. While they were consulting, D. Jorge assaulted them and breaking through the first and the second lines with great slaughter, he entered the tent of Rajû, who here also escaped death.

as he happened to be outside it under a Bo tree where the Council was held. In trying to defend it, some Captains were killed, fighting with all valour. But all resistance was of little avail, for some being killed and others fleeing, they gave opportunity to Francisco Gomez Leytaõ to set fire to it, so that the spoils might not hinder the arms.

Meanwhile Fernaõ D'alures Negreyros gallantly broke through the rear-guard and captured Itara Maguey, the Mother of Madûne, who because of the confidence they had of victory and out of love for her Grandson had accompanied him. But as she was not recognized and made display of great age, he let her go, selling his triumph with his own hands. Francisco Barreto with his Lascarins acted with valour, taking an elephant which had belonged to Tribule Pandar, for the animal recognizing him, came to him turning against those who had brought it for their defence, a rare example of the instinct and fidelity of this animal, which remembering him who had reared it, and seeing him fighting, went over to his side. D. Jorge, going to help wherever there was resistance, wrought havoc everywhere. It cost the life of six Portuguese and some lascarins. The Enemy gave up the field, because seeing such great determination, they were convinced that the news of the reinforcement was true, which they were not able to ascertain, as it was still night.

D. Jorge returned victorious, and Rajû reunited his men in the village of Sodogaõ. And since he now knew that there was no fresh reinforcement he sent a message to his Father to join him and avenge the insult and the loss of more than 3,000 men of the best of his camp. Madûne came to his assistance with all haste, but our men engaged him in a fresh battle, in which the Chingalâz, ashamed of the cowardice they had shown against so small a force, fought with such resolution, that for a long time the victory remained uncertain. Innumerable were the fire bombs they threw at our men, and amidst the thunder of the clamours of the Chingalâz it seemed as if the earth were a confusion of flashes. At this time arrived Rajû with all his men and after proving his hand well, he put into disorder the Lascarins of Francisco Barreto who with a few men beat a less ignominious than necessary
P 322 retreat. D. Jorge remained fighting the | whole of the enemy's army, and for a long time his valour alone withstood | all F 177v the might of the Chingalâz, who in overwhelming numbers charged the few who resisted them and received the more hurt. Seeing however that he had lost 40 Portuguese and that the rest for the most part were wounded and that it was impossible to continue the victory, he retired in perfect order, and the

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Enemy's astonishment was such that he did not pursue them, and though they wished to give other reasons, the only true one was the unspeakable fear they conceived at the exploits which they saw so few Portuguese work.

In Cota, Francisco Gomes Leytaõ was cured of a bullet wound in the eye ; Antonio Dias de Lomba of another in the chest, and the rest of similar wounds. The Enemy likewise was occupied in burying the dead and healing the living. But as soon as our men were healed, they continued the assaults with greater caution and always with loss to the Enemy, using much cunning and giving false alarms to disquiet them. Rajû being enraged, determined to assault Cota on various sides, passing word to give no quarter to any living thing. D. Jorge drawing strength from the desire which he had to die as a soldier, having notice of this, prepared to receive the guests, placing eight pieces in the most dangerous parts ; and all having confessed and communicated prepared for the onset on the morning of the 8th September, it being now the year [15]61. From Columbo they heard many shots. The enemy suspended the attack, imagining that it was the reinforcement, our people on the contrary [imagined] that it was a trick of Madûne to announce that the assault would be on Cota in order to attack Columbo which had a limited garrison. Both the one and the other were in this suspense when the news arrived that Balthezar Guedes de Souza was there, who, we said, was sent by the Viceroy. He was a gentleman of good manners and courage and much liked. He brought as companions Gonçalo Guedes de Souza, his brother, and some gentlemen and soldiers desirous of taking part in these wars, which for their pertinacity and notoriety were well known throughout Asia where the Portuguese had shown as much constancy and valour as honour and fidelity. The best known persons who accompanied this Captain were Nuno Pereyra de Laçerda, Simaõ de Melo Soares, Gaspar Guterres de Vasconçelos, Antonio Chaino de Castro, Andre de Fonseca, and Diogo Fernandez Pirilhão. The enemies formed into one body expecting a change of fortune, and that they did not retire was due to the advice of the Captain Kina, who persuaded them that the reinforcement was smaller than it was said to be, and that the continuation of war would lead the Portuguese to the mistake of abandoning Cota which they maintained only for credit. They encamped in Sodogaõ practising continually for the day of battle. D. Jorge went to Columbo to visit and give up office | to the new F 178
P 323 Captain, | leaving Diogo de Melo in Cota as superintendent of the war. And though he wished to remain as a soldier, on

reading the Viceroy's letter in which he ordered him to embark, he took leave of King D. Joaõ who said on seeing him depart: 'The man whom Rajû feared is gone, I do not know whether we shall have another to equal him.' Balthezar Guedes, though a prudent man, was piqued at this, it appearing to him with little reason, that praise of another's valour made his own doubtful.

D. Jorge de Menezes was a very courageous gentleman in war, a careful Captain and a valiant soldier. He was noted to be rough and was so little indulgent, that when one of his soldiers on board ship asked for an onion, he said: 'that in his ship there were no delicacies but bullets, and that one who was not yet accustomed to eat the latter should go elsewhere in search of the former.' He was as punctual in his promises as he was slow to promise: and though all say that he who conducts war in India must do it sternly, these characteristics did not make him acceptable to some. But Hannibal would easily have excused these faults and if he had not had them, he would not have obtained the singular nickname of Baroche for the reasons already mentioned. In Ceylon he brought honour on the Portuguese name and added renown to the illustrious house of Cantanhede from which he was descended. But as the Viceroy did not approve his risking himself and others so much, with fair words he ordered him to retire.

CHAPTER 2.

Balthezar Guedes carries on the War with Raju.

Balthezar Guedes, leaving his Brother, [a man] of equal valour, in Columbo, went to Cota where he distributed some perilous posts to the Captains and gentlemen whom he had brought with him; whereupon those who held those posts began to grumble, Manoel Lourenço of Estremoz, an experienced soldier, being foremost in this matter, because he resented that his post was given to Antonio Chainho de Castro, a deserving person, of no small service in Ceylon itself. He assaulted him [by surprise] (the greatest infamy which the politics of India introduced, by deciding that vengeance by the most secure means was the most convenient) and in the course of it he inflicted some wounds. And not content with this, he put up the others to mutiny. The Captain, pretending not to know of these things, wisely dissembled. But before things

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reached greater lengths, he sent for Manoel Lourenço, who, though he foresaw the danger, was so confident in himself, that he offered himself to every [risk] and entered the fortalice Balthezar Guedes received him with great honour telling him: | F 178v
'that from Captains of such experience as he, he ever wished to take counsel; and that though up to that time he had failed in
P 884 all that was due to his person, | he hoped to make use of his services to increase his deserts, now that his will was not enough for satisfaction: that he intended to deliver an assault on the enemy encamped in Sodogaõ and to make the feast which they were celebrating there in the pagode of Maluanda less merry'; and [asked him] to point out the side from which he judged that they should be attacked. Manoel Lourenço, without realizing this snare, contended himself with saying: 'that all the favours he showed him were given to a thankful subject: that if he distrusted his favours, it was because he thought that others were preferred therein and that the injuries of which he complained proceeded only from esteem, envying in others what he desired for himself; that he thought it best to disquiet and attack Rajû, but that he did not know of a place adapted for a fresh attack; that as for the passes wherein D. Jorge attacked them, they were so well known and frequented by the Enemy that they could scarcely expect good success on account of the preparations they could make, for they would not fail to get warning.' 'I am surprised,' answered Balthezar, 'that you, being the leader of those who complain of me about the distribution of posts and having so much knowledge of this Island, do not know such a simple matter, the whole of it consisting of jungle, wherein you can open new roads to the end of the world; and this on an occasion when experience is necessary for its conquest. The fact is that we are all mistaken and we only seek to set things right by envy. I know that the quarrels you had with Antonio Chainho were about the post he holds, thinking that it should be yours by right as those of His Highness are. I have overlooked many wrongs, not because I am wont to suffer them, but because circumstances did not permit me to avenge them. If I had opportunity, I would show you and those who so confidently follow you, that Antonio Chainho de Castro not only deserves the place which he has, but even better ones. And if his prudence in suffering wrongs does not wish to open the way to disaster, he takes enough satisfaction for your insolence by his forbearance. I know well that you want to justify the complaints you make against me; but what account or excuse will you give the Viceroy, if I write to him that you have placed the affairs of Ceylon in such a state

that everything is lost ? What reasons [will you give] the world for the disasters that might have followed ? What excuse to God, which is the most difficult, for placing your countrymen, the welfare of Christianity and the conquest, in such great peril ? I do not want to be as severe with you as I might, for I think you regret what you have done, knowing that Antonio Chainho de Castro besides being a gentleman of good quality, has been several times Captain, and has served in this Island with as much | satisfaction as any, and in *F 179* consideration of this, I think he has rendered a great service to the King by accepting the place he holds. What I wish is, that together with me, you and he remain friends, and that all of us treat each other as brothers ; and having formed so creditable a union, without which it is impossible to do any-
P 325 thing good, we should | attack the Enemy, over whom I hope to obtain victory ; for as in this war we serve God first of all, trying to extend his Holy Religion, there is no doubt that united we shall accomplish what is impossible without union. And do not think that you will fail to render by this union a great servce to Heaven, nor that you will miss a reward on earth where I shall act as intercessor to your petitions, and if the result be unequal to my efforts, at least I shall show the good will with which I desire to serve you.'

Manoel Lourenço, regretting what he had done, submitted to everything, being greatly pleased with the Captain. Antonio Chainho de Castro was sent for ; they shook hands as friends, and walked together through the City as a notice to the others who under those two leaders had perturbed the city. On the news of what preceded, Rajû was emboldened to come up so near the walls, that all were disgusted, and Chainho forthwith gave proof of his spirit, for being attacked by the enemy in his pass, without receiving any hurt caused him great loss. With the same valour and success the others wrought signal prowess, because the Natives were very few and the brunt of the war on a large circuit fell on the Portuguese. The Enemy did not retire unscathed, for Balthezar Guedes, with what men he could take from the City, went in pursuit of him and gave battle near the Lake, and after a long conflict with great loss to the enemy and little on our side, the victory was acclaimed, it being due to Pero de Alpoem, Gaspar Guterres de Vasconçelos, Diogo Fernandez Pirilhaõ, Nuno Pereyra de Laçerda, Diogo Gonçalues Franco, Andre da Fonseca, and many other gentlemen and soldiers who gave proof of their courage. There the Franciscan Friar Pedro de Belem, showed himself a Religious soldier with a crucifix in his left hand and a sword in his right, with which he cut, animating [the rest] by Faith,

words and example. Of him it is narrated, that on another occasion in this very war, seeing that the elephants charged our men, in the name of Jesus Christ he ordered them to stop, and forthwith they obeyed him. They fought on this day with remarkable valour and constancy from three in the morning till six in the evening, the Enemy being ashamed to abandon the field to so few men till light failed them, and our men always fighting in great order.

| Balthezar Guedes, knowing the great forces of the foe, *F 179v* tried to defend the City, and reinforcing the perilous passes, he placed the aforesaid Manoel Lourenço in that of the Mosquitos, so as not to give occasion for complaints and to return good for evil,' the best way to win brave men. He gave him as companions 40 Portuguese : in Perea Cota, Nuno Pereyra de Laçerda with 60 ; in the Camelete, Antonio Dias da Lomba with 30 : in the others, Simaõ de Melo Soares,
P 326 Gaspar Guterres | de Vasconcelos, Diogo Fernandez Pirilhaõ, Francisco Gomes Leytaõ, Andre da Fonseca, and Diogo Gonçalves Franco with the troops he was able to give to each of them. The King with his men remained on guard in the City with three Religious of St Francis, Friar Simaõ de Nazareth, Friar Martinho de Guarda, [and] Friar Pedro de Belem, ready to assist where need required it. Balthezar Guedes and Diogo de Melo Coutinho, with 170 soldiers and as many Lascarins, lay in ambush a little beyond the pass of Ambolaõ to attack the enemy at the first watch. They did so with much bravery and without loss, killing more than 500, whose heads were seen hanging on the trees at dawn, a great grief to Rajû who, relying on the force he led, could not account for the misfortune.

He determined to press with all his force on Columbo, and for this purpose he sent an ambassador to Malavar to invite those pirates to join him in this war. There offered himself for this expedition Mahamed, son of Cudy Ale and grandson of another Mahamed whom Henrique de Menezes ordered to be impaled in Cochim, when he was Governor of India ; who was seeking an opportunity to take satisfaction for the death of his Grandfather ; and thinking that in this fortune was giving him an effective means of revenge, he not only agreed to what was asked, but through Buneca Modeliar, his ambassador, he sent thanks for such a good resolution, saying that he would make 12 paros ready with picked men and asking him not to give up the siege of Columbo until he arrived. With this answer the Modeliar returned, and Balthezar Guedes knowing that he had taken the port of Gâle and was coming thence with a good following to meet the

army, called Nuno Pereyra de Laçerda, and after informing him of everything, he told him that it behoved them to defeat him. He gave him 100 Portuguese and some Lascarins for the exploit. Laçerda immediately gave up his place at Perea Cota to Antonio Chainho de Castro and set out at night, formed into four companies, of which the other Captains were Antonio Dias da Lomba, Antonio Morro, and Antonio Guerreyra, because Guedes chose all of the same name, because they set out from Cota on the 12th June [15]64, the eve of St. Antony, so that this choice might oblige the [Saint] | not to forget the *F 180* Portuguese. Nuno Pereyra marched all that night and the two following, so as not to be seen by day, with good spies ahead, from whom he learnt that the Modeliar was lodged at a little distance and would soon arrive at that place. There, as it was suited for it, they awaited him in ambush, and as he passed, he was attacked in the rear with such alacrity that he was forthwith defeated with the death of more than 500 Chingalâz, the rest fleeing and Buneca Modeliar remaining prisoner, who was impaled in Cota and his head hoisted on a lance covered with white cloth, as such was the custom there to treat important persons.

P 327 | The Malavar reinforcement had no better success, for Captain Jorge de Melo, setting out from Manâr on 10th August on information from Balthezar Guedes, went in search of Mahamed to the port of Gâle, and though the Malavar made for the open sea after many broadsides, he did not succeed in escaping, and after the first volleys of both one and the other shot, they were grappled and put to the sword ; and those who did not fall at the hands of the Portuguese found a grave in the sea, where Mahamed too ended [his days], and Jorge de Melo with the 12 paros in tow came to port in Columbo with salvos of artillery, at the echoes of which Rajû rejoicing sent to visit the Malavar, being sure that on his arrival he would put an end to so prolix a war ; but he was as much confounded as he was mistaken.

While these things were taking place, the Chingalâ set all his forces against Columbo. Gonçalo Guedes de Souza provided for the town which ran greater risks, with some Portuguese and Chingalâs who had come from Cota, with whom he withstood the first fury of Rajû who did not rest by day or night, it seeming to him that one who would not yield to arms would yield to trouble. He continued the siege, erecting trenches, behind which to dig mines, against the walls of the town. Being informed of this by a spy, Gonçalo Guedes delivered an assault, and with the death of many he destroyed the trenches and returned without loss. One of

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the Malavares who was in the camp offered to erect an Albarrada, or artificial Mountain, much used by the numerous Asiatic armies like those of Temerlan, of the Turk in Rhodes, and after their example by the Samorỹ against the praça of Calicut, of which D. Joaõ de Lima was Captain, the engineer being a Sicilian, his Master of the Field, for there was no European nation which either out of envy or of rivalry did not become jealous of our temporal conquest of India, or emulate the Poruguese spiritual [conquest], if the second were not made a stepping stone to the first. This Mountain is an artificial hill of stone, earth | and fascines which the sappers *F 180v* pushed before them till it equalled the walls and even overtopped them so that the soldiers might climb under cover and with less peril. At this more than 2,000 Chingalâz laboured ; and the work grew so much, that Gonçalo Guedes provided himself with many devices for setting fire, sending information to his Brother to reinforce him, which he did with 100 Portuguese under the command of Antonio Chainho de Castro. With this reinforcement they thought it better, though not without great danger, to sally out to the field on the night of 3rd December. Antonio Chainho de Castro advanced on the sea side, Diogo de Melo Coutinho (who took part in everything) made for the Albarrada, which was almost finished, and besides the sappers, had 800 soldiers on guard. Taken unawares, though they attempted to defend themselves, seeing the dash, the deaths, and dagger thrusts, they turned their backs upon the Portuguese, who followed them, killing *P 328* all | those they overtook. And this business was despatched with such expedition, that Chainho, in order to take a longer turn, was only able to raze that machine and return without any loss. The enemy being furious, persisted in the siege, in which Balthezar Guedes and the other gentlemen who were in Cota, wished also to take part. But at the request of King D. Joaõ, and because it seemed no bad advice, they did not give battle to the Enemy, though they suffered for want of victuals. The Enemy at times attacked the town exposing all his forces and the Portuguese all their valour with many deaths on both sides, but more on their side, and such prowess that Rajû astounded by them and seeing that hunger, peril, war [and] stratagem, were not enough in so long a siege, though it was enough to reduce larger forts and more powerful cities, after losing uselessly many men, informed Madûne, who, awaiting better luck, ordered him to retire, which he did on the 29th December, abandoning that field watered with blood and covered with graves ; and he took grievously ill of grief at Seytavâca.

CHAPTER 3.

Other Events of this War

Little rest had the Portuguese, for Madûne obstinately prosecuting the war and roaring with fury at not being able to accomplish what he had so often attempted, without heeding either the cost or lives, on account of the illness of his Son, appointed as General of the army his Master of the Horse, Ecanâca, as he had experience of his courage and loyalty This man set out with 4,500 picked Chingalâz, among | *F 181* whom were some horsemen, quite a novelty among these people, 4 elephants carrying castles, 500 pioneers, with a fresh order to destroy and burn the lands bordering on Cota, with such slaughter that nothing of what we might make use of should be left, so that if this tyranny did not drive terror into the Portuguese, it might reduce the Chingalâz to obedience. He set out in July [1]562, entered the lands of Cota, carrying out the orders of Madûne, killing the farmers, capturing women and children. Whose clamours reached Balthezar Guedes, who, hearing their shouts and seeing the tears of these lieges of proved fidelity, resolved in Council to go to the assistance of the people of Moleria and Pelonaua,[1] where the Enemy was encamped, so that under pressure of fear and loss they might not rebel, but rather realize that in return for their fidelity there were not wanting those who were ready to sacrifice their lives, which would give confidence *P 329* to the rest not to fail in loyalty ; and that if the Enemy | remained unpunished, as he grew in force, he might increase in daring, and though our force was limited, the justice of the cause gave hope of success. He was able to muster 250 Portuguese, and as Captains D. Francisco de Melo, Simaõ de Brito, Ayres de Saldanha, and Jorge de Cunha, all gentlemen and young men of large hopes, and 800 Lascarins, with their Captain Francisco Barreto, leaving the two fortalices sufficiently provided, and that of Cota entrusted to Simaõ de Melo Soares, Fernaõ de Castilho, Ambrosio de Faria, Rodrigo Machado and Andre Falcaõ.

They set out on the 20th of August and came within sight of the quarters of Ecanâca, who, being already powerful in numbers, determined to meet them, but on the advice of a Modeliar he thought it better not to stir, because the further we went from our praças, so much the greater was the risk we ran. His quarters were on a good plan surrounded by

[1] Mulleriyawa and Kolonnawa.

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ramparts of stone, earth, and fascines, with another trench quite close, with a large ditch covered with boards, on which the musketmen could easily walk, and which in any emergency could easily be turned into grave stones for burials,[1] and within there was another ditch of the same kind. Of all this Balthezar Guedes had tidings, and he informed his men about everything, resolving to besiege him so that he might not continue the killing, burning and losses he was causing, and to show him that he who came to meet him did not fear him ; and if driven by fear, he should give battle, then they would do their duty ; but meanwhile they should entrench themselves with the vigilance of those who know that the enemy was near. That night and the following day were passed without Ecanâca making a move. On the following day, leaving the camp well garrisoned, he took | the field, *F 181 v* and our men made no further delay than to form themselves. Diogo de Melo took the advance guard with Diogo Fernandes Pirilhaõ, Antonio Dias da Lomba, Francisco Gomes Leytaõ and Pero Jorge Franco, and engaged the enemy to the sound of tambours, trumpets, and fifes. This battle was so well fought, that there was not a soldier unoccupied nor a Captain who did not do marvels, Diogo de Melo endeavouring to add honour to his reputation and Balthezar Guedes charging with his men, repeating volleys, spear and dagger-thrusts. The enemy lost so many men, whilst we lost few of ours, that they retired to their trenches by two gates, one of which Francisco de Pina of Monte-Mor-o-Velho was the first to gain, and with a spear he did great feats of chivalry with such mortality, that they at first thought that the encampment was in the hands of the Portuguese, but as they realized their mistake, he was surrounded by those within and without, and died in his rash triumph. Better luck had Ambrosio Preto, a native of Leyria, who, seeing the foe retire, and not satisfied with a victory which fell to all, broke through their *P 330* midst and seizing the banner of Ecanâca, | captured it at the cost of two dangerous arrow wounds, and if this action was a credit to him, the banner could be a blazon and a surname to the Standard-bearers of Portugal !

That night Ecanâca gave news of this to Madûne, exaggerating our force to be 4,000 in number, judging it, doubtless, from what they did, and asked him for fresh reinforcements. He sent him 10,000 Chingalâz under the command of his Son, still scarcely convalescent, informing him at once of everything. And to disguise it the better, he left the whole field open to the

[1] 'Campas de Sepulturas. The meaning is not clear. 'Which in any emergency could easily be turned into death-traps' ?

Portuguese. The reinforcement arrived so unexpectedly, that Balthezar Guedes had not the time to change his position, and he saw himself surrounded one morning by the enemy's army. But as he was gifted with a great courage, turning to Diogo de Melo with a joyful and smiling countenance, he said to him alluding to the epigram of Leander : ' Waves let me pass, and kill me, if I shall return ' to which Diogo de Melo replied with the same humour, ' Drink them or Spill them.' Guedes encouraged all in a few effective words, while Coutinho ordered those of the advance guard to unfurl their banners and give the signal to break through the army on one side to see whether they would go to that side with all force and give an opportunity to sally out through the abandoned side. The Enemy detected the trick and gave orders not to move, which being known from a spy, they took another course, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides : and after receiving Absolution, two hours before daybreak of the 8th. of August [15]63, forming into a body, they attacked the enemy with such | energy and hardihood, that at the cost of many lives *F 181* they opened a way for themselves ; and the whole army charged them, the place of those worn out being taken by fresh troops. The Portuguese always faced them, and fought ten hours running, up to three in the afternoon, at which time our men being worn out by fighting and burnt by the Sun, less inclement to the natives, sat down unable to stand on their feet, some being unable to take a step in spite of all encouragement. Reduced to these narrow straits, the Captains tried to hide this weakness. Being remarked, however, by the Enemy, under cover of their elephants, they pressed so near, that the Lascarins of Francisco Barreto took to flight ; and after deaths on either side, Balthezar Guedes also fell of two arrows shots which penetrated his back, and seeing him fall, they sought at one blow to sever with his head the heads of all. In trying to prevent this died 24 soldiers performing incredible prowess, and finally they placed him on a shield and accompanied by Francisco de Melo they rescued him from so great a danger. In this conflict Sebastiaõ Nunes, a native of Alenquer, when pierced by a lance, killed his assailant with his sword ; Francisco Barriga of Setuval being wounded in the chest by a dart, though he was able to retire, did not do so, and to one who asked him to go and get the wound dressed, he replied, ' That the [best] *P 331* dressing for his wound was honour, and | the continuance of the battle.'[1] Manoel de Torres of Lisbon, falling on the

[1] This is a play or the word *ponta* very difficult to render. Literally, ' the (best) stitches (pontas) for his wound were the points of honour and the continuance of the battle.'

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ground with his legs broken, so long as he had a sword, killed many, and when that failed him, still kept on fighting with his hands and his teeth. Lourenço Galvaõ of the island of Terceira killed so many, that the enemy formed ramparts of the dead bodies to defend themselves from him, till a shot took his life. What would the Italians say to this, remembering their soldier in the famous challenge of 5 Italians against 5 Spaniards of the army of the great Captain, who making a rampart of dead horses defended himself from those that remained ! Joaõ Lourenco, a native of Borba. taking a red cap in his hand for a shield, (as the Chingalâz are very fond of this head dress) and with his sword in the other, in the thickest of the battle, with cheerful countenance, defying death said ; ' Who kills me, gets this.' Francisco de Valadares of Oporto standing over Balthezar Guedes, shouted : When the Captain is dead, it is a disgrace for the soldier to be alive.' Fernaõ Mendes, the Chief Gunner, when he ran short of ammunition, seizing a spear like a Lion made them all flee, and going up to the General Ecanâca ran him through, selling his life so gallantly, that he left among friends and foes a great reputation and no small glory to Alguimares his birthplace. Pero Jorge Franco, wishing to stop the rush of an elephant and being knocked down by it, escaped between its legs, and catching hold of a spear, with the help | of others *F 182v* wounded it to such an extent, that he made it turn back doing great havoc among the Chingalâz. Some gentlemen signalized themselves by coming to the aid of their Captain. Ayres Correa, son of Antonio Correa (the first of the surname of Baharem, because he killed Mohochoim King of that Island) hearing that Balthezar Guedes was dead, shouted out, saying Let us avenge this insult, Sirs ; let it not be said that we left him unavenged.' D. Sancho Henriques with a broad-sword, which he plied dexterously, did so much in defence of the Captain, that after killing many, he remained a prisoner. D. Alvaro de Noronha, son of D. Antonio de Menezes, met the same fate. And there was no one who on that day did not signalize himself, and it was due to Diogo de Melo Coutinho that some escaped with their lives : for breaking through the Enemy's forces, with their help, he got away to Columbo going by a roundabout and longer way in order to escape them, taking, besides those already mentioned, 125 men, so crippled, that many of them afterwards died, all showing on this occasion, how much honour is able to do when one esteems it, and leaving the enemy so demoralized and broken, that he did not dare to follow them, for as the loss he received was so great, he did not wish to experience another greater calamity

Considering however, that while the sick were being cured, it would be easier for him to reduce Cota, he [Rajû] divided the army into 4 divisions, placing one in front of the pass of Ambolaõ, another before Perea Cota, the third at the pass
P 332 of the Mosquitos, | the last as his guard. Cutting off supplies on all sides, he made rafts to cross the Lake, but Francisco Gomes Leytaõ who was the first to return to Cota from Columbo, burnt them. In the City there broke out fresh mutinies, some being for Rajû and others for their natural King, who, quelling them as well as he could, sent to Goa as ambassador the Chingalâ, D. Theodosio to ask help from the Conde de Redondo,[1] D. Francisco Coutinho, the Viceroy who succeeded D. Constantino de Bragança. The residents of Calâne seeing themselves without Portuguese, deserted that City formerly the Princess of the cities of the island, and Rajû raising his camp, went and fixed his camp in the ruins, which he afterwards....[2] abandoned saying that it was not right to remain in a place which had submitted to years and not to his valour, though he knew well that fear had depopulated it. He again arrived in Cota, now obeyed in turn by the Natives, who, so long as they were favoured by our arms, were faithful to their King, but did not dare to face any longer famine nor the certain death that awaited resistance, the King D. Joaõ thus remaining without lieges, without revenues and only with the right to the Crown. They say that the Viceroy was unable to come to his aid in these troubles, which is clearly to be seen in the history of those times, and that therefore he sent D. Theodosio with
fair words | and no deeds to the despair of the few lieges F 183 who still remained in Cota. Upon these tidings the Enemy laid siege to both praças, and especially to Cota. Many Portuguese died under the stress of famine, and it was such, that the living Natives were forced to eat the dead, and husbands their wives, as happened to a Chingalâ, who with his Brother, killed his wife, and others entering this house found a quarter on the fire. When information was given to Nuno Pereyra de Laçerda, he informed Simaõ de Melo Soares, the lieutenant of Balthezar Guedes in Cota. These extremes of misery reached Goa and Portugal and it was judged to be a crime not to send succour, while the forces of the State were diverted into other enterprises less necessary than were the lives of such great cavaliers, the defence of a Catholic King and our vassal, with the hopes of a Kingdom.

[1] Eighth Viceroy, 1561–1564.

[2] A word has been left out by the Copyist as undecipherable.

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As Balthezar Guedes was missed in Cota, for he was being nursed of his wounds, everything was lost, because the few natives, driven by hunger, pestilence and war, preferred to submit to Madûne seeing that the siege continued without relief; and in fact some passed over to the Enemy. But as the Conde soon died in India[1], it was for God to take him to task.

Rajû corresponded with them, and they, not daring to declare themselves through fear of the Portuguese, put writings on the doors in the name of Rajû saying in them: 'That all those who freely choose to submit and trust to his word would have their lives and goods secured to them, and besides their own property, others of greater value; that those who did not within 5 days declare themselves lieges
P 333 of Madûne | would be put in irons and to more severe punishments.' These proposals appeared in the morning of the 10th of September and created such great disunion, that a few condemned them as impious while the others were seized with great fear. They informed Simaõ de Melo Soares, and of this, which was of great importance, he made little account. Driven by famine which had reduced them to eat horses, elephants, dogs, rats, bats, snakes, flour of the wild palmyrah, water lilies from the Lake, and other filth from which the Portuguese did not abstain, and the contagion increasing with it, the people in a body sought out the lieutenant, and in harsh words they proposed to him to choose one of two things: either to seek a remedy for present needs, or to surrender to Madûne. Then Simaõ de Melo Soares realized the danger in which he was, and with fair words he made them withdraw while he took counsel with the Captains. Immediately he summoned Nuno Pereyra de Laçerda, Francisco Gomes Leytaõ, Andre da Fonseca, Antonio Chainho de Castro, Gaspar Guterres de Vascõçelos, Diogo Fernandes Pirilhaõ, Manoel Lourenco de Estremoz, Diogo Gonçalves |. and Joaõ Fernandes Columbrina, and des- F 183
pairing of being able to defend themselves he spoke to them thus:

'You see, Gentlemen, the plight in which we are. You have experience of this Island and of the constancy of the Chingalâ who has 30,000 men in the field against so few; how difficult it is for us to resist them and the 200 elephants of war; the mutiny of the people, the extreme need, the beginning of famine and corruption which Heaven alone

[1] In February, 1564.

can set right ; for the roads to Columbo are taken, and the Viceroy has disappointed us of reinforcement. Though I am prepared rather to die as a soldier than be obliged to surrender, I am persuaded that I do a greater service to the King [of Portugal] by this surrender than by letting so many innocent people be put to the sword. The more so, as the loss of this city will not be of great interest to the Enemy, nor shall we lose anything, as the inconvenience of having our forces divided is great, as was realized in Goa long ago, and this was the first action of the famous George Castriot on taking the field against the Turk [viz.] to dismantle the unnecessary praças. Nor do I think it right to expose to death so many valiant men, who can with greater glory be employed in other wars ; nor do I see what gain or honour we derive by being imprisoned here so long. We sometimes consider it courageous to begin things which it is a discredit to continue. It is enough if we keep ourselves in Columbo, the chief object of those who first enjoyed this Island from thence, and not be thus separated in war, which has cost us more than what we gain by it. This is my opinion, and I think this discourse will not seem bad to you. Let us blow up the artillery at night, and after settling some things, we shall hoist the white flag. And Nuno Pereyra de Lacerda will go to treat with
P 334 Rajû of the manner of our departure.' |

Nuno Pereyra de Lacerda seeing himself chosen for such a strange, and in his opinion, such an insulting plan, replied with resolution and hauteur. I am very much astonished, Sir, at your resolution, as the principles on which it is grounded are so unexpected, that even if they were justified in the abstract, I should consider them rash. When I saw you summon us, I thought that it was either to relieve the people or to chastise the Enemy, a course worthy of your birth and courage, but seeing from your discourse the different line of thought you followed and especially your choice of me for so great an outrage against the Portuguese name, you will please give me leave to reply. You say that out of pity for the people you wish to surrender and save the lives of the Portuguese ; and you expect that he who takes the life of his countrymen will grant it to strangers ; and he has tried so many | means, incurred F 184
so many expenses, at the cost of many lives of his vassals to take the life as well as the Kingdom of a Christian King whom we defend ! Do you think it right to abandon the City of two Kings with the hope of gaining others ? Let us not mistake cowardice for discretion, and fear for reasons of State, nor seek an example of greatest insult from honourable patrons. Who does not know that in long

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sieges the troubles we experience are the usual rations ? And that a Captain does more by resisting domestic brawls than the enemy without ? If perhaps by this proposal you only wish to find out our intentions, you may be sure that they stray from valour and truth who do not think it a disgrace to abandon that which they hold in spite of death, without remembering the credit of the Portuguese, the renown acquired in like extremities, and the Religion which we profess, nor considering the fruit that is being reaped in Tapobrana. What will they say in Europe if we abandon what was given to us along with so many hopes except that we are fainting cowards, the degenerates of those who left us honourable patience as an example ? What will they say in Europe of similar inconstancy, except that the Freytas are ended in Coimbra, the Silveyras and Mascarenhas in Diu, and others who acquired immortal fame, if we neglect to preserve the means of victory in the final endurance of evils and in the hope of future success ? What will they say in Goa, those who often conquered this Enemy, except that we have bent the neck never [before] bent under a yoke, but ever victorious over great armies ? What will the Moors say, who tried so much to destroy us, when they learn that we gave ourselves up for beaten, while there was life in us ? What will the Pagans say and all the nations of the East with whom we have fought who were hitherto astonished at our triumphs, except that Asiatic delicacies have overcome the brave Portuguese hearts ? I am unable to express strongly what I feel except by exaggerating it. I end by bewailing our fortune, that we should come to discuss what can ill be imagined. And, lest it seem to you an idle boast, I here give you my word that if
P 335 you wish me to go and kill Rajû in his tent, | I shall not delay to do so, because if I must lose my honour, I had rather lose my life, imitating those of my blood who in these parts have laboured and served the King with the satisfaction which is well known to all. And if this proposal does not please you, order me after their example to break into the enemy's camp, because as I hold honour as my aim, even though I see certain death, I will not refuse to lose my life. And as these are the rules of honour, how can I but lose heart, when you think me capable of such weakness ? I was little lucky in this selection ; and am fortunate | in knowing that F 184
he errs who thinks me ready for such a base surrender, which I dare to prove with this.'

And placing his hand on his sword and burning with rage, Laçerda concluded his answer. And Melo who saw that all were of the same mind had perforce to dissemble. All the

others were pleased and to alleviate the anger of both the one and the other, they added at once: 'That he should not be troubled, because what the Captain said was only gallantry, and even if it were not so, they took it for a jest.' And without saying more they turned their backs, leaving Melo abashed; nor did it stop there, for that night they gave him a hooting, discourteous and less respectful than was due to one who occupied his place.

CHAPTER 4.

The last Efforts of this Siege

Rajû was immediately informed of the foregoing, and in order to break the spirit of Balthezar Guedes de Souza, he caused the news to be given to him. And though at first he thought it was a trick, he was assured of the truth by a Pacha sent by Laçerda who in a letter gave him a full account of everything, ending with these words: 'In conclusion know, my friend, that all this will end in death, and that we shall be conquered by it sooner than by the foe; for though resistance is hard without you, yet because it is our duty as Christians and vassals of the King, we will resist with our lives. Be assured that so long as our lives last, your honour will be safe. To my honour it pertains not to let this city run any risk; but may God who is almighty help us.' Guedes, realizing the danger in Cota, though his wounds were still open, wanted to go to their assistance in person, but they all opposed it. In this extremity he wrote a short letter to Jorge de Melo who in Manâr had succeeded Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho, in which he only said: 'Rajû is triumphant, blunders are increasing; men are dying, Cota is falling, Colombo is in peril. The remedy for these evils lies in your
P 336 diligence. If you tarry, you come too late. | What I say is enough to make you realize what is taking place.' The *patamar*[1] set out at the time when Rajû had crossed the Lake with many elephants carrying castles, and as he thought that there would be no resistance, he tried to carry the gates. But Nuno Pereyra with the soldiers of that post scorched the elephants in such a way with pots of powder and fire darts, as

[1] A kind of lateen-rigged ship, with one, two or three masts.—Hob-Job.

to make them turn against the foe, doing such damage to them, that some retired to the rafts, others by the Lake like herons, where many were devoured by the crocodiles. The Portuguese
| opened the gates to gather some spoils and provisions, F 185
which, when distributed to the people, were not so little, as not to appease them. In this encounter Simaõ de Melo Soares acted so daringly, repairing to all the perilous posts, that he clearly demonstrated what despair can do in a noble spirit, for in the vile it is obstinacy, in the well-born it produces honourable effects. Nor was he of little discernment who said; 'That a mean deed in a Noble heart is a dream, though it may sometimes happen to valiant persons, that they do not get always the same opportunities, for they do not always reason the same way.' They all acted in such a way that they obtained the victory. And Rajû sought a different camp, as he came off wounded in this battle, because contrary to the custom of their Kings, he professed to be a Captain and soldier at the same time, which was the reason for the reputation he had earned, and for the love which his Father had towards him, although he was not a legitimate child.

News of this success did not delay in reaching Columbo, whence with great joy and without any danger, though not altogether cured, Balthezar Guedes sallied out with some soldiers, and was received with great joy at the pass of Ambolaõ, and all the artillery were fired to make the Enemy think that the reinforcement was great. He entered in Procession, in which were some religious of St. Francis; and Friar Simaõ de Nazareth full of joy intoned the *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, quia visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebis suae*[1]: whereby he drew such tears and sighs that they spoke only with sobs describing the danger in which they had been, though confident of the deliverence; and though Balthezar Guedes knew of the chief dangers, yet he heard so many things for the first time, that he was astonished. The next day he at once went to give thanks to God for the mercies received, and all assembled in the Church of St. Francis to beg for succour in loud supplications.

While the [reinforcement] arrives, and Rajû is being cured, it will not be foreign to this history to relate the following incident. There were two Chingalâz in the opposing camp named Vriculnar Apuamŷ, and Malcuna Modeliar, leading men, and of the Council of Madûne, who because he knew of the great experience which they had of war, had given

[1] Blessed be the Lord, God of Israel, because He hath visited an wrought the redemption of His people.—Lk. I. 68.

them to his Son as councillors. It was disputed among them regarding Raju's retreat, some considering it disgraceful, others prudent, Vriculnar holding that it was a shame to give up what was begun, and the Modeliar that it was prudent
P 337 to yield to fortune. Each | had his following due to various prejudices. This dispute reached the Moors, who were serving in the camp, and they were of opinion that arms should decide what their science could not. Time and place being appointed, seconds chosen and arms measured, the two Chingalâz took the field. Vriculnar there maintained his opinion and the Modeliar his own, and quarrelling they took up the *calachurros* which they handled dexterously. The first to be wounded was | Malcuna Modeliar who was the older, F 185v though equally valiant, and as it was not a peremptory one, the seconds decided the duel ended, giving the victory to Vriculnar Apuamy; and while he was distracted by the congratulations, Malcuna, making use of Chingalâ faith, took opportunity to wound him so badly, that he dropped the *calachurro* from his hand. Retiring with this success, Vriculnar died in a few days, and Rajû, of whom he was a favourite, ordered the murderer to be taken, who had news of it from the very persons sent to carry it out, both because of the respect for his person and because they were of the same opinion in favour of Rajû. Mulcuna seeing the danger, though he relied much on Madûne, dreaded that the Son would kill him by emissaries, and being led by his good fortune to a better state, with the consent of Balthezar Guedes, came to Cota where he served the King of Portugal against Madune for some time, and being instructed by the Religious of St. Francis was converted to our Holy Faith in which he died in the year 1581 and was buried in the Church of their Convent in Columbo. He was called D. Pedro Modeliar out of regard for Pero Dias de Atayde, the Captain who succeeded Balthezar Guedes.

Rajû took occasion by his defection to continue the war, because the Portuguese with Malcûna made some good sallies. Trying to carry Perea Cota, he sent across many war elephants at the place where the Lake is shallow, it being now the end of the year [15]63. They attacked the place with all fury, but being thrown into confusion by the fire of bombs, pots, and spears, they turned back at a time when many of the enemy attacked relying on the co-operation of the beasts; but it turned out otherwise, for turning furiously, they tore them to pieces helped by the artillery and the musketry, the smoke of which was such that the Chingalâz were not distinguishable from the Portuguese who were charging them with Nuno Pereyra, and they killed each other without realizing the loss till the

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artillery ceased. Then they saw the ground strewn with corpses and the Lake as red as Thrasimene. Frightened by this, they retired to their former lodgings. Here was seen by the enemy, between the clouds, like a Sun, the Most Holy Virgin, for they affirmed that a woman had put them to flight, blinding them with such splendour, that they did not know where they were, for here light had the effects which darkness causes, and the Portuguese confessed that they felt redoubled strength and courage. And as Nuno Pereyra de
P 338 Laçerda understood that without special favour | of God it was impossible to overcome the rational and irrational powers, which he had against him, over and above the testimony of the Enemy's army, in rememberance of this signal favour, he ordered a Hermitage to be erected under the invocation of Our Lady of Victory.

Such disastrous results did not disillusion the Enemy. He soon returned | against Perea Cota for the third time with the F 186 same array of elephants with castles which came up to the level of the walls, and they succeeded in getting men within. These men being numerous and the usual garrison small, they captured some pieces, and [our] troops were on the point of surrendering, when Nuno Pereyra who had only four soldiers and some Lascarins of the country who were animated by two friars of St. Francis, assailed the enemies who were already confidently running along the walls; and after a long resistance, with many deaths and not a few wounds, he forced them to cast themselves down headlong, choosing this as better than trusting to the mercy of the victors. Here a raw soldier, a native of Cartaxo named Dionizio Franco, struggling hand to hand with a robust Chingalâ and realizing that he was the weaker and seeing that the pagan was escaping him, to make up by courage for the lack of strength, and to have done with him, threw himself with him from the wall, where, before he could avenge himself, both died of the fall. The others laboured to force open the gates with the onset of elephants, but Nuno Pereyra who by this time had 40 soldiers, with various instrumets of fire drove them back. They all returned with ladders upon Cota, which, because the circuit is larger and not so strong, and our people very few, they hoped to carry by storm, and Rajû first took his quarters near the Lake. The Portuguese, seeing themselves in this peril determined to attack first, and the King also approved this plan [namely] on the following Saturday, the 20th of December, to attack the encampments of Rajû, who could scarce suspect this resolution, thinking that they had much ado to defend themselves, as they were so few. They attacked at the daybreak

watch, Manoel Lourenço de Estremoz going in the van, both by merit and because he asked for it. With him went Francisco Gomes Leitaõ, Gaspar Guterres de Vasconçelos (who in all the battles of Cota and Columbo was always the first, and in the last battle always accompanied the Captain, till he entered Columbo, at the gate of which he fell half dead owing to the great loss of blood that he shed). With them were Antonio Chainho de Castro, D. Rodrigo de Noronha, Gil Vaz da Cunha, Diogo Fernandes Pirilhaõ, Diogo Gonçalvez and other valiant cavaliers. And though the Enemy had tidings, it did not hinder them from entering the first encampment, and with the same dash the second and third; being now helped by Captain Balthezar Guedes who, anxious to avenge the wounds which he had received, and not being able to stand on his legs, from an *andor* [1] directed, encouraged and fought, the lack of feet being no obstacle, as he had hands.
P 339 Nuno | Pereyra de Laçerda, entrusting his post to another, did deeds of daring. Simaõ Melo de Soares worked like the valiant man he was, and others accompanied by the Fathers Friar Martinho da Guarda and Friar Pedro | de Belem, who *F 186v* encouraged, fought and prayed alike, and after doing great damage returned without loss. Rajû, knowing that our Captain was in the battle, ordered one of his [Captains] named Viziale Modeliar to seize the gates, so that, if he should not be able to enter the City with him, no Portuguese might be left alive. He held the post as long as the battle lasted, but God disposed in the obscurity of night and the confusion of arms, that the vanquished, intent on fleeing to their quarters, should come upon those who were waiting at the gates, and with such haste and rush were they attacked, that fighting each other they did not recognize (each other) till Balthezar Guedes came to separate them, killing so many, that the one and the other retired bewailing their ill-luck.

Madûne having notice of these events sent fresh reinforcements received from Jafnapataõ from Xagua Rajâ who was once more in power, not only out of revenge for what the Viceroy D. Constantino had done, but also out of revenge for the ill-success of the two sieges which he laid to Manâr, (Manoel Rodrigues Coutinho defending the first in [1]561, in

[1] A litter or palanquin, 'which men carry on their shoulders, consisting of great canes which are bent overhead and arched, and from these are hung certain cloths of a half fathom wide, and a fathom and a half long, and at the end are pieces of wood to bear the cloth which hangs from the cane; and laid over the cloth there is a great mattress of the same size, and this all made of silk stuff, wrought gold thread and with many decorations and fringes and tassels.'—Correa. I. 102.

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which the King himself took part, not entrusting the revenge to another, but he was almost lost and killed in trying to scale the Fortalice where great deeds were done, the bodies of the Portuguese doing for a wall, as that was not yet finished; the second was laid by Ramal, a valiant man, in the year [15]63, and sustained by Jorge de Melo, the 'Fist', in whose time courteous gallantries were so great, that they exceed all exaggeration). This reinforcement consisted for the most part of Moor Badagaz, nor was there to be seen in the camp anything but the arms of a mighty army with 200 elephants of war. And Madûne seeing that by prolonging the siege he only diminished the force, wished to stake everything, attacking Perea Cota with the men of his Atapata,[1] that is of his guard, a lusty troop, placing in front some elephants of war, which, with their frightful trumpeting, put their trunks and their heads into our stockades. King Joaõ came to their help, as he always did; also the new Captain with the Sergeants of his guards, and Father Friar Simaõ de Nazareth with five or six other religious of St. Francis; but finally through the incredible fury of the elephants, they broke down that first defence of Perea Cota, which at the first onslaught was entered by the enemy with the death of Fathers Friar Marthino de Guarda and Friar Pedro de Belem, who were hanged forthwith on a tree in hatred of the faith, and [with the death] of 13 Portuguese, named Ambrozio Galvaõ, Simaõ Fernandes, Nuno de Freytas, Francisco Fernãdez, Jorge Cardozo, Diogo de Seyxas, Afonço
P 340 Andre, Bertolameu de Lisboa, Afonço Pirez, Pedro | Gonçalues, Jeronimo Fernandes, Simaõ Guerreyro | and Joaõ de Lima, *F 187* some crushed by the fall of the wall, others by elephants, and the rest by the sword in the confusion; and this is the warfare which from the chairs of Portugal they call [the war] of goats. Our men ran thither, armed with fire and sword giving 'Sant-Iago', and they burnt and wounded the elephants to such an extent that they turned on their own, and helped by the fury of the brutes they drove the enemy out. There remained more than 400 killed on the spot, and there were so many wounded, that Rajû considered it prudent to retreat. Pero de Ataide was already Captain in this engagement, Balthezar Guedes de Souza being also in this fray, acting as a soldier, killing many and receiving two spear wounds. The new Captain, Pero de Ataide, here showed the mettle of his valour gaining the renown of which they robbed him by nicknaming him Hell [Infe no]. Proof of courage was given by Nuno Pereyra de Laçerda and Gaspar Guterres de Vasconçelos, Andre da

[1] Sin. *Atapattu.*

Fonseca, Manoel Lourenço, Francisco Gomes Leytaõ, Antonio da Fonseca, Antonia Dias de Lomba, Joaõ Fernandez Marmeleyro, Thome Pirez, Diogo Gonçalvez, Afonço Fernandes, Estevaõ Jorge Albanes, Sebastiõ Pirez the Galego, Antonio Guerreyro, Pero Jorge Franco, Braz Dias, Antonio Loureço, Joaõ Matheus and others, who under the eye of King Don Joaõ, showed by great feats of valour how much they desired to defend his life and honour and Kingdom. And at once without taking any rest, they built another counter wall.

They wished to send word to Goa, but as the Enemy had taken the roads to Columbo, the Father Friar Simaõ de Nazareth along with a Pacha, well paid, who led him through the jungle by night with great trouble, reached Columbo the same [night]. Giving an account of what took place, he gave letters to the Alcayde-mor in which he was recommended to expedite his journey. He embarked the same day in a dhony and reaching Tutucurỹ, he found the reinforcement of Diogo de Melo Coutinho, Captain of Manâr, who had arrived there the day before, and that of Antonio da Costa Travaços who had come from Cochim with six foists, who were negotiating for other ships of provisions. Seeing the need, they at once set sail and arrived in Columbo the following day. They disembarked and in marching order they numbered 400 Portuguese, a brave band; and on this news Rajû raised the siege and retired to Seytauâca in haste with the loss of 2,700 men in the last encounter, to 17 of ours. Our men were relieved, they fortified themselves anew, the city was provided with victuals, and the soldiery remained. Diogo de Melo Coutinho returned to Manâr, this prolix war ending with the year [15]64.

| The State at the time being governed by the Viceroy *F 187v* Antaõ de Noronha[1] and it having been resolved in Council that it was not prudent to keep up that Metropolis of Ceylon
P 341 because of the division of forces, preferring | Columbo to it, because of the facility of sending reinforcements; a consideration which other Viceroys had already made and which I leave to politicians so far as it does not concern the conveniences of the conquest of Ceylon, for it was clear that not even by this change, so long as we acted slowly and there was a King in Seytauâca, would the war end—the Viceroy sent as Captain of Columbo the valiant Diogo de Melo Coutinho bred and always successful in this war, with express order to remove the people and dismantle the City of Cota and to transfer the King and people and artillery and whatever else could be useful, to the Fortalice of Columbo; which was

[1] Ninth Viceroy, 1564–1568.

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carried out in July, 1565, to the bitter regret of its Emperor and its inhabitants, because thus was abandoned their ancient Metropolis and their beloved fatherland, a place so strong and invincible by arms that, were it conveniently fortified, it would be impregnable, being surrounded by a lake, and near the river Calane navigable by rowing boats and having a supply of victuals. Pitiful were the cries of the women with hair dishevelled, in the streets and roads, the sighs of the children, the grief of the men, laden with chattels like pilgrims, the Portuguese also joining in their grief; and that nothing might be lacking, as is related in the wars of Granada after the distruction of Galera, as soon as they passed the Lake, even the Baying of the dogs moved them to compassion. The City remained abandoned and disfigured, the buildings and walls razed, given over to wild elephants and other beasts of the forest. As a consequence, I do not know whether it was foreseen, it became necessary to enlarge the plan of Columbo as it was afterwards, and as we have described; for they never resolved to build on the mount of St. Lawrence. From a letter of King D. Sebastiaõ the superscription of which said: 'To my City of Columbo,' they at once assumed this title, and as it was due to it, both on account of the size to which it reached, according to the style of India, and also because it was a new Rome in Ceylon after the migration from Cota, this title and right of City was always used without contradiction

CHAPTER 5.

The first Government and Expeditions of Diogo de Melo Coutinho

The ever invincible Captain Diogo de Melo Coutinho governed this praça for the space of two years, and though the Enemy, knowing from experience his valour and the greatness of his spirit, often proposed peace, he never consented to it knowing well | that it was only because the enemy was *F 188* worn out by so incessant and sanguinary a struggle that he sued for peace, and that he would not observe it longer than
P 342 it suited his convenience. And as he was now Lord of | all the territories which they called the Empire, and as it was due to [our] reputation and to the common good, so far as it was possible, not to let him enjoy them in peace, but rather to

seek means to uphold that town and to maintain therein that Christian King with some appearance of State without drawing upon India, he sought to repair the recent losses and to curb the insolence of Madûne. And commencing hostilities by assaults, he did great damage in the neighbouring lands of Ateri,[1] Caliboy, Goracana, Morro, Mapâne, Panaturê, Polonane, Mulinû, Peleagorê, Telingue, Matamugata, [and] Sandale, with great loss to the enemy both in men and cattle, which were sometimes brought by the Modeliares and Araches to whom he entrusted those expeditions, obliging the Enemy to fortify the frontiers with various stockades and garrisons of troops now more skilful in the use of arms because of the continual practice which we gave them, for they not only secured their lands but even invaded the suburbs of Columbo, as they sometimes did, coming up so close, that they fortified the pass of Betal[2], the key to the Counties of Alicur and Hina-Corla, where Madûne placed the men of his own guard. Diogo de Melo did not brook this proximity. He sent 300 Portuguese and 500 Lascarins, the latter under trusty Araches, the former under Francisco Gomez Leytaõ, Andre da Fonseca, Antonio Dias da Lomba, Joaõ Rebelo, Pero Jorge Franco and Diogo de Azambuja, who in a short time dislodged them, killing many, and having razed the stockades, they returned with much booty of arms.

There succeeded him in that Captaincy D. Fernando de Monroy whom the same Viceroy had sent to the Straits of Malaca giving him a provision that on his return he should remain as Captain of Columbo. He returned at the time when [the State] was being governed for the first time by D. Luys de Ataide,[3] who arrived in the monsoon of 1568; and on this ground Diogo de Melo declined to hand over the post, as the jurisdiction of his [the Viceroy's] Predecessor had ended. D. Fernando on the contrary maintained that the post must be given over to him, as the provision was still in force so long as the new Viceroy did not order otherwise; and after debating this question in that University, not of Arts but of war, they resolved that Monroy should be put in possession. He remained there one year and Madûne (because he

[1] Attidiya, (2) Kalubowila, (3) Gorakana, (4) Galkissa, (5) Mapana, (6) Panadure, (7) Kolonnawa, (8) Mulleriyawa, (9) Peliyagoda, (10) Telengipata, (11) Mattumagala and (12) Hendala, as identified by Dr. Pieris P. E. I 195. Morro might be Galkissa or Moratuwa as both are called by that name, No. 8 is doubtful.

[2] Wattala. The Dutch made it Pas Betael.—Valentyn 167; the British, Passabetel. (1804).

[3] Viceroy, first time 1568–1571, second 1578–1581.

wished to make war on Candea being now Lord of all the rest appertaining to Cota, Raygaõ and Dinã-vâca, but did not dare to remove his force from the frontiers for fear of the Portuguese), even asked D. Fernando through his Son a truce of only 8 days, offering him for it more than 40,000 cruzados in money or cinnamon and areca. But the brave and disinterested Captain replied in these words which were ever | remembered in India: 'Tell Sir Rajû to keep his larins, F 188v and gallnuts, and husks to himself; that I come to serve my King and to make war on him.' In fulfilment of these words P 343 he entered the frontiers, where with 300 Portuguese | and 300 Lascarins he had a terrific encounter, in which the Chingalâz, fighting with all resolution, and not without some loss to us, were finally routed with great loss to them. Already in 1569 on his orders Francisco Gomez Leitaõ and Antonio Dias da Lomba went in two ships to the harbour of Triquilemalê to fetch the Princess of Candea, daughter of Javira Astâna, to be married to the King Don Joaõ, which was done in Columbo with the greatest possible demonstrations of pomp and joy.

D. Luys de Ataide took possession of the State in September, 1568, and an ancient document says that he at once sent Jorge de Melo de Castro as Captain of Ceylon, where he remained a year as popular and beloved as his good nature deserved, and was relieved at the end of it by Diogo de Melo Coutinho once again appointed to that praça; and that being unacceptable thereto, they asked for another Captain, and that when D. Antonio de Noronha arrived as Viceroy in the monsoon of [15]71, he sent his nephew of the same name, who remained there a year and half in peace, but as the Viceroy had promised him a good succour to make war on the enemy Madûne and had failed to send it owing to other demands, he asked Sebastiaõ de Rezende, who had taken that port on his voyage from Portugal, to intimate to the Viceroy how dissatisfied he was, and to ask for a successor; and that the same Rezende was sent in September [15]74; but he seeking to have more pre-eminence than was becoming and was customary with previous Captains to the discontent of some who did not consider themselves his inferiors, there were so many disputes that they again asked for Diogo de Melo Coutinho, who returned in [15]74, Rezende retiring after governing at peace with Madûne, being satisfied with purchasing cinnamon. But these petitions square ill with the former ones, and in no other Author do I find complaints against Diogo de Melo Coutinho, but rather great praise of his courage and good government; and all these changes I attribute to the changes which took place in India, because D. Luys de Ataide came thither in

[15]68, D. Antonio de Noronha in [15]71, and governed only for two years three months and two days, because the King ordered him to be deposed, because in his time the Malavares took the fortalice of Chale, D. Jorge de Castro being the Captain who surrendered it to the Sanorỹn, for which he was beheaded in Goa by order of the King, and D. Antonio de Noronha soon after his arrival in Portugal died, they say, of grief, there entering in the government of India in the year [15]73 Antonio Moniz Barreto who governed three years | and ten *F 189* months. And as other documents give as successor of D. Fernando de Monroy Sebastiaõ Rezende for three years, and as D. Jorge de Castro was at the same time Captain of Chale, I hold the interposition of the said Captains as false, likewise the complaints against Diogo de Melo Coutinho whom Antonio Moniz Barreto again sent to Columbo in [15]74.

P 344 | And he not brooking that the Enemy should have the stockade of Betal which he had razed the first time, went out to meet him with 400 Portuguese and 600 Lascarins, and finding it well fortified, it was counselled that they should retire, but the Captain did not agree with them and attacked the ramparts, trenches and fortifications, the skirmish lasting from daybreak to midday, when it was entered with the death of 200, purchased with the lives of seven Portuguese and four Lascarins besides many wounds.

Like an experienced Captain he relied much on spies and informers whom he always kept among the enemy, and knowing that Rajû with the greater part of the forces of his army had gone against the King of Candea for selfish reasons and pride, because he refused to Rajû the daughter whom he gave to the King D. Joaõ, and that for the defence of the low-country there lodged in the 'grand stockade' the first born of Madûne, Marrajâ Bandar by name, whom our people called the 'Beardlet' with a good force of men and elephants, there went Diogo de Melo to meet him, and he captured the stockades with the death and capitivity of many and the flight of the rest.' The prisoners confessed to him that Madûne corresponded with Pencuti Arache the Patangatim-Mor of Columbo among the natives, whereupon he ordered him to be beheaded and quartered. In this encounter we lost five soldiers. Then he overran the frontiers of Mapâna, killed the Arache their Captain-Major and many others, and taking 40 prisoners with many arms, he returned to Columbo. Afterwards coming to know that in the ruins of Calâne lodgings were prepared for Modeliar Bicarna Cinga, Lieutenant and Captain of the vanguard of Rajû, he went in search of him with 400 Portuguese

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and 600 Lascarins, but not finding him, he burnt the encampments and destroyed a Temple of great pilgrimage among the Natives. While he was engaged in this without sparing the buildings, and destroying that City altogether, ordering the Pagodes to be razed, the Enemy came in clash with our advance guard, which in a short time drove him into the river, wherein many were drowned, and some were captured. From the captives it was learnt that in Negumbo there were many vessels laden for sailing; upon which he at once sent 100 Portuguese and 300 Lascarins. Going through the jungles so as not to be seen, they fell upon that port killing many, capturing 700 persons, and burning all the ships, and as it was in those times a port rich in trade they took many articles of gold, and silver, | money and apparel, and other spices and *F 189v* goods, and brought 600 head of cattle.

Then he went at once in search of 600 men well fortified in the pass of Naculegaõ, taking 400 Portuguese and 600 Lascarins; and the resistence being far from slight at the cost of some killed and others wounded, the stockade was taken, and 60 were killed, and the rest fled. There were many spoils of weapons, and 11 distinguished prisoners. As he was about *P 345* to retire, he was again attacked | by Aita Banda, Captain of the 'grand stockade', who with 2,000 picked men was entering the stockade which our men had taken, at the time they were coming out of it. But falling upon them, they recaptured the stockade, killing Aita Banda and all those who entered it. He then passed with 300 Portuguese and 600 Lascarins to Negumbo and Salpe, three leagues further towards the interior, where he wrought great destruction, burning villages, capturing 400 persons, taking many cattle, and he razed to the ground two sumptuous Pagodes much venerated by the Natives. Then he returned and fell upon the ports of Caleturê, Macûne, Berberîm, Alicaõ,[1] and burnt many decked vessels laden with cinnamon and pepper, sapan, and copra, capturing more than 700 persons.

Rajû was vexed to see that Diogo de Melo was not content with defensive war, and was persuaded that he was the foreign Captain who, he had learnt from his soothsayers, would succeed him in the Kingdom, wherein they were as false as in other things. He was the more confirmed in this, when he saw destroyed the garden and Palm-grove where Madûne had been born, and which on that account was much esteemed by him. There came reinforcements from Goa, of which the Captain was Agustinho Nunes, in a Galley and six foists in

[1] Kalutara, Maggona, Beruwala, Alutgama.

charge of Bautista Rangel, Belchior Peçanha, Custodio Penteado Lobo, Joaõ da Silva, Francisco Correa de Brito, Diogo Taveyra ; [and] coming to know that two ships were being laden in Beligaõ[1] he ordered Augustinho Nunez to seize them ; and he knew so well how to do it, that he took the two ships, and burnt the village, killing many Moors who lived in that port ; and going in pursuit of a force of them who attempted to oppose him, he would have destroyed them altogether, had they not cut down the bridge, for the river could not be forded. With good prizes he returned to Columbo.

The warlike and valorous spirit of Diogo de Melo did not stop here, but knowing that Vurupu[2] Modeliar had arrived in Betal with 2,500 men and four elephants he set out, against the opinion of many, at daybreak on the 25th July of the year [15]76 with 450 Portuguese and 700 Lascarins of the country. He encountered the enemy at Varagore[3] and the battle lasted four hours, during which the elephants killed 13 of our | *F 190* Lascarins and 2 Portuguese named Gaspar Coelho and Simaõ Nugueyra, throwing them up in the air with their trunks and tusks as they attempted to check the fury of the beasts with their spears, a horrible spectacle. But though the Enemy received fresh reinforcements, he was attacked by the Portuguese with such determination, that he was routed and defeated with the death of the Modeliar at the hands and lance of Pedro Gonçalvez, a casado of Columbo, and of 20 Araches of name, besides many others killed and some taken captive ; from whom it was learnt that a man on horseback defeated them, though all our men were unmounted ; and as they invoked *P 346* according to our custom the Apostle | St. James and that was his feast day,[4] all believed that the Holy Apostle had done them this favour, and Diogo de Melo Coutinho instituted in thanksgiving a confraternity.

Afterwards he despatched two foists and twenty dhoneys with a party of soldiers and Lascarins in charge of D. Luys Coutinho against two large and well-manned galliots of Malavares which were in the harbour of Chilaõ, whence, from information received, they escaped before our men arrived. They made their way a league up the River and on its bank in spite of the resistance of the natives, they destroyed the villages of Chilaõ and Manjeçirao[5] with fire and sword burning many storehouses of areca and cloth, together with a large decked vessel laden with 500 bahars of cinnamon for the Red

[1] Weligama.
[2] Kuruppu.
[3] Weragoda.
[4] July 25.
[5] Munnessaram.

Sea with four *champanas*[1] of areca. They destroyed for the third time Nigumbo, Caymel, and Alugaõ, and with many other spoils they passed on to the ancient Pagode of Manuçaraõ, razed it to the ground in spite of Atapata Modeliar who garrisoned it, and who was there killed with many of his men ; and their heads were taken to Columbo whither they retired with four *panguels*[2] of areca besides other prizes. He at once sent 300 Lascarins and 50 Portuguese under Francisco Gomes Leytaõ to the lands of Mapâne where they killed many and razed to the ground the Pagode of Reygaõ, from which they took many idols of gold, silver, and metal, captured 300 persons and brought 500 head of cattle, this expedition costing only two raw soldiers who lost their way.

Afterwards, being informed that the Chingalâs were entrenched at the entrance to the meadow of the grand stockade, he went to meet them with 300 Portuguese and 300 Lascarins. He attacked the fortifications and stockades, and even after they were carried, such was the resistence of the Arache, the Captain of those people, that the victory remained doubtful. They were, however, defeated with the death of six of our soldiers and many wounded, the Enemy losing many men and some being captured, from whom we learnt that a woman clad in blue and a man on horseback were in front of our men in the conflict of the battle shedding such a dazzling light | as to blind them. For which our men on their knees *F 190v* gave thanks to the Author of these benefits. It was the day of the festival of the Pagode of Alugaõ and the concourse of Pilgrims was large ; and to turn their tears into blood, the arrayal marched to that Pagode ; but such was the resolution of an Arache, Atapata of Rajû, that with a thousand men he charged the Portuguese who were worn out by the march. The battle lasted almost the whole evening and the Atapata fell in this battle with more than 300 companions.

He learnt that in the port of Chilao was Naynâ Marcâ, the Malavar pirate, with six galliots *de cuxia*[3] by order of Madûne to cut off provisions from Columbo. At once he despatched D. Luys Coutinho with two galliots and a *manchua* which carried 60 soldiers, and 20 dhoneys with 150 lascarins ; and *P 347* setting out on the 16th of | August [15]77, at dawn the next day he entered the town of Nigumbo by surprise with the

[1] Sampan. *Cf.* Sin. Hamban-tota, Hamban-karaya.
[2] A two-masted barge with lateen sails.
[3] Cuxia or Coxia from the French *coursive*. The Dictionary gives coursey (in a galley), grating-deck reaching from the quarter deck to the fore-castle.'

death of many natives and 200 captives. He put everything to the sword and fire including many storehouses and vessels. There he learnt that Naynâ Marcâ had 600 Moor men-at-arms, and he sent the ships with some soldiers and lascarins to wait in Caymel, and set out by lard in search of Madanana Arache who with 600 Lascarins defended that port. The Enemy forestalled him and came out to meet him, and in the first volley from the espinguards he wounded two soldiers and some Lascarins. D. Luys, seeing the small force he had brought, thought it more prudent to fortify himself on the beach of Caymel with ramparts of sand till the ships arrived with the artillery, which drove the Enemy off. Our men embarked, and entering Chilao they attacked a squadron which was waiting for them on the shore, and killed many in the pursuit. The parôs were drawn up on the beach, and the Malavares received us with a volley of artillery, but they did not stand the fury of the Portuguese, and with the death of 70, many spoils of arms and 16 pieces of artillery the parôs were burnt, this victory costing us the lives of Simaõ Gomez, and Manoel Cardozo, and seven Lascarins. Passing thence to Cardiva, they returned to Columbo with a flotilla of provisions, and found a new Captain and a great novelty.

For in the midst of such good fortune of the Captain Diogo de Melo Coutinho, fate or blindness prepared for him the greatest misfortune which could befall a gentleman of such reputation and valour. Madûne begged him to kill the King D. Joaõ Perea Pandar with poison which he sent for the purpose, and it appearing to him (as was always understood) that this Enemy could be cheated by a farce, and he could keep the 5,000 xerafins | which were offered to him, he invited *F 191* the King to a dinner and ordered one of his servants to throw out the poison with great secrecy and caution without being seen by the messenger of Madûne, and in its place to fill the cup with good wine and give it to the King to drink. But as the poison was deadly and the servant did not notice or could not wash the cup, as soon as the King drank it, he was seized with fatal symtoms from the sediment of the poison that remained in the cup. They at once administered to him all kinds of antidotes and medicaments whereby he escaped a fatal paroxsysm, but he remained without teeth and ever afterwards a stammerer. It seems to me more likely, as others relate, that Madûne sent him a present to be given to the King D. Joaõ, and that he very carefully emptied the flask of poisoned wine, and before filling it with other wine ordered it to be carefully washed, as he was not able to exchange it without being seen by the envoy; but the poison was such,

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that what remained and the dregs were enough to produce the effect described. Madûne, however, seeing that the King did not die, determined to indemnify himself for the money he *P 348* had paid, which some say was a larger amount. | For this purpose he pretended friendship for the Portuguese, opening the ports to their vessels, and after letting a month pass by, he laid hands on all the Portuguese and Christians who were there and the merchandise they were carrying. In this way he took revenge for the loss, for Diogo de Melo governed this time for five years up to the year [15]78, being ever dreaded, ever unconquered, without the Enemy ever daring to attack him in Columbo. But when this happened, they forgot the victories of Diogo de Melo, and numerous complaints against him went to the Viceroy of India, D. Luys de Ataide, who though greatly pleased with his services, acted as the scandal demanded. He appointed to the Captaincy of Columbo Matheus Pereira de S. Payo in October, 1578, with order to inquire into the case after sending to Goa, Diogo de Melo who seeing himself overwhelmed with troubles resulting from a jest, and in danger of having his head cut off, being tormented by remorse and other infirmities, died on the voyage to Goa, leaving his reputation subject to the discussion both of partisans and slanderers. A death certainly less glorious than his valour and fame deserved.

CHAPTER 6.

MATHEUS PEREYRA DE S. PAYO AND FERNAO DE ALBUQUERQUE SUCCEED TO THE CAPTAINCY OF COLUMBO, AND RAJU RETURNS UPON COLUMBO.

| Matheus Pereyra de Sam Payo attempted to follow the *F 191v* footsteps of Diogo de Melo Coutinho in war, but his talents were quite different. However, he sent Andre de Brito de Souza with 100 soldiers and 300 Lascarins to the ports of Calaturê, Berberîm, and Alicaõ, where they killed many enemies and burnt many vessels, and one of cinnamon which was going to the Red Sea. And as the Bicarna Singa, Captain of the advance guard of Rajû, had come with a powerful army

to the other bank of Betal, he went to meet him with 350 Portuguese and 500 Lascarins, but as he fled to the 'grand stockade', our Captain returned to Columbo. But he got on so badly with the inhabitants, that they turned him out with his wife, to whom this praça had been given in dowry, in an *almadia*[1] outside the bar without heeding the state in which she was, which obliged him to make for Manâr, where she brought forth a child.

It being already the year 1578, Fernaõ de Albuquerque was provided with this praça which[2] he governed only for nine months. And he despatched Francisco Gomes Leytaõ with 50 soldiers and 300 Lascarins to the ports of Nigumbo, Caymel,
P 349 Chilao and Madampê, where they took | more than 300 captives and a great number of large cattle and did other damage, which was afterwards continued by 60 soldiers and 80 Lascarins in 12 dhoneys and 3 foists, under the Command of Agustinho Nunez in the Ports of Calaturê, Alicaõ, Telitotê, Macûne, Berberîm, Guindurê,[3] where they caused much destruction, as they met with no resistance, and because the forces of Madûne were engaged in the conquest of the Kingdom of Candea, having already garrisoned a praça on the Hill of Balane, the key to that Kingdom. The King of Candea asked help from the Viceroy of India. He gave him 150 soldiers led by D. Luys Coutinho, who, seeing the little effect of his presence in Candea with such a small force, returned to India, and Rajû continued the undertaking with redoubled forces, sending Vanigâ Surî Arache with 500 men for the defence of the lands of Nigumbo and a certain Pulconde Arache, a renegade Portuguese, with 700 men to those of Calaturê. There he had tidings that Agustinho Nunez was in Guindurê going quite unsuspiciously further into the Interior than was safe, and mustering a good force, he fell unexpectedly upon our men without being noticed, and killed Jorge Pimentel and 10 soldiers and 30 Lascarins. Meanwhile Augustinho Nunez noticed the loss and called out to Bautista Rangel who with his beads in hand was saying his prayers, ordering also the drums to be beaten and the banners to be unfurled. He mustered the men who came fleeing and though they faced the enemy and kept up the fight for two hours, as the odds were uneven and the Enemy victorious, despairing of

[1] This is a word introduced into Portuguese from the Arabic *almadiya*. Properly it means a 'raft', but it is generally used by the writers on India for a canoe, or the like small native boat.—Hob-Job.

[2] This statement is borne out by his epitaph. *Cf.* Ferguson in J. XX., 257; and P. E. I., 522, n. 35, where the epitaph is given.

[3] Kalutara, Alutgama, Welitara, Maggona, Beruwala, Gintota.

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victory, they took | to flight, some to the vessels, and others F 192
to the woods, and some of both parties were killed, 3 soldiers and 32 Lascarins alone excaping in the vessels to give the news. Augustinho Nunez and Batuista Rangel both died after killing many, and afterwards their heads were cut off, the usual punishment for such negligence.

The tyrant Madûne Bandar was now old in years as he was in hatred of the Portuguese nation, and as he was now unable to conduct the war, which for a long time past he had entrusted to the bastard Rajâ Singa Bandar his son, though he so ill repaid it, that he killed his legitimate brothers with poison, in May, 1578, with the full consent of his lieges, he renounced in his favour the Realms of Seytavâca and Cota and the title of Emperor, which he unjustly, and all his predecessors and descendants improperly, usurped. He wanted at once to give proof of his power and daring, and having mustered a mighty army, he fell upon Columbo on the 27th of April, 1579 with 25,000 men-at-arms including 10,000 firelockmen · 600 foot-musketmen, and the rest with various other arms besides 15,000 pioneers which made 40,000 men, 300 elephants of war, 4 basilisks, besides other heavy artillery of metal and much munition and warlike stores, with which he reached the bank
P 350 of the Calâne | river. On that very day Manuel de Souza Coutinho who was afterwards Governor of India,[1] came to our praça as Captain sent by the Conde de Atouguia.[2] He found the garrison lacking every necessary thing, with only 300 Portuguese including the old and the sick, and 500 Lascarins including Chetties and Moors who had shown themselves faithful to the Portuguese, and above all the new wall of the City was most imperfect and little capable of defence. To keep the enemy occupied, while he fortified himself with trenches, ramparts, mud walls, ravelins, watch towers, fortlets, and gun platforms, he sent the people of the country with some Araches to detain him at the passage of the River. They attacked him several times, destroying his bridges, and detaining him while the work was being done; and to protect the fortalice from attack by sea, he ordered a breastwork to be erected, though it cost much labour on account of the scarcity of everything. Two months were passed in this way, till the Lascarins, unable to keep back so large a force, withdrew to the fortalice, and the Enemy crossed the River. As soon as he learnt that [the enemy] had crossed it by two bridges, he despatched Francisco Gomes Leytaõ along the seashore with

[1] 1588–1591.

[2] Dom Luis de Athaide, Viceroy for the second time, 1578–1581.

80 Portuguese and 200 Lascarins to deliver an assault, while he with the rest of the forces remained at the place of the quarry (*pedreyra*),[1] guarded by 50 bold and disciplined *Pachas*, who lay in ambush in a jungle near the encampments of the enemy, | whence in good time they attacked, giving him a *F 192v* volley from the firelocks. At the sound of it Manoel de Souza Coutinho played the instruments of war and went forward to attack, but they soon withdrew to the main body of the army leaving 15 dead, and Manoel de Souza went to the aid of those who were on the beach engaging Panepiti Arache who was greatly esteemed by Rajû, and who on his arrival turned tail leaving 30 dead, and as it was almost night, our men returned to the fortalice.

On the following day the Enemy approached the praça on the side of the bastion of S. Thome, which was afterwards the breastwork of S. Joaõ with many caponnieres, fascines, bundles of cotton,[2] and other defences. About 40 Portuguese sallied out and were received with a volley of artillery, but enveloped in the smoke they reached the gun carriages and set fire to them, and thinking that all our forces were there, they rushed in a mass with loud shouts and volleys, but so much the more was the damage caused by our musketry, with which we killed the Captain Henaraz Modeliar and many others, without the loss of a single Portuguese. Our men ran short of munitions, but the greatest scarcity was of money, which obliged Manoel de Souza Coutinho to pawn the articles of gold and silver that he had. The enemy came nearer, forming ramparts with bundles of rattan and brushwood which our men attacked with great loss to them, Coutinho showing himself valorous in everything and a skilful Captain. The news of this war soon spread, and there hastened from Cochim D. Jorge de Menezes, Captain of that praça, with three ships in charge of Miguel *P 351* Coutinho Pereryra. Negapataõ sent a foist | under Artur de Castelbranco, Manâr another under Belchior Rodriguez Caldeyra, all supplied with men and munitions. And when the winter was past, the Viceroy sent Thome de Souza Coutinho

[1] This is the 'Quarry' or 'Quarry Hill' of Couto (of J. XX., pp. 114, 298, 283). The *Rajawaliya* calls it Boralugoda Hill. On the Quarry Hill the Portuguese erected the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, whence the place was known as Guadalupe, which in Sinhalese mouths became *Adirippu* (*Palliya*). The Dutch turned into 'Agadalapa,' (Valentyn); 'Acqua di Lupo,' (Saar); 'Quia de Lupo' and 'Agoa de Lubo,' (Baldeus); and finally they translated it into 'Wolfendhal'. 'Note that Adirippu Palliya stands on Boralugoda Hill'. *Rajawaliya* (91).

[2] *Sic;* but below 'bundles of rattan'.

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with a caraval and three galiots carrying 200 Portuguese. Coutinho made use of another trick to cause ill-feeling between Rajû and his Father, which, though it cost him much, was very effective and there were many deaths on that account in their camp. And seeing that our vessels which were plying in the lake with castles caused him great loss, he determined to drain it, but without avail, as it was valorously defended. Near it he erected a large and strong rampart, which a few days later cost him dear, for there were killed in it more than 400 of the principal men of his camp. To divert the enemy, our men attacked Mapâne, and Calupetî[1] whence they brought many heads, arms, and money, and though Rajû repaired to their assistance, the Portuguese attacked him in the rear and made him retire to his quarters without themselves receiving any loss. And Manoel de Souza, coming to know that two parôs of the Malavares laden with munition | for the Enemy were in *F 193* Chilao, sent his brother Thome de Souza Coutinho with the caravel and two foists in pursuit of them, but not finding them, he sent to the fortalice wood, salt and much rice, and did great damage along the whole coast.

On the 13th of August the Enemy came applying to the bastion of S. Thome a large wooden bastion with many devices [for setting] fire, constructed on six large carriages. He brought much brushwood and rubble with the intention of filling the ditch therewith. Some brave Portuguese sallied out under cover of our artillery and killing those who were dragging that engine and were defending it, entered it, took the banners and standards which were hoisted on it, and returned to the City leaving it in ashes. Rajû again intended to capture the Island of D. Francisco and on the 6th of March, 1580, when the first watch was over, he issued orders to attack the City on all sides in order to divert the defenders, and with a great force of men of his guard and other Captains helped by three elephants, he attacked the Island. In it there was Miguel de Maçelos with some Portuguese and Lascarins who defended it with much courage till the end of the drowsy watch, but courage yielding to numbers, a host of the enemy helped by the obscurity and confusion of the night, entered the Island, but the guard of Captain Manoel de Souza Coutinho also coming to their help, the enemy was thrown into disorder and put to flight, leaving many dead and one of the elephants, burnt first by a fire dart of Francisco de Silva Castelhano and killed afterwards by a musket shot of Miguel de Maçelos.

[1] Kollupitiya.

As the siege continued, our Captain ordered an attack to be made on the Houses of Bicarna Singa Modeliar, Captain of the advance guard of Rajû, the second person in that Kingdom
P 352 whom they styled Prince | and who was out of favour [with Rajû] and was accompained by few men. He sent 80 Portuguese not without great risk under Antonio Dias da Lomba and Francisco Gomez Leytaõ with 200 Lascarins led by Diogo de Silva. They entered through the bar of Matual in dhoneys and *batels*[1] and landing on the other side of the Calâne river through thick jungle and marshes teeming with leeches, they reached the place pretty tired ; and being noticed by the Bicarna Singa, he gave the alarm and hid himself in a pit of dung whence he escaped. They captured many arms, his own sword and shield, the insignia of his dignity with two other field banners which they had taken from us in Mutinâ in the battle of 1502,[2] and all other movables, Jewellery, and his | equipment, with the death of more than 200 kinsmen and F 193v friends. In reward Diogo da Silva was given the title of Modeliar. Manoel de Souza in order to take revenge on a Chingalâ D. Pedro, who had gone over to the Enemy, said secretly that he would be useful as a spy to give information for an attack on the Bicarna Singa and that he had promised to kill Rajû at night. The trick succeeded, for word went at once to the army and it was enough to have him killed with all his kinsmen including Panepitî Arache, one of the greatest Captains he had in his camp, and he was satisfied with this news for any information about the shortage of men, provisions and munitions in the fortalice which the dead D. Pedro might have given. And he again ordered assaults along the coast and the burning of a ship of Meca.

The Enemy learnt that these men were absent from the fortalice, and that others were out on the side of Mapâne and he attacked the bastion S. Thome with all force on the side of the sea, with a very strong wooden castle laid on six large carriages, much brushwood and rubble to fill up the ditch as far as the bastion of S. Estevao. In it were many banners and fire engines and many instruments of war ; and they began to fill the ditch. But the following few but valorous soldiers, Pedro Gonçaluez, Antonio Rodriguez, Esteuaõ Franco, Bras Dias de Lomba, Antonio Lourenço, Jorge Gonçalvez, Jeronimo Fernandez, Duarte da Fonseca, Sebastio Luys and his son Simaõ Luys, Afonço Monis, Esteuaõ Correa, Cipriano Rodriguez, Siluestre Alvarez, Manoel Dias da Lomba, Francisco da

[1] A sort of boat used in Western India, Sind and Bengal.—Hob-Job.
[2] *Sic.*

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Silva Castelhano, Francisco Correra, were enough for the purpose, who wrought marvels that day, and after killing all those who attempted to defend that engine, they scaled it, took all the banners and weapons of war, and after inflicting great damage, they retired with some wounds, the artillery helping them much.

The Enemy, persisting in his attempt to take the Island, again built an engine of the same kind, so strong that the artillery would not be able to destroy it. They placed their work on a rising ground whence could be seen the whole City to which they did much damage, and their men worked in
P 353 safety | for two huge heaps of rubbish blinded our guns. He launched many dhonies and *manchuas* on the lake, and to drain it, he cut a ditch five fathoms deep and 380 long. He erected two other castles on three foists, and other smaller ones, all so strong, that they threw back the shot of the greatest calibre. Our men had perilous encounter with them, took some small vessels | and a larger one of the Malavares who in F 194 the conflict wanted to show greater daring. When the lake was drained so dry, that no vessel could float, on the 13th of March, 1580 during the first watch they attacked in turn the fortalice and the Island with a greater force of men and elephants ; but owing to the good order with which the Captain Miguel de Maçelos and others worked, the Enemy only lost men and reputation. Though three of the boldest, or [three persons] maddened with bhang, entered the Island, one fell on the spot, and the two others returned to die in their camp of the wounds they received. Here the Enemy lost more than a thousand men. Encounters took place daily in the course of the sallies which our men made with loss to the foe and little to us.

Famine was pressing the common populace of more than 30,000 souls, but it pleased God to send Antonio de Lima and Antonio Correa da Silva, with two large ships well supplied with necessaries.

Rajû did not lose heart at this, but ordered the Modeliar Bicarna Singa, Narath,[1] and Vajuzo, with many other Captains of name to approach the mud walls of the fortalice bringing bastions placed on carriages and held on strong beams which our artillery was unable to injure while they did great damage to the fortalice with theirs. And as we were in great need of wood, the Captain sent some to cut wood at the point of Colupetî taking care to lay ambushes into which the Enemy fell with great loss in attempting to prevent us. Afterwards there arrived D. Simaõ da Silveyra with a galleon sent by the

[1] Henarat ?

Viceroy with 80 soldiers, provisions and money, which was a great encouragement to all. A few days afterwards arrived Sebastiõ de Maçedo de Carvalho in a foist saying that he was of the Company of Diogo Lopez Coutinho, who with six others was coming to succour. He had left before the end of the winter and arriving on the 21st of August, 1580 on the coast between Chilao and Nigumbo with Captains D. Francisco Rolim, Duarte de Melo, Christouaõ de Abreu, Belchior Bringel, all were wrecked[1] in a storm except the foist of D. Francisco Rolim. Landing they went to Manâr, but Christouaõ de Abreu, not following the rest and going into the Interior, was killed along with 34 Portuguese. And though the others who were wrecked, being in want of everything, did not wish to return to Columbo, Joaõ Barriga Simoes did not do so, but being taken to Manâr by the wind, in a caravel with 100 soldiers, victuals and munitions, put everything into
P 354 champanas | and with Belchior Bringel in his foist landed in Columbo. Not long after came Afonço da Silva Henriquez in a ship sent by the City of Cochim with 80 soldiers, an abundance of victuals and munitions.

| And Rajû, seeing that other measures did not succeed, made F 194v up his mind to mine the ditch and the bastion of S. Sebastiaõ. Twice its Captain Antonio Correa da Silva countermined him. Our men were never able to escape the castles of wood with which the city was beset, in spite of all the fire of artillery and of a Baselisk sent for the purpose by the Viceroy. However they burnt those that were threatening the Island, where they killed such a number of men with balls great and small that in one day they killed besides many Lascarins, seven Araches, for they had got so near, though on an eminence, that they were only five steps away. They were also helped by pots of powder.

CHAPTER 7.

The End of this Siege, Fresh War against Candea and against Columbo

It was necessary for the Enemy to reform the army which counted 30,000 men-at-arms, and in order to mislead us, he opened negotiations for a peace or truce. And in the midst of these treacherous dealings, on the 20th January,

[1] No other writer mentions this event. It is, however, corroborated by a Ms. in the Library of Evora. *Cf.* Ferguson J. 60, 257.

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[15]81, he delivered an attack in the direction of the Island with manifest signs of a general attack and with such resolution and promptitude, that before they were noticed, they were alongside the stockades. Some of the Portuguese who were attending the feast of the Saint[1] rushed almost unarmed, and defended themselves with such effect, that the Enemy withdrew in despair and burnt some watch towers and banquettes, the artillery here rendering good service; and the Captain of the praça came on the scene and made them retire altogether, leaving the lake strewn with dead bodies. Antonio Baracho, who had escaped from the enemy's camp, on the Captain's orders set out in a foist with some Portuguese and lascarins for the Coast of Gâle, where he inflicted such loss, that Rajû becoming indignant sent 500 picked lascarins against him, and Baracho going by land up the Guindure River to deliver an attack, was killed on his return along with 19 Portuguese and some Lascarins.

The Enemy continued the siege with alarms and attacks up to the 18th of February [15]81; and when this siege had lasted 22 months, there arrived in Columbo from the South, Mathias de Albuquerque, afterwards Viceroy of India[2], with 300 men, and it was at once determined to dislodge the Enemy. It would have seemed rash, had it not
P 355 been the act of the Portuguese. | Mâthias de Albuquerque set out along the beach of S. Thome with the companies of D. Simaõ da | Silveyra, Thome de Souza Coutinho, Miguel F 195 Coutinho Pereyra, Antonio de Laçerda, Belchior Luis Caldeyra, and Adriaõ Nunes de Mançelos, in which were 550 soldiers and 300 Lascarins, captained by the Bicarna Singa Modeliar [who] at this time [was] Diogo da Silva. By the Island of Joaõ Francisco, in front of the trenches and forts of the enemy [there sallied forth] the Captain Manoel de Souza Coutinho with the company of Artur Golayo de Castelbranco, Joaõ Barriga Simões, Belchior Bringel, Afonço da Silua Henriques, Miguel de Mançelos and Francisco Gomes Leytaõ who commanded 650 Portuguese and 500 Lascarins under Modeliar Pedro Afonço and Manoel Pereyra. Antonio Dias da Lomba, then Alcayde-mor, with 200 Portuguese including the old and sick, remained in the praça. They attacked altogether with such resolution, that after a long resistance the stockades were taken and all those who attempted to resist were put to the sword, Enerat Modeliar and 19 distinguished Captains being in that number. The

[1] St. Sebastian. [2] 1591–1597.

rest took to flight, leaving many arms, munitions and four pieces of artillery and all the spoils of the arrayal; and the Portuguese pursued them. Rajû also retired with the rest of the army, lest he should fall into the hands of the Portuguese, and with such haste, that at the passage of the river 700 persons were drowned and they were pursued by the lascarins who were in the fortalice, to whom all the spoils were afterwards granted. That day there died eight Portuguese and not a few lascarins, Rajû losing more than 1 000, and in the course of the siege nearly 9,000 killed and captured, which cost the lives of many Lascarins and in all 87 Portuguese, among whom were the brave Pero Gonçaluez, Sebastiaõ Luis, Gil de Gois, Rodrigo Aluarez, Pero Fernandez, Gaspar Jorge, Joaõ de Sâ, Luis Juzarte, Joaõ Velho, Sebastiaõ Rodriguez, Domingos Moscozo, Cosme Fernandez, Simâõ de Matos, Simaõ Sodre, Manoel de Pina, Sebastiaõ Nugueyra, Miguel Rodriguez, Gaspar Gomez, Gonçalo Vieyra, Christovaõ Gonçalvez, and other brave soldiers who knew how to avenge before dying the death they afterwards received. The Portuguese celebrated this victory by a solemn procession acknowledging that it was a gift from the hand of God against so powerful, proud, and skilful an Enemy at the time when the unfortunate expedition of King D. Sebastiaõ to Africa was diminishing the reinforcements sent from Portugal to India. When Rajû returned to Seytavâca weighed down by this misfortune, he received the news of the death of his Father, Madûne Bandar, after a life of 85 years and a reign of fifty, for so long did he live to persecute us; and seeing the government of the war in his hands, he foresaw that the absolute dominion of the whole Island would be his and that, when all the forces were put together, it would be easy for him to root out the Portuguese from it.

P 356 | Rajû turned his arms against the Kingdom of Candea F 195v and leaving the other frontiers supplied with the necessaries, in the following year of 1582 he encamped 30,000 men near the Hill of Balane. There the King of Candea, Carauliade Bandar, gave him battle with 60,000 men, mostly bowmen. But though these hill men were more valiant, yet they were in those days less experienced, because they had less often proved their hand with the Portuguese. After many deaths on both sides, the Candiot retired almost routed, and the Counties of Iudunûra, Jatinuâra,[1] Tumpâne, [and] Matalê remained subject to Rajû. He then continued the war

[1] Udunuwara and Yatinuwara.

with many victories and ended by subjecting that Kingdom, the King of which, along with his family and some principal Modeliares and Araches, passed to Triquilemalê, where he died of grief, having first named as his heir his lawful nephew, Jama Singa Bandar and entrusted to him a daughter of tender age, that he might bring her up and take her to wife. So he promised; and on the next day he was acclaimed King of Candea. He went to Jafanapatõ and leaving his spouse to the care of the Kinglet Puui Rajâ Rajem, he went to Goa where D. Duarte de Menezes was Viceroy.[1] There he was converted and took the name of D. Phelipe. Those who were in his suite were also baptized and among them Vige Sundra Modeliar who was named D. Joaõ, who leaving the King in Goa came to Columbo and took part in the siege in the time of Captain Joaõ 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 apostatizing from the Faith, he seized the Kingdom of Candea and was one of the worst enemies we had in that conquest. The Viceroy failing to give succour to King D. Phelipe, in the hope of obtaining it, he remained in Goa up to the time of the government of Manoel de Souza Coutinho[2] who sent him to Joaõ de Melo de S. Payo, Captain of Manâr with a letter ordering him to give the King the succour necessary to take possession of the Kingdom of Candea. He at once sent with him from Manâr Joaõ de Paiva, Francisco Feranndez the Ruddy and Gaspar de Magalhaes, while he got ready to go in person with a greater force, whom we shall follow later.

There succeeded to the Captaincy of Columbo Joaõ Correa de Brito, sent by the Viceroy D. Francisco Mascarenhas,[3] then Conde de Vila-Dorta, who arrived in September [15]81, and a few months after his arrival in Columbo, and after some encounters with the adventurers of Rajû who were successfully defeated, on the 3rd of May, 1582, there advanced Paliconde Arache with 2,000 men of the Atapata, or guard of Raju, | up to the field of Mapâne doing every possible F 196 damage; and when he attempted to retire with 20 captives, 200 head of large cattle, and 500 smaller, 700 Lascarins sallied out against him conducted by the Modeliares Bicarna Singa, Pedro Afonço, Manoel Pereyra, D. Fernando and D. P 357 Henriques and | other reliable Araches, 300 Portuguese with the Captain-Major of the Field, Francisco Gomez Leytaõ, divided among Captains, Francisco da Silva Castelhano, Ambrosio

[1] 1584–1588.
[2] Governor, 1588–1591.
[3] 1581–1584.

Leytaõ, Duarte da Guerra, Thome de Souza de Aronches, Fernaõ de Avelar and Thome Pirez ; and encountering them at the river of Verastodta, the enemies were routed, the head of Paliconda cut off, 50 killed, and the booty recovered, and many spoils of arms and some captives were taken. From them Joaõ Correa learnt that Rajû intended to return on Columbo having concerted with the Nayques, the Kings of the mainland on the Coromandel and the Fishery, to cut off provisions from Columbo which had little thereof and had sent Ambassadors to the pirate Cunhâle Marcâ, of whom we have already spoken, to ask the help of his forces in this siege.

He at once ordered the walls to be repaired and fortified with watch towers and gun platforms. The King set out from Seytavâca with 61,000 men-at-arms, divided among 187 captains, and an immense crowd of workmen, as he was now Lord of almost the whole Island, 1,600 field muskets, 10,000 firelocks, 120 war elephants, 2,080 pack *aleas*, 40,000 oxen of burden, 150 pieces of artillery and some of the calibre of 30 and 44, much amunition, military stores and weapons of war. Our Captain kept sending messages till he had sufficiently fortified himself. And finally this force encamped within sight of Columbo on the 29th May, 1587, in such good order that in this matter the best captain in the world could not have surpassed him. Let Europeans realize that these oriental peoples are not barbarians, except in their religion, though they do not believe worse ravings than the celebrated Romans, but in the disposition of war and in its strategems they are always most clever. People call the Turks barbarians, and the Engineers of Italy admit that it was from the fortifications abandoned by them in Otranto[1] that they learnt this art. At this time the fortalice had not more than 350 Portuguese, many of them old and debilitated, and some Lascarins, though there were some 60,000 souls to maintain on the King's account. With this force the Captain began to defend himself with such energy, order, discipline and valour, that the Enemy at once lost heart, seeing the kind of man he had to deal with who had with him such great Captains as Afonço Pereyra da Silva, Simaõ Leytaõ, Diogo de Melo | da Cunha, D. Luis Mascarenhas, *F 196v* Domingos Alvares, Antonio Coelho, Nuno Alvares de Atouguia, Joaõ Cayado de Gamboa, Pero Rodriguez, Manoel Pinto Pereyra, Thome de Souza de Arronches, Rodrigo Aluares, Fernaõ de Melo da Cunha, and other veteran soldiers bred to arms.

[1] Otranto (Hydruntum) in Calabria.

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After fortifying himself, Rajû reopened the ditch which he had once dug, and dug another afresh, very deep and wide, 200 *P 358* fathoms in length, whereby he drained the whole lake and | was able easily to bring the approaches within four paces of the wall, and he was so well entrenched with gabions, rubble, stakes, revetments, fortlets and trenches, that our artillery did him little damage, and approaching the bastion of S. Sebastiaõ he laid a mine to it. Our men countermined with great mortality to those who laboured in it. The batteries with large and small shot never ceased, but kept the praça in constant showers of fire, and they replied from the fortalice with equal fury and constancy, so that men could not see each other owing to the smoke, nor hear each other owing to the noise. Rajû continued his bombardments and alarms, our men their assaults from which they always returned victorious, and once with a war elephant. Thome de Souza de Arronches, Captain-major of the sea, sailed out with 120 soldiers in four foists, burnt many laden vessels, took prizes and captives, and burnt the Pagode of Tanauarê.[1]

Confident in the forces which he led, Rajû assaulted the city four times with all his might, approaching it with mantlets and applying ladders to the walls. On the 4th of August, 1587, at the drowsy watch, they attacked with such great determination that they succeeded in planting banners on the bastion of S. Miguel and S. Gonçalo, which were very low, and with pots of powder and other arms they drove away those who were defending it. Captain Joaõ Correa de Brito hurried thither with the men of his guard, and such was the firing both on the one side and the other, that the night became bright day, and our men again became Masters of the bastion with great loss to the enemy and here they lost five Araches besides many other people, and a cleric named Diogo Nunez among others did wonders. A few days afterwards they invested the whole stretch of wall from the bastion of S. Estavaõ to that of the Madre de Deos, under cover of mantlets and pavises to pull down the walls, and it cost us not a little to drive them from the rampart. They attempted to mine the bastion of S. Sebastiaõ, but a countermine killed many of their men. Their batteries kept bombarding, and we on our side replied, with mutual loss, and among the dead was Fernaõ de Lima, a Knight of the order of Christ. | The Lascarins kept up their *F 197* assaults on the enemy's camp, from which they ever returned victorious, at times bringing the heads of Araches and many others, with spoils of arms and a war elephant

[1] Dondra.

Great was the labour of so few men in repairing the walls and in continuous watches and alarms. Rajû, thinking that it was easier to enter by the bay, launched through the bar of Matual, on the 4th October, four galliots manned by Rumes, Moors, Malays, Caffirs and other nations, and as they made for the bay, Thome de Souza de Arronches set out with 300 Portuguese, Topazes and Lascarins in a galliot and 11 foists of which the Captains were Duarte da Guerra, Francis da Silua Castel-
P 359 hano, Manoel Marques, Fernaõ de Melo Bicarna Singa | and others. The Enemy did not shirk the combat, and at the first encounter there were killed and wounded on both sides from the first volley; but as soon as they turned their bows on them, the greater part of them jumped into the sea leaving two galliots, and the others fled with sail and oars. The siege went on till the 18th of February, [15]88, on which day Manoel de Souza Coutinho arrived with a powerful fleet of Galleys and ships in which were gentlemen and cavaliers of great name. And determined to attack the enemy in his trenches, they prepared for it by receiving the Sacraments of confession and communion. Rajû was informed of everything and at the drowsy watch of the 21st of February, he raised the siege and burnt his encampments. There pursued him as far as the bridge of Matagore[1] half a league from the praça, 1,600 Portuguese and 700 Lascarins under the command of Bicarna Singa Modeliar, who, as he marched in the advance guard, had a good encounter with the rearguard of the enemy with some dead and wounded. D. Jeronimo de Azevedo and Diogo Gomes Leytaõ with the Lascarins went as far as the meadows of Veragorê[2] and returned to the fortalice, as they did not meet anyone to fight with. The Enemy lost in this siege 1,500 men and 350 prisoners, 2 elephants, and many arms, and what is more the reputation of his arms. The Portuguese lost 32, among them the afore-mentioned Fernaõ de Lima, Andre de Queyroz, Miguel Ferreyra Baracho, Gaspar Cardozo, Miguel de Souza, Ambrosio Mendez, Baltezar Dinis, Paulo Luis, son of the Sebastiaõ Luiz who was killed in the previous siege, Miguel Vaz the captain of a watch tower, Gonçalo Malheyro, Manoel Marques, Belchior Pirez, Ambrosio Malheyro, Christovaõ de Artiaga, Luys de Casseres, Sebastiaõ Braz Juzarte, Aluaro de Matos, Pedro de Crasto, Joaõ de Pina, Joaõ de Couto Carrasco, Andre Correa, Gonçalo Fernandes, Joaõ Rodrigues, Andre da Costa, Gaspar Jorge and others. The Portuguese behaved with the greatest valour in this siege, and Captain Joaõ de Brito | acquired great renown. F 197v

[1] Dematagoda as identified by Ferguson J. 60, 292.

[2] Weragoda.

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I will not omit to relate a thing which happened at this time when Fernaõ de Melo da Veyga, of whom we shall presently speak, on the orders of his uncle Joaõ de Melo S. Payo and Ruy Pereyra de Saude with their companies were near the river in the village of Gampâle on Friday in Holy Week. Thome de Barros said: 'Sirs, These are days which we should profit by as is usual in our country, by fasting, taking severe discipline and doing other meritorious work; but we for our sins are among pagans without doing any of these things.' Thereupon Manoel Machado, a veteran soldier of India, replied with much laughter: 'By God, how well I disciplined myself last night, deflowering a girl,' and without any shame he showed the signs of his lewdness. He was thereupon rebuked by all with Christian zeal, and he getting
P 360 into a temper and jeering, went to a rock on the river bank | to wash the signs of his sin, but his foot slipping, he fell into the river, wherein he was drowned; and immediately he appeared with musket on shoulder, like one on the march, in the village of Vay Côta[1] where Joaõ de Melo S. Payo was, seven leagues away. He was seen by his friends who were chatting, and thinking that he brought some news, they went joyfully towards him and asked what news he brought. He answered: 'I bring no other news except that of my perdition,' and disappeared from their sight leaving all who were there astounded and perplexed, and the whole arrayal was in confusion and awe, as soon the case became known, which should serve as an example to insolent soldiers who forget their Christian obligations by reminding them that though God tolerates guilt he does not suffer insolence.

Simaõ de Brito de Castro succeeded to the praça and he occasionally sent a Galley and two ships in charge of Simaõ Rolim de Moura to rob, destroy, and burn the ports of the Coast, from Chilao to Tanauarê, and in these 50 leagues they did great damage. It being now the year 1591, there revolted against Raju Jatuapala Bandar, Lord of the Seven Corlas, refusing to bear the oppressions of that Tyrant, and he at once came to the Portuguese Captain, begging his support as a vassal of King D. Joaõ. All thought that it was a good diversion; and when Rajû set out from Seytavâca against the rebel with 15,000 men and 100 elephants, leaving the frontiers garrisoned by 300 Badagas of the opposite coast and by others,] in all 3,800 men, with munitions and artillery, sworn to die in their defence, the Portuguese Captain sallied out with 800 Lascarins to make a diversion in the war, and attempting to capture the grand stockade from the rear,

[1] Wahakotte.

he sent Francisco da Silva | Castelhano with 150 Portuguese F 198
and 400 Lascarins, who, marching through untrodden ways, at Diago came upon a large force of the Enemy consisting of foreigners and three elephants with castles. They fought obstinately till our men put them to flight, and returning to the stockade they found that Simaõ de Brito was already fighting; and finally it was entered with the loss of 200 of the enemy including some Araches. On our side there died two Portuguese and three Lascarins and 18 were wounded. There was much spoil of arms, and Rajû abandoned for the while the attempt on the Seven Corlas.

But when he attempted to continue it the next year [15]92, Simaõ de Brito regained the grand stockade and that of Cardeuola by force of arms, which Rajû felt so much, that he ordered the Captains thereof to be beheaded, thus incurring such great hatred, as they were men of valour and well connected, that his lieges sometimes attempted to kill him by poison and charms, and he did not then dare to quit Seytavâca for fear of a rebellion. However he sent an arrayal against the Seven Corlas, which being encamped in
P 361 Talampetî, was routed by the natives in an | unexpected attack with the death of the Captain and 400 others. Then his policy gave way to resentment and Rajû entered the Corlas with a great force destroying the villages and killing all those who were concerned in the rebellion of Jatupala Bandar, who went to Manâr when Nuno Fernandez de Ataide was Captain. There he was baptized under the name of D. Manoel and there he remained till the death of Rajû, and returning to his country was a great enemy of the Portuguese, as usually happens when one receives Baptism out of respect, force, or self interest.

CHAPTER 8.

How we put D. Phelipe in Possession of the Kingdom of Candea, and how at his death D. Joaõ rebelled. Andre Furtado repairs to Manar and attacks Jafanapataõ.

Now we must give an account of the end of D. Phelipe Jama Singa Bandar, King of Candea, and of the causes of the tragic conquests of that Kingdom. D. Phelipe set out with Joaõ de Payua, as we said, and reached Vay-Cota[1] where he was

[1] Wahakotte.

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acclaimed and obeyed as King of Candea by the grandees of that Realm, | who being tired of the tyranny of Rajû received F 198v
him as a godsend and acclaimed him anew with great joy at Ganûr.[1] Joaõ de Melo de S. Payo did not delay, because after despatching Fernao de Melo de Veyga, his nephew, and Ruy Pereyra de Saude with 100 soldiers, he himself arrived with 150, whose Captains were Francisco da Silva Archelaos and Cosme de Lafetar with much munition and materials of war. This reinforcement strengthened the King to such an extent, that he defeated various forces and garrisons with the death of many enemies, and not only reduced the whole Realm to obedience, but even made many raids into the lands of Rajû till the expedition reached the meadows of Ganietâne[2]; and Rajû seeing that he was defeated with great loss of men and arms through the valour with which the Portuguese conducted themselves there, retired to his frontiers abandoning the conquest of another's Kingdom. The King D. Phelipe that day proved himself a prudent and valorous Captain.

But who can comprehend the judgments of God! A few days later he expired under suspicion of poison; and when he died, D. Joaõ Vige Sundra Modeliar, of whom we have already spoken, absented himself from the camp and persuaded the inhabitants of that Kingdom not to supply provisions to the
P 362 Portuguese, whose intention in this conquest, he declared, | were greater [than they alleged]. Captain Joaõ de Melo sent the Father Friar Francisco do Oriente of the Seraphic Order to rebuke him. He admitted the truth of the imputations, and alleged that the reason was that Joaõ de Melo showed himself his enemy, to whom he also attributed the death of D. Phelipe, both the one and the other being manifest impostures of a declared apostate and of a tyrant who already styled himself King of Candea. As our Captain had only 400 soldiers and many of them were sick, and all suffering from hunger, with great dexterity and prudent caution he retired to Manâr avoiding the many treacheries of that Tyrant; and with great labour and risk he withdrew to the fortalice. This was the beginning of the new dynasty which reigns in Ceylon up to this day upholding the Crown in the Highlands of Candea at the cost of many lives and Portuguese blood.

While these things were taking place in Ceylon, the King of Jafanapataõ [proved himself] as proud as his name which was Puvî Rajâ Pandarâ which means 'King of the Kings of earth,' though he was only an ordinary Kinglet, deformed from birth, and for that reason called 'the crooked King' And as he

[1] Gannoruwa. [2] Ganetenna.

pursued the policy which D. Constantine de Bragança had chastised, he not only impeded the conversion of his lieges, but in order to escape the penalty and curb of the praça of Manâr, in the year 1591 on the third of September he even pitched his camp in the lands of Mantota facing Manâr, | with 10 to 12 F 199
thousand men-at-arms, among whom were many Badagas from the opposite coast always considered most warlike, besides many pioneers, three battering cannon, a large quantity of roqueyras, muskets on supports, bombs, montantes and other arms. Having crossed that narrow channel in rowing boats and *catamarães*[1] (which is a kind of raft of timber joined together, which in shallow water strikes land) he laid siege to the fortalice, having concerted with Catamuça Marchâ, the pirate of Malavar, for assistance in this enterprise. There was in that small praça the valorous old man Nuno Fernandez de Ataide with a good garrison of soldiers, brave and experienced, who courageously resisted this obstinate assault from morning to midday, when the Enemy lost many and good men from both the one and the other shot. The Crooked King was furious at this loss and disgrace and attempted by night what he failed in by day and expecting to take our men unawares, he attacked suddenly with great fury, but the sentinels giving the alarm, he met with the same resistance and a like loss. He sounded the retreat, and vented his rage on the poor Paravaz and inhabitants of the island for not giving him allegiance. and capturing some and seizing the cattle, he retired with this booty in payment for the many deaths and the 28 vessels which Nicolao Rodriguez in one single ship captured from him at the point of the Madre de Deos fighting against 1,400 men, who opposed him on land and sea.

