

**Francis Xavier; his life, his times. Translated by M. Joseph Costelloe.**

Schurhammer, Georg, 1882-1971.

Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973-1982.

<http://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510014082805>

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*San Francisco*





# FRANCIS XAVIER

## VOLUME II











*Francisco*

GEORG SCHURHAMMER, S. J.

FRANCIS XAVIER,  
*HIS LIFE, HIS TIMES:*

VOLUME II

INDIA

1541-1545

Translated by  
M. JOSEPH COSTELLOE, S. J.

1977  
THE JESUIT HISTORICAL INSTITUTE  
Via dei Penitenzieri, 20  
00193 Rome, Italy



Authorized English translation of the original German edition *Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und Seine Zeit* II.1, by Georg Schurhammer, S.J. © by Verlag Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1963.

*Imprimi potest:*

Romae, 21 Iulii 1977

SIMON DECLoux, S. J.  
*Delegatus Generalis*

*Imprimatur:*

E Vicariatu Urbis, 30 Septembris 1977

✠ JOANNES CANESTRI  
*Archiep. tit. Monterani*  
*Vices gerens*

© 1977 by the Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, Italy.

The publication of this volume was made possible by a generous grant of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Inc., of New York.

Printed at the Gregorian University Press, Rome, Italy.

*Second, corrected printing, November, 1982.*

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"The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier," by Peter Paul Rubens. This huge painting (17 feet, 7 inches × 11 feet, 4 inches) along with a similar work of the same size, "The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola," was painted in 1619-1620 for the church of the Professed House of the Society of Jesus in Antwerp. Both paintings are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, with whose kind permission the picture is reproduced.

Signature of Francis Xavier affixed to his vows of March 15, 1540 (ARSI: *Hist. Soc. Ia*, f. 258v; cf. Vol. I, p. 555).

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## FOREWORD

Six years have passed since the appearance of the first volume of our life of Francis Xavier. Despite all the work that had been done upon it, its continuation took more time than had been anticipated; and the materials that had been collected for it proved to be so extensive that we have found it necessary to divide the second volume into two parts.<sup>1</sup> This first half is concerned with Xavier's labors in Mozambique, South India, São Thomé, Malacca, and the Moluccas from 1541 to 1547. The second half, *Japan and China, 1547-1552*, will describe Xavier's work as superior and organizer of the India mission, his two years in Japan, his attempt to found a mission in China, and his death on the island of Sancian on December 3, 1552. This second half will also contain the *addenda* and *corrigenda* to the entire work.

A third trip to the Orient in 1956-1957 took us to India, Japan, Indonesia, and Ceylon. During this time we followed the routes taken by Xavier and examined the local traditions about, and the studies that had been made upon, him. Among the sites we visited were Mailapur, Negapatam, Rāmeswaram, Vaippār, and Tuticorin. Then, for eleven days, traveling on foot, we visited the fishing villages of the Paravas and Arasas (Macuas) lying south of Punnaikāyal in Tinnevely and South Travancore. From there we went to Quilon and the towns north of it in the dioceses of Alleppey, Cochin, and Ernakulam. We then visited the churches of the Thomas Christians in the interior and, lastly, Cranganore and Cannanore. At this time we would like to express our heartfelt gratitude to all those who helped us with their advice, assistance, and true Eastern hospitality in our travels through India. We would first like to thank His Excellency, Dr. Joseph Pareckattil, Archbishop of Ernakulam; Their Excellencies, the Most Reverend Bishops of Madura, Tuticorin, Kottar, Quilon, and Alleppey; our confreres of the Madura Province of the Society of Jesus; and the native clergy of the Fishery Coast and Travancore. All of these showed us the greatest kindness. In the foreword to the second half of this second volume, we shall mention our visit to Japan, where Fathers Cieslik, Schiffer, and Dumoulin were our incomparable guides. In Singapore, where we enjoyed the hospitality of the Irish Jesuits, we were able to visit the Raffles Museum and its valuable library and to obtain for our studies important copies of the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In Malacca we were warmly welcomed by the pastor of the Portuguese church, Father M. J. Pintado. In Ceylon we visited the Colombo Museum with its rich library, and we traveled as far as Galle in the south and Chilaw in the north. His Excellency, Dr. Edmond Peiris, Bishop of Chilaw, who has an unrivaled knowledge of the history of Ceylon, kindly accompanied us to Kōttē, the former residence of the Singhalese rulers. We were not able, unfortunately, to visit the Moluccas. They were then in a state of civil war, and our efforts to obtain a visa under the circumstances proved to be fruitless. Even in peacetime a visit to all the sites frequented by Xavier in that area would have been a long, costly, and dangerous undertaking.

<sup>1</sup> For the ultimate division of the work, see Translator's Note, p. XIII.

As far as the manuscript sources for this volume are concerned, the vast majority of the letters written by Jesuits are preserved in the archives of the order in Rome. The remaining documents are almost all in Lisbon, particularly in the National Archives of the Torre de Tombo, where we worked for a year and a half, and where we were cordially received and constantly assisted by the director, Dr. Antonio Baião. In 1932 we published the registers of the documents pertinent to this volume in our *Zeitgenössischen Quellen*. Many of the more than six thousand texts cited in this work have since been published in Rome through our confrere Joseph Wicki in the seven volumes of his *Documenta Indica* (1948-1962); by the energetic Agência Geral do Ultramar in Lisbon in its two series: *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português: Índia*, edited by A. da Silva Rego in twelve volumes (1947-1958); and *Insulndia*, edited by A. B. de Sá in five (1954-1958). In the second edition of our *Zeitgenössischen Quellen* (1962), we have included a supplement noting the publications of the last thirty years. In 1928 we were able to publish, together with the German ambassador in Lisbon, Dr. H. A. Voretzsch, the documents pertaining to Ceylon.

In the spelling of Oriental names, we have followed as a rule the index of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. For those not found there, we have used local gazetteers. Abyssinian names have been spelled as they were in the first volume. Indonesian place names have been given in their modernized Dutch orthography; personal names (frequently Arabic) are usually spelled as they are in English to preclude the spelling of the same name in different ways at different times. After a great deal of hesitation, we have again translated the Portuguese *Mouros*, which was used for all Mohammedans with the exception of the Turks (*Rumes*), as "Moors." Terms which have no exact modern counterpart, for example, those used for officials such as *vedor da fazenda* and *almoxarife*, and native words adopted by the Portuguese such as *patamar*, *topaz*, *champana*, *toni*, *bahār*, and so forth, have been retained. To translate them into European equivalents in Xavier's letters, for example, would often be impossible and an attempt to do so would distort his style.

In the text we give a simple account of the data furnished by the documents. As in the first volume, we have written this history from Xavier's point of view. We have avoided making any personal observations since we believe that these would be a disturbing element. In order to illustrate Xavier's mental attitudes, his spiritual growth, and his manner of acting, we have drawn upon all his experiences that could be of help in this regard, as we did in our first volume. We could not, however, yield to the desires of those who wanted us to interrupt our narrative with personal reflections or observations. The Portuguese league (*legua*) used in the text corresponds to four English miles. The Portuguese yard (*covado*) is equal to two feet, one and one-half inches. The Portuguese fathom (*braça*) is the equivalent of thirteen feet, one inch, whereas the English fathom has only six feet. Portuguese and Oriental terms are explained at their first appearance and are also noted in the Index.

Rome, the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus  
The Feast of St. John of Matha  
February 8, 1963

GEORG SCHURHAMMER, S. J.

## TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In his foreword to this present volume the author, Father Georg Schurhammer, S.J., apologizes for the number of years—six—required for its completion. The author of this note, asks for a similar indulgence. Four years have elapsed since the appearance of his English version of the first volume of Schurhammer's monumental life of Francis Xavier. For nearly two of these he was engaged in other, pressing labors that precluded further work on its translation. It is hoped that the remaining volumes can be translated and brought through the press with greater expedition.

Father Schurhammer originally planned on completing his *Franz Xaver: Sein Leben und Seine Zeit* in two large volumes bearing the subtitles of *Europa (1506-1541)* and *Asien (1541-1552)*. But, as he continued with his writing, he came to realize, as he notes above in his introduction, that the second volume would have to be divided into two parts. Eventually a still further division had to be made. Volume II, *Asien*, was published in three parts: (1) *Indien und Indonesien, 1541-1547*; (2) *Indien und Indonesien, 1547-1459*; and (3) *Japan and China, 1549-1552*. Instead of following this accidental and rather cumbersome division, the English version will be published in four consecutive volumes.

In the translation a somewhat different division of the contents of the second and third volumes has also seemed advisable. *Indien und Indonesien 1* contains five separate books and two short appendices in a volume of XXX + 851 pages. The first four of these books are concerned with Xavier's voyage to, and labors in, India. The fifth is concerned with his stay in Indonesia. *Indien und Indonesien 2*, on the other hand, contains one book, the sixth, and nine appendices in a volume of XXV + 588 pages. This sixth book continues with the description of Xavier's missionary activities in Indonesia and then gives an account of his return to, and further labors in, India. Since the appendices in the second part of *Indien und Indonesien* pertain more specifically to the first, a better balance in the length and contents of *Francis Xavier* II and III has been obtained by printing the translation of most of the appendices in the present volume and, at the same time, reserving the translation of the fifth book for *Francis Xavier* III. The first two of these appendices, "India Historians" and the much shorter "Xavier Processes," are not only a major contribution to Indian and Indonesian historiography and to critical hagiography, but they also shed considerable light upon Schurhammer's historical method, already described by the translator in his memorial in *Francis Xavier* I.

---

In the following pages, Schurhammer continues his long, "scientific" biography of Francis Xavier on the same two levels that he used in his first volume. There is the text, the narrative proper, where he again displays his ability to synthesize a vast amount of diverse materials into a unified whole. There is also the

documentation, the extensive footnotes and appendices, which give the sources for his account and further data on persons, places, and problems without impeding the progress of his particular theme.

Though there can be no doubt as to where his sympathies lie, Schurhammer describes the individuals that appear in his work and their activities with a remarkable degree of detachment. In this he resembles the ancient sage who could regard from a safe vantage point the perils of a man at sea or the fortunes of armies locked in combat—

*Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis,  
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem:  
Non quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas,  
Sed, quibus ipse malis careas, quia cernere suave est.  
Suave etiam belli certamina magna tueri  
Per campos instructa, tua sine parte pericli.*<sup>1</sup>

His lack of indignation, his failure to censure, his effort to reflect the point of view of Xavier and his circle of friends rather than his own<sup>2</sup> have been interpreted by some as a kind of insensitivity. This detachment, however, is surely in keeping with his concept of "scientific" history. The events must be presented clearly, and they must speak for themselves. Value judgments can best be left to the individual readers.

In the translation of this second volume of *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, Schurhammer's policy of keeping the original orthography of the proper names in Xavier's letters has been retained. These of themselves indicate the difficulties that Europeans had in adapting their own alphabet to Oriental sounds. It was a difficulty further compounded by the still uncertain orthography of both Spanish and Portuguese in the sixteenth century and the inevitable confusing of the two languages by those who spoke both Spanish and Portuguese.<sup>3</sup> An attempt has been made to achieve consistency in the spelling of the thousands of proper names that appear in the text and notes of the present volume, but neither Schurhammer nor the translator have been entirely successful in this.

A number of more recently published books and articles pertaining to the life and times of Francis Xavier that were not available to the author have been added in square brackets to the notes and bibliography of the translation, but no serious attempt has been made to update the text or notes. Given the encyclopedic character of *Francis Xavier*, the necessary *corrigenda* and *addenda* can best be made, as the author intended, at the end of the final volume.

<sup>1</sup> Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2.1-6.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. I, p. XXVI.

<sup>3</sup> On this problem of communication see Joseph Wicki, S.J., "The Spanish Language in XVI-Century Portuguese India," *Indica* 14.1 (1977) 17, where he notes the difficulties encountered by Alessandro Valignano, for many years the major superior of the Jesuits in the East: "In 1577 he said of himself that he could not write in Latin and was unable to find secretaries to write in Italian, so that he was left with Spanish only, the language 'más común y más inteligible,' although a very poor Spanish. He knew Portuguese very well, but it was of no use and unintelligible in Italy. He dictated his letters 'in bad Castilian,' and the amanuenses 'are all Portuguese and many of them have never seen Portugal or Castile, and are unable to correct my Spanish mistakes, and they can only write with Portuguese characters and orthography.'"

As in the case of the translation and publication of *Francis Xavier I*, this second volume could never have been published without the continued interest and assistance of various individuals. First of all, if he were still alive, I would again express my thanks to Father Schurhammer for reading and correcting more than a hundred of the first pages of the text that had been translated before his death and for making a number of general suggestions that were useful for the completion of the rest. I wish to thank the Reverend Ignacio Maria Larrañaga, S.J., for the loan of a Spanish version of the fourth book of the present volume, which, though it has never been published, was also corrected by Father Schurhammer before his death. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor Beatrix Klakowicz for checking and, where needed, correcting a number of passages in the translation about which I had some doubts and in helping with its editing in numerous other ways. I must also thank Miss Patricia O'Connor, Mrs. William B. Spohn, and Miss Katherine Diehl for reading the proofs and correcting a good many errors. Because of her extensive knowledge of Indian history and culture the last of these readers was able to make a number of significant improvements in the finished version. Needless to say, what errors still remain must be attributed to the translator himself.

Messrs. Clark and Carl Weckbach and Mr. and Mrs. J. Kernan Weckbaugh have again provided much appreciated financial assistance for clerical help in the making of the translation. The staff of the Gregorian University Press, Rome, has again been most helpful in composing, printing, and binding this complicated work.

To the Gulbenkian Foundation, Inc., of New York, though it is no longer extant as a separate legal entity, a very special work of thanks and acknowledgement is again due. Without its generous subvention the cost of publishing the English version of this epic, and epoch-making, biography of Francis Xavier could never have been met.

M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J.  
The Library  
Curia Generalizia della Compagnia di Gesù  
Rome, Italy  
The Feast of St. Aloysius Gonzaga, S.J.  
June 21, 1977



BOOK I

THE INDIA VOYAGE  
FROM LISBON TO GOA  
(1541—1542)

*Por mares nunca d'antes navegados.*

"Through seas which man has never  
sailed before."

Camões, *Lusiadas* 1.1





## CHAPTER I

### FROM LISBON TO CAPE VERDE (APRIL, 1541)

#### 1. THE INDIA FLEET<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that during the past hundred years the voyages of this kingdom have been immense, ingenious, and astounding, and that no other people in the world can point to anything like them. The Portuguese dared to sail out into the great ocean. They engaged it without fear. They discovered new islands, new lands, new peoples; and, what is more, new stars and a new heaven. They became so fearless that neither the great heat of the tropics nor the intense cold of the farthest south, with which they had been threatened by ancient authors, could turn them back. They lost the North Star from view and found it again. They discovered and sailed around the dread Cape of Good Hope and the sea of the Ethiopians, Arabs, and Persians. They succeeded in reaching India and sailed on to the famous Ganges River, to the great Taprobana, and to the islands of the Far East. They freed us from many false impressions and showed us that the land is greater than the sea; that there are antipodes, about which even the saints had doubts; that there is no region that is uninhabitable because of the heat or cold; and that there are both white and black men, and of very different traits. They have made the sea so well known that there is no one today who dares to say that he has recently discovered a small island, some shoals, or even a few rocky reefs that have not already been discovered by our voyagers.

Such were the opinions which the royal cosmographer, the learned Dr. Pedro Nunes, the teacher of Martim Affonso de Sousa and of the infante Dom Luis, expressed in 1537 with justifiable pride, if also with some exaggeration.<sup>2</sup>

The India fleet for 1541 comprised five very large *naus*,<sup>3</sup> heavy transports,<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the voyage to India in Xavier's time, see the general accounts in Valignano, who sailed there in 1574 (9-16); Pyrard, who sailed in 1601 and returned in 1610 (2, 113-129); \*Confalonieri (124-144v), who described the voyage in 1621 from data furnished by his countryman, G. B. Drago, who had sailed twice to India; Bartoli in 1653 (*Asia*, 1, 63-69); A. Huonder, S.J., *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg im Br., 1899) 32-44; A. Brou, S.J., "Voyages de Missionnaires de Lisbonne à Goa au seizième siècle," *Études* 117 (1908) 178-200; F. A. Plattner, S.J., *Jesuiten zur See* (Zürich, 1946) 27-61 (the second edition, entitled *Pfeffer und Seelen* [Zürich, 1955], abbreviates this part); A. da Silva Rego, "Viagens Portuguesas à Índia em meados do século XVI," *Academia Portuguesa da História: Anais*, 2<sup>a</sup> ser. 5 (1954) 75-142; and R. de Loture, "La 'fortune de Mer' et l'oeuvre apostolique de Saint François Xavier," *Construire* 8 (1942) 120-130; see also Luciano Cordeiro, *De como navegaram os portugueses no começo dos seculos XVI e XVII* (2 vols., Lisboa, 1935). In addition to these general accounts, we have drawn on manuals and sailing instructions (*roteiros*) for Portuguese pilots and published and unpublished reports of travelers to India to reconstruct Xavier's voyage. Lists of these sources may be found in Appendix III. [See also the great collection of maps in Armando Cortesão, Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, 6 vols. (Lisboa, 1960).]

<sup>2</sup> *Tratado da sphaera* (Lisboa, 1537) f. 59.

<sup>3</sup> EX I 120 125. The \**Memoria das Armadas*, whose author sailed to India in 1549,

painted black,<sup>5</sup> with three masts, a high forecastle, a still higher quarter-deck, and the red cross of Christ on their great white sails.<sup>6</sup> Their flagship, the *Santiago*, under the command of the newly appointed governor of India, Martim Affonso de Sousa, was the only royal ship sailing to India this year. The other four belonged to private entrepreneurs.<sup>7</sup> The *Flor de la Mar*, which had already made the trip several times,<sup>8</sup> was under the command of Luis Cayado, brother-in-law of Pedro Lopes de Sousa, a brother of the governor;<sup>9</sup> the *Santa Cruz*,<sup>10</sup> owned by Fernão Gomes, was commanded by Francisco de Sousa;<sup>11</sup> and the *Santo Espírito*<sup>12</sup> by Alvaro Barradas. The *São Pedro*, which had been built in India, had already made several trips there.<sup>13</sup> It belonged to the wealthy Duarte Tristão, who had been sending his vessels over the seas<sup>14</sup> since 1521. Its captain was Dom Alvaro de Ataide, the youngest son of the great Vasco da Gama, who had discovered the seaway to India in 1498.

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has a water color of the five ships, f. 31v; cf. Frazão de Vasconcellos, "As Pinturas das Armadas da Índia, *Boletim Geral das Colónias* 84 (Lisboa, 1932) 25-31.

<sup>4</sup> Fernando Oliveira describes the construction of ships in the sixteenth century in his *Livro da fabrica das Naos*, composed about 1564 (pp. 175-178 on ships for India). Descriptions of various types of vessels are given by H. Lopes de Mendonça, *Estudos sobre Navios Portuguezes nos seculos XV e XVI* (Lisboa, 1892) (pp. 5-11 on the *nau*); Pieris-Fitzler, *Ceylon and Portugal* (Leipzig, 1927) 340-364 (pp. 346-353 on the *nau*); and Nogueira de Brito, *Caravelas, naus e galés de Portugal* (Porto, n.d.). Particular types of vessels are treated by Quirino da Fonseca, *A caravela portuguesa* (Coimbra, 1934); Ch. Barcellos, *Construções de Naus em Lisboa e Goa para a Carreira da Índia no começo do seculo XVII* (Lisboa, 1933), and E. E. de Barros, *Traçado e construção das Naus Portuguesas dos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa, 1933). J. Braz d'Oliveira, *Os Navios de Vasco da Gama* (Lisboa, 1892), and L. A. de Moraes e Sousa, *A ciência náutica dos pilotos portugueses nos séculos XV e XVI I* (Lisboa, 1924) 167-181, attempt to reconstruct the ships of Vasco da Gama. Pyrard (2, 113-129) describes a Portuguese *nau* of about the year 1600. In *Welt-Bott* 528, 47-53, Joseph Kropff, S.J., describes a Spanish frigate of 1732. In the foreword to the first part for 1726, the editor of *Welt-Bott* explains the terminology used. The *\*Memoria das Armadas* has water colors of all the fleets from 1497 to 1560; Nogueira de Brito gives other contemporary illustrations; on p. 200 A Figueiredo Falcão has a sketch of the three decks (*cubertas*) of a *nau*. HCPB has reconstructions of the following: a *nau* of about 1500 (I 76), poop and foredeck (II 51 57), and Cabral's fleet (II 38).

<sup>5</sup> See the illustration in *\*Memoria das Armadas* (a reproduction in color in HCPB II 54); see also Braz d'Oliveira 14.

<sup>6</sup> According to Braz d'Oliveira only the four lower sails, "papagigos, mezena e cevadeira," had the cross (p. 22 and picture). Roque Gameiro also gives only these in his water color of a *nau* (HCPB I 76). The *\*Memoria das Armadas*, however, has it on all the sails of the fleet. Gameiro also shows it correctly in his picture of Cabral's fleet (HCPB II 38; see also Nogueira de Brito 7 12 13 15 17 21). [The *\*Livro de Lizuarte de Abreu* also shows the cross on all five sails of Cabral's fleet in 1536. See the reproduction in PMC I, p. 171 J.]

<sup>7</sup> The *Flor de la Mar*, or *Santo Espírito*, was João Rebello's ship. On February 3, 1541, the king wrote to the count of Castanheira that he should obtain it for the voyage to India (see Vol. I 706).

<sup>8</sup> Quirino da Fonseca, *Os Portuguezes no mar* (Lisboa, 1926) 317-318.

<sup>9</sup> Correa IV 211.

<sup>10</sup> Fonseca 298.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. I 706. Francisco de Sousa was originally to have received the *São Pedro* (Q 736), but he had to make an exchange with Dom Alvaro de Ataide (Q 749 764 1114). Our ships and their captains are given, for example, by Correa IV 211.

<sup>12</sup> Fonseca 305.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 325.

2. ABOARD THE *Santiago*

The *Santiago*, on which Xavier, Misser Paulo, Francisco Mansilhas, and Diogo Fernandes, a relative of Simon Rodrigues, sailed,<sup>15</sup> held over seven hundred tons and was a rich ship carrying a great deal of merchandise.<sup>16</sup> The quarter-deck and command-deck contained the quarters of the captain, skipper (*mestre*), pilot, boatsman's mate (*sotapiloto*), secretary, steward (*dispenseiro*), and constable,<sup>17</sup> and lodgings also for important passengers.<sup>18</sup> The main quarters were in the upper level, where the captain, officers, and a few guests were accustomed to dine.<sup>19</sup> The upper rooms opened up on a veranda, which ran around the outside of the quarterdeck.<sup>20</sup> From here one could see the huge rudder that was attached to the stern. In, and under, the forecastle were the quarters of the chief boatman (*contramestre*), keeper (*guardião*), caulker, carpenter, cooper, and their helpers, and those of the sailors<sup>21</sup> and artillerymen, who had their munitions and powder room in this area.<sup>22</sup>

Hanging out on either side of the bow were two heavy anchors, each weighing eighteen hundredweights.<sup>23</sup> There were three masts, the foremast rising from the forecastle and the smaller mizzenmast from the quarter-deck. The mainmast, strengthened with planks and iron bands,<sup>24</sup> rose up from the main deck not far from the quarter-deck. Like the foremast it had a crow's-nest, and from its tip fluttered a white flag with the red cross of the Order of Christ.<sup>25</sup> This same emblem adorned the six sails: the two square sails of the mainmast, the two of the foremast, the sail of the bowsprit, and the three-cornered lateen sail of the mizzenmast. The very large mainsail, when not in use, was stored in two rooms in the quarter-deck.<sup>26</sup> Under the deck,<sup>27</sup> not far from the mainmast

<sup>14</sup> Vol. I. 706. On Duarte Tristão, see Fonseca 167 320-321 and Q 764 1114.

<sup>15</sup> On Diogo Fernandes, see Vol. I 717. The lists of the members of the Society of Jesus sailing to India erroneously have him as a Jesuit, but he did not enter the order.

<sup>16</sup> "Era nao de 700 toneles y más," according to Xavier (EX I 125). When he writes that his flotilla had comprised "cinco naos muy grandes" (*ibid.* 120), this must be understood in relation to other ships of the time. In 1565 F. Oliveira wrote that in building of ships the practice employed from the times of kings Manuel and John III should be maintained. From then to his own day ships of five hundred or more tons, and even a few of eight hundred and a thousand, had been sent to India. Ships of from five hundred to eight hundred tons were large enough to sail anywhere in the world (177).

<sup>17</sup> See the sketch in Figueiredo Falcão 200 A; Barcellos 22-23 63; *Welt-Bott*, n. 528, 48, and the foreword to its first part.

<sup>18</sup> In 1548 (DI I 387), 1555 (*ibid.* III 398 442), 1562, and 1565, the Jesuits had a room near the veranda over the rudder (*ibid.* V 542, VI 537).

<sup>19</sup> According to Braz d'Oliveira, the main cabin (*camara*) was under the quarter-deck, and below it were the rooms of the officers (13).

<sup>20</sup> The veranda was on the upper story, as is indicated by the illustrations in the \**Memoria das Armadas*; see also *Welt-Bott*, n. 528, 48; and Braz d'Oliveira 12.

<sup>21</sup> See the floor plan in Figueiredo Falcão 200 A and Barcellos 23-24 55 63.

<sup>22</sup> Braz d'Oliveira places the powder room under the "artillerymen's deck" (13); on the *nau São Paulo* in 1560, the latter was near the windlass on the foredeck (Gomes de Brito III 40).

<sup>23</sup> Figueiredo Falcão 207.

<sup>24</sup> Pyard 2, 115.

<sup>25</sup> This is where it is on all the admirals' ships (*capitanas*) in the \**Memoria das Armadas*, and only on these. The only exception is on the wreckage of the *Santiago*, which was stranded in 1542. The flag is on the foremast because the mainmast had been broken.

<sup>26</sup> See the floor plan in Figueiredo Falcão 200 A.

and pumpwell, was the kitchen, the *fogão*. Within it was a carefully tended open-hearth fire that burned throughout the day, where the voyagers had to prepare their food if they had no servants or slaves to do so.<sup>28</sup>

Between the mainmast and the forecastle lay the main deck (*convés*). In its center was a hatchway that could be locked, leading to the middle deck, where the cannons, sloops, and boats were stored,<sup>29</sup> and where the soldiers who had been recruited for the Indies found a place to stay among the boxes and chests.<sup>30</sup> From here a second hatchway led down into the ship's hold,<sup>31</sup> where water and wine barrels, provisions, ropes, and merchandise were stored. From here a third hatchway<sup>32</sup> led down into the dark, evil-smelling, lower hold, the "pump," which, when necessary, also served as a prison.<sup>33</sup> Here were stored the rations of water and hardtack needed for the voyage.<sup>34</sup>

### 3. THE CARGO

The first days after its departure the deck of the *Santiago* was piled high with boxes, barrels, and bales towering high about the masts; and only gradually did these disappear into the lower decks.<sup>35</sup> An incredible amount of material had to be stored. In addition to the merchandise, drinking water and all the provisions for the voyage had to be taken on board. Under the most favorable

<sup>27</sup> SR X 223; DI IV 618.

<sup>28</sup> "Il y a des deux costez du Navire à l'endroit du grand mas deux grandes cuisines qu'ils appellent *fougons*" (Pyrard 2, 121). In 1621 \*Confalonieri also speaks of two galleys of the size of a large stateroom (126v). The reports of Jesuit missionaries also show that the kitchen was near the mainmast and pumpwell, and therefore near the quarter-deck (SR X 223); see the sketch in Figueiredo Falcão 200 A. According to Barcellos the kitchen was near the *tolda do capitão*. Braz d'Oliveira incorrectly places it in the forequarters of the ship; but this is impossible, since according to him the powder room was also there (12).

<sup>29</sup> Braz d'Oliveira 13-14; see the drawings in HCPB II 51 57. It was reported in 1562 that a young man who had fallen into the sea would not have been saved "se não tirarão o esquite debaixo das cubertas e o lançarão ao mar" (DI V 540); and Pero Lopes de Sousa states in his *Diário*: "Entrou tanta agua, que antre ambas as cubertas me nadou o batel" (I 225).

<sup>30</sup> According to the plan of Figueiredo Falcão, the sailors had their cabins under the forecastle. According to Trigault, who sailed to India in 1606, the soldiers, sailors, and boatmen lived together on the first deck (27). According to Pyrard the soldiers were on the middle deck and the boatmen on the deck itself, exposed to the wind and storms and only protected from rain by a cowhide (2, 119-120 124).

<sup>31</sup> A *nau* of six hundred tons had three decks, a galleon only two (Lopes de Mendonça 28). Under kings Manuel and John III only *naus* with three decks were built (Barcellos 27 57). The plan of Figueiredo Falcão also has this same number. In 1551 Heredia visited the sick under the first deck and found the water barrels under the second (DI II 409). He accordingly counted the decks from top to bottom. Barros has them the other way around. According to him the *primera cuberta* is above the ship's hold, the *segunda* a deck higher, and the *terceira* the deck with the *convés* (Traçado 32-33).

<sup>32</sup> In 1562 Antonio Fernandes wrote that at times individuals fell down through two or three openings (DI V 540).

<sup>33</sup> In 1566 Fernando Alcaraz described the ship's hold (*porão*) as "the lowest, most pestilential, and darkest place in a ship, a hell where all the filth collects" (DI VI 782).

<sup>34</sup> Trigault 27.

<sup>35</sup> "As is always the case at the beginning of a voyage," wrote Godinho Cardoso in 1585 (Gomes de Brito IV 8). According to Pero Fernandes, in 1564, the ship was full of wares "hasta quasi medio los mastros, qu'era cosa mirable" (DI VI 292). See also DI V 527 570, and Eguscuíça 228-229.

conditions this took six months. This year the India fleet had set sail late because of the war in North Africa,<sup>36</sup> and it was quite possible that the voyage would take much longer. If the fleet had to winter in Mozambique, a year would be required for the trip. If winds forced them to sail around the southern tip of the island of St. Lawrence (Madagascar) directly for Cochin, they would not be able to obtain any water or provisions in Mozambique and would have to travel the more than three thousand leagues from Lisbon to India without landing anywhere along the way.<sup>37</sup>

Besides the money and copper needed for the purchase of pepper<sup>38</sup> and merchandise, an India ship of 550 tons bearing 362 persons had to carry the following provisions: 313 barrels (*pipas*) of water,<sup>39</sup> 115 barrels of wine,<sup>40</sup> 13 barrels of vinegar, over 1,000 hundredweights of hardtack, more than 300 hundredweights of salted meat, 36 hundredweights of sardines, and in addition to all these, stores of cheese, eggs, olive oil, butter, lard, preserves, jam, beans, peas, lentils, dried plums, almonds, garlic, onions, sugar, honey, and other items designated for the sick.<sup>41</sup> It had also to carry live chickens and their cages,<sup>42</sup> cannons, mortars, crossbows, arquebuses, pikes, powder, cannonballs,<sup>43</sup> four spare anchors, two spares for each of the six sails, 180 hundredweights of ropes and hawsers, and so forth.<sup>44</sup> A ship had also to carry the wares and provisions

<sup>36</sup> Since 1533 the India fleet had always sailed in March. The only exception was in 1538, when the fifteen ships that were to bring aid against the Turks took longer to equip and sailed on April 6. The India pilot Aleixo da Motta, who had thirty-five years of experience behind him, wrote in his *roteiro* in 1621: "Ships must sail from Lisbon at the latest on March 10 in order to be sure to catch the monsoon. Ships that have sailed later have had to return or spend the winter in Mozambique and Melinde (Malindi). Those that have left in April and have reached India have all arrived with the greater portion of their people dead, and the ships themselves have been so battered that it must be taken as a miracle that they arrived at all" (94).

<sup>37</sup> In 1534 a caravel with eighty barrels (*pipas*) of water accompanied Martim Affonso's fleet as far as the coast of Guinea and returned from it to Lisbon after dividing its cargo among the three India ships (TdT: S. Lour. 1, 306v).

<sup>38</sup> In 1541 the *São Pedro*, for example, took with it "15,788 *cruzados* in fine, twenty-four-carate gold in sixty-seven large and two small bars, which all together weighed 244 marks, 1 ounce, 1 octave, and 18 grams." The *Santa Cruz* carried 6,959,362 *reis*, worth 7,333 *cruzados* and 50 *reis*, in thirty-one bars of fine gold along with 800,910 *reis* in silver coins and 2,224,052 *reis* in three bills of credit of Fernão Gomes, who owned the ship (Q 1114).

<sup>39</sup> A *pipa* was the equivalent of 454 quarts.

<sup>40</sup> In 1534 the count of Castanheira caused difficulties for Martim Affonso de Sousa when he sailed for India because of the lack of space for the wine (TdT: S. Lour. 1, 305-305v).

<sup>41</sup> See the list in Figueiredo Falcão 200; cf. the precise details on the cargo of Magellan's fleet, which set out in 1519 to sail around the world for the first time with 265 men on board the ships (Koelliker 73-78). Antonio de Saldanha, who sailed to India in 1503, also gives a very detailed description of the cargo in his account book (Ajuda 51-5-13, 351-358). \*Confalonieri 124v-125 has a shorter report.

<sup>42</sup> In 1503 Saldanha took with him six hundred live hens. In 1562 mention is made of cages for chickens (DI V 529). In 1604 the visitor ordered the missionaries who were sailing from Goa to China to take the following provisions with them: hardtack, water, wine, beef, pork, pickled fish, vinegar, butter, mango preserves, vegetables, rice, sugar, legumes, and twenty good live hens for each person (Ajuda 49-4-66, 18). On the chicken cages for the officers of the ships, see Barcellos 22-23 63. The *Santiago* also carried twenty barrels of wine and a quarter of a barrel of oil for the hospitals and monasteries of India, and another three barrels of wine and a quarter of a barrel of oil for the bishop of Goa (Q 1114).

<sup>43</sup> For pictures of the guns used at the time, see HCPB II 48.

<sup>44</sup> Figueiredo Falcão 205 207.

which the individual travelers brought with them, for the rations which the king furnished those making the voyage were small—one-half of a tankard of wine a day per person,<sup>45</sup> and, if there was no scarcity of provisions, a tankard of water and 1 3/4 pounds of hardtack. Each one also received a monthly ration of an *arroba* (twenty-nine pounds) of salted meat and a small amount of oil, vinegar, salt, onions, garlic, and fish.<sup>46</sup>

#### 4. THE PERSONNEL

An India ship of 550 tons required a crew of 112, of which about 50 were sailors and about the same number boatsmen (*grumetes*).<sup>47</sup> In addition to these there were 11 artillerymen and their constable, 250 to 400 soldiers,<sup>48</sup> and a few passengers. The number of people sailing on a ship thus easily reached 400 or 500 and more.<sup>49</sup> In 1541, on the advice of the count of Castanheira, the king, as a measure of economy, had ordered the number of ships and soldiers to be reduced. No more people should be taken than could be conveniently quartered in five ships.<sup>50</sup>

The more important positions of captain, pilot, skipper, and secretary were filled by the king.<sup>51</sup> The captain of the flagship had, as captain major (*capitão-mor*), command also over the whole fleet. He had jurisdiction over all aboard his ship and could cast miscreants into irons and have them whipped at the mainmast or chastised in other ways; and he could levy fines. When he had more important decisions to make, he consulted all the officers and experienced *fidalgos*; and documents on the matters discussed were drawn up by the ship's secretary and signed by all. At times he was new to his task and little ex-

<sup>45</sup> The jug (*canada*) contained something over a quart.

<sup>46</sup> According to Linschoten in 1583 (I 11). According to Pyrard one received one-half of a jug of wine, one-half of a jug of water, and as much hardtack as was desired (2, 123).

<sup>47</sup> More precisely: forty-five sailors, forty-eight boatsmen (Figueiredo Falcão 198); forty sailors, sixty boatsmen (Barcellos 17); thirty-three sailors, thirty-seven boatsmen (Linschoten I 11); some sixty sailors, seventy boatsmen (Pyrard 2, 118).

<sup>48</sup> Figueiredo Falcão calculated that a *nau* of 550 tons sailing to India needed a crew of 123, including 11 artillerymen with their constable (198), and from 250 to 350 soldiers (200–208). In 1538 eleven ships arrived in India with 2,000 soldiers. This gives an approximate average of 181 to a ship (Correa IV 10–11). The growing danger from Dutch and English pirates caused an increase in the number of soldiers on the voyages to India.

<sup>49</sup> When earlier authors such as Tursellinus (1, 13) and Bartoli (*Asia* 1, 21) state that there were about a thousand persons on Xavier's ship, they are giving data of a later time, as Pyrard erroneously does in his (2, 127). Some examples can illustrate this. In 1528 the three ships of the governor Nuno da Cunha had a total of 1,144 individuals for the voyage to India (Barros 4, 3, 1). There were thus an average of 381 to each ship. In 1534, at the express wish of the king, "so that all can be well accommodated" (Ford I 154–161–166), the five ships of Martim Affonso de Sousa sailed with only 500 soldiers. Of these vessels, two were of medium size, the admiral's ship, the *Rainha*, with 240 persons on board (including numerous stowaways), and the *Santo Antonio* with 248 (TdT: S. Lour. 1, 306v).

<sup>50</sup> Vol. I 706–708.

<sup>51</sup> Pyrard 2, 118, whose data are confirmed by the documents of the royal chancellery. On the personnel of a vessel for India in 1500, see the list in Correa (I 147); in 1612, Figueiredo Falcão (198); in 1621, \*Confalonieri (124). Precise details about their activities are given in Linschoten for 1583 (I 9–11); Pyrard, for 1611 (2, 118–122); and Kropff, for 1732 (*Welt-Bott*, n. 532, 47–53).

perienced in the art of sailing.<sup>52</sup> This was not, of course, the case with Martim Affonso de Sousa. As supreme commander of fleets in Brazil and India he had gained much experience. Towards the end of 1534 he had already given the king counsel on voyages to India from there, and he had added the following:

Your Highness must not be surprised that I speak so freely of the art of sailing, for I believe that you have few in Portugal who understand it better than I; and I am always trying to gain more experience so that I can serve you with it.<sup>53</sup>

The officer in charge of navigation was, however, the pilot. Upon him rested the main responsibility for the success or failure of the voyage. From his seat on the quarter-deck he gave his commands through a middleman to those below at the helm, and even the skipper had to obey him. Every day at noon he measured the height of the sun with his astrolabe; and, if the sky was cloudy or the ship near the equator, he measured the height of the stars at night with a Jacob's-staff or quadrant. With the help of his tables he could thus determine the latitude. Using his compass and maps, he fixed the course of the ship; and by measuring the strength of the wind and the currents, he estimated the number of leagues traversed each day. He was at his post day and night. When he found time for a rest, his assistant took his place.<sup>54</sup> The skipper, who was third in rank on the ship, was its factor, or administrator. He had charge of the vessel's cargo and its revenues and expenses, and he had to give an account of them. He directed the change of sails according to the commands of the pilot. From the quarter-deck he gave orders to the sailors in the stern and on the main deck.<sup>55</sup> His assistant, the chief boatsman, had charge of the sailors of the forecabin from the bow to the foremast and saw to it that the pilot's commands with respect to the sails in his part of the ship were executed.<sup>56</sup> The foreman had charge of the boatsmen on the main deck.<sup>57</sup> They kept the ship clean, manned the pumps, and performed all the meaner tasks, while the sailors executed the more important and dangerous work in the riggings of the masts and yards, especially in setting the sails. They also kept watch in the crow's-nest.<sup>58</sup> Four boys, called "pages," summoned the sailors to their work, carried messages, took care of the lanterns, fed the chickens, swept the deck and rooms, helped in the kitchen, and performed other light tasks in order to get used to life on aboard a ship at an early age.<sup>59</sup>

Among the sailors were two tackle-masters (*estrinqueiros*). They had charge of the sails and hawsers and kept them in a state of repair.<sup>60</sup> In addition to these, there were a carpenter and a caulker, each with a helper, and a cooper. The steward had to distribute the daily and monthly rations.<sup>61</sup> The policeman

<sup>52</sup> Pyrard 2, 118-118; Kropff 50.

<sup>53</sup> Ford I 255-256.

<sup>54</sup> Pyrard 2, 119-120; Kropff 50; \*Confalonieri 127v; Fontoura da Costa 396 373-399; Barcellos 58; DI III 111.

<sup>55</sup> Pyrard 2, 119; Q 1114.

<sup>56</sup> Pyrard 2, 119; Kropff 51.

<sup>57</sup> Pyrard 2, 119; \*Confalonieri 125; Gomes de Brito II 9-10. On the seamen, see Pyrard 2, 120; Linschoten I 10-11; \*Confalonieri 125; Kropff 50. According to Linschoten there were for the most part young people.

<sup>58</sup> Pyrard 2, 120; Kropff 51.

<sup>59</sup> Pyrard 2, 121 Linschoten I 11; Kropff 51; Figueiredo Falcão 198.

<sup>60</sup> Pyrard 2, 120-121; Linschoten I 10-11 \*Confalonieri 125 Kropff 50.

<sup>61</sup> Pyrard 2, 122 Linschoten I 10; Kropff 50-51.

(*meirinho*) was the guardian of the law and had to carry out the bidding of the captain if the latter ordered him to arrest a culprit and put him in irons. He also watched over the munitions and powder room and especially over the fire. He lit this in the morning in the kitchen, and had it put out in the afternoon. Unless a person was perfectly reliable, if he had some business to do, or had to take care of his needs, in the darkness under the deck, he was, with the captain's permission, accompanied there by the *meirinho* carrying a candle enclosed in a sheet-metal lantern.<sup>62</sup> The artillerymen were for the most part Flemings or Germans. Both they and their guns were under the command of the constable.<sup>63</sup> The ship's secretary was also an important individual. He had to register everything that came on board or left the ship, and he carefully recorded whatever the steward distributed in the form of food or drink. He was also a notary, drawing up all the judicial documents and official reports. He kept a register of those who died and auctioned off or sold their possessions.<sup>64</sup> On Sundays and feast days the ship's chaplain read a "dry Mass," that is, one that had no consecration and retained only the "Our Father" from the Canon. Consecration was forbidden because of the danger of spilling the Sacred Species on the swaying planks of the ship.<sup>65</sup> The chaplain heard confessions, assisted the dying, and carried out other ecclesiastical functions.<sup>66</sup> The barber took care of bleedings, and the surgeon prescribed purges and other medicines.<sup>67</sup> The majority of the people on board, however, were soldiers. A portion of these were *fidalgos*, some of whom were already enrolled on the court records and were drawing a corresponding salary. Others expected to obtain a position in the Indies and were bringing along with them servants, slaves, or pages. Still others were poor men who had enlisted for the Indies.<sup>68</sup> Only in rare instances did women obtain permission to accompany their husbands to India.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Pyrard 2, 121 Linschoten I 10.

<sup>63</sup> Pyrard 2, 122. According to \*Confalonieri they tended the large sail and the ship's lanterns (125). In 1545 the chief constable of India wrote from Goa to the king: "São muito necesarios 40 ou 50 bombardeiros alemães dos velhos e antigos" (Q 1724).

<sup>64</sup> Pyrard 2, 118-119. The clerk of the *Santiago* was Henrique Solis, who received a pardon on February 16, 1541, so that he could take this position (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III. Perdões* 8, 49). His daughter Brianda married the physician Garcia d'Orta in Goa (Silva Carvalho 32-33).

<sup>65</sup> On the "dry Mass" (*missa sicca*), see Gomes dos Santos, S.J., "A Missa a bordo das naus da Índia," *Las Ciencias* 17 (Madrid, 1955) 729-761, and J. B. Ferreres, S.J., *Historia del Misal Romano* (Barcelona, 1929) 376-378. On the India ships in the sixteenth century this was the usual practice (see DI IV 550, V 37, VI 34 540; Gomes de Brito IV 9). As a consequence Pyrard states: "On Sundays and feast days the chaplain must read a Mass, but without the consecration, since this is forbidden on the sea" (2, 118). \*Confalonieri, on the other hand, wrote in 1621: "On days of obligation Mass is read. On these occasions there is a consecration of both species or a *missa secca* according to weather conditions. Consecrating on the sea was first permitted in the time of Clement VIII" [1592-1605] (127).

<sup>66</sup> Pyrard 2, 118. The India ships usually, but not always, had a chaplain (DI II 223, III 386). If there were other priests on board, a chaplain was superfluous (*ibid.* V 537).

<sup>67</sup> Valignano 13; Silva Rego, *Viagens* 120-124. In 1500 Correa spoke of the *barbeiro sangrador* (I 147).

<sup>68</sup> The *cavalleiros* and *fidalgos* also sailed to India as "soldados" (\*Confalonieri 125). Among the two thousand soldiers that were sent to India in 1538, there were more than eight hundred *fidalgos* and *cavalleiros* (Correa IV 10).

<sup>69</sup> When Vasco da Gama sailed to India in 1524, he forbade women to sail along under the penalty of a public flogging. Whoever took his wife along should be sent back to Portugal in chains, and whoever took female slaves along should lose them



Boys, on the other hand, not infrequently made the long journey with their fathers in order to gain experience at sea from their early youth.<sup>70</sup>

## 5. SEASICKNESS

On April 7 the India fleet left Belém. The captains had held a roll call of soldiers and sailors on the main deck. The ship's notary had on this occasion checked the lists of the India House and carefully noted down those who were not registered or missing,<sup>71</sup> and the steward had distributed daily and monthly rations to each one.<sup>72</sup> The coasts of Portugal had already disappeared from view, and the five ships were sailing out into open sea, the "Valley of the Mares" (*Val de éguas*), as this part of the Atlantic between the continent and the Azores was called, since the waves here usually romped freely about like a frisky herd of young mares in a pasture. The vessels began to toss about violently,<sup>73</sup> and the results were soon evident. Seasickness took its toll of victims. Only the sea-hardened boatsmen and sailors and a few of the voyagers were spared. The majority of the latter were afflicted with a violent gagging and retching, a loss of appetite, and a general distress and feeling of exhaustion. Many already regretted that they had entrusted themselves to the treacherous sea in their search for the glittering gold of India.<sup>74</sup> Father Master Francis had also to pay his tribute to the sea. For two long months the evil did not leave him,<sup>75</sup> though others were freed from it after a few days.

A caravel usually accompanied the India fleet as far as Madeira so that it

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(Correa II 819-821). In 1537, however, the king permitted some married and unmarried women to make the voyage (Ford I 314). On January 30, 1541, he gave the same permission to some others to sail on the *Santiago* and the other ships (*ibid.* 358). Similar exceptions were also granted later (Q 1361 3514; Correa IV 666). There were almost always one or other prostitutes among the stowaways (DI I 155; *Ep. Mixtae* I 265; Silva Rego, *Viagens* 140-141); at times even the ship's officers took them along (Q 2599).

<sup>70</sup> In 1541 M. A. de Mello wrote to the king from Goa that in the fleet of Dom Garcia de Noronha of 1538 many "*meninos e moços*" had come as soldiers (Q 847). In the letters of Jesuit missionaries on voyages to India, there is frequent mention of *niños* and *meninos*, for example, in 1546, 1551, 1555, and 1560-1566 (DI I 362, II 222-223, III 274, V 326 537, VI 47 95 771), and of pages of the *fidalgos*, for example, in 1554 (DI III 110). As early as 1500 Aires Correa sailed to India with two sons, the eldest of whom was eleven years old (Castanheda I, 38; Correa I 191). In 1564 the seven-year-old son of a sailor was called a passenger (DI VI 297). In 1565 there is a reference to numerous children on board ship, among whom there were some less than five or six years of age (*ibid.* 771). In 1560 there were thirty children of twelve years or less on the *São Paulo* (Gomes de Brito III 18).

<sup>71</sup> The instruction of 1507 required a roll call to be made before sailing (Ramos-Coelho 161). According to \*Confalonieri this took place immediately after the departure from Cascaes (126v). In 1545, as soon as he had passed Madeira, Castro sent the roll back to Lisbon with the caravel that had accompanied him (Q 1519). In 1548 the roll was taken on the day after departure (DI I 383). According to Linschoten the roll of the sailors and soldiers was taken as soon as the ship left the mouth of the Tagos (I 9).

<sup>72</sup> \*Confalonieri 126v.

<sup>73</sup> Q 1519; Gomes de Brito IV 7; Seb. Gonçalves 1, 10; Bartoli, *Asia* 1, 19.

<sup>74</sup> See the accounts for 1546, 1555-1556, 1560, 1562, 1564, 1574, 1585, 1596, 1737, and 1752. For some the sickness lasted for a few days, for others a week, forty-five days, or two months. "Then even the greatest heroes became pale, and no one could help another," Valignano wrote in 1574 (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 195v). On the voyage to India in 1563, many said, already at the beginning of their seasickness, that if they had known what it was, they would not have gone to sea for all the treasures of India (DI VI 47).

<sup>75</sup> EX I 91.

could return from there with the last post to Lisbon.<sup>76</sup> Palm Sunday was celebrated on April 10, the fourth day after the departure of the fleet, when this, the main island, or its neighbor, Porto Santo, was generally sighted.<sup>77</sup> Three days later the lofty mountains of the Spanish-owned Canary Islands could be seen rising out of the blue sea. Their highest peak, Tenerife, rose to a height of 12,192 feet. Towering above the clouds it served as a landmark far and wide.<sup>78</sup> The five ships had thus far stayed together because of the French pirates who made this area unsafe for sailing.<sup>79</sup>

They then steered to the southwest. The last three days of Holy Week, and Easter, which fell on April 17, were celebrated with the same ceremonies as on land as far as the health of the priests on board permitted.<sup>80</sup> A few days later the Cape Verde Islands, lying between the fourteenth and fifteenth degrees north latitude, were reached. The boats then sailed south between them and the African mainland along the coast of Guinea, but so far out that it could not be seen.<sup>81</sup> Only the great white albatrosses with their flapping wings indicated the proximity of land,<sup>82</sup> as dolphins, accompanying the *Santiago*, brought some life to the monotonous sea.<sup>83</sup> In 1530 it had taken Martim Affonso de Sousa seven days to sail from Lisbon to the Canary Islands and fifteen to pass from there to Cape Verde because of contrary winds; in 1534, because of opposing winds it had taken him twelve days to sail the first stretch, but only eight the second.<sup>84</sup>

The decks were gradually cleared of boxes and barrels and the stowaways began to emerge, especially after Madeira, because they then had no more fear of being put back on land. Since they could not be allowed to starve to death,

<sup>76</sup> The *Caravella do recado* (Q 1545).

<sup>77</sup> It was usually reached in four days, (for example, in 1502, 1505, 1526, 1538, 1547, 1555, and 1581), but at times in three (1560), five (1737), six (1534 and 1579), seven (1583), eight (1716), nine (1564 and 1623), or ten (1574). The *Roteiros* of Gaspar Manuel, of about 1605 (40), and of Aleixo da Motto, of about 1621 (95), note that Madeira or Porto Santo should be sighted. In 1530 M.A. de Sousa sailed between Madeira and the continent without seeing the island (Lopes de Sousa I 89).

<sup>78</sup> Palma was usually sighted, and at times another of the seven islands. In 1530 Martim Affonso saw Tenerife and Gomera (Lopes de Sousa I 89-90), as did the *Flor de la Mar* in 1556 (DI III 494). With a good wind it took three days to sail from Madeira to Palma (in 1538, 1547, 1555, 1560, 1579, and 1623), at times four (1502), five (1704 and 1716), seven (1737), and exceptionally even twenty-two (1560).

<sup>79</sup> In 1536 French pirates seeking ships returning from India were lurking in 1536 near the Berlengas and Cape Vicente, and in 1543 near the Azores (Ford I 257-260; Q 1104). In 1537 four caravels had to accompany the India fleet beyond Madeira and then wait at the Azores for the returning vessels (Ford I 318 320 342). Because of the same enemies M.A. de Sousa had sailed in 1534 with strongly armed ships (Correa III 581). In 1545 Castro, despite all the difficulties, kept his fleet together before reaching the Canary Islands (DI III 386), since corsairs were sure to be waiting there (Q 1519). In 1555, 1562, and 1565 the ships did not separate until they had reached these islands (DI III 386) V 537, VI 532).

<sup>80</sup> On the usual Easter ceremonies aboard ship, see Silva Rego, *Viagens* 115-118.

<sup>81</sup> Boats sailed at a distance of from sixty to eighty miles from the African coast, as the *Roteiro* of Vic. Rodrigues indicates, who sailed repeatedly to India from 1568 on (16-18). M.A. de Sousa sighted the eastern Ilha do Sal and then sailed straight through the archipelago (*Roteiro a Goa* 113), as did later voyagers, for example, in 1555 (DI III 387).

<sup>82</sup> See the *Roteiros* of Vic. Rodrigues (17), Motta (97-98), and Laimbeckhoven 72-73.

<sup>83</sup> For 1545 see Hümmerich, *Die erste Handelsfahrt* 30-31.

<sup>84</sup> Lopes de Sousa I 87-93 and the letter of M.A. de Sousa of 1534 (Q 165; TdT: S. Lour. 1, 305-398v).

they received a daily ration like the other voyagers, but not the privileges of the sailors and soldiers.<sup>85</sup>

## 6. THE PASSENGERS

In the meantime Xavier, despite his indisposition, had struck up an acquaintance with the ship's officers and the other voyagers. Among these were João Gonçalves, the skipper;<sup>86</sup> the pilot and his assistants; the boatman's mate; the head sailor; the foreman; the policeman; the steward; the constable; the notary; the ship's physician, Mestre Cosme Saraiva,<sup>87</sup> and the governor's chaplain, the Frenchman Gabriel Fermoso,<sup>88</sup> who had been the rector of the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz in Goa.<sup>89</sup> He had returned to Portugal in 1540<sup>90</sup> and had much to tell about the condition of the Church in India. Martim Affonso de Sousa, who was attention itself to Master Francis and his companions, had left his wife and children behind in Lisbon, as he had already done before during his earlier voyages to Brazil and the Indies. This time he had, however, brought with him one of his sons, Lopo Rodrigues, who was still a boy.<sup>91</sup> Also accompanying him was one of his servants, the *cavalleiro fidalgo*, Jerónimo Gomes, his great confidant;<sup>92</sup> the licentiate and newly appointed secretary for

<sup>85</sup> See the accounts of 1545, "after we had passed Madeira" (Q 1519), 1561, and 1564 (DI V 325, VI 292-293). In 1534 M. A. de Sousa wrote that he had not learned of most of the supernumeraries until after sailing (TdT: S. Lour. 1, 306v).

<sup>86</sup> Q 1114.

<sup>87</sup> Dr. Saraiva stated in 1556 that he had sailed on the same ship with Xavier from Portugal (MX II 187). On February 28, 1541, the count of Castanheira ordered the official of the India House to enroll him on the list of the travelers to India with a yearly income of thirty *milreis* along with the surgeon Mestre Ambrosio and the apothecary João Teixeira, both with an income of twelve *milreis* (TdT: CC 2-234-89). We encounter him in Goa in 1543, in Malacca in 1547, again in Goa in 1554, and as the physician of the viceroy in 1556 (MX II 187-190 911).

<sup>88</sup> In 1541 Gabriel Fermoso, a French priest sailed with Martim Affonso to India, where he had already been, as his chaplain (Correa IV 227). In 1543 the bishop of Goa, at the request of the governor, appointed him pastor of the newly erected parish of Nossa Senhora da Luz. In 1546 he sailed back to Portugal with Martim Affonso, where he obtained the title of a royal chaplain and papal prothonotary. In 1548 he returned again to Goa (SR IV 138-139). In 1549 Xavier sent him greetings from Japan (EX II 218-219).

<sup>89</sup> In September 1539 he was a witness in Goa as chaplain of the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz (SR II 287).

<sup>90</sup> This follows from Correa IV 227 and SR II 287.

<sup>91</sup> Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XII 2, 1107. Martim Affonso married in 1523. Lopo Rodrigues was his second son, and was thus at most sixteen years old in 1541. He sailed as a *moço fidalgo* with a monthly income of 1,000 *reis* (*\*Memoria das pessoas* 74); the *Emmentia* wrongly call him Lopo Pires de Sousa (373).

<sup>92</sup> Jeronimo Gomes, the servant of M. A. de Sousa, was "muyto de sua privança" (Correa IV 227). In 1540 he was a witness when Martim Affonso, in the house of the marquês of Villa Real, D. Pedro de Meneses, in Lisbon, with the approval of the king, purchased from the marquês and his wife for the sum of 1,472 *milreis*, paid in gold *cruzados* and silver *tostões* and *vintens*, a perpetual income of 92 *milreis* for himself and his descendants (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 40, 243-244v). Towards the end of 1542, after the monsoon, Sousa sent him with the money for the cargo of pepper to Cochín (Correa IV 253 262-263). In 1543 he sent him to China by way of Sunda with a junk full of pepper and extensive powers as captain major. His prospects for a profitable venture were so great that he exuberantly said that fate could never again take away his 100,000 *cruzados*. But he could not unload his wares. He had to pass the winter in China and returned to India from Malacca "without a shirt," as Correa wrote in his chronicle (*ibid.* 307; cf. Q 1759).

India, Antonio Cardoso; his former companion and comrade in arms in India, Miguel d'Ayala; and the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa.

Cardoso<sup>93</sup> came from Armamar in the province of Beira Alta, a town noted for its wines.<sup>94</sup> He was the eldest of six children. His father was Diogo Rodrigues Cardoso and his mother Grimaneza de Magalhães. He had dedicated himself to the study of law and confessed that he understood more of Justinian and his commentators than he did of the art of sailing.<sup>95</sup> In 1525 he had been a royal judge (*juz de fora*) in Castello de Vide;<sup>96</sup> and as mayor (*corregedor*) of Evora, he had married a resident there, Filipa Mendes de Vasconcellos, who bore him two sons and two daughters.<sup>97</sup> His appointment as secretary to the new governor of India<sup>98</sup> had entailed no small sacrifices for him, since he had to leave his parents and family behind.<sup>99</sup> The king had sweetened his burden, however, with a series of favors. Besides his yearly income of two hundred *milreis*, of which a hundred were paid in advance, he could send back to Portugal each year during his three years of office forty hundredweights of pepper.<sup>100</sup> And after his return he would become a counselor in the Supreme Court of Appeals (*desembargador de Casa de Supplicação*) in Lisbon.<sup>101</sup>

Martim Affonso's valet, Ayala,<sup>102</sup> had sailed to India with him in 1534 and had received that same year the right to the position of notary in the outpost of Cannanore.<sup>103</sup> In 1537 he had secured the title to a similar position in Mozambique,<sup>104</sup> and before his departure in February, 1541, that of treasurer of the depot and stores at Cochin.<sup>105</sup> In January, 1538, as the captain of a *catur*,<sup>106</sup> he had taken part in the famous battle of Vēdālai on the Fishery Coast, through which Martim Affonso had forever freed the Christian converts among the Parava pearl fishers from the tyranny of the Moors.<sup>107</sup> After the battle, Sousa had sent him on ahead to announce the news of the victory to the captain of Cochin and the governor and to hand over to the king of Cochin the ceremonial umbrella which the defeated Moorish captains had been ordered to present as a gift of their lord, the Zamorin,<sup>108</sup> to his ally, the Singhalese prince Māyāduṇṇē.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Antonio Cardoso was secretary of state under Martim Affonso and his successor, D. João de Castro. He was a close friend of Xavier, who recommended him to the king in glowing terms (EX I 414). He returned to Lisbon at the beginning of 1548, where John III appointed him to the Supreme Court of Appeals (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 55, 89). In 1556 he also named him *ouvidor* (*ibid.* 54, 147). He died in 1569 (*ibid.* 57, 163v). On his family see \*Andrade Leitão V 103-104.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Q 2723, where 1548 (instead of 1547) should be the date.

<sup>95</sup> Q 1950.

<sup>96</sup> TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 8, 90.

<sup>97</sup> \*Andrade Leitão V 103-104.

<sup>98</sup> On January 28, 1541 (see Vol. I 705).

<sup>99</sup> His father died in 1543 (Q 1119).

<sup>100</sup> "At his own risk and *ao partido do meyo*" (Q 679; see also 680).

<sup>101</sup> Q 756; cf. 4009.

<sup>102</sup> Miguel de Ayala came to Goa from Ormuz in the spring of 1543 with 30,000 *xerafins* for the governor, who had sent him there for them during the voyage to India (Correa IV 275). He is last mentioned in September, 1543, when he was sailing with Martim Affonso as the captain of a small ship on the Expedition to the Pagoda (*ibid.* 307).

<sup>103</sup> TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 7, 12.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* 24, 34.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* 31, 24v.

<sup>106</sup> A narrow, swift Indian vessel with a sail and fifteen or sixteen banks of oars.

<sup>107</sup> We shall discuss the victory later in greater detail.

<sup>108</sup> The Zamorin (*sāmūri*) was the Hindu ruler of Calicut. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, he was the most powerful king in Malabar. Influenced by his

of Ceylon, but which had been captured by the Portuguese. They also returned a small boy by the name of Marcos, whom they had freed at Vēdālai, to his widowed mother in Cochin. On his way to the governor, Ayala and his fifteen soldiers were attacked off the heights of Chale by a galiot containing more than two hundred Malabar Moors. A murderous battle against overwhelming odds continued throughout the whole day. Finally, after both ships had been filled with dead and wounded, a saving wind drove the *catur* with its five surviving Portuguese, among whom was the sorely wounded Ayala, to the Portuguese fortress of Cannanore.<sup>110</sup>

The licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa<sup>111</sup> was sailing for the first time to India. He was still single, as excellent a Christian as he was a jurist: and, "because of his virtue and learning," the king had appointed him judge of Cochin.

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Moorish merchants, he became immediately hostile to the newcomers. On him see Delgado II 278-279; Yule 977-978; and Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut* (Calicut, 1938).

<sup>109</sup> On Māyāduṇṇē, king of Sītāvaka, see Schurhammer, *Ceylon*, index, pp. 698-699.

<sup>110</sup> Couto, who is our authority, adds: "And in this year [15]96, when we are writing, the man [the boy Marcos] still lives. He is called Marcos Rodrigues and is married to a noble woman of the Miranda family in Bassein. From her he has daughters, who are now married to very prominent and affluent *fidalgos*" (5, 2, 4).

<sup>111</sup> On him see Q 763 1220 1322 1545 1547 1734 1982 2108 2263 2506 3390 3468 3630 4366; EX I 414-415; SR II 329 332, III 274 433 516, V 293; DI I 129 776; Freire de Andrade 470-472; Botelho, *Cartas* 12; *Registo*, nn. 350 443 1000 1211 1212; APO V 222 953-955; Couto 6, 10, 18; 8, 36. In 1543 Mig. Vaz wrote that he had sailed with M. A. de Sousa to India (SR II 329). See his praise of him (*ibid.*), and that of Xavier (EX I 414-415), and Couto (8, 36, p. 345). About 1545 he married in Goa the sister of the Castilian Juan de Aguilar, who was married there (Q 2108: TdT Col. S. Lour. 3, 137). His son João Caiado de Gamboa received two Maluco voyages in 1584 for having served his father as procurator of the royal suits for fifteen years, and as captain and captain major in India for forty (*Registo*, n. 1000). His father sailed three times to India, in 1541, 1550, and 1568 (APO V222-223 953). In *Registo*, n. 443 (Q 458), the copyist made an error, writing 1540 instead of 1550. SR V 287 gives the date as 1552 instead of 1559 (cf. DI IV 488).

## CHAPTER II

### IN THE CALDRON OF GUINEA (APRIL—JUNE, 1541)<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. FORTY DAYS' BECALMED

South of the Cape Verde Islands, seven to eight degrees north of the equator,<sup>2</sup> began the dreaded doldrums,<sup>3</sup> a sea of no winds, where ships could stay at times for thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, and even more days without making any progress.<sup>4</sup> The sails hung loose. The *Santiago* lay motionless as if fast bound in the oppressive, tropical heat under leaden skies hung with black clouds, and no refreshing breeze blew over the sleek, watery waste.<sup>5</sup> A sudden gust of wind would then almost cause the ship to capsize, and the sailors would hardly have time to take in the sails. Sheet lightning would flash all around; and, in the midst of thunder and streaks of lightning, a storm would burst over the ship, soaking everyone to the skin.<sup>6</sup> Half an hour later everything would be as dead still as before, and the sails would be hoisted anew to catch any breeze that might come along.<sup>7</sup> Often this maneuver had to be repeated ten or twelve times a day.<sup>8</sup> Officers and crew slept in their clothes,<sup>9</sup> and day and night sailors stood ready with ropes in their hands<sup>10</sup> to prevent an unexpected blast from ripping the sails into tatters and cracking the masts and yards. But in spite of all this, no progress was made, for the gusts came from the north, south, east, and west, and lasted for only a brief period of time. If the crew

<sup>1</sup> See also the descriptions in Pyrard (1, 7-8); Bartoli, *Asia* (1, 19); Valignano (11-20); \*Confalonieri (127v-128v); M. Alvares, in 1560 (DI IV 615-629); Spinola, in 1578 (ARSI: Goa 31, 383-384); Brou, *Voyages* 186-190; Plattner (42-51); Silva Rego, *Viagens* (118-126).

<sup>2</sup> Pyrard 1, 7; Gomes de Brito III 11 18; DI III 494, IV 615; Beccari XII 128; Q 1349. Castro encountered the doldrums at 9° N in 1538 (*Roteiro a Goa* 116); Cunha, at 4° or 5° N in 1562 (DI V 574). The course was kept far away from the coast of Guinea (Pyrard 1, 13). The *Roteiro* of Vic. Rodrigues advises keeping sixty to seventy leagues away from it (17), that of Gaspar Manuel ninety-five (41).

<sup>3</sup> This section was considered to be the most difficult on the whole voyage to India (SR X 264). From personal experience Valignano wrote: "No se puede declarar lo que se padece" (13); and Fernão da Cunha observed: "All this is easier to describe than to endure; and if one has to fear the voyage to India on any score, it would be because of this heat, which is unbearable" (DI V 574).

<sup>4</sup> Valignano 12; SR X 264. Forty days of calm was unusually long, though João de Miguel wrote in 1546 that ships sailing to India were accustomed to spend two months, and at times even more, off the coast of Guinea, and that there was much suffering because of the great heat (*Ep. Mixtae* I 265).

<sup>5</sup> DI VI 532.

<sup>6</sup> A description of such a typhoon is given by R.M. de Castilho, *Descrição e Roteiro da Costa Occidental de Africa* 1 (Lisboa, 1866) 12-13.

<sup>7</sup> DI III 388.

<sup>8</sup> Linschoten I 12; cf. DI III 110.

<sup>9</sup> \*Confalonieri 124v.

<sup>10</sup> According to \*Spinola 383. Reports of voyages, for example, in 1538, 1555, 1578, 1581, and 1583, mention these gusts of wind.

sought to get farther away from the land during the course of the day, the current carried them back towards the east during the night.<sup>11</sup>

The heat was unbearable. Day and night the men were bathed in sweat.<sup>12</sup> The hold of the *Santiago* became a steaming oven;<sup>13</sup> and the air was stifling in the low, narrow cabins, in which one could hardly stretch out.<sup>14</sup> With good reason Sacrobosco had maintained in his *Treatise on the Sphere* that the region about the equator was uninhabitable because of its great heat.<sup>15</sup> All the men except the priests shed their outer clothing and worked in shirts and pants.<sup>16</sup> The sun stood at its zenith and burned through the leaden clouds. Cracks began to appear in the ship above the waterline<sup>17</sup> and it had to be constantly splashed with water inside and out.<sup>18</sup> Butter melted and became as fluid as oil; tallow candles dropped; pitch and tar began to run;<sup>19</sup> and iron became rusty.<sup>20</sup> The tropical showers brought no relief. The rainwater was lukewarm and toxic. If it was left standing for an hour before drinking, it swarmed with worms;<sup>21</sup> if rain fell upon the hanging meat, it also began to crawl with life;<sup>22</sup> if it fell upon clothes, they too became wormy<sup>23</sup> and musty and began to rot if they were not immediately washed in sea water; if it fell upon one's skin, it caused heat blisters and painful infections.<sup>24</sup>

Food also became spoiled.<sup>25</sup> Drinking water turned yellow<sup>26</sup> and stank.<sup>27</sup> It was so nauseating that one who drank it had to hold his nose and close his eyes or hold a cloth in front of his mouth, and yet it was still drunk in order to stifle the dreadful thirst that tormented all.<sup>28</sup> The black, hard biscuits also spoiled<sup>29</sup> and were at times full of worms and bitter as gall.<sup>30</sup> Other provisions also lost their strength.<sup>31</sup> Wine became warm and dark and tasted like vinegar.<sup>32</sup> Meat, heavily salted as it was, smoked fish,<sup>33</sup> jam, raisins, and fruit were all subject to rot.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>11</sup> In 1537 a ship changed directions more than twenty-five times in the doldrums (B. Fernandes 140). On the wind and current see Castanheda 7, 10, and Beccari XII 128.

<sup>12</sup> Valignano 12-13. In 1554 Soveral wrote: "The heat was so great that no one knew what to do. One perspired day and night *"e tudo era beber"* (DI III 110). G. da Silveira noted that no one had ever seen a dying man perspire as much as one perspired off the coast of Guinea (*ibid.* 623).

<sup>13</sup> Pyrard 1, 7; DI II 409, VI 774. In 1556 Francisco Rodrigues wrote: "experience alone teaches the heat of Guinea" (*ibid.* III 494).

<sup>14</sup> Valignano 12; DI VI 35.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Pacheco Pereira 152.

<sup>16</sup> DI VI 35.

<sup>17</sup> Pyrard 1, 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Welt-Bott*, n. 701.

<sup>19</sup> Pyrard 1, 7; DI VI 35; *Welt-Bott*, n. 701.

<sup>20</sup> \*Spinola 383v.

<sup>21</sup> DI VI 380; Stephens 707.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Pyrard 1, 7; Trigault 29; \*Spinola 383v.

<sup>24</sup> Pyrard 1, 7; cf. DI VI 49.

<sup>25</sup> DI VI 35.

<sup>26</sup> Laimbeckhoven 66.

<sup>27</sup> Valignano 13; DI VI 48. "It stank like a dead dog," was the drastic description of Thomé Lopes in 1502 (Ramusio 155v). At times it was full of fat worms (Pyrard 1, 7; KM 19 [1891] 206).

<sup>28</sup> Valignano 13; Linschoten I 12; Bartoli, *Asia* 1, 19; Trigault 27.

<sup>29</sup> DI IV 618.

<sup>30</sup> Ramusio 155v; DI III 439; \*Confalonieri 128.

<sup>31</sup> \*Spinola 383v; \*Confalonieri 128.

<sup>32</sup> DI III 439, V 574; \*Confalonieri 128.

<sup>33</sup> Pyrard 1, 7.

<sup>34</sup> DI VI 35.



2. SCURVY AND FEVER<sup>35</sup>

Rations of water were distributed only once a day. Some spilled what they received; others had theirs stolen; still others had no vessels in which to keep the precious fluid and drank it all at once. They then had to suffer the torments of thirst for the rest of the day.<sup>36</sup> An indescribable confusion reigned in the ship's kitchen. Negro slaves and servants of the *fidalgos*, sailors and soldiers, all fought for priority in the overheated room, which the damp firewood filled with a cloud of biting smoke.<sup>37</sup> The strongly salted food enhanced the voyagers' thirst. Fleas, lice, and other insects and rats disturbed their sleep at night.<sup>38</sup> In their round of duties, sailors and boatsmen would step on those sleeping on the deck.<sup>39</sup> During the day, if the sun came out from behind the clouds, it would beat down mercilessly upon the travelers, and the rains would drench them.<sup>40</sup> The *fidalgos* and the ship's personnel were better off than the others, since they usually had their own provisions of wine, water, and food in addition to their daily rations. Moreover, if they lost their appetite from the heat or became weak, they could find relief in spices, jam, and chicken soup.<sup>41</sup> On fast days the poor had nothing but sour wine and spoiled hard-tack.<sup>42</sup> Many, with their clothes in tatters,<sup>43</sup> now bitterly regretted the casual manner in which they had set out on their voyage. Many had boarded the ship with only a container for their daily ration of water, as if they were going on a half-day excursion to the other side of the Tagus,<sup>44</sup> or with a single shirt, two loaves of bread, a cheese, and a box of marmalade, since the king would see that they were fed.<sup>45</sup>

It was not long before the consequences of those privations made their appearance. Contagious fevers with violent headaches and deliria set in.<sup>46</sup> Scurvy broke out,<sup>47</sup> the result of the salty, monotonous diet. Its onslaught was indicated by a great weakness, weariness, and listlessness. A victim's legs became heavy as lead and swelled up into a shapeless mass two or three times their normal size.<sup>48</sup> Swellings also appeared elsewhere and became as hard as wood, especially in the joints and limbs, and in the cheeks and throat. A person's face lost its color and became pale and spotty.<sup>49</sup> His lips became blue, his eyes sank in and were surrounded by dark blue rings. His gums became blue and swollen and started to bleed, and often as much as a pound had to be cut away from them.<sup>50</sup> Some even lost their cheeks and thus became fear-

<sup>35</sup> For the following section, cf. Silva Rego, *Viagens* 119-126.

<sup>36</sup> Valignano 13.

<sup>37</sup> DI I 384, III 207 441 493, IV 618; SR X 223.

<sup>38</sup> Ramusio 155v; \*Spinola 383v; *Diarios* 43 49; *Welt-Bott*, nn. 508, 111-112; Brou, *Voyages* 190.

<sup>39</sup> DI III 439, IV 618.

<sup>40</sup> Valignano 12; Gomes de Brito III 13; Pyrard 2, 120; DI III 439.

<sup>41</sup> \*Confalonieri 128v.

<sup>42</sup> DI III 439-440.

<sup>43</sup> Valignano 12; DI III 439, VI 54.

<sup>44</sup> DI VI 772.

<sup>45</sup> Valignano 16.

<sup>46</sup> Gomes de Brito III 12-13; DI VI 49 775; \*Confalonieri 128; Plattner 47.

<sup>47</sup> Detailed descriptions of scurvy are given by Pyrard 3, 36-38; Bartoli, *Asia* 1, 19;

\*Confalonieri 128-v; DI VI 777; Silva Rego, *Viagens* 120.

<sup>48</sup> DI VI 777 "The limbs became like those of elephants" (Seb. Gonçalves 1, 10).

<sup>49</sup> Pyrard 3, 37.

<sup>50</sup> \*Confalonieri 128v.

fully deformed<sup>51</sup> Teeth became loose or fell out, and those who were thus afflicted could hardly speak and could only take scarce, liquid foods. Their breath became foul, and its stench spread throughout the ship. The gravely ill became unconscious. Their wounds refused to heal and began to rot. Their limbs and joints finally became covered with small spots.<sup>52</sup> These were at first dark brown, then blue, green, and yellow. They swelled up, became infected, and pus oozed out from them. The bodies of the sick became dark blue and as black as that of a Negro,<sup>53</sup> and poisons from the infections gradually spread to their heart. When death finally freed a poor wretch from his sufferings,<sup>54</sup> his body was sewed up in a piece of sailcloth;<sup>55</sup> the skipper gave a signal<sup>56</sup> with his pipe; the chaplain recited a prayer; and the corpse, weighted down with a stone, was thrown overboard into the sea,<sup>57</sup> where greedy sharks were waiting for it.<sup>58</sup> As a rule there were only three means for those who survived to regain their health—bleedings, enemas,<sup>59</sup> and trust in God.

### 3. THE SAINTLY PRIEST<sup>60</sup>

The *Santiago* was soon like a floating hospital. Deck and steerage<sup>61</sup> were filled with the sick and dying, who groaned and moaned<sup>62</sup> and cursed the day

<sup>51</sup> DI VI 777.

<sup>52</sup> Pyrard 3, 37.

<sup>53</sup> Plattner 47.

<sup>54</sup> Bartoli, *Asia* 1, 19.

<sup>55</sup> So \*Porcari 91; Laimbeckhoven 74.

<sup>56</sup> Pyrard 2, 129.

<sup>57</sup> When the sailing was good, bodies were thrown unweighted overboard; during a calm a stone was attached to them so that they would sink at once (\*Porcari 91). They were accompanied by a triple shout of *Boa Viagem!* (ARSI: *Goa* 35, 211).

<sup>58</sup> "Food for the sharks" (Laimbeckhoven 74), "which, during a calm or time of little wind, do not as a rule leave the ship" (Gomes de Brito VI 11). See also the accounts for 1548 (DI I 361) 1578 1579 1621 and 1704.

<sup>59</sup> These were the usual, and most frequently, the only remedies (DI III 397; *Welt-Bott*, n. 116, 178). There were 1,130 bleedings from the five hundred people sailing on the *São Paulo* from Lisbon to Bahia; on many days there were from seventy to eighty (Gomes de Brito III 16). "An enema is the best medicine on board ship," according to \*Porcari (91). "The only remedy is bleeding," according to the missionaries of 1565 (DI VI 533 777). In 1737 bleeding was the only remedy for a burning fever (Laimbeckhoven 80; cf. Plattner 47-48; *Diarios* 29-30 36-37). At each bleeding 1 1/2 *quartilhos* of blood, or almost two pints, were taken (*Diarios* 30), and many were bled twenty times (*ibid.* 37).

<sup>60</sup> For Xavier's labors on board the *Santiago*, we have the testimony given by Dr. Saraiva at the process for his canonization, which is cited below, and the evidence given at the now lost processes. In the first process of \*Lisbon, in 1614, the sixth witness, the forty-seven-year-old Rodrigo Vaz Pinto, declared that he had heard and read that Xavier had given a holy example on his voyage to India: He had washed the dishes (*patenas*), visited the sick, and cared for the needy on the ship (81v). The twenty-second witness, the seventy-four-old knight-commander Pedro de Mendonça Furtado, declared that he had heard that Xavier, on his trip to India, "sanctum se prae-buisse, quod apparuit in charitate, quam habuit erga infirmos, et in reconciliatione et pace, quam faciebat inter rixantes. Insuper audivisse noluisse dictum Patrem deferri sibi proprium victum, sed quotidie eum petere instar viatoris cuiusquam. Insuper audivisse dictum Patrem noluisse, ut ab alio quam a se eius victus ministraretur et ad ignem coqueretur et simul infirmorum victum facere" (*ibid.* 152v-153). In the process conducted in Goa in 1615, the eleventh witness, the sixty-one-year-old João Lopes Rebello, stated that he had heard from his father, who had sailed in the same ship with Xavier to India, that he had seen him "infirmos medicare eorumque subuculas lavare

on which they had gone to sea.<sup>63</sup> Many, exhausted by their illness or numerous bleedings,<sup>64</sup> no longer had the strength to get up and use the cask located in the steerage for their physical needs, or had no vessel of their own. They thus lay helpless in their own filth,<sup>65</sup> their clothes torn to rags; and they could no longer go to the kitchen to prepare their food.

Here "Padre Mestre Francisco," as Xavier was now called, and his companions intervened, even though he was himself still suffering from seasickness. He had not made his novitiate experiment in the hospital of the incurables in Venice in vain: he had learned how to overcome his repugnance.<sup>66</sup> From morning till evening he visited the sick. He went down into the dimly lit steerage, where the stench poisoned the air; and his head was as heavy as lead when he came out again into the fresh air.<sup>67</sup> He emptied and cleaned their containers,<sup>68</sup> washed their sweaty, dirty, pus-covered bodies, and their clothes and dishes at the side of the boat.<sup>69</sup> He bound up their wounds, pared their nails,<sup>70</sup> checked the bandages around the arteries where they had been bled, gave them enemas,<sup>71</sup> and with great affection tended their every need without fear of contagion, as if he were the least boatsman<sup>72</sup> or slave.

Martim Affonso had given orders that Master Francis should eat with the officers at his table,<sup>73</sup> but the latter preferred to live on alms as a poor man of Christ. He begged for his daily food and for whatever he needed<sup>74</sup> for the sick and poor from the captain and the *fidalgos*. From one he obtained a hen,<sup>75</sup>

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in mensa guarntionis," and that when the governor gave him a room, as was due to a person of his rank, he had changed it into an infirmary and received and nursed the sick in it (\**Summarium* 806v 920; cf. \**Relatio* 33v 38v). A further account of Xavier's voyage as far as Mozambique is given by Teixeira, who made the same trip in 1551 (837-838). See also Valignano 16-20; Tursellinus 1, 13-14; Lucena 1, 11, who adds that on this voyage P. M. Franciscus had received the title of "Padre santo," which he continued to be given in India. Teixeira and Valignano note that Xavier gave an example on this voyage to his confreres that they later strove to imitate on their own.

<sup>61</sup> "On the deck" (DI I 310; KM 47 [1918] 78), "on the middle deck" (DI VI 774), "on the deck and under the hatch" (*ibid.* 383).

<sup>62</sup> DI IV 622; Brou, *Voyages* 189.

<sup>63</sup> Brou, *Voyages* 189.

<sup>64</sup> "I was bled nine or ten times, during the course of which I lost 110 ounces of blood. I was consequently so weak that I could hardly stir in bed," wrote Alcaraz in 1566 (DI VI 775). "I was myself bled ten times, each time losing from one to two pounds, so that in the end I was completely exhausted," was the experience of \**Porcari* (91).

<sup>65</sup> Brou, *Voyages* 189; DI II 409; cf. Pyrard 2, 124.

<sup>66</sup> Vol. I 308.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. the accounts of Heredia, who sailed to India with Teixeira in 1551, and of \**Porcari* 91. The *Diarios* speak of a stench to the point of causing one to faint (44). Laimbeckhoven wrote in 1737 that the priests attended the evil-smelling and fever-stricken bodies of those suffering with scurvy (69).

<sup>68</sup> Teixeira wrote that Xavier, at the very beginning of the voyage, began to assist all "hasta por su propia mano echarles las medycinas y labar los servicios" (837-838). His confreres did the same in 1548 and 1555 (DI I 385, III 398).

<sup>69</sup> Valignano 17, and n. 60, see also Vol. I 708.

<sup>70</sup> Jacome de Braga did this on his voyage (DI VI 54).

<sup>71</sup> The reports of the Jesuits repeatedly refer to the assistance given on the voyage to India, for example, in 1546, 1551, 1555, 1556, 1562, and 1564; "in the cabin of the priests" (*ibid.* 307); "all about the ship" (\**Porcari* 91).

<sup>72</sup> Valignano 18.

<sup>73</sup> EX I 80, and n. 60.

<sup>74</sup> Teixeira 838; MX II 187-188.

<sup>75</sup> See the accounts for 1555 (DI III 398) and 1561 (*ibid.* V 220), and also those for

from another a shirt,<sup>76</sup> from a third a box of marmalade,<sup>77</sup> meat, fish, white biscuits, preserves, flour, sugar, dried prunes, quince, jelly, honey, raisins, lentils, chickpeas, almonds, wine, and so forth.<sup>78</sup> He then went to the kitchen to cook the food for himself and his charges<sup>79</sup> in the midst of a crowd of quarrelsome passengers, sailors, soldiers, servants, and slaves. The heat caused him to perspire freely; the thick, dense smoke made his eyes water and his head ache; and he became dizzy.<sup>80</sup> He needed little for himself. He drank no wine, for he used to say that it made a man speak freely and thus easily betray secrets which should be kept to oneself, and that it stirred one up and filled the imagination with unclean thoughts.<sup>81</sup> But for the sick he prepared chicken, lentil, and flour soups,<sup>82</sup> and porridge,<sup>83</sup> and whatever else Dr. Saraiva prescribed for them.<sup>84</sup>

1551, 1562, 1563, and 1565. At times a hen was sold to them for eight or nine *escudos* (\*Spinola 383v).

<sup>76</sup> "We clothed them in white shirts," according to \*Porcari (91). "We procured clothes for those who had none," Jacome de Braga observed in 1563 (DI VI 54).

<sup>77</sup> In 1551 the brother on the ship begged for the sick. He was given boxes of marmalade, chickens, and all that was needed (DI II 200; cf. *ibid.* 409, and VI 53 307).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Silva Rego, *Viagens* 120-124. In 1551 the captain of the *Espadarte*, which did not have the usual pharmacy, had the priest given what was needed for the sick from the ship's stores: lentils, nuts, plums, powdered sugar (DI II 224). In 1555 the captain major sent the priests mutton, chickens, preserves, plums, and raisins for this same purpose (*ibid.* III 398). The priests on board the *Assumpção* had a chest containing quince jelly, preserves, chick-peas, lentils, plums, raisins, almonds, sugar, honey, flour, and biscuits. The ship also carried some of these items for the sick (*ibid.* 440). In 1563 the captain of the *São Felipe* gave the priests water, boxes of marmalade, white biscuits, and brown sugar for their charges, and also a hen each day. Moreover, there were many nuts, lentils, dried prunes, flour, honey, and almonds in the ship's pharmacy. In addition to this, the priests received numerous alms for the poor and many boxes of marmalade, containers of preserves, brown sugar, hens, white biscuits, raisins, and money (DI VI 307). In 1564 the viceroy on the *Santo Antonio* ordered that the priests should be given all that they asked for the sick: chicken, mutton, raisins, almonds, sweets, and white biscuits (*ibid.* 293-294). Some offered them hens, others gave them white bread, and others raisins (*ibid.* 307). In 1565 the priests on the *Esperança* were given abundant alms for the same purpose. One gave a hen, another biscuits, a third sugar, a fourth quince jelly, and a fifth brown sugar (*ibid.* 538).

<sup>79</sup> Gaspar Barzaeus gives us a view of the kitchen in the ship on which he sailed to India in 1548: "We had no one to prepare our food in the ship's kitchen. I therefore had to take this cross upon my own shoulders. I immediately set about preparing our food in the kitchen. But no one showed the least respect there for my priesthood, and it was a great achievement if I came away from there without getting a box on the ear from the sailors or made it back through the thick smoke. Some days I performed my office so poorly that my confreres could not even taste the food. One time my pot was stolen, another time it was broken, and at another it was overturned. I did not have a chance against them. When Henrique de Macedo, a very prominent *cavalleiro* saw what was happening, he had compassion on us and sent a slave to prepare our meals" (DI I 383-384).

<sup>80</sup> Marcos Nunes wrote this of himself in 1556 (DI III 441); see also *ibid.* 207 493, IV 618; SR X 223.

<sup>81</sup> Valignano 19.

<sup>82</sup> This is what the priests did, for example, in 1551 (DI II 224), 1562, and 1564 (DI V 540, VI 307).

<sup>83</sup> In 1551 they were given "soup made of flour with honey" (DI II 224).

<sup>84</sup> In 1564 the ship of the viceroy had a medical officer, a surgeon, a pharmacist, and a barber, who visited the sick each day with one or two of the Jesuits and gave the necessary advice. The viceroy ordered his *vedor* and steward to give the priests all that they wanted for the sick (SR X 320). In 1561 the priest and medical officer drew up a list of the sick with indications of the type of food that they needed (DI V 219-220). The barber was accustomed to do the bleeding (*ibid.* VI 54; Correa I 147); but if he was not able to do all the work by himself, others helped him with it. For

He changed the room which the governor had given him on the quarter-deck<sup>85</sup> into a hospital. There he received the sick and treated them with the greatest kindness. He gave them medicines;<sup>86</sup> syrup; sweet rose, barley, and almond waters;<sup>87</sup> and anything else he could get from the ship's pharmacy<sup>88</sup> or the *fidalgos*. But above all he provided them with water, for they were tormented with thirst.<sup>89</sup> No beggar knocked at his door in vain;<sup>90</sup> and even if he was summoned by a man with a lantern in the middle of the night to go to one who was dying, he was always ready.<sup>91</sup> For, while Misser Paulo<sup>92</sup> and Mansilhas paid particular attention to the bodies of the sick, Francis cared also for their souls. In his bright, always cheerful manner, he comforted the sad and depressed, won their confidence, and persuaded them to go to confession; and he prepared the dying for their last hour.<sup>93</sup>

In his care for the sick, however, Francis did not forget those who were well. Although he continued to be seasick, he preached on Sundays and feast days,<sup>94</sup> when the ship's chaplain read a "dry Mass."<sup>95</sup> Every evening he gave instructions in the faith on the main deck to the children, cabin boys, slaves,

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example, on the *São Paulo* in 1560, the barber was helped by the pilot, the second mate, and a sailor (Gomes de Brito III 16).

<sup>85</sup> Bartoli states that Xavier converted the room which he had received from the governor for the second part of the voyage into a place for the sick (*Asia* 1, 21). He naturally also had a room for the first part of the voyage, and this was probably in the usual place, that is, towards the rear of the ship near the veranda.

<sup>86</sup> See above, n. 60. His confreres followed his example. In 1555 the priests always had sick individuals in their "alcove near the helm" on their voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to India. They themselves slept at times on the veranda, and at other times on the deck (DII III 398). They did the same in 1565 (*ibid.* VI 773).

<sup>87</sup> The following are mentioned: syrup, barley water, almond water (DI III 481, VI 307; Q 3514), and in particular sweet rose water (DI VI 53 538, III 481, IV 624; \*Porcari 91; *Diarios* 47).

<sup>88</sup> Ships usually had a pharmacy (Valignano 13; DI II 224, VI 53).

<sup>89</sup> Valignano 13 15; cf. DI I 155, III 439, VI 53-54.

<sup>90</sup> Marcos Nunes describes how on the voyage of 1555 no hour passed without five or six, and at times twenty, coming to the door of their room to ask favors from the priests. "We gave them all water and whatever else we could: medicines for the sick, food for the sick and the sound, fish, meat, and bread for those in most need" (DI III 439-440). In 1560 Ml. Alvares wrote that many came to the door of his cabin crying and sobbing for help (DI IV 617).

<sup>91</sup> In 1562 Brother Ant. Fernandes reported that Father Tonda had gone out at night with a lantern to hear the confession of a sick man who had asked for him at a time when the ship was in danger of capsizing (*ibid.* V 541). Ml. Alvares relates how many of the sick could no longer speak when he reached them, or were in a state of delirium (*ibid.* IV 622). \*Porcari mentions others, whom he came upon when they were dying, with distorted eyes and unable to speak or swallow (91).

<sup>92</sup> "In the service of the sick he [Xavier] received great help from P. Misser Paulo, who had a great longing to help the poor and needy and to serve in the hospitals" (Valignano 17).

<sup>93</sup> The witnesses at Xavier's processes of canonization, always return to his cheerful, happy manner of speaking, which captured the hearts of all. Dr. Saraiva had already noticed this; Teixeira speaks of his "afabilidad grande" (838); and Valignano says that in his conversation he was "facil y muy alegre" (18).

<sup>94</sup> EX I 92 120.

<sup>95</sup> When there was a chaplain on board, he read a "dry Mass," since this was one of his duties. The priests accordingly contented themselves with preaching at his Mass, as in noted in the accounts of 1551, 1555, 1560, 1562, and 1563 (DI II 222-223, III 595, V 530 537-538, VI 34). In 1561 there was a "dry Mass" each day, at times read by the chaplain of the viceroy and at times by Father Pina (DI V 326).

and crew.<sup>96</sup> He admonished those who cursed,<sup>97</sup> reconciled enemies,<sup>98</sup> assisted the poor,<sup>99</sup> and conversed with all. His simple, prudent, and cheerful manner won the hearts of the hardest sinners and induced them to go to confession.<sup>100</sup> His great abnegation, his charity towards his neighbor, his spirit of prayer, his constant intercourse with God, and his holy life were recognized by all; and all, with the governor in the lead,<sup>101</sup> revered "the holy father," as he was called.<sup>102</sup> Dr. Saraiva later said of him:

I came from Portugal on the ship on which Father Master Francis sailed and saw him perform numerous works of mercy, both corporal and spiritual. He helped the sick and the poor with everything they needed and on board the ship begged as alms what they were lacking. He nursed the sick and suffering, heard the confessions of the people, instructed, and preached to them. He was never idle for a moment in performing works of Christian charity and instruction, and he did all this with great cheerfulness. All looked upon him as a virtuous and upright man, and I also always regarded him as such.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Teixeira 838. On the voyages to India instructions in Christian doctrine were generally given, if the weather permitted, at sunset on the main deck, as was the case, for example, in 1555 (DI III 390 441). As a rule they were given every day, for example, in 1551, 1561, 1562, and 1564 (DI II 222, VI 308). On many ships they were given several times a week, as in 1548 and 1564 (DI I 383, VI 294), or only on Sundays and feast days, as in 1562 and 1567 (DI V 537; SR X 263). Attendants are listed as "children, boys, pages" in 1551, 1555, and 1561-1563; young people (*moços*) in 1551, 1555, 1561, 1563, and 1567; sailors in 1555; slaves in 1554 and 1560; soldiers in 1555, 1560, and 1561; pages and servants of the *fidalgos* in 1554 and 1560; and ordinary people in 1565. At times the captain and *fidalgos* were present, as in 1555, or all, as in 1555 and 1560. Exact numbers are usually missing. In 1567 there were more than forty *moços* on one ship (SR X 263); in 1555 there were twenty or thirty pages and *moços* besides the sailors on the *Nossa Senhora da Barra*. There were about two hundred soldiers and sailors on the *Assumpção* (DI III 390 441). See also Silva Rego, *Viagens* 131-132.

<sup>97</sup> "Advertiendo de los juramentos á su tiempo," according to Teixeira (838). Valignano praises Xavier's "grande prudencia y suave modo de tratar" (18).

<sup>98</sup> The instruction for those sailing to India in 1560 state that a priest should carefully avoid dissensions and their occasions since the people were inclined to violence (DI IV 550). The swords of the soldiers and the daggers of the *fidalgos* were always present among these hot-blooded voyagers. The heat and hardships of the long voyage, the strong wine, and the frenzy of the tropics provoked insensate violence among the men (cf. Silva Rego, *Viagens* 114-115). On the *Santo Espiritu* in 1545 there were almost daily stabbings and duels, and so many revolts "that it would have been a source of surprise even in Italy, and a scandalous matter," and there were similar problems on other ships, as D. João de Castro observed (*Cartas* 241). Arboleda mentions his peacemakings on his voyage to India in 1561 and the "cuchiladas, facadas y punhadas" that were usual on other ships (DI V 46-47).

<sup>99</sup> Most of the passengers were poor (Valignano 12). In 1546 H. Henriques wrote that "the sick and poor suffer much on the ship and die from want" (DI I 155). In 1551 Moraes observed that "some become sick from mere hunger, and the poor suffer much" (*ibid.* II 224-225).

<sup>100</sup> EX I 120; Valignano 18.

<sup>101</sup> "Todos veníamos en la nao donde venía el Señor Governador, y muy favorecidos dél," according to Xavier (EX I 120; cf. Teixeira 838).

<sup>102</sup> Valignano 18.

<sup>103</sup> MX II 187-188.

### CHAPTER III

#### TWICE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC (JUNE—JULY, 1541)

##### 1. THE SALVE OF THE SAILORS<sup>1</sup>

The *Santiago* had already lain for over a month as if fast bound in the caldron of Guinea. May was coming to an end, and no winds had as yet blown to free it. The voyagers cried to God for mercy, took vows,<sup>2</sup> held penitential processions,<sup>3</sup> and recited the Litany of the Saints<sup>4</sup> in order to win blessings from above. Especially touching was the devotion which, according to an old custom, was conducted every Saturday on the voyage to India to obtain the intercession of the Queen of Heaven with her divine Son. This solemn hour of prayer<sup>5</sup> was called the "*Salve of the Sailors*."<sup>6</sup>

At sunset<sup>7</sup> the ship's personnel, boatsmen, cabin boys,<sup>8</sup> and passengers<sup>9</sup> would assemble on the main deck. The chaplain would sing the *Salve Regina*<sup>10</sup> and the pilot intone the old, familiar hymns in honor of the Mother of God.<sup>11</sup> These

<sup>1</sup> See Silva Rego, *Viagens* 127-129. The best description of the rite is given by Arboleda in 1561 (DI V 39). The accounts for 1551 (*ibid.* II 222), 1560 (*ibid.* V 37 39), 1562, 1563 (*ibid.* 537, VI 34), 1564, 1565, and 1567 (*ibid.* 295 540 768; SR X 262-263) give further details.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. DI VI 55.

<sup>3</sup> Processions were a part of the life on board ship, particularly during storms and times of sickness (Silva Rego, *Viagens* 133). In 1555 B. Quadros wrote, for example, that many processions had been held on board ship during the calm off the coast of Guinea in order that God, who alone could help them, might send a favorable wind. For these processions there were usually erected, as in this instance, altars on the fore- and afterdeck. They were accompanied with loud shouts of "*Misericordia!*" and the participants begged for pardon for their sins. Such processions were held twice a week, weekly, or even less often (DI III 389-390). There are repeated references to them, for example, in 1554, 1560, 1563, 1564, and 1581.

<sup>4</sup> On the Litanies see Silva Rego, *Viagens* 132-134. They were recited several times a week and even daily, especially during times of need, in the presence of the ship's personnel (DI III 390). In his instructions for Alvares, Torres expressed his desire that the Litanies should be recited daily in the presence of the passengers (DI IV 550). Heredia writes that on the voyage to India in 1551 they had all prayed the Litanies every evening, "*com prosas*," from Lisbon to India (DI II 409).

<sup>5</sup> "*Muy solenne*" *ibid.* VI 295).

<sup>6</sup> The Litanies were omitted on Saturdays "*por se dizer a Salve dos Marinheiros, a qual estes costumão dizer nesta viagem*" (DI V 537).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* VI 295 540.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* V 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* II 222.

<sup>10</sup> In 1551 Moraes wrote: "*Aos sabados nos ajuntavamos todos hos da nao e dezi-mos nossa Salve cantada, estando so mareantes a ella, e acabada, dezião elles suas prosas acostumadas*" (DI II 222), whereas Arboleda noted in 1561: "*Quanto a la Salve, no tengo que les dizer, porque este negocio es del piloto de la nao, y assí yo sólo yva a dezir las oraciones*" (*ibid.* V 39).

<sup>11</sup> "*La Salve dézasse a canto de órgano dal piloto, marineros, y grumetes, y pages*



long, devout prayers, with their many rhyming stanzas<sup>12</sup> and pleasing melodies, would then be taken up by the other voyagers.<sup>13</sup> There were further songs in honor of St. James, the ship's patron and their helper in their wars against the Moors, and numerous appeals to other saints.<sup>14</sup> When the singing ended, trumpets were blown;<sup>15</sup> and a sailor in conclusion pronounced in a loud, clear voice a series of curses against all that was spoiled or broken or harmful to the ship, so that the Lord of seafarers might preserve them from all evil; and for this purpose he called upon the intercession of the four Evangelists.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. OPPOSITE BRAZIL (JUNE, 1541)

At last, after forty days of calm,<sup>17</sup> their prayers were heard. The trade winds began to fill the sails;<sup>18</sup> and in the beginning of June,<sup>19</sup> to the delight of

de la nao" (*ibid.*). "Dizíamos los sábados la Salve cantata, donde el piloto dezía sus truevas de Nuestra Señora y de otros Sanctos" (*ibid.* VI 34). "El piloto, como es costumbre, recitava mui lindas coplas de Nuestra Señora y Apóstolo San Tiago" (*ibid.* 295).

<sup>12</sup> "Lo qual todo se haze de tal manera, que, vista la primera vez, no faltó quien dicesse que deseava ver ya otro sábado" (*ibid.* V 39). "Los sábados se dezía la Salve cantada, en honrra de la Virgen gloriosa, con mui devotas preces, que los marineros tienen compuestas en coplas que, por su anteguedad, sentido y tono, dan mucha devoción y contentamiento" (*ibid.* VI 768), "con muchas y diversas coplas" (*ibid.* V 39).

<sup>13</sup> "Respondiéndole los demás que sabían por el mismo tono" (*ibid.* VI 34).

<sup>14</sup> "Coplas de Nuestra Señora y Apóstolo San Tiago" (*ibid.* 295), "y gran conmemoración de muchos Sanctos" (*ibid.* V 39).