P 363 | The Viceroy D. Mathias de Albuquerque was informed by the Captain of Manâr of this design and of the departure of Marcâ with a squadron of 22 large decked galliots, well equipped and provided with men and arms, and his own ship was one of 33 rows of rowers with a beak of bronze. He prepared 20 foists in charge of Andre Furtado de Mendonça, who, trying to set sail in all haste, was unable to pass the bank of the bar, as the sea was heavy owing to a tempest which blew on the day of the Nativity of Our Lady.[2] Placing landmarks in the river which separates this island, they emerged through the bar of Mormugão,[3] but they encountered such a heavy sea,

[1] Tam. *Kattumaram*, Anglo-Indian *Catumaran*. A raft formed of three or four logs of wood lashed together.'—Hob-Job.

[2] 8th September.

[3] The harbour of Goa.

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that they put into harbour again. They set out the next day in the evening and took shelter in Angediva.[1] On the next day they anchored at the islet of Onor,[2] where they remained over 20 days, occasionally attempting without avail to put to sea, and as in that narrow place the foists fell perilously foul of each other, they sailed two leagues further into the bar of Mirzeo. After three days, when the tempest had abated, he went to Mangolor, where four other ships awaited him. He arrived off Cananor, and the Captain D. Fernando de Menezes and the Father Friar Antonio da Madre de Deos, Guardian of the Convent, brought them refreshments. Andre Furtado gave the Father a | good alms as a help to maintain the 18 F 199v
Religious who were studying there. By day-break, at Cunhale, he came upon two ships from Calicuth coming from Meca: he burnt one and took the other, and many Moors who, obstinately defended her, were killed. He anchored waiting for the third which on account of the resistance was sunk with the greater part of the Moors, and owing to this hurry three others which appeared the next day escaped him. But this was sufficient to compensate for the annual ship of China which that same Pirate with his 14 galliots captured off the Coast of Malavar in the previous April, because as she had no more than 14 Portuguese who fought three days and three nights and almost all died in battle, a Malay slave seeing that there was no one to defend her, set the ship on fire from the mast with a barrel of powder and the enemy got little more profit from her than deaths and wounds. He put the Meca ship in Cochim and lost a ship at the bar. There he provided himself with necessaries and went to Coulaõ to take more foists and soldiers, each day of delay being a torment to Andre Furtado. Having doubled the Cape of Cumorŷ by the red barriers, he crossed the Gulf in such heavy and rainy weather, that it was a miracle that he reached Columbo, where by sheer active industry three ships which were in manifest peril were saved. There he learnt that Catamuça was wintering in Cardiva and setting out thence he was again obliged to retire owing to that same tempest, which while giving him trouble was a relief to Manâr. The disorders in Columbo had reached the pitch which we shall describe, and the inhabitants, thinking that Andre Furtado had come on the orders of the Viceroy to chastise them, kept away from the City. He reassured them
P 364 and | summoning them all before him, he addressed them in a speech and reconciled them, which was not the least service

[1] A small island off the level coast of India, a little to the South of Carwar.

[2] Honavar.

he rendered to His Majesty in this voyage, for Rajû was waiting till they fell out to defeat them altogether and accomplish in a day what he failed to do for so many years.

From there he took Francisco da Silva Castelhano and Gregorio da Costa de Souza with 100 veteran soldiers, Diogo de Silva Bicarna Singa, and the Modeliares Manoel Pereyra and Pero Francisco with their Lascarins, and as they sailed along the coast, the Enemy had sight of them and set out in a hurry intending to break through our squadron, but on going out he ran against a point of the shallows and Andre de Souza with his light galley at once set his prow on him along with his nephew Joaõ de Souza, Francisco Pereyra the elder and Fernaõ Rodriguez de Sâ. Having given a first volley of heavy and light shot, he killed the rest by the sword, and during this time Catamuça with his sword in his mouth, jumped from the helm unnoticed into the sea. All the other ships were taken in the same manner, some people escaping | by land, and *F 200* another rich ship which they had taken was seized and among others five Captains taken prisoners, besides what could be taken from the ship of China; some Portuguese and two women of Macao were set free. With all these galliots he proceeded to Manâr, where 12 Religious of St. Francis and some of the Society of Jesus with 500 soldiers and casados paid by the King and more than 6,000 Paravaz and Careas living in the point of the bar near S. Joaõ received him in procession under a canopy with all the naval display which the land was able to afford, and finally all went to the Mother Church to give thanks to God.

Three days being passed, Fernaõ de Melo de Sam Payo arrived from Candea with 350 soldiers, which caused great rejoicing, as God was disposing everything for the success of this expedition. To add to this number the Father Friar Francisco do Oriente, Commissary of the Franciscan Order in the South, offered to accompany him with his Religious. Andre Furtado gave him one of the captured galliots in which there embarked with Fernaõ de Melo, 13 Captains and more than 100 soldiers, and as they had no sailors, each of these Captains willingly gave him one.

Andre Furtado had still to open a secret order which he had brought. He told the Captain of the praça, whose guest he was, that it was expedient to call to the Council the Guardian of the Madre de Deos, Friar Duarte Chanoca, the Father Commissary, other Fathers and those of the Society, and

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the People with the Captains of the fleet. When all were gathered, Andre Furtado handed to the Father Guardian the order which was well sealed with the Royal Seal, which being opened said as follows :—

When you shall have defeated the Enemy and his fleet, should you have 600 men to bear arms, you will go to the fortalice of Manâr and in presence of its Captain Nuno Fer- *P 36f* nandez de Ataide, Cosme de Lafetar whom I am sending now | as Captain-major of Candea, and Matheus Mendez de Vasconcelos, Joseph Barreto, Nicholaõ Rodriguez de Castanhada, Francisco da Silva Arcalaos, Fernaõ de Melo de Castro, Fernao de Melo de S. Payo, who will then have returned from Candea, and with [the help of] all these Captains, you will then pick out 20 of the oldest casados of the Fortalice; and in Council they shall decide whether, having 1,000 Portuguese, chastisement is to be given to the King of Jafanapataõ; and of what is agreed in the council a memorandum shall be made by the Father Guardian, Friar Duarte Chanoca, and if he is Commissionary by Father Friar Francisco do Oriente; and when this is done, I Order that the Captain of the fortalice Nuno Fernandez de Ataide shall go with the whole fleet as its Captain-major; and that you go in the vanguard with Cosme de Lafetar, Fernaõ de Melo, Mathias de Melo de Vasconcelos, and in the advance guard Francisco da Silva with the men of Manâr. | Should it happen that the Captain-major dies, *F 200v* which God forbid, you will take his place: should you die, Cosme de Lafatar, should he die, Fernaõ de Melo de Sam Payo; and in the advance guard should Francisco da Silva die, Fernaõ de Melo will take his place; in case of his death Fernaõ Rodriguez de Sâ; and if Nuno Fernandez de Ataide is unable to go, being 80 years old, or because it is better for him to remain to protect his fortalice because of the enemies who are in the neighbourhood whom he defeated in battle, in such a case (as if the case had not been foreseen) you will go as Captain-major of the whole fleet and will take Cosme de Lafetar with you, and the Captain-major whom I ordered to come from the Kingdom of Candea, and in the advance guard there will go Francisco da Silva with the men of Manâr, in the vanguard Fernaõ de Melo de S. Payo, Fernaõ Rodriguez de Sâ, Matheus Mendes de Vasconçelos, D. Franciso de Souza, Diogo de Miranda Henriques, Francisco Pereyra Velho, Ruy Dias de S. Payo, D. Fernando Lobo, with the declaration that, when any of them dies, the one nominated will succeed at once.'

After debating over this order, about which much could be said, if history were a commentary, they resolved that it was not convenient for the Captain Nuno Fernandez de Ataide to

go, leaving the fortalice of his homage to the good or evil consequences of the valour and fortune of the one to whom it would be entrusted, for it was clearly seen that no one of ability and quality cared to remain without being nominated by the Viceroy: that Andre Furtado de Mendonça himself should take his place carrying out the order as regards everything else. This decision was welcome to all, as Andre Furtado always had the generality in his favour and the Captain of Manâr behaved in so knightly a manner, that he gave him 16 more ships which, like an experienced man he had provided for any eventuality, taking a loan of 20,000 pardaos from the Careas to get them ready, besides the 30,000 of the fishery rent of that year, with which there was prepared a squadron of 43 rowing ships, 250
P 366 dhoneys, in which 1,400 Portuguese and 3,000 | Lascarins embarked. The Captains from Goa were D. Jorge de Castelbranco, D. Francisco de Sousa, D. Fernando Lobo, Francisco Rodriguez, Francisco Pereyra the elder, Joaõ de Valadares Sotomayer, Diogo de Miranda Henriquez, Ruy Dias de S. Payo, Martim Afonço Carneyro, Manoel de Malgahaês da Silva, Francisco Nunez Marinho, Gaspar Teureyro, Pero Cardozo de Brito, Joaõ de Souza de Mendonça, Ruy Soares de Melo, D. Gonçalo de Menezes, Manoel Pereyra de Aronches, Manoel Pereyra de Lago, Simaõ Leytaõ Pereyra, Simaõ Pinhao who fell ill in Manâr | and the youngest son of Reymao Falcaõ; F 201 from Candea, Simao de Melo de S. Payo, Simaõ de Melo Pereyra, Joaõ de Payva, Estacio de Faria da Silva, Antonio de Magalhaes, Antonio de Oliueyra, Damiao de Goes, Constantine de Melo de S. Payo: From Columbo the above-mentioned: In Manâr were enlisted Cosme de Lafetar, Matheus Mendez Vasconçelos, Joesph Barreto Pereyra, Francisco da Silva Arcalaos, Ruy Pereyra da Saude, Nicolao Rodriguez da Castanheda, Trisaõ Galayo de Castelbranco, Tristaõ de Ataide, Perro Barreto de Souza, Joaõ Fragozo, Francisco Correa da Silva and D. Jeronimo Coutinho.

Andre Furtado left Manâr on the 26th of October for Jafanapataõ. Go forth, renowned Captain, who in spite of envy and fate, always hadst God for thee; in the memoirs of India thou shalt be always famous, by Hagiologists [thou shalt be held] a virtuous and just man, in the decadas[1] a prudent, high-souled, liberal and valorous one. The King was forewarned, and thinking that the landing would take place at the mouth of the strait which is called Rio da Cruz, he laid there more than 200 vessels joined one to another, protected by great

[1] Barros wrote his history in the form of 'Decades' in imitation of classical authors. Hence 'Decades' means historical writings.

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ramparts provided with many muskets on supports. But the fleet made for the port of Putalao[1] which is also called Columbo[2] where D. Constantino de Bragança landed. Thither the Prince repaired, but as soon as the artillery had swept the shore, 150 soldiers and the Bicarna Singa with 200 Lascarins of Columbo were able to land; but as they were attacked with shot and arrows and bombs from a neighbouring stockade, without waiting for other companions, they assaulted and captured it. Modeliar Branco and 250 men were killed, and two good pieces of artillery, more than 300 muskets, various arms and munitions were taken. Then 400 Portuguese landed and after them the rest. They marched along the beach till they came to the place where the first Church of Our Lady of Victory, and afterwards the Convent of St. Dominic, stood; and they halted to pass the night there having found in the storehouses of the Moors more than 10,000 candies of *nele* and 400 of rice. At night they kept diligent watch, but there was no disturbance, rather a clear sign of miracle, for though there fell so much rain and lightning on the ships and the neighbouring land that night, not a drop fell on the arrayal.

CHAPTER 9.

P 367 | ANDRE FURTADO CONQUERS JAFANAPATAO, KILLS ONE KING AND SETS UP ANOTHER.

| At daybreak on the 28th of October, feast of the Holy F 201v Apostles Simon and Jude, they all communicated at the mass of Father Friar Francisco do Oriente, and as they were about to march, the Father raised aloft a cross on which was painted a Crucifix and animating them all with the victory which Christ gained on it over the powers of Hell and with the protection and support of that tree of life, he said: 'Know, Brothers and Gentlemen, that last night two of us here present, the Father Friar Duarte Chanoca and I, miserable sinner, heard an Image of Our Lady say these words "Know, Fathers, that if to-day you are happy and content under the protection of this cross which you are bearing and have ever borne all throughout the island of Ceylon and the Kingdom of Candea, tomorrow you will have still greater reason to be so." And as they all had a great esteem for these two

[1] *Sic.* Patanaõ. [2] Kolombutturai.

Religious, they began their march happy and joyful trusting to the oracle and considering themselves already as victors. And when they came in sight of another and stronger stockade called Chunguinaynar[1] in which was the force of the enemy, the Bicarna Singa who was in the advance guard (unfurling a green banner on which was painted the elephant of Rajû with many men-at-arms, and he with a partisan in hand was making them turn back) gave 'Sant-Iago,' and Andre Furtado who also had come up, said to encourage them: 'Make your way, brave Cavaliers, for we have conquered the Kingdom.' They flew amidst clouds of shot and arrows and bombs and missiles and though they met with great resistance under the eyes of Prince Gago[2], elder brother of Pera Rageraehegra Pandara, they killed him, and the device of his banner and white shield given him by the King, because he was his son-in-law and much loved, were taken, and none of his company escaped, but fell by the sword or fire.

By ten o'clock on that day they marched towards Nelûr[3] and between the two Pagodas[4] they found a large number of shield bearers and pikesmen of the King's Atapata sworn to die or repel our men. They fought madly[5] for a long while and with such resolution, that they seemed to court death; and there they all fell with the great Bragmane of the Pagode and a Yogi who animated them. The younger Prince Hendarmana Singa[6] Cumara, Brother of the one killed in the stockade, cried out not to kill him, because he was the son of Piriapule.[7] Simaõ Pinhao ran to his aid and placed himself in front of him at a time when his ears were already torn, being dragged for the ear-rings, and with two lance wounds, in the foot and in the belly, and as he fell headlong, Pinhaõ

[1] Not identified. On the next page the Author speaks of King Conji Naynar.

[2] 'Prince Stammerer', (Gago). *Infra* p. 464, it is said that Peleleya Pandara was called Gago, stammerer, on account of a natural defect. Though it is probably the same here, yet as there is no explicit statement in this case, I retain Gago in the text.

[3] Nallur.

[4] Veeramakail-Amman Koyil and Kandasamy Koyil.

[5] 'Amouços' *Cf.* amuck. 'It means men who have made up their mind to die killing as many men as they can, as is done in parts about Malaca by those whom they call amoucas in the language of the country.'—Couto: Diologo do Soldado Pratico.

[6] Edirmanna Singa, suggests Father Gnana Prakasar.

[7] Peria Pillai *alias* Raja Rajan Dasen Raja Sekaran. Mr. Codrington has pointed out that the Jaffna Kings seem to have used Pararaja-sekharan and Jagaraja-sekharan alternatively.

placed one foot on him to defend him[1]; which cost him not *Cap. 9.*
P 368 a little, for he received two wounds, on the face | and one on the hand. The Captain-major arrived, | and Simaõ Pinhaõ *F 202* raising him entrusted the Prince to him. He gave him all honour, putting round his neck the chain he was wearing on his own neck and covering him with a grand cloak and a straw hat with long plumes which Diogo de Miranda Henriques was taking, and arming him with a sword wrought of silver belonging to Fernaõ de Melo Pereyra. And without delay he went in search of the King, who tried to escape into a Pagode, but being led before Furtado, the latter ordered a Captain to cut off his head, which was forthwith placed on a pike and planted there, where it remained for some days. He allowed the sacking of the Palace which was very rich, and there was fulfilled the oracle of the most Holy Virgin. All the family of the King were taken captive, the Queen his wife, already advanced in years, another Queen with five sons and two daughters, the wife of Prince Gago, daughter of the deceased King with two daughters, Changalî Cumarâ with a twin brother, the Prince mentioned above with another younger brother. Seven Princes, sons of past Kings, two of them sons of King Congi Naynar, whom the crooked King killed, when Gorge de Melo de Castro was Captain of Manâr. (All those who have a right to the Crown are called Princes).

Having given thanks to God for the Victory, the Captain-major ordered a proclamation to be made in the name of the King of Portugal that all should return to their homes and take up their usual occupations and that all Modeliares and chief men should appear before him. They came promptly, and Furtado declared to them that they must proclaim the King of Portugal as their Lord and take oath thereto. They showed themselves content, and this act was held with all the solemnity possible, though with less fidelity than in the camp of Ourique.[2] The Captain-major in the name of His Majesty swore to preserve their liberties and good customs, promising them great favours, should they be loyal to their King, and should they not be so, they had an example before

[1] This scene is depicted in the sculptured slab now found in the basement of the Sabaragamuwa Maha Saman Dewale. The inscription, deciphered with the assistance of Mr. Codrington, will be found in the Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. VIII., I. 5.

[2] Ourique is a small town in Southern Portugal noted for the great victory over the Moors won by Alfonso I. in 1139. This victory secured for him the Kingship of Portugal, and Portuguese writers call the victory the 'corner stone of the Portuguese monarchy' But what the allusion is I do not know.

their eyes in the head of their King and the capture of so large a Royal family to which he had given cause by the hatred he entertained towards the Portuguese and towards Christianity

Thereafter in the Council of the Captains and the Religious, he discussed what should be done for the government of that Realm. They were all of opinion that, in order that they might forget the death of their King and the other losses they had received, it was for the service of His Majesty to place in that government a native Prince, as there were many and good reasons for it, and the love which all bear towards Princes of the same blood was reason enough. And after discussing other matters of great import, and who should be the Prince to be enthroned, a record was made of everything and subscribed by all. Prince Hendaramana Cinga Curiara, | whose life they spared was set up as King and *F 202v* Governor under the name of Pera Jara Chegara Pandara, till the Viceroy of India, Matheus de Albuquerque, confirmed the election.

P 369 | This being done, he ordered 800 Badagas and some Moors of Calicuth to be beheaded, so as not to let foreigners and declared enemies remain in the Realm, and to burn whatever vessels there were in those ports, leaving only two *manchuas* for the use of the King. He left there Tristaõ Golayo de Castelbranco with three ships and 100 Portuguese, soldiers of Manâr, in two companies under the two Captains Tristaõ de Ataide, son of Nuno Fernandez de Ataide, and Pero Barreto de Souza, his wife's nephew, with the Modeliar Gaspar Rodriguez and 200 Lascarins at the request of the King himself, who, so long as he lived, was most faithful to His Majesty and grateful to Simaõ Pinhao who received many favours and rewards from him in gratitude for saving him from death, and for his own good fortune.

Having settled these things, he set out for Manâr, where he received many congratulations and gave much largess and many dowries to orphans. And being apprized by Simao de Brito, Captain of Columbo, that Rajû was coming upon that praça, he appointed Simaõ Pinhaõ as Chief of five ships with the Captains Francisco Correa da Silua, Francisco da Silua Castelhano, D. Jeronimo de Castelbranco Reynel and another with 250 soldiers. In November he returned to Goa, causing contentment and satisfaction to all and striking terror into the whole of Malavar anxiously awaiting to see who would be the first to feel the strokes of his sword. But this illustrious man who had put one King to death and had raised up another, so successfully making a vassal of one who had cost so much

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blood and expense, at the very time when he could have expected greater triumphs, if he had served the Romans, met with ingratitude in place of rewards, because he served the Portuguese ; and for a reason which I was unable to ascertain, they had so much to say against him, and they calumniated him to such an extent before the Viceroy Matheus de Albuquerque, that he thought it best to send Domingos Carvalho in all haste in an *almadia* of Pangym (which from its lightness they called the bird, at that time, a sparrow hawk) to await him in the Bar of Cochỹ. There he was handed a letter of the Viceroy in which he ordered him : 'That on reaching Malabar he should hand over the fleet to the Captain-major Nuno Velho Pereyra,' to whom he wrote also. The latter was awaiting him in Cananor, and as soon as Furtado came in sight, he went to meet him at sea. Let us give the customary courtesies once for all. As soon as they approached, both lowered sail and struck the flags, covered the lights and exchanged grand salvos of artillery and musketry, which | *F 203* frightened the whole neighbourhood, not knowing what the festivity was for. They met each other in batels, and the delivery being over, to the admiration of both the fleets, Andre Furtado betook himself to a small Sanguiçal [1] with 30 men of his household, and on his way to Goa at the Cabo de Rama [2] he escaped four Malavar parôs which followed barking at him up to this bar. Entering this river, he went straight to the convent of the Madre de Deos, where he repeatedly *P 370* begged for the Capuchin habit, | which was not at all strange considering the good life he had led, for having been always a bachelor, it is believed he died a virgin, and he was so devout towards Our Lady, that in the siege of Malaca which he valiantly held against the Hollanders, the Virgin Mother of God deigned to appear to him and to show her face to comfort him in his great peril. But the Father Custodian, like a prudent man without minding the profit which would accrue to his Order from such a son, dissuaded him from it with grave reasons pointing out to him the loss to the service of His Majesty and how displeased the King would be at such a step, and that though the change was not very great, considering his good life, yet because of the motive and the suddenness it would not be approved even by his servants, friends, and kinsfolk. There he remained retired till the Viceroy sent him as prisoner on parole to the fortalice of

[1] A small light boat used in war so called because they were built in Çamguiçar, a port of Canara on the river Shastri.—Hob-Job Dalgado, Gloss. s. v.

[2] A high, bluff headland, south-west of Goa.

Rachol till further order. Almost the same thing happened to him, when he was victorious over Cunhale (who was in our debt for many prizes, many lives, and much honour, and in God's [debt] for many robberies and sacrileges when he terrorised these seas), for it would seem in all the actions of this eminent man success went hand in hand with misfortune, envy with courage, and 'long live' with 'let him die', for thus did God wish to purify him and to convert the greatest glories into the greatest disappointments. But as he had never any guilt, we do not know of any that was laid to his charge, nor could there be any other reward after he had filled the measure of merit and of reputation than that he should ever be mourned as well as named the great Andre Furtado de Mendonça.

The Viceroy to whom the actions of Andre Furtado seemed reprehensible, however, thought it good to confirm the new King appointed by him in the name of His Majesty in the Government and crown, recommending to him good faith, peace, and concord with his lieges; which he punctually observed showing himself grateful to the Portuguese, making them many presents, and treating them with great familiarity, even putting up with the disorders of individuals even in his presence, saying often to them: 'Portuguese, be content and sleep and take your rest peacefully, for so long as I live and have power, none shall | dare lift his eyes to you. Such will not be the case after *F 203v* my death, for well I know that you will have no lack of wars and troubles; and I advise you beforehand to put your trust then in your arms, because there will be no time to lay them aside, for one evil will give rise to another greater one, as I already see in this people whom I keep under restraint opposing their intentions. From this they take occasion to consider me an enemy of liberty and even a weakling; about which I trouble myself little as long as I am a loyal vassal of the King of Portugal, my Lord, towards whom I shall ever observe due correspondence, as well as towards his Ministers, both because *P 371* of what I owe him, as well as not to lose my life and Kingdom, | as happened to my predecessors, because on the advice of men of passion and little judgment they attempted to defend themselves against one who cannot be thwarted, and found themselves destroyed instead of defeating the Portuguese. These things I carry written in letters of gold before the eyes of my mind with which alone I take council, nor shall I ever forget it till the light of my soul ceases to enlighten the light of life. Oftentimes I set myself to consider the pride and obstinacy of the people of Ceylon, and in particular of this small Kingdom. What is Jafnapataõ considered by itself

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alone in comparison with the Monarchy of Spain and the Kingdom of Portugal? If they find that it is dishonourable to pay a limited tribute for vassalage, how can they find it proper to pay it to the Nayque of Tanjore? When there are already more than 30 Kings of that quality who pay tribute to the State of India and to the King of Portugal how can it effect the reputation that one more pays it? Indeed the obstinacy and blindness of seeking to resist Portuguese arms is in my opinion the greatest folly. They often conquered the Turks and Janissaries under the name of Rumes. They conquered the Mamluks, the Scourge of Egypt and Syria, the Coraçones and Persians, the terror of Asia; the Mogols and Rasbutos[1] the Lords of Hindustan; and a small Kingdom tries to oppose them! What did Decan[2] gain by so many wars, and Balgate by such great power over the four spans of the earth? Where is the sea power of the Samorỹ and of all Malavar? What did the might of Achem[3] obtain in spite of all its maritime forces against Malaca alone? The whole of India took up arms and united against the Portuguese, and what did they do except to show the whole of the East that God created them to be tributaries to them? And after about a hundred years of the conquest of India and so many wars, they are never more prosperous. Coming down to particulars, what peace did this Realm ever have with its native Princes? How much blood has been shed in this palace and in these plains, which would not have happened, if they had lived in peace with the Portuguese? They look to the Nayque of Tanjaor, to the King of Candea and to succour from the opposite coast, | and do not see that the Nayque had much *F 204* ado to defend himself from his neighbours, and he of Candea in sustaining a warfare against the Portuguese. Even if I were not under obligation to them as I am, for these reasons alone I could not bring myself to be ungrateful to them.'

While the generous and grateful King discoursed with good reason in our favour, the Modeliares and chiefs plotted a fresh conspiracy against the King, scarcely a year after their chastisement. For on the 25th August [1692] the King had information that they had invited the Prince who was in Ramencoir with many picked men-at-arms, Moors, Badagas, and Maravaz, and that they had leagued with the Nayque of Tanjaor and the rebel D. Joaõ of Candea to get help for

[1] Rajputs.

[2] Deccan.

[3] Acheen. The name given to the State and town at the north-west angle of Sumatra.

P 372 that enterprise. He at once gave | information to the Captain of Manâr, Sebastiaõ Carneiro de Alcaçeva ; who with great speed sent a Modeliar with 80 Lascorins and Manoel de Ataide a casado of the place as Captain to guard him, while in all haste he fitted out two ships and six dhoneys to succour him, for which the King was very thankful. While waiting for the succour, Ataide and the Modeliar felt the pulse of the land and found that there was now no recourse nor obedience of members to the head. They persuaded him to leave the Palace and betake himself for the while to the town of the Portuguese. The next day it was known that the Prince had set out from Tanjaor in 12 Dhoneys well equipped with men, with much arms and munitions. The reinforcements of Manâr now arrived, and giving information to Ataide and to other Captains of the departure of the Prince and that he would not delay, they embarked that night and setting out with the morning tide, by evening just before the bay of Talimanar, they came in sight of the squadron of the Prince and at once turned their prows ; and before they could come on land, they were attacked and put to the sword, and those who were able to land fell into the hands of the Modeliar, and more than 400 Badagas were killed and 200 were captured. They captured the wife of the Prince and found other good spoils with which they returned to Jafanapataõ. The King was greatly pleased with the zeal with which they served him, and they with the rewards made to them. They took him to the Palace and when 7 or 8 heads of the chief men of the Kingdom were cut off, everything was quiet again. They returned to Manâr with the spoils and captives and the Badagas were put into the galleys of Goa.

CHAPTER 10.

The Loyal Proceedings of the King of Jafanapataõ up to his Death

| The Captain of that port was Silvestre de Arez, when there F 204v arrived a certain Captain who was going to S. Thome, and in the course of conversation, Arez said to him that there went about in that Kingdom many Yogis contrary to the terms of Andre Furtado ; that he ought to speak about it to the King and should like to go accompanied with the men of the ship.

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The guest also offered himself with the desire of seeing the King. They went, and being ordered to enter, after the first courtesies he inquired about the Viceroy and the news of the State, and after a long conversation, Captain Arez said to him : ' I see Your Highness so happy and content with the news we gave you that I am emboldened to represent and ask that Your Highness should not allow more than 400 Yogis to go about the Realm, nor let them have free passage to Candea, as they are enemies of the Christians, but that Your Highness should order
P 373 them to be given up | or turned out.' The King excused himself saying that they were not men-at-arms, but poor mendicants, and were going on their pilgrimages to the Peak. The Captain of the ship, who had occasionally joined in the conversation, was so blinded by passion, that he characterized it in strong terms as a result of opium. The King changed colour at it, not a little displeased. Arez intervened rebuking him for the words, whereupon the King said : ' Do not be angry, I am able to put up with these excesses as I do on other days. Let us discuss the matter together, and this man can go.'

When he found himself alone with Arez, ' Know,' he said, ' why I put up with what you heard in my presence, and like things from the Portuguese, from which my people and they take occasion to say that I am of little worth, and I disguise my feelings, pretending that I know nothing. It is because I bear in mind the advice of my Father Perea Pule Pandara whom his lieges persecuted and persuaded so much to make war on Manâr, that being importuned, he one day called the grandees to a Council in which he said : ' You all importune and promise me to turn the Portuguese out of Manâr. Here are four large chests of fanões, which are many thousands of pardaos, for the expenses. I remind you, however, that the Portuguese are at peace ; and that you make war ; if you are able to do it for the benefit of the Kingdom so much the better, otherwise you will have to pay for it, as it is to please you that I make war.' They all accepted it bringing forward many reasons for doing so. My Father was obliged to send ambassadors to the Nayque of Tanjaor asking him for men and other provisions for that expedition. They arrived here, and set out for Manâr, fought great battles without getting anything save deaths ; and the Chests were all spent leaving only one. My Father learnt of the defeat, ordered them to return, | and the F 205 Badagas to go to their country. He went on draining the substance of all to such an extent that in a few days the chests were very full. And as I was a child he said to me : " Son, take this advice which I give thee as a Father. Never make

war on the Portuguese, for they will consume thee and thou wilt fruitlessly loose thy lieges. Accustom thyself to be patient, for which no one has more occasion than a King and he who does not know how to endure does not know how to reign."

'Besides this I remember that thrice I was made King of this Realm, [once] by right of birth, of which I was deprived by my own uncle; [then] by grant of life, which Simaõ Pihaõ preserved and Andre Furtado restored, though a stranger and victor; and [thirdly] by the choice which they made of me confirmed by the Viceroy. That great Mendonça warned me then that, unless I got on well with the Portuguese, I should have the same fate which the King my uncle had, whose head at the time I saw on a spear. He gave me also a sword with a winding edge[1] of great esteem among the Portuguese. By
P 374 your life, Captain, tell me why the Portuguese value | them so highly?' Arez replied 'that they esteemed them because they were very flexible and cut well.' The King smiled and replied 'that he found in the gift a different mystery.' He ordered it to be brought; they brought only the blade, and he made this declaration. 'This sword has only the spike and point straight, the beginning and the end, all the rest is made up of sinuous turns like the coils of a snake. Andre Furtado wanted to show me thereby that if the end were as straight as the beginning, it would be very fortunate, and if the deeds of my life were tortuous, the Portuguese sword would be against me. Therefore I assure you of my loyalty, bidding you remember, however, that after my death, a different coin will be current; for neither will the Portuguese cease to be the same nor my people to be faithless, nor will he who succeeds me have equal forbearance. And as for what you ask, I will at once remedy everything.'

The Captain went away; and he called his Modeliares and ordered them to bring all the Yogis before him on the following day. And as soon as they arrived, he ordered them to be lodged in an apartment. The next day he sent for Roque Vaz Cardeiro, the clerk, and said to him: 'Upon your life and upon your friendship for me, I ask you please to go to Cardiua in the morning and take Note of what I do, and keep this roll, that it may be known how many Yogis I send over to the opposite Coast; for I wish the Portuguese to know that I do for them whatever they ask me, and how unreasonable some people are to find fault with me.'; and he protested afresh his loyalty And as he was wont to give luncheon to the Portuguese who

[1] Espada Colubrina.

visited him out of the fruits brought for him, he invited Roque Vaz also to luncheon and with that he took his leave. Early in the morning the clerk left for Cardiuâ where | he F 205v waited till the next day when the Modeliares appeared with the Yogis with their hands tied behind their backs, and the clerk from behind a bush took note of what took place. They made great entreaties thinking that they wanted to kill them or to drown them, seeing that not even in the champana were they untied, because the King had so ordered it, lest they throw themselves into the sea. There were about 300, and among them one who had his head enclosed in an iron cage, very rough and heavy, for which he was much venerated. In the Pagode of Ramaneçer near Chaul we saw one in the garments of the state of innocence, covered with ashes, with one foot twisted over the other, and hands crossed behind the head, and nails about as long as the fingers; and thus they say he remained for many years past in Sun and rain, by day and night and without food or drink. And he was nothing but bones and skin which was as cracked by the weather as it was putrid and filthy. And of these martyrs of the Devil there were many, and some are still to be found, as is seen from this History. But that it may be seen from the effects that it is all the work of the Devil, when the champana set sail from
P 375 Cardiuâ, they raised their voices saying a thousand | insulting things against the King, for they are very proud and wish to be worshipped during life. The Modeliares returned and, meeting the clerk, they excused themselves for the delay as they could not finish earlier the task of getting at them.

Though so great was the moderation and concealment of his feelings with which the King desired to please the Portuguese, that for a long time he put up with their excesses, yet seeing that the Viceroy of India was D. Jeronimo de Azevedo[1] who knew well both the people and the customs of Ceylon as well as the arrogance with which the Portuguese treated the natives, in the year [1]614 he wrote him a letter in which he congratulated him on his new government and begged for the protection which he hoped therefrom, informing him of the many things which he had hitherto suffered from the Portuguese officers of revenue and from the Ouvidores of Manâr because of their intermeddling in his jurisdiction and in the government of his Realm, begging him to order this to be set right with justice. The Viceroy, understanding that he was right, passed a provision in his favour which was registered in the factory of Manâr, ordering that no Ouvidor, Judge or any

[1] 1611–1617.

other officer of the King in that fortalice nor any person of whatever quality or condition should interfere in the jurisdiction of the King Pera Rajera Chegarâ nor in the matter of favours made in his Realm, or hereafter to be made, either of lands or of other things conceded to the Portuguese or to the Christians of the country, and in all other things pertaining to him ; ordering that the King be given the free use and exercise of the jurisdiction of his office, under pain of suspension, and of being taken to Court and being subject to other due punishments, notifying everything to the Captain of Manâr | and to *F 206* others whom it concerned in the usual form. In June of the same year he wrote another letter manifesting to the same Viceroy the wrongs and injustices which the Factor of Manâr and other officials did him in recovering the Tribute, obliging him sometimes to give them the 12 elephants without accepting the 12,000 pardaos, at other times asking it in money with orders not to sell the elephants when he had paid fully, merely to cause him loss ; and he asked him to order the 12,000 pardaos to be accepted, as was always the custom, and was more convenient to the King of Portugal. The Viceroy regretting these excesses and piracies inflicted on so loyal a King by Christian men, remedied the matter so justly that the King was greatly pleased and satisfied. But in India there never were gallows for such Robbers.

He was proceeding in this manner in peace and loyalty favouring in all things the conversion of his lieges and kinsmen to our Holy Faith (as much as could be expected from a pagan vassal) and showing a desire to be Christian himself, helping with abundant alms the Fathers of St. Francis engaged in this Holy Ministry, both for their support and for the erection of *P 376* the Parish Churches and houses | to live in, as we shall point out all together in another place so as not to interrupt this History. And in the course of the year 1615 he fell seriously ill, and understanding that he was going to die, he sent for Father Friar Pedro de Betancor. The Father who desired nothing better than to baptize him and assist him in his illness and death, went to him flying. But one of his nephews, Changalî Cumara, a perfect heathen and a traitor, always prevented him entering with excuses, at one time that he was sleeping, at another that he was not in a state to speak, and in spite of the greatest pains he [the Father] took, he never suceeded [in having access to the King] who died without the baptism of water owing to the hostility of that tyrant, to the great regret of the Fathers and in general of the Portuguese and Christians. We have seen many similar cases in this country of persons who put off their baptism to that hour,

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and though they took great pains to receive it, they were unable to obtain it and only left us the hope of their Salvation by the Baptism of Desire as the Theologians call it. The last emperor of China, however, left us less hope, for though perfectly convinced of the falsity of his sect and of the truth of the Law of Christ, knowing that he was dying, he shut himself up with his Eunuchs, and Father Joaõ Adamo because of the confidence and authority which he had, broke through the guards and entered the inmost part of the palace and at the door of his room told one of the Eunuchs to remind the King : 'That as he knows the truth and is losing his temporal Kingdom, he should not lose the eternal also, and that he was there to baptize him.' But even in this extremity political and human considerations | weighed more with *F 206v* him than Divine considerations and that of his salvation ; for when the Eunuch announced the last embassy of Heaven, he replied : 'The Father acts like a friend and one who desires and seeks nothing more than my salvation, but he is too late.' And delivering this last sentence against himself, he turned to the wall and in that position expired in a short time. Therefore let us venerate the profound judgment of God, knowing from other ways that on account of the great respect which that most vast Empire has towards its King the conversion of all those regions morally depends on the conversion of an Emperor of China.

CHAPTER 11.

The new Government of Jafanapataõ, and the Tyrannies of Changali

The late King had a son who had not yet reached the age of three years, and after taking the advice of Francisco Pereyra Velho, Captain of Manâr, he named as Governor, till the Viceroy of India provided otherwise, his elder brother Harique Jari[1] Pandarâ to whom he much commended obedience to the King of Portugal and to his Viceroys and Governors, *P 377* till His Majesty or the Viceroy | ordered otherwise, and that if he wished to be happy, he should favour the Portuguese and that incipient Christianity in all things. He promised to do everything faithfully and on the Brother's death he was acclaimed Governor and was obeyed by all. But this prosperity lasted only for a short time, for the nephew, Changalî Cumara, an ambitious, proud, weak, and consequently,

[1] Arasa Kesari.—Fr. Gnana Prakasar.

treacherous man, succeeded in hindering his government just as he impeded the salvation of his Brother, and before confirmation of it could arrive from the Kingdom, he gathered men for this enterprise along with a son of the King whom Andre Furtado had put to death. One of those invited to it revealed the conspiracy to the clerk Roque Vaz. He with one of his kinsmen went to the Palace and informed the Governor of everything, but the reply was: 'That he could not believe such a wickedness.' They spoke also to the other Brother of the Governor, Peleleya Pandarâ by name, whom on account of a natural defect they called the Stammerer, and he showed himself more incredulous, and stopping his ears he said: 'Do not speak of it, Portuguese Senhores. No one will ever make me believe such wickedness.' The two Portuguese thought that they had fulfilled their duty and retired full of grief to see the matter taking so bad a turn.

On the third day after this warning Changalî ordered his confederates to enter the Palace at the hour of the siesta and to kill the Governor, his uncle, and those | who were with him. *F 207* It was midday; they found him reclining, and the Arache Perea Migapule massaging his legs. They were both killed, and the doors being opened, Changalî entered to take possession of them. He forthwith ordered the house to be set on fire and the Princes to be killed. On perceiving the mutiny, they fled, but being overtaken, they were killed, and there escaped only a brother-in-law of the tyrant named Leucu Cumara, likewise a son of the crooked King killed by Andre Furtado. The people greatly deplored this tyranny, for such are the fruits of pagan ambition, and they determined to kill him, when they had a good opportunity, and to raise as King the Prince his brother-in-law who had escaped with his life. Stronger, however, was the determination of Migapule Afache, son of Perea Migapule killed in the King's chamber, for with some friends he went to the gates of the Palace, firing muskets and calling for Changalî with insulting words. He, however, like a feeble and sagacious man took no heed, and the Arache, seeing that the people did not follow him, retired with some Princesses whom he took. And not considering himself safe, he went over to Manâr, where he took shelter under the protection of Father Friar Luys de S. Diogo; and afterwards he received baptism under the name of D. Luis making his Baptism a shield for fresh wickedness. Changalî, thinking that all was quiet, after some days had elapsed, wished to go to the Pagode to give thanks for his good fortune. But Modeliar Andayana Amaraçon, his great confidant, asked him where he was going, leaving a tiger in the

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house. He put off the journey and at once gave orders *P 378* to put out the eyes of his brother-in-law, and determined | to kill the Modeliares and the young Prince, son of Perea Ragera Chegarâ, whom he had in his power. But afterwards he changed his mind and spared his life, in order to use him as a shield, intending however to leave the Kingdom to his nephew, whom he treated as a Prince. Some months having elapsed, he wished to do away with the Modeliares and other leaders and received them in a large Hall made for a fencing school, with fair face and forced smiles, going in and coming out uneasily from another apartment in which, it was said, a large pit had been dug, that they might fall into that trap. The guests noticed the uneasiness and the wrath which he disguised, till finally one of those who were present gave them a signal to put themselves in safety. He went out and made as if he did not notice their attempting to get into safety, hoping little by little to make away with them as he did with Modeliar Branco, uncle of D. Luis, baptized by the same Father under the name of D. Pedro Bretancor, for he . . . .[1] and ordered him to be killed.

All this happened before the arrival of the reply of the Viceroy who, not knowing what had become of the Boy, son of the late King, and who were the claimants to the Kingdom, | *F 207v* confirmed in the government the Uncle nominated by the Father of the one and the Brother of the other, on 13 of May of the year [16]16. This provision arrived on the last day of August, confirming the Governor nominated by the late King, and suspending the nomination of a King till the testament which is said to have been made was seen, in order to judge what was just; and that meanwhile no one should make any change in the government under pain of proceedings being taken against him and of losing all right which he might have to the crown. And as Changalî, by the death of the Governor nominated, was in possession of the government, in order that the Provision might have its effect with regard to the rest, the Clerk Joaõ da Cruz Giraõ went to Nelûr on the order of the Captain of Manâr and in the presence of the Modeliares Compada Rajâ, Branco, Chula Elegarâ, Tanauala, Puuina Chinga, Alaguem, Chylua Nay, and Arache Amara Dunga and other grandees of the Kingdom, he demanded in the Royal Palace itself in the name of His Majesty and in terms of the Provision of the Viceroy D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, once and again with all solemnity of law, that there should be presented to the Viceroy the testament of the late King

[1] 'As the manuscript has been eaten away at this place the word cannot be read.'—Note of the Copyist.

in which he had made his Brother Governor; and that Changalî should give it up immediately to be sent to Goa; and as he did not do so, he protested that he considered him a rebel against the King of Portugal, and that meanwhile there should be no change in the government nor any novelty, and if there should be any, that proceedings would be taken against him according to the full rigour of the law, and that whoever altered the present government would lose whatever right he might have to the Realm, and would have to answer to His Majesty for any loss or damage preceding or following. Changalî replied that he had no such testament, nor did the
P 379 late King make any, | but promised and bound himself to observe the other conditions of the provision. They all signed the protest and the Clerk returned to Manâr and the intruder Changalî continued to govern.

At this time the Captain of Manâr had tidings from Columbo that a Kinglet, defeated by our arrayal, had fled to those parts and was there awaiting reinforcements from the Nayque of Tanjaor With all haste he passed over to Jafanapataõ and persuaded Changalî to send 1,000 men in search of this rebel and to bring him, which he at once did, and on the occasion he held a Council with the Prelates of St. Francis and the officers of the King, asking their opinion whether they agreed to let Changalî keep the Kingdom or whether another should be set up in his place. All were of opinion that the best course would be to dissemble till the Viceroy provided for the case, and I do not know what force they had to disposses him, unless the Natives entered into it. After taking this opinion, on the next day in the presence of the Modeliares and the people, Changalî was declared Governor till the Viceroy disposed otherwise; and he bound himself to favour Christianity, and not to give passage to the Yogis, Badagas, or any other | of our enemies whomsoever; and F 208
that he would not allow in his Kingdom the Kinglet of the Careas nor let the Moors settle therein: 'That they should be considered responsible for the young Prince, and that Changalî and the Modeliares should oblige themselves to answer for him: That all that had been settled by Andre Furtado de Mendonça should be completely fulfilled; and that, should the contrary be done, he would lose any claim or title which he might have to the government.' He bound himself to all this and the agreement being signed by all, the Captain returned to Manâr more content then when he came.

In Goa they continued to dissemble, without approving or disapproving this government, waiting, it seems, to see how it fared, judging it safer and surer not to approve the

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tyranny he had practised nor to disquiet the Kingdom again. But as its grandees suspected that Changalî wished to leave as his heir his nephew, the son of his Sister, whom he already treated as a Prince, and as it was some time since the child, heir of the late King was seen, they imagined that he was dead and all mutinied and taking up arms, they went to the Palace. They clamoured for Changalî and demanded that he show himself. He peeped out of the window, and in loud tones they proposed these three things to him: 'That if he wished to govern as King, he must give up to them their Prince, the assassins of the other Princes, and turn out the dancing woman whom he had in the house, and marry one of the Queens who had been the wife of King Pera Rajera.' The Tyrant, stricken with fear, made a deep courtesy to the People and raising the young Prince in his arms showed him, at sight of whom all prostrated themselves to the ground acknowledging him as their King; and in order not to have to give up the assassins, he told them to put themselves in safety in view of the danger to which he was reduced and they hid themselves in the neighbourhood. From the delay in
P 380 delivering them up, the People | suspected what would happen, but though they attempted to guard all the gates, they were only able to take Modeliar Andaymo Ameracon, who had been the cause of Changalî putting out the eyes of his brother-in-law. In revenge they felled him and with a rope round his neck they dragged him through the streets inflicting great ignominies and using many insulting words; and there he died. To quell these tumults the Captain of Manâr despatched to Goa Gonçalo de Almeida, a casado of that place, and to Nelûr the ouvidor Nuno Aluarez Teyxeyra, where he laboured hard to get the Modeliares to go to meet the Captain of Manâr and to settle everything. But finding this difficult, he detained them for about two months in the house of the Fathers of St. Francis, and on the 2nd of August he again told them to submit to Changalî and to quit the house of the Fathers, as they were pagans. Modeliar Branco answered saying that he was a | Christian, and that his name was F 208v
D. Pedro Betancor, but as he was turned out, he would go with the rest, and they went clamouring. The Father Friar Luys de S. Diogo was preaching and his uneasy audience, not knowing what it was, sallied out and the Preacher also went out into the street, but they did not succeed in quieting the Modeliares.

Changalî ordered them to be arrested, but they joining the Careas who are a warlike race among them, and with those who came to arrest them, who also joined their party,

advanced towards the Palace. But the Tyrant escaped fleeing to the quay with the Prince and Princesses to embark in a dhony. The ouvidor went to him and persuaded him to take refuge in the Church of the Fathers where the Portuguese were; and arriving at the [Church] door, he called out to open it to him. They drove the armed men away and he and the women were sheltered in the Church. The Tyrant mustered 5,000 men and with them he entered the Church of St. John the Baptist of Caes[1] which served as a fortalice and a key to that Kingdom. The Modeliares invited for that government a nephew of the King killed by Andre Furtado sending him word through the ambassadors to hasten, as they had the government in their hands and that there was nothing to fear from the Portuguese, as the majority of them were dead and that for those who remained a small force was enough. The Prince, however, awaited a second invitation. Nor was Changalî careless, but sent to ask reinforcements from the Nayque of Tanjacr who at once sent many Badagas and as their Captain the Kinglet of the Careas called Varna Gulata, a great enemy of the Portuguese. As soon as he was reinforced, he went in search of the Modeliares and the other people who accompanied them, and they had between them a close battle, and though the Modeliares fought with energy, the troops of Changalî finally gained the upper hand, and the people seeing themselves without a leader, for the Modeliares fled where they could, submitted to Changalî and the country was for some months in peace. But before we conclude with this Tyrant, we must return to Columbo, whence we had turned away for some time, so as not to disturb so often the history of Jafanapataõ.

CHAPTER 12.

P 381 PEDRO HOMẼ PEREYRA SUCCEEDS TO THE PRAÇA OF COLUMBO, RAJÛ DIES, THE KINGDOM OF COTA IS RECOVERED, AND THAT OF SEYTAVACA IS CONQUERED

We have already described the reconciliation which Andre Furtado de Mendonça effected in Columbo, whence the Captain, Simaõ de Brito de Castro, was obliged to go to Goa

Kayts.

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for the safety of | his life, for when he sallied out one night on his rounds, as was his custom, taking with him more than 50 men, they met some others, who at the first challenge let off a musket, which took off his arm which almost caused his death and from which resulted prolonged disasters to many casados and great revolts in the fortalice. In [the fortalice] was Cosme de Lafetar till the arrival of Pedro Homẽ Pereyra, in whom the good fortunes of Ceylon had their beginning. When he was Captain, in the beginning of [15]93, Rajû seized the Four Corlas, and the rebel D. Joaõ Vije Sundra coming to the aid [of that province], there were sturdy combats between them, and driven by them and by the sickness which prevailed in the army, Rajû retired to Ruanela,[1] whence he finally retired to Seytavâca compelled by the pain caused by a thorn which had run into his foot; and there he died, some say by the effect of sorceries, others that it was from poison which his enemies had put into the wound; being 59 years of age and having reigned 16 years and two months. Among his people he was reputed for a man of valour equal to his luck, and he and his Father were sworn enemies of the Portuguese, who, as the Messenians did in the temple of Jupiter, when Aristomeneso died, might have erected a column to him with that inscription: 'Inuenit tandem impio Regi pœnam.'

On the death of Rajû, whom the whole of Ceylon including Jafanapataõ and the furthest of the Highlands obeyed, there were great revolts, as he left no legitimate son, because he killed the one he had; and as he had many wives, many were those who sought to marry them and mount the Throne by that means. At last they submitted to an aged Queen, whose grandson Nica Pita Adacỹ[2] was found to be the closest kinsman, who remained under the guardianship of this Queen who governed. When these reports reached Columbo, Captain Pedro Homẽ Pereyra sent Modeliar D. Fernando with 400 Lascarins to the County of Alicur to have speech and to find out the mind of the Natives; and after a good encounter in which he killed many and subjected many of its people, he made the Modeliares Panica and Corupu[3] return to the obedience of their Emperor with 700 men-at-arms, a brave company.

[1] Ruanwella.
[2] Nikapitiya Adahasin.
[3] Panikki Mudaliyar and Kuruppu Mudaliyar.

Those of Seytavâca on the advice of the Grandmother of the young King elected as their Captain a foreign Badagâ named Manam Perumâ Mutear,[1] afterwards Jauira,[2] to defend
P 382 them | from the Portuguese. Rajû had ordered this man to be sought out because of the reputation he had of being a valiant and prudent man, made him a clerk of the registry,[3] a post of great authority among them, and as he was his favourite, he entrusted everything to him. Once he sent him to Videli[4] Corla, one of the Seven, to sell a large quantity of rice ; and hearing that the King of Candea was going about robbing with a few Lascarins whom he mustered, he put him to rout and killed him, and returned | to Seytavâca with a F 209v
great reputation, where as a great favour, according to his custom, Rajû gave him one of his wives. And when Catamuça who was in Chilao committed such violence, that complaints came to Rajû, he sent this man to appease the people, and because he did it with great prudence, he promoted him to a greater dignity ; and he by his great liberality continued to win over the minds of all, and as he saw himself master of treasures and elephants, and obeyed by the men-at-arms, he aspired to reign, as he was favoured by the aged Grandmother of the King.

Captain Pedro Homẽ Pereyra had with him many brave men, of many years of service and well known for the courage they showed in the four sieges already mentioned, such as Diogo Fereyra, son-in-law of the Bicarnacinga, whom they used to call the Reynol[5] of arms, because his skill in the management of them was unique, Simaõ . . . .[6] Luis and Domingos brothers, Thome da Ronda, Joaõ Graçia, Christouaõ Fernandez, Matheus Correa, Antonio Gonçaluez, Luis and Antonio Ribeyro, Simaõ de Veyga, Christouaõ Aluarez, Diogo da Rua, Esteuõ da Costa, Bernardo Tauarez, Domingos Dias Andriago, Gaspar Ferraz and others, all of whom with the same spirit would not brook that men of Seytavâca should come within a few days' march of Columbo.

[1] Manamperuma Mohottila.
[2] Jayavira.
[3] Escrivaõ da matricula. Mohottilla.
[4] Weudawili.
[5] Reynol, lit. 'of the Kingdom', used by the Portuguese in India to mean a European Portuguese, as distinguished from the country born, and particularly a newcomer from the Kingdom of Portugal. *Cf.* John Newcomes.
[6] Illegible.

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And having tidings that they were encamped in the stockade of Orâtota[1], he sent the Chingalâ Captain D. Fernando upon them, who in a short time drove them out. Enraged at this, the old Queen sent her Badaga with 3,000 men to reinforce that pass and to defend it till further orders, giving him the necessary money. And in a short time he made it almost impregnable and along with it he subjugated the county of Alicur. The Portuguese Captain did not tolerate this, and because Diogo da Silua Bicarna Cinga, a Moor by race, taken captive when a child, was the servant of a Portuguese in Columbo where he won esteem by his arm and had earned the benevolence of all and letters and high praises from the Viceroys, Pedro Homẽ entrusted to him a thousand picked Lascarins and 50 valiant Portuguese, partly casados and other natives of Columbo, led by Francisco da Silua Castelhano. The Enemy was in a strong stockade, and the 25th of April 1593 was a day too rainy for the use of muskets. All these difficulties they disregarded against the opinion of experienced Modeliares and Araches. They attacked at three o'clock in the afternoon, but they paid for their contempt; for at the first volley the muskets and carbines did such havoc among our bravest that Diogo da Silua himself fell by a shot,
P 383 and having realized the difficulties, | the men got away in disorder. Those of the stockade sallied out in pursuit of them with four warlike elephants, and being joined by the natives of the country who had formerly | accompanied our F 210
arrayal, they beheaded almost all the Portuguese, the Captain Francisco da Silua, however, escaping with some other Lascarins, and the enemy rejoicing most highly over the death of Modeliar Diogo da Silua, because they dreaded him greatly.

Upon this success, Javira, leaving the pass well garrisoned, entered Seytavâca in triumph, and not being content with the office of Bicarna Singa, which he already held, he again sought to marry the Sister of the young King with the intention of dispossessing him of the Kingdom. For this presumption they tried to kill him, but they were not able because of the large faction which supported him on account of his wiles and the bribes he gave. Seeing, however, that the old Queen had changed her love into hatred, he got out of the City in a great hurry with his wife and children and the greater part of his army, and encamped at Manicraurê,[2] where he gave out that he intended to recover Nigumbo ;

[1] Orutota.
[2] Menikkadawara.

and he prepared a numerous army with which he considered himself safe from the King his adversary. Seeing these proximate dispositions for the conquest of those Realms, Captain Pedro Homẽ Pereyra sent fifty soldiers in two foists on 16 May [1]593 under the command of Diogo Gomez Leytaõ, with the object of securing the county of Alicur, having already sent by land Corupu Modeliar to erect a strong place in Nigumbo ; and in a few days they erected it of palm trees and earth with bastions, a ditch and a trench on the outside, whence they kept in submission the inhabitants of Nigumbo, Alicûr and Pitigal. Javira not confining himself to defensive war, and abandoning what he had publicly announced, sent word by a certain Joaõ Martin and Afonço Moro, who had been taken prisoners in the previous expedition, asking that a Portuguese might be sent to him from Columbo to treat with him a matter of interest, and that in order that this might be done without suspicion, he should come to a certain place as if he were going a-hunting, that he would have him taken as a prisoner to Tanagâle.[1] Francisco da Silua Castelhano, well known to all by name and by deeds, was sent for the purpose. And being brought to his presence, in the manner aforesaid, he cut a very good figure. And when they had discussed the business between them, [he returned and] the Badagâ gave out that he escaped that night. He sent word by him to say that he undertook to conquer in less than a year the Realms of Cota and Seytavâca, on condition that the latter remained in his power and that of Cota went to the King D. Joaõ as heir of the Emperor Bonecabau, if the Portuguese were willing to help him in the Enterprise.

The Portuguese Captain, finding reasons to accept these terms, at once sent a reply by Francisco da Silua in company with the envoys, Joaõ Martis and Afonço Moro, with fair presents and amongst them a very handsome white *Cabaya*[2] well trimmed and wrought with a device on the back, such
P 384 as the Kings | of that Island were wont to wear, addressing him at the same time as Highness, without laying such a grave business before the | Council, because he knew that the F 210v inhabitants and the Franciscan Religious were of a different opinion. This investiture was enough to make the Badagâ fix upon a day whereon to clothe himself in the *Cabaya*, and amidst feasts and acclamations of King, he changed his name calling himself Javira Bandar, ordering under grave penalties that he should be named and treated as such. But as he was a foreigner, and the Chingalâz never had a King

[1] Attanagala.

[2] *Supra* p. 67, n. 3.

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who in their judgment was not of the race of the Sun, he at once incurred the hatred of the Captains of the army who not only gave information thereof to the King of Seytavâca, but the greater part of them forsook him. The young King and those of his Council in great haste mustered a goodly army and many elephants under the command of Modeliar Izlamgamcom.[1] The upstart Javira did not dare to await the Enemy and withdrew in all haste to Columbo where he arrived on the 1st of September of that year with 200 Lascarins and 11 war elephants and 15 pack elephants. He prostrated himself before the King D. Joaõ protesting that he was his liege and would serve him to recover the Kingdom of Cota and conquer that of Seytavâca.

They accepted his offer, and now there was no one in Columbo who did not rejoice at his coming. Nor were they mistaken, for had the disposition been different, with the authority and industry of this man, they could have become masters of the whole Island, for in 6 months the greater part of it was conquered with his help and without costing blood. He left his wife and children in the praça and set out on the 15th of the month with 1,200 Lascarins and 400 Portuguese commanded by Diogo Gonçaluez the elder, and the Captains were Diogo de Melo da Cunha, Gregorio da Costa de Souza, Joaõ de Vaz de Araujo, Joaõ Rodriguez Camelo and Aluaro de Caraulho. They halted in the grand stockade, where they were twice attacked by the army of Seytavâca, but it ended in the rout of the Enemy who among many others lost some Captains of name. The neighbouring counties at once returned to obedience.

Captain Pedro Homẽ Pereyra set out again with 350 Portuguese and with D. Cile Anes de Noronha who had arrived with a reinforcement of 200 soldiers, over and above the other force of the grand stockade, to attack the fortifications of Cardeuola and Maluanâ. He sent 6 foists by river with a sufficient garrison, and marched by land with 500 soldiers and 6,000 Lascarins, but at the first charge of the foists, the enemy abandoned those fortifications. Thence Pedro Homẽ Pereyra sent Afonço Moro with a part of the lascarins to pursue the enemy on whom they inflicted cruel slaughter, though with the death of some of our men and of Afonço Moro, in return for the many lives he took.

Upon this success the whole Kingdom of Cota was recovered; and with its forces | the Portuguese forthwith continued to F 211 follow up the victory and capture other stockades, more than

[1] Illangakon. *Cf. supra*, p. 204, n. 1.

P 385 | 3,000 men of the neighbouring Corlas joining our army. Of all this and of the good dispositions of that conquest, the Captain gave information to the Viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque. The Viceroy had first ordered D. Jeronimo de Azeuedo, Captain-major of Malavar, to despatch to Columbo the above-mentioned D. Gil Anes de Noronha with 200 men in five ships. When he reached Columbo, there had set out from thence Pero Lopez de Souza, after having served his period as Captain of Malaca, whom [the Captain] of Columbo entertained as a great friend of his, giving him an account of the state of affairs of Ceylon and making use of him as intermediary to get the Viceroy to send him all that was necessary for the conquest of Seytavâca and the rest of the Island, since God deigned to facilitate this matter during his time of government. Pero Lopez offered himself for everything with great demonstrations of affection. However considering the glory which he was able to gain thereby and that he was not unequal to this undertaking, according to public estimation as well according to his own, when he arrived in Goa he tried to get it for himself rather than for his friend, because in the matter of selfishness the world is ever the same. And because he had no lack of friends, nor money to push his fortune and to use for the expenses of the State as was the custom in those good days, he discussed the matter in good earnest with the Viceroy, and for the reason given above he was chosen for the conquest. And as the celebrated war of the Moro of Chaul[1] was now over, he was able in a short time to get together a good company of gentlemen and lusty soldiers.

There were also in Columbo Modeliares of renown, bred in war, and among them Domingos Correa (Interpreter of the King[2]) son of Jeronimo Correa, Interpreter of the King, born in Columbo, a man of such ambition and so wicked a character, that he once went over to Seytavâca ; and because he knew that his Father went every day to fish as a recreation to a brackish pond in the neighbourhood of Columbo, one day he went in search of him to kill him, but God and his foreboding heart saved [the father]. And as he had a great conceit of himself, that he was a handsome and valiant young man, he began to entertain thoughts of marrying one of the wives of Rajû, and they say that so he made him understand. The

[1] *Cf.* Danvers II., 88–90.

[2] These words are scored over and underlined in the Ms. Copy, and are therefore omitted in the Zaleski Ms.

latter resented it so much, that he ordered one of his servants to kill him, and coming upon him unawares, he left him for dead with his throat half cut. For sometime he was unconscious, but getting up as well as he could, he took shelter in the house of a Macuâ woman, who in a few days cured him by means of some medicinal herbs with which Ceylon and the whole of this Asia is well provided. He again fled to Columbo and wrought so many and such great prowess in the service of the State | that he won the rank of Bicarna Singa and F 211v was commonly called the 'Mal degolado'[1] All the might of Seytavâca was at this time in Gurubebile, less than two leagues from Maluâna, under the command of Panica Modeliar, P 386 who a few days | previously had been on our side, but on the arrival of Badagâ he felt that he would have better fortune among his own. We had a good army ready, and when the Portuguese wanted to give battle, God disposed that it should be delayed for eight days, for no other reason is known for it, at the end of which Panica again came back to us. They forthwith attacked the camp of Gurubebile. Javira Bandara being in the advance guard with 6,000 Lascarins ; but as the main force of the Enemy was there, it succeeded in delaying the victory for six hours. The Portuguese, however, charging with the utmost resolution, the fortifications were entered with the death of 1,622 men consisting of different nations and the highest nobility of that Realm. The rest fled, leaving many arms, the Victory costing us nothing more than some wounded. They entered the City of Seytavâca with little opposition and as it had been considered quite safe, they found in it very rich spoils, much and good artillery and many arms. The Newcomes[2] however little knew how to profit by the abundance that was there, because thinking that they would return at once and for lack of information and experience, they did not make much account of rough gems and of two chests of molten silver. Nor did the Columbo-born men and the casados get into their hands more than 50,000 xerafins, though the sack was worth more than four millions in ivory, iron, wax, cloth and things of that kind alone. The Chingalâz found in the garden of the King many houses or godowns of patacas. There the Badagâ was again rewarded by the Kings of the Island, whereby he became so vain, that he did not recognize himself and with the wealth of this sacking and of the jewellery given to him, in a few days he began to play the great Lord and distributed so much largesse, that he seemed to vie with Rajû.

[1] 'The ill-beheaded.'

[2] Reynoes. See *supra*, p. 470, n. 5

CHAPTER 13.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED, AND PERO LOPEZ DE SOUZA ATTEMPTS THE CONQUEST OF CANDEA.

The whole Kingdom of Seytavâca submitted at once without awaiting the further rigour of our sword. The King and his Grandmother escaped to the hills of Dinavâca, taking with them a part of their Treasures. Javira Bandar with the Lascarins and Joaõ Rodriguez Camelo with the Captains Aluaro de Carualho, Gomes Correa, Pero Rodriguez de Oliueyra, | Manoel da Silua and their companies, which *F 212* numbered 150 Portuguese, went in pursuit of the King Nica Pita Adacÿ, and ascending the high mountains of Patrupâna, they came upon the city of Dinavâca, noted in those days for its buildings, which they broke into by force of arms, captured the King and his Grandmother and took the treasures *P 387* which they had taken with them. And | Pedro de Souza, Balthezar Monis and Francisco de Brito de Castro had much trouble to protect the Royal persons till Joaõ Rodriguez Camelo arrived. In this journey the Badagâ gave a quarter's pay to the soldiers, and six days after the sacking of Dina-vâca he gave two more. So liberal was he with the goods of others, of which he got the greater part, because of the 500,000 xerafins, which was all that was forthcoming, a fifth went to the King [of Portugal] which Francisco de Souza Falcaõ took to Goa in November [15]94. Thence they returned to Seytavâca with the King and Queen and the spoils of that City, and there the Badagâ distributed liberally to all, and Simaõ Pinhaõ married a Sister of the young King. Javîra being now obeyed, killed those who had opposed his marriage with the Princess without leaving alive any one save those who fled to Candea. However, he showed himself in everything, or pretended to be, a friend of the Portuguese, distributing to them some lands, as if he were an absolute Lord and being addressed as Highness. In this there was a great disorder among many others which could not be avoided, because they all went on this conquest with such eagerness, that there remained in Columbo only about 12 old men ; and though the Portuguese in the whole Island were much less than 600, they remained in Seytavâca surrounded by 20,000 Chingalâz [and] as confident in themselves and as negligent of Columbo, as if they were in their own country. But the truth is we were ever the same in our confidence

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and in our contempt of Asiatics, and from this sprang the greatest losses they inflicted on us, and it was only the rich booty that, on this occasion, dazzled the Chingalâ faithlessnèss.

Pedro Homê Pereyra returned to Columbo, leaving the frontiers garrisoned and in them the greater part of the Portuguese, taking with him the Grandmother and the King her grandson, who were immediately entrusted to the Religious of St. Francis to be instructed and baptized. The Father Friar Christouaõ da Madre de Deos laboured hard at this and he baptized the King Nica Pita Adacÿ under the name of D. Phelipe, who being brought here to Goa on the order of the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, was brought up in the College of the Kings. Afterwards he went to Portugal and died in the year 1608, when he was studying Arts in the University of Coymbra. Pedro Homẽ Pereyra returned to Seytavâca, where nearly all the Portuguese were with D. Gil Anes de Noronha, captain of the garrison.

Before the death of Rajû, the Governor of Maturê was Banaca Modeliar, | who, even at that time, submitted to him *F 212v* but ill. After his death he completely dispensed himself from obedience to King Adacÿ. The Badagâ, Javirâ, was not well affected towards him, probably because of struggles for favour. To destroy this man he chose Joaõ Rodriguez Camelo, who was very acceptable to him, with 100 Portuguese and 15,000 Lascarins. The Banaca awaited him with 3,000, but they pressed him so hard, that they killed him and brought his head to Javira who rewarded them highly. In a short time all the others obeyed, including the *P 388* three | Queens who had escaped in Denavâca, which was a prize which Javira highly esteemed, because it increased his pomp and state, which consists, for the most part, in having many wives and especially of such quality as these.

Now did the eyes of the Portuguese open wider, seeing the best part of Ceylon conquered and subjected by such a small force, and that the right to these lands belonged to a King who had no hope of a direct successor. They were confirmed in it [by the thought of] how useful it would be to the State, if they became the masters of an Island so coveted and so great, that its dominion and the propagation of the Portuguese blood therein would ensure the mastery of the East, and wherein the Portuguese nation was able to take such root, that in a few years there would be a new Portugal in India, as the salubrity of the climate favoured fecundity and the riches made for prosperity, in an Island completely secure from the invasions of Oriental Princes, both because of its

united might, and because its only neighbour was the sea in which we were, and could always be, complete masters, and never with greater security than when the forces on land were most increased, as might be expected from that one which was quite equal, and in many important respects superior, to the best in the world.

I do not find, however, that at this time they used the proper means for so important an end. For much as Pero Lopes de Souza facilitated the matter in Goa, it was on far different motives and reasons, while the war could have been waged on the ground of the right of King D. Joaõ Perea Pandar, the lawful Lord of that Island, because as there was no one to claim with a just title the Kingdom of Seytavâca, and as some of the most powerful of the Chingalâz were already baptized, a Christian King would not have been so odious as to make them refuse to acknowledge his claims or to abhor the person of the one in whom alone was preserved the legitimate descent from their ancient Kings and Emperors. But when they saw a new [form of] government and new intentions of the Portuguese [disclosed] by the introduction of a new General as conquistador, and when they suspected that the attempt was not only to subdue the whole of Ceylon, but even to marry the Princess of Candea, D. Catharina to a Portuguese gentleman, who would be King of Candea in such a way as to acknowledge | vassalage to the King of Portugal, *F 213* that great change succeeded altogether in alienating the minds of a nation that ill-endured its own native government [and was] unyielding to a foreign one, and in making those very people who once obeyed us declare themselves against us, uniting the whole Island against the Portuguese nation without hesitating to accept a subject for King, provided he was an Apuamî or Chingalâ gentleman.

After so long an experience, it was not difficult to know that this was their determination and that there ever was need of a greater force of Portuguese than the one brought by Pero Lopez de Souza to make sure of the enterprise and to subdue by force of arms a brave and restless nation within *P 389* its own lands and under the shelter of its highlands | which constitute the interior of Ceylon and the Kingdom of Candea, or to secure the conquered Kingdoms till fair treatment and usage facilitated obedience, and the State had forces enough to extend the conquest, which as it seemed and as experience showed later on, should not be less than 3,000 Portuguese, which was the number which the Viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha took to Seytavâca and [it should have been done] in the manner we shall point out later, unless we wished to risk

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everything, when everything was at stake. And it is very probable that this rising would not have taken place, if we had only endeavoured to conquer Candea with the person and arms and lieges of King D. Joaõ against a rebel tyrant, since he was now acknowledged in the two other Realms, with the help of such a moderate force of Portuguese as would not have given room for the suspicion that we aimed at the sovereignity of that Island. And still more if the Princess Catharina of Candea had married one of the noblest of the Christian Chingalâz placed on the throne of Candea by the King of Cota as his tributary. In short in Ceylon we seek either the Faith or Dominion ; for the Faith alone there is no better human means than to preserve Christian and native Kings ; to obtain Dominion the forces with which we attempted it were not enough ; and so great an opportunity required that none [of the forces] of India and if necessary of Portugal, should have been spared.

But in Goa without heeding these difficulties, which we shall discuss better afterwards, and [without heeding] that there was not the same reason as in the low countries, which had a native King of their own [and where there was less difficulty], as long as the conquest of the whole Island was not attempted, and as long as they had a refuge in the rebel of Candea, a man from whom anything might be expected, for he was tall of body, well limbed and of great strength, proud, presumptuous, of sharp intelligence, prudent, sagacious, sufficiently well informed, and of great resources in war, who, as everybody knew, was above the average of that nation in valour | and never lost heart or presence of mind, *F 213v* in which the valour of a Captain principally consists—overlooking all these considerations, they resolved in Goa to conquer the whole of that Island ; and D. Bernardo Coutinho set out first with provisions and munitions in a ship, which was lost in a strong gale in the bay of Columbo, though the men and munitions were saved. There set out also towards the end of April 1594, Pedro Lopez de Souza with the title of General Conquistador, the first in Ceylon. He brought 600 of the best soldiers we had in India in a galley and 18 ships, of which the Captains were Francisco Brito de Melo, D. Gastaõ Coutinho, Aluaro, Luis, and Martim de Souza, Antaõ de Melo, Henrique Pinto, Antonio Coelho de Melo. Ruy de Sâ, Francisco da Silua, Phelipe Toscano, Antonio Correa de Aguiar, Sebastiaõ de Aguiar his brother, Nicolao da Silua, Francisco da Silua, Francisco Pereyra de Sâ, D. Bernado de *P 390* Noronha, Gaspar de Magalhaes, | Simaõ Pereyra, [and] Nicolao Rodriguez de Castanhada ; and being driven by the same

tempest, the usual disturbance in that Gulf, at great risk, he made landfall in the port of Nigumbo and drawing up the ships on shore, he came to Columbo, and they all regretted not having been able to take part in the expedition of Seytavâca.

Pedro Homẽ Pereyra was not at all able to hide his resentment at seeing another preferred to him, thinking that he deserved that expedition for having subjected two Kingdoms so successfully and for knowing how to profit by time and opportunity, since, otherwise, it would cost much blood. Javira who was in Maturê, being informed by Pedro Homẽ Pereyra, marched to Columbo, and on the 26th of May [15]94, he learnt that Pedro Lopez was already in Columbo while the rest of the forces were in Seytavâca ; and they say he uttered these words. 'I expected one thing, and by a trick of fortune I meet with another. I was a wretched trader.' His accounts must have been well made, and from men like this we should not have expected any fidelity. They say that this traitor, on seeing our self-confidence, made up his mind to become master of Columbo in one night by killing the Portuguese who were there. But seeing his purpose frustrated, he came to Columbo to greet the General on his safe arrival, which drove great terror into the whole of Ceylon. He at once despatched D. Bernardo Coutinho in a galliot with 40 solidiers to fetch from Manâr the Princess of Candea, D. Catharina, who was still in the house of Gabriel Colaço ; and to come and join the main body on the frontiers of the Seven-Corlas along with what men he could muster there. But the galliot sank in a tempest which blew on the 13th of June, and | not one escaped save Urbano de Pinho, a thing *F 214* which the General felt very much, because good men were thus lost and because he was obliged to delay the expedition longer, while a message was again sent to Manâr.

He wrote to the Captain of Manâr, informing him of his intentions, and to Francisco da Silua Arcalaos, a name which suited him well because of his enormous stature, giving him the same order which he had given to D. Bernado. He set out thence with the Princess and with 200 men in six companies under the command of Captains Ambrosio Coelho, Luis and Vincent Sobrinho, his brother Henrique de Caldas, Antonio Barbosa Draque and 400 well trained Lascarins of Manâr. He [Pedro Lopez de Souza] at once made up his mind to proceed on his expedition to Candea though, owing to the loss of the ship, he was very short of necessaries and provisions for so large a number of men, especially of rice. But he was like one going to his doom. He went to Maluâna and along with some Captains he went to see the works and ruins of

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Seytavâca. There he met Pedro Homõ Pereyra and D. Gil Anes de Noronha who with great solemnity delivered to him the City and the conquered lands. He took 100 men from Seytavâca, entrusted that garrison to Noronha, leaving *P 391* Pereyra in his fortalice of Columbo. | And Javira taking 9000 Lascarins, on the 18th June [15]94 they marched to Tanagâla, and there was no one to apprize him of the difficulties of that conquest or of the delays that could happen, the insufficiency of the provisions he was taking, which must not be expected from the Enemies, and especially since the army grew in numbers as the lascarins of Javira afterwards rose to 15,000. But one who trusts in himself for everything neither seeks counsel nor lets another give it to him. He passed to Tanagâla and three days later to Manicrauarê, where the rainy weather kept him awaiting 15 days. Thence he marched to Gabaragâma[1], which was in the Seven-Corlas, committing great havoc in the country, which sufficed to subdue it. The Prince of the Seven-Corlas, Videa Bandar, asked his favour against the Tyrant of Candea who had taken them from him, and to effect it the better, he became a Christian with great solemnity, but with false heart led only by self-interest.

Within sight of the Hills of Candea, which are continuous with those of Vilaçem, he awaited a few days for the Queen and the men from Manâr, and when they joined the army, he attempted at once to ascend the very narrow passes in which the renegade and rebel D. Joaõ had fortified himself with stockades and felled trees, and with all the might of that Realm, which could have caused great alarm to one who despised life less, or had not ceased to fear numbers. But he judged this combat from the ease of the previous conquests, and though he was not disillusioned on this occasion, he fell in the other. He | drew up his army, mixing the Portuguese *F 214v* with the Chingalâz, and giving 'Sant-Iago' they attacked those fortified quarters capable of checking the rush of an Alexander. After a goodly resistance the quarters were taken at the point of the spear, at the cost of the life of Ruy Dias Pinheyro, of 15 soldiers of his company, and of much blood. Alexandre de Abreu and Assenço Fernandes had defied each other at play, but on better counsels and with more honourable courage, they reduced their contention to this, 'Who should act more bravely in this assault.' Assenço fell mounting the walls, Alexandre among the first above-mentioned. They did not stop with the enemy's quarters, but pursued the Enemy who were flying like birds

[1] Galbodagama. 'Polgahawela Railway Station is really in Galbodagama.'—Pieris, P. E., I. 548., n. 54.

along the mountains, and conquering stockades at every step, they pursued them two leagues up to the river, the vanguard going so far ahead of the main body that they remained that night separated from the rearguard, which meanwhile buried the dead and recovered the baggage. This victory was obtained on the 5th of July 1594. The General beheld with wonder that they had gained those precipices and began to think the less of the Chingalâz for having abandoned them ; and the greater part of the disasters we had in India arose from despising the Enemy without making a difference between one nation and another, and without heeding how much one resolution differed from another according to the circumstances that determined them, while the only true wisdom consisted in not rushing headlong, especially in offensive warfare with people who trust more to snares than to strength ; for if they abandoned a risky position, it was in order to avenge themselves in another
P 392 more dangerous. | The tyrant D. Joaõ did not stop till he had reached the hills of Vilaçê and the interior of Triquilemalê among Bedas, leaving his Court abandoned and partly burnt. And as Candea is only four leagues distant from the hill of Balane, on the following day our men crossed the river Mavevlliganga and encamped in the City, it appearing to the General that everything was over, without taking into account that he had to feed 20,000 mouths, and that from all that district, in spite of the greatest diligence, not more than what sufficied for a month could be got together.

Javîra, seeing that there was no resistance there, nor in all the 9 leagues of the diameter of that Kingdom, except in the other vassal states, tried to go to Vilaçem, a distance of 8 leagues and to Uva 14 leagues, both lordships subject to Candea. He asked as companion Francisco de Silua, who had brought the Princess in company with Catherina de Abreu, a Portuguese [Lady], wife of Gabriel Colaço, and four Religious of St. Francis and one of the Society of Jesus. Silua was well versed in Ceylon and very valiant, as he had proved in the preceding sieges and in that of Manâr, where with one galliot and a few men he worked wonders. He took 100 Portuguese | and Javira [took] the greater part of his men F 215
and of the Lascarins that came from Manâr, Pedro Afonço and Miguel Monteyro remaining with their lascarins. In none of those states did they meet with any considerable resistance. They returned to Candea, bringing as prisoner the Prince of Uva, uncle of the rebel D. Joaõ ; and knowing that he had to die, he became a convert to our Holy Faith, but though Javira attempted to hinder it, he was beheaded in a theatre.

CHAPTER 14.

The Last Successes of General Pero Lopez de Souza

The General placed Portuguese to guard the Princess, not allowing the Chingalâz to speak to her, lest they should attempt any rebellion, from which they concluded that the war was not being made in her name, as was given out and as they believed in the beginning, and this was the principal reason why the Kingdom did not come into obedience, the inhabitants retiring to the hills to seek help from the rebel. The General wished to marry her to Francisco da Silua and to make him King of Candea, tributary to him of Portugal, because besides the good parts already referred to, he was the strongest and the most shapely of all the Portuguese that were in India at the time. But he, like a prudent man, refused the honour, which he would perhaps have accepted, if he had forseen his destruction in a shipwreck
P 393 in Cafraria on his way | to Portugal, wherein he lost his life while the rest escaped. Seeing that everything was quiet, Francisco da Silua asked permission from the General to return to Manâr, and he granted it to him and to other soldiers, in whose company went some others.

The Tyrant King profited by these dispositions, and exchanging letters with Javira Bandar, promised to make him King of Seytavâca and of Cota, if he joined him and rose against the Portuguese. Javira, who was the Wallenstein of Ceylon, seeing that the Modeliares of Columbo and Manâr were the only ones to be dreaded, as they were faithful to the Portuguese, persuaded the General to send Luis Moro to Uva ; and not 4 days after his arrival there, the people of the country fell upon him treacherously and delivered him up to the Tyrant, who ordered him to be cruelly put to death along with those who accompanied him. Javira, feigning great resentment, tried to persuade Pero Lopes da Souza to avenge that audacity, asking him for some Portuguese to go along with his men to chastise him. But the General, who no longer trusted him, excused himself with prudent reasons. Then he asked him to let the Princess marry a brother-in-law of his with the intention of | destroying the F 215v
Portuguese, making his brother-in-law King of Candea and taking for himself the Kingdoms of Cota and Seytavâca. The General gained time saying that there was time for

everything and that this could be done when they returned to Columbo. Meanwhile Javira went on gaining the hearts of people by generous gifts, and frequently sent money, arms, and munitions to the Rebel, asking him to harass the Portuguese, so that they might be lured out of the City, and he might have time to effect what he intended. The enemy appeared along the neighbouring hills, barking with loud battle cries. The General sent Francisco da Brito with 150 Portuguese and Pedro Afonço Modeliar with 300 lascarins to pursue them. But as they took no guide, they wandered for two days among thickets and hills and when tehy sent some detached Lascarins to discover the camp and have speech, they came upon six natives and others of the household of Javira. They killed them and captured a present of inlaid firelocks, velvet and other jewels, which the traitor was sending to the Tyrant with an *ola* in which he asked him to rout Francisco de Brito, disclosing that the force he had was small, and promising to take the General to the Pagode where he was wont to go for recreation with some of his guard; and that when these were killed, it would be easy to settle with D. Gastaõ Coutinho and the others who were guarding the City. Before this there had come into the hands of Pedro Afonço some *olas* which proved the false dealings of Javira. But as it was risky to do anything at that time, either to kill him, or to seize him, or to dissemble with his dealings till they returned to Columbo, the General was delaying his decision. Many demands and protests were made to him, and many admonitions by means of the Religious, that he should seize him. But as the General prudently foresaw, it was not so easy to come to a determination as some people thought.

P 394 | Meanwhile a Badagâ, a prominent kinsman of Javira, inspired by God, repeatedly begged the Religious of St. Francis to baptize him, saying that a most beautiful lady dressed with the Sun and crowned with stars with the Moon at her foot, would not allow him repose at night, admonishing him to be converted to the Faith of Christ. The Religious of St. Francis, wondering at the matter and the immense beauty which the Badagâ related of his visitor, and having fully inquired into the manner of those visions and how fit he was for baptism, conferred it on him the following day with the name of his sponsor D. Gastaõ Coutinho. Then he gave information of the treason and the manner in which Javira had disposed the rising, with proofs which were found to be true, as he had been of his council. Again they brought before the General another *ola* in which he persuaded the

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Tyrant to approach the City on the following night | [saying] *F 216.* that he would order one side of it to be set on fire and that when the Portuguese sallied out to put out the conflagration, they should all attack them, that for this purpose he had already in his house many Badagâs whom he had introduced little by little under the disguise of Yogis. Upon this information, the General appointed patrols to watch the whole night and saw clearly all the signals set forth in the *ola*, though the traitor, seeing the alertness in which the Portuguese were, put off the execution [of his plan] to the following night. Seeing so many proofs, the General took counsel with D. Gastaõ Coutinho and Alauro de Souza, and they were of unanimous opinion that he should be put to death. At this point the documents disagree, because some say that he put them into a room and sent for Javira, as was his usual custom. He came at once, though with some uneasiness, because of the precautions of the previous night. The General entered into conversation with him, and Aluaro de Sousa coming into their midst gave him three thrusts with the very kris of gold which Javira wore in his belt, of which he died on the spot, falling at the hands of those whose lives he meant to take. Others say that putting the Portuguese arrayal in arms, the General went well attended to the tent of Javira. The Traitor, alarmed by his guests and with the fear of death, without being questioned, began to protest: 'that all that the General had heard was false and fabricated by his enemies; that before killing him they should seize him till his guilt was inquired into, that he trusted to his innocence to defend him.' The General like a magnanimous person, thinking that this was reasonable and in accordance with justice, was already inclined to proceed more slowly, but some of the cavaliers who were there, especially Antonio Barboso the Draque, Francisco de Brito, Francisco Daluim and others, knowing that it was the intention of the traitor to attempt to warn his men to rescue him from the danger in which he was, killed him on the spot with their daggers and also his brother-in-law and some Badagas who happened to be there.

However it may have happened, as soon as the affray was rumoured about the City, the soldiers killed therein *P 395* about 50 Badagas. The rest put themselves | in safety along with the Lascarins, none remaining with the Portuguese save those of Columbo and Manâr, who did not number one thousand. In the house of Javira were found 14 *paraz*[1]

[1] Malayal. *para*, a measure equal to about one and half alqueyre.—Souza: Hist. de S. Domingo III., 369.

of gold in *chocaroẽs*[1] [the para] being a measure greater than an alqueyre, which the General ordered to be secured along with all the precious stones and *olas* of his treasures. There was taken the stone called 'Maynato'[2], about which D. Luis Coutinho had much worry, and they say that the wealth was so great, that it exceeded a million and a half of gold. The very people who before had inconsiderately approved the death of Javira, on seeing the consequence of the flight of the Lascarins, | now blamed the Captain for not seizing F 216v
him and taking him to Columbo, as if his capture at a time when the treachery was so declared and all accomplices in it, would not have caused the same danger of the Lascarins running away. There was seen a general sadness among all, when they realised the danger in which they were. To remain there fortifying themselves better in that City, there were neither provisions nor any one to sell them any, as the whole country was in rebellion: to inform Pedro Homẽ Pereyra to succour them, there was the same danger of risking all that we had in Ceylon and that the Chingalâz of the subject Kingdoms would do the same to Pedro Homẽ and the few soliders he had, as those of Candea wanted to do to them. And it was impossible for want of victuals to expect to get them from the low country without an escort sufficient to secure it. Finally it was still more impossible to send information to Goa and to await the necessary succour, all of which would not have been the case, had the precautions been different, for it is evident how little there was in the army, since there was not enough to supply so few men, because the Lascarins who fled in that hurry did not take away anything of value. But the errors of the beginning always had worse results in the end, and the Captain who does not see everything that the dispositions promise, does not deserve to hold the baton; nor had Javira been so loyal to his King as to make one presume with such assurance that he would be so to the Portuguese, nor were his aspirations so modest, that seeing such a good opportunity, he could not aspire to greater fortune, especially after he saw that they refused to his brother-in-law the Princess whom they offered to a Portuguese.

In spite of all these difficulties, though in their conversations they gave themselves up for lost, their vigour gave them courage to sell their lives dear. After a few days the General

[1] Tam. *chakkaram*, a gold coin with 120 reis (1697).—Orient. Conqu. I. 2, 1. Nunes, *Lyvro dos Pesos*, 36.

[2] Maynato in Indo-Portuguese means (1) a washerman, (2) a bird.

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again paid the Lascarins of Columbo and Manâr in order to keep them more content, with Panica Modeliar in the place of Javira. But after the payment, they joined the rest, there remaining only 300 with the ever faithful Pedro Afonço and Miguel Monteyro. On the following day, 5th of October, the arrayal made its way to Ganûr in the neighbourhood of the impregnable hill of Balanê, where they hoped to fortify themselves, a thing which they ought to have done beforehand, when they were succoured by Pedro Homê Pereyra, Captain of Columbo, and D. Julianes de Noronha who was on guard
P 396 at Seytavâca, for whoever enters Candea | must first garrison Balanê and from the praça make inroads into that Kingdom. And seeing the lack of provisions, he depatched the Captain Antonio Barboza the Draque and Francisco Correa, and the company of Aluaro de Souza, who was the leader, with 150 soldiers, and the Modeliares Pedro Afonço and Miguel Monteyro with their Lascarins, to a village called Halelûa.[1] And they got together | much *bate* (thus is called in Goa F 217
the rice in the husk which in the South is called *nêle*) but not being content with what they found, they delayed to set fire to some pagodes, pull down buildings and burn the Village giving time to the Tyrant to attack them with more than 7,000 men. They fought their way for more than two leagues and a half, through the roughest paths and the densest woods of that Realm, and the mortality of the Enemy was incredible. But in this obstinate battle the Portuguese were now scarcely able to move their arms being without food and without rest, fighting for many hours with an enemy constantly reinforced; and finally after giving good proof of their constancy and superhuman strength and earning for themselves an undying fame, the majority fell there, Aluaro de Souza escaping, though badly wounded, with some Lascarins of Columbo, who brought the news to Ganûr where the General was. Then they resolved to retire at dawn of the following day, the eighth of October, to the Hill of Balanê, first preparing themselves by receiving the Sacraments of Confession and Communion, and making a fresh muster of the whole army, they found only about 368 Portuguese. D. Gastaõ Coutinho led the advance guard, in the vanguard were Diogo Lopez de Souza and the Princess D. Catharina; in the rearguard the General Pedro Lopes de Souza; for such were the names they gave to the three almost equal bodies which were formed, as those lands did not permit of more numerous squadrons.

[1] Haloluwa on the Mahaveli Ganga on the old road to Kurunegala. Law Gaz. I. 315.

There the General made a short address, showing in their extreme peril the greatest courage, and he called upon them all to remember the law they professed in order to defend it with their lives, the King whom they served in order to excite their loyalty, the noble blood which animated them in order to sell their lives for honour; and he asked them all to do what they saw him do. And after worshipping a Crucifix, which Father Antonio Esquipano of the Society of Jesus held in his hands, they began to march, and by seven in the morning the tyrant D. Joaõ appeared with such a multitude of enemies, consisting of his own men and rebels, that they covered the hills, mountains and dales, and the most experienced men could not believe that there were in those lands so many people, save by enchantment. When they were within firelock shot, they surrounded the arrayal on all sides, and a terrible battle began in which many of the enemy died, and on our side D. Gastaõ Coutinho, Simaõ Pereyra, Francisco de Brito and others. They were now of opinion that as there was no hope of shelter or succour and as it would give more boldness to the Enemies if we showed that we feared their forces, they should charge with fresh
P 397 courage | and utmost resolution; and though they drove them from the field, the Chingalâz who had many seats as spectators[1] against so few bulls,[in the ring] returned once more with greater force upon the vanguard; and as the battle lasted a long time | and they had to march and fight F 217t at the same time and sometimes in narrow passes, our advance guard became separated, and as they had no men of the country to guide them, they came upon a marshy field where at last their heads were cut off, and the vanguard was also routed after three hours of fighting with the death of Captains Henrique Pinto, Diogo Borge* and others. The General with the rearguard advanced alongside a hilf where he fought valiantly the whole day till munitions ran short, and he was wounded with two fatal wounds and six minor ones. Now all were without spirit, and they had not tasted food since ten of the previous day, and with no hope of being able to free themselves from so many enemies, though they had caused great destruction on them, which made little effect on such a multitude, they continued the battle with spears till night fell completely, whereupon the enemy stopped. By morning only 93 men, all badly injured, were found. Some say 220, but I follow what seems more probable. And they were obliged to surrender, as they had no help for it.

[1] 'Palanques,' the scaffolds from which the people viewed bull fights.

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The Tyrant, that very day, entered the City in triumph dragging the prisoners after him, though he was eaten up with rage, because he had lost so many men, and in these last encounters more that 5,000 of the best of his army. Forthwith that very day, he married the unfortunate Princess D. Catharina so as the better to secure his right to the Realm. At her request, the General was nursed and well treated, but being full of agony over the failure of this expedition, over the captains, gentlemen, friends, and good soldiers that were lost and anxious for his son, a boy of tender age, called Diogo Lopez de Souza, and his pride not enduring the thought of being seen by the Portuguese after being the author of the greatest ruin which up to that time had ever befallen our arms in Ceylon, and realizing how much his courage had misled him not to foresee the issues of war, the varying fortunes of arms, and the Chingalâ faithlessness; ir the midst of these tortures seeing death approaching, with his own hand he entrusted his son to the tyrant King, who three years afterwards gave him his freedom, and he came to die in Goa by a fall from a horse. Finally being well prepared and ready for death, the General gave his soul to his Creator. He was a gentleman of distinguished birth, a native of Trancozo, tall of body, with a long beard already gray, pointed nose, a large head, sunken eyes, somewhat slow of speech as is usual with choleric persons, but merry by nature and courageous in spirit, with a heart for great deeds, only marred by an inclination to his own opinion, in which there is little harm, if when compared with the rest, experience shows it to be better.

P 398 | The best-known Captains who fell in this war and of whom I found | mention were Nicolaõ da Silua, Ambrosio F 218 Coelho, Martim de Souza, Henrique de Caldas, Antonio Barboza the Draque; and afterwards in the march with the General, D. Gastaõ Coutinho, Antaõ de Melo, Antonio Coelho de Melo, Francisco da Silua Castelhano so often named, Simaõ Pereyra, the two brothers Sebastiaõ de Aguiar, Antonio Correa de Aguiar, Henrique Pinto, Nicolaõ Rodriguez de Castanheda, Gaspar de Magalhaẽs, [and] Francisco de Barriga. Francisco Correa escaped through the forests with some Lascarins of Columbo, but with many wounds and without a nose, for on this occasion out of tyranny and ridicule, they cut off the noses of many and even of the General. Pero Velozo, a native of Amarante, was left for dead with his nose cut off, but his friend Domingos Carvalho Caõ, a native of Villa Real, in proof of his noble fidelity and the valour with which he acted in that conquest, being often

Captain and Dissâva of Maturê, with the help of some Lascarins took his friend on his back, put him in safety, and marched many leagues with him, though greatly tormented by wounds still open; and Pero Velezo afterwards became the first Captain of Galê appointed by the King.

There remained prisoners Francisco Pereyra Deçã, the two brothers Vincent and Luis Sobrinho, Phelipe Toscano and Ruy Deca; and of these two we shall speak again. Father Negraõ says in his memoirs that of the Religious of St. Francis there died in the battle along with the General, Friar Simaõ de Lyz pierced in the breast, Friar Manoel Pereyra in the stomach, and that Friar Pedro de Christo with five wounds and nose cut off and Friar Luis with the same indignity, remained captives. Lomba says that six Religious of St. Francis died and that Friar Gonçalo de Rosa remained prisoner and that after some years he obtained his liberty, and that Father Antonio Esquipano of the Society of Jesus had it after a few months. This difference must not be minded in matters which in the course of time were cleared. Great were the spoils which were brought on the elephants of Javîra besides others laden with some provisions, powder and munitions, which fled in the conflict of the battle, one of them taking the Princess who that very day was delivered to the Tyrant, for turned away by the noise of instruments of war and the clamours of so great a multitude, which was like a horrible and continuous thunder resounding over the mountains, they did not stop till they had wandered away from the tumult, and it was owing to this that our men ran short of powder and munitions.

CHAPTER 15.

P 399 OF THE OTHER THINGS THAT HAPPENED IN CANDEA AND SEYTAVACA, AND OF THE FIRST DEEDS OF D. JERONIMO DE AZEVEDO *F 218v*

On the following day the rebel sent for Phelipe Toscano and Ruy d'Eça, by whose example, as they were Captains, he intended to pervert the rest, and with fair words and generous promises he endeavoured to persuade them to become pagans.

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boring their ears and wearing *xendý* [1] [saying] that otherwise they would experience the utmost rigour. They answered steadfastly: 'That not for the whole world would they abandon the Faith of Christ.' He forthwith ordered them to be tied to two trees and the same warnings and threats to be repeated. He ordered [his men] to shoot Ruy d'Eça with an arrow, who with that fixed in him said: 'Why dost thou not remember that thou art a Baptized Christian, and that thou hast sucked the milk of the doctrine of the Catholic Church? Why dost thou show thyself a Rebel to thy Shepherd, whose sheep thou art, though a lost one? Cease to deceive thyself, for thy fury and thy sword will never avail to separate me from that flock.' The enraged Tyrant ordered him to be shot on the wounds he received in the battle, and being made another St. Sebastian, with his eyes fixed on Heaven, he gave his happy soul to God. His companion at the sight of this example anticipated the promises and threats of the King and made a public confession of his Faith. The Tyrant, revelling in his blood, ordered [them] to shoot him also, and to call upon him again to become a pagan in exchange for his life. 'It will behove thee more' said the valorous Martyr 'to convert thyself from the erring path in which thou walkest, for to-day I obtain from thee the end of my troubles and the beginning of my rest. Take heed for in the end thou wilt seek to come to port, but foul weather will not permit thee.' The tyrant King ordered [his men] to continue the arrows and the exhortations to give up the Faith, himself taking a bow to shoot at him. The soldier of Christ said to him: 'Thou mayest shoot, but thy arrows have no other force than that which my sins give them, and thou wilt find here a heart firmer in the Faith than a column of marble'; and as the arrows continued he ended the course of his happy life and received the reward of his constancy. One of the other soldiers whom, as we do not know his name, we may call Adauctus,[2] desiring the same fate as the two Captains, reprimanded the tyrant for the deaths which he inflicted, reminding him that he was a Christian and that it was not right to make use of such tyrannies. The rebel being wrath ordered a

[1] See p, 83 n. 2

[2] A Christian Martyr whose name was not known was called 'The Added' (Adauctus), because he was added to St. Felix. Cujus nomen cum ignotum esset Christianis, is Adaucti nomine nobilitatus est quod Sancto Felici *adauctus* sit ad coronam. Rom. Brev. 30 Aug.

cornaca [1] who was on an elephant to take his life. The Beast threw him down | with its trunk, and placing its foot on him F 219
crushed him. In this manner he ordered 60 Portuguese to be shot, foaming with rage and walking about near them. Those who remained he often tempted to abandon their Faith, and
P 400 he made use of them | for the works of the City, without giving them any other food than what they obtained as alms, and afterwards he distributed them among the villages in order to conquer them, and taking them apart one by one, he pressed them to retract, and finally he ordered them all to be killed in revenge for the 600 whom our men beheaded in the stockade of Rûna.

At the time when they were working in the City, naked in the heat and cold which on these mountains are severe, they spent the nights in prison, in which some died abandoned and had for sepulchre the bellies of beasts. It happened that when they were saying their prayers at night before a Crucifix, other Chingalâ prisoners mocked at the devotion of the Portuguese, and they often warned them to refrain, because the least they had to lose in that state was the uncertain and painful life, but as the pagans persisted in it, one day when they had just beaten their breasts begging God for mercy, an action which was ignominious in their eyes, the Portuguese became indignant and, in spite of the chains in which they were, they fell upon them in such sort, and so great was the strife, that the people of the City came on the scene and with them the Tyrant who, being informed of the cause, on that occasion praised the Portuguese for the zeal for the Faith which they showed, though in a foreign country and shackled and in a prison.

Here likewise it happened that two young men falling out, the one a Christian and the other a pagan, about having or not having a certain thing which the Christian had taken from him, the pagan asked him to swear upon an image of Our Lady which he had in the beads round his neck. He swore with little regard and falsely that he neither took nor had such and such a thing. But straightaway he experienced the chastisement of God, for with great pains all his limbs shrivelled and in less than twelve hours with lamentable clamours and shouts he ended his miserable life : An example and a miracle which set the pagans in great wonderment, extolling the justice of the God of the Christians, and thenceforward when there was

[1] Mahout, driver of the elephant. See p. 75, n. 1

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a strife, both Christians and Pagans at once came to terms by swearing by the God of the Portuguese. Souza in his Asia touches briefly, as is his wont, on this long tragedy and says that more than 120 Portuguese suffered Martyrdom, and names as Friar Francisco de Christo the one whom Father Negraõ, who was under greater obligation to know it, calls | F 219v
Friar Pedro. And though I do not approve of the cruelties of which he accuses the General D. Jeronimo de Azevedo who succeeded Pero Lopez de Souza, I must point out the reasons he had in those which the tyrant practised, and the ridicule which he made of the Portuguese nation by cutting off the noses of all the prisoners' and even of the General himself in cold blood, for with that nation there is no other law but a tooth for a tooth, and they only respect those whom they fear. And in order that he might not continue this mutilation, D Jeronimo resorted to the tyrannies which he [Souza] points out. From the Chingalaz this brutal war passed to the
401 Mysorians in the interior of Cananor | and above the Ghates, who in their wars carry a special instrument with which they cut off noses and lips at one and the same time, a thing which grieves their neighbours so much, that many drown themselves in the wells ; whereby they made themselves so odious, that no less than four potentates a short time ago left the greater part of the Kingdom destroyed and subjected. Nor were the Israelites less hated because of their shamelessness in cutting off the foreskin ; and the Abyssinians are not a little hated to-day because they practise this infamous warfare ; but the most to which the wrath of Caesar rose, after routing the camp of Pompey, was to order [his men] not to kill the Roman citizens but to wound them in the face, *Miles, parce ciuibus, in faciem caedi.* These are sufficient reasons to excuse D. Jeronimo de Azevedo who was not accused of these excesses anywhere else. But Souza either because he was ill-informed, or because of his character, on the plea of relating the truth, did not hesitate to take away the credit of persons worthy of all respect and deserving of great praise to the great detriment of the Portuguese nation, and I do not know how the Ministers of Portugal let these libels pass, and those upon D. Joaõ I. regarding his rights to the Kingdom which elected him, in a Language [1] so much spread in Europe, a reason which obliges us, as already in other writings, to defend the honour of the individuals and the credit of the nation. This defeat took place on 6th October, 1594.

[1] Faria Y. Souza, though a Portuguese, wrote his book in Spanish

At this time Pedro Homẽ Pereyra was at Seytavâca with Gil Anes de Noronha and on the first intimation of the strait in which Pedro Lopes de Souza was, they hastened to reinforce him, and when they were already on the way, there arrived Francisco Correa, of whom we have already spoken, badly wounded and without a nose, giving the sad news of the recent disaster, which caused great lamentation and equal mourning both in Seytavâca as well as in Columbo, as there was no one who had not lost a husband or kinsman or friend therein. It was resolved in Council that, considering the fewness of the men we had, all should repair to Columbo. The Modeliar D. Fernando that night received information from a friend about another treasure which Rajû had left, of silver as well as gold, with which he loaded | 5 elephants. But the old Queen F 22o who was in Columbo took care to take two of them from him near that fortalice; and Pero Correa a Columbo-born man and another Portguese took another, there remaining to him only the two which carried only gold. For 10 days there was no appearance of a rising and our men seeing this tranquility, few as they were, went to put themselves in the 'grand stockade,' after sending tidings to Mannâr and Goa and to the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque that they found themslves with only 150 soldiers. From Manâr there came promptly Francisco da Silua with 40. There were there the Modeliares D. Fernano and Domingos Correa with 100 lascarins, who had the good fortune to escape from Candea, having been sent by the General to fetch reinforcements, and making fresh diligence, they got together more than 1,000. But while this was taking place, Aracagaõ[1] Apuamî, a near [relative] of the
P 402 Royal house, | revolted in Seytavâca and was enlisting men judging himself capable of this enterprise, because he saw himself rich with the greatest treasures which Rajû had hidden, which they say would be four millions; and leaving his wife and children in Seytavâca he extended as far as Gurubebile, two leagues from our stockade. Before his arrayal could increase, he was attacked by our men, but he escaped and took refuge in the woods. Our men being persuaded that he had retired to Seytavâca, entered the City, burnt the Palace, and loaded themselves with money, the greater part falling to Modeliar Domingos Correa, who, either because he spent it, or because he deserved, was made Bicarna Cinga as he desired.

The Viceroy, coming to know of this loss, directed Jeronimo de Azevedo who was Captain-major of the Coast of Malavar and had been that four times, to pass over to Ceylon at once,

[1] Kannangara.

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leaving there a fleet sufficient to safeguard the Merchantmen, and to cross the Gulf in light foists, giving him all the provisions and powers which behoved the Office of General Conquistador, and recommending greatly to him the conquest of that Island.[1] He left in that sea Diogo de Miranda Henriques with his galley and ten foists, keeping 19 for himself with Captains Francisco de Miranda Henriques, Duarte Pexyoto da Silua, Joaõ Rijo de Faria, Henrique Aluares da Silua, Bernardo de Abreu, Saluador Pereyra da Silua, Gonçalo Rodriguez de Souza, Constantino Castanho, Antonio da Miranda de Azeuedo, Lucas de Misquita, Pero de Almeyda Cabral, Aluaro Ribeyro, Manoel Soares, Ruy de Souza de Alarcaõ, and others. And he left Cochim in great haste on 7th of December, 1594, without heeding that it was out of the monsoon, being the season of the *vara* of Choromandel which, when they were being towed along between the islets of cape | Comorim, made the foist of F 22vv Francisco de Miranda Henrique run aground, who on this occasion behaved like a zealous cavalier, for he saved the artillery, and marching by land at no small cost to himself, he went to meet the Captain-General in Manâr and afterwards they all entered Columbo on the eve of Christmas. Getting ready in a short time, he [Azevedo] set out on the 1st of January, [15]95 in company with D. Joaõ Perea Pandar in order to make himself more acceptable to the Natives, and went to Nagaõ.[2] Where, when he held a muster of the men he led, some say that he found himself with 900 Portuguese, others say with 700, which seems to me more probable, and afterwards with some reinforcements the former number may have been reached. He had besides 2,000 Lascarins. Thence he ordered assaults to be delivered on the two neighbouring Corlas on the frontiers of Columbo and passed on to the Regavâto[3] where he remained some days, and because he found those people rebellious, he made them come to obedience with the punishments which Manoel de Faria e Souza reprehends, principally in Ina Corla. He marched to the pagode of Nagaõ in order to keep in check the proud and warlike people of Evagao Corla. Having brought it under the Portuguese yoke,
P 4b3 he moved his camp | to Gurubebile, a strong place and of importance on the Calâne River. Thence he despatched D. Fernando Samaracon Modeliar of that nation with four hundred of his Lascarins to Reygaõ Corla, and Francisco da Silua with some companies and Domingos Correa Bicarna

[1] From this time Ceylon is referred to as 'the conquest'. *Cf.* p. 498 *infra*, and J 60, 411.

[2] Nawagamuwa.

[3] Rakgahawatta.

cinga with the greater part of the Lascarins ; and they went as far as Chilao, returning by Catambala to Tangâle spending a month in things very important to the service of His Majesty, capturing those who refused obedience and killing others. There it happened that a company of 120 Palaraz came to give their obedience to him, but determined to attack the Portuguese one morning ; which being understood by Captain Francisco da Silua, he pretended to be ill and remained cautious, and immediately on the following day he started to meet the General, without the Palaraz being able to avoid accompanying him. He gave D. Jeronimo an account of what happened and on his ordering him to take counsel about the matter with the King, who had already retired to Columbo, they persuaded him to station himself in a tribune which lay above the camp, around the fortalice, so that the Natives who had come into obedience might do obeisance to him. Meanwhile the General ordered the Portguese to arm themselves and form a cordon and kill the Palaraz as soon as they arrived ; and of 87 who entered only one escaped.

The General, leaving Francisco Gomes Leytaõ in Gurubebile with some companies, marched off to Seytavâca taking the King with him. It was entered | without resistance by *F 221* means of scouts sent ahead. He rebuilt what time and fire had ruined ; and in it he housed the weak old man, King D. Joaõ, in whose company he remained for some time till the Kingdom was subjected. And according to the former style, he entrusted the lands of Maturê and Gâle to D. Fernando Modeliar, and those of the Northern side to Domingos Correa Bicarna Singa. D. Fernando set out with Ambrosio de S. Payo, Captain of 50 Portuguese, to carry out the conquest entrusted to him. A few days afterwards the General went to Manicrauarê, leaving in Seytavâca as a garrison Francisco de Mirdana Henriquez with two companies, and at the pass of Ruanêla, Henrique Aluares da Silua with another. Domingos Correa brought to obedience all that lies from Columbo to Chilao. The General did not cease to repress the rebels, and having information that the pretended King, Acargaõ Apuami, was harassing the subject lands, he went in search of him to the stockade of Petan, and he attacked him in such order and with such determination, that on that very night he abandoned it, leaving the field strewn with lifeless bodies for letting the rebel put himself in safety ; and all the lands of Diangabala[1] and Alutugaõ were reduced to obedience. Seeing, however, that he was not able to avenge himself on the General, that Ceylon might never be quiet, the rebel went in search of Domingos

[1] Dehigampola

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Correa with a great force of men, and he, having tidings of it, *P 404* took the field and gave him battle twice, | wherein after close encounters in which he was in great danger, he fought with valour and obtained the palm of victory, and his men rich spoils, the enemy losing more than a thousand men. There were many prisoners, among whom were two princes, sons of the rebel and other principal Modeliares and Araches. This resulted in the pacification of those lands, as there was no one to fear and the Bicarna Singa was much dreaded. Some time afterwards the Atapata Modeliar, coming to know that Domingos Correa was overrunning the country with a good force, awaited him in Bocalagâma ; the latter however acted with such order, that with great ease he dispersed him, thereby succeeding in subjecting all the lands of those two Kingdoms.