<sup>15</sup> "Rematándose todo con las trompetas" (*ibid.*), "que nuestra nao, por ser capitania, traya," Arboleda wrote in 1561 (*ibid.* 37).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 39. Pyrard mentions a morning prayer in which the ship and all its parts were recommended and brought into relation with the Stations of the Cross (2, 125). Francisco de Sousa, who sailed to India in 1665, wrote in his *Oriente Conquistado*, which was completed in 1697, the following on Xavier's voyage to India: "Desterrava cantigas profanas, introduzindo outras devotas, e elle foy, segundo a tradição dos antigos mareantes desta carreya, o que compoz as celebres cantigas, que antigamente se costumavão cantar nas naos da India, e ainda quando eu fiz esta viagem, perseveravão algumas na memoria da gente do mar com palavras Castelhanas, e Portuguezas conforme a linguagem, que o Santo então falava" (I, 1, 1, 13). Sousa is the only authority for this. No traveler's account or biography before him speaks of songs which Xavier composed and introduced on his voyage to India. Not even Filippucci, who searched for letters and writings of the saint all over Europe and Asia, and who sailed to India in 1661, has anything on this. His detailed account, dated September 8, 1661, is still extant (Rome, Archives of the Gregorian University: *Codex* 895, 179-v; 292, 311-312). In 1662 Possinus received a transcript of the Spanish sonnet "No me mueve, Señor, para quererte" from Filippucci. In 1667 Possinus erroneously declared that it was a Portuguese song. It is still sung in India and is there ascribed to Xavier (see EX II 526-535). It was composed long after Xavier's death and has nothing more to do with him than that it expresses well his selfless love for God. In 1551 it was said that the orphan boys of Pedro Doménech, who sailed with the Jesuit priests that year for India, had opposed the worldly songs of the ships personnel with their own spiritual songs (DI II 235), and that every day the Litany had been sung with *prosas* (*ibid.* 409). But these were not ascribed to Xavier (on his songs, see *Ep. Mixtae* II 231-234). We suspect that the songs which Sousa heard on his voyage to India were the *Salves* of the sailors, which were probably falsely ascribed at his time to Xavier.

<sup>17</sup> "Pasados mucho trabajo quarenta días en la cuesta de Ginea, así en grandes calmas como en no ayudarnos el tiempo" (EX I 91).

<sup>18</sup> The Portuguese called them *ventos geraes* "porque cursam por alli geralmente quando as naos vão para a India" (Gomes de Brito IV 12); cf. Castro in 1545 (Q 1519), Quadros in 1555 (DI III 392), Dias in 1567 (SR X 223), Martins in 1585 (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 283). They were always greeted with great enthusiasm (SR IX 206; cf. Laimbeckhoven 74-75). When ships sailed late from Lisbon, as in 1541, these winds

all, the *Santiago* crossed the equator<sup>20</sup> halfway between Africa and America.<sup>21</sup> All could breathe again, both the well and the sick. The heat let up; the water lost its evil smell;<sup>22</sup> the sun appeared again; and at night the Southern Cross shone amidst the stars.<sup>23</sup> Swarms of silvery fish pursued by birds sped over the blue sea only to fall back after a short flight into their native element.<sup>24</sup> Master Francis felt newly strengthened; the seasickness which had afflicted him for two months had past.<sup>25</sup> Pentecost could therefore be celebrated on June 5 with grateful hearts.<sup>26</sup>

The course over the Atlantic led southwest off the coast of Brazil.<sup>27</sup> About noon each day the pilot took the height of the sun from the quarter-deck with his astrolabe in order to determine the latitude. The skipper and others frequently did the same,<sup>28</sup> and the pilot sought to determine the longitude by observing the deflection of the magnetic needle<sup>29</sup> in order to keep the necessary distance from the reefs of São Pedro, from the rocky island of Fernão de Loronha,<sup>30</sup> and

were encountered at a greater distance from the equator, for example, at 5° N (Ferreira Reimão 9).

<sup>19</sup> The voyage from Lisbon to Cape Verde lasted an average of sixteen days. Since Xavier sailed on April 7, he would have arrived at the cape around the twenty-third of the month. The ships were here becalmed for forty days, that is, till about the thirtieth of May. Some days later, around the beginning of June, the trade winds drove the ship across the equator.

<sup>20</sup> In 1574 Valignano wrote: "After crossing the equator we sang a *Te Deum*" (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 196v).

<sup>21</sup> This is shown in the travel guides, for example, those of Vasco da Gama of 1497, Cabral of 1500, Pacheco Pereira of 1508, the anonymous author of 1530 (*Libro de Mari-nharia* 211), Barreto of 1547 (Q 4063), Pereira of 1547 (B. Fernandes 180-182), and Laimbeckhoven of 1737 (map 64), and in the *Roteiro* of Vic. Rodrigues (17-18).

<sup>22</sup> Linschoten I 12.

<sup>23</sup> "A very beautiful cross made up of very large brilliant stars" (DI VI 789). In 1567 the travelers lost sight of the pole star at 3° N. The Southern Cross, "whose sight caused us much joy," appeared immediately after they had crossed the equator (SR X 265).

<sup>24</sup> See the descriptions of \*Spinola (384), Stephens (708), Pyrard (1, 6), and Laimbeckhoven (75). Pigafetta (82), Pyrard, and Laimbeckhoven mention them north of the equator; Spinola, Stephens, and J. Rodrigues (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 177) mention them to the south of it.

<sup>25</sup> "Anduve por la mar mareado dos meses pasados" (EX I 91).

<sup>26</sup> On Pentecost there was a custom of electing an "emperor" for the feast and celebrating the event with a banquet (Silva Rego, *Viagens* 129-131). See the accounts for 1561 (DI V 219 493-494), 1562 (*ibid.* 539), and 1583 (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 181); cf. Linschoten I 13-14, and Pyrard 1, 13.

<sup>27</sup> In 1487-1488 Bartolomeu Dias sailed along the west coast of Africa to the Cape of Good Hope. Pacheco Pereira gave a shorter route: 600 leagues on the open sea from Cape Verde to 19° S, and then east-southeast for 850 leagues to 37° S, and from there a sighting and circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope (157-158). According to Gago Coutinho, Vasco da Gama already in 1497 took the Brazil route to Cape Santo Agostinho (*A Náutica dos Descobrimentos* I 317-451, II 22-59; cf. maps I 36 336; II 24 56 216). In 1508 Duarte de Lemos chose this route (Ramos-Coelho 198), and in 1526 Ant. Galvão ordered his pilot to keep far from the coast of Guinea and to direct his course to the Cape Santo Agostinho "porque aquella era a verdadeira navegação" (Castanheda 7, 10); cf. Bartoli, *Asia* 1, 18, and the *Historia de Portugal* 4 (Barcelos, 1932) 132-139.

<sup>28</sup> Thus, for example, on the voyage to India in 1538, D. João de Castro, the doctor, caulker, skipper, and two sailors (Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 132 136).

<sup>29</sup> According to the advice of Aleixo da Motta: "E necessario ter-se muita vigia nesta volta do Brazil com o vento que se leva marcando muito a miudo a esteira da não e a variação da agulha" (100), as also of Gaspar Manuel (42).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the warnings in the *Roteiros* of Vic. Rodrigues (17) and Gaspar Manuel (41).

from Cape Santo Agostinho, the northeastern tip of the South American mainland.<sup>31</sup> This was passed at the eighth degree of southern latitude some eight days after crossing the equator.<sup>32</sup> The course then lay for another week<sup>33</sup> south-southwest along the Brazilian coast but out of sight of land. Ships sailed at a distance of seventy or one hundred leagues from it because of the strong currents which had already forced many a ship back toward Portugal.<sup>34</sup> At the eighteenth degree, they passed the latitude of the Abrolhos, whose dangerous rock reefs ranged out into the sea for seventy miles from the Brazilian coast.<sup>35</sup>

In 1537 Bernardo Fernandes kept 100 leagues away from the reefs of São Pedro and 50 from the island of Fernão de Loronha (182-183). In the same year André Vaz kept 130 leagues away from the same island (*ibid.* 155); cf. *Diarios* 17-18 20, Laimbeckhoven 76, and Barcellos 33.

<sup>31</sup> The *Roteiro* of Diogo Afonso of 1536 states that "in sailing towards Brazil you should strive to reach a height of 8° 40' S, that of Cape Santo Agostinho (32). See also the *Roteiro* of João de Lisboa of 1530 (211). André Vaz passed this cape at a distance of 70 leagues (B. Fernandes 141), in 1538 at a distance of 150 (*ibid.* 155). In 1537 B. Fernandes remained 140 leagues from it (*ibid.* 182). In 1560, "through fear," a distance of even 200 leagues was maintained (DI IV 629). The instructions of Vic. Rodrigues advise sailing around it some 100 to 150 leagues away (DI IV 629), those of Ferreira Reimão some 100 to 120 (10-11).

<sup>32</sup> It took an average of eight days to pass from the equator to the latitude of Cape Santo Agostinho: nine in 1532 (B. Fernandes 113-114), seven in 1538 (Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 143-145; twelve in 1555 (DI III 389-392), five in 1556 (*ibid.* 494-495), nine in 1560 (*ibid.* IV 629), eight in the same year (*ibid.* V 49), seven in 1562 (*ibid.* 528), nine in 1565 (*ibid.* VI 787), eight in 1737 (Laimbeckhoven 75-76). In 1556 Francisco Rodrigues wrote: "We sailed around Cape Agostinho, from where ships must frequently return to Portugal because they cannot pass it" (DI III 494-95). In 1564 Egusquiça wrote: "Voyagers have great fear of this cape since they frequently encounter many difficulties here. When one is fortunately beyond it, he can say that the rest of the voyage to India is already to a certain extent secure. We were greatly consoled to have sailed around it without incident" (230).

<sup>33</sup> On May 27 the *Graça* passed Cape Santo Agostinho; on June 3 it was at 18° S, the latitude of the islands of Trindade and Ascensão and of the Abrolhos (B. Fernandes 123-125). On May 19, 1538, Castro was at the latitude of the cape, and on the twenty-eighth at that of the Abrolhos (*Roteiro a Goa* 145-165). On May 14, 1537, the *Espera* was at the latitude of the cape, and on the twenty-first on that of the islands of Trindade and Ascensão (B. Fernandes 141-142).

<sup>34</sup> F. Rodrigues wrote in 1556 that, after rounding the cape, "we sailed for some days along the coast of Brazil, but without sighting it. We kept at times 100, at times 50 and fewer, leagues from land" (DI III 495). In 1538 Castro saw birds from the mainland, but he checked his course at 18° S, sixty leagues from it (*Roteiro a Goa* 162-163). In 1585 the *Santiago* sailed between the islands of Martim Vaz, "which is the better route since it is far from the Abrolhos" (Gomes de Brito IV 12). Vic. Rodrigues advised keeping at a distance from the coast, from 120 to 130 leagues from the Abrolhos, for "indo ver a terra do Brazil por descuido ou máo vento pela maior parte se arriba a Portugal" (17-18); and Motto wrote: "From the 8° S on, one keeps 80 to 100 leagues from the coast of Brazil and sails at the eighteenth degree between the islands of Ascensão and Trindade" (100-101). See also Ferreira Reimão 11-12, with a picture; Laimbeckhoven 64; and the routes of the earlier voyagers to India in *Atlas de Portugal Ultramarino* (Lisboa, 1948), map 3. [See also the map of Diogo Ribeiro of 1529, now in the Thüringische Landsbibliothek, Weimar, published in PMC I, pl. 40.]

<sup>35</sup> See Silva Rego, *Viagens* 94-97, on the Abrolhos ("Keep your eyes open!"). Pyrard states that if a ship cannot pass the Abrolhos or the Cape of Good Hope, it must immediately return to Portugal and abandon the voyage (2, 125-126). According to Godinho Cardoso, "the winds usually drive the ships towards the coast of Brazil with the great danger of going aground on the shallows known as the Abrolhos" (Gomes de Brito IV 12); Motta states that there is a reef that starts near the island of Santa Barbara and continues down to 18° 30' S (101). In 1543 the India fleet sailed together as far as the Abrolhos and there separated (Correa IV 309-310).

## 3. MARTIM AFFONSO'S EARLIER VOYAGES (1531-1533)

Martim Affonso was here in familiar waters. Between 1531 and 1533 he had, as commander in chief and governor of Brazil, on the orders of his king personally, or through his men, explored the whole length of the coast from Maranhão in the north to La Plata in the south, a distance of more than one thousand leagues.<sup>36</sup>

In 1531, very shortly after reaching Cape Santo Agostinho, he had, after a severe battle, captured three French ships near the Pernambuco River. One of these had a cargo of Brazilian dye-woods worth more than sixty thousand pounds. He had then sent Diogo Leite, who was acquainted with the land, with two caravels to sail up and explore the Amazon River. He had then sailed with the rest of the ships south to the Bay of All Saints near Bahia, where he encountered the *caramurú*,<sup>37</sup> a Portuguese by the name of Diogo Alvares, who had lived here among the Indians for twenty-two years and had a perfect command of their language, Tupi, which was spoken all along the coast of Brazil.

The inhabitants of this country<sup>38</sup> were brown skinned, beardless, well built, and had long, dark hair. Pero Lopes, the brother of Martim Affonso, had noted that their women could easily match in beauty those of the Rua Nova in Lisbon. The fleet here took on wood and water; and the Indians, overjoyed at the coming of the Portuguese, brought them different kinds of food and celebrated the arrival of the boats with great feasts and dancing. Both men and women went about completely naked. All were tattooed, and on festive occasions they painted and decked themselves out with bright parrot feathers. The men wore a bone or stone peg in their pierced lower lip. They lived in lodges covered with palm leaves that were from 130 to 200 feet long and had large wooden pillars in the center. To these were fastened the cotton hammocks in which they slept, and under which fires burned day and night. Up to two hundred and more individuals lived in houses of this type. They were excellent hunters and fishers, and planted cassava, their chief source of food. Their weapons consisted of bows and arrows, wooden clubs, and round shields made from the hides of tapirs. Having no knowledge of metallurgy, they felled trees for building houses and boats with stone axes. Their villages, which were two leagues apart, were at constant war with each other. When Martim Affonso was staying in Bahia, he had witnessed a sea battle which lasted from noon to sunset: fifty war canoes engaged an equal number belonging to the enemy in combat. All were magnificently adorned,

<sup>36</sup> Our main source for the following is the *Diario* of Pero Lopes de Sousa, the brother of Martim Affonso de Sousa, which he kept of his voyages to Brazil in 1530-1532 (Rio de Janeiro, 1927, with numerous maps). It was completed and commented upon in HCPB III, pp. XXXIII-XLI 133-164 (on the mission and authority of Martim Affonso, see pp. 97-101 123-126 159-160).

<sup>37</sup> In 1510 he was shipwrecked on the coast of Brazil. He married the daughter of a chieftain. When the Jesuits came, he assisted them as a catechist; after his death in 1557, he was buried in their church in Bahia. Frey José de Sancta Rita Durão, O.E.S.A., extolled his life in his epic *Caramurú* (Lisboa, 1781).

<sup>38</sup> For a description of the Tupinamba Indians, see Lopes de Sousa (152-156). Earlier and later authors confirm and augment his data: the pilot of Cabral in 1500 (Ramusio 132-v); Pero Vaz de Caminha in 1500 (HCPB II 86-99); Pigafetta, who landed in Rio de Janeiro in 1519 (83-86); Goes, *Chronica* (1, 56); Fernão Cardim, S.J. (166-169 179-194v); André Thevet, O.F.M. (109-110 124-126 128 158 183 192-203 212-215); and A. Metraux "The Tupinamba," in J.H. Steward, *Handbook of South American Indians* 3 (Washington, 1948) 95-133.

and each had sixty paddlers. The prisoners taken in battle were slain with a great many ceremonies, cut into pieces, roasted over a fire, and eaten.

Martim Affonso had left two Portuguese behind here with seeds to see if the land could be cultivated. He had then sailed south along the coast to the magnificent bay of Rio de Janeiro with its high surrounding mountains, where he encountered Indians like those of Bahia. He remained there for three months, sending four men to explore the interior of the land. They returned after two months. They had gone about 115 leagues over a lofty mountain range and had encountered a great chieftain on the other side, who had brought them back and had told them that there was much gold and silver to be found in Paraguay.

South of Rio de Janeiro Martim Affonso had stayed with his fleet for forty-four days off the coastal island of Cananea<sup>39</sup> and had sent the pilot Pedro Annes from there to the neighboring mainland for information. The latter returned with a bachelor,<sup>40</sup> five or six Castilians, and a Portuguese, Francisco de Chaves, an expert linguist. The bachelor had been living among the Indians for the past thirty years. The information he had to offer induced Martim Affonso to send Captian Pero Lobo and forty arquebusiers and the same number of cross-bowmen with him to explore the interior, for Chaves had promised that he would return after ten months with four hundred slaves laden down with gold and silver.

During his stay upon the island a winter storm had raged without cease, preventing the fleet from sailing farther south. On October 22, 1531, the admiral's ship and a brigantine were stranded and sunk by the storm near the island of Palma, and the fleets provisions went down with the latter. Seven people were drowned; the rest saved themselves by swimming, Martim Affonso on a plank, to the neighboring mainland.<sup>41</sup> The loss of the ships compelled the commander-in-chief to change his plans. Instead of sailing on farther himself, he sent his brother Pero Lopes, a giant of a man and brave captain<sup>42</sup> despite his youth—he was hardly twenty-two years old—with a brigantine and thirty men to explore the mouth of La Plata and to erect there a column with a coat of arms upon it in order to occupy the country in the name of his king.

A month later his brother returned after completing his mission. He was able to describe in glowing terms the region of the delta, especially the land of the Carandins, as the fairest region in the world. There were wide, green plains with grass reaching as high as a man, dense with countless numbers of wild animals—deer, gazelles, ostriches, partridges, and quail. The land, moreover, had a wonderful climate, excellent drinking water, and the river was full of all kinds of tasty fish. His German, Italian, and French companions, who had already been in India, had likewise been astonished by the beauty of the land. The Indians<sup>43</sup> whom they had encountered were different from those of the

<sup>39</sup> Today Ilha do Bom Abrigo (Lopes de Sousa 201).

<sup>40</sup> On the bachelor, see Eugenio de Castro, *A Expedição de Martim Affonso de Sousa* (Rio de Janeiro, 1932) 3-10 49; HCPB III 225-226.

<sup>41</sup> Lopes de Sousa 258-268; Sousa, *Autobiographia* 107; HCPB III 145.

<sup>42</sup> \*Letter of the secretary of John III to the pope of March 31, 1533 (Bibl. Vat. Vat. lat. 3922, 167v). See also his praise in HCPB III 116 120 and Q 447.

<sup>43</sup> Lopes de Sousa encountered Indians at three sites in the area of the delta, all on the north bank of the river: near Rio das Begoás (today Rio Solis Grande, east of Monteideo) on his return voyage (Lopes de Sousa 318); further upstream near Rio de S. Joam, west of Monteideo, on the way out and back (*ibid.* 279-282 304-306); and near the Ilhas dos Corvos (today the islands of Dorado and Doradito) in the Paraná-

Brazilian coast and did not understand the latters' speech. They were dressed in skins, and men and women wore as a cap the headpiece of a jaguar together with its teeth. They had a guttural speech like the Moors, and were tall and powerfully built. Their women were beautiful, with long chestnut hair. The men however were ugly since they had their noses pierced and adorned with a gleaming piece of copper. They had no knowledge of agriculture but lived as nomads by hunting and fishing. Their dwellings were windbreaks, their weapons bows and arrows, wooden clubs, fire-hardened javelins, and the bola, a round stone fastened to a long strand for throwing. They buried their dead in a cemetery surrounded by stakes and laid the possessions of the deceased upon their graves; and for each of their departed relatives, they cut off a joint of a finger as a sign of mourning.

After the return of his brother, Martim Affonso, had, on New Year's Day, 1532, again sailed towards the north with his fleet and had founded a colony on the coastal island of São Vicente. Nine leagues from here, within the interior, he had also founded another colony at Piratininga;<sup>44</sup> and he had sent his brother back to Portugal to inform the king. On his way home Pero Lopes captured two French ships, compelled the fortress which had been built by the French in the meantime in Pernambuco to surrender, and hanged a number of his prisoners along with their captain after an attempted murder had misfired.<sup>45</sup>

Martim Affonso had been enchanted by Brazil. It was a paradise with its shady primeval forests filled with palms and other giant trees rising into the skies, its swarms of red green parrots, its iridescent hummingbirds, its large, gaudy butterflies, its abundance of streams, wild life, and fish. Once on a single day he had caught 18,000 of the latter near the cape of Santa Maria.<sup>46</sup> He had also admired its brilliant bays, surrounded by majestic mountains, its luxuriant fruitfulness, its trusting inhabitants. For a time he had even thought of having his wife and children come from Portugal<sup>47</sup> to live there. But in the beginning of 1533 the king had called him back to Lisbon<sup>48</sup> in order to consult with him on the possibility of colonizing Brazil and on the measures to be taken to counteract the encroachments of the French, for he had decided to carry out a plan suggested to him from Paris by the old Dr. Diogo de Gouvea in 1532.<sup>49</sup> The country should be divided into twelve captaincies and given over to twelve *fidalgos* as hereditary fiefs. These would have broad ruling powers and be obliged to found colonies and defend their lands from foreign assaults. In this plan, Martim Affonso and his brother had received a lion's share—a stretch of the coast 180 leagues long with the captaincies of São Vicente and Rio de Janeiro.<sup>50</sup>

Such were the memories of Martim Affonso as he sailed southwards along the coast of Brazil with Master Francis on the *Santiago*. But a shadow lay

guazú River (map 7 in Lopes de Sousa). On them see J. H. Lothrop, "Indians of the Paraná Delta," in J. H. Steward, *Handbook of South American Indians* 1 (1946) 177-190.

<sup>44</sup> Lopes de Sousa 340-346; HCPB III 136 145-148; M. A. de Sousa however forbade settling on the plateau (*ibid.* 224).

<sup>45</sup> Lopes de Sousa 345 365-377; HCPB III 150-158 116-117; Ford I 67; Bibl. Vat. Vat. lat. 3922, 167.

<sup>46</sup> Lopes de Sousa 250. Today Cape Punta del Este de Maldonado (Uruguay).

<sup>47</sup> Bibl. Vat. Vat. 3922, 167-v.

<sup>48</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 107; HCPB III 148.

<sup>49</sup> Mário Brandão, *O processo na Inquisição de Mestre João da Costa* (Coimbra, 1944) 313-314.

<sup>50</sup> HCPB III 160-161 107, n. 76, and map, p. 220; *Portugal* VI 1064.

over the past with all its varied successes. On the eve of his departure from the newly founded colony of São Vicente, he had learned that the eighty men whom he had sent with Chaves in 1531 from the island of Cananea to find the gold country had been ambushed by Indians of the interior and had all been slain. Because of the urgency of his departure, he had not been able to undertake a punitive expedition in person.<sup>51</sup> And he was now under another cloud. After his return to Portugal, Pero Lopes, his brother and companion in Brazil,<sup>52</sup> had married Dona Isabel de Gamboa, the wealthy heiress of the former Flemish factor Thomé Lopes de Andrade; and she had borne him two sons, Pero Lopes and Martim Affonso de Sousa, and a daughter, Jerónima de Albuquerque.<sup>53</sup> In 1534 he had sailed as the captain of a caravel to Safim,<sup>54</sup> and in 1535 he had gone with the imperial fleet to Tunis.<sup>55</sup> Then, for two years with eight caravels, he had kept a watch out for French corsairs between Portugal and the Azores and had captured one of their ships.<sup>56</sup> Finally, in 1539, he had sailed as admiral with six ships to India but had disappeared without leaving a trace the following year on his return to Portugal.<sup>57</sup> Had his ship been sunk? Or was he still alive, tossed up as a shipwreck upon one of the countless coral islands of the Indian Ocean? Or was he toiling as a slave of the Moors or Negroes on St. Lawrence Island or in the hinterland of the African Coast? Or had he fallen as a victim of revenge to French pirates? In 1534 Martim Affonso had already lost another brother, João Rodrigues de Sousa. He had fallen in the service of his king in Malacca along with Dom Paulo da Gama, a son of Vasco da Gama, fighting the enemies of the faith, the Malayan fleet of the sultan of Ujong Tanah.<sup>58</sup>

#### 4. IN THE WATERS OF THE WHALES (JUNE—JULY, 1541)

On the other side of the Abrolhos reef the *Santiago* encountered the north-west trade wind, which carried it a second time across the Atlantic <sup>59</sup>—more

<sup>51</sup> HCPB III 148.

<sup>52</sup> On Lopes de Sousa see the valuable study of Jurdão de Freitas in HCPB III 115-123, and Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XII 2, 1113.

<sup>53</sup> HCPB III 117-118; Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XII 2, 1112.

<sup>54</sup> Sousa, *Annaes* 382.

<sup>55</sup> HCPB III 118-120; Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XII 2, 1117; Ford I 196.

<sup>56</sup> Ford I 257-264 267-269 279-282 284-287 289-290; HCPB III 118-120; Sousa, *Annaes* 398-400.

<sup>57</sup> Correa IV 95 99-101 266 275. Couto has a "Pero Lopes de Sousa, irmão do Governador," take part in the Expedition to the Pagoda in 1543 (5, 9, 7); but in the second draft he omits the phrase "brother of the governor" (De Jong 581), which is also lacking in Correa IV 307. It is a matter of another Pero Lopes de Sousa, son of the Affonso Lopes da Costa (Q 2594), who is frequently mentioned in India between 1546 and 1548. Already in August 18, 1541, the *provedor* of the warehouse in Lisbon noted that the *Esperança Gallega*, on which Pero Lopes had sailed from India at the beginning of 1540, had been lost on its return voyage; and on January 4, 1542, his wife Isabel was already called a widow (HCPB III 121-122).

<sup>58</sup> On December 4, 1535, Sousa wrote from Diu to the count of Castanheira about the heroic death of his brother (Q 183); cf. Couto 4, 8, 11 and \*Andrade Leitão XIX 774.

<sup>59</sup> In 1538 Castro wrote about the voyage from Brazil to the Cape of Good Hope: "Tanto que as nossas naos se poem em altura do Cabo Frio [23° S, north of Rio de Janeiro], e começo por a proa no Cabo de Boa Esperança, fazendo a elle seu caminho, na mesma ora se começa de armar os Pilotos pera darem mayores singraduras á nao" (*Roteiro a Goa* 241-242). "Boats sail from Cape Verde to the Abrolhos in order to catch the trade winds," according to a sailing manual of around 1580 (London, Br. Museum:

than a thousand leagues to the southeast over the vast expanse of water.<sup>60</sup> Within a few days<sup>61</sup> it reached the twentieth degree of latitude, on which were located the islands of Ascensão menor, Trindade, and Martim Vaz,<sup>62</sup> and whose proximity was betrayed by swarms of birds.<sup>63</sup> Then the ship entered a still and lonely waste. Birds were fewer and the wind more cool. From time to time a monster from the deep would appear among the waves as large as a ship. These waters were the home of whales which swam up from the icy south to the fifteenth degree of latitude and the coast of Brazil.<sup>64</sup> They could be a source of danger. A story was told of Ruy Vaz Pereira, who was sailing to India in 1520 in the galleon *São Rafael*, a vessel of three hundred tons. It had already rounded the Cape of Good Hope when one night a monster of this type stretched itself out along the keel of the ship and blocked the movement of the rudder with its tail. The beast was sixty-five feet long and threatened to capsize the galleon until the chaplain, by reading an exorcism, drove it off.<sup>65</sup>

For three weeks a ship sailed through the vast watery waste to the cluster of islands of Tristão da Cunha, which rose up to a height of 7,640 feet between Africa and America.<sup>66</sup> In 1534 Martim Affonso had traveled this same route in the *Raynha*, and on that occasion, in contrast to the present voyage, he had had fair sailing, without calms, or storms, or sicknesses. At the time of his departure the count of Castanheira and Pero Carvalho, the lord chamberlain, had hinted that he was among those being considered as a successor to the governor of India.<sup>67</sup> Martim Affonso then wrote to the king from Cape Verde and reminded him of the fact that he had spent most of his youth at court and had held many responsible positions. He added that everyone in Portugal believed that he was

*Add. Mss. 20846, 177*). See also Gaspar Manuel 43, and Bartoli, *Asia* 1, 20. In 1563 the trade winds were encountered at 23° and 24° S (SR IX 202).

<sup>60</sup> João de Lisboa calculated that there were 1,070 leagues from Cape Santo Agostinho to the Cape of Good Hope (211); Dionisio, more than 1,500 from the Abrolhos (SR IX 179); and Ribera, from 1,600 to 1,800 (*ibid.* 441).

<sup>61</sup> B. Fernandes, who wrongly states that the Abrolhos were at the same height as Trindade and Ascensão menor, sailed from Cape Santo Agostinho in 1534 and 1537 to Trindade in seven days (124 141), André Vaz in 1538 in five (*ibid.* 156), Quadros in 1555, with a strong wind, in four (DI III 392), Slawiczek in 1716 in eight (*Welt-Bott*, n. 155, 15). On May 12, 1564, Egusquiza was at the height of the Abrolhos, and on the thirteenth, about midnight, near the island of Martim Vaz (230, where 15, is an error for 12).

<sup>62</sup> Ascensão menor, Trindade, and Martim Vaz are on 20° S, from 684 to 746 miles from the coast of Brazil. Ships sailed past or through them, often without their being sighted. By keeping from 311 to 373 miles from the Abrolhos, ships came near these islands. In 1536 Diogo Afonso advised sailing from Cape Santo Agostinho directly for Martim Vaz (32), Motta suggested sailing between Ascensão and Trindade or east of Ascensão (101); Ferreira Reimão said that he had often seen the island of Ascensão on the way from Cape Santo Agostinho to the Cape of Good Hope (11). The islands were frequently confused (Trigault 30).

<sup>63</sup> See the account of a voyage in 1534: "Vi alcatrazes brancos e garajaus brancos," and in 1537 and 1538 (B. Fernandes 124 141 157).

<sup>64</sup> See the accounts of 1534 (B. Fernandes 124: "many together"), 1537 (*ibid.* 142), 1538 (Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 187: "many whales"), and 1548 (B. Fernandes 189). In 1737 Laimbeckhoven stated that these animals were still being caught in great numbers near Bahia. Contractors made a profit if they caught from ten to twenty whales a year (76-77). Cardim, who describes seven kinds, states that a great number of whales come to the bays of Brazil, especially between May and September, and at times from forty to fifty together (83-84).

<sup>65</sup> Barros 3, 4, 7.

<sup>66</sup> The group is composed of three islands: Tristão da Cunha, an extinct volcano, Nightingale, and Inaccessible.

<sup>67</sup> Correa III 580 581.



sailing to India in order to become its governor, and that it would therefore be a great disgrace for him if His Highness were to send someone else as a successor.<sup>68</sup> Five years of brilliant military exploits had followed, during which Martim Affonso, as admiral of the Indian Ocean, proved that he was qualified for the position.<sup>69</sup> His ambitious dreams however, had not as yet been fulfilled. Dom Garcia de Noronha had come as viceroy in 1538 to take the place of Nuno da Cunha, and Martim Affonso had set out for Portugal with the latter on the next fleet. Nuno da Cunha had died as they were rounding the Cape of Good Hope,<sup>70</sup> and Dom Garcia had also been carried off by death before the expiration of his three years of office.<sup>71</sup> Martim Affonso now saw himself at the goal of his ambitions: this time he was sailing to India and the scene of his earlier victories as governor.

The lonely, deserted, rock-bound islands of Tristão da Cunha, which had been discovered by the Portuguese in 1506,<sup>72</sup> were the next goal. Once ships had sailed past Trindade, they tried to attain the longitude of these islands and then sail south to them.<sup>73</sup> The maps of the sea were, however, inaccurate, and the distance between Brazil and Africa indicated on them was exaggerated.<sup>74</sup> The deflections of the needle of the compass, used to determine the degree of longitude, were inadequate for the task; and even greater errors were involved in the estimates of the number of leagues covered during the course of a day. Frequently, too, the pilots did not know how to use their German clocks and astrolabes correctly.<sup>75</sup> Opinions about distances, as a consequence, varied at times from 50 to 150 and more leagues from each other.<sup>76</sup> A careful watch

<sup>68</sup> Q 165.

<sup>69</sup> Vol. I 703.

<sup>70</sup> Correa IV 141; Barros 4, 10, 22.

<sup>71</sup> Vol. I 700.

<sup>72</sup> Correa I 662; Barros 2, 1, 1.

<sup>73</sup> "Em altura de vinte grãos até trinta e tres irão de maneira navegando que se ponham norte sul com as ilhas de Tristão da Cunha, não chegando á sua altura que é de 35 até 36 grãos," according to Vic. Rodrigues (18; see also Ferreira Reimão 14). Motta states that as soon as Ascensão and Trindade were passed, boats should sail along 23° S and then try to obtain the longitude of the islands of Tristão da Cunha (102). In 1550 Dom Affonso de Noronha steered a course from the equator to the Cape of Good Hope, "imdo primeiro buscar as ilhas de Tristam da Cunha . . . , as quais nam vy e parece, que ho ordenou noso Senhor, por vyrmos pro mais seguro caminho" (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 548). The *Santiago* did the same in 1585 (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 283).

<sup>74</sup> In 1538 Dom João de Castro wrote that the coast of Brazil was farther from the meridian of Lisbon than was indicated on the maps, that the islands of Tristão da Cunha, the Cape of Good Hope, and the regions as far as India lay many degrees nearer this meridian than was shown on maps and globes, and that the distance of Brazil from the Cape of Good Hope was more than 150 leagues shorter than indicated on maps (*Roteiro a Goa* 231 241; cf. 211, n. 3).

<sup>75</sup> On the knowledge of the pilots and their resources at this time, see Fontoura da Costa 365-399. On their deficiencies in general, see the foreword to Castro's *Roteiro atee Soez*, pp. II-IV, and in particular his *Roteiro a Goa*: errors in distances, in the daily progress of the ship (228-243 250-251), in longitude (242-243), in latitude (296), poor use of clocks and astrolabes (181-184). See also the notes of the editor: defects of the compasses of the time (168), defective training (182). On the mistakes of the pilots, see also DI I 428, III 396-397 400 401 623-624; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 548; Gomes de Brito II 7-11. Gonçalo da Silveira derided them in 1557: "The pilots tell you that you are seeing the island of Ascensão, but 150 leagues farther on they tell you it was not this but the island of Martim Vaz!" (DI III 623-624).

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 242-243 296; SR IX 178; Ramos-Coelho 147.

was therefore kept on the wind, water, and signs of land,<sup>77</sup> for Tristão da Cunha was notorious for its storms.<sup>78</sup> In 1500 Cabral, while sailing to India, had lost four ships in this area in a single day;<sup>79</sup> in 1508 the ship of Jorge de Aguiar had sunk here;<sup>80</sup> and in 1533 the *Bom Jesus* had also gone down here in a storm under the eyes of the pilot of the *Santa Clara*.<sup>81</sup> The island was therefore shunned and kept from view as if the devil himself were living there.<sup>82</sup>

July had already begun<sup>83</sup> when the first albatrosses and seagulls were sighted. These usually ranged up to 150 leagues from the islands.<sup>84</sup> The course was therefore altered and the ships sailed to the thirty-sixth degree.<sup>85</sup> Along this, with the help of the west wind, they continued due east towards the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>86</sup> The sea rose high, and the *Santiago* was tossed about like a

<sup>77</sup> On indications of land in general, see Fontoura da Costa 335-339. B. Fernandes wrote of those near the islands of Tristão da Cunha. In 1522 he noted "many plants that looked like water lilies, and many birds known as *cagalhos* (124); in 1547 he was astounded at not finding any birds at 33° S, but some appeared on the following days (188-190). In 1591 Vic. Rodrigues noted: "On this voyage [towards Tristão da Cunha] the signs are birds with very large wings that are called *antenaes* [albatrosses]" (18). The *Roteiro* of Diogo Afonso of 1536 states: "If you want to know if you are near the islands [of Tristão da Cunha]: you are near them when you see albatrosses in groups of five. From then on you are followed by seagulls (*feijões*), small birds like colored magpies; and if you are on their longitude, you encounter seaweed" (33).

<sup>78</sup> In 1561 Arboleda wrote of his voyage to India: "When we were not very far from the islands of Tristão da Cunha we received the usual welcome that is given to those who come near them. All received a salute (*çuriada*) that will never let them forget their voyage to India" (DI V 50; cf. VI 39).

<sup>79</sup> Correa I 153.

<sup>80</sup> Barros 2, 3, 1; Castanheda 2, 105.

<sup>81</sup> Diogo Afonso 34.

<sup>82</sup> In 1563 Pero da Cruz wrote: "We passed the islands of Tristão da Cunha, where it is said that the devil goes about in visible form, because of the great storms that are always there." Contrary to his expectations, however, all was calm (DI VI 39). João Rodrigues heard from the sailors when they were going past them in 1583 that a devil lived there who stirred up the storms. A priest sailing to India had banished him there (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 176v). The islands were therefore usually kept at a respectable distance (Correa I 662): eighty and one hundred leagues in 1537 (B. Fernandes 144 124), twenty-five in 1538, thirty in 1547 (*ibid.* 162 190), and forty in 1565 (DI VI 789).

<sup>83</sup> The voyage from Cape Santo Agostinho to Tristão da Cunha took an average of twenty-eight days: twenty-two, for example, in 1538 (B. Fernandes 155 162), twenty-four in 1534 (*ibid.* 123-124), thirty-four in 1532 (*ibid.* 141-142; cf. 114).

<sup>84</sup> B. Fernandes 124.

<sup>85</sup> In order to avoid the Cape of Good Hope, which lay at 34° 18' S, ships sailed farther south. In 1505 a ship went as far as 39° S, where the cold was unbearable (CA II 335-336). Another even went to 45° 5', where wine and water froze and nothing could be done properly, and where the deck had to be constantly shoveled free of the snow (Castanheda 2, 10). In 1526 a ship again went to 39° S (*ibid.* 7, 10); in 1532 B. Fernandes sailed to 43° S, in 1534 to 38° S, in 1537 to 37° 40' S (114 125 144). The usual course, however, was to 36° S, as was already taken by the India fleet in 1508 (Ramos-Coelho 198). In 1530 João de Lisboa gave the following rule: "Once you have passed the island of Tristão da Cunha, go to 36° S and sail on this to the east until you have rounded the Cape of Good Hope" (211). Ribeira gave the same rule in 1565 (DI VI 534).

<sup>86</sup> In 1555 Quadros wrote: "We were 750 to 800 leagues away from the cape and sailed at this latitude until July 7, when we passed it" (DI III 393; cf. VI 39). In 1565 Ribeira declared: "The cape is at the 35° 30' S [read instead 34° 30' S]. One therefore goes to 36° and then sails with the west wind, which is usually blowing there, until he knows from signs such as birds and other objects in the sea that he has rounded the cape; and on this depends the success or failure of this extremely dangerous and difficult voyage (*ibid.* VI 534). Gaspar Manuel, however, stated: "When one is 250 leagues from the Cape of Good Hope and at a latitude of 35° 30' S, one then sails constantly

nutshell, now on a crest, now in a deep trough, of the waves that threatened to overwhelm it.<sup>87</sup> The air became noticeably colder,<sup>88</sup> especially for the poor soldiers who had not brought any warm clothing with them, and whose underwear had already rotted away off the coast of Guinea. They suffered as a consequence from colds, fevers, and stomach disorders.<sup>89</sup> Inigo had therefore had good reasons for providing Master Francis with warm clothing for the voyage to India, and the count of Castanheira had also pressed upon him and his companions warm cassocks of rough material for the voyage around the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>90</sup> Four hundred and sixty leagues lay between Tristão da Cunha and the southern tip of Africa. It usually took three weeks of sailing before the first signs of land came into view.<sup>91</sup>

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on it without any fear until... with a good lookout... land is sighted, for the cape is at 34° 30' S, and Cape Agulhas at 35° S" (44).

<sup>87</sup> "In that cold land, or, more exactly, in that land where wind and water are so cold, the waves and storms are so strong that they break the masts and cause many ships to sink. You see a wave coming as high as a mountain or the hill of S. Antonio [S. Antão in Lisbon], or higher, that threatens to devour the boat, and two or three behind it, causing great terror," Francisco Pérez wrote of his voyage to India in 1546 (DI I 362; cf. III 519). Motta gave the following warning: "It is better not to come near the islands of Tristão da Cunha, for near them are *mares grossos, digo mares muito grossos, e os ventos muito tormentosos*" (103); and Vic. Rodrigues: "On the way to the cape, at 35° 30' S, strong winds and a high sea are usually encountered" (19); cf. *Diarios* 41 189.

<sup>88</sup> According to Pérez, "We went south from the equator and got to feel the cold so keenly... that I shivered from it, for we had brought little clothing with us (DI I 361). In 1554 Soveral noted that the cold was so severe that they could hardly stand it (*ibid.* III 111).

<sup>89</sup> Valignano 12.

<sup>90</sup> Vol. I 555 707.

<sup>91</sup> The distance that was sailed east on the thirty-sixth degree is variously given as 600 (DI III 111) and 750-800 leagues (*ibid.* 393). The voyage from the latitude of Tristão da Cunha to that of the cape lasted an average of eighteen days: fourteen in 1537; fifteen in 1438 (B. Fernandes 144-145 162-165; Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 203 227), 1534 (B. Fernandes 124-126), and 1560 (DI V 50-51); eighteen in 1565 (*ibid.* VI 789); twenty-seven in 1585 "com ventos escassos e roins" (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 283). In 1532 a ship sailed in twelve days to the cape from the island of Gonçalo Alvares, alias Diogo Alvarez, today Gough Island, southeast of Tristão da Cunha (B. Fernandes 114).

## CHAPTER IV

### STORMS AND REEFS (JULY—AUGUST, 1541)

#### 1. THE CAPE DRAWS NEARER (END OF JULY)

July was coming to its close and the islands of Tristão da Cunha were more than two weeks behind when the voyagers saw the first signs of the Cape of Good Hope: algae, seaweed, and *trombas* (rushes with nine or ten stalks springing from a single root) that had been carried west by the current; white albatrosses with widespread wings; seagulls with grey beaks or white breasts and grey wingtips; and others the size of doves with black and white spots—an indication that the mainland was at most a hundred leagues away.<sup>1</sup> With a good breeze the *Santiago* could traverse thirty or more leagues a day.<sup>2</sup> Preparations had to be made for the heavy storms which raged about the cape,<sup>3</sup> and which gave it the names of "the Cape of Storms" (*Cabo tormentoso*)<sup>4</sup> and, in common parlance, "the Mouth of Hell" (*Boca do inferno*).<sup>5</sup> The heavy cannons and all excess ballast had already been placed below in the keelroom.<sup>6</sup> The topgallant sails had been taken down from the masts;<sup>7</sup> the main ropes of the masts had been made as taut as possible; smaller sails had been tied to the yards; and empty casks had been filled with seawater to provide the ship with added weight.<sup>8</sup> Everything that was not nailed down or riveted fast was now tied securely; windows were removed from the cabins and the openings nailed shut with thick, strong planks; all cracks were stopped up and sealed with oakum; and the passengers were enclosed below deck.<sup>9</sup> The storms about the

<sup>1</sup> See the sailing instructions of Vic. Rodrigues (73-74), Motta (103-105), and Ferreira Reimão (15).

<sup>2</sup> See the list of *singraduras* (daily performances of Indian vessels according to the prevailing winds) in Vic. Rodrigues (76-77).

<sup>3</sup> Seb. Gonçalves wrote: "Voyagers are sure to encounter wild storms near the cape. Rarely does a ship avoid the lightning and sudden gusts of wind from Natal" (1, 10). \*Spinola noted that few ships sailed around the cape without encountering storms (385).

<sup>4</sup> Barros 1, 3, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Egusquiza 231.

<sup>6</sup> In 1596 Gaspar Affonso wrote: "All ships place their artillery in the hold when they approach the Cape of Good Hope, and they prepare for the storms that are always raging there" (Gomes de Brito VI 12).

<sup>7</sup> This happened on August 11, 1737, on 28° S and 12° W, thus north of Tristão da Cunha and 432 leagues from the cape (Laimbeckhoven 78; cf. *Welt-Bott*, n. 701, and KM 19 [1891] 140). In 1597 the eight cannons were already placed below the deck at 23° 46' S (*Diarios* 28).

<sup>8</sup> See Müller's account of 1752 in KM 19 (1891) 140, Neugebauer's in 1737 (*Welt-Bott*, n. 701), and *Diarios* 33.

<sup>9</sup> This happened on August 20, 1737, at 34° 30' S 150 leagues from the cape. On August 23, at 35° 30' S, 135 leagues from the cape, the sounding line was readied; but, because of calms and opposing currents; the cape was not rounded until the thirty-first (78-81). Bartoli states that the passengers were shut below deck during the three or four days

cape were no laughing matter, and they were at their height during the months of June, July, and August.<sup>10</sup>

## 2. A STORM-TOSSED SHIP<sup>11</sup>

Storms about the cape were rightly feared.<sup>12</sup> The sky would suddenly be covered with pitch-black clouds, and it would become so dark that the voyagers could hardly see each other.<sup>13</sup> The fire on the hearth would be quenched.<sup>14</sup> Terrifying bolts of lightning rent the awful darkness; thunder crashed; and icy rain splattered on the deck.<sup>15</sup> The wind howled; the foremast bent like a bow; the topsail was quickly lowered so that the mast would not break and the ship capsize.<sup>16</sup> Mountainous waves topped with white foam embraced the ship and seemed to reach the crow's-nest and rise even higher into the heavens. Wild waves swept over the deck, the forecastle, and quarter-deck and bore everything away with them.<sup>17</sup> Ropes had to be tied across the ship so that the crew by hanging on to them could move about.<sup>18</sup> Boxes, barrels, and cannon balls were tossed back and forth and caused such an indescribable confusion that one could not be sure of his life even in his own completely darkened cabin.<sup>19</sup> The opening into the hold was covered with boards, but still the water poured into the ship. Day and night all, including the *fidalgos*, had to labor feverishly at the pumps to remove it.<sup>20</sup> The pilot in his chair, the skipper on the quarter-deck,<sup>21</sup> and the captain at the helm could not shut their eyes as

it took to round the cape (*Asia* 1, 19). In 1548 it took almost twenty days, an exception, for this (DI I 386).

<sup>10</sup> Laimbeckhoven 78 81.

<sup>11</sup> That Xavier experienced one of the usual storms before or after rounding the cape, or both before and after, we conclude from his general statements with regard to the great difficulties of his voyage to India before Mozambique (EX L 92), and in particular from the data furnished by Castanheda. He returned to Portugal from India in 1539 and wrote about the fleet of 1541: "Martim Afonso de Sousa ... partio pera a India ... e succederão-lhe na viagem tão rōis tempos asi de calmarias como de tormentas de ventos contrairos que invernou em Moçambique com toda a armada" (9, 31). We have described such a storm from the accounts of others who sailed around the cape: storms before rounding it in 1554 (DI III 111), 1561 (*ibid.* V 494-496), 1562 (*ibid.* 541-542), 1578 (\*Spinola 385-386), 1561 (DI V 435), and 1564 (*ibid.* VI 297-298); after rounding the cape: in 1548 (*ibid.* I 386-389), 1563 (*ibid.* VI 40-41), 1602 (Pyrard 1, 16-18), 1737 (Laimbeckhoven 84), 1752 (KM 19 [1891] 140), 1555 (DI III 395), and 1581 (\*Porcari 90-91); and also from the general accounts in Bartoli, *Asia* 1, 19; Gonçalo da Silveira (DI III 613-614 623); and *Diarios* 249; cf. Valignano 13-14; and Seb. Gonçalves 1, 10. In 1578 \*Spinola stated: "Few ships sail around the cape without encountering a storm" (385).

<sup>12</sup> "The Cape of Good Hope is so notorius for its storms and lost ships that anyone who sails around it without fear has a stout heart," according to \*Valignano in 1574 (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 196v).

<sup>13</sup> Pyrard 1, 17; Laimbeckhoven 84; DI V 575.

<sup>14</sup> Laimbeckhoven 84; DI VI 41; KM 19 (1891) 140.

<sup>15</sup> Laimbeckhoven 84; DI V 575.

<sup>16</sup> DI V 494, VI 40; \*Porcari 90; ARSI: *Goa* 31, 385.

<sup>17</sup> DI III 111, V 327 494 576, VI 41 297-298; \*Porcari 90; Pyrard 1, 17; Laimbeckhoven 84.

<sup>18</sup> DI III 395v.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 494, VI 41; Laimbeckhoven 84.

<sup>20</sup> DI V 495 ("all without exception"); Linschoten II 149-150; \*Porcari 90; \*Spinola 385; Pyrard 1, 17 ("even the captain").

<sup>21</sup> DI I 385 388, III 111, V 495 ("the pilot at his chair") 576; Linschoten II 149; *Diarios* 42.

long as the storm raged.<sup>22</sup> Only with the greatest efforts could nine or ten men control the rudder, and yet upon them depended the lives of all on board.<sup>23</sup> There was no thought of sleep, and even less of cooking. A biscuit and a gulp of wine was all that one could take.<sup>24</sup> Wind and waves tossed the ship about like a nutshell.<sup>25</sup> All the forces of hell seemed to have been loosed.<sup>26</sup> At times the ship was thrown on its side: the railing and veranda of the captain were under water, and all seemed lost.<sup>27</sup> Only the sailors dared to go on deck.<sup>28</sup> A deathly pallor was seen on every face. There were tears and cries of “Misericordia!” Some made vows; others fell into despair.<sup>29</sup> For twenty-four, or even forty-eight hours a wild battle for life or death raged with the elements.<sup>30</sup> The priest encouraged the people, prayed with them, dipped relics into the sea, sprinkled it with holy water, and exorcised the winds from the quarter-deck;<sup>31</sup> and strong men had to hold him fast so that he would not be swept overboard or be carried away by the wind and waves<sup>32</sup> until the danger had passed and the storm had died down.

### 3. CAPE AGULHAS

At the longitude of Tristão da Cunha the needle of the compass pointed fifteen degrees to the northeast. These constantly decreased as the ship drew nearer to the promontory of the Cape of Good Hope. When the needle pointed to one half of a degree, the pilot declared, to everyone’s relief, that the feared

<sup>22</sup> DI I 388, V 495 576.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* III 111, V 576, I 388 (“Some were injured by the helm; those at the rudder were blinded by a wave.”); KM 19 (1891) 140 (“Those who steered the vessel had to be bound with ropes.”); Laimbeckhoven 82 (“six men at the helm”); cf. Linschoten II 150.

<sup>24</sup> DI V 576, VI 41; Pyrard 1, 17.

<sup>25</sup> DI V 494. In 1554 mention is made of the violent pitching of the ship that tossed the people back and forth (DI III 111; cf. V 576; Pyrard 1, 17). In 1557 Gonçalo da Silveira wrote of his voyage to India: “Numqua se virão membros frios como os que cortam os ventos do Cabo de Boa Speraça; numqua se virão desmayos mortaes como os que se passam nos balamços que sa naos fazem neste Cabo; numqua se virão dar golpes na vida como as machadadas que dam hos mares neste Cabo; numqua se virão termos de morte e tam pramteados como trazem consigo os pecs de vento que fuzilão neste Cabo.” (DI III 623). He asked Ignatius to obtain from the pope special faculties for the confessors of the Society of Jesus during their voyage to India: a plenary indulgence for all who confessed to them every eight or fifteen days, and one for all who did this on one of the three following occasions: (1) in the hour of death; (2) at the beginning of the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, “porque hé passo que dura muitos dias, e ordinariamente correm nele terribilissimas tormentas, e acontecem horrem-dos nafragios, e os mais que se perdem, nele se perdem”; (3) on their arrival in Mozambique or Santa Helena (DI III 613-614).

<sup>26</sup> Fernão da Cunha wrote about the storm which he had experienced at the cape: “The wind was so strong that no one could stand erect; it seemed as if the demons themselves had come with it; and the torrents of rain were so dark that it seemed like hell itself” (DI V 575).

<sup>27</sup> \*Spinola 385; DI VI 41.

<sup>28</sup> DI V 494-495.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* I 386; III 111, V 575-576.

<sup>30</sup> Mention is made of storms lasting twenty-four hours in 1554 (*ibid.* III 111), 1563 (*ibid.* VI 25 41), 1578 (\*Spinola 385), and 1589 (Linschoten II 153; of one lasting two days and two nights in 1562 (DI V 575); three days in 1548 (*ibid.* I 386); eight in 1600 (Santos II 361-363).

<sup>31</sup> See also the accounts for 1548 and 1554 (DI I 387-388, III 111), for 1562 and 1563 (*ibid.* V 576-577, VI 41), and for 1578 (\*Spinola 385).

<sup>32</sup> DI V 576-577.

cape had been rounded.<sup>33</sup> The ship was now south of it at the thirty-sixth degree of latitude. It then headed north in order to catch sight of Cape Agulhas, lying on the thirty-fifth degree to the east of the Cape of Good Hope. Cape Agulhas had received its name from the fact that the needle of a compass here pointed straight north.<sup>34</sup> From here on it shifted continuously towards the northwest as one sailed towards India. After his first voyage to India, Martim Affonso had written to the king from Goa that the principal mistake of the pilots on this route was that they were unwilling to sight the Cape of Good Hope and that His Royal Highness should expressly command them to do so. At times they thought that they were holding a fixed course when, as a matter of fact, they were far off from it. If they caught sight of land, they could correct their error. He had spoken with pilots about this, and they had told him that even if they did not see the cape, they would still catch sight of island of Saint Lawrence and obtain their bearings from it. But this was a mistake: many thought that they had passed beyond this island when they were still on the near side of it and, as a consequence, ran aground and capsized upon it.<sup>35</sup>

The closer one came to the thirty-fifth degree, the more frequent were the signs of the proximity of the land:<sup>36</sup> beds of rushes torn recently from the bank and still without any barnacles clinging to them;<sup>37</sup> sea-wolves, weighing from twenty to thirty pounds and capable of making fantastic leaps into the air;<sup>38</sup> black crows with white beaks;<sup>39</sup> small black penguins;<sup>40</sup> large spotted albatrosses;<sup>41</sup> small white swallows;<sup>42</sup> white gulls with black wingtips;<sup>43</sup> cape divers sitting in swarms upon the sea;<sup>44</sup> and especially *mangas de velludo* (cormorants with white bodies and black wings), a sure sign that Cape Agulhas was near; for this was the only area where this particular species was encountered.<sup>45</sup> The pilot, tossing the sounding line into the sea,<sup>46</sup> found bottom

<sup>33</sup> Motta 103 108; Gaspar Manuel 69-70; and B. Fernandes 58.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. DI III 394; Diogo Afonso 34-35; Vic. Rodrigues 20 ("20° east of Cape Santo Agostinho"); Ferreira Reimão 18; Motta 44-45; Stephens 707, and Castro, who notes however that the needle of the compass points directly north only at a site farther east, near the first cape of the coast of Natal (*Roteiro a Goa* 227-230).

<sup>35</sup> Ford I 255-256.

<sup>36</sup> The signs indicating the proximity of the cape are given in the *Roteiros* of Diogo Afonso, Vic. Rodrigues, Gaspar Manuel, Ferreira Reimão, and Motta; by the accounts of voyages in 1497, 1502, 1522, 1534, 1537, 1538, 1563, 1565, 1567, 1579, 1585, 1596, 1601, and 1704; and in detail by Ferreira Reimão in *Diarios* 45-46 198.

<sup>37</sup> Motta 104.

<sup>38</sup> *Lobos marinhos*. Cf. Vic. Rodrigues 20; Motta 105; \*Confalonieri 128v; Pyrard 1, 14 ("in packs"); B. Fernandes 49 145; *Diarios* 40; Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 227 268; a sure sign of the Cape of Good Hope (Linschoten II 153).

<sup>39</sup> Diogo Afonso 34; B. Fernandes 145; Motta 105; Ferreira Reimão 16; *Diarios* 45-46 198.

<sup>40</sup> *Calcamares*. Cf. Vic. Rodrigues 19; Ferreira Reimão 16; *Diarios* 46; Fontoura da Costa 337-338.

<sup>41</sup> *Entenaes e Alcatrazes*. Cf. Diogo Afonso 34; B. Fernandes 126 145; Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 227; Vic. Rodrigues 20.

<sup>42</sup> *Garajaus*, alias *Sterna fluvialis* (Dalgado I 424); cf. Gaspar Manuel 46 74. They were the surest sign of the proximity of land according to Castro (*Roteiro a Goa* 227).

<sup>43</sup> *Gaivotões*; cf. Diogo Afonso 34; B. Fernandes 126 165; Gaspar Manuel 74; Motta 105; Ferreira Reimão 16; *Diarios* 198.

<sup>44</sup> *Gralhas* (Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 268; Welch, *South Africa under John III* 329; *Borelhos*: "Aparecendo emfindos bandos de borelhos pequenos postos n'agoa, e se alavantarão que ehar fermosura de ver" (*Diarios* 198; cf. 45).

<sup>45</sup> *Mangas de velludo*, alias *Diomedea exulans* (Dalgado II 29); cf. Vic. Rodrigues 20 46; Stephens 708; Linschoten II 149 152; Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 983; *Diarios*

at 181, 525, and 328 feet.<sup>47</sup> The deep blue water turned green.<sup>48</sup> The ocean floor was covered with fine white sand,<sup>49</sup> and in the north the outline of the cape appeared with mountainous peaks in the background.<sup>50</sup> Thanks were given to God for their success.<sup>51</sup> The last great obstacle on the voyage to India had been surmounted. Martim Affonso de Sousa was now in his sphere of command, stretching as it did from the Cape of Good Hope to the far-off Moluccas in the east and to China in the north.<sup>52</sup>

#### 4. ALONG THE COAST OF NATAL

As soon as Cape Agulhas was sighted, ships withdrew a distance of forty leagues from it to prevent their being driven onto the rocky coast and stranded by winds from the south or the prevailing current.<sup>53</sup> They then changed their course to the northeast. After sailing for a week or two through the open sea, the thirty-second degree of latitude was reached.<sup>54</sup> They then sailed westwards

46 198; Pyrard 1, 14; Gaspar Manuel 74; Ferreira Reimão 16; Motta 195; \*Confalonieri 128v; Gomes de Brito X 168; Fontoura da Costa 338; Welch, *South Africa under John III* 318. According to Veiga, these were an infallible sign that the Cape of Good Hope had been rounded (ARSI: *Goa* 32, 594; Trigault 31).

<sup>46</sup> Described by Laimbeckhoven 79.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. B. Fernandes 145; Vic. Rodrigues 19; Gaspar Manuel 46; Motta 106; DI VI 789. When the depth was from 328 to 394 feet, Cape Agulhas could be seen (Motta 103).

<sup>48</sup> B. Fernandes 126; Linschoten II 149 152-153.

<sup>49</sup> Motta noted that the floor of the ocean between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Agulhas consisted of silt or mud; near the reef of Agulhas of coarse black sand mixed with small mussels; near Cape Agulhas at a depth of seventy or eighty fathoms of fine white sand (106). See also Gaspar Manuel 45-46 and *Diarios* 46 198.

<sup>50</sup> See the descriptions in João de Lisboa 146-147, and in the anonymous author (Gabriel Pereira 170). Motta insists on the sighting of Cape Agulhas (105), and Gaspar Manuel refers to the heavy responsibility of the pilots who missed it (44-45). It was sighted, for example, in 1536, 1537, 1555, 1562, 1563, 1579, 1601, and 1716.

<sup>51</sup> In 1621 \*Confalonieri wrote that as soon as the cape had been rounded, a Mass of the Holy Spirit was offered amidst great rejoicing. Whoever had something to eat prepared a cheerful meal and invited his friends to it. He also shared it with the poor, for they now had definite hopes of reaching Goa (129). In 1562 Cape Agulhas was sighted to the great joy of all. The sounding line was thrown overboard but failed to reach the bottom. It was thrown over again on the following day and reached the ocean floor at 361 feet. At the request of the second helmsman, the priest offered a Mass of the Holy Spirit in thanksgiving for this favor (DI V 541).

<sup>52</sup> On this occasion the captain and officers were accustomed to extend their congratulations to the governor, and the latter would present a gift to the chief pilot. (ARSI: *Goa* 35, 211).

<sup>53</sup> DI III 275 597; B. Fernandes 61 165; Gaspar Manuel 46; Motta 105-106.

<sup>54</sup> The data furnished by the accounts of voyages are not clear, since they do not usually indicate if they are referring to the beginning, middle, or end of the coast of Natal. From Cape Agulhas to Natal took an average of eleven days, for example, in 1537. It took five in 1564 (B. Fernandes 145; DI VI 305-306) and 1538, as far as Ponta Primeira (Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 227 254); nine in 1583 (Linschoten 1, 14-15), eleven in 1563 (DI VI 57); sixteen in 1534, as far as Terra dos fumos (B. Fernandes 126-127), and 1737 (Laimbeckhoven 81-83); seventeen in 1538, to Ponta Primeira (B. Fernandes 164-166); twenty in 1562 (DI V 577), twenty-eight in 1565, to Cape Correntes (SR X 663). In 1537 B. Fernandes reached Cape Agulhas on July 1, Natal on the fifth, the bay of Delagoa on the sixth, the Derradeira Terra do Natal on the eleventh, Cape Correntes on the thirteenth, the Baixos da Judia on the nineteenth, and Mozambique on the twenty-fifth (146-147). On March, 4, 1538, André Vaz was near Cape Agulhas, on the twenty-first near Ponta Primeira, on April 2 near the Medãos de ouro (Kosi River), on the eleventh



in order to catch sight of the coast of Natal,<sup>55</sup> which stretched from Ponta Primeira at the thirty-second degree, north of the Rio do Infante, to Cape Santa Luzia at 28° 40' southern latitude.<sup>56</sup> This was a cold land<sup>57</sup> with high, wild mountains,<sup>58</sup> inhabited by naked black men, barbarians who stripped shipwrecked mariners to their skin and then slew them or left them to die of hunger.<sup>59</sup> Those sailing to India frequently saw fires or columns of smoke rising up here from the mountains. The coast north of here had, as a consequence, been given the name of *Terra dos fumos*. It was not known if these columns were sent up by the Negroes or by shipwrecked voyagers waiting for a vessel to rescue them from their desperate plight.<sup>60</sup> But no one dared to land here; and the coast, from the Cape of Good Hope up to the still farther north Cape Correntes, was a *terra incognita* for pilots, whose bays and harbors were as yet completely unexplored. Their correct latitudes were therefore still unknown.<sup>61</sup>

If land was sighted, ships sailed sixty or more leagues out into the open sea so as not to be driven onto the coast by violent storms from the south.<sup>62</sup> The coast of Natal was feared as much as the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>63</sup> The sea rose high, and there was nothing in the east to break the shock of the waves.<sup>64</sup>

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near Cape Correntes, on the twelfth near the Baixos da Judia, on the nineteenth in Mozambique (*ibid.* 164-175). Linschoten was near the Cape of Good Hope on July 11, near Natal on the twentieth, at Cape Correntes on the thirtieth, on August 1 near the Baixos da Judia, and on the fourth in Mozambique (I, 14-17).

<sup>55</sup> The Natal coast was usually sighted. See Castro who gives three sketches and a description of the coast (*Roteiro a Goa* 254-263; Welch, *South Africa under John III* 317-318), and the accounts of voyages in 1508 (Ramos-Coelho 199), 1526, 1537 (B. Fernandes 111 145), 1562 (DI V 529 577), 1563 (*ibid.* 57-59), and 1564 (*ibid.* 305-306; Egusquiza 232). In 1508 the coast was sighted "between the Rio do Infante and Cape Santa Luzia."

<sup>56</sup> According to Castro the Ponta Primeira of the territory of Natal lay at 32° S (*Roteiro a Goa* 261). [See the reproduction of Castro's sketch in PMC I, pl. 59 C.]

<sup>57</sup> "The coast of Natal, which is regarded as the coldest of the lands known on the east side towards the south pole" (Laimbeckhoven 83). "A very cold land with much wind, rain, and snow" (\*Confalonieri 129).

<sup>58</sup> See Castro's description of Ponta Primeira (*Roteiro a Goa* 257 262-263), and that of João de Lisboa, who describes the coast from south to north as far as Cape São Sebastião, not far from Cape Correntes (162-172).

<sup>59</sup> Egusquiza calls them "crudeli bestie" (252).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* Other accounts speak of them as well, for example, Castro in 1538 (*Roteiro a Goa* 262), and B. Fernandes in 1537 (146).

<sup>61</sup> Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 256.

<sup>62</sup> According to Gaspar Manuel, "a ship sails thirty-five or forty leagues from the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Agulhas out into the open sea, and then continues on until it has reached the twenty-seventh degree of latitude, 110 leagues from Cape Correntes" (48). Vic. Rodrigues advises a boat taking the inner route to remain sixty leagues from the coast. Farther to the west there are strong currents towards the southwest, and farther east, for example, eighty or one hundred leagues, there are currents that run towards the east to the island of St. Lawrence (20). On the currents see Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 267-271; Linschoten II 152; DI V 529. Cape Correntes received its name from them.

<sup>63</sup> Linschoten II 146 150.

<sup>64</sup> In 1567 Gaspar Dias wrote: "Natal is no less difficult than the Cape of Good Hope because of its high seas and torrential rains" (SR X 230). In 1564 Fernando Oliveira stated that large ships had to be built for the voyage to India and gave the following reasons: "Large vessels are needed on this route, for near the coast of the Kaffir lands from Mozambique to the cape [of Good Hope] a ship of five hundred tons is swallowed up as easily as a barque from Punhete [Constancia] near the coast between Sacavém and Villafranca" (17). Laimbeckhoven, who sailed through here in August, mentions the

Only a few ships sailed through here without encountering a severe storm, a danger which made this stretch one of the most difficult on the way to India.<sup>65</sup> During some of these, towering waves clashed against each other and made the handling of the sails extremely difficult.<sup>66</sup> Many a ship had sunk here without leaving a trace, or had been shattered on the reefs of Natal.<sup>67</sup> At one time there would be a calm; sails would be hanging lazily down; the air would be clear and the sea tranquil. An hour later there would be a flash of lightning in the clear sky,<sup>68</sup> or a small cloud no larger than a fist would appear. Known to sailors as an "ox-eye," it was a warning that all the sails should be immediately reefed. A storm with thunder, lightning, and showers of rain would suddenly be raging, and the crew would have to fight for their lives with the unchained elements.<sup>69</sup> Here the *Santiago* also had to battle with the weather. Periods of calm kept alternating with opposing winds and frequent showers.<sup>70</sup> Only near Cape Correntes, at the twenty-fourth degree, was the danger passed; for the island of St. Lawrence provided a protective screen against the storms of the Indian Ocean, and the cannons and other equipment which had been in the hold of the ship since before rounding the Cape of Good Hope could now be taken out again.<sup>71</sup>

foam of the waves that reached up to the crow's-nest (83). B. Fernandes notes the high seas even in the absence of a wind (167).

<sup>65</sup> In 1607 Trigault wrote that hardly any ships could escape the storms near Natal (31). In 1563 Braga observed: "On the thirteenth of the month [of July] we were near the coast of Natal, one of the most difficult areas of the whole trip. The storms and tempests are always so severe that the sailors who have experienced them say that only by a miracle do the ships come safely through them, and that most of the boats which are lost are lost upon this coast" (DI VI 57). In 1578 \*Spinola wrote: "There was a great storm with thunder and lightning near the coast of Natal, as is usually the case. The continuous flashes of lightning blinded me. It was night, and it seemed to me like a picture of hell" (386). In 1583 João Rodrigues wrote: "We came to the land of Natal, very much afraid because of the violent storms that rage there. They come all of a sudden and, as a consequence, cause the ships a great deal of trouble. We were fortunate enough to come through here without difficulty, which is seldom the case" (AHSI: *Goa* 13, 177). According to Pyrard, "there are as a rule constantly raging storms between 33° and 28°" (1, 15). Descriptions of such storms along the coast of Natal are given in accounts of voyages for 1502 (Ramusio 144), 1561 (DI V 496), 1563 (*ibid.* VI 40-41 57-58), 1564 (*ibid.* 306), 1578 (\*Spinola 386), 1589 (Linschoten II 147-148), 1602 (Pyrard 1, 16-18), 1607 (Trigault 31-32), 1737 (Laimbeckhoven 84), and 1752 (KM 19 [1891] 137). A summary description has been given by Seb. Gonçalves: "Rarely does a ship escape the lightning and the sudden blasts of wind off Natal, where a thousand difficulties are encountered and the cargo has frequently to be thrown overboard. Here there are tremendous waves which bare the ship's keel and toss the vessel from the crests of the waves down into the abyss. And what must be suffered from the rain-storms at night! A wave sweeps over the deck and, as it recedes, carries away with it chests and many times men as well, who are never seen again. And it is of little help to draw in the mainsail and be carried along at the mercy of the storm with the help of the spare" (1, 10). Linschoten also describes the passage around the cape and along the coast of Natal as the most difficult part of the whole voyage to India (II 146).

<sup>66</sup> DI V 496; Bartoli, *Asia* 1, 19.

<sup>67</sup> In 1557 Gonçalo da Silveira wrote: "The land of Natal, which is usually called the forecourt for the ships that are lost (DI III 624). See also *ibid.* VI 57; SR X 268.

<sup>68</sup> Gaspar Manuel 74; cf. B. Fernandes 59 127 168; \*Spinola 386.

<sup>69</sup> Linschoten II 147. On the change from calms to storms, see Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 284.

<sup>70</sup> Q 859.

<sup>71</sup> Linschoten wrote with respect to his return from India that all of the ropes, because of the Natal storms, were usually tightened here, the cannons placed in the hold for ballast, and all the boxes, jugs, vessels, and lumber for which there was no room below deck thrown overboard (II 146-147).

Before reaching Cape Correntes one had to decide whether to continue the voyage to India along the inner route, past Mozambique, or by the outer, around the southern tip of the island of Saint Lawrence and through the Maldive Islands.<sup>72</sup> Martim Affonso therefore summoned a council of the ship's officers and more experienced *fidalgos* to discuss the matter. In 1535 he had written to John III his conviction that ships could sail at any season of the year to India if they took the outer route past the island of St. Lawrence, even though the inner route was much safer. If one arrived here too late, the wind, attracted by the channel of Mozambique, blew steadily from the east. The king sent of copy of his letter to the count of Castanheira and ordered him to obtain the opinions of the most experienced India pilots about such a course so that he could issue the necessary orders. He added, however, that he believed that he would be better served by ships taking the inner, rather than the outer, route.<sup>73</sup>

It was already late in August,<sup>74</sup> and it would be impossible to reach India this same year by taking the inner route since the southwest monsoon had run its course.<sup>75</sup> But there was no question about taking the outer route. It was feared<sup>76</sup> because of its many, frequently unknown, reefs and shallows, which made it necessary to throw out the sounding line every hour to test the depths, and to anchor the ships at night so as not to become stranded.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, provisions were running low and most of the ropes had by this time become

<sup>72</sup> In 1563 (DI VI 39-40), 1565 (*ibid.* 535), and 1605 (Gaspar Manuel 46), references are made to a royal instruction prescribing such a consultation. The captain held it after rounding the Cape of Good Hope (DI I 362, III 275 395), after Cape Agulhas (Vic. Rodrigues 20), usually near the coast of Natal (Linschoten I 15), or after it (DI VI 535; Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 284; Pyrard 2, 126; *Diarios* 207; \*Confalonieri 129v; \*Spínola 387).

<sup>73</sup> Ford I 254-255; see also A. Lobato, *A Ilha de Moçambique* (Moçambique, 1945) 5-22.

<sup>74</sup> On August 15, 1541, Aleixo de Sousa sailed from Mozambique for Goa. At this time no word of Martim Affonso's fleet had reached the island (Q 859). At the end of February, 1542, the governor left Mozambique with Xavier (Q 984) after having been there for six months (EX I 120). From these data we conclude that Xavier arrived on the island at the end of August, as is stated by Teixeira (838) and Seb. Gonçalves (1, 10). The voyage from the cape to Mozambique required an average of 27 1/2 days: twelve in 1502 (Ramusio 144), twenty in 1564 (DI VI 305-306), twenty-four in 1537 and 1583 (B. Fernandes 145-147; Linschoten I 14-17), twenty-six in 1561 (DI V 225), twenty-eight in 1562 (*ibid.* 541-542), thirty in 1556 and 1562 (*ibid.* III 496-497, V 577), thirty-two in 1538, 1563, and 1567 (Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 227 305; DI VI 382-383; SR X 228-233 266-269), thirty-five in 1565 (DI VI 534-536). B. Fernandes covered the stretch from Derradeira Terra de Natal to Mozambique in fourteen days (146-147). As we have seen above, the average from the cape to Natal was eleven days, and from Natal to Mozambique seventeen. The consultation on Xavier's ship was therefore taken in the middle of August.

<sup>75</sup> In 1555 the ship's officers unanimously decided that they should take the outer route, but because of the resistance of the soldiers they sailed for Mozambique to winter there (DI III 275). Whoever passed the cape after July had to take the outer course since the calms and contrary winds of the Indian Ocean prevented continuing the voyage to Goa along the inner route (Linschoten I 15; Pyrard 2, 126-127).

<sup>76</sup> In 1544 and 1578, when the pilot wanted to take the outer route, soldiers and sailors threatened to rebel (Q 1349; \*Spínola 387). In 1555 Manuel Fernandes wrote that the soldiers had had good reasons for fearing the outer route since this would have meant almost certain death for many of them (DI III 275). Gaspar Dias spoke of this route as the one "so feared by the voyagers to India" (SR X 231). Ferreira Reimão fought against this fear for the outer route (18-19).

<sup>77</sup> Linschoten called the outer route the more dangerous and difficult (I 15). \*Confalonieri said that it was more dangerous because of the shallows (129v).

frayed or broken.<sup>78</sup> Scurvy had already broken out near the coast of Guinea, and the ship was filled with sick. Taking the outer route would have meant their death.<sup>79</sup> There was no alternative but to sail to Mozambique and spend the winter there.

#### 5. BETWEEN CORAL REEFS (AUGUST, 1541)

From the coast of Natal ships sailed northeast into the open sea until they reached the twenty-sixth degree, the latitude of the southern tip of the island of St. Lawrence. Here began the so-called "Strait of Mozambique," which reached up to the twelfth degree. At its entrance it was 200 leagues broad, near Cape Correntes 125, and at its narrowest, near the Angosha Islands, 70. This stretch was considered to be the most dangerous of the whole voyage to India<sup>80</sup> since the ubiquitous coral reefs were a constant hazard. In the west were the "Shallows of Sofala," which lay along the East African coast from the twenty-second to the fifteenth degree; in the east were those of the island of St. Lawrence, reaching far out into the sea. And in between these, within the channel itself—seventy leagues from the African mainland and fifty from Madagascar—<sup>81</sup> were the dreaded *Baixos da Judia* (Shallows of the Jewess),<sup>82</sup> so-called because they had been discovered by the ship of a New Christian known as "the Ship of the Jewess" (*Nao da Judia*).<sup>83</sup> When Dom João de Castro sailed to India in 1538, his pilot had kept so far to their left to avoid them that he was within a hair's breadth of being stranded on the Ilhas Primeiras in the Shallows of Sofala. In the diary which he had kept of his voyage and which he had sent to the king from India with the first boats, Castro had therefore written:

These Ilhas Primeiras are very flat and covered with woods. Their soil is sterile and without water to drink, and seawards from them is a very long and dangerous reef. Our pilot strove to flee from Scylla and ran into Charybdis. Fearing the *Baixos da Judia*, he ran onto this island, an incomparably greater danger. It is only seen when one's nose is right over it. Moreover, the east wind is here so prevalent that it is a marvel that anyone encountering it finds a wind to bring him to Mozambique. Ships as a consequence founder here; their crews die; and the cables for their anchors are destroyed. In short, I do not believe that there is any difficulty that is not encountered in these shallows. Pilots must therefore take great care to avoid them and should, I believe, keep the following course: As soon as we are near Cape Correntes, we must steer directly for the *Baixos da Judia*; and if we catch sight of them, we

<sup>78</sup> Immediately after his arrival M. A. de Sousa wrote to the absent captain of the fortress that he had great need of food and ropes, and the latter later declared that the entire fleet would have been lost without Mozambique (Q 948).

<sup>79</sup> If scurvy had not been prevalent, it broke out on the outer route as the result of a lack of proper food and water. Linschoten called it the usual consequence of this route (I 15).

<sup>80</sup> "Lugar de mayor perigo de toda a viagem," according to Castro in 1538 (*Roteiro a Goa* 296). "One of the most dangerous stretches of the entire voyages to India," according to \*Veiga in 1596 (ARSI: *Goa* 32, 592). Linschoten I 17, Motta 111, and Pyrard 2, 127 give similar opinions.

<sup>81</sup> Pyrard 2, 127.

<sup>82</sup> See the maps in Ferreira Reimão 22, Linschoten (Strandes 150), and in the atlas of Vaz Dourado, map 11.

<sup>83</sup> According to Godinho Cardoso in 1585 (Gomes de Brito IV 16). The name *Baixos da Judia*, seen on the oldest maps, becomes through a false reading *Baixos da India* (Fontourada Costa 306, n. 437).

have safe sailing. If we do not see them, we must reef our sails at night and wait for morning and keep looking for them the whole day long until we have passed beyond their degree of latitude.<sup>84</sup>

From the twenty-fourth degree,<sup>85</sup> according to this advice, ships sailed straight north towards the dangerous shallows<sup>86</sup> which stretched from 22° 30' to 21° southern latitude.<sup>87</sup> The greatest precautions had to be taken, especially since the clouded skies made it impossible to use the astrolabe for determining the degree of latitude. The deflections of the compass's needle, moreover, furnished only a very imperfect indication of the longitude and could easily betray the actual position of a ship.<sup>88</sup> A careful watch was therefore kept from the bow and crow's-nest.<sup>89</sup> Note was taken of the color of the water,<sup>90</sup> of the seaweed floating on it,<sup>91</sup> and of the birds sighted.<sup>92</sup> A ship's anchor was poised for dropping, and its pilot kept letting his line down into the sea to measure its depth.<sup>93</sup> During the night a ship was anchored,<sup>94</sup> and it began to sail again only at dawn. Swarms of black swallows (*garajaus*),<sup>95</sup> white tropical birds,<sup>96</sup> large solitary albatrosses,<sup>97</sup> and other fowl heralded the nearness of the shallows two days<sup>98</sup> before they were finally sighted.<sup>99</sup> Ships then sailed around them

<sup>84</sup> Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 300-301. Because of M. A. de Sousa's great interest in the science of navigation and his great intimacy with the king and his brothers, we can be certain that John III showed the new governor before his departure the *Roteiro* of Castro, which the latter had sent to the king, and that Sousa followed its advice with respect to sighting the Baixos da Judia.

<sup>85</sup> At the height of Cape Correntes.

<sup>86</sup> Ferreira Reimão in 1612 advised sighting the southern cape of the island of St. Lawrence. The later *Roteiros* give the same advice, but Reimão adds: "O que os antigos não faziam, senão irem demandar o baixo da Judia" (19). Diogo Afonso had already recommended this in 1536 (35-37), as Vic. Rodrigues still did in 1591 (21). B. Fernandes sighted the Baixos da Judia in 1537 (146-147), and Dias wrote in 1567 that it was customary to sight them (SR X 232; cf. \*Ataide, *Roiteros* 10 and 13).

<sup>87</sup> Pyrard 2, 127; Linschoten I 17. The whole complex of shallows is meant by this. It contained two islands, one in the northwest at 21° 25' S, the present *Bassas da India*, and the other in the southwest at 22° 20' S, the present *Europa Island*.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 296 301.

<sup>89</sup> Gomes de Brito IV 18; Linschoten I 17; Ferreira Reimão 22; Motta 110.

<sup>90</sup> Motta 112.

<sup>91</sup> "Quem for de meio canal para a ilha de São Iourenço verá no mar umas ervas ou botelha e saragaço que o mar cria, que são como rabos de raposa, felpudos, e quem os vir entenda que vae de meio canal para a ilha" (Gaspar Manuel 75; cf. Motta 111).

<sup>92</sup> "We cannot be near them [the Baixos da Judia] without first seeing many signs, such as swarms of swallows and some birds of the land" (Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 301).

<sup>93</sup> Gaspar Manuel stated that one sailing from 26° S towards the island of St. Lawrence should keep a constant watch and have the sounding line in his hand at night. The depth should be measured every two hours and the anchor should be ready for lowering (48).

<sup>94</sup> Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 301; Ferreira Reimão 22; Motta 110; SR X 232.

<sup>95</sup> *Garajaus*; cf. Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 301; Diogo Afonso 36; B. Fernandes 146; Gomes des Brito IV 24.

<sup>96</sup> *Rabos de Junco*; cf. \*Veiga (ARSI: *Goa* 32, 592); Gabriel Pereira 179.

<sup>97</sup> Diogo Afonso 36; B. Fernandes 146; Vic. Rodrigues 21.

<sup>98</sup> "Three days before," according to \*Veiga (ARSI: *Goa* 32, 592); and Godinho Cardoso notes that three days before being shipwrecked on the southern island they had seen many birds, "*guaraguinhas, alcatraces e garajãos*." The next day they saw still more of the same, but fewer the day after this. He added that if they had been on the Baixos da Judia, they should have seen still more of them, for there are so many on the island that one cannot defend himself against them (Gomes de Brito IV 24).

<sup>99</sup> Castro's description, "a sand island with many trees, harmless on the north, but

to the north,<sup>100</sup> anxiously keeping to the middle of the channel so as not to be driven by winds and storms onto the reefs off the African mainland on the west, or onto those off the island of Saint Lawrence on the east. Neither coast as a consequence came into view.<sup>101</sup>

Beyond the horizon on the twentieth degree of latitude a hundred leagues to the west lay Sofala, the first Portuguese fortress within the province of the new governor.<sup>102</sup> Because of the coral reefs in front of it, the fort could not be reached by large ships like the *Santiago*. Lying south of the mouth of the Cuama River,<sup>103</sup> Sofala was the market where Arabs exchanged ivory,<sup>104</sup> amber,<sup>105</sup> and especially gold from the kingdom of the Monomotapa<sup>106</sup> for bright cottons, silks, and glass beads from Cambay.<sup>107</sup> Many believed that this was the Ophir from which Solomon's fleet obtained the gold for the temple in Jerusalem.<sup>108</sup>

with reefs on the southeast" (*Roteiro a Goa* 301), fits only the northern island, the present Bassas da India, as does that of Dias (SR X 232). Ferreira Reimão gives a map with this description: "a white coral island without trees at 22° 15', with reefs on the northwest" (22-23). In his diary of 1597, however, he writes that this island of Baixos da Judia is different from the one he had seen on his earlier voyage (*Diários* 92). His first description fits only Europa Island, which was also sighted by Cardoso (Gomes de Brito IV 24-28) and Veiga (ARSI: *Goa* 32, 592). We do not know which of the two islands was sighted by the *Santiago* in 1541.

<sup>100</sup> Veiga sailed east around Europa Island. Ferreira Reimão leaves the east and west passages clear (23).

<sup>101</sup> Off the Shallows of Sofala, the Ilhas Primeiras, and Angosha, there was a strong current, especially in August, moving towards the southwest (Ferreira Reimão 20 23-24).

<sup>102</sup> The sources for the history of South Africa are assembled in G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, 9 vols. (London, 1898-1903). Vols. 3, *Papers re Sofala and Mozambique. Reports on Monomotapa* (1899), and 5, *Correspondence with the Viceroy of India* (1901), are pertinent for this period. Theal also wrote a *History of South Africa*, of which Vol. 1 is entitled *The Portuguese in South Africa from 1505 to 1795* (London, 1896). More recent accounts are those of J. Strandes, *Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch-Ostafrika* (Berlin, 1899), which also deals with Mozambique; Sidney R. Welch, *Europe's Discovery of South Africa* (Cape Town, 1935); *South Africa under King Manuel* (*ibid.*, 1946), *under John III* (*ibid.*, 1949), *under King Sebastian and the Cardinal* (*ibid.*, 1949); *Portuguese Rule and Spanish Crown in South Africa* (*ibid.*, 1950); and *Portuguese and Dutch in South Africa* (*ibid.*, 1951); Eric Axelson, *South-East Africa 1488-1530* (London, 1940); and A. Lobato, *A Expansão Portuguesa em Moçambique de 1498 a 1530*, 3 vols. (Lisboa, 1954-1960).

<sup>103</sup> Zambezi.

<sup>104</sup> Herds of elephants were found in the interior. The Kaffirs stated that from four to five thousand of these animals died each year (Barros 1, 10, 1).

<sup>105</sup> Amber was mainly found on the Great Hucica (Bazaruto) Islands south of Sofala (Barbosa I 4-5).

<sup>106</sup> On the different meanings of the name, see *Anthropos* 21 (1926) 485-487, and 35/36 (1940/1941) 561-571. "Benomotapa," as the king was also called, is the *pluralis maiestatis* of Monomotapa. It was the royal title. In 1506 the ruler was Kesaringo, a son of the Mocomba (CA II 386).

<sup>107</sup> Barbosa I 6-9.

<sup>108</sup> In 1540 D. Joam de Castro wrote from Goa to the king: "One who supposed that Sofala is that Ophir where Salomo had his ships laden with gold could not be greatly mistaken" (*Cartas* 26-27; cf. 3 Kings 9:26-28; 10:11; 2 Chron. 8:18; 9, 10). Thomé Lopez, who sailed to India in 1502 with Vasco da Gama as the ship's secretary, said that the Moors had books and documents which stated that the mines from which Solomon had drawn so much gold every three years had been in Sofala, and that the queen of Saba, who brought him a great gift, had been born in that part of India (Ramusio 144v; cf. Pacheco Pereira 16). On the history of Sofala and Mozambique, see, in addition to the chronicles of Correa, Castanhenda, Barros, and Couto, and the general accounts cited in n. 102: J. de Alcântara Guerreiro, *Quadros da História de Moçambique* (Lourenço Marques, 1954); and F. M. Bordalo, *Ensaio sobre a Estatística de Moçambique e suas dependências* (Lisboa, 1859).

During times of peace before the coming of the Portuguese, three or four ships had regularly taken each year from 1,000,000 to 1,300,000 *meticals*<sup>109</sup> of gold from Sofala,<sup>110</sup> but the smuggling of the Arabs, their hatred for their new rivals, and civil war within the interior had put such a check on the export of gold that the income of the factory hardly covered more than the expenses for its garrison and ships. Many were therefore of the opinion that the only remedy was to drive all the Moors out of the country.<sup>111</sup> But in 1512 the captain had written to the king that this would be impossible: there were ten thousand of them scattered throughout the territory of the Monomotapa,<sup>112</sup> and without Arab middlemen hardly any gold at all would come from there for exchange at the factory.<sup>113</sup>

The Monomotapa,<sup>114</sup> the gold king, lived a twenty to twenty-four days' journey from Sofala within the interior of the country.<sup>115</sup> His kingdom stretched south from the Cuama River to the region of the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>116</sup> His capital was extensive and consisted of round huts made of wood and straw, but his own royal dwelling was a large, tall building. He daily received rich gifts from his vassal princes,<sup>117</sup> and his thousand wives were the daughters of the leaders of the land.<sup>118</sup> The Monomotapa, however, also lived at times

<sup>109</sup> The *metical* (Arabic: *mithqāl*) was a weight in gold which originally corresponded to the Roman denarius of seventy-five grams. The *metical* of Sofala was worth eighty-five *reis* more than that of Melinde, as Freitas wrote to the king in 1530 (Q 127). According to Nunez (1554) the *metical* of Melinde was equal to 360 *reis*, whereas that of Sofala had been equal to 467 *reis* since 1516, and that as weight in gold a *metical* was equal to 4.83 grams of fine gold (55 63-64). Thomé Lopes wrote in 1502 that the *metical* of Sofala was worth 1 1/3 ducats (Ramusio 144v). For further data see Dalgado II 43-44; Ferrand, *Poids* 67-68; Strandes 330.

<sup>110</sup> According to Alcáçova (CA II 388). According to Thomé Lopez, Arab ships in times of peace annually carried away from Sofala two million *meticals* of gold (Ramusio 144v).

<sup>111</sup> Letter of Almeida in 1527 (Guerreiro, *Quadros* 127-128).

<sup>112</sup> Letter of Saldanha in 1512 (CA III 333). The majority were probably superficially Islamicized Negroes.

<sup>113</sup> Letter of Pero Vaz Soares in 1513 (Guerreiro, *Quadros* 112).

<sup>114</sup> The principal accounts of the Monomotapa for our period are the following: Alcáçova's letter of 1506 (CA II 385-390); the descriptions in Barbosa of 1516 (I 9-13) and Barros of 1552 (I, 10, 1). Latter accounts are given by Monclaro in 1569 (*Boletim da Soc. de Geographia de Lisboa* [1883] 492-508 542-563); Santos of 1609 (I 194-226); Couto of 1612 (9, 22-25); Seb. Gonçalves of 1614 (8, 13-16; 10, 21-23); Bocarro, *Decada* 13 of 1635 (534-542); Barreto of 1667 (*Boletim da Soc. de Geogr. Lisboa* [1883] 33-35); Frey Antonio da Conceição of 1669 (*Chronista do Tissuary* 2 [1867] 39 63 84 105 132); Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado* of 1710 (I, 5, 2, 26-36); Melo de Castro, *\*Noticia do Imperio de Marave* of 1763 (Lisbon, Ac. Ciências: 384 azul); and Pinto de Miranda, "Memoria" of 1766, in A. A. de Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista* (Lisboa, 1955) 303-312. See also G. McCall Theal, *Records* IV. Three of the more recent studies should be particularly noted: P. Schebesta, "Die Zimbabwe Kultur" *Anthropos* 21 [1926] 484-522, who uses the customs and morals of the Baganda as a comparison; H. v. Sicard, "Drei grundlegende Wörter der süderthraischen Kultur" (*ibid.* 35/36 [1940/1941] 561-585); and B. G. Paver, *Zimbabwe Cavalcade* (London, 1957). O. Quelle gives a survey of recent studies in "Neue Forschungen über das Reich Monomotapa," *Die Erde* 2, 1 (1950-1951) 31-36.

<sup>115</sup> A ten or twelve days' march according to Portuguese calculations, but twenty or twenty-four days' according to those of the natives, who only marched in the morning, as Alcáçova observed in 1506 (CA II 386). According to Barbosa, Zimbabwe was a fifteen or twenty days' journey from Sofala, and the usual stopping place of the Monomotapa was a six days' march from there (I 11).

<sup>116</sup> Barbosa I 11-12. The true boundaries were the Zambezi in the north and the Limpopo in the south in western Angola.

<sup>117</sup> Barbosa I, 11-12; Barros 1, 10, 1.

<sup>118</sup> Barros 1, 10, 1.

in another city a six days' walk from his usual residence.<sup>119</sup> This lay in the land of Butua<sup>120</sup> and was called Zimbabwe, "the King's Court."<sup>121</sup> Arab merchants declared that there were ancient ruins at this site built by an earlier people who had lived there in the midst of the oldest gold mines before the people of the Monomotapa. Among the ruins was a four-cornered fortress of a stupendous size built of hewn stones without mortar, and much more cleverly put together than the stone fortress of the Portuguese in Sofala. It was surrounded by other stone buildings with a lofty tower. Over its main gate was an inscription which no one could read, and the inhabitants maintained that the buildings were the work of the devil.<sup>122</sup>

The "Kaffirs," as the pagan, black, curly-headed natives were called by the Arabs,<sup>123</sup> were an uncultured and barbarous people. Men and women wore a cotton skirt; the married women also covered their breasts. Prominent individuals also wore at times the skins of wild animals as a sign of dignity. They were a warlike people, using swords carried in wooden scabbards tricked with gold, javelins, and bows and arrows as weapons.<sup>124</sup> Though they were pagans, they had no idols or magicians. They honored a higher being, called "Mozimo," and severely punished theft and adultery.<sup>125</sup> A Portuguese by the name of Antonio Fernandes, who had lived in the country since 1501 and had a complete mastery of the language, had gone to the farthest territory of the Monomotapa in the west, the vassal kingdom of Butua, in order to visit the gold mines.<sup>126</sup> The captains of Sofala later had the Cuama River with its gold beds and market places explored.<sup>127</sup> Trade, however, within the kingdom of the Monomotapa was hindered by the almost uninterrupted civil war.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Barbosa I 13.

<sup>120</sup> Butua, the kingdom of Torwa in modern Rhodesia, was the true gold country. It was the kingdom of the Barotse, who repeatedly revolted against the foreign Monomotapa (Alcáçova in CA II 386-387; Schebesta 488-489). Sicard assumes that in the first half of the fifteenth century Mutapa, the military commander of the Karanga, crossed the Zambezi; captured the kingdom of Butua-Torwa (Matabeleland, in Rhodesia), and thus became the first Monomotapa (566).

<sup>121</sup> By this is meant Great Zimbabwe, near Fort Victoria, which has the most famous ruins. Up till the present, three hundred such ruined sites have been discovered. They are usually near gold fields. The term Zimbabwe was often used for "Royal Court" even in the city where the Monomotapa resided. On the name see Sicard 582-585.

<sup>122</sup> The name is already found in Alcáçova in 1506 (CA II 386-387; see also Barbosa I 12). Barros gives a description of the ruins from accounts given of them by Arab merchants to Vic. Pegado, the captain of Sofala from 1531 to 1538 (I, 10, 1). They were rediscovered in 1871 by K. Mauch and later described by him (*Reise im Innern von Süd-Afrika* [Gotha, 1874]). Further descriptions on the basis of excavations are given by J. Th. Bent, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* (London, 1891); and G. Caton-Thompson, *The Zimbabwe Culture, Ruins and Reactions* (Oxford, 1931). Views as to the age of the ruins range from the eleventh century B.C. to the thirteenth A.D. In 1953 A. J. E. Goodwin stated that the charcoal remains found in the ruins can be dated on the basis of recent investigations from 450 to 700 A.D., and that the Indian or Malayan glass beads found there also go back to before 700 (cf. *Anthropos* 49 [1954] 329; *National Geographical Magazine* 114 [1958] 247; and R. Mauny, "Notes sur le Problème Zimbabwe-Sofala," *Studia* 1 [Lisboa, 1958] 176-183). On the enigmatic inscription and its history, see W. G. L. Randles, *L'image du Sud-est Africain dans la Littérature Européenne au XVIe siècle* (Lisboa, 1959) 67-70.

<sup>123</sup> Kaffir: "nonbeliever," "pagan" (Barbosa I 10).

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.* 10-11.

<sup>125</sup> Barros I, 10, 1.

<sup>126</sup> Hugh Tracey, *António Fernandes, descobridor do Monomotapa 1514-1515*, trad. Caetano Montez (Lourenço Marques, 1940); Lobato III 213-245.

<sup>127</sup> Guerreiro, *Quadros* 125; Bordalo 105.



Arab merchants had also anticipated<sup>129</sup> the Christians in coming to the large but still little known island of St. Lawrence.<sup>130</sup> When the Portuguese landed on the coasts of the island, they encountered peaceful, black or brown, curly-headed fishers, who spoke a different language from that of the Negroes of the African mainland and readily brought pigs, geese, chickens, fish, millet, rice, yams and other provisions to them for sale.<sup>131</sup> But they also found there Moorish settlements that were hostile to their coming. With the exception of some ginger, there was nothing on the island of interest for trade.<sup>132</sup> Besides this, the coasts were extremely dangerous because of their coral reefs. Ships had repeatedly been stranded and sunk off the island since it was first visited in 1500 by Diogo Dias.<sup>133</sup> In 1524 Dom Luis de Meneses, the brother of the former governor of India, had disappeared without leaving a trace on his return voyage from India. But before the fleet of Martim Affonso de Sousa set sail for India in 1541, the veil over the fate of Dom Luis de Meneses had been lifted. In 1536 Diogo de Silveira had captured a French pirate ship, whose captain on the rack had declared that his brother had captured the lost vessel not far from the Portuguese coast and, after plundering it, had burned it and its crew in order to leave no trace of his deed.<sup>134</sup>

Three degrees north of the Baixos da Judia, on the eighteenth degree of latitude, the channel became narrower. On the left, within the Shallows of Sofala and close to the African coast, lay the feared Ilhas Primeiras, barely rising up above the mirror of the waters. Here the *Santo Antonio* had been sunk in 1512.<sup>135</sup> Farther north were the Angosha Islands. On the right, near the Shallows of Madagascar was the flat island of Joam da Nova, where the ship of Affonso Vaz Azambuja had been stranded on its voyage to India. The crew had managed to survive for fifty-two days on provisions rescued from the wreck and on the island's countless birds, which were so tame that they could be caught by hand, until a ship came from Mozambique and freed them from their plight. Another ship of the same fleet had disappeared without leaving a trace of mice or men in the Shallows of Sofala.<sup>136</sup> In order to avoid a similar fate, ships therefore sailed ten or fifteen leagues west of the island of Joam

<sup>128</sup> In 1506 civil war had already been raging for twelve or thirteen years (CA II 386-387). In 1518 and even in 1527 the rebel Inhamunda held the territory between Sofala and that of the Monomotapa and was an obstacle to trade (Ramos-Coelho. 435; Guerreiro, *Quadros* 127; cf. Lobato II 45 49-50 62-64 81-84 91). In August, 1542, \*Sepúlveda wrote that the vassals of the Monomotapa had been in revolt for two years and were preventing any goods from coming to Sofala (Q 984).

<sup>129</sup> First mentioned by Masūdi about 943 A.D. (cf. Barbosa I 24, n. 2).

<sup>130</sup> Marco Polo gave the island its name of Madagascar. On the first voyages there see A. Grandidier, *Collection des ouvrages anciens concernant Madagascar* 1 (Paris, 1903), which has the routes of the travelers (maps, pp. 2 16 48 54), and A. Kammerer, "La découverte de Madagascar pour les Portugais et la cartographie de l'île," *Boletim da Soc. Geogr. de Lisboa* 67 (1949) 521-632.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.* 23-26; Castanheda 2, 21 30-31 106; Barros 2, 4, 3.

<sup>132</sup> Barros 2, 4, 3; Castanheda 2, 106; 3, 71.

<sup>133</sup> According to Correa, Dias landed on the island on the feast of St. Lawrence, August 10, 1500, and gave it its name (I 153). According to Castanheda, Gomes d'Abreu did this in 1506 (2, 3). According to Figueiredo Falcão, it was Diogo Lopez de Sequeira in 1508 (143). On the controversy see Fontoura da Costa 310, n. 447.

<sup>134</sup> Correa II 854-855.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.* 290-291.

<sup>136</sup> Barros 4, 3, 6.

da Nova without sighting it;<sup>137</sup> they then, because of the strong, southwest current, continued northeast to the fifteenth degree, the height of Mozambique, and then westward<sup>138</sup> until the African coast came into view. A flat mountain of the interior, the Mesa, falling off steeply on the right and left, rose up like an island out of the sea. There then appeared on its left, before the flat coast of the mainland was sighted, the round outline of Mount Pão.<sup>139</sup> As the ships drew nearer, the voyagers could see small, flat, uninhabited islands, São Jorge on the right and São Tiago on the left,<sup>140</sup> and then a large, extensive island, also flat, covered with coconut palms. From its rocky projection on the north they were greeted by a small white church, Nossa Senhora do Baluarte.<sup>141</sup> Between it and a flat tongue of the mainland on the right, the Cabaceira, they then sailed, with Mount Pão in the interior before them,<sup>142</sup> into a broad bay. On the left, in the center of the main island, were the tower, walls, and pinacles of a fortress, and a church and a number of houses close by.<sup>143</sup> The *Santiago* let its anchor down into the sea. It was the end of August.<sup>144</sup> Mozambique, the first stop on the voyage to India had been reached.

<sup>137</sup> Diogo Afonso 37; Vic. Rodrigues 21; cf. Gaspar Manuel 49-50; Ferreira Reimão 23; Motta 113.

<sup>138</sup> Vic. Rodrigues 21; Gaspar Manuel 51; Motta 113.

<sup>139</sup> Ferreira Reimão 25; Motta 115; Rego 146-147.

<sup>140</sup> João de Lisboa 175; Diogo Afonso 38; Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 305-307, with a picture; Vic. Rodrigues 22; Ferreira Reimão 25; Motta 115-117.

<sup>141</sup> "Visible from afar" (SR X 234); cf. Diogo Afonso 38; Ferreira Reimão 25; Motta 116.

<sup>142</sup> Ferreira Reimão 25; around 1545 Manuel Alvares already called it a landmark (76).

<sup>143</sup> See the picture in Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 306 [reproduced in PMC I, pl. 59 B]; Guerreiro, *Quadros* 98.

<sup>144</sup> See above, n. 74. Couto writes that it was already September when all of the ships of the fleet arrived in Mozambique (5, 8, 1). According to Correa, the five ships did not arrive until October, "for Nuno Pereira arrived in Goa from Melinde in the royal merchantman on November 22 and said that he had sailed from there at the end of September and that in Mozambique no word had as yet been received [when he sailed from there] of the ships sailing from the kingdom" (IV 114-115).