To secure what was conquered, the General erected a good stockade in Manicraurê, a place which was always considered of importance for the preservation of [our] own, because it was in the neighbourhood of the Four and Seven-Corlas, and [also] for keeping the enemy in check, because it was near Candea. And he left as garrison Lucas de Misquita with two Companies. Then he erected a strong place in Ruanela, built of timber and earth | and fascines, where he left Henrique Aluares da Silva *F 221v* with some soldiers to secure the passage to Calane and the transport of provisions to the frontiers which came from Darniagâla, Bulatagâma and Equuisay. By his orders D. Fernando Modeliar following his way, after encounters of little importance, erected a stockade in Gâle on the very site on which the fortalice stands today ; and when the fabric was still unfinished, he entrusted it to Antonio de Souza Cayado, one of the principal gentlemen of that time, a casado of S. Thome, whence he had come with some Portuguese after the rout of Pero Lopez de Souza whom D. Jeronimo put in charge of the Corla of Gâle, removing D. Fernando to be sent to subdue the lands of Dinavâca. But when he wanted to dispatch him, he received information that it had all been subjugated by Duarte Peyxoto da Silua, and by the Bicarna Singa. Domingos Correa. Thus he accomplished so many and such arduous enterprises, which are not specified on account of the number, with extraordinary success, because the valour of the one and the other and the zeal of Duarte Peyxoto da Silua stormed impregnable stockades and traversed passes in inaccessible *Mocalânas*[1] subduing States, killing and capturing enemies, plundering cattle, burning villages, till victuals having run out and their presence being more necessary in other parts, they returned to join the arrayal.

[1] Sin. *mukalana* virgin forest.

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P 405 Of the other Successes, and of the Rebellion of Domingos Correa

But as that State was quite out of the way and needed some garrison, the General at once sent to it Ambrosio de Sampayo, a Captain of worth, and Modeliar D. Fernando, warning them that they would not be without disturbances. Thither they marched for 40 days, having much to do in many encounters; finally when they were retiring from an assault, with the enemy barking behind them, while awaiting more men, it being already evening and there being still a good distance to march, they arrived at a bridge (the whole of which consists of two or three logs lying across); and the Captain sent one of his soldiers, giving him his own baton in order that he might be believed, to advise them to retire and not to take notice of the Enemy. The soldier, however, mistook the order, the usual result of hurry, and said that it was the order of the Captain to attack the Enemies; and when they attacked them forthwith, the enemy cunningly withdrew, abandoning the field till, becoming more numerous and in a more suitable place, they fell upon the Portuguese in such a manner as to make them turn back; and as they were crossing the bridge, | they killed a dozen and some F 222
Lascarins. When they came to the other side, seeing that they were followed through dense forests and over rough roads, by a good trick they bought their lives with money, for they scattered money on the track and the Enemies, being carried away more by greed than by honour, delayed to pick it up and gave them opportunity to cross the river of Sofragaõ with less molestation into more quiet lands and thence to Manicraure where the General was residing.

These continuous labours of war gave occasion to seven soldiers to run away from that conquest[1] by way of Manâr; and when they were on the way, the General learnt of their intention, and in order not to open a door to similar disorders, he sent the Modeliar Domingos Correa with 500 Lascarins with orders, if they should refuse to return, to make first a [verbal] requisition and, if they should not obey it, to bring them back alive or dead. The seven went on their way, having bound themselves by an oath, and they were not men to run away through weakness, but because they were disgusted, and they were determined to die rather than return

[1] Ceylon, *cf. supra* p. 495, n. 1.

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to face the General. When they were discovered, they showed themselves so resolute, that the Modeliar would have turned back at once, were it not for the shame and the punishment which he would have on his return. He pursued them with firelock shots and arrows with such ury, that the Portuguese killed 25 and the Chingalaz 3: Of the 4 that remained 2 took to the woods for want of munitions, and the other two fought for half a day longer, and as they were not able to keep up the fray, being already tired, they were taken and led prisoners to the arrayal. The General in a passion ordered the leader, named Constantino Caldera, to be hanged. All the 600 men
P 406 of the arrayal begged for his life, but as he was not willing | to grant it, they rose in open mutiny, and the General was obliged to withdraw to his tent, and one of his slaves meanwhile killed the captured soldier by stabbing him with a dagger. The Captains came on the scene, and by kindness, which was ever more persuasive with Portuguese soldiers than bullets and garrotes, they pacified them for the while. But though they afterwards found fault with the General, saying that it was enough to have killed three by means of the Lascarins, and that such great cruelty should not be used towards so great a soldier, this affair was a very grave matter for the conquest; and the law [in time] of a campaign was always more severe than [in times] of peace, though he might have cast lots over them and shown himself more unruffled, as the Duke of Alva did in similar straits, when he crossed from Milan to Flanders, though he was then in the friendly Country of Luxemburg. But D. Jeronimo, who was a very well-read man and was not unaware of such cases, had good reason to show himself angry with this gross misdeed in this first insubordination and in the second rebellion. Others say that in that mutiny they gave D. Jeronimo two spear wounds and threw him on the ground, and that he would have run greater risk, had Duarte Peyxoto da Silva and Lucas de Misquita | not defended him. But what quieted them most of F 222v
all was to see that there was little reliance to be placed on the Chingalaz.

The General, seeing that the people of Dina-vâca still resisted, called Domingos Correa, who had arrived from the Four-Corlas, whither he had been to deliver an assault and whence he had brought many heads and prisoners, and giving him an embrace added: 'My son, you see well what they did to D Fernando and Duarte Peyxoto; that affront was done to me. You will have to wipe out for me these stains; try to do so at once.' At ten o'clock in the day the Bicarna Singa ordered the drums to be beaten and he set out for

Dinavâca in such haste, that though it was 14 leagues away, he covered them in 24 hours, because no less is the fleetness of these people ; and encountering the men of the Prince of Uva, the Author of this resistance, he cut off the heads of some and captured others and returned to Manicrauarê. D. Fernando was also sent to Maturê, which was under his charge, because the enemy had come down upon those lands, the General saying to him that when he encountered them, he should fight and carry himself better than he did in the company of Duarte Peyxoto. D. Fernando set out, sad, and without Portuguese, whom the General did not like to give him. And seeing how lauded and well received Domingos Correa was, he and his brother D. Diogo became quite declared against the Bicarna Singa, because even before this they belonged to different parties. Domingos Correa had many Portuguese [relatives], Balthazar Moniz married to his Sister, Joaõ Vaz de Araujo and Luis de Carvalho to two [of his] Cousins, and he was more acceptable to the General, circumstances which made him speak and act with great insolence, ordering to befoul the door of the Father of D. Fernando, to whom the absent son wrote not to let the place be cleaned, because he would wash it with the blood of his opponent. Because Antonio de Souza Cayado asked to be allowed to
P 407 return home, the General | despatched to Gâle Antonio de Miranda Azevedo and returned to Columbo to await the vessels which twice a year came from Goa to Columbo with munitions, and to write to the Viceroy and to the King, because everything was quiet and D. Fernando alone was contending with the Prince of Uva who also styled himself King.

No person better exhibited the Chingalâ temparament and the scanty confidence to be placed in the one and the other[1] Faith of that nation than Domingos Correa Bicarna Singa, because, though he was born of a Christian Father and virtuously brought up in Columbo, allied to, and friend of, many Portuguese who supported him ; though favoured by the General above all others and appointed to the highest dignity among them below Royalty, though he had gained good victories in the service of | the one and the other [2] King *F °23*
from whom he could have expected greater advancements ; in the midst of these favours of fortune, seeing himself rich, powerful and dreaded, experienced in war, and skilled in arms, he forgot who he was and who his relatives were, and disregarding the obligations in which he was, and aspiring only to be King, which alone was wanting to his fortune,

[1] Towards God and man.
[2] The King of Kotte and the King of Portugal.

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without minding the risk he was running and that he had the Portuguese arm against him, with an impious and disolute heart, he became an enemy of his fatherland. Like another Pausanias who with Faith forsworn wished to betray to Xerxes [the land of] Sparta wherein he was born, this rebel to God and to two Kings, puffed up with the fortunate victories which God had given him in various enterprises and led by his fantastic conceit and prompted by his character, declared himself a deadly enemy of the Faith of Christ and of the Portuguese name on the 17th of November, 1595, not being at that time more than 30 years of age. He was able to read and write like a well-bred man and by nature he was inclined to evil, and cruel by character. And it would seem that the stars were in that direction, because the lands of the rebel King were also divided at this time between diverse Potentates, and it was one of the reasons which made the conquest easier to D. Jeronimo.

Correa was encamped close to the Portuguese in Manicraurê, and when he occasionally came to Columbo, he used to leave in his place his cousin Joaõ Fernandez, an experienced soldier in whom he greatly trusted. That morning he fled to Alugaõ[1] to be crowned there. He gave pay to 7,000 men, and there arrogated to himself the title of King, because in Ceylon so long as young men do not win some dignity by their spear, they are honoured by patronimic names and with the titles of their Fathers, and as this rebel was called Idrîla Arache like his Father, afterwards Idrîla Modiançe, and as we said he came to be Bicarna Singa [2] Modeliar and as a Christian, Domingos Correa, by nickname the 'Ill beheaded', (Mal degolado) and now *soi disant* King, he called himself Idrîla Bandar. When tidings of this and of the sacrileges and tyrannies which he went on committing reached the
P 408 General, because Lucas de Misquita, Captain | of the garrison of Manicrauare, was also in Columbo, he at once despatched him with such haste, that in one day and night he marched those 14 leagues, and he found the arrayal of the Chingalaz in a ferment without the Portuguese knowing anything of the reason, which was that Joaõ Fernandez, the Cousin of the rebel, had gone that night to join him, whom he made captain of the advance guard (or vanguard) giving him companies of picked men. [Correa] attempted to make D. Fernando also a traitor, | writing him a letter of apologies *F 223v*
for the past and promises for the future, but D. Fernando,

[1] Atulugama.
[2] Bicarna Singa stands for 'Wickremasinha', commander-in-chief of the lascarins or country troops.

in order to return with greater security, misled him by a reply and betook himself to Columbo with his Brother and with Constantino Castanho who was in Calaturê, with 30 soldiers bringing the Araches and Lascarins who had their wives and children in Columbo, because it is only in the rebellion against D. Constantino de Sâ de Noronha that the Chingalâz were allowed to leave their wives [elsewhere], though they were bound to take them to the City, and this was always considered to be one of the most efficacious means of making sure of them. There went also 200 Pachas who had fled to the rebel and had come to seek their wives and children, making little account of their promises.

The General fearing danger to King D. Joaõ Perea Pandar and wishing to avert it before great harm could be done, went at once to the strong place of Gurubebile and ordered Duarte Peyxoto da Silua to withdraw the garrisons of Manicrauare and Ruanela to the City of Seytavâca, which he effected with incredible trouble, because the ways were taken and barred with trees and other defences, and there was the same [on the way] to Columbo ; and leaving the Captains and soldiers in Seytavâca, he returned to the General. There they were detained 15 days, but as the want of provisions was great, and it could not be obtained from the lands already in revolt, and as the person of the King was not at all safe there, he ordered Francisco de Miranda, Captain of Seytavâca, to come with the King and all the other men to join him. Before moving off, they set fire to everything and all that the enemy could profit by, putting poison into many jars and earthern vessels of preserves from which many natives died ; and the barrels of powder [were placed] with such secrecy and disposition between some pieces of cloth that, when the enemy pulled them, they might set the powder on fire, whereby they were burnt ; all this in revenge for the tyrannies and sacrileges they commited, as we shall presently narrate. They marched in good order opening new ways and fighting with more than 7,000 men for the space of one day, though the Portuguese were not more than 300. At the end of the day they were attacked by a vanguard of elephants, but they charged them in such sort, that they kept them back for a long while. They returned to assail them with such fury, that as the Captain-Major and other Captains were badly wounded, Salvador Pereyra da Silva with his rearguard rushed to the rescue; and he fought with such courage, that the salvation of all and of the person of the King was attributed
P 409 to him, though with the death of 23 Portuguese and many | wounded, and the documents without specifying further say

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that they did wonders in this retreat, causing great loss of men and arms to the Enemy. They reached [the destination] at the first watch, and if on the way they were assailed by arms, | here they were more so by famine, and for 15 days *F 224* the soldiers did not eat anything more than a plate of cunjeé and it is enough to say that, though coconuts were previously valued at 300 a larỹ, they had to give one larỹ for a single coconut. In this state they delivered so many and such well contested assaults, that the Enemy thought it better to surround them than to try fortunes with them ; and such was the strait, that not even the water of the river could be drawn without costing blood.

Thence the General despatched Antonio de Sampayo to Columbo with letters and information to the City, and to its Captain, Thome de Souza Aronches, who had succeeded Pedro Homẽ Pereyra, disclosing the state in which he was and asking him some relief in any possible way ; but as he went by river, he was assailed by the Enemy from the banks, and a shot made him fall off the rails of the foist into the river, and others were wounded, and with him fell the letter which he was carrying, which was the reason why it was not understood in Columbo what the General had disposed, though from the rest they knew of the siege. Seeing the delay in replying, two soldiers, Miguel Calisto and Joaõ Fernandez Gago, offered to take another letter by night in a light *almadia*, because it could not be done by land on account of the watches of the Tyrant. They went as far as the pass of Mapingaõ[1] which they found blocked, because the Rebel had already built across it a palisade of thick logs, and even a small boat was scarcely able to pass, and in the rock of Rozapâne he had ordered strong rattans[2] with a bell and piers lashed together to be laid across, so that on touching them the alarm might be given. The two soldiers came to the pass of the palisade, and the *almadia* being upset, Miguel Calisto who carried the letters was taken and the other escaped by swimming, as it was night and gave information in Columbo of what he knew. And I do not find why for the space of 40 days they did not prepare a fleet of rowing boats to come down the river with less peril, since it does not seem likely that all those which the General brought had returned to Goa.

Our men, seeing that it was far better to expose their lives to the chances of the sword than to the certainty of hunger, having Confessed and received the sacraments, began the march the General, though ill, going on foot, the King and

[1] Mapitigama. [2] 'Rotas'.

Queen in *andores*. After a short address in which D. Jeronimo exhorted them to keep order and fight for their Faith, their King, and their reputation, a muster being made, there were found 354 Portuguese already much enfeebled by recent starvation, but vigorous in spirit, for in that conquest there was no case of any display of weakness ; disorders there were many, the majority of them due to contempt of the Enemy, but weakness there was none, in the course of more than one century that the war lasted. Let envy say what it likes, we
P 410 proclaim the truth. | They were taking | many wounded men F 224v
in the vanguard which became a great obstacle and the munitions which were borne on *aleaz*. The King was of opinion that, seeing that all the roads were taken and obstructed from Gurubebile to Calâne, they should go by Raygaõ, a land which was not yet in revolt. The kinglet Acargaõ Apuhami was however there with many men, and when they entered into it, he attacked the rear guard in which, with loss to himself, he killed 7 soldiers, but catching sight of the army of Domingos Correa, he retired, as he knew that the latter was seeking to kill him and take the treasures he was carrying. The Rebel, seeing the route of the Portuguese, crossed the river to get ahead of them and obstruct the passes with trees, and our men were obliged to march cutting a way, with the sabre and *catana*[1] in one hand and the spear and the firelock in the other, while the Enemy had 15,000 men and fought continuously and wounded the Captain of the rearguard, Duarte Peyxoto da Silua, so badly that he afterwards died of the wounds in Columbo.

CHAPTER 17.

Of the End of this Retreat and of the Repeated Conquest, and Capture of Domingos Corrêa.

Salvador Pereyra da Silva, one of the most fortunate and valorous Captains of this war, succeeded Duarte Peyxoto da Silua. Thirty soldiers vowed in the manner of those running amok (*amoucos*)[2], to avenge the honour of God or sacrifice their lives in the attempt, and cut their beards ;

[1] A scimitar or ' curved and single-edged sword of Japan, with a large hilt '.
[2] *Cf.* p. 452, n. 5.

and if they promised well, they fulfilled it still better, for only two escaped, when they were tired of killing. Lucas de Misquita, Captain of Manicrauarê, saw a Chingalâ hidden in a forest leap unexpectedly upon his Ensign and take the banner from him, and burning with shame and anger, he rushed at him, and his soldiers followed him, and many lost their lives in recovering it and in rushing in and out through the thick of the enemy's army in defiance of death itself. In one league of the march they performed so many deeds of prowess in defence of the King and Queen, of the General and of the baggage, that truth staggers belief, though without rest or sleep or food for three days and three nights, but ever retaining the vigour of their martial hearts. And when many had already been killed, it seemed to the renegade that it would be easy to overcome them in the plains of Galgudeze[1], and he ordered the rearguard to be charged, while he attacked the advance guard with greater forces and with 12 armed elephants, the horrible warfare of Ceylon, where it is not enough to fight with men and treason but [one must] also [fight] with these animals. | Here died the F 225
P 411 Captain of | the advance guard. Lucas de Misquita, after doing great havoc. The Enemy came charging our men up to the vanguard (or main body) in which was the General, and they were so numerous, that in their anxiety to take us dead or alive, they fell upon each other and after a long contest, though 134 Portuguese had been killed, 118 wounded, the remaining 102 were able to show him that being men, they might die, but being Portuguese, they could not be conquered. There the rebel Domingos Correa also fell for dead from a shot, and our men seeing that they slackened and understanding that it was an important personage, charged them afresh and drove them off with many killed and wounded. The General recalled the men and ordered two trumpeters to sound, as the others were dead, and one drum [to be beaten] which had nothing beyond the skin, because in this terrible encounter everything went to pieces ; and though in the baggage were 8 *alias* carrying the munitions and the most disabled of the wounded, everything was lost in this encounter. One of those who was left was Henrique Aluarez da Silua with one leg broken to pieces. His soldiers and friends came to his assistance to carry him, but he replied : ' That the only thing he wished for and begged from his friends was that they should sell their lives dear and defend the Royal Persons and the General ; that as for himself, he was quite content to go to Heaven !' Father Negraõ in his comments says

[1] Agalagedera.

that the Father Friar Gaspar Dos Reys reconciled[1] him and that while in that act he was carried off by a musket shot; and it seems that the *alia* on which the Father was, waited only for this, because with the horror of the battle it ran into the thick forests with such fury, that on each trunk and shrub remained a part of his body, as he was tied to the howdah[2] because of the wounds he bore from the retreat of Seytavâca. There were 8 others with broken legs, and about 80 killed. On this occasion the number of Chingalâz was incredible.

The Captain-General again encouraged them all; and friends taking leave of the dead and of the living, for whom the approach of night was not good, the arrayal began its march. But the renegade, coming to himself, ordered his cousin Joaõ Fernandez to follow the Portuguese and block the ways and not to give them one hour of repose, being eaten up with rage at not being able to avenge his blood. All that night he pursued them. The day dawned at a pass surrounded by a forest, and in front of them were pools of mud in which the enemy had built such strong stockades, that they could not be carried without many deaths. While this difficulty was being overcome, the heat and thirst increased to such an extent, that the King and Queen whom our men were carrying on their backs sent to ask Joaõ Fernandez for a morrionfull of water, but the Enemy in reply fired a volley of musketry, whereby they wounded some soldiers within the forest and killed Joaõ Rijo de Faria; and as this Captain | was as valiant as he was beloved, our men being *F 225v* beside themselves charged the Renegade afresh, and thinking it was the front, they attacked the rear with such fury, that *P 412* 13 were killed and all fled | ; and thenceforward, whether few or many, they attacked like wild bulls and famished Lions. They made their way through the pass and by dawn they were at Orna[3], where the Enemy was awaiting them with all his forces, which at once formed a cordon round our little arrayal. But when our men began with the greatest courage and strength to care for nothing save to die killing them, without any of them wavering in constancy, the Enemy

[1] Heard his confession and absolved him.

[2] Charola, a litter for carrying images in a procession, also a niche for images. The 'howdah' is here called a *Charola* because of its great similarity to a processional litter. *Cf.* Ferguson, J. 60, 245: 'I suspect that in *Charola* two words, one of Latin and one of Eastern origin, have been confused.' Portuguese lexicologits, however, derive 'charola' from the French *Charier*.

[3] Horana.

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was so astonished at the resolution, that he kept back for a long space. Noticing, however, that they were short of munitions, which was all on the *alias*, the Enemy did not wish to come within reach of the spear and sword, but discharged his firelocks, while our men were only able to use darts. And when some were dead and almost all wounded, there appeared at the end of a long stretch of field a large troop of lusty men.

This misled them all, the Portuguese thinking that it was a reinforcement of the enemy, and from the waving of handkerchiefs, that they were already assuming the victory to be certain; the rebels imagining it was D. Fernando according to a letter which they wrote to him. It was his brother, D. Diogo, with 500 Topaz Christians of Columbo as dexterous in their trade as in arms. The rebels awaited, confident of succour, but he attacked them with such fury, that among others there was killed their leader, the apostate Joaõ Fernandez, whose Pagan name was Idagore Nayde and who commanded the army; and his head was carried on a spear. When this Captain was dead and the rest fleeing, there arrived D. Fernando in a hurry who was coming in the rearguard with his men, and Francisco Gomes Leitaõ with 130 Portuguese. Then there was as much grief for the recent loss as joy over the present relief. There they rested and tasted food, it being three days that they were sustaining themselves with water and hope; and on the following day they entered Columbo, leaving 130 Portuguese dead, and those who were not wounded scarcely numbering 50. If this is not extreme valour and military constancy, let other nations point out greater examples than this and the others already mentioned.

Domingos Correa was the first to invent new kinds of cruelty, for some Portuguese falling into his hands, he not only cut off their noses, as others did, but also the right hands, leaving them with life for a greater grief to themselves and to those who saw them. Some he threw to the elephants which either hurled them in the air with their trunks, or crushed them with their feet, while he amused himself with these tyrannies with a cruelty equal to that of Diocletian. And because the one and the other infidelity | is wont to be *F 226* equal in this matter, and those who are traitors to God show more zeal and forwardness to the new Princes or to the new subjects, in order to escape the suspicion which might be had of ther , there was no sacrilege which this apostate did not commit. He burnt Churches, profaned the ornaments, hacked sacred images and used the chalices for shameful

purposes, cudgeled the priests, making mockery and derision
P 413 of them. While our people | were detained in Columbo, he went about badly wounded in a palanquin, giving chase to the kinglet Apuami, thirsting for the treasure which he had with him, and he pursued him so that he caught him and sent him to the King of Candea, who ordered him to be killed by elephants.

There did not remain to the Portuguese in Ceylon anything besides Columbo and Gale, the stockade of which Antonio Miranda de Azevedo defended gallantly. And at a time when it seemed as if the General would either have to give up in despair in the face of so many impossibilities or realize the pertinacious inconstancy of that nation, then with greater courage, greater resolution and better fortune, in eight days he again took the field; and after paying the soldiers a good quarterage, in order to clothe and furbish themselves, with the few who were able to follow him, he started for the stockade of Regavâtõ, and fortifying it anew, because it was facing the Enemy, with 300 Portuguese and 800 Lascarins, he reduced the lands to obedience by various assaults. And knowing that Simaõ Correa, brother of the rebel, was in Gurubebile, he went in search of him with a goodly army, and killing many of his men, put him to a disorderly flight. There was good spoil both of arms and of gold, silver and other goods. He dismantled the stockade so as not to have to divide his arrayal. The rebel, knowing of this victory, in order to keep up his reputation and to prevent the further subjugation of lands, marched to Urugâmela. Thither [the General] went with the Captains Francisco Gomes Leytaõ, who for some time had been Captain-Major of the field, and with the two Chingalâ brothers, D. Fernando and D. Diogo. The others were Salvador Pereyra da Silua, Constantino Castanho, Antonio Brandaõ, Pero Peyxoto da Silua, Antonio da Costa Monteyro, Luis Lopes de Souza, Pero de Almeyda Cabral, Antonio da Silua, Francisco de Sampayo [and] Nuno da Silua.

The Lascarins advanced, the Captain of the Pachas being a valiant Chingalâ whose nose had been cut off in Candea. This man attacked the enemy and forced his way in valourously. Seeing, however, that these people were carried away by greed for spoils, [the Enemy] quickly reformed and attacked them with such impetuosity, that when the Pacha Captain was killed, | the men, being in disorder, turned and fled, abandoning F 225z many arms. D. Fernando gaining a hillock valourously checked the charge of the enemy, though he lost some valiant Araches. The Portuguese went across the river, surmounting

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some gravets (garavetes) in narrow passes, and they charged the enemy's camp with such resolution, that of the 6 000 men whom the traitor led, the best of his force, not more than 100 remained alive, and on the field there remained some field pieces, arms, elephants, a part of the treasures of the Kinglet and all the other spoils. The Veteran Captain of the field, Francisco Gomes Leytaõ, acted that day with great ability and valour, making the Lascarins turn back whom he saw coming in disorder to join the body of the Portuguese. The General at once sent his half-Brother,
P 414 D. Manoel de Azevedo, with | 50 soldiers and the greater part of the Lascarins with D. Fernando Samaracon in pursuit of the enemy, and six leagues further on he was altogether routed and dispossessed of all the riches he had, which was not less than five elephants laden with silver in larins and two of venetians which, they say, numbered 100,000. The Chingalâz got the larins, the Venetians D. Fernando shared as he liked with the General, and in this way went a great part of the prizes of war; and as they marched the whole night and this attack was delivered at seven in the morning, it was called 'the assault of the venetians' because of the many they took there. His Brother, Simaõ Correa, fled and the Father Friar Manoel de Trindade, Religious of St. Francis, whom he was taking prisoner, obtained his liberty.

The Rebel fled to Candea, where that King received him with great honour, being persuaded that so long as he lived and continued the war, his own Kingdom would be safe. In order to lay him under greater obligation he made him a solemn donation of another's property and gave him the Kingdoms of Cota and Ceytavâca. He accorded him the precedence of a King, for so easy are these titles with that nation and to complete the friendship he had him married in the following manner. There was in Candea a daughter of Videa Bandar, Prince of the Seven-Corlas, as gifted with natural graces as she was unfortunate in these espousals. Her he gave as wife to Domingos Correa, who becoming still more vain, thenceforth called himself Idrimana Surîa Bandar which means 'King who defied the Kings of the earth and even the Sun himself'. A proclamation was made throughout the City 'that on the following day would be celebrated the marriage and coronation of Idrumana Suria Bandar; that all the grandees of the Kingdom should be present in gâla dress.' It was scarcely morning, when three elephants appeared before the gate of the Palace, harnessed and covered with ornaments of gold and silver and a rich | F 227 planquin inlaid with ivory and gold. In this the unhappy

Princess took her seat; the new-made King on the middle elephant with a crown of gold; on the two side elephants two influential chiefs and the oldest Modeliares of the Court, one with a white shield which he held above him, the other with a large fan, with which he refreshed him and drove away the flies and mosquitos, the inseparable companions of the elephants; and thus he marched in triumph, the Princess going before, attended by the ladies and principal Maids of Honour. In this way they proceeded through the City with dancing and music and noisy instruments playing; and thence they went to the Pagode, where the Chief Changatar with great pomp and Majesty and sacrifices and other nonsensical and impure pagan rites married them and joined them in a bond less firm than arbitrary. If any modern critic finds these details strange, let him bethink himself of what took place in the great Court of Nebuchadnezzar and of '*Sic honorabitur quem Rex voluerit honorare.*'[1] In
P 415 this festival the Candiot showed himself so grandiose | and magnanimous, that he rewarded those who took part in the recent wars according to their merits and qualities, conferring on them the dignities of Modeliares, Araches, Tandârez, Durias Panichiaz, Deueaz, and Vngiaz, and in gratitude for these honours they offered their services to Sir Renegade and upstart King, Idrimana Suria Bandar. And mustering those who were willing to follow him, he set out with more than 8,000 men with the intention of getting hold of D. Fernando Samaracon who was at Uruvarê[2] with a few and inexperienced men quite unaware of this novelty, while the former was so proud, that he looked for other worlds to conquer.

The King of Candea, who also followed him, remained encamped in Manicrauare; and the renegade knowing that Don Constantine Nauarosna[3] Bandar, nephew of D. Joaõ, was in the pagode of Alugaõ with a few men whom Antonio de Souza Godinho had brought from the Choromandel Coast, marched 6 leagues in one night, and when D. Constantine was altogether unsuspicious, he was suddenly attacked and the Enemy cut off 125 heads of the new comers and disfigured others in the face. D. Constantine put himself in safety through the forest and the lands remained under the obedience of the Renegade. The General felt this disorder very much

[1] Thus shall he be honoured whom the King hath a mind to honour.—Esther VI. 9.

[2] Uduware.

[3] Navaratne.

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because of the credit which the Enemy gained. In the beginning of the year 1596, on the 2nd of February there arrived D. Aluaro de Abranches with 12 foists, the Captains of which were Ruy Dias de Aguiar, D. Luis de Noronha, Francisco da Rocha, Jorge de Lima Barreto, Francisco da Gama, Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo, Jacome de Moraes | F 227v Sarmento, Thome Rebelo, Francisco de Maçedo, Lourenço Pirez, Lourenço Lobo de Carualho and 260 soldiers, all told, with much munition and money, and with a provision that should the General be killed, he should take his place. D. Jeronimo was in Regauâto and there he delivered the soldiery to him, and he returned to Goa with some gentlemen who had accompanied him, many of whom came out of regard for him rather than to serve the King. D. Jeronimo forthwith went to Maluâna which he fortified again, and to check the robberies which the rebel was committing, he sent Francisco Gomes Leytaõ with seven companies in charge of the Captains Pero de Almeyda Cabral, Matheus de Carualho, Luis Lopes de Souza, Manoel de Melo Pereyra, Jacome de Moraes Sarmento, Francisco da Gama and Lourenço Lobo de Carualho. A few days afterwards, leaving D. Francisco Lobo in Maluâna, he incorporated the rest of the men into the army and advanced within four leagues of the Enemy. Thence he bade an attack to be made on his lands in order to draw him to the field, because he was lodged between impenetrable mountains and forests. He, however, taking better counsel retired to Candea, where the King already was, and the General returned to Maluâna.

In May [15]96 Joaõ Rodriguez d'Eça arrived in a Galley and three ships with the Captains Antonio de Quadros, Francisco Pimentel and Baltezar Rebelo d'Almeyda and
P 416 120 picked soldiers. | The General sent Lourenço Pirez de Carualho to Gâle and Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo came to Columbo. Then he sent part of the men to Mature and Gâle to bring that district to obedience and to fortify Calaturê on the way. D. Fernando Modeliar set out on this expedition and encamped with some Portuguese in Uruvêre, two leagues from the stockade, higher up the river, in the Corla of Raygaõ, and built a stockade of wood, his brother D. Diogo remaining in Malvâna with the men of Alicur. As there were no movements of war, the General went to divert himself in Calaturê with Thome de Souza de Arronches who was then Captain of Columbo, his brother Rodrigo Aluares de Siqueyra, Antonio de Souza Godinho, Fernaõ Rodrigues de Sâ and other persons of his company. D. Fernando knew that the 'Ill beheaded' was coming upon

him in company with the King of Candea and 10,000 men, and though the stockade was still short of a wall of wood, he placed there Pedro de Abreu, Modeliar of Columbo, and left 15 Portuguese with their patraõ-Mor[1], Pero Nugegra, in a *manchua* in the river with some bagpipes which he had bought from the Captain of Columbo, because the Renegade who had a mortal hatred of him [D. Fernando], had at once set out from Candea in company | with that King; and *F 228* Correa came ahead with 5,000 men, leaving the King at a distance of three leagues. D. Fernando received him in such good order, that he found it necessary to animate by his presence the weakness of the vanguard, but they charged with such force, that he had to retire with the rest and our men pressed in such manner, that in the pursuit they killed more than a thousand, taking close upon 300 prisoners, 10 Modeliares and other leaders who were all killed. And it happened that, when he came upon the stockade, it began to rain heavily, and the rain went on increasing as he approached, without giving the 500 Lascarins of D. Fernando time to retire. D. Fernando gave order not to fire until they were very close, as his own men were under cover, and at the first charg they killed 60 of his men. Those within shouted and beat drums, and those outside played the bagpipes, and as they had told him at the crossing of the river that the General with many men was in Calaturê, when he saw the Portuguese, he imagined that D. Jeronimo was there, and the longer they remained, the more hurt they received, and his men began to waver. He got a few paces back to call the Modeliares and to animate them all, but they, thinking that he was retiring, fled like deer. D. Fernando at first thought it was a snare to draw him on to the open field, but when his brother-in-law, D. Henrique, leapt the ditch, he knew it to be fear and confusion; and Correa was left alone and unattended.

If D. Fernando had followed him, they would all have fallen there and also the pride of Correa, who had left the King in Sofragaõ in order to obtain this victory by himself. But as the floods of the river were great, besides the many who were killed, some were drowned. The victory was not celebrated much, because nothing was known of Domingos *P 417* Correa, | who went about for three days in a miry field, and afterwards he went into the house of an old woman, asking her for something to eat, telling her who he was. He promised her great rewards for her children and grandchildren. She

[1] Superintendent or officer to whose care the building of ships is committed.

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offered him one of the excellent jak fruits of Ceylon, which was all she had, a fruit of remarkable size, as we have already said. But as the old woman's need was great, she preferred a present reward to a future one, and knowing that D. Fernando had promised money to any one who would deliver him, she did not wish to loose that godsend. She sent him a message through her son that Domingos Correa was sleeping in her house. D. Fernando could scarce believe what was told him, but as the messenger persisted, he sent his brother-in-law with some faithful Lascarins, who found him buried in sleep; and with great joy they took him to D. Fernando, who ordered him to be nursed, giving him good entertainment and giving information to the General. At the end of three days he took him to Calaturé where the General awaited him at the landing. | Such was [the General's] joy and satis- *F 228v* faction at seeing the Rebel punished by God, that forgetting his dignity and remembering the fashions at the competitions of the Doctors of the [University] of Coimbra where he was educated, he, Thome de Souza de Arronches, João Rodriguez d'Eça and Antonio de Souza Godinho took D. Fernando in their arms and setting him on their shoulders, carried him in trumph, racing up to the tent of the General, giving him a thousand *vivas* and congratulations.

CHAPTER 18.

Of the Death of Domingos Correa and of the other Good Successes of this War

Seated at table the General put many questions to the Rebel, who answered them with as bold a face as if he had not even a venial fault. After four days D. Fernando returned to his arrayal and the General to Columbo, taking Domingos Correa with him in heavy chains. The King of Candea had already retreated in such fear and hurry, that he left many arms and other spoils in the forest, without giving room to the Captain-General to go or send the arrayal in his pursuit. For forty days the execution was delayed to see whether he would disclose the treasures, especially the sacred things, he had robbed. The Religious went to him to try to reclaim him, and considering that he was to die,

as he was an intelligent man, Bento da Silua [1] one of those who composed this History, testifies that in his presence and in the presence of those who were guarding him, he often said with tears: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Have mercy on me,
P 418 for because of my | enormous sins I am not worthy to obtain it. Extend to me Thy superabundant clemency, for I confess I have sinned against Thee, my Father and my God, for now I am not worthy to be called Thy son, nor to raise my eyes to Heaven because of the number and gravity of the sins whereby I have made myself unworthy of being supported by the earth, for with such licentiousness did I provoke Thy wrath. But since I have cost Thee so much, I beg of Thee, my God, not to cast me away from Thy presence, nor to spurn me, because the ship of my heart without the pilot of grace and without helm dreads to run into the abyss. And unless Thou receivest me unto Thy bosom, mitigating with clemency the raging waves of Thy wrath, I justly fear the perdition I have deserved. Withhold, O Lord, Thy hands, for though hitherto I have been abhorred, yet after my repentance, because of what Thou art and because of what I fear, | I still merit being loved, because Faith teaches F 229 me that Thy merits can obtain everything and that the greatest sinner may hope for everything from Thy great Mercy, for being infinite, it covers the gravity of all sins; and now that Thou hast restored to me the knowledge of Thyself, O Lord, let Thy pardon fall on me, since Thy infinite Mercy is not better known in anything than in pardoning a Dismas [2] on the Cross and a Domingos Correa on the Gallows. If in Hell there is room for sinners, in Heaven also there is room for penitents.' In these and in similar talks and colloquies and acts of contrition, he spent those days, unburdening as he could his heavy conscience. Finally he was sentenced to death, and a theatre being set up in a most public place in the City, with mourning suited to his dignity, he mounted it and made the following address:

'Benignant and clement Judge. Catholic and venerable people. So great is the enormity of my sins, that if I had a hundred lives, with them all I should not be able to pay for the least of my sins. And as I know the abundant cause I have given you to abhor your obscure and ungrateful countryman, I beg a general pardon from all for all my wickedness, in this last point and bitter transit to which my ambitious will has brought me, because when I was free and rich, I gave myself

[1] See Introduction.

[2] The traditional name of the good thief.

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entirely to sensuality, and within my heart there formed a contagious and perverse habit, which increased and dragged me from vice to vice to the state in which you see me, where, when my body has paid for the wicked deeds I have committed, I shall be to you a horrible spectacle, and to posterity a memorable example.' Here he ended, and forthwith his hands were cut off, afterwards his head, and his body quartered and placed in the public places, his head being suspended in Alugaõ, where it remained for some days till the boys played their games with the skull. The other quarters were buried in consecrated soil at the request of pious persons and because they were in
P 419 frequented places. Such was the tragic | and lamentable end of Domingos Correa Bicarne Singa, the second person of that Realm, who, because he wished to be the first, came to end in a pillory, and when he least expected it, without resistance and without being able to do an act of valour, he fell into the hands of justice, human and Divine, on the 14th of July [15]96.

These obstacles being removed, Salvador Pereyra da Silua, Captain-Major of the Field, who has left a great name behind him, was able with eight companies of Portuguese, captained by Luis Lopes de Souza, D. Francisco de Noronha, Francisco Pimentel, Balthezar Rebelo de Almeyda, Manoel de Melo Pereyra, Francisco de S. Payo, [and] | Francisco F 229v de Macedo, with a good number of Lascarins entrusted to Gaspar Correa, a Kinsman of the beheaded man, and a clever young man, who promised to give a good account of himself, from five encampments which he set up on the frontiers of the Four and Seven-Corlas, to reduce in a short time 15 leagues of territory within the confines of Alugaõ, Tanagâle, Cotâle, Dorauáca, and Manicraurê [1]; and leaving a garrison of Lascarins in Ruanêla with their Captain, he returned to Seytavâca, whither the General went to meet him after fortifying Gurubebile.

D. Fernando was engaged in the administration of Maturê with more than a thousand Lascarins of the country; and Lourenço Pirez de Carvalho, Captain of Gâle, with the Captains Domingos de Melo, Nuno Velho Trauaços, Belchoir Botelho da Silua, Antonio da Costa Monteyro and their companies, was defending those lands valorously against the invasions of the Prince of Uvã, when Antonio de Souza Godinho succeeded him for the second time. But in order that Ceylon might never cease to have a rebel, the King of Candea resorted to the European policy of the rivals of the

[1] Atulugama, Attanayake, Botale, Dorawaka, and Menikkadaware (Pieris I. 308)

House of Austria in favouring the Rebel States, and meeting in Candea with Simaõ Correa, who on the same occasion would have been taken prisoner, had not a Lascarin released him for a gold kris which he gave him, conferred on him, also the title and honour of King under the name of Idrimana Suria Bandar ; who with fresh troops, like another Ucalegon[1], without fearing the neighbouring fire, encamped on the frontiers, doing what damage he could, being helped by the Princes of Dinavâca, Raja Singa Bandar, and Madûne Bandar, who disturbed the lands of Seytavâca, which was the reason why the General desisted from raising a stockade in Chilao, so as to continue the conquest of the Four and Seven-Corlas neighbouring the Kingdom of Candea, with all his forces. The King of Candea persuaded Itupala[2] Bandar, the Prince of these[3] Corlas and his confederate to take the field against the Portuguese with all the forces he had. He at once raised three thousand men and within sight of the other arrayal of the tyrant of Candea, captained by Navarasna Bandar,[4] he began to disturb the obedient lands. Salvador Pereyra da Silua acted like the Duke of Alva in Flanders when surrounded by Four armies ; and he dealt with each of them in such a way that Navarasna
P 420 Bandar was defeated in an encounter | in which they killed and wounded many of his men along with the strongest Modeliars whom he brought with him, and they did not cease the pursuit till they reached his quarters which were burnt under his eyes. And then seeking out the Prince of the Seven-Corlas, he attacked him with such determination that he took to a shameful flight through the woods, the Portuguese going in pursuit, | gaining arms and banners. F 230 Some Modeliars of Candea, who had accompanied him, tried to resist, but soon lost their lives.

They reached the City of Urune Rengali[5] which within the short period of his kingship Domingos Correa had built like a robber among rugged and inaccessible mountains, and it was altogether destroyed, and the garrisons which

[1] A Trojan chieftain whose house was burnt at the destruction of the City.

[2] *Supra* p. 360, Jatuapala.

[3] Seven Corlas.

[4] There is some confusion here. Navarasna Bandar is Siman Correa as the author says, *infra* p. 520, though in the previous sentence he is said to have received the name of Idiriman Suria. Idiriman Suriya was his brother Domingos Correa. 'Ill beheaded'.

[5] Kurunegala ? *Cf. supra* p. 46, Curunagal ; *infra* p. 575 Cornegal.

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existed before the rising were rebuilt. The Tyrant of Candea feared the more and fortified himself anew and set garrisons in narrow passes of the hills (which here in Hindustan are called *Candes*,[1] and the impregnable hills *Drugos*,[2] like the *Ambaz* in Ethiopia). Salvador Pereyra de Silua, having subjected and garrisoned the rest, returned to Seytavâca, whither the General went, also intending to fortify it. He built a fortress well supplied with men and munitions, and as the Princes of Uva did not molest him, he gave a brief rest to the soldiers and returned to Columbo, as the galleots of provisions had arrived from Goa, and to write about the state of affairs. Meanwhile there took place some assaults on the frontiers of Ruanêla, and some well-fought encounters, in which we always got the better. The General returned to Seytavâca, mustered the arrayal, and gave fresh pay, which sufficed to make the enemies retire and give complete peace to the lands much against the character of these people who are different from the Sicyonians, of whom Lactantius says that their republic lasted longer than that of the Greeks, Egyptians, Spartans or Romans, because for 740 years they never made a fresh proclamation, nor violated a law, nor followed parties, but any Chingalâ, when he sees himself with a few Larins, at once presumes that he has the means to become a King and to carve[3] a little [Kingdom] for himself.

With this fantasy D. Diogo also became disquieted, trying to raise another revolt. His Brother, the ever faithful D. Fernando, had tidings of it and sent him prisoner to the General. But as the proofs cannot have been clear, and as D. Jeronimo de Azevedo did not follow the politics of those who say that in matters of treason suspicion is enough, being certain on the contrary that in this and in similar matters one must proceed in such a way as either to have recourse to the axe or to ignore it altogether, he sent him back, entrusting him to the care of his brother, and the latter tried to pacify him. It coming to his knowledge, however, that he was corresponding with the renegade of Candea who wrote to him that he was awaiting him, and seeing him altogether lost, he seized him again and sent him to the General with this information, and the latter sent him prisoner to Goa, and it must be because he did not wish to irritate his Kinsmen. From Goa he was sent to | Portugal, F 230v where he died.

[1] Mar. *Khand*, defile.

[2] Kon. *durug*, fortified hill.

[3] Porçoleta.

P 421 | Having placed the garrison of Seytavâca on a good footing, the General despatched to the parts of Dinavâca Salvador Pereyra da Silua with the four companies of D. Francisco de Noronha, Philipe de Oliveyra, Jorge Gonçaluez Ribeyro, and his own, with the natives who were serving there. They advanced two leagues to the place of Uramata Candangaõ[1] to bring the neighbouring lands to obedience from there, without leaving behind anything which could become an obstacle to them; and thence they subjected the whole place as far as Sofragaõ. He went to the pagode of Curuiti, a strong place; and the Tyrant of Candea, seeing how near they were approaching him on that side, exchanged letters with the Lascarins, whom he made to run away from the arrayal, ordering those people not even to carry victuals to the Portuguese, some remaining behind as secret traitors. He also sent another 2,000 men to join the fugitives and to attack the Portuguese, but noticing the caution with which the Captain-Major was acting, even those who had remained kept away from the arrayal; and presently they attacked a part of the provisions which had set out on the previous day and intercepted it and the rest. Our men entrenched themselves with some Lascarins of Columbo who alone remained; and though the [enemy] often attempted to charge them, they feared the strength of our arms as well as the strength of the place and satisfied themselves with impeding the reinforcements, for which purpose they divided themselves into two bodies, each of one thousand men, one party standing by to besiege, and the other keeping watch on the roads, whereby they reduced the garrison to extreme want and incredible famine. The General mustered 150 soldiers and 500 Lascarins to relieve it, but before they arrived, the besieged men sallied out, leaving D. Francisco de Noronha with his men in the trenches, and attacking the nearest enemies, put them to flight and pursued them and in the fields of Elavela altogether defeated them. There died the Modeliar Vezi Singa, their Captain, a man dreaded and respected in Dinavâca. The other band did not wait for the charge, but fled in such disorder, that they left many arms and banners behind. Having received the succour of provisions and munitions, the next day they passed to Batuguedra, where many were killed who on account of the distance thought themselves secure, and all the rest retired to their borders. For the security of our frontiers they erected encampments in a fort of stone, with a ditch and high defences, whence they made many assaults.

[1] Kendangamuwa.

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He of Candea leagued with Thome Apuu, Prince of Uva, the two Princes of Dinavâca and Maturê; and with the reinforcements which he sent, | they mustered 4,000 musket F 231 men, and carabineers with elephants of war to destroy the ill-protected strong place[1] of Curuite. They encamped four leagues away from it, the vanguard at two leagues; and first they made some lands rise in rebellion; and he of Candea at the same time came down with all his forces upon Manicrauarê in order to distract us on all sides. The Portuguese formed themselves into one single arrayal along with five other companies, which arrived at this time under the charge of Andre Rodriguez with the Captains Francisco P 422 de Brito, Simaõ | Ribelo, Francisco Pereyra Lobo, [and] Luis de Siqueyra de Faria, and after a short delay in Seytavâca, the General despatched a part of these troops to Ruanêla, because he of Candea had a strong force in Darneagâla, and though he intended to come down on that strong place, seeing it garrisoned, he desisted. The arrayal of Ruanêla was scouring the frontiers of the Four-Corlas, making the enemies retreat into the narrow passes of the Hills; and leaving a sufficient garrison on that front, they marched in haste to Curuita, upon which the Enemy was coming, and marching by a hidden path, without further delay than time for meals with all order, dexterity and secrecy, they fell upon the enemy unawares. The advance guard acted with such courage, that it closed up with the vanguard of the fleeing enemy, while our main body fell on their centre, and then the whole arrayal, though a small one, [charged] the whole of their army, which was there destroyed with many killed and wounded, and the Portuguese Captains and their men, the Modeliars and Araches with their Lascarins, all skilled in arms, showed the utmost courage on the field, and Salvador Pereyra de Silua showed the greatness of his spirit and the effects of his Military Art, because giving assistance on all sides, he directed the battle in such order that without any loss he destroyed the King of Candea to the great glory of his country of Guimaraês, for he was always successful, being a gentleman much loved and equally respected, pleasant in conversation, benevolent in peace, valiant in war, sensible and master of himself, pious in his actions, kind to the miserable, liberal of mind and invincible in fortune.

[1] At Delgamuwa, Uda palata of Kuruwiti Korle, on the banks of the Kuruganga. The walls of the rectangular stone platform of this strong place are still intact, though covered with thick growth.

In this expedition the soldiers suffered great trouble, flying rather than running 18 leagues, and without rest they inflicted incredible mortality, and the King and Prince of Uva escaped into those woods under cover of night. The Tyrant, seeing himself hemmed in, turned his hatred against the few men we had in Maturê at a distance of 40 leagues from the other stockades, against which he despatched a certain Prince Madûne Bandar. Lord of Dinavaca, along with the renegade Navarasne Bandar,[1] or Simaõ Correa who called himself King of Seytavâca. | The Tyrant gave him *F 231v* a sufficient army of the best men he had, in which were 1,000 carabineers, a large number of muskets and other troops whom he had mustered to erect a fortalice in the lands of Runa, which D. Fernando was reducing. He also ordered the Prince of Uva to follow him and be ready to reinforce him if necessary. These men encamped near the quarters of D. Fernando, 6 leagues from Maturê, and with many pioneers in a short time they built a fortalice of wood, with strong bas ions, ditches and stakes, in a rugged site surrounded by large marshes, whence they began to attack the lands, making them revolt, and they had an understanding with some lascarins of our camp.

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P 423 THE GOOD SUCCESSES OF CEYLON CONTINUED, TILL THE DEATH OF KING D. JOAÕ PEREA PANDAR

D. Fernando tarried there, spending 9 days in crossing the river, while he sent a message to the General, who was at a distance of 30 leagues, and recalled 60 Portuguese from Gâle. In less than 15 days [the General] sent him three reinforcements, the first was commanded by Simaõ Pinhao, recently made Bicarna Singa, which, as it is an office given to the Natives, must be because, as we said, he had married a Princess of Seytavâca. He led 600 Lascarins and a company of Portuguese with 2,000 Lascarins. As soon as D. Fernando had this reinforcement, he at once went to attack the enemies, who, having information about everything, retired to the strong place with 1,000 firelock men and other troops, leaving 2,000 Lascarins in an ambush to attack our men in the rear at the time of the assault. They advanced with pavises, mantlets and ladders, and while

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 516, n. 4.

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storming, they discovered the stakes which forced them to cease, and they became exposed to the espingard fire from which some Lascarins fell, and Simaõ Pinhao and Pedro de Abreu and other Portuguese were wounded. However, when they went forward and were already scaling the ladders, those who were in ambush sallied out with great bustle attacking our men from behind. Then they desisted from the combat and charged those outside with such fury, that leaving many killed, they betook themselves to the woods.

D. Fernando fortified himself on the same spot, and when he sent tidings to the General, the latter sent as reinforcement his half-brother D. Manoel de Azevedo with some | companies *F 232* of Seytavâca and Dinavâca. Tne Tyrant knew of all this, and with equal haste he despatched the King of Uva with 3,000 men by a shorter route with orders to try and destroy us before the reinforcement arrived. He of Uva reached within three leagues of the arrayal, and sent word to their people to attack the following day from all sides. Almost at the same time arrived D. Manoel, and they all resolved to attack him of Uva in his quarters that very night before he could unite with the others. Simaõ Pinhao and D. Henrique Modeliar set out with all the Lascarins of the country, and taking the enemy unawares, they fell upon them at the dawn watch and did great havoc. But recovering themselves, they turned with such bravery, that they would have routed the Lascarins, had it not been for the courage of Simaõ Pinhao, who that day worked marvels; and he charged him of Uva in such fashion, that he had to flee, and pursuing them for a long space they killed many, there remaining many arms and spoils.

P 424 | They returned immediately to the arrayal and followed up the victory by attacking the stockade with the help of wooden cavaliers, whence they brought them down by musketry and put them to such straits, that they determined to sally out one night at the first watch and seek safety by breaking through our ranks. But being caught in the middle of it, they suffered such destruction, that there escaped only the two rebel Princes who made for the thickets of the forests. Here died the flower of the troops of Candea and the principal Modeliares, leaving all their arms and good spoil; and this victory took place in October [15]97, the encounter costing us only one valiant soldier. Among the dead were many Modeliares and grave persons and Capala Modeliar, a Moor, and the chief of the Moors of that Island, of whom the Renegade made such ado and whom Captain Domingos Caraulho Caõ captured and handed over to the Captain-Major, to whom [the Moor] offered 5,000

pagodes, but it did not avail him, and including his [head] there were piled 566 heads, and the rest remained in the woods. This victory was completed on the 25th of September, 1597 and therein perished the flower of the men-at-arms of Candea. There took part in it the Captains Salvador Pereyra da Silua, D. Manoel de Azevedo, Antonio da Silua da Fonseca, Joaõ Teyxeyra de Menezes, Joaõ Serraõ da Cunha, Phelipe de Oliveyra, Simaõ Ribelo, Gregoria da Costa e Souza, and besides D. Fernando, the Modeliares Pedro de Abreu and D. Henrique.

The Tyrant of Candea felt this loss so much, that to pacify the grief | for the dead and wounded, of whom we do not *F 232v* know the exact number, because the first enounter was in the forest, and our men at once turned upon the strong place, raving with passion ordered 44 Portuguese who were still alive, out of those who had surrendered when Pero Lopez de Souza was routed, to be put to death ; and as God wished to show that they were killed for His sake in hatred of the Faith which they publicly confessed, the bodies remained a long time incorrupt, without the birds of prey or the animals of the field touching them, though there was no lack of tigers or other beasts of prey in Ceylon. Some devout and secret Christians went to gather their holy relics. The first to escape was Luis Mendes Pinto, and he fell into the hands of the Kinglet whom Domingos Correa killed, but the latter sent him to the General with whom he was seeking to make peace. Afterwards there escaped five, whose ears had been bored, because they were very young and had been brought up there. Among them was one of handsome appearance named Manoel Dias, and it seemed to the General that through him he could have the renegade Tyrant killed. He called him aside and revealed his purpose ; he replied he would do everything. [The General] gave him money and gifts, and he pretended to escape with coolies. The Renegade received him with joy and gave him the dignity of Bicarna Singa ; and he allowed himself to be carried away by these plaudits to such an extent that he was completely lost and false in everything, as we shall see.

On the 27th of May of this year of [15]97 there died in Columbo, D. Joaõ Perea Pandar, legitimate King of the *D 425* whole of the Island of Ceylon | , who, as we have said, was instructed and baptized by the Apostolic Father, Friar Joaõ de Vila de Conde, and who ever afterwards lived as a good Catholic, bearing with great patience the commotions of his lieges due in great measure to his change of religion. He always placed the Kingdom of Heaven above that of earth,

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and courageously suffered to see himself in great part despoiled of his estate and greatness, and reduced to the figure rather than the reality of a King. And though he did not fail to suffer great vexations from some Captains, he never lost his love and gratitude to the Portuguese for what they did in the defence of his crown. And though it was very easy for him, after many of the best of his Kingdom had been baptized, to remain in it apart, obeyed, rich and respected, for he was not wanting in valour to sustain his part or to defend his right, though it was that of a tributary, as he had by this time a good knowledge of European milicia and had Captains very well versed in arms, yet he never sought this blot on his great fidelity to God and to the King of Portugal, knowing that if they caused him some molestation, it was against the will of the King, and that if some benefit was obtained from that Island, it was not more than what it cost, | while the blood and the *F 233* lives of such illustrious lieges and valiant soldiers who shed the one and lost the other in the defence of his sceptre, were priceless. He was sure [moreover] that our Lords, the Kings of Portugal, never intended to put an end to that crown, but only to uphold it and to enhance it with the dominion of the whole Island, and that he would not be able to escape the mischievous presumption against his Faith, if he should live separate from the Portuguese, a calumny which his Catholic soul could not suffer. But seeing on the other hand, that he had no hope of heirs because of the infirmities he always suffered, after the disastrous case of the poison which they gave him, and considering that in the lowlands excluding Jafanapataõ there were more than 100 Parishes of Christians, and that if the lands were quiet, the conversion could be general, the more so if the King of Portugal took greater interest in that Island, he thought that for this greater aim of Christianity it was in every way most convenient to leave his Kingdom to the King of Portugal. This he was able to do with greater Right and with a better conscience than any King of Europe, because throughout all Asia the native Kings are not only sovereigns by high and supreme dominion, but also by direct dominion, the lieges having only the usufruct or *dominium utile*. He died with all the good dispositions of a good Christian and left by his solemn Testament as heirs to his Realm, and his Universal heir, the Catholic King Phelipe II. in his capacity of King of Portugal. He was buried with solemn pomp. Already in his life time this King D. Joaõ had made donation, *causa mortis*, to our Lord the King of Portugal, D. Henrique, of the Kingdom of Ceylon which he actually possessed ; and in ratifying this donation he said as follows through the notary who drew it up.

P 426 | FRESH RATIFICATION MADE BY THE KING, D. JOAÕ PEREA PANDAR, OF THE DONATION OF THE KINGDOM OF CEYLON

In the name of God, Amen. Know all to whom this public instrument of Donation and Ratification shall come · That in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and eighty three, on the twelfth day of the month of November of the said year, in this City of Columbo in the Island of Ceylon, in the precincts of the Palace of the Most High Prince, King and Lord, D. Joaõ, by the Grace of God Perea Pandar, King of Ceylon, he being here present and D. Fernando, Interpreter of the said King, in the presence of Joaõ Corea de Brito, Captain therein of the King | our Lord, F 233v as well as of Manoel de Souza Coutinho, aforetime captain of the said City, and of the Father, Friar Duarte da Silua, Guardian of the monastery of Saint Antony of the Order of St. Francis, and of the Father Vicar, Francisco Vieyra and [also of] Antonio Jacome, Ouvidor *Com Alçada*, and D. Esteauõ, Chief Chamberlain, and regent of the said King, and of Luis Corea da Silua, Commander of his Guard, and of Lourenço Fernandez, Secretary of the said King, and of the other witnesses hereinafter named, by the order of the said King, I, Antonio Ribeiro, Public Notary of this City was called by the said Lord to come here and at the request of the said King to declare, that some three years ago, more or less I, the said Notary, on his orders, made a public instrument of Donation,[1] whereby he, the said King, of his own accord, good and free will, owing to many considerations and obligations which moved him thereto, made Donation of this his Kingdom of Ceylon, to the Lord D. Henrique who succeeded to the Realms and Seigniories of Portugal on the demise and death of King D. Sebastiaõ and to his successors in the said Realm, on the death of the said King of Ceylon, because he had no heirs to succeed him by right thereto, and because Rajû Pandar, his deadly enemy, had taken it from him by force, though it did not belong to him, of which [Kingdom] he was dispossessed and which was ceded by the said instrument to the said Lord King, and after him to his successors in the said Realms: That by him and by the Catholic Kings of Portugal he, the said King, was ever helped and succoured in the wars and sieges of Rajû, for the which he was under great obligation to them, in return for which he

[1] The text of this donation dated 12th August, 1580, is printed in *Collecçao de Tratados e Concertos de Pazes* I, pp., 180–184, from Ms. in the Torre do Tombo, Livro das Ilhas f. 238.

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made the said donation, signed by the said King and by the witnesses therein named and accepted by the said Manoel de Souza Coutinho, the Captain that was in the said City and fortalice, and by me the said Notary in the name of the said Lord King, and his successors and executed on the 12th day of the month of August of the year one thousand five hundred and eighty, with these and other things which in the said writing of donation may be seen at length, the which was sent to the Kingdom; to all of which I the said Notary attest.

And that the said Lord King of Ceylon for greater firmness and security now declares: That he ratifies the said Donation, P 427 and for the aforesaid considerations and obligations | gifts his said Kingdom and makes Donation thereof to the Lord, D. Phelipe King and successor to the Realms and Seigniories of Portugal, and to his successors in the said Realm, as was previously made to the said Lord D. Henrique, and this on the demise and death of the said King of Ceylon, with all the seigniory, right and claim, which he has, and shall have in future to this said Realm and its appurtenances by the death of Bonega Bau, grandfather of the said King, Lord and King thereof | who placed him in the said Realm F 234 and delivered it to him with the Permission of the past Kings of Portugal, especially of the Lord King D. Joaõ, who is in Glory, and by the possession which he had of this Kingdom, as the Lord and King thereof, which the said Rajû took from him; He, the said King, grants on his death to the said Lord King D. Phelipe and to his successors in the said Realms and Seigniories of Portugal, to have and to hold as his own, by virtue of this public instrument of Donation and Ratification on the death of the said King, provided he has no heirs to succeed him. With the declaration that should it happen that any kinsmen of the said King claim the right to succeed in that Kingdom, he, by the present Donation and Ratification, declares them and holds them disinherited from the said succession and right.

And on the fourth day of the month of November of the said year, in the City and fortalice of Columbo of this Island of Ceylon in the precincts of the Palace of the most High Prince and Lord, D. Joaõ Perea Pandar King of Ceylon, where I, Antonio Ribeiro, Notary Public for the King Our Lord, was called to give testimony of what I saw, and wrote by instrument, there being present in person the said King, Joaõ Corea de Brito, Captain of the said King therein, and likewise Manoel de Souza Coutinho, the Captain that was, and the Father Vicar, Francisco Vieyra with the witnesses above-named, on the order of the said Captain Joaõ Corea

de Brito there were assembled together all the lieges of the said Realm, through D. Fernando Interpreter, and on the order of the said Captain there was read and declared to them the purport of the said writing of Donation, which their said King of Ceylon had made in view of his death, of the said Realm to the King of Portugal our Lord and to his successors, and of the ratification which he now made of the Donation, because he had no heirs, although some of his kinsmen pretend to the succession in the said Realm, for which he considered them unworthy, because they rebelled against the Crown and attempted to kill him. And as by a solemn and public act the said King had declared the said King our Lord and his successors as his heirs, and as he has taken their homage and oath of allegiance and vassalage to obey and acknowledge as their King and Lord, the King Our Lord and his successors after the death of the said King D. Joaõ : For the which it was required that they should elect their proctors duly empowered to accept and to approve
P 428 of the said nomination in their name and that of all | the people, then and there at once were elected and named as proctors empowered thereto, D. Estevaõ, Chief Chamberlain of the said King of Ceylon and Regent of his Realms, D. Antonio, gentleman of the Household and D. Afonço Macante also | a gentleman of the household ; who being elected F 234v and named and having accepted their powers of procuration as if it had been done by writing, the said Proctors declared in their name and in the name of the people and they accepted for their King and Lord, the Lord D. Phelipe King of Portugal and his successors in the said Realm on the death of the said King D. Joaõ : and that they approved the donation of that Realm made by their said King to the said Lord King of Portugal and to his successors, with all the declarations contained in the same donation, and thereby renounced all right and claim which the said people have or can have to name and elect a King on the death of the said King D. Joaõ, and likewise acknowledge as Lord the said King of Portugal on the demise of their said King of Ceylon and therefore would own and obey him in high and low as if he were their own natural King, as hitherto they have recognized, and they would do the same on the death of the said King ; and as they said, so they authorized and ordered this instrument of acceptance, Nomination and Donation to be made, which the said Proctors signed with the Captains Joaõ Correa de Brito and Manoel de Souza Coutinho, the Captain that was, who accepted it in the name of the said Lord, the King of Portugal, and the above-named witnesses all present,

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Gaspar Salgado and Nicolao Gonçaluez de Soto, Vereadores of this City, and Esteuaõ Gomez, Judge in ordinary therein, and Antonio Lourenço and Francisco da Silua, clerk of the factory, all casados and inhabitants who signed ; and I the said Notary, who am a public personage, also accept it as such in the name of the King our Lord—Thus wrote I. Seal of the King.

And the Kingdom of Seytavâca in which City is the seat of the Kings thereof, seven leagues from this City and fortalice of Columbo and four from Cota, which City is at present abandoned of which there is no other sign save ruins, and the said Kingdom was obedient to His Majesty.

And the Kingdom of Seven-Corlas, which is 18 leagues from Columbo towards the North-west, as declared by the said *Motiares*.

And the Kingdom of Candea which is in revolt. In the lands of which is our fortalice and garrison of Balâne, three leagues from the City of Candea, where the rebels live and the tyrant D. Joaõ, who may be considered an enemy captain and rebel against his Crown, for taking arms against the said King, and for attempting and intending to kill him, with all further declarations and clauses | which may be F 235 necessary which the said King considers as herein noted, in that those who commit such evils lose all property, succession and right they pretend to have. In Faith and
P 429 proof | therefore, that the said King has so said and declared, authorized, and ordered, and ratified the first writing and these presents, he ordered to be made this instrument of Donation which he signed.

The witnesses who were present besides the above-named, are Antaõ Jacome, Ouuidor *Com Alçada*, Gaspar Delgado Nocolao Gonçaluez de Soto, Vereadores who are now in the said City, and Esteuaõ Gomez, ordinary Judge in it, and Antonio Lourenço and Francisco da Silua, clerks of the factory, all casados and residents of this place, who signed with the rest and with the said Interpreter and the Captain who in the name of the said King and his successors accepted the said Donation. And I, the said Notary with the same as a public person, being present wrote it, with the declaration however that the said King of Ceylon declared ; that in case he should have heirs, sons or daughters they shall inherit and the Donation shall be null ; but otherwise it shall be fulfilled in all as declared. I the above named who wrote it. Mark of the King.[1]

[1] Probably ශ්‍රී *Sri*.

The King Don Joaõ likewise declared that there pertained to the Crown of his Empire, the Realm of Jafanapataõ, the Principality of the Four-Corlas, and the Dissâva of Maturê, 24 leagues from Columbo, the Dissâva of the lands of Ina-vâca[1] (which we call Sofragaõ from the place of the garrison we had there) the Dissâva of Meracolave[2] near the lands of Putalaõ, the jurisdiction of which extends to Manâr, at present for the most part uninhabited. He also made mention of eight Vaneas, who for 100 years past gave vassalage and paid tribute to the Kings of Cota and came to render obedience or sent tribute and are the following :— That of Pâneua[3] beyond Maturê along the coast, East-North-East : That of Hiala,[4] beyond Paneua on the same coast : that of Leuaua Cosgama[5] along the coast in the same way : beyond that Vilaçem[6] which means hundred thousand fields on the same sea shore : that of Palugrama[7] near Batecalou, lands which are all his, but on account of war with a nephew there were two Vaniados [Vanniyarships] with the same obligation from which that of Batecalou was never exempt : between that of Batecalou and Triquilemale there is that of Cutiar. The same obligation has Triquilemalê. And generally all the Seigniories of Ceylon paid him tribute.

One must not be astonished at the style and contents of this Donation, because there is a great difference between arms and letters, and between the field and the judicial | forum. *F 235v* I took the utmost pains to find the Testament of this King, D. Joaõ Perea Pandar, about which all the documents speak, and it is the public and constant talk of India that in it he left as heirs of all the rights he had in Ceylon Our Lords, the Kings of Portugal. But neither in the Secretariat of State nor in the Casa dos Contos nor in the Torre do Tombo could it be discovered.[8] Couto already spoke with caution, because when he says that there *P 430* was placed in the Torre do Tombo the instrument which was executed on his death, when D. Jeronimo de Azevedo as General of Ceylon in the name of the King of Portugal took possession of that Island, and was sworn King of it by the natives, he makes no mention of the testament of King D. Joaõ Perea Pandar, nor at present is there found in that same Torre this act of which Couto speaks.

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[1] Denavaka.
[2] Nuwarakalava.
[3] Panama.
[4] Yala.
[5] Velawara Kosgama.
[6] Welassa.
[7] Palugama.
[8] *Cf.* p. 524, n. 1.

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As the Religious of St. Francis concurred in this Testament and were ever demanding a village for masses for him and for an annual obit, it seems to me that it might be found in their hands ; but if they had retained it, it might have been lost in Columbo, because in this Convent of Goa I find no copy of it. I have no doubt that all these documents were copied for Portugal where they are better preserved and with greater attention. And it will be no little convenience to place all in this place so that every one at all times may have access to the memoirs, and the right which the most serene Kings of Portugal have to the Island of Ceylon by these special titles.

CHAPTER 20.

D. Jeronimo Takes Possession of Ceylon in the Name of the King of Portugal and Continues the War with Candea.

The General ordered the principal lieges of that King to be called to Columbo for this legal solemnity, and having assembled the nobles and the people in the presence likewise of the Portuguese, he ordered them to elect freely some persons, whomsoever they liked, to swear to the King of Portugal as their King in the name of all, seeing that all present there could not do it ; and he was proclaimed King of Ceylon with the customary Portuguese ceremonies. The oath was taken by the officials of the Royal Household and the witnesses of his Testament, D. Jeronimo de Azevedo presiding in the name of the King and others in this order, [viz. :—] Thome de Souza Arronches, Captain of Columbo, D. Antonio, D. Constantino, D. Jorge, D. Joaõ, D. Pedro Home Pereyra, the cavaliers who were present, Belchior Botelho | Modeliar, *F 236* Domingos da Costa, Arache, and Thome Rodriguez, Patangatỹ ; and the General handing the Royal banner to D. Antaõ, he passed through the streets in the usual way acclaiming the new King of that Island. Of all this an act was drawn up by the Notary Public.

Here we cannot but lament the lack of Portuguese zeal, because besides the common right of conquest, Navigation and Commerce of these lands and these Eastern seas which the Kings of Portugal have, and [the right] which as Catholic Christians they have in general to make war on Moors as Enemies of
P 431 the human race because of their Law and profession, | and because by the special recommendation and particular hatred of the false prophet [they are] persecutors of the law of Christ, the King of Portugal in this Orient is Lord by special right of six rich and wealthy Kingdoms, but he possesses none. By inheritance in virtue of a Solemn Testament, he is King of Maluco, which includes many smaller ones; of Ceylon, and of the Maldivas: By contract [he is King] of Tigris in Ethiopia: By gift *inter vivos* of the Kingdom of Pegû, and by many titles [he is Lord] of the Kingdom of Ormuz, with the Islands and the lands subject to it. By that of Maluco he is Lord of the Clove, the chief spice with which the Hollanders to-day maintain the great organ of their company, and from which they get thousands, with the help also of the nutmegs of Banda, and under the shadow of many small garrisons, they altogether enjoy the fruits of the whole Archipelago. By that of Ceylon he is Lord of what we described at length in the first Book, an Island the most coveted in the whole of the East. By that of the Maldivas (of which jealousy has ever made so little account in order not to see a Portuguese crowned, while its subjugation to the Catholic Yoke required nothing more than one of those ordinary fleets which annually went to the Cape of Comorî, though under its dominion there were more than 11,000 Islands separated by the sea), of no small profit from the products and from the fishery and from the trade of a place of which even the coconuts are celebrated for their medicinal properties; and this is the King who in Portugal was called the King Magus by the empty headed; reasons enough for God to chastise the State of India, as we heard from a good judge, even before we set foot in it, and as we afterwards saw clearly, considering the fruit that could have been gathered for the Faith with the favour of a Catholic King. By that of Tigris he is Lord of its products, of much ivory, alkalys, wax, and in its sea of the fishery of seed pearls, whereby one is not only able to be master of the riches of the Red Sea, so much desired by the early Viceroys and Governors of India, but even to penetrate into Massuâ, a country equal to the Rios de Sofala, before the Turk was able to garrison Massuâ with the scanty force which he still retains there, without any fortification, and after reducing | F 236v

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the Abyssinians, under the shadow of our arms, to the Catholic Faith, to conquer Africa by their means and to threaten Asia therewith. By the Kingdom of Pegu he is Lord of the incredible fertility of that vast Egypt and of the immense gold and riches which in former times gave rise to a great Empire: By that of Ormuz [he is Lord] of all the exports of Sinde, of Persia, of Chaldaea, and of Arabia, of the pearls of Baharen, the largest in the known world; in a word of all the riches of the Persian Gulf; of all of which they made so little account, that they are either lost or despised. They say that it is the fault of misgovernment, but none has as yet pointed out the legitimate and true cause, for so blindly did they set about the affairs of the immense State of India. But let us leave these considerations to the last Book of this work.

P 432 | Having obtained the victory of Maturê, Simaô Pinhao and D. Henrique set out the next day with 1,000 Lascarins of D. Fernando, marching to Cuculu-corla and Batugedra, gathering droves of cattle and burning some houses; and there, on the following day, when they arrived at Sofragaõ, they had tidings of the defeat of Gaspar Correa. This Chingalâ, being an experienced Modeliar in command of the men of Alicur, Pitigal, Nigumbo and Cotambala, and hoping to gain reputation by another victory similar to the recent one of Runa, was so ill-advised as to try to storm a fortalice which the Tyrant of Candea had erected on the lofty heights of Idumalepane and had garrisoned with the men of the Four-Corlas. They had information of his setting out and they corrupted the people of Beligal whom he had with him, and they deserted him at the time of the attack, and he was killed along with five Portuguese who accompanied him and who tried to defend him, while Braz Nunez, Captain of the men of Deygambra and Talugaõ,[1] was wounded. And this slight misfortune was enough for the Four-Corlas, always a disquieted country, to be again in commotion up to within a league of Maluâna, the usual residence of the General. And in spite of all the haste of the Captain-Major and Simaõ Pinhao, they were not able to prevent this *perli*; and on the order of the General they began again to subdue them; Simaõ Pinhao setting out from Maluâna with a part of his men and some Portuguese under the two Captains Nuno Velho Trauaços and Francisco Pereyra Lobo. But as he was unable to pass Atanagâle, he there awaited the Captain-Major, Salvador Pereyra da Silua.

[1] Dehigampal-korle, Atulugama korle.

At this time a misguided and disolute young man, named Afonço Môro, Vidâna of Coruîta, to whom the Captain-Major had entrusted the task of supplying the provisions necessary for the garrisons on that frontier, went to Dinavâca in search of a pagan woman whom he greatly loved and who had escaped him from the pagode | of Sofragaõ, making more of F 237
the love he bore her than of his duty to man and God : and like an apostate he began also to make war. The Captain-Major went with the Bicarna Singa to attack the lands of Calilia,[1] Bocolagâma, Rodaueruna, and Botâle which were reduced, and those of Algâma, Tambugala, Pilendo[2] and Dorauaca were well chastised. And to maintain these newly subjected lands, he ordered a strong place to be erected on the confines of the Four-Corlas with a good garrison. The General ordered the men of that frontier to be mustered at Atanagâla, where Francisco Pimental was Captain, but in exchange for Afonço Mouro, Simaõ Correa who had escaped at Runa, gave a great example and checkmate to Chingalâ infidelity. He came down to the frontiers of Ruanêla, having been made Captain of the greater part of the men of Candea, and moved by shame for what he had done and for the insult he had given to his noble parents, and moved by Divine grace, he came as near as he could to our strong place, and there he lodged for the night, and obtaining a safe conduct from the General along with others of his party, on the following morning he cut off the heads of the
P 433 principal Modeliares of the enemy, and with all his belongings | passed over to the strong place, and thence to Maluâna, where the General received him benignantly. He was afterwards sent to the Inquisition of Goa, where he appeared with tokens of great repentance and according to the style which the Holy office uses with those who repent, he was benignantly reconciled. Those of the army who escaped, fled precipitately to Candea..

The Portuguese in Tanagâle made themselves dreaded in such manner, that not having anything more to do, they went to encamp in Botâle, a league further on. The Enemy not wishing to abandon our lands altogether, erected a stronghold in Bidigaõ,[3] both to reduce them to their side as well as the better to safeguard their own and their stronghold of Idumalupane, a fortress on which they relied much. On that very day, however, on which they set a garrison in it, our

[1] Kaleliya, Bokalagama, Radawadunne, Botale.

[2] Pilanduwa, Dorawaka.

[3] Dedigama.

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men attacked it and carried and razed it. In the Seven-Corlas they still kept up some fortifications, and the arrayal marching upon them, stormed them with the death of many, and the Natives were severely punished both in lands and in person because of the favour which they had given to the Enemy, a course whereby these territories were brought to obedience. The Tyrant of Candea, fearing for his stronghold of Idumalepane, sent the greater part of his forces to unite with other rebels and with the two Princes of the Seven-Corlas to distract our people along the coast and Chilaõ. They were beaten back by the Portuguese by another diversion, for they entered | into their lands and obliged them to defend F 237v
them, but they were not able to prevent the destruction of Monda Conda Pale[1], the principal seat of that Prince, where they all had their goods, spoils and families. They marched one whole day carrying many fortified passes, where many were killed ; and though they found the City with ditches and walls and a valiant garrison, they attacked it in good order, carried it with great courage, and among those killed was the Modeliar who defended it, a noble person and a great cavalier, besides not a few prisoners. But as it was inconvenient to embarrass themselves with the prize, it was altogether destroyed and burnt with all the riches and the baggage which was in it — a lamentable ruin and certain effect of war. They began to withdraw in haste after battling a whole day on the way with a great number of Enemies, who, in their desperation, put themselves at the mouths of the arquebuzes with such hardihood that in the narrowest passes it happened that some threw their bows at the throats of the Portuguese and laid hands on the firelocks. However they paid for their impudence by many deaths. We lost two Portuguese and of the natives 26, besides many wounded ; and they were obliged to abandon the lands and to break up their camp. And as they had left some garrison in Chilaõ, a Captain of our Lascarins, despatched for the purpose, killed some and put the others to flight, and everything was quiet. And Simaõ Pinhao went to erect a strong place, whence they made some assaults, captured and killed many, and a part of the lands came to obedience ; and as the Tyrant
P 434 was retreating, our people advanced | a day's march ahead. The Apostate erected another strong place on a hill still further in our lands, but being assailed before they could finish it, many enemies were killed, and it was razed. They still maintained another strong place more defensible, in the confines of the Four-Corlas and other fortifications in narrow

[1] Mundakondapola Nuwara.

passes. The arrayal went in search of these and defeated them in some skirmishes and put them to flight, conquering all their fortifications, and as they were retiring to Seytavâca, our men committed notable cruelties in the rebel villages as an example to the others.

In order to divert the war, the King sent the greater part of his army to the two Princes of the Corlas to go and attack our stockades on the side of Chilaõ along the sea shore. This design was not unknown to D. Jeronimo who ordered one of two enterprises ; either to seek out these enemies or to enter into their lands, the latter being recommended, and also that the capital City of the Seven-Corlas be attacked. They marched day and night, carrying some dangerous passes by the sword, and though the City was fortified with | stock- *F 238*
ades and ditches, it was taken with great determination, the Captain and many people killed, and the place burnt with all the belongings, so as not to hamper [the men], and on their return again they overcame great dangers, spending a day fighting with various garrisons which the Enemy had at various passes. The Princes who were at war with us came to their aid, but in their absence our men conquered the stockades and with the death of some and the flight of others, they drove them out altogether, and entering the enemies' lands, they inflicted great damage and obtained many spoils from November to the end of April, [15]98.

The quarters were shifted to the pagode of Botale, a place suited for assaults, which was done with great loss to the Enemy. At this time happened the defeat[1] which took place in Cunhâle. When the General had tidings of it, in order to break the spirit of the Enemies who had made a league to make a joint attack on the arrayal, he ordered the Captain-Major of the Field and [the Captains] of the garrisons to celebrate the victory, thereby foreshadowing the punishment which Andre Furtado de Mendonça[2] afterwards gave to the pirate with great credit. It was so truly feasted, that not even the Portuguese thought at the time that it was anything but the defeat of Cunhâle with great slaughter ; a trick which greatly encouraged our men and repressed the adversary's daring. There the arrayal remained for more than eight months, as they had but a small force, which in the end became known to the Candiot, and because he still kept up the strong place which he had in the confines

[1] Failure of the first attack on the pirate Kunhale delivered by the joint forces of the Portuguese and the Samorin, 1598.

[2] The second attack, 1599, led by Andre Furtado, was successful. *Cf.* Danvers II., 112–118.

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of the Four-Corlas, he wished personally to make sure of that garrison and by means of his agents he tried to disquiet the Native lieges. But without completely accomplishing this desire, he returned to Candea, where he mustered two bodies of troops, one of 1,000 Lascarins of his guard, which he sent to Putalaõ to advance against Chilaõ along with the men
I 435 of that | county, the other of 3,000 men whom he sent to fortify themselves on a hill on our frontiers of the Seven-Corlas. Against those of Chilaõ the reconciled Captain of the Lascarins, Simaõ Correa, set out with 1,000 Natives and some Portuguese. The Enemy was defeated and the greater part killed, among the killed being nearly 100 Badagaz who are wont to sell their lives dear ; which was of great effect, because they had been obtained by means of great presents of jewels and elephants to the Nayque of Madurê and to the King of Melipur ; and this served as a curb on their fleeing from our bullets. In February [15]98 there arrived D. Francisco da Gama with 120 soldiers in four ships of which the other Captains were, Francisco Pereyra de Souza, Diogo de Melo da Cunha and Thomas de Maçedo ; and when the General received this small reinforcement, he reformed the arrayal and mustered about 1,200 Portuguese soldiers under the command | of Saluador Pereyra, Pinhaõ and Francisco *F 238v*
Brito being in command over the country troops. He sent them to Alauua, where they erected a strong stockade with revetments, watch towers and ditches, between the two enemy armies in order to bear on both and to prevent one from succouring the other. The stockade being made, at the dawn watch they suddenly fell upon the arrayal of the Seven-Corlas before they were able to complete the strong place, which was well protected by two close lying gorges fortified with good stockades and in them 2,000 men. The rest were on the top of the hill to fall upon the flanks when attacked. When our men reached the first stockades and some Lascarins fell, the rest retired. The Portuguese advanced and stormed them in spite of great resistance, killing many and one Modeliar. At this point they came down from the hill, attacking our men from the rear, but as they were flushed with success, they turned on them with good order and resolution. The battle lasted a long while and finally they routed 2,000 firelockmen and musketmen of the strong place, and the 2,000 others who were found outside it, and more than 400 were killed. On our side two Portuguese and seven lascarins were killed, many were wounded. On the following night the Enemy removed the garrison from the strong place of the Four-Corlas, as they feared a siege ; and on the way to Candea they were routed, and many killed in the pursuit.

Here happened a pretty affair in which an accident improved nature. The Captain, Francisco de Brito, was short in one leg owing to a bullet which passed through it in Malavar. Here they gave him another on the other leg, and when he was cured of it the two legs became equal and straight and he was able to walk without any impediment.

Salvador Pereyra da Silua at once despatched 1,000 firelockmen of the country with some Portuguese against the arrayal of Putalaõ, before they were able to get tidings of the recent victory, and arriving at the strong place which they had erected, they attacked it with great determination and carried it, likewise killing 500 Badagas of the opposite coast
P 436 and many natives; which caused such great fear, that | thenceforth no one was found so adventurous as to wish to serve the Tyrant against us. The arrayal of the Four-Corlas also withdrew to Candea through fear, knowing of the understanding which the General had with those people, and our men destroyed with no small labour the large stronghold which the enemy had left.

CHAPTER 21.

The General continues the War and prepares for the Conquest of Candea.

| Not content with such good success, D. Jeronimo made *F 239* ready for the future and ordered a strong place to be erected in Pondanagorê[1], because when the lands are at peace, there is an ample supply of pioneers for such work in Ceylon, and he sought [thereby] to secure the frontiers of the Seven-Corlas because of the many roads which branch out from that place. For this purpose he went to Alauva, gave pay all round, and despatched the Captain-Major with a part of the men and many journeymen and all things necessary to complete the work in a short time. It was built in 15 days of wood, earth, and fascines, with bastions, a ditch, and counter ditch, and being supplied with provisions and munitions, it was entrusted to Phelipe de Oliueyra, a man who afterwards won a great reputation, with two Portuguese Companies and the Captain Joaõ Serra da Cunha, there remaining also some Lascarins; and the rest retired to Alauva, where they wintered. The General with greater

[1] Pentenegoda.

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intentions ordered a stockade to be made of stone in Manicrauarê to serve as military headquarters (praça de armas) for the conquest of Candea on which it bordered, and as a protection against the Four-Corlas, by Saluador Pereyra da Silua along with the rest of the Portuguese and Lascarins that could be mustered. In September [15]98 [Pereyra] encamped at a league's distance from the place, preparing there what was necessary to erect the stockade of wood in one day, and to do it in stone afterwards, because he had information that the Enemy desired to assault it. Then he went to Manicrauarê, and when the Enemy sought to try his luck that night, he found a defensible strong place erected of wood, and his designs frustrated. Our people spent four months in erecting with great trouble the stone fort square in shape, with four bastions, and in the middle a 'cavalier' which served as a magazine, with some artillery. At the same time they were making some incursions into the lands of the enemy from which they always returned victorious, subjugating the lands of Idumalepâne and Andapanduna; and from this gin they did such havoc in the neighbouring lands, that even those who were furthest off came to obedience to escape death and constant capture of cattle.

P 437 | The King, being unable to prevent this damage, passed to the frontiers of Dinavâca to distract them from that side with fresh war. The General met it by sending troops, taken from the other garrisons, under the command of Saluador Pereyra da Silua who had some encounters, in which he defeated the foe. At the same time on the order of the Tyrant and with reinforcements which he sent, the Prince of Dinavâca set out, and marching one league, he ordered the obedient lands to be destroyed as far as the pagode of Sofragaõ, the inhabitants retiring to the thickest woods. To prevent them from revolting, the General at once ordered Simaõ Pinhao, [who was] resident in Manicrauarê, to approach the enemy arrayal | with all his men. He did so with such *F 239v* promptitude, that in one day, with 600 Lascarins and 300 Portuguese, he crossed two rivers, which could not be waded, and marched 9 leagues and attacked the Enemies so unexpectedly, that they at once retired, leaving many prisoners and other spoil; and in the space of one month in various encounters he obtained signal victories, and after pacifying the lands and chastising the rebels, he returned to his post; and the fort of Manicraurê being completed, the General went there and gave pay all round both to the one and to the other soldiery.

Already in the begininng of January [15]90 preparations were made to advance into the Enemy's lands, but as there was little loyalty and the caution of the Candiot was great, the latter gathered his forces and with those of the Prince of Uva, his principal though ever unsuccessful vassal, he pitched his camp [consisting] of 5,000 men in the Corla of Orucula, one of the Seven, and the one nearest to our lands. The Prince of the Corlas also approached our frontier. D. Jeronimo, now hardened in this kind of diversions, ordered 2,000 Lascarins and 300 Portuguese to march to the neighbourhood of the river of Agaletôta,[1] which flows into the Gulf near Caymel; and encamping in Bamunugâma[2] a village of Grandola,[3] for eight days they felt the pulse of the land, taking information about the position and might of the Enemy who was near him in the plains of Cujapitî.[4] There were some encounters and in the fiercest of them died the principal Modeliar, and with him many who sought to defend him, not a few remaining prisoners. Then he of Uva, seeing that they were skirting the forest of Agaletota where the General had ordered them to encamp, attacked from divers parts at the same time without obtaining by that venture anything more than great loss. And as he did not desist from infesting the lands, the General ordered them to attack him. With great order and resolution they captured two of his strong stockades erected on the way; but uniting themselves in the third one, they made such a determined resistance to the lascarins, that it became necessary for the Portuguese to advance, as they drew back. Then the enemy retired and reinforcing himself returned to the fray, and after holding the field for some time, they went to join their men, when attacked by our people. The advance guard fought well till it was routed, and retired with the vanguard to the main body of the arrayal, which, seeing our resolution, did not make any great resistance. He was pursued for
P 438 more | than a league till nightfall, lost more than 200 of his best men, who tried to check those who were fleeing, many Modeliares, Araches and principal men, whose heads Bento da Silua took to Manicraurê, where the General celebrated the triumph. They returned victorious with many spoils of arms, banners and other things of value, but the greatest of all was that they had no loss. Fortifying himself in Galetôta[5] on the order of the General, Saluador Pereyra da Silua continued the assaults on the enemy lands | which *F 240*

[1] River of Etgaletota, Maha-oya.
[2] Pamunugama.
[3] Gandolaha.
[4] Kulipitiya.
[5] Etgaletota.

delayed obedience, fearing that the Tyrant would reform. He, however, realizing his ill-success, betook himself to Candea, leaving open the whole of that county, where the Portuguese with death and plunder and fire and fury left not a stone upon a stone nor tree or fruit of use. Seeing themselves lost, they submitted against the grain.

The Prince of Uva, who did not proceed to Candea, so as not to see himself insulted like others by the Tyrant, appeared from one of the Seven Corlas where he had taken shelter, with a sufficient number of men and succour of the Candiot to recover his frontier. And at this same time, it being now the beginning of April of the same year [15]99, the garrison of Batugedra fell out with its Captain, Luis Pinto, and in great secrecy they went away to Evagaõ Corla[1] of which they were inhabitants, near Columbo, where they had their parents, children, wives, and Brothers, with the intention of putting them in safety, and then destroying the neighbouring lands. In this march they encountered Giraldo Freyre and Francisco da Costa, Portuguese, who were returning to their garrison of Columbo, and killed them. And as the Fathers of St. Francis had erected in the midst of this Corla, and on the site of one of their pagodes, a College, Church and a Seminary, they burnt them all; and in this torrent they carried with them the Corlas of Evagaõ, Curuûte and Navedu and would also have stirred up the Lascarins of the garrison of Gurubebile, had its Captain Vasco Pirez de Faria not impeded it by artful devices.

When the rebellion became known, the Portuguese returned to their garrisons, where they were surrounded by them and by those of Uva and of Candea. D. Jeronimo, who at this time was deeply engaged in the conquest of the Seven-Corlas, with unwearied energy arranged that 800 Lascarins and a company of Portuguese be sent to him from Galetota, and with those whom he had, he advanced to Seytavâca in order to intimidate at the same time the state of Dinavâca and the rebellious Corlas; and at once he despatched a force of Portuguese and Native troops against the pagode of Sofragaõ, where the Enemies had entrenched themselves; and they fell on them so unexpectedly, that vanquished and defeated they fled, leaving many killed [and] arms and banners and spoils. Then he reinforced the garrisons with as much success as good disposition. And knowing that the rebels had betaken themselves to Evagaõ Corla, on his orders and through the woods of Dolapara the Bisarna Singa, Simaõ Pinhaõ, took the advance guard

[1] Hewagam Korle.

while he from another side surrounded them. Seeing
P 439 themselves lost, in order to obtain pardon, they agreed | to cut off the head of Corotota Corupa Arache who had been the head of the rebellion, and in fact they at once delivered it | to the Bicarna Singa This affair was settled with all F 240v prudence, and the peace of those Corlas followed immediately.

But as the affairs of Curuvîte and Batugedra were not altogether settled, the General at once despatched the Bicarna Singa to the frontier of Dinavâca ; and the enemy through fear desisted from the seige of Curuvîte and Batugedra, because those lands had felt the effect of the rigors of sanguinary Mars. This rebellion had no other motive than that Curupa Arache felt himself little favoured, and because he was not given one of the posts of his ancestors, Modeliares now defunct, he wished to show that he was a man ready for anything, and at the cost of being a traitor to oblige the General to give him that honour.

The Tyrant of Candea seeing the little results he obtained from so lengthy a war, would have been satisfied with that Kingdom, if the people of the Seven and Four-Corlas had not written him this letter : ' The inhabitants of the frontiers of the Portuguese make known to you, the universal King and Victorious Lord of this Lancab, how on all sides the robbers of cattle, the shedders of blood, the Enemies of life, the causers of captivity, have come upon us, which makes it necessary for us either to abandon our possessions to them, or to obey them against our will. Wherefore you, who are the guardian and refuge of this orphaned and afflicted people, succour the miserable, who are in this condition, if you do not wish to see altogether extinguished the Nation of which you are the Restorer, Guardian, Relief and firm protector '. This was, and ever will be, the spirit of these people against a foreign dominion, for war can reduce, but tyranny can never subjugate, a brave nation. Well I know that, if Manoel de Färia e Souza, who reproves the cruelties of D. Jeronimo so much, had lived among these continuous treacheries, he would have formed a different opinion, because as may be seen from his work, there was not in Madrid even in our times, full information of all this ; but the government of Ceylon after such long experience should have been [conducted] otherwise than by removing from them altogether the hope of bettering themselves ; as we shall show in a longer discourse.

In consideration of such an outcry, the Candiot determined to try his fortune again. He enlisted 8,000 men besides the bowmen of the Seven-Corlas. encamped a league from our arrayal, and with all speed he built a strong place in

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Matapalî[1] upon a river ; another more important one in Quriuelapitî,[2] partly of stone, partly of wood. He began others without opposition, | because the greater part of the F 241 soldiers had gone to Columbo and to other garrisons to assist at the offices of Holy Week, and the majority of the Lascarins had come down to their villages to celebrate one of their feasts.[3] The Captain-Major apprised the General of these novelties and he asked D. Pedro Manoel, Captain of Columbo, for some casados and with them he
P 440 manned the garrisons, and getting hold of some soldiers | and some men from Maturê, he secured the frontiers of Dinavâca ; and having mustered in eight days 250 Portuguese soldiers, 2,000 Lascarin musketeers and a good supply of bowmen, he took the field. The King, who had completed the strong places, entrusted the principal one to Afonço Mouro, of whom we have already spoken, with 500 carabineers, and placed the Prince of Uva in the forests of the neighbouring hill fortifying the passes with their gravets in order that they might charge our men from the rear, when they attacked. He proceeded to Talampetî[4] where a new Prince of the Four-Corlas was entrenched, leaving him orders to hold the field, should the Portuguese come before he returned to Talampetî, where he wished to raise another stronghold. Matters being thus disposed on the one side and the other, it did not seem good to the General to stir from Maluâna for the sake of reputation as well as because of the scanty confidence he could place on his Lascarins. The Captain-Major Pereyra on the 22nd of April [15]99 attacked the first strong place, which, not being completely finished, made no resistance ; when they were about to advance against the second, Father Friar Antonio of Coymbra, a Franciscan, who knew that there were some quarrels among them, made a sermon to them so efficaciously, before a cross raised aloft with a Crucifix painted on it, that with close embraces and many tears they worshipped their Redeemer and were reconciled. Soldiers of valour and experience carried ladders ; of the rest of the men, some attacked the strong place, and others under charge of Simaõ Pinhaõ remained on the lookout for the Enemies on the hill, and as some issued from the praça and others from the woods, he killed so many and so rapidly that mixing with them, he entered the strong place, which was already stormed by the rest, with the death of 80 and of Afonço Mouro, a man as handsome in body as he was ugly in soul ; and pursuing the fugitives, they inflicted the

[1] Mottappuliya.
[2] Kiriwallapitiya.
[3] Sinhalese New Year
[4] Talampitiya.

greater mortality and captured many arms. Unfortunately we lost an Arache who, in the confusion within the strong place, was taken for an Enemy. Two soldiers were wounded, one of them being Gaspar Moutinho who was twice overthrown from the wall, and when he scaled it for the third time, he was badly wounded within it. The majority of those who were on the hill made for safety, and the Prince of Uva, whom they called King, on this occasion as well as on others, showed how little fit he was to wield a Sceptre or a baton.

| They spent two days in demolishing that strong place. *F 241v*
Meanwhile the General gave order to the two cousins, Gaspar de Azevedo and Francisco de Maçedo, to leave some men in the garrison of Pendamegore, that one of them should remain there and the other should go and join the Captain-Major to assault Talampetî where the Tyrant of Candea was. But a day before they started from Pendamegore, some Chingalâs set fire to some houses outside the strong place which was put out with great care ; [but] at the first watch owing to a sudden gust of wind some sparks were blown off from the cinders and with fresh fuel it sufficed to consume that fortification of wood in a short time. They hastily buried the heavy artillery which they saved and with the movables
P 441 and munitions | they marched by night and reached Galetôta at the time when those troops were going to Talampetî, a distance of two leagues. On the morning of Palm Sunday they started after the singing of the Benediction and took the palm from all those who tried to obstruct them on the way, and advancing into the middle of the village, which had over 8,000 men-at-arms, they found that the Tyrant had secured himself on the hill, whence he watched it being burned and also the sumptious pagodes which were in it, in which they spent a part of the day ; and on returning instead of the Hosanna they ordered a general salvo to be given, to which they responded with such shouts, that those valleys resounded with the thunder, and 12,000 men came down at once on our 180 Portuguese, for our Chingalâs, having been corrupted, removed the iron point from the lances, threw away the staves and put themselves in safety. On the way down from the hill, the enemy had already blocked the path, between the woods with 17 gravets which could not be overcome without great trouble and without giving time to the enemies to attack the better ; and the battle was so fierce, that when they ran short of arrows, they strove hand to hand with the Portuguese, while others in desperation, seeing themselves overcome by so few men, even attempted to throw the bows at their heads. After the battle

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had lasted four hours and the munitions had been spent, the fight was continued on one side and the other with missiles and whatever else their fury supplied them, till they finally put themselves in safety. The enemy lost more that 400 including the most warlike Modeliares and Araches and other persons of consideration ; 900 were wounded.

But as in such straits some disorder is never wanting, at the time when the rearguard had already pushed ahead, a rash soldier ran up to the Captain-Major and said that things were in extreme peril. He turned back and seeing his brother killed, and burning with rage, he animated all to succour | *F 242*
the rearguard with sword and shield. But as they knew that the message was false, they dissembled and remained unmoved. Seeing that they did not stir, he said to all : 'I take God and those who escape to witness what I do, since there is no one to follow me.' Some courageous soldiers held him back and went forward, but they found that they were retiring in good order without any annoyance. We lost three valiant and dextrous soldiers after they had avenged their deaths well ; Martim Fernandez of Ourem who remained on the field, and Braz de Oliveyra of Euoramonte and Pero da Silua of Barçelos, who died later out of more than 50 wounded. Fourteen Lascarins were killed and many were wounded. The Captains Gaspar de Azevedo, Francisco de Maçedo, Joaõ Rodriguez Homẽ, D. Francisco de Noronha, Joaõ Serraõ da Cunha, Nuno Velho Trauaços and others did wonders that day ; and with the same courage and intelligence behaved also the other soldiers. The Tyrant, seeing this success with great grief, betook himself to Candea, and the Portuguese to the arrayal, and the lands remained undisturbed, if that can be said of Ceylon.

P 442 | That it might not appear that it was only foreign dominion that was resented in Ceylon, Puzela Modeliar aggrieved by the poor reward which the Tyrant D. Joaõ gave him for his courage and merits, came in search of the Captain-Major to the strong place of Agaletôte, and he received him with honour and a good present wherewith he was so pleased, that like a man without fear, he became another Gerardo Giraldes[1] and with six or seven men of his faction he made incursions into the enemy lands with such boldness and violence, that in the whole of Urupula[2] and Quindigore[3] there was not one who remained in the village at night,

[1] A famous free lancer, known also as Geraldo Sempavor, Gerald the Fearless, who captured Evora in 1166.
[2] Udapola.
[3] Kinigoda.

sometimes he remained in their deserted houses, and when their owners returned, in broad day he killed them without hesitation. He worked in such a way, that in Beligal Corla in front of Agaletote, he built a closed stockade and determined to fill it with the heads of the Chingalâz, and certainly he would have done so, considering the way he was going on, had his enemy not been such a villain as the King of Candea, because already the heads were so numerous, that one could not pass that district. He carried on that warfare all that summer from that walled Mountain, and if he had had better luck, it might have been of great use for the conquest of Candea. The Tyrant felt this loss and affront so much, that he determined to kill him by treachery, since he could not do so by arms; and knowing that he was very ill in some village of Gandole[1] which the Captain-Major had given him, he sent 200 picked men by a secret path through Edorapato[2] and they surrounded his house one morning and killed him and retired. | When he was surrounded and attacked, *F 242v* his people gave him a broadsword and, though he was half dead, he killed four before he was overcome and killed, owing to his great weakness and debility of body. They took his wife and children prisoners, and for greater insult they gave her over to a low caste man to be abused. The Tyrant was greatly pleased with this death, though he had avenged himself ill of the injuries he had received, and the Captain-Major was greatly sorry, because his life was of great concern to him and because it was done, as it were, under his eyes, and he was unable to avenge it in spite of the great rapidity with which he pursued the murderers.

CHAPTER 22.

The Same Subject continued

They remained sometime longer in Agâletôte, reducing that strong place to a much smaller scale, so as to require a lesser garrison, because at that time there were so many and so great diseases, that the conquest was exposed to great danger, either because of the noisome nature of the site, where already Rajû in the time of the conquest of Candea

[1] Gandolaha. [2] Edurapota.

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among many other thousands, lost 3,000 Carabineers, or because all through that year there had been many deaths of *P 443* Chingalaz and cattle, and as there was no rain | for a long time when the floods rose, those impurities were carried to the River from which they drank and did their cooking, or because it proceeded from some poisonous roots which grew in the river, or because, when that garrison had some rest, it had at the same time to pay, as often happens for the rigorous labours of the war, or finally because of all this, there were so many sick men, that it happened that there was no one to take the night watches, and it became necessary to take men by turns from the other garrisons. The sick were taken to Colombo, and as there was no accommodation for so many in the hospital, the General with great kindness nursed many in his own house, distributing the others among the pious citizens, and in spite of all that diligence and charity, the dead exceeded 80. I will not omit to relate here what I saw in Cochim, [namely] that when the ships of the Viceroy Pedro da Silua arrived in that port on the 22nd of November [1635],[1] the hospital was still full of those who were sick with the Scurvy, and the Fathers of the Society of Jesus who were in charge of that work represented the matter to the illustrious Lady D. Luiza de Silua, who joyfully replied 'Bring, Reverend Fathers, as many as you like. God be praised, there is room for all and service in the house.' And she was not at all pleased, when she saw that they were not more than 300. The same was done by other citizens according to their means, because for acts of such generosity and piety India was ever prompt.

| The Tyrant of Candea, being worn out by so lengthy *F 243* a war and abandoning his obstinacy and point of honour, because he did not find lieges willing to serve him even after he had cut off many heads for that reason, for they alleged their privilege of not being obliged to make offensive war outside the bounds of that Realm, offered peace to General D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, who having a mind to carry the war into Candea, and knowing that he was faithless to God and man and that it would last only so long as his convenience lasted, tried to profit by the occasion and entertained him with dissimulation, pretending to send as hostage his Brother D. Manoel de Azevedo, whom he sent with order not to go more than half a league outside the obedient lands. Upon this information the Tyrant sent Diogo Lopes de Souza, who had remained there as a prisoner after the defeat

[1] The author arrived in India in this fleet.

of his Father,[1] the Father Friar Pedro de Christo and a few other captives. When D. Manoel arrived at the frontier, he pretended to be very ill and that it was necessary for him to return for treatment, and at the end of it all, war was declared owing to certain disagreements which the General knew how to pretend over and above these true ones.

While the war was at a standstill, dissensions increased between the inferior Captains and the Captain Major Saluador Pereyra da Silua, and to appease this tumult, Pereyra was deposed and sent to Columbo, Manoel de Azevedo remaining in his place. The reason for this is not given, nor was D. Manoel unworthy of the post, but if it be permitted to conjecture, as Pereyra had governed for a long time and had
P 444 been ever victorious, it does not seem | dissonant with the style of India, that D. Jeronimo profitted by the occasion to promote his Brother and that the latter obtained it on the score of his Kinship with the General.

Owing to the lack of soldiers he awaited reinforcements and continued to preserve what had been gained ; and when some foes tried to disturb the parts of Chilao, they fell into the hands of the Portuguese who were going to guard that port and lost their lives in the conflict, and those who tried to resist lost their lives in the pursuit. It being now the middle of the summer of 1600, there arrived in Columbo D. Bernardo de Noronha with 150 soldiers in four foists, of which the other Captains were, Simaõ Pereyra de Vale, Luis D'antas Lobo [and] Pero Machedo. With this limited force he ordered the frontiers to be visited, in order that the Enemy might not think that all were dead, and in a few days he himself marched to Manicrauare, whence he ordered various military roads to be opened to the two provinces of the Seven and Four-Corlas, a thing very necessary in Ceylon, and very easy because of the obligation of the Natives, and so approved and old standing a practice in war as to be the first aphorism of Roman warfare. Afterwards he ordered frequent incursions into the frontiers, to tempt the force of the Enemy and to see | the manner in which they defend them, F 243v
and they did not fail sometimes to meet with great opposition and some deaths and wounds owing to the force with which they fought. He advanced to Mutapalê, half a league from the frontier and from the garrison of Candea, and encamped in Amunaga Sina[2] a place between the Four and Seven-Corlas, where he began to erect with wood and earth a praça able to hold a good garrison. Before it was finished, the

[1] Pero Lopes de Souza. [2] Damunugashinna.

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Tyrant came with all his forces to encamp on the neighbouring rugged hills. The General did not allow him to fortify himself and because the pass of Dioneta[1] was the most difficult, early that morning he sent out D. Manoel de Azevedo with 200 Portuguese and 2,000 Lascarins, and himself remained in the fortalice with 150 soldiers and 500 Natives. On this expedition went the Captains, Simaõ Pinhaõ, Francisco de Maçedo, Gasper de Azevedo, Thome Coelho Pinto, Antonio da Costa Monteyro, Nuno Velho Trauaços, Joaõ Rodriguez Homẽ, Luis D'antas Lopo, Gomez Caldeyra and Antonio Velho. Luis Pinto, Captain of the Lascarins, went with some Portuguese to press the enemy from the rear. They took three strong places and two entrenchments, the diversion of Louis Pinto being of great effect ; and he continued the victory, killing many and going up to the quarters of the enemy. The battle lasted more than half a day with great feats of strength, for great was the resistance of the 4,000 carabineers and 800 gingals, mosquetas [de forquilha] carrying shot of three or four ounces and of 8,000 men-at-arms, all told. Our men, having accomplished more than they intended, came down the hill with the enemy in their wake, insulting and daring. The General at once reinforced them with men and munitions, and our men being refreshed, attacked them with daring and drove them back. Seeing that they continued,
P 445 Simaõ Pinhaõ | with his men lay in ambush, and falling upon them from the rear, killed and defeated them. Here they lost more than 300 men and some captains of name. We lost three Portuguese and some twenty Lascarins, and many were wounded. They retired to the strong place which in less than a month was completed with two ditches. There remained in it as Captain, Gaspar de Azevedo with four companies and the Captains, Luis D'antas Lobo, Diogo Machado, and Gomez Caldeyra, and an Arache with Lascarins and provisions for five months, as there was no doubt of war. When the fort of Manicrauarê was complete with walls, bastions, and in the middle, a tower of two stories, the General went there in January [15]99 getting ready to order armed incursions into the Corlas. The King perceived these intentions, with all his forces and with about 5,000 men of the King of Uva, took his position in the Seven-Corlas, and sent Sotopala Bandar, the Prince of those [Corlas], with a part of the men, to approach our frontiers. Against him | the General sent Saluador Pereyra with 200 F 244
Portuguese and 2,000 Lascarins, who marching along the bank of the River which separates the Seven-Corlas from

[1] Diasunnate.

the Kingdom of Cota and Cieta-vâca, on the following day sent a part of the men to the other bank to prepare a camp for the arrayal. When our men were thus divided, they were attacked on many sides, but as they had been cautious, not only did they resist with valour, but after a long battle they defeated them killing and capturing many, and among them a chief Modeliar, and along with him some of his men, who considered themselves able to defend him, besides many prisoners from whom they learnt that the King of Uva was less than half a league away to obstruct the passage of the River and to prevent encamping in Andegalitôta.

They informed the General of this, who sent the rest of the men that he had with him, and on the way they captured three stockades in narrow passes and killed many, and the rest gave warning to him of Uva, who resolved to await them in the open field, while those of the reinforcement were thinking of taking him unawares; and seeing themselves attacked with great fury, although he caused them some surprise, they defeated his vanguard in a short time and with great loss. Following up the victory, they cut off the heads of more than 200, till they came face to face with the army to which our musketry gave repeated volleys. But those of the vanguard formed themselves anew and turned with such fury that our men thought themselves lost, and they had to do their utmost, as they were surrounded by the enemy, on whom they inflicted such loss, that in the end they turned their backs, and in the pursuit our men did great havoc, and having killed more than 200 and some Modeliars, and taking the arms and spoils they passed to the post of Adegaletota in the end of January [15]99, where they fortified themselves unopposed.

The soldiers of Ceylon bore these labours with great spirit, but they bore very badly the lack of pay, which obliged them to fortify themselves on the hills and to sally out
P 446 in gangs | into the villages in search of food. The Viceroy of India, the Count Admiral,[1] was advised of this. He despatched a ship of the Captain of Columbo, Thome de Souza de Arronches, with 150 soldiers, 20,000 pardaos, and many provisions, munitions, spears and firelocks, and as Captain D. Francisco de Noronha, who set out from Goa on the 20th of April, [15]99. Besides the volunteers he also ordered to be embarked from the jails, many prisoners sentenced to banishment. When he was as far forward as Cananor, the

[1] Dom Francisco da Gama, Conde da Vidigueira, Sixteenth Viceroy, 1597–1600.

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banished men tried to get away in a *batel*, but the Captain, coming to hear of it, frustrated the plan. He crossed the Gulf in foul weather till he came in sight of Gâle, two leagues out at sea, without knowing where they were, the weather giving indications of the beginning | of Winter. Some *F 244 v*
were of opinion that they should return to Tutucurỹ, but contrary to the opinion of all, he made up his mind to take port in Ceylon to fulfil the duty entrusted to him, though it might cost him his life; and he ordered the money, firelocks and munitions to be put into casks and hogsheads, making them float with cables as a precaution against any mischance, and he directed the officers, that if there were no other course, they should run aground in a place where the men and the things of value could be saved, because he undertook to pay the owner of the ship. They espied a beatuiful sandy beach, and he sent the *batel* on land to fetch a pilot, for which task Aluaro de Barros offered his services after a certain gentleman had excused himself. Afterwards there appeared an *almadia* which was coming from Gâle, from which they learnt that they were between Gâle and Beligaõ;[1] and by her they sent to ask the Captain of Gâle for pilots. But Aluaro de Barros more promptly sent two, who offered to take the ship to Beligaõ, because in the high tide it had four fathoms of water. They arrived in front of the bar and came into seven fathoms, further on into four, and inside the bay into three and a half, because it was only half tide, but soon they sounded five, and the depth continued to increase till finally they anchord close to the land. This was the first ship that entered that harbour, to which I call attention, lest one think that there are no capacious harbours in Ceylon. The Captain built encampments in which he fortified himself and disembarked what he had brought, and D. Fernando Modeliar coming to his aid from Gâle with men-at-arms and men of service, they reached Columbo safely in good order, and the soldiers being paid, they continued the war.

The King of Uva gave up remaining in the Seven-Corlas and kept at a distance from our lodgements; and the King of Candea desiring to carry on the war in those parts, but his often conquered people not wishing to comply, he resorted to great cruelties and cut off many heads, and mustering a sufficient army, he ordered him of Uva to cover the Seven-Corlas, lest the General take them and wage war on him in Candea. And he was so successful with our Lascarins of the frontiers of Dinavâca, that he won them over by bribes, and

[1] Weligama.

those lands also underwent a change, obliging our men to betake themselves to the strong places of Coruite and Batu-
P 447 guedra. The General | was on the frontiers of Candea planning the conquest of that Kingdom, and the enemies were able to enter as far as Maluâna. He left in Manicrauare three companies, provisions and munitions for many days, and with one company and 800 Lascarins he passed to Seytavâca, as it was nearer to the frontier of Dinavâca where the Enemies were going about. Thence he despatched Simaõ Pinhaõ with another company, (those of Ceylon did not exceed 30 men) and 800 Lascarins, | who encountered them in the F 245
village of Sofragaõ, and in an obstinate encounter defeated them, killing many, and afterwards they visited Curuîte and Batuguedra and left those garrisons well provided. Thence the General ordered him to march on Maluâna where the principal leaders of the rebellion were, and himself setting out on another side, they surrounded them in such a way, that they surrendered, and the General ordered the heads to be cut off of those who were the heads of the rebellion, and afterwards little by little the other culprits were executed, whereby that flame was entirely extinguished. To perplex the General, the King went on putting all his men into the Corlas, and our men sallied out to meet them, and in the many encounters which they had, they always obtained the victory, and retired with many captives and prizes. Nor did those of Belitota[1] pass the time in idleness, for he of Uva sought them with more than 6,000 men. Saluador Pereyra, who discovered his design beforehand, set the Lascarins to lie in ambush to attack them from the rear when they charged, but the enemies, fearing an ambush, did not wish to attack, but remained 10 days delivering some assaults from which they always retired with loss.

Those of Manicrauare were also attacked by 4,000 men, and in the space of half a day of battle they left many killed on the field and in the end retired; as also did he of Uva, when he came to know that the General was sending reinforcements to Belitota, and leaving a squadron of 1,000 men, almost all of whom were firelock-men, in a stockade which he erected at a distance of one league to obstruct the incursions of our men, he passed to the lands of Chilao. Being apprised of this, the General sent 50 Portuguese and 300 Lascarins who entered the Stockade, killing many. As he of Uva found himself ill-received in Chilao, and because he feared a similar result, he thought it better also to retire.

[1] Etgaletota.

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All these losses the Tyrant attributed to the cowardice of the King of Uva, his Captain-General of the Field, and ordered him to return to Candea and named in his place a descendant of the ancient Kings whom he considered a brave man; and to show his courage the latter at once marched against Belitôta [which was] again reinforced by the General with men and munitions. He attacked it with some skirmishes of firelock-fire, and Saluador Pereyra da Silua, sallying out with a body of men, in a short time killed more than 100 men and obliged him to flee through the woods, his men not stopping till they reached Candea. And the Captain not daring to appear before the King, halted two leagues from the stockade and reformed his men as well as he could.
P 448 There | our men sought him out and put him to flight, and he again sought shelter in the woods, and the Portuguese went pursuing him, and burnt many villages, hamlets and pagodes, whereupon the Corlas were completely subdued.

Some reinforcements having arrived in September [15]99, the General marched | to the village of Mutapali,[1] half a F 245v
league from the Kingdom of Candea, where he erected a fort of wood with a rampart and a ditch. The King preferred to run the risk of being destroyed rather than cease to prevent these intentions, and with what men he could, he came near [and encamped] in some rugged and strong mountains to obstruct the work by assaults. D. Jeronimo de Azevedo also resolved not to allow him to fortify himself and sent Saluador Pereyra da Silua with 230 Portuguese and 2,500 Lascarins, the General remaining with 150 soldiers and 500 Lascarins as a reserve in the place of the new fort. At the daybreak watch our men went capturing and razing some stockades, and having reached the top, they fell upon the camp with great determination; and afterwards on the open field they had a fierce battle with 8,000 men, among whom were 3,000 firelock-men. They held their own till 11 o'clock in the day, when the General ordered them to withdraw towards him. But the enemy charged with such fury, that it became necessary for the General to go and succour, and being supplied with fresh munitions, they again broke the army of the King, which in these encounters lost 300 men and some Modeliars, without

[1] Mottapoliya, 'within half a mile of the Rambukkana Railway Station there is a godella, or raised portion of ground, the traditional site of an ancient Kovil. Whatever the site originally, at a later period it was converted into an earthwork fort. The lines of the entrenchments are on the north clearly traceable, and show that the redoubt was an irregular polygon of 30 sides. The height of the glacis is now not more than 8 ft. or 10 ft.' Bell: Keg. Report 37.

a greater loss to us than that of two Portuguese and about 20 Lascarins besides many wounded. In one month the work of the fort was finished with ditches and counterditches, and leaving therein four companies with a good supply of victuals and munitions, because there was fear lest the Apostate should have fresh reinforcement of Badagas, he also ordered the other strong places to be reformed till the Count Admiral sent him reinforcements, as he did in May 1,600, with a galleon of provisions, in which D. Francisco de Noronha brought 150 soldiers.

The garrisons being reformed and the soldiers paid, he ordered all the others to go to the lands of Catrẽ Cambala-[1] Corla on the frontiers of the Seven-Corlas, in which were some remains of revolt, and they were defeated, the enemies betaking themselves to their lands. And in order that everything might be fortified, he ordered another strong place to be erected with ramparts and ditches in Cotocambala. While this work was going on, knowing that the enemy was assembling in the Seven-Corlas two leagues from this strong place, and had obstructed the roads, and had made their earthworks and entrenchments, our men made incursions, burnt many villages, and returned with many prisoners. The enemy attacked the rearguard, but he was so well beaten back, that leaving many killed, he retreated in flight, and all the lands remained quiet. The inhabitants of the Seven-Corlas increased in fear and sent to ask peace, but the General
P 449 conceded to them only | a suspension of arms with the obligation of restoring some prisoners whom they had ; and in this state | were the affairs in the winter of [1]600. F 246

The Tyrant, reforming his army with large reinforcements of Badagas, began to disturb the lands of Mutapali, forbidding them to carry provisions to the garrison to which he intended to lay siege. But this being forseen, D. Jeronimo fortified and provided the strong places of the frontiers, and sent Antonio da Silua with 3.000 Lascarins and some Portuguese to attack the frontiers of Uva and to distract the forces of the enemy, and D. Fernando Samaracon to attack in the same parts. He did so with such valour and order, that he completely conquered the Kingdom of Dinavâca, and in the midst of the most mountainous forests of the whole Island, he built the strong place of Catanaje,[2] of which he made Belchior Botelho de Silua Captain.

[1] Katugampola.

[2] Kattange.

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Nine soldiers of this stockade, named Francisco Guides, Pascaol Brandaõ, Domingos Rodriguez Trouaõ, Luis Gomez Arrabido, Francisco Rodriguez Palhaes, Joaõ Tenrreyro, Manoel Carvalho, Luis Correa and Domingos Caraulho Caõ of Vila Real, who afterwards became a great Captain in that conquest and in the long years of his life often Dissava of Maturê, victorious in Jafanapataõ and in many other encounters, fled one night for sanctuary after killing a Factor, who having come to give pay to the soldiers, refused to pay quarterage, because he found them outside the garrison. They went to the coast and embarked in a dhoney with outriggers [intending] to cross the gulf therein, as some did at that time, driven by such insupportable labours, not a few [of whom] were wrecked. And without taking sailors or pilot, they sailed 10 or 12 days without seeing land, and without any other food than some *Lanhas*[1] which was all the victuals they took on board. Then returning again to land and confident of the generosity of the General and in their new resolution, they determined to return to the stockade, so that their absence might not be noticed. When they were 10 leagues from it, they came to know that it was besieged by Curupa Arache, a native of Carduel,[2] who had revolted with 300 men of Evagaõ-Corla and after burning the stockade of Gurubebile which was without garrison, and killing the brother of Belchior Botelho, a good soldier, had made those lands revolt, and along with the Prince of the two-Corlas was attacking the town of Seytavâca with some damage. The nine men made their way through the thick of these difficulties, and when they were despairing of life and were seeking to cross the river of Calaturê, which they had to do twice, with Panica Modeliar after them, they were helped by a Chingalâ to whom one of them had rendered a service in Columbo, and who taking an *almadia* hidden in a thorn hedge, took them to the other bank, as | the Enemy arrived. F 246v

They profited by the night and thick woods and at break of day they saw the stockade surrounded. The Enemy
P 450 did not believe | that they were nine, because they and the servants whom they brought first called out to the besieged and [then] attacked with such resolution, that by dint of killing they opened a way up to the River wherein they were soon under the musketry of the Stockade which defended them from the other bank, and there they held out till they

[1] Lanha from *ilanir*, tender coconuts. 'When the coconut is green, the Malavares call it *eleni* ; in Goa, 'lanha'.—Garcia da Orta Col. XVI.

[2] Kaduwala.

were rescued by a *balaò*,[1] and not one died in spite of so many fatal perils. Five days later Simaõ Pinhaõ arrived, but the Enemy did not wait for him, though he chastised them well· for such was their daring, that they approached the grand Stockade, and as the General was going to Malvâna, the Lascarins fled to them. However six days afterwards one of his great friends brought him the head of the rebel, and this arrogant man only served to confirm the Chingalâ audacity and faithlessness.

The war was kept up on all sides and it went on with great credit and order till the end of May 1600, when Pero de Mendanha brought a reinforcement with the Captains Diogo de Souza, Martin Cota Falcaõ and Gregoria de Souza. The General at once proceeded to Manicrauare to take in hand the chastisement of the enemy frontiers and the quelling of the mutiny of some treacherous Lascarins in the service of the King. Thence he went to reform some garrisons, some soldiers giving him great trouble, for being either tired of so long a warfare or because of their passions. they abandoned the frontiers, and he would not allow them to behave viciously, which thing he settled for the while with prudence and military rigour.

That winter, which is mid summer in Portugal, being past, there arrived D. Francisco de Noronha and the Captains Manoel de Ataide, Luis Fernandes de Ataide, and Sebastiaõ de Serqueyra, in four foists at the time that the General was in Columbo, without being able to guess or suppose that Manoel Gomez, a native of Goa (they say he was the son of a carpenter of the country) who was serving in the arrayal as Captain of some Lascarins, would clothe himself like a native Chingalâ in the hope of greater preferment and flee from the arrayal with his few Lascarins, natives of the country and Moors by nationality and religion. This man reached Monda Candapale, the capital of the Seven-Corlas, and apostatizing from the Faith, bored his ears and let his hair grow, and gave out that he was the son of a Bragmane, in order to be better esteemed, being of good appearance and in colour somewhat white. The Princes trusting his promises, and in order to encourage others to similar treasons, made him Bicarna Singa Modeliar | which, as we have already said, *F 247* means General and the second person in war, and encouraged him further with some jewels and more than a 1,000 Lascarins to give effect to his promises. He was also joined

[1] Anglo-Indian 'baloon', a rowing vessel formerly used in various parts of the Indies, the basis of which was a large canoe, or 'dug out There is a Mahr. word *balyanw*, a kind of barge, which is probably the original.—Hob-Job. 53.

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by Gambire Arache and Tenecon, also fugitives from the arrayal owing to some grievances which they proclaimed; and they disquieted the Corlas of Cotocambale and Pitigal in such manner, that the inhabitants were not safe in the thickest woods whence they dragged them out and robbed *P 451* them. Our arrayal also | followed him and at the same time chastised the unhappy inhabitants without being able to overtake him. He fled to Chilao and came as far as Caymel, and in order to show himself a good pagan, he burnt that Church and that of Palanchêna, killing the Father, Friar Francisco of Cananõr, as the Religious of St. Francis were in those days the target of all the rebels; and along with his head he carried off the sacred vessels and ornaments, some of the inhabitants not failing to help him. The Captain-Major left off the erection of the Stockade of Cotocambala, which he was building on the order of the General, and came upon him like a thunderbolt to stand in his way. But as the man got out of the way on the advice of the Natives, he went in pursuit of him and took all the prizes and the head of the Father with many of theirs. They fled like Deer through those jungles and with no fixed abode, but now from one and now from another, they sallied out in bands to rob; and after their example the Natives also became obstinate. Our people chastised them in diverse assaults, capturing more than a thousand souls, and the pagode of Manjacirao[1], a place of great pilgrimage, did not escape their ire, but was destroyed in retaliation for the Churches. And though many were put to the torture, to make them confess where the Rebel was, they were so obstinate, that no one disclosed it.

At this time other disturbances on the frontiers of Dinavâca were also put down with the help of reinforcements which the General sent. And D. Fernando from his fortification killed and defeated a great number of enemies. Heti Arache who was in the service of the Prince of the Seven-Corlas, being a bold man and desirous of some great feat, with 200 men approached the strong place of Alauua, of which the Captain was Luis de Magalhaes de Azevedo, who owing to his scanty experience, being still young, used to go out of the garrison on slight occasions, and with the men of Aboy[2] who were serving in the strong place, they planned this trick. Two chief men of the village in great haste and grief went to complain to Magalhaes that 10 or 12 vageaz[3] highwaymen were doing great damage therein. He sallied out in all haste with thirteen soldiers and twelve Lascarins

[1] Munisseram. [2] Abbowa. [3] *Cf. supra* p. 21.

who abandoned him, giving the munitions to the messengers, who at once went away with them, | and this did not suffice F 247v to stop him from going to the village without a guide. The Enemy then sallied out of the ambush and after he had defended himself with desperate valour, he was killed with the following seven Portuguese, worthy of a better fate, Francisco de Sampayo, Marçal da Fonseca, Paulo da Rocha, Sebastiaõ Goncaluez, Manoel Triqueyros, Francisco Machado [and] Domingos Cadena. And when many of the enemy had also been killed, the other five escaped through the woods, it being then the end of August 1600, and Cotocambale remained in rebellion. The Tyrant of Candea, seeing his way open and the arrayal and the garrison enfeebled, came down with 8,000 men and encamped in Amuanzina, half a league from Mutapalî, where Captain Gaspar de Azevedo was with the Captains Diogo Machado and Gomez Caldeyra; and to make matters worse, a servant of the Captain, who had knowledge of everything, escaped to the enemy and told P 452 him | how few were the men who remained to defend so large a praça, and that there were only five soldiers of experience, the rest being recruits, with 20 Lascarins, and that the whole counter ditch was razed. This was also confirmed by the Natives who brought refreshments to the praça on purpose. But seing the army diverted in Cotacambala, in spite of all this information, he did not dare to storm it, but from about a league's distance up to the river of Agalêtota, he ordered 17 entrenchments to be erected, the main body of the army remaining on the fringe of the forests, whence he attacked the strong place which gallantly defended itself after being provided by the General, who on hearing of this seige, sent as reinforcement 150 soldiers and 1,000 Lascarins.

CHAPTER 23.

The good Successes continue till our Men reach Balane.

A skirmish took place in the stockade, but the Chingalâz, who are not able to stand the first Portuguese onset and are wont to charge them only when they are tired, attacked them in the rear, and our men, having gained the fortifications, killed many in the pursuit, the greater part of the garrison

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also sallying out rendered great help that day. The reinforcement being received, the next day they entered the Four-Corlas, advancing as far as where the false Prince of those Corlas lived, whence they put him to flight. The tyrant again reformed the stockades in such manner, that for one month no message was sent out from or received in the strong place. An assault was delivered, but it was gallantly repulsed. He waited another day and at the time of the siesta, Jelata Modeliar and Ranavira Arache with all their men and in great | silence and haste gained the wall of the F 248 counter ditch under cover of the wooden counter-scarp. The Captain sallied out with 30 soldiers, and to their great disgrace and under the eyes of their King, he made them abandon the post, cutting off the head of Ranavira which, being set up in the strong place, so dispirited them, that they never assailed it again. Here was killed Antonio Vas, a gallant mulatto of Alcaçar, and some were wounded, the Tyrant losing many on this and on other occasions, although it was easy for him to reinforce, as it was only half a day's journey from Candea.

The General, being anxious about this siege, collected 380 Portuguese and 2,000 Lascarins in Manicrauarê; but while he was doing this, the Captain-Major with some Portuguese went to discover the Enemy's camp and the besieged fort from the heights of the mountains of Gandola, observing the way in which he could fall upon him from the rear, when the attack was delivered in the front. The tyrant King, being informed R 453 | of this, conceived such fear, that he retreated in flight with great disorder and confusion in the deep secrecy of night, leaving many arms and the greater part of the baggage, whereupon those of the garrison went in pursuit to increase his fear. This retreat was of so great importance, that straightway most of the revolted lands submitted and many others which had never been subjugated submitted to the arm of Simaõ Pinhaõ.

He [Pinhaõ] was ill in Alauua; and as he did not stir out of the house for some days, it gave occasion to the Enemy not only to overrun the lands, but even to send him a message that they were waiting, and that he should hurry up and take the field. Pinhaõ dissembled till he became convalescent and because he had with him only 15 Portuguese and 50 Lascarins of his guard. He learnt from spies, whom like a skilful Captain he often employed, that the apostate Manoel Gomez was in the confines of Visnave [1] at a distance of two leagues with 1,200 men, and to entertain him, he sent Curupu

[1] Visinawaya.

Arache of Ina Corla, who went with 100 Lascarins whom he had, and occupied a pass within sight of the Enemy and defended himself therein without going any further, while [Pinhaõ], leaving eight Portuguese in the garrison. took 7 [Portuguese] and 50 Lascarins and went to place himself between the renegade and his own Arache in an ambush behind a small cane jungle. The Rebel, relying on the Natives and on the small force of the Arache, went out to meet him, and when he fell fully into the ambush, the signal was given and they charged him in such manner, that he soon fell dead from two bullets, and those who had followed him, leaving 70 heads, and with many badly wounded, betook themselves to their lands where some died, and we had no loss, being helped also by our friend the Arache. Simaõ Pinhaõ sent a Portuguese and some Lascarins with the head | *F 248v* of the Apostate to Columbo, where the General was with the greater part of the Captains and gentlemen listening to the news of Goa which was brought by the customary galliass. Incredible was the joy of all and the delight of the General, who with no little admiration said in praise of the Bicarna Singa : ' Really, all good fortune is reserved for Simaõ Pinhaõ, since without risk or trouble he obtained what I for many days with great fatigue of mind, with much toil and sweat, and with a whole arrayal, marching whole nights, setting many captives free for the purpose, at great expense of my own property, was never able to achieve.' The common People carried the head through the streets to the accompaniment of bagpipes till it was placed on the pillory. The lands were entirely tranquil, and even the companions of his outrages begged pardon for the past from Simaõ Pinhaõ, promising entire fidelity.

There remained however some remnants of the rebellion in Cotocambala, and as Francisco Pereyra da Silua was now absent and D. Manoel de Azevedo had retired through illness, D. Francisco de Noronha was put in that post ; and to put a stop to some indications they gave of continuing the war, *P 454* he sent the arrayal | to the frontiers of the Seven Corlas to attack the enemy and to fortify themselves in the plains of Retadenî in Cotocumbala, which was done with such success, that they were altogether disarmed and would not even dare to enter the lands. From the strong place, which was there set up, the pride of that turbulant people was curbed and incursions made into the Enemy lands. This constraint served to make them break out again, but they were assailed anew for two leagues inland, and though our men found the roads barred by stockades, nothing was spared from destruction in

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revenge for being attacked with fury and daring, and leaving many killed without any loss to us, they brought many prisoners. Seeing this, the chiefs of the Seven-Corlas effectually begged for peace, but they were only granted a truce, which lasted but a short time, and in terms of which they restored some prisoners and gave other suitable satisfaction.

For another purpose the General ordered the strong places of Agaletôta and Alauua to be dismantled, because of the great expense they caused and because they were of little use now, and he built one anew in Atalispauva[1] for the two general purposes of disquieting the enemies' frontiers and of securing our own against the invasion of the enemies and from the ravages of covetous men. There was no lack of opposition ; but seeing that their men were killed and captured, the villages of their county sacked and destroyed | in retaliation, *F 249* they allowed it to be completed with the perfection aimed at ; and when this new stronghold and that of Catocambala had been well provided with men, munitions and victuals, the Captain-Major went to visit the frontiers, providing them with what was needed, without however undertaking a new conquest on that side. On the frontier of Dinavâca, D. Fernando Samaracon worked in such a manner, that seeing themselves destroyed, they submitted much against their will. In this manner things went on till May 1601, there being in the conquest a great lack of men on account of the many who had fled, and others who were killed.

Andre Furtado de Mendonça was proceeding to the Southern Seas with a squadron of high-decked ships and another of rowing vessels, of which the Captain-Major was Saluador Pereyra da Silua, who had held the same post so honourably in this conquest, when, at the entrance to the Gulf of Ceylon, a storm burst upon them which the galleons were able to stand, and they doubled the extremity of the Island, but the fleet of rowing vessels was almost submerged and remained behind awaiting favourable weather to pursue its course ; but the storm raging the more, Andre Rodriguez Palhota, Andre Guedes and Giraldo Pinto ran their ships against the Island of Manâr, Francisco Ferras Brandao ran aground full sail in the bay of Columbo in front of S. Thome, Afonzo de Vaza was wrecked off Birbiri,[2] Diogo de Melo, Luys de Cabedo, D. Lopo Henriques, Francisco Homẽ, Luis D'antas Lobo, Francisco de Barros, Diogo Lobo [and] Manoel Dias with the Captain-Major came to port in Columbo where the last named, *P 455* who came in a galley, broke his cable | and was in great

[1] Hatalispauwa. [2] Beruwela.

danger off the bastion of S. Lourenço ; but when he offered another cable to the Saint, he escaped losing it and afterwards brought it in procession to the Church, to which he gave its value as an alms. They recovered the provisions and munitions with which they were well supplied ; and though they greatly regretted the loss of some casks, and the loss which their absence caused to Andre Furtado, yet they consoled themselves with saving men and helping in the present needs. Because as the principal object of that fleet was to drive away from these seas the Hollander pirate Cornalio Nek,[1] Captain of the first squadron which infested them, and as God had brought them for the greater chastisement of this State, it would seem that He preserved them [the Hollanders] even here and turned against the Chingalâz a part of the force which might have destroyed them altogether. The General welcomed Saluador Pereyra da Silua with great affability, and because of the great need he had of him, he restored to him his post of Captain-Major of the Field, and after communicating to him his intentions, he despatched them all to Manicrauarê.

Meanwhile disturbances had broken out again in the Dissâva of the Four-Corlas, | because they saw how little was *F 249r* the force of the Portuguese ; and the General who found himself with the lustiest men that had for a long time been mustered in Ceylon, in a few days joind the Captain-Major, gave pay all around, and when they had reconnoitred the adverse forces, the Captain-Major marched out against them with the 13 Captains, D. Lope Henriquez, Francisco de Souza, Jeronimo Taueyra, Francisco Homẽ, Manoel de Cabedo, Diogo Rebelo, D. Francisco de Menezes Royxo, Manoel de Ataide, Francisco Ferraz Brandaõ, Gregorio da Costa de Souza, Francisco Leytaõ de Misquita, Luis D'antas Lobo, [and] Martî Cota Falcaõ, which brought the number to 400 Portuguese, and Simaõ Pinhaõ and the other Modeliares with 2,300 Lascarins. With this force after some resistance, they destroyed everything, and this turbulent Province of the noblest people of Ceylon, seeing that it was ill able to escape death and captivity or the total destruction of their lands, had to obey, and the Captain-Major erected a strong place in Divâla, three leagues from Manicrauarê, in which to encamp. And though some powerful persons tried to impede him, seeing that they profited nothing, they went away to a great distance, awaiting a better occasion and taking their goods and families. But the Portuguese gave them chase in such manner, that they did not stop save in Candea, where being

[1] Cornelius van Nek.

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without their possessions, they were in great straits, Divâla was on the hill in a valley between two high mountain chains which gives passage to all the Corlas and was a sure Resting place in a journey from Manicrauarê ; and it was soon put in perfect order, because these people were never quiet unless they saw the knife at the throat.

The most powerful of these conferred with the Tyrant of Candea about the means of liberating themselves, and with his advice and favour, they attempted in bands to defend the passage, but they did harm to their own people, for the fields *P 456* being left uncultivated owing to the fear of losing | the harvest, there arose such a famine, that there were many deaths, whereby the powerful ones became masters of the goods of the poor by open plunder and greater vices resulted from poverty. Seeing them divided, the Portuguese after various assaults and after opening roads, left Martî Cota Falcaõ in the strong place and passed with the arrayal to that of Alapitî,[1] and by dint of arms in various well fought encounters, they quelled them. Here they erected a fortalice of wood with raised platforms of rubble and fascines with four bastions which had four watch towers at the extremities (Diamantes) and in the middle a tower, a ditch all round on the side of the river, [and was situated] on the top of a hillock, with provisions and munitions.

The Tyrant of Candea fully realizing the object of that work, and that they sought | to hem him in within the highlands, *F 250* being in his fortalice of Ganietâne, and foaming with rage, made a discourse animating his people to vengeance, and they say, it was in this wise. 'Lieges and friends. I see the total destruction of this Island, of the Chingalâ name and nation, so imminent and so manifest, and we are reduced to such extremities, that I am obliged to live like a wild beast in the jungle and among animals, without peace for so many years within my Realm. But what grieves me most is to see you exposed to so many miseries, toils and misfortunes, as these works predict and to the miserable captivity which these demonstrations indicate. Nor can there be a greater misfortune than to see a nation so illustrious for its antiquity, so dreaded for its arms, enthralled to a nation so strange, that we scarcely know whether they are illumined by another Sun different from the one from which we proceed. If your arms have not lost the strength, nor your minds the courage,

[1] Attapitiya near the ferry over the Maha oya, on the old Kandyan path, where afterwards Fort King was erected by the British. *Cf.* Keg. Rep. 48.

nor your weapons their edge, which your ancestors gave them, now is the time to defend your honour, to conquer or die, rather than consent to let your children and wives and families be carried off to foreign Kingdoms after being insulted by these proud pirates. If they think they are valiant, who dares to deny the same quality in the Chingalaz ? What comparison is there between their small number and our multitude ? In former times they prevailed over us because of the advantage of arms and because of the manner in which they fought. Today we have soldiers and Captains as skilful as theirs. We use the same weapons, and we have in addition bowmen who send four or five arrows while their musket sends one shot. They trust in the name of Christ and in the favours of their Crucified One, we have many gods for us against their one, and our great Buddu against their Christ ; and we are so many in number that with stones alone we can erect tombs to bury them in. If fear has not benumbed our arms, this is the time to avenge our losses and insults. If courage does not stir you, let despair move you ; and if you assist me with
P 457 resolute hearts,' I promise you that I will make this nation | the best known in the World, and will make the Portuguese realize that the scent of the cinnamon of Ceylon does not destroy that of powder, and that our swords have better edges than theirs.' They gave him their word and promised loyalty in the utmost dangers and to buy the longed-for liberty with their death. He had 5,000 picked men, and 800 Badagas, renowned in India for their valour, and all swore a solemn oath to die or conquer ; and we shall now see how they fulfilled it.

All this the Portuguese knew, and to humble their pride, F 250v they at once sallied out to await them in a broad and long meadow, where they challenged them to battle ; and after a severe and unequal combat and many proofs of courage on both sides, valour prevailed over numbers and they fled with such cowardice, that they never turned to face our men except the Badagas, who furiously renewed an obstinate resistance, till, seeing themselves routed, they took to flight, and our men, pursuing them, cut off more than 70 heads, the field being littered with the dead. The General, who was in Diuâla, at once proceeded to Atapitî so as to be at hand for everything. And because the pass of Budasacra,[1] the chief highway [2] to the Kingdom of Candea, had been taken and that rugged gate

[1] Buddassegodella about a mile from Ganetenna.

[2] Sin. *Mavata*. Old Sinhalese road to Kandy from Colombo passed through the Three and Four Korles *viâ* Sitawaka, Ruanwella, Iddamalpana, Diwala, Ganetenne, &c. See Bell : Keg. Rep. 59–60.

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was well fortified, he attempted to distract them in diverse parts and to take up his quarters with gabions in Altonor.[1] The Lascarins were engaged in this work, while the Portuguese remained in Atapitî, and visited it daily. Everything being thus prepared, by the end of March 1602, the Captain-Major Saluador Pereyra da Silua went advancing to the summit of the Hill on one side, and Simaõ Pinhaõ on the other, and the General with the rest of the men in front, keeping the greatest force of the Tyrant at work, while the two Captains succeeded in ascending with great trouble, but without loss. The Enemies, seeing themselves surrounded, sent the majority of the men-at-arms to the fortalice which was further on, and went on retreating. The Portuguese took up arms and followed them up on all sides, and they tarried not till they reached the other bank of the rivulet, where, with others who were waiting them, they turned to face, and the struggle lasted some time, during which more than forty heads were cut off.

The Tyrant, seeing how easily they captured the fortifications on which he had spent so much trouble and capital, and which he had considered impregnable, mustered all his men under the shelter of the fortalice situated on another eminence of Gainetâne,[2] and thence they discharged many volleys of musketry. The General ordered his men to take cover under the gabions with which they parried the continuous volleys of musketry and discharge of arrows. At the same time the war was going on on the other remaining frontiers Dinavâca, Opanayque, Maturê, Chilaô and Idandauela ; and the men of Mutapalê gave so many proofs of courage in that district, that it became necessary for the Tyrant to divide his forces, which did not suffice to prevent the furthermost lands of those Corlas from disobeying him. The Apostate raged, when he
P 458 saw | that the pass of Buddasacra was taken, endangering the praça in which he was, and he tried his best to defend the three strong stockades which they had at the entrance to Balane, over which there was great contention | on both sides. The F 251 General ordered the rampart of gabions, which, being made of bamboo, were very strong, to be advanced ; and as they were continuing the skirmishes with the stockade of Buralacotâ, because the enemy outside challenged them, some who were accustomed to despise difficulties with the disregard for military obedience which never had a remedy in the emulation of India, without any orders from the officers, pursued them and made them retire into it, and as they were few, they

[1] Alutnuwara.

[2] Ganetenna.

mounted the walls and made them abandon a part of the praça; but the enemy, seeing how few they were and that they brought no defensive arms, charged them in such a manner, that two being killed and another thrown down from the wall mortally wounded, the rest remained fighting at the foot of the wall. These three were, Gaspar Moutinho, a native of Coyuos in the Cancelho of Bayaõ, Manoel Mascarenhas of Coimbra, and Jeronimo de S. Payo of Torres Vedras. The Captain-Major sent to their rescue the companies of D. Francisco de Meneses Royxo, Fernao Caldeyra and Vitorio de Abreu, and seeing the two heads of their friends set up on high, they tore the stockade to pieces with musket shot and sword, and with such fury, that out of 210 who sought to face them, none escaped alive, although Father Negraõ says they exceeded 300 and were men of gigantic stature, which Critics should not consider a trifling detail, unless they wish to find fault with Caesar also, but the two Captains and others came away wounded. The first to enter were Fernaõ Caldeyra, Luis da Maya, of Matheus Nobre and Parada who had eight spear wounds. There died four others, and afterwards that stockade was called the stockade of the dead. They conceived such fear, that immediately they all withdrew to the fortalice on which the Tyrant relied, and as the Portuguese were getting so near, he would without doubt have abandoned it, were it not for the following misfortune.

In the stockade of Atalispauua there were only 15 Portuguese, the majority of them ill, and without their Captain Joaõ Pereyra, nephew of Simaõ Pinhaõ, who was with the rest in Gâleatâne. Which being known to the Prince of the Seven-Corlas, in the middle of February 1602, he laid an ambush with the men of those Corlas, in a jungle at a little distance from the stockade, and at midday, the time of rest, they suddenly fell upon it and attacked it so suddenly, that as there was no time to take up arms, they attempted to defend the open door with fire brands. The enemy, however, set fire to it, and killing 12, they captured three and took them to Balane, where the heads were set up on high, which being seen and recognized by our men, | they concluded what had happened, *F 251v* and from the rage they conceived resulted the utter ruin of the Enemy.

The Captain-General and those of his Council, seeing that it was difficult to storm the praça because of the multitude of *P 469* defenders it had, | and that it was impossible to burn it, as the work was overlaid with stone which covered it, determined to carry it by slow siege, preventing succours of men and victuals, and to continue battering it with falcons, as other

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kinds of cannon were not easy to use in those lands. Having, however, experienced the difficulty of surrounding it all round, as it was lying near the forests of the hill, he tried mines which intimidated them so much, that it became necessary for the King to come and encourage them, and returning again angry and ill-tempered, he placed himself under a Bo-tree (Budiâme) to see what effect his chidings had. But fear got the better of them, and on the 20th day of the Siege, on the morning of the 22nd February 1602, they abandoned the praça, and the sentinels giving the alarm, they at once went in pursuit of them, and some lost their lives. With this good fortune our men conquered the fortalice of Ganietane in which were still found many munitions and warlike provisions. At once he placed therein a garrison of Portuguese such as that frontier of Candea required. At the same time some Malay slaves of Pero Lopez de Souza who had also remained prisoners, thinking that their work in Candea was over, set fire to the stores of munitions by a hidden fuse, and the explosion of gunpowder brought down a part of the Palace of the Tyrant and a portion of the ancient wall. But the Malays put themselves in safety through the woods, and at the end of eight days they appeared before the General who paid them their due and sent them to enlist under the banner of Simaõ Pinhaõ. The Tyrant at once ordered all the Christians to be taken, but seeing that only the Malays were missing, he attributed the deed to them, and with great promises of money, he made very diligent search for them, but in vain.

CHAPTER 24.

The General solicits Reinforcements, and the King, fresh Treasons.

Having brought the conquest to this state, it appeared to the General, D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, that matters were in a good position for the chastisement of the rebel Tyrant, and he wrote by land to the Viceroy, Ayres de Saldanha,[1] asking of him convenient succour for this new enterprise, giving him such reasons for it, that the Viceroy, being persuaded thereby, and by the general abhorrence of that Apostate,

[1] Seventeenth Viceroy, 1600–1605.

and trusting in the judgment, valour and experience of the General, | ordered 300 Christians of St. Thomas[1] to be enlisted F 252
in Cochim with the permission of the King of the country and to be taken over to Columbo in a ship under the command of Lançarote de Seyxas, but the latter falling ill, they were conducted by Gaspar de Sequeyra, and Seyxas afterwards went as their commander to Columbo. There also set out
P 460 from Cochim, Antonio de Pinto da Costa with 40 soldiers, | and from Goa Francisco de Miranda Henriquez with more than 300 and with the Captains Luis de Caminha Coutinho, Baltezar de Seyxas Pinto, Gaspar de Valadares Souto-mayor, Antonio Homẽ de Azevedo, Saluador Leaõ da Fonseca, Gomes Anes de Freytas, Aluaro de Almeyda de Vasconcelos, Henrique de Sâ, [and] Joaõ Vaz Ribeyro, to join the General in the invasion of Candea. They all went in one ship, but as the *Vara* was still blowing and the Cape of Comorî could not be doubled except by dint of rowing, in three days they appeared in Cochim, and 12 foists being brought alongside of the snip, the men and other things were taken into them, and in November, 1602, they reached Columbo, where they were well received. With these reinforcements D. Jeronimo de Azevedo was able to muster in Malvâna 1,100 Portuguese paid troops besides some casados of Columbo and other volunteers, and besides the Christians of St. Thomas[1] about 12,000 Chingalâz, and if the last named had been reliable, it would have been a force sufficient for the conquest of Candea in the state to which the General had reduced the forces of that Kingdom. Nor was it possible at the time to send larger reinforcements, because it was necessary to reinforce Malûco and to assist Siriaõ[2], the enterprises which occupied the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha.

While this reinforcement was being prepared, the terrible pass of Balanê, within sight of the Metropolis of the Kingdom of Candea, was taken, the lands below completely subjected with the Kingdoms and States into which they were divided, and assaults were being continually made on all sides on the Enemy lands, with the purpose of reducing the Kingdom of Candea to vassalage. The Rebel tyrant, being thus reduced to the utmost desparation, in order not to leave any means untried, measured Portuguese fidelity by his own, and seeing

[1] Christians of the Syriac rite in Malabar who claim to be descendants of the converts made by St. Thomas. They had been governed by prelates from Babylon, but in 1599 at the synod of Diamper they made their submission to the Roman Pontiff.

[2] Siriam, a port on the Pegu river in the Rangoon district given to the Portuguese by the King of Arakan. The fort of Sirian was besieged at this time.—Dan II. 123–128.

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the good results which he had obtained from the rebellions of Domingos Correa, Joaõ Fernandez, Simaõ Correa, Afonço Mouro, Manoel Gomez and many others which he had contrived, he thought he would lose nothing and might gain much by tempting the mind of Simaõ Pinhaõ Bicarnasinga. And because this honourable Portuguese was celebrated in that age for this and for many other things which he did, I shall give here a notice of his country and his person. He was a native of Punhete,[1] stout of body and of great strength, tempered in the waters of the Tagus and the Zezere. He was at this time about 40 years of age, round and coarse of face, more of a soldier than a courtier. He lacked one eye of which he was deprived by a blow of an *azagaya*.[2] He had a long nose, a flowing nut-brown beard, moustaches short | F 252v
and drooping, (it seems that he did not tire himself curling them upwards with irons, nor did he live in these times when tobacco and shaven chins are so much the fashion as to banish from faces this authorized distinction which nature has placed between the sexes, and which was wont to be cut at all only out of penance or as a distinctive mark of the Sacerdotal state; and luxury is striking such roots, that they even pluck them out like the Roman Emperors on whose statues there is seen no sign whatever of a beard). He was capable of great exertion, slept little, a thing which Henry IV
P 461 King of France used to consider so worthy of | a Captain, that he claimed to excel the Duke of Parma, Alexander Farneze, because he slept one hour less: and among the Portuguese in India we know that Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, formerly Captain in Flanders and perpetually Captain of Malaca, when nominated by the King to be Governor of India at the age of 90 years, slept very little and always with the sword at the girdle. Pinhaõ was so bold a spirit, that there was nothing which seemed to him difficult to carry out by force of arms, in which he was ever fortunate. Generous to those who aided him in peace and war, a lover of ambuscades peculiar to the wars of Ceylon, he spoke little and achieved much, and as he was little given to merriment, he was dreadful when roused, and above all he was a good Christian and free from sensual vice.

He now wrote a letter to the Tyrant, asking him for the three Portuguese survivors of Atalispauua, saying that they were not men-at-arms, but persons of little account. Thereupon the Rebel, considering how much more he could be

[1] A village now called Villa Nova or Constancia situated near the confluence of the Tagus and the Zezere.

[2] Assegay, an African throwing spear.

benefited by the treason of this man than by the former ones, and that his person alone was able to ward off the utter danger in which he was, replied to him that he had grave matters to discuss with him. Pinhaõ informed the General and having received confidential papers for his protection, (in which he showed no little prudence, so as not to expose himself to the calumnies which were imputed to others), he replied to the King ambiguously. After some letters from both sides which contained only compliments and which Pinhaõ handed to the General, the King sent a Chingalâ of authority and good judgment who, under the veil of metaphors and comparisons after the Asiatic fashion, broached the subject briefly; and Pinhaõ, without either accepting or rejecting the proposal, despatched him with a safe-conduct to enable him to come to speak to him as often as he liked. Satisfied with such a good beginning, he repeated the same message without interposing delay in a matter of such importance, and in this conversation the Chingalâ declared his mind, urging Pinhaõ with many reasons to join him, promising to make him King | and [to give] other *F 253* great honours and profits. Pinhaõ pretended to be at variance with the General in order the better to carry out his affair, and after spending a great part of the night, the [messenger] returned quite pleased, as it seemed to him that he left him not only inclined, but won over. On this information the General, judging the occasion to be a good one for carrying out the death of that Rebel tyrant, wrote to Pinhaõ to give his consent fully to the proposed plan, particularly recommending secrecy and caution for his person and enlarging on the service which he would render to God and to His Majesty in this work: 'That if it succeeded, as he hoped in God, it would be one of the greatest events that happened in the world, the credit for which would be entirely his, that he himself would only be the herald of that exploit,' with other admonitions of a sagacious and prudent Captain such as the nature of the case required.

P 462 | Before any mischance should happen, the King wrote to the Bacarnasinga a letter in this form as translated from the original: 'D. Joaõ, King of Candea, to Simaõ Pinhaõ, King of the Realms of the low country. They gave me a letter of your honour with which I am delighted, and as much as if it had come from an Emperor of this Island, because what was said to me therein was so much to my desire. That your honour will be the King of the low lands of which Rajû was Lord, do not doubt, for a Captain of such valour as your honour is worthy of all that; and on my

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part I promise, about which have no doubt, 12 elephants with tusks, 200 muskets, 1,000 firelockmen, 1,000 bowmen, 1,000 spearmen, paid and maintained at my cost; for your honour a Collar of Rajû, two bracelets for each arm, all of precious stones; the dignity of anklets for the feet, a jar and bason of gold with a gilded palanquin, two white umbrellas, two white banners, a white Shield, a chank and a chowry, all gilded. For the people who accompany you, 12,000 Larins for expenses, 20 jars of silver, 20 pairs of large earrings, each pair of the value of 200 Larins, 10 andores, 20 *aleas*, for service; and lastly all the lands of Rajû I give you in dower and I make your honour King thereof: and all the Kings who possess them I will make tributaries to you, because for myself I desire nothing else than the honour of making you King and of giving you the state and succour of men, money and munitions, for anything that might happen. And it is no small matter to enjoy and possess the lands of Rajû, which are from Balanê downwards, from the side of Idigalsina[1] downwards, one of the Seven-Corlas, whichever you chose, all the harbours and lands from Putalaõ to Valavê with their rights and revenues. The which do not despise, because when we two are united, there will be no enemies in this Island to thwart us | Herewith I send *F 253v* you the man whom your honour asked for, with whom your honour can converse minutely, as if he were myself in person. Do me the kindness to send another to come to speak to me; and all that I have said, I swear by God, by the lives of my children and of the Queen to fulfil entirely. Given at Candea, in the house of the grand Changatar of Vnagala, he being present, signed with my mark.'[2]

After this letter, which might have shaken one who was not so Christian, so honourable, and so loyal, as this Captain, there came others; and as time dimishes fear, there came renegades and some chiefs in the silence of night to discuss with Pinhaõ their terms, contracts and arrangements for the future, because the distance from the fortalice of Balanê did not exceed half a league; and a Fleming born in Lisbon, Christiano Jacome by name, a soldier of Pinhaõ went and came from Balanê with messages to the King to remain very firm in these fictitious agreements; and once he brought *P 463* him a kris with a sheath of gold and precious stones, a | sapphire set in a tablet for which the General gave 2,000 pardaos. At this time Manoel Dias, about whom we have already spoken, again fled to the Portuguese, it is not known whether moved by Christianity or sent as a spy, for he

[1] Idelgashinna. [2] ශ්‍රී *Sri.*

confessed[1] with many tears and with such proofs of contrition which all thought was sincere. Trusting to these demonstrations, they told him of the dealings of the Bicarnasinga, promising him great honours and giving him much money to help in the enterprise with his men. He promised everything showing great zeal for the service of God and of His Majesty. He returned to the Tyrant, taking two banners which they gave him, and two heads to make believe that he had done that exploit and to remove any suspicion that might be entertained against him, without knowing at the time that he had married with pagan rites a half-caste woman, also a renegade, of the time of Pero Lopez de Souza, and that he was addicted to all kinds of vices and to gluttony and to excessive drink, the greatest disposition for sensuality.

The new fortalice of Balanê[2] stood on a lofty hill upon a rock on its topmost peak; and it was more strong by position than by art, with four bastions and one single gate; and for its defence within and without there was an arrayal of 8,000 men with two Lines of stockade which protected them with its raised ground, and a gate at the foot of the rock and below one of the bastions which commanded the ascent by a narrow, rugged, steep, and long | path cut in the Hill; *F 254* and in front there rose other hills, all well fortified with artillery, musketry, munitions and other necessaries; and whoever is master of that doorway will ever have under his yoke the Realm of Candea, the metropolis of which is only four leagues away, and the river two.

It had been agreed that the Lascarins should come with the renegades to Ganeatâne[3] to seize the Portuguese of Pinhaõ, and 300 on the way to Buda [Sacra] to obstruct the

[1] Made his confession.

[2] Balana is on the Southern and Western slopes of the Alagalla range, its waters flow to the Maha Oya. On the Eastern boundary of Balana is the Kadawata, or guarded entrance, of which considerable ruins still remain. The gate is of good substantial mason work, 5½ feet wide; the walls are about 4 feet thick. Through it the old road to Kandy passed. Higher up and surrounded by stone walls and a ditch, are the remains of a fort which stands clear on all sides commanding a splended view. It is not far from the railway above and to the north of a tunnel before Kadugannawa is reached from Colombo. Lawrie Gaz. I 86.

[3] The outlines of the earthwork of this fort are still visible. It is a quadrangle with four bastions at the four angles and a well within, and is situated on the old Mavata or highway to Kandy to the left of the present Colombo–Kandy road near the fifty-ninth mile post. It is now private property, and the owner was preparing to build thereon, when the spot was shown me by Mr. H. W. Codrington on December 23, 1924.

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passage to those of Atapitî. And the Rebel desired that a solemn oath should be taken, for which he came with the Queen, his sons and the Changatar and chiefs of the Realm and of the Council, to Balanê, so that all might swear to what was promised to the Bicarnasinga and never at any time to be against him, but rather to help him in everything with men, money, and munitions, and to receive him on his death as heir to his Realms and a Father to his children, an additional clause which was enough to show that he had no mind to keep it. This oath was to be taken in Balanê, and as Pinhaõ was not able to be present, it was planned that five Portuguese should go to assist at that act, and that the Rebel on his part would send to Ganietâne five other Chingalâz with a picture of Our Lady which had belonged to Pero Lopez de Souza and for which the Renegade had a great regard; and a Crucifix for the Bicarnasinga to swear to the promises in its presence and in the presence of the envoys. Whether this was the Theology of a Soldier is discussed in *P 464* the schools. | The false King remained two days in Balanê during which mutual visits were frequent, Pinhaõ selling himself very dear and promising very freely to the great pleasure of the Tyrant. One of the promises was to deliver Saluador Pereyra de Silua alive, which rejoiced him so much that he promised in reward 1,000 pardaos and honours in keeping with the condition of the person who asked, adding that for the adornment of his Kingdom he only lacked a fortalice of stone and mortar with good cannon and a Church with a Father, which was the outcome of his vanity and not of his piety. The Bicarnasinga replied that it was all very right, for his will was regulated only by his pleasure, and it was demanded that hostages should be given on either side, and because the Portuguese named for it were men of quality and respect, it behoved that his own should be such also; and that all this would be carried out on the feast of Easter.

This agreement being concluded, while it was being carried out, the General disposed everything with caution, because of what might happen. By night he sent to Ganietâne one by one, 80 picked soldiers, and under pretence of wanting to go to Seytavâca to order | the gemming pits to be *F 254v* opened, he gave pay all round, and united the Lascarins of greater confidence with the Portuguese whom he thought necessary. With the garrison of the posts nearest to Columbo, he strengthened that of Manicravarê and [that of] Atapitî, putting in their place casados with orders to march all together to Ganietâne on the appointed night so that, if what was planned succeeded, they might march to Candea in triumph.

When the day arrived, three Chingalâz came down and three Portuguese went up, and afterwards the others. The Chingalâz were Paingrama Rala,[1] a cousin of the Rebel D. Joaõ, Caneca Modeliar his brother-in-law, Marecon Modeliar the son of a mistress of his, Francisco de Faria, a Portuguese, his Private Secretary, and Enarath Modeliar, not Enarath Bandar his Brother, whom Pinhaõ asked for, either because the people did not consent to it or because he already knew of the intent and did not wish to risk him. For this the five named men prepared their souls and their arms, and they were Christiano Jacome, already mentioned, Gonçalo do Rego of Azeytao; Luis de Azevedo of Porto, Aluaro Pinheyro and Joaõ Pereyra of Punhete, nephews of Pinhaõ, who were persuaded that they had in their hands the throat, the Sceptre and Crown of the Tyrant, who had likewise given them a free field promising them the honours of a King and saying that one in the parts of Maturê, the other in that of Nigumbo, and he in the heart of the Island would be as secure as a ship with three cables. Such was the spirit of those Portuguese, that all the rest would have envied them, though they well foresaw the danger of five men rushing headlong to take the life of a King within his own fortalice in the midst of his kinsmen in the company of his Captains and surrounded by 8,000 men-at-arms; and on that occasion all the more, and so resolute and confident, that they were
P 465 persuaded they would secure | their lives by their arms, as there was not more than one gate to retire by, an Action which on account of these circumstances was celebrated in India for its singularity or its rashness and will not cease to be so in the world.

The Fleming often offered to attempt this at the cost of his life on one of the nights when he went to have speech with him, to stab him to death with his dagger and to sacrifice his life like another Scaevola in order to take the life of a Tyrant, a sworn Enemy of Christianity who had shed so much innocent blood and had rebelled against the rightful King of that Island and against God, whose Baptism he had received. And Father Famiano Estrada has already pointed out another example of how little these people of the North esteem their lives, in the case of one who without any obligation or necessity staked it at dice. The Fathers of St. Francis dissuaded | him from this, because he would be endangering *F 256*

[1] Payingomuwe.

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the salvation of his soul by a voluntary death. I should hold my tongue out of respect for the Crown, but others may discuss the case, for there is a great difference between commission and permission, and between an action intrinsically evil, like a false oath sworn with the intention of not fulfilling it, and one in itself indifferent, the merely extrinsic danger of which depended either on the death of a soldier or of a King, manifestly a Tyrant and without any probability of his [being in the] right, and an excommunicate, a declared enemy of Christianity who had wrought so much evil, without any moral hope that he would give up what is another's or be reconciled to God. But this does not belong to History and is only said to advert to what might have happened and did happen at different times; and that is what I should have recommended, were I not a Priest, and if the authority of greater persons were not interposed.

The night of Easter having arrived, the General set out from Ruanêla with the men he had mustered at Atapitî and thence he despatched them with the Captain-Major to Ganietâne, leaving only the necessary garrison, and he remained on the watch to see how this deep mine would explode. Had he been less of a Christian, he might have observed a most ominous event, because that night a wild *alea* attacked the company of the General with such fury, that it killed two Portuguese and wounded a Lascarin and wounded and trampled many, and he escaped at great risk; and twice again it charged him in different places and crossed the path with horrible fury and many musket shots were not enough to bring it down nor to drive it away. It did not stop here, but as was known afterwards, it went to attack the arrayal of the King, and they took to flight under the belief that it was the Portuguese.

The five set out, merry and bold, ready for any danger, and only those who remained showed themselves sad. They carried instructions that, when the Tyrant was killed, they should set fire to a bastion and give a signal with a *camara*.[1] But Manoel Dias, on whose favour and men the Captains relied for the good success, either according to plan or because he was a thorough apostate incited by the Devil, on the
P 466 | preceeding day, having information about everything, declared everything to the Tyrant; others say that on coming across the King that night, the latter cautiously and maliciously asked: 'Do you know what they told me?' and Manoel

[1] In Indo-Portuguese, 'Camara' is a kind of mortar let off on feasts.

Dias, thinking that everything was known to him, replied: 'I was just going to tell Your Highness,' and the King then asked: 'Well, what are you waiting for?' and that he then revealed the whole secret: And without minding the hostages whom he had sent, he [the King] gave orders to seize the Portuguese at the entrance to the fortalice just as they were entering unsuspiciously, and to lie in wait for the others at the ascent of the Hill, and then to give the signals from the fortalice. On seeing these, | they all advanced, *F 255v* persuaded that they had him in their hands. Pinhaõ rushed ahead, calling upon them all in the name of God and His Majesty to halt, because the Tyrant had failed to send men to Budasacra, as he had promised him, and to place the renegade Lascarins at the ascent of the way: 'That no one lost more than he, since he had two nephews there exposed to what fortune had in store for them: That he would rather see them perish in that enterprise than see them all in such grave peril; and that the day was not so far off that they could not soon ascertain the result; nor would the delay be so great, since in case of the death of the Tyrant, the enemy could not avoid the confusion which it would cause.'

They all stayed back, persuaded by his reasons, experience and authority. Before the morning dawned, three Lascarins of the company of the five Portuguese came running, giving the alarm about what had taken place. They were all in suspense, the hostages were secured, the General reformed the garrisons nearest to the frontiers and ordered the labour of arms to be kept up on all sides.

There was in the pagode of Altonbr a garrison of 500 Lascarins with a Modeliar to secure the way to Ganietâne. He was suddenly attacked by the Bicarnasinga of Candea and defeated with the death of many. Our Bicarnasinga at once occupied the post and for sometime kept the people friendly especially those of Parnacur, in the confines of which he erected two more stockades, which he maintained although he regretted not a little the opportunity that was lost and the little he could then do for the liberation of his nephews and companions, because the King did not speak of his hostages, and he was obliged to leave to time these mournful cares. But the (obstinacy of the) King killed them a year later with an Arache, son of the Modeliar Pedro Afonço, who fell in the rout of Candea. In revenge those who remained hostages were also killed, and thus ended those false dealings which, as may be seen, were not approved by God, because they were made falsely in His name.

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CHAPTER 25.

P 467 THE WAR IS CONTINUED, OTHER RELIGIOUS COME TO CEYLON, THE GENERAL AGAIN SETS OUT ON AN EXPEDITION TO CANDEA AND A FRESH TREACHERY PREVENTS HIM.

Meanwhile the Modeliar D. Fernando Samaracon had completely conquered | the small Kingdom of Dinavâca, *F 256* on the borders of which, on an impregnable hill, he had erected a strong place in which he left a Portuguese Captain named Domingos Gomez with 50 Lascarins; and another at Valeevala with as many men under the command of Miguel Antunes, a Portuguese, and he had visited all that County as far as Aludnorath, making that King retire, when he was called by the Captain-General to go to the Seven-Corlas which were again disquieted by the assaults of some Vaguiaz who are robbers of the forests. When a muster was made, he found himself with 2,000 Lascarins; and the Captain, Gaspar de Azevedo, with 200 Portuguese and not a few Lascarins. They encamped in Galbaragâma[1] and learnt from spies that the ways on the frontier of Talampiti were blocked. They sent the greater part of the men to attack them in the rear, and in a short time they defeated them and opened the passes.

The fame of this success and the liberality of D. Fernando soon set at peace the people of Urupole,[2] Vmede,[3] and some of Cornegal.[4] The Prince Jotapala-Bandar, who put forward a claim to those Corlas, resolved to carry by trickery what he could not do by arms; and knowing that more than 700 Lascarins of the arrayal of D. Fernando, and among them some valiant Araches, had died of small pox (a pest of this Asia which attacks even grown-up persons twice or thrice.) he sought first of all to ingratiate himself with D. Fernando, writing him great courtesies and presenting him with two tusked elephants. It is the custom of that Island for all labourers to bring from all the neighbouring villages large bundles of *ola* or palms to cover the barracks when the arrayal was encamped; and this custom is inviolable. On this pretext the Prince attempted to send 500 Lascarins in disguise, with their arms

[1] Galbodagama.
[2] Dewameda.
[4] See p. 516, n. 5.

inside the bundles, so that on a favourable occasion they might fall upon the men unawares, for not in Geneva alone are treacheries attempted with waggons of nuts. But D. Fernando had warning and avoided the danger, and afterwards he made such bitter war on him that the princes were obliged to abandon their Court Mondacondapale and betake themselves to the neighbourhood of Candea; and by order of the General a stockade was quickly made in Talampitî, whither the General afterwards went and ordered those who had tried to impede the work to be chastised. After reinforcing himself, the Prince sallied out of Cornegal to show that he was still able to do something, but being attacked by our men, he lost 37 heads of the bravest and was
P 468 put to rout | and did not stop till he reached the borders of Candea, which was the Refuge of all rebels; and the lands remained in vassalage. Gaspar de Azevedo remained in Talampetî with 4 companies and with the Captains D. Francisco de Menezes, Jeronimo Taueyra, Bernado da Costa, and Luis Caldeyra, while the General retired | to Maluâna *F 256v* and D. Fernando to Columbo, having been away from home for a long time in most faithful service of His Majesty.

At this time the Fathers of the Society of Jesus being divided into the two provinces of Goa and Malavâr, the Fathers of [the province of] Malavar came to Columbo, and at first they lodged in a hermitage of the Mother of God, where they built a Church and began a College with the aid of the alms of the inhabitants and especially of the General, who was greatly devoted to the Society, in which he had his elder Brother, D. Ignaçio de Azevedo, the Provincial-elect of Brazil, who, while going in the ship Sant-Iago with 39 other Members [of the Society] to found that Province, was killed[1] along with them for the Faith of Christ within sight of the Island of Palma, one of the Canaries, by Jaque Zoria, a heretic of Rochele, who being afterwards converted from Calvinism, confessed at the feet of the Roman Pontiff that he had killed them in hatred of the True Faith, whereupon the Pope uttered the words: 'Vere Martyres'. The Religious of St. Francis, who were the first to come to Ceylon and had endured great troubles in that Island, and had shed much blood, both in the arrayals which they accompanied as well as in the Parishes of neophytes converted by them, and which were erected by their industry as often as the numerous persecutions levelled them to the ground, losing

[1] 15 July, 1570.

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many lives in these holy ministries, almost always in hatred of the Faith, thought that for these reasons the cultivation and increase of that Christianity should be reserved to them alone. But as the Bishop of Cochim, Friar Antonio de Santa Maria, of the same habit, a professed Capuchin, judged that one Religious Order was not sufficient for the conversion of so many lieges and for the administration of so many Parishes as were being erected, and would be erected, if the peace lasted and also because of the favour of the Captain-General D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, and the benevolence of the Citizens, anxious for the ministrations of the Society, all difficulties were overcome. And the door being open by this example, there came afterwards to Columbo the Religious of St. Dominic and the Hermits of St. Augustine, and in a few years they built convents there. And all these with holy emulation rendered many services to God, and erected new Parishes for their neophytes, the greater number of Parish priests in those two Kingdoms being always Religious of St. Francis, up to the time that Ceylon was finally lost, as we shall relate.

These were the successes up to the end of the year 1602, the war being always maintained on our side with great advantage. Obliged by this. the Tyrant retired to Candea letting the Portuguese repose for some time in the possession
P 469 of the two | Realms | of the low country and of Uva and *F 257* Dinavâca in the highest and the most inland parts of the Island. Then uniting all the above-mentioned reinforcement with this force [of the two realms] and with ill-grounded confidence in the fidelity of the Chingalâz, who were mustered with great difficulty, thereby showing already beforehand how much they resented this war, the General marched to Balanê in the first days of January 1603, relying on the victories which he had won and on the deaths of many Enemies, without minding the impregnable nature of those cliffs and mountain chains and all that the Chingalâz had done during nearly a century of almost continuous warfare with the Portuguese, and the utter desperation to which he had reduced them, so that they had either to conquer or remain ever subject to a nation, so foreign to them in blood and in manners and in Faith, and without being deterred by the example of Pero Lopez de Souza, because it seemed to him that the Enemy was more undone and broken and that he had a larger force, though he should have thought that there was all the more reason to fear that the men he led, who were bred to our discipline and accustomed to their faithlessness, would turn against him.

On the first day's march, he halted at Tanagâle, on the second through the hills of Duravâca he went to encamp in Manicrauarê, on the third in Atapitî, on the fourth in Galietâne, where he had ordered encampments to be made for the arrayal, which was further increased by the arrival of Simaõ Pinhaõ Bicarnasinga and D. Fernando Samaracon with the men of their regiments, leaving their posts garrisoned in the way it was done the previous time. There he held a consultation, how to take the fortifications of the hill of Balanê, the door to that Realm, four leagues distant from the City of Candea, its capital; and as it was agreed that it could not be carried by scaling, they advanced within sight of the fortification and battered it for three days with three pieces, but with little effect. And they spent a month in opening ways for the ascent of the Hill, which sometimes cost blood and lives; and meanwhile on the declivity of the neighbouring Hill they erected three wooden strong places, and from one which had belonged to Rajû, in which Saluador Pereyra da Silua was, the battering was continuous and so violent, that each day there were dead and wounded on the one side and the other, the Natives taking part in these assaults with coldness and the General getting near with approaches. And although Simaõ Pinhaõ with the Captains Antonio de Pinho, Manoel de Ataide, and Gaspar de Valadares tried to get in the Enemy's rear by the elephants' way, two leagues from Balanê, when they made a diversion on that part, they found it well fortified. However, when they resolved to give combat, there arrived Lourenço de Aguiar Coutinho with a reinforcement of 100 soldiers in four ships of which the other Captains were Jorge de Melo | Torres, Belchior Botelho da Silua, and Luis d' *F 257v* Almeyda; and Pereyra and Pinhaõ managed to get under cover of the Enemy by means of earthworks and entrenchments.

The King, seeing himself surrounded, took to flight, saying that he was going in search of more defenders, and neither he nor any Lascarin returned, and when Simaõ Pinhaõ learnt this, *P 470* he followed him with some men; but | as he had gone too far ahead and was used to those footpaths, he did not come upon him. A Chingalâ offered to show another footpath by the hill commanding the fortalice, and the General sent the Captain-Major, Saluador Pereyra da Silua, with 200 men, veterans in that war, under the command of the Captains, Gaspar de Azevedo, Francisco de Maçedo, D. Francisco de Menezes, Jeronimo Taueyra, Francisco Leytaõ de Mesquita, D. Phelipe de Moura, Vitorio de Abreu and the Bicarnasinga and his Portuguese troops, to try to mount that eminence which was so steep and precipitous, that if there had not been the thick

rattan which served them as foot hold, it would have been impossible to ascend it, and if any of them had given way, there was no help but to fall down headlong. They spent the whole night in its ascent, and having given the signal, they all attacked the praça, and the Enemies, seeing the determination, sought their safety, having set fire to their quarters; only some foreigners, Moors and Badagas, were marching so slowly, that they were attacked and had their heads cut off. In this way was that bird's nest taken without costing a single wound. There were many *roqueiras* and two iron *caes*; the provision and munitions had been removed the previous night; and this success took place on the second of February 1603, on the feast of Our Lady, of whom the General was a client and they had all prepared for it by the Sacrament of Confession. Then was there sung a Mass with a Sermon, in thanksgiving within the very fortalice.

They all thought they were now Masters of the Kingdom of Candea, and consequently of the whole of Ceylon, blaming the General for one hour of delay in following up the victory, because it meant giving time to the enemy to reform. D. Jeronimo, however, old and experienced in Chingalâ infidelity, had clearly remarked the coldness of the Lascarins, and without trusting them, he tried by every means to content and encourage them before exposing himself to greater danger, and from the very readiness with which they had abandoned the praça, he concluded that they were waiting for a better occasion. And afterwards it was known that it was the desire for liberty and the prevision of that Island being subdued and subjected to a foreign people of a different Religion that was the principal reason for the mutiny that followed. Self-interest entered into it also, because once the wars were finished, there would be an end to the honours and powers and prerogatives. To this was added the cunning wherewith the Tyrant had spread a report, and easily made them believe, | that once the Kingdom *F 258* of Candea was conquered, after so much bloodshed and the fierce resistance of a century, the hatred of the Portuguese would make them all captives.

And behold, news arrived that there was fighting in Talampiti [which was at] a distance of four leagues. He at once sent the Bicarnasinga in person to its assistance with two companies of Portuguese and 1,000 Lascarins; and the fifth day having arrived, when they were only waiting for Pinhaõ to advance on Candea, two hours after the first watch, a rumour was heard *P 471* | in the furthermost tents of the army, nearest to the road to Candea. The alarm is given; the Pachas are ordered to sally

out, thinking that it is some adventurer ready to try a chance. But as that was a signal, they went and did not return: and then all the Chingalâz in a body got away from their lodgings, the ringleader being Cangre Arache, which the Pachas were able to do the more easily, because D. Jeronimo had given them permission to leave their wives in Pitigaõ. The treachery was discovered, they put themselves under arms and watched the whole night, in which so great was the confusion and running from one side to the other, some openly, others secretly questioning what had happened and how, without any one being able to give any other reason than the Chingalâ faithlessness. What was feared most at the time was that the Bicarnasinga might be sold by his men and that the alarm might have been counterfeited to cut off his head and those of the Portuguese whom he led. The General above all, to whom the good or ill success would be attributed, was revolving in his imagination the weight of so heavy a care, the importance of the life of Simaõ Pinhaõ; and he was restless in his endeavour to save him. That very night he sent three letters with information about what had happened, with good payment and large promises to those who carried them, to D. Francisco de Menezes, to Atapitî, and to Manicrauarê, which had but a small garrison, and whither he determined to retreat.

The day dawned, and the surrounding hills and valleys were held by the rebels and by as many people as there were in the states of Candea, who rent the air with kettle drums and trumpets. Valleys and mountains echoed with the noise and proclaimed with shouts the triumph they anticipated; and as they came near, they attacked our men, while others, more ambitious of gain than of honour, rummaged the furthermost tents. The General, [who was] a man of great prudence, ordered the fortifications of the hills to be occupied, so that the passage might be more free to Ganietâne, where he intended to halt that night. Antonio de Pinho remained in the praça and pass of Balanê with 80 soldiers, with order not to stir till he received further order, while the [General] disposed the arrayal for the retreat. The King of Candea with the fresh Light of day and with all his combined forces attacked that pass, which the Portuguese held till two | in the afternoon; and then, as some *F 258v* men were killed and others wounded and the rest unable to ply their arms which were overheated, Pinho sent to ask help. Diogo Rebelo went with fresh troops to let Pinho retire, but as they soon killed him, Francisco Ferras Brandao succeeded him and he kept it up till the march began, and then he joined the main body of the arrayal which the enemy was surrounding on all sides, their rearguard fighting under cover from

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within the forests, whence they killed and wounded with great safety to themselves, while our men fired aimlessly at every noise. Here it happened, that as there were so many who fired at every sound, they found a deer killed with nine bullets.

P 472 | It must have been three in the afternoon when by common consent, though with great grief because of what it had cost them and of what was hoped from it, they abandoned the praça of Balanê which had been the toilsome work of 9 years, with all the spoils, without carrying anything with them save munitions. The enemies at once rushed like hawks to gather what was left and without delay they went to harass the Portuguese, and they fell upon the rearguard so fiercely, that it became necessary for the Captain-Major to turn on them; and as the firing was at such close quarters, they paid heavily for their audacity, and they showed themselves so blind in their covetousness, that at the cost of their lives they rushed for the knapsacks. They had passed two thirds of the hill, always continuing the battle, when the banners of Pinhaõ appeared in sight, which gave fresh courage to all, because after providing the stockade of Talampitî, [from which] the enemy had fled before him, he was marching to Balanê without hearing of any of the three letters of the General. But hearing the shouts of the Chingalâz and the echoes of musketry, he halted, and summoning his men, he said to the Modeliares and Araches: 'You see well how the battle rages, and since we have arrived so opportunely, it is but right that we should share the toils of those whom we accompanied in prosperity, under pain of being accused of baseness.' They replied unanimously that it appeared better to retire to their Corla and await the end of the affair, because it did not seem to them that the Portuguese would be able to escape. But as they were always loyal to him, he did not think that they would fail him this time. He exhorted them again; but when he had ascended the hill, he found that few followed him, and that the majority had retired on the pretext of looking after their homes.

As the day ended, they succeeded in descending the hill without any time for rest, but ever fighting with wild resolution. Many foes were killed; we lost the Captain Diogo Rebelo de Valadares and four soldiers, 78 being wounded, which afterwards raised the number of dead to 15. On this day great courage was shown | as ever, by the Captain-Major Saluador *F 259* Pereyra da Silua, Francisco de Maçedo, who was wounded, Nuno Velho Trauaços, Gaspar de Azevedo, who wrought wonders in the rearguard, as he was with fever and thrice wounded. D. Fernando Samaracon alone had received the

message of the General, to whom he answered that he should abandon Balanê with all possible despatch, for otherwise in less than three days not a single Portuguese would be left alive, as the whole Island was in revolt through the machinations of Cangra Arache who was in league with him of Candea. This was on the fourth day, and at the foot of the hill this valiant and faithful Chingalâ joined the arrayal. And in order that the proofs of his fidelity may be better seen, I shall narrate how his own people made advances to him. They came to him, announced the sure destruction of the Portuguese and what a good opportunity he had of making himself King, and as he saw how ready they were to die for him, he should not lose such
P 473 a good opportunity. If however | he intended to accompany the Portuguese, they would not do so on any account, because they had already come to an understanding with the Modeliares and Araches of the Bicarnasinga to secure their common Liberty.

D. Fernando, seeing himself in this strait, communicated everything to Pinhaõ, and having assembled the leaders into a house he, they say, made this speech. 'Faithful and beloved friends. Full well do I realize the attachment which you have always shown me and how often you have risked your lives on my order and because of your desire to increase my reputation and honour, which I shall always gratefully keep in memory, and when circumstances give me opportunity, I will show it by deeds. Now with greater kindness you wish to press on me the title of King. It is a compliment quite in keeping with the love which I have always borne towards you and the good which I wish to do you in return for your meritorious services. Since the matter can be managed without danger, I think it a mistake to risk your lives, which I desire to preserve as if it were my own and for its protection. You must know, however, that I have agreed with the Bicarnasinga to effect this rising in Seytavâca, where the Portuguese will now be very few, and those who remain are so worn out by travel and lack of provisions, that they can be completely routed with little trouble. Let us wait a while, and then your desires will have full satisfaction'. They scarcely believed so great a boon, so much in accordance with their wishes it was! They went to see Pinhaõ who also kept up the same farce and assured them by every means that it was true, confirming it by large promises ; and by this stratagem they allured them in such a way, that they did well up to Seytavâca, though, as it may well be understood, the Enemies did not press hard on them.

CHAPTER 26.

The Same Subject continued ; and the Loss of the Garrisons

F 259v

They spent the night in Ganietâne, where the wounded were badly tended and worse fed, because they were in want of everything ; and during the whole night they were disquieted. On the following day they continued to fight in the same way, Antonio de Pinho remaining in the stockade, while the arrayal moved off. The Enemy promptly attacked them on all sides with the help of 40 muskets on supports, but a great obstacle to him was Antonio de Pinho, who first joined the body of the rearguard till they reached Pera Sacra, when by order of the General he joined the centre ; and after fighting the whole day, they halted in the pagode of Altonor, with not a few killed and wounded. On the next day they reached
P 474 Atapitî ; and the foe, hiding himself in the | woods, surrounded a meadow and fired terribly on the Portuguese. On that day the Chingalâz, Antonio Barreto and Pedro Berreto, were of no little use, for along with other men of D. Fernando they, like robbers of the wood, cut off many heads of the Enemy to receive the rewards offered to them ; and they reached Talampitî, which was already under seige. The men of D. Fernando behaved well, as they relied on the promise and were awaiting an opportunity for its fulfilment. Two Portuguese were killed and 15 wounded. The arrayal stayed there three days, sinking a well near the stockade, as there was no water within it ; and because it was very far, they all without exception laboured to fortify it, [even] bringing the wood on their backs ; and they erected a small bastion over the well to hold ten men, as it was a stone's throw from the strong place. Some cast balls, others prepared matches. The General left a garrison consisting of three companies under the command of Francisco de Maçedo, Captain-Major of all, the Captains, Balthezar de Seyxas Pinto, and Saluador Leaõ da Fonseca, who was indisposed, all the sick and wounded being included in this number. These men did marvels and feats of desperate valour, as we shall see, and it was on account of them that the arrayal was able to reach Malvâna, because on account of them the Enemy had to divide his men. In quite a different way did the Marquis de Pescara

arrange his great retreat of Marcelha ; but D. Jeronimo was neither ignorant of similar examples nor without hope of keeping those stockades and with them what he had gained, nor does warfare everwhere require the same | method, *F 260* because the circumstances are not everywhere the same. Before they sallied out. they found themselves surrounded. He attacked them and cutting off many heads, he drove them away. While this was taking place, the news reached Columbo, which was without a Captain. because Manoel D'Andrade Bringel who held the post had left for Goa, for what cause I cannot find out. The Ouuidor. Joaõ Homẽ de Costa, in all haste, provided Malvâna with 25 Citizens, for the houses of the Captain-General were there with all his goods, without any other protection than that of some of his servants.

They set out in this order. In the advance-guard Pinhaõ with the few Lascarins who remained with him and three companies of Portuguese, his own, that of Gomes da Costa Homẽ, and that of Bernado da Costa. In the centre (it does not deserve the name *batalha*) the General and Francisco de Miranda Henriquez, with the baggage and with the Captains Luis de Caminha Coutinho, Gaspar de Valadares Soto-mayor, Antonio Homẽ de Azevedo, Gomes Anes de Freytas, Alvaro D'Almeyda de Vasconçelos, and in what is called the rearguard the Captain-Major Saluador Pereyra da Silua with D. Francisco de Menezes, Martim Cota Falcaõ, D. Phelipe de Moura, Francisco Ferraz Brandaõ, Gaspar de Azevedo, Antonio de Pinho, Jeronimo Taueyra, Joaõ Afonso da Gama, but as *P 475* they could not fight in a body in the narrow passes, | they took turns, when they had to fight. Lourenço de Aguiar Coutinho, with the Captains Jorge de Melo Torres, Belcnior Botelho da Silua, and Luis de Almeyda went in the reserve, to help, when necessity called them, in the manner of the Roman Velites.

Watchful was the enemy whose very din and shouts promised a furious battle to celebrate the eve of Lent. The Rebel King from the other side of the River, at once despatched him of Uva to go ahead and man the fortifications already made in the narrowest passes ; and [he ordered] others to attack all from the woods and the remainder [to attack] the rearguard, for he had troops enough for everything, because when those few perished there was no one left to defend the garrisons, and their liberty and the honour of their Gods depended on extinguishing them all. Our men, by dint of bullets and by the might of their arms, forced their way through woods and stockades, till finally they reached the fortification held by the resolute and recently aggrieved

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King of Uva with picked men. The few Lascarins of the advance-guard, seeing the ruggedness of the place and the multitude of the enemies and the insuperable difficulty, hesitated and did nothing.

Seeing the cowardice of his men, Pinhaõ leaves the road and with some | Portuguese, breaks through the thick of the *F 260v* woods and falls upon them unexpectedly. They recognize him by his ever victorious insignia, and not daring to face him, a whole army flees, leaving many arms, and some heads, our men making use even of the scythes, which they carried, in order to cut down the woods and stockades, to cut off the heads of the Chingalâz. They marched through the Four-Corlas to Vivâla[1] and thence to the Ambolao of Jampanalâ, fighting the whole day and a part of the night, when some of the enemy got into a cave in a narrow pass and thence, without being seen, they hurled their spears, the confusion of night increasing the fear. Word was passed to bring fire lances from the rearguard, and on lighting them, they found 30 men who fled at once though slightly wounded. These three leagues being passed, they reached Manicrauarê, the enemy following as far as the river, but not daring to follow them further, as it was open country, although they were so straitened, that for four days past they had not tasted food. They spent two days in procuring rice for the garrison, as it was a place of importance and on the way to Atapitî. Nuno Velho Travaços was left as Captain-major with D. Manoel de Azevedo and the two Companies of Thome Pereyra and Vitorio de Abreu.

They went to Ruanêla, about which the General was so anxious that already on the very night of the rising, while he sent orders to provide Atapitî and Manicrauarê, he also sent Modeliar Braz Dias, a man of some confidence, age and experience, to take a message to the factor, Luis de Abreu da Trota. who was in Ruanêla and to the Portuguese of Seytavâca, to be on the look out. The Modeliar, having given the *P 476* alarm and despatched letters to the other garrisons, | retired with some Lascarins whom he had. The factor prepared as well as he could, but soon seeing himself surrounded, single handed he kept them at bay (like another captain Antunes in Flanders), and for a long time they could not make him yield. He had called to his help a casado, Aluaro de Carvalho by name, a native of Alcoentre who had served as Captain in Seytavâca, a valiant soldier pleasant in conversation and of graceful parts, but the messengers killed him on the

[1] Diwala.

way and immediately joined those who were besieging Seytavâca. This death was greatly felt. The rebels knowing that in Ruanêla there was only the Factor, with the help of the rest, at last killed him, inflicting great cruelties on him, and sacked the tower. Thence they passed to Seytã- *F 261*
vâca which was already defending itself against the people of that Kingdom, though in the garrison there were not more than five Portuguese and two native Christians | with the Father Friar Antonio Madre de Deos, a man of known sanctity, commonly called Silvester, and the Captain Joaõ Teyxeyra de Meyreles himself went in search of munitions, as they had not more than 300 firelock balls and 50 for muskets with some rice without any other condiment. For 6 days they kept up the wild encounters and obstinate combats of a great host of Enemies, whose number increased every day, and they performed feats of desperate valour, though there was want of everything and so little water, that for a day they had only half a *quartilho*,[1] and none at all for cooking the rice which they had to eat raw, which, besides causing constipation, increased the unquenchable thirst. To such straits does honour drive those who esteem it and take pride in being Portuguese. They resolved to escape by night through the woods, but only one escaped.

While this was taking place, the arrayal reached Ruanêla and found everything destroyed, and the Factor killed with cruel wounds. There they lodged, and in the morning they marched in the same order to Seytavâca, and from some Natives who were taken, they learnt how the post had been abandoned the previous night. In two days they repaired it, and placing therein some rice gathered by *coarrejal*,[2] with water [stored] in bamboos rather than in other vessels, and leaving as Captain Bernardo da Costa with 30 soldiers, the arrayal set out by an unused road, as it was known that a great force of the enemy was waiting in Corgaõ with the fields flooded. But the arrayal did not fail to have well contested encounters, because the Enemy seeing that before reaching Banagâle[3] they stole a march by a short cut, crossed the hill and reached in time to vex the rearguard where D. Francisco de Menezes fought that day, as on other days, with great valour, and so great was the daring of a Chingalâ,

[1] Quartilho is the fourth part of a *canada*, which is about three English pints.

[2] I have not been able to find out what this means.

[3] For Tanagale (Attanagala).

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that after shooting an arrow at him, he tried to take him with his bow by the throat, but it cost him his life. The Enemy however began to press so hard, that the General ordered a halt, and Saluador Pereyra recrossed the river to help D. Francisco. On the second day of this march, *P 477* there arrived through the woods | the soldier of Seytavâca to give the news that his four companions were killed along with the Holy Franciscan, with such inhuman cruelties and mutilations as expressed their hatred of the Faith which he professed and taught, and that sacred Religious Order lost one of the most excellent labourers it had, and the splendour of the humility, prayer, patience, mortification and holy simplicity which won for him the name of Siluester, and he won the well-merited crown. Nor did they have any rest in Tanagâla, because the passes were taken and the infantry | could not stand on their legs for hunger. At *F 261o*
last they reached Raygaõ and lodged at Canampele, remaining ever on the watch because of the continual alarms. And by this time they had very little munitions, but they marched on the next day through Euagaõ with the river between them and the Enemy, who, being unable to ford it, fired from the other bank. Our men passed to Gurubebile, and either because of the loss they sustained or because they were tired of contending with invincible souls, they retired, and the Portuguese reached Maluâne, where they beheld the complement of this tragedy. For those honourable citizens who were sent to defend the house of the General, being veterans of the militia, could not in spite of the hurry reach it without going to fight with a goodly force of the Chingalâz, by whom they were badly wounded. In the house there was Manoel Ferreyra, Bandigarrâla[1] of the General, which means Gentleman of the King's household, a brave but inexperienced young man, who, seeing himself surrounded, closed the doors and threw the keys into the neighbouring river, imagining that the defence of the place needed only that piece of gallantry. The veterans, seeing that the houses were covered with palm leaves, because they were yet unfinished, pointed out to Ferreyra that the greatest danger lay in the *olas*, but in spite of their demands, he did not make up his mind to remove them. There was there neither a raised ground (banquette) nor loopholes, but only balcony windows, through which they received great damage. Some native servants and sons of the chiefs of the Corlas, relatives of those very people who attacked them, under pretence of making a sally from a back verandah, descended by the drawbridge with the

[1] Sin. *bhandagarika*+*rala*, steward.

firelocks which the General had there, and one of them to whom Manoel Ferreyra had rendered many good services, knowing the fear of the Portuguese, struck a fire dart in the roof, and in spite of their greatest efforts, they could not avoid the fire. Seeing it on fire, they jumped through the windows to the ground, and they being 37 all told, while the Enemy was more than 800 strong, all fell after a long fight and many deaths; and they say the General lost in valuable furniture more than 50,000 cruzados. They hung up 19 heads of the old men on a tree, and this was one of the gruesome sights that met the arrayal, because there fell there among other brave retired Captains the following: Fernaõ Soares, Joaõ de Palhares, Andre Soeyro, Jorge Goncalues Ribeyro, Diogo Mourato, Pero Pereyra, Belchior Ferreyra, Antonio Francisco, and an Observant Religious
P 478 by name Friar Francisco | das Lapas, besides the devout Hermit Jeronimo Fernandez, who out of devotion had built a Hermitage of Our Lady of Dolours in Mapitigaõ, where he lived in penance, but had not forgotten his inborn valour, | F 262 because seeing himself alone and attacked by many men, he killed nine of the most daring with a partisan before they shot him from outside with an arrow, from which he fell, though he did not let anyone come near him till he at last succumbed to this and other wounds.

This was the celebrated retreat of the General D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, in which fighting with almost the whole might of Ceylon, he lost less men than in the garrisons which were taken before and after, [and] in which so many sacrificed their lives with generous hearts and military obedience to save their companions; and the killed exceeded more than 300 all told, including some St. Thomas Christians who were of very little use, because they were unaccustomed to march, and not having opium, they fainted on the way. If one wonders at these labours and these struggles, let him read what has been related and what we shall write hereafter, and he will find that such was ever the warfare of Ceylon, in which even the very defeats, when compared with the forces and with the opposition, can well be called victories; and here ended the first part of the tragedy.

Let us now turn to the second, and to the fate of the garrisons. Regavato being near Columbo, was neglected and a part of the fortification had fallen, the usual negligence of our self-confidence. Its garrison was Captain Joaõ Rodriguez Homẽ, two Portuguese, with three or four young slaves, and no munitions. He held out for two days and was the more afflicted, because he had there his wife and a maiden

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daughter, and he foresaw what would result from his death. This danger to his honour, the certain result of the barbarous war, often brought to his memory the case of the Alcayde of Madrid and what happened at Montemor-o-Velho in Portugal by determining to await the last conflict. But God came to his assistance in these two battles of arms and of honour, for on the second day of the combat, a small boat of which they got possession, was seen escaping from the stockade carrying them all in it with their arms and making for Columbo by river, leaving all the other things to the mercy and rapine of the Enemies, who after getting hold of everything burnt the stockade. There was not a place in which a Portuguese or a Christian was, which they did not destroy and of which they did not burn the Churches and houses.

They attacked Nigumbo, where there were not more than 25 Portuguese, quite enough to defend themselves against 3,000 men, if only they had the munitions, but not enough to hold the town which was a large one. They sent the women and useless folk to Columbo. The Enemy again mustered the whole county and made trenches to approach | F 262 v the fortalice, which likewise had no provisions for a long siege, and there was no hope of reinforcement, as the constant
P 479 rumour prevailed | that the Captain-General was killed with the whole arrayal. In those circumstances they thought it would be more useful to go to Columbo than die uselessly there, and with the Captain Lourenço Teyxeyra they decided to abandon Nigumbo. As, however, on the preceding day there had arrived there Simaõ Correa, a Portuguese, who had been entrusted with the stockade of Idandavel whence he had fled, those of Nigumbo thinking that he had a mischievous intention and had concerted with the enemy and that it was for this reason that they had let him enter, clapped him in fetters, putting him in a wooden stock without giving credit to the truthful statements in his defence. Seeing afterwards that the enemy had advanced up to four paces from the wall, at the first watch of the night, they boarded a foist by swimming, Gaspar Velzo being drowned and Father Friar Bernado of the Observance, and a most observant man being killed in the Church. The adversaries entered the fort and finding Simaõ Correa in the stocks, who in that agony had no refuge save God alone, killed him most cruelly. It can scarcely be believed that they left him bound on purpose, and [we must suppose] that it was the result of the confusion. Those of the fort reached Columbo, and the 1,300 Christians of Nigumbo were plundered.

While Columbo was being reformed, for the bastions were in such a state that one could fight therein only with breast exposed, and as there was no mounted artillery to withstand a siege, the Ouuidor with the rest of the citizens allotted Captains and prepared for war, sending advice to Gâle to be on the lookout. Which was not ill-advised, because the Captains whom D. Fernando had left on the frontier of Maturê thinking, or pretending, that he [D. Fernando] was the ring-leader of the rebellion, began to commit tyrannies in those parts, Tenecon Modeliar, one of the most powerful among them, confiscating not only the goods of the Portuguese, but even those of D. Fernando. The others opposed him, and when news reached them that D. Fernando was in Columbo and that he recommended them to protect those lands, this traitor pretended to hold a council for the purpose of deciding what was to be done, and posting some armed men in the house, sent for the Modeliares, and four of them fell along with an Arache, a Christian of Columbo, named Simaõ de Brito, a man of great courage and of great strength, of whom he had much fear. The rest sought safety with the Captain of Gâle, Pero Velozo, who was the first to be appointed to that fortalice by His Majesty, and was in command of it twice; but finding that they plotted another treason, some were chastised, especially Modeliar Pedro de Abrew, [by] pagan [name] Ilangacon. D. Fernando wished to go to Reygaõ whence were the people | who accompanied *F 263* him, before these escaped, as he knew that they had already put their women and children in shelter. He took with him Gomez da Costa with 50 Portuguese.

CHAPTER 27.

P 480 ### OF THE FATE OF THE SUCCOUR OF THE GARRISONS, AND THE LOSS OF THE LATTER

After reinforcing Columbo, the Captain-General who was in Malvâna, where he had halted, did not know where to turn for help, to save the garrisons of Atapitî, Manicrauarê Talampitî, Curuîte, Opanayquê, Valaevala, and Cotambala. Plunged in a sea of troubles and finding himself with but a scanty force, he decided to relieve Nigumbo first, for many

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reasons and because it was in the neighbourhood of Alicur, which was the native place of Congra Arache, the ringleader of this rising, who had already made himself Lord of those lands with the title of Bicarnasinga. And as the Captains and the soldiers who had been in the retreat had all been rendered destitute and some on that score had remained in Columbo, being tired of so much labour, the General wrote them this letter: 'Your stay in Columbo is of no use to His Majesty, but rather a great disservice; nor do you thereby fill your purses, but on the contrary give cause for their diminution; you do not do what behoves your honour, but rather acquire great discredit; you do me no kindness, but rather give me great pain and grief. Wherefore I advise you as a private individual, I beg of you as a friend, and beseech you as a companion; and if all these reasons are not enough, I order you as your Captain-General, under pain of serious consequences, to come at once to Malvâna where I am awaiting you with a mat for a table, biscuits and beef, which are the greatest dainties which the Chingalaz have left us. And as there is nothing more, Our Lord etc., Malvâna 15th of March 1605.' Those who were in Columbo did not delay to obey this letter, and the General first sent Simaõ Correa Modeliar who drove the rebel Cangra away with loss and disgrace. He also asked D. Fernando to give him some Lascarins to be sent to Nigumbo, and the latter sent him 400 men in charge of D. Manoel, his brother-in-law. But on the following night there rebelled Antonio Barreto, the son of a Fisherman, who, having risen by [his skill in the use of] arms, was a familiar of D. Fernando and became King of Uva. This man followed D. Manel with 5,000 men and made him believe that he came to accompany him, but on the following day, taking them all unawares, he cut off the head of D. Manoel and those who accompanied him. As soon as D. Fernando | heard of it, he set *F 262v* out in pursuit, but did not succeed in getting hold of him.

When he [the Captain-General] was seeking to succour Atapitî, he learnt that Thome Coelho, after a long siege and after enduring the severities and distress which have to be borne in such straits, had capitulated on the condition, as we said, that the King would let him go to Manâr with the 40 Portuguese soldiers, but when he sallied out of the stockade, he was killed with his companions by treachery. In Curuîte for the same *P 481* reason and | after the same extremities of hunger 40 Portuguese surrendered to Antonio Barreto, who sent them to Candea, promising them a good passage. The stockade of Opanayque was taken, in which Domingos Gomez was with 40 Natives of Manâr and some Portuguese. The same fate befell the stockade of D. Fernando Modeliar in his Corlas, in which Miguel

Antunez was, whose eyes were afterwards plucked out in Candea. Seytavâca was under siege, and if the Captain-Major had not come to its assistance, Antonio Barreto would have razed the tower by fire.

The General desired nothing better than to help the stockade with reinforcement, but the want of men was very great, and the enemy knew everything and that Simaõ Correa, who was convalescing from the wounds received at Balanê, was in favour with the General, and that Simaõ Pinhaõ had fallen out of favour in spite of so many merits. He erected fresh stockades in the passes leading to Ruanêla and from Maluâna to the other garrisons. In this extremity our men, realizing the danger in which they were placed, made their confession, and the Captain-Major Gaspar Pereyra da Silua set out from Malvâna on the 23rd of March with 11 companies, the Captains of which were, Gaspar de Azevedo, who had come from Nigumbo and took the advance-guard, D. Francisco de Menezes, Francisco Ferraz Brandaõ, Joaõ Afonso da Gama, Gomez da Costa Homẽ, Jeronimo Taueyra, Manoel Freyre de Andrade, D. Phelipe de Moura, Jeronimo Pereyra da Silua, brother of the Captain-Major, Vitorio de Abreu, Diogo de Souza da Cunha, Simaõ Pinhaõ with his company and 200 Natives of Columbo with some Modeliares. That night they halted in Calampêle,[1] and in the morning they went to Seytavâca, where they found the Captain Bernado da Costa and his men without victuals for a single day, and greatly exhausted with defending themselves against the traitor Antonio Barreto, who with the rebels of his company had set fire to the few relics that remained of that Carthage, and had made so much war on us, that having erected gun platforms higher than the fortifications, they drove our men with pots of powder and other shots, though it was eight days that they were sustaining themselves on raw rice and | half *F 264* a *quartilho* of water. But on sight of the reinforcement, the enemies retired, and our men pursued and killed those who were not able to escape. The Captain-Major left [there] the company of Diogo de Souza Coutinho also, and on the following day he made his way to Ruanêla where the enemy was well fortified, but it was taken and destroyed with all valour, Nuno Velho Tauauços being wounded in one leg. They reached the river which, though often fordable on foot, rose on that occasion up to the waist. Here so many were the bullets of the enemies who had joined Barreto, that it looked like a Hail-storm on the river, but nothing could diminish the courage of those brave soldiers. The advance-guard forded it leisurely, expecting the main body of the arrayal to join them, and having

[1] Kanampella.

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arrived on the other bank, they made the sign of the cross and scaled the ramparts with the same resolution and put the *P 432* enemy to | flight with the loss of three Portuguese. A league and a half ahead, the enemy was in greater strength, and it was a position that was able to destroy the largest army. Our men, however, assaulted it with such resolution, that they soon carried it with the loss of three good soldiers and 15 wounded. On that day the Portuguese displayed the mettle of their valour, among them Gaspar de Azevedo, who having his place in the advance-guard, remained in Manicrauarê, when the rear-guard retired. When the enemy had fled and Azevedo was recounting the deeds of valour performed there, giving praise to all, and was confident that there were no enemies now in that region, [suddenly] from a mountain a Chingalâ shot him, while he was in the midst of our men, with two bullets, of which he died to their great grief, for Gaspar de Azevedo was a man of great worth and much liked. Having reached Manicrauarê, the Captain-Major opened the instruction of the General to name the Captain who should remain there, a necessary and secret precaution, for great was the rivalry of those who sought the honour and glory of defending it, heedless of the peril. Nuno Velho Travaços was named, with two other Captains at the choice of the Captain-Major, and they were Thome Fereyra and Andre da Maya; and they supplied such succour as they were able to give.

A council was held as to whether it behoved to go to Talampitî, which was at a distance of four leagues. It was pointed out, that the greatest forces of the Island were upon that garrison, and that being so few, it would mean risking everything in one throw of the fortunes of war; and they favoured a retreat for the very reasons which made succour difficult. Having taken this resolution, very much in keeping with military prudence and with the state of our affairs, it was also discussed whether it was convenient to keep up Ruanêla, because D. Manoel de Azevedo, who had defended it, was wounded and was of opinion that it might be abandoned, as there was no proximate hope of improving our position, and he excused himself from remaining in that garrison where he was more sure of death | than of dis- *F 264v* honour, [urging] that as we were so few, it was not right to expose others to the sacrifice of honour or to the enemy's treachery, to which those of Calapiti[1] were exposed, for there was no hope of the enemy coming to any other settlement than that of arms, and that since the people of that stockade had given themselves up for lost, it was not proper to increase the victory

[1] Talampitiya

of the enemy by putting into their hands those who were in this stockade also. Others opined that, owing to the recent events, they might have risen in the esteem of the Chingalâz, and that a larger force of the Natives might be mustered, and that meanwhile they were able to get some help from the nearest Portuguese Praças and from the State. This opinion, which always seemed more glorious to the Portuguese, was finally approved, and in spite of being badly wounded, Nuno Velho Trauaços remained there with 80 soldiers, ill-provided, as they had no provisions, and though the enemy obstructed the return of the arrayal, they fought their way with valour and resolution and reached Maluâna, leaving ten killed.

P 483 | For when they had decided to return by Catocambala Corla,—which, though a longer way, enabled them to do two things, namely, to retire with greater safety as the country was more level and open with plains unobstructed by trees, and at the same time to burn the lands and punish the inhabitants thereof for revolting and thinking themselves secure, because they thought that the way of Atanagâla, though shorter, might be much better fortified than they found at their coming,—the enemy, seeing the route they took, were harassing them in such a manner, that they did not give them one hour of rest, though to their cost, because our people lying in ambush for them, especially in Alauva, Bocalagâma and Vaderua,[1] killed many of their men. In spite of it, however, in Vaderua we lost a soldier and a Captain, Sebastiaõ de Brito, who sallied out at night outside the ring of the sentinels on account of some confusion caused by some people, which gave occasion to the Captain-Major to order those lands to be assaulted without sparing either men or cattle, whereupon the enemy made away and thereafter they marched to Malvâne without opposition.

The King of Candea brought under his obedience all the men-at-arms of the Island, with the Princes of Matale and Uva, and the Vanea of Batecalou, which means independent Lord, and thus he mustered large squadrons which, while pursuing us, he divided into various captaincies in order to surround the stockades exposed to the violent sacrifice of military obedience, because, as he had men enough for anything, he thought that our division gave him the most certain opportunity of doing away with the Portuguese in Ceylon once for all. Seeing, however, that he was not able to destroy | the arrayal, he turned with the greater ire F 265

[1] Alauwa, Bokalagama, and Wadurawa.

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on the stockade of Calapitî,[1] as it was of greater importance and was surrounded by the Princes referred to. These [Princes] thought that they would be able to carry the defences of those weak stockades with great ease by sheer force of men and elephants, and before the King arrived, they had delivered terrible assaults, but were beaten back with such resolution, that with many killed and wounded they withdrew to a distance, awaiting the force which the King was bringing. On the day after his arrival they began new batteries on the sides of Parnacûr, and getting information from two servants who had fled from the stockade that there was lack of provisions and that almost all the Portuguese were wounded, they fortified themselves on the other bank of the River, whence they were better able to obstruct the retreat with fresh stockades which the military men of Ceylon call gravets, but they were twice dislodged, and the Portuguese brought timber from them on their backs to repair their stockade.

Fourteen days of siege having elapsed, the Captain, Francisco de Maçedo, sent information about everything to the General, [saying] that besides extreme need of provisions many were already dead and almost all the rest wounded and sick of fevers, dysentry, small-pox (a usual P 484 pest | in India) and beriberi, a sickness most common in Ceylon and in other climes which are in the neighbourhood of the Equinoctical [line]. The King, considering the affair quite secure, set out for Candea, leaving behind the greater part of the forces; but when they found that they were not able to impede our communication by River, they sent [word to] him through a Modeliar who took with him five runaway servants as witnesses of what they suffered in the stockade. Upon this tidings he again ordered 9,000 men to be mustered from the Seven and Four-Corlas and many stakes to be cut for fortification; and above all he sent 400 Badagas of the opposite coast whom they held to be good soldiers; and on the 25th of March which was the 22nd of the siege, there appeared nearly 30,000 men against the stockade, and they delivered an attack with a great deal of musketry, bombs, firedarts, and many instruments of war, but they were obliged to retire with no small loss, leaving the business for bombardment. For which purpose he ordered 26 wooden bastions to be erected on the other side of the River to protect the artillery which he determined to mount, and he placed the men of the Seven-Corlas in the other 13 bastions

[1] Talampitiya.

on the side of the stockade above the well from which we were supplied and those of the Four-Corlas opposite the gate to impede sallies, which they were never able to accomplish, because our men under the command of the Captain, Saluador Leaõ da Fonseca, who ever proved himself a Lion, dislodged them by day and disquieted them by night with pots of powder and other shot from which they always | lost men; and of all this the Captain again sent information to the General. F 265v

On the 7th March the bombardment began with an iron *esphera*[1] of great length, a *camelete*,[2] two falcons, two demi-falcons and two iron *caes*,[3] besides many *roqueyras* and *chichorros*[4] directed upon the well, and being continued night and day, as the stockade was unprotected, they did it great damage, the balls passing from side to side. It became necessary to remove the powder and provisions and to erect ramparts from within and to dig pits and caves for shelter, which could not be done without great trouble, as the little strength they had could be refreshed only with rice without salt, and the hale had to be the cooks for themselves and the sick, for all the serving men had fled. And as they were now unable to draw water from the River, they dug a trench from the stockade to the well, which the Enemy attempted to prevent by fresh fortifications, obliging them to barter blood for water, and to profit by the rain, as the water of the well was not enough, much as they deepened it, and their regimen was such, that they prepared their meal only once a day, and they were not able even to obtain the herbs in the neighbourhood of the stockade; and in these straits they were reduced to eat dogs, cats, bats, rats, chameleons, bandicoots[5] and cabarajoyas[6]; and a rat came to be valued at a pardao and a quarter of a dog five paradaos, and even these foul things soon ran short, and in consequence of these
P 485 trials | only 40 men were on their feet, more than 38 being already killed, and so many were the shots of the enemy, that to spare the wood for the fortifications, they used the arrows for cooking.

[1] An ancient piece of Ordnance.
[2] Camelot, [3] 'dogs', [4] 'puppies'; all names of various kinds of cannon.

[5] Manduco (whence the Anglo-Indian, 'bandicoot') from Telugu *pandi-kokku* 'pig-rat', variously called *mus malabaricus, mus giganteus and mus bandicok.*

[6] Cabaragoya (Sin. 'the spotty fellow'), *hydrosaurus salvator.* Probably it is the *talagoya* (*draco varamus dracœna*) the plain iguana that is meant.

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This brought them to the 28th of March which was Good Friday, and the King, thinking that no one was now left to defend those ruined logs, delivered an assault on all sides with all his soldiery and elephants. In this confusion there caught fire a 'cavalier' of wood which was defended during all the time of the siege by Domingos Lourenço, a veteran soldier, a native of Vilêla in Entre-Douro-e-Minho. Thence by the force of the wind it passed to two bastions and the watch tower of the gate. This misfortune gave fresh spirit to the Enemy and the din of the artillery, muskets, kettle-drums and voices added to the terror of fire, made the day altogether frightful. Our men, however, being divided in repelling the enemy and in putting out the fire, for which even water was wanting, had to face the attack of the enemy for five hours, there being left on the field a great number of dead and wounded. They again laboriously repaired the damage, the Chingalâz being astonished, when in the morning they saw everything in the former state. They came nearer with approaches on the side of the Cross and of the gate, and on Easter night they cut down the Cross with a great outcry to the grief of the Christians.

| The Captain determined to give them that day their F 266
greetings for a happy feast, and leaving the sick in the bastions, with 60 men whom he could muster, with unheard-of resolution he captured their lodgings by dint of powder pans, lance thrusts and blows, till they were driven into a jak grove, where he fought them for two hours, while the others destroyed their fortifications and took the wood for our own use, and their artillery and firelocks from the other bank of the River and the larger succours which the King sent did not avail them that day to save the Mâ Modeliar who commanded the army in the absence of the King, and many Captains and a great number of Lascarins; all that unscathed, for none of our men perished therein. But as they understood the great damage they were doing us in that place, in a short time they again fortified it, and our Captain delivered another assault on them on the first [day of the] Octave with little more than 40 men, but with such persistence, that the combat lasted three hours, and leaving many killed and wounded, our men returned with only two bruised, though the artillery of the enemy did not cease to play on them all the time. And though the fear which they conceived gave us opportunity to erect two ravelins at the gate to secure the ditch and well, they finally refortified without hindrance from us for lack of force and powder.

Thus they went on till the 10th of April, when the King ordered the well to be filled up by means of 3,000 men and many elephants who succeeded in shaking the stockades. Some of our men attacked them and went on fighting with
P 486 spears for two hours. The King profited | by the diversion to order the stockade to be attacked from all sides, but he was forced to order them to retire, leaving many killed besides wounded, in exchange for a log and two faggots of *varicha*[1] which they removed. Seeing, however, that he could not carry out this enterprise by assaults, he ordered that night a mine to be dug between the river and the stockade, and for its defence he built fresh revetments and covered trenches with nets of rope as protection against powder pans. On the other side of the river he erected a 'cavalier' of six stories which looked into the whole stockade and ditch. In this last desperation the Portuguese Captain took a desperate resolution. He resolved to sally out and die with the few soldiers who were still on their legs and run amok, as they call it there, but on this occasion his Confessor dissuaded him from it. He ordered 30 soldiers to reconnoitre the mine by night, which they did with gallantry under artillery fire and other shot of the enemy who abandoned the field to them, and occupied it again when our men retired.

The King at this time received information that the Captain-Major, Gaspar Pereyra da Silua, | was coming to F 266v relieve the stockades, and in order that he might not escape him this time, on the 5th of April he raised the siege, and went to bar his way, leaving only some watchers in his entrenchment, which being seen by our men, they burnt all the works they had erected, and on the fourth day they went as far as the jakgrove, whence they brought jak enough for four days, and during that time they rebuilt what had been damaged in the stockade. The Captain, however, found that he had only 1,400 balls and 40 matches, but with a little lead he made some balls, and he was able to send information so that the succour might bring these also; and Antonio Duarte, a man of greater courage than good looks, offered to take it to Manicrauarê, a distance of five leagues through revolted lands. The Chingalâ King, having partly obtained his aim, returned to continue the siege and rebuilt the stockades and opened the mine in which they were already fighting with pans of powder on both sides, and only veteran soldiers were allowed to use balls. In these last straits, on the 13th of April, two soldiers ran away;

[1] Sin. *varichchi*, withes, 'transverse rod or lath, numbers of which are tied across the thatch or mud walls.'—Carter.

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and on their information the King wrote a letter to the Captain Francisco Maçedo, [asking him] to surrender, and promising on his royal word that he would give him a safe passage, that he did this because he was Christian and took pity on what they had suffered during the two and half months of siege. To his great surprise he did not receive the expected answer and thinking that this was due to Portuguese pertinacity, though at the time it was rather due to distrust on account of his perfidy, he continued to get nearer with fortifications and to dig another ditch to set fire to the stockade.

On the 15th of April, Antonio Duarte, who had carried the last message, returned from Manicrauarê in spite of all danger with a letter from Nuno Velho Trauaços, Captain of that stockade, in which he said: 'That the arrayal of the Captain-Major Saluador Pereyra da Silua was retreating
P 487 with no little loss in the direction of | Cotacambala Corla after having had an encounter with the King, and that he had left him an order from the General to withdraw if possible to Manicrauarê, which he begged him to do in the name of God and of the King, since their salvation was in his hands, and the remedy, in union.' Thereupon Francisco de Maçedo da Silua called his companions to a council, and having read the letter therein, he ordered them to express their views with all freedom, [saying] that he would give his own after the rest. The majority were of opinion: 'That for the credit and honour of the Portuguese nation, it behoved them all to face death in the defence of the stockade and their lives as long as that lasted, since no trust was to be placed in the word of the Tyrant.' The minority said: 'That seeing there was no munition nor provisions, it would be better to sally out to the field and die killing than live dying,' | and F 267 these latter were supported by the vote of the Captain, it appearing to him that it was more conformable with his valour and the order of the General, and that they might reach Manicrauarê alive. The Father, Friar Francisco de Monclaro, a Franciscan Religious, Chaplain of that stockade, opposed it pointing out: 'That of the living, two-thirds were sick and wounded, that there remained only 40 men to fight more than 30,000, that to leave their companions behind would be a great cruelty, to expose themselves to this danger a manifest rashness;' and he called upon them all in the name of God not to be hasty, nor take their lives in their own hands contrary to the dispositions of Heaven and of prudence, which taught that in this last strait they should choose the lesser evil.

The enemy did not give time for further entreaties and replies, but delivered a fresh general assault which lasted from almost midday to about nightfall with the death of six companions and with so many wounded, that there were not left ten hale, and the munitions completely ran out. Francisco de Maçedo saw himself obliged to surrender on some good terms. He raised the white flag and asked and obtained a day's truce in which it was agreed that they should leave the stockade without arms and make an obeisance to the King and there he would give guides to take them to Manicrauarê or Malvâne. He did nothing of the sort, as everyone had predicted; and on quitting the stockade, they were surrounded by the army in hostile array and were taken prisoners to Candea, whence they were sent to different parts, fearing even from those few men the valour of many. And because it is not right that men who did so much for the honour and the credit of the Portuguese name should remain forgotten, I was so long in relating the deed of prowess performed in that stockade, so that one might judge from this what was done in the others which were defended with equal valour. The General at once sent Gaspar de Azevedo with 400 men to divert the enemy, and taking a long turn he fought valorously with him several times, but was unable to prevent the loss of the stockades of Galietâne, Calapitî, and Manicrauarê.