## CHAPTER V

### THE "GRAVE OF THE PORTUGUESE" (AUGUST, 1541—FEBRUARY, 1542)

#### 1. PORTUGUESE AND ARABS

When they first came to the East African coast, the Portuguese everywhere encountered Moorish settlements near those of the native Negroes. Their inhabitants were partly of Persian, partly of Arab, origin,<sup>1</sup> often with a strong mixture of Negro blood; and they knew both Arabic and the language of the country. Sofala, Cuama, Angosha, Mozambique, Comoro, Kerimba, Kilwa,<sup>2</sup> Mafia, Zanzibar,<sup>3</sup> Pemba, Mombasa,<sup>4</sup> Melinde,<sup>5</sup> Lāmū,<sup>6</sup> Patta,<sup>7</sup> Barāwa and Mogadishu,<sup>8</sup> were well built cities erected on coastal islands for the sake of security or, if they were on the mainland, protected by walls from attacks of Negro bands from the interior. Their prosperous inhabitants wore a long white cotton robe

<sup>1</sup> See in addition to Strandes: W. Hirschberg, "Die arabisch-persisch-indische Kultur an der Ostküste Afrikas," *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 61 (1931) 269-284; M. L. Devic, *Le pays des Zendjs, ou la côte orientale de l'Afrique au moyen-âge d'après les écrivains arabes* (Paris, 1883); C. Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la Géographie et le Commerce de l'Afrique Orientale* 1 (Paris, 1856) 155-304; C. H. Stigand, *The Land of Zinj, Being an Account of British East Africa, Its Ancient History and Present Inhabitants* (London, 1913); F. Storbeck, "Die Berichte der arabischen Geographen des Mittelalters über Ostafrika," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* 17.2 (Berlin, 1914) 97-169; C. A. Robinson, "The Shirazi Colonisation of East Africa," *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 7 (1939) 40-81; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast: Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1962).

<sup>2</sup> On Kilwa see the Arabic chronicle of Kilwa, ed. and trans. in extracts by S. A. Strong, "The History of Kilwa," *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* (1895) 385-430. The chronicle was used by Barros 1, 8, 4, and 6; and G. Ferrand, "Les sultans de Kilwa," *Mémoires Henri Basset* (Paris, 1928) 239-260.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W. Ingrams, *Zanzibar. Its History and Its People* (London, 1931). A Zanzibar mosque contains Arabic inscriptions of 1107 A.D. (*Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* [1922] 257-264).

<sup>4</sup> Mombasa was founded by Persian merchants from Shīrāz. An Arabic chronicle of Mombasa was used by Guillain I 614-622.

<sup>5</sup> According to a local tradition, Melinde was founded by Persians (Barbosa I 22, n. 2).

<sup>6</sup> Lāmū was founded by Zaidites from Persia. Cf. A. Werner, "The Swahili Saga of Liongo Fumo," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 4 (1926-1928) 247-255; William Hichens, "Kabaral-Lamu. A Chronicle of Lamu," *Bantu Studies* XII (1938) 1-33.

<sup>7</sup> Patta was an Arabic foundation. The first Swahili lord was the Bantu Negro Buana Mkou (1539-1565). See A. Werner, "A Swahili History of Pate," *Journal of the African Society* 14 (1915) 148-161 278-297 392-413; and M. Heepe, "Suaheli-Chronik von Pate," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* 31.3 (Berlin, 1928) 145-192 and I-XXVIII.

<sup>8</sup> According to the chronicle of Kilwa, Mogadishu and Barāwa were founded by Arabs from al-Ahsā in eastern Arabia, who had been pushed out by the advancing Persians (Barros 1, 8, 4). Finds of Chinese coins from 845 to 1163 give evidence to Mogadishu's early trade with China (Strandes 87-88); the inscriptions since the thirteenth century are given by Enrico Cerulli, *Somalia* I (Roma, 1957) 2-40.

reaching down to the ankles, a stitched, sleeveless, velvet jacket, a gold-trimmed turban, and a dagger adorned with silver at their belt, or costly silk clothes. The poorer classes and the Negro slaves were content with a cotton skirt, the women wore veils and rich gold and silver ornaments on their ears, neck, arms, and legs. The men used small shields, curved Moorish swords, javelins, and bows and poisoned arrows as weapons.<sup>9</sup> They sailed along the coast from Mogadishu in the north to Sofala in the south in *zambucos*, small, open ships like the Arab dhows, with a mast and a large, three-cornered, matted sail, their planks held together by wooden pins and coconut fibers without iron nails. They traded their wares, bright cotton cloths, glass beads, and even silks from Cambay, Ormuz, and Arabia, for gold ivory, amber, wax, honey, and other products.<sup>10</sup> The small settlements were under a sheik, the larger ones under a king. In the more populous towns, pagan and Mohammedan merchants from India were also encountered. They brought their wares over the Indian Ocean, finding their way by means of compasses, quadrants, and Arabic sea maps.<sup>11</sup> By the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, Kilwa had become rich through trading in gold with the land of the Monomotapa<sup>12</sup> and had subjected the following cities in the south: Sofala, Cuama, Angosha, and Mozambique.<sup>13</sup> Whereas the sheik of Sofala had only ten thousand<sup>14</sup> subjects in his small domain, and that of Angosha twelve thousand,<sup>15</sup> there were thirty thousand in Kilwa, four thousand of whom were living in the city proper.<sup>16</sup> The number of inhabitants of Mombasa was at this same time estimated at ten thousand.<sup>17</sup>

In 1487 Bartholomeu Dias had been the first to sail around the Cape of Good Hope, and from there he had pushed on to the southern boundary of Natal, the Rio do Infante. On March 2, 1498, Vasco da Gama had appeared with three ships before Mozambique while searching for the way to India and had discovered there a Moorish settlement—a group of huts covered with palm leaves and two large buildings with mud walls and flat roofs, the mosque and the dwelling of the sheik. A row of large and small ships lay in the harbor, and the newcomers were able to converse through their interpreters in Arabic with the inhabitants. They were graciously received by the ruler of the island and furnished with provisions and pilots for continuing their voyage. On March 11, on the uninhabited island of São Jorge, a scant league away from the main island, the first Mass was celebrated in this land by the ship's chaplain under the shade of a large tree. When the strangers let it be known that they were

<sup>9</sup> On the Mohammedan culture of East Africa before, and at the time of, the arrival of the Portuguese, see Strandes 81-100; Barbosa I 17-31; Hümmerich, *Die erste Handelsfahrt* 40-62.

<sup>10</sup> Barbosa I 6-8 20-23; Strandes 97; Santos I 332-333.

<sup>11</sup> *Diario* 36; Hümmerich, *Die erste Handelsfahrt* 42.

<sup>12</sup> In 1506 Alcáçova gave a precise description of the taxes which the merchants had to pay to the king of Kilwa (CA II 388-389).

<sup>13</sup> Barbosa I 18. According to the chronicle of Kilwa, King Sulaimān (1178-1195) captured a great part of the coast and purchased dominion over Sofala, Pemba, Zanzibar, and Mafia (Barros I, 8, 6, p. 227). The three last islands, however, had again become independent when the Portuguese arrived.

<sup>14</sup> Alcáçova in 1506 (CA II 388).

<sup>15</sup> Saldanha in 1512 (*ibid.* III 330).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* II 388; Hümmerich, *Die erste Handelsfahrt* 44. Correa speaks of twelve thousand citizens (I 276).

<sup>17</sup> In 1505 (Hümmerich, *Die erste Handelsfahrt* 56-57).

Christians, the people became hostile; and the Portuguese were forced to fire their cannons to intimidate them.<sup>18</sup>

Vasco da Gama sailed from Mozambique along the coast but, through the fault of his Moorish pilot, failed to catch sight of Kilwa. At Mombasa the Mohammedan sultan wanted to lure the Portuguese into the harbor in order to make an attack upon them. Divers who had been sent to cut the ropes of the ship's anchors were discovered in time.<sup>19</sup> But in the neighboring, rival city of Melinde, the Portuguese were warmly received and obtained a pilot who showed them the way to India.<sup>20</sup> The following year, on his voyage back to Portugal, Vasco da Gama bombarded Mogadishu, the richest and most powerful city on the coast; but he was well received by the sultan of the fertile island of Zanzibar and furnished with all he needed to continue his voyage.<sup>21</sup>

Ever since the discovery of the way to India, new Portuguese fleets appeared in the East year after year, and they always found a hearty welcome in Melinde. Amir Ibrāhīm bin Mahmūd,<sup>22</sup> the king of Kilwa, on the other hand, at the time of Cabral's visit in 1500 and of João da Nova's in 1501,<sup>23</sup> was hostile and treacherously disposed towards them. When Vasco da Gama sailed a second time for India in 1502, he reduced the Moorish prince to subjection and forced him to pay an annual tribute of 1,500 *meticals* in gold.<sup>24</sup> From this, the first gold to come from the land of the Monomotapa, King Manuel had a splendid Gothic monstrance made and given to his favorite foundation, the monastery of Belém.<sup>25</sup> In 1505 Ibrāhīm refused to pay the tribute to the viceroy, Dom Francisco de Almeida, on his way to India. This occasioned a battle. The city was captured, the king banished, and a fortress built;<sup>26</sup> but King Manuel ordered this to be abandoned in 1512 as being unnecessary.<sup>27</sup> The prince could then return from exile. Profiting by his experience, he remained at peace with the Portuguese from then on. But he paid no more tribute.<sup>28</sup> The grandeur of Kilwa was, nonetheless, gone forever since he no longer collected any tolls. Of his former vassals, the sheik of Sofala had asserted his independence;<sup>29</sup> Mozambique was under the dominion of the Portuguese; and Angosha was in ruins since its destruction in 1512. The newcomers had seized most of the trade for themselves, and civil war in the land of the Monomotapa was cutting off the export of gold.

In 1503 Zanzibar and the neighboring island of Pemba had also been com-

<sup>18</sup> *Diario* 31-41; Barros 1, 4, 3-5; Castanheda 1, 5-7; Correa I 34-43; Strandes 20-25.

<sup>19</sup> *Diario* 43-49; Barros 1, 4, 5; Castanheda 1, 8-9; Correa I 43-46; Strandes 25-27.

<sup>20</sup> *Diario* 50-57; Barros 1, 4, 6; Castanheda 1, 10-13; Correa I 46-71; Strandes 27-31.

<sup>21</sup> *Diario* 114-117; Barros 1, 4, 11; Castanheda 1, 27; Strandes 32-34.

<sup>22</sup> Barros 1, 8, 6, S. 230.

<sup>23</sup> Barros 1, 5, 3 and 10; 1, 8, 6; Castanheda 1, 32; Strandes 38-43; differently, Correa I 236-237.

<sup>24</sup> Barros 1, 6, 3; Castanheda 1, 44; Correa I 276-284. According to Barros, the tribute amounted to five hundred *meticals* (584 *cruzados*); according to Castanheda, Botelho (*Tombo* 16), and Goes (*Chronica* 1, 68), he promised two thousand *meticals*. But according to Vasco da Gama (Luciano Cordeiro, *Questões Histórico-Coloniais* 2 [Lisboa, 1936] 206) and two others who took part in the voyage, he gave fifteen hundred (Strandes 45-49).

<sup>25</sup> Barros 1, 6, 7; picture in HCPB I 12.

<sup>26</sup> Barros 1, 8, 3-7; Castanheda 2, 2-3; Correa I 535-544; Hümmerich, *Quellen* 112-113 128-129 150; *idem*, *Die erste Handelsfahrt* 43-54; Strandes 57-65.

<sup>27</sup> Barros 2, 7, 2; Barbosa I 18-19; Correa II 290; Strandes 108-109.

<sup>28</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 16; cf. Strandes 108.

<sup>29</sup> Alcáçova 1506 (CA II 389).

pelled to pay an annual tribute.<sup>30</sup> When the two islands rebelled six years later, they were recaptured and sacked;<sup>31</sup> and in 1519, after the people of these islands and their fellow Mohammedans in Kilwa and Mafia had murdered the survivors of a stranded Portuguese ship and seized their wares and artillery, they were hanged as an object lesson for others.<sup>32</sup> From then on, the two sultans remained vassals of Portugal, especially after the Portuguese had, at their request, conducted a punitive expedition against the rebellious island of Kerimba and reduced it to subjection.<sup>33</sup> Mafia, the southernmost of the three islands, also paid tribute in 1506.<sup>34</sup>

The large and wealthy Moorish city of Mombasa was more stubborn. Dom Francisco de Almeida had therefore captured, sacked, and burned it in 1505, causing the death of more than 1,500 of its inhabitants.<sup>35</sup> But the Moors had hardly recovered from this blow when they began to cause trouble for Melinde and Zanzibar, both friendly to the Portuguese. In 1529 the governor of India, Nuno da Cunha, therefore destroyed and burned the city again.<sup>36</sup> Punishment had also fallen on the other settlements in the north, where in 1507 Tristão da Cunha reduced Oja to ruins, forced Lāmū to pay tribute, and slew fifteen hundred Moors in the capture of Barāwa.<sup>37</sup> Now, after the second destruction of Mombasa, a deputation came from the Republic of Barāwa to the governor in Melinde promising an annual tribute of 250 *meticals* in gold.<sup>38</sup> As a reward for their submission, the cities that paid taxes received protection from the Portuguese and free passage. This enabled them to engage their ships in unrestricted trade.<sup>39</sup> But Mogadishu, the strongest Moorish city on the coast,<sup>40</sup> had defiantly maintained its independence.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Barros 1, 7, 4; Castanheda 1, 64; Correa I 414-416; Strandes 50-51.

<sup>31</sup> Barros 2, 4, 2; Strandes 109.

<sup>32</sup> Barros 3, 3, 9; Castanheda 5, 29; Correa II 576.

<sup>33</sup> Barros 3, 7, 7; Castanheda 6, 43; Correa II 756-757; Strandes 116; Lobato II 162-167.

<sup>34</sup> Barros 2, 4, 2; Strandes 103.

<sup>35</sup> Barros 1, 8, 7-8; Castanheda 2, 4-6; Correa I 544-561; Strandes 66-74. Three further contemporary accounts are given by Hümmerich, *Quellen* 114-115 129-132 151. Cf. *idem*, *Die erste Handelsfahrt* 45-66.

<sup>36</sup> Barros 4, 3, 5-8; Castanheda 7, 88; Correa III 312-316; Strandes 115-124.

<sup>37</sup> Barros 2, 1, 2; Castanheda 2, 36-38; Strandes 75-79. Correa confuses Oja with Angosha (I 668-678).

<sup>38</sup> Barros 4, 3, 8; Strandes 124.

<sup>39</sup> Barros 1, 7, 4; Sousa, *Documentos arábicos* 67-73 85-86 123-125; Strandes 52 110-111; CA III 337; Q 3268 3615.

<sup>40</sup> Barbosa I 31; Goes, *Chronica* 2, 22.

<sup>41</sup> Barros 1, 4, 11; 1, 5, 9; Castanheda 1, 27; 2, 8 38 85 117; 5, 29; Correa I 560 678; Strandes 80 110.

<sup>42</sup> Descriptions of the island are given by the *Diario* in 1498 (31-41); Varthema in 1507 (328-330); Barbosa in 1516 (I 15-16); Castro in 1538 (*Roteiro a Goa* 306-307, with a picture); Barros in 1552 (1, 4, 3-4); Egusquiza in 1564 (237-240); Linschoten in 1596 (I 18-24, with a picture); Santos in 1609 (I 268-272, gives its state before the siege of 1607); Bocarro in 1635 (*Livro* 4-15, with a picture); \*Boym in 1644 (150-152v, detailed on the land and people); Laimbeckhoven in 1737 (97-111, with a plan of the island). Maps or panoramas are given by Castro in 1538 (*Roteiro a Goa* 306) [See the reproduction of Castro's drawing in PMC I, pl. 59 B]; Abreu in 1558 (Lagôa, *Grandes* I 215) [See Abreu's drawing, from about 1564, in PMC I, 87 A]; Linschoten in 1596 (I, title picture); Bocarro in 1635 (*Livro* 4); \*Anonymous, after 1635 (München, Staatsbibliothek: *Hisp. 81, iconogr.* 162); Faria y Sousa in 1674 (II 223, crude); Laimbeckhoven in 1737 (96, detailed); Prévost in 1746-1748 (*Histoire Générale des Voyages* I 71, V 211).

2. MOZAMBIQUE, AN ISLAND OF FEVER <sup>42</sup>

When Vasco da Gama returned to Mozambique in 1502, the sheik whom he had met there four years before was dead. The new sheik remained at peace with the Portuguese and recognized their authority,<sup>43</sup> and his neighbors did the same.<sup>44</sup> Because of its excellent harbor and the protection which it provided against storms, Mozambique was the regular stopping place for the India fleets. There they could take on water and provisions, obtain wood and tackle, and spend the winter if necessary. The island's central position, moreover, made it the focal point of Portuguese trade on the East African coast and a station for their patrol boats in their war on smuggling. A factory was therefore set up on the island,<sup>45</sup> and in 1507-1508 a fortress was erected to protect it. This was a square building, surrounded by a wall with battlements and loopholes and equipped with a strong, three-storied keep and corner towers. Within it were a large warehouse and living quarters for the factor and his assistants and a cistern for catching rain water.<sup>46</sup> Contemporary with, and next to, the

<sup>43</sup> Barros 1, 5, 2; 1, 6, 3; Castanheda 1, 32; Correa I 158-161 236 272-276; Botelho, *Tombo* 7; Strandes 44.

<sup>44</sup> Xavier calls them "Moros de pazes" (EX I 120). In 1516 Barbosa mentions their submissiveness (I 16). Their sovereign used the title of sultan in 1498 (*Diario* 34), of sherif in 1504 (Sousa, *Documentos arábicos* 85), of sheik in 1548 (DI I 311). The great help of the sheik at the time of the shipwreck of Pero de Ataíde in 1504 was extolled (Lobato I 203-205). In 1507 Pero Vaz d'Orta spoke in terms of high praise of the *alcaide*, the Moor Ibrāhīm ben Amīr, in Mozambique, who had served the king very well and had given much good advice to Tristão da Cunha (CA III 277). In 1510 the sheik described his good services to the king and asked permission to have ten *bahārs* of ivory come from Sofala. The request was rejected since the factor had bitterly complained about him (*ibid.* 321 328). In 1517, in an Arabic letter, the sherif Mohammed, a son of the sherif Elalui, asked the king for a letter of safe conduct, which he had previously requested, so that he could sail and engage in trade without hindrance from the Portuguese officials (Sousa, *Documentos arábicos* 85-86).

<sup>45</sup> According to Botelho, Vasco da Gama erected a factory and left a factor there (*Tombo* 7). Castanheda says the same (1, 44), and also Correa, who gives the name of the factor (I 275). This is contradicted by Lobato, who places the foundation in 1507 (I 191-192 214-221; cf. Guerreiro, *Quadros* 479-480, and Correa I 785). In 1512 Albuquerque wrote that Mozambique needed a large building for the wares of the ships that wintered there. The king therefore had it built (CA I 435).

<sup>46</sup> Correa I 785-786; Barros 2, 1, 6. Lobato sets the erection of the building at the beginning of April or May, 1508, since Lemos wrote that Mello had waited for Abreu for seven months after his arrival in Mozambique (in September or October) and had then begun the building (I 225). Varthema, however, who was on the island from January 9 to 24, 1508, states that Kilwa had a fortress and one was being built on Mozambique (326: "se ne faceva"). Correa speaks of a tower with two upper stories ("dous sobrados"), as does Castanheda (2, 90). On September 30, 1508, however, Duarte de Lemos wrote to the king that he had arrived on August 19 of that same year in Mozambique and on his arrival had found that the fortress begun by Duarte de Mello was finished "hua torre de tres sobrados." He and the men from his ship had immediately helped erect the wall surrounding the fortress, and it and its loopholes were already partly completed (Ramos-Coelho 202). Three stories (three windows over each other) are also shown in Castro's sketch of 1538. On the other hand, the sketch of Lizuarte de Abreu of 1558 shows two main towers, two side towers, and the surrounding wall with pinnacles and embrasures. Immediately before the destruction of the old fortress by the Dutch in 1607, it was described as follows by Santos: "On the site is the old fortress. In it is the old main church (Sé) and the house of the Misericórdia, which is still used today. In one section of the wall of this old fortress there is a beautiful, two-storied tower with other dwellings next to it, where the present factor and *alcaide-mor* live. On one side of the tower is a good cistern and in the lower part of it the

fortress were the parish church, dedicated to the archangel Gabriel,<sup>47</sup> and a hospital for the sick of the India fleets<sup>48</sup> with an adjoining chapel to the Holy Spirit.<sup>49</sup> From this time on, the captain was accustomed to spend a part of the year in Sofala and another part in Mozambique. Every year in April, when

public jail. Near this old fortress is the hospital" (I 270). In 1607 all the buildings on the island were burned by the Dutch with the exception of the new fortress and the church of Nossa Senhora do Baluarte (*ibid.* 337-338). Three years later, in 1610, the viceroy gave the seven Jesuits who came to Mozambique the site of the old fortress as their place of residence. In Madrid the grant was not recognized, and in 1614 an order was given that the priests should be given lodgings elsewhere and the old fortress torn down so that the enemy, in case of attack, could not use it as a vantage point. When the command was not executed, it was repeated in 1619, 1622, and 1624, even though the viceroy had written in 1623 that nothing remained of the old fortress. All that was still standing there was a clay house so that the priests and five religious might build a church (Guerreiro, *Quadros* 261-263; Nazareth II 428; *Documentos Remetidos* V 75-76). In 1545 Castro wrote to the king: "Your Highness should not give anything for the fortress as it now stands. It is also not worth strengthening. It is very small and on the worst site on the whole island. Spending money on it would be throwing it out the window. It is so small that it could be called a bastion or a bulwark instead of a castle or fortress. Today a small building cannot be defended because of the great strength and fury of artillery." He therefore suggested building a new fortress on the northern tip of the island that could be defended against any attacks of the Moors (*Cartas* 96-100), a plan which had already been proposed by Sepúlveda in 1542 during Xavier's stay in Mozambique, and which had been approved by M. A. de Sousa (Q 984). Castro's advice was followed. The new fortress, ordered by the king in 1546 (Q 2016), was begun in 1547 (Q 3484). Mention is made of continued construction in 1556 (\*letter of D. Diogo de Sousa of November 22: *CC* 1-100-1), 1558 (Santos I 269), 1561 (\*letter of the viceroy Coutinho of December 20: *Studia* 3 [1959] 45-46), and 1564 (Egusquiza 237). The new fortress (one of the strongest in India and never captured) was practically complete in 1588. It was not entirely finished until the captaincy of Sousa de Meneses (1624-1627) (Bordalo 106 109 111-112). In 1596 Linschoten wrote that the building had been finished ten or twelve years earlier (I 20; cf. Guerreiro, *Quadros* 203). The Jesuit college of São Paulo, erected on the site of the old fortress (Laimbeckhoven 98; Alves 21), also known as "Casa de São Francisco Xavier," was destined in 1761 to become a seminary for priests, but in 1763 it became the residence of the governor with the title of "Palacio de São Paulo" (Guerreiro, *Quadros* 331; Alves 21).

<sup>47</sup> In 1500 Cabral had the cemetery laid out with a large cross over the entrance. In 1507-1508 the small chapel that stood here was replaced by a large, well appointed church, St. Gabriel. This was adorned, provided with a chaplain, and surrounded by a thorn hedge, which also enclosed the cemetery (Correa I 161 785-786). The cemetery, *Campo São Gabriel*, in which Xavier buried so many who had died, was located near the anchorage for ships between the old and new fortresses (Santos I 270). Marked by an old stone cross, it is today a favorite promenade (Alves 55; *Les Missions Catholiques* 20 [1888] 522 525). In 1556 the church was called *Iglesia mayor* (DI III 507); in 1583, *Matriz São Gabriel* (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 180). In 1607 Santos distinguished the *ermida São Gabriel* from the *Sé antiga* of the old fortress (I 270). The *Sé Matriz*, built in 1635 and torn down in 1885 (Alves 70), lay, according to Laimbeckhoven's plan, south of the old fortress.

<sup>48</sup> Correa I 785. According to the old plans, the hospital lay between the old fortress and São Gabriel, that is, near the old cemetery. The old hospital, which was directed by the Jesuits from 1626 to 1681, adjoined their college (Guerreiro, *Quadros* 263). In 1621, at the command of the king, the new hospital was built in the southeast part of the island near the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Saude, which it still standing (*ibid.* 250-251). In 1564 Egusquiza wrote: "P. Ramirez preached for the viceroy and the others in the main church of the hospital and of the [old] fortress, which are all on the same site" (239). On the hospital, see the indices of DI.

<sup>49</sup> In the testament of Baltasar Jorge of 1546, mention is made of an altarpiece which he gave to the chapel of the Holy Spirit in Mozambique (*Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* 4 [1883] 292; Q 2515). In 1564 a priest preached in the main church and in the newly erected chapel of the Holy Spirit (DI VI 300). It adjoined the hospital (Santos I 270).



the northeast monsoon was blowing, a royal transport came from India with wares worth from 6,000 to 7,000 *pardaus*: cotton goods and bright glass beads from Cambay, which were exchanged in Sofala for gold, ivory, ebony, and amber. In August the ship returned to India with the southwest monsoon.<sup>50</sup> The Portuguese who spent the winter of 1522-1523 in Mozambique built a chapel farther out on the rocky prominence on the northern end of the island. Over its entrance was placed the Portuguese coat of arms, the cross of Christ and the sphere of King Manuel. Since the little church also served as a protection for the town, it was called Nossa Senhora do Baluarte.<sup>51</sup> The cannons located here could keep any ships from entering the harbor.<sup>52</sup> The white-washed church on its elevated site was a beacon to seafarers, who, on their arrival in Mozambique, were accustomed to make a pilgrimage to it to thank the Mother of God for their having thus far successfully completed their voyage.<sup>53</sup>

Mozambique was a flat, sandy, coral island only a league in circumference, stretching from southeast to northwest. In half an hour one could walk from Nossa Senhora do Baluarte in the north to the Moorish village on its southern tip, and it was only a musket's-shot,<sup>54</sup> and at times only a stone's-throw, in breadth.<sup>55</sup> A white, sandy beach lay along the coast, where razor-sharp coral reefs could be seen beneath the water when the tide was in, but lying bare when out. The sun-drenched sands produced nothing except low, useless shrubs, a few small orange trees, and slender, gracefully swaying coconut palms, which Xavier here saw for the first time.<sup>56</sup> The rocky north of the island was a wasteland. When the tide came in, its southern end was cut off from the rest, and those who wanted to go to the village of the Moors had to be carried there on the backs of Negroes.<sup>57</sup> The water in the few cisterns was brackish;<sup>58</sup> and drinking water had to be brought in boats by Negro slaves from the bay of Quitangonha three leagues north of Mozambique. Firewood also had to be brought from Cabaceira, which lay opposite the church of Nossa Senhora do Baluarte on the neighboring mainland.<sup>59</sup> Beyond the flat, blue mirror of the

<sup>50</sup> Linschoten I 23. On the times for sailing: to India, from July to September, and from April to May 12; to Mozambique, from January to April; see Bocarro, *Livro* 10. On the royal merchantman (*navio de trato*) and the state of trade, there is a report of Freitas for 1530 (Q 127; see below, p. 60) and in Botelho (*Tombo* 7-8 13).

<sup>51</sup> Castanheda 6, 44; Lobato II 168-169 187-190.

<sup>52</sup> Santos I 269; cf. Lobato II 188-189.

<sup>53</sup> Thus, for example, in 1551 (DI II 201), 1556 (*ibid.* III 507-519), 1562 (*ibid.* V 578, VI 60), 1564 (*ibid.* 301), and 1567. It was considered to be the best church on the island (SR X 234).

<sup>54</sup> Castro (*Roteiro a Goa* 306); \*Abreu (*Livro* 16v); Bocarro (*Livro* 9). The width was from 1,640 to 1,968 feet.

<sup>55</sup> Laimbeckhoven 98. The width at its narrowest is 1,312 feet (Lobato I 179).

<sup>56</sup> Castro (*Roteiro a Goa* 306); Linschoten I 19; Laimbeckhoven 99.

<sup>57</sup> \*Abreu (*Livro* 16v); cf. Castro's sketch.

<sup>58</sup> *Diario* 38; Castro in 1538 (*Roteiro a Goa* 306) and 1545 (Q 1519); Santos I 271.

<sup>59</sup> The *Diario* 38 and Thomé Lopez (Ramusio 155) state that it came from the mainland. Linschoten I 19 20 and \*Boym 151v are more precise in saying that it came from Cabaceira, that is, from between Mossuril and Cabaceira (Lobato I 174). The watering place for ships according to Monclaro was five leagues from Mozambique (496). According to Santos, "the water comes by sea from a spring of a bay called Titangone [Quitangonha], three leagues beyond the bar. The spring is very famous and known to all the sailors voyaging to India for its excellent water and because all the ships from Portugal and India take on water there" (I 271). In 1523 the Moors of Quitangonha were brought under subjection to Portugal by Antonio Galvão (Castanheda 6, 44).

harbor, its coconut palms could be seen rising up from the beach; and above them loomed the blue outline of Mount Pão.

Domestic animals consisted of fat-tailed sheep, goats, and chickens; the Portuguese also kept pigs.<sup>60</sup> All other provisions, especially black millet,<sup>61</sup> used as a substitute for flour, came from the mainland, though some things such as rice came from India.<sup>62</sup> Since there were no tiles on the island, the church and houses were all covered with palm leaves.<sup>63</sup> The Portuguese lived near the fort in the center of the island; the Moors, on the other hand, lived in the south, a musket's-shot away, near their mosque,<sup>64</sup> on a site called Moshicate.<sup>65</sup> Their homes consisted of straw houses covered with palm leaves and round huts like those of the Negroes.<sup>66</sup> Gold dust was the usual medium of exchange,<sup>67</sup> although Portuguese coins were also in circulation, but only on the island; elsewhere barter was all that could be used. The harbor had room for some thirty *naus* and was protected from the winds and currents. It was from thirty-nine to forty-six feet deep and had a sandy bottom.<sup>68</sup> Sharks, however, rendered the sea dangerous;<sup>69</sup> and on the neighboring mainland, only a musket's-shot away,<sup>70</sup> herds of elephants, lions, and other wild animals roamed.<sup>71</sup> The pagan Negroes who lived there had a gleaming black skin, dazzling white teeth, a flat nose, and curly hair.<sup>72</sup> Their thick lower lips were pierced through and adorned with cowry shells, bones, or pebbles;<sup>73</sup> their faces were disfigured with reddish scars.<sup>74</sup> They wore a cotton loincloth when they did not go about entirely naked,<sup>75</sup> and their speech was sprinkled with remarkable clicking sounds like those used by Italian muleteers to urge on their beasts.<sup>76</sup> They hunted the wild elephants with javelins and bows and arrows.<sup>77</sup> From the beach of Mozambique their campfires could be seen at night on the opposite coast.<sup>78</sup> They

<sup>60</sup> For fat-tailed sheep, see Linschoten I 19; Hümmerich, *Die erste Handelsfahrt* 53. For swine, see *Diario* for 1498 (36); Galdames for 1556 (DI III 508); \*Abreu for 1558 (16v-17); Egusquiza for 1564 (237); Ribera for 1565 (DI VI 536); Linschoten for 1583 (I 19); Santos for 1609 (I 271). Swine are also mentioned under Aleixo de Sousa (1538-1541) (\**India Portuguesa* 2, 31).

<sup>61</sup> *Setaria* or *Pennisetum*.

<sup>62</sup> Egusquiza in 1564 (237); Santos I 272; \*Boym 150v-151.

<sup>63</sup> Egusquiza 238. In 1644 even the churches were still covered with palm leaves (\*Boym 150v).

<sup>64</sup> Santos I 270.

<sup>65</sup> \*Abreu: "Mugicate" (16v); Pero Fernandes: "Moxicate" (DI VI 273 300).

<sup>66</sup> Barros 1, 4, 4 (straw cottages); Egusquiza 238 (houses of reeds and woven mats); Linschoten I 20 (huts and cottages of straw). See also the plan in Laimbeckhoven.

<sup>67</sup> According to Heredia in 1551 (DI II 293) and Monclaro in 1570 (496).

<sup>68</sup> Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 306.

<sup>69</sup> Ant. Fernandes in 1564 (DI V 543); Santos I 326-329. Even today there are numerous sharks in the harbor (Rego 155).

<sup>70</sup> Ribera (DI VI 536).

<sup>71</sup> Varthema 328-330; Santos I 306-313; \*Boym 150v-151. Castro sketched gazelles and elephants on the mainland (*Roteiro a Goa* 306).

<sup>72</sup> Varthema 328; \*Boym 150 (in detail); Laimbeckhoven 110-111.

<sup>73</sup> Barbosa I 16; Santos I 258; cf. *Diario* 26.

<sup>74</sup> "Smeared with red clay" (Barbosa I 16); "reddish scars" (Laimbeckhoven 110); "they were tattooed all over their body since they make slits in their flesh with a sharp iron" (Santos I 258); *Les Missions Catholiques* 20 (1888) 526.

<sup>75</sup> Varthema in 1508 (328); Barbosa in 1516 (I 16); \*Valignano in 1574 (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 200); \*Gregori in 1583 (*ibid.*, *Goa* 13, 180); Santos in 1609 (I 259).

<sup>76</sup> "Like muleteers in Sicily" (Varthema 329).

<sup>77</sup> Elephant hunts by Negroes are described by Santos (I 306-308) and \*Boym (150v).

<sup>78</sup> \*Boym 150.

were timid and shy,<sup>79</sup> and both male and female slaves could be obtained from them for a paltry sum.<sup>80</sup>

The Portuguese colony was small.<sup>81</sup> In addition to the captain, who lived half of his time at Sofala, the king supported the factor, who was also the *alcaide-mor*, and his four men; the secretary of the factory and his assistant; the policeman; the physician in the hospital; a smith; an artilleryman; a stonemason, a guard for the ships; and a *vigario* with a chaplain, when there was one. Three caravels were stationed here,<sup>82</sup> each with a captain and two men, and a skipper, a pilot, four sailors, seven boatmen, a cooper, a caulker, a barber, an artilleryman, a carpenter, and a scribe. There were also two brigantines,<sup>83</sup> each with a captain and two men, a steersman, a pilot, an artilleryman, a caulker, a carpenter, a secretary, four sailors, and sixteen native oarsmen.<sup>84</sup> Besides these there were a number of Portuguese and mulattoes who were not supported by the king, and native servants. All the Portuguese had their own Negro slaves, both men and women, who did all the ordinary work. They brought water and firewood from the mainland and prepared the food. They held a parasol over the head of their lord when he went out,<sup>85</sup> and accompanied him at night with bow and arrows; for beyond the Cape of Good Hope every Portuguese lived like a *fidalgo*, and it was beneath his dignity to perform any manual labors that could be done by a Negro slave.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, the hot, sluggish climate made it seem imprudent to engage in work of this type. In Mozambique a damp, sultry, and oppressive heat generally prevailed. Mass, consequently, was usually said before sunrise.<sup>87</sup> Fortunately, by the time of *Santiago's* arrival, the so-called "cooler season" of the year had begun. It was the time of the passage from the southwest to the north monsoon, when the temperature sank in the shade to seventy-five degrees.<sup>88</sup> The island, which had an unhealthy climate, was known as "the grave of the Portuguese,"<sup>89</sup> for many succumbed here to the ills which

<sup>79</sup> Varthema 328.

<sup>80</sup> Slaves were cheap, and all on board a ship, even the sailors, boatmen, and servants of the *fidalgos*, bought them for the remainder of the voyage, as Egusquiza noted on his voyage to India in 1564 (249; cf. Santos I 272). In 1558 \*Abreu wrote that the Moors of Mozambique purchased slaves in the interior of the mainland for five, and the best for from ten to fifteen, *cruzados* (17).

<sup>81</sup> In 1570 Monclaro wrote that the former Moorish town had been destroyed, but that the Portuguese town "será de cem moradores e da gente da terra, convem a saber cafres e indios misturados averá como duzentos" (496).

<sup>82</sup> The caravel was an easily maneuverable sailboat of shallow draft. It usually held less than two hundred tons, and was equipped with three masts and three-cornered, lateen sails. See Quirino da Fonseca, *A Caravela portuguesa* (Coimbra, 1934); Lopes de Mendonça 40-75; Pieris-Fitzler 353. In 1538 the India fleet had seven caravels of from fifty to eighty tons (TdT: S. Lour. 4, 248).

<sup>83</sup> The brigantine was a sailboat with sixteen banks of oars (Lopes de Mendonça 38). In 1538 the India fleet had nine brigantines with from fourteen to nineteen banks of oars (TdT: S. Lour. 4, 248v-249).

<sup>84</sup> Botelho gives the complement of 1554 (*Tombo* 8-13); cf. Strandes 132-133.

<sup>85</sup> \*Boym 151v. See the pictures in Linschoten I 124, and for 1546 \**Desenhos indianos* 94-97.

<sup>86</sup> \*Boym 151-v.

<sup>87</sup> Rodrigues in 1556 (DI III 498).

<sup>88</sup> Rego 165.

<sup>89</sup> Castro in 1545 (Q 1519); Nunes Barreto in 1556 (DI II 232); Egusquiza 238. In 1556 Rodrigues wrote: "terra tão trabalhosa e infamada de doenças" (DI III 498). In 1562 Gonçalo Rodrigues said that people became sick here "em grande maneira, que es esta una pestilencial tierra" (*ibid.* V 499).

they had contracted on their voyage to India or after their landing.<sup>90</sup> The cemetery in St. Gabriel's Field, between the hospital and Nossa Senhora do Baluarte, gave a mute but impressive testimony to it: more than fifteen thousand Portuguese had found here their last resting place<sup>91</sup> since the first dead were buried here in 1504.<sup>92</sup>

### 3. GOLD AND IVORY

The Portuguese in Mozambique lived on trade. From time immemorial, long before their coming, gold and ivory had been the chief export from the land of the Monomotapa. But for years the royal factories in Sofala and Mozambique had brought little income to the king despite his heavy outlays. When the governor Nuno da Cunha, during his voyage to India in 1529, left Jurdão de Freitas behind at Melinde with eighty who were ill, Freitas used his months of involuntary leisure to gain information from Moors and Christians on the reasons for the decline in trade; and he communicated the results of his inquiries to John III after his arrival in Goa:

I learned that Your Highness wished to have information on your gold mines of Sofala and to know the secret why they are of such little profit to you. When I was in Melinde, where Nuno da Cunha left me, I took great pains to obtain information about this, both from the Moors of the country, who are thieves in the house itself, and from the Christians who came from Mozambique and Sofala to obtain cloth and other wares of which they were in need.... The main reason is the great quantity of goods brought to Sofala by your merchantman and by Moorish vessels from Mombasa, Melinde, and Patta, all of which are engaged in trade with Cambay, the source of goods needed in this land. This is why their price is so low. Each of the cities keeps these wares on hand, and they are brought here in *zambucos*.... And in your merchantman, the captain, skipper, pilot, and sailors all bring as much as they can for themselves and for the people in Mozambique and Sofala; and if there is not room enough for everything in your ship, they have it brought to Melinde in *zambucos*.<sup>93</sup>

But the conditions of trade had not improved since Freitas wrote his letter. One of the main reasons for this was the greed of the captains. Many complaints

<sup>90</sup> In 1561 a contagious disease broke out on the island among the ships that stayed there for thirty-two days. The viceroy Coutinho wrote that when he arrived one had been sick, but when he sailed away there were more than two hundred (*Studia* 3 [1959] 44).

<sup>91</sup> On December 20, 1539, the doctor of medicine Jeronimo Dias wrote from Goa to the king: "Mozambique is a land and a climate to which never have any of Your Highness's fleets come without many dying of different grave illnesses. From the register of the fortress it may be seen that from the beginning up to the present more than fifteen thousand Portuguese have died there" (Q, suppl. 439a, f. 7v). In 1558 \*Abreu noted that the natives of the island said, and it had been discovered on a basis of a counting, that during the past thirty years more than thirty thousand of people from the ships who landed there had died, for the place was very unhealthy (17; cf. Santos I 272). In 1545 Criminali wrote: "At times two or three hundred people die, especially when they have to stay there, as did Master Francis" (DI I 12). In 1610 Seb. Gonçalves noted that the principal disease of Mozambique was yellow fever, a divine punishment for the gold fever of the Portuguese (I, 11).

<sup>92</sup> Lobato places the founding of the cemetery in 1504 (I 203-206), in opposition to Correa, who gives 1500 (I 160-161).

<sup>93</sup> \*Letter from Goa of September 17, 1530 (TdT: *Gavetas* 20-10-26; Q 127).

were raised in particular against the last of these, Aleixo de Sousa Chichorro,<sup>94</sup> who governed Sofala and Mozambique from 1538 to 1541. He had established a monopoly for himself on the sale of wine, the slaughter of animals, and the traffic in such provisions as rice, millet, and butter. No one dared to kill a cow or pig in Mozambique without the permission of his servant Alvaro de Toyal. During his three-year term of office he sold two hundred pipes<sup>95</sup> of wine at eighteen *milreis*, and one hundred at Sofala at thirty *milreis*, a pipe. Against the royal command, he had traded in ginger and shipped it to Ormuz and other cities. He had bought copper with the king's money to mint coins and enriched himself in this way. He had also bartered wares from the factory on the Cuama River for ivory. The Moors, as a consequence, no longer came from there to Sofala to buy them. What was even worse, he had taken the royal merchantman from the captain who had brought it from India and had placed it under the command of Antonio Agostinho, one of his own men. The latter used it to carry gold and ivory to Sofala. He then exchanged these in Melinde for forty *bahārs* of beads and other wares, which he shipped in *zambucos* to a river eight leagues above Sofala. He then shared the loot with Aleixo, the captain, handing over to him eight *bahārs* of beads worth more than eight thousand *cruzados*. In order to prevent the factor of Sofala from putting a stop to this type of black market, which was absolutely forbidden by the king, Aleixo had cast him into prison and replaced him with his own brother, Belchior de Sousa. He had also acted as if he were the captain and governor of the East African coast and had accepted three hundred *meticals* of amber in compensation from the city of Barāwa, where two Portuguese had been murdered, and a pay-off of three slaves from the king of Motamganse,<sup>96</sup> who had slain three

<sup>94</sup> Aleixo de Sousa Chichorro, born in 1488, was a grandson of Vasco Martin, captain of the light cavalry of Affonso V and posthumous son of Garcia de Sousa Chichorro and Beatriz da Silveira, and thus a distant cousin of M. A. de Sousa. Deprived of his parents at an early age, he was brought up from childhood in the house of the *fidalgos* João Ramirez d'Arelhano, who adopted him in 1526 (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 13, 144). He sailed to India under the governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (1518-1522). There he took part in the battle at Chaul with his brother André in 1521 and was wounded (Castanheda 5, 75). After returning to Portugal, he received from the king in 1524 the income which his father and grandfather had formerly had (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 8, 7v). In 1528 he sailed again to India with Nuno da Cunha, who left him behind in Zanzibar with two hundred wounded. In 1529 he fought with Cunha at Bahrein in the Persian Gulf (Couto 4, 6, 1 and 3) and returned to Portugal in 1534 (TdT: *Gavetas* 20-1-53). As a reward for his services he received in December, 1536, the captaincy in Sofala (*Registo*, n. 291). He therefore sailed again to India in 1537 (Q 255; Figueiredo Falcão 157; Couto 5, 2, 7 against Correa III 848, and *Emmentia* 367). From 1538 to 1541 he was captain of Sofala, and from 1542 to 1545 *vedor da fazenda* of India. Because of the debasement of the coinage which he had urged, he came into conflict with the new governor, D. João de Castro, who ordered three judicial investigations to be made of him (Q 2396): for the debasement of the *bazarucos* (TdT: *S. Lour.* 4, 255-274), for smuggling pepper into China, and for his administration in Sofala (*\*India Portuguesa* 2, 1-67). Severe accusations were raised against his moral conduct in Goa (Q 1607 1821). In 1547 he returned to Portugal. In 1558 he sailed again to India as *vedor da fazenda*, but he died a year later on his way to Cochín (Couto 7, 8, 10). He had received the tonsure, but never wore it. He was unmarried, a commander of the Order of Christ (Q 1634), and was survived by an illegitimate daughter. See Q index and \*Andrade Leitão XIX 786 794 on him. His illegitimate brothers Henrique and Belchior served with him in India (Q 1665; *Emmentia* 366-367; *\*India Portuguesa* 2, 30-v).

<sup>95</sup> A *pipa* contained 113 ½ gallons.

<sup>96</sup> Mtangata, on the mainland opposite Pemba. See *Strandes* 34 120 200 211 287.

Portuguese.<sup>97</sup> The result of all this was that during the whole time that Aleixo de Sousa was in command only two or three thousand *pardaus* worth of ivory at best reached India.<sup>98</sup> This would have been from 72 to 108 hundredweights,<sup>99</sup> whereas in normal times 600 hundredweights were sent there each year from Mozambique and Sofala.<sup>100</sup> The royal revenues were thus disappearing into the pockets of private individuals. The governor, Dom Estevão da Gama, was aware of the problem; and when he sent João de Sepúlveda as Aleixo's successor with the royal merchantman, he earnestly advised him of his duty to serve the king, and threatened to prosecute him if he were delinquent in it.<sup>101</sup>

When Martim Affonso de Sousa landed in Mozambique, he did not find either the old or the new captain on the island. Both had sailed in the middle of August<sup>102</sup> to the north, Aleixo to return to India, Sepúlveda to rectify matters in the Arab cities on the coast of Melinde. Two Turkish *fustas* sailing from Aden had come there to purchase tar and ropes made of coconut fibers. They had caused a great deal of mischief, for the Moors in the towns had slain the resident Portuguese and had handed their possessions over to the newcomers. Only Melinde had remained faithful and had protected the Portuguese there.<sup>103</sup> Her enemies, especially Mogadishu, where one of the Turkish vessels had remained behind, and Mombasa, were elated and confident that this same year a large Turkish fleet would come after the *fustas* to conquer Mozambique and Sofala and intimidate the friends of Portugal, since they could expect no help from their Christian allies. Urgent appeals for assistance had therefore come from Melinde, where the people were in great alarm. The credibility of the Portuguese along the whole coast was at stake, for the Moors in the area were of the opinion that the captain of Sofala was also the captain of East Africa as far as Cape Guardafui and was obliged to help them. Sepúlveda had therefore sailed from Mozambique with four *fustas* and a hundred men in order to assist the allies in the north.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Accusations and testimonials in *\*India Portuguesa* 2, 29-60.

<sup>98</sup> Letter of the governor D. Estevão da Gama of November 11, 1540 (Q 597).

<sup>99</sup> Castro wrote from Mozambique in 1545 that south of Sofala the Negroes offered a *bahār* of ivory for glass beads worth about three *vintens*, whereas it was sold in India for one hundred *cruzados* (Q 1519). A *vintem* had 20, a *cruzado* 400, a gold *pardau* 360 *reis*; a *bahār* equaled 4 hundredweights. Ivory worth from two to three thousand *pardaus* therefore amounted to some 18 to 27 *bahārs*, or 72 to 108 hundredweights.

<sup>100</sup> In 1552 Botelho wrote that there usually came each year from 120 to 150 *bahārs* from Mozambique and Sofala (*Cartas* 29). In 1563 Orta wrote that 6,000 hundredweights came every year to India from the east coast of Africa (I 305).

<sup>101</sup> Q 597, where, instead of "sailed to the kingdom," "sailed to Mozambique" should be read.

<sup>102</sup> Aleixo sailed from Mozambique on August 15 (Q 859). Sepúlveda wrote that he had come to Melinde at the end of August (Q 984, where, instead of "sailed for Melinde," "came to Melinde," should be read). Cabral arrived in Mozambique on July 20, 1500, where he took on water. On the twenty-sixth he reached Kilwa, where he stayed two or three days. He arrived at Melinde on August 2 (Ramusio 133-v). Lopez left Mozambique on July 26, 1502, and also arrived at Melinde on August 2 (*ibid.* 144v-145). The voyage thus took eight days if no stop was made on the way. Sepúlveda probably sailed from Mozambique with his predecessor Aleixo.

<sup>103</sup> See the *\*letters* of Jeronimo Dias of December 3, 1539 (Q 439a), and of Manuel Coutinho of November 26, 1541 (Q 861).

<sup>104</sup> Q 984.

## 4. IN THE HOSPITAL OF MOZAMBIQUE

In the absence of the captain, Martim Affonso, the new governor of India, was jubilantly received by the factor, the *vigario*,<sup>105</sup> and the entire colony. The newcomers were brought in procession to the church, where a solemn Mass of thanksgiving was celebrated;<sup>106</sup> and the governor, captains, *fidalgos*, and other voyagers were taken into the homes of the Portuguese.<sup>107</sup> Master Francis and his two companions were kindly invited by various individuals to stay with them as long as they were on the island,<sup>108</sup> but they gratefully refused these offers and, in keeping with the custom of the Society, asked as poor men of Christ for a place near the sick of the hospital,<sup>109</sup> where a small house was readied for them.<sup>110</sup>

The hospital was the most extensive complex on the island. A shady veranda surrounded the main building with its rooms for the sick and other purposes. Separated from it was a house for those charged with their care, and another

<sup>105</sup> In 1521 João Vaz was *vigario* of Mozambique; at the beginning of 1522 he wanted to return to Portugal (SR I 456). A report of 1583, which depends upon data furnished by the old *mestreschola* of the cathedral of Goa, states that the vicar of Mozambique, João Braz, a Latin scholar and good canonist (*judicial*), happened to be in Goa when Miguel Vaz died (in January, 1547), and that the bishop appointed him to be his successor as vicar general. After the death of Braz, Pero Fernandes Sardinha became vicar general (ARSI: Goa 38, 264). But Braz was vicar general when Miguel Vaz sailed to Portugal at the beginning of 1545 since he already had this title in September of this year (*\*India Portuguesa* 4, 67; Q 1547 wrongly has "Alvarez" instead of "Braz"). In March, 1546, Pedro Fernandes was already vicar general (Q 2063). In 1546 and 1548 the Jesuits were well received by the vicar in Mozambique (DI I 150 390). In 1556 the vicar invited them to eat after the procession; when they were leaving, he gave them chickens, wethers, and a pig for their voyage (*ibid.* III 508). Before the death of King John III (1557), Lopo Vaz was the vicar of Mozambique (*ibid.* VI 709).

<sup>106</sup> Cf. the reception of the viceroy in 1564. Numerous salutes were fired from ship and land. A solemn reception was held the morning after his arrival. The whole village went out with the clergy to meet him with a cross. The *Te Deum* was sung. The viceroy went to the main church, confessed, and received Communion at the Solemn High Mass (DI VI 300). In 1556 the new arrivals first went to the church of Nossa Senhora do Baluarte to thank the Mother of God. The vicar met them there with his clergy and the cross. Chanting the Litanies, they marched to the main church, where the vicar sang the Mass to the sound of trumpets and horns. Many went to confession and received Communion. Another ship was similarly received with trumpets and kettledrums (DI III 507-508 519). Couto errs in saying that M. A. de Sousa, upon his arrival, met the captain, Sepúlveda, and his predecessor, Aleixo de Sousa (5, 8, 1).