CHAPTER 28.

P 488

What further Effect the Relief of the Garrisons had; and the Death of the Apostate of Candea

The King, being thus more secure in the field, fell upon Manicrauarê with all his forces, a course clearly to be foreseen, when once he realized that the Portuguese were not able to make any opposition | and that the garrison had a *F 267v* lesser force than that of Calapitî. However he met with the like resistance in divers assaults and many other military manoeuvres, for though the circuit was larger, being the usual encampment of our arrayal, it was well fortified; and

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that long drawn siege cost him many lives, though it did not receive the assistance of any reinforcement that could ameliorate our condition, and which the General could send without endangering all that he had in Ceylon, the usual results of the negligence with which affairs were conducted in that conquest. At last they were reduced to the same straits by famine, to see the praça exposed on all sides without strength or forces to defend themselves any longer. In this state 15 soldiers passed over to the enemy, fleeing from the desperate famine rather than from death, and the King, being thus more encouraged, succeeded in reducing the others to such straits, that more dead than alive, they surrendered on the best conditions which they could obtain in that state.

The King returned to Candea, and considering the loss of the best men he had, and that his army was almost wholly consumed in the many encounters and sieges above related, without heeding his promise and being eaten up with rage and grief, he ordered [his men] to pluck out the eyes of 60 Portuguese, and because some died, a Hollander whom he had with him, advised him to pierce the eyes with the point of a knife, the advice of a heretic as blind in his hatred as in his Faith which the King adopted in order to send them to Columbo, where 40 of that number arrived. And whoever considers this and other barbarous cruelties of that Apostate, will not fail to find an excuse for the excesses which the Portuguese committed on some occasions, enraged by these barbarities as well as because he did not keep his word to them.

He built a City in Darniagâle where afterwards he lived, making much war on us, and forcing the lands to live in revolt. And as the valour of Saluador Pereyra was unable to brook on the one hand the insolence of the Chingalâ King at the sight of our insufficiency of troops, nor on the other hand the complaints of those who did not approve of letting Calpitî, and consequently Manicrauarê, be lost, after so many *P 489* valiant actions achieved in that conquest, | he returned to Goa, D. Manoel de Azevedo remaining in his place. The Dissava of the Seven-Corlas was Simaõ Correa; of the Four [Corlas] Luis Gomes Pinto, by title rather than in reality, because everything was disquiet and there were no troops to repress the Natives. By a greater novelty, if not monstrosity, they at this time arrested Simaõ Pinhaõ, accusing him of desiring to revolt. They laid the blame of this false testimony on Manoel Francisco de Andrade | and other *F 268* friends of his, and they say that Pinhaõ said a word either of regret or in reference to the dealings he had with the

King of Candea in Balane at the request of the General and that they laid hold of it, because in the case of men so advanced in merit as he was, it is only jealousy that can straiten the bounds of fortune, and falsehood that can obscure their glories. The General was not well affected to him, as he knew that similar things were said concerning him, and this little difference was enough to make him forthwith believe this grave falsehood. And from the experience I have of India, these reflections on the actions of the General do not seem strange to me, considering the variety of fortunes, because when there is a Misfortune, they do not pay heed to the circumstances but to the results, and there is no country where plots are better hatched. And D. Jeronimo, either to justify his proceedings or not to be obliged to take the field on his behalf in a matter so grave, ordered him to be released in the ordinary way. But in matters in which even the imagination is a crime, imagined guilt is death to men of courage and fidelity, unless the greatness of heart or their very innocence sustains life, as was seen in the case of Simaõ Pinhaõ, who became a greater prey to care the more free from guilt he was, an infirmity serious in all lands and fatal in India. In a short time that conquest lost him, and as India lost many such, it is astonishing to see how little they feel the loss of a man so useful to the common weal, and with what ease they kill many by this well known poison of being arrested and insulted, when they deserve to be rewarded.

Though some reinforcements arrived from Goa under the charge of Francisco de Miranda Henriques and Lourenço de Aguiar, it was so little, that they could only make up 300 men, with whom and with the Dissavas and a few Lascarins, the new Captain-Major advanced as far as Apetigaõ and Pitigal, and without knowing it, the advance guard encountered the enemy who were likewise unawares. They attacked them and were [in turn] attacked by the Enemy army. The main body of the arrayal was hidden behind a jungle, but hearing the musket shots, and led by Simaõ Correa, they attacked the flanks of the enemy who were pressing our few men not a little. They abandoned the field strewn with the dead, and many were captured. Madûne escaped wounded, and Antonio Barreto was almost taken. Here Correa won a great reputation and the enemy, who were already
P 490 despising us, again became affrighted. | The Tyrant felt this loss exceedingly, and the lands submitted more by compulsion, as was ever the case, than because they were willing. At this time D. Fernando Modeliar was ill and for

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that reason, | and as I think because he had little confidence *F 268v*
in his men whose mind he already knew, he did not make war on Panica in the lands of Maturê which were in his charge, and in which the enemy fortified two stockades with 200 soldiers. At the instance of the Portuguese, D. Fernando sought him out and attacked him, but his Lascarins were so cold, that two Portuguese Captains and not a few Natives were killed, and he himself at the same time was defeated and overcome in a field of mire where he was surrounded. The General at once came to his assistance, sending D. Francisco de Menezes with 4 companies and Luis Gomez with 500 Lascarins, while he himself set out also by sea in two foists in which he carried two half *esferas*, which swept the enemy from the River in the village of Pitiguêla. In the morning he ordered the stockade which was higher up to be attacked, and when that was captured, Panica at once abandoned the other, leaving 200 dead. The General returned to Columbo, and D. Fernando was unable to master the Pass of a Corla with the men he had, and returned to Alicaõ, whence the General sent him to Tanagâla to join the Captain-Major.

Azevedo passed to Manicrauarê, stormed and dismantled many stockades on the way and cut off many heads, before Harandurê[1] and the lands submitted. But as it was said that D. Fernando did nothing, the General deposed him, and after arresting him in Columbo, he sent him prisoner to Goa, putting in his place the Chingalâ D. Constantino on the first of May, 1604. It is a terrible thing for a man that people should wish to acclaim him King, because though he may perform the gallant services which this most faithful Chingala rendered with the help of Simaõ Pinhaõ, as we related in chapter 25, yet the pretensions to a Crown must needs end in a dungeon. In Goa D. Fernando was set free and made Captain of this City,[2] a post which carries a seat in the Councils of the State and of war. Afterwards he accompanied the Viceroy D. Martim Afonço de Castro[3] in a Galley in the expedition the latter made to Achem,[4] and in the naval battles of Malâca with Cornelio Magaif[5]; and he died in this country after being appointed by the King to the Captaincy of Ormuz, the most profitable praça in those times, a well desired appointment indeed, for he was one of the greatest exceptions to Chingalâ infidelity.

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[1] Arandara
[2] Goa.
[3] Eighteenth Viceroy, 1605–1607.
[4] May, 1606.
[5] October, 1606.

There also arrived from Goa with reinforcements, D. Francisco de Menezes who had set out from thence the previous December, and D. Constantino was able to pass to Sofragaõ at the end of May in which [month] there died D. Joao, Tyrant and King of Candea. Couto did not take the trouble to describe, and only mentions the fact, that for two years he had a foretaste of the torments of Hell. But from some partly worn out pages which are the last of Bento da Silua I was only able to gather that his last sickness was preceeded
P 491 by a good thrashing, | | and as he was a lascivous man, it F 269 may well be believed that he received them in another man's house, as happened here, they say, in Goa, to one of the great Viceroys who governed it, because going one night into the house of a Portuguese, the master of a cutter,[1] in the suburb of S. Pedro, they pounded him in such a manner with sacks of sand, that he died, being buried before he was dead. The thrashing which he of Candea received caused an incredible flux of blood. He was afterwards obsessed, raving and relating only the phantoms which he saw, with such horrible internal burnings that when he was placed in a tub of cold water to mitigate them, in a moment it began to boil, and when changed from one to the other, tempered with the coolest herbs in Ceylon, the same always took place, and we are able to testify that we have seen one of those herbs which turned the water into hard fresh ice. They called in the best physicans and herbalists. They gave him many a cooling draft with a mixture of camphor and other more cooling concoctions, but the internal fire that burnt within him was so vivid, that there was no means of assuaging it. The cries, pains, and torments he suffered were a vivid foretaste of hell. At last, seeing that he was dying without remedy, he tried to dispose the Kingdom so that there might be no disturbances therein after his death. He called his Brother, Enarath Bandar, and the grandees of his Court, to whom he made this speech: 'I see that I am assuredly dying. What I fear most is that the Portuguese will then get possession of this Kingdom for lack of someone to defend it, as the claimants are many and any disunion will be the road to ruin. That it may not be so, and that you may preserve and defend yourselves with honour and with your reputation, I beg and order you to obey my Brother Enarath Bandar till my son Astana Bandar shall be of age to do so and maintain you in peace and justice, whereby you will come to prevail and will gain splendid victories, and enhance

[1] Catureyro, Master of a *catur* (cutter). See p. 351, n. 3.

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the reputation of your forbears. And I warn you most of all not to trust the Portuguese prisoners nor to give them fresh offence, because in case of any mischance the negotiation for their ransom will give you a sure and efficacious remedy for your freedom.'

They all replied to him with tears, and the Chief Adigar or Captain-Major of the City told him with great respect not to give them pain by giving up hopes of life, because he hoped with the favour of their gods and of Buddha that he [the King] would still live to expel the Portuguese altogether from Ceylon, with such great victories as would make him respected and known throughout the Universe. The others went out, and the Brother remained, to whom he earnestly commended his wife and children; and the last stroke of death coming upon him, he ended his unhappy life without showing the least remembrance of the Baptism which he had received | or the Faith which he had professed, F 269v
P 492 and he went to the eternal flames of Hell | to pay for the death of those whom he had martyred, the sacrileges he had committed, and the loss of so many Christian souls which he made to apostatize from the Faith and others whose salvation he impeded, the burning of so many churches, the harm caused by so many wars and injustices, and the violence with which he got possession of another man's Throne.

In the cremation of his body, (for even in this he wished to show himself a pagan, so as to take possession of the fire in which he will burn eternally,) there happened a wonderful thing, for the flames being fed with some aromatic concoctions and with large quantities of oil, everything burnt except that wicked heart which the fire would not touch. Those pagans considered it a marvellous thing saying that fire had not the strength to consume such an invincible and valiant heart and that time could not decay it: That though death destroys the outer wall of the body, being the common tribute of men, that inner fortalice will remain as a trophy and memorial of his valour. About this they made many songs and verses, distributing it [the heart] among themselves, as a marvel, just as the Turks did with the bones of Jorge Castriolo through admiration. It is easier to believe that by a divine disposition the earthly fire wished to reserve it entire for the infernal flames, and that the fire of his hatred of the Christian Religion and its professors was such that the natural fire was not able to prevail over it, because being like iron in its hardness it could become red hot, but it could neither be reduced to ashes nor to coal, unless perhaps it happened by divine permission, deserved

by the hatred and incredulity of that people, as has been seen in similar cases, when God withheld his *concursus* with the natural fire. His death was greatly felt by his folk and not so much because of any good work he had done, but because they had need of his person for the wars which threatened them, knowing that the Portuguese were greatly incensed against them, over and above other great reasons, because of the faithlessness practiced towards the prisoners. He was a fairly tall man, well proportioned, dark in colour and long bearded, and as he was misliked, he made up for the defect by liberality and was served through self-interest but not from affection. He prided himself on being a friend of justice, which in the case of these Kings and grandees always inclines to cruelty, and if they do justice to the lesser folk, it is for their own interest. He was very carnal, and in this matter committed great excesses. He never kept Faith, because he had none, whereby he did harm to himself, because if he had kept his word to the Portuguese, neither would the hopeless resistance have reached such extremes of desperation, nor would it have been easy, in the midst of such grave and continuous troubles, to retain many in our arrayal, if they had any trust in his safe-conduct. He ruled that Kingdom for 15 years and a half, | and he would have *F 270* fallen sooner, if the Portuguese had only understood that the enterprise of Ceylon was the most important in India.

P 493 | Upon his death, the Queen who, they say, was a perfect pagan, retired with the children to mourn his loss and his absence, but it was not for long, as the disturbances of the Kingdom did not give room for it. The chief claimants were his brother, Enarath Bandar, nominated governor by the defunct King, undeterred in the choice by the profession which he followed of a Ganez, and Madûne, Prince of Uva. They at once resorted to arms and trickery, each plotting the means for his own elevation and attempting to win to his side the Portuguese prisoners among whom were good Captains and soldiers, and there is no doubt that, though small, it was a sufficient force to promote either of the parties with the help of the Natives. Enarath Bandar had on his side the governor of the City; he was master of the troops, and did his best to win the Portuguese, promising them arms and liberty, with great oaths, if they would help him to get possession of that Kingdom. He of Uva solicited the same. The Portuguese who had hitherto found no opening for their ransom and had suffered great insults, famine, nakedness and sickness, without remedy and without the consolation of the Sacraments of the Church, save when the Father

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Friar Gaspar Madanela and Friar Antonio de Santiago came, on the order of the General, to treat for peace, and were sometimes able to go to console them and hear confessions—seeing themselves now sought after by both the pretenders to the Crown, began to hope that time would open a door for their liberation, either in return for the services or by means of the arms promised to them. Enarath who had them in his power gave them arms and formed an army of 13,000 men, the greater part consisting of rebels from our lands. The King of Uva encamped near the City with 5,000 men, quite an inferior force. Videa Bandar with 7,000 men of the Four and Seven-Corlas, on the other hand, tried to obtain the Crown; but Enarath Bandar prevailed in the end.

These commotions lasted seven months, and the General profiting by them, easily regained possession of the lands, killing some and driving off others. He passed to Maturê in August 1604 against Panica, who had mastered a part of Sofragaõ, while Antonio Barreto was Lord of the rest. He sent in their pursuit D. Francisco de Menezes, the Ruddy, with 200 soldiers, and Simaõ Correa with 1,000 Lascarins; and they overran the other lands of Uva and the Kingdom of Dinavâca, and all was quiet for the nonce. The Captain-Major mustered the arrayal in Manicrauarê and with him Luys Gomes and Simaõ Correa. | He went to the Seven- *F 270v* Corlas, Cangra Arache fled before him, and the Corlas remained obedient. Simaõ Correa sent word to D. Manoel de Azevedo that he was following the Enemy with his men and that the Portuguese might well be withdrawn to Malvâna. Information was at once given to Cangra Arache, and turning back he attacked the Captain-Major at a narrow pass between *P 494* woods, | but the Portuguese drove him away gallantly. Simaõ Correa and Luis Gomez arrived with good prizes and not a little content, but D. Manoel de Azevedo was not [content] with Correa, as it seemed to him that he had left him in danger. The General, who knew the natural haughtiness of his brother and that he was a friend of discord, did his best to appease him, but seeing that he laboured in vain, he deposed from the post of Captain-Major, D. Manoel de Azevedo, whom they called the Cabrinha [1] in India, I do not know whether it was because he was blackish in colour or because he was born in those parts. He conducted war with a great name for skill and bravery in the campaign of Chaul, and when he was afterwards Captain of a galleon in Ormuz, he came to

[1] Dim. of cabra (she goat). a nickname given to 'the son of a mulato and of a black woman, or the reverse.'

Goa in another galleon on the plea of curing himself of an ulcer, leaving there only four, as that squadron was enough either to overcome or impede the intents of the English[1] and consequently of the Persian. This return and the pretext were taken in bad part in Goa, though from mere distrust. He was banished to Malaca where he died; and one vain action was able to deprive him of his life and to deprive the State of Ormuz. Of such cases India counts many without remedy, and I do not know whether the Portuguese nation will ever remedy it.

CHAPTER 29.

The King kills the Prisoners, and the War which the General made on Him, till Peace was made and he came as Viceroy.

In Candea Enarath Bandar had not only obtained possession of the government as his brother had commanded him, but even of the Crown with the favour of the Portuguese. But for this service he returned the thanks of a Tyrant, for considering himself already secure from the Natives, though it was only within his Kingdom that he could fear the Portuguese prisoners, he would neither let them live with his people nor grant them the promised Liberty in order not to increase our forces. He ordered them all to be killed, and it is related that Nuno Velho Travaços and Francisco de Maçedo coming to know of this decree, with Crucifixes in their hands first animated them all with the motives of that war and the reasons why they were to be killed; and when they had all made many acts of contrition, their arms having | already *F 271* been taken from them at different places, with hands raised to Heaven, they all accepted death in the service of God and of their King and at the hands of a Ganez, a declared enemy

[1] In December, 1614, four English ships, the 'New Years Gift', 'Hector', 'Merchants Hope' and 'Solomon' under the command of Nicholas Downton were at Swally, and Don Manuel de Azevado was the Commander of one of the fleets sent against the English. (*Cf.* Dan II. 170).

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of our Holy Faith, an ungrateful man, false and forsworn, with whom hatred of the Faith of Christ and of the Portuguese *P 495* nation was stronger than the politics | of his Brother who assured him that peace depended on the retention of the Portuguese; and he forgot how well they had deserved of him, because it is certain the Chingalâz did not want him for their King, but the son of his defunct Brother, and that they at first abhorred his treachery and the subsequent murder of his Nephew in order to secure himself on the throne. Including the 60 blind ones, these Portuguese numbered about 300, and in them His Majesty lost so many veteran soldiers, hardened in that war. Father Negraõ notes here that on the very day and at the very hour when Nuno Velho Travaços died a Christian in Candea, a brother of his, a Religious, was put to death by being burned in Coimbra as a heretic for the contumacy with which he defended an error against the Faith which the Devil had put into his head.

But since he [Father Negraõ] supposed that Nuno Velho and the rest died for Christ, we can excuse him for not declaring further the motives of their death, only if these are merely notes that he made, leaving the rest for his book, to my great regret in having to depend on conjectures for the Martyrdom of these valiant cavaliers and [in having to] continue this History by brief references to great events, as I find no other documents and feel great regret that the Portuguese did not profit by this opportunity. But all the anxiety of the Viceroy D. Martim Afonço de Castro, son of the Conde de Monsanto, at this time was for the war of Achem and the relief of Malâca, in which he engaged and consumed the greater part of the forces of the State, as we show at greater length in another work[1] and with more truth than in those that have been published; which was not only the reason why D. Jeronimo did not conclude the conquest of Ceylon at this time, but also the reason for his not receiving even in the following years sufficient reinforcement, because of the great destruction of the powerful fleet of the Conde de Feyra; D. Joaõ Pereyra Frojas, who coming in the year 1608 as Viceroy, died[2] on the voyage, and of that great fleet in which they said there came 9,000 men, eight of the principal

[1] *Cf.* Introduction.

[2] He died at sea May 15, 1609. On the death of the Viceroy, D. Martin Affonco de Castro, the Archbishop of Goa, Don Frey Alexis Menezes, succeeded to the Government and held it for two and a half years, 1607–1609.

ships were wrecked, and if the surviving men and vessels had been governed by Andre Furtado de Mendonça,[1] who succeeded him, it would have been enough to confound Holland and conquer the whole of Ceylon ; but as he did not govern for more than one winter, God showed clearly that everything was making for the chastisement prophesied for India.

D. Jeronimo did not escape popular complaints for not attacking Candea and saving those Portuguese from death. I never could understand these criticisms of India, for they F 271b
are as blind against the great men as they are daring in the case of the lesser ones. And what prevents the King of Candea, since he had already taken up arms against him, from ordering their heads to be cut off at the first appearance of D. Jeronimo, if he dreaded them so much when divided ? How can we imagine that he would let them join the General Or how could they take up arms against the Tyrant, if by an artful violence he had taken away their arms ? Was it
P 496 possible for D. Jeronimo to invade | Candea with a force smaller than the one with which he retired from Balanê, even though they had no complete union among themselves ? A cruel misfortune is the lot of those who govern the Portuguese, since success must always be the daughter of luck, and failure, of disorder ; and no action or well regulated ommission can ever escape censure.

Simaõ Pinhaõ, though disgusted, was reinstated as Dissava of Sofragaõ in the year 1605, as that was at the time the most important frontier. The General found himself relieved by the division of the forces of Candea, where there still lasted some disturbances, though the new Tyrant, in order to secure his title, had married the Queen D. Catharina who had been the wife of his Brother, and had killed Astâna Bandar, son of the late King. But as the Queen was the idol of all and could not but grieve over his death, and the lieges on account of her, these tumults did not subside for a long time. D. Jeronimo tried not to fail in doing what he could. He placed D. Manoel de Azevedo to guard the Four and Seven-Corlas with a moiety of the Portuguese soldiery, and Luis Gomez with his Lascarins and with 500 of Simaõ Correa. With the rest went the General, Simaõ Pinhaõ being in the army with his men, and D. Constantino Dissava of Maturê, which made up 4,000 Lascarins and 300 Portuguese.

[1] Mendonca was the 20th Governor, and governed only for three months.

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He overran the two Corlas along the fringe of the Hills, and not meeting with resistance, he sent Simaõ Correa and his Nephew D. Luis with 200 Portuguese to subdue all that coast of the Island over against them [*i.e.* the two Corlas] D. Constantino crossed Uva and fell into Vintêne, making a turn of 20 leagues, in which he spent eight days with only one encounter, for when Domingos Carvalho Caõ, who was in the rearguard, was descending a hill, he was set upon by the Natives with the loss of some of his men and others wounded, but when our men charged them well, the Captain was killed and the rest were put to flight. The other division in the course of a three months' march scoured Vintêne, Vilacêm, Paneua, Batecaloa and Uva, whence they brought 16 war elephants, 32 pack [elephants], 13,000 captives, and after marching 130 leagues with all they could carry in the way of prizes, they returned to Malvâna, this being the first time that our | arms penetrated into those perilous and F 272
lofty mountains of Ceylon, terrifying the whole counter coast of that Island and subjecting those most barbarous people of Ceylon to the obedience of the Portuguese, more by fright than by war.

For a long time, because he had not a sufficient force and because the lands were quiet, the General kept up the war by some assaults in the lands of Candea, and D. Francisco de Menezes twice reached Triquilimalê, and the Dissavas
P 497 of Maturê and Sofragaõ, | twice entered the lands of Candea, and those of Uva once, in which he gained great victories ([which I mention] summarily, as I find only brief notes of these great victories.)

In April 1609 there arrived a reinforcement from Goa, and with it our people traversed Candea and Uva. The rebel Antonio Barreto was already at this time King of Uva. He was a warlike and cunning man, and for a whole month, during which our men marched 60 leagues, he was ever at our side. One day, however, when he attacked the rear-guard and put it in great danger, Domingos Carualho Caõ came to its assistance and drove him back. Simaõ Pinhaõ was [now] dead in consequence of the troubles narrated, and Luis Cabral Faria was appointed Dissava of Sofragaõ. He was a native of Azambuja ; and one unfortunate man succeeded another. He [Pinhao] had been banished from Goa to Ceylon for taking from the ships of Daquini[1] of Chaul

[1] Darchini ? Cinnamon (Dar-chini, 'which in Persian means china-wood'—Garcia da Orta. XV.)

more than he had a right to, in Ceylon he was arrested on the ground that he sought to revolt ; all was false, and on his death they did not find 100 xerafins.[1]

In February [1]610 the General sent D. Francisco de Menezes, who at this time was Captain-Major of the Field, to make a second incursion into Candea. He entered by Regauato ; the King came up and found our men divided in such a manner, that Luis Gomez Pinto, wishing to be before hand, was half a league away from the vanguard, which was in charge of Simaõ Correa, and this another half [league] from the rearguard, commanded by Domingos Caraulho Caõ. Being all attacked at the same time by the King's army, they battled for six hours with valour and great resolution. They united at night and together they charged the enemy and drove him away. The King returned by midnight with 12 elephants and all his army, but he was so well repelled, that they put him to flight : and eight days later they marched to Matalê and for seven successive days they were fighting with great order and valour, and when they were on the top of a hill about to descend into the Seven-Corlas, they were set upon by the enemies, and some were wounded. At the foot of the hill they again attacked the arrayal, but Domingos Caraulho Caõ, turning upon them with the rearguard, obtained a notable victory at the end | of February [1]610. All *F 272v* these great successes are here briefly mentioned, as the Father Friar Francisco Negraõ merely mentions them in his notes, so that it seems that the narrators were already tired of recounting the victories of D. Jeronimo de Azevedo and his Captains, and that it was already considered an easy matter to traverse the Kingdom of Candea and the other mountain chains of Ceylon. The successes were not less diverse in their casualties.

But lest the King come to think that they feared him even in his Capital, in the year 1611, on the first of August, D. Jeronimo mustered 700 Portuguese with the reinforcement that had come from Goa and 6,000 Lascarins, and leaving D. Francisco de Menezes as Captain-Major with some men *P 498* of Simaõ Correa, he took with him | the Dissâvas of Maturê, Seven-Corlas and Sofragaõ, who were respectively Domingos Carvalho Caõ, Luis Gomes Pinto and Luis Cabaral de Faria. He had 200 muskets on supports, 200,000 balls and much powder. There accompanied him in this expedition such good auxiliaries as were Luis Correa de Franca, Afonço Vaz

[1] *Cf.* J. XVI. 84. 114, where the indefatigable D. W. Ferguson collected all the available documents regarding Pinhaô.

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Coutinho, Pero Rodriguez Botelho, Bento de Sâ Tinoco, Antonio da Costa Monteyro, Bernado da Costa and others. He reached Balanê on the 19th August. On the 22nd he entered the Hill which the enemies had abandoned, and remained 15 days, fortifying it with wood, leaving therein as Captain, Antonio da Costa Monteyro with two companies of soldiers and 200 Lascarins of Maturê. Meanwhile the King thought it best to fortify himself in the passage of the river with 10,000 men, mostly rebels ; and the rest of the men he had went, following our men, Domingos Caraulho Caõ, who was in the rearguard, lay in ambush for them and captured many and cut off 200 heads. Luis Cabral laid them another ambush in which he killed many ; but as they approached nearer than was convenient, a part of the army attacked them and drove them away altogether with many deaths. With the same ardour the General ordered them to cross the river, the Spearmen swimming, the Portuguese and the firelockmen wading, while the muskets on supports kept commanding the passage. Simaõ Correa was in the advance guard and when they all came up to the River, they found it fortified on the other side with strong entrenchments protected by firelocks and muskets. The current of the river was rapid and, as it was broad, the water rose up to the breast, and it was strewn with stones from which the feet slipped in such a manner, that the more they tried to steady themselves, the less they succeeded, and the whole ford was strewn all over with a kind of large and strong thorns, which were called elephant thorns, woven like a mat with a stone in the middle which kept them at | *F 273* the bottom. When a clarion sounded the charge, the Father Friar Manoel de S. Josepht set up a cross near the General, and it was worshipped by the whole army, begging God for victory against the Enemies of His name. They waded through the river with all resolution and found themselves obstructed by the current, by the slippery rocks, by the thorns, and by the stockades which welcomed them with continuous volleys, while their musketry was unable to reply with any effect. But though there was a delay of half an hour, and their breasts were exposed, by a special mercy of God none was killed and only a few were wounded. Then Father Friar Gaspar de Madanela, seeing that they hesitated before so many difficulties, and moved by a different spirit, stepped into the River with a Crucifix in his hands, encouraging them all to follow so true and valiant a Captain as he bore in his lands. With the same impetuosity they rushed into the river, some wading, others swimming, swords in mouth

vying as to who should be the first to reach the other bank. And in spite of many instruments of fire and balls, they
P 499 gained the Riverbank | and put the enemy to flight with many killed and great slaughter. And this resolution was enough to make the King abandon the fortifications and the City and betake himself to the woods, but as they were so many, they could not do it so safely, as not to leave some more heads behind.

At the time when the army dashed into the river, spurred on by Friar Gaspar, there was seen among them in the midst of the current a most beautiful Woman, clad in white, who according to the general Belief was thought to be the Most Holy Virgin, Mother of God, the undoubted patroness of our Asiatic victories, and especially of those of Ceylon, as we shall see later ; and on this occasion like a squadron in good array, she delivered D. Jeronimo from this dangerous conflict. They marched to the City, which was large, and in those times one of goodly buildings, and it was put to the sword and fire with the other villages of that Kingdom to drive terror into those peoples, in the course of which there were frequent skirmishes and encounters with the Enemies, many of their heads being cut off, and with slight loss on our side and scanty spoils, because during the 15 days that the General was delaying in Balanê, they carried away whatever they could to the woods, leaving, however, the Royal Palaces standing which were formerly most beautiful and storied, with many Pagodes and four of them the most sumptuous that ever were seen. All this was set on fire, and after spending three days, the General returned to Balanê giving God and [Our] Lady many thanks for the victory which was granted to him. He left as Captain Domingos Carualho Caõ with 250 soldiers and 1,000 Lascarins and set out for Columbo without any opposition. Three days later the King came to surround Balanê with a large force, and he barricaded the ways with such speed that it caused wonder. | F 273v
Domingos Caraulho Caõ called a council and, after listening to the other opinions, he decided that they should follow him that night and do what they saw him do. He attacked the Enemy, who, having so great a force, least expected it, so suddenly and with such impetuousity and determination, that he defeated and put him to flight, first with musketry and later with spear and swords, without going too far, so as not to be cut off before they returned to the praça.

The King of Candea, seeing himself destroyed, and that his pertinacity could only serve to make him lose altogether the crown which he retained only within the crown of these

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hills, in little more than 9 leagues of territory, which was scarcely able to support the native people and still less so many thousand strangers consisting of rebels and fugutives from the obedient lands, began to speak of peace, in order not to be completely ruined; and D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, to whom it fell to keep up the conquered lands from one sea to the other, either by the terror of an arrayal on the field or by garrisons which would divide the force he had, seeing that owing to the distractions of the State against the Asiatic and African Kings and against the two European nations, most powerful on sea, which were also joined by
P 500 Denmark, | he could not hope for a reinforcement sufficient to extinguish the name of the native King in Ceylon, because there still remained the two Tyrants of Candea and of Jafanapataõ, though he had reduced the former to such a state, that with any large force he was able to conclude the enterprise and with the same force reduce him of Jafanapataõ, and that if D. Martim Afonço de Castro had desisted from his plan already disapproved of by the King, D. Manoel, of re-erecting a praça in Achen and had taken up this enterprise of Ceylon instead, or if on his way to Achem he had first undertaken this conquest, because he did not yet know of the siege of Malâca, and the force of a fleet of rowing ships which he had under the command of Nuno Aluarez Pereyra would have been more than enough for it, Ceylon would have been already conquered long before matters came to this pass: D. Jeronimo, therefore, seeing [all this and] that in so many years of his government [the government] of Goa had not opened its eyes, and being well able to understand that he would soon be relieved of Ceylon, consented to the offer of peace. And for this purpose he twice sent to Candea the Father Friar Gaspar de Madanela by whose diligence and prudence it was concluded to the great pleasure and credit of the Portuguese, the King becoming a tributary and the conquered lands remaining in our power to the so great humiliation of that nation that, as we shall see later, for this reason they rebelled against the King and for a long time they made him a Satyr of the Woods, till at last, | F 274
when those who rebelled against him and the principal one Antonio Barreto were killed by the Portuguese, the King returned to the City, which after the recent burning never in our time recovered its ancient opulence and size, nor was it rebuilt with those grandiose edifices which among Asiatics make a City magnificient and not a little populous ; and all those who went to Candea afterwards went there to burn huts rather than edifices, and as the Kings sustained

little loss thereby but had great security in their Rock, which could be conquered only by a slow siege or by treachery, they kept their treasure there and let the City burn.

These were the last exploits of D. Jeronimo de Azevedo in the government of Ceylon, which are enough for a glorious memorial. From there he came as Viceroy of India ; took possession on the 15th of December, 1612, governed 4 years, 11 months and 13 days, and on the 3rd of February of the year [16]18, he left for the Kingdom in the ship 'Nossa Senhora de Penha de França' and died a prisoner in the Castle of Lisbon, so poor[1] that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus had to give him a funeral. Here was a fallen Viceroy of India treated with contempt,[2] for those who think that the rod of justice is the same as the Royal Sceptre, and that to represent a King (which is done even in the theatre) is the same as to be one. He would have been more fortunate had he never been Viceroy, because being diverted by the wars of the whole of the North, and threats of those of Goa. he was not able to undertake the final conquest of Ceylon,
P 501 He was not successful | in the expedition which he made to Sualî, and only those who have seen those currents can believe what they are, and that in those channels a ship at anchor is safer than when sailing. While returning to Goa, he followed four English ships which had got far ahead of his squadron and when he came within shot, they kept him back with protests ; and though they deny the truth, it is public and constant talk in India that superannuated gentlemen were the whole cause of this ommission, which was so slight in comparison with others which are acclaimed as valourous, that this one could well take the palm. And as sentence was never passed in his cause, and it is not good to pass sentence on blunders that were never proven, his good name was so exposed to human judgments, that many chose to condemn him at a time when the political cause of his punishment was not known. Faria would have recourse to the cruelties inflicted in Ceylon, but about that we have

[1] 'Don Heronimo returned to Portugal in the same vessel that had brought out his successor, and he had no sooner arrived in Lisbon than he was made prisoner and put into a dungeon beneath the Castle. He was treated with great disrespect, and, after a long imprisonment, was brought to trial on a charge of not having fought the Dutch. After his trial he was treated with greater indignity than before. Upon entering on the Office of Viceroy he had been possessed of great wealth, but through his liberality, he had returned a poor man.'—Dan II. 198.

[2] This I suppose is the meaning of this obscure passage.

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already said something, and will say more, and I do not think that he can be convicted of cruelties before a human tribunal.

They say he acquired much wealth. Be it so ; but what wonder is it, in a man who was always a soldier and 18 years General of Ceylon and 5 years Viceroy of India in those times ? Was there one who ever accused him of robbing another's | property or of impeding the just emoluments F 274v of others ? It is true that he never gave the accounts of the great Captain,[1] and he could allege equal success in war with lesser forces than he, and the conquest of a large Kingdom. I could never reconcile this Portuguese saying : 'If one is poor, he cannot but be a thief.' They say that he undertook to govern India without quarterings, and no one says, nor is it right to say, that this comes into the question ; nor can it be wondered that he avoided it, since the defect of his natural birth was well known which could prevent him getting the place which he won by his merits. In this uncertainty and in this silence after so many years I presume that the extortion practised on that remarkable man was due to a far different reason, and that there entered into it reasons more profound ; because when he was ordered by the Catholic King to unite all the Portuguese forces in India with the Castillian of Manilla, to drive out the Hollander from the seas of the South, before India and the affairs of Maluca should be imperilled, and to go in person to command both the squadrons, unless it were under the command of D. Joaõ da Silua, General of Manilla, in a matter so grave and of such consequences, either because D. Jeronimo could not get a larger force or because he thought that it was not right to forsake one's own to defend another's, and thinking that three galleons were sufficient to succour Malacca, he sent them, and they were of great effect against Achen, though owing to the obstinacy of one, it had no effect against the Hollander. This apparent fault could well have seemed to those profound judges a reason for making up the cost of the fleet with his property, and [for making up for] the death of D. Joaõ da Silua with his, and that there should be attributed to D. Jeronymo the infamy of killing him

[1] I do not know what this means. There is a Portuguese expression 'as contas de gran Capitaõ' meaning an exhorbitant bill, but the grande capitaõ par excellence is Gonçalo de Cordova. He had distinguished himself in the wars waged in Portugal by Isabella of Castille, and in 1495 when he was sent to Naples, Goncalo delivered the great part of that Kingdom with limited resources and therefore he was called the Great Captain. The Author is probably comparing Gonçalo's exploit in Naples with Azevedo's work in Ceylon.

P 502 in Malaca with a bunch of Grapes[1] | [though it was] an action, which, if true, the whole of India attributed to a mischance and not to the generosity of D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, and if this was not the cause of his last misfortunes, I reserve it to the judgment of God, and will only say here that he came to deserve death in a prison, because among Portuguese he became in all things the great D. Jeronimo de Azevedo. He was the third son of D. Manoel de Azevedo, and was born in the famous villa of Barbosa in Paco de Souca. He had as his elder Brother the glorious martyr D. Ignaçio de Azevedo. The other was D. Francisco de Azevedo who inherited the house, the ancient nobility of which is treated in the books of the Portuguese Peerage.

[1] When the two Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united, the foreign possessions of the two Kingdoms were kept rigidly distinct. But when the Dutch began to grow powerful, the King decreed that in the interests of the two countries the forces should unite. Don Joao da Silva in 1615 asked help from the Viceroy who sent him the forces mentioned in the text. The Portuguese and the Dutch fought a battle. 'The Portuguese lost about 200 men, and, although the Dutch had also suffered severely, they remained the victors': 'Don Joao da Silva also set out with 10 large galleons, and when off Pulatinam he fell in with the Portuguese vessels from China, which he then conveyed to Malacca. Shortly after his arrival in Malacca, da Silva fell ill and died in seven days, as died also some other officers of his squadron.' Dan. II. 177. Presumably Azevedo was accused of poisoning him.

BOOK 4

OF THE

CONQUEST OF CEYLON

CHAPTER 1.

F 503 OF THE GENERALS WHO SUCCEEDED IN CEYLON, AND OF HOW CONSTANTINO DE SÂ MADE A SUCCESSFUL BEGINNING IN HIS GOVERNMENT F 275

D. Jeronimo left in his place D. Francisco de Menezes the Ruddy, whose birth was ignored rather than his valour, for he was son of D. Diogo de Menezes, Count of Ericeyra; and him D. Jeronimo brought from the post he occupied of Captain-Major of the Field because of the diligence and valour he recognized in him. The King of Candea, being a perfidious man, as soon as he saw D. Jeronimo out of Ceylon, considered himself released from the peace made with him and in disregard of it he suddenly fell upon Balanê which was in charge of Manoel Falcaõ. The General set out at once in haste and almost alone, leaving a message [to the others] to follow him, imitating the manner of King D. Manoel when he sped from Evora to Algarve to succour Arzila where he soon found himself with 20,000 men. Menezes went ten leagues on foot that day; in three [days] he came in sight of Balanê; and by this decided action he was forthwith able to see the enemy's rear, because there never was a more efficacious proclamation than the example of the General; and [yet] D. Francisco did not remain long in this office, though the retention in it of D. Jeronimo made him late in getting it. In satisfaction for this perfidy and of the uproar which followed, he did not

retire without doing damage in the enemy's lands and not a few cruelties in the subjected territories, showing successfully that where there were feet to pursue, there were hands to punish. He spent six months in this enterprise and without any mischance returned to Malvâna where he learnt that there had arrived in Columbo Manoel Homẽ Mascarenhas | appointed to that post by His Majesty ; and D. Francisco did not die here as says a recent Author, but in Arracaõ in the river of Dianga where a bullet deflected from the edge of the helmet entered his eye and took his life.

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Manoel Homẽ Mascarenhas kept up the peace with dissembling and prudence, suppressing some risings of lesser import. And because the Viceroy [1] was well aware of the disorders of the soldiers as well as of the settlers of Ceylon, he gave fresh orders to repress robberies, outrages and insolences, for it was well known that it was these things that sharpened the enemy's steel most, and that the hatred of the Chingalâz would not have been so great, | had not great wrongs been done to them, not only by poor soldiers who always arrogate to themselves the privilege of being masters of other people's things under the discipline of hunger, but even by the very Lords of the villages who were tyrants therein, and the one and the other made the name of the Portuguese detested by the violence of their adulteries and debaucheries to the great affliction of that proud nation who would rather live in the jungles and mountains in the company of beasts, than put up with such brutality, as we shall see later in its proper place.

F 275v

After three years of service he was succeeded by D. Nuno Aluarez Pereyra, brother of the Count de Feyra, a gentleman of many services and merits. He had only a very small force, and relying on this, the enemies united with Madûne, and being urged by Barreto and Cangarache, on the plea of enthroning a native Prince, again disquieted the lands on the east conquered by D. Jeronimo, and did not let those of the Kingdom of Cota live in peace. D. Nuno Aluarez laboured as much as he was able to quell these tumults, but one can ever do little in Ceylon who cannot employ arms. The King of Candea, though he ever desired peace, unable to bear the reproaches of his own people about the terms on which he had settled it, and profitting by the opportunity and by the straits which made the General desire to confirm it, put forward fresh conditions ; 'That they should give over to him the lands of Triquilemalê, Paneva, Batecalou and the stronghold of Balanê,' because with these he would be Lord of the ports for commerce, and

[1] That is Azevedo.

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if necessary for secret dealings, with the Europeans ; and he had already made himself master of the Coast of Ouotocalaua which belonged to us. The General seeing himself in danger of losing everything unless he gave up a part, tried to interpose delays and keep up the credit of the Royal arms and of his person and signed the peace [1] with the conditions referred to, declaring, however, that they should have effect only on the approval of His Majesty or of the Viceroy of India. And as it was well understood that though the warfare was over, peace had not begun, and that it was rather an occasion for fresh outbreaks than an end to the preceding ones, since the rebels remained rich, powerful, and proud, and as it was fully well realized that it was unsuitable and added strength | to the enemy whose friendship was founded only on convenience, he avoided present danger by accepting less in order not to risk all, the King of Candea consenting to acknowledge vassalage by a tribute of two elephants, to which the pagan agreed not only because it was not new, and because his people were not able to find fault with him for it, but also in order not to reduce the Portuguese to desperate measures. In this way D. Nuno Aluarez Pereyra kept on till orders came to him | from His Majesty to go as Conquistador of the Rios de Sofâla ; and to the exigencies of the State alone can be attributed the disregard with which was treated at the time the conquest of Ceylon, wherein it is certain there were other glorious actions in a general *perli ;* but documents are entirely wanting.

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F 276

If I had not intended to continue the History of Ceylon up to the ultimate overthrow of the Portuguese power in that Island, concerning the valiant deeds of Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, I could have referred the reader to the work which was written about them by his son, Joaõ Rodriguez de Sâ de Menezes,[2] whose affection was not so powerful as to get the better of truth ; on the contrary I suspect that this diffidence retarded his pen, for he flies more swiftly than he might have done over the illustrious actions of so valorous a Father, though he enobles them by the flights of his style. I greatly esteem this work, because I found myself without information, though I desired to put among the stars a Captain so distinguished. But even from some notes [3] which I discovered I am able to

[1] 30th of August, 1617. Biker, Tratados I. 216–17.

[2] 'The Rebellion of Ceylon and the progress of its conquest under the Governorship of Constantino de Sá y Noronha, written by his son, Juan Rodriguez de Saa y Menezes, Lisbon, 1681.' It is written in Spanish, and an English translation by Lieut.-Col. H. H. St. George was published by the local branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XI.

[3] See infra p. 780, n. 1.

add some things which escaped so diligent a pen. And omitting other things about his illustrious birth, to the confusion of some brawlers of India, and [omitting] also the things he did in Africa and in these seas, all which can be seen there in the literary and elegant style of the Spanish language, I will speak only of his Government of Ceylon and of the exploits worthy of eternal remembrance which he wrought there. There had arrived as Viceroy of India on the 17th of November, 1617, D. Joaõ Coutinho,[1] Conde de Redondo, to whom His Majesty had entrusted the choice of a great man for that conquest.[2] The first action of his Government and of his duty was to make provision for that generalate which was ever desired by the valiant because of the merits, by the ambitious because of the honour, for a lively war with a people ever restless and warlike was an attraction to the brave, and the second place in India, the stepping stone to the first, tempted ambition. With unanimous approval the selection of the Council fell on Constantino de Sâ to the no small envy of others of greater length of service who also desired to succeed D. Nuno Aluarez Pereyra.

In Ceylon they experienced the sure effects of peace among soldiers, because as soon as arms gave place to ease, they abandoned their quarters and strolled about in Columbo with the liberty of the field and oppressed the City in such a manner that in defence of honour and of life the casados had to take up arms against them. They divided in bands, the violence and
P 506 disorders increased, | for there was scarcely a single pensioner in Columbo who was not a veteran in that militia, and it was intolerable to them that young and ill-disciplined men should introduce these scandalous novelties in Ceylon in face of the rigorous discipline they had observed and against the respect due to such honoured grey hairs. | Constantino de Sâ took over F 276v charge with little increase of reinforcement which had to be reserved for the ostentation of the visits to the Samorī ; and by his clemency, courtesy, and kindness, he easily obtained what he could scarcely have done by other means. He warded off the mutiny with art and skill and again restored good Government both in peace and war, making use of slow remedies for rooted evils, dissembling at first with those of lesser importance in order to effect the more useful, till finally he completely uprooted not only the contagion but even the danger by means of correction rather than by punishment.

[1] Twenty-first Viceroy, 1617–1619.

[2] Ceylon.

Having settled the affairs of Columbo, he passed to the camp of Manicrauarê and took counsel with Captains of greater experience in that war. He found less than 600 infantry ; he named as Captain of the Field, Phelipe de Oliveyra, a veteran soldier, and one who had earned a great reputation for valour in that conquest with strong probabilities of being a person of much higher quality, which his modesty and honour never claimed, so as not to base his advancement on his own disgrace,[1] an election which did no little credit to the subsequent actions of Constantino de Sâ. In command of the companies he appointed veteran and respected soldiers and he discharged those whom convenience and personal considerations had introduced. He mixed the new-raised soldiers with the veterans so that they might learn from them the special discipline of Ceylon, which, by these means ever approved in military matters, was not difficult to introduce. And because Manicrauarê was so near Candea, they were ever vigilant and made continual marches to avoid the inconvenience of military inactivity, besides continual rehearsals whereby is acquired in time of peace the skill which has to be made use of in war, after the example of Hannibal the African, Xanthippus the Lacedaemonian, and many other illustrious Captains. By means of spies he obtained information, and visiting the garrisons, he reformed all as well as he could. He raised in the Disavas divers regiments of auxiliaries with their Modeliares and Araches, laying them under obligation by rewards and public favours. The Candiot, seeing these preparations, not only conceived a high opinion of the General whom he had against him, but also an equal fear of violating the peace made with D. Nuno Aluarez Pereyra, as he knew that it was badly received by the Portuguese. Nor did the ever faithless Chingalâz, grand masters of deceit, cease to increase his diffidence by persuading him that [the General's] plan was only to seize him or kill him. And in order to countermine the valour of the new General, they spread false
P 507 writings to cause | suspicion to fall on the most faithful persons and confidence in the most treacherous ; a well known device always in use among enemies, which calls for great ability and skill in the one who governs.

He learnt that Madûne with Cangarache and Barreto was attempting | novelties, and lest they gain the support of F 277 Candea, he confirmed the friendship by an embassy and a goodly present. The latter showed himself grateful and sent one in return, full of caution and pretences, which he received at

[1] The implication is that he was a natural son of some great person.

Manicrauarê. These rebels fortified themselves in the Two-Corlas with a large army, having already under their obedience those of Bate-calou, Pacardiua, Cotiar and Vilaçem, with designs of making Madûne absolute Lord of the Island, who with foreign reinforcements put all in expectation of the resumption of the Empire by a native Prince. From spies and from constant report, the General in Malvâna knew of this commotion. And considering that now it was not a war of assaults but of power to power, and that it was a war against odds, he wished to hear the opinion of tried Captains in Council, questioning them about the manner in which that war had to be made after deciding that it was convenient to make it. Although they foresaw the difficulties, all offered themselves with their lives, honour, and possessions, but they said that it was convenient first to build a praça in Sofragaõ, an open pass to which there was easy access by the river, and which moreqver had the advantage of being able to support a good garrison, and be the headquarters of that expedition, as it lay on the borders of the Two-Corlas wherein Madûne was quartered, and because it faced the obedient lands. And though it was feared that the Enemy would seek to impede this construction, the General, having approved the plan, at once sent Phelipe de Oliveyra with some Portuguese infantry and a detachment of Lascarins to begin it; and [he sent] Luis Cabral de Faria and D. Constantino Barreto, Disava of that Province, to occupy the most necessary passes, giving out that that summer he did not intend to make offensive war till the fortalice was finished. But as these works are done very quickly in Ceylon if one takes trouble, such was the speed of Oliveyra, that in a few days he sent word that the fortalice was in a state of defence. He at once went thither; and while Vitorio de Abreu with two companies and some lascarins remained in the garrison and Luis Cabral de Faria in the Four-Corlas with 1000 Natives to reinforce them in case of need, he went with little more than 300 Portuguese and the Captains Luis Teyxeyra de Maçedo and Modeliar D. Constantino Barreto in search of the Enemy; a rash resolution, had it not been his and planned by him.

Madûne was so terrorstruck by this, that forsaking the Two-Corlas, he hid himself on a very rugged mountain near Adam's Peak, ten leagues from Sofragaõ, surrounded by a high and steep wall of rocks, which was still further strengthened by fortifications in the passes for more than six leagues consisting of well garrisoned strong places, and also by ramparts for encampment, quite in the manner of a new city.

P 508 The | Portuguese General, in order not to lose soldiers in matters of lesser importance; hastily and resolutely | made *F 277v* a long detour, and destroying the enemies' lands, he ascended the hill on the other side with such rapidity, though with great labour, that he found the quarters abandoned, Madûne being conquered by fear rather than by the sword. He found many provisions, but the valuables were removed. On account of these labours of speedy conquest there kindled great heat in the bodies, and the usual pestilence of smallpox broke out among our lascarins which obliged the General to retire to Sofragaõ. The army marched leisurely on account of the sick, and some who remained on the way were beheaded by the Enemy who came harassing the rearguard. To avoid greater danger, the General ordered Luis Teyxeyra to go ahead with 100 Portuguese and lie in ambush at a narrow pass of the forest, and changing the vanguard and rearguard by turns, he pretended great haste in order to bait the enemy, who arrived at Sofragaõ blindly and without order, when Teyxeyra fell upon them in the rear and put them to greater disorder. Thereupon they were charged by the General with such impetuosity that more than 8000 heads were cut off without the loss of a single Portuguese, though in that march more than 500 lascarins were lost, not so much from the rigour of the sword as of the sickness. Madûne and Barreto escaped, Cangarache who had the industry and power to raise Ceylon in revolt against D. Jeronimo de Azevedo was taken prisoner with other leading captains of the Enemy, a defeat so great that of Modeliares alone 40 were killed. Madûne returned to fortify himself again in the Two-Corlas. But Barreto fleeing from himself and weighed down by his wickedness and distrustful of the good Faith of his friends, disguised and badly wounded, hid himself in the jungle. Cangarache was beheaded in Sofragaõ as a traitor. And because the sickness of smallpox increased and attacked the Portuguese, the General sent the lascarins away contented and rewarded. He left Phelipe de Oliveyra in Sofragaõ with the company of Cabral with abundant victuals which this Captain had brought from the Four-Corlas where he was all that time. From there he went to Malvâna, and thence to Columbo.

Here he received information from the Captain of Manâr that 6 *parôs* of Malavares were threatening that Island and that others were expected with a Hollander squadron to lay siege to it, invited by Changalî the Tyrant of Jafanapataõ, and that he had offered them, out of hatred for the Portuguese, a fortalice in his lands. He had repeated information that Changalî Cumara had persuaded him of Candea to revolt and

while treacherously negotiating, he offered the General large bribes to desist from recovering the price of the elephants and other tribute of that Kingdom. The General accepted nothing, and the Enemy meanwhile armed himself. [The General] at once despatched by sea two galliots and other vessels which were in the harbour of Columbo and by land [he sent] Phelipe de Oliveyra, Francisco Barbosa remaining in his place at Sofragaõ, | with secret order to take Changalî to task for his *F 278*
P 509 treachery, | in that being a vassal of Portugal he had dealings with its enemies, bringing them against its praças and admitting them into Ceylon, though the public pretext for this expedition was to recover the feudal dues. The General's action in dividing the force was not approved in Columbo, as it was so small that it was scarcely enough to preserve what was conquered, since Madûne was still powerful and fortified in the Two-Corlas and had carried the war into the Seven-Corlas through his captains; of which we shall treat at once and follow Oliveyra afterwards, so as not to interrupt the course of events regarding Madûne.

Meanwhile the General sent D. Constantino Barreto with a detachment of Lascarins and some Portuguese in pursuit of Madûne, while he himself with the remainder and with the casados of Columbo, as if in a chatisement for their murmurs, set out to the Seven-Corals infested by a greater force of the Enemy. In the midst of these cares there fell to his lot the pleasure of hearing of the death of the renegade Antonio Barreto. It happened that after the last rout wherein he was ambushed, with the terrors of the damned he took shelter in a hamlet with his family and the treasures which still remained to him, saying that he did so to save himself from our men. One of his familiars, led more by ambition than by friendship, gave orders to a squadron of lascarins to sack the hamlet and kill those who resisted. They did not know that Barreto was there, and though they found him in bed under treatment and he did not dare to disclose himself, being the first whom they attacked, he was beheaded with all his family. After they recognized him, they would fain have killed themselves, because they loved him exceedingly and considered him the liberator of their fatherland. In this irremediable situation, in order not to lose the reward, they carried his head to the General exaggerating the danger to which they had exposed themselves to render this service to their King; and though the death of this rebel was one of the greatest good fortunes of his government, he did not show any approval of the means by which it was carried out, as was the case with the Romans in

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the death of Sertorius. In this God justified the equality of his attributes, for if Mercy pardons, justice chastises. This man was altogether most fitted to be a rebel; he never kept Faith, except when it served his purpose; he had superabundant industry to gain a following, and valour to gain reputation, and his fame reached such a pitch as to place the Lordship of Ceylon in danger, and if instead of following the fortunes of Madûne he had become the architect of his own and had not passed from a rebel to a tyrant, the Chingalâz could have found in him a native Prince to their liking.

This death was proclaimed throughout the Island at the time when Madûne, attacked by the Chingala Constantino, fled and betook himself to the mountain, and the Portuguese Constantino | completely defeated his General, who, with the *F 278v*
insignia of a King, was dominating the Seven-Corlas; and the Province was secured, the rebels chastised, the lands which took his side laid waste, the neutrals reduced, the greater captains captured, and the enemy, wearied out by such a war,
P 510 yielded | to circumstances. Madûne in despair remained a long time hiding in the mountains of the Bedas and not trusting his friends, after seeing the example of Barreto, he crossed over to the opposite coast of the continent. While his rebellion lasted, the minds of the neighbouring Princes were in suspense and the dominion of Ceylon in great peril. Nor can it be denied that the arm of God alone can in so short a time and with so little forces accomplish so many and such great triumphs.

The General erected another fortification on the frontier of the Two-Corlas where the love for Madûne had taken deepest root, and leaving a sufficient garrison he went to fortify Gâle because of the desirability of securing that port as well against outsiders as against the natives. For the nonce he erected a fort of stone and mortar on that promontory upon the bar and anchorage, and a castle on the eminence, which served the purpose of a 'cavalier'. Afterwards he surrounded it with a wall from sea to sea and began the moat without finishing it for want of money. It has a curtain along the beach up to a neighbouring islet, in shallow water, where he wanted to make an esplanade with pieces of artillery to defend the roadstead, which was afterwards supplied by a storied stockade, always for want of money; but the Hollanders, when they took that praça, opened the moat from sea to sea, with the water of a large rivulet of the neighbourhood, reinforced the walls with a new outer wall (camiza) and erected on a larger plan the bastions of the gate, which their batteries had ruined, as will be seen better in another place.

CHAPTER 2.

After an untoward Occurrence Phelipe de Oliueyra conquers Jafanapataõ and captures two Kinglets.

The era of this century had run to [1]619 when a Moor of Cunhâle [who had been] captured in Cardiua in the victory of Andre Furtado de Mendonça and sent to the galleys of Goa, after cheating the Portuguese by getting himself baptized and taking the name of D. Pedro and marrying an orphan by whom he had some children, fled with them to Cunhâle, and there prepared five *parôs*, well fitted and provisioned, with which he doubled the Cape of Comorim, crossed the shallows of Chilao by lightening the ships, and thence to Tanadiua, and landed | on the shores of S. Joaõ, to avenge *F 279* himself on the Religious of St. Francis in return for the Baptism which he had received from them in Goa. But those who lived there showed themselves as good soldiers of Christ as they were of the King, and fighting from morning *P 511* till eventide, they did not let them | effect a landing; and at that hour from the Porch of the Church, where they had some muskets on supports of large calibre, Father Friar Francisco de S. Antonio fired so well-aimed a shot that it struck the bow of one of the *parôs* and killed so many, that being affrightend, they ran away, and as they sallied out of the channel, they were followed by many musket shots, and Father Friar Antonio de S. Bernardino and Friar Andre de Loureyro, with water up to the waist lit the matches all the better. They went to the Island of the Forçados[1] near that of the Quay[2] of the elephants which belonged to Tristaõ Golayo de Castel Branco, where they found much *nêle* and cattle with which they provided themselves. The Captain of Manâr equipped a galliot with a good force and more than 30 dhoneys of men of the country with some Portuguese to animate them. But it is useless to give courage to those who have it not. He went past the shores of Jafanapataõ

[1] Island of Galley slaves. See p. 56.

[2] Kayts.

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and when he had gone as far forward as the islands, he learnt that the Malauar was in [that of the] Forçados. He went to meet them at once and found them on land, but they embarked under fire and when they set their bows at the dhonies, the latter at once fled; but they overtook them and cut off their heads within sight of the galliot while the Captain was not able to assist them for want of wind, water, and tide. They did not, however, dare to attack the galliot. They took the dhoneys, only those escaping who flung themselves into the sea, and up to 500 men were beheaded including some Portuguese who were in command of them. They returned to the same spot and the galliot returned to S. Joaõ. It was an event which was greatly regretted by all; and we learnt not to trust people who are born cowards, unless you first impart courage to them.

Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, to whom belonged also the government of Jafanapataõ, having tidings of the passage of these *parôs* and of the tyrannies of Chargalî, entrusted the one and the other enterprise to Philipe de Oliueyra, Captain-Major of the field, because he knew him to have valour and prudence for all great deeds, as we have already said; and this must have been the decision of the Viceroy and the reason why he did not confirm him in the government awaiting to see how he got on. The transaction of this matter was the more urgent because it was known that he was seeking to league with the European enemies and had obtained a reinforcement of Badagaz,—subjects of a rebel on the other side of the shallows of Chilaõ, a barbarous people, buried in the forests, cruel by nature and accustomed to waylay and rob, who had exempted themselves from the dominion of the Nayque of Madurê, and have always been bitter enemies of the name of Christians and of the neighbours of the coast | *F 279r* of the Fishery;—and that he had also sought fresh reinforcement from the Nayque of Tanjaor who claimed rights over that Kingdom. Phelipe de Oliueyra set out with three companies of Portuguese under the command of the Captains, Manoel Gomes, Joaõ do Canto, Miguel de Cunha da Silua, and Antonio de Couto with 500 Chingalâz with the same powers and title of Captain-Major, for he was now so respected for his courage that they used to call him 'God of the sword' *P 512* because of the valour, strength | and skill with which they sometimes saw him fight. He marched by land with great difficulty, thirst, and trouble, which gave rise to sickness which he did not himself escape. They reached Panarî, a district

of Jafanapataõ, and as there were no suitable vessels for crossing over, he wrote to Changalî, who dissembling sent him one that day with his good wishes for his arrival; and in it [Oliueyra] sent some soldiers to the Church of Our Lady. The next day the Portuguese casados came to his assistance with some small dhoneys of their own, and 8 days were spent in this passage. On the last day the Captain-Major disembarked at the door of [the Church of] Our Lady to whom he prayed pledging himself to render her great services, and [asking] the Virgin Mother in return [for] great rewards. He lodged in a thatched house of an hermit named Joaõ da Merçe de Deos, on the very spot where the Captains afterwards had their house; and there he heard of the preceding untoward event of the *parôs*, [which gave] great pain to his zeal and courage.

At once on the following day with the Father Rector of that house, Friar Antonio de S. Bernardino, he crossed to the Quay of the elephants in Cardiua, where the Captain of Manâr was awaiting him; and after due courtesies he told him that the General of Ceylon, Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, had sent him to be his soldier to chastise those *parôs*. He replied (it must be because he was annoyed by the recent event) that he was powerless for lack of vessels and other materials of war. Philepe de Oliueyra then told him that he brought an order to recover the tribute which had not been paid for three years. He of Mannar retorted: 'The General of Ceylon cannot give orders in what is not his business.' And Oliueyra [said] 'That he could do so because that kingdom was subject to his conquest'; and with this repulse he was little pleased. From Jafanapataõ he wrote to the Eleytos of Nagapataõ (that Portuguese Colony was so governed at that time, and afterwards it received the title of City and a government set up by the King), sending them money to negotiate vessels with some men to assist him to seek out the Malavares. They acted diligently and zealously, but the weather turned out so contrary that they could not pass beyond Calhameyra.[1] And as this was not unknown to the Malavar, in the middle of August he retired by the opposite coast of Ceylon, to the Maldivas with some Belala women | and little girls, whom he had taken in the island *F 280* of the Forçados along with the other prize which he had taken. Those of Negapataõ, on hearing of this, returned to their port.

[1] Now Point Calimere.

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Phelipe de Oliueyra who not only brought order to recover the tribute but also to arrest Changali, if he failed to pay it, and to kill him, if he resisted, asked Friar Antonio de S. Bernardino to go and have speech with him; and the latter told [Changali] that he came on the order of the Captain-Major of the arrayal to make known to him that he had come to demand the tribute which had not been paid for the last three years, and asked him to expedite this business, as [the *P 513* Captain-Major] wished to return | to Ceylon. He replied that he was ready to pay; but as he did not do so for a few days, on the order of the Captain-Major, the Father returned to remind him of the demand and promise. He replied merrily asking him to tell the Captain-Major to go two days march beyond the river up to Punarim, whither he would send him 5,000 pardaos, as he could not give him more.

Little did he know yet with whom he had to deal. On the following day he gave order to the Captains to go to the camp and make a muster of the people he had. While he was thus occupied, the Captain of Manâr arrived on the plea of visiting him, with the banner of Christ; and in that manner he entered the arrayal. The Captains and soldiers were angry, but Phelipe de Oliueyra prudently appeased them saying: 'Let your Honours speak to the Senhor Captain whose soldiers we all are'; and they did so grudgingly. The two discussed apart, and he of Manâr thought it best to strike the flag. They all marched to a palm grove of the village of Bonarepane, and in the neighbouring meadow they found many men of Changalî drawn up. And as those of the advance guard had no order to attack, they stood two volleys of musketry; but before the third they broke out without further order. The Captain-Major came on the scene in all haste with the rest of the men, and they finally withdrew abandoning their arms, and our people pursued them killing and cutting off heads.

Our men having returned, Oliueyra formed his array and gave the advance guard to Miguel da Cunha. At that time the Kinglet of the Careas appeared with the whole might of that Kingdom, which exceeded 20,000. and they stood watching to see whether our men were conquered, in order to fall upon them. The arrayal attacked them, and they were soon driven from the field and put to flight with the loss of their arms and more than 100 heads. And the war would have ended completely that day, if our men had not been barefooted and the enemy shod in sandals, for there were so many

and such sharp thorns in that country that they could not make head. They went to give thanks to Our Lady of Miracles; and there the Captain-Major learnt that Changalî had fled on the day of the battle, and at night owing to contrary winds had been driven ashore at the Ponta das | Pedras, and *F 280v* that at dawn he had betaken himself into another dhoney. In all haste he sent a message to the Quay to put men into the *besteyro*[1] of the Church (a small and light boat) with two other *manchuas* in which went Francisco Pereyra Homẽ and Luis Cabral; and they pulled so diligently that they came upon him in the Gulf, with the Queens, Princes and Princesses and some of their familiars, with whom they returned most content, for besides this good prize they despoiled him of 8,000 patacas; and seeing that they cut off the ears of his brother-in-law, whose eyes he had formerly put out, in order to take away his earrings the sooner, he gave up his own before they could cut off his. Put in prison in Jafanapataõ,
P 514 Philipe de Oliueyra ordered him to give a list | of the Portuguese with whom he had dealings. He accused many, even Oliueyra himself for 2,000 patacas, and the General D. Nuno Aluarez Pereyra for 9,000, whereby he confirmed [that it was] a falsehood and the daring of a desperate man. The Captain-Major ordered the wives and Princes to be sheltered in the College and Church of the Fathers, Changali to be imprisoned in Nelûr, and the rest to be hanged. The whole Kingdom at once submitted, and he showed that he intended to return to Columbo. But the Religious and the people begged and demanded him in the name of God and of the King to remain, the more so as he had order to remain if necessary in that Kingdom. Knowing the reason for this request, he wrote to the General of all that had happened and through Antonio da Mota Galuaõ, his son-in-law, who also won a name in that conquest, he sent Changalî prisoner. The General and the whole of Columbo rejoiced at the news, and he approved, as was right, of Philipe de Oliueyra remaining in Jafanapataõ. Changalî was sent to Goa. Shortly afterwards arrived Antonio Botelho da Costa in 6 foists at the port of Jafanapataõ, and knowing that at the latitude of Gâle there was a foreign ship [which had] already taken some prize, he went in pursuit of her, and after three hours of battle he took her, the first Captains to board being Domingos Ferreyra Beliagõ and N.[2] Sarayua, and it being clear, as soon as she was sighted,

[1] A word not used by other Portuguese writers.

[2] There is only one other example in this book of the use of an initial instead of full Christian name, p. 640.

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that she was a Hollander ship. Eight died by the sword, others were burnt, 40 remained prisoners, and the others with their Captain escaped on land. We lost a Captain and eight soldiers.

When the war was at a standstill, all of a sudden on the eve of the Carnival, without any preceding information, the Kinglet of the Careaz with the men of Tanjaor by night hid themselves in the houses of the same fishing people, who are the most war-like of the Kingdom, and in order to put us off our guard, they came to the gates of the Church of Our Lady, one of the garrisons which we then had, and in a loud voice said: 'Portuguese, be not afraid, though the whole of Tanjaor may come, we shall rather die than let them harm you |'. They thanked him for his courtesy which was soon *F 281* revealed by the steel, because a casado going out of the garrison with a cleric, when there were still some casados in their homes, a Carea came out to meet them making great flourishes and threats, as they are wont to do, with sword and shield. The two did not wish to kill him in order not to create an uproar, and came away retreating with cocked muskets. There came on the scene two Topazes who were retiring, firelock in hand, from a large Shoal of enemies, and seizing the Carea, they dragged him wounded before Francisco Pereyra Velho, the Captain of the garrison. While he was rebuking them he saw the foes who with loud shouts were coming to attack. He at once ordered the head of the Carea to be cut off and to be put on the battlement within sight of the enemy, and they defended themselves with 20 men from midday to sunset, when they retired, leaving many
P 515 killed. | While the battle was going on, the casados had time to flock to the garrison by the back garden, abandoning the furniture of their houses.

On the next day they went to attack the Pagode where the Captain-Major was quartered, thinking that they would find the soldiers at their pastimes; and at day break they surrounded them, because they were not more than 30, while there was against them the whole Kingdom with many muskets. The stockade was low, and they tried to carry it; and our men, firing at that swarm, wasted not a bullet, as many falling as were in the line of fire, and they had no time for rest. After many hours Oliueyra ordered the gate to be opened with a good guard and to sound the charge. They too played their kettle drums and attacked the gate, leaving the enclosure of the stockade unoccupied, whereupon our men were able to go to that side and fire promiscuously, and they fell like flies. This conflict lasted till five in the evening, and all

wrought wonders that day under the eyes of Phelipe de Oliueyra who helped them by his encouragement and firing. The field was strewn with dead bodies and sown with arms; and they went away disillusioned.

The Modeliar who is called 'of the Breasts' (*das Maminhas*), because he had large ones, had sent for one of the Princes who was there, (and there were so many that neither the number nor the names are recorded,) to come to take possession of the Kingdom, as the Portuguese were killed. His Father advised him not to trust that embassy, for the Portuguese would not let themselves be killed so easily as was said. The young prince, ambitious for the Kingdom, did not heed this advice. He mustered 800 Maravaz and a good detachment of Badagaz, men well used to arms and feared by the natives, and he crossed over in dhoneys to the village of Elaur.. The inhabitants sent information to | the Captain-Major who *F 281v* replied to them that what he wanted of them was only to give him information about his march and that he would on that account pardon them their revolt. The messages came at every moment till he learnt that he was in a Pagode beyond Nelur; and he told the envoy that with the favour of God he would bring him prisoner At day-break he set out in silence and arriving within sight by sunrise they played their warlike instruments, set fire to the gates, and advanced up to the yard with the Captain Luis de Seyxas. Seeing themselves taken, they resolved to die running amock, and as they were able to sally out all together, only the Prince and a Bragmane who accompanied him, remained alive. The Bragmane with a handkerchief in his hand for a device cried out in front of the gate: *Cumara*, *Cumara*; which means 'Prince.' He had with him four boys. Luis de Seyxas took [the prince] by the hand and presented him to the Captain-Major, who received him courteously and secured him by one arm while he gave leave to all to gather the spoil. Thence they went straight to the Church of Our Lady of Miracles where Father Friar Manoel de Eluas offered a palm to the Captain
P 516 Major. 'Let Your Paternity give it' | he said, 'to Senhor Luis de Seyxas who deserves it'; and that Captain courteously replied: 'I accept it not because I deserve it, but because it is a gift of Senhor Captain-Major.' Seyxas stood at the gate with the Prince; Oliueyra and the rest went and prostrated themselves before Our Lady to give her thanks for so great a good fortune. He returned to the garrison of the Pagode and setting the Prince on a chair he ordered him to be shod with chains covered with velvet and consoled him saying that such were the fruits of war.

CHAPTER 3.

Treachery of Migapule and the first Encounter with the People of the Nayque of Tanjaor

The poor Prince, seeing himself with these shackles on his feet, asked leave to approach the window, and speaking to the Mudeliares and people he said: 'You worried me many a time to come and take possession of this Kingdom, and lately the Mudeliar das Maminhas with impostures and falsehoods persuaded me that the Portuguese were killed, and that, for the few that remained, a small force was enough. Everything I find to be the contrary, and the Kingship which you earned for me is the captivity in which you see me for not following the counsel of my Father.' He spoke, and turned away. They all cried out saying that it was not they who called him but the Mudeliares who misled him, it appearing to them that this excused their treachery. The Captain-Major, setting out to subdue the Kingdom, left this | Prince in the charge of Father *F 282* Friar Luis de S. Diogo, Rector of the house of Our Lady of Miracles, to keep him in custody. In this expedition he pardoned those who rendered homage; those who resisted or absented themselves or sought to free themselves by money, if he came upon them, he did not pardon; and the Kingdom remained subjugated.

But as there was never wanting someone to league with, Migapule Arache, whose Christian name was D. Luis and who had fled to Mannar with the two Princesses who were taken in the Palace, was able to raise a fresh war and to give occasion to another, for, relying on that bait, he went with them to Tanjaor to ask that Nayque to send one of his captains with men to take possession of that Kingdom, as the Portuguese were nearly all killed. He gave him the two Princesses who afterwards, as we shall see, being married to the two Princes of Candea, gave occasion to that Tyrant to send an army to conquer Jafanapatão. And the conquest of this petty Kingdom became in the time of Phelipe de Oliueyra an open war with the neighbouring Princes of the Coast of Choromandel and with the rebel of Candea. The Nayque
P 517 thought that with the same ease | wherewith Mudeliar D. Luis had obtained possession of the Princesses and had escaped capture by the Portuguese, he also would be able to become master of the Kingdom without the Portuguese preventing him. I do not suppose that it happened through carelessness, which I do not expect from Portuguese Captains,

but through the malice of that traitor to God and man who must have kept them in concealment. That Prince gave him 1,000 men, who came in 12 dhoneys and disembarked in Tondamanâr, a little more than a league from Nelûr, and returned to seek more men. They recounted afterwards that, as they disembarked, there appeared to them a most beautiful woman with a child of great beauty who said to them: 'Miserable men, wherefor do you come to this Kingdom which is mine, for I am its Patroness and its protectress. However, now that you have come here, you will all remain here!' It was always thought from the confidence with which it was asserted that it was the Virgin, Lady of Miracles.

This novelty sufficed to disturb the wavering obedience of that Kingdom, but they did not wish to break away till the rest of the men that were being raised arrived; whereof the Eleytos of Nagapataõ informed the Captain-Major, sending him gunpowder and lead in *cattamarans* in spite of the sentinels whom the Nayque, in whose lands they were, had placed, warning them not to send any boat with messages so that his plan might not be known. With the same precaution those who had disembarked sought to prevent any reinforcement being sent from the town to the garrison of the Pagode, and it was only at night and by a few persons that it was brought. There arrived at this time from Columbo Antonio da Mota Galuaõ with | his wife and children, accompanied *F 282v* by 200 Chingalâz, and getting into a dhoney they came to land near the garrison of the Church, after passing under the fire of a dhoney which was on watch and of the sentinels of the garrison, who, as it was night, did not let them pass till they recognized him by his voice. From there he wrote to his father-in-law, Phelipe de Oliueyra, who gave thanks to God for delivering them from being taken prisoners or killed by the rebels, who on the previous day were in the parts through which they passed. He entrusted to his son-in-law the rounds of the town, and [ordered him] to deliver an assault on those of Tanjaor who were in Rale. Out of the few there were, 12 offered themselves; and they attacked them so suddenly that it was only those who left their heads behind that did not flee far away. On most other nights these assaults were made from the one and the other garrison, and as they never returned without drawing blood, the rebels were terrified, not knowing which would be the night when the same fate would befall them.

They sought to make up by day for the damage received at night and dividing themselves into two bodies, at the time of the *siesta*, in deep silence, they scaled the walls of

the back gardens, and close to the Church they were approaching the watch tower, in which Antonio da Mota was lodging, *P 518* bringing large bundles of straw to set it on fire. There was | Gabriel Gonçaluez Matela on guard with two Topazes, and coming down with pans of powder, he fired at them. Seeing themselves discovered, they threw aside their arms and took to their heels. On the other side Antonio da Mota, Captain of that garrison, came on the scene and went pursuing them till they were driven out of the town. When General Constantino de Sâ received tidings of this war, though he was expecting another [war] and protests were made to him not to divide the arrayal, he at once despatched Luis Teyxeyra de Maçedo with four companies and 500 Lascarins, who marching in all haste, received news that the garrison was put to the sword; but when they came near Jafanapataõ, they were assured that the garrison of the Pagode was safe. In this uncertainty not knowing the truth, they determined to invest it in case it was lost. And when they neared it, before they were seen, they sounded the charge. Those of the garrison thinking they were enemies sounded 'To arms', the Captain-Major recommending them not to waste a shot. The advance guard went forward and discovered first that the stockades were manned, and afterwards recognizing that they were Portuguese, they held back in surprise and joy; and the satisfaction being double on both sides, from both sides there was a military salvo, and when the gate was opened, congratulations and embraces.

They rested two days and went to meet the enemies at a neighbouring tank, and after a little resistance the enemy left some heads. Oliueyra went subjugating the lands; | *F 283* and the enemies who had fled came to show themselves at the garrison of the Church, but seeing it manned, they held back. An arrogant captain, blind of one eye, advanced challenging the boldest. The Chingalâz of the garrison offered themselves at once, and one of them getting leave, sallied out with a dart and *calachurro*, his foe being with sword and shield. These swords are either scimitars with a curve at the point and very broad, or straight in the same way with a cross at the hilt. They hold it with the whole hand without the fingers coming over the cross, and they cannot wield it or give an up and down stroke or blow with force without injuring the wrist and it slipping out of the hand to which it is tied. They give back-strokes and thrusts without brandishing the sword, and as they are so heavy, the weight makes up for the force and causes horrible gashes. All the skill consists in protecting oneself well with the shield

and trying by light bounds to find the foe exposed. This man covering himself altogether fell upon the Lascorin, who quicker than he, with a kick knocked the shield and pierced him with the *calachurro ;* and when he took his sword, intending to cut off his head, he found the whole arrayal upon him, and with the same swiftness he made for the garrison with the sword, leaving his short spear on the field. After they came into obedience he recognized it in the hands of a rebel and taking it said to him ; 'This spear is mine, and you are not the man to wrest it from my hands. It was I who left
P 519 it driven | into the body of the braggart whom I killed with it, because the whole army came upon me.' The lands were subjugated and as all was quiet, Luis Teyxeyra da Macedo with his men set out for Columbo where he was greatly needed. There went with him Antonio da Mota with the captive Prince who was sent to the Captain-General ; and I found no information about his end. And though there were rumours that a fresh force was being raised in Tanjaor, they for the nonce attended to what was more important.

In the beginning of November tidings came from Negapataõ that the rebel D. Luis with the Kinglet of the Careaz was coming with a fresh force, and shortly afterwards they arrived before Talimanâr and encamped near a tank. The Captain-Major sent to tell them : 'That they should come to Nelûr where there was better accommodation, or else to the village of the Careaz where he would go to meet them ; but that they should first send to say who it was that sent them with men-at-arms into the lands of the King of Portugal, because he wished to know with whom he had to deal.' And there was reason for it, because the Nayque at this very time was at peace with the Portuguese in Negapataõ. The Kinglet replied by an *ola :* 'That he was sent by the Nayque of Tanjaor to take possession of that Kingdom which by right pertained to him. And that he desired to see himself on the field with such a valiant Captain.' Oliueyra satisfied him saying that he would soon give him that pleasure. They all confessed and communicated the following dawn | F 283v
entered the Church of Our Lady, where the Ensign lowered the banner of Christ three times, and marched to Nelûr. Thence the Captain-Major sent to tell them that he was awaiting them. They answered coolly : 'That they were bathing and eating and would soon come.' He awaited till midday. And because the sun was insupportable, and they all suffered greatly, he left posted on a branch an *ola* in which he told them : 'That they were mean coolies and good for nothing.' He returned to the town and ordered the Captains,

Cap. 3.

to refresh themselves quickly, because he expected the enemies. They had not finished dining and Oliueyra had just sat at table when they told him that they were coming. He took his sword, which was one-edged with a target of steel, and went to see whether they could be discovered. The Captain of the advance guard, Miguel da Cunha da Silva, followed. He told him to wait there till he received word from him. And going ahead he discried nothing. He crossed the house of Antonio Alvarez and again meeting Cunha, he gave the same order. He reached the houses of Pero Pereyra and saw that our Lascarins were being driven back by the bombs of the enemies in spite of the attempts of their Captain, Antonio da Couto, to animate them. He found near him Manoel Gomez and placing his hands on his shoulders with the affability which won all hearts, he said to him hastily : 'Sir, assist those people.' He himself went running, and Cunha did the same with 6 other men crossing the Lake with water up to the waist.
P 520 On the other side | they saw many others in ambush. They were occupying a neighbouring eminence, whence they obstructed the passage to the whole arrayal. In this hurry, the companies not having yet arrived, the Captain-Major got into the water up to his breast accompanied by his Ensign, Gaspar de Freytas, and the Caffir [who bore his] umbrella which was green and he himself was dressed in green, devices by which they recognized him, as he came out of the water, there came upon him four of the bravest. They hurled a spear at him, which, being parried with the target of steel, fell and pierced his lower cheek bone, but before it could be followed up, he ran his sword through the breast of one and cut him so deep that he cleft him asunder, and again recovering himself, he split the head of the second. The other two who witnessed such strokes entrusted their lives to their feet. He joined those who were fighting, and as the companies arrived in all haste, the enemy soon fled and our men ran headlong in pursuit, killing as many as they were able to come upon. They gathered many spoils of arms and bombs, and returned in ranks to the garrison. The women, seeing the Captain-Major wounded, began to cry out to Our Lady, but he with hat in hand, told them not to worry because it was not a wound of any consequence. Having given thanks to Our Lady, they left the banner in front of her and he went to be [medically] treated ; | and though the pain was great, because F 284
it was in the bone, he told everybody that he had no pain, but asked the Surgeon to do his duty. It befell otherwise with the Sergeant-Major, because being one of the first who hastened in that hurry, he saw himself surrounded by so

many that he had not even time to raise his sword, and while he defended himself with his baton, they gave him three gashes with the spear, and being carried in the arms up to the porch of the Church, he there gave up his soul to God. Antonio do Couto, Captain of the Chingalâz, seeing one of his comrades fall pierced by three spears, and that they sought to cut off his head, placed himself before him and defended him receiving two [spear wounds] on the shoulders ; and the friend lived three days. In this encounter misfortune was more to blame than disorder or want of caution.

While the battle lasted, the women, who were in the Main Chapel and in the choir praying to God for victory, saw issuing from the niche of Our Lady a great halo and rays, and prostrating themselves, face to earth, they begged God for mercy. The Religious came on the scene and encouraged them saying that such were her symbols. At the very time when the Captain-Major was battling with the four, there appeared above the Church a large blue Cross in the Heavens the foot of which reached the island of Tanadiua, and it lasted afterwards as long as the battle lasted, and when that was finished, little by little it disappeared. The Image of Our Lady which always remained unfinished, and up to to-day is unpainted, was seen that day by all those present with the face and right hand red, and so it remained for the space of 15 days, which was the time during which our arrayal was in Putur and succeeded in destroying the Badagaz altogether.

P 521 | Quite different was the behaviour of Maria de Azeuedo, wife of N. Esteues[1] who had come from S. Thome, because, at the time of the battle she betook herself to the Church where Father Friar Antonio de S. Maria, the Author of these documents, saw her leaning on a naked sword, and on his telling her to retire upstairs where the rest were, she replied pretending not to recognize him. ' There is no room there, for the Father Guardian of this house did not give me any.' The Father then said to her ' You cannot have asked him ' : and he went away. Owing to the hurry with which they had set out, powder ran short in the battle, and they came to fetch some, and as the Factor had also gone to the battle, they broke open the lock of the storehouse and Father Friar Antonio had to look after it, not a little to his sorrow, as he had many things to attend to. Then Maria de Azeuedo assured him that she would guard that door till death ; and there she stood with drawn sword threatening the whole of Jafanapataõ till the Factor, Antonio Sanches, came to take delivery of the storehouse. There were never lacking in India some of these Panthesileas.

[1] See p. 632.

CHAPTER 4.

End of the War with the Nayque of Tanjaor *F 284v*

The Captain-Major, though not quite cured of the wound, knowing that the enemies were entrenched near Nelûr, ordered all, as he always did, to confess and communicate, (because the fear of God ever goes well with courage, and the Catholic soldier who is in a state of sin can ill combine valour with Faith ; and all else is heretical policy). They marched, and near the small Pagode the advance guard saw a swarm of enemies down the road ; and in all haste they planted muskets on supports at the entrance to the road, and as they approached, they gave them such a volley that it swept them without wasting a bullet, and at once they began to cut off heads. The Captain-Major, who was still near the large Pagode, inquired what the matter was, and in reply he had a few heads at his feet out of the many bodies that covered the whole road. He fell on his knees with the rest giving thanks to a Crucifix which Father Friar Antonio de S. Phelipe held before them. They arrived at the stockade and saw that all were fleeing ; they pursued them till evening and returned, each with two or three heads and many fire-arms, and the Chingalaz who continued to pursue them returned in the morning with the same spoils. They proceeded to the Plains of Copay where they waited some days to see whether they would return, and an Arache sallying out with a few

P 522 men far from the arrayal in search of provisions, had | sight of the enemies, and before they could see him, he gave 'Sant-Iago '; and being taken unawares, they took to flight, giving him opportunity to retire without danger, laden with rice and other things.

Meanwhile the Captain-Major received a message that a galliot of Bautista Belo, a casado of Negapataõ, coming from Malâca, had run aground at the Ponta das Pedras, because she was so ill-equipped that when another was coming after her from Bengala, though she was [a galliot] of Francisco Palha of the same Negapataõ, they thought it was the European enemy and tried to save the cargo and lives—and such were the merchants who lost the wealth of the State !

Oliueyra helped him at once with a company of an Arache and some Portuguese with *olas* to the *Taliares* to give help to float the galliot, for he considered them as pardoned for the recent revolt, because it behoved to pardon those faults with such ease so as not to kill all, as we see in France in these days. Behind them for greater security he sent a company of Portuguese. They had no little luck in not arriving two days earlier when the enemies were at that place. They saved the gold and the rest that was in her, and having discharged the cargo she was floated without further danger, as they had promised a moiety of the value of the galliot | *F 235* to Our Lady of the Rosary of Negapataõ. No one can reprove the piety ; but foresight was ever wanting.

Those of Negapataõ again sent tidings of a fresh force which the Nayque of Tanjaor had sent against that Kingdom for which they assisted with powder, lead, and other things, as they were ever wont to do, though this Prince never realized that God did not give him strength against the Portuguese. In order to land with safety, they ordered the Natives to hoist a white flag. The Captain-Major ordered them to do so when they appear, the arrayal remaining in ambush in bands along the beach. On the next day they appeared, and seeing the flag flying they were disembarking from the dhoneys with great satisfaction, when our men fell upon them, killed and captured them, a few who put to sea escaping with wounds to take the news to Tanjaor. But as there was no one who dared to relate it to the Nayque, he went on raising more men.

Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, on receiving news of this reinforcement, at once despatched Antonio da Mota Galuaõ with another [reinforcement], and on his arrival he made a tour through the Kingdom and everything was subjugated. Phelipe de Oliueyra moved to Nelur on the 2nd of February and ordered the large Pagode to be razed, which the Pagans felt keenly, and many a time they promised to give him whatever he wanted and to build houses for him, if only he would quit it and not destroy it, but that only increased his desire to do so, for he was a great Christian.

Those of Negapataõ again sent tidings that a large force was *P 523* coming not only to conquer but also to populate the Kingdom. Antonio da Mota Galuaõ awaited them near the Ponta das pedras, but they landed much lower down and encamped near a tank behind a palmgrove. Oliueyra told his son-in-law not to give them any rest. The latter being informed by

spies marched silently by night. They heard some musket shot, and thinking they were noticed they halted, but as it did not continue, they marched on, and three hours later hearing three others, they understood that they were [only] changing watches, and though they kept sharp watch on the other sides, they neglected the side of the palmgrove. Having reached that [palmgrove], our men gave 'Sant-Iago' with great uproar of a variety of warlike instruments and the cries of the Lascarins. And though some were mounted on horseback, it availed them nothing to prevent the rout and total defeat. One of the first to be killed was their Captain-General, nominated Governor of the Kingdom. And meanwhile on the preceding evening Phelipe de Oliueyra repaired to the Church of Our Lady of Miracles where with the Religious and the people of the town, they remained in vigil and petition to God and to Our Lady for victory. | At four in the early *F 255 v* morning he ordered Mass to be said, as he thought it would be the time of the battle. When it was over, they recited the Litany of Our Lady. Then the Captain-Major cried out saying : ' My Lady, do not let the arrayal be lost on account of my many and grievous sins. Remember that those who are there are your children, sodalists and clients.'

It appeared to him that the message delayed. While they were all making fresh appeals to God and supplication to Our Lady, a messenger came in running with a writing of Antonio da Mota Galuaõ in which he told him that Our Lady had given him the victory, that the General was killed and 500 heads already cut off. Then they sang the *Te Deum Laudamus*, and the soldier received a reward for his good news. Without delay came another writing which said : ' 800 heads are cut off, and we are going ahead, though we have now no strength to cut them off.' They returned fresh thanks to the Lord, and by ten o'clock in the day there came a third writing which only said : ' More than 1,200 heads are cut off ; we are gathering the arms and the rest, and will soon return.' Then the Captain-Major sent the other Captains and soldiers, Modeliares and Araches, to congratulate them on the victory, ordering them to remain at Nelûr on their way back and to send him information from there. They arrived in two days, and he ordered the two companies of the garrison to go and receive them.

The Religious and the people put the Captain of the Field under a Canopy, and his father-in-law heartily congratulated him and the other Captains and soldiers. Then an Arache

set before him on a sheet a large head, half bald, with a long and beautiful beard, which was turning grey, saying : ' This is the head of the Captain-General ' ; and though they left many behind on trees, there still appeared more than 800
P 524 set up on pikes, many | firelocks, swords, broadswords, bows and arrows; and some prisoners, besides the women who had come with their husbands and children to people the land, and they were so confident that they were taking to their allotted villages, dogs, cats, apes, parrots and other birds. There were many horses which came to be sold at two or three larins each. There were also captured the wife, sons and daughters, of the Mudeliar Maminhas, but when she saw herself a prisoner, with infernal fury she pulled out her tongue and fell dead. The Captain-Major set the sons and daughters free. The captives were put to auction by the soldiers for a trifle, as is their wont, of whom some easily escaped. The heads were buried in some quarries and everything was quiet.

The reinforcement had to return to Columbo. The Captain-Major thanked them all for the service rendered to God and to the Kingdom both by word and by gifts, writing | F 286
to the General of Ceylon how well they had deserved [of the State] in that expedition and asking him to reward them for their services. He dealt with the same liberality with the Lascarins, giving each of them an extra pataca for each head they brought. He gave order to his son-in-law to go to Maliauale where he had heard the refugees were and that they had killed the women on the way in order to effect their escape the better. He encountered about 500, of whom he killed the greater part, and reaching Columbo, he was welcomed by the Captain-General, who also wrote to Phelipe de Oliueyra congratulating him on the result of his valour, disposition and good future. And by such noble behaviour and generosity those two Captains became greatly beloved in that conquest, and many others [became so] by their example, as a result of their discipline.

The Nayque of Tanjaor, who had imagined himself Lord of Jafanapataõ, ordered his Governor to muster another 1,000 men with their families to go to people that Kingdom. The Governor did not dare to tell him what he knew, and replied that he would do so. But one of his familars said to him : ' Sire, no one dares to tell you what happened to the men whom you sent to Jafanapataõ, and that you may not lose another, know that all are killed and that those who

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escaped are already here.' Great was the grief he showed, and calling one of his principal Captains, a kinsman of his, he said : ' I have bad news from Jafanapataõ. Get ready to lead a good army, because from you I expect different results.' ' I am ready for anything ' said the kinsman, ' however, I remind you, Sire, that I shall be going to my death like the others, for their Captain-Major, Phelipe de Oliueyra, has both courage and good fortune in his favour, and he is so great a favourite of fortune that he is never known to have been conquered, nor can he be, for your lieges relate that a Virgin, Mother of their God, told them that she had that Kingdom under her protection. If you were so powerful as to build a bridge from Tanjaor to Jafanapataõ,
P 525 whereby a large army | could cross and be daily reinforced, then might you hope to get the better of him. In any other way this conquest will only be the sepulchre of your lieges especially while that Captain lives, who is so much dreaded in Ceylon that they call him the ' God of the Sword '. After such disappointment the Nayque dissembled and never again disturbed Jafanapataõ. Nor in the days of Phelipe de Oliueyra were there any further revolts. They all gave their allegiance lest they should be destroyed altogether, because, though the district of that Kingdom was formerly thickly populated, on account of the civil wars that were waged and later on account of the Portuguese sword, it was then half deserted. They took their oaths with great solemnity to the King of Portugal as their Lord, giving up hopes of a native King. It remained in the form of a Province like the others in Ceylon, about which they made fresh decisions, registered in the books of the Factory, making that Captaincy | F 286v
subordinate to the General and Governor of Ceylon, and the latter to the government of Goa, and Phelipe de Oliueyra enjoyed in peace the fruits of his victories and glorious labours.

Nor did the wars up to that time give room to think about the cultivation of the lands, nor were the retired Portuguese so many as to give rise to quarrels about what fell to each one's lot, but each on his part took what suited him best either in the neighbouring islands or in the Kingdom, for it ever kept this name. Thence they traded with the ports of that great Gulf, bringing to Jafanapataõ the products of the coast from Choromandel to Bengala, the abundance of that extensive Province and the riches of the Kingdom of Arracaõ, Pegu and of the other ports of that great Peloponnese in which was Malâca, besides other more prolonged voyages in those vast Regions of the North and South and

of the innumerable islands of the Archipelago of S. Lazaro, whereby they lived with sufficiency; and that Portuguese town grew and was enriched in goods, nobility, and gentility though it never became a great town. But the heads of that government were very far away and the only Viceroy who set foot in Jafanapataõ was D. Phelipe Mascarenhas, who, being nominated while in Ceylon, began to govern from thence, and setting out of the Island was wrecked in a storm, and wintering in Jafanapataõ ordered a fresh *tombo* to be made of those lands which up to that time, being ill-distributed and scantily populated, gave very little revenue. And though by the year [16]23 Ambrosio de Freytas was sent to make a *tombo* of them, he did it with so little zeal that he remained only once for a few days in each village, and the others [he registered] in his house whither he ordered the Mudeliares to come; and he spoke so harshly to them that, as there was nothing which the noble folk of Asia resent more, they went away swearing they would never come back, even if they were hanged for it. And though Phelipe de
P 526 Oliueyra by his good proceeding and authority did | what he could to pacify them, persuading them to give correct information, those people who were ill-affected towards the *Vedor da fazenda* and interested in the relief of the country were so obstinate, that the labour and the intention of the King in ordering the *tombo* to be made had little effect, and as the Captain-Majors were better obeyed in war than in peace, even the political government was not well settled. And as the government of Jafanapataõ grew in importance, there diminished that of Manâr, which at first held sway from Cape Cumorim to the shoals of Chilaõ and thence to the Kingdom of Orissa in the neighbourhood of Bengâla: and as the Captain had not the needed powers, each individual considered himself independent, and violences and injuries increased in the manner we shall point out in the last book. And here in particular were the Neophytes persecuted | F 287 when the whole Kingdom had been converted, though every reason required that they should be the more favoured, in order to attach them to the Faith and piety and laws of the Portuguese, but it was so much the reverse that besides denying them any remedy, they affronted them and seized them, as if each of them were the very tribunal of injustice.

God did not fail to vindicate their causes by threats of divine justice. The first was a general pestilence of smallpox, from which neither the old nor the young escaped, and some villages were altogether depopulated, for there were families in which the husband, wife, children and slaves, and in

India they employ many slaves, all died. After this there broke out a kind of quartan fever or ague, like a general pestilence, which buried many. Then there followed a great famine and scarcity so great that the Natives had recourse to the leaves of trees and herbs of the field like beasts, and extracting the pith of the wild palm trees they made flour, and out of it paste, which they ate, whereby they swelled and were constipated and died emitting blood. Nor do I doubt that God punished them also because in the beginning there was more of the name than of the Faith and works of Christians, although when Jafanapataõ was lost in the year [16]57 the Missionary Fathers were already much satisfied with that Christianity which is now altogether destroyed, like that of Ceylon also, as the Hollanders did not allow any Catholic Priest to administer the sacraments therein.

CHAPTER 5.

Of the Great Tempest that took place in Jafanapataõ and the Death of Phelipe de Oliueyra

While the punishments and warnings of Heaven were going on, in the year [1]627 on the 20th of February in the waning of the Moon during the summer on that coast, thick clouds were seen to lower with fearful darkness; they were borne at the same time by contrary winds on the Saturday before the first Sunday of Lent, and by night the storm burst with raging winds and such high tide as to sweep over the land; and this storm lasted till two o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, when it abated to some extent. They attended the sermon on the Passion in which Father Friar Francisco de Jesus with great spirit rebuked sin and preached amendment, and when the procession, which was a short one on account of the weather, set out, such was the fury of the wind and rain that they had to return, some betaking themselves to the Church, others to their homes. It went on the whole evening and night, again deluging the land and laying low the buildings. On the following morning, the wind after veering to every

[point of the] rhumb | blew steadily North-east and with *F 287v*
greater fury devastated what remained, being accompanied by a heavy hail storm, always a wonderful phenomenon in the Torrid zone. By 10 o'clock of the day the wind turned West with such force, that the waves of the sea dashed on the walls, windows, and verandahs [1] of the neighbouring houses, shaking them and destroying them by the force of the waters. Men rushed out of them in fright and heedless of their wives, and wives [heedless] of their children and of themselves, in the garb in which they happened to be and disordered by the wind, shouting in the streets and beseeching God for mercy. The wind flung them against the walls, sometimes on the ground, and they fell fainting and unconscious. The soldiers assisted them as well as they were able, and helped them to retire, some to the Misericordia [2] and others to the house of the Captain-Major, and the rest to the Church of [Our Lady of] Miracles, where their wailings added to the storm and their tears to the inundation. The Religious, seeing the danger to the house of the Captain-Major, went to prevail upon him to retire to the Church. But he persisted, saying that it would discourage the people who were there. However, seeing that with the persistence of the East-wind the sea overwhelmed the land and dashed furiously against the house of the Captain, they again entreated him in the name of God to go to the Church, as it would be rash to wait for the last moment. He would not consent to it till all the others had gone. They spoke to his wife representing to her the imminence of the danger and likewise assuring her: 'That the Church was safer in the company of the most holy Sacrament and the Virgin Our Lady who would encourage and console them.' The Captain saw to everything and was the last to leave, wrapped in a cloak, after they had all taken the discipline.

P 528 | In the Church what was most feared was that the roof might come down, but God prevented the peril, the tiles flying away like leaves of trees, and the ceiling being strong, new and well fastened, swung thrice as if wishing to follow the tiles, in such sort that they could not stay in the open nor be safe in the Church. The surprise and wonder increased

[1] 'Varandas'.

[2] The Misericordia is a charitable institution for the relief of the poor and the sick, the education of foundlings, orphans and the burial of the dead, &c. There was one such in every large Portuguese town, such as Colombo, Jaffna, and Galle. The misericordia of Jaffna was built by Oliveyra. *Infra* 531, 554

when a person of quality came running, shouting for help, because the waves sweeping over the land were overtaking him. Wonderful to say the waters held back near the Porch of the Church and there divided, on one and the other side of the Church, submerging the Church-yard, Hospital and Jail. Many went out with water up to their throats to seek some high ground, and there was seen a representation of what had happened at the universal deluge and in other local ones which took place later [in the case] of Ogyges in Acaya and [in the case] of Deucalion in Thessaly.

The Religious exhorted them to penance, and one after another asked for confession. | The Captain-Major and Manoel *F 288*
de Mesquita Pimentel, his son-in-law, were the first to make amends to certain people who had some grievances against them. They embraced one other in charity and took leave of one another as well as of their lives. The sea rose higher still and covered the cemetery. Phelipe de Oliueyra asked for the banner of Christ with which he had gained so many victories, and lowering it three times before Our Lady of Miracles left it at her feet saying in a loud voice with copious tears, while he scourged himself and constantly slapped himself on the face, along with the Religious of St. Francis and those of the Society who happened to be there: 'My Lady, beg of God, Your only begotten Son and Our Lord, that he may not chastise these people and this Kingdom for my sins, and that the whole chastisement may fall upon me and my wife and children.' In the midst of their consternation all were moved to compassion by an innocent child, naked above the waist with a crown of thorns, who scourged himself saying with many tears and sobs: 'My God, all this punishment is on my account, because of the many and grievous sins I have committed against Thee.' But God, who did not wish to put an end to Jafanapataõ, deigned to hear the prayer of his most beloved Mother, for when they had repeatedly recited her Litany, some of the Religious saw that Our Lady drew the Child whom she had in her arms nearer to herself as if to say: 'Lord, pardon these miserable sinners, as they take me for their intercessor.' Wonderful to say, the water immediately subsided, slowly and gradually, without further damage; the wind and rain abated during the rest of the day and part of the night, bringing back hope of life to all by a fresh birth. By morning the wind became still, though the gloom lasted for two days, and again at two o'clock in the afternoon a fresh cloud arose with a terrible wind, but soon it dispersed.

P 529 Incredible was the havoc wrought over the whole Kingdom of Jafanapataõ and the Coast of Choromandel. The houses which stood near the river fell under the force of the waves, the Churches and the houses of the Vicars in the interior were laid low, the wild palm trees and tamarind trees, though they are very strong trees, were strewn throughout the Kingdom, wholly or in pieces, along with trees of less strength. The waves of the sea came up to the necks of men even in the highest places, which led to many men and cattle being drowned. Some escaped to the trees, where many died of the cold, and others falling with them were drowned, being buried in the waves of the Sea or on the beach whither they were thrown back. Many vessels were wrecked, some were taken a quarter of a league inland and were stuck among the trees; many were swallowed by the sea and others had divers fates; for instance a vessel of Junsalaõ, being driven upon the beach by the force of the raging wind and forming a furrow | and floating therein, was saved; those of the vessel F 288v unloaded her dry shod of much tin and other goods, and afterwards getting out of the furrow it continued on its voyage. It belonged to Manoel Pacheco, a casado of Negapataõ, who had there a chapel of the Conception erected at his cost, and he had made his agreement with Our Lady of Miracles to whom he gave in the year [16]20, 500 cruzados for the building. The same happened to a little ship that came from Gergilim. Viçente Dias, a casado of Columbo, losing his Champâna, was carried with some sailors on a plank to the isle of the Cows, among some trees where they saved their lives. A Father of the Society [of Jesus] who had come from Negapataõ was, with another, taken to an island under water. They climbed a tamarind tree whence, the branches swaying with the wind, they were thrown into the water; and the others fearing to fall wished to come down, but the Father dissuaded them telling them to cling well to the tree, and even if it fell not to let go, for that was the only means, and thus they were saved. The Father Friar Diogo going to Manâr ran his dhoney into a wood and escaped. Father Pero Mexia of the Society [of Jesus], being on his way to Manâr, [his boat] stuck in a wood, and when the waters subsided, he remained with others among the trunks and thus escaped. Many were found dead on trees and palmyras, and it is thought that they had been drowned. There were other altogether strange cases, but these are enough to show the fury of that Deluge.

Great were the acts of charity and piety. Phelipe de Oliueyra ordered the tiles of his house to be removed to cover

the Church of Our Lady of Miracles, saying that he did not wish to lodge in a tiled house when the Church was without them; nor did he let his houses be covered with *olas* till the Church was covered. Those men who came ill-clad at the time of the storm were clothed by him, and the women by his wife, with the clothing and dresses which she had in P 530 two chests. His son-in-law | Manoel de Mesquita with some soldiers looked after the children till they were finally delivered to their mothers who were weeping for them. And as the men were haggard and pierced with cold, Phelipe de Oliueyra told him to refresh them out of a barrel of Portugal wine which was used up in this pious work. During the storm the Religious consoled, animated, and heard confessions, and after it they spent many days in the Fields and on the beach burying the dead. Afterwards, on the Friday after the second Sunday of Lent, they organized a penitential procession, the Father Rector, Friar Sebastiaõ da Madre de Deos, preached exhorting all with great spirit to penitence and amendment of life. The Religious of St. Francis went with ropes and skulls round their necks | and their mouths tied with chains F 259 of iron and blindfolded; the Religious of St. Dominic and of the Society [of Jesus] also took part in the procession. The Captain-Major carried the Crucifix, but as he was ill, Father Pero Paulo Godinho, Rector of the Society [of Jesus], took it by force from his hands, and thus they passed through all the streets. But to show what were the thoughts of the Natives when they saw the Religious of St. Francis in that state, and the others with tapers in their hands, the Fathers themselves heard them say to each other: 'These Fathers seem to be the cause why this storm came, and the Captain-Major has therefore ordered them to be punished in this way': a judgment about the cause as silly as about the author of the punishment. The poor Religious suffered in patience, offering that calumny to God, leaving the reward for it to Him.

The imprecations of Phelipe de Oliueyra to commute the public chastisement on himself would seem to have been heard by God, as it has happened not seldom to those whom He loves. It was now nine years that he was governing that Kingdom, always keeping before his mind the service of God and of his King, applying himself to the spreading of the Faith and the erection of Churches, helping the Religious in everything, with such zeal that they used to call him the Apostle of Jafanapataõ; and it is quite certain that respect joined with piety overcame the difficulties of brutal idolatry, and he had no greater pleasure than to see conversions increase.

He was pious, kind, meek and affable to the poor, and the more he was dreaded for his courage, the more he was friendly in his dealings. God desired to reward him for the great services he had rendered to Him, and to prepare him the better for death, there came upon him a long illness, and ten or twelve days before his death, he realized the danger. During that time he was ever attended by the Religious with whom he treated about his conscience, and every day he heard three Masses and communicated sometimes. Seeing his great weakness, he ordered the clerk of the Factory, Joaõ da Cruz Giraõ, to be called and ordered him to prepare a deed regarding the person who was to succeed him in the Government, as it was his duty to provide till the Viceroy ordained otherwise. That being done and sealed, he directed
P. 531 it to be put into his hands | on his death, and other things [usually] done carried out. He sent for his wife and settled with her about the household, and recommended her to show her grief in her Room avoiding the excesses which are customary in India. He took in his arms his little son saying: 'May God's blessing and mine be on thee, for I well foresee that thou wilt not have me when thou shalt have need of me.' He asked that Mass be said for him, and received Holy Viaticum with great faith and devotion. He begged the Religious to recommend him to God and to read the Gospels of the passion of Christ and the Symbol | of Faith of St. F 289v
Athanasius *Quicunque vult saluus esse*, himself helping the Father. He asked for Extreme Unction in due time and asked the Religious not to abandon him at that hour; and on the 22nd of March of the aforesaid year of [16]27 with many acts of his piety, while all recommended him to God, he surrendered his soul into the hands of his Creator who had endowed him liberally with the one and the other graces as may be gathered from his deeds and as we may piously believe. He was in the 53rd year of his age during which he had rendered great services to the Divine and the human Majesty, and he was expecting to do more still. He left that Kingdom in peace and in all possible prosperity, and the greatest of all was that all were baptized by his instrumentality and zeal. He was so much loved by all, that the Modeliares went to tell the Guardian and other Religious: 'That another Captain-Major was not necessary, but let orders be given for a painting of Phelipe Raja (a name which they gave to him alone,) to be made and placed in his Hall, for that alone was enough to keep the whole Kingdom in peace and to collect the Royal dues with the same facility as when he was alive.'

CHAPTER 6.

Burial of the Captain-Major, his Successors, and the last Battle with those of Candea, and other Memoirs

They laid out the body of Phelipe de Oliueyra in the habits of the two Orders of St. Francis and of Christ [1]; and with all solemnity they placed it in a Hall. There were present at the time the Brothers of the Misericordia, which he had founded at his own cost, with revenues for the poor, widows, orphans and daughters of the Holy House. Chanting the Responsory, they carried the body to the courtyard where the clerk, Joaõ da Cruz Giraõ, reverently removed from his right hand, which was on the breast, the provision wherein was found named Manoel de Mesquita Pimentel, his son-in-law, for he knew how to select those who were worthy of such posts; and it was
P 532 greatly | applauded by all without regard to the score of relationship. They went to call him, and he kneeling on the ground kissed the hand and again removed [the writing] therefrom. In this manner the body was carried through all the streets accompanied by nearly 40 Religious of the three Orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis and of the Society of Jesus, by the Vigayro da Vara with his clerics and by the soldiers and Lascarins in military fashion with banners lowered and arms reversed. He was buried in the centre of the Main Chapel near the steps of Our Lady of Miracles. After a year his wife and relatives wished to remove his bones to Columbo | and to F 290
place them in the Convent of St. Francis, but Father Friar Antonio de S. Maria piously resisted, alleging the services he had rendered to our Lady of Miracles, and that it was more reasonable that there should remain in the Kingdom which he had conquered these stirrers up of his memory, placed in an Urn in the wall of the chapel as an illustrious benefactor; and that the absence of his relatives would not be felt because the poverty of St. Francis, under the shadow of the Most Serene Virgin, was much richer. With like concourse and sumptuous pomp was performed the Office and translation of the bones. They closed the Urn with a stone; on the top they inscribed his arms, below three crowns and Royal Sceptres;

[1] The Third Order of St. Francis and the Order of Christ.

in the centre, on a blue field, they engraved this inscription gilded, for an Epitaph which, though it is not according to Roman style, is sufficient for the Christian and the pious.