<sup>107</sup> In 1548 the captains of the ships and a few of the *fidalgos* lived with the captain of the fortress (Q 4003).

<sup>108</sup> In 1561 Pina wrote that he and his companions had taken lodgings in the hospital in Mozambique against the desires of the viceroy and the *provedors* (of the Misericórdia), who wished to take them into their homes. He told them, however, that this was the place where they usually stayed. At this, a house was placed at their disposal, where they were well provided (DI V 220). In 1548 the captain of the fortress, Fernão de Sousa de Tavora, wished to take the priests from the ship to his house; but they thanked him profusely, telling him that their house was the house of God, namely, the hospital (DI I 390). In 1555 the *alcaide-mor*, in the absence of the captain, urged the priests to stay with him, but P. Carneiro replied that in accordance with the instructions which he had received, he should not offend the hospital by refusing to live there (DI III 276).

<sup>109</sup> EX I 92 120.

<sup>110</sup> Mestre João called it a *casinha* (MX II 212). In 1561 the priests were similarly lodged in a house of the hospital separated from the main building (DI V 449 220). In 1564 the *alcaide-mor* prepared a house in Moshicate for the six Jesuits since there was no place for them in the hospital (DI VI 300; Egusquiza 238).

for the apothecary. There was also a dwelling for the physician and other small buildings.<sup>111</sup> The king paid for their support, for food, medicines, and laundry.<sup>112</sup> Negro slaves and their wives took care of the menial tasks.<sup>113</sup> The

<sup>111</sup> In 1507 the hospital was erected, “humã casa grande com grande varanda detrás, e casa apartada pera o enfermeiro, e outra per botica, e aposento de Mestre... em que meterão os doentes em cateres... escravos cativos do espirital pera serviço dos doentes” (Correa I 785). In 1528 there is mention of a new hospital, a stone building erected by the captain Antonio da Silveira de Meneses, who appointed a *provedor* for it, furnished it with beds and other materials, and asked for a physician for it (Lobato II 90). In comparison with the other houses on the island, it was “bem grande,” as Egusquiza noted in 1564 (238), and “muy capaz,” as it was described in 1567 (SR X 235). In 1607 it was burned down by the Dutch “não ficou casa nem igreja em pé” (Santo I I 337-338). In 1618 the king wrote to the governor of Mozambique that he had heard that the hospital had fallen to pieces (*cahido*) after the Dutch were there, and that, since there was no house to care for the sick on the island, many were left to die. He should therefore immediately reconstruct the walls, put a roof on them, obtain blankets, beds, and medicines for the sick, and entrust its direction to the rector of the Society of Jesus (*Documentos Remetidos* V 47-48). At the end of 1624 the king again ordered the viceroy to help finish its reconstruction (TdT: S. Vicente XIX 173). In 1626 the priests were entrusted with the building of the new hospital; in 1628 and 1629 the king ordered the viceroy to negotiate with the Jesuit provincial about taking over its administration; in 1631 he had the money for this paid to him (Nazareth II 428; Guerreiro, *Quadros* 263). In 1644 \*Boym wrote: “Extant parietes antiqui hospitalis, in quo olim Sanctus Franciscus Xaverius inserviebat aegris.” To this he added that the three priests in the residence of his order there had the care of the schools on the island and of the (newly built) hospital (next to the old) (152). The Jesuits kept the direction of the hospital until 1681, when the king had a new one built on the south of the island near Nossa Senhora da Saude and had it turned over to the religious of St. John of God. It is still standing (Guerreiro, *Quadros* 250).

<sup>112</sup> The hospital was built by order of the king (Correa I 785) and was maintained by him (Egusquiza 238; Valignano 20). The high death rate during the first decade indicates, however, that the care for the sick was insufficient. In 1523 they were suffering from want and “morriam a perder, sem misericordia.” To alleviate their condition the bishop of Dume spent all of his money on them on his voyage to India. He borrowed more and, at the time of his departure, left beds for them and all, to the best of his ability, that they needed (SR II 22). In 1545 the priests found “multa povertã e miseria” in the hospital and a lack of “panne e altre cose per infermi” (DI I 11-12). The *vedor da fazenda* made a list of the linens and medicines that were lacking in order to send them from India (Q 1519). In 1548 the sick would have suffered great harm if it had not been for the alms of the voyagers, the residents, and the captain, “for there was nothing in the land and no money from the king” (DI I 389-391). Good food, water, and medicines were all lacking (*ibid.* 310-311 431). Barreto wrote to the king that he should order the hospital to be furnished with all that was needed, for most of the people who died on the voyage did so between Mozambique and Goa because of the little help they had found on the island (SR IV 148). In 1555 Marcos Nunes complained bitterly about the treatment of the sick in the hospital, whose revenues were so poorly administered (DI III 443). To put an end to the confusion, the hospital was handed over to the confraternity of the Misericordia, apparently in 1556, since the priests and the vicar this year were disputing their respective competencies, a problem that was amicably settled (*ibid.* 498). From then on, travelers speak with high praise of the good order in the institution. In 1562 the great charity of its directors was praised. The sick were taken immediately from the ship and given a medicinal bath in the hospital, freshly washed shirts and nightcaps, and painfully clean beds. An abundance of rich food and medicines were kept on hand. No one as a consequence, suffered from want, even though the hospital cared for more than 370 sick (*ibid.* VI 59-60). The same praise was repeated in 1564 (Egusquiza 237-238; DI VI 300).

<sup>113</sup> From the beginning the hospital had black personnel (Correa I 785). In 1564 Pero Fernandes wrote that he had been greatly edified by “those good Portuguese, residents of the place” (meaning by this the confreres of the Misericordia), who took special care of the hospital, which they kept clean and provided with all that was



beds for the sick consisted of wooden frames over which webs of coconut-fiber ropes had been tightly drawn.<sup>114</sup> In ordinary times there was an adequate supply of provisions, but there were not enough for this year's fleet, including the other four ships that had reached Mozambique. All the vessels had arrived in a lamentable condition. Martim Affonso therefore wrote immediately to the captain in Melinde, asking him to send urgently needed ropes and provisions. Sepúlveda later declared that the five *naus* would have been lost without Mozambique.<sup>115</sup> Scurvy had broken out on board the ships, and many had fallen ill on the island itself with a fiercely infectious fever.<sup>116</sup> The hospital, which had room for more than three hundred beds,<sup>117</sup> was consequently overflowing; and some of the sick had to seek for care elsewhere.<sup>118</sup> There was thus, despite the services of the black personnel, no lack of work to be done.<sup>119</sup> While Misser Paulo, with his marvelous mixture of Italian<sup>120</sup> and Portuguese, took a maternal care of the sick,<sup>121</sup> and the good-natured Mansilhas tended their bodily needs, Pater Franciscus looked after their souls.<sup>122</sup>

He celebrated Mass for them in the chapel adjoining the hospital.<sup>123</sup> For five long months he had had to forego this Holy Sacrifice. He went tirelessly from bed to bed and spoke with the sick. Ever cheerful and friendly, he encouraged and consoled them.<sup>124</sup> He heard their confessions and gave them Holy Communion. He anointed the dying, prepared them for death, and took

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needed; and that they did this with assistance of many Negroes and their wives (DI VI 300). Egusquiza noted that it was well equipped with servants since everyone had Negro slaves to assist him (238).

<sup>114</sup> MX II 312.

<sup>115</sup> According to Captain Sepúlveda (Q 984); cf. EX I 91.

<sup>116</sup> EX I 120; DI I 390; MX II 188. In the first \*Lisbon process, João de Menelao, the seventh witness, also testified that many fell sick on Mozambique. He was born in 1531. His father had sailed with Xavier to India and was assisted by him when he died (\*Lisbon, *RProcess* I, n. 7, 86).

<sup>117</sup> In 1538 there were more than three hundred sick in the hospital and almost a hundred more were lodged elsewhere, as was noted by Jeronimo Dias (Q 439a). In 1562 there were in the hospital itself more than 370 (DI VI 60).

<sup>118</sup> EX I 120.

<sup>119</sup> At the time of Xavier's arrival the service in the hospital was not as well organized as in 1562 and 1564.

<sup>120</sup> He never learned correct Portuguese. When he needed money for his hospital in Goa, he went to the governor and simply showed him the empty purse, since he could not speak Portuguese. When Barzaeus, his superior ordered him to preach on Pentecost in the college church, he obediently went to the pulpit and preached "in the language he knew since he lacked Portuguese eloquence" (Seb. Gonçalves 8, 11). See also Vol. I 550.

<sup>121</sup> "P. Misser Paulo did no less than any of the others. He first spent two years at the bidding of P. M. Franciscus in Mozambique, to the consolation and spiritual profit of many people who wintered there during those years, and in the care of many sick persons. And he did this with such edification to all that even before his arrival in India the great fragrance of his virtue had spread there. . . . Here in Goa he founded a hospital for the sick, where he nursed them with great charity," as Quadros wrote in 1555, when Paulo was still alive (DI III 347-348).

<sup>122</sup> EX I 91-92 120.

<sup>123</sup> Even in 1564, when the priests were living outside the hospital in Moshicate because of a lack of room in hospital, one of them always offered the Mass in the hospital church (Egusquiza 238).

<sup>124</sup> "Tudo fazia com muita alegria," according to Dr. Saraiva (MX II 188). Mestre João noted that he was always content, no matter how much work he had to do (*ibid.* 212).

care of their burial.<sup>125</sup> It was a great consolation to him that he had received extensive faculties which enabled him to absolve them from grievous offenses and to grant them a plenary indulgence.<sup>126</sup> He went to the governor, factor, captains, and *fidalgos*, and to the homes of the Portuguese merchants and begged for money, clothes, medicines, marmalade, preserves, vegetables, fruit, and flour<sup>127</sup> for the sick and the poor soldiers, who as a rule had to be content with the black bread made from millet.<sup>128</sup> But more than for anything else he asked for water,<sup>129</sup> a precious substance which the Portuguese kept in large clay jars in their homes<sup>130</sup> and were accustomed to sell dearly.<sup>131</sup> Although the governor and the more affluent *fidalgos* provided a table for the soldiers, these poor men were still frequently dependent upon the kindness of their wealthier countrymen. If one of his charges was particularly ill, Father Francis would take him into his own room,<sup>132</sup> or he would sleep on a mat by the sick man's bed in the ward in order to be near him at all times.<sup>133</sup> Although he was warned that he should avoid the infectious breath of the sick,<sup>134</sup> the saintly priest<sup>135</sup> would have rather lost his own life than his patients, as an eyewitness observed.<sup>136</sup> Mansilhas later said of him:

In Mozambique he exerted great pains on behalf of the sick. He saw to it that they were well attended. He heard their confessions and was with them day and night. And the greater the labor was that burdened him, the greater was the fire and zeal he showed in the service of our Lord.

And he added:

I have so much to say about the life and virtues of Father Master Francis and the great labors which he took upon himself for the love of God that I would never

<sup>125</sup> EX I 120; cf. the description of the priests' work in 1548 (DI I 390-391).

<sup>126</sup> EX I 91.

<sup>127</sup> The priests did this in 1548 (DI I 389-390). Marmalade and preserves are already mentioned in 1507 in this context (Correa I 785).

<sup>128</sup> "Mocates" (*mkate*) (DI I 310).

<sup>129</sup> Barzaeus wrote in 1548 of his labors: "We begged (from the homes of the Portuguese) for water for the love of God since the captain did not have enough for so many" (DI I 391). And Melchior Gonçalves added: "There was a lack of medicines and drinking water, . . . and we went from door to door in order to beg for water for the sick" (*ibid.* 310-311). Paulo do Valle further noted: "There were 120 people with different serious illnesses, and there was no one to give them a jar of water" (*ibid.* 430-431).

<sup>130</sup> Linschoten I 20.

<sup>131</sup> In 1644 a *pipa* of water in Mozambique cost an *escudo* (\*Boym 151v).

<sup>132</sup> Cf. MX II 212.

<sup>133</sup> Valignano 20. The priests did the same in 1548 (DI I 391).

<sup>134</sup> The breath of those sick with scurvy was considered to be contagious (Pyrard 3, 36). In 1548 the *vigario* warned the priests in Mozambique to avoid the breath of those who were ill, for they were afflicted with all kinds of infectious diseases; and P. Magister Franciscus had on this account become sick to death in that very hospital (DI I 390).

<sup>135</sup> João de Menelao, born in 1531, testified that he knew Xavier when he arrived in Goa in 1542, and that at the time he was already regarded as a saint (\*Lisbon, *RProcess* I, n. 7, 86). Teixeira states that on Mozambique he had the universal reputation of being a great saint (840).

<sup>136</sup> João Lopes Rebello heard from his father, who had been with Xavier on Mozambique, that the priest had served the sick with such charity and zeal that he would have preferred to have lost his own life than theirs (\*Goa Process of 1615: \**Summarium* 889v).

come to an end if I should speak of them. As much as one might imagine he could do, so much the more he did and endured.<sup>137</sup>

The priest's help was also sought outside the hospital. He was so frequently called to the homes of the Portuguese to hear the confessions of the sick that he did not have enough time to answer all the requests. He used to preach on Sundays; and the attendance at his sermons was large, since the governor, who was always present for them, set an excellent example in this regard.<sup>138</sup> Master Francis always found him most generous with his assistance,<sup>139</sup> and Martim Affonso spoke to him of the great profit which he would gain in that part of India where he thought of sending him.<sup>140</sup> Francis also visited the Moors at the south end of the island, where the sheik received him with great courtesy, but no mention was made of a conversion of his people.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>137</sup> MX II 317.

<sup>138</sup> EX I 120-121. In 1562 Fernão da Cuna wrote that the captains and people of the fleet and all the inhabitants of the island came together in Mozambique for his preaching, "hum grandissimo e lustroso auditorio de gente nobre e fidalgos com todas as sedas e veludos como nestas partes se custuma. Avia muita devoção e lagrimas nos ouvintes" (DI V 578). In 1564 Ramirez preached for the viceroy and the others on Sundays and feast days in the main church, and in the church of the Holy Spirit (that of the hospital), which had been readied for this (DI VI 295; Egusquiza 207).

<sup>139</sup> EX I 92-93 120-124.

<sup>140</sup> EX I 192. By this he meant the Fishery Coast in southern India, where the Paravas had been converted.

<sup>141</sup> Xavier only says: "On this island there is a town of the Portuguese and another of peaceful Moors" (EX I 120). It is obvious that he visited the Moorish village and its sheik even if he does not mention it in writing. His religious brothers regularly did this later on their way to India (cf. DI I 311; III 344 500). In 1561 the Mohammedans on the island were in an uproar because a Franciscan had destroyed their mosque (*Studia* 3 [1959] 43-44). The murder of P. Gonçalo da Silveira by the Monomotapa at the instigation of the Moors in 1561 increased the tension between the two. In 1570 Monclaro found their village on Mozambique destroyed (496). In 1583 Linschoten again encountered Mohammedan, along with Christian and pagan, Negroes (I 20-21). In 1609 there were a few poor residents in the Moorish village, mostly sailors in the service of the captain and other Portuguese (Santos I 270-271).

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FIDALGOS OF THE FLEET

#### 1. FIDALGOS ON MOZAMBIQUE

When the ships from Portugal docked at Mozambique, bloody, and even fatal, fights and duels were the order of the day; for here, where the men were freed from the strict supervision of their ship's captain, they were accustomed to avenge the grievances they had experienced during the voyage;<sup>1</sup> and here, just as he had on the *Santiago*, Father Francis exercised his role of peacemaker.

In his conversations and dealings with others, he was relaxed and cheerful; and he knew how to win the hearts of all with his charity and prudence. He became all to all in order to win all. Even great sinners who fled from the company of good Christians, and all the more from priests, gladly associated with him; and soon, without adverting to it, they became new men. Soldiers, sailors, and *fidalgos* came to esteem and cherish him and carried out his various requests. He asked them about their past lives, took an interest in all that they did, and was always ready to help them in any way he could. He won the hearts of all through his devoted charity to the sick and his tireless concern for the poor;<sup>2</sup> and all knew that he enjoyed the confidence and highest regard of Martim Affonso, who did whatever he asked.<sup>3</sup>

During his long stay on the island of Mozambique, Xavier was able to become better acquainted with his fellow voyagers, including those from the other four ships. Many of these men had already been in India and had fought there against the enemies of the faith; others were sailing to India for the first time; but for all it was a land of promise, a land of golden dreams from where they hoped to return to Portugal after a few years rich either in earthly goods, which would secure them a carefree existence in their homeland, or in military exploits, which would obtain for them a favor from the king, a profitable office, or a lucrative maritime venture.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> DI VI 309.

<sup>2</sup> Valignano 18. Xavier himself wrote about his stay on Mozambique: "The lord governor and all the leading men showed us much love and much kindness, as did also all the soldiers; and with the grace of God our Lord we were six months on that island to the edification of all" (EX I 120-121).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 93-93.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. EX I 92. The *fidalgos* who sailed to India were usually, as the *Emmentas* (registers of a ship) indicate, late-born or illegitimate sons, who had no hope of receiving their father's estate. A typical attitude of these voyagers to India is revealed in the letter in which Diogo Lopes de Lima, *alcaide-mor* of Guimarães, recommends his second son, D. Manuel de Lima, to the governor Castro. Originally destined for the clerical state, he preferred that of a soldier, and in 1546 sailed for the third time to India. His father wrote of him: "He is going well prepared.... Until he can occupy his captaincy in Ormuz, give him a position in which he can make money...."

2. DOM ALVARO DE ATAIDE DA GAMA <sup>5</sup>

Among these was Dom Alvaro de Ataide da Gama, the captain of the *São Pedro* and youngest son of the great Vasco da Gama, who had discovered the route to India and had thus secured for Portugal a monopoly on the spice trade. The ancestors of the Gama had helped to wrest Algarve from the Moors, and the first to bear this name, João Alvaro da Gama, had taken part in the decisive battle of Salado, where the combined forces of Castile and Portugal completely crushed those of the emirs of Fès and Granada. Dom Alvaro's grandfather had been *alcaide* of Sine and Silves. His father, Vasco da Gama, was twenty-eight years old when he began his voyage to India. When he returned to Portugal in 1499, King Manuel rewarded him with the title of "Dom" and "Admiral of the Indian Ocean." He also gave him a yearly income of three hundred *milreis* and the right to bring each year from India freight free of charge worth two hundred *cruzados*. After his second voyage to India in 1502, the king named him count of Vidigueira and lord of Villa de Frades. His son and successor, John III, handed over to him and his descendants the tolls for anchoring that had been formerly exacted by the Moors in Malacca, Goa, and Ormuz.<sup>6</sup> From then on the family carried on its coat of arms a red and gold checkered field, with two diagonal silver stripes on the red squares, and the Portuguese coat of arms at the center, consisting of five blue shields arranged in the form of a cross on a silver ground, each shield containing five silver coins, and having as a crest a bearded Indian with a turban, the coat of arms of the Gama on the right and a green branch on the left.<sup>7</sup> Ever since that memorable voyage the king had borne the proud title of "Lord of Conquest, of Navigation, and of the Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India." In 1524, Vasco da Gama sailed on his third voyage to the East, this time as viceroy. Before his departure the king promised him that he would give to each of his late-born sons a captaincy in Malacca.<sup>8</sup> It was his last voyage. On Christmas Eve of this same year he died in Cochin.

The eldest of his six sons, Dom Francisco, received the paternal estate. The second eldest, Dom Estevão, had sailed with his father and younger brother Paulo to India in 1524,<sup>9</sup> and had returned there eight years later<sup>10</sup> with his brothers Paulo and Christovão. While Estevão was wintering on Mozambique, Paulo took over a captaincy in Malacca, but he surrendered it to his older brother in 1534. Not long afterwards he was slain in a battle with the fleet of the

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The chief favor I am asking is that he return rich, for one who has money has something more than service and nobility" (Q 2071).

<sup>5</sup> On the Gama see \*Andrade Leitão X 1-28; \*Manso de Lima XI 392-405; *Portugal* III 673-676; and the good survey in Esteves Pereira, *Dos feitos*, pp. VII-XXXIII. Our D. A. de Ataide sailed back to Portugal in 1543. In 1550 he returned to India with the right to succeed his brother Dom Pedro da Silva as captain of Malacca. In this capacity he blocked the Chinese embassy of Diogo Pereira. In 1554 he was removed for this, imprisoned, and sent back to Portugal, where he died and left a son, D. Estevão da Gama, as his heir.

<sup>6</sup> L. Cordeiro, "Premio da Descoberta," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* 16 (1897) 248-394; Braamcamp Freire III 384.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* III 384.

<sup>8</sup> "I heard this in Portugal," Couto wrote 4, 8, 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Emmentia* 313; Correa II 815.

<sup>10</sup> Dom Paulo, as admiral of the sea of Malacca (*Emmentia* 333). Couto also names Dom Christovão (4, 8, 2). In 1534 the governor sent D. Estevão with D. Christovão to Malacca and declared that the latter should become admiral of the sea if D. Paulo, his brother, did not wish to remain (*ibid.* 4, 8, 9; Esteves Pereira, *Dos feitos*, pp. X-XI).

sultan of Ujong Tanah. Estevão then, with the help of Christovão, avenged his brother's death. After a desperate resistance on the part of the Malays, he put their capital to flames and forced the sultan to make peace. In two bloody battles off Malacca he also routed the Achinese, their coreligionists.<sup>11</sup> After the death of the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha, in the absence of Martim Affonso de Sousa, he became governor of India and named his brother Christovão, who had returned from Portugal in 1538 with the right to a captaincy in Malacca, chief admiral of the Indian Ocean.<sup>12</sup> Their brother Dom Pedro da Silva da Gama had sailed to India in 1537 and had, in accordance with the last wishes of his father, brought back his bones and placed them in the Carmelite church of Vidigueira.<sup>13</sup> In January, 1541, he also had received a captaincy in Malacca with an annual income of six hundred *milreis*,<sup>14</sup> but since the office was already promised to another for the following year, he had remained in Portugal.<sup>15</sup>

Dom Alvaro's mother, whose name he bore, Dona Catarina de Ataíde, daughter of the lord of Penacova, had been dead for six years<sup>16</sup> when he began his voyage to India in 1541. During the course of it, he was constantly reminded of his father's first voyage. There was, for example, the Cape of Good Hope, where the earlier voyagers had met natives brown in color and short of stature in the bays of Santa Helena and São Braz. They were clothed in skins and no one understood their speech.<sup>17</sup> On a small island nearby, in the midst of swarms of penguins, they had seen three thousand sea-wolves as large as the largest bears. They had then visited the Terra da Boa Gente near Natal, where they encountered the first tall Kaffirs. These people, who dressed in cotton and understood the language of the Manicongo,<sup>18</sup> had given them a friendly welcome. They had then sailed farther on, north of the Rio dos Bons Sinais, where they had encountered the first signs of the India they were seeking: distinguished Negroes wearing silk turbans, who told them that they had already seen ships as large as those of the Portuguese. When they finally reached Mozambique, Vasco da Gama saw for the first time boats from India, Moors, and the island of São Jorge, where the first Mass was offered. There, in 1499, on the return trip, a stone bearing the Portuguese coat of arms was erected and the land thus claimed as a Portuguese possession.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. FERNANDO DE NORONHA<sup>20</sup>

Another fellow voyager was Dom Fernando Noronha, a posthumous son of Dom Antonio de Noronha, count of Linhares. His father was the brother of

<sup>11</sup> Castanheda 8, 63-64 73 78-79 85-88 129 178-179; Barros 4, 4, 20; 4, 9, 12-14; Couto 4, 8, 2 7 9 11-12; 4, 10, 6; Correa III 458 486-487 540 563-565 626-631 722-725 861-862.

<sup>12</sup> Castanheda 9, 26; Couto 5, 3, 8; Esteves Pereira, *Dos feitos*, pp. XIV-XV.

<sup>13</sup> *Portugal* III 676. In 1880 his bones were transferred to Belém.

<sup>14</sup> Q 676.

<sup>15</sup> In addition to Pero de Faria, who was captain of Malacca from 1539 to 1542, the following had received a title to the post before D. Pedro da Silva: Garcia de Sá, in 1527 (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 30, 188); Simão de Mello, in 1537 (*ibid.* 24, 6v); and Ruy Vaz Pereira, in 1541 (*ibid.* 31, 7).

<sup>16</sup> Braamcamp Freire III 385.

<sup>17</sup> Hottentots.

<sup>18</sup> Bantu Negroes.

<sup>19</sup> *Diario* 6-27 35-36 117.

<sup>20</sup> Not to be confused with the nephew of the viceroy D. Garcia de Noronha with a similar name (Vol. I 711-712).

Dom Fernando de Meneses, the marquês of Villareal.<sup>21</sup> His coat of arms bore those of Portugal on a square field and a golden castle in a red triangle with two purplish red, rampant lions above it in a silver field, and a rampant lion as a crest. Dom Antonio, his father, had been the private secretary of King Manuel<sup>22</sup> and had sailed with a fleet of two hundred vessels and twelve thousand men to Morocco in 1515 in order to build a fort at the mouth of the Mamora River. The attempt failed. Overcome by the superior forces of the kings of Meknes and Fès, Dom Antonio had been compelled to return to Portugal with the loss of a hundred ships and four thousand men without attaining his goal.<sup>23</sup> Francisco, his first son, had been sent by John III with important instructions to the French court;<sup>24</sup> Fernando had been destined for the priesthood and had received the tonsure. Still, he had longed for adventure and military exploits,<sup>25</sup> and the king had allowed him to go to India as a *cavalleiro fidalgo* of his house with a monthly income of 3,500 *reis*.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4. FRANCISCO DE AZEVEDO<sup>27</sup>

Francisco de Azevedo had been born in Africa. He was a *fidalgo* of the royal house, the second son of Pedro Lopez de Azevedo, one of the chief citizens<sup>28</sup> and paymaster<sup>29</sup> of the city of Arzila in Morocco. He was still a minor when his father was slain in battle by the Moors.<sup>30</sup> King Manuel continued, however, to pay ten *milreis* from the latter's income to Francisco so that his mother could rear him and her other children until they were able to care for themselves.<sup>31</sup> After reaching his majority, Francisco married Anna, the daughter of Aires Pereira in Lisbon.<sup>32</sup> He sailed to India in 1532; and when he left for Portugal at the beginning of 1538, Martim Affonso de Sousa gave him a letter of commendation for the king. In it he declared that Azevedo had served six years in India, and that he had not been excelled by anyone there. He was sailing home, the letter continued, to ask for a favor. The king should not be surprised that he left at a time when the Turks were threatening India: it was not good for men of his stamp to remain there while their wives were left poor in

<sup>21</sup> In December, 1544, M. A. de Sousa wrote to the king that he had also entertained "a D. Fernando de Noronha, a cousin of the deceased [third] marquês of Villareal [D. Pedro de Meneses, † June, 1543]" (Q 1322). Couto calls him the son of a brother of the deceased [second] marquês of Villareal [D. Fernando de Menses, † in 1524] (6, 7, 8).

<sup>22</sup> Braamcamp Freire III 388-389.

<sup>23</sup> Goes, *Chronica* 3, 76; Bernardo Rodrigues, *Anais de Arzila* I 135-138.

<sup>24</sup> Vol. I 665.

<sup>25</sup> In 1548 he marched with the Portuguese mercenaries of the king of Pegu against Siam (Couto 6, 7, 8). He then drops out of history. Sousa states that he and his two brothers died young (*Hist. Geneal.* V 253).

<sup>26</sup> Q 737.

<sup>27</sup> He sailed to Maluco in 1544, met Xavier in Malacca on his return voyage, and fell in the fighting around Diu in 1546 (L. Nunes 131; Correa IV 567). He is not to be confused with F. de Azevedo, son of the Antonio de Azevedo who sailed to India in 1551 (*Emmentia* 435).

<sup>28</sup> Bernardo Rodrigues, *Anais de Arzila* I 182.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 229.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 271-273.

<sup>31</sup> TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 39, 72.

<sup>32</sup> \*Andrade Leitão I 282.

Portugal.<sup>33</sup> Martim Affonso's recommendation had accomplished its purpose. Azevedo was now sailing back to the East with the right to the position of captain and factor for two sailings on the ship that brought cloves from Maluco. But before he could do so, he had to clear himself of an accusation that he was responsible for the death of a man who had been murdered in that area.<sup>34</sup>

#### 5. FRANCISCO PEREIRA DE MIRANDA <sup>35</sup>

Francisco Pereira de Miranda was also a *fidalgo* of the royal house. He was the son of Jorge Pereira de Miranda, whose ancestral home was in Villa Maior in the diocese of Porto, and of Dona Guiomar Pereira. In 1521, in the flower of his youth, he had sailed to India with Dom Luis de Meneses and Francisco Pereira Pestana.<sup>36</sup> In 1536 he sailed to Malabar as the captain of a ship of the coast guard with Martim Affonso de Sousa.<sup>37</sup> There, despite the resistance of two thousand Nāyars,<sup>38</sup> they captured and burned<sup>39</sup> the pirate's nest of Colemute.<sup>40</sup> He then went with Sousa to the help of the king of Cochin and Mangate Kaimal,<sup>41</sup> the king's vassal, when the Zamorin<sup>42</sup> with eighty thousand men, among whom were two thousand Moorish and Jewish arquebusiers,<sup>43</sup> attempted to gain entrance to the land of his ally, the rajah of Edappalli,<sup>44</sup> so that he might, in accordance with an old custom, have himself crowned as emperor upon the coronation stone and thus secure his dominion over the whole of Malabar.<sup>45</sup> Miranda was also with Martim Affonso when the latter crossed over from Cochin to the opposite shore with a thousand Portuguese and broke

<sup>33</sup> Q 223.

<sup>34</sup> Q 664; *Registo*, n. 345.

<sup>35</sup> We encounter him in 1550 with a trading vessel in Japan together with Xavier. In 1552 he was allegedly imprisoned in China (EX II 515). From 1554 to 1557 he was captain of Chaul (Q 6125). He returned very wealthy from India and lived in Porto, where he founded a family chapel in the Dominican church. His wife, Guiomar Pereira, bore him ten children (\*Andrade Leitão XV 82; Couto 8, 33). He had numerous cousins with the same name, and since the chroniclers usually call him simply Francisco Pereira, he is repeatedly confused with them (cf. Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger" 205-207).

<sup>36</sup> Letter of M. A. de Sousa from Cochin, dated December 24, 1537, but the context requires 1536 (Q 212).

<sup>37</sup> Castanheda 8, 140; Correa III 712; Barros 4, 7, 19. In the following battles Castanheda and Correa constantly refer to Francisco Pereira without further qualifications. Q 212 shows that they mean our F. Pereira de Miranda. Couto consistently errs in calling him F. de Mello Pereira (for example, 5, 1, 1). Barros-Lavanha combines both data: F. Pereira do Porto (our man) and F. de Pereira (4, 7, 19).

<sup>38</sup> Nāyar, member of the military caste of Malabar (Dalgado II 93-95).

<sup>39</sup> Q 212; Castanheda 8, 140; Barros 4, 7, 19; Correa III 712.

<sup>40</sup> *Colimute* is probably Trikkulam at the mouth of the Kadalundi River (province of Malabar, Ernad Taluka), not far from Tirūrāngādi. It is variously spelled: Culymutes, Culumytes, Calamutes, Colemutes (Correa III 712, n. 1; Dalgado I 182). The *Livro de Marinharia* (224), however, places Collemute between Chetwai and Cranganore.

<sup>41</sup> "Kaimal," the title of a prince of the Nāyar caste in Malabar (Dalgado I 172-173). The territory of Mangate Kaimal lay southeast of Cranganore (Diogo Gonçalves 7-8), south of the Periyār River (Correa III 762), the modern Alangad Taluk.

<sup>42</sup> The Zamorin was the Hindu ruler of Calicut and the nominal overlord of Malabar.

<sup>43</sup> Correa II 762. The Jews of Malabar, like the Thomas Christians, were known as good soldiers (*ibid.* IV 708).

<sup>44</sup> The territory of the rajah of Repelim (Edappalli) was northeast of Cochin between Alangad Taluk, in the territory of Mangate Kaimal, and Ernakulam, in that of Anchi Kaimal.

<sup>45</sup> Correa III 702; Castanheda 8, 126; Couto 5, 1, 1 and 4; Q 873,



the resistance of the rajah's fifteen thousand Nāyars, sacked and burned his capital,<sup>46</sup> and carried off as booty his ceremonial umbrella, his ancient coronation stone,<sup>47</sup> and his costly, Chinese metal plate.<sup>48</sup> Miranda also helped prevent the Zamorin from crossing the Periyār River east of Cranganore and forced him to retreat.<sup>49</sup> At the beginning of 1537 he sailed north with Martim Affonso and fought with him near Cape Tiracol against a fleet of the Malabar Moors. In this engagement the Portuguese captured twenty-one *fustas*<sup>50</sup> and slew hundreds of their opponents.<sup>51</sup> After this he wintered at Diu, and during his stay there he generously fed the troops.<sup>52</sup> He then sailed again with the Malabar fleet to Cape Comorin and the Fishery Coast,<sup>53</sup> where, near Vēdālai, on January 30, 1538, Martim Affonso completely destroyed the three Moorish captains of the Zamorin.<sup>54</sup> Martim Affonso had therefore already at the end of 1536 warmly recommended him to the king:

Up to the present he has served you here very well, and he is constantly spending his own money. As captain of a ship he offers his table to many people, and he is one who deserves every favor and honor from Your Majesty. I believe that he is having a request made of Your Highness for the fortress of Chaul after Jorge de Lima has completed his term there.<sup>55</sup> I am convinced that his service is such that there are few here who serve you as well as he. And if it happens that Your Highness has already promised this to another, then give him the sailing to Melinde for three years. And Your Highness should be glad that he is content with so little. For I swear to you on the holy Gospel that he deserves much more than this from you.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>46</sup> On the campaign see the accounts of the participants: M. A. de Sousa (*Autobiographia* 142-143, his letter of December 24, 1536 [Q 212], and his two dubbings [Q 1282 4789]); Garcia d'Orta (I 205); M. A. de Mello o Punho (Q 850); Correa (III 699-707 711-718 753 762-770); Castanheda (8, 126 141-143); Barros (4, 7, 19); and Couto (5, 1, 1 and 4). That F. Pereira de Miranda took part in the storming of Edappalli follows from Castanheda's statement that all the captains of the fleet were on the campaign (8, 142).

<sup>47</sup> The Zamorin had taken the stone when he captured Cochin in 1503 and had given it to the rajah of Edappalli (Castanheda 8, 142). According to Castanheda,<sup>73</sup> it was a white stone without special marks of identification. It was the size of half a millstone and had a Malabar inscription (*ibid.* 8, 143). According to Correa, the stone was a fathom (7 feet, 2 ½ inches) tall, thick as a man, and set upright on a stone base. The inscription said that it had been erected 2,800 years before. The names of the Zamorins who had been crowned on it were chiseled upon it. The Chinese had come to India with a thousand junks full of wares 470 years earlier. These people lived and died there; when Chinese again came to India, they found their descendants (III 770).

<sup>48</sup> "A metal plate was also found with snakes and Chinese characters engraved upon it. The king of Repelim held it in high honor since it pertained to his religion" (Castanheda 8, 143).

<sup>49</sup> At the "passo do vão," two leagues east of Cranganore. Cf. Correa III 772-777; Castanheda 8, 144-147; Barros 4, 7, 20-21. Castanheda states that F. Pereira de Miranda was present (8, 144 146).

<sup>50</sup> The *fusta* was a long, oared sailboat with a large lateen sail and one or two masts. It weighed around three hundred tons, had fifteen to sixteen banks of oars (Vol. I 711), and was used for war and carrying cargo (Nogueira de Brito 26-27, with a picture).

<sup>51</sup> *Tiracol* is Tikkodi near Coulete (Kollam), south of Pantalāyani and north of Calicut (province of Malabar). On the victory see the dubbings of M. A. de Sousa (Q 1282 4789); Castanheda 8, 146-147; Correa III 775-777; Couto 5, 1, 6; Barros 4, 7, 21. Castanheda and Correa state that F. Pereira de Miranda was present at it.

<sup>52</sup> Castanheda 8, 167.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 174.

<sup>54</sup> On the victory of Vēdālai, see Vol. I 703. We shall come to speak of it in greater detail later. Correa III 828, Castanheda 8, 174, and Barros 4, 8, 13 say that F. Pereira de Miranda was present for it.

<sup>55</sup> Lima was captain of Chaul from 1538 to 1542 (Correa IV 71 447).

<sup>56</sup> Q 212.

The recommendation which had been given by Miranda's powerful patron had achieved its effect in Portugal: he was now sailing a second time to India with a claim to the captaincy of Chaul. But, since this office had already been promised to three others after Jorge de Lima, he would have to wait at least nine years before he could assume it.<sup>57</sup>

#### 6. DUARTE DE MIRANDA DE AZEVEDO<sup>58</sup>

Duarte de Miranda de Azevedo had also accompanied Martim Affonso de Sousa to Malabar and had been wounded in the capture of Edappalli.<sup>59</sup> He was the son of Estevão de Azevedo and, as a *cavalleiro fidalgo*, had a monthly income of 2,200 *reis*.<sup>60</sup> Before setting sail in 1541 he had received as a reward for his services the captaincy of the clove ship to Maluco for three sailings.<sup>61</sup> He chose Master Francis as his confessor and later testified:

Father Master Francis was my confessor.... All his life I saw that he was simple, humble, and without any kind of pretense. If he entered a house and was invited to eat, he would eat; and if the people there joked with him, he would joke with them so as not to appear to be a hypocrite or give offense. But before he left he always had a few words of spiritual edification.<sup>62</sup>

#### 7. MANUEL RODRIGUES COUTINHO<sup>63</sup> AND. LOPO VAZ. COUTINHO<sup>64</sup>

Two more friends of Xavier on Mozambique were the brothers Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho and Lopo Vaz Coutinho,<sup>65</sup> sons of the *fidalgo* Vasco Rodrigues

<sup>57</sup> Q 655 575; *Registo*, n. 467. The position was promised before him to Francisco de Cunha (Q 230), who occupied it from 1542 to 1545; to Vasco da Cunha in 1538 (Q 295), who held it from 1548-1551; and to Antonio de Sousa Coutinho in 1540 (Q 486), who was captain from 1545 to 1548. F. Pereira de Miranda could only enter the office in 1554 (Q 6125).

<sup>58</sup> Duarte de Miranda de Azevedo, as he signed his name (Q 1742), and as it appears in the *\*Memoria das pessoas*, is called Duarte Miranda de Azevedo in *Emmentia* 375 and Sousa, *Annaes* 320. All the other sources simply call him Duarte de Miranda. He was the first to receive the favor of voyages to Maluco. He made the first of these in 1543-1545 (Rebello 205), the second in 1546-1548. In 1556 he appeared as a witness in Bassein for Xavier's process (MX II 371-373; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 501). On him see Q 650 1742 1990 2183 3599 3863 6124. He is not to be confused with his native namesake, whom we encounter in 1546 on the Fishery Coast (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 385), nor with Duarte de Azevedo de Castello Branco, who sailed with him to India in 1541 (*\*Rol das pessoas*, n. 37).

<sup>59</sup> Castanheda 8, 143; Barros-Lavanha errs in saying that he was killed on this occasion (4, 7, 19).

<sup>60</sup> *\*Lousada* 1, 116v.

<sup>61</sup> Q 650; *Registo*, n. 340.

<sup>62</sup> MX II 371-372.

<sup>63</sup> Correa errs in stating that D. Estevão had sent Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho at the beginning of 1542 to Chale with thirty men (IV 219). We find him in 1543-1544 as factor and *alcaide-mor* in Colombo and at the same time *guarda-mor* of King Bhuvaneka Bāhu (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 155 180 195-196 399). After returning to Portugal, he sailed for the third time to India as captain of the *Santa Maria a Nova* in 1548 (Figueiredo Falcão 163; *\*Memoria das pessoas* 93) with a right to the position of captain and factor of Coromandel and the Fishery Coast, *provedor* of the deceased, administrator of the Portuguese who came there, and granter of passports to the Moors, all for six years (Q 3831). Between 1550 and 1553 he was in Punnaikāyal as captain of the Fishery Coast (DI II 161 306). When the village was attacked in April, 1553, by a combined force of

de Castellobranco,<sup>66</sup> who were sailing together to India, where Manuel had already served for many years. In 1529 he and other *fidalgos* were in the brigantine of Antonio Fernandes when the governor, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, engaged the fleet of Sultan Bahādur of Cambay near Bombay. This fleet, which was regularly stationed at Diu, comprised sixty-four heavily armed *fustas* under the command of Ali Shāh. Fernandes' caravel was the first to grapple with an enemy boat. Despite their bitter resistance, the Moors were thoroughly beaten. Forty-six *fustas* were captured with their artillery; three were burned with all their crews; and four were forced to flee into the neighboring Nagotna River, where they were seized by the Hindus. Ali Shāh succeeded in returning to Bassein by way of Thāna with only seven ships.<sup>67</sup> At Diu in 1533 Antonio de Macedo, the captain of Chaul, invited Bahādur's bodyguard, Asad Khān, known as "the Tiger of the World" because of his size and strength, to a duel. Each of the combatants received a number of seconds, and the governor appointed Manuel Coutinho as one of the *fidalgos* to assist Macedo.<sup>68</sup> When Martim Affonso de Sousa crossed over from Cochin to the neighboring mainland in 1536 and marched overland to Edappalli, Manuel Coutinho and Jorge Cabral had accompanied him by water with skiffs and *fustas* and had helped him achieve his memorable victory over the allies of the Zamorin;<sup>69</sup> and Martim Affonso had repeatedly recommended him to the king for his services.<sup>70</sup>

The following year Manuel Coutinho was captain of the Fishery Coast among the newly converted Paravas when Fernão de Sousa de Távora appeared with a galleon and two *fustas*. He had been sent by Martim Affonso de Sousa, the admiral of the Malabar coastal patrol, to accompany the ships bringing food and wares from the Coromandel Coast to Cochin. A fleet of Malabar pirates had sailed out under the notorious Pate Marakkār, making the sea unsafe. In Fernão de Sousa's company was Antonio de Lima with fifty arquebusiers and a letter of the *vedor* to the captain of the Fishery Coast asking him to accompany the Coromandel ship as far as Cochin with his caravel and his two large, armed *fustas*. Coutinho carried out the order and then sailed to the coast of Ceylon to guard the Chank Fisheries.<sup>71</sup> During his absence, however, Malabar pirates attacked Tuticorin, the capital of the Paravas, slew many of the people

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Mohammedans and Hindus, he withdrew with his wife and children to São Thomé (*ibid.* III 417-419). At the request of Xavier (EX II 303) and his companions, he was confirmed in his position by the king for life (DI II 611). He took over his position as captain again in 1555 (*ibid.* III 417-419; APO V 397-398) and remained in it until 1560, when a new invasion forced the Christians to move to Manār (DI IV 766-768 601-602; Couto 7, 8, 11; 7, 9, 5). Old and sickly he handed his position over to Jorge de Mello de Castro (ARSI: Goa 8, 287), the husband of his eldest daughter (*Studia* 3 [1959] 59). He is mentioned for the last time in 1565 (APO V 584-585).

<sup>64</sup> In 1546 Lopo Vaz Coutinho sailed as the captain of a *fusta* with D. Alvaro de Castro to the help of Diu (Q 2305 2598), and in 1548 he accompanied the governor on his expedition to Cambay (Q 3587). He was recommended to the king in 1549 by Frey Antonio do Casal (SR IV 259), and in 1552 by Xavier (EX II 304). He is also simply called Lopo Vaz, and is not to be confused with the cleric Lopo Vaz, who was with him at Diu in 1546 (Q 2647, f. 63v), or with others of this name.

<sup>65</sup> In 1552 Xavier recommended both of them to the king (EX II 303-304).

<sup>66</sup> *Emmentia* 339.

<sup>67</sup> Castanheda 7, 94-95; Correa III 289-297.

<sup>68</sup> Couto 4, 8, 8.

<sup>69</sup> Castanheda 8, 142.

<sup>70</sup> Q 212.

<sup>71</sup> Correa III 820. The Chank Fishery was from October till May (Pate 234).

there, seized all their ships and other possessions, and even took the vestments and the altar stone from their church.<sup>72</sup> They then lay in ambush north of the city, near Vēdālai, to plunder ships that were passing by. In January, 1538, Martim Affonso came there and completely destroyed them.<sup>73</sup>

In 1537 the king, as a reward for his services,<sup>74</sup> had raised Coutinho to the rank of an *escudiero fidalgo* with an income of 1,400 *reis* a month, and that same year his brother Lopo had come to him in India.<sup>75</sup> In November, 1538, after the siege of Diu,<sup>76</sup> Manuel sailed there with the fleet of the governor, Nuno de Cunha. At the beginning of the following year he set out at the latter's command with three light vessels equipped with sails and oars to examine the straits of Bab el-Mandeb, since it was thought that the Turkish galleys which had withdrawn from Diu would return to attack Ormuz. This was a well-grounded fear, as Coutinho was able to report in Goa in April. He had learned that all of the enemy's ships had been brought to Suez.<sup>77</sup> The following year Manuel returned to Portugal as captain of the *São João*.<sup>78</sup> He was now sailing back to India with his brother and the right to become *alcaide-mor* of Ceylon for a period of three years.<sup>79</sup>

#### 8. ANTONIO DE SOUSA COUTINHO<sup>80</sup>

A number of the *fidalgos* whom Xavier met on Mozambique had helped to defend the fortress of Diu during the siege of 1538. One of these was his penitent<sup>81</sup> Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, a *fidalgo* of the royal house and a descendant of Sousa de Arronches, whose coat of arms he bore: the five shields of Portugal surrounded by a red band with eight castles, squared off with the flowers of four, silver half-moons on a red field.<sup>82</sup> He came from Lamego<sup>83</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Castanheda 8, 173; cf. Correa III 823.

<sup>73</sup> On the victory at Vēdālai, see above, p. 73.

<sup>74</sup> *Emmentia* 339; \**Memoria das pessoas* 55.

<sup>75</sup> *Emmentia* 339.

<sup>76</sup> Couto 5, 5, 6; cf. Correa IV 70.

<sup>77</sup> Couto 5, 5, 7-8.

<sup>78</sup> Figueiredo Falcão 159. In December, 1539, D. João d'Eça gave him letters to take to Portugal (Q 441). In March 1542 the scribe of the *São João*, which came from India under Captain Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho, was paid his salary of 4,600 *reis* (Q 927).

<sup>79</sup> Q 662; *Registo*, n. 349. The *Emmentia* 373 has *Coulão* by mistake instead of *Ceylão*.

<sup>80</sup> He always called himself Antonio de Sousa, as did his contemporaries. Only in Correa is he called Sousa Coutinho. From 1545 to 1548 he was captain of Chaul. He and the citizens of Chaul actively helped the fortress of Diu in 1546, at the time of its second siege, even though he himself was repeatedly threatened by the troops of the Nizām. He was kept current with political events in the Deccan by spies in the camp of the Nizām, and he regularly kept the governor informed with respect to conditions in the interior. In 1547 he sent horses for sale to Cape Comorin (Q 2997). He received permission to send a boat to Tenasserim and, despite the war, four *cotias* (barges) with wares to Cambay (Q 3412). In the same year he and the captain of Bassein were given permission to have tar for ships brought from Mafia (Q 3615). Married in India, he appeared as a witness in 1556 in Bassein for the process of Xavier's canonization (MX II 373-374). Thirty-six letters which he wrote as captain of Chaul are still extant, and there are a number of letters and documents about him (see Q, index). Sousa gives the history of his family (*Hist. Geneal.* II 1, 295-296) but erroneously has him die in 1546. He is not to be confused with his different namesakes who were with him at the same time in India (Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger" 207-290).

<sup>81</sup> In 1556 he testified that Xavier had been his "spiritual father," and that he had sailed with him from Mozambique to India (MX II 373).

<sup>82</sup> His letter of July 2, 1546, bears a seal with his coat of arms (Q 2274).

and was a posthumous son of Fernão Martim de Sousa, the fifth lord of Baião in the Douro valley, and of Dona Joanna Nogueira.<sup>84</sup> He had received the name Coutinho from his grandmother Filipa.<sup>85</sup> His two brothers, Christovão<sup>86</sup> and Luis Alvares,<sup>87</sup> had sailed to India in 1532, the former as a *cavalleiro fidalgo* with a monthly income of 2,025 *reis*,<sup>88</sup> and the second as a *moço fidalgo* with a monthly income of 1,000 *reis*.<sup>89</sup> In 1537 Antonio followed their example and sailed to the East in the *Galega* under Captain Martim de Freitas. At the request of the governor of India,<sup>90</sup> his ship and two others passed directly from Mozambique to Diu. They then anchored at Damão on their way to Goa, but while they were trading there a fight broke out between them and the Moors. The captain and thirteen of his men were slain, twenty-five were taken prisoner, and the rest barely escaped to their ship.<sup>91</sup> In Goa, Nuno de Cunha appointed the experienced Ruy Dias Pereira captain of the *Galega*, and Coutinho set sail with him for Cochin,<sup>92</sup> where Martim Affonso de Sousa was guarding the coast with the Malabar fleet and shielding his king from the Zamorin.<sup>93</sup> At the beginning of November, however, as they were on their way, they encountered near Ponnāni the fleet of Alī Ibrāhīm, consisting of ten armed *praus*. The *Galega* was surrounded and attacked; and, although the Portuguese succeeded in driving off the enemy with their artillery, their captain was killed by an enemy cannon ball. His command was then given by the governor to Jurdão de Freitas.<sup>94</sup>

Sousa Coutinho returned to Goa from Cochin and then sailed to Diu with Nuno de Cunha in January, 1538. In February of the preceding year Sultan Bahādur had drowned during a close engagement with the Portuguese.<sup>95</sup> The

<sup>83</sup> Antonio de Sousa de Lamego, according to Castanheda (8, 193).

<sup>84</sup> Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XII 1, 296; Braamcamp Freire I 230.

<sup>85</sup> She was called Filipa Coutinho (Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XII 1, 295-296).

<sup>86</sup> *Emmentia* 333; Figueirôa Rêgo 12; \*Flaminio II 530v. Ch. de Sousa returned from India to Portugal in 1537. There he and his cousin João de Sousa brought a suit for a *morgado*, an entailed estate (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Perdões* 14, 20v).