'The Sepulchre of the Captain-Major and Governor of this Kingdom, Phelipe de Oliueyra, Conquistador thereof and founder of all its Churches. He governed nine years, wherein he conquered in battle three Kings. His death took place in the year of 1627, on the 22nd day of March, he being 53 years of age. He left the Kingdom in peace and tranquility to his God and to his King.'

There were not wanting those who envied this memorial and its echoes, but the Fathers of St. Francis did their duty gratefully; and let him who wishes for a like Epitaph do as much in the service of God and of the King as Phelipe de Oliueyra did, from whom emulation will never be able to take away the great name which he had acquired throughout India.

Before he expired, a friend at once gave information to Lançarote de Seyxas Cabreyra to negotiate that praça before any others should know of it, assuring him that he would not live. He did so, and set out from Goa, where he was, in all haste, so as to avoid any obstacle, before Manoel de Mesquita Pimental could hinder this appointment. He arrived in Jafanapataõ and it was observed that while he entered between the guard and during a salute of musketry, the musket of a soldier burst with such effect that he was scarcely able to make his confession before ending his life; nor were other misfortunes wanting.

The King of Candea having now no Phelipe de Oliueyra to
P 533 fear, on the ground that the two Princesses | of whom we spoke in Chapter [3] were married to his sons, promptly sent his kinsmen Atapata with more than 10,000 picked men to Jafanapataõ to join a reinforcement of Badagaz which the Nayque of Tanjaor had promised him, in order to conquer that fortalice and Kingdom. When the Parish Priests and the Portuguese heard of this, they retired to | the Garrison, and the Enemy made F 290v himself Master of the Kingdom unopposed, and tried to collect the taxes. The strength of the force he had was, however, not known for certain, nor was there any one who dared to reconnoitre, because no Portuguese was ordered to do so, and he [Seyxas] was not pleased with the Natives. Only an old woman offered to spy the Enemys' camp and to find out his intentions; and she returned the following night with an account of the force they had, and that they were making ladders out of the wild palmyras to scale the garrison, and that many days would not pass before they attacked. The

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Portuguese soldiers did not stand this confinement, and one who was on guard let himself say: 'I do not know what is the reason why we are locked within walls, without knowing the power and plans of the Enemy. If this is to go on, it will be better and more honourable for us to sally out one day, and conquer or die.' Domingos Rebeyro, a casado of the place, heard it, and said to him: 'Do not be troubled, soldier, let them make war as much as they like: We have here the Virgin Lady of Miracles, our Patroness, and at her feet the bones of Phelipe de Oliueyra whom these enemies still fear.' He was listened to with pleasure by all, but to the no small discomfiture of the Captain when he came to hear of it.

General Constantino de Sâ, knowing that the King of Candea had divided his forces, part against Batecalou and part against Jafanapataô, to show him that it behoved him to be more cautious and be satisfied with defensive war, entered Candea, and not finding any opposition, he despatched thence as Captain-Major Domingos Carvalho Caô, Dissava of Maturê, and Luis Teyxeyra de Maçedo of the Seven-Corlas, subordinating [the latter] to Carualhô with 7,000 Lascarins and 200 Portuguese. They found Atapata on the other bank of the river on the plains of Pachelapalí. The Captain-Major did not wish to let the Modeliar escape. He sent information to Cabreyra of his arrival, and asked him to be in readiness on a certain day and hour of battle to charge the Enemy on the flanks. He ordered Luis Teyxeyra to cross the river on the side of the sea with his 3,000 Lascarins, while he waded through it on the inland side, but not to attack till he heard the musketry, for there were many muskets on supports, carrying ball of 5 ounces; but Teyxeyra came upon the sentinels of the Enemy and was not able to avoid battle. The Captain-Major repaired in all haste and charging them on his side, he there cut off 5,000 heads, while only a few of the men of Luis Teyxeyra were wounded in the first encounter. When Cabreyra arrived, our men were gathering the spoil, and
P 534 as | Atapata was taken prisoner, Thome [*sic*] Carvalho Caô ordered his head to be cut off. And after an exchange of Salutes they marched to the fortalice, and amidst applause and pealing of bells they went to Our Lady of Miracles to give thanks. | The head of Atapata was set up on a spear, and two F 291 days later they all scoured the Kingdom; and though there had been no rebellion but only preparations, because there was no one to defend it, it seemed convenient to administer a fresh oath of vassalage, and that being done, the arrayal returned to Columbo with great credit because of what it had achieved. Only two Religious of St. Francis named Friar Amador Rangel

and Friar Andre the Englishman[1], because they did not retire in time, and two Fathers of the Society[2] [of Jesus] who were in these Parishes, were killed by the Enemies.

This was the last battle in the conquest of Jafanapataô which result is due to the Miraculous protection of the Virgin Lady of Miracles, to the vigilant care of Constantino de Sâ de Noronha and to the pious courage of Phelipe de Oliueyra, a man really great, who seeing himself attacked by so many natives and foreign Princes, though he had only a small force, never lost heart, like the great Captain Gonçalo Fernandez de Cordova in a similar enterprise and with proportionate forces in the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, because the King of Candea and the other neighbouring ones always fomented this war with reinforcements. And he of Candea finally undertook this conquest. He of Tanjaor out of ambition, and he of the Careas and others out of self-interest. Here he battled with the most warlike nations of Ceylon and of the continental Coast of Choromandel; for all mention the size of the bodies of the Badagas, as Caesar did formerly of the Gauls; and politics were able to arm against the Portuguese the forces of those Potentates in a manner resembling that which was seen in Flanders out of envy of the House of Austria and the glories of the Catholic King. Phelipe de Oliueyra acknowledged that all these successes were due to the protection of Our Lady, like a Catholic, a valiant and a prudent man, and he was not at all vain as is the case with men of little experience and perhaps of little Faith and piety, because whoever reads in the narrative of this war what has been related and what will be pointed out later, will easily understand the special patronage wherewith the most Holy Virgin concurred in it, and how this devout and grateful Captain knew to deserve and acknowledge it.

On many other occasions in the Eastern wars of the Portuguese, the Most Holy Virgin Mother of God showed this interest, appearing to the enemies, and sometimes to the Christians who took the field in our favour; and she was no less propitious to the Portuguese than terrible to their foes, enfeebling the minds and the swords of the one, and giving strength to the others, as happened in the second siege of Dio, in the great siege of Chaul,
P 535 and on other | occasions when, though our numbers were very unequal, with the arm of God and the patronage of Our Lady, the victory ever remained to us. But in this | conquest of F 291v
Jafanapataô these favours were so often repeated that it is quite certain that it was obtained more by her help than by our arms. When Phelipe de Oliueyra came to this Kingdom he knew this

[1] The first Englishman to live in Ceylon.
[2] Bernardino Pecci, S. J. and Mathew Fernandez, S. J.

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full well, and he most carefully endeavoured not to become unworthy of this favour. He recommended to her all his undertakings with a lively Faith and obsequious devotion, never sallying forth against the enemy without first visiting her and having recourse to her patronage, always confessing and communicating, along with the other Captains and soldiers, in her Church before taking the field, lowering the flag first at her feet, and ordering that it should ever be hung in her chapel, a laudable and pious custom which was observed ever afterwards. And to kindle the remembrance of these favours, when after the conquest he erected that fortalice in a form capable of resisting the natives, he not only included in it the Church of Our Lady, but would not give it any other name than that of Our Lady of Miracles, and so it was named in the juridical documents; and in order that the other Religious should concur with due respect according to their devotion, he often said to them: 'Fathers, let your Paternities arrange your feasts in such a way that they never conflict with any that is celebrated in this Church of Our Lady of Miracles; and however great the Solemnity may be [elsewhere], you must not fail to come here even if it were only for a High Mass.' And he was so diligent in promoting the cult of Our Lady, that when any musician appeared in that country he gave him a Salary to sing in that Church; and when he came to know that there was in Manâr a casado who had a son, a tenor, he brought him to Patanaô and gave him every year 40 patacas from his own to teach the Collegians, with the obligation however of assisting at the feasts of the Parish Church also. Others he kept in the barracks if they could be used as soldiers, otherwise he maintained them at his own cost. As long as he lived, however much he may have been occupied, he never missed the Litany which was sung every day at sunset, nor on Saturday mornings at the Mass of the Conception, nor in the evening at the Salve, taking the others with him with candles in their hands. He became perpetual Mordomo of the Confraternity of Our Lady, and after his example the Captains and soldiers [also did the same]. In such a manner did he acknowledge the patronage of Our Lady that the Religious heard him say often: 'Fathers, all the victories which I had in this Kingdom were miraculous, and the Virgin Mother granted them to me; and to her are due all the thanks and praises, because as I understood afterwards I was on the way to perdition, but Our Lady by that very same way disposed the victories which I obtained; and once when a preacher repeated these words of his in a sermon on the feast of Our Lady, after Mass | he sought him out in his F 292
Cell and thanked him for it and repeated it often. Last of

P 536 all, in token of his devotion | and gratitude, he ordered by his testament that he should be buried in the Church of Our Lady, where his bones lie calling upon the Portuguese to recover that Kingdom justly conquered by him and unjustly subjected to the misbelieving Caluinists. And in order that we may not forget the gratitude which all the Religious owe him, and the great things which in his devotion he intended to do, let us conclude this short record of his praises by saying: That one of the things which he had foremost before his eyes after he had conquered that Kingdom, was to see it converted to our Holy Faith and to co-operate to that end, being persuaded on the one hand that this was a duty he owed to God in gratitude for the many favours He had done to him in that Kingdom, and on the other hand that His Majesty had lieges more safe and less exposed to rebellion, because they were all of the same religion of Christ. With this thought worthy of his piety and of his generous heart when he saw the Kingdom in peace, he wrote a letter to the Father Friar Luis da Cruz, Commissary-General of St. Francis, wherein after relating to him the many favours which God had bestowed on him in that conquest and the peaceful manner in which that Kingdom was after its subjugation to His Majesty, he begged him with all earnestness for many of his Religious, because he intended with the help of God and their Zeal and labours to convert all those pagans, for which he promised him all his support in the matter of the conversion as well as for the cost of the Churches which would have to be built, pointing out that at least some of them should be learned men, as are required for a new Christianity. The Fathers of St. Francis looked upon this opportunity as a Godsend, and though many offered anew for that Holy enterprise, there were sent only those who seemed to be needed at the time. Great was the contentment of Phelipe de Oliueyra when they arrived at Jafanapataô, and in order that the Natives might see the love and respect wherewith he treated them, and that they might, after his example, have the same, he always made it a point to observe great reverence; and it often happened that when he was in the verandah in the company of Modaliares and Araches and received a message that a Religious had come to speak to him, he rose at once and went a good distance to receive him at the top of the stairs, and in the presence of them all, who also accompanied him, he fell on his knees and kissed the habit. And if the Religious out of humility or courtesy tried to avoid this by giving him his hand, he would tell him apart: 'Father, let me make this demonstration before these people; for you will be respected by them as you are respected by me.' And

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often would he tell the great men of the Kingdom when he was in conversation with them: 'I am your Captain, and I am here in the place of the King | of Portugal to punish you if you F 292v deserve it, but the Reverend Father who is here, and all the others who are in this Kingdom are above me and their feet upon my head, and if they wish to seize me, I shall have to P 537 cross my arms and hie me to prison.' When | he wished to appoint any Christian of the country to any office which he petitioned for, he would tell him: 'You must first bring me a letter from your Father as to your conduct and whether you are a good Christian, and then I will give you the office you ask.' In the same manner and affection he always treated the other Religious after he introduced them into that Kingdom; and it is certain that so many pagans could not have been converted in such a short time, were it not for the great favour with which he ever co-operated, because with his authority and Zeal, by the help of God and with the patronage of the Virgin Our Lady, so many were those who were converted and received the Sacrament of baptism, and in such a short time, that from the year [1]624 up to [1]626 the Fathers of St. Francis alone baptized more than 52,000 souls, and among them all the nobility of the Kingdom, for there were three general baptisms. [One] on the eve of [the feast] the Expectation of Our Lady in the year 1624, with all grandeur and pomp in that same Church of Our Lady of Miracles, wherein were included many of the chief men, such as the three Modaliares who were left, almost all the Araches, and the greater part of the Bragmanes of the Pagodes, both natives and foreigners, with their wives and families, which came to 150 persons, the Fathers obtaining from the Captain-Major that all the foreign Bragmanes who did not wish to receive the Faith be driven out of the Kingdom, because they were a great prejudice to Christianity.

The Sacrament of Baptism was also received by two Vaneas and Adiuiras[1] of Panangamao, who are their Dukes and Marquisses, and about 60 persons more of their household and relatives and up to 20 Cumaras, that is those who have kinship with the Royal House, and among them four were Princes, as they were nephews of the King, nine Pantangatis, chiefs of nine villages, 400 Careas, men and women; and in another Baptism more than 600 boys and girls, their children under 11 years of age. There were always present at the

[1] A term used by Fr. Negrao evidently, for it occurs with the same explanation in Soledade. *Hist. Sarafic. III.*, 842, 'Adiviras, which means Duke and Marquiss.'

sermons that were made, and at these celebrations the Captain-Major, Phelipe de Oliueyra, the Vigayro da Vara with the Portuguese and people, the example of the great ones making the conversion of the lesser ones much easier; and of Phelipe de Oliueyra may be said what Father Bartoli said of D. Constantino de Bragança, that if there had been in India the zeal of D. Constantino at the same time as the preaching and miracles of St. Francis Xavier, it would have been converted altogether.

CHAPTER 7.

P 538 OTHER THINGS WHICH THE RELIGIOUS OF ST. FRANCIS DID IN JAFANAPATAÕ

| After relating the temporal conquest of Jafanapataõ, F 293
begun by the Governor of India Martim Afonso de Souza, carried out by the Viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança, though it was soon interrupted, and continued by Andre Furtado de Mendonça and by Phelipe de Oliueyra, though at first it remained in the possession of its Kings and was afterwards reduced to [the status of] a Province, due order and reason require that we should relate what further was done for the spiritual conquest, the first object of the most Serene Kings of Portugal, and the first to be forgotten by our Historians, about which Manoel de Faria e Souza complains with good reason, because this great neglect and pernicious omission gave a handle to foreign Historians to publish that we attempted only the temporal conquest, and that therefore God punished us by means of heretical arms, while the fact is that throughout all this East there was not a Kingdom where the Faith of Christ was not preached; but there was not the same progress as in [the kingdoms of] the New World for three general reasons: first because we did not conquer so many lands as the Spaniards did there; secondly because many of these Kingdoms belonged to Moors who neither listen to nor allow the preaching of the Faith in public: thirdly because the Idolators and their Princes are fanatical and most obstinate in their blindness, and those who follow the law of Buddum, Foê, or Xaca (all these names he has in different nations, his own being Xechiâ) except in Japan, seem to be doomed men as we have discussed.

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The Religious of St. Francis who had taken possession of the cultivation of the Kingdom of Jafanapataõ with their blood, and afterwards seeing the door open by the conquest of Andre Furtado de Mendonça, did not miss the opportunity of returning to the cultivation of that vineyard which 31 years before was altogether wild. In the year 1591, when Father Friar Manoel Pinto was their Commissary-General, and Friar Nicolao da Cruz, whom they called de Arrayolos, Visitor of the Bishop of Cochin, D. Frey Andre de S. Maria, information was given to Father Friar Lucas de S Francisco, Commissary of the South, residing in Manâr, to send to take possession of the hermitage of the Cross, erected by a Christian of the country named Antonio Fernandez, on a spot on the sea-shore on which Andre Furtado de Mendonça afterwards encamped his arrayal. And in this small Hut he placed a Cross and carefully cleared and decorated it on Saturdays, and it was the first that was erected in that Kingdom since the time when the Viceroy D. Constantino visited the place. It served as a shelter to the Friars who went about there. Friar Lucas sent Friar Pedro de Christo to take possession of it and
P 539 to remain there. There he remained for some | months till the King, Pera Rajera Pandara, gave him some houses near his Palace which had belonged to Panica Paniquem, his fencing-master, where he built a larger hermitage under the invocation of Our Lady of Victory in thanksgiving for the victory which Andre Furtado de Mendonça had obtained. There these Religious lived till the year [1]614, in that want and poverty which they everywhere Holily | observed, and from there F 293v
they began to spread our Holy Faith in that Kingdom. Already in the year [1]600 the Commissary-General, Friar Miguel de S Bõa Ventura, sent Friar Francisco do Oriente, a native of Goa, to live in that house as Rector and Commissary of the Southern parts, an office which he held several times and usually, even as a Prelate, he accompanied the arrayals; and leaving his companion Friar Andre de S. Joseph at home, he went to Tanadiua, which is also called the Quay of elephants, because it is facing another island from which alone elephants are embarked; and reaching the village Vrature, he found Tristaõ Golayo de Castelbranco, a casado of S. Thome, who had come to build a boat, and from whom he asked for timber to erect a Cross; and cutting down a thick jungle, the den of deer and other game, the tree of life was set up, at the foot of which he built a cottage to shelter him from the Sun, because he could scarcely stand on his legs for weakness.

The King had bidden and ordered the Natives not to let a Cross be erected there, because it was the patrimony of one of his Princes, and coming to hear of what had taken place, he waxed angry and sent Pera Pule Arache with men-at-arms to go and throw it into the river along with all those who defended it. One of [the Friar's] friends, a Modeliar, sent him warning of it; and when the Arache appeared afterwards on the opposite island, Castel Branco, not knowing why he came, took up arms with his men. The Father enlightened him saying that the quarrel was with him for erecting the Cross, and embracing it he said: 'How happy would my fate be, if now I shed my blood here, and give my life at the feet of the Glorious Cross.' The Arache arrived and seeing the Father embracing it, said: 'Did the King not find any one except me to send to fling this Cross into the sea with him who defends it? I do not see how I can do it, for there is none to resist me, except this poor *Tabaqui*,[1] which means Yogi; 'Who will raise his hand against him?': and turning away he said 'Let us go. Let the King send some one else here to do it.' He gave an account of everything to the King who passed everything by, as his wrath was spent. And meanwhile at eleven o'clock of the night of the vigil of the [feast of the] Holy Ghost they set fire to the hermitage [of Our Lady] of Victory; and a boy named Agustinho in great haste put it out, and dragged out Father Friar Andre from under the ashes of his house; and the bell being rung, there came to their assistance four Portuguese resident there, Santos de Souza, Antonio Alvarez, Roque Vaz Caldeyra, and Gregorio Pires, and when the [altar]picture was pulled out, the whole frame work of the
P 440 house came down, | and everything was soon consumed, as the roof was of *ola*. The Father went to relate the matter to his Commissary, and on returning he found the pagan king at the door of the hermitage indignant at what he saw, and consoling the Father he said he would order another and a larger one to be built. He [the king] soon received a letter from the Commissary wherein he expressed his great grief at the scant reverence shown to that hermitage, though that land belonged to the King of Portugal | and he was his vassal, and C F 294 that he regretted to have to complain to the Viceroy of India and to his Prelates.

The King made excuse that he knew nothing and that he had personally gone to order another [and a] better one to be built and asked him not to be disquieted about it. He called the

[1] *Cf.* p. 83, n. 1.

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Modeliares and Araches and intimated to them that they should not depart without felling all the timber necessary for the building, and that they should retire only at night, ordering under grave penalties that within a space of eight days the Church and houses should be finished; and so it was done. The Father Commissary went to see it and thanked the King for the work and for the promptitude, and [the King] again offered to do anything that might be needed and renewed his excuses for what had happened. He returned to Vrature and wrote to the Commissary-General how important it was to build the house of S. Joaõ in the place on which a Cross had been erected and Mass said, and that this would not be done unless Father Friar Pedro de Betancor came to erect it, because of the great respect which all had for him, who was known to them under the name Canaré[1] Padre, or the Father with spectacles, and that on his arrival, he (the Commissary) should be given permission to retire to the Convent of S. Antonio in Baçaim where he had taken the habit and [where he] desired to die. Meanwhile he preached the Gospel in those islands, wherein by his example and instruction he converted many to our Holy Faith; and when he received letters from which he learnt that Father Friar Pedro had been sent for that work with the approval of the Bishop of Cochin who gave orders through a Cleric that it should be erected, and when he received the permission he had asked for, full of years and merits he went to Baçaim, where a few months afterwards he fell ill, and on the feast of the Resurrection of Our Lord, having received all the Sacraments, he gave up his soul to the Lord.

Father Friar Pedro came with letters of the Bishop of Cochim and of the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha,[2] in which the latter likewise ordered him to get some vessels ready in those seas to cut off reinforcements from Candea. With these orders he set out from Columbo, arrived at Manâr, fitted out four [vessels] and a *besteyro*, and others for his guard, and in warlike array they passed in sight of Jafanapataõ, and he went to the Vrature. And as the King knew him from the time he founded the house of Mantôta in Manâr, that he was a man so efficacious in his resolution that he never undertook a thing which he did not carry out, and that he was so respected that it was enough to give as a signal the leaves of a pine tree which he had at the gate for people to come at his call from three to

[1] Tam. *Kannadi*, spectacles.

[2] 1600–1605.

P 541 four leagues, without going home | for meals, in order to hinder this new work, the King ordered those of the Island under severe penalties not to let it be done, but to inform him of everything ; and the same order he gave to the Princes, the Lords of the Island. But the inhabitants, won over by good pay, provided him with everything necessary, and the Father seeing himself opposed, resolved to carry out his purpose, and ordered a tent to be made | in which he lived with his com- F 294v panions and with the *besteyro* tied to his [bed's] head and the key of the chain in his hands, they kept watch at night, and they got on well with the work. Then there appeared Lançarote de Seyxas Cabreyra, Captain of a fleet bound for Batecalou, but as he was in a hurry he agreed to treat of this business on his return. He returned in a short time and wrote to the King to be pleased to give permission to the Father to erect that Church as the Bishop of Cochim and his Prelate had recommended him. He replied that he would give him 4,000 pardaos for the expenses of the fleet and asked him to await a reply from the Viceroy. Cabreyra insisted again, and the King fearing that he would do it by force agreed to what the Bishop desired. Satisfied with this answer they cut down the forest and built a small Church and said Mass ; and there they remained till the year [16]24,[1] when the King gave permission to build a large Church, provided that a College or Seminary for the education of children was first erected near the house of Our Lady of Miracles as had been promised ; and this permission and donation was given by an *ola* of copper which is preserved in the convent of Cochin.

He charged Father Friar Angelo to build the Church of stone and mortar with the greatest possible diligence, and crossed to Manâr and built a Church of S. Joaô at the point of the bar, and as he had no Religious to place there, he gave it to the ordinary, and afterwards in the year 1642 the Bishop of Cochim, D. Frey Miguel Rangel, a Dominican, coming to those parts gave it to his Religious. He afterwards erected the Church of Aripo, and that of Nanâta, and passing to Perangalim built that of S. Iago. A little further ahead in Chitaveli [he built] that of the Holy Cross. The King felt it much and sent to promise him a sum of money to leave off and let the walls go to ruin with time, because on the other hand he did not want it to be said that the Father pulled them down on his order. He made no account of the promise and finished this one and erected another in the Vani, another in Ilaur under the invocation of the Conception, and lastly another in Punarim ;

[1] *Sic*, probably a mistake for 1614.

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and having done all this with incredible activity and promptitude, he soon returned to Manâr whence he made his excursions to Mantôta, which being already a large Christianity, he divided into several Parishes. God did not fail to help his zeal, for when he was busy with the buildings of Mantôta, he was in need of a bell and had no metal to make it with. Trusting in God, he told the young cowherds that if they found even a Pagode of metal at the foot of trees, they should come and tell him, promising a cloth for each one. In a few days one of them came to tell him that in a certain place there was P 542 a metal finger [showing] above the ground, | and that he was not able to pull it out. He at once went with men and instruments and digging the place pointed out found about 20 Pagodes of diverse sizes, out of which he made the bell which was used for many years. At another time not having the wherewith | to pay the workmen, he had recourse to Our Lady, F 295 and as they were digging the foundation, they came upon an earthen pot full of Lazarucos with which he made payment and continued his works, spending only about 2 years on so many.

Father Friar Angelo de Saluador was busy at the same time with the salvation of those islanders and the building of the Church, and though he was much advanced in years, infirm, and very lean, he considered work a recreation. And as the Prelates recommended to the Father Friar Pedro the same expedition in the work of S. Joaõ, the old man retired to the isle of the cows where the piety of Antonio Rebelo, its Seigneur, was a great relief to him, but finally seeing himself incapacitated by years and labour in the missions and armies, with the permission of the Prelates, he went to Columbo where Lançarote de Seyxas Cabreyra and his wife, well-known for her piety and other good qualities throughout the whole of India and even to the very Hollanders under the name of Senhora Maria Teles, took him to their house, because he was ill, and with special care tried to preserve his life till he ended his days in peace, having received all the Sacraments. The materials being collected for the Church of S. Joaõ, Father Friar Pedro laid the first stone of a large Church, and as soon as the walls had risen to a height, he built a shed within it in which he lived, and afterwards a storied dormitory with three cells, spending ten years in the work, because the expenses were great and there were built two bastions as a guard, so that it served as a fortalice. In the meanwhile he was occupied with the cultivation of Christianity, and in order that the children might be better grounded in the Faith, he begged each of the Taliares for a son to bring up ; and treating them

like a Father, he carefully taught them the Catechism, and such was his application to all things that any time given to rest he considered time lost.

At the same time he tried to build a new Church of Our Lady of Victory in the town of the Portuguese in Jaffnapataõ, half a league from Nelûr, and as he desired to shift the site as well to the place where the Moors had their Mosque, because it was overlooking the Quay and a little away from the town, and knew well that they would not give that place freely, in the year [1]614, without minding the consequences, he ordered the Mosque to be set on fire secretly one night; and the wind being favourable in spite of all the assistance it was reduced to ashes. The Moors forthwith went to the King to complain that the Canaré Padre had ordered fire to be set to their Mosque for no one else could have done it. They clamoured for justice against such mischief, alleging their ancient possession of the place. The King, though he well knew the intentions of the Father, repressed them saying: 'That they had no
P 643 reason to complain of him, | so long as they did not know the author for certain, and that when they found this out, he would do them justice; and meanwhile he sent them to another street which was afterwards called the street of the Moors. | And as F 295v they did not wish to accept it, he said to them: 'Do you know why I send you there? It is because, if it is sure that Canaré Padre ordered it to be burnt, burnt it will be, as often as you rebuild it, he will have it burnt; for I know his character, that he never undertakes a thing but carries it out, the more so if he is persuaded that it is for the service of God.'

Upon this explanation they accepted the new site, and the King gave the Father that of the Mosque to build the Church. He still had to buy a few houses of the Moors to drive them completely out of that place, when he learnt that they were already bought. The Nayque of Tanjaor, either because of the understanding he had with him, or because of his intention to conquer Jafanapataõ, gave him a village of 1,000 paradaos of rent for the works of Our Lady and the erection of the Church, because he knew he was a great giver of alms and that he welcomed all his lieges who came to Jafanapataõ, but on his death it reverted to the Crown and there was none to ask it from him again. The materials being gathered, on the 8th of May, 1614, with the Fathers of Manâr and those of the other Parishes, and with all the solemnity of a High Mass and sermon, he laid the first stone, and later on a large Church under the same invocation of Our Lady of Victory was built, which did not last long, for it was changed into Our Lady of Miracles, for the reason which we now give.

CHAPTER 8.

Notices of the Prodigies of the Sacred Image of Our Lady of Miracles

Father Friar Fransisco de S. Antonio of Cochim had brought a piece of wood in which had been begun an image of the wonder-worker, St. Anthony; and changing his mind in Jafanapataõ he ordered a Pagan statuary named Anacotî to make therefrom an image of Our Lady of Victory. And while it was yet unfinished, as regards the face and other features, with the fingers unseparated, God began to work miracles with it, and the sculptor came to throw himself at the feet of Father Friar Fransisco and ask him to take it away from the house because of the fear and respect which he had conceived from what he had seen it do. The Father who was very anxious to have it perfected asked Roque Vaz and Antonio Aluarez to go with him to the house of the craftsman where they raised an altar with a frontal and altar-cloths
P 644 under a canopy, and in it they placed | the new image, ordering the workman to wash his body, tie his hair, and dress himself in clean clothes, and as he did not dare to approach it alone, they themselves brought it and told him once and again to set his hands to the instruments to perfect it, but he never dared, finding himself hindered, and only begged | to have it F 296 removed, which the Father determined to do the next day.

The craftsman being examined, first by the Father and afterwards on oath by the Ouuidor, as there was not yet any ecclesiastical Court, deposed as follows:—'That while he was working in his house on the Sacred Image on the 25th of May, 1614, there came to his house a pagan named Engabaõ, and in order to entertain him, he left off the work. Without any reflection he sat on the Image, and it threw him with great force on to the ground far from it in the presence of other persons who were also there. The Pagan, angry and ashamed, rose up and again sat on the same Image and was thrown much further with greater force with clothing disordered and senseless.[1]

[1] This image was smuggled across to Batavia by the Portuguese prisoners of Jaffna in 1658 in spite of the keen scrutiny to which the Dutch subjected them. It was brought thence to Goa, and the confraternity of Our Lady of Miracles was established in Goa in its honour. On the walls of the Chapel of this confraternity in the Parish of S. Pedro, Old Goa, six scenes are depicted as brought to light by Father Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I. Scene No. IV. represents this miracle. And the legend reads: 'Twice the image threw away from itself with great force a *gentio* who, having come on a visit to the image maker, wanted to sit on the sacred image which was lying unfinished in his house.'

'That one day, when he wanted to work at it, he sat on the blessed Image, and he had scarcely finished this action when it threw him on to the ground to a distance, and that he was so unconscious that they had to carry him in their arms, as if he were dead, and he did not recover except after a long while and as if raised from the dead.'

'That a few days afterwards one of his daughters named Angea while chewing betel spat out the remnants, and through carelessness and inadvertence some fell on the Image of Our Lady, and he rebuked her severely ordering her to clean it; and as she was doing so with the end of the cloth with which she was dressed, she was thrown on the ground far away from the Image and senseless whence she was raised in the arms of her mother; nor did she come to herself but after a long hour.'

He said further 'that these marvels of the Sacred Image getting abroad, many people began to assemble in his house and among them Phelipe do Prado, a native of Cochim, much troubled by pains in the stomach and in addition lame of one foot, because on the way a large thorn had run into it which he was unable to extract; and prostrating himself at the feet of the blessed Image, he besought a remedy for his ills, and he asked Anacotî for one of the chips of wood which were on the ground. He gave them to him, and putting one in his mouth, all of a sudden he found himself cured in the stomach, and the thorn came out to the admiration of all present.'

'That on the 12th of June, there came to his house Christouaõ, Meyrinho of the Church, with a little daughter of his who suffered great pain in her eyes, matter coming out of them and blood, and she saw nothing. The Father, prostrating himself on the ground with the girl before [the image of] the Lady, promised a little oil to burn before it if she obtained a cure, and at once she was cured and saw clearly.'

P 545 'That on the 6th of July there came to his house Luis Bernardes, a casado and inhabitant of Cochim, very ill and weakened by a great flow of blood from his genitals from which he suffered great pain, being swollen with inflamma- *F 296v* tion, with eyes jaundiced, and unable to evacuate. He threw himself at the feet of the Lady, begging a remedy for so many ailments, and begging Anacotî to graze the sacred feet and to give him a particle of the filing; the which he did not dare

do, but gave him a little bit of a chip out of those he had preserved for his own use and that of his family. The sick man first placed it on his eyes and a part he put into his mouth, and as it was late, he kissed the feet of the Sacred Image and ordered himself to be taken home in the chair in which he came. On the following day, 7th July, he returned hale, and as strong as if he had never been ill, and prostrating himself at the feet of the Lady, with his eyes bathed in tears, he gave [the image] many kisses, and full of joy he retired to the astonishment of those who had seen him the day before.'

'That on the 6th of July, there came to his house the tailor Antonio Vaz with many people drawn by the fame of the Miracles, and seeing that all kissed the feet of the Sacred Image he said: 'I am going to kiss the hand,' and as he applied his mouth, God at once punished his pride, and he received on it such a blow that it made much blood flow in the sight of all who were there.'[1]

'That a few days afterwards there came to the same house a slave woman of Roque Vaz who for some years past had a flux of matter from which she suffered great pains, and throwing herself at the feet of the Lady, she begged a bit of a chip, and putting it in the mouth, of a sudden she found herself cured and retired joyful and happy.'

'That on the 14th July, a Meyrinho of the Church named Ventura was with great fever, and wishing to set out on a journey which was of great importance to him, he could not take a step. Bethinking himself of the Miracles he had heard related, to use his own words, he said within himself: 'I should like to try whether these Miracles are true which are related of that Image; they will be true indeed, if she gives me health and strength to walk.' He went to the house of Anacotỹ and in the presence of all he promised a *fanao* [worth] of gold leaf thread to help to gild its hair. He gave him a bit of a chip, and putting it in his mouth, in a short time he found himself cured (though his doubts well deserved longer delay).'

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[1] Scene VI. The image on a table below the Niche. Some people on their knees kissing the feet of the image, while one, bleeding all over, stands on a side.

Legend: 'Many people were attracted to the house of the imago-maker by the fame of the miracles wrought by it when still unfinished. One of them refused to kiss the feet as the others did, and advanced forward to kiss the hand, whereupon he received so sharp a blow on the face that he bled profusely.'

He said further that never afterwards did he dare to touch the blessed Image with his hands or with his instruments; rather as often as he found himself before it, he trembled. like the wind, of which he gave as witness Father Friar Francisco de S. Antonio and his companions when they came to his house. That on that day there came first Catharina de Sâ Rebelo, wife of Santos de Souza, greatly afflicted by a flow of blood, being with child, and falling at the feet of Our Lady she
P 546 prayed for health, promising in | exchange for the son, should she have one, a child of silver. Wonderful to say she was instantly cured and became the mother of a son without any grief. She named him Manoel and fulfilled the promise.

| And on the 20th July, there came to his house Thome F 297
Fernandez, a Carea by caste, resident in Manâr, who in paganism was called Aemperemal, with a suckling child suffering from fluxes, who in spite of many medicines applied received no relief. Finally he begged of him a little chip, which he gave him and putting it in water and opening the mouth with a spoon, at the time when it was already wailing, they made it drink, and at once all sickness vanished.'

These cases were so public in Jafanapataõ and afterwards throughout the whole of India that the Fathers, seeing there was no human means of perfecting that miraculous Image and heeding the urgent requests of the pagan Anacotî, that it might be removed from his house, got up a procession with all the pomp possible at the time, there taking part in it the neighbouring Religious, the Portuguese there resident, and others who had come on business, the Syndic Simaõ de Abreu labouring as much as he could for it and preparing a feretory well adorned. On the 24th July, they went in procession to fetch the Lady, and the Religious having placed it in the feretory were about to start, when the Father Commissary Friar Pedro de Betancor received information that there were on the streets some armed men on the orders of Prince Changalî to prevent the procession from passing along the street of the palace of the King. The Father asked two Portuguese, Antonio Aluarez and Antonio da Fonseca, to go and tell the King in his name what the matter was. The King manifested great grief and anger saying to the Portuguese: 'Tell the Fathers that they may not only come by this street, but that if necessary I will come in person with my people to accompany the Lady.' The procession set out and behind the miraculous Image, under a canopy, the Father Commissary carried some relics accompanied by many Fathers in copes; and the Lady in the Feretory was carried by the Mordomos [of the

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Confraternity] under the invocation of Our Lady of Victory. When they arrived at the Palace there were the King, the Queen, and children on a balcony in great admiration, and the streets filled with an innumerable crowd of pagans who afterwards were converted to the Faith of Christ.

Nor were prodigies wanting here: for a pagan seeing such ringing of bells, so many instruments of joy, such a multitude of people, said in a loud voice: 'I am surprised to see that the Portuguese, though they are men who pride themselves on knowing more than others, clothe themselves in gala dress and hold such festival to carry on their backs a piece of wood from the house of the Anacotî, the statuary to their Church!' Wonderful to say, he had scarcely uttered these words when a random shot struck his mouth and he at once fell dead in the sight of all. Nor did it stop here, for it also struck a *topaz* who was near him and maimed him of an arm, which must
P 547 have been because he approved of the saying of the pagan, but | realizing his error and repenting of it, he had himself carried to the Church, and having made a novena, returned free from all ailment. Another pagan inquired for the reason for all this rejoicing, and he was told it was because of the Miracles which the Lady had wrought, | and was doing on the way. F 297v
Raising his hands on high and in a clear voice, he said: 'Lady, if you are what these people say, cure me my son who is full of blisters, and has a large one in the eye-ball which is about to burst, I will give you the only palmyra I have and a fanam for oil.' At that very time the blister disappeared from the eye and he was completely cured. And the pagan went to the Church with the fanam worth of oil for the lamp of the Lady, and told the Father to take charge of his palmyra. The Sacred Image being brought to its poor little Church, they placed it in the middle of a table well adorned and it began thenceforth to be called by the new title and invocation of Our Lady of Miracles. There they all went to kiss the feet and a *topaz* of little faith and great presumption, allowed himself to say in a clear voice: 'Kiss the hand I will, but not the feet.' Boldly he approached his mouth to the hand, but received such a blow that much blood flowed from the lips and nostrils. He recognized his error and with great grief kissed the feet several times, begging pardon for his daring. When all had consoled themselves with kissing the feet of the Lady, the Religious placed it on the altar, where it continued to work fresh Miracles. We shall give an account of those related by Father Friar Antonio de Santa Maria, leaving the rest for the Chronicles of this Eastern Province of S. Thome.

CHAPTER 9.

Other Miracles of this Sacred Image

On the 3rd of August of the same year of 1614, the wife of Simaõ de Abreu, Syndic of the Fathers, having her mouth and teeth closed by an attack of palsy, unable to speak and out of her mind, they threw on her face some water in which they had put a chip of wood of the Sacred Image, and she was at once cured.

On the same day Roque Vaz Caldeyra, suffering greatly in his teeth, placed a chip of the same wood on them and felt no pain any more.

On the 20th of the same month, a little boy, son of Antemonio, a pagan, having recovered from measles, the Father washed his head with some kind of oil they call *aripo*[1] and by inadvertance some dropped into his eyes, whereby they were so injured that there grew such pimples in the pupils of his
P 548 eyes that when they festered it was thought he would lose his eyes. The Father and Mother with many tears asked advice from Father Paulo Diniz, and he advised them to take the child to Our Lady of Miracles. They did so, promising a palmyra and a barrel of oil for the lamp, and he was instantly cured.

| On the 24th of the same month in Negapataõ there was *F 298* the wife of Ignaçio Simoes, so greatly oppressed that for many days she was neither able to speak nor eat. A man who happened to be present, put into the water a small chip of the Miraculous wood, and she drank it with such Faith that the ailment disappeared at once and she said that a great weight which was on her heart was removed.

Manoel Caualo, a casado and resident of Manâr, came with his household to make a novena to Our Lady and wishing to bleed a servant who had fallen ill, they placed him in a basket and in spite of all the efforts of the blood-letter, the point of the lancet always bent. He remembered that within the basket was a small bit of the Miraculous wood of our Lady, and as soon as it was removed, the young man was placed there and was bled easily.

[1] Tam. *arapu*, oil extracted from the *iluppai* (Bassia longefolia). *Cf.* Dal. II., 455.

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On the 25th of the same month the wife of Joaõ Pinto who had for many days been tormented with great pain in her belly, without receiving the least relief from medicines, called upon the Virgin of Miracles, promising her a Mass, and drank a little water touched by the same wood and instantly felt quite well.

On the 27th the wife of Antonio, in paganism Langarea, with other neighbours went to bathe in a well, and removing her jewels, placed them near the garments. When she was going to dress, they were not be to found; and not knowing who had taken them, they all went to the Church of Our Lady where the companions swore that they had not taken them, and in proof of the truth they anointed their eyes with the oil of the lamp. She was very sad on account of the loss and recommended herself to Our Lady, and in her sleep there appeared a very beautiful lady, who had in her hand a stone of great value and speaking to her she said: 'Return to the well, pass in front of the place where you placed your jewels, and when you come across the rind of a *balanga* (which is a kind of fruit) which is the mark they had set, remove it and you will find the jewels.' So she did and found the jewels. As this Sacred Image was first intended for St. Anthony, the Lady did not wish to fail in the prerogative of recovering lost things.

On the 28th of this month a little girl, daughter of Francisco Ribeyro, having an eruption on the ball of the cheek, was taken by her Father to this Church on Saturday, and on applying to the cheek a little oil from the lamp of Our Lady, the eruption disappeared.

On the same day there was in the house of Roque Vaz a child at the breast whose stomach was much swollen, without obtaining any relief from other remedies, but on drinking a little water in which the Miraculous wood was dipped, she was at once cured.

P 549 | On the 4th of the following September, a Parava of Tutucurim named Antonio da Cruz, being ill and much swollen without being able to urinate in spite of all the remedies applied, | was cured on drinking the same water. *F 298v*

On the 8th of the same [month] a woman with child swept the Church with her hair out of devotion, and the strain caused such a flux of blood that she was in danger of death. Her relatives promised a barrel of oil for the lamp of Our Lady and she was instantly cured.

On the same day there arrived in that port of Patanao from Manâr a Parava painter who was called in to paint the Miracles of Our Lady. Being counselled by another not to do it, he would not agree to the price, and was wrecked on his way back to Manâr. He then tried to go by land and was bitten by a snake which brought him to death's door. He reached Parangâli and again embarked in a dhoney and after sailing the whole night, he found by morning that he was far behind, near Tanapua. He landed and again took to the road by land as far as Parangâli and thence he went to Vraturi, where he had an attack of great pain in the eyes and received no relief from the medicines till he acknowledged it to be a punishment which God had given him. He returned to the casa of Our Lady of Miracles, made a novena, and being cured returned to his country. His counseller also paid for it, for falling ill he was at death's door, and finally lost his wife.

On the 22nd of this month, a little girl of the caste of Nalati, daughter of Nachigetia, being ill, met with a fatal accident and was unable to stir on foot or hand and was only able to crawl on her breast, and the one who was nursing her and the others, seeing that she was going to die, cried out to Our Lady of Miracles promising her a barrel of oil for her lamp, and she was instantly cured.

On the 30th of the following October, a little boy named Antonio, son of Augustinho Nilem, was suffering for some time with two boils, almost one on the other, and the many medicines applied brought no relief. They promised a little oil for the lamp of Our Lady and that they would feed the poor that night. Immediately they became soft and burst, and the boy was cured.

Afterwards, on the 1st of November, Santos de Souza having a son, Manoel, very ill of the fluxes and in clear danger of life, the Mother, who as we said, had obtained him as a gift from Our Lady, went in haste to the Casa. She took her rosary and a little water with which she washed the feet of the Lady and with the same haste, gave the water to her son and placed the rosary on his head. At once he opened his eyes which he could not open before, and on asking him why he had them closed, he replied because he was sleeping, and in the sight of all he got up cured.

P 550 On the 5th December, [1]615, this same wife of Santos de Souza was taken with labour of child birth, but suddenly it disappeared leaving her greatly afflicted. Her mother *F 299* and relatives weeping cried out to Our Lady of Miracles in

whose name they gave her to drink the same water which they had preserved and she had brought for the cure of her son. As soon as she took it, she became the Mother of another child without the least affliction.

At the same time there was a Casado in the City of S. Thome who had a servant suffering from a terrible colic, and on giving him a little water of the same Image, he was immediately cured, though it was a medicine which has the opposite effect.

On the 5th of August of this year, Paulo Pirez a resident of Carcel, being blind and dumb without any hope of recovery, begged Our Lady to help him, promising to go to her casa and to bring her eyes of gold. His eyes at once opened and he recovered sight and began to speak. He set out, and as he had still some disorder in the tongue, he anointed it for three days with the oil of the lamp of Our Lady and returned home cured.[1]

On the 2nd September following, a Religious of St. Dominic named Friar Joaõ who had come from the coast of Choromandel to make a novena to Our Lady, was one night greatly molested by noises in the ears, and thinking it was some insect which was trying to get out he was frightened by the danger and cried out for confession. They poured into them dust from the Image in water and it stopped. The sound began again and the water being repeated, he was altogether cured.

On the 5th of that month Belchior Fernandez returned from abroad ill with fever and cold. He entered the Church of Our Lady and prayed and went home cured.

Afterwards on the 11th October, a woman who for many years had matter flowing from the nostrils with great headaches, was cured on making a promise to go to the casa of Our Lady.

Balthezar Martîs de Almada had a little boy by name Manoel suffering with great aches in the eyes. He took him to the Church of Our Lady, anointed him with the oil of the lamp, and the boy was cured.

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[1] Scene II. Legend: 'Paulo Pires (blind and dumb) recovered his sight perfectly, for which he came to fulfil the promise he had made of eyes of gold. He also recovered his speech whereby he confessed the miracle which Our Lady had wrought for him on his having recourse to her intercession.'

The above-related Miracles called for a magnificient Church on account of the concourse of the faithful and the respect of those neophytes of whom Our Lady had so openly declared herself the patroness ; and as it was only Friar Betancor who had the courage to undertake so great a work, when the walls had already risen a good palm above the ground and the main Chapel to a greater height, the work had to remain unfinished because his Prelate sent him a patent [appointing him] Guardian of the Convent of S. Antonio at Baçaim. And though he felt it very much because he knew the work would not progress but rather even what had been begun would be lost, he ceased work out of obedience and speaking to Our Lady he said with tears : ' I know well, my Lady, | that as a *F 299v*
P 551 miserable sinner I do not deserve to build thee | a casa, though I desire it much, nor wouldst thou accept any small service from me though I desire to render great services to thee. If this determination be acceptable to thee, order my return, for I leave aside all dignities to come to serve thee and finish this Church, on which I will spend my strength all the days of my life.' He made up the accounts with the Syndic, of the expenses of that building and though they worked from May to December [16]14, he found that there remained in the hands of the Syndic the same 70 pardaos with which he began the work. He asked the Father Friar Francisco de S. Antonio, the Rector who succeeded him, to carry on the work. He took leave of the King and of the rest who all regretted his departure because he was useful to all. He embarked in his *besteyro* for Negapataõ where he told them not to return till he came back or sent a message. He reached Goa, found a new Prelate in Father Friar Sebastiaõ dos Santos who had come from Portugal, and he accepted his renunciation, made him Commissary and Rector of the Casa of S. Joaõ and recommended him to continue the Church of Our Lady. He returned to Negapataõ, and finding his bark, reached Caes on the following day, and Father Friar Lourenço da Paz who had succeeded him then went to Negapataõ. Two days later he went to see the work of the Church of Our Lady and found it in the state in which he had left it. He set his hands and good will to it in spite of the opposition of his Religious and of the laymen who said : ' What is the use of so sumptuous a church, and at the same time a convent, because Jafanapataõ will never become anything more than what it is at present ? ' He satisfied them saying : ' Let be, Fathers and Brothers, this is not done without the will of God ; for if he had not willed it, it would have taken a different turn ; and moreover I remind you that this house will often be very

necessary to you as a remedy and refuge for your wives ; about which they did not cease to scoff. And seeing moreover the haste with which he closed a wall of the Cloister with stone and clay they said ' Father Friar Pedro is already afraid of enemies.' The wall had scarcely been finished when the land was perturbed, and on this occasion, as on many others, it became necessary for them to betake themselves to the Church and convent, and if they had not had that refuge, they would have had no other except to take to dhoneys, if they were able to get them. And though it was a great inconvenience to the Religious, they bore everything with patience to assist all, and there was verified the reply of Father Friar Pedro, made either out of his own wisdom, or by special inspiration of Heaven, as others thought and circumstances confirmed.

When Father Friar Pedro de Betancor had worked one and half years on the Church of Our Lady of Miracles and the main chapel with its vaulted root was finished and the body of the church risen as high as the clerestory or upper windows he then determined to take | Our Lady to the new Church on *P 552* the feast of SS. Simon and Jude, on which | Andre Furtado de Mendonça had conquered that kingdom, and on which was celebrated the feast of Our Lady of Victory, and along with the Fathers of Manâr and the others of the Kingdom, Portuguese and Neophytes, with many dances and other rejoicings, the procession set out through the streets ; and while singing the Psalm *Dixit Dominus*, when they arrived at the verse, *Virgam Virtutis tuae emitet Dominus ex Sion dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum*, they repeated the verse several times without remarking it, God desiring to show that it was that rod of Jesse which dominated that Kingdom in things temporal and spiritual. They placed the Lady on the Altar as there was not yet a retable, and so it remained till the year [1]620. There was a High Mass, and Father Friar Luis de S. Diogo preached the sermon and the people celebrated the feast by many confessions and communions. When this was finished, Father Friar Pedro passed to the Islands, where all were baptized, and from thence he visited Negapataõ and S. Thome as Commissary of the South. Afterwards he returned to Jafanapataõ when the Portuguese were taking shelter in the Church as he had foretold. He told them that the Captain of Manâr was on his way and that they might well return to their houses. Our Captain arrived with some men and Changalî betook himself to the Palace ; and while they were in possession of them a certain person, who is not named, flourished a sword and that was enough for the people to be

disquieted again. They thought it best that all should return to the Church, and on the way they killed a certain Lungarâ. a Portuguese, and some slaves who remained behind. Thence he [Father Pedro] passed to the Church of St. John the Baptist, in the company of our Captain, and without his knowledge Changâlî obtained the reinforcement from Tanjaor with which he regained possession of the Government as was related at the end of the third book.

Father Friar Pedro de Betancor being worn out by labours in the service of God and of those Christanites, at the age of 70 years gave up his soul to his Creator having received all the Sacraments in that same house of Our Lady which he had founded with such zeal. He was buried in the middle of the main chapel where were already buried some of those who had accompanied him at the laying of the first stone. When he buried them on one side and the other, he used to say: 'This place in the middle is for me.' There he was till the year [1]627 when that tomb was opened for the body of the Captain and Governor Phelipe de Oliueyra, and his bones were deposited in an urn in the tribune of the presbytery on the Gospel side.

CHAPTER 10.

P 553 OTHER NOTICES AND MIRACLES OF OUR LADY

With special pleasure I continue the memoirs which I F 300v found of the most Holy Virgin of Miracles, because there are so many circumstances worthy of consideration, both in the matter of the Miracles which she wrought, as well as in the special protection which she had over that Kingdom in war and peace, that I might appear ungrateful for so many benefits, if I failed to publish prodigies so often repeated. Father Friar Antonio de Sta. Maria, to whom fell this charge on the death of Father Friar Pedro, was working on the steps of the High Altar and the tribunes of the presbyteries and Our Lady was in the middle of the Church surrounded by poor mats when there arrived at that post, coming from China, in a galliot Diogo de Mendonça Furtado, that gentleman who when Captain-Major of the seas of Malacc did marvels of courage against Athem and the Hollanders, and to whom, when he was afterwards Governor of Brazil,

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they tried to impute the negligence of other people regarding the fortification of the City of Baia de todos os Santos, though it was quite manifest that fortifications of that kind are not built in a term of three years' Government, and [to impute to him] the disorders with which those residents surrendered that City to the Hollanders in the 24th year of this century on the 26th of May. Father Friar Antonio visited him; and when he asked him what was the state of that building of our Lady about whose Miracles he had heard so much, and when he related to him the poverty in which it was and the want of a reredos, Mendonça said: 'I am taking with me a case made for a crucifix, and if it can fit Our Lady, I will give it with great pleasure.' The Father took it with him, intending to give it back if it could not serve the purpose; and he presented it to Our Lady begging her to be pleased to use it, and it fitted the image as exactly, with the crown on the head, as if it had been made for it, God disposing that a case made for a crucifix should serve for the ark of the Testament and that the Mother and Son should make an exchange, the first purpose being as pleasing as the other. On the following day Diogo de Mendonça came to visit Our Lady and seeing her in his case, he wept for joy, repeatedly kissing her feet and saying, that he considered himself happy that Our Lady should make use of his offer. She was in it till the reredos was made, and afterwards it served Our Lady of Health in the Church of Mantôta.

Father Friar Pedro had ordered the reredos from Negapatão, and the Captain-Major Phelipe de Oliueyra knowing that it was already in the Church of Caes and that 60 patacas were wanted to pay Adriano Marins, and that he had not the wherewith to pay, with great pleasure gave the money, and the reredos was placed on the feast of St. James; and on the following day, the feast of S. Anne, they placed P 554 Our Lady in it | Then took place the war of the Badagaz which we related, and because on that occasion it became known that Our Lady had declared herself Patroness of the Kingdom, there grew the desire to finish and enrich her dwelling place. They assisted with alms | in imitation of F 301 the Captain-Major. The Prelates of Goa and Father Friar Antonio de S. Bernadino, Rector of the Church of S. Joaõ, to whom the works were entrusted, considered it impossible to finish the work at the time. However Father Friar Antonio de Santa Maria worked and laboured so much with the assistance of the Captain-Major, who ordered carpenters to come from S. Thome, and also made use of some wood belonging to the Palaces of those Kings, whereby

he was able to bring the work to a finish; and wonderful to say, beams of iron wood brought thence, without taking any measure, were placed on the walls and were found to fit exactly. The Captain-Major was trying at the same time to build a Misericordia at his cost. And his piety may be seen in this: going to hear Mass on a Saturday, 14th of August [16]22, he noticed some cross beams lying ready to be taken up, and speaking to Martim Cota Falcaõ, Fernaõ de Brito Correa, Antonio Rebello and the Captains of the infantry, he told them wittily: 'I wager the Father Rector, Friar Antonio de Santa Maria, wants us to carry this first lot up, because it is the eve of the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady,' and tucking up his sleeves he laid hold of the rope saying: 'Let us do what he wants': They all set their hands to it with pleasure and to the sound of the bells and tambours, and kettle drums and the musketry of 7 companies, they carried them up. It was finished by the 8th of September, for that was the feast day which was celebrated every year with all the pomp and devotion possible and with many confessions and communions. There was that day a procession with the most Holy Sacrament in a Monstrance of silver, gilt, which also had been given by the Captain-Major, who with others directed the procession. And in it there was Our Lady in costly ornaments and other Images to put her in possession of the Kingdom and town; and so many were the rejoicings that they were all surprised to find in Jafanapataõ so many dances, shows, fancy dresses at night, so many play actors and so many voices in the Choir, for all were stirred by the zeal of the Captain-Major.

There was no lack of fresh prodigies after Our Lady took possession of her new house, for besides those which we have narrated, when the first feast being over, they wanted to hoist more beams of wood, the upper ropes being of coir became so entangled that there was no means to raise them higher nor any weight to let them come down. The Religious who were present had recourse to Our Lady who was covered by the curtains of the reredos and those of the niche and her face appeared through them and immediately the ropes were extracted with ease and the wood was lifted, and the face of Our Lady was not seen any more.

P 555 | When the Church was being roofed with tiles, there still lacked a moiety, and Father Friar Antonio desired | to F 301v have it finished for the feast of Christmas. Then a Champâna [full] of tiles came to Manâr, and though Fernaõ de Brito wished to buy them at a good price, they did not wish to sell him more than 1,000. The Father then asked Our Lady

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that since she saw the shortage, she should make it suffice, and so she did for the greater estimation of her mediation with God, and the work was finished.

Manoel Pacheco, a casado of Negapataõ disembarked, at the gate of the Church of Our Lady, bare-footed, with a sack on his back, in which he brought more than 500 cruzados, which he offered at the Altar of Our Lady. Out of this money Father Friar Antonio took 120 patacas, of which he made a Cross of silver, but when the silver-smith tried to give it a polish, he did not succeed. He prostrated himself before Our Lady, begging her affectionately to help him in that work, and on resuming the work, he succeeded in getting the polish. The Father to satisfy the client's devotion engraved his name at the foot, and the reason for this was that Manoel Pacheco going to Junçalao in one of his galliots, ran aground on a sandbank at the entrance of the river. He unloaded the ship and promised a moiety of its value to Our Lady of Miracles. The ship then got off the sand bank and sailed straight to the anchorage. He made another voyage to Malaca and on his return sold her and gave what was promised to Our Lady.

In the same year of [1]621 Francisco de Souza set out in a ship from Vrixâ to Malaca, and after sailing for two or three days and losing sight of land, he wished to hoist the main sail. There burst a great storm which soon brought down the top mast and killed two or three slaves, and all the sail being carried away, there remained the bare mast. They lightened [the ship] of all they were carrying, and cut away the masts, and remained lost in those seas. Manoel Rodriguez Teyxeyra reminded them all in these straits to recommend themselves to Our Lady of Miracles and she would assist them. They cried out to Our Lady, promising alms for her works. Straightaway the weather grew fair and a favourable wind for Negapataõ set in. Encouraged by this favour, they again invoked her and made a little cross with the capstain bars (such were their precautions for similar events,) and placed a patch of cloth and hoped to steer to Negapataõ, but in spite of their utmost labours the ship did not obey the helm, but yawed for Jafanapatao.

Understanding that such was the will of Our Lady, they made for that port and in great calm they reached Caes, but not knowing the Channel they ran into the sandbank at the point of Cardiua. The ship ran against a rock and Gonçalo Vaz Teyxeyra, who was Captain there, came to their assistance, and coming on board recommended them all to call upon | Our Lady of Miracles. They besought her favour and F 302

immediately the ship surmounted the rocks and floated. But as she was taking in much water, before coming to the port of
P 556 S. Joaõ, they discharged the cargo in great haste | and though the leak was under the water, she took in no more water, for a cable had wegded itself in such a manner as if it had been caulked with oakum, all of which circumstance they judged to be miraculous. They all went barefooted to offer the sail to Our Lady and besides the promised alms, they collected another for the works and Manoel Rodriguez gave 100 cruzados and two large carpets. These men found so much favour with the Captain-Major that in a short time they were able to resume the voyage to Malaca.

Manoel Rodriguez returned thence to Bengâla, of which place he was a casado, and in the following monsoon he re-embarked as Captain of another ship from the same port of Orizâ. When they were out of sight of land, they hoisted the main sail, and as the ship was badly disposed—and those made by bad workmen are generally badly compassed—she was unable to support the sail and after one or two swayings she sank, becoming the tomb of those who were in her. Manoel Rodriguez with the help of some sailors was able to get away in a *jalea*[1] which he was carrying without any other provision. He made his way towards Negapataõ but after some days of hunger, thirst, and much toil, with the help of the Virgin of Miracles he came to port at Caes, where he landed without anything beyond the skin on his back. His friends offered him the necessaries and the Captain-Major have him a new and rich gala dress. He returned to Bengâla, and in the following monsoon sent three large lamps to Our Lady.

When the building of the Church was going on, they all helped as if it were a work of their own devotion, and once a a soldier who was on the top of a wall to set a beam, being little skilful in his task, a prop slipped from his hand and fell below in the midst of six or seven persons who were holding the rope of the pulley, without touching them nor endangering them.

A Pegûa woman resident in Negapataõ was so maimed that she used to creep along the ground. She came in pilgrimage to the Church of Our Lady, and having made a novena she found herself healed, and after sweeeping the Church several times with her hair she returned to her country.

On the day of the feast of Our Lady, already referred to, when the Captain-Major asked that the image might be carried in procession, such was the respect they had for him, that at vespers after confession a priest ascended the altar and

[1] A kind of vessel used for fighting and trading.

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prostrating before Our Lady | said in a loud voice these words : F 302v
'My Lady, punish not my boldness, but cast thine eyes on the devotion with which thy devout Captain and these people wish to put thee in possession of this Kingdom of which thou art the Patroness and refuge.' He kissed the feet with all reverence and placing his hands on them took it away from the niche, and as he felt no weight, turning to the people who were on their knees he said in a transport : 'Praise God, Gentleman, in the most sacred Virgin, for she carries herself.' And so he placed her on the feretory, where all approached
P 557 to kiss her feet, and the | first was the Captain-Major, who gave the Father a girdle of gold with two buttons of rubies to place on the Sacred Image, in token of becoming her slave. The Father afterwards affirmed to all that he felt no weight and that he seemed to be carrying a feather in his hand.

This miracle was confirmed by the following : that at the time of restoring it to its niche, the same Father vested in surplice and stole as before, said in presence of the people : 'Let us go, My Queen and my Lady, to thy niche and place,' and as he was going to place his hand on it to raise it from the iron [stand] on which it stood, Our Lady rose by herself and placed herself in his hands, all being amazed at what they saw, praising God and the Virgin Mother for so many marvels, because so much joy was also observed in her face at the time of the procession that she showed full well that she accepted the patronage of that Kingdom.

The Mordomos were once adorning the Church for the feast of Our Lady, when at the time of the meal, Manoel Fialho, son-in-law of Antonio Aluarez the Syndic, purposely remained behind, and carried away by an imprudent piety went up to the altar, and so as not to be noticed placed the point of the dagger on the lower part at the spot where Our Lady had her feet, and tried to knock with a piece of wood to take a splinter. He felt so strong a blow and fell so violently that he was thrown down from the altar and seven steps without stopping, till he reached the floor of the main Chapel. He clamoured for help and when the people came, he seemed to be expiring. After a good space of time he came to himself and confessed his boldness. He was rebuked by those present, and as often as he remembered his leap, he felt compunction anew.

In the life time of Father Friar Pedro there came a woman to pour oil into the lamp of Our Lady. She stumbled on the little cross and fell into the oil and the light went out, and the many people in the Church then saw a flame coming down from high | and lighting the lamp, for even the Angels F 303
pride themselves on being Sacrists to their Queen.

Father Friar Pedro de Betancor, being almost deprived of movement, was placed before Our Lady, and he said to her: 'Thou helpest all, most Serene Virgin. Do thou the same to me, for otherwise I cannot serve thee.' He took a little oil from the lamp, anointed himself with it and was cured.

When Father Friar Francisco de Jesus was Guardian of that casa, one midday he saw from the Choir a very white Candle upon one of the ceriferarios. He called the Sacrist and asked him who had placed that candle there. He replied that after the Mass of that day he had closed the Church and chapel, and did not open it afterwards nor did any one enter within. The Guardian went down and lest the Ceriferario be burnt he placed the candle on a candle-stick and
P 558 left it | on the Altar stone before the Taberncale. It burnt the rest of the day and night and in the morning there was not found on the candle-stick any sign of snuffing or dripping, nor was it known whence it came.

In the year [1]622 the Pasch of the Resurrection fell on 17th of March, and the Procession set out with the most Holy Sacrament, and before it the Holy wood on a Cross with its covering of cloth of silver upon crimson, which was made for it by the soldiers, then the feretory of Our Lady and another of St. Anthony, with all possible pomp. The Vigayro da Vara, Baltezar Leytaõ, who had as yet no accommodation in the Mother Church to hold a procession, begged the Religious of St. Francis to pass by its gate. And though all who were in the country took part in the procession, the Sacramental Lord and the Most Serene Virgin wished also, because it was her house and Kingdom, that there should come others from Heaven to accompany it, because when the Canopy of the Most Holy Sacrament began to move out of the Church the moon, which was full, left her customary course and came down in sight of all and, in the same proportion as regards size according to the judgment of men, at a proportionate altitude marched about six paces in front of the most Holy Sacrament turning into all the streets in His company till the Lord returned to the Church, when she returned to her place, for though her place was in the highest Heaven, on seeing God on earth, she was not content with descending naturally from perigee to apogee, but in order to adore her Creator in the sight of those pagans and to confirm the Faith of the Neophytes, she came down miraculously to reverence Him, and without changing her face in the inconstancy of her appearance, she changed her place altering the girations of her hemisphere | in her move- F 303v
ments in the streets of Jafanapataõ, till she stopped like the star of the Magi above the Church where God was hidden,

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accompanied by the Virgin Mother, not in the manger but in the Sacramental species.[1] And Jafanapataõ that day saw both God and Heaven at home, and in the same procession two moons the [one, the] true moon and [the other, the] symbolic. Happy people if they only knew how to acquire constancy in these first exercises. Lastly on Christmas day at the time when matins was sung, in the main Chapel at the *Te Deum*, with all the pomp of torches and other lights when they reached the verse: *Te ergo quaesumus*, Our Lady was seen so flesh-coloured as if [the statue] had been painted that hour. All remarked the novelty and the Captain Major, who was with a torch in his hand, asked Father Friar Antonio de Santa Maria when he had it painted. He replied that she was able to appear painted and gilt as she pleased; and so she remained till the *Te Deum* was over.[2] What is certain is that on that night she wished to take the dress of her Son, for when Christ appeared in flesh it was not right that His Most Sacred Mother should only be of wood, and keep up the same hardness on a night of such sweetness.

CHAPTER 11.

P 559

Conversions of the Princes, Queens, Chiefs, and People of Jafanapataõ

By the sight of so many Miracles of the Virgin Our Lady and of many others which were wrought daily, the hardness' of paganism could not but be tamed, and before Phelipe de Oliueyra came to Jafanapataõ and with his zeal and authority promoted the conversion of that Kingdom, even in the lifetime of the pagan Princes, the Religious of St. Francis had been able by their apostolic life and preaching to cultivate about

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[1] Scene III. Legend: 'Early on Easter morning before the eyes of all, the Moon diverting from her natural course accompanied the Charola of Our Lady and the Blessed Sacrament through the streets, five or six paces ahead, till the Charola of Our Lady returned to the Church, in the year 1622.

[2] Scene I. Legend: 'The image appeared so bright and beautiful on Christmas Day during the *Te Deum laudamus* that it seemed to have been painted and gilt that very moment and it so remained till the end of the whole ceremony, assuming its former appearance afterwards as this (painting) shows.'

12,000 souls, working in the beginning with incredible hardships to cut down those forests of paganism and the wild growth of its inhabitants and to plant the first vines of the vineyard of Christ. Afterwards, however, when the Kingdom was subjected to our arms, the conversions at once increased so much that in the space of two years they baptized 50,000, and after making the division with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, they [the Religious of St. Francis] cultivated on their part 70,000 souls, and the number of baptisms was much more, for it is clear that as some are born, others die. Here we shall mention only the principal persons who were baptized, from which can be inferred how general the conversion was.

Father Friar Antonio de Santa Maria took in hand the *F 304* conversion of the young Queens that were of King Pera Rajera Panderâ, who were in the house of a devout Sister of the order, who for her part helped as much as she could. He bombarded them with arguments ; and though they listened with attention so long as he spoke of the mysteries and precepts of our Holy Faith, and gave proof of discernment and high esteem, they would not make up their minds to give full consent. He had recourse to God and was not wanting in diligence, prudently realizing that by the conversion of the great, that of the lesser would be more easily obtained, and that the Faith would never take solid root in that Kingdom, as in others, so long as the chiefs were not converted ; and God was pleased to console him. He went one day to catechise them, and when he had made a long speech, the elder sister said to him: 'Remember, Father, since you urge us so much to become Christians, the obligation in which you stand to us as a Father and guardian to treat us as children, especially this abandoned orphan': she spoke of a daughter of hers, and accompanied these words with copious tears—and becoming the preacher to her sister, who had shown greater opposition, she said : 'See, my sister, that we have now none left to have recourse to, except the shadow of the Cross of Christ, by whom we shall be protected. Therefore I beg you to give your consent also, and a great pleasure to the Father Rector, who is your Father.' These words were helped by the intercession of tears. The sister rose, and as if in reproach for her hesitation, with great joy, she went to the *P 560* Father and making a courteous bow, kissed the sleeve of his habit and placing it on her head said : 'Now, Father I wish to be a Christian.' The Father was delighted, and after encouraging and consoling them he went to give this good news to Phelipe de Oliueyra whom their hesitation had greatly afflicted. He gave many thanks to God, and at once sent them some fine linen for the day of Baptism ; because in

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similar works he spent the greater part of what God allotted to him. It was arranged to hold the baptism of these Queens and of a daughter of 12 or 13 years, of the Prince, Brother of the Queen, and his wife and children, and of other nobles, on the evening of the feast of the Portiuncula. The Captain-Major and all the Portuguese attended it, and at two in the afternoon came the Queens and the daughter in palanquins with all the pomp of the country up to the gate of the Church where the Captain-Major with much honour and courtesy went up to them with the others and accompanied them to the Main Chapel. These three were baptized at the first table, the eldest under the name of D. Clara da Silva, the other under that of Dona Antonia Rapoza, and the Princess under that *F 304v* of Dona Catherina de Sâ de Rebelo, which were the names of their God-mothers. The Captain-Major stood God-father to all, being dressed that day in rich and splendid attire the better to show his great satisfaction. The eldest Queen asked for a small image of Our Lady which was on the altar, and after making a great courtesy to it, she took her daughter by her hand and asked her to place her hands together on Our Lady, which she did giving it many kisses, and the Mother added : 'Henceforth, O Lady, we are all three thy slaves, what we ask of thee is to show thyself our Mother and Our Lady, and to protect this orphan. And of you, Father Rector, I ask the same as from Our Lady that you remain our Father' ; and again she kissed the feet of the Sacred Image and put it back on the altar.

Then arrived the Brother of those Queens, with his wife and children, and the younger Queen with the Princess came to assist and help in this ministry ; and as they were very dexterous, they not only helped in the catechism, but even to anoint with the Holy oils, uncovering the places which had to be anointed. The Mother was named Dona Maria Botelha, after her God-mother, the sons Philips ; and when this ceremony was over, they were accompanied up to the gate and after the courtesies the musical instruments and military salutes continued.

Afterwards came the wife of the Modeliar Branco, D. Pedro de Betancor, with two sons and a daughter and the wife of the Arache, Modeliar D. Francisco de Betancor, who in paganism was called Tanapûli Arache. To the first was given the name of Dona Maria, her daughter Dona Philipa, the sons Philips ; the second Dona Clara, the Captain-Major being God-father, There was also baptized the Talear of Nanale with his wife and children ; she was called Maria, the sons Philips, besides many other persons of the household of the Queens ; and those

baptized on that day were more than 300. To the Talear, Father Rector gave a *Flos Sanctorum*,[1] and after reading it,
P 561 he became a preacher | of the Faith, instructing some and rebuking others for not getting themselves baptized; and this happy day ended with a mystery-play.

On that very day, which may well seem an unseasonable one, there arrived from the Church of Caes a [secular] cleric who was said to be a St. Thomas Christian, and had been a servant boy of the Father Rector of the Church of S. Joaõ, with a provision of the Bishop of Cochim for the building of a Church in that Kingdom in Panagare. Gabriel Gonçaluez, who found this out, gave information to Father Friar Antonio, and before the Mass he requested the Captain-Major to let him see the provision before it was carried out. The Captain ordered it to be given to him; and he replied that he had veto | to the [provision], F 305
in another [provision] *da Relacaõ*,[2] which he would produce, wherein the King ordered that no Church whatever should be erected in that Kingdom without his express permission. The Cleric replied that it did not concern him and demanded the fulfilment of the one he brought. Father Friar Antonio also made a protestation against it, requesting him not to oblige him to send people to prevent him, and [stating] that he would not be prejudiced thereby. The Captain-Major intervened and ordered him to get an exemption from the Relacaõ, forbidding him meanwhile to build the Church, and thereupon he returned to Caes and informed the Bishop in such a manner, as is their wont, that he complained of the Father to the Guardian, saying that Father Friar Antonio de Santa Maria thought himself the Pope and prevented the observance of his provision, but receiving afterwards a letter of Father Friar Antonio, from which he heard of the impediment which it placed, he replied that he did not know of the provision of the *Relacaõ*; and that what he had issued was at the request of the Father Rector of Caez

I relate this matter with these details so that the Board of conscience and orders may understand once for all that the Prelates of India will never cease to arrogate this jurisdiction so long as it is not declared with all the solemnities of law to whom it concern, because most grave scandals have already occurred in the Fishery Coast and in Manâr in the time of the predecessor of this Bishop of Cochim, who afterwards wished

[1] One of the earliest books printed in India.

[2] A provision issued by the Supreme Court of Justice in Portugal Relaçaõ).

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to keep up this war of rights, and notwithstanding that the King had sent word to him to keep quiet and that he had to return to the Society of Jesus the Churches of the Fishery, and Manâr, the administration of which he had wrested, even in our days, a few years ago, we saw the same altercations in Salçete, because they say they are obliged by oath to defend Ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and an Archbishop of learning, though ill informed, sought to base his right by taking away from the King the direct dominion of these lands and the giving of the *gancarias*[1] which maintained the Churches, without remarking that they were all liable to pay dues to him as they were to the Moorish Kings from whose hands we wrested them, which is true in general throughout Asia and Africa. The essence of emphyteusis consists in the [right to levy] dues and
P 562 not in the conditions which obtained in Asia, for in the lands | of Goa and in the others we have in the North, there are five different ways which in no way prejudice the Royal Right; And every reason requires that His Majesty should get this point settled with the Church for the peace of the Missionaries in such troublous times, so that they might never be obliged to two contrary things on the same matter as they now are, [viz.], to obey the King and the Church, because in all the new Missions of India there are no Parishes which have not been built by the Religious; and it is only of the Church of St. Peter of Tutucurim that it is said that it was built by a [secular] Cleric. Though this vineyard of the Lord is still so unripe and so much of it | under the dominion of the Hollanders, they still think it F 305v
an injustice that they cannot reap where they have not sown. And if the Ministers of His Majesty had before them what the Religious suffer on account of these contests, they would not have moved the question nor would they have distinguished between the cause of the King and the cause of the Religious, as if those who go to the Missions and are so much oppressed by the greatest power on earth, had defended the rights of the grand Turk and not that of the Grand Master of [the Order of] Christ, conceded by the Church with the onorous condition of sustaining it, wherein are included many others, and as if it had not been settled by Gregory XIII. even as regards India-beyond-the-Ganges, about which, in the time of King D. Sebastiaõ, the question was mooted in Rome, but in those times there was no question about Hither India, but it was settled in his favour by a Bull which is preserved in this Primatial [see] of Goa. Nor can there be pointed out a King or a Kingdom in the world which has planted the Faith of

[1] Village community (Conc. *gamvkari*).

Christ among the pagans at the cost of so many lives, so much expense and so many wars as Our Lords the Kings, and the Kingdom, of Portugal. Let envy say what it likes. After so many services, does this concession seem great? It may well seem so in politics and in the esteem of men, for God does not conceal merits, and those of Portugal ever were, and will be, so great in this matter as was prophesied by Christ and is the first foundation and eternal base of the Portuguese Crown.

To return to the conversions: Changalî who was sent prisoner to Goa by Contantino de Sâ, as we have related in the second chapter, was in the time of the government of Fernaõ de Albuquerque,[1] tried by a court and sentenced to be beheaded. During the time of his imprisonment he was constantly visited by the Religious of St. Francis of Goa who proposed to him, that as he had lost the temporal life he should not lose the eternal, but accept the Faith of Christ and Baptism the only means of salvation. Favoured by God, who only seeks the repentance of the sinner, he abandoned the blindness in which he walked, and which was the principal cause of his tyrannies and said that he wished to be a Christian. The same Fathers baptized him under the name of D Phelipe. There was also baptized his wife under the name of de D. Margarida of Austria, and the God-father of both was the Archbishop D. Frey
P 563 Christouaõ de Lisboa, | with all Regal pomp. For which he soon, and with great desire, learnt the catechism and said that from his tender years he ever had a desire to receive our Holy Faith, as he understood that it was the only true one from the teaching of Friar Pedro de Betancor, of whom he was a special friend, but that carried away by ambition and in order to remain with his own, he had not attempted to receive it. He affirmed that he did not regret death, since he died a Christian, and was able in that way to obtain pardon for the great affronts | which he had committed; that it was better F 306 to be a Christian cooly than a pagan King; and that he appreciated having received the law of Christ more than having possessed many Kingdoms. He listened to the sentence of death with great courage. They placed on a table before him an Image of Christ crucified, with which he spent those days in colloquies and acts of repentance, to the surprise and edification of those who saw and understood. A theatre was prepared in the courtyard of the Custom house draped in mourning; on it a carpet with a cushion of red velvet; whither he came accompanied by many Religious of St. Francis

[1] Twenty-first Governor, 1619–1622.

who helped him to die well. He did not consent to have his hands tied, saying that it was not necessary because he died for his faults with great pleasure, and as he uttered the sweet name of Jesus his head was cut off.

After his death he was dressed in the habit of St. Francis as he had asked when living; and being carried by the same Religious in procession, he was buried in their Chapter. His wife retired into the house of Converts where she lived an exemplary Christian life.

CHAPTER 12.

The same Subject continued, Other Religious come, and the Settlement of that Government.

In the midst of these many conversions of Princes and of the other people of Jafanapataõ, it is right that we should not forget the young Prince, son and heir of King Pera Rajera Pandara. As soon as Changalî took tyrannical possession of that government, the Queen his mother, seeing that the one who had killed so many Princes would not spare the most important one, at the first opportunity which she had, entrusted him to Father Friar Luis de S. Diogo, Rector of that Casa, asking him with many tears to receive him as a son, for he was not hers any more, and that should Changalî kill him, he would have to give an account to God. The Father received him with courage equal to his charity, whereby he exposed himself to the wrath of the tyrant. As soon as Changalî knew it, he waxed wrath and sought to wrest him from his arms, calling upon him with great shouts to give him up. The Father ever
P 564 withstood him, and the boy, who was about 7 years old | and who already understood quite well the evil that might befall him from this tyrant, embraced the Father so firmly that even with his teeth he held fast to the habit, and with so many tears that it moved those who were present to great compassion, and they helped him so much with their own tears that the tyrant desisted in shame, so as not to disclose altogether his mind against a weak child | and a poor Friar armed only with the F 306v favour of God.

After Captain Phelipe de Oliueyra seized Changalî, as we have related, he again entrusted the same Prince to Father Friar Luis in the name of His Majesty to give an account for all time, as there was no other safer place than his convent and cell. The Father took up the charge, and watched over his life with such care, that by day he never left him and at night he locked himself up with the boy in his Cell with bolts and chains. The Rebel D. Luis, of whom we have already spoken, asked for him many a time with large promises of money, I cannot say for certain whether it was to make him the head of that general rebellion, as seems likely, or whether it was with a more wicked purpose, so as not to have any opposition from him. But the result was that greater precautions and care were taken of him, Father Friar Luis de S. Diogo becoming [like] the High Priest Joadas towards the Prince Joas. The Captain-Major, considering that for the greater peace of that Kingdom and the greater safety of that boy it was desirable to remove him from these dangers, sent him to Ceylon with the Queen his Mother in the company of the two baptized Queens and Princess and other persons of the Royal household. The two Queens and Princess remained some time in Columbo, but afterwards the Vedor da fazenda, Lançarote de Seyxas, sent them back to Jafanapataõ, there remaining in Columbo the Prince, the Queen his Mother and a Sister of his, who were first delivered to General Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, who entrusted the Boy to the Religious of St. Francis of the convent of St. Antonio. There he remained for some time, learning good customs and the mysteries of Our Holy Faith, for as he was under their discipline and was by nature docile, he was so attached to them that he showed no greater pleasure than to speak of the things of the Catholic Faith, begging the Religious many a time to give him Baptism, as he now knew the catechism. There arrived at this time in Columbo the Minister Provincial, Friar Gaspar da Conceyçaõ, and he decided to give him the Sacrament, and to satisfy the desire he showed of being received into the bosom of the Church. While they were preparing for this, there arrived Father Friar Antonio de Nossa Senhora, Rector of Candea, with a message from the King asking the General to be pleased to give the Princess, the Sister of this Boy, as wife to his son the Prince of Vua and heir of Candea, promising in reward 40,000 patacas, and to the Father if he succeeded in this negotiation, many favours.
P 565 But neither did the Father think it | convenient nor did the Provincial, as she wished to become a Christian and would not hear of this, and Constantino de Sâ de Noronha would in no

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way consent to this relationship, both because it concerned the service of His Majesty, for the tyrant only sought for a new title for the conquest of Jafanapataõ, and because it concerned his own honour | to speak to him face to face, and [it concerned] F 307 his zeal not to hinder her salvation. It was unanimously answered that for no price in the world would the Princess give up becoming a Christian.

Everything being already prepared and 75 persons instructed, on 18th June, 1623 with the pealing of all the bells of the City, all the Parish Priests of St. Francis assembled with those who were in the Convent, and they set out in procession with many dances and plays to the Camara of the City, at the end of the straight street where were the Prince, his Mother the Queen, and other Catechumens. There were present also, the General, the Captain of Columbo, the Vedor of Fazenda, the Ouvidor, many soldiers and a great crowd. And as soon as the General approached the Prince, he put round his neck a beautiful chain of gold with a Reliquary, and the Boy, his Mother, and the other children, his cousins, were all richly dressed, and the others according to their quality. The procession passed through the principal streets which were welldecorated with rich carpets and hung with China brocades, till they entered the Church of S. Antonio where everything was ready, rich and neat. The Prince was baptized under the name of his God-father, D. Constantino de Sâ, the Provincial Minister administering the Sacrament. The Father Guardian of the Convent baptized the Queen under the name of Dona Clara, and her God-father was the Vedor da Fazenda, Ambrozio de Freytas. Two other Sisters of the Prince were baptized, Dona Izabel, and D. Maria, D. Diogo brother-in-law of the dead King, whose eyes Changalî had put out, as we said ; Dona Maria, his wife and Sister of the King Pera Rajera Pandara, with three sons and a daughter, under the names respectively of Don Phelipe, Don Francisco Don Bernardino and Don Ines, and along with them the rest. The boys remained with the Religious in that Convent till they went to Goa on the order of the Viceroy D. Francisco da Gama,[1] Conde da Vidigueyra ; and there they lived in the College of the Magi studying Latin and good customs, till they went to Portugal as we shall describe.

The Prince D. Bernardino afterwards took the habit of St. Francis, and bequeathed the right he had to the Kingdom of Jafanapataõ to the King of Portugal. In that Holy Order he was much esteemed for his virtues and docility, and he held therein honourable posts till in our days he died leaving

[1] 1622–1627.

behind a holy remembrance. And in order not to interrupt the history of the temporal war, I shall here narrate what further was done in the spiritual conquest.

P 566 | In order to help the zeal of the Religious of St. Francis who had flocked to that new Mission, Phelipe de Oliueyra ordered a proclamation to be made throughout the Kingdom, in which he made [the people] understand that it belonged to the King of Portugal and that they were his lieges: 'That they would be showing themselves good and faithful lieges, if despising the false gods, they of their own accord were baptized receiving the Faith and the Law of Christ our God and our Lord, without whom there was no | salvation. That the F 307v Taleares should give favour and help to build the Churches, and that by so doing they might be sure His Majesty would consider himself best served, and that he, on his own part, would favour them as much as he was able.'

Already in the year [1]602[1] there came into Patanaõ Father Friar Miguel Varela of the Order of Preachers sent by his Prelate with a letter of recommendation to the Captain Phelipe de Oliueyra, who, however, did not consent to it as it seemed to him that in order to have peace and union in the service of God, it was convenient to obtain the *beneplacitum* of the Prelates of St. Francis. He was the guest of these Religious for eight months and when the *beneplacitum* came from Goa, the Fathers themselves put him in possession of a hut in the place whereon they afterwards erected a convent, and with a Mass sung by their Collegians they planted a Cross under the invocation of the Rosary. And already in [16]23 Friar Antonio de S. Raymundo laid the first stone of the large Church which they built there.

And as the cultivation of that Kingdom required more Missionaries than those whom the Order of St. Francis, engaged in other Missions, was able to supply, there was also sent in the year 1602[1] to Jafanapataõ, Father Boa-ventura de Abreu of our Society [of Jesus], who set out from S. Thome out of the monsoon season and spent two months in the bay till he encountered Miguel da Cunha da Silva, Captain-Major of the sea, who took him to Jafanapataõ in his dhoney, but as he was very ill, he died there and the Fathers buried him near the arch of their Main Chapel, it being then the month of October. On his death he was succeeded by Father Joaõ Maria, who began to erect a house near the Machoaz, and in the following November there came Father Pero Rebelo with letters of

[1] *Sic* 1622?

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Father Friar Luis da Cruz, who coming from Portugal as Prelate Major of St. Francis had visited Coulaõ that October. In that letter he ordered his Religious to divide the labour of that Mission and give a part of that Kingdom to those of the Society [of Jesus]. Here again the prudence of the Captain-Major intervened, for he was of opinion that the Parishes of the one and the other should not be mixed one with the other, but separated one from the other, about which he wrote to Goa, the Fathers meanwhile remaining as guests of the Religious of St. Francis. And four months being passed, there came an order of the Commissary General that the division be made in such a way that the Fathers of the Society remain inland, one league from the sea, and those of St. Francis along the coast.

P 567 Among other Parishes | there remained to the Fathers of the Society, the Parish of Beligamo, where, it being the chief place of the Kingdom, they built a Church of stone with three Naves, and in Jafanapataõ alone they cultivated ten Churches. The Fathers of St. Francis built, between the years [16]21 and [16]23, besides the Church of Our | Lady of Victory afterwards F 308 Our Lady of Miracles, the Church of the Saviour in Columbo,[1] which was afterwards shifted to Chondaculi under the invocation of S. Joaõ, that of Our Lady do Parto in Manipay, that of the Wounds in Chauaçera, that of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Copay, within the enclosure of the King's fortalice, that of Ponta das pedras, of which I did not find the invocation, likewise that of Pulur, that of Cataulỹ of the Invocation of the Mother of God, that of Valane, Our Lady of Health, that of Alapitî of S. Joseph, that of Panagamo in the jungles of the Vani, and that of Ilaur of Our Lady of the Conception. Almost all these were of stone and mortar, rebuilt after the storm. And as the object of both the one and the other Missionaries was only to till and plant anew that Vineyard of the Lord, with holy emulation they were engaged in spreading therein the Faith of Christ; and it went on increasing in such sort that the whole Kingdom came to be converted by their labour and ministry.

At this time the government of the Kingdom was completely settled in temporal and spiritual matters, all owing to the zeal and industry of the Captain Phelipe de Oliueyra, there being appointed to that town an Ouuidor, and Minister of Customs; and at his cost he erected a house of Santa Misericordia, giving many orphans in marriage, supporting widows, and he erected a hospital. There came anew a Vigayro da Vara, who built a Mother Church, and the three Religious Orders

[1] Kolombugam.

aforenamed built convents. And as there resounded in India and Portugal the fame of the one and the other Conquest, Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, I suppose on the order of the King, went to Negapataõ[1] and reduced that Kingdom to a province, and Phelipe de Oliueyra remained there as Goverror and Captain, up to his death. There was transferred to that Captaincy the ancient authority of the Captain of Manâr, though that Captaincy and the other of Tutucurim still remained, and on that occasion Constantino de Sâ invested him with the habit of [the order of] Christ in the Church of Our Lady of Miracles; and as he was greatly satisfied with the great results of his wise selection of the person of Phelipe de Oliueyra, he took him by the hand and said: 'Remember, Captain-Major, that God Our Lord is accustomed to reward services done to Him with great interest, and what is more, the honour comes to you in the place where the labours have tired you, for you receive the reward in the place where you deserved glory.' This happened when the State was still governed by D. Joaõ Coutinho,[2] Conde do Redondo, who in the name of His Majesty thanked him very much for what he had done in his service, confirming him in the office enhancing it with the title of Governor of that Kingdom, which he had won for His Majesty, for it is but right that the reward should not be wanting when the services were abundant. He left completed a Fortalice sufficient for that war.

CHAPTER 13.

P 568 OF WHAT THE RELIGIOUS OF ST. FRANCIS DID IN THE OTHER PLACES OF CEYLON *F 308v*

From what we have related it may be clearly seen that the Fathers of St. Francis were the first and the only ones who formerly laboured in the cultivation of Ceylon, preaching the Gospel in that Island, and watering with their blood the tender plant of Faith, as may also be seen from the certificates of the Bishop of Cochim, D. Frey Sebastiaõ de S. Pedro, of Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, Captain-General of Ceylon, and of the City of Columbo, the originals of which are preserved in this Convent of St. Francis in Goa; from which it appears: That the Friars Minor were the first Religious who came into

[1] Jafanapataõ ?

[2] 21st Viceroy, 1617–1619.

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this Island and cultivated it, sowing therein the word of God with great zeal and diligence, converting many and administering Baptism to them, erecting many Churches and planting throughout the whole of it the standard of the Cross of Christ. Among others they converted the King, D. Joaõ Perera Pandar, who on their advice bequeathed to the King of Portugal the right to Ceylon. These great labours did not make them slacken one single point in their holy ministry, but they rather made them yearn the more for this enterprise so much to the service of God and the King.

And as for the service to His Majesty, they were ever in the arrayals and garrisons which increased with each fresh conquest. They were exposed to hunger and thirst and sleepless nights which the warfare in Ceylon usually entailed; for almost always they had to deal with sharp weapons, sleeping often on the ground and in marshy places and sometimes marching by night, on foot, with water up to the knees, because as soon as a post was built in the interior in which Christians had to remain, a friar of St. Francis at once accompanied them; and they resided constantly in the camps where they not only ministered to souls but also [laboured] in the service of the sick and wounded, and the Parish Priests always went there to administer the Sacraments. And often they relieved them with alms and with medicine, which they begged or fetched, becoming their infirmarians, with such labour that some died in this exercise, for the toils of that warfare were the greatest they had in India. And when there were prisoners in Candea, they offered themselves with great courage to go to hear their confessions and to console them, as they often did to the great peril of their lives, and by order of the Captain-General, to treat of their liberation, which, the prisoners greatly appreciated, as likewise the alms they brought; and though the tyrants, being suspicious of them, took their journeys ill and told them not to return to their Kingdom
P 569 because they would have to kill them, nothing availed | to make them fail in these works of charity, and God took care to preserve them from danger, because, though the King D. Joaõ[1] sent for them | several times to take away their lives, God *F 309* tied his hands in such a way that only by words did he give vent to his anger, offering them many insults with fresh threats, which they all bore with Christian valour. And as quarrels and dissensions are usual among soldiers, they pacified them and made them friends. And when they revolted

[1] Wimaladharma.

against the Captain-Major and sought to kill him, without doubt they would have done so, had it not been for the Father Chaplain, who hid him and secretly made him go to Colombo, himself accepting for the sake of peace, to remain as Captain of the arrayal at the request of the soldiers themselves, till finally he reconciled them with the General on whose account they mutinied.

In these Holy labours they continued even after there were other Religious in Ceylon, always remaining in the arrayal in Manicravarê and in the post of Balanê, in which the soldiers were changed every two months because of the many inclemencies of the place. Whenever the arrayal scoured the revolted lands or those of the Enemy, and in particular assaults and battles of importance, there were always found Friars of St. Francis to hear confessions and to encourage them, which many did for long years, displaying on occasions, as has been seen, much spirit and valour; and some were wounded, besides others who died in Candea and in general revolts, as was related. Nor did they confine themselves only to the Ministry proper to their profession, but they were often mediators and ambassadors of peace, and for many years they remaied as hostages in Candea, where they were of great use for its conservation, preventing the inroads of those Tyrants, as happened when the General Constantino de Sâ wanted to erect a fortalice in Triquilemalê, because fearing that the King of Candea might impede it, he asked Father Friar Eleuterio de Sant-Iago to go and stay in Candea so that by his authority and prudence he might appease the King and the people, who took this work very ill and alleged the peace established between the two nations: and the Father arriving at the time when the King was on his way and everything disquiet and in arms, he was able by his great prudence to pacify them, and he did not retire till the praça was finished. At the same time he discussed with the King and the nobes of his court the matters of our Holy Faith, convincing them and silencing them in such a way that the King once said to them: 'one single Portuguese shuts the mouths of us all, without our knowing what to say.' And twice he offered his two sons for baptism, on condition that they marry the two nieces of Changalî who at that time had usurped the Kingdom of Jafanapataõ, as we have related in the proper place. This, however, did not come to pass, as it was understood that under the cloak of Baptism he wanted to open the door to fresh disturbances. And when he
P 570 wanted to return to Columbo as he was ordered, | the King showed so much regret that in the last leave-taking he left

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aside his sword and went with open arms to him and for a long while kept him in that embrace, to the wonder of his own people, for such kindness was strange in that Tyrant, and lastly he took leave of him with tears | in his eyes, and *F 306v* much against his will.

There remained there his companion Friar Joseph de S. Francisco, [who was] well versed in that language and who was of great use because of some informations which he gave to the General [and which were] very useful to the service of the King. And the whole of this History bears out how much these blessed Fathers did in Ceylon in the service of His Majesty, who in return for all their labours issued a provision, as we said already, in the year, 1554, that they alone should cultivate that vineyard of the Lord. But when almost the whole Island was conquered and more labourers became necessary, there came other Religious, although there always remained in Ceylon respect and gratitude to the Friars of St. Francis, who did not desist from that enterprise till the final overthrow, [but continued] in the service of His Majesty and did so much in the service of God, as we shall briefly relate.

The conversion of the Chingalâs was beset with greater difficulties than that of any other nation of the East free from the Mahometan dominion, because left to their natural bent they are proud, presumptuous, variable, and inconstant, and therefore they make religion a matter of convenience. So long as it served their purpose to live with the Portuguese, they received the Faith of Christ, and either pretended or were in reality Christians; when an occasion offered to throw off the Portuguese domination and they took up arms, with the same facility they abandoned the Faith; and as the *perlis*, or general revolts, were so numerous, great also were the vicissitudes and impediments to conversion; and in the case of Princes political considerations, which are everywhere powerful enough to resist the Divine reasons, were ever a great obstacle to the general conversion of that Island. But if we consider the beginnings of their traditions and the teachings of their ancestors, they have been capable of receiving the two common sects with which the Devil keeps the eastern heathendom in thrall, because from the Bragmenes they borrowed the Idolatry declared in the Veddos and contained in their Purânas, with such a medly of fables and false divinities that of them can be said what Virgil expressed in one verse: *Omnigenumque Deum monstra et latrator Anubis.*[1]

[1] Aen. VIII. 698. Monstrous gods of every form and barking Anubis.

And from Buddũ they received new precepts and interpretations of the first principles and essence of all things, wherewith he misled Ceylon and the whole of India-beyond-the-Ganges besides the vast Asiatic Tartary ; and in the midst of these two labyrinths, the Chingalâs did not succeed in discovering the true outlet, nor in laying hold of the thread of Faith to discover the door of salvation ; because the former are most notoriously obstinate, and though they are unable to give a reason for what they say, and it is very easy to show
P 571 their error, yet they think | that it is enough to say that their Fathers went that way, and that after so many thousand years, as they reckon from the beginning of the world, it is now too late for four foreign men | to come to change the World ; F 310 and the latter, because they have some more precepts conformable with reason and some good customs conformable with the precepts, think, without regarding the false dogmas of their religion, that there is little difference, and they hold that one can go to Heaven by many ways ; and it is owing to this uncertainty of their belief that the one and the other sect are almost generally received in India, because as they do not trust to the uncertainty of either of them, they find that by embracing both they are more secure, and without further consideration of what eternal life means, they have either come to deny it through Atheism, or think they can obtain it in the same way as the others. And as the way of the Faith of Christ, properly considered and understood, is more narrow and difficult, while there are so many broader ways in paganism and in Mahometanism, though they esteem poverty and a kind of savage penance, they follow the broader path of their passions and that of incontinence to which all that they do and all that they believe and worship finally lead, because their wellbeing consists in an ambition to acquire and the freedom for incontinence. As St. John already said *Concupiscentia oculorum et Superbia uitae*.[1] But as in another work[2] we try to refute these Sects at large, these brief notices, and those we have given in the first book, are enough for the present.

All these difficulties were surmounted and all the wild woods were penetrated for the first time in Ceylon by the Religious of St. Francis, who with great labour felled those impenetrable jungles and thickets in order to plant a new vineyard of Christ. For though the work of converting souls, and still more of reducing pagans to our Holy Faith, being supernatural in its nature is proper to God alone, since

[1] Concupiscence of the eyes and pride of life.—I. Jo. II. 16.
[2] See Introduction.

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no one can know and confess the Son unless he is led by the Father, it cannot be denied that the pagan as St. Paul taught, cannot believe unless the Preacher illumines him, and that the industry and case and diligence and labour and learning of the Minister add greatly to it, for it is a general law established by the Author of Nature, that even when he works as Author of Grace, he works through secondary causes, and that the effects produced are greater in proportion as they are more skilful, save when He is pleased to work Miracles, which is very rarely and only by special law where free will is concerned, because it will be fruitless unless merit enters into it, which is not found in forced actions nor in purely spontaneous ones, not to speak of the indifferent. This is a matter so evident to reason, as many have shown, and if God gives us life, as we shall show most clearly against Luther, Caluin, and Iansenius whose dogmatic errors lead to nothing
P 572 less than to the banishment | from the world of all moral responsibility and to the introduction, by manifest contradiction, of the liberty | of the passions by denying true F 310v liberty. In Supernatural deeds all the value is due to God, because they are altogether alien to the natural principles of which God is also the Author, and to which is reduced all the good we are able to do. But in spite of this, the instruments which God has chosen for so high a ministry are worthy of great praise, because they freely dispose themselves, with the help of the Divine vocation, for the conversion of so many thousands of souls.

Besides what we have related, the Fathers of St. Francis applied themselves with such zeal and fervour to the conversion of the Chingalâs that at the time of the rebellion against Constantino de Sâ de Noronha they had overcome extreme difficulties and had built 56 Churches in which they cultivated in the Kingdom of Cota alone more than 70,000 Christian souls, this number including the greater part of the Chingalâ nobility. For, besides King D. Joaõ Perea Pandar and his family and household, and the aforementioned conversion of the Careas in the year 1556, which exceeded 70,000, in the 56 Parish Churches which they built, they cultivated at this time more than 70,000 Christians. And they passed to the Kingdom of Candea a short time after entering that of Cota, and already in the year [15]15 [1] there were Christians there, and at the Court a Church of Our Lady of the Conception. Thenceforward there went as Missionaries to that Kingdom the Fathers, Friar Paschoal and Friar Gonçalo. But on account of the war which was afterwards waged

[1] *Sic* 1545 ?

with that Kingdom, that Mission did not last, and in the year 1562 the Fathers, Friar Joaõ Calvo and Friar Pedro de Madanela[1] were sent at the request of the Viceroy D. Francisco Coutinho[2] Conde de Redondo, from whom King Javira Pandara asked for them through his ambassadors to preach the Faith of Christ in his Kingdom, and to baptize him with the others who should wish to be Christians.

They went with great zeal like Apostolic men, and with great pleasure because it seemed to them, that they had a large door open. From Manâr they informed the King of their arrival, and he sent them many serving coolies and 500 patacoẽs (each worth one cruzado) for their expenses, which was entrusted to Bernadino da Fonseca who went as their Syndic and interpreter till they learnt the language. They reached the river of Candea, when the King sent to visit them with another present of 500 patacoẽs, which the Fathers ordered to be kept with the intention of erecting therewith a Church in that Court of Palnagure, in case the King and his lieges should become converts. On the next day they reached the City where the King ordered them to be lodged with great honour, and he gave them a third largess of the same value. On the following day the Fathers went to visit him and gave him the letter of the Viceroy with a present of the value of 2,000 patacoẽs | which he sent him ; and as the principal *F 311* business on which they came was to convert him and his
P 573 lieges, they at once declared to him | : 'That they were sent by the Viceroy to expound to him the true law of God and to instruct him therein, and to give Holy Baptism to him and to all his Kingdom.' But as these pagan Princes are only moved by self interest, when that ceases, there ceases also the desire they manifest of becoming Christians, as was also seen in the case of various Schismatic Emperors and heretics of Ethopia and in other Pagan and Mahometan Princes of the East. The King, who had already changed [his mind], diverted the conversation with general words. On diverse occasions they again declared to him the importance of the Faith and of Baptism for the salvation of the Soul, about which they had with him many conferences and discussions without ever being able to move him to accept their doctrine, although at that time the favour of the Portuguese arms could have helped him much. They persevered three months in this spiritual conquest seeking every means for the conversion of that King and of his lieges without meeting with any inclination towards the attainment of their desire ; and they tried to return to Goa to give an account of themselves.

[1] Metathesis for Madalena. [2] 1561–1564.

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They asked his leave, and the Pagan King, foreseeing how ill this would be taken by the Viceroy, tried much to detain them. He ordered them to be given another 500 patacoẽs with large offers. They replied that they did not come to that Kingdom in search of money but only of souls, and asked him to be pleased to take back those 500 and the rest he had given them. The King refused saying that it was an insult to him to reject what he had so affectionately given them ; and not only in Europe but still more in Asia is it considered a great insult even among persons of lessor State not to accept gifts, as Manoel de Faria e Souza has well observed concerning what the Nabob of Surath sent to Ruy Freyre de Andrade, but he was not aware of the reason he had for giving the piece, which alone was accepted for the reasons there pointed out to Hipolito de Mendonça Furtado, because, though he was known to be a gentleman on his Father's side, in reality he was and seemed a mulatto, and such we may suppose was his position. The Fathers satisfied the King by saying : 'That their Rule and Profession forbade them to accept money, and that they had accepted the gift which His Highness had given them only to found a Church, as they thought he would become a Christian, as he had informed the Viceroy, but that as he had no intention of becoming one, nor of giving his lieges leave to become such, they had no need to build [a Church] nor to accept his alms.' The King was surprised to see contempt of money, a thing unknown among them, and speaking to his own people, he said with surprise : 'There are men in the world who do not want to accept money' : Having obtained leave, they went to bid him adieu and returned to Goa | with great regret at not being able to plant *F 311v* the Faith of Christ in that Kingdom. As this instance was
P 574 not unique in the East, one must not be surprised at what | happened in the time of D. Jeronimo de Azeuedo in S. Lourenço among more barbarous people or at that of which St. Paul says : *Quorum Deus Uenter est*[1] : because they do not care for anything else. And D. Jeronimo knew this so well, that to those who offered to undertake that enterprise, he said wittily and sincerely : 'Remember that where the Fathers of the Society of [Jesus] left their cloaks your Reverences will have to leave your shoes.' This saying is enough for him who from Madrid seeks to pass judgment on what he has not seen ; and though his[2] death was brought about by popular clamours, like the bee, he did not fail to give a sting.

[1] Whose god is their belly. [2] Azevedo's.

CHAPTER 14.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED, AND VARIOUS SUCCESSES OF CANDEA

However, though these Fathers did not see the fruit of their labours, God was pleased that others should reap it, because returning once more to preach the Faith in that Kingdom, they reaped great fruit and founded the Church in the Metropolis of Palnagurê where the Christians came to hear Mass and to receive the Divine Sacraments in the time of King Mha Astâna, son of this Javira, who was baptized by Father Friar Paschoal.* And in order to understand better this history, which we left unfinished in the second book, chapter 19, it is necessary to unroll this genealogy.

It behoves then to know, that Javira Pandar married two wives, one named Antana Dio Pandar, of whom was born Mha Astâna which means 'great Astâna'; and another named Sampale[1] Dio Pandar, who had another son called after the Father, Javîra Pandar. The first son was the elder, and each of the mothers claimed that her son should have the Kingdom, one of the greatest inconveniences of marrying many wives and which at once shows the repugnance of nature to this obstacle to domestic peace, as is seen every day among Moors and Heathens and which came to pass also in the house of King David. The Father favoured the younger, and each of the Brothers secured an outside protector; for Mha Astâna leaned on the King of Cota, Bunecabau; and Javîra Pandar on Madûne, King of Ceytavaca. While these pretensions lasted, Javîra relied on the might and benevolence of the Father, Astâna on the power of friends and Chiefs of the kingdom whom he was winning, hoodwinking his Father and Brother. *F 312* They all set out one day from the Metropolis of Palnagurê, and while crossing the river of Ganur[2] by a bridge of cane (for with such ease do they make very strong ones in Ceylon,) he let the Father pass first and at once ordered the bridge to be cut down and the kettle drums to be beaten in a hostile manner. The Father, seeing himself in such a pass, left the other son *P 575* prisoner and went to Madûne whence he made | as much war as he could on the Son, who having on his side the King of Cota and with him the Portuguese, ever defended himself, and in order to get rid of the rival, a few days later he ordered his Brother to be killed. He had by way of

[1] Gampola. [2] Gannoruwa.

reinforcement from the King of Cota 300 Portuguese under the command of Pero da Silua, and because he had to go to Goa. he left in his place Antonio Feyo, a prudent and valiant Captain.

With these Portuguese there came to Candea Father Friar Paschoal; and he laboured so much with the new King Javira Pandara that he converted him and baptized him along with some Grandees of his Kingdom and many common people and rebuilt the Church of the Conception in that Court, which was afterwards rebuilt by Father Friar Francisco do Oriente when he entered therein with Pedro Lopes de Souza. The reign of this new King Mha Astâna lasted but a few years, because there armed against him Rajû, son of Madûne, who being unable to prevail by arms against the Portuguese, who defended him, tried to get hold of him by treachery and concerting with Virasundra Modeliar, who was the Father of the Tyrant D. Joaõ, he made such proposals to him that he gave him entry to Balanê, where there was a terrible battle in which Rajû lost the best men of his army, though he remained Master of the field and forthwith of the Kingdom. Mha Astana with 150 Portuguese, for at this time they were not more, under Captain Antonio Feyo, withdrew to the lands of the Bedas as far as Triquilemalê, where he was assisted by D. Luis Coutinho, whom D. Diogo de Menezes sent as reinforcement to Candea, taking in his company Father Friar Andre de Souza. But as the Divine judgments are inscrutable, the deposed King died here of smallpox with his wife and sons, there remaining only a little girl, one year old, and she it is who was afterwards called Dona Catharina and became the wife of the Tyrant D. Joaõ, as we have related.

Seventeen years did the impious Rajû remain in possession of the Kingdom of Candea with hopes of being King of the whole Island; but when he least thought of it, one single man was enough to dispel his vain hopes. For when he was worn out and spent by such continuous wars and expenses, and his principal Captains and the best men he had being killed, he returned to Ceytavaca and tried little by little to repair his | forces, meanwhile keeping up what he had *F 312v* conquered. But finally in the time of Simaõ de Brito de Castro, when Manoel de Souza Coutinho[1] was governing the State, fortune repented of favouring him, and D. Francisco Cejaja Modeliar grandson of Sampale[2] Tandere resolved to

[1] 1588–1591.

[2] Gampola Bandara? Whose sister's son, Philip Botelho, a Sinhalese Catholic priest, wrote a 'Narrative of the War in Uva'. *Cf.* Le Grand's Preface to the French translation of Ribeyro.

conquer the Kingdom of Candea or to lose his life. He entered the Principality of Uva in disguise and, by means of one of his tutors, he induced those people to rise against the tyrant Rajû, abhorred by all on account of his cruelties. The inconstancy of the Chingalâz gave a welcome to this novelty, and D. Francisco was acclaimed King of Candea, which he retained for six months like a valiant man, and afterwards restored to the legitimate heir like a Christian.

P 576 | And it happened that the Fathers of St. Francis, greatly regretting the revolution in Candea and the destruction of the fruits of their labours under the tyranny of Rajû, and seeing that the right to that Throne pertained to a Prince, on the side of his Father a near relation of the King of Cota, and on the side of his mother, Dona Maria, second cousin and daughter-in-law of the King Mha Astâna, the unfortunate D. Phelipe, the nearest of kin to that Crown, brought up this Prince, with great care as the only heir to that Kingdom. And having reduced him to our Holy Faith and thinking it a good opportunity to introduce themselves into [that Kingdom], they advised him to go and present himself to the Viceroy D. Duarte de Meneses, and ask him for reinforcements in order to take possession of his kingdom and, to oblige him the more, to [ask him to] be his God-father, for he was not yet baptized, promising to be perpetual vassal of the King of Portugal. He came to Goa, accompanied by these very Fathers, and was received by the Viceroy with honours, gifts, and promises to give him what he asked. They took him to the Convent of St. Francis, and there he was baptized by the Archbishop D. Frey Vicênte da Fonseca, his God-father being the Viceroy, and he took the name of D. Phelipe. With him was baptized his legitimate son under the name of D. Joaõ. From there he went to Manâr, with great favours of the Viceroy and an order to the Captain of that praça, Joaõ de Melo de S. Payo, to put him in possession of the Kingdom of Candea. Here on the advice of the same Fathers, he made a donation of the Kingdom of Candea along with his son, sworn Prince thereof, to his Majesty Philip II.[1] as King of Portugal, in case he should not have other children nor his son D. Joaõ have any, of which a public instrument was made in the presence of the above-named Captain and the Guardian, Friar Bertolameu de S. Sebastiaõ, Friar Rodrigo das Chagas, and Friar Pedro Drago, all of whom signed therein, for he understood well that the more he bound himself to the Crown of Portugal the better he secured his own.

[1] In 1580 Philip II. of Spain became King of Portugal.

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As soon as Mudaliyar D. Luis[1] who was in possession of the Kingdom of Candea learnt of | his arrival in Manâr, he P 313 at once sent him word to come and take possession of that Throne, either because he knew that he could not maintain himself therein against two powerful foes or because he preferred that a King who was heir to it and a Christian should possess it. Not to delay an affair of so great importance, Joaõ de Melo S. Payo while getting ready with a larger force, at once despatched him to Candea, accompanied by Captain Antonio de Magalhaes, son of the writer of the Camara of Lisbon, with 30 Portuguese and Miguel Fernandez Modeliar with 200 Lascarins, as it was still winter and the frontiers were garrisoned by Rajû. This second D. Phelipe was received as King in Candea, seven years after the second of Spain was received as King in Portugal, the native lieges of that Kingdom assisting with great applause at his acclamation.

P 577 | But the hatred of Rajû did not brook a Christian King in Candea; and though he knew that Joaõ de Melo had arrived with 300 Portuguese, trusting to the good fortune which had accompanied him so far, he resolved to return on Candea with all the array of his forces, and leaving good garrisons in the frontiers of Ceytâvaca and in the lands of Cota, for he was the Lord [of them] up to the grand stockade and that of Gurubeble beyond that of Maluâna, and of the small stockade, the principal key to Ceytâvaca, wherein he left a reinforced garrison, he put himself on the march with all haste to Candea. With the same haste the Captain of Columbo, Simaõ de Brito, made a diversion, setting out of Columbo with only the 200 Portuguese he had and 600 Lascarins, and though there were in the grand stockade 2,000 picked men with two princes, three or four Modeliars, and about 20 Araches, they were attacked with such fury and resolution that it was captured with the death of many enemies of one of the Princes, and of some Modeliares and Araches. This news reached Rajû, whom his councillors advised and requested to return unless he wished to see his Kingdom lost. He returned to Ceytâvaca, and having passed Ruanela, he halted under a tree, where, while walking about, he ran a thick thorn into his foot which brought him to his death. Because his men, fearing the effects of his cruelty [in consequence] of the loss of the stockade, and as fate was already tired of favouring a tyrant, in one of the early remedies, filled the wound with poison, whereby in a few days he ended his life at the age of 63 and a Reign of 40, at the time when the Viceroy of India

[1] This seems to be a mistake for Don Francisco, who, however, had a brother Don Luis. *Cf.* Le Grand's Ribeyro: Preface.

was Mathias de Albuquerque, who had even this good fortune of seeing the death of the greatest Enemy that the Portuguese nation had in the Island, the son of another of the same kind.

The King D. Phelipe remained in peaceful possession of his Kingdom ; Joaõ de Melo returned to Manâr on the occasion when Andre Furtado de Mendonça passed to Jafanapataõ, where also he helped him, as we said in its place. The Fathers of St. Francis | who had laboured so much for the Father and *F 313v* for the Son, seeing the good dispositions for the conversion of that Kingdom, remained there, especially the Fathers, Friar Duarte Chanõca and Friar Francisco do Oriente, and there they formed a large Christianity, rebuilding the Church of the Conception, and Our Holy Religion prospered greatly in everything. But who can ask an account of the decrees of God ! Just as the reign of the Father was short, so that of the son lasted but little, the second Phelipe dying not without suspicions of being helped by poison, because, though the Chingalâz abominate this treachery, as the majority of his lieges were heathens and the King a Christian, there could not be wanting those who found an excuse for this sin.

On the following day Prince D. Joaõ, the son, was sworn and acclaimed King of Candea. But some of the great men, seeing that he lacked the protection of the Portuguese and despising *P 578* him because | he was a boy and a Christian, revolted against him, the ringleader of this conspiracy being the renegade D. Joaõ who had been baptized in Goa. Seeing himself excluded from the Kingdom, [the young King] left it with his grandmother, the Old Queen, to save his life which they attempted to take. He went to Vaycota, thence to the Corlas, whither Matheus Mendes de Vasconçelos went to seek him with some men on the orders of the Captain of Columbo, Cosme de Lafetar, and he took him to Manâr. There were ever by his side in all these perils the Fathers of St. Francis, especially Father Friar Francisco do Oriente who like a Father brought him up and had care of him. From Manâr he went to Columbo where he was in the College of the Fathers till there came to that country the Father Commissary General, Friar Jeronimo de Espirito Santo, who also found there D. Phelipe, grandson of Rajû, King of Ceytâvaca, whom the Portuguese had taken (I do not know whether it was in the grand stockade,) and whom the Fathers had baptized. For the education of the one and the other and for the security of the affairs of the Island, the Commissary took them to Goa, and in the College of the Magi they remained 15 years, where besides catechism and good customs they learnt to read and write Latin, and it appearing to the Council of Portugal that it was good to take them

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away from India, they went in company of Andre Furtado de Mendonça, and of the Archbishop D. Frey Aleyxo de Menezes and were entrusted to two grave Franciscan Religious, both being ordained sub-deacons according to the order of the Council.

On the Quay of Lisbon there went to meet them the Conde de Vidigueyra, D. Francisco de Gama, President of the same Council, because of the acquaintance he had with them, because they came from Ceylon when he was governing India for the first time. They retired to the Convent of St. Francis, where the Viceroy [of Portugal] D. Christouaõ de Moura, Marquis of Castel Rodrigo ordered them to be visited. After they had rested, they were conducted by the same Count | to *F 314* the Palace, where the Viceroy with great honour and a large company received them on arm chairs, and afterwards with great benevolence he showed them the whole Palace, fort, magazines, and what else was most worthy of being seen, and they returned to the Convent. His Majesty, knowing that they had come, ordered them to be accommodated in the Colleges of St. Peter and St. Paul in [the University of] Coimbra, one in each, until they had finished their studies and should be provided with Bishoprics. The Prince D. Phelipe who had already followed the course of Arts, accepted the favour and went to Coimbra, but before he entered the Royal College of St. Paul, he died in the Convent of St. Francisco da ponte. The Prince D. Joaõ who had not studied philosophy, did not agree to go to Coimbra, but asked His Majesty to give means suited to his person to live in Lisbon as a Priest which he already was. The King ordered him to be assigned 4,000 cruzados from the India-house till some ecclesiastical benefice should become vacant from which he might get a pension. But as even this little was ill paid, he asked permission to go to *P 579* Madrid | to plead the right which he had to the Kingdom of Candea and to the states of Vilaçem and the Seven-Corlas which appertained to him by inheritence from his Father D. Phelipe, or something equivalent. He received great honours from the King, who made him a Grandee of Spain, ordering him to remain covered and to be given a seat on the Bench of Bishops, because he was a cleric. He also added another 4,000 cruzados of monthly allowance. There he renounced the right he had to the Kingdom of Candea and the other States into the hands of His Majesty as King of Portugal, and returning to Lisbon he received so many favours that up to his death he kept great state. Nor did India forget to defend his right, but soon there happened the rout of Pero Lopes de Souza, and the wars with the Tyrants of Candea were kept up in the manner described.

CHAPTER 15.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED

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These holy labours wrought in the Kingdom of Candea made those Religious so well known and respected therein, that in the peace made by D. Jeronimo de Azevedo with the King of Candea everything was conducted through the mediation of Father Friar Gaspar da Madanela, Guardian and Commissary of that Island, who for years had been Missionary there, converting to God many souls, being well known to the natives and Portuguese for his great talents and judgment and industry. For these reasons D. Jeronimo sent him twice as ambassador to treat of peace, and with great prudence and credit to our arms he concluded it | leaving in our hands all the conquered lands, and among other conditions it was agreed that our hostages should always remain in that Kingdom which was most convenient to us for our security as well as for our information. The King who was well informed about Father Friar Joseph de Nossa Senhora, a native of Chaul, asked for him from the General as hostage, thinking that his presence in that Court would be for his safety. So great was the respect which the King had for him, and such was ever his reputation for virtue as seen in his life and example, that the King gave him no other name than that of the Holy Father, and speaking with his own people, he often made public the sanctity he recognized in him; but the more he esteemed his life, the greater was his regret at his death, for thereby he lost so zealous a man. And it happened thus: his lieges being disappointed with the peace made with the Portuguese, rose against the King under the leadership of the renegade Antonio Barreto. They entered the Palace to kill him; and without doubt they

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P 550 would have done so | if the King from previous information had not retired with his wife and children to the forests. They wreaked all their fury on the Father, killing him cruelly with spears. When Antonio Barreto was afterwards killed and the conspirators destroyed, the King returned to the City and the Fathers continued the same work on the order of the General, and there succeeded to that post the Fathers Friar Bernardo da Cruz, Friar Pedro dos Anjos, Friar Manoel d'Eluas and others who gave profitable information of the designs of that tyrant at no small risk to their lives.

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Friar Eleuterio de Sant-Iago, about whom we have already spoken, never ceased to preach to the natives and even to the King so long as he was there, and he was so acceptable to the King that besides treating him with great amability, he entrusted his sons to him to be bred and taught, and from him they learnt reading and writing and Christian doctrine as may be seen from the following letter which that King wrote to His Majesty the King Philip IV.[1] when he succeeded to the crown of Spain, which though written in the Portuguese style and not in that of the Kings of Asia, deserves the same credit and is in that form preserved in the convent of St. Francis of Goa. It says thus:— These parts are so remote that the negligence and delay in fulfilling my duty as the Vassal of Your Majesty that I am, cannot be imputed to me. However this winter I came to know of Your Majesty's legitimate succession to some parts of Your empire, which may God increase, lengthening Your Majesty's life to enjoy it for many years in peace and tranquillity of your lieges. As one of them, I beg it [peace], reminding Your Majesty to order your Captains to have it with me, considering the desire which I have shown for it after I became possessed of this Crown, failing in no service to Your Majesty or in any that your Captains asked of me. I have entrusted my children to the Friars of St. Francis to do with them what is to the service of God and of Your Majesty, and I remind you how much | these Religious deserve of Your Majesty by

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serving in this Island to the great satisfaction of the Kings, both Your Majesty's ancestors as well as mine, and especially in this Kingdom of Candea, where they shed their blood for the increase of their Faith and the service of their King. This is what they seek, and not gold or silver, and they are not ambitious of anything else except to gain souls to their God. And therefore only these poor people should be in the ministry of this Christianity; at least for this Kingdom I beg of Your Majesty for them alone; and I do not want others, for though we are Heathens, we well understand that virtue consists in the disregard of the things of this earth and of the riches of this world. God protect Your Majesty for many years. From the Kingdom of Candea and the Island of Ceylon. 24 September 1623. King of Candia.—

I make no remark on the exclusion contained in this letter, at a time when other Religious were already in Ceylon, nor

P 551 the attempt to define | virtue in general as the disregard of

[1] Philip IV. of Spain and III. of Portugal, 1621–1640.

the things of this world, *Nam et Crates hoc fecit*,[1] without adding what is essential to it. I only conclude from it that these Fathers did great services to God in Candea and that they were very acceptable in that Court to its Kings. In the last general rebellion after the death of Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, many Religious were killed and all the Churches profaned and razed. There were not wanting warnings from Heaven of the troubles that followed, for from witnesses worthy of credit, examined by the Ordinary, it is proved that on the feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, there was seen in his Church, one moon-light night, a red flag waving for a long while in the sight of many, which, being so well-known a signal of war, was generally considered to have been an announcement of what happened a year later in that Island. This warning of Heaven was accompanied by another of earth. When Constantino de Sâ went to erect the fortalice of Batecalou, the Dissâua of Maturê was the Chingalâ D. Theodozio, who was highly favoured by him at a time when by secret dealings he had promised to the King of Candea the head of the General; and he went there for the purpose. Father Friar Antonio Peyxoto had information of this intention from one of the principal Modeliares of Maturê, where he was Rector, and immediately he informed the Dissava, Joaõ Cardozo, who in all haste sent men against him, who took him prisoner half way, along with 300 Lascarins, and taking him to the General, they informed him of what happened. Father Friar Antonio, also gave him an *ola* which had fallen into his hands, from the King of Candea to D. Theodozio in reply to another of his, in which he had promised to deliver the head of the General. But as the punitive decrees of God are final and absolute, there could be no contradiction of them, and as Constantino de Sâ esteemed in this man | good services, and *F 315v* knew on the other hand the deceits of the Chingalâz, he could not be persuaded that there was treachery in D. Theodozio, and said that it was all a trick of the King of Candea in order to put him at enmity with the Portuguese, as he knew him to be a great friend and servant of his, because there is nothing more easy to mislead than a loyal and generous soul as his was, and an excuse could not have been wanting to the traitor to disguise the objects of his journey. He continued in the same confidence. But as D. Theodozio knew from the scant secrecy that his treachery was discovered by means of this Religious, he persecuted him with brutal hatred, bringing

[1] 'For even Crates did that.' St. Jerome's commentary on St. Mat. XIX., 27. Crates of Thebes renounced a large fortune and lived and died a true follower of the Cynic Diogenes.

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many false testimonies to get him removed from that Rectorate, because as he knew the language of the country well and was much sought after by the natives, he dreaded him the more. In order the better to set the General's mind at rest, D. Theodozio married an honourable half-breed (*mistiça*) of Columbo, dressed richly after the Portuguese fashion, with so many manifestations of his fidelity as afterwards to make for himself the reputation of being the essence of ingratitude and disloyalty.

So firm was the General in his proceeding that he said: 'I do not know whether Father Friar Antonio Peyxoto *P 582* will still say | that D. Theodozio is going to rebel.' The Father knowing of this told the one who related it to him: 'Tell the Captain-General from me that now he should fear the revolt of D. Theodozio the more because whatever he does is only intended to mislead him and to carry out his purposes with greater safety to himself, because the Chingalâz make little account of wives and at each step give up one and take another, and I know them very well, for it is 25 years that I have been labouring with them and I have seen three rebellions in this Island and I have great experience of their deceitfulness.' Time showed how well he knew it, for this man was the ringleader of that rebellion and of the death of the General who had done so much therein and for him. In that *perli* were killed four Religious of St. Francis; Father Friar Manoel da Trindade, Chaplain and Vicar in the company of the General; Father Friar Joseph de S. Francisco in Cotabata in the jurisdiction of Maturê; Father Friar Marcos de Sta Catherina in Diaffela; and Father Friar Manoel de Conceyçaõ at Paradica where they were Rectors; and Father Antonio Peyxoto escaped the cruel hatred and efforts of D. Theodozio, who, when he saw the General killed, did not in the midst of that conflict forget to despatch a Chalea to Pilitoti where the Father was Rector with order to kill him. But God protected him, for he was in Cosure finishing another Church, and as the Lascarin had received charities from him, he sent him word through a nephew that, if he wished to save his life, he should at once retire to Columbo, because he was coming on the order of D. Theodizo to carry off his head, and if he did not find him, he could give that excuse. With the prisoners taken to Candea was Father Friar Joaõ Turim of the garrison of Sofragaõ, and Friar Luis da Conceyçao of Nacolegaõ. And after these tribulations already related, when | Diogo de Melo *F 316* de Castro signed peace with the King of Candea, the Fathers of St. Francis returned as hostages to remain in that Court. Other information about the great services rendered by them

to God and to the King in this Island is given in the course of this History, though it was not possible to write everything nor to find out everything.

It remains to point out some of the Churches of which alone we have found mention and which from time to time they built in the district of the Kingdom of Cota. When Father Friar Joaõ de Vila de Conde and his companions had in a few months converted up to 3,000 pagans, they erected 12 Churches in divers parts in the hope, which they had, of greater conversions. God was pleased that by the time of the *Perli* of Constantino de Sâ there should have been at least 71,074 Christians, baptized by the Friars of St. Francis as appears from a certificate of the General Constantino de Sâ, sworn by anticipation, and dated Columbo 23 November 1628. The Churches in which they were distributed, in the order in which I find them mentioned, are the following :—

P 583 | The large and beautiful Church of St. Jerome of Nagaõ,[1] a word which means the nine villages, because so many had the Heathen Kings given to a sumptuous Pagode built there.

The Church of the Mother of God in Mapitigaõ, on the site of another Pagoda, on the East side of the river. The word Mapitigaõ means, large plain of villages, and in truth it is so. The Church was built by D. Jeronimo de Azevedo when he was General, with all the necessary furniture, and he gave it to the Fathers, but as the floods of the river did it great damage, they are thinking of changing it.

Towards the north-east, half a league from Mapitigama, stood the Church of Dampe[2], of Our Lady of the Assumption, on a hillock which commands beautiful valleys. This village D. Jeronimo applied to the Infirmary for the Religious who fell ill in the ministry of the Christianities and in the service of the King.

The Church of St. Anne, one league from Columbo, on the banks of the Calane.

On the other side of the river, where stood the Pleasure Palace of the Kings of Cota, was the Church of St. Bartholomew.

On the way from Columbo to Nigumbo, on the side of Betal[3], the Church of St. James on the site of another Pagode.

In Mutual, upon the bar which the Chingalâz call Modore, the beautiful and well-built Church of St. John the Baptist with a College for orphan boys, which, because the officials of the King did not give what His Majesty had appointed, came to be without them (orphan boys).

[1] Nawagamuwa. [2] Dompe. [3] Wattala.

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In the new City of the men-at-arms, erected by Constantine de Sâ | was the Church of the Holy Cross. *F 316v*

In the suburbs of Columbo, the Church of the Apostle St. Thomas, where resided the Father of the Christians whose number became reduced on account of another [Church] which the Clerics erected. There was preserved a Cross on a small column of stone, one of those which the glorious Apostle worked with his own hands, and it was the second which they had in Ceylon.

Half a league to the South of Columbo [stood the Church] of Our Lady of Delivery[1] and within gun shot to the East of it was in former times the City of Cota.

[The Church] of St. Lucy in Dicvela,[2] a village which formerly belonged to the Ministers of the Pagode of Tanauarê, and out of its rents were paid three Churches ; and this was the last which the Father had on the side of Gâle.

A league beyond, and a league before reaching Tanauarê, was the Church of St. Anthony of Bohoubaranda,[3] which means very large village, because it is two leagues in length and they sow in it, each year, 60 *jalas* of *nele* which makes 78 *moyos* of Portugal.

The City of Tanauarê,[4] one league further, was in former times famous for a sumptuous Pagode, called Deuârajurugu, and the City of Deuanuuere, which means, the City of God.

The Pagode had more than 70 villages, and we have already said how it was destroyed. On its foundation was built a Church of three Naves of Columns of stone. I did not find the Invocation.

P 584 | The Church of Our Lady of Victory, one of the most beautiful in Ceylon, in Maturê, where the Dissavas had their seat. Formerly it was called Mhapapatana, 'large town', afterwards Mahature, 'great port', because the river which surrounds it enters the sea thereabouts by a large mouth. The Portuguese call it Maturê.

One league and a half up the river, in the village Cothavatha, is the Church of Our Lady of Pity.

Higher up, two and a half leagues North, the Church of St. Joachim, in the village Paradua which His Majesty gave as maintenance to the Religious Parish Priests.

[1] The name now survives as 'Livremento' (Delivery). The site of the Church is the Catholic portion of the new cemetery of South Colombo.

[2] Dikwella.

[3] Bambarenda.

[4] Dondra. The Foundation of this Church is still visible.

The Church of Our Lady of Good Voyage in Mirzeo,[1] two leagues from Matûre towards Beligaõ, commanding the beautiful bay which the sea forms there.

The beautiful Church of St. Michael in the port of Beligaõ[2] where resides a Portuguese Captain.

Further, one good league towards Gâle, the Church of Our Lady of Remedies of Anjame,[3] which means village of horns, because of certain feasts which the Chingalâz are wont to celebrate with them, for which its revenues were dedicated. I cannot here omit to mention what they say of the antlers which in the Bishopric of Guarda are offered in the Hermitage of St. Cornelius.

One league further on the way to Gâle, the Church of St. Joseph of Cogâla, where | the holy Patriarch has worked *F 317* many Miracles.

Passing the Lake of Cogâla, one and half leagues to the North-east, there is the well-built Church of the Nativity of Christ.

In Gâle the Fathers had the Church of the Conception, with cloisters and dormitories, where they administered the Sacraments to more than 2,000 Christians who lived outside the fortalice.

A league further, the Church of St. John the Baptist of Vacuêla,[5] upon that river, where it makes a turn of fresh and Chrystaline waters.

Another league further in Raygâma[6] the Church of St. Louis the Bishop.

Marching another league, the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Vadum,[7] which means the sword of the devil, because it was formerly a village set apart for the expenses of the sword of the Devil which the Heathens adore, which if it is not Vulcan, must be Steropes or Brontes or one of those celebrated in the furnaces of Sicily.

There came next the Church of Madampe, of the invocation of St. Clare, a new and beautiful building facing the beautiful shores of Tostagao. It is a very cool village, divided into islets in the manner of a Venice, inhabited by Christians in cool gardens from which they come to Church in small dhoneys.

[1] Mirissa.
[2] Weligama.
[3] Ahangama.
[4] Koggala.
[5] Wakwella. The site of this Church is occupied by the present Rest House, formerly Ambalam.
[6] Ratgama.
[7] Wadduwa (Hikkaduwa).

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Another league from Madampe is Vilitôtal,[1] inhabited by Chalias, slaves of the King, to make Cinnamon, and still more enslaved by his officials, who treated them more tyranically than the Egyptians treated the sons of Israel. There they built a new and beautiful Church of the Holy Wise Kings.

A league and a half further, in the village of Cosboddem,[2] the beautiful Church of Our Lady of Good Voyage.

P 585 | The Church of St. Antony in the port of Alicaõ,[3] upon a river of much and good fishing, with beautiful villages on one and the other bank and with a Portuguese Captain appointed by His Majesty.

Four leagues up this river, the Church of St. Peter of Alcantara, in the village Meteuli, which the King had given for the support of those Churches.

A league and a half from Alicaõ towards Columbo, in the village Macûni,[4] the Church of St. Peter.

In the port of Calatûre, near the Fortalice and very near a beautiful estuary which the sea makes there, the Church of the Wounds of St. Francis, new and well finished.

On the other side of the river[5] going to Columbo, on an eminence upon it, the Church of Our Lady of Health.

Two leagues up the river on, (the site of) a Pagode in the village of Galpata, the Church of St. John the Baptist.

Two leagues higher up, that of Our Lady of St. Luke in the village Vrabarem.[6]

Six leagues from Galapata | lies Sofragaõ, in the Chingalâ *F 317v* language Sabaragaõ,[7] the residence of the Dissavas with a Church of the Saviour.

Two leagues further from Calature lies the river and shore of Panadure,[8] and near the river the beautiful Church of St. Mary Magdalene.

One league up this river there is an island called Due,[9] in front of the village Goracana, in which was the Church of Bom Jesus,[10] where there is a tree called Gurgura[11] which gives a certain acid fruit which serves for vinegar, for not even that is wanting in Ceylon.

[1] Welitara.
[2] Kosgoda.
[3] Alutgama, the site is the present Rest House.
[4] Maggona.
[5] Kalutara North, at the north end of the Bridge. The site formerly a cemetery, and now private property, is still known as Palliyawatta.
[6] Uduwara.
[7] Sabaragamuwa. The present Dewale is built on the site of the Portuguese Fort and Church.
[8] An Anglican Church now stands on the site.
[9] Duwa.
[10] Gorakana, the site is now a cemetery, facing Duwa.
[11] Sin. *goraka* (*garcina cambogia guttiferae*).

Marching along the River towards the East one league further, as far as the pass of Bolagre,[1] there is in front the village of Ramacura,[2] which belonged to the Fathers of St. Augustine and there was a Church. Thence you go to the village of Vidagâma in Raygaõ Corla, and on the site of a razed Pagode was the Church of Our Lady of Miracles.

Going from Goracana along the shore, one league's walk, there stands a mound,[3] a gun shot from the sea, and on the top of it is the Church of the Holy Cross, well built and finished.

Inland from thence is the Church of Our Lady, one league distant in a new Christianity.

In Nigumbo the Fathers had a large and beautiful Church of the Mother of God.

On the other side of the river of Nigumbo which leads to the bar, is the Church of the Holy Ghost.

Half a league to the East, is the Church of the most Holy Trinity.

Half a league from there, to the South, in the village Bonauolana[4] was a large Church of Our Lady of Remedies.

Thence one league to the East, in the village Gaboyua, the Church of St. Mary of Jesus, new and beautiful with its Cloisters and Cells.

Another league to the South, in the village Velicara,[5] another Church and new Christianity.

P 586 | In Sampha,[6] which means five village, where almost all are Chalias, there is a new Church of the Holy Cross.

One good league from Nigumbo towards the East, in the village Salpe;[7] the Church of St. Bonaventure.

Half a league from Salpe in the village Ecerajama[8] the Church of St. Benedict of Palermo.

One league to the north of Nigumbo, on a little inland the beautiful church | of S. Diogo. F 318

Going one good league inland from Betal, in the village Vilacara,[9] the Church of the Wounds of St. Francis.

[1] Ferry of Bolgoda.
[2] Rambukkana.
[3] Lunawa. The site now occupied by a Buddhist temple, known in the neighbourhood as the Palliye-godelle-Pansala, 'the Pansala on the Church Mound'.
[4] Bolawalana. A new Catholic Church now stands on the site.
[5] Welicande ?
[6] Gampaha. The present Catholic Church in Gampaha, near the Railway station, is dedicated to the Holy Cross.
[7] Halpe.
[8] Akaragama.
[9] Welisara.

Another league from thence, near the river of crocodiles, in the village Andugaõ[1] is the church of St. Paschoal de Baylon.

In Manicrauare 9 leagues from Columbo, where the arrayal is stationed, there is the beautiful Church of the Holy Cross for the Potuguese and for the people of the bazaar and of the villages of the Captain-Major of the Field, who will be about 1,300 Neophytes.

The church of Candea, which that King maintained, had no settled number of Christians save the fugitives and the prisoners. It was called the Church of Bom Jesu, the former one was of the Conception Of Our Lady.

All the Christians of these 55 churches were converted and Baptized by the Friars of St. Francis, and the conversions increased day by day, and if there had been peace and tranquillity the whole of Ceylon would have been converted, and even though their labours did not succeed well with the first generation, it would have been otherwise with their sons and grandsons, which was the consolation which St. Gregory the Great promised to his Monk St. Augustine, Apostle of England.

CHAPTER 16.

What the other Religious Orders did in Ceylon and the Miracles which God Wrought in that Island

The Fathers of the Society of Jesus were extending afresh into Calapetî and the Seven-Corlas; and among these people they found more docility to receive the Faith in Chilaõ and Madampe. They built four Churches and had there a large number of Christians; and in all they cultivated eleven Churches, those of Moroto, Velgampitî, Coylabata, Caymel, Madampê, Maravîla, Chilaõ, Maripo, Munusaraõ, Anaulandâna, Caipitim. In Jafanapataõ they had ten Churches in Cardiua, Batecota, Tripule, Changani, Pandatiripu, Malagaõ, Chiueli, Maylati, Tambâma, Maragama, and in the island of Manâr five, of which that of S. Thome in the village of the Careas was a celebrated one and a place of such great devotion to them, that they had made an ornament entirely of large seed-pearls valued at 200,000 patacas which, being sent away in a dhoney for fear of falling into the hands of the Hollanders,

[1] Dandugama. *Cf.* Kimbulapitiya (Sin. *Kimbula*, crocodile).

P 587 was taken by the Maravaz | when crossing the Utiar. The other Churches were on the Coast of the Fishery. But as their records were lost in Cochim,[1] they should take pains in Rome | to resuscitate them from the Annual Letters and from F 319v other notices of what our Religious did in that conquest, for whom D. Jeronimo de Azevedo founded a house in Columbo, and Domingos Carualho Caõ afterwards, in the year 1614, founded a house in Gâle when he was Captain there. The Fathers of St. Dominic (according to the information given to us by Father Friar Antonio Velozo, a native of Ceylon and of the same Holy Order,) had 12 parishes in the district of Sofragaõ, in the Four and Seven-Corlas (according to others they had less), and another just outside Columbo at S. Sebastiaõ. In Gâle, Pero Velozo a native of Amaranta the first Captain appointed to that praça by the King, built them a house. The Religious of St. Augustine erected in Ceylon four parishes and a hermitage on the plain of Mapane.[2] The majority of these Parish Churches were as magnificent as the best in Goa, and all these monuments proclaim the piety and magnificience of our Lords the Kings of Portugal. To arms, To arms. To arms, and let not Catholic hearts bear to see Heresy reigning in Ceylon. All these Religious with great zeal served God and the King in the conquest, helping in the campaigns and the sieges of Columbo like any other soldier, and so great was the experience and courage of Father Friar Antonio Peyxoto the Franciscan, of whom we spoke a short time ago, that in peace and war they made him for some time a Captain of a regiment of the Chingalâz. Of all this I would have said more, if I had more information, but it is characteristic of the Portuguese to forget what seems ordinary and to esteem only the things of greater import.

And because Miracles ever accompanied the preachers of the Faith in the primitive Churches, God disposed that even in these there should be some in order to confute deep rooted Idolatry. Because as the Mysteries of our Holy Faith are so sublime and above human reason, if in confirmation of them God works marvels, they become more credible, and souls become more disposed to make acts of Faith, for as they are Divine testimonies in which there can be no deceit, by them are confirmed the infallible truth of our Holy Religion, and its

[1] Photographic copies of the Jesuit Records of the Old Province of Malabar were obtained and translations were published in the Ceylon Antiquary I.–V.

[2] The Anglican Church of Milagiria, Wellawatta, now stands on the site and commemorates the name, Milagiriya being a corruption of Milagres (Our Lady of) Miracles.

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Preachers become more accredited in order to be better heard and they dispose the intelligence of the Heathen to believe what they do not see, and those already converted are also confirmed in the Faith which they have received. God did not fail in this primitive Church as by the Divine goodness we have seen in the rest of this Orient, wherein God was pleased that the Faith should be rooted. Besides those which God wrought in Jafanapataõ, the Religious of St. Francis took care to note down the following in these Churches of the Kingdom of Cota. I doubt not that there were more, but I note only those which Father Friar Paulo da Trindade has recorded.

P 688 | In Cogâla, when its Rector was Friar Pedro dos Anjos, an old and fervent | Minister of that Christianity, wherein he F 319 converted many thousands of souls, and whose proceedings were in keeping with his name[1] by the virtue of the prayers and merits before God of the glorious St. Joseph, spouse of the most Holy Virgin, God our Lord worked many Miracles, some of which were authenticated by the Vicar-General of that Island, Joaõ de Payua, at the request of Father Friar Joaõ de Sta Maria, Guardian and Commissary in Ceylon, as appears from a public instrument judicially executed by the Vigayro de Vara of Gâle, Miguel Vas de Matos, which was in the archives of St. Francis here in Goa.

A blind child was born to Catharina de Souza, wife of Antonio Seco Moniz, both residents of Gâle, and in Baptism they named him Lazarus ; and all the remedies which the mother applied to make him open his eyes profited nothing, and they remained always closed and there issued from them blood and matter. They had recourse to the merits of St. Joseph and though the child was only 40 days old, they went in pilgrimage to his Church where with devotion and Faith they begged the Father, Friar Pedro dos Anjos, to say a Mass in honour of the Holy Patriarch, that God by his intercession might give the favour of sight to that child. At the beginning of Mass they placed the child near him, and before Mass was over, it opened its eyes which were so healthy and so clear that they ever retained good sight as if there had never been anything the matter with them.

There came in a dhoney on Sunday from the other side of the river, some women and boys and a child at the breast, to hear Mass in the Church of the Saint ; and in the middle of the river the boat upset with all those who were in it. At the cries of those who saw it, there came those who were in the Church and with them Father Friar Pedro dos Anjos,

[1] Dos Anjos means 'of the Angels'.

whom the others begged to recommend them to God, seeing that all had gone to the bottom. He hurried back in haste and on his knees he recommened the matter to the Saint and to God through his intercession. They saw the dhoney at this time full of water, and the child-in-arms was lying across above it, without movement like a buoy. His mother was at the bottom of the river for an hour, and coming to the surface in the direction of the dhoney, she saw the child and took hold of it with one hand and the dhoney with the other, till she was assisted by those on land and was taken to the bank as they were. There she found she had lost another little girl of three years, and she wept so much, begging the bystanders to help her, that though they dived several times they did not come upon her. After another hour she appeared above the water and was taken to land without any sign of life, nor were they able to make her regain consciousness. They carried her to the Church and begged the Father to recommend her to St. Joseph. He vested for the Mass of the day and ordered them to place her near the altar of the Saint, and when the Father finished Mass, she was already perfectly well; and all praised God for these marvels.

P 589 | | Francisca, of the village Cathacuranda, was married to F 319v a mayoral, to whom she bore a daughter named Catherina, who when three years old, neither spoke nor heard nor gave any sign of sense except that she was constantly grinding her teeth. The Parents had placed her in a corner of the house on a piece of sack without taking any account of her. Madanela Fernandez, a friend of hers, recommended her to take her to the Church of St. Joseph, and accepting her advice, they carried her to the Saint and gave an account of the girl's infirmity to the same Father Friar Pedro, and told him what they had come to ask of the Saint by his prayers, begging him to say Mass on his altar for that intention. He said Mass, read the Gospel over her, and sprinkled her with holy water. At once she spoke and heard and regained her senses without any defect, for which all present gave thanks to God, wondering at so sudden a change.

One of the most efficacious motives which the Oriental heathen have for seeking Baptism is the continuous Miracle which God works in these new Christianities, because the Demon is so much Master of the Field and causes so many vexations continually to those who are his followers, that they had already decided among themselves that the only remedy was to have themselves Baptized and to accept our Holy Faith: because on receiving Baptism, they find themselves free from the tribulations with which the Devil in most diverse ways

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torments them, of which I could give innumerable instances, had it pertained to this History. The following are recorded by Father Friar Paulo da Trindade as relating to Ceylon:—

In the village Radgâna, the residents were perpetually harassed by visions of Demons who by night and day in various ways tormented them. But after the greater part of them had become Christians in a general Baptism, and the Friars had built them a Church of their holy Bishop, Friar Louis, this persecution entirely ceased, nor did any one thenceforth receive any injury from the malignant spirits, to their great wonder and gratitude to the Author of those marvels. Nor was this Miracle the only one which God worked there through the intercession of that Saint; but there was no one to take pains to keep any special record of them.

The Most Holy Virgin who had worked in the Kingdom or Jafanapataõ the marvels which we have related, was also pleased to display her patronage in the lands of the Kingdom of Cota. Among the many other Churches dedicated to her throughout India, in which Our Lady shone by her many Miracles, there was that of Our Lady of Mondanalê in Ceylon so miraculous, that it is not possible to relate all the Miracles wrought there day after day, for they are innumerable. In proof of this it is enough | to narrate those which took place F 320 in the year 1622 in a space of four months, as noted by the Rector of that Church.

P 589 | On the 5th of August of that year, the Bada of Morro was placed like a dead man in an *andor* on the day of the first feast of our Lady, and he fixed his eyes on her Image with great faith and affection, corresponding to the peril of his life, and begged her to be so good as to obtain him health from God, as for 8 years he had been ill from an incurable disease. He at once rose up hale, and leaving the *andor* like another paralytic of the Gospel, leaping and praising God, he went home on foot testifying in a loud voice to the 2,000 souls there present, that that Lady had ordered him to do. Such was the impression made on all by this miracle, that they shed many tears of devotion, and afterwards such was the concourse of people that the Church could not contain them.

On the 22nd of that month a *canarim*[1] who had been lame of hand and foot for fourteen years, begged our Lady either to give him health or permission to give the Devil five fanams which were asked for his health. A strange petition in the sight of God! And the answer was an admirable favour of our Lady! For suddenly, in the sight of many, he rose up hale

[1] Literally an inhabitant of Kanara, but the word was used by Portuguese to mean Goans.

without any illness, and in gratitude for this favour, ill-deserved by the little faith he showed, he served in the house for two years, for God does not permit rivalry and competition with the Devil.

Antonio Gonçalvez, son of Pero Gonçalvez, was taken on Saturday, 5th of September, in a palanquin, lame of both feet, with another young man who had been porter of the Fathers and was also lame, the one for 4 years the other for 3. They recommended themselves to our Lady and obtained such perfect cure that from the Church they went to their homes on foot, and their wives who had accompanied them on foot, went in the palanquins. They left their crutches in the Church in testimony of this Miracle.

From the 3rd to the 16th of this month of September our Lady performed the following miracles. A woman of Quilapane was in labour of child-birth for 12 days and was almost dying. The Mordomo and Treasurer of our Lady, Belchior Veloso, ordered her to be carried to the Church, and when they anointed her with the oil of the lamp, she suddenly experienced such labour pain and so urgent, that they had scarcely time to leave the Church, when in the first house they met, she brought forth a son.

Another woman who for 7 years had a swelling like a ball in her belly, drank some oil from the lamp of our Lady and was cured.

A boy [who was a] Lazaro,[1] anointed himself with the oil of the lamp of our Lady and was instantly healed in sight of the many people who were in the Church.

| A Carea woman of the point of S. Lourenço, who was *F 320v* so maimed of one arm for many years that it was already shrivelled, was healed on anointing herself with the same oil.

Pero de Amicieyra, a Portuguese, incurably ill for many years, drank the same oil of our Lady and was cured altogether and gave what he could as alms.

P 591 | The wife of a man who had been Meyrinho of Calâne, who had almost lost her sight, received it completely in the same manner.

A heathen blind man of Salpiti Corla received sight, in the same way.

From the 28th of the same month of September to the 10th of October, our Lady wrought the following 12 Miracles.

Antonio de Almeyda with a crippled finger touched the Image of the Lady and was cured.

A girl of 3 years, daughter of D. Maria, who neither spoke nor walked, was offered to our Lady, and at once she spoke and walked.

[1] Leper.

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Pero Mendes being very ill with the stitch, drank the oil of the lamp and was instantly cured.

The same happened to Antonio de Pedrozo, to a man of Goa, and to Father Friar Alvaro da Purificaçaõ, a Religious of St. Francis, who with the same oil were cured of the stitch.

A page of Jorge Fernandez de Abreu, sick of the gout, was cured on drinking of it.

A son of the same Jorge Fernandez de Abreu, who was almost dead, was weighed in a balance and the weight of the child in money was offered to our Lady on two occasions, and he suddenly recovered health.

A Portuguese boy, so swollen as to be beyond hope of life, was cured by the same oil.

A son-in-law of Gaspar Cardozo, a Portuguez, incurably ill, was anointed with the same oil and was perfectly cured.

A deaf and dumb boy of Mapitigaõ was offered to our Lady and at once received both speech and hearing.

A Carea who was living in the garden of Cipiaõ Rodrigues in Columbo, was much oppilated and was cured with the same oil.

On the following days of October up to the 10th of November, our Lady worked 18 miracles, giving health to divers persons afflicted with various infirmities.

The wife of Francisco de Augiar, a Brother of the Third order of St. Francis, was | already speechless, with a candle in *F 321* the hand, but when offered to our Lady was cured instantly and went to give thanks with an offering of 20 pardaos.

The Bada, Branco de Boemedechanda who had been swollen and oppilated for 12 years, went to the Church in an *andor* to beg health from our Lady and was at once cured and returned home on foot.

Maria de Costa, a cripple, being taken with labour brought forth a dead child, which when presented to our Lady regained life, and the mother recovered her health. These three Miracles are noted down because they are the chief ones, the others were similar to those already related.

In the remaining days of the same month of November, our Lady worked 30 Miracles, the chief of which are the following.

Francisco Barboza, very ill in his eyes, anointed himself with the oil of our Lady and obtained health.

P 592 | Isabel Coutinho, a resident in Calane, had an incurable wound in the throat and drinking the oil of the lamp of our Lady was cured.

A servant of Baltazar Monis was thrown for dead before our Lady and was immediately cured.

The wife of a Washerman of Calane, altogether mad, was offered to our Lady and returned to her senses.

A little girl of Beomêde near Maluâna, who neither ate nor spoke, was offered to our Lady, and at once she ate and spoke.

A blind man of the side of Nigumbo anointed himself with the oil referred to and recovered sight and returned to his country.

Jorge de Aguilar who had an open sore near the ear with many other infirmities, offered a head of wax to our Lady and anointed himself with oil and instantly recovered health.

A little child fell into a tank without anyone hearing of it. His Parents recommended him to our Lady and found him on the surface of the water without any hurt.

In these four months above mentioned, 60 persons more were cured, by the intercession of our Lady, of various infirmities, and it happened that sometimes the workmen fell from the top of the Church without any hurt and rising up at once, they returned to work. Numberless were the fugitive slaves who were found on the intercession of our Lady. The pilgrims who came very early to Church, not finding any fire in it, nor in the house of the Rector, wherewith to light the candles | they brought to burn before our Lady, often found *F 321v*
the lamp lit by an invisible hand.

Notable and celebrated was the Miracle which took place when they wanted to take into the Church, after it was built, the reredos in which our Lady was painted, because as they had not taken the measurement (a common fault of Indian workmen) they afterwards found it larger than the door, and though it could not be let in, it entered by Divine power to the great wonder of those present. And a servant of the painter, who made the Image of our Lady, had run away five years previously, but when his master the painter applied the pencil to form the face, the servant appeared before him, without his knowing how or whence he came. Thus our Lady began to work Miracles even when she was only conceived in the mind of the painter, and so many were those worked in this her Church that there were always many Pilgrimages, and many novenas were made with great concourse of people. And to show how many they were, those pointed out from these four months are enough. May God be praised in everything for seeking by so many means to convert the pagans to confirm the Christians and to assist in the urgent works of the Catholic people. Having given this information we have found of the Spiritual conquest of Jafanapataõ and of the rest of Ceylon, it is now convenient to seek out the General Constantino de Sâ de Noronha in Gâle, where we left him.

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P 593 THE GENERAL HASTENS TO TRIQUILEMALE, PLACES A MONOPOLY ON CINNAMON, JORGE DE ALBUQUERQUE S EDS HIM, WHAT HE DID, AND HOW DE SA WAS REINSTATED.

When the General was about to return to Columbo, he received information that the Heretics of Denmark were in the baia dos arcos of Triquilemalê, with 5 large ships laying the foundations of a praça with the assistance and favour of the natives, because as the Hollanders depend on the King of Denmark for the ti[illegible]er which they need for so large a number of *baxe*, th[illegible] get almost all their timber by the Baltic Sea f[illegible]k, Prussia, Pomerania and from the opposite coa[illegible]ot Sweden, and they never made war on each other in India, and it must be on account of some secret understanding between them, because he of Denmark kept up only a scanty force in India after he entered there. If they should succeed in erecting that fortalice, the danger would be irreparable, and if he of Candea should league with them, it would give him greater audacity | to *F 322*
try to escape the tribute as well as the subjection to the Portuguese. And as they care for nothing save their commerce and do not trouble themselves about matters of Religion, but only increase the vices peculiar to Heresy, and as they differ only in colour and appearance, they would on that account besides arming [the Chingalâz.] against us, get on better with them, for the pride and presumption of the latter made them bitterly resent the subjection of their Crown to the dominion of Portugal and their liberty to [Christian] precepts. The General at once sent the Captains, Cabral and Barreto, to Cutiar where one of the ships was; and he himself marched to Triquilemalê and made the Enemy embark in great disorder and with loss of men and of two ships which ran aground, a deed which won him fresh credit because of the rapidity with which he advanced on receiving notice of the danger which threatened, and because of the valour with which he defeated the Heretics, chastised those who were guilty of these dealings, dismantled the fortification and freed the natives from the slavery to which they would condemn themselves by passing from Idolatry to Heresy. He came to lodge in Manicrauarê, whence he passed to Columbo to assist Jafanapataõ, first entering into Candea, as we said in its proper place in the 6th Chapter of the 4th book.

He settled the affairs of Jafanapataõ and set its military and political Government in order; and as what now pertained to us in the Island was in peace, the General—who well understood the natural propensity of that people, and the readiness of their princes to revolt at the least provocation, because they considered the Portuguese dominion a heavy yoke, and who made use equally of diplomacy as well as of force, and knew from many instances, ancient and modern, that conquered Kingdoms are kept in subjection not only by garrisons and hostages and removal of people but also
P 594 by securing the leaders, as | Sertorius did of old, when he gathered the sons of the Portuguese nobles in the City of Guesea in Aragon under the pretext of instructing them in the liberal arts and in sciences, or as the Sofi of Persia did, who, having conquered a part of Armenia, transferred the chief men to Julfar, one league from his Court of Aspaõ—built two towns[1] in the environs of Columbo with the intention of making the Modeliares and Araches when engaged in war leave their families, on the plea of safeguarding them and their honour, in these garrisons as hostages of the loyalty of the wives to the husbands. Thus, under cover of a benefit, he thought he was prudently doing them a service and keeping them in bounds at the same time; for experience had shown that those who had their wives in Columbo did not take part in the recent mutinies. But such was the security and cunning of the conspiracy that took place under his second government, and such their assurance of having Columbo and the neighbouring garrisons in their hands that, it is said, they did not on that occasion mind this inconvenience.

| Besides these prudent dispositions, he saw that the F 322v
resources with which the State could assist were scanty and that much had already been spent on Ceylon, and it seemed to him that it was easier to lay a tribute on cinnamon and increase the dues of the villages which were moreover only a small acknowledgment of the right of Lordship and proprietorship which the King of Portugal had over them, than to raise capital sufficient to maintain that conquest; and he thought that one should proceed very slowly in increasing these dues, as well of the villages which are allotted to the Chingalâ Captains and were wont to be given to them for one life, as of those which are given for three lives to the Portuguese who had deserved them. Though new taxes give rise to scruples of conscience and to the hatred of the lieges, yet as cinnamon had always been a Royalty in Ceylon, and

[1] *Cf.* p. 715–718.

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there cannot be security in conquests without arms, nor arms without soldiers, nor soldiers without pay, he thought that under the circumstances, without unjust vexation to the people, a monopoly could be introduced on cinnamon, as there was no Royal patrimony, though the King had the direct dominion of those lands and the dominium *utile* of cinnamon. And of Rajû it is related that he ordered only 2,000 bahars (of cinnamon), to be collected, and burnt 1,400 reserving 600, which he sold at an exorbitant price. By this monopoly 1,200 bahars were collected and sold in Columbo at 40 xerafins, which amounted to 48,000, which for the time appeared sufficient for the expenses of the conquest, because the lesser dues of the villages did not exceed 21,000, the duty on areca and of the Vidâna of Bolategâma 8,000, the Customs duties of Columbo, Galle, Negombo, Chilaõ and Putalaõ, the sale of the elephants paid as feudal tribute by the Vania of Putalaõ and the King of Candea, which amounted in all to 20, good and bad, at 200 xerafis per head, not counting what remained in the hands of the officers of the King on account of their customary laxity, amounted only to 4,000, and the Maralas and the fines that were recovered, about
P 595 3,000. The dues of the Fishery of Pearls | and seed pearls, which formerly was a river of gold, was at this time of no value, owing to the lack of fishermen and their means, and because the beds of *chipo*, or oysters in which they are found, were covered with sand either in punishment for the tyrannies which were inflcted on the poor Paravars who dived for them or because of other just judgments of God which we cannot divine.

Meanwhile, Madûne seeing that he had but a scanty force and that his people were abandoning him, gave up the lands of the Two-Corlas, and D. Constantino Barreto went in pursuit of him to the parts of Batecalou with such good fortune, that some documents say that in this expedition he took Changara Rache[1] who had led the rebellion against D. Jeronimo de Azeuedo, with his wife, goods, and family and some other rebels, and that he returned with that victory, while Francisco de Brito de Almeyda continued | to reduce F 323
the lands to obedience, and in these parts there was none that was not subdued. The General ordered Changara Rache to have his hands cut off and to be dragged through the streets of Columbo and to be hanged, and his wife knowing of the death which was given to him, bit off her tongue and died with him.

[1] *Sic*, for Kannangara Arachchy.

While Luys Teyxeyra de Maçedo hastened to Jafanapataõ. as was related, the King of Candea profited by this diversion of our people and wrote to Madûne, who was residing in Vintêna, not to lose so good an opportunity to enter the Seven-Corlas, that he would give him in secret all the reinforcement necessary to become King of the lowlands, and that in good time he would declare himself. With this favour Madûne moved, subjected the Seven-Corlas, and when he made his way to the Four [Corlas], Francisco de Brito de Almeyda, Dissava thereof, on receiving information of this movement, went to receive him with the men he could get together, and he informed the General who was quite unaware of this novelty. Without delay he went with some casados to join the Dissava, which was also done by the Captain-Major of the Field, Constantino de Sâ de Miranda, who was in Ceyta-vaca with some companies. With this force they went to meet the Enemy who was in Talapitî, and coming across our vanguard he was defeated; and with the loss of some men he retired to the hill of Muratêna, taking with him the men of the Seven-Corlas and part of the Four who took him into strong and safe places, and in spite of the many detours which our arrayal made, it was not possible to get hold of him in those mountain ranges, but on the contrary the fire of rebellion spreading the faster, our men considered themselves obliged to kill all whom they met to remedy the faithlessness of that nation by driving terror into them, which on this occasion was efficacious, because the lands obeyed and the Enemy retired on seeing the fresh reinforcement of troops returning from Jafanapataõ with their Captain, Luis Teyxeyra, and D. Constantino, Dissava of Maturê, with his men.

The General pursued him to the parts of Triquilemalê with the rest of the arrayal, leaving D. Constantino Barreto
P 596 to guard the | lands of Maturê, Luis Teyxeyra de Maçedo in the Seven-Corlas, and Paulo de Figueredo Salgado in Sofragaõ. Constantino de Sâ made forced marches, always halting in the lodgements of Madûne, and after many days of march he hemmed him in Triquilemalê and he had no help but to go to an islet, which is called [the island] of Pigeons to meet seven ships of Denmark which were already on those shores, being invited by the King of Candea by [the offer of] the low countries of the Island, which they had already divided among themselves. But considering the actual circumstances he sent word to them that they had come too late; and the Danes finding their mistake, that many of their men had died in that place, that they had lost a ship there

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and that Andre Coelho had seized another, went away with the five | other ships to the opposite coast, and came F 323v to terms with the Nayque of Tanjaor who gave them a praça, which they still hold, almost without any kind of garrison. Madûne took the same route and lived a miserable life in that coast of Choromandel.

As the hurry with which our men pursued Madûne gave no room for any preparations, and as it was summer time and in those parts the country is without population, incredible was the trouble which hunger and thirst gave them, which obliged them to turn on Jafanapataõ; and when they least expected it, near a rivulet, they found a large quantity of provisions which the Enemy had deposited there for the war which they intended to make on that Kingdom. Here they rested for three days, supplied themselves with what was necessary for the expedition and marched by night on account of the heat. Near Jafanapataõ the General met Philipe de Oliueyra to whom he left certain orders and retired by way of Naraia without meeting with any reports of war. But not many days passed before the rebel Barreto made a fresh movement in Darvuâ disquieting a Vanea who was obedient. The latter asked help from the Dissâva of Matûre who sent it to him in such good time and with such good spies, that they cut off the head of the rebel, (others relate this death in another way, which seems more reliable) and of Vige Rala Modeliar who, as has been said, had fled from the house of the General. The death of Barreto was considered a great victory, because his people considered him immortal and neither in the one nor in the other territory would they believe that he was killed, till they saw his head in Candea whither the General sent it, which being recognized by all, they considered it a great marvel; and for some time Ceylon was at peace. Not so in Jafanapataõ, for information arrived that Phelipe de Oliueyra was besieged, and the General entrusted the reinforcement to his son-in-law Antonio da Mota Galuaô. He left, joined his father-in-law, and obtained a great victory at little cost, and with it the pacification of the Kingdom, as was related.

The Conde de Redondo died in Goa, and by virtue of a despatch Fernaõ de Albuquerque succeeded him on 12th
P 597 November, 1619, | for the Conde did not govern more than two years less six days. And as Sâ testifies that his Father Constantino de Sâ was at once sent by the Conde de Redondo, he was mistaken in saying that he took possession of the Generalate of Ceylon in September [16]19, because it was on the 17th of November 1617, that the Conde took possession of the

State. Setting out at once, Constantino de Sâ de Noronha took possession of the Generalate of Ceylon in September 1618 and governed it till Fernaõ de Albuquerque sent to that office his son Jorge de Albuquerque ; and it was in that short time that he did all that was related, with great credit to his reputation, and to the regret of India he was dispossessed of that office in which he had served the Divine and human Majesty with great zeal, valour, and with due disposition both in political and military affairs. Jorge de Albuquerque was employed in the fortalice of Columbo, | a praça of distinction *F 324* subordinate to the General of Ceylon, and to the one and the other it appeared hard that a son of the Governor of India should be under the orders of any other than his Father, and under the pretext of sparing the pay of the Captain of the fortalice, [the father] appointed Jorge de Albuquerque to both offices.

Sâ obeyed punctually, and returned to Goa at the time when the fortalice of Ormus, the right hand of the State of India, as disposed by the great Afonso de Albuquerque, was lost,[1] which loss was preceded by serious cases of negligence and disorder, and the most serious consisted in letting the Persians and the English land in the Island, when it could have been prevented, because after the European batteries and mines had laboured and the bastion of Sant-Iago was razed, that garrison had no hope of being able to resist the Persian arms which thence commanded the whole praça. But as it was the first that surrendered to an Enemy while there were men, provisions and munitions, quite contrary to military practice, it was reputed in the East as the greatest disgrace to the Portuguese nation. To excuse Ruy Freyre de Andrade the first prisoner in Quexume,[2] a praça which he sought to erect out of due time, and the Governor Fernaõ de Albuquerque who delayed to relieve it, many Authors have written, some according to the opinion that was always entertained about Freyre and the information which went to Madrid, others according to what was seen in India and the disorders of Ormus in the presence of the enemy, which not only anticipated that ruin but were undoubtedly its cause, as was testified by India on the one hand and by Portugal and Spain on the other ; but the principal reason of that disaster, about which we shall say somewhat further on, was never pointed out.

[1] Ormus was attacked by the Persians and the English and surrendered on 22nd May, 1622.
[2] Kishm.

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The Governor entrusted its relief to Constantino de Sâ de Noronha under the terms which his Son points out and which I do not examine. He did not fail to refuse the expedition, but at last he obeyed and reached in time to meet the Portuguese who were leaving Ormuz, the praça being in the hands of the enemies. He passed to Muscat, and returned thence to Goa, as his son relates. There they tried to put the blame on him, that he did not reach in time through *P 598* his fault | and that he let Simaô de Melo, who was Captain of Ormuz, escape.[1] But after other successes His Majesty considered himself so well served by Constantino de Sâ, that he ordered him to be restored to Ceylon with great promises of further favours. He set out in April 1623 by order of the Count Admiral[2] with a good reinforcement of ships, money, and men.

Madûne meanwhile with a new following and fresh hopes returned to Ceylon, being assisted by a Modaliar named in paganism Nay Dapu,[3] and afterwards as a Christian Manoel Homê Mascarenhas, who being on guard at the frontiers gathered lascarins disguised as workmen. Which coming at once to the knowledge of Albuquerque, he was at once taken with others and, his guilt being judicially ,proved he was sent to Goa. But as he fell | seriously ill on the voyage, *F 324v* the punishment of his guilt was forestalled by his death. Jorge de Albuquerque did not escape calumnies, for those dissatisfied with him say that the wealth of the Chingalâ was his greatest fault, and that to hide this wickedness his death was brought about by violence. All these were reasons for the arrest of Albuquerque, from which he was set free and likewise [acquitted] of other faults imputed to him, because as they had longings for Constantino de Sâ, and the other had no real guilt, they thought that this was the shortest way, and the one most often used, to have him deposed The others however were punished. This change included that of the Captain-Major, the Dissavas and of other officers of war, no small argument of the jealousy which merit ever caused in India and the uncertainty of a reward in this world. He governed up to the year [16]23 always at peace, because all that time was necessary to the Chingalâz to recover from their wounds, and to us for rest. Owing to this want of occupation the arrayal mutinied against the

[1] Simao de Melo, Captain of the port of Ormus was condemned to death, but he escaped.
[2] Dom Francisco de Gama, Count de Vedigueira, Twenty-second Viceroy, 1622–1627.
[3] Naide Appu.

Captain-Major of the Field, Gomes da Silua, and other officers, giving as reason that they affronted them in words, which to the military men of India was ever as bitter as deeds. They drove them out of the arrayal without authority, and elected 12 soldiers whom they would obey, as if they were 12 Peers, and complained to the Captain-General asking for a new Captain-Major and the pay due to them. After various embassies they accepted as Captain-Major, Manoel Mascarenhas Homê, who knew how to punish them thenceforth in the proper way.

CHAPTER 18.

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SÂ ERECTS THE FORTALICE OF TRIQUINEMALÊ, WITH OTHER MISTAKES OF THE POLITICAL GOVERNMENT.

Noronha was received in Ceylon with great rejoicings as they had asked His Majesty for him by common consent and public plaint. And he being pleased with such good proceedings, continued to govern with great satisfaction. He found the Island in a state neither of open war nor of firm peace, because the imprisonments and punishments of Jorge de Albequerque had excited in the Chingalâz a desire for novelties. He brought an Order of the Count Admiral to carry on the conquest of Candea and to erect a fortalice in the baia dos Arcos in Triquinemalê. Both the one and the other enterprises were beset with great difficulties, because for the former there were lacking the necessary forces, and the latter could not but be much opposed by the Candiot. He set out at once on this enterprise, which many persons of sound judgment did not approve of at the time, and after some difficulties he erected the praça of stone | F 325
and mortar, and when it was already in a defensible state, he returned to Columbo. The King of Candea seeing that we took his ports and that we were surrounding him on all sides, was seeking an occasion to break out in fresh war. When the Winter was over, the General returned to Triquinemalê with the greater part of the arrayal and with the Dissavas of the Four and Seven-Corlas, and hearing that there was some uproar on the frontiers of the Four, he despatched thither Francisco de Brito, the Dissava thereof, and everything was quiet.

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The General completed the fortalice which was also intended to prevent the Hollanders from taking possession of that site, for though it was small and there never was anything but a small garrison, because it was so far out of reach, and though it was a respectable praça which commanded the whole of the Gulf of Bengal and the sea of the South as far as Malaca, it had one great inconvenience, that at that time there were no other neighbours save the Bedas who are such barbarous and unruly men that they do not even let themselves be seen. Those who had experience of the Island, however, and those who were well informed in affairs of state, judged that as India was so open to European enemies, it was not desirable to hem in the Candiot so much as to drive him to some desperate course, such as he had already attempted with the lieges of the King of Denmark, and such as he afterwards carried out with the Hollander, and that we were not able to profit by the advantages of that port at a time when there were so many enemies by sea and land, and that in the midst of so many diversions of our arms it was not prudent to scatter them in praças of little strength, nor was it a time to populate the lands with other people, because owing to the proximity of the natives it was neither convenient for life nor for trade. And though the purpose of erecting this [fort] was to take away from the King of Candea the commerce and the export which he could effect through that place when he was at war with the Portuguese, yet it was not possible to block all his ports, unless we were Lords of the whole Island; nor
600 could that praca, | for the while, be of any greater use than could be obtained by 4 rowing ships sailing from Jafanapataô or Gâle to guard that coast, at less expense to the Royal Treasury, and by having good and efficient spies to watch the other ports.

When he took counsel on this matter with experienced Captains, they were of opinion that the erection of a new praça in Triquinemalê would be of great use for the conquest of Candea, but that it would induce that King to oppose our object openly, which would be better attained under cover of a peace, though ill-observed, since the force which we had was so poor, that it was not prudent to attempt new things beyond our power or undertake things which we were not able to maintain. And that past experience had shown quite clearly that the conquest of Candea did not consist | F 325v
in merely burning that City, but in holding the high lands and lowlands, for which two arrayals were necessary. When this was proposed, the Viceroy ordered the conquest to be

suspended and the praça in Triquinemalê to be built. We have heard the veterans of India say, that D. Nuno Aluarez Pereyra, whom Constantino de Sâ succeeded the first time, used to say, speaking of the King of Candea when he came to know of this resolution: 'They shut the door on him, but he will find someone to open it for him.' Time showed that he was not mistaken.

The General assembled what forces he could by sea and land, and in the summer of [1]624 in a few days he erected that praça on the site of a celebrated Pagode, which he razed for this purpose, and on that high headland which the land juts into the Ocean, which is a high cliff protected on all other sides by the sea, because on the Isthmus of that peninsula stood the City, a Pagode on the slope of the hill, and another in the middle, and the most celebrated one on the topmost hill, notable for its large concourse and superstition rather than for its fabric and wealth, though they were great also. Here he erected the praça, in form triangular, which commanded the entrance to that most capacious harbour and was three leagues from Vintêna, where the King of Candea carried on some little commerce of clothing, opium, and things of that kind, and whence the products of his Kingdom were sent out. A maritime power they are not known to have had, nor is it known that the Chingalâz ever put to sea any squadron of war, because being satisfied and jealous of their own, they never tried to dominate others and (like the Chinese) they thought that they could live by their own, and without any diligence on their part exchange the products of the Island for those of foreign countries.

Great was the resentment which the King of Candea felt on this occasion, because he not only lost the lands which he had held without any legitimate title, but they also profaned a place of the greatest superstition and reverence to those infidels and to himself, for by profession he was formerly a Ganez, and they turned into a defence of the Christians that which was previously the abominable abode of his Idols and the honoured sepulchre of the Kings of Cota
P 601 and of the others of Ceylon, or the Urn of their ashes. | We have already said that that State belonged partly to the Ganezes and the surroundings to the Pagodes, and partly to a Vanea or Duke who, because he received our Holy Faith, was stoned by his people on the instigation of the Ganezes. Another [Vanea] reinforced the King of Jafanapatão, when D. Constantino de Bragança conquered that Kingdom Of another Joaô Rodrigues de Sâ e Menezes says that he was

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dispossessed of his territory, which must mean that the Candiot seized the State of the Vanea. He fled to Goa, the usual refuge in those days of princes banished from Ceylon, and being baptized in the year 1552, it is presumed, he died there without being reinstated and without heirs, and that he had left his rights to the Crown of Portugal. | *F 326* But as it appears that a Vanea of Triquinemalê opposed D. Constantino, he may be the same, or another who had recovered that State. And I do not find in the memoirs of the conversions of the Princes of that Island, which the Fathers of St. Francis preserved, any other converted Vanea.

The Candiot dissimulated his grievance without making complaint in public, and secretly prepared for vengeance. By this time his two sons had married the two Princesses of the blind King of Jafanapatão which Philipe de Oliueyra was not able to prevent in spite of the fleet which he launched on those seas, when he came to know that these weddings were being celebrated in Tanjaor, the Nayque of which sheltered them, because as he of Candea was Lord of the ports of Cutiar, Panâua, Batecalou, and of others of lesser importance, they escaped all his diligence. He of Candea took occasion by this to conquer Jafanapatão and under the cloak of friendship he acted like an enemy, not so much to make war, as not to conceal altogether his grievance, and to show that he could do so. But as he ever considered it more useful to make internal diversions and to seek external European help, he at the same time instigated rebellion in our Province and leagued with the Hollanders who were already spread in India and were his neighbours in Paleacate, so that along with the Nayque of Tanjore they might assist him to place his second Son in possession of Jafanapatão as it had been promised to his daughters-in-law, and to drive us out of the Island, and to recover for himself the Empire.

This was not hidden from the General, who being anxious to forestal and countermine him, left there a garrison of 80 Portuguese and 100 Lascarins with the necessary provisions of war and some pieces of artillery taken with great trouble from a Danish ship, which had gone aground on the coast, and returned to Maluâna, showing himself as dexterous in dissembling offences as in giving them, and more prompt to remedy than to vengeance, even trying to maintain, contrary to the order of the Viceroy, that he was not the first to break out in war. He tried his best, as far as he was able, to prepare himself and to preserve the obedient lands in which the greatest security consists. He treated

the Natives with kindness, suavity and confidence, showing
P 602 himself more like a Father than a Governor, encouraging | unions with the Portuguese, and above all the spread of the Catholic Faith, there being already in Ceylon the four most ancient Religious Orders of India. He always showed favour to the ecclesiastical State, without meddling in what did not concern him, and endeavouring by every means to show himself just in the civil and military government, whereby the guilty were punished, justice assured, virtue favoured, valour | rewarded, trade made flourishing and F 326v vices abominated. The Chingalâz called him Father, the Portuguese respected him, because he knew how to temper gravity with affability, which won for him obedience as well as love. He employed equally both Chingalâz and Portuguese, and he honoured them with public offices. He obtained from His Majesty leave to grant them villages for life which the Chingalâz greatly esteemed; and at this time it fell to the Generals to distribute them as well as other posts, which the King and the Viceroy little by little reduced. And because the distribution of villages could not but give room to dissatisfaction, because there is none who does not want more, and those who are least deserving are the ones who seek to be most favoured, especially in India where the white skin infuses such presumption that the gentlemen want to be Idols and all the others to be gentlemen, and of the Indian born some forget their condition, so as to be esteemed because of those who were their Ancestors, others in order that they be more esteemed than their Parentage deserves.

To avoid these complaints, a *junta* was appointed consisting of the Vedor de Fazenda, the Çaptain of Columbo and the Guardian of St. Francis, presided over by the General; and the villages were distributed according to their votes, to the Portuguese generally for three lives, and to the Natives for one, with such dues as seemed desirable at the time, because the lands were much damaged and depopulated by the wars and because in Ceylon peace generally lasted but a short time. The Princes who throughout the whole of Asia always claim greater dominion, introduced this system, and the Mahometans also in all the conquered lands, whereby they always have men ready and paid for war without the need of new levies, which in the case of a large Monarchy always supplies a formidable force, and they say that Philip II. of Spain greatly desired to introduce it and to do away with hereditary properties and perpetual emphyteusis, but that he did not dare to set so great a machine

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in motion, especially in hereditary and unconquered Kingdoms where the direct dominion of proprietorship is wanting, and only the supreme [dominion] is given to Princes. But this, which seems very plausible for purposes of war, means the destruction of the country, because the usufructuaries, especially those who have it for only one life without hope of renewal, only care for the present yield and do not concern themselves about the future, but tyrannize over the cultivators who, if they are *abunhados*,[1] called in Law adscript slaves (*servos adscripticios*), run away, and if they are free, they keep away, while the farms in India require more
P 603 continuous labour | than those of Europe, because the growing of palm trees, cultivated or wild, requires daily toil. While on the contrary those who have hereditary properties, if there is good government, try to improve them and it is the same in the case of perpetual emphyteusis. But this is out of place here and is only mentioned because there are other opinions along with | the necessary information. Whoever F 327 considers the government of a village will find in the Gancarias of Salcete and Bardez, a system which in theory is the most subtle and the best government for the good of the individual and for the improvement of the lands that can be conceived, but those who know it in practice will see clearly how malice can pervert anything.

By this distribution Constantino de Sâ intended to please the Chingalâ lieges, and he would easily have succeeded, had that nation been different. But it is a general vice of Heathenism to ascribe benefits to one's good fortune, and it is not easy to root it out even from Christians. He kept moderate state, that his person might be respected, but his condescension did not make him less respected nor his severity make him less beloved. He listened to the opinions of his Captains and elected them according to merit and not on personal considerations. He was as diligent in increasing and preserving the Royal revenues as he was generous in distributing his own, as will be seen from his Testament after so many years of continuous government, for the Generalate of Ceylon had the reputation of being an office for acquiring new honours and merits for preferment, and not a praça which was a payment for them. Thus he continued up to the year 1625, when Ceylon also reaped the felicity of the Spanish Monarchy. And feeling himself freed, his men exercised, and garrisons provided, and fearing only for Jafanapataõ and wishing in any case to make sure

[1] Said to be from Persian *bunyād*, foundation. The corresponding Anglo-India term is 'ryot'

of the rest, he resumed the fortification of Gâle, as we have already mentioned, and upon the bay of Columbo on the point of S. Lourenço, he renewed a curtain or Breastwork of stone and mortar, of 86 fathoms in circuit, provided with 11 pieces of artillery, the City of Columbo liberally assisting in this work, which was ever the case in India when the people understood that it was not for other purposes. And there, also at his own cost, he made another of 33 fathoms, whereby he completely secured that bay, and with the water of the lake he erected a powder mill which, if the materials had not been wanting, would have given a sufficient supply for the whole Island, because from the Fishery Coast he obtained saltpetre of Madurê, and brimstone was brought from Persia by way of Goa. His real trade consisted in sparing the Royal exchequer even at the cost of his own.

Such reasonable proceedings did not avail [to save him from calumny], for seeing that the garrisons were paid, the soldiers fed and clothed, the praças fortified, the Stores supplied, some Ministers thought that these Miracles were not wrought by fidelity and good government. And because Constantino de Sâ put a stop to some great abuses, he lost
P 604 in their eyes what he gained in those of others. When | he entered upon this government, every kind of trade and traffic was permitted, provided it was profitable; and abuses had reached such a height as to bring ships laden with arms | and materials for the enemies of the Faith and of the F 327v State, and especially for the King of Candea, even at a time when war was raging furiously with the Portuguese, thus treading under foot both honour and conscience. The leaders were the Portuguese Dissavas who had moreover warehouses or public fairs where they sold, at the highest price, by a sort of monopoly of their own, every kind of merchandise. Constantino de Sâ opposed these disorders which excessive tolerance had made customary. And though he carried it out with great trouble, his own household had to suffer.

From the time of D. Joaõ de Castro,[1] the King placed in all his praças Comtrollers of Revenue (*Vedores da fazênda*), to administer the Royal revenues independently of the Captains and the Generals, which could not but be an inconvenience in point of both credit and promptitude, since an individual Minister, oftentimes a perfect rogue, was more relied on than a Captain or a General, and because the dispositions and the sinews of war depended on an

[1] 1545–1548.

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inferior who never approved the actions of the superior, either out of indiscreet zeal or for private gain, for the biggest thief that ever was in India ever cloaked himself under the mask of service of the King, and because pay was never wont to be given unless their palms were oiled, and not seldom there entered the jealousy that another should have the glory which he was able to buy with the King's money. Martim Afonso de Souza, who knew how to make good use of the Royal revenues, used to say that there must be many to collect them but only one to spend.

We have heard the Viceroy, Luis de Mendonca Furtado de Albequerque, Conde de Lauradio,[1] who was well informed about the whole of India whither he had been four times and where he was General, Governor and Viceroy, and who was ignorant of nothing, though he was altogether unable to apply a remedy, (and there will never be any amendment without the halter and the axe), say: the King's pardao in my time had sometimes four tangas, but never five, and there were occasions and times when it had not one.[2] Equal power and round table are for cavaliers and not for Ministers: in the case of the former there ceases all pre-eminence in grade and honour, while in the latter there prevails diversity of judgment, of affection, of dependence and envy and self-interest. In proof of this, Jorge de Albuquerque wrote in May of [16]21, that the Vedor de Fazenda, Lançarote de Seyxas Cabreyra had some accounts which he did not publish either in the time of Constantino de Sâ nor in his own, except when the Generals acted against his opinion; and the same was done by Antaõ Vaz Freyre to D. Jeronimo de Azeuedo, but if it had been for the King's interests, they would not have waited till their private interests were touched.

The Vedor de Fazenda in Ceylon was Ambrosio de Freytas, whom we knew when he was here as Secretary of State.
P 605 He was first a layman and afterwards a | Cleric, and it is well known that he shaved his beard because the Viceroy Pero de Silua[3] threatened he would have it shaved. This Minister did not agree | with the zeal and principles of F 328 Constantino de Sâ, and he begged the Count Admiral to relieve him of his office, not that he wanted it in the least, but probably because he was persuaded that to keep him they would recall the General. So self-confident is cunning

[1] Governor 1661–1662, Viceroy 1671–1677.

[2] The royal revenues never reached the King intact. The pardao was worth 5 tangas, but peculation was such that the King sometimes got only four, never five, and at times not even one.

[3] 1635–1639.

and presumption! He prepared papers against him in which, they say, he charged him to the extent of 30,000 xerafîs of the Royal revenue, and we shall see that the King was exactly so much in his debt. The Vedor came to Goa, and the General laid before the Conde, that he was able to keep up the war and the conquest of Candea while fulfilling this office also, without other succour than that of Portuguese soldiers, on condition that on His Majesty's account he was permitted to send 200 bahars of cinnamon to sell in Bassora. When this was proposed in Goa through his procurators, both the offers appeared convenient and the Count granted them subject to the approval of His Majesty, which in so important a matter and at a time of such long delays could not but cause great inconvenience, and when one is entrusted with so high a post and at so great a distance, it was reasonable that he should be trusted not only with the execution but also with discretion, which is always better in one who hears and touches, than in one who only hears. But everything is reduced to reports from India, where there is so great diversity in the plans of so many Princes that unless its Viceroys have that power, nothing will be done in time, nor can they profit by a good opportunity.

CHAPTER 19.

He expels the Moors from Ceylon; The Hollanders try to enter; He persuades the King to conquer.

In the third chapter of the First Book, it was said how the Moors came to Ceylon before the Portuguese, how they had entered into all these Realms and maritime ports where they extended their commerce or their conquest, of which we shall say more in its place, for when they do not come by force of arms, they enter by means of navigation; and either because the Natives are interested in Commerce, or because of bribes, whereby they open the doors, or because they adopt their shameful Religion, which they spread with diabolic zeal, there are few Kingdoms altogether free from them, and in the inmost recesses of the Archipelago of S. Lazaro there are many islands of Moors. They entered Ceylon by trade and by money, and they multiplied there to such an extent, both by generation and by the continuation of commerce, for there came 500 to 600 each year, that not only in

the maritime ports, but even inland there were already
P 606 villages of them in all the Dissavas. | In the port of Maturê there were many. From Sofragaõ to Calaturê within a distance of four leagues, there was then a village, which belonged to Manoel de Melo, altogether | peopled by Moors F 328v and already they used to call it the village of the Moors, and there was a *Cassis*[1] to teach them and to propagate their sect among the Chingalâz. One league before Alicaõ there was the large village of Berbirim, which deserves to be called Barbary, for it was altogether peopled by them. And as a certain Prelate of St. Francis was passing throught it on a visit, an old Chingalâ came to see him and asked him to be pleased to buy a fresh garden which he had there to build a Church; that he would give it cheap before the Moors by dint of bribes and money took it from him and turned him out, as they did to the other Natives of that village, for by that means they became very powerful with the Portuguese and already there were few villages which did not have some of them.

The inconveniences of these people remaining in Ceylon were very great and notorious, for the licence of the sect was very inviting to the Chingalâz, and the favour which they found with the Portuguese also induced them to embrace it. It happened once that when a Franciscan Religious preached to these heathens to become Christians, they replied that they would rather become Moors, for if they became Christians, the Portuguese would not on that account cease to tyrannize over them and to treat them like slaves, which was not done to the Moors, rather they did them many honours, giving them the posts of Vidânas and Canacapoles in their villages, letting them come into their houses and treating them like Lords. In fact no one ever resisted the conversion of the Natives by contrary persuations more than they. And though it was even decreed in the Provincial Council of Goa, under pain of excommunication and of fine, that no Christian should employ Moors in any occupation which gave authority over Christians, which was afterwards approved by the Holy Office, neither in the case of Moors in Ceylon, nor in the Northern countries as regards Moors and heathens, were these punishments sufficient to prevent these scandles in spite of all the provisions which were also issued in the name of His Majesty.

[1] A word frequently employed by old travellers and writers on Eastern subjects, to denote Mohammedan divines (mullas and the like).—Hob-job.

This matter reached such a height that a Factor of Columbo had appointed a Moor in Gâle as Canacapole, superintendent to the King's Factor who was there, subordinate to the one of Columbo, and this man had the keys of the Factory containing money, areca, rice, and other things, and he disposed of everything without leaving the Portuguese anything except the title. Even in the City of Columbo in the year 1625, there was a Moorish tailor, called Mouro Belâla, a man of great means and resources, and after a residence there of 30 years, when they spoke to him about becoming a Christian, he replied: That being a Moor, they showed him great courtesy and the Portuguese gave him a chair in their houses, but if he became a Christian, all this would be denied him, and they would treat him as they treated the Chingalâz. This man gave his daughter in marriage to another Moor, and when he was taken through the City at night, there were
P 607 not wanting Portuguese | of Portugal | and of India who F 329
to do him honour put carpets on the windows and placed illuminations there, and others accompanied him, and there was a casado who at the request of this Moor sent his Caffir to kill a cow for him with their ceremonies. They were punished by the Vigayro da Vara and by the Ouvidor. The Moor went to the arrayal and obtained a despatch that no steps should be taken in the matter till further inquiry, and this they say was never done. To protect themselves the better, they tried to introduce themselves into the service of the Generals, and because one of them got together in one monsoon 600 *amanoês* of areca, he was rewarded with honours and gifts.

A zealous Portuguese named Fernaõ Durate, a native of Cadaual, seeing this and the danger, which could ensue of their becoming lords of that Island, and that in all the revolts they were ever on the side of the enemies, and that they were already so many that they were able to give great concern not only when they united with the Chingalâz, as was seen afterwards in the *perli* against Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, but even by themselves alone, as was proved by the number of those expelled, made a petition to the General: 'That to serve God and the King he wished to go round the Island and take a roll of all the Moors who were therein, so that the strangers might be turned out and the number of the rest might be known.' This zeal pleased the General, but he delayed so long to give effect to the petition that one of the servants informed the petitioner that he was labouring in vain for every year the Moors brought to Columbo for him 900 *amanoês* of areca. Far different was the zeal of another, a rich and respected person of Gâle,

who drew up a Certificate, sworn and signed by the rest, to say that the Moors were very profitable to the Royal exchequer and enriched the lands in which they lived. After his example those of Alicaõ and of Nigumbo did likewise, with their eyes on present interest, without minding the harm present and future. In Ceylon, however, there was a special reason to keep, not all, but some of them, because as the Chingalâz were never seafarers, there could be no sailing or trade, if there were no Moorish lascars for that work.

So many were the complaints of the Religious and of zealous men against them, that private interest had to give place to common security, though this determination lasted but a short time. His Majesty Philip IV.[1] in fact ordered them to be turned out of Ceylon and this business, which had not a few difficulties, was carried out by Constantino de Sâ de Noronha in the beginning of 1626, without regard to political reasons and without listening to the fears of those interested who placed utility before Religion, danger before security. He arranged matters like a prudent man, gave orders like a good Catholic | and carried them out like a F 329v
courageous man. And with God's help and his zeal, the result was better than was expected, for which His Majesty considered himself well served and obliged. The number of
P 608 those expelled is not known for certain, | but quite a multitude of them fled to Candea. The Candiot, profiting by this occasion to win over our most declared Enemies, received many of them into his ports, whence, owing to fresh negligence, they were afterwards again introduced into our ports, though they were always known to be such bitter enemies in hatred and by profession; and in Batecalou alone the Idolatrous King placed a garrison of 4,000 of them, thus showing his mind by favouring our enemies.

Long ago His Majesty had ordered the General of Ceylon to erect a fortalice in Batecalou, but because the conquest and its perpetual diversions excused its fulfilment—besides that it was thought that that port was not capacious, as it had not depth enough for large vessels, nor an eminence on which [a fort] could be erected—on fresh information, the King ordered Constantino de Sâ most urgently to carry out this work, which was also due to the following reason. In the year 1601 the Hollander General Jorge Aspielberg[2] put into port at Batecalou with three ships, and the Tyrant who sought by means of foreign arms to divert ours, took him to

[1] Philip IV. of Spain, III of Portugal, 1621–1640.
[2] Admiral Joris Von Spilbergen.

Candea with great feasting, appointing him a site for a factory and a fortalice, and to flatter Maurice from whom he had the embassy, out of hatred of us, he called Candea 'New Flanders,' so that even by these hints he might accredit his perfidy under the general name of vassalage, though there was such disproportion between Holland and Candea, that the latter was two leagues above sea level while Holland was eight palms below it. He studied the French language to understand them the better, and this friendship led to the series of events which afterwards took place in Ceylon, but for the nonce everything vanished, because when the Admiral Jacob Necio, with a name that forboded the unforseen result, came again with some ships to the same port, the Rebel went from his capital to Batecalou, and the Admiral, disembarking with the most lusty men of his fleet, to please the king the better, tried to persuade him to go on board the ships; and he insisted so much, with Flemish gallantry, unused in Ceylon, which holds compliments suspect, that the Idolator, justly measuring the heretical mind by his own, prevailed in compliments and separated him from his men, and his chiefs under the same plea of giving them hospitality and feasting, chopped them into quarters, violating, as he was wont to do in other things, the law of hospitality. And though they never trusted him again, they put up with the affront like men to whom convenience is of more importance than reputation; and as they by every means | solicited an *F 300* entry in Ceylon, they omitted no means to obtain it, calumniating the Spanish and Portuguese nations in the Courts of all the Oriental Kings, and especially in Ceylon where the roots of hatred had already been watered with much blood of the one and the other nation; and in spite of all that treachery, they praised him in their writings as a great Prince.

P 609 | At this point Joaõ Rodriguez de Sâ e Menezes narrates[1] a prophecy of a *Yogi*, because when Andre Furtado de Mendonça destroyed Jafanapataõ in November 1591, a soldier going a hunting came upon a *Yogi* in a cave where he was doing penance, who calling the Portuguese asked him to 'Be of good cheer, because Ceylon would be altogether Portuguese, but that a few years afterwards another nation whiter than they would turn them out of the island.' And the warning seemed Mysterious, because it was said 6 months before the English, (he must have meant to say Hollanders) first passed to Malâca, and it was impossible for the *Yogi*

[1] Menezes, page 165. Trans. J. 41, 559.

to have foreseen it by any human means. With different circumstances this Oracle was narrated to us by Father Thome Carualho Caõ, of the habit of St. Peter, who is alive in Goa as we write this. For when his Father, Domingos Carualho Caõ, was Dissava of Maturê, he had with him his Adigar, a man of great age, who said that he knew from their books that the Portuguese would become Lords of a good part of Ceylon, but that a nation with blue eyes would turn them out of the Island, but afterwards the Portuguese would become absolute masters of the whole of it. Francisco Simoẽs Leytaõ, a Citizen of Goa, and formerly of Cochim, who died a short time ago, related to us that when he was in Cochim, an old Portuguese named Fernaõ Cardozo told him that six months before the two first Hollander ships ploughed the Indian sea, a *Yogi* had told him in Ceylon that when the Portuguese had mastered the better part of the Island, they would be driven out by another nation with blue eyes, but that afterwards the Portuguese would drive them away and would become absolute Lords of Ceylon, and that that Island [would become] altogether Christian. This story was very common in those times, but as they relied on memory, it is not strange that the accounts are different in the circumstances; and it is easily understood that this man was the soldier of whom Joaõ Rodriguez de Sâ speaks, and that it was not a prophecy of a *Yogi* but a very ancient one of their books, which being written on *olas* or palmyra leaves with a style, and not with a pen, are commonly called their *olas*. In the Life we wrote of the Venerable Brother Pedro de Basto we have indicated the revelation[1] he had about both the punishment and the loss of Ceylon | as well as of the recovery of that island, *F 330* and as we have shown therein, of its conversion to our Holy Faith as well, whereby this Chingalâ prophecy of which we do not know the Author, is confirmed the more, for we know from good Theology that that grace is not denied to a Heathen as is seen in the Sibyls. This was not unknown to the Hollanders; and just as they are quick to deny revelation, so are they also quick to believe what suits them; and animated by their self interest, they never desisted from their purpose till the circumstances of time and the oppressions of the Brother[2] of this King, as we shall see, opened the door, first to opposition and afterwards to the ultimate ruin of the Portuguese in that Island.

[1] *Cf.* Introduction.
[2] Senarat was the half brother or cousin of Wimaladharma.

P 610 | To take up the thread of our History, the affairs of Candea and the thoughts of that conquest kept Constantino de Sâ watchful, for realizing full well that a large force was necessary for the purpose, and that the State could not supply it on account of its many distractions, he acted as demanded by its poverty and the urgency of the orders of the King and of the Count Admiral, carrying out like a superior and weighing matters like a subordinate. Meanwhile the Rebel added insults to injuries and the General added dissembling to forbearance, realizing how much they would increase, if put up with, and that only punishment was able to bring about an amendment. But seeing his hands tied, and that the Count on fresh orders from Portugal ordered him to maintain peace with Candea, he assembled the Captains and soldiers of the greatest satisfaction, and taking their votes sent them to Goa, because all unanimously confirmed the following, as is related by Joaõ Rodriguez de Sâ :

That the Crown of Portugal lost much in reputation by ignoring the wrongs which the King of Candea publicly did to us, abusing our patience, which only made him conclude that we were negligent and cowardly : That violating the peace with impunity, while we observed it with imprudent circumspection, he was enriching himself by Commerce with strangers and had become the arbiter of peace and war, whereby he had not only increased in power and pride, but had also [won] a great reputation among his confederates and had [increased] his power throughout the Island, to the great discredit of our people who were hitherto accustomed to conquer by their very name and reputation as well as by arms, and if these should be debilitated by ease and trade, it was quite feasible that in time they would be so corrupt as to give hope to the enemy to attempt the absolute Lordship of Ceylon, since his daring had reached such a stage as to divide [the island] between his three sons after treacherously killing his stepson : That there was no greater evil for conquests than delay and perplexity, which are the usual destroyers of all great resolves : That while all other [conquests] were in the beginning voluntary, that of Candea had come to be the complement and one of greater | use ; for on its F 331 accomplishment depended the Sovereignty of the island and the security of the lowlands, and it was a common example to the Idolatrous Princes of the East to learn Faith and punctuality when they had to deal with us. That to have so many enemies in that Island was only a proof that the Portuguese were poor soldiers or poor politicians, since they

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gave a perpetual asylum to the rebels. That the tricks and pretentions of the Candiot contained in the *olas*, the lies and falsehoods which he published, disquieted minds to such an extent, that the peace had to be conducted with greater caution and fear than would be the case in a perilous war, and if he should be the first to break it, he would have half the success for himself, by showing himself warlike and valiant in not fearing our arms : That the succours, leagues and devices, which he sought, showed that he aspired to great things which would be easy to accomplish, if our tolerance P 611 and | dissembling gave him opportunity and time to make himself more powerful by allies and by commotions in the Provinces, for he persuaded them in secret to revolt and to assist him : That to try with great watchfulness to remedy so many dangers, it was enough to consider what would be the result of the entry of the Hollander into Ceylon, for it was understood that he sought the universal and exclusive dominion of India. And that to forestal these designs, it was very convenient, that at least now, after a century, His Majesty should give orders to carry out the conquest of Candea with all the earnestness and reinforcement necessary of men and money worthy of so great a Monarchy, so that once for all we might have done with those Idolaters, ever treacherous and inimical to our Holy Faith, and that if His Majesty became absolute Lord, the Chingalâ would lose all hope of a native King or of setting up an opposition, and thus would easily be achieved the general conversion which is the principal end of our Princes in their conquests. The Royal patrimony would increase in provinces, revenues, and lieges, and when peace was established by the cultivation of the lands and moderate taxes, Ceylon alone would yield more profit than the whole State of India which we have at present, for in no part thereof have we so large an Empire, so much fertility and abundance, because this was the best and the greatest plot of land which the Portuguese mastered in Asia, and to become the best thing in the State it needed nothing more than the favour and interest of the King, for it was the constant opinion of the most capable and political men that even if all else should be taken and lost, for the Portuguese nation to be the Lords of the East, it was enough to keep Ceylon.'

Then they went on to compare it with the other countries and pracas, as we shall do in another place,[1] and to show

[1] Book VI.

the convenience of making this the Metropolis of India urging the point with examples of other Governors and Viceroys who came to Ceylon with larger forces with less reason, | and *F 331v* that there should be no greater reasons that those which offer themselves now, since in temporal things the King was the unopposed Lord of the whole island; and he would be avenging so many treasons carried out or planned in Candea against the honour of God and the reputation of his arms, since they had profaned so many Churches, martyred so many Religious, Captains, and soldiers, and so many natives without sparing their children and relatives, and had beheaded so many Portuguese; and no one up to this time had taken due satisfaction; and finally he sheltered the expelled Moors with new designs and hopes. Lastly in proof of their opinion, they all offered their lives, liberty, and goods, under pain of the most grievous chastisement, not seeking from the success of the undertaking any other reward than to have served and advised the proper thing to their King and Lord.

P 612 | These valiant cavaliers considered that they had a captain prudent, generous, valorous and beloved by the Natives, who had great knowledge and experience of that conquest and who was benevolent and acceptable to friends and a terror to the enemies, and that in the circumstances even though they should be the last to be rewarded, it behoved them to be the first in danger. And if Manoel de Faria e Souza had any knowledge of these patent examples of the valour and zeal of General Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, he would not have published to the world such notorious contradictions as that of describing him at one time as negligent at another as precipitate, as if he were two diverse persons, when he could perhaps have found him equal to many in capacity, virtue, and courage. He condemns as temerarious his last action, for which he had a great excuse, because he found that it was due to his honour to lose his life on account of [the mistake of] another's head in the hope of its dying with him; and he does not condemn him for traversing the kindom of Candea twice, once with 50 men, and the next time with a little more, though he deserved great praise for both, because in one case he knew the dispositions which the grumblers did not know how to gauge, in the other, because he esteemed honour more than life; but this is not the first time that personal considerations transfered guilt from one to another person and that the shadow of the living terrified more than that of the dead.

CHAPTER 20.

THE GENERAL FORTIFIES MANICRAVAPE AND BATECALOU; THE CONSPIRACY OF THE NATIVES, AND THE MARCH TO CANDEA

The Count Admiral, who saw the difficulties from near and knew that for the conquest, | and security of Candea and *F 332* Ceylon there was need of a larger force than he was able to send, which could only be expected from an ultimate decision of the Catholic King, was unable and unwilling to take the matter upon himself, and sent the votes and opinions of the Captains of Ceylon to the King, meanwhile ordering Constantino de Sâ in the name of His Majesty, and with great insistence, to erect as soon as possible a praça in Batecalou, because, since the King of Candea fortified that port, it had become more necessary in order to impede reinforcements from the allies of that Rebel, and because the few foists which occasionally cruised that sea were neither less costly nor of such use nor so lasting. The General proposed to the Viceroy that it was convenient to erect first another praça in Manicrauarê, the usual camp of our arrayal, which would not only be serviceable for securing it better than in the past and for closing to the Idolator of *P 613* Candea the door to the two | provinces of the Four and Seven Corlas, but would also be a refuge in any unforeseen event, for it was sure the Candiot would break out in war, when he saw Batecalou fortified.

The Count approved this plan, as it was so well founded; but not so Ambrosio de Freytas, Vedor da fazenda who, as was his wont, refused the expenses. The General, however, in his zeal not only reinforced Maluâna, but with the 3,000 men who accompanied him in all things and with many workmen, in a few days fortified Manicrauarê, spending out of his own 10,000 xerafis. Afterwards he successfully passed to Batecalou and with arms in hand he erected that praça on an Islet which was within that small bay, which was always reputed not to be deep enough for large ships, but which had enough depth for four-decked ships when laden, for so little was our spirit of inquiry. Far different was the industry of the Hollanders whose first care was always to take soundings of the coasts and maritime

ports, whereby they were able to publish a Map and soundings of the whole new world. The Candiot sallied out with all his forces to impede this work, but thinking that our forces were greater than they were and because he had no men skilled in arms, he retired and had the audacity to offer Constantino de Sâ in great secrecy 40,000 patacas to desist from that enterprise, for when three merchants went to Candea to buy precious stones, he sent word to the General by them, that if he would give up the war he was preparing, he [the King] would make him a present of precious stones to the value of the amount mentioned, about which the General out of precaution drew up a writing which he sent to the Kingdom [Portugal], and which made him the more indignant, and in order to be able to begin to avenge this insult, he gave greater despatch to the work, | *F 332v* spending on it, of his own, more than 8,000 xerafins.

At the same time he found himself wronged by the Portuguese Ministers and by the Rebellious Chingalâ, for while the latter plotted a conspiracy against his life, the former plotted against his good name, the Vedor Ambrosio de Freytas excusing himself again, when he saw the General carry out with his own money the work for which he declined to give the money of the Viceroy. But the Count Admiral being informed of everything, and considering the conveniences which could result from the royal revenues passing through such clean and generous hands, approved what the procurators of the General had proposed, though war had already been declared, and the decision of Spain had not yet arrived ; and he gave permission to Ambrosio de Freytas to go home ; and those who first accused the General of being ambitious, afterwards accused him of Prodigality, so that there might be no side on which he was not attacked ; nor could a man be so great in India and not be persecuted.

It was now three years since the King of Candea fomented another rising against Constantino de Sâ, and when the fire was altogether prepared, he publicly took up arms against the Portuguese. The General had some knowledge of this, for in a *P 614* letter | written to His Majesty from Columbo, on the 3rd December 1626, about making war on the King of Candea he said this : ' But it is certain, from what I gather and from what the most experienced men in this Island think, that if the King of Candea breaks out, it will not be without the assistance of the Natives subject to Your Majesty.' And his son adds : ' And from other conjectures it appears that the traitors delayed the execution of their evil deed for three years after they had conceived it and had settled it with the Candiot ; but it was

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prepared so slowly and with such secrecy, dissembling, and caution, that those very persons were the ones who showed themselves most ready and obedient to the General in this war and were admitted to his side, his confidence, and his favours, which seemed to him to confirm their loyalty'.

But as I found full information[1] about these dealings, and as they disclose fully the native perfidy of these people, I shall give here the whole course of that conspiracy. There lived in Columbo in front of the College of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, a sword-smith, a bachelor, with only two slave boys whom in his wickedness he always kept in chains. He began to show his magnanimity by not taking money for the work he did. He was a native of Tanjaor and there was no one in the Island who knew his Parents, though afterwards there were not wanting those who said that he was the son of a Moor and a Parava woman and was born in Tutucorim. He gave out to his confidants that he was the son of Raju who ruled Ceylon, and he took it into his head to become King, with about as much reason as the terrible Tamerlan who, they say, was first a fencing Master, for there is little difference | between handling *F 333* a foil and cleaning a common sword. And such monstrosities are not rare in the world, for Sicily had a Potter for King and Africa had many of the same office, figure, and clay. He informed the King of Candea of the trade he plied and that he had learnt it [to serve] as a disguise and [asked] that His Highness might be pleased to give him favour and help to recover the Kingdom of his Father which the Portuguese had usurped under the plea of a gift which D. Joaõ Perea Pandar had made to them ; that in law it was not valid, as he was the heir, confirming this assumption with many reasons worthy of his learning and judgment, undeterred by the example of so many lobby Kings, who with as much or a little more capital of blood, attempted similar follies in that island and paid for it with their unworthily crowned heads. Though the King found out the falsehood, he did not want to lose the opportunity. He replied by an *ola* : ' That he was greatly delighted to learn the information of his quality and his firm determination to recover his Kingdom, very similar to that wherewith his Father molested us for many years with cruel war ; that he would not fail to give men and money, but that it was necessary in the first place to communicate with the Modeliares of Columbo and to inform them as to who he was, so as to carry out with greater security His Highness' purpose of obtaining

[1] Jornada do Reino de Huva 1635. F. 36 *et seq.*

P 615 the lands of his Father, for which effect | he sent them letters wherein he incited them to a deed so worthy of Chingalâ hearts. And meanwhile for his expenses he sent 60 amunams of areca and 10 bahars of Sapan which he might be able to sell for 500 xerafins.'

The King of Candea knew that Rajû had a son by a dancing woman who died in the lifetime of his Father, and that by this time he would have been 50 years old if he had lived, which the sword-smith had not reached, because he had in his household [persons who were] witnesses of his death in Seytavâca, who had fled to Candea when D. Jeronimo de Azeuedo entered that City But not to miss this chance, he wrote to D. Cosme and to the others informing them that Rajû, though a bastard, was the legitimate Lord of that Island, and that if he had any heirs, the other donation was not valid, and that they were by all means obliged to give favour to that poor Prince, his son, who was living in Columbo ; that he had in his palace witnesses of the truth, and that as he was so close a relative of his sons, he had pity on his lot and was determined to help him as every reason required that all Chingalâz should favour him. They at once visited the [sword] smith, inquired into his Royal genealogy, and listened with sorrow to [the story of] his birth and tragic life ; and as they knew that Rajû had had a son, they did not mind the 10 years difference in age of my Lord Domingos Fernandez, for such was his name, and considered him thenceforward as Mhaa Dacim,[1] which was the name of the defunct son of Rajû. And as the position of his house was too | F 333v public, they agreed that all should swear allegance to him in the house of D. Manoel, Shield-bearer of the General. For this ceremony D. Theodosio gave him rich clothes of silk and a gold *criz*. And there they made the customary obeisances ; and apostatizing from the Faith, they swore on an Idol to follow his banner till they put him in possession of his throne. He showed himself very thankful and promised large rewards, and as a foretaste of his favours he invited them to a dinner for which he gave 100 xerafins. D. Manoel assisted him thereto giving him his house and the expenses of that banquet. They assembled the following Sunday in the same house, and with barred doors they ate and drank to such excess, that forgetful of themselves and of his Royal dignity, they gave him 30 cruel marks on his throat and head, besides other indignities. A Surgeon was needed, and for greater security D. Andre, Interpreter of the General, took the nursing upon himself,

[1] Maha Adacim.

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because, not being a friend of Bacchus, he was still in possession of his senses. But what wine did not do here, water did later on when the General D. Jorge de Almeyda, ordered him to be drowned along with the others who were there. D. Andre, as soon as he saw himself outside, locked the door and though they knocked, he quieted them saying that the Captain of Columbo was passing on his rounds. They slept, and by morning they discovered their error, for which they were benignly pardoned.

The new King retired home, where he was visited and served, P 616 and in a short time he recovered. The Candiot being informed | that he was acknowledged, thanked all and sent the [sword]-smith a fresh supply of areca, the latter undertaking to thank him for so many benefits at his first entry into Candea, and giving to each of the Factors of the king a Chain and ring. Then they made preparations for that which they carried out in Velavaya, there intervening an interval of four years and three months. In the last year Domîgos Fernandez fled to Candea. He entered with a white shield the insignia of Kingship and after the preliminary compliments he of Candea said to him : ' Does Your Highness bring a rescript from the judge of the orphans that we should put you in possession of the lands of your Father ?' ' I bring no other rescript,' he replied, ' except a hope that Your Highness will look mercifully on my quality and right.' The Candiot replied : ' Nephew, I am sorry you are so foolish as to remember to bring a white shield but forget what is more necessary and important. You know very well that the King of Portugal has the privilege of Orphans, and as you do not bring his renunciation of it, how can I put you in possession of the lands which are his by every right. And though I have some superintendence over them, it will be wrong to give them to you without this rescript, for there is one who will demand an account of what is ill done, and besides this you are a Christian ; if you had been a Heathen, it would have been different.' | The [sword]-smith grew angry and said that seeing F 331 he was the cause of that revolt, he did not deserve such a reply. The King rudely declared himself altogether, saying that Helagora Rala and Vigiacan, who were present, knew that when they were in Seytavâca, the son of Rajû died under their eyes. But since he, being only a [sword]-smith, had the courage to seek to be King, and such a lofty thought could not enter into one who had not at least a brave heart, he asked him to serve in the present war and if he did what was expected of him, he [the King] would take care to reward him. Domîgos Fernandez, seeing the trend of his fortune and the depths to

which pride had brought him, became an anchorite in the mountains of Vilâcem, yearning for his former state. And as troubles are like the weak, who fall one upon another, and are not content with any victory, he climbed a mulberry tree to appease his hunger and fell and broke his leg, but never more appeared in our territories. But the conspirators once declared kept up their perfidy, and the leaders were D. Theodosio of Maturê, D. Cosme, D. Baltezar, and D. Aleyxo of the Four Corlas, D. Simaõ of Sofragaõ and D. Andre *Banaca*[1] of the General.

The Portuguese of the arrayal were never so well pleased, because as soon as the General began to administer the revenues, he at once found money to give double pay, dispensing it with his own hand and avoiding the many superfluous expenses and contenting the militia, the right hand of that conquest, for he knew well that more Empires were ruined by discontented soldiers than by public Enemies. And as the militia of
P 617 Ceylon had no other spoils and were ever | in the garrisons, they were the more in need of pay to provide for their wants, a small return indeed for their labours and blood and life; and they felt its denial or delay all the more, as they had nothing else to depend upon. And as few of them are ever [rewarded by] despatches, and they lived ever exposed to danger and uncertain of any promotion, they esteem prompt payment more than the hope of future reward. Among the Hollanders there are no other rewards or promotions save the offices of the militia; the upkeep and treatment of those who serve in the company are miserable; their punishments rigorous and exacting and so low and mean, that no other nation will impose them on their own countrymen. The pay given to them is so retrenched by mercantile interests, that when the accounts are settled, what they receive is very little. But as they do not lack what is necessary, they put up with rigorous discipline. And if among us we had the same care and the same foresight, and if they had not been kept back by their iniquitous religion, all would have fled to us, won over by the kindness of our treatment. And if the sodiers had known the ostentation and pride due to the faithlessness | of the Ministers, they would F 334 v

[1] Banaca, represents the Sinhalese *Basnayaka*. Dutch writers made it Banacke; (Van Rhee) Bannok, (Daalmans) Banak, (Valentyn) Bannaeke. Supra the Author uses *lingoa* (interpreter)—a word which Phybus uses in its English form 'linguist.' *Infra* p. 621, he calls him Secretary, and on p. 859 the Author has: 'their writers who are called Banacas'.

have felt greater difficulty to put up with the shortage of what was due to them, for while one ate, the others were famished.

The war of Candea being proclaimed, the Portuguese showed in the following three years of [16]27 to [16]29, that they were better pleased with war than with any insulting peace. The conspirators urged the King of Candea to profit by the scanty Portuguese force which the General had and the natural defence of his impenetrable mountains, and to begin to harass the frontiers of Uva. The General sought him out in his own house with only 50 picked Portuguese, and after penetrating into those lofty mountains and destroying all who opposed him, he made his way to Candea, destroyed a great part of that Kingdom, and slew a large number of Chingalâz without giving the Enemy time to gather his forces. He returned to Columbo and was so acclaimed by the Natives, that they called him God of the Island[1]. And there is no doubt that if Constantino de Sâ at the time he entered Candea had forces enough to maintain what was conquered, the wars of Ceylon would have ended for ever, because the valour of his person, the fear of the enemies, the military discipline he observed, the affection of the soldiers, his constancy in adversity, his endurance of trouble, the security from danger and his promptitude in execution, gave promise of all good results if only the reinforcements which he so often asked for had not failed; and it was this omission which robbed him of so glorious a conquest. He had orders from the King to reduce Jafanapataõ to a Province; and though the Vedor da fazenda, Ambrosio de Freytas, had made a fresh *tombo*, it was still ill-digested. Domingo Carvalho Caõ, because
P 618 of the access | he had to the General, persuaded him by letter to go in person to finish that business, as there was no one who had more information of the affairs and customs of that Island, and no General had set foot in Jafanapataõ, and as he had full information of the whole of Ceylon, he could make a full turn in it. He set out from Columbo for Maturê with the necessary men, and thence with Carualho he passed to Batecalou and Triquinemalê along the other coast and halted at Jafanapataõ. And in the space of a month he composed the affairs of that Kingdom in the form of a Province and did the other things already narrated, leaving the Captain-Major of Jafanapataõ

[1] There is an elegant Sinhalese poem called the *Kustantinu Hatana* describing the exploits of Don Constantino de Sâ's first term of office It is believed to have been composed by the great Sinhalese poet Alagiyawanna Mukaveti or Don Jeronymo Alaguemana. *Cf.* my article in the Antiquary IX., 45 and *seq.*

subordinate to the General of Ceylon in all that concerns war. and the Captain-Major governing the praças of Triquinemalê and Batecalou.

He did not fail, however, to give ear to the terms of peace which the Candiot proposed, though with such caution and dissimulation that he neither seemed | to reject nor to accept *F 335* them, showing that he did not need them, but without blocking up a recourse which might be used in case of need. To show this the better, in spite of the lack of reinforcements, in March [1]629, he again resolved to seek out the Enemy within Candea with such determination to die or conquer, that when setting out on the campaign, he made his Testament, the first clause of which shows that he had abundant cause to expose himself to so great a danger and the valour to disregard life. These are his words. 'The Expedition I undertake to Candea is so convenient to the service of God and of His Majesty, that at this hour I resolve to do it, though my force is much inferior to that of the enemy, but as it is God alone whom I ought to fear, from Him I may expect all the favour for this undertaking, since I fight in His cause. However, like a Christian and a mortal I fear death, so certain at all ages and at all times. And thus I commend myself to God Almighty, and place in his Divine hands my soul, &c.' From these words may well be seen the cause which obliged him to put himself in such evident perils, at least not to lose reputation nor give audacity to the Idolator, by showing him that he was feared, and to obtain better terms with arms in hand in case the [proposal of] peace took effect. The Portuguese suffered much in this expedition, as it was winter, because of the great cold in those mountains which rise above the clouds, from the rigour of which not a few died. And he was beset by ambushes on all sides, by marshy lands, Rivulets, and rivers, through which they waded with great trouble and fatigue, marching on foot, unshod and almost unclad, with legs torn by alligators and leeches, a very vicious product of the country. The General was foremost in everything, and alighting from his *andor* he waded through the rivers before their eyes, which made his companions love and admire him. And such was the labour and so many the wounds caused by those reptiles, that he afterwards paid for it by a long and dangerous illness. He marched through the *P 619* Kingdom of Candea without the enemy disclosing | himself on the field. Nor were the ambushes able to compensate for the lamentable damage that was done to his villages and lieges whose deaths, torments, and dangers, obliged the Idolatrous King to renew very cautiously the overture for peace, to keep the General busy till the conspiracy he had planned took effect.

CHAPTER 21

ILLNESS OF THE GENERAL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSPIRACY

| The General, realizing his illness, put off the conclusion of *F 335v* this negotiation [for peace till he returned] to Malvâna, whither he retired so ill that it made his friends and the whole Island very anxious on considerations and reasons so diverse as were the feelings of those concerned. The illness was malignant and long, and as he was a good Christian and was in close friendship with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who loved him tenderly and by whose advice he was guided in spiritual matters, after being comforted with the Holy Viaticum, he made a fresh codicil to his Testament, whereby he confirmed the first Testament and inserted therein these words worthy of more credit than all the comments made by his adversaries: 'Never did I take anything while serving the King, either in peace or in war. The Vedor de fazenda, they say, wrote something different and obtained false certificates against me, which I state here only to say that I forgive him, so that God may forgive me.' These calumnies were well known, and he might, and with good reason ought, to vindicate his good name; but his illustrious and Christian heart was not content with anything less than pardon to the one who accused him falsely. From the same codicil it appears, that His Majesty owed him his pay, 22,000 xerafins, for such were the robberies of Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, and to such are they exposed who govern, because mean minds measure by their own the generosity of so illustrious a mind, who has his eyes only on his honour, and the greater creditor he is of his Prince, the greater are the deeds of his magnanimity.