<sup>87</sup> \*Flaminio II 530v. Luis Alvares again sailed to India in 1545 (*Emmentia* 426). In 1546 he came from Chaul, where his brother was captain, to the help of Diu (Q 2320 2282). At his own expense he equipped numerous boats with men and provisions for this (L. Nunes 56-57). In 1548 he sailed with D. Alvaro de Castro to Aden (\**Mercês* 197). His signature is to be found in Q, pl. 8. He is to be distinguished from Luis Alvares de Sousa, son of João de Sousa, who sailed to India in 1550 (*Emmentia* 433).

<sup>88</sup> Figueirôa Rêgo 12.

<sup>89</sup> \*Flaminio II 530v.

<sup>90</sup> For his voyage to India and his stay there from 1537 to 1538, see the deposition which he had taken in Diu on his services before his return to Portugal. Two fragments of this are still extant (Q 353). On the India voyage of the *Galega*, see also Correa III 817; Couto 5, 2, 3.

<sup>91</sup> According to Correa III 818. Castanheda only says that Freitas was slain by the Moors after his arrival in India, but he could not learn how (8, 171). Couto wrote that he had sailed from Diu to the coast of Damão. He anchored there and went in a sloop with wares to sell them in Surat but disappeared on the way without leaving a trace. Many said that he had been slain in Surat by robbers. Couto rejected this since it would have become known. His ship waited the whole month of September for him and then sailed back to Goa (5, 2, 3).

<sup>92</sup> Couto 5, 2, 4.

<sup>93</sup> "A fleet was equipped to sail to the coast of Mangate Kaimal, and the petitioner sailed with it in the service of his king" (Q 353). Cf. Couto 5, 2, 3.

<sup>94</sup> Couto 5, 2, 4.

<sup>95</sup> On the death of Bahādur see J. H. de Moura, "A morte de Bahadur," *O Oriente Português* 2 (1905) 531-573, which gives the native Persian and Arab sources in addition

situation was critical, and there was a fear of war. The governor ordered the fortress to be readied for a siege. A large cistern was constructed within it and a rampart built between the river and the Villa dos Rumes, which was placed under the command of the tax collector Francisco Pacheco. When the governor sailed away in March he left more than six hundred men behind in the fortress.<sup>96</sup> Before leaving he gave the over-all command of the naval operations to Francisco de Gouvea<sup>97</sup> and the defense of the bulwark which lay in the middle of the river and protected the entrance to the fort to his cousin<sup>98</sup> Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, who had volunteered for this dangerous post.<sup>99</sup>

The governor's fleet had hardly sailed away when the first threatening clouds made their appearance.<sup>100</sup> In April Khoja Safar, an Italian renegade<sup>101</sup> and the most influential merchant in Diu, fled from the city.<sup>102</sup> In June he returned with the viceroy Ulugh Khān<sup>103</sup> and an army of nineteen thousand Gujars and opened up hostilities.<sup>104</sup> On September 4, the Turkish fleet of Bahādur, which

to the Portuguese. The main account is that of the eyewitness Sousa Coutinho 73-90.

<sup>96</sup> Sousa Coutinho 95; Couto 5, 2, 3 and 6; Castanheda 8, 184; Barros 4, 8, 16.

<sup>97</sup> Couto 5, 2, 6.

<sup>98</sup> Q 353 (testimony of Francisco de Gouvea).

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* (testimony of Diogo da Silveira).

<sup>100</sup> The main account of the first siege of Diu in 1538 is that of Sousa Coutinho, who took part in it. This is complemented by the "Cerco e guerra de Diu" of his comrade in arms Francisco do Couto, published in *Studia* 1 (1958) 246-270. From reports coming from India, Goes composed his *Commentarii rerum gestarum in India citra Gangem a Lusitanis anno 1538* (Lovanii, 1539). The accounts in Correa (III 837-860 867-897, IV 19-70), Castanheda (8, 184-197), and to an extent in Couto (5, 2, 9; 5, 3, 1-10; 5, 4, 1-13; 5, 5, 1-5) are based on the accounts of eyewitnesses. Barros also gives a detailed account of it (4, 10, 1-21). The opposite side is represented by the report of the Venetian who was forced to sail with the fleet of Sulaimān Pāshā (Ramusio 296-302v) and the brief data given in the Arabic chronicles of Kutb-ud-dīn (51-55), Zinadim (64), and Abdallah Muhammad (226-267). Zinadim follows the Persian chronicle of Ferishta. The Turkish chronicles, especially that of Hājji Khalifa, were used by Joseph von Hammer in *Die Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, III 210-211 (see also the threatening letter of Sulaimān Pāshā in *Studia* 1 [1958] 211-214). For the contemporary sources see Q, index, "Diu, Erste Belagerung." Castro gives a picture of the fortress at the end of the siege in *Roteiro até Dio*, pl. 13, explained 214-223 [cf. PMC I, pl. 62 MNO; pl. 63 N; drawing of Correa, *Lendas*, about 1550, pl. 85 D]. See also Kammerer III 70-80.

<sup>101</sup> Khoja Safar Salmāni (Portuguese: "Coge Çofar," "Coje Çofar"; Italian: "Cosa Zaffar") was later known under the name of Khudāwand Khān Safar Salmāni. He was a renegade from Otranto (Ramusio 298), the son of an Albanian and an Italian woman from Brindisi (Barros 3, 1, 3). He was already in the service of the Turks in 1515. He came to Gujarāt in 1532, became governor of Surat in 1538, and fell at the second siege of Diu in 1546 (Ross, *The Portuguese*, pp. XXXVI-XXXVIII 17, index 47; DI V 103 110).

<sup>102</sup> Sousa Coutinho 97 (end of April); Castanheda 8, 185 (April 26); Correa III 852; Barros 4, 10, 4; Couto 5, 2, 9.

<sup>103</sup> Ulugh Khān (Portuguese: "Alucan," "Aluchan," "Alucam," "Lurcão," "Luquão"), not to be confused with Alam Khān (Portuguese: "Alemocão"), was *beglerbeg* (viceroys) of Cambay and one of the three regents during the minority of the king (Sousa Coutinho 90). Kutb-ud-dīn calls him Ulū Khān (54).

<sup>104</sup> They both set out from Ahmadabad on June 10, Ulugh Khān with five thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry, Khoja Safar with one thousand cavalry and two thousand men on foot (Sousa Coutinho 100). The document on the knightly of Francisco de Mendonça of November 29, 1538, states that Safar attacked the Portuguese on June 29 with three thousand men. He was wounded in the encounter and had therefore waited forty-four days until the arrival of Ulugh Khān with five thousand cavalry and seven thousand infantry (Q 343). By this is meant the attack on the bulwark of the Villa dos Rumes, which Sousa Coutinho places on June 26 (101-102). According to Castanheda, the two armies came to Diu on June 24 and attacked on the twenty-sixth

had been called to help, appeared before Diu<sup>105</sup> under the general command of the eunuch Sulaimān Pāshā.<sup>106</sup> The fleet consisted of seventy-five ships<sup>107</sup> and 6,500 soldiers, not counting the sailors and rowers. Among the soldiers were 1,500 janizaries and 2,000 picked troops.<sup>108</sup> The captain of the fortress, Antonio da Silveira, on the other hand, had at his disposal scarcely six hundred Portuguese capable of bearing arms and a like number of Negro slaves.<sup>109</sup>

The first attacks were easily driven off, but the bulwark of the Villa dos Rumes<sup>110</sup> could not be held. In exchange for a promise of a free withdrawal, the defenders surrendered themselves to their foe; but the treacherous Pāshā immediately had the garrison of sixty-four Portuguese and sixteen slaves chained to the galleys.<sup>111</sup> The position of the fort became serious again when the Turks

(8, 186). According to Correa, Safar came on the twenty-fifth with four hundred cavalrymen and two thousand on foot (III 356). According to Barros, Safar came on June 25, Ulugh Khān only on August 14 (4, 10, 5). According to Couto, Safar attacked the bulwark alone on June 26. He then spent the whole of July recovering from his wound. At the beginning of August he again marched on Diu with Ulugh Khān (5, 3, 1-2). According to the Venetian account, at the time of the Turks' arrival the Gujars had already been fighting for twenty-six days (Ramusio 298). Kutb-ud-dīn exaggerates in assigning fifty thousand cavalrymen to Ulugh Khān (54). According to F. do Couto, Ulugh Khān had fifteen thousand men, Safar three thousand.

<sup>105</sup> Sousa Coutinho 119-131; Castanheda 8, 192; Correa III 884; Barros 4, 10, 7; Couto 5, 3, 6; Q 343; Ramusio 298.

<sup>106</sup> Sulaimān Pāshā (Portuguese: "Çoleimão Baxa"), nicknamed "al-Khādim," a janizary from Morea (Sousa Coutinho 124), accompanied Sultan Salīm in 1516-1517 on his invasion of Egypt. In 1525 he became himself the *beglerbeg*. He was eighty-two when he sailed to Diu. On him see Ross, *The Portuguese* 12-17.

<sup>107</sup> According to Sousa Coutinho, Sulaimān left Suez with seventy-two ships, four of which disappeared in the Red Sea. He sailed on from Aden with seventy-one (126), six of which became separated from the others during a storm in the Indian Ocean (130). According to the Venetian account, he left Suez with seventy-six ships (Ramusio 296). According to the document on the knighting of Mendonça, sixty-three ships appeared before Diu (Q 343); according to Castanheda, there were seventy-four (8, 191), Correa eighty-five (III 869-870), Barros seventy-two (5, 3, 5), Couto seventy-six (5, 3, 5), Hājji Khalifa seventy (Hammer III 210), Kutb-ud-dīn one hundred (51). According to F. do Couto, ninety ships sailed from Mecca but only sixty-three came to Diu (246).

<sup>108</sup> Sousa Coutinho (125-126), who notes that Sulaimān had left two hundred janizaries in Aden (129). Castanheda gives in addition to these seven thousand rowers (8, 191). Correa has six thousand soldiers and more than ten thousand rowers, among whom were fifteen hundred Christian slaves, and sailors (III 870). According to Barros, Sulaimān had an additional bodyguard of five hundred Mamelukes (4, 10, 2). According to Couto, the fleet had seven thousand soldiers and four hundred Venetians who were forced to sail along (5, 3, 5). According to Hājji Khalifa, there were twenty thousand men, including seven thousand janizaries (Hammer III 210). According to F. do Couto, the fleet had one thousand janizaries, two thousand Turkish archers, and seventy-five hundred oarsmen (259).

<sup>109</sup> According to Mendonça's document of knighthood, the captain of the fortress had only six hundred men (Q 343). According to Sousa Coutinho, the governor left more than six hundred men in it, of whom two hundred were not fit for fighting (95). According to Castanheda, the captain had seven hundred on his role, among whom were three hundred arquebusiers and only two hundred well armed (8, 193). F. do Couto gives the same number (269). According to Correa, there were three thousand persons in the fort: eight hundred Portuguese, including fifty *casados*, six hundred Negro slaves able to fight, and two hundred Hindus from Goa (III 885, IV 45). The city of Goa had lent six hundred Negro slaves to the fort (Q 432). According to the Italian authority, Khoja Safar told the Pāshā when he arrived that there were five hundred persons in the fort capable of bearing arms and three hundred others (Ramusio 298).

<sup>110</sup> Also called "Gogala" and "Bandar-i-Turk."

<sup>111</sup> According to the Venetian author, there were eighty Portuguese (Ramusio 299),

brought their heavy cannons into place<sup>112</sup> and fired them off in continuous rounds from October 4 to 30 and made one breach in the walls after another in order to gain an entrance through daily, repeated attacks. But the small band of defenders, tortured by scurvy and hunger, and weakened and decimated by the continuous fighting, repulsed every attack with extraordinary courage and contempt for death.<sup>113</sup> Finally, on October 31,<sup>114</sup> after a last terrible assault, when they had exhausted their powder and had only forty men left still able to fight<sup>115</sup> and were in dire distress, help came from Goa.<sup>116</sup> The Turkish fleet immediately weighed anchor and sailed back to the Red Sea.<sup>117</sup>

During all this fighting Sousa had proved himself to be a brave leader of his men. Before the bulwark of the Villa dos Rumes was surrendered to the Turks, he had at the risk of his own life taken a boat to visit it and to obtain information on the condition of its defenders. At further peril to his life he had repeatedly crossed the river in the same boat in order to carry powder and

F. do Couto seventy (296), Correa sixty-four and many slaves (IV 34). According to Sousa Coutinho, the surrender was on September 28 (158; cf. 145 148), the same day given by Correa (IV 30-33). Couto places it, as does the Italian account, which he cites, on October 1 (5, 4, 3; Ramusio 298).

<sup>112</sup> "Nine exceptionally large basilisks, each of which shot iron balls weighing ninety-six to a hundred pounds, five *espalhaçatos*, which hurled stone balls six or seven spans in circumference, fifteen *leões* and *aguías* and other artillery: eighty *esperas*, *selvagens*, half *esperas* and falcons, and a *quartão*, a fearful and very evil thing" (Sousa Coutinho 166). Ramusio (299) and F. do Couto (246 269) also give an exact description of each of the guns.

<sup>113</sup> Sousa Coutinho 167-205; Ramusio 299-v; Correa IV 37-45; Barros 4, 10, 10-15; Couto 5, 4, 4-7.

<sup>114</sup> Sousa Coutinho 207-219; Ramusio 299 (places the attack on October 30); Correa IV 46-57 (confused); Barros 4, 10, 16; Couto 5, 5, 1-2. The battle lasted for four hours, from dawn till ten in the morning (Sousa Coutinho 219). Approximately three thousand picked Turks and janizaries, supported by the thirteen thousand Gujars of the Khoja Safar, made three assaults, the first under Yūsuf Ahmad (Isuf Amed), the second under Bharan Pāshā (Beran Baxá), and the third under Pāshā Muhammad (Baxá Mamede). Among the last was the son-in-law of Khoja Safar, the renegade Chingis Khān, who was forced to leave the field of battle badly burned. Later, in 1563, as governor of Broach, he read Ariosto, Petrarch, Dante, Bembo, and other Italian authors with Couto and told him much about the past (Sousa Coutinho 218; Couto 5, 5, 2; 5, 1, 11; DI V 104 115 117 281).

<sup>115</sup> Sousa Coutinho 219-220. In the last battle fourteen Portuguese were killed and more than two hundred severely wounded, whereas more than five hundred Turks were killed and more than one thousand wounded (*ibid.*). The Italian account gives four hundred Turks as being killed (Ramusio 229v). Mendonça's document of knighthood gives five hundred dead and from seven to eight hundred wounded among the attackers, and three dead and one hundred wounded among the Christians (Q 343). The three dead, however, refer to the battle of October 29 (Sousa Coutinho 231-232).

<sup>116</sup> On October 27 four *caturs* had come with twenty-eight men to help from Goa (*ibid.* 295). On November 6 Antonio da Silva came with six or seven *fustas* to Muzaffarābād (Madrefabat), north of Diu, and announced his arrival to the besieged by salvos. Two of his ships sailed to the fort at night to report that the relieving fleet of the viceroy was on the way (231-232).

<sup>117</sup> The Italian author states that the Turks embarked in all haste on November 2 on learning that the Portuguese fleet was coming. On the fifth they saw twenty Portuguese sails and many also on the following day. The fleet of the Pāshā accordingly sailed off at one o'clock on the morning of the seventh (Ramusio 299v). According to Sousa Coutinho, the Turks, who during the entire siege had lost twelve hundred of their best men, embarked in all haste at midnight, October 31, and finally sailed away at eleven o'clock the night of November 6 (219-223 231-232). According to Kutb-ud-dīn, Khoja Safar deceived the Turkish admiral with a forged letter of the viceroy, according to which he was coming with 350 ships, and persuaded him to flee (55).



ammunition to the bulwark.<sup>118</sup> He had fired his artillery on the flank of the Moors when they attacked the fortress. They had therefore heavily bombarded the bulwark and repeatedly sought to gain control of it.<sup>119</sup> But Sousa and his forty-five men<sup>120</sup> had driven off all of their attacks, including one on October 29, when seven hundred Turks in fifty small boats landed and made three last, desperate assaults before their mortally wounded leader, Mahmūd Khān, broke off the attack.<sup>121</sup>

In 1539 Sousa returned to Portugal with a document bearing witness to his services during the siege. There, in March, 1540, he obtained a captaincy of Chaul for three years after that of Francisco da Cunha.<sup>122</sup> This was granted "for his defence of the bulwark," as it was expressly noted in the instrument of his appointment. He was to receive this position before Luis Falcão, who has already been mentioned. The latter's brother Gonçalo had been slain by the Turks during the siege, and Falcão received in his stead the promised fortress of Ormuz.<sup>123</sup>

#### 9. MANUEL DE VASCONCELLOS<sup>124</sup>

In Mozambique, Xavier met another voyager to India, Manuel de Vasconcellos, a *fidalgo* of the royal house and a companion in arms of Antonio de Sousa during the siege of Diu. Manuel came from Madeira. The founder of his family was Martim Mendes de Vasconcellos, the son-in-law of João Gonçalves Zarco, who had discovered Madeira in 1419 and had received its capital of Funchal as a fief from the king.<sup>125</sup> About the year 1521 Manuel had sailed

<sup>118</sup> Q 353.

<sup>119</sup> Sousa Coutinho 187-188; Q 533; Castanheda 8, 196; Correa III 859-860, IV 37 41; Couto 5, 3, 10; 5, 4, 11-12.

<sup>120</sup> In the change of posts at the beginning of August, Sousa received the bulwark in the sea with thirty-five men (Sousa Coutinho 134). At the beginning of October twenty more men were sent to help the twenty-five that were there (Correa IV 37).

<sup>121</sup> Sousa Coutinho 196-199; Ramusio 299v; Barros 4, 10, 15; Couto 5, 4, 12. Correa places this attack on October 27 (IV 42-45). Sousa repelled it with thirty men (Couto 5, 4, 12), even though the tower, gate, and southern walls were shot to pieces (Sousa Coutinho 187-188 196; Couto 5, 4, 12).

<sup>122</sup> *Registo*, nn. 329 336 (Q 486 718 512).

<sup>123</sup> Q 513.

<sup>124</sup> We encounter Manuel de Vasconcellos from 1545 to 1548 as captain of Cannanore, where he entered office on April 5 (Q 1749). In 1546 he wrote to the king that he had served for twenty-five years, was poor, had many children, and asked for the position of captain of the Coromandel Coast for life (Q 2632). He had four daughters and one son (Q 2333). In 1551 he was a witness in Cochin (Q 4585). In 1558 a M. de Vasconcellos o Velho sailed with the governor's fleet to Bassein (Couto 7, 6, 4). Couto gives the descendants of his daughters Luisa, Catarina, and Joana (5, 4, 6). For his letters see Q 1749 1898 2175 2205 2280 2333 2339 2348 2350 2380 2632 3602; other documentos in 1636 1662 1825 1890 2801. He is not to be confused with Manuel de Vasconcellos, son of Lopo Mendes de Vasconcellos, cousin of D. Estevão da Gama, whom we usually find with the latter or his brother Christovão—in 1539 in Malacca, in 1540 in Cochin, in 1541 on the voyage to Suez, in 1548 in Venice—nor with the latter's namesake, son of Diogo de Vasconcellos, who sailed to India in 1553 and to Maluco in 1559, where he died in 1560 shortly after his arrival as the captain of the fort.

<sup>125</sup> Sousa Coutinho 171; Braamcamp Freire I 381. His coat of arms consisted of three silver bars, each with six red aconites, the central ones inverted, on a black field. The seal of his letter of January 12, 1548, bears it (Q 3602).

to India as a young *fidalgo* and had served there in the fleet.<sup>126</sup> In Goa he had married Isabel de Veiga, the daughter of the customs collector, Francisco Ferrão.<sup>127</sup> During the siege of Diu the women in the fortress had stood faithfully at the side of its heroic defenders; and at their head had been Isabel, the wife of Vasconcellos, and the elderly wife of the physician, Anna Fernandes. Their shining example gave strength and courage to the combatants. They prepared the food and brought it to the farthest outposts. They carried off the bodies of the dead and helped the wounded away from the field of battle, bandaged their wounds, and nursed them in their homes as if they were their own children. They tore down houses for building materials and carried stones, earth, wood, and water, and mixed the mortar for the new walls and ramparts which were erected at night behind those that had been pierced by the enemy's cannons. During the last critical combat they brought munitions to the front ranks through a hail of bullets and arrows and encouraged the defenders to fight as Christian knights against the infidels.<sup>128</sup> Some of the women even fought beside the men, dressed like them and wearing helmets and wielding swords and spears,<sup>129</sup> until the heroism of the Portuguese finally forced the Turks to retreat and thus saved the fortress.

Afer the departure of the enemy, Vasconcellos and Francisco Mendez de Vasconcellos went as ambassadors of the viceroy, Dom Garcia de Noronha, to Navānagar and concluded a treaty with Ashja Khān<sup>130</sup> and Rūmī Khān, the representatives of Sultan Mahmūd, according to which the Portuguese were guaranteed possession of the fortress of Diu and a third of all the tolls.<sup>131</sup> At the beginning of 1540 he sailed to Portugal with his captain, Antonio da Silveira, and there received as a reward for his services a captaincy of Cannanore for three years.<sup>132</sup> His wife, as is noted in the sources, received a lifelong income of ten *milreis* a year for her services and those of her husband during the siege.<sup>133</sup>

#### 10. CID DE SOUSA AND LANÇAROTE PEREIRA DE ABREU

Master Francis met two more participants in the memorable siege of Diu in Mozambique, Cid de Sousa and Lançarote Pereira. Cid de Sousa Falcão,<sup>134</sup> a son of João Lopez de Almeida, had fought there bravely as a *fidalgo cavalleiro*.<sup>135</sup> Armed only with a sword and dagger, he and Rodrigo de Proença carried out a dangerous commission of the captain at the risk of their lives.

<sup>126</sup> Q 2632. In 1527 he was called a *fidalgo* in Goa (Correa III 135).

<sup>127</sup> Sousa Coutinho 171-173; Couto 3, 4, 1 and 6. We already encounter him among the *casados* of Goa in 1536.

<sup>128</sup> Sousa Coutinho 171-174 214; Correa IV 55-56; Barros 4, 10, 12; Couto 5, 4, 6; 5, 5, 2.

<sup>129</sup> Correa IV 55-56; F. do Couto 269-270.

<sup>130</sup> Portuguese: "Acajão."

<sup>131</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 229-232.

<sup>132</sup> Q 493; *Registo*, n. 319.

<sup>133</sup> Q 506.

<sup>134</sup> Our Cid de Sousa, as he is usually called in the accounts, is different from the Duarte de Ataíde who sailed to India in 1530 (*Emmentia* 317). The chancery document of 1541 has his full name (Q 654). In November, 1546, the governor gave him privileges for his voyage to Mozambique in a merchant ship: he could send two *cotias* (small two-masted sailboats) to Cambay in order to purchase fabrics for his voyage, and he could take two chests of materials to Sofala (Q 2537; Baião 300).

<sup>135</sup> *Emmentia* 373; *\*Memoria das pessoas* 71.

They were lowered into the moat of the fortress and there learned that the enemy was digging a tunnel in order to place a mine under the bulwark of Santiago and blow it up. Counter measures could thus be taken.<sup>136</sup> The night before the main attack he and fifty *casados* took charge of the defenses facing the sea;<sup>137</sup> and in the battle itself he and Manuel de Vasconcellos, Lançarote Pereira, and Rodrigo de Proença heroically defended the violently contested "New Rampart."<sup>138</sup> At the beginning of 1541, in addition to his monthly income of 1,250 *reis* as a *cavalleiro* of the royal house,<sup>139</sup> he received two sailings as a captain of the trading vessel which went each year from India to Mozambique.<sup>140</sup> His herald, Lançarote Pereira de Abreu, a *fidalgo* of the royal house,<sup>141</sup> obtained the captaincy of one of the two caravels stationed at Mozambique that kept watch over the coast between Sofala and Melinde.<sup>142</sup> He had been one of the *fidalgos* who at the first news of the arrival of the Turks had gone from Goa to the help of the besieged fortress of Diu in two *caturs*,<sup>143</sup> and he had remained there until the departure of the foe.

#### 11. PEDRO DE MESQUITA<sup>144</sup>

Another *fidalgo* who sailed with Martim Affonso de Sousa to India was Pedro de Mesquita, a son of the *corregidor* Diogo Pires.<sup>145</sup> In 1527, during the struggle for the post of governor at Goa, he had taken the side of Lopo Vaz de Sampaio<sup>146</sup> and had sailed with him in 1528 as the captain of a *fusta* to the Bärkür River<sup>147</sup> in the province of Canara, where the Malabar Moors were defeated after a stout resistance and their *praus* burned.<sup>148</sup> The following year he and Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho<sup>149</sup> took part in the naval battle near the island of Bombay in which the fleet of Alī Shāh suffered a severe defeat.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Correa IV 38; Barros 4, 10, 16.

<sup>137</sup> Correa IV 45.

<sup>138</sup> Sousa Coutinho 215; Barros 4, 10, 16.

<sup>139</sup> \**Memoria das pessoas* 71.

<sup>140</sup> Q 654; *Registo*, n. 335.

<sup>141</sup> Lançarote Pereira, as he is usually called in the accounts—his full name is given in the chancellery document of 1541 (Q 670)—is not to be confused with L. Pereira Borges, son of the licentiate Gomes Borges, who, as a *cavalleiro fidalgo*, asked in 1539 to be allowed to carry the arms of the Borges. The request was granted (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 27, 25). Our L. Pereira wintered in 1548 in Ningpo with Xavier's friend Diogo Pereira and other merchants. He was imprisoned in China and was still there in 1551. Castanheda confuses him (9, 5) with Lançarote Guerreiro, who at the end of 1539 sailed with Vasco da Cunha as the captain of a *fusta* to obtain news in the Red Sea. He left the flotilla, however, and for six years as a pirate made the seas unsafe (Correa IV 110).

<sup>142</sup> Q 760; *Registo*, n. 344 (where 1541 should be read instead of 1540).

<sup>143</sup> Couto 5, 3, 6; cf. Barros 4, 10, 8; Sousa Coutinho 139.

<sup>144</sup> In 1547 Pedro de Mesquita again sailed to India as captain of the *Santa Catarina* (*Emmenta* 426; Correa IV 641 666; SR IV 148-149) and had to winter in Mozambique (Q 4063). He was granted the position of customs officer in Ormuz, but since this position had been combined with that of the vizier, he wrote to the king that the governor should compensate him with something else (Q 4250). In 1552 Xavier recommended him to John III for his many years of service (EX II 307), and in the same year he received as a favor three voyages to Maluco (Q 4778; *Registo*, n. 456).

<sup>145</sup> *Emmenta* 428.

<sup>146</sup> Correa III 135.

<sup>147</sup> Portuguese: "Bacanor."

<sup>148</sup> Correa III 230.

<sup>149</sup> See above, n. 67.

<sup>150</sup> Correa III 292.

12. FRANCISCO DE SOUSA<sup>151</sup>

One of the five ships which spent the winter 1542 in Mozambique was the *Santa Cruz*. Its captain, Francisco de Sousa, knew India from long experience. His uncle Bastião de Sousa had sailed from Lisbon to Goa as the captain of a ship in 1505 and 1509.<sup>152</sup> When the king sent him again to the East in 1521 with an order to build a fortress on the island of St. Lawrence,<sup>153</sup> he was accompanied by two young nephews Francisco and João.<sup>154</sup> They were forced to spend the winter in Mozambique, and in India they received a letter countermanding the original order. As a substitute for this, the governor of India gave Francisco's uncle the command of a ship that sailed in September, 1522, with two other vessels from Cochin to the island of Banda in order to take on a cargo of nutmeg.<sup>155</sup> In the beginning of 1538 Sousa returned to Cochin with seven hundred *bahārs* of cloves,<sup>156</sup> and from there he sailed to Portugal. Tristão de Ataíde described his services in glowing terms in a letter to the king,<sup>157</sup> and at the beginning of 1541 Sousa received as his reward a captaincy for three voyages to India.<sup>158</sup>

13. DINIS DE PAIVA<sup>159</sup>

Dinis de Paiva, a royal groom, had served in the Moluccas like Francisco de Sousa, with whom he was sailing to India in 1541. In 1528 he had obtained a title to the position of a scribe in a factory in Ceylon.<sup>160</sup> But instead of sailing to Ceylon, he went on to Ternate, where the Mohammedans were embittered with the Portuguese for keeping their king Dayāl imprisoned in the fortress. From there he was sent by Gonçalo Pereira with a caravel to Banda in order to buy a cargo of cloves. He was on his way back to Ternate when the hated captain was slain there on May 27, 1531, by the daggers of conspirators. Since the revolt from the Portuguese was spreading to the neighboring islands, Pereira's newly appointed successor, Vicente de Fonseca, immediately sent the caravel by way of Borneo to Malacca and India<sup>161</sup> to ask for men and food.

<sup>151</sup> M. A. de Sousa wrote on December 23, 1542, to the king from Cochin: "Francisco de Sousa is sailing back in this ship *Santa Cruz*, in which he came from there as captain. On this voyage he did what he has done in everything else: he served Your Highness very well with great prudence and justice. In doing this he not only gained nothing, but he suffered a loss of his own wealth. I am reminding Your Highness of this so that you may grant him a favor, for he is very deserving of one, and it will be very hard for him to ask for it. He has served for twenty years in this country, and he has constantly given such a good example that it could not have been better. Be mindful, Your Highness, of him!" (SR II 310). On his namesakes see Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger" 210-212.

<sup>152</sup> *Emmentia* 236 268.

<sup>153</sup> Barros 3, 7, 1; Castanheda 5, 79.

<sup>154</sup> Barros 3, 8, 4; cf. SR II 310.

<sup>155</sup> Barros 3, 8, 4; Castanheda 6, 49.

<sup>156</sup> "The ship carried only 700 *bahār*, the equivalent of 3,500 hundredweights" (Sá I 354).

<sup>157</sup> Sá I 345 354-355 368.

<sup>158</sup> Ford I 359; Q 685 736 749.

<sup>159</sup> Dinis de Paiva is not to be confused with his double, a landlord in Fataunsos who had received pardon (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Perdões* 15, 160). After 1541 our Paiva, as far as we know, is no longer mentioned.

<sup>160</sup> TdT: *Chanc. D. João, Doações* 14, 67v.

<sup>161</sup> Letter of Fonseca of December 8, 1531 (Sá I 241); Castanheda 8, 41; Correa III 432.

Five years later the condition of Ternate became still more critical because of a conspiracy of the four kings of the Moluccas. On March 20, 1536, the captain, Tristão de Ataíde, who was being besieged by the rebels, learned that the Moro islanders, whom he had won over to Christianity two years before, had been conquered by the sultan of Djailolo and forced to apostatize. Four days later, at the command of the captain, Paiva sailed to Banda to obtain help. He then sailed from there to Amboina in order to increase the friendly regard of the local chiefs for the Portuguese. After his return to Ternate, Ataíde sent him with his caravel to Tidore in order to deceive the foe with a feint attack and then on to Moro to obtain provisions for the beleaguered fortress.<sup>162</sup> At the beginning of 1537 Paiva sailed to Malacca with his junk laden with cloves. During the night fifteen days after his arrival, the Achinese, who were dreaded because of their poisoned arrows, overran the city of the natives. Paiva helped beat back the foe, who, after putting up a stout resistance, were forced to sail away.<sup>163</sup> Ataíde therefore recommended his loyal assistant for his good services in a letter to the king.<sup>164</sup> At the beginning of 1541 Paiva received as his reward in Portugal a title to the position of treasurer in the customhouse in Diu.<sup>165</sup>

#### 14. COSME DE PAIVA<sup>166</sup>

Another voyager to India was Cosme de Paiva, a member of the old family of Paiva. His father, Lourenço de Paiva, the secretary of Affonso de Albuquerque from 1510 to 1512,<sup>167</sup> was survived by three sons, Gaspar,<sup>168</sup> Cosme, and Antonio. As *escudeiros fidalgos* of the royal house, Cosme and Antonio had monthly incomes of 1,000 *reis*.<sup>169</sup> On August 25, 1526, a document was sent to Cosme in Lisbon which declared that in return for his services he was being given the positions of factor of the Coromandel and Fishery Coasts, *provedor* of the deceased, and agent for the Portuguese who came to those coasts with the right to grant passage to Moorish ships. All of these favors were for three years, as they had been for his predecessors; and he was to receive all the revenues

<sup>162</sup> Letter of Tristão de Ataíde of November 15, 1537 (Sá I 343 346 369). Cf. Castanheda 8, 130 161-163; Correa III 811-813.

<sup>163</sup> Sá I 359. On the battles in general, see 357-369.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.* 359 369.

<sup>165</sup> Q 668.

<sup>166</sup> According to \*Andrade Leitão, his mother was called Margarida Alvares de Almada (XVI 723). We shall encounter Cosme de Paiva in 1544 and 1545 on the Fishery Coast with Xavier, where he oppressed the Christians with his insatiable greed. Still, before Francis' complaints reached Lisbon, he had obtained there, "for his good services," the post of a factor of the Coromandel and Fishery coasts for three more years (Q 1393). He was married in Goa in 1546 and passed as a brave *cavalleiro* (Q 2598). Before he could again enter into office he fell in the battle at Diu on November 10, 1546 (L. Lunes 124; Q 3750).

<sup>167</sup> Correa II 116; CA III 312; I 59.

<sup>168</sup> According to \*Andrade Leitão, Gaspar was a commander and chief standard-bearer of the Order of Christ and married to Leonor de Vasconcellos (XVI 723), data which we have not been able to control. In 1548 he held the post of customs officer of Malacca for three years, a favor granted in consideration of the services rendered by his deceased brother Cosme (Q 3750). He fell in battle against the Malays and Javanese in the siege of Malacca in 1551 (Q 4746). There will be further mention of his brother Antonio.

<sup>169</sup> \*Lousada I 536v.

and privileges that had accrued to them.<sup>170</sup> Cosme therefore sailed with his brother to India at the beginning of 1537,<sup>171</sup> but when he arrived there the governor, Nuno da Cunha, caused some difficulties. The year before a letter had come from the king uniting the post of factor of the Fishery Coast with that of Ceylon and suppressing that of Coromandel. Since the last post, moreover, had already been promised to another, the governor told Cosme that he could only give him that of factor of the Fishery Coast.<sup>172</sup> Dissatisfied with this, Cosme returned to Portugal and succeeded in having the original order issued in his favor in 1536 confirmed on January 31, 1541.<sup>173</sup>

These were some of the *fidalgos* whom Master Francis came to know during his stay at Mozambique, and from whom he received numerous insights into the world of the East, which was to be his new field of labor.

<sup>170</sup> TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 21, 159.

<sup>171</sup> *Emmentia* 339.

<sup>172</sup> Q 210.

<sup>173</sup> Q 682; cf. 1393. The *Emmentia* state that he again sailed to India in 1541 (373). It may seem surprising that Paiva, who made the same trip in 1537, would soon after begin the long and difficult voyage back to Portugal in order to return in 1541. But Lopo Vaz Coutinho, for example, did the same. In 1537 he sailed to India. In 1540, it seems, he returned to Portugal as a captain with his brother Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho and then began his second voyage to India in 1541. A letter of M. A. de Sousa refers to his voyage to Portugal. At the end of 1536 he recommended to the king a number of *fidalgos*, among whom was Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho, who had served him in the Malabar fleet; and he added: "Faça V. A. mercê a estes homens posto que laa nom vão, porque ham quá, que nom há mercê ninguem, senom quem laa vay. Tinja V. A. polos de quá tambem e nom ganharês pouco niso" (TdT: *S. Lour.* 1, 442).

## CHAPTER VII

### STORM CLOUDS OVER MOZAMBIQUE (DECEMBER, 1541—FEBRUARY, 1542) <sup>1</sup>

#### 1. A SHIP FROM INDIA (END OF DECEMBER, 1541)

Almost four months had flown by since Xavier's arrival at Mozambique when a ship from India unexpectedly anchored in the harbor. It was the galleon *Santiago* <sup>2</sup> a courier ship <sup>3</sup> sailing to Portugal with drugs. Dom Estevão da Gama, the governor, had sent it; and its captain, Dom Francesco de Lima, had left Goa on November 26. <sup>4</sup>

Dom Francesco de Lima <sup>5</sup> had sailed from Lisbon to India in 1532 with Dom Estevão and the latter's brothers Dom Paulo and Dom Christovão. From 1534 to 1538 he fought with them in Malacca against the Malays and Achinese and led the assault in the capture of Ujong Tanah, a venture in which Dom Christavão also took part. From 1538 to 1540 he served as a captain in the India fleet <sup>6</sup> under the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha and his successor Dom Estevão da Gama. At the beginning of 1541 he sailed with the latter as the captain of a galleon to the Red Sea <sup>7</sup> in order to set fire to the Turkish vessels in Suez. <sup>8</sup> This was the greatest Portuguese fleet that had ever been seen on

<sup>1</sup> In the following, the contradictory statements of Correa and Couto have been critically checked with the help of the contemporary documents. It has been found that Correa is generally to be preferred to Couto.

<sup>2</sup> Figueiredo Falcão 160.

<sup>3</sup> Q 844 (*navio da nova*), 875 (*navio de recado*). The ship was to bring the king information on the Suez campaign (Couto 5, 8, 2).

<sup>4</sup> Correa IV 215. The letters to the king from Goa are dated October 16 to November 26. The ship obviously took these along. Following this there is a pause. The next letters to Portugal are from December 8 to 30.

<sup>5</sup> Francisco de Lima was the son of D. Diogo de Lima, the brother of the third viscount of Vila Nova de Cerveira. His father had sailed to India in 1521 and had served there as captain of Cochin (Braamcamp Freire III 88; Figueiredo Falcão 151; Correa II 674 709 828 831). In 1547 D. Francisco returned to Goa, where his friend D. João de Castro was governor (Q 2905). He fought with him at Pondá (Correa IV 602), Broach (*ibid.* 611-612), and in Salsette (*ibid.* 617); and he was with him when he died. It was on this account that the dying governor asked Xavier to recommend him to the king (EX I 471). He was captain of Goa from 1548 to 1551 (*\*Confirmação*; Q 4046 4152 4592) and returned to Portugal in 1552 (Q 4753 4758).

<sup>6</sup> At the end of 1540 D. Estevão da Gama praised his deserts (Q 598; cf. Correa III 626 681-862; Couto 4, 8, 12).

<sup>7</sup> D. Estevão recommended him to the king for this after his return from Suez (Q 841, ff. 1 and 6).

<sup>8</sup> For the voyage to Suez we have the detailed diary of D. João de Castro, the *Roteiro de Goa atee Soez*, ending on August 21, 1541 (cf. Q 825 844), which, apart from an excursus on Abyssinia, passes over the military events and restricts itself to geographical and nautical details, illustrated by sixteen valuable watercolors. The British Museum has a copy of 1543 with original entries by Castro. The text and illustrations have been damaged by fire. It was published in Paris in 1833 and in Lisbon in 1940

the Red Sea. It consisted of eighty-four ships, eight galleons, two *naus*, one caravel, seventy *fustas* and *catur*s, three galiots,<sup>9</sup> and 2,300 picked soldiers.<sup>10</sup> Most of the *fidalgos* of India, especially the older ones, were opposed to the governor's sailing to Suez with such an armada. And subsequent events proved them to be right.<sup>11</sup> The rich Moorish cities of Suakin and Kosseir were captured, plundered, and destroyed. The Turks in Tor were expelled from the Sinai peninsula, and a number of the warriors were dubbed knights in the church of St. Catherine.<sup>12</sup> But when the governor appeared before Suez with sixteen *catur*s (he had left the larger vessels behind in Massaua or had sent them away from there), he found that the foe had been forewarned. The oared ships, forty-seven galleys and galiots, had been drawn up on the beach; and the sailing vessels, two large *naus*, five small galleons, and four caravels,<sup>13</sup> lay safely under the protection of the Turkish bastion and its artillery. Fifteen

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with colored plates. A later copy is in the library of the duke of Palmella in Lisbon. Seven of Castro's original drawings are extant in the collection d'Anville in the National Library in Paris (Q 1157). Kammerer gives these together with ten plates of the London manuscript in his translation and commentary *Le Routier de Dom Joam de Castro* (Paris, 1936) and in a larger format with thirteen plates of the Palmella copy in *La Mer Rouge* III (1947). In addition to this there are a number of accounts by others who took part in the expedition which D. Francisco de Lima took back with him to Portugal, by Castro (Q 844), Martim Correa (Q 837), Martim Affonso de Mello (Q 847), and D. Manuel de Lima (Q 858), part of which have been published by Graça Barreto (nn. 278 280 282); also those of Thomé Rodrigues Soares (Q 856), Manuel Coutinho (Q 861), and D. Estevão da Gama (Q 858; on the merits and demerits of individual *fidalgos*). Further accounts were written after Lima's departure by Castro's companion (Q 867, ed. Beccari X 18-20), Francisco Freire (Q 877), and by Miguel da Cunha (Q 876). There are also summary data in Castanhoso (102) and Bermudez' book, which should be used with caution (9-19), and the accounts in Correa (IV 161-208) and Couto, who includes information obtained orally from participants and a written account (5, 7, 5-11; 5, 8, 2). Shorter surveys are given by Esteves Pereira (pp. XVII-XXIX) and Kammerer (*La Mer Rouge* III 95-138, with four pictures), who also gives four useful maps in his *Routier* (58 66 82 122).

<sup>9</sup> According to D. Manuel de Lima (Q 858). According to Correa, who also gives the names of the captains, there were eighty-nine ships (IV 169; more details 162-164), but seventy-two according to Couto (5, 7, 5).

<sup>10</sup> According to D. Manuel de Lima (Q 858). In addition to these Correa speaks of over three thousand Indian and Arab sailors. The oared vessels alone had more than two thousand rowers. Besides these there were two thousand picked soldiers, including many *fidalgos* (IV 161-164).

<sup>11</sup> "He sailed against the wishes of all the *fidalgos*," \*wrote Martim Correa (Q 837) and D. Diogo de Almeida (Q 682); "against the wishes of many or all," as Freire observed (Q 877); and "against the wishes of most of the *fidalgos*," as Mello declared (Q 847). Before the voyage Sebastião Garces \*wrote to the king: "The voyage of the governor to the straits is futile. No one dares to tell him so; afterwards they all grieve in their dwellings. The voyage is costing at least 250,000 *cruzados*. Even if he sailed every year with a hundred vessels, he would still not come to the roadstead of the Turkish galleys, and still less would he be able to burn them. The galleons and *naus* with which the governor is sailing can go no farther than the town of Tor. The *fustas* must sail on from there, and we shall not do them any harm since they [the Turks] will be warned. The old *fidalgos* in India, Garcia de Sá, Ruy Vaz Pereira, Antonio de Lemos, the captain of Goa, D. João d'Eça, D. Garcia Coutinho, and others who are well acquainted with this voyage to the straits advised the governor not to sail there, but he was set upon it" (Q 589).

<sup>12</sup> Q 844 798; Couto 5, 7, 8. The monastery of Tor is not to be confused with the famous monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai a day and a half away from it (Correa IV 189).

<sup>13</sup> According to Manuel Coutinho (Q 861). Correa speaks of forty-six galleys and four large *naus* (IV 192 199).



thousand men,<sup>14</sup> among whom were two thousand cavalrymen, had come from Cairo to defend them.<sup>15</sup> The sailing of the Portuguese had not been kept secret, and the Moors had had time to send couriers by sea to Suez.<sup>16</sup> The fleet, scattered by a storm on the Indian Ocean, was forced to return to India with its mission unaccomplished.

Nevertheless, this expedition still had significant effects. In 1538 John III had sent Dom Garcia de Noronha as viceroy with fifteen boats and two thousand soldiers to defend India against the Turks and to lend assistance to King David, known also as "Preste Joam." The following year two ambassadors of this Abyssinian ruler, the Portuguese João Bermudez and the Abyssinian Zagā Za Ab, came from Lisbon<sup>17</sup> to India; and Dom Garcia let the Preste know that he would send both of them to King David with three hundred picked men.<sup>18</sup> The fleet of the year 1540 brought new letters from John III for the viceroy bidding him burn the galleys of the enemy in Suez in order to free India from the nightmare of a new Turkish invasion; and he again earnestly entreated him to help King David at any cost and to permit Bermudez to obtain everything in India requested by the Abyssinian king, especially craftsmen of all kinds, including those who could make cannons and other weapons.<sup>19</sup> But the letters arrived when Dom Garcia was no longer alive. He had died five months earlier on April 3, 1540.<sup>20</sup> His successor Dom Estevão da Gama, however, decided to carry out the royal requests.<sup>21</sup> He sailed from Goa with the fleet for Suez at the beginning of 1541, taking Bermudez with him.<sup>22</sup> The latter's companion Zagā Za Ab had died shortly after his arrival in India.<sup>23</sup>

At Massaua, the harbor of Abyssinia, they learned some sad news. King David, who the year before had sent a letter about his perilous position to Zagā Za Ab,<sup>24</sup> had died.<sup>25</sup> After his death, the few nobles who remained true to the ruling house had chosen Claudius, the young son of the deceased, as his successor.<sup>26</sup> But his situation was almost hopeless. His father, David, had es-

<sup>14</sup> Manuel Coutinho gives this number (Q 861).

<sup>15</sup> Correa mentions three groups of cavalry, the first of four to five hundred horsemen, the second of eight hundred, and the third much more numerous (IV 194-195). Couto gives two thousand cavalrymen (5, 7, 9).

<sup>16</sup> According to Martim Correa, D. Manuel de Lima, and D. Diogo de Almeida (Q 837 858 602).

<sup>17</sup> See Vol. I 696.

<sup>18</sup> See King David's reply to the letter of Zagā Za Ab, which the Abyssinian Tanka Michael had brought to the Preste with letters of John III and of the viceroy, D. Garcia de Noronha (Correa IV 138-139; cf. 108-110; and Bermudez 8-9 and Kammerer III 32-34).

<sup>19</sup> Sousa, *Annaes* 313; Correa IV 142.

<sup>20</sup> Correa IV 117-118.

<sup>21</sup> Bermudez 9-10.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 10; Correa IV 178.

<sup>23</sup> Correa IV 107-108; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 253.

<sup>24</sup> Correa IV 138-139; SR II 333-334.

<sup>25</sup> For the history of Abyssinia at this time, the following Ethiopic chronicles are pertinent: those of Lebna Dengel (until 1530), ed. Conti Rossini; of Galāwdēwos, ed. Conzelman; those of Minās and Susenyos, ed. Esteves Pereira; the autobiography of Pāwlos, ed. Conti Rossini; and the "Short Chronicle," ed. Béguinot. In addition there is the Arabic chronicle of Shihāb-ud-dīn Ahmad (until 1537), ed. Basset (see Vol. I 695). — David died on Maskaram 5, 7033 A.M., the equivalent of September 2, 1540, in the mountain stronghold of Dabra Dāmo (Conzelman 124, n. 5). Coulbeaux erroneously has the fifth (II 117); Kammerer has September 5 or 13 (II 34); Castro has 1539 (*Roteiro atee Soez* 69).

<sup>26</sup> David had four sons: Victor, who died in battle in 1539; Minās, who from the same year was a captive of the Moors; Jacob, who remained with his mother on Dabra

tranged the powerful lords of the realm with his great severity. They had risen up against him; and the Moorish king of Zeila, the Imām Ahmed Granhe, had taken advantage of the confusion,<sup>27</sup> invading Abyssinia and plundering the greater portion of the land with his fanatical warriors and three hundred Turkish arquebusiers. Against the weapons of the Turks, all the personal bravery of the Abyssinians, who were only armed with bows and arrows, spears, and a few swords, had proved to be futile.<sup>28</sup> Even the treasure of the Preste, the greatest in the world, had fallen into the hands of his foes,<sup>29</sup> and most of the Abyssinian nobles had gone over to the side of the invader. The young king had taken refuge with a few of his loyal followers on an impregnable mountain inhabited by Jews in the south.<sup>30</sup> His mother<sup>31</sup> along with Bāhr-Nagāsh, the governor of the coastal province,<sup>32</sup> had found a haven in a similar mountain fortress in the north of the land.<sup>33</sup>

The coming of the Portuguese fleet revived the fallen hopes of the Christians. The young king came from the south to be nearer his helpers.<sup>34</sup> The governor

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Dāmo (Esteves Pereira 7 82; *idem*, *Historia de Minás* 37-42; Littmann 195); and Claudius, Abyssinian: "Galāwdēwos Asnāf Sāgad." Claudius was eighteen years old when he mounted the throne (Beccari III 19, V 269). His reign is described in the extensive "Chronicle of Galāwdēwos" and in the "Short Chronicle."

<sup>27</sup> Castro calls him "Gradament," that is, Garād Ahmed (*Roteiro atee Soez* 67). His name was Ahmed ibn Ibrāhīm, his nickname "Grahne" ("Left-handed"). He was emir of Harar. The Portuguese usually called him the king of Zeila after the principal harbor of his kingdom. On his campaigns and their bibliography, see Vol. I 695. On his name see Beccari II 295.

<sup>28</sup> Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 67-69.

<sup>29</sup> "Foi tomado o maior thesouro, que até o dia d'oje sabemos ser junto em toda a redondeza da terra," according to Castro (*Roteiro atee Soez* 69). Martim Affonso de Mello also states that the king of Zeila took the Preste's entire treasure (Q 847), and D. Manuel de Lima that the Moors had gained possession of the Preste's gold mines (Q 858).

<sup>30</sup> Three months after ascending the throne, in December, 1540 (on Tāhras 11), Claudius routed the Moors near Bur Kalomakadā, southeast of Debarua (Béguinot 26; Conzelman, pp. XVII 126-127; Beccari V 270, III 19: "after four months"). Afterwards he went to "the Mountains of the Jews," that is, the mountainous area of Semēn, very difficult of approach, with peaks rising to a height of 16,400 feet. It was inhabited by Falāshas (Jews) and other races. There he was hospitably received for three months by the Agaos, the Semēn, Lawāre, Hosā, and Salamt (Béguinot 26; Conzelman, pp. XVIII. On "the Mountains of the Jews," see Littmann 117; Beccari II 18-19 314-315; Basset 456, n. 4). From here he attacked and slew the rebellious Jonātān (Béguinot 27). On the Falāshas, see K. Rathjens, *Die Juden in Abessinien* (Hamburg, 1921); P. Borchardt, "Die Falasha-Juden im Mittelalter," *Anthropos* 18/19 (1923/1924) 258-262; Conti Rossini, "Appunti di Storia e Letteratura Falascia," *Rivista di Studi Orientali* 8 (1919/1920) 563-610, and "Nuovi appunti sui Giudei di Abissinia," *Rendiconti della Accademia dei Lincei* 31 (1922) 221-240; J. S. Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (London, 1952) 19-22 54; *The Jewish Encyclopedia* 5 (1907) 327-330; *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 1 (1930) 905-911; *Jüdisches Lexikon* 1 (1928) 21-22, 2 (1928) 581-582.