Which is the more confirmed by the following words of so Christian and so sensible a gentleman, [uttered at a time] when he was about to give an account to God, which in my opinion are most remarkable after so many years of the Government of Ceylon. 'I leave neither alms, Mass, nor office for my soul, because I die so poor, that I have neither Ornaments nor clothes for which I am not indebted.' In another clause: 'My servants I have not the wherewith to reward for the services which they rendered to me, though much is due for the love wherewith they served me. The voyage which I have from the Captain-Major of India, will serve to satisfy my debts unless His Majesty is pleased to pay them, for nearly all were incurred in his royal service.' And it is a well-known

fact that it was never wasted on himself, and that his greatest
P 620 generosity consistd in helping soldiers, for miserliness in a | Captain stains the lustre of the greatest deeds and leads to most pernicious results. It is known that all his inventory did not exceed 900 xerafins, and when his adversaries saw this disclosure, after they had accused him of owing the King 30,000 xerafins, as if the praças he had erected for which he spent so much of his own had been done by Miracle, though it was no small thing to spend on them so much of his own, they found no better way out of it than to publish that he had sent it to Portugal; though it was known from his servants that he had not sent home anything else | than an F 336 ivory bedstead worth 4,000 pardaos and some curiosities of little value. When the King of Candea heard this, he said in wonder: 'He did wrong, since he was so poor, not to accept from me the 40,000 patacas'; and from accounts made as usual with great strictness after his death by the Factor Francisco Tristaõ, it appears that the King owed him 12,000 xerafins; and the wonderful thing is that for more than 60 years this money was not available to his illustrious family.

Forseeing well the void that would be made by his death, he left mixed up with the affairs of his soul the following counsels: 'The peace with Candea should at once be made in the manner I have mentioned, putting the blame on me as it is easy to impute everything to a dead body. But this does not mean that it should be confirmed, because it is only if this Island belongs to His Majesty that there can be any Christianity, which is his principal object. Peace should be made with arms in hand keeping the forces ready where it seems best. And let them tell the King of Candea from me that unless he makes peace I assure him, at the hour in which I am, that he will perish with his sons.' How noble a man he was in everything! He proposes peace to meet the present weakness of our arms, but because he never thought that the king would fail to undertake the completion of that conquest, he recommended delay in confirming it. He points out the means like a skilful Captain; he asks that the blame may be put on him, who is not guilty, taking upon himself the disgrace provided the glory goes to the King. In what he counselled the Idolator he shows rather his noble heart, for he supposes his successors will have the same valour and disposition which he himself had, and considers as certain what others judged to be impossible [viz.], that Ceylon can be conquered altogether. His experience deserves more credit than the timid souls who measure by their weakness what his valour considered easy This codicil was made on 23rd January 1630; but God was

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pleased to grant the petition of the people and to put off the tears of the poor by restoring him to health, though late, and less vigorous [than before], because of the continual watchings, for the delay of the reinforcements afflicted him body and soul. And in order that there might fall to him also a part of the great victory[1] which the Governor Nuno Aluarez Botelho obtained in Malâca over Achem, when he came to know that Miguel Pereyra Borralho was going from Goa to the Coast of Choromandel with six rowing ships, he forestalled the order of the Bishop-Governor, D. Luis de Brito,[2] and sent
P 621 him to relieve Malâca, as | he knew that it was besieged by a large fleet of that Moorish King, one of the greatest enemies of the Portuguese nation; and the Mha Rajû, King of Delhi, thinking that this was all the reinforcement of Goa, in spite of the opinion of his naval general, who is called Laçamane, set the whole fleet in the strait of Pengor whereby he made victory easier to the Governor.

| During his convalescence the conspiracy grew in strength, F 336v because the King of Candea who thought that his security depended on the General's death, again began to dread his resolution; and the conspirators, fearing that with time they might be detected, hurried on their plans. Because as the ring leaders were those who were the most favoured confidants of the General, each the Lord of three or four thousand xerafins of revenue, baptized on the eighth day, and Catholics by education and teaching, friends and relations of many Portuguese by Matrimonial alliances, which the General had encouraged in the hope of rooting them the firmer both in Faith and in loyalty, they feared with good reason that in so mixed an intercourse they might not be able to hide their treachery; and as Constantino da Sâ, owing to his long acquaintance and experience, had come to treat them with confidence and had no suspicion or fear, for it appeared to him that they were included in the exception of D. Fernando Samaracon, their perfidy and ingratitude did not fail to find an opportunity to promote their plan, for, over and above what was related, they were chiefs of lascarins, and in the expeditions to Candea, in which they pretended to be faithful, they had easy means for secret communication with the King and with the Prince of Uva. And in order to carry out everything with safety

[1] See Danvers II., 229–232.

[2] The Conde de Vidigueira was directed to hand over office to Don Francisco Mascarenhas, but as the latter had returned to Europe, the Conde surrendered the Government to the Augustinian, Don Frey Luis de Britto, Bishop of St. Thomé, who governed from 1627 up to his death in 1629.

to themselves, they tried to win over to their party the other Chingalâz of Columbo, trying cunningly to discover their dispositions without meeting in public, speaking as if in passing, without showing themselves displeased nor pensive, lest they might be supposed to be contriving novelties. Then more than ever they flattered the Portuguese and waited upon the General with the same demonstrations of fidelity and affection without any change in their behaviour or friendship The first whom they corrupted, as we hinted, was D. Andre, Secretary of the General, and as through his hands passed all the business of the Island, on occasion he gave them the necessary information, in order the better to dispose the execution of their wicked plot. There joined him another Modeliar of great reputation, the richest and the noblest in Columbo, and such a favourite that he was the Shield-bearer of the General, a post of great confidence and pre-eminence ; and it caused no small wonder [to find] that their innate malice made them despise so much confidence, favour and goods of fortune, and what is more, their families, for the chance of a success, when they could not expect anything better from the liberality of the Candiot. To get arms together they profited by the industry and labour of the sword-smith Domingos Fernandez so long as he was there, whose lofty thoughts aspired to chimerical greatness. The one who showed himself most active of all, and proud, astute and deceptive, was D. Cosme Modeliar ; and when his eldest
P 622 son named D. Antonio married a | daughter of D. Manoel, he held a *junta* in his house and with the fury which passion and hatred dictated, they say, he made this speech :—

| ' How long illustrious companions, shall we live as slaves F 337
to these vile Portuguese, whose harsh servitude you have borne for nearly 125 years without any other liberty than what they permit us ? Is it possible that you should be so far removed from reason, that, though liberty is the thing of greatest value among mortals, you should be so habituated to slavery as altogether to forget it, or to despise it to such an extent, that being able to be free men and lords, you exchange your freedom for slavery, without letting the remembrance of what your ancestors held raise an honourable thought in your hearts ? Nor do you reflect on the unhappy fate of your children, for if by our weakness and irresolution we are reduced to slavery, they will have either certain death or banishment before them ; because if to-day they let you enjoy our property (in order to have men to accompany them for our ruin), to-morrow they will become their owners, either with death and the extinction of the Chingalâ name or at

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least with the banishment and transmigration of all your families, because the more they dread our courage, the more do they want to secure their dominion. If the Spaniards have done so to the Africans, who have been inhabitants of Spain for 800 years even though they were baptized : if the Persian King did so to the Armenian nobility, and so many others for their own security ; what better terms do we expect from the Portuguese who are anxious to perpetuate themselves in Ceylon and enjoy altogether its riches and delights ? Do we think, peradventure, that they love us more than their countrymen and their children ? If in spite of so many wars and so much blood-shed their number increases, what do you think it will be in peace when we are conquered ? Then you will realize your folly, when you see yourselves sold to foreign nations and banished as slaves, because if at present they contract kindred by marriage with your daughters, it is only that they may arm themselves with your own blood against your property, your liberty, and your life. Who does not see that our Religion is fallen, our nobility extinct, our riches drained ? In one single battle Constantino de Sâ beheaded 40 rebel Modeliares, and how is it possible that the affability with which he treats us be the offspring of love, when such is the cruelty with which he destroyed us ? Where is the Chingalâ nobility ? Where are our native Kings, in blood, in glory and in splendour, akin and rivals of the sun himself ? Where is that ancient Empire, the ancient renown, and the lustre of the noblest country in the world ? And how can we forget it without forgetting ourselves ? These two extremes will always be certain : if fortune is most on our side we shall have to live in vile slavery and misery, without honour and without name, or in painful banishment, without credit and estima-
P 623 tion ; | because what can we expect from Eastern Nations who know that, forgetful of ourselves we became subject to a European foreigner, | accepting laws from the enemies of our F 337v
lives who do not for their lives let us have the laws of our Religion. We have already seen how few they are ; we should be ashamed to fear them, since we are so many. We have often experienced that they can do nothing without the help of our arms, and it is a strange misfortune that we take up arms against ourselves. They are Lords of the greater part of the Island, of its harbours and trade ; and it is an established fact that they do not agree with us nor we with them. What remains is that the more powerful side should prevail ; and who can doubt that it is we [who are the more powerful side], since for every Portuguese we can place on the field 1,000 Chingalâz. Who kept up this conquest till now but our arms ? Who, to our

infamy, has made them glorious with such signal Victories ? Fathers took up arms against sons, brothers against brothers, to give the glory and profit to foreigners, the most cruel Enemies of the Chingalâ name. They themselves say it, and acknowledge it, when they are off of their guard, and when they feel sorrow for the many lives which Ceylon has cost them. Who shall say that so much blood shed on the one and the other side can yield the fruit of love ? If they put up with us, it is only to make use of us, and that with our own arms we may be the executioners of our own lives, the creditors of our riches, of our precious stones, and spices, for there is not a year when all that there is in Ceylon does not pass to Goa and from Goa to Portugal. Now is the time, kinsmen and friends, to seize the occasion which once lost is seldom or never regained. They have a valiant General ; let him be a Hercules, he is but a man. They have Captains experienced and valiant ; they are, and ever were, few, ill-armed and ill-rewarded. We have for us one of the most prudent and valorous Kings of Candea, who only waits for your word, to take the field, with his three sons to support us. We have the might of the whole Island against so few men, we have experience in war, and practice in arms with which they first overwhelmed us. We have Captains bred on the field from their boyhood. What is there to hold us back ? What do we wait for ? What do we lack, save a gallant determination to die or conquer ? We have before our eyes the examples of the past ; and it is impossible that less than 500 men in the thickets of Uva should defend themselves and hold out against the whole might of Ceylon. And since Heaven and our cause, and our fortune, and opportunity favour us, let us grasp the victorious arms before we are discovered.'

He would fain have said more, carried away by infernal fury, when impatient of delay with clamours and shouts they all begged him not to delay the revolt any longer, and recommending secrecy above all things, they agreed to send notice to the Prince of Uva and to ask him to descend with his army
P 624 to destroy our lands ; so | that being provoked we might sally forth to avenge and be taken most easily in the net which they had laid with such skill ; and that D. Manoel should remain in the City | with a sufficient number of men, F 338 so that on the first sound of victory he might extinguish there the Portuguese name and hand it over to the King of Candea. For many days they awaited the entry of the Prince ; and it is a matter for wonder, as Joaõ Rodriguesz de Sâ pointed out, that though the advantage of time was more powerful than caution, and it was a saying of Christ, that there was not a

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thing hidden which would not be revealed, though the greatest danger of great resolution is to interpose delay, in spite of the many dispositions concurring against this secret, for the number of conspirators was great, their confidence, friendship and kinship with the Portuguese very close, some being married to half-breeds, which is the way whereby in all ages great and hidden designs were made known, in spite of the great vigilance of the General and of the Captains, and the greater distrust of the other Portuguese ; in spite of all this the secret was so marvellously kept, that not the least proximate information about so great a conspiracy was given out, God permitting so by his hidden judgments, intending thereby to punish the faults due to the delicacies of Ceylon, and one perfidy by another, destroying that nation which was ever ungrateful for the benefits and the light of the Gospel given to it, as was done to greater empires, considering Himself less offended by blindness than by want of Faith, though there resulted from it the glory of the heathen and the disgrace of Christians, as we shall consider at greater length.

The Prince of Uva, seeing that the Chingalâ obduracy had made the game safe, delayed some days more the better to conceal the conspiracy, and came down from the hills with a large force, and for almost the space of a month he destroyed laid waste and burnt the obedient lands without opposition or resistance, for he did not halt in any fixed place ; and having finished this ramble, he went back to shut himself in Ratulê [1], the Capital of that State, 45 leagues from Columbo, in order to entangle us the more by the difficulties of the distance and in the inaccessibility of those highlands. Here was the deceit and dissimulation of the Chingalâz seen the better, because, though the reports of the damage were more than the reality, the conspirators appeared before the General, and with tears, clamours, and demonstrations of great zeal for the service of God, and the honour of the King and reputation of the Portuguese name, they asked his permission to go at once in search of the Enemy, with so many artifices that at one time they painted him as a powerful person, at another time they threatened him with contempt, and again in fury they clamoured for battle, without omitting any deceitful action, till finally they prostrated themselves on the ground embracing the knees of the General, begging him to avenge this audacity and open challenge to the lieges of Portugal, because on such occasions all forbearance was infamy, and all dissimulation cowardice; and if that audacity were not punished

[1] Badulla.

speedily and rigorously, it would be the eve of another ; and the insolent Prince, thinking that he was feared, would not
P 625 hesitate to besiege us in Colombo to the double disgrace | of our arms: That he should | not hesitate to take up arms to F 338v safeguard the credit of the King, of the nation, and of his person, for they were ready to accompany him, and the victory was assured by his valour; and even if he did not make as much account of that enterprise as it deserved, yet they were enough, even if the danger were greater.

CHAPTER 22.

The Delay and Cause of the Expedition to Uva

The General listened to these offers gratefully, and praising them for the zeal and spirit which they showed, he went on dissembling, as he had very good grounds for hoping for a large reinforcement in view of what he had proposed, and because of the many men whom D. Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, the new Viceroy[1] of India, had brought from Portugal. And though he might have been deceived by the present offers, since no mind is more exposed to deception than that of an upright man, such as he ever was, and by his recent successes, when with a small force he thrice traversed Candea ; yet as he had so limited a force and there were already so many examples of Chingalâ infidelity, he did not make up his mind to hazard fortune so long as prudence and military experience and an ominous heart opposed it. He discussed this expedition with the Captains, and there were among them great differences of opinion, some saying : 'that it was not convenient to trust any more in field battles nor to a final trial of Chingalâ infidelity, the more so, when it was clear that to obtain it would be to conquer the Kingdom of Candea and destroy altogether the hopes which ever swayed them of having at any time a native King : That those people professed the Faith out of convenience ; their Christian bodies had idolatrous souls, and that they never were greater enemies of the Portuguese nation than now, when they were on the eve of the extinction of the line of their fabulous dynasty of the Sun : That we were Lords of the best part of Ceylon, and prudence consisted in securing it, and not in

[1] Twenty-third Viceroy, 1629–1635.

endangering by so risky a conflict and with so few Portuguese people what had been acquired at the cost of so much blood, so much expense, and so continual a war. That it never was characteristic of great Captains to risk a crown in one battle, unless the victory were assured : That when the Turk Saliman came upon Vienna in Austria with 400,000 cavalry, (with more according to others) and 50,000 Janissaries, though Charles V. had 160,000 regulars and 40,000 auxiliaries, because the odds were so great, he found it better counsel not to risk the Ottoman Empire in one single battle, and satisfied himself with the damage he had done in the entry and continued in the return : That the strutting of the Prince of Uva could be set off by another on the less protected
P 626 frontiers, or else we could well | | put up with one in F 339 exchange for so many, because in arduous affairs dissimulation did what valour could not ; and lastly that the conquest of Candea could be effected later on, when it would fall into our hands either when we give battle with a sufficient force of Portuguese, on whom alone we must rely for it, and whom we would have in course of time, or by the surer means of two arrayals, one in the lowlands which could maintain them, and another within Candea to remain there with a good garrison in Balanê ; and that we had for King a Monarch to whose arms, if less diverted, the war of Candea would be but a paltry affair : That such was ever the opinion of the veteran Captains in that conquest and that we must not weigh ruin with an affront in the same balance.'

Others, either out of a spirit of contradiction, as is usual among Portuguese, or to vote in the grand style, which is the way of ill-balanced minds, said : 'That as there was nothing nobler than victory and nothing more cowardly than defeat, the very name of the General and the fortune of the Portuguese were enough to make up by valour what was lacking in numbers : That there was nothing more just than to hasten to the defence of vassals ; that if they were allowed to suffer and were abandoned on that occasion, it would only increase their despair and help them to be traitors, urged by the lofty ideas of the Prince of Uva, or by the still greater hatred of the Portuguese nation which burnt in him. That his presumption and our dissimulation were enough to embroil the whole Island and imperil what had been won and to leave the new Christianity to the mercy of an Idolator, a declared persecutor of the Church.' In this way those fanatics rushed headlong from one extreme to another without stopping in the wisdom of the mean, nor in the ancient diversions of Marius or the modern ones of the Duke of Alua

in Flanders and of the Conde do Prado in Portugal. The General judged the expedition to be convenient, but all the more dangerous because the Enemy was at a distance and hidden in the woods, and he had only a small force of Portuguese, because if the Natives had been faithful, he would not have doubted of obtaining the victory; but he did not despair of a good reinforcement.

While in this perplexity, two letters of the Viceroy caused him to disregard his uneasiness so disastrously, that he prepared for the expedition against his better judgment. This was not the first time that an honourable despair brought about our ruin, for it is as inborn in the Portuguese as it is difficult to avoid. As others have already remarked, it was an axiom of Philip the Prudent, that just as some poisons when calcined and taken little at a time are medicinal, but taken pure and in quantities cause death, so moderate distrust | *F 339v* excites to valour, but when it is obstinate, ruins everything. Some say that he had some knowledge of the conspiracy, but it is certain that he did not discover any fresh proof of it, *P 627* and that he had good grounds | for expecting better fidelity from that nation especially in his time. The Conde de Linhares had reached Goa on the 21st October, 1629, with three ships and four galleons, for the galleon Sant.-Iago was wrecked in the shallows of Joaõ da Noua, though the people were saved; the S. Estevaõ sank off the Coast of Natal and a pinnace took fire in the Bay of Lisbon on the eve of setting out. If Constantino de Sâ had been able to get such a reinforcement as would enable him not only to seek out the enemy in safety, but even to conclude the conquest—for there were not so many diversions as in the case of Nunõ Alvarez Botelho, who was instructed to lay siege to Iacatrâ and Betavia after obtaining the great victory of Achem on the very day of the 11,000 Virgins, on which the Count Viceroy arrived in Goa—such an undertaking, in the hands and dispositions of this courageous and dreaded Captain, would have had the desired result, which ought to have been encouraged, nay more, the conquest of Candea with the forces necessary for so useful a purpose would have brought the Count great glory, and he would have settled at the same time with the Hollander in India and effected the further conquest of India.

Either through jealousy of the glory of the Count himself, or of Constantino de Sâ who had good reason to hope that he would succeed him in that post, the affairs of Ceylon and of the General were so misrepresented to him by ill-intentioned persons, with whom India ever abounded and the most faint

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of heart are generally the most eloquent and most cunning in speech, that instead of writing him letters of honour in praise of his proceedings, and instead of promising him or sending him such reinforcements as the conquest and the desires and hopes of 125 years demanded, he wrote him two letters blaming him in harsh terms for dissimulating with the Enemy, and pointing out to him that the Generals of Ceylon ought to mind war more than trade, and other such words as would not only cause great grief even to one of lesser quality and position and integrity and valour than Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, but even completely overwhelm one of a condition so superior, occupying the second post in India, one so eminently uninfluenced by private interests as we have shown, one whose courage was so remarkable that in his degree he had few equals, and who in the warfare of Ceylon had deserved the greatest favours of His Majesty, whose spirit was unwearied, who was a warrior ever successful in such great victories, which, had they not been obtained by him, would have been considered rash, because, we know that they are here very summarily described, as we did not obtain more detailed accounts.

| Whoever reads this will not fail to understand how *F 340* much envy was able to do in this case, not [the envy] of the Count, who was magnanimous and honourable in all things and who rather loved to conquer than to envy another's victories, but [the envy] of those who were able to persuade him, when he first came to India and began to govern, that *P 628* there were omissions on the part of Constantino de Sâ | de Noronha and private interests which were able to dim the lustre of his glory. But such ever was India, where none ever advanced in valour or quality or merits but baseless presumption, the low offspring of envy, blocked his way, and information from a distance involved in the obscurity of falsehood even the greatest lustre of merit. In this case wickedness profited by the character of the Conde de Linhares to rob him of the glory of the success which could redound to him by the victory of Constantino de Sâ, [thus] wounding one through the flank of another; for as the Count came to India with a great reputation for courage and generosity, it seemed easy to lower in his esteem the renown due to the courage of Constantino de Sâ. Nor, in my opinion, is there a greater proof of the rectitude of the Count's intentions than the reflexion that Constantino de Sâ de Noronha could not but be a close relative of D. Miguel de Noronha, as a descendant of the two great houses of Portugal, of Vila Real and Odemira; and as a final justification I will repeat here the words of

his son Joaõ Rodriguez de Sâ e Menezes: 'From what I know of him by intercourse and friendship, and I know the gentlemanliness of his mind and the courtesy, gentleness, and suavity of his character, I cannot persuade myself that it was his intention to wound so humble a knight, of such noble services, who held the second post in India, Governor and Captain-General of his King.' These letters killed Constantino de Sâ and placed Ceylon in danger of final ruin. Whether it was excessive courage or excessive despair let others judge.

Ambrosio de Freytas returned also at this time to fill the office of Vedor de Fazenda, for so it behoved that everything might be undone, for else I cannot understand what good object was served by yielding so much to the pride and ambition of a Minister, so openly hostile to the General, who if he were well deserving, might have been appointed to another post. But to prove that he was not so [deserving] he at once showed that he was on bad terms with him who up to that time had administered the exchequer, attributing to himself therein almost equal authority and disagreeing with every opinion of his, till it became open enmity and other contraventions of truth. The militia suffered because of the pride of a Minister, for they lacked their pay, and the Portuguese arrayal was weakened to such an extent that in spite of all the exertions of the General, he found very few men as we shall see; | and finally in June Lançarote de F 340v
Seyxas Cabreyra took charge of the Vedoria da fazenda, and at once he found wherewith to pay the arrayal.

However, he resolved to make the expedition. There were not wanting zealous and prudent persons who tried to dissuade him with such reasons as convinced, but did not persuade him; because the former was easy on account of his own opinion, the latter difficult on account of his dissatisfaction. And as he wished to give some excuse for the
P 629 course he adopted, he replied: 'That if he | died there, he had in his hand the cause of his death,' and he showed one of the letters of the Count Viceroy.

He ordered the treacherous Modeliares to muster the Lascarins, and they amounted to 13,000, who were as good as so many enemies. He enlisted soldiers from the casados of Columbo, and raw recruits; and they scarcely numbered 500 men, besides some volunteers who out of courage and zeal accompanied him; of such there were, including the old and the youngsters, about 200, almost incapable of bearing arms, as it ever happened in similar straits. He entrusted the City to Lançarote de Seyxas Cabreyra, the war to Francisco de Brito de Almeida, with all his powers to

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provide in his absence for anything that might happen. He left in Manicrauarê, 70 disabled soldiers who were unable to march; in Sofragaõ 40, in Maluâna his Bandigarâla with some casados. The die being cast, he set out from Manicrauarê in pursuit of the enemy on 25th August, 1630, for Badulê which is 45 leagues distant from Columbo, through rough precepitous roads with no few windings in those mountain ranges; nor did he halt till he sighted Badulê, the capital of the state of Uva, where he found the King with the three Princes his sons, and an army of 40,000 men, the usual force of Candea. But as it had not yet been settled between the traitors how the rising was to be managed, he [the King] did not wish to risk a battle with all his force together, and seeing that the sons, like high spirited young men, gave signs of trying to face us and of wishing to attack our centre, he waxed angry that his orders were not kept, seeing the peril in which they placed themselves, and he put himself betwixt the two squadrons, giving instructions in a loud voice about the retreat and its form, with such fatigue and labour, that he was seized with fever and strong delirium and clamoured to be taken back to Candea which was carried out that very night, the army being entrusted to the Princes and Captains entrenched in the mountain. The City was sacked and burnt, and the General gave two days for rest. Meanwhile the traitors had time to come to a final decision with those of Candea about the manner of declaring themselves, for they considered treason the greatest triumph not because it was nobler but because it was more certain. This could not, however, be quite so secret as to prevent the Chingalâ Arache, D. Jeronimo Idrumaraturi from revealing it to the General, | informing him of everything F 341
And in proof of his fidelity, he offered to die by his side rather than live among traitors, and to exchange a life of infamy for an honourable death. Before this warning there had been given to the General an *ola* written in the Chingalâ language in which the treachery was declared in metaphors as is their custom. But the Motiar who interpreted it, knew how to disguise what was contained in it in such a way that he made little account of the warning. It is also related that there came into his hands an *ola* of the King of Candea, or an Order to the conspirators, which contained the whole
P 630 plan of | the uprising, which being laid before the Council it was thought that it might be a trick to make the Chingalâz suspect and thus to turn them into enemies by alienating them. Finally on the warning of D. Jeronimo, already late, he ended by discovering his mistake.

'D. Jeronimo was of opinion that before the matter became known he should call, on some pretext, the conspirators and kill or imprison them, after which it would be easy to repress the Lascarins to whom this plan perhaps was not confided This suggestion appeared good to him, and he called all the Captains to a Council. The Modeliares, however, warned by their own conscience and by treachery which avoids detection, disregarded the notice so long as they saw the General well accompanied, [but] afterwards, assembling their fellow conspirators, they presented themselves before him, and treachery was written in their words and countenances. He dissembled so unswervingly that he did not give them to understand the least suspicion, nor did he order them to be attacked, because it would have been, in view of the other enemies, the beginning of the battle. He asked them guilefully, what he should do under the circumstances? They replied that he should retire to Colombo, since the injury received from the Prince of Uva was fully avenged, and that His Highness should be content with having burnt his Capital and forced him to flee from so unequal a force, whereby he would be warned not to attempt fresh things. By this advice, in appearance reasonable, they disclosed their mind the more, for they knew very well that if they had been faithful there was no reason to retire, nor to fear. With this they took their leave, it appearing to them that they had left the General satisfied with their behaviour.

CHAPTER 23.

The Destruction of Our Arrayal and the Death of the General

Our army was lodged on the summit of the mountain over against Badulê, and at its foot were the enemies, a swarm both in noise and number, about which the various accounts are confusing, for they do not distinguish the men-at-arms from the rabble | that came for the sacking, though in an extreme *F 341v* case they all have enough spirit to fight. Some increase the number to 80,000, others make it less, and it is quite certain that the whole fighting force of Candea does not exceed 40,000 within its territories, for it is one thing to say that 500,000 men faced Carlos V. on the field of Paris, another to put 70,000 at Pauia. At one time they formed in the Turkish fashion into

a half moon, at another into a square like the Swiss, sometimes into lines, in the French and Spanish fashion, at others they divided themselves in great battalions trying to intimidate by dexterity. They threatened, they shouted and discharged arquebuses, defying the Portuguese without daring to attack *P 631* them, till they saw | themselves united with the rebels. Night closed in, and because not all our men had full information of the treachery and it was necessary to be forewarned for the fight, they say, the General made this address: 'Now, comrades and friends, we see the conspiracy of the traitors laid bare. It came to our knowledge late, for there is nothing easier to deceive than a loyal heart. We have reached such a pass that only the favour of God, in which we must first trust, and our own constancy and resolution can deliver us; because such dangers cannot be overcome by any other means. I do not deny that the present [danger] is great, but your spirit was ever superior, and you will soon see that not all who accompany us are traitors. These enemies are the very same ones whom you have often seen run away, and through whose lands with lesser numbers you have so often marched. Let the remembrance of so many victories serve both the one and the other, for our spirit was ever greater than the danger, and if they surpass us in numbers, we excell them in valour, and Heaven, whose cause we defend, will forsake us only for other greater purposes, and up to now it has ever been favourable to us. When we attack, it will be seen who is the traitor and miscreant and who is loyal and noble. If God gives me life, I hope in Him that the reward shall not be wanting to the one, nor punishment to the other; and here I give you my word not to abandon you because you will ever find me by your side, like a good friend and faithful comrade, as ready to die as to live, because in such a danger even despair is wont to be a remedy. The enemy will not tarry longer than this night in attacking us, nor the traitors in leaving us. Let us despoil ourselves of everything save arms and munitions, with a little rice at the waist to sustain us for two days. Because if we come out victorious, the victory is enough for spoil, but if God be pleased to let our enemies triumph, in an honourable and glorious death in the service of our Religion and of our King we shall obtain the greatest happiness.'

| Constantino de Sâ was as venerated as he was loved, and *F 342* seeing his determination, they all swore that they would die by his side. They got together all that they had brought for the sustenance and some spoils of the City, and set fire to it. All [illegible]e their confession, showing that with the same valour they [illegible] life in slight esteem and scorned death. The General

after giving the order to the Captains, exhorted the loyal Chingalâz. At day-break the traitors, keeping up their dissimulation asked the General for the vanguard in order to carry out their wicked design the better; and because it was more convenient to separate them, he granted them what they asked, for it was not possible to kill them without running the risk of killing some of the loyal people, who in our extremity were few, though if this precaution had been taken, there would have been less to declare themselves according to what was afterwards seen. They set out on the march, D. Cosme taking the vanguard, followed by the others, and in the last place
P 632 D. Aleyxo | with the other conspirators. The Portuguese formed a squadron, flanked by some divisions of more loyal Chingalâz of Columbo and of the Seven-Corles. The General with his guard, ran from one side to the other, assisting where danger was greatest. The enemy, seeing the army descending, went out to meet it, and D. Cosme seeing the game safe, not to leave any doubt about his treachery, killed the Portuguese whom he found nearest in that wood, in which they could scarcely keep their ranks, named Joaõ Bernandes, and setting up his head on a pike with a white cloth, which was the signal he had given, with flying banner he went over to join them. The Lascarins who did not know the compact, seeing the treachery, turned their faces to join the body of the Portuguese but D. Aleyxo ordering his partisans to present their pikes obliged them to follow their comrades. Here was seen how well grounded the fears of the King were, and how proper it would have been to have cut off their heads. But Constantino de Sâ had not given up hope nor could everything be foreseen; and the divine decree of punishment must needs be carried out.

They united, and after great demonstrations of joy, the rebels attacked us in front, the others surrounded our flanks, closing in wild battle in which our few men fought so recklessly and with such determination, that the enemy kept up the battle for two days, reinforcing by day and night till our men managed to get beyond the stockades which they had built in the passes and hills of that State. At the end of the third day, when some were already killed and others wounded and all worn out, the enemy pressed terribly on the rearguard with skill, and our men drove them in such a way, that forgetful of discipline, they went so far out that when they wished to retire they found themselves cut off, | the enemy putting himself F 342v between; and though they fought with desperate resolution and to the great loss of the foes, they could not recover their place. And there were taken prisoners, the Dissava of the Seven-Corlas, Luis Teyxeyra de Maçedo, the Sergea major

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Miguel da Fonseca, and other Captains and soldiers with some Natives, because to prevent them from being reinforced the enemy at the same time engaged the whole army, which was fighting on all sides, preventing the General from reinforcing the rearguard. Though he wished to turn back, knowing the peril in which he was, and as it was late, he halted and spent the night fighting, though with less severity. Some of the traitors, seeing the skirmish in swing, thought that both the arrayal and Columbo were doomed, and went to help D. Manoel who was there, and to place their houses and families in safety. so as not to expose them to the first onslaught of the entry of the Chingalâ army. The General had written to Columbo of the danger in which he was, asking them to be prepared, and this warning, for nothing escaped him, was the principal means of saving them from being killed, when the traitors
P 633 returned. Our men reached Velavâya with | many Captains dead and almost all wounded, and here the friendly Chingalâz ended by giving way, and that night, giving up everything for lost, in despair they passed over to the enemy; and there remained only a little more than 500 men who had been bred among us and who resolved to sacrifice their lives in the company of the Portuguese. The General found himself helpless and surrounded by the Enemy in an open field, without opportunity to fortify himself and without victuals, wherewith to spend a few days, while the enemies, not to give them an hour of rest, disquieted them the whole night long, discharging arrows and javelins. Determined rather to endure the agony of death than remain prisoner, which were the terms which the enemy offered, he laid aside his arms and putting on a doublet and breeches de caçopo with a sword and round shield, he made this short address to the few who accompanied him. 'Soldiers, the reasons I had for bringing you to this danger were justified by honour, and were approved as such by many here present. We are defeated according to a Divine decree and not by the effects of valour. Let us therefore die honourably. Let each one try to do so in a way that will enhance the reputation which Portuguese valour has acquired in this Island: and may God and the Blessed Virgin be with us, since the enemy will not give us time for more.' All responded so steadfastly and bravely as those who made no account of the present life and sought from it nothing more than honour.

The wounded were attended to, and when they sought to take some rest and | refresh their forces with some little F 343 provisions, there came upon them a terrible storm and thunder which lasted many hours, and there was scarcely any provisions or powder that were not wet, which seems to be a conspiracy

of Heaven against the valour of the few, to render the use of firearms impossible. They realized that it was the disposition of God and for all they gave thanks with faithful and Catholic hearts. They disposed themselves to die like Christians, each encouraging the other, and the General encouraging all, not to fear a thing so ordinary as death, since there were so many reasons to call that one a triumph. The Franciscan Fathers and those of the Society [of Jesus] with Apostolic zeal, reminded them of the value of salvation, and how near they were to obtaining it, as they were not more than 300 odd Portuguese alive. Here was manifested greatly the valour and zeal of Father Simaõ de Leyua, Confessor of the General, from whose side he did not stir till he lost his life. In the beginning of the night Luis Gomes Pinto, who had come as an auxiliary, one of the principal and valorous Captains of Ceylon, who on several occasions had served as Dissava and Captain-Major of the Field, with others of authority, begged the General to pick out some of the best soldiers and lascarins and put himself in safety through the woods in the obscurity of the night and darkness of the storm, in view of the evil that would result from his death; 'that for a long time there had not occupied
P 634 his post a person of so great experience and reputation; | that a retreat was no new thing to great Captains, and that greater disasters were made up in that way when there was no other surer means; that he, with the rest, would uphold the field so long as their lives lasted.'

The General recognized the zeal and valour of that proposal, but as they spoke of saving him, leaving the others to the sacrifice, he replied indignantly: 'That he did not love his life so much as to exchange it for his honour; That he admitted that he was able to save his person, but what account should he give the King for his people, to the world for his reputation? That it was no fault to die; that to live would be so, if they saw that the General saved himself leaving his comrades in danger. That if out of so few men he took the best, what could the others do. That Columbo and the garrisons had enough forces to defend themselves with, if only the Captains acted with zeal and honour. That the Enemy would not fail to realize that treason alone could give him victories. That as for the post of General there were not wanting more fortunate persons, who would bring credit to the Portuguese nation and seek to avenge this wickedness. That it was his duty to die fearlessly and courageously, fulfilling his duty to his God and his King and his birth.' 'Heaven forbid' (and his voice failed him), 'that I should abandon my Portuguese | in the *F 343v*
last conflict, when they have accompanied me in all [the

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conflicts] which I had in this Island. I am not the man to save my life, when my arrayal is lost. I shall die or live with them, and of their fortune shall mine be made.' O Illustrious man who never adapted thy actions to convenience, but according to constancy and valour! I have no doubt that human prudence will condemn thee, but I fear it will be rash to condemn thee as rash, since I see that thou art so loyal and so loving and so scornful of death! With this final determination, they began the march in the same order, and the Enemy formed into a half moon first charged the vanguard with great force, till finally they completely surrounded the army. Then were they like bulls goaded to fury in the arena, for all the powder was altogether damp and the matches did not take fire, and the Enemy realizing their advantage from the failure of the firearms, played on them from afar with arrows and spears, and when our men tried to have recourse to the sword, they either shot them down before they were able to do so, or fled from the field.

In this way they fought from 6 in the morning to 2 in the afternoon, during which were killed 200 Portuguese, of the Chingalâz 80, around the Captain-General. Almost all the rest were made prisoners, and they had already captured 100 Portuguese, and more than 120 Chingalâz had been killed. Constantino de Sâ, seeing himself in this plight, took a suitable post, and with two servants who supplied him with arquebuses, killed many Enemies. They did not wish to kill him, but to take him, because the Princes has issued proclamation, on the
P 635 order of | their Father, offering great rewards to the one who should deliver him alive, because by that means the Father desired to secure peace, and for the same purpose they further ordered not to cut off heads, as was their custom, of the Portuguese who remained. After the two servants who assisted him were killed, they all fought with the utmost valour, and Constantino de Sâ de Noronha wrought marvels that day, filling the two offices of Captain and of soldier, because the Portuguese nation was never satisfied with less nor did the occasion demand less; and he was not so maimed that with sword in hand he could not be a Mars in war. With it he finally fought, and in that onslaught he killed 16 with his own hand, and those who lost their lives there at the point of his sword exceeding 60. They informed the Princes that, unless he were killed, the damage would be incredible. Then they gave permission to take his life. One arrow struck his breast and another the shoulders. On his knees he begged a last absolution from his confessor, and that being given, another arrow struck them both in the face; but it was not these shots

that finally killed him, as is believed, but the shot of a Portuguese soldier of the garrison of Sofragaõ, of the Company of Domingos Temudo, named Joaõ da Fonseca, who in that confusion, to defend him from those who attempted to cut off his head, pierced him in the breast from which he fell at last F 344 uttering these words: 'I rejoice that mine kill me,' for even then he was conscious enough to know whence the bullet came. Many others died over him to protect his head which the Chingalâz tried to cut off. But to finish with this tragedy; the rest kept up the battle more for honour than for life; and as they made no account of life. they cared little for death. Here fell Luis Gomes Pinto because he would not surrender, and Luis Cabral de Faria and others of great name. There were taken prisoners in all about 100 infantry, with their Captain-Major of the Field, Francisco Barboza de Andrade, the Dissava of Maturê, Domingos Carvalho Caõ, and the Dissava of the Four-Corles, Manoel Peçanha, almost all half killed, because they did not want to yield, so long as they were able to use their arms and had life in them. Jacinto Rebelo, Dissava of Sofragaõ, seeing everything lost, with some Natives whom he considered loyal, put himself in safety, but near Sofragaõ they cut off his head. Many a time in India did Portuguese distrust and daring end in this way.

We shall speak later of the prisoners and of the liberty they obtained. They carried the head of the General in triumph to Candea where the King was, still ill, and when it was brought to his presence, addressing it he said: 'How often did I ask thee not to make war on me, nor destroy my lands, but to let me live in peace, the Portuguese remaining absolute Lords of the best part of Ceylon. But if thy successors tread the same P 636 paths, thou wilt not be the last.' And after | duly celebrating his death, for they were relieved from the terror of his name, [the head] was carried through the whole Realm, and finally hung up on a high tree in the Seven-Corlas, in the midst of others of renowned Portuguese, and of Simaõ Correa and his son. When some days were past, the Queen, D. Catharina, ordered the body of the General to be buried, and while the rest were torn to bits by the tigers, this one they found intact and they did not bury it. Three months later, when it was still as in the hour when he was killed, the King ordered it to be burnt with some sandalwood and sapan, making Prostrations to it and sacrifices in his honour, placing him among their Idols, and even to-day they respect him as such under the name of *Cussalnete Deyô*, which in the Chingalâ language means 'unfortunate god' What happened to the body happened also to the head, because six months afterwards, when they

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took it, likewise to burn, they found it fresh and pure, in its natural colour, without any offensive smell or any other mischance, while the others had lost all appearance of what they were. And to the greatest astonishment of the Chingalâz, from the first day it was hoisted on a tree it ran blood in such a way that they could not staunch it. Which made them venerate it the more and decline ransom for it, though there was not wanting a soldier | who offered much money for it, F 344v showing in death how much he loved him in life. He was a Martyr to honour in the eyes of the world. Who knows but that he was one also to Religion, and Charity towards his people, in the sight of God. Nor has the filial modesty of the son anything to hesitate in the matter, because such was the constant opinion of the prisoners of Ceylon and India.

And as a sample of the rest, this certificate of Amarõ Rodriguez is enough, whom we knew here as Secretary of State which runs: I, Amarõ Rodriguez, Secretary of the State of India, &c. Certify that being in Ceylon, occupying the post of Vedor da fazenda of His Majesty, three years after the death of the Captain-General, Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, I heard it commonly reported, both by the prisoners who came from Candea, having taken part in the battle and rout, as well as by other Natives, that Heathenism recognized the said Captain-General as a Divinity, in such a way that they raised to him a Pagode and made adoration, which is the same as sacrificing to any person of whom they conceived dread while alive, so that after his death he might do them no harm. And that the same Pagodes were erected to other Captains, who had been in that Island, whom with the same respect they reverenced after death, either because of their great valour or because of the rigour in war which terrified them. And as such is the truth, and I was asked for these presents, on behalf of the heirs of the said Captain-General, I swear to it on the Holy Gospels. Goa, 19th January, 1638. Amaro Rodriguez.'

And that his son may be consoled for the loss of so great a Father, and that the Portuguese may be encouraged to imitate P 637 his zeal, it is also certain | that when this sad news reached Cochim, the Venerable Brother Pedro de Basto, Religious of the Society of Jesus, whose life[1] we have written, said: 'That Constantino de Sâ de Noronha and his companions were enjoying God or in the way of salvation. And I know (says

[1] See Introduction.

one of the documents[1] I have) from a person who knew Constantino de Sâ well, that from the year 1627, when he fell ill while erecting the fortalice of Manicrauarê, he improved his mode of life. Three times a week he wore a hair shirt, and made his confession often. He was always a good Christian without any note of sensuality, upright, pious, liberal, pleasant, prudent, discreet, honest, and ambitious of honour alone, of great goodness, and very zealous for the spread of the Faith and the increase of Religion and for the service of the King. His gallant disposition and manly frame and stature, tall and robust, along with great strength, firmness and perfect health, won him respect. He was a Man, great beyond doubt, and those who read Manoel de Faria e Souza can confidently assure him that such was Constantino de Sâ and not the one he painted by describing his character according to vulgar rumours. | Let the curious read what Joaõ Rodriguez de Sa e *F 345* Menzes, his son, says of him, and let him know that he in no way exaggerated the true opinion of India, for though I consider eulogy out of place in History, what I have pointed out is enough to form a just estimate of the gifts which God endowed him with, leaving to the Divine Justice, as inscrutable, the profundity of his decrees. And as his death occurred almost at the same time as that of Nuno Aluvares Botelho, the grief of the State was irremediable for the loss at the same time of these two famous Captains, one on sea, the other on land, one who carried Batavia in his bow, the other Ceylon on his spear.

CHAPTER 24.

The Siege of Columbo along with other Successes of D. Phelipe, D. Jorge de Almeyda and of the Prisoners

Had the King of Candea been with the army, he would have marched straightway upon Columbo. But God, who for the while did not seek to exterminate us, but to open our eyes by so many chastisements, disposed that he should fall ill leaving

[1] *Jornada do Reyno de Huva por Constantino de Saa de Noronha, offerecida á Senhora dona Luisa da Silva e Mendonça. Anno de MDCXXXV. f. 26.* MS. in the Bibliotheca da Ajuda, of which a copy has been procured for the Government Archives of Colombo.

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the management of the war to his three sons, the Princes of Matale, Uva, and Candea, all three already soldiers, and two of them men of courage and valour. Him of Candea, because he was the youngest, the Father ever put in the way of the government, as he saw greater capacity in him. He is sour, inclined to evil, and a great enemy of the Portuguese name, *P 638* and his [name] is Mha Astâna | Adaçim. He of Matalê, who was the eldest, was ever well affected to us and came to die a Christian in Goa, as we shall see. He greatly favoured the prisoners, and though they won from him 20,000 larins and told him that it was with false dice, he replied: 'One barber shaves another, you did very well, for I also robbed you.' He was named Vigia Pala Adaçim, and like his Father he was fond of books. He of Uva was called Comar Singa Adaçim, and was of little worth.

As soon as they saw such a great victory and the death of a General who had done them so much damage, they counted those who died on their side and acknowledged there were few short of 4,000. But they never admitted the loss sustained. The rebels persuaded them that Columbo was theirs, as it had been entrusted to D. Manoel, the Shield-bearer of the General. Lançarote de Seyxas Cabreyra, on the information of Constantino de Sâ and the return of the traitors to Columbo, as we described, having verified other indications, put that man to torture, and he confessed that he was in the business, but that he knew no more of it than that the Canacapoli, or clerk of Antonio Coutinho, Cumayde and Xabaõ were also in it; and D. Manoel was executed after trial. | They told the prisoners *F 345v* that it was meet to remain three days on the scene of the recent rout, as such was the custom of the Portuguese when they defeated an army—they must have heard tell of this ancient usage—and if the plot did not take effect, it mattered little, because Columbo was exposed on so many sides that four logs laid against it would make it an easy prey to elephants, and it was a greater honour to their Highnesses to carry the affair by arms. They remained there three days, busy dividing the Portuguese women of Columbo among the three, and they say that before a settlement was reached, there was many a blow and slap exchanged between them, for though they prided themselves on being handsome, as all these are accidents, the estimation which colour gives cannot be denied. Afterwards they marched to Sofragaõ in ten days, and resting a day, they spent four [days] on the one day's march to Columbo, either because they were waiting for the King or for the action of the conspirators of Columbo, giving the Portuguese 26 days to forestall them.

On the order of Lançarote de Seyxas, there retired to Columbo the garrison of Maluâna and Calaturê with Francisco de Brito de Almeyda to defend that City, to whom were entrusted the bastions and watch towers of the lake as far as Mapâna whence the Enemy ever intended to enter. There arrived opportunely from Malâca, Antonio de Souza Coutinho with a large galley in which he was taking Laçamane, the General of Achem, defeated by Nuno Aluares Botelho, with much artillery, which was a great reinforcement to the praça. He was entrusted with the side of the Lake, which had no defence whatever, and he laboured not a little to fortify and defend it even at his own cost. To the other bastions were appointed
P 639 Captains, | all of whom acted with great valour, and Lançarote de Seyxas [acted] with great vigilance, giving a great part of his cares to his son-in-law D. Jeronimo de Azevedo. Of the *casados* there distinguished themselves Jorge Coelho de Castro, Joaõ Vaz de Araujo, Joaõ Freyre de Souza and his Brother Simaõ Freyre de Souza, the two Diogos de Souza, Antonio de Sotomayor and others. As for the ecclesiastics, the Vicar-General, Domingos de Negreyros, with his clerics also armed themselves, among whom the Fathers, Manoel Vinagre, Lazaro Fernandez and Diogo de Silua took a great part, Father Gonçalo Alvarez taking the Couraça of S. Cruz in his change. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus erected another with the students and defended it with equal labour ; likewise those of St. Augustine [undertook the defence of] their neighbourhood and those of St. Dominic and St. Francis [defended] the places allotted to them. Even the women hastily erected a wall of palm trees, fascines and earth, stronger than the former. They all worked with such industry, that when the army arrived, composed of 60,000 men from the whole Island, they found everything ready, the besieged Portuguese not exceeding more than 200 including the Religious | ; because the rumour of F 346
the defeat of the arrayal and the bait of the sack of Columbo served as a signal to raise the whole of Ceylon. And as many were house thieves, some brought up in Columbo, others in the neighbourhood, who always found ready admittance, nothing was unknown to them about the passes and approaches to that City, which was in great straits and danger of loss for want of defenders and other things.

Having laid siege, the enemy delivered repeated attacks on the City with the help of elephants and ladders to reduce it, but he was always beaten back by our great resolution and to his loss. He delivered two general assaults with 60,000 combatants, but more than 2,000 were killed. He came so

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close to the walls with strong approaches and other wooden engines that he rendered our artillery entirely unserviceable, and it became necessary to sally out and burn them.

The provisions were insufficient for the many non-combatants who were in the City, because the siege began before the harvest was taken in, and with famine began sickness and deaths in such number, that they were obliged to do what should have been done before, [viz.] to drive out daily 200 to 300 persons who in their extremity were feeding on human flesh, and as the greater part were Natives, the Enemy received them. At the end of October there arrived five pinnaces of merchandise from Goa, not as a reinforcement but to take in cinnamon, and the King and the Princes thinking that they brought large reinforcements, after destroying the gardens and pulling down whatever they could of the houses which were outside, after three months of siege went to encamp in the grand stockade, one and half leagues from Columbo, and in Cardevola, 1,500 paces from the mouth of the river Calane, the rebels
P 640 erected another. There arrived also from Goa | a pinnace of provisions with 80 soldiers, but on the following day it was wrecked within the bay with the cargo. With this scanty reinforcement they relieved the passes, always at the cost of the enemy, and on the 11th of November at the pass of Nacolegaõ they obtained a victory which greatly intimidated the Enemy, because of the many and good men they lost there. They took to flight leaving many arms. D. Phelipe Mascarenhas Captain of Cochin came to their assistance with a galliot fitted out at his cost and 30 men, munitions and provisions, and his Brother D. Antonio Mascarenhas came from the Strait of Malâca with two pinnaces, which D. Phelipe had sent to Corço while the fleet of the Governor was going thither, taking in 200 men whom the General of Malâca, Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, at once despatched as a reinforcement to Ceylon, Miguel Feraõ being the captain of one of them. In these came many gentlemen of whom I find mention only of D. Diogo de Lima, Brother of the Conde de Sarzedas and the brother-in-law of the defunct Governor Joaõ Rodriguez de Sâ e Menzes, and D. Antonio Mancel, who did no less than restore that City. There assisted also D. Braz de Castro from the Coast of Choromandel with the 5 foists which remained of his fleet. | And from Goa F 346v
the Conde de Linhares sent Manoel Soares in an *Vrca*[1] in which he brought 300 men with provisions and munitions. And when Andre Coelho arrived in Gâle with 10 ships of the Governor's fleet of which he was Admiral, in March [16]31,

[1] A kind of large transport ship.

he received orders from the Viceroy to leave the soldiery in Ceylon. And as the residents of Ceylon did not approve of Lançarote de Seyxas being Captain-Major, they elected D. Phelipe as General; and the Conde de Linhares,[1] knowing the great services which D. Phelipe had rendered to His Majesty, sent him order to remain as General of that Island. There arrived also from various sides some limited reinforcements, because great was the zeal with which all hastened to its assistance. D. Phelipe was able to form an arrayal on the place of S. Sebastiaõ under the command of the Captain-Major of the Field, Francisco de Brito de Almeyda, whence in some sallies they had encounters with the enemy who gave signs of themselves, which ours did likewise, returning with some heads.

In the beginning of March, 1631, when there was not yet a force sufficient to seek out the Enemy and to subdue the lands afresh, our lascarins who were almost a thousand, seeing the delay of Goa and being either discouraged or instigated by the King and by their character, plotted with the King to take him into the arrayal at night, to put it to the sword and make it easy to besiege the City. A short time before the hour appointed for the treachery, the General had information of it from Ecanâca Modeliar to whom he gave on the spot a collar worth 1,000 cruzados, and he afterwards made him Adigar of Mâturê. The leader of this conspiracy was Vicente da Silua, a Chingalâ so valiant and up to then so loyal, that he was one of those who were taken in Valavâya with five wounds when the reargUard was cut off, and in that state he was able to flee
P 841 to be | the first to come to knock at the gates of Columbo. With great caution the Captain-Major arrested him with the other Leaders of the rebellion, and they admitting the truth, the General ordered him to be placed at the mouth of a gun, it having been shown that the King had promised to make him Dissava of Maturê or Governor of Jafanapataõ, which he already considered his own, should Columbo fall. The others were punished according as the exigencies of the time permitted; and about others he dissembled, because the rigour of justice, among depraved minds, always appears cruelty. But as the Winter set in, and all this was not enough to form a good camp, in such great want and distrust of the lascarins, he continued the war by assaults up to the beginning of Spring. The King returned to Candea leaving Prince Mha Astâna to defend the lowlands and 3,000 men in the grand stockade, Cardeuola and Maluâna, which gave occasion to the King to

[1] Don Miguel de Noronha, 23rd Viceroy, 1629–1635.

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make fun in Candea [saying] that they had persuaded D Phelipe not to attack them, saying likewise in mockery of his own people and of ours, that a hundred puppets were enough to defeat them; because he knew well that the delay did not proceed from the General, of whom he had great dread because of the liberality with which he spent. There took place, | F 347 however, a goodly encounter, among others in Panaturê where many heads were cut off and some of importance, and this [practice of cutting off heads] was so much in use, being introduced by the Chingalâz, that in Ceylon the common phrase was: 'They cut off his palmito' which literally is the tender shoot of the palm tree, a dainty morsel of the elephants. From Candea the King ordered the praça of Batecalaou to be attempted; but his men always retired with loss and shame.

D. Phelipe Mascarenhas excused himself from the Generalate, because the promotion to Moçambique was due to him, and the Conde de Linhares spoke to another gentleman about accepting that post, but as he excused himself the Conde asked D. Jorge de Almeyda when, he arrived as Captain-Major of the voyage in the same year [16]30, to accept that post. D. Jorge, though an old man, with great zeal accepted the generalate, the Conde assuring him that he would not lose the profits of the voyage. He set out on 19th February [16]31 in the Galley which came from Malâca, and though it was a most capacious vessel, D. Jorge knew that it was not as safe as was necessary to cross the Gulf of Ceylon always very dangerous. The Viceroy, foreseeing the danger, ordered the Captain on an *Urca* which was carrying provisions not to separate from the galley, and that was the first thing he failed to do, for he could at least have saved the men in case of accident. In the Gulf a storm overtook it, when it was so badly opened that however much they laboured there was no human relief. D. Jorge made use of the *batel* into which he got with 29 persons, three of whom were Religious of St. Francis and one of St. Augustine, when it was already so late and in such a hurry and confusion, that they did not put in either provisions or rigging. When the *batel* was separated, some tried to swim
P 842 to it, but the fury of the waves | drowned them. This was in the evening, and they spent the night in relieving the *batel* of the two deluges from waves and clouds. By morning they saw a sail and went towards it with the hope of saving their lives even if they had to fall into the hands of enemies. But it was the galley which at this moment the sea swallowed up, while some from the poop and masts made signals for help, but as it was impossible, it only served to renew their misery, seeing so many men as were needed for its size helplessly lost, and a

good relief for Ceylon destroyed at so critical a time, for which [relief] the documents do not give the number, either out of grief or not to involve the one who should have foreseen it.

They tried to make for the Maldives, but the hasty pilot found himself without needle or astrolabe. The brave old D. Jorge came to his help with a small watch, and with a cheerful countenance he told them that with it he would land them safely in the Maldives, and it appeared to all to be the only refuge of life, as that [the dial] of Ezechias was for its prolongation. On the fourth day, half dead with hunger and thirst, they came upon one of the Islands at night, having sailed in storm and great peril. Here D. Jorge stayed almost a month, putting up with the insolence of the Moors, and spending the money | he had taken on credit to sustain his F 347v companions and to charter a *gundra*[1] to return to this Coast. The others made a barracks, but the General more cautious spent the night in the *batel*, with the importunate discomfort of such mosquitoes as drew blood by their stings, as happens in all marshy countries. They all fell ill and through the foresight of the General they even found a box of surgical instruments for letting blood. Two died, one of them a Franciscan Religious. The King of the Islands who had usurped those Islands many years before, first from the Portuguese to whom they belonged, and afterwards from the King of Portugal, wrote to D. Jorge, intimating his regret at his misfortune and sending him a quantity of rice. Thence they passed to Cochim, where the General remained many days, more dead than alive, his infirmity growing worse. At this time there arrived two pinnaces with 500 Caffres, 800 Canarese and some Portuguese, with 40,000 xerafins, (the equivalence in money, as we have already observed, is one xerafin or pardao to three *tostões*) provisions and munitions which the Viceroy sent as a reinforcement. The General raising some more men, embarked in them, and setting out on 17th of October, arrived in Columbo on the morning of the 21st.

While they are there, it behoves us to remember the relief of the stockades and of the prisoners of Candea. Manoel

[1] Gundra, a word variously spelt, and used for Maldivian boats, made entirely of coco-wood without a nail. Says Bishop Herber: 'Several large boats from the Maldive Islands passed, which were pointed out to me by the pilot as objects of curiosity, not often coming to Calcutta. They have one mast, a very large square main sail, and one top-sail, are built, the more solid parts of coco-wood, the lighter of bamboo, and sail very fast and near the wind.' Narrative, 4th ed., I., 3.

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Mendez had remained in Manicraurê, as he was not able to march, being disabled in the leg, and when the King was retiring to Candea, he first laid siege to him, but [Mendez] wrote to him unabashed: 'That as His Highness was an ally of the King of Portugal and had come so very opportunely, would he be pleased to order him to be supplied with what was wanting; that he took it upon himself to recover from the Vedor de P 643 fazenda | the price of any relief he should give.' The King replied: 'That he had no friendship with him of Portugal, but rather very grave complaints against his captains; That if he came over with the rest and joined his army, he would treat them as he did those whom he handed over to D. Nuno Aluarez Pereyra, because he wanted nothing else from them but to make peace by their means and to live on good terms with the Portuguese.' After some days of siege, reduced by hunger, they surrendered on condition: 'That each one should be allowed to go with arms and whatever else he could carry, he and his servant with gold and silver; and that the servants of the Captains who were in Candea, might carry what they could; That he and the three Captains of the bastions should be sent to Manâr.' Manoel Mendez did not escape censure for seeking to escape from present hunger, because on first hearing of the affair of Valauaya he took in 30 candis of rice, of which he could have profited, and likewise of many other animals, cows and oxen of those hills besides a crop already ripe within about half a league. Those of Sofragaô, being very few, had also retired, when the Princes came upon Columbo. All these prisoners made more than 200 men.

Those who were captured in Valauaya set out for Candea on the following day, some on foot | with those slightly wounded, F 348 others on horseback or in *andores*, as they were unable to move, led by an old Captain, Keeper of their misfortunes; and their march was such that it took 15 days to reach Candea; and being led before the Queen, for the King was still with his sons, they were humanely treated, and consoled by her to bear the trials of imprisonment. She ordered the Captains and the Columbo born men to be separated, and the rest to be distributed among the villages of the Realm. Afterwards in company with the Princesses of Candea, Matâle and Uva, and their families, she tarried with them in questions and answers, and the treatment was so much improved that owing to some evil suspicion of the King, without any other ground, D. Francisco was killed one night, and his Mother died of grief as soon as she heard of the news. The Prince of Matalê, being dissatisfied with his Father, because his younger brother was

preferred to him, planned at this time to go upon Batecalou in order to get into that praça and thence to pass to Columbo with the intention of receiving baptism; and besides his lascarins he took with him 30 captives, and having arrived at Cutiar he went to Xabandurê the chief village of Batecalou. He could have carried out his resolve then, and set the Portuguese free, but in order to have more funds, he tarried, killing and robbing the Vaneaz of Pulugaô and Hiravra. In the end his men understood that he did not intend to make war on Batecalou but to escape to that praça along with the Portuguese. Whereupon they attempted to kill them [the Portuguese] as authors of this transformation, and this would undoubtedly have been done, had they not been forewarned in time by one of the fellow conspirators. They picked out 200
P 644 who should kill them at the dawning watch. | They found them prepared, and they were 22 of the bravest. The Prince came on the scene on the back of an elephant, but it was no easy matter to quell them, and 9 Portuguese were wounded. They went half a league away, whence they sent word to the Prince: 'That they did not revolt against His Highness, but only intended to kill the Portuguese, as they thought it necessary for their honour and for the service of the King. That he should be pleased to separate himself from them, otherwise they would kill them and arrest him, which was a lesser evil than that a Prince of the Suriauança should become a Christian.'

The Prince held a Council of his men, the majority of whom were rebels of the low lands and mortal enemies of the Portuguese name. They decided that they [the Portuguese] should give up their arms and go to Vilâcem. The Portuguese understood this to be a trick to kill them and they answered through their envoy: 'That they would not lay down their arms without at the same time laying down their lives. That as the principal Captains were there, with their death would cease the negotiation for peace, which the King of Candea was so anxious about, and that they had come with that arrayal trusting to the word of his Sister[1].' After many answers and entreaties the Prince replied: 'That at the drowsy watch he would give them four lascarins to guide them by hidden paths to Vilâcem, while he settled matters with the people,' with a

[1] His half-sister, queen of Kandy. On the death of Dona Catharina, Senarat took as his queens Dona Catharina's daughters by her first husband. Their names were "Soria Mahadassin" and "Antenassin," according to Tratados e Concertos I. 223.

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thousand excuses and an *ola*, swearing on the Queen, whom he greatly loved, that on his part there was no deception. Seeing that there was no other recourse, they made an act of contrition, taking St. Anthony for guide, | to whom they F 348v prayed to save them from utter destruction. As soon as they started, there fell such heavy rain that it gave the foe no room to follow them, though they knew of their departure and meant to kill them; which they attributed to a miracle of the Saint. And though it rained the whole of that night and the day following, against the advice of the guides they crossed that turbulent river, whereby they drenched the powder, and as their trials were not yet over they came upon 300 Bedas, and after a long discussion of which they understood but little, as they could not make use of their arms and the Bedas did not let them go, they were reduced to the state of innocence and after satisfying them with some escudos which the Queen had given them on quitting Candea, they were left in those deserts without any other guide than the Sun and stars. They spent 22 days sustaining themselves on water, herbs, wild fruits, lemons and oranges; and though sour, they did not spare them. They arrived in Vilâcem [which is] the [place of] exile of Candea and Uva. A Captain whom the Prince had there, distributed to each a cubit of cloth to cover themselves with. But the cold, at all times unsupportable in those high mountains, was such that all fell ill and three died, and they spent three months and a half in this hopeless adventure. Mean while the Queen ordered them to be looked after and clothed, blaming the Brother much by letter for exposing the lives of those who had trusted to her word, 'That he was good for
P 645 little, since for lack | of valour and command he had not succeeded in achieving the purpose for which he went to Batecalou. That he must remember that those who were there were the principal persons of those who were captured in Valavâya, on whom was founded the hope of peace, and in any case he should remove the Portuguese from Vilâcem.'

The King, knowing of the absence of his Son, and dissimulating his intention, went to console him in his troubles, and it was there settled that the Portuguese should go to Badulê, the Capital of Uva, till the termination of peace, because of the jealousy which the King had of their presence in Candea, which is no small argument of the excessive familiarity of those people. There they spent a year, till their exile was improved on the arrival of the Ambassador Jeronimo Taueyra, who brought orders from the General not to negotiate peace, till they were removed from Uva.

CHAPTER 25.

The Prisoners are not released. The Events of the War conducted by D. Jorge

The Count Viceroy had directed D. Jorge to treat about the liberation of the prisoners and not to make peace with so small a feudal service, for D. Nuno Alvarez Pereyra by agreeing to two elephants made the peace dishonourable, though others thought that, so far as credit was concerned, it mattered little whether it was more or less. On receipt of this letter, D Jorge sent the Ambassador in August, and as he found the King determined not to pay more, he received fresh orders to remain while word was sent by land to the Count, | who on realizing his mistake thought it best to accept *F 349* the terms of Nuno Alvarez Pereyra. D. Jorge informed Taveyra and he informed the King. And that Portugal might understand . . . . [1] in these Princes, he replied to him: 'Senhor, Jeronimo Taveyra, the circumstances under which the peace was made, which the Conde de Linhares calls dishonourable, were quite different, for in those days I wished to bring up my sons without being surprised into dragging them into the woods. Now they are men, who can sleep with spear in hand. If, when you came, you had wished to make peace with me in the manner in which I desired to make it, the Portuguese would now have been in possession of the lands and [the prisoners] in their homes, you honoured and I content in this Court; but taking better counsel, I do not think it good for me to go hunting elephants for the King of Portugal. You may go in peace, I will send my Ambassadors to Goa, and if the Count is not pleased to dispense us from that tribute, the forests of Candea are large and my rock is not a little secure. The Ambassador retired, and the Portuguese remained prisoners till the time of Diogo de Melo de Castro, except some who succeeded in escaping. The [ambassadors] *P 646* of the King were Domingos Carvalho Caõ | who was a prisoner, and Rajâpata Modeliar.[2] Carvalho pressed the Conde de Linhares not to decline the terms, for the King was ready to pay Vassalage, if they would let him live in peace, and he presented to the Count the orders he brought from the King

[1] A word omitted here.

[2] The letter of the King to the Conde de Linhares, the credentials of the Ambassadors and the Treaty of Peace, are all given by Biker, Tratados e Concertos II., 38–50.

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and the General. But the Sergeant Antonio da Fonseca had influence enough to persuade him that Domingos Carvalho Caõ took the side of the King more than that of the State; and at one of his visits the Count flung it in his face, and though Domingos Carvalho Caõ was able to justify his proceeding with more than 80 years of age, almost all spent in the service of His Majesty and in the Island of Ceylon, as he had been seven times Dissava of Maturé with the title of Captain-Major, and had obtained great victories and had not declined, in spite of his old age, to accompany the general Constantino de Sâ, he was so much grieved by this that partly on account of the malignity of the climate, where every serious grief is fatal, he died of a malignant disease in this our Professed House of the Bom Jesus, in the Church of which we gave him burial, because of the many obligations under which he had placed us.[1] The other Ambassador out of respect for the Count Viceroy agreed to a tribute of one elephant, and one almost dead was given grudgingly. When the other terms were presented to the King by him, and he read the condition which said that the Portuguese of Batecalou should be Masters of so many geometrical paces around,[2] he called a Page and ordered him to hang that paper on the weather cock of the Pagode to show that the terms were made of air. He might have added of water, as the praça of Batecalou is on a little island. He replied to D. Jorge: 'That he did not want geometry with the King of Portugal'; meaning thereby that he wanted a more honest peace and true friendship and not with such subtleties which showed that it was not firm.

In order not to endanger the lives of the Portuguese, as that reinforcement had many Captains | and experienced *F 349c* soldiers, and to see whether he could recover the lands without fresh war and by means of the peace which the King so much desired to conclude,—and not for other unreal reasons which were imagined then and afterwards, and which gave occasion to calumnies against D. Jorge for the delay,—the General let time pass before taking the field. But receiving a further reinforcement of 10 foists which the Conde sent under D. Alvaro de Castro, brother of the Senhor de Rezende, on the 5th January, 1632, he crossed the Calane river on his way to the Four-Corlas. In the advance guard were D. Antonio Mascarenhas, Dissava

[1] He had founded the Jesuit house in Galle (720), and one of his sons was a Jesuit, Vida 201.

[2] Art. 7 of the terms proposed by the Viceroy, conceeded 'the lands of Baticalou' to the King, the Portuguese retaining the fortalice with a circuit of 'two thousand geometrical paces'.—Tratados e Concertos II., 43.

of the Seven (Corlas), Jorge Coelho de Castro of the Four because de did not trust the Chingalâ Dissavas, with such lascarins as he could muster, which was more than 1,000, and 1,200 Caffers and Canarese. Of the Portuguese the Captains were D. Alvaro de Castro with Bernardo da Costa Tibaõ, Antonio Mouraõ da Silueyra, Joaõ Aluarez Bretaõ, Antonio
P 647 Segurado, Francisco de Seyxas, Domingos Fernandez, | Fernaõ Mergulhaõ, Bento da Cunha, and Miguel Ferraõ de Castel Branco, Captain-Major of the Field. In the main body of the army went the General, with the Captains Manoel de Brito Pinheyro, Sebastiaõ Pinto Pimenta, D. Antonio Sotomayor, Lourenço de Albuquerque, Françisco Tenreyro, D. Bras de Castro; and the bravest of Columbo, Pedro Barreto da Silua, Damiaõ Botelho, Jorge Fernandez de Abreu, his son Francisco, Manoel Gil with two sons, Diogo de Souza de Vaz-conselos, Manoel Correra Taueyra, Antonio de Lugo de Vaz-conselos, Leonardo Pedrosa, Antonio da Silva de Menezes, Antonio Teyxeyra de Maçedo, Antonio Teyxeyra de Sepulveda, Sebastiaõ and Antonio Caldeyra, Francisco de Faria, Antonio Batalha, Simaõ Martins, Joseph de Amaral, Antonio Coelho Leytao, Pedro de Abreu, Paulo Coelho Argulho, Francisco Jacques, Antonio Garcia de Pinho, Antonio Gomes Homem, Francisco da Silva and Manoel de Miranda Campelo; who like veteran soldiers, and interested in the profits of their villages, could not be persuaded to remain on guard in the City, which in great measure excused D. Jeronimo de Azevedo and Constantino de Sâ de Noronha for leaving it less garrisoned. With the munitions went Diogo de Albuquerque and Gaspar de Medeyros. In the rearguard Antonio da Mota Galvaõ, Dissava of Maturê, and the Dissava of Sofragaõ Antonio Barboza, and the Captains, Luis de Quintal, Simaõ Matheus, Baltezar Teyxeyra de Maçedo, Antonio da Fonseca Pereyra, Manoel Carvalho and Joao Nogueyra with some Companies of Caffers and of Cannarese of the number mentioned, the Portuguese exceeding 1,000. Up the river went six ships with artillery, of which the Captain-Major was Andre Coelho with Manoel de Souza Falcaõ, who passed over to the other, as his own ship would not float, and Pedro Cabral Pestâna was unfortunately killed with 7 or 8 persons, when some powder took fire. But only two foists were able to go on. The King of Candea
P 350 sent his son Mha Astâna with 10,000 men | to reinforce the garrisons. Our men spent the night in Calane and at daybreak there was Mass and Communion. In sight of the grand stockade the Enemy tried to prevent the passage with great deal of musketry, but it cost him many heads which the General rewarded well. Having crossed the river, the

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General and the Captain-Major Miguel Ferraõ reconnoitred the place well, though they opposed it, for many shots flew about from 6,000 well-armed men; and they attacked with such fury that when many heads were cut off, the rest took to flight, and the stockade was burnt down. They reached Maluâna where there were only three old men, from whom he learnt that the Prince had abandoned it the day before.

Seeing these successes, some rebels made their submission and the General received them readily and liberally. But as they had acted maliciously and through fear, he came to
P 648 know that they wished to return | to their own people and he again seized them and gave some as slaves to the Captains, and to instil terror, he made over one to the Caffers who at once quartered and distributed him among themselves before his wives and children, for some races of them are cannibals who feed on human flesh; and prudent Captains, says Manoel de Faria e Souza, sometimes have recourse to terrorism to stir obstinate minds, and he excuses Luis Teyxeyra de Maçedo for greater cruelties, but condemns and blames the same in D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, who certainly had greater provocation. Let others seek for consistency in him.

The army passed to Cardeuola which the General reconnoitred in the same way and with the same companion and with the same danger, as he had no knowledge of the country. He divided his men into three squadrons: on the right Jorge de Castro, on the left Antonio da Mota with the Lascarins, in the centre D. Alvaro de Castro, Fernao de Seyxas, Joaõ Alvarez Bretaõ, Bento da Cunha, D. Antonio Sotomayor, Luis de Quintal, Antonio Mourao, Fernao Mergulhao, with the Captain Major of the Field, Miguel Ferrao de Castel Branco. It cost the General no small trouble to check the other Portuguese reserved for a possible eventuality, because in these points of rivalry the authority of a General was often insufficient. They marched behind, and at the first cry of 'Sant-Iago,' they all fell to, applying ladders, hoisting banners on both the stockades and in a short time, though not without resistance, they obtained the victory. There were killed the Captain Bento da Cunha and the Ensign Francisco Murzelo, two Portuguese soldiers, a Caffer and a lascarin. There were a few wounded and the Captain Françisco da Costa was much bruised, being wounded with two spear wounds in the advance on the second stockade. The first to climb was the Captain Françisco de Seyxas Cabreyra.

After this victory they came down in such haste and fury upon the grand stockade, that on the way the General received news that it was abandoned, because those who were

routed in the captured stockades | informed them that the f 350v
Portuguese caught their bullets in the air and fought like lions, as there went before them a woman clad in blue and white who incited them; and so many are the occasions when in India and Ceylon the most Holy Virgin and St. James assisted in our battles, that it may piously be believed that they did not imagine on this occasion what they so often proclaimed. The General sent a detachment of troops to verify the news and found it was quite true. They had left behind in the praça considerable artillery of bronze and iron, muskets and munitions, of which there were not a few in Cardeuola also, and on one cannon were seen the Royal Arms of Portugal; both [stockades] were dismantled. Among the many heads presented to the General, a present which carried with it a good reward, were recognized that of an English master-gunner and of a Columbo-born renegade. In diverse
f 649 parts of the river | there were found many dead men with scimitars at the waist, who fleeing from a bloody death perished by a watery one. The enemy had relied very much on these praças, which were well manned and well provided with munitions and surrounded all round with spikes of iron, but God disposed that none of our men should be hurt thereby, while many of the foe who fled came to grief, and this clear sign of a Miracle also confirms that the Virgin Mother had shown herself. The country was flooded for three leagues and more, and there were only two marshy ways whereby they [the stockades] could be reached, and this flood covered 14 villages.

It was put to the council, what should be attacked first; and they decided that the General should return to Columbo with a part of the men, and that the Captain-Major should continue the conquest. D. Jorge chose to remain in the grand stockade. The Prince Mha Astâna, having reinforced his army with a succour of 2,000 men brought by the Prince of Matale, determined like a shrewd Captain to carry Columbo by surprise, seeing that the arrayal was out. But he was deceived, for the General not being unattended, took the field and with great success routed him. He wished to try conclusions a second time at the river of Lauha, two leagues from Durauâca, but the heavy rain hindered it, and there was no encounter of any consequence. The Princes, being disappointed that they had achieved so little, attacked Matra Gâma [a place] lower down, with great fury and valour, but when they thought they had made the victory uncertain, they were so badly routed and defeated, that one of the Princes found shelter under cover of a thorn bush, and the

army, being completely routed, returned to Candea with one of them, while the other remained hiding in a cave from which he afterwards escaped. Our men advanced four leagues further and halted in a village belonging to Father Domingos de Negreyros, whence the Captain tried to reduce the lands to submission. But as they knew that the Princes would return, they submitted coldly and lived in the jungles awaiting better fortunes. The Prince of Uva and D. Theodosio joined at | Diguiliguê, the former with the men of his State, f 351
and the latter with those of Maturê. The Princes of Candea and Matalê joined also and they formed a powerful army. But as all the three Brothers were not on good terms with D. Theodosio, whom they had appointed Dissava of Maturê and who had 4,000 to 5,000 men, on account of his insolence and tyranny, they ordered him to give up his office. He did so and withdrew, accompanied by his men. He of Uva followed him and surrounded him at Calaturê. Seeing himself in this plight, he begged a safe conduct and some companies from the General to subdue the lands of Maturê of which he had been Dissava for the King of Candea. D. Jorge accepted his submission, and sent him the companies under the charge of Antonio da Mota Galvaõ, who afterwards obtained a great name in the warfare of Ceylon, but against the opinion of many who knew the long standing differences which existed between them.

f 650 | Our arrayal went in search of the Princes, but they retired to their States changing their boasting into threats; and almost all the lands submitted forthwith. Afterwards the General, hearing that there were in the port of Chilao about 300 champanas of rice and 10,000 *amanoês* of areca and as many quintals of cinnamon, prepared to capture that prize by land and sea, and though the Prince of Candea succeeded in unloading the most precious things, he lost 300 heads and three elephants, one alive. There took part in this expedition the Captain-Major of the Field, the Dissavas of Sofragaõ and Maturê, Jorge Coelho de Castro and Antonio da Mota Galuaõ; but of all the booty there came little to the King and to D. Jorge nothing more than calamities.

The King was obliged to sue for peace in view of the loss and retreat of his army, seeing that D. Theodosio whom he dreaded much, had been received by the Portuguese, but the General sending for the while Jeronimo Taveyra as ambassador in terms of the past treaty, sent the Ambasadors [of Candea] to Goa, and the war went on, especially in the lands of Maturê, which being for the most part conquered, the differences between Antonio da Mota Galuaõ and D. Theodosio increased, and complaints began on both sides,

because Antonio da Mota accused D. Theodosio of desiring to revolt, and there were not wanting some who thought that this was in order to seize his post and property which was large, about which I can say nothing certain, for I have not enough means to decide in a matter of such gravity The General determined to order the arrest of D. Theodosio through Antonio da Mota himself, who sent him in chains to Columbo, whence he was sent to Goa with the accusations, which being considered to be proved in Goa, he was sent to be hanged in Ceylon ; and there appeared very little of his goods, and they say that time showed that the execution was not justified by his actual faults in the present case, though in others he deserved the halter seven times over.

In the mean time D. Antonio Mascarenhas was serving as Captain-Major | of the Field, and he obtained a good victory *F 351v* over the Chingalâ in Cardêuola, which enabled him to post the arrayal in Manicrauarê. But the King of Candea, seeing D. Theodosio a prisoner, did not care to stand by the peace which had been confirmed in Goa, because it was when he was at large that he dreaded him, and while they thought that they secured this man, the warfare remained open and the island less secure.

CHAPTER 26.

P 651 THE EXPULSION OF D. JORGE, SUCCESSION OF DIOGO DE MELO AND OTHER EVENTS UP TO THE EXPEDITION TO CANDEA

Fresh complaints against the Captain-General reached the Viceroy from the people of Ceylon who were dissatisfied with his character Some say it was because he attempted to carry out Royal Orders and to put a stop to the robbery of Royal revenues and other violences, which was the cause why we made enemies and it was always the reason for the losses we have had. It was small thanks, indeed, after he had recovered lands for them by such glorious victories gained by his valour, prudence, liberality and good furtune. Faria here confuses two events and even shows himself ill-informed about the Viceroy Pedro da Silua,[1] who was one of those who governed India best and most honestly and justly. And as these complaints never stop at what they begin with, they

[1] This is the Viceroy with whom the author came to India. He was the twenty-fourth Viceroy, 1635–1639.

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complained that he was old and not diligent enough about the affairs of war, and both cassados and soldiers treated him with discourtesy, matters reaching such a stage that in an encounter with his servants they killed his Vedor and made him lose a finger by a shot, and he was not able to punish any of them, as they fled to the forests, and they were so powerful that in the inquiries which were held, the General was always found to be at fault, though D. Jorge was gifted with all talents and was learned in letters and was such an able engineer that among other things he planned a bastion in Mapâne, the most regular of the praça of Columbo, which was the reason why the Hollanders, realizing the strength of the structure, never set their batteries against it in the last siege. These things made the Conde de Linhares order him to be deposed by appointing in his place Diogo de Melo de Castro at the time Captain-General of S. Thomé, at the end of the year 1633.

He took charge of the Generalate on 25th November, 1633, and after a stay of ten days in Columbo he went to the arrayal, and prepared to seek out the King who was in Ganiapena[1] with 30,000 men, where he had a fortalice of wood with a ditch 60 feet in breadth and as many deep, with spikes of bamboo and burnt *nibaô*,[2] all of which made it so strong that it was impossible to carry it by assault. Diogo de Melo however pretended | that he wished to attack it, and ordered *F 352* ladders to be made and the Caffers and the Portuguese to climb some parts of the wall which the Chingalâz had left in Manicrauarê, in the manner of one training them for the assault ; of all of which the King was informed. And when his people asked him for a reward for bringing the news of the General's preparations, he replied, having seen through [the General's] object : ' Do not think that the General is going to seek me out in such a strong praça, but rather he wants to oblige me to take the open field, unless I wish to see him *P 652* burn Candea' ; and | this was the very thing that was resolved in the Portuguese Council without any suspicion that it would be known. While his Ambassadors went to Goa, D. Jorge de Almeyda captured a caravan of his, of 600 oxen and many men who conducted it, but Diogo de Melo de Castro, when he arrived, set them free. On this occasion the King wrote to him, thanking him for the courtesy and saying, ' that as regards the peace which had been settled with the Conde de Linhares, it was done without his orders, for though he had not commissioned the payment of tribute through fear, they accepted that

[1] Ganetenna.

[2] A kind of wood from the Malay Archipelago. ' Nyboes is another kind of palm, very hard and strong.'—Dal. II., 107.

of one elephant, and that if he were exempted from paying this tribute and acknowledgement of vassalage, he would make over the prisoners and would come to a good understanding. The General replied: 'That if his Ambassadors bound themselves without His Highness's orders, he should order their heads to be cut off, and fulfill what had been sworn to, and carry out the obligations of a King who does not wish to be considered unfaithful to his word like the rest of India: That as for giving up the obligation of an elephant, it was no small honour to the forests of Candea to serve the King of Portugal, a matter in which His Highness should not fail; that he should consider it well, and above all that 10 days from the date of the present, let them meet together in the river of Atapitî, where what was most convenient would be decided.'

On the promised day the army took the field with 5,000 lascarins, 460 Caffers, 500 Canarese, and 700 Portuguese, and not more because there were no reinforcements for two years. The army was arranged in three lines, which made the Enemy think there were more than 1,500 Portuguese. The vanguard set out one day, the centre on the following day, and the rearguard on the third day, as if it were the army of Xerxes or Tamerlan. Damiaõ Botado with the men of the Seven-Corlas and four companies, of which the commander was Calisto Machado, set out towards the hill of Muratâna with 3,000 Chingalâz behind him. He had a gallant band of lusty and well-armed soldiers among whom were 17 retired[1] captains, relatives and friends of Botado, all veteran soldiers and exercised in the wars of Ceylon, and some of the fugitives from Candea. When they reached Muratêna, the Enemy abandoned the stockade and it was forthwith burnt. On the following day the Dissavas of the Four-Corlas and of Maturê set out with four other companies; on the last | day the *F 352v* Captain-General sallied out with the men of Sofragaõ and of his guard and the Portuguese that were left, Caffers, and Canarese, and they all came on different days to join each other at the river of Atapitî in divers camps a musket shot from the Enemy. On this occasion the King had 12,000 men of Candea, 4,000 of Matalê and Uva; the rest were men of service. They exchanged mutual salutes. But when they thought the battle was going to begin, the King asked to make peace, confirming the terms of Goa, restoring 14 Corlas of which he was still Lord and in them more than 600 villages

[1] Literally 'reformed'. 'Reformado' is a word which has survived in Ceylon as a proper name, *e.g.*, 'Sapramadu' Appuhamy.

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F 653 with other advantages mentioned in the terms of the peace, and he delivered 200 Portuguese prisoners, whereupon Diogo de Melo set out for Columbo and the King for Candea.

In Goa D. Jorge de Almeyda proved his innocence, and though this was ever an easy matter in India for respectable men, I do not doubt that it was just, and that in consequence of it the aggressors were removed from their Offices and from Columbo. It was decided in a Council of State that he must have satisfaction, and that it was necessary for the service of the King to keep him in the Generalate. And as the Viceroy was a great friend of his, and he was not unworthy of it, and he was displeased that Diogo de Melo de Castro had not carried out certain oders, because he thought they greatly prejudiced the interests of the King, he could not escape being murmured against for reinstating in that Government D. Jorge de Almeyda in the beginning of the year [16]35, and for appointing Antonio de Mota Galvaõ as Captain-Major of the Field whom Diogo de Melo de Castro had recalled from Maturê, because of some complaints made to him. Diogo de Melo de Castro was always beloved, and in consequence this change was taken in bad part, especially by the soldiery who in India never mutinied against their Captains without good reason, and when D. Jorge curbed their tongues, they seized the occasion to rise in fresh mutiny, even rejecting the Captain-Major and his Lieutenant who governed them, and electing 12 Senators whom they obeyed. The General insisted on their accepting his Captain-Major, and there were great delays over this, and they even came upon Columbo, and it became necessary to let them have the Officers they wanted in order to calm them.

It was now the beginning of the year [16]36 and the State was governed by the Viceroy Pedro da Silua who brought order from His Majesty to keep Diogo de Melo in the government of Ceylon. The latter received this order in Manâr and passed thence to Columbo and before he arrived, D. Jorge had to set sail in haste to escape meeting some soldiers who were looking for him. He came to Goa, weighed down by years as well as by troubles and merits and light only in wealth, for he came very poor and died almost forlorn in Mangalor very much like his uncle D. Françisco de Almeyda, from whom he differed only in this, that the latter died in attempting to defend the Portuguese from the savages of the Cape of Good Hope, while D. Jorge | [died] because he could not defend himself *F 353* against them [the Portuguese]. On his arrival Diogo de Melo remedied everything and continued his government in peace which was somewhat lacking to the Candiots, for at this time

the King died and though the Kingdom belonged by right to the elder Brother, the Prince of Matalê, he [the King] left it to his youngest son, who changing his name, as is their wont, from Mha Astâna Adacim was called Rajâ Singa Rajû, who governed even during the lifetime of the Father, which gave rise to some disunion among them, for he of Matalê was haughty and bold, though inconstant and less sagacious than his Brother, which must be the reason why the Father preferred the latter.

P 654 | The new King of Candea, considering the pass to which our arms had brought him, and heedless of the danger that might result from giving entry to another European nation into Ceylon,—it perhaps appearing to him that he had not so much to fear from them on land as on sea, and that it was always better for him that we should have a new Enemy and new cares in Ceylon, as we were then more exposed to peril from maritime arms on account of the new praças we had founded around the island, [which were] more adapted to meet the assaults of the Chingalâz than those of European batteries, and so difficult to relieve as they were so remote from Goa and Columbo, [and which were] without more troops than was thought sufficient to oppose the native enemy,—on these considerations he tried with the Hollanders, who were more keen on this conquest, what he had first attempted with the Danes; and it was agreed between them that in March [1]638 they should abandon the bar of Goa to which they were laying siege and help him to take Batecalou. Diogo de Melo coming to know of these negotiations and that the Ambassadors of the King had gone to Betavia, and that others of the Company had come with them to Ceylon, and being unable to relieve Batecalou in any other way, attempted with the forces he had, to fall upon the frontiers of Candea in order to divert the Chingalâ; and in order to do it the better, he tempted the Prince of Matalê, persuading him to enter Candea with them and that he would put him in possession of the Kingdom which belonged to him by right. The Prince showed himself ready to do so, and they even say that he promised it, and that the General relied more on this diversion than on the force he had; and it must not be supposed that a Man of such sound judgment, after so much experience, would court certain ruin unless he were obliged by the weighty reasons which he had to prevent the entry of the Hollanders into that Island, it appearing to him that he was able to accomplish it by setting the two Brothers at war, and that without the favour of the Chingalâ King the Hollander would not dare to take any praca in Ceylon, and that he was

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not going against the peace which he had himself made, since the King had deliberately violated it. This was ever my opinion in this matter, for this disaster found me already in India.

But so keenly was the disgrace of this expedition felt in the East, that Diogo de Melo | remained exposed to general *F 353v* censure. They say that the King complained that the General impeded his trade in order to promote his own, and that it was for that reason that he suspended payment of the tribute accepted by his Father: That he had complained to the Viceroy by letter, and that he knew that his letters did not go to Goa: That when the General complained that he did not give what was due, the King again broke out into complaints against him, but that these differences stopped with the two, and the King did not impede the commerce of the Portuguese, nor forbid the Ministers of the Gospel from cultivating Christianity, which had made great progress, but *P 655* that he rather protected | and favoured it, making it clear that if the General had not crossed him in his dealings, the King would not have failed in the things he had promised. It was also a common report in India that the General had sent to Candea a short time previously a necklace of Diamonds and a gold collar to be sold in that Court, as the King had asked for jewellery of that kind from his procurators in Colombo in exchange for other substances which he had there, but had failed to get them, and that knowing that the jewels belonged to the General, he seized them saying to the bearers: 'That they should tell him that he [the King] took the things, and did not pay for them in compensation for what he [the General] had taken and for the damage and affronts which he had received from him.' And they say that this it was that finally made the General determine to make war.

The lack of troops caused delay and rendered the expedition difficult, but this was partly remedied by the arrival at this time in Columbo of 10 galliots from Malâca, in charge of Gonçalo de Souza Chichorro, with many and good infantry and good Captains, for there came in them more than 250 infantry, whom D. Francisco Coutinho had taken with him to Malâca in May [16]36, and whom after his death the new General Luis Martins de Souza Chichorro despatched back to India, of whom it was afterwards said with good reason: 'That Malâca was lost, because they did not remain in Malâca, and that Ceylon was lost, because they came to Columbo.' On seeing this reinforcement, which arrived in January [16]38, the General laid before the Council: 'That he had good reason for making war on the King of Candea, because he knew that [the King] had dealings with the Hollanders; that he had not paid tribute for two years past, and that he made

levies of men against Batecalou in league with the Hollander, and that against Jafanapataõ he had conspired with the Maraua of the opposite coast: That to divert him from these intentions, and to oblige him to pay the tribute he owed, h[e] [the General] wished to go in person to Candea.' There was great opposition in the Council to these views of the General; but when the Captain-Major of the Field agreed with him, the others consented to it, for in India he is able to do anything who commands everything. The King learning of this resolution sent him a Religious of St. Francis, | who was in *F 354* the Church of Candea, so that with a Crucifix in hand he might remind him of the oath of peace made by him, and that as he considered that to be the image of his God, he should remember that He was able to punish him. And he might have reminded him also of the example, so well known, of the Turk before the battle in which he defeated Ladislaus King of Hungary and of Poland. They say that the Captain of the Field, Damiaõ Botado, who fomented this war, being present and hearing this protest said: 'The blackie is afraid; we shall have to drag him here by his ears'; but he left his head there, and they say it was at the hands of a Portuguese for being the cause of that disaster.

P 656 | The General at once ordered the Dissavas of Maturê Sofragaõ, Four and Seven-Corlas, to march with the troops, white and black, to Manicrauarê where the arrayal was, and be there ready and provided with munitions and provisions, so that on his arrival they might at once undertake an expedition of great importance. He also ordered the soldiers of Malâca to be mustered, and with others of Columbo and many casados, he began to march on 27th of February [16]38. He removed the garrison from Maluâna, leaving only some sick men to watch, and thenceforward he made forced marches so as not to betray his intention at all to the Enemy and in Manicrauarê he remained till the 19th of March.

CHAPTER 27.

THE DEFEAT OF THE GENERAL DIOGO DE MELO DE CASTRO IN CANDEA

The King, having notice of this resolve, ordered the grandees of his Realm to send Ambassadors to the Captain-General and to the City of Columbo in the name of the people, admitting on the one hand the dealings with the Hollanders against the terms of the treaty, and on the other hand excusing this and other actions on the ground that they had given him occasion

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for it, but showing his repentance of them, and that everything would be set right, if the peace were maintained and the General desisted from this expedition. They did so; but they were not heeded; it must be because they were not believed and because it was thought that all this was merely to gain time till the arrival of the Hollanders. The City of Columbo also made its representations, but without avail; and if God had decreed this disaster, men can scarcely avert it. On the above-mentioned day, the 27th of February, the General set out for Candea with more than 900 Portuguese troops, 5,000 Chingalâz, some Topazes and Canarese, and not a few Caffers (though some greatly reduce the number of Portuguese and Lascarins) taking as Captain of the advance guard his nephew and son-in-law, Fernaõ de Mendonça Furtado, a gentleman of well known valour, though | at *F 354v* this time very young and little experienced in the warfare of Ceylon, and one of those who prided themselves more on despising danger than on showing they knew the colour of fear. The Dissava of the Seven-Corlas was Antonio Lobo de Vasconçelhos, of the Four, Bernardo da Costa, of Maturê Joaõ da Fonseca Ozorio, of Sofragaõ Andre Fernandez, Miguel da Fonseca was Sergeant-Major, and there were other valiant retired Captains, though the greater part of them had little experience of that Island and of the fighting methods of the Chingalâz, because years and wars and the previous expeditions had consumed other more experienced one

P 657 | The arrayal soon arrived at the village of Atapatî, three leagues from Candea, and it was now openly declared that the war was against Candea, and the way that of death. Meanwhile the King sent word to the General: 'That he did not understand the reason for the war which he was making on him, since he had made peace with the King of Portugal. That if the reason was because he did not pay tribute, let him lay his hand on his conscience and see who it was that had given cause; but to justify his cause the better, if that were the only reason which moved him, let him order the arrayal to return, and he would order the tribute to be paid.' He also directed a Religious of St. Augustine, who was living in Candea as Vicar of the Christians who were in that Court, to accompany the envoys with a Crucifix and to ask the General in His name not to make war. These things I narrate as they were well known in India and not to fail in Historical truth, though I am carried away by the affection which I ever had towards this gentleman, without knowing him, and towards his relatives who have rendered valuable services to His Majesty and to the Commonwealth. But if God meant

to punish India, it was inevitable that the best judges should be at fault, and that the General should persuade himself altogether that all these were mere delays of the King to gain time to carry out the better is negotiations with the Hollanders. He replied to everything with his Captain-Major of the Field : ' That they should tell the King that these messages and entreaties came too late. That he was coming to Candea to receive payment of the tribute and to drag him to Columbo.' And it is commonly reported that in the presence of the Envoys the Captain-Major, Damiaõ Botado, said to the General: ' This Blackie is already afraid ; by his ears we must drag him ' ; and that the General said : ' Yes, so we must.'

On the 26th of March the arrayal set out from Atapatî and on the following day, by morning, they entered Candea without any resistance, as the King had retired to his Penedo which is a large rock, as is well known in India. They set fire to the City, Palaces, and to the Pagode of the King, and that was the only satisfaction for the grievances which were put forward. The General at once gave order to march for Balanê, which was the best course from every point of view, though it was night, before the Enemy seized the passes. Night fell before they crossed the river, and as the men were tired | and worn out for lack of food, on the advice of the *F 355* Captain-Major it was resolved to halt there, and to cross it and to climb Balanê the following morning. When the King discovered the march of the Portuguese, being again aggrieved by the insults received under his eyes, he at once sent his Brother, Prince Vizapâla, with 16,000 men to obstruct the way and to hamper the march of the arrayal, and from the time our men set out from Candea till they reached the river, they followed them on one side till nightfall. Then they surrounded the arraya in such a manner that they gave no opportunity to take even a bottle of water from the river. Some companies sallied forth to protect the drawers of water, but they were *P 658* driven back by the Enemy. The fight lasted the whole night, during which the King arrived with all his forces, and also the Prince of Matalê. The General had occasion to complain to the latter of the deception by which he had been led to Candea, but he replied that his men had been false to him and that he was not able to do it.

There dawned the 28th of March which was Palm [Sunday] and the enemy dawned in view with redoubled forces. The General orders the arrayal to march. The enemy attacks the baggage, ill-guarded by the Dissâvas of the Seven-Corlas and of Maturê, Captains with less experience than was needed for the occasion. It was defeated with the loss of some lives,

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leaving the arrayal divided and the black troops in disorder. By dint of arms our men succeeded in reuniting and with not a few dead and wounded they continued the march, without however being able to reduce to good order the Natives who up to this time had not yet declared themselves. They determined to gain a hill, so as to form into better order. The Portuguese climbed it, but such was the fear of the black troops, that on this account alone, without any other [previous] dealings, they took to flight and passed over to the Enemy. Considering, however, the state of our affairs and that when there is no hope of success, there increases the resolution to die with honour, they came down the hill in three wings, attacked the Enemy, where they had the strongest force of their squadrons: wrought memorable feats, as admitted by the foes themselves, and sacrificed their lives to honour and their blood to credit, because the Chingalâz attacked them with such resolution and at such close quarters without minding the many men they lost, that there was not even space wherein to wield their arms. Here the majority fell and Fernaõ de Mendonça Furtado escaped badly wounded from among the dead, and he was, they say, helped thereto by the Prince of Matalê, as he afterward admitted at the time when this Prince was living in Goa.

In this fatal struggle, they narrate, that Antonio Vidal Rescado, one of the captains who had come from Malâca, and who was a Captain of infantry, well known in India for his daring, seeing the utter defeat of the arrayal, and that it was greatly due to Damiaõ Botado de Almeyda, was so carried away by this feeling, that he snatched an arquebus from the hands of a soldier and | shot the Captain of the Field on the *F 355v* head, saying : ' Ah traitor, you are the cause of this ruin.' And thereupon he fell to the ground whence he never rose. Different dispositions I should have liked for him to die in, for he too died there, and after the arrayal had been destroyed, the General Diogo de Melo de Castro died also, who had against him the common judgment of India for attempting a deed so often reproved by experience and so notorious for its rashness, and undertaken at this time, as was believed, without reason, thus giving the palm to the Enemy on the day when the Church places it in our hands to triumph with Christ, without a single Portuguese escaping who was not killed or imprisoned ; but *P 659* not | even of the number of the captives could we find any clear information, for, they say, they killed many in cold blood, and that the Portuguese prisoners were about 100.

And one who takes careful note of the Generals who lost their lives in the highlands and thickets of Ceylon, will easily

understand that some fatal destiny, in spite of so many disillusions, led them on to these disasters, and that it cannot but be a punishment for the grave faults of the Portuguese State in India, that such sensible men were blinded to court certain death, notwithstanding such manifest inequality of force and the impenetrability of positions and the disloyalty and desperation of the Chingalâz, a subtle, proud, treacherous and fickle race, by no means inferior in courage to the bravest in India, who bear their own native yoke so ill that it is impossible they should not decline a foreign one, as may well be seen by the pertinacity with which for more than a century they obliged us to turn that Island into a pool of their own and foreign blood.

The shifts to which Constantino de Sâ de Noronha reduced them, and before him D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, showed that it is not impossible to conquer them, but the diversions of our arms into Diverse expeditions against so many enemies, European and Asiatic, at one and the same time, proclaimed that the time was not suited for the conquest of the whole of that Island, and that our forces were not enough to reduce and preserve it, least of all after the Natives had by their perfidy turned our own discipline to our own ruin, though in those times it was not the same as is practised in Europe in this century, because being trained to arms under our banners and emulating our example, they made up by numbers for the enormous inequality which existed in point of valour; and though in all those expeditions and disasters of the three Generals there was great destruction, the [paucity of our] numbers greatly increased our loss, while theirs was little affected. The arrayals pitted against them never made up 1,200 Portuguese all told, for D. Jeronimo de Azevedo had not such a force, when he retreated from those mountains; and when the Viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha entered with larger forces, he found no opposition in them, because they were still untutored. And who does not see what a manifest rashness it was for so few men to try conclusions in the most rugged highlands and thickest forests, *mocolanas*[1] or passages so obstructed that they do not admit of military order, against 30 to 40 thousand men, who, being bred in those thickets, run about them like goats and attack us most safely? F 356

If the Portuguese had mustered at this time 3,000 Europeans in Ceylon, with Captains well versed in that warfare and in good dicipline, [and] had left 1,000 men on the frontiers for the security of the lowlands, and making Balanê their headquarters, they had entered Candea with the rest, with the

[1] Sin. *mukalana*, forest.

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intention of remaining in the heart of those hills, [and] seizing P 660 the maritime ports | had continued this conquest, men versed in it think, as we shall see later, that the whole of that Island could have been entirely subjugated, and the Chingalâz would have had no help but to perish or submit. But time, which changes everything, could also have changed counsels, not the least important of which was to consider whether it was not better for the Portuguese to make Ceylon the capital of India, and to found therein a new Kingdom, which, being a matter of great importance, deserves longer discussion before it is accepted, and whether the conveniences of Ceylon with respect to Portugal, taken all together, surpass any other which may be found in other parts of India, especially after the European nations began to take root therein, and experience proved that only a good force united in a healthy and fruitful country could maintain us securely in India, free from the diseases of other climes, and ready to reinforce other more remote praças, which must be few, as experience and good sense had shown, but such as can resist the first attack of any foreign force.

CHAPTER 28.

The Island revolts, D. Antonio Mascarenhas goes as General and recovers the Principal.

Forthwith the whole Island was up in arms, as on other similar occasions. There retired to Columbo more than 250 soldiers from the garrisons of Manicrauarê and Malvâna, who had arrived as a reinforcement after the General had entered Candea; and either for this reason or because he was awaiting the Hollander or for both reasons, the King did not fall upon the praças at once. Françisco de Brito de Almeyda, who by nomination of the dead General and by election of the people governed Columbo, defended the passes of the City outside the walls; and when Manoel Mascarenhas Homem came to their assistance from S. Thomé with some relief, the City elected him as General till Goa provided for the place. As soon as the Viceroy Pedro da Silua, in the beginning of May, received the news | of the defeat of the General Diogo de F 356v Melo de Castro, as it was the time when the fleets had returned, on the eve of the winter of this coast, he made two galliots ready in all haste with provisions, munitions, and money,

with 50 soldiers in each, and with them set out D. Antonio Mascarenhas as General of Ceylon, and Domingo Ferreyra Beliago as Captain-Major of the Field, on the 14th of the month; and with great trouble they reached Columbo on the 24th.

The General at once mustered a small arrayal, and with it he went in search of the Enemy to the village of Cardeuola,
P 661 one league from Columbo, towing | up the river of Matual a galliot with men and artillery. They abandoned the post and fortified themselves in another, at a musket shot from the former, with more than 12,000 men, besides many other thousands that they had in diverse places. Antonio Moura de Oliueyra, Captain of Gâle, also began war in that district. But as the carrying on of war against such odds was merely placing himself in manifest danger of ruin, the General retired to Columbo leaving guards at the passes, and encamped the infantry outside the City in the place of St. Sebastian. In this way he kept on till the beginning of December, as there had arrived Luis Afonso Coutinho with 7 galliots, 300 infantry, 200 Lascarins of Bardez, who had as Captain a Heathen vassal of the House of Rânas, 100 Caffers, much powder and shot, some artillery, and as much provision as they were able to carry, a reinforcement which set out from here on the 16th September and reached Columbo on the 4th October, where it was greatly welcomed.

The General at once appointed Captains to exercise them in the arms, in the style of marching and fighting peculiar to Ceylon, in which they continued till the 6th of December. The Chingalâ Captains, meanwhile, spread about in the lowlands, fortifying themselves in various eminences from which they subjugated the lowlands. In Malvâna was the rebel D. Aleyxo, with a garrison of 8,000 men. On the hill of Nagaõ there were about 4,000; and because these were very near, it was desirable to dislodge them first. The fort of Maluâna was of stone and mortar, and in place of bastions there were watch towers all around it, on one side washed by the river, on the other three sides it was surrounded by open country. The enemy added all round it a strong stockade, and with dams in the river, he flooded the fields to the height of a spear, leaving only one entrance at the gate, upon which were many muskets on supports and three pieces of artillery.

The Captain-General resolved to send troops to dislodge the Enemy, and the Captain-Major marched out on the 5th of December, halted at Calâne, one league from Columbo | and F 357
one from Maluâna. On the following day he continued the march, constantly encountering the enemy, from whom they brought him some heads. He wished to approach and

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reconnoitre the fortification, in order to attack it at daybreak. He sent the Captain of the advance guard, Antonio da Fonseca, and Manoel Vaz Barreto, Dissava of the Four Corlas, to reconnoitre the place. They approached within firelock shot of the place before the enemy made any demonstration, either to let them entangle themselves the more or because they took no account of the force they had. Antonio da Fonseca asked his companion not to miss so good an opportunity. Manoel Vaz, though a valiant man, was not of that opinion because of the scanty force he had with him, and because it was contrary to the order of the Captain-Major. Antonio da Fonseca did not take heed of these reasons, which, in another [kind of] warfare should have been accepted. He ordered them to fix the matches and shouting in a loud voice 'Sant-
P 662 Iago' with other words | of fury and anger, they all attacked the fortification. The Enemy, thereupon, measuring the strength of the force from its determinaton, without taking up arms, simply threw themselves over the walls into the river and floods, and Antonio da Fonseca, without any killed or wounded, entered the praça. When the news was received in the arrayal, they repaired in haste and had just time to fire their muskets on the enemies who were swimming. Taking possession of the fortified place, the Captain-Major ordered the dams to be opened, the floods to be let out of the fields, and made the Natives come into submission; and sent the General news of the success with a present of two *calaponeys*[1] full of heads of enemies. The rebel fled to Candea, where he died leaving his wife prisoner and many of his men killed and captured.

Thence he sent the same Antonio da Fonseca with the Dissâvas of the Four or Seven-Corlas against Curupurala[2] the rebel of Nagaõ, but when they crossed the river, they found that the Enemy had abandoned the place, and they made the Natives come into obedience. The Captain-Major left the necessary garrison in Maluâna, in charge of Luis Afonso Coutinho and went marching inland with two other companies which had been sent afresh as a reinforcement, and fighting almost daily and always victoriously with the enemy, who opposed him, from eminences and narrow passes, he reached Pilandro, 8 leagues from Columbo, whence he despatched the Dissâvas of Maturê and Sofragaõ with some companies to drive out of their districts the men of Candea who resided there, and to

[1] Rather cataponeys ' plural of ' cataponel ' from the Tamil *Kattupinnal*. Sin. *angula*, double canoe, *i.e.*, canoes fastened together with a floor laid on them. *Cf* 752.

[2] Kuruppu Rala.

reduce the country to Vassalage. He himself went to Mani- F 357v
crauarê and afterwards made his way to Atapitî, on the frontiers of Candea, and having taken the stockade, he cut off some heads of that garrison, and after doing some hostilities, he marched to the Seven-Corlas in search of the rebel D. Baltezar and of the apostate D. Pedrinho, who with more than 8,000 men were fortified in the hill of Ambalûa, a very defensible place, because they had laid across the hill a good fortification of wood, leaving only one road to enter by, so narrow and precipitious that one single man was able to defend it. The arrayal reached the village of Mandamarauita, a place opposite to that of the enemy, with the intention of hindering inroads.

But seeing that they did not desist from them, in early January of [16]38, he marched in secrecy through hidden paths through the forests, hills, and lakes, and having overcome this trouble, at dawn he was at the foot of the hill of Ambalûa. The advance guard attacked, and the enemies confiding in the site and their numbers, withstood the charge valiantly till midday, when D. Pedrinho gave signs of wanting to sally out of the fortifications to meet the arrayal face to face, but the Captain-Major and our men pressed upon them and attacked those who were descried, and the Apostate fell dead of two bullets in the head, and others with him. The
P 668 rest abandoned the fortification, | and the Portuguese followed them and did great havoc among them, putting also to the sword and fire all that village without sparing age or sex. Fourteen Portuguese were wounded, and among them Father Antonio de Pedrosa of the Society of Jesus, and some Captains. Five died, among whom was Captain Manoel Rodriguez Bravo. They stopped killing and wounding in Laoä where they rested, buried the dead, and cured the wounded. In three days the country submitted. Thence they returned to Mandamarauita, and afterwards to Manicrauarê, the Enemy having then retired completely to Candea, and in this conquest as well as in the others, our men had to put up with excessive labours under the weight of arms and munitions; and from hunger and thirst and nakedness, without any rest, nor any other bedding save a mat or an *ola* of the palm tree, which they had to carry, and at other times on the bare ground, but always with the same zeal and valour, of which the soldiers of Ceylon ever gave proof. Here they rested for some time, but this tranquillity lasted but a short time, for news came that the Hollanders were in Batticalou. For up to this time we had in Ceylon only the Enemies of the country, but thenceforth along with them, we had also the lieges of the United Provinces.