<sup>31</sup> Sabla Wangēl ("Fruit [Ear of Corn] of the Gospel"). On her see Conzelman 122-123 and Esteves Pereira, *Chronica de Susenyos* II 287-288. She died in 1568.

<sup>32</sup> Bāhr-Nagāsh ("Lord of the Sea") was the title of the governor of the northern province since his territory reached to the Red Sea, where Massaua, the only harbor of the Preste, was located. The governor of the time was named Yeshāq (Beccari II 295-296, V 271).

<sup>33</sup> Dabra Dāmo, where the Portuguese found them when they arrived in 1541 (Castanhoso 5-9 82).

<sup>34</sup> Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 70. The Preste probably did not receive news of the coming of the Portuguese until March. He then returned to Tigre, where he celebrated Easter in the region of Sard (Béguinot 27).

had sent him a Portuguese from Massaua to inform him of his arrival,<sup>35</sup> and the messenger had returned with an Abyssinian and letters from the king.<sup>36</sup> Other letters continued to arrive, all written on parchment with a picture of the Crucified at the top; and each was more urgent than the last.<sup>37</sup> Bāhr-Nagāsh appeared in person with a letter from the royal mother.<sup>38</sup> These letters of the king and his mother were heart-rending appeals for help from a dying Christian race. For fourteen years they had been under the tyranny of the Moors,<sup>39</sup> who destroyed every trace of Christianity and carried off men, women, and children by the thousands in order to sell them in the slave markets of Mecca and elsewhere.<sup>40</sup>

Dom Estevão had sailed on for Suez on February 18.<sup>41</sup> His uncle Manuel

<sup>35</sup> Correa IV 184; Bermudez 11-12. Through the mulatto Ayrez Dias, who from his earlier stay in Abyssinia with Alvarez, from 1520 to 1526, knew the land and its language (Castanhoso 39 134). According to Bermudez the Portuguese learned where the king and queen were staying from two monks who were going to Jerusalem (10-11). According to Correa, Dias was sent by Manuel da Gama on the order of Dom Estevão after the latter had continued on his way (IV 178 184).

<sup>36</sup> According to Bermudez, Dias carried the message of the queen mother and returned with a eunuch of the Preste and a gold cross as a gift. Dom Estevão then sailed for Suez (11-12). According to Correa, he did not come back until the middle of April, after the deaths of the ninety-six mutineers (IV 184-185). Bermudez places the deliberation over the expedition against the murderers of the ninety-six in Holy Week (April 10 to 16). According to Correa, Dias brought letters of the Preste for the governor and for Bermudez; and Claudius wrote to the latter that if the governor did not help, he should immediately sail to Portugal and register a complaint with John III (IV 184-185 199).

<sup>37</sup> "Screvendo muitas cartas mais que piadosas e miseraveis, e em todas, ante de sua scriptura, vinha nosso senhor Jesus crucificado" (Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 70). Castro's companion also wrote in a similar fashion, namely, that the Preste, immediately after the arrival of the Portuguese, had sent a letter with a crucifix painted above it asking for help, as did the queen mother (Beccari X 18-19). For a picture of such a letter, see Schurhammer, *Quellen*, pl. 17. Littmann 98-99 and Beccari X 450-451 give the text of a similar petition of Claudius from the beginning of 1542 (the year in Q 666-667 should be corrected). According to Bermudez, the chief person of the realm, "Aueyteconcomo" (Abeitacūn), came immediately after Dias as the ambassador of the Preste to ask for help. He was still in Massaua when Bāhr-Nagāsch arrived with the same request. The Tigre-Makuannen, governor of Tigre, then appeared on a similar commission of the queen mother (12-16). The repeated entreaties for prompt succour are explained by the perilous condition of the young king, who saw himself and his small group of faithful followers surrounded by the superior forces of the Moors and their Abyssinian allies. Manuel da Gama assured him of the return of the governor. But by the time the latter finally returned to Massaua on May 22, the enemies of Claudius had already forced him to fight on April 24, 1541. As a consequence of the battle the Preste had been forced to withdraw to Semēn with his sixty or seventy surviving men (Béguinot 27; Conzelman, pp. XVIII 126-128). In June, at the start of the rainy season, he moved from there to winter quarters in Schoa, near Tegulet, near the monastery of Dabra Berhan, northeast of Addis Ababa (Kammerer III 36). Paez cites a chronicle of King Adamās Sagad (Minās) according to which Claudius, after his defeat, escaped with great difficulty to Schoa with only seventy-eight or eighty companions and passed the winter there in Guēndbarāt (Beccari III 19).

<sup>38</sup> Bermudez 12. According to Castro's companion the letters of the Preste and of his mother arrived before the governor's departure for Suez (Beccari X 18-19).

<sup>39</sup> Castanhoso 1; Beccari II 295-296. Granhe's attack began in 1527.

<sup>40</sup> Bermudez has the Abyssinians who came to the governor after his return to Massaua tell him that every year the Moors sold more than ten thousand Christians to Mecca and other places (17-18). Shihāb-ud-dīn also wrote, for example, that his fellow worshipers had captured thousands of distinguished women when they plundered the tented camp of the Preste (Basset 304-305).

<sup>41</sup> Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 75 (against Correa IV 172: February 20).

da Gama, whom he had left behind in Massaua as commanding officer with the larger vessels and a portion of the troops,<sup>42</sup> had to put off the pleas of the Abyssinians until the governor's return.<sup>43</sup> In the meantime heat, hunger, and infectious diseases took their toll of the soldiers.<sup>44</sup> Many mutinied and wanted to go at once and help the Preste.<sup>45</sup> Manuel da Gama sought to maintain control with an iron hand and condemned five of the mutineers to the gallows as a terrifying example.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, despite all his prohibitions, ninety-six men sailed in a *catur* to the neighboring mainland and began their march to the Preste, but they were captured and beheaded the very same day by the Moors. Only two survived to tell their tragic end.<sup>47</sup>

On May 22 the governor finally returned with his men to Massaua,<sup>48</sup> and three days later Bähr-Nagāsh returned to the Portuguese ships to repeat his requests.<sup>49</sup> Dom Estevão summoned a council and all were of the opinion that the Preste should be helped with three hundred men.<sup>50</sup> The *fidalgos* vied with each other in volunteering for the command of the expedition, and among them was Dom Christavão, the twenty-five-year-old brother of the governor.<sup>51</sup> Dom Estevão chose him as the captain, even though the *fidalgos* wanted an older and more experienced leader. The governor told them, however, that for such a dangerous undertaking he did not wish to put the life of anyone else in jeopardy.<sup>52</sup> The number of arquebusiers for the expedition was raised to four hundred.<sup>53</sup> The sum total taking part in it, including servants and slaves,<sup>54</sup> ten artillerymen,<sup>55</sup> and more than fifty craftsmen, amounted to over five hun-

<sup>42</sup> Beccari X 19; Correa IV 171-172; Couto 5, 7, 6 and 9.

<sup>43</sup> According to Castro's companion (Beccari X 19); Bermudez 12; Correa IV 185.

<sup>44</sup> According to D. Manuel de Lima (Q 858) and Martim Correa (Q 837). Castro's companion states that by the time he returned from Suez three hundred had already died in Massaua from sickness (Beccari X 19). Many, according to Correa, died (IV 179).

<sup>45</sup> These rebels are mentioned by Martim Correa (Q 837), D. Estevão da Gama (Q 841), D. Manuel de Lima (Q 858), Castro's companion (Beccari X 19), Correa IV 179-185, Couto 5, 7, 9, and Bermudez 12-13.

<sup>46</sup> Correa IV 179; Couto 5, 7, 9.

<sup>47</sup> The most detailed accounts on this are given by D. Manuel de Lima (Q 858); Martim Correa (Q 837), Diogo d'Anhaya (ARSI: *Goa* 38, 221v-222), and Correa IV 179-185. Shorter reports are given by Castro's companion (Beccari X 19), Couto 5, 7, 9, and Bermudez 12-13. According to Martim Correa four hundred wanted to march to the Preste, but the boat on which they fled held only ninety-six. D. Manuel de Lima gives the same number. Others give other numbers: more than two hundred (Anhaya), one hundred (Castro's companion), eighty (Couto), sixty (Bermudez). According to Castro's companion, they elected Antonio Correa as their captain; according to Correa, an Antonio de Sousa (IV 179). On the revenge expedition, in which Nur, the captain of the king of Zeila, was slain, see Bermudez 15-16; Beccari X 19; Correa IV 184.

<sup>48</sup> Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 246.

<sup>49</sup> Correa IV 199; Castanhoso 1; Couto 5, 7, 10; Beccari II 295-296, V 271-272.

<sup>50</sup> Castanhoso 1; Correa IV 199; Couto 5, 7, 10. All were in favor of Dom Christovão and his men remaining with the Preste except Francisco Freire, as he himself wrote to the king (Q 877).

<sup>51</sup> In July, 1541, Dom Christovão was twenty-five (Correa IV 351).

<sup>52</sup> Castanhoso 1; Bermudez 17-18; Correa IV 199-200. To D. Manuel de Lima, Dom Christovão seemed to be too young (Q 858).

<sup>53</sup> Correa IV 200.

<sup>54</sup> Four hundred men, among whom were many *fidalgos* and *cavalleiros* with their "criados e servidores" (Bermudez 18-19; Q 847 858).

<sup>55</sup> Four hundred men and with them ten artillerymen and seventy craftsmen whom Bermudez on orders of the Portuguese king had recruited in India for the purpose: makers of crossbows, smiths, carpenters, stonemasons, shoemakers, armorers, and so forth (Correa IV 200).

dred.<sup>56</sup> They were generously provided with a double measure of arms and ammunition and a number of field guns capable of hurling stone and iron balls.<sup>57</sup> Bähr-Nagāsh provided camels, oxen, and muleteers for their transport.<sup>58</sup> On July 9, at Arkiko, not far from Massaua, Dom Christovão took leave of his brother and the rest of the company and began his march into the unknown interior.<sup>59</sup> The next day the governor weighed anchor and sailed back for India.<sup>60</sup> Since then nothing more had been heard of Dom Christavão and his men.<sup>61</sup> Considering the conditions of the Preste and his land, many were of the opinion that it would take a miracle to save the Christian Abyssinians: the king had been deprived of his treasury, his land, and his resources; and he was surrounded by dubious and rebellious vassals. In addition to this, the Turks and Moors as far down as Cairo would help their fellow worshipers in Zeila to prevent the Portuguese from building a fortress at Massaua and from plundering the coasts of the Red Sea and would protect their holy house in Mecca.<sup>62</sup>

What Dom Francisco da Lima<sup>63</sup> and his companions<sup>64</sup> from India had to say must have been extremely disturbing to Martim Affonso de Sousa. The condition of affairs according to them was extremely grave. The Turkish peril was sharper than ever. The sleeping dog had been aroused,<sup>65</sup> and the unfor-

<sup>56</sup> Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 70-71; Beccari X 19. On the expedition against the murderers of the ninety-six Portuguese, the first detail, six hundred men under Martim Correa, landed in order to occupy the passes while Manuel da Gama advanced by land (Bermudez 15). This probably is the reason why an Abyssinian chronicler speaks of six hundred companions of Dom Christovão (Coulbeaux II 120). Paez gives a tradition that Dom Estevão had offered a thousand men but Bähr-Nagāsh did not venture to take so many with him since he feared that the land, which had been devastated by the war, could not support so many (Beccari II 296; cf. V 272).

<sup>57</sup> Castanhos 2. "Mil espingardas e mil fayns, 4 falcões pedreiros, e 12 berços com suas carretas" (Correa IV 200). "Oito peças de artilheria de campo, e cem mosquetes acarretados; e alem das armas suas outras tantas de sobreceleste" (Couto 5, 7, 11).

<sup>58</sup> Correa IV 202; Couto 5, 7, 11; Castanhoso 2; Bermudez 19. Bähr-Nagāsh brought, in addition to the mules, cows, oxen, and two hundred camels (Correa IV 202).

<sup>59</sup> Castanhoso states expressly: "A hum sabbado á tarde, aos nove dias do mes de Julho de 1541" (2). He is thus opposed to Couto 5, 7, 11 (July 6) and Correa IV 203 (July 7).

<sup>60</sup> Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 247.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 71.

<sup>62</sup> Martim Affonso de Mello (Q 847; cf. Correa IV 199-200). On December 8, 1541, Castro's companion wrote from Goa that the governor had sent his brother D. Christovão with five hundred picked men from Massaua in order to help the Preste, "athe verem se podem restituir a este Rey em seu senhorio, ou morrerem na demanda. Vão mui bem petrechados de tudo necessario. Praça a Nosso Senhor que fação aquello fruto que a tão necessitado reyno he necessario; de que muitos duvidão" (Beccari X 19-20).

<sup>63</sup> Correa IV 215-223.

<sup>64</sup> D. Francisco de Lima took the mail with him to Europe (Q 884 874). Some of the letters are still extant (Q 837-839 841-842 844 847 850 852-856 858-861), including those unfavorable to D. Estevão da Gama from Martim Correa, M. A. de Mello, Thomé Rodrigues Soares, D. Manuel de Lima, Manuel de Sousa, and Manuel Coutinho (Q 837 847 856 858 859 861). M. A. de Sousa did not of course see these letters, but the *fidalgos* who sailed with D. Francisco de Lima to Portugal were for the most part no friends of the governor, as he implies in his letter of October 25, 1541, when he wrote: "Many *fidalgos* are sailing home this year. I gave them permission, even though no ships and men came [from Portugal]. It seemed to me that it was in your interests to give it to them since "pera servirem são poucos e pera ocuparem sam muitos" (Q 841). The information which M. A. de Sousa obtained from these *fidalgos* doubtlessly described the condition of India in the same colors as the letters which the ship carried to Portugal.

<sup>65</sup> Q 856.

tunate expedition was a death blow to the prospects which the governor of India had hitherto had for the whole of the East.<sup>66</sup> The Mohammedans of India were jubilant and now certain that the Turks, when they returned, would strike the Portuguese and drive them out of the land.<sup>67</sup> The sultan of Cambay sent troops to Bassein.<sup>68</sup> The old Zamorin, who had made peace with the Portuguese, had died a short time before this; and the new ruler, stirred up by his Moorish counselors, took a threatening stance and made some unacceptable demands, that he be permitted, for example, to be crowned in Edappalli as emperor of Malabar.<sup>69</sup>

Fighting and sickness had decimated the troops on their way to Suez.<sup>70</sup> The expedition had cost a hundred thousand *pardaus*.<sup>71</sup> The treasury was empty and there was no money to pay the soldiers.<sup>72</sup> In addition to this, the governor, who was said to have favors and offices only for his relatives and servants,<sup>73</sup> had, through his rude manners and proud, self-opinionated ways, estranged the hearts of the *fidalgos*<sup>74</sup> and, through his prohibition of private trade, those of everyone else, especially the *casados*, who lived in the country.<sup>75</sup> The nobles refused to provide a table for the soldiers,<sup>76</sup> and the poor men could be seen

<sup>66</sup> Q 858.

<sup>67</sup> Q 837.

<sup>68</sup> Seb. Garcês \*wrote on November, 1540, that, despite the contrary advice of the old *fidalgos*, Dom Estevão wanted to sail to Suez even though he had enough to do in India, where Bramaluco [Burhān-ul-mulk] in league with the king of Cambay was marching on Bassein and Coja Çofar [Khoja Safar] was building a fortress in Surat and Reynel [Rander] (Q 589; cf. 847).

<sup>69</sup> In the same \*letter Garcês observes that the old Zamorin, who had concluded the peace treaty, had died and his people had revolted and were almost in a state of war with the Portuguese (Q 589). On the demands of his successor see Q 837 873.

<sup>70</sup> According to D. Manuel de Lima eight hundred Portuguese died of sickness or by the sword on the Suez expedition (Q 858). According to Manuel Coutinho the governor returned to India with fifteen hundred fewer men (Q 861). According to Castro's companion, Dom Estevão returned to Massaua at the end of May, where three hundred men had already died of illness, worn out by the heat and hunger. They were mostly poor people and Indian sailors. More than three thousand of the natives were said to have died and eleven hundred of the Portuguese (Beccari X 19). M. A. de Mello, who did not make the trip, only writes that the governor had returned to India from Massaua more quickly than necessary since his provisions were running out and many people were dying (Q 847).

<sup>71</sup> Q 861.

<sup>72</sup> Q 847 856 858; cf. 589 861 610.

<sup>73</sup> Q 837 861.

<sup>74</sup> In his letter of October 25, 1541, which Lima took with him, D. Estevão, after mentioning those who deserved favors for their services, also refers at the end of his letter to those who had been prejudicial to the service of the king. First among these, in general, were the *fidalgos* from eighteen to twenty-five years old, who did not fight and were unwilling to expose themselves to any danger. It was sufficient that they remain idle in India for three years to receive their reward. He then added that he was sending D. Bernaldo de Noronha and D. Diogo de Almeida back to Portugal so that the king could punish them as they deserved. They had violently taken from the hands of the *ouvidor* and three of his bailiffs a man who had cut off the arm of another. D. João de Castro and D. Garcia de Castro had defied him for imprisoning them for this. He then spoke bitterly of the two *fidalgos* and of the rest who were sailing this year to Portugal (Q 841).

<sup>75</sup> Q 847 856 610 614. *Casados*, in contrast to the soldiers, were Portuguese who had married and settled in India. Miguel Vaz, a friend of D. Estevão da Gama, wrote in January, 1543, that this prohibition of private trade was the main, or general reason why D. Estevão became an object of general hatred (SR II 337-338).

<sup>76</sup> Q 859 847.

going through the streets at night calling upon the charity of the inhabitants.<sup>77</sup> Many deserving men died of hunger.<sup>78</sup> Many others passed over daily to the Moors; and Belgaum, not far from Goa, the residence of Asad Khān, was filled with renegades, as was his arsenal with Portuguese weapons.<sup>79</sup> Quarrels, mutinies, thefts, and robberies were the order of the day.<sup>80</sup> Many soldiers and *fidalgos* left the city to seek a livelihood among the pagans without regard to the loyalty they owed their king. Many who had been condemned in court and had not received letters of safe-conduct from the governor<sup>81</sup> were in open rebellion and had taken their *fustas* and artillery with them. There were twelve hundred of these on the Coromandel Coast alone.<sup>82</sup> Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho had sailed with two hundred men to Pegu in Farther India, and others had found refuge for themselves beyond Malacca in the islands of Indonesia and the China Sea.<sup>83</sup> Besides all this, Dom Estevão, against the advice of almost all the *fidalgos*, wanted to wage war in Cambay,<sup>84</sup> even though the delay of the annual fleet threatened India with a catastrophe.<sup>85</sup> Many of the nobility, disturbed by the dangerous state of affairs in India, had decided to sail back to Portugal;<sup>86</sup> and old, experienced men had written to the king that a new governor would have to come with the India fleet,<sup>87</sup> and that only one of long experience, broad vision, and winning ways could save India.<sup>88</sup>

This was the news conveyed by Dom Francisco de Lima and his companions. Martim Affonso made a decision. He would have to sail before his fleet in order to reach India as soon as possible, by the end of May if he could;<sup>89</sup> and he had documents drawn up giving his reasons to the king for this decision.<sup>90</sup>

## 2. A LETTER TO ROME (JANUARY 1, 1542)<sup>91</sup>

Among the letters which Dom Francisco de Lima took with him to Portugal when he sailed from Mozambique at the beginning of 1542 was one from Father Master Francis to his confreres in Rome. It was brief, since he was ill. His exertions, the long, difficult voyage, the unhealthy climate of the island, and his self-sacrificing care for the sick of the fleet had exhausted his strength; and he was burning with fever. He began his letter as follows:

<sup>77</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 146.

<sup>78</sup> Q 589 861 856.

<sup>79</sup> See the dramatic descriptions which Seb. Garcês (Q 589) and D. Joam de Castro (*Cartas* 56-57) sent to Portugal from Goa in October, 1540.

<sup>80</sup> Q 837 847; Sousa, *Autobiographia* 146.

<sup>81</sup> Q 861; Sousa, *Autobiographia* 146.

<sup>82</sup> Q 858 861; cf. 877.

<sup>83</sup> Q 861.

<sup>84</sup> Q 837 859; but M. A. de Mello was in favor of the war with Cambay (Q 847).

<sup>85</sup> Q 876; cf. 877 874 859.

<sup>86</sup> Q 841 874 976 844.

<sup>87</sup> D. Manuel de Lima wrote this on November 19, 1541 (Q 858).

<sup>88</sup> Martim Correa emphasized this in his letter of September 30, 1541 (837).

<sup>89</sup> When João de Sepúlveda returned to Mozambique at the end of January, 1542, he learned that M. A. de Sousa had already decided to come to Goa, if possible, at the end of April; and this seemed to Sepúlveda very much to the service of the king "por muytas rezões quee aquy nom diguo e ya saberá [Vossa Alteza] pelas pessoas quee foram da Ymdia o anno pasado . . . [Martim Affonso] he pesoa quee see na Ymdia muyto deseya," as he wrote to the king on August 10, 1542.

<sup>90</sup> Correa IV 223.

<sup>91</sup> EX I 91-93. The letter is only preserved in a contemporary copy.

At the time of my departure from Lisbon, I wrote to you about all that had happened. We sailed from there on April 7, 1541. I was seasick for two months, and we suffered many hardships for forty days off the coast of Guinea because of the great heat and the lack of favorable weather. But God our Lord in His great mercy has at last brought us to an island, where we are at the present time.

I am certain that you would rejoice in the Lord to learn if God our Lord has been willing to use us in the service of his servants. Immediately after our arrival here we undertook the care of the poor sick who came with the fleet. I occupied myself with hearing their confessions, giving them Communion, and preparing them for a good death, taking advantage of the plenary indulgences which His Holiness granted me for these regions. Almost all died with great resignation, seeing that I could absolve them completely at the hour of their death. Micer Paulo and Micer Mancilla busied themselves with their temporal needs. All of us took up our residence with the poor and, to the extent of our slight and weak strength, we have occupied ourselves with their temporal and spiritual needs. The fruit that has been gained is known to God, for He it is who does everything.

It is a consolation to us, and no slight one in fact, that it is well known to the Lord Governor and to all the nobles who have come with this fleet that our desires are far different from those looking for human favors, and that we do all solely for the sake of God. For our labors have been of such a kind that I would not risk them for a single day for all the world. We are most grateful to God our Lord for having given us this knowledge and the strength to fulfill it. The Lord Governor has told me that he has great hopes in God our Lord that many where he intends to send us<sup>92</sup> will be converted to Christianity. For the love of our Lord we ask all of you to make a special remembrance in your prayers and sacrifices and ask God for us since you know and are aware of what poor metal we are made.

One of the things which gives us great consolation and an ever increasing hope that God our Lord will give us His grace is an interior understanding which we have that we see that are lacking all those things that are necessary for the task of manifesting the faith of Jesus Christ; and, since we wish only to serve God the Lord in all that we do, our hope and confidence are always increasing that God our Lord will give us an abundance of all that is necessary for His service and honor at His own time.

If there are some individuals where you are who have a great desire to serve the Lord our God, it would be very useful if you sent some to Portugal; for they would come to India with the fleet which sails from there each year.

While we were at sea, I preached every Sunday; and here in Mozambique I preach as often as I can. The good will and affection which the Lord Governor shows us, and the love which he has for us are so great that we are certain that we shall find every help in the service of God our Lord from the Lord Governor.

Francis then broke off his letter since his strength was failing him:

I would very much like to write at greater length, but sickness does not now permit it. I have been bled for the seventh time today, and I am only passing well. God be praised!

Greet all my friends and acquaintances for me.

Mozambique,<sup>93</sup> January 1, 1542.

Francisco.

<sup>92</sup> To the Fishery Coast for the instruction of the newly converted Paravas. See Vol. I 440 703.

<sup>93</sup> In the text of the letter is *Maçanbique*, which corresponds to the Arabic form of the name *Masunbiki*. The conclusion has the Portuguese spelling *Moçambique*.



## 3. THE PRIEST'S ILLNESS (JANUARY, 1542)

Father Francis was sick. The hospital was overflowing. New victims were constantly falling to the island's deadly climate. He was being summoned from all sides; yet despite his efforts, he was not able to satisfy the desires of everyone.<sup>94</sup>

One day he learned that a young lad who had sailed on the same ship with him, but whom he did not know, had suddenly died without the sacraments. He asked if the deceased had been taught the truths of the catechism and learned that he had been completely ignorant of religious matters. At this, though he was at other times always so cheerful, he was overcome with sadness. Martim Affonso, noticing his changed expression, asked him the reason for his grief. When Francis told him what had happened, he asked: "Did you know that the young man had not been taught the truths of the catechism?" "Had I known, it," Francis replied, "I would not be sad, for I would have taught him with the others." Then, when the governor asked him why he was so grieved, since he was not to blame, he replied: "Because I did not know that he had not been instructed in the faith, even though he sailed with me on the same ship."<sup>95</sup>

But all of Francis' zeal proved to be in vain. His excessive labors had exhausted his strength,<sup>96</sup> He became infected by the poisonous breath of the sick<sup>97</sup> and was taken with a raging fever. The Portuguese vied with each other in offering him care in their homes, but he could not forsake the sick.<sup>98</sup> When Mestre João, the surgeon, made his rounds in the hospital, he became concerned about his condition and told him to rest and not to exert himself. When he was well, he could again take up his labors for the sick. But Master Francis told him that from that evening to the following day he still had a "colleague" who was seriously ill and in a wretched state of soul. When he was finished with him, he would rest. The "colleague" happened to be one of the boatsmen who had been very sick with a fever and delirious for a number of days. When the surgeon finished his rounds in the hospital the next morning, he went to visit Master Francis. He found him in the cottage where he was living. The boatsman was lying on the priest's bed, which was made of planks and plaited coconut fibers with an old piece of cloth thrown over it and a pillow. Master Francis was sitting next to the sick man on the carriage of a cannon and speaking with him. As soon as the man had been laid on the bed, he had ceased his ravings and Father Francis had been able to hear his confession and give him Viaticum. He died during the afternoon of that same day, and Master Francis was delighted that he had been able to help him at the hour of his death.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> EX I 120.

<sup>95</sup> Tursellinus 1, 15. The incident is lacking in the first edition.

<sup>96</sup> According to Dr. Saraiva (MX II 188) and João Lopes Rebello in the second Goa process, whose father sailed with Xavier from Lisbon to India (*Relatio* 24).

<sup>97</sup> The vicar of Mozambique warned the priests who were passing through in 1548 to avoid the breath of the sick and noted that P.M. Franciscus had lain deathly ill in the local hospital because of it (DI I 390).

<sup>98</sup> Teixeira 839; Valignano 20; Tursellinus 1, 15.

<sup>99</sup> According to the testimony of Mestre João at the process in Goa in 1556 (MX II 211-212). In January, 1541, he received in Almeirim the position of a surgeon in Ormuz for three years as soon as it was free (Q 670). He sailed the same year to India, probably in a different ship than Xavier. He was living in Goa in 1556. He is not to be confused with the surgeon Mestre João, married to Isabel Madeira, who died in Diu in 1546 (Baião 49 65).

But his usually strong physique had now to pay its toll. Doctor Saraiva took him into his own home and nursed him, but his fever rose so high that he had to be bled for an eighth and ninth time, and for three days he was delirious. Nevertheless, though he was delirious during this time when he spoke about his health, he was rational when he turned to divine and spiritual things. Later, when he had scarcely overcome his illness, he took up again his usual labors.<sup>100</sup>

#### 4. THE RETURN OF THE CAPTAIN (END OF JANUARY, 1542)<sup>101</sup>

One month had past since the departure of Dom Francesco de Lima when, at the end of January, João de Sepúlveda,<sup>102</sup> the captain of Mozambique, returned from the north with his men and *fustas*. They still bore numerous traces of past battles, and the captain himself had not yet fully recovered. He had sailed from Mozambique in the middle of August with four *fustas* and one hundred men and had reached Melinde at the end of the same month, where it was thought that the Turks would certainly come with their ships as they had threatened to do. Here Sepúlveda seized and dragged away with coconut-fiber ropes two native vessels. Then, after adding a few *zambucos* and a number of allied Moors of the city to his forces, he set out on a punitive expedition against Mogadishu. This city lay two hundred leagues farther north and was making common cause with the Turks, who had left a *fusta* there. Sepúlveda's flotilla appeared before the hostile city early in the morning. The inhabitants were taken by surprise. The Turkish ship that had been drawn up on the land was captured and the city fired upon. The small fleet then sailed six leagues farther on to a watering place where there was a good anchorage for small vessels. Because of this, it was a haven for all the ships coming from Arabia and the Red Sea. Here they remained for several days. Eventually a number of *dhaus* arrived, and from their occupants they received definite word that the Turks would not carry out their threat this year.

Since it was now November and the east wind was beginning to blow,

<sup>100</sup> According to Dr. Saraiva in 1556 (MX II 188).

<sup>101</sup> The source for this section is in Sepúlveda's \*letter of August 10, 1542 (Q 984). His data is confirmed by Manuel Coutinho who \*wrote from Goa on November 26, 1541: "This past year two *fustas* sailed from Aden. They wanted to make it believed that they had rebelled. They sailed from there to the coast of Melinde, where they did much harm. In all the Moorish towns where there were Portuguese, the inhabitants handed over their possessions and slew them. Only Melinde remained faithful to us. They refused to surrender those who were there. It pleased our Lady that at the same time a João Sepúlveda came and engaged them [the Turks] in such a way that they were forced to abandon the coast" (Q 861).

<sup>102</sup> In January, 1537, João de Sepúlveda, son of Diogo de Sepúlveda and Costança de Távora (*Emmentia* 334), brother of Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda, known for his tragic death, received a claim on the captaincy of Sofala after Aleixo de Sousa (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 40, 41) with an income of four hundred *milreis*. In 1538 he sailed with Aleixo to India as captain of the *São Lourenço* (*Emmentia* 367; Figueiredo Falcão 158). On January 1, 1540, as the captain in chief of a flotilla, he came to the help of Bassein with his two brothers and two hundred men whom he maintained at his own expense (Q 449). There he helped put the captain of the king of Cambay to flight (Q 4291). He was captain of Sofala and Mozambique from 1541 to 1544 (Q 597). He was in Goa in 1545 (Q 1573). At the beginning of 1546, after learning of the death of his mother (Q 1851), he sailed back to Portugal as captain of the *Santa Cruz* (Q 1816 1818 1694 1852 2907). In 1558 he received for his services as a royal councilor and for those of his deceased brother Manuel an annual income of 120 *milreis*, and for his eldest son after his death an income of 200 *milreis* (TdT: S. Vic. IX 305-306).

Sepúlveda returned to Mogadishu and concluded a peace with its sultan. He set out again on his way and landed at Barāwa, which he burned and destroyed. He also slew some of the Moors. The city had received the two Turkish *fustas* from Aden as allies with open arms and had handed three or four Portuguese over to them. After he had roundly punished its inhabitants, Sepúlveda concluded a peace also with this city, thus bringing the coast as far as Melinde back under control.

On his return voyage, he learned in Melinde of the arrival of Martim Affonso de Sousa in Mozambique. He also received from the latter a written request for provisions and tackle, which he fulfilled as best he could. The king of the city, who had always been a faithful ally of the Portuguese since the time of Vasco da Gama, then asked Sepúlveda to destroy some neighboring towns with which he had been at war for many years. The captain acceded to his request, taking with him four or five hundred Moorish soldiers for this purpose. Mombasa, a neighboring city and an old, traditional foe of the Portuguese and their allies in Melinde should at last receive a well-deserved chastisement. But when Sepúlveda with his hundred men and Moorish allies reached the city at dawn, he found that his foe had been warned. The inhabitants had assembled a powerful force and drove off the attempted landing with murderous effects. Many were wounded, including the captain, who received two arrows in his breast; and since one of the arrows was poisoned, the wound almost cost him his life. The men had to be withdrawn pell-mell and re-embarked upon their ships. Seven or eight of them later died of their wounds, among whom was a cousin of the captain. Many of the defenders of Mombasa had been slain, including its leading men. But the city was now surrounded with walls and stronger than ever. A request for peace by the inhabitants was rejected by Sepúlveda since they had always been traitors and enemies of the Portuguese. The captain then sailed from Mombasa to friendly Zanzibar, where he and his people remained thirty or forty days to recover from their wounds. From there they returned to Mozambique.

##### 5. THE ARREST OF DOM ALVARO DE ATAIDE (FEBRUARY, 1552)<sup>103</sup>

Soon after Sepúlveda's return<sup>104</sup> a second ship arrived from India, the galleon *Coulam*.<sup>105</sup> Since the fleet had not arrived in 1541, the people in Goa suspected that it was wintering in Mozambique.<sup>106</sup> Dom Estevão da Gama had

<sup>103</sup> Our source for this section is Correa (IV 220 223-226). D. Duarte d'Eça, who sailed to India in 1538 and as captain of Goa in 1571 wrote his *\*Relação dos governadores da Índia*, also treats the matter briefly.

<sup>104</sup> Correa states that Luis Mendes arrived in Mozambique "avendo quatro mezes que Dom Francisco [de Lima] era partido" (IV 223). According to Castanheda, Mendes came to the island in February (9, 31). According to Correa, Lima sailed from Goa on November 26 (IV 215). This can possibly clarify the "four months" in Correa. Actually, Mendes came around a month and a half after Lima sailed from Mozambique.

<sup>105</sup> Correa calls the ship a "navio" (IV 220); Cosme Anes a "navio do trato" (MX II 184); Sepúlveda, more exactly, a "galeão" (Q 984), as do Castanheda (9, 31), \*Eça (35v), and Couto (5, 8, 9); Teixeira a "galeón del trato de la India" (840). Lucena also gives the name of the ship (1, 11). His source is Rebello, who states that Fernão de Sousa de Távora came to Ternate "in the galleon *Coulam*, in which the governor Martim Affonso had come from Mozambique" (217). In 1541 D. João de Castro sailed to the Red Sea in the galleon *Coulão Novo* (Couto 5, 7, 5), which Correa calls a "galeão novo" (IV 163). In 1544 Pero de Faria sailed in it in the governor's fleet to Bassein (*ibid.* 424).

<sup>106</sup> Correa IV 220 224. On November 19, 1541, D. Manuel de Lima wrote from Goa: "Up till today there has not as yet arrived a ship from the realm. I am sure that

therefore sent Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos<sup>107</sup> as captain of the vessel to obtain its money chests so that the cargo of pepper for the following year might be purchased during the rainy season.<sup>108</sup> At the same time he had given him secret instructions that if a new governor was on his way and had him detained, he should send back word to this effect in any way possible before the beginning of the monsoon.<sup>109</sup>

Mendes de Vasconcellos was a cousin of Dom Estevão. He had come from Portugal to India in 1538 with the latter's brother, Christavão; and in 1541, he had accompanied the governor, his brother, Manuel de Vasconcellos, and Dom Christavão, to Suez. Since he was greatly devoted to the sons of Vasco da Gama,<sup>110</sup> he was grieved to learn that Martim Affonso had been chosen instead of Dom Estevão, and he tried in various ways to convince him that he had been falsely informed.

But the steward of his ship secretly handed to Sousa a letter which confirmed him in his suspicions. The author was a young *fidalgo* named Jerónimo de Figueiredo, a protégé of Count Dom Teodosio de Bragança.<sup>111</sup> In 1533, he had sailed to India, and in 1536 and 1538, he had bravely fought as a captain of a *fusta* at Coulete<sup>112</sup> and Vēdālai under Martim Affonso.<sup>113</sup> When Dom Estevão sailed for Suez, Figueiredo had purchased a *catur* and sailed with the fleet to Massaua, where he was detained by illness. The governor placed the principal blame for the mutinies which had broken out there during his absence on Figueiredo.<sup>114</sup> The aversion was mutual, and after his return to Goa, the *fidalgo* composed a letter which he gave to his servant, the steward, telling him to give it personally to the new governor in Mozambique if he were on his way, but if not, to burn it. In this letter Figueiredo described Dom Estevão and his command in the darkest terms and urged the addressee to come to India as quickly as possible if he wished to save it. The country was being ruined by the depredations of the governor. Since the latter believed that his successor would not come until September, he had already collected a large sum of

they are wintering in Mozambique. It is necessary for the service of Your Highness that a governor come with it" (Q 858). According to Castanheda, Mendes was sent to see if any ships were wintering on the island (9, 31).

<sup>107</sup> Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos was the son of Lopo Mendes de Vasconcellos and Teresa da Gama, sister of Vasco da Gama (*Emmenta* 368; cf. Ramos-Coelho 130). In February, 1546, he received in Portugal two voyages as captain of the Coromandel ship from São Thomé to Malacca (Q 1922; *Registo*, n. 373). In this same year he served at Diu when it was being besieged and for this received from the governor, D. João de Castro, a series of privileges for his first voyage (Baião, *Historia* 308); but he lost his ship in Malacca (Q 3755). In 1548 he was given a third voyage (Q 3376). In 1551 he was in Malacca when the city was being besieged, during the course of which his ship was burned by the enemy (Couto 6, 9, 6). In 1562 he was captain of a ship in the Malabar fleet (*ibid.* 7, 2, 7; 7, 3, 8). In 1562 he sailed from Portugal to India as captain of the *Rainha* (Figueiredo Falcão 168) and during the voyage told P. Fernão da Cunha, S.J., much about the Jesuit priests with whom he had been in contact during his life, and especially about Pater Magister Franciscus (DI V 570).

<sup>108</sup> Correa IV 220; \*Eça 35v.

<sup>109</sup> Correa IV 220. On October 25, 1541, D. Estevão da Gama wrote to the king: "Luis Mendes is sailing in a galleon to Mozambique to get the chest. This is a voyage in which it seems to me he will serve you" (Q 841).

<sup>110</sup> Cf. the laudatory letters of D. Christovão da Gama of November 18, 1540 (Esteves Pereira, *Dos feitos* 126), and of D. Estevão (Q 841); Correa IV 224.

<sup>111</sup> Ford II 137.

<sup>112</sup> Kollam.

<sup>113</sup> Castanheda 8, 146 174. Figueiredo will be discussed later.

<sup>114</sup> Q 841.

money and had caused legal documents to be drawn up which would enable him to distribute everything up among his relatives, friends, and servants as soon as the new governor appeared at the bar of Goa.<sup>115</sup> If the latter wanted this money to come into his own hands, he would have to anticipate his predecessor and make sure that he was not tipped off, for his primary purpose in sending Mendes and the *Coulam* had been to obtain news of the arrival of his successor as soon and as secretly as possible. If he had not come, Mendes was to return with the money chest and leave a spy in Mozambique to warn him if the fleet of 1542 was bringing a replacement.

Martim Affonso read the letter and showed it to everyone, and he expressly forbade Mendes to send anyone to India, since he would sail there himself. Mendes argued at length with the governor over Figueiredo's accusation and, disregarding Martim Affonso's prohibition, consulted Dom Alvaro de Ataíde on how they could send news to Dom Estevão about his successor's coming. Wearied by these debates, Dom Alvaro pretended to be ill and kept to his quarters. They secretly sent a servant to the mainland but did not give him a letter so that he would not be compromised if captured; they did, however, provide him with five hundred *cruzados* and ordered him to find a vessel wherever he could and, sailing on it to India at any cost, inform Dom Estevão of all that had happened.<sup>116</sup> But Martin Affonso had posted a sharp watch. The boat's departure was observed and the servant seized and brought back to land. Five hundred *cruzados* were found on him, and the governor had him thrown into irons and his two patrons,

<sup>115</sup> Correa states that Figueiredo wrote this slander to obtain vengeance on D. Estevão, whom he hated to death, and to obtain favor with the new governor, who was probably on his way (IV 224). According to Correa, D. Estevão was wealthy at the time of his taking office and brought with him a great deal of money from Malacca, where he had been captain. In Goa, where everything was lacking, he immediately gave 20,000 *pardaus* to the *vedor* to provide the warehouses with what was needed and to repair the docks (*ibid.* 224). According to Couto the first business that D. Estevão undertook as governor was to order the *ouvidor geral* and the *provedor-mor dos defuntos* on the same day that he took office to make an inventory of all his possessions, which they did with the usual formalities. He did this because he was very wealthy and did not want it said that he had acquired his wealth as governor. Couto adds that he had heard from trustworthy individuals of the time that he was worth 200,000 *pardaus*, which was quite possible since he had inherited the possessions of his brother D. Paulo and had been captain of Malacca for five years (5, 7, 1). Unfavorable to D. Estevão is the \*letter which his successor in Malacca, Pero de Faria, wrote from there to the king on November 23, 1540. In it he gives an accounting, with names and details, of the money which D. Estevão took from the deceased, and which belonged to their heirs, orphans, widows, and the poor. This amounted to a total of 104,000 *cruzados*. He also took money from others who were, as a consequence, bringing legal charges against him. Faria also mentions the large amount of money which D. Estevão took with him from Malacca. Some said it was a *bahār* of gold and 80,000 *cruzados*; others that it was a *bahār* and seventeen *cates*, a *cate* [625 grams] being worth 200 *cruzados* in Malacca, and 280 in Paleacate [Pulicat]. He was also said to have taken six hundred *bahār* of tin and 40,000 *cruzados* in *tostões* and numerous jewels and precious stones. The king could learn more from the *shāhbandar* (harbor master) of the time, the Hindu merchant Ninamaleaca, through whose hands everything had passed, and from the factor of the time, Vicente de Novaes, who occasionally mentioned still greater sums (Q 614).

<sup>116</sup> According to \*Eça, Luis Mendes and D. Alvaro wanted to send news of the coming of M. A. de Sousa through a native boat "pera antes de sua chegada a Goa se poder pagar de muito dinheiro, que a El Rey tinha emprestado, e fazer o que lhe mais comprise" (35v). Cf. Correa IV 225; Couto 5, 8, 9. Couto first wrote that Mendes wanted to carry the news himself, but in his second edition he corrected this (De Jong 520-521).

Dom Alvaro de Ataíde and Mendes de Vasconcellos, arrested and deprived of their offices.<sup>117</sup>

## 6. THE DEPARTURE FROM MOZAMBIQUE (END OF FEBRUARY, 1542)

There was now no time to lose. The season for sailing to India, which began in April, had not yet arrived, and they were still in the transitional period between the northeast and southwest monsoons.<sup>118</sup> Sepúlveda, the captain was also of the opinion that Martim Affonso should sail as soon as possible to India, which was in need of, and expecting, a man of his caliber.<sup>119</sup> The *Coulam* was small, a good sailer,<sup>120</sup> and not so slow and sluggish as the five *naus*. Martim Affonso therefore decided to leave on it before the departure of his fleet.<sup>121</sup> The other ships should follow him as soon as they were ready and the weather permitted.<sup>122</sup> Dom Fernando de Noronha received command of the *Santiago*.<sup>123</sup> The governor had from 170 to 180 *bahārs* of elephant tusks from the factory loaded on to the *Coulam*.<sup>124</sup> He also had the sick who were able to sail taken on board.<sup>125</sup> Among those to make the voyage with him were his servants and companions Jerónimo Gomes, Miguel d'Ayala,<sup>126</sup> his secretary Cardoso, his French chaplain,<sup>127</sup> Dr. Saraiva,<sup>128</sup> Antonio de Sousa,<sup>129</sup> and the two prisoners, Dom Alvaro de Ataíde and Mendes de Vasconcellos.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Correa IV 225; Couto 5, 8, 9; \*Eça 35v.

<sup>118</sup> Rego 166; Linschoten I 23.

<sup>119</sup> Q 984.

<sup>120</sup> \*Eça 35v; Castanheda 9, 31 ("since sailing in it was safer and quicker"); Couto 5, 8, 9.

<sup>121</sup> Rebello 217; Castanheda 9, 31; Correa IV 225; Couto 5, 8, 9.

<sup>122</sup> Q 984; \*Eça 35v; Correa IV 225.

<sup>123</sup> There is a great confusion among the authors on the name of the captain, partially because the names of Meneses and Noronha are exchanged in the family. The founder of the family, D. Pedro I de Meneses, was the first marquês of Villa Real; his eldest son, D. Fernando I de Meneses, was the second; and his eldest son, D. Pedro II de Meneses, was the third (Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* V 190 198 203). The second son of the founder of the family, D. Antonio de Noronha, was the first count of Linhares (*ibid.* 225 252 263); his eldest son, D. Francisco de Noronha, was the second; and Francisco's eldest son, D. Fernando II de Noronha, was the third. Francisco's brother, D. Fernando III de Noronha, was the captain of the *Santiago* (*ibid.* 253). From the foregoing the various data are to be explained. In December, 1544, M. A. de Sousa calls him "D. Fernando [III] de Noronha, cousin of the [in June, 1543] deceased [third] marquês of Villa Real" (35v). Couto once calls him correctly D. Fernando de Noronha, son of a brother of [the second] marquês of Villa Real (6, 7, 8), and once incorrectly D. Francisco de Noronha (5, 8, 9), which he corrects to *Fernando* in his second draft (De Jong 522).

<sup>124</sup> Q 984. In Mozambique in 1554 a *bahār* of ivory amounted to 459 pounds, in Sofala to 479 (Nunez 26-27; Ferrand, *Poids* 232-233). In 1507 in Mozambique a cargo of 264 elephant tusks is mentioned with a total weight of 73 *quintals* (a *quintal* coming to 116 pounds), one *arroba* and 20 *arrateis* (Lobato I 148); in 1517 a cargo of 237 tusks came to more than 68 *quintals* (*ibid.* II 149); in 1546 51 tusks weighed 19 *quintals* in Diu (Q 2515). The *Coulam* thus carried from 1400 to 1600 tusks.

<sup>125</sup> EX I 121; cf. Q 984. In 1548 the ships took with them more than one hundred sick from Mozambique (DI I 447 310 392 431), in 1551 sixty (*ibid.* II 293).

<sup>126</sup> Correa IV 225.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.* 227 275.

<sup>128</sup> MX II 187-188.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* 373. Couto also gives the name of the governor's chamberlain, Jerónimo Gonçalves Sarmiento (5, 8, 9).

<sup>130</sup> Correa IV 242-243 246.

Many of the sick had to be left behind;<sup>131</sup> and Misser Paulo and Mansilhas, at the governor's request, remained in Mozambique to care for them.<sup>132</sup> Master Francis, however, had to accompany the governor. February was the hottest month<sup>133</sup> of the year in Mozambique, and Martim Affonso had been worn down by the damp, feverish air. His health had been seriously compromised and he wanted to have Francis at his side during the voyage in order to be able to confess to him in case of need.<sup>134</sup>

It was the end of February<sup>135</sup> when the *Coulam*, favored by good weather, left the harbor of Mozambique.<sup>136</sup> The voyage from Lisbon and the six month's stay on the island had taken its toll. Many of those who had set forth together were already sleeping their last in the depths of the sea or in the cemetery of São Gabriel. Dr. Saraiva and his comrades ascribed the fact that there were so few to the self-sacrificing care and prayers of the "holy priest." Only eighty had died from the entire fleet, and of these forty or forty-one in Mozambique.<sup>137</sup> Among the victims was the governor's son, Lopo Rodriguez de Sousa, who was taken away in the bloom of his youth, when he was barely sixteen years old.<sup>138</sup> With respect to Martim Affonso, Sepúlveda wrote to the king: "He is a man whom they greatly desire to have in India. He has many fine qualities for this land, and it is hoped that Your Highness will be well served by him."<sup>139</sup>

The inhabitants of the island were, however, grieved to see the departure of Father Francis, for they had all acquired a great love for him because of his fair works and holy life.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Q 984.

<sup>132</sup> EX I 121.

<sup>133</sup> Rego 165.

<sup>134</sup> EX I 121.

<sup>135</sup> EX I 121; Q 984.

<sup>136</sup> Q 984.

<sup>137</sup> On September 20, 1542, Xavier wrote about his stay in Mozambique: "Adoleció mucha gente el tiempo que aquí estuvimos; murieron algunos ochenta onbres" (EX I 120). In 1556, fourteen years later, the physician Saraiva declared that when the fleet came to Mozambique, the priest took such good care of the sick who had arrived ill or became ill upon the island that all regarded it as something great and wonderful that from the fleet of five ships no more than forty or forty-one died. This was immediately recognized as something unusual, since it was acknowledged and esteemed as something remarkable that, because of the virtue and care of the priest, God our Lord had wrought this through his efforts (MX II 188). We have attempted to reconcile the divergent data by presuming that Xavier was speaking of the entire number who died on the voyage to India, whereas Saraiva was speaking only of those who died on Mozambique. This seems to us to be more probable than to assume that one or both erred with respect to the number. When Criminali was in Mozambique in 1545, he was told that at times two or three hundred died if the ships had to winter on the island, as Francis had been forced to do (DI I 12).

<sup>138</sup> The sources merely state that he died on the voyage to India in 1541-1542, without indicating more precisely the place and date, for example, the *Livro de Linhagem*, composed about 1555 (Lisboa, 1957), 34; Sousa, *Hist. General*. XXI 2, 1107; \*Andrade Leitão XIX 776; the \*genealogy of Sousa in the British Museum: *Add. Mss.* 28400, f. 160v; and HCPB III 112 ("morreu mancebo no mar"). He apparently died before the arrival in Mozambique since there is never any mention of his grave upon the island and Xavier's letters are silent on the matter. With respect to the others who died on the voyage, only Manuel de Lemos is named (Q 1658).

<sup>139</sup> Q 984.

<sup>140</sup> Teixeira 840.—The labors of the "saintly priest" were not forgotten on Mozambique. In 1555 P. Manuel Fernandes wrote from there to Portugal: "Those who speak here of the priests Magister Franciscus, Magister Gaspar and P. Morais, and others, do so with tears in their eyes and feel unable to recount their virtues" (DI III 277).

When the licentiate Affonso de Barbuda, who sailed to India in 1578, and in 1581, as representative of the administrator of the diocese of Goa and at the request of the viceroy, visited Mozambique, Sofala, the Cuama River, and the Kerimba Islands, he heard the virtues of a certain Xavier everywhere mentioned in terms of highest praise. He had devoted himself entirely to works of charity, had frequently visited the poor and sick, and had helped them in their spiritual and physical needs; and all spoke of the good old times when people followed the example of this priest. In 1614, when the licentiate was heard as a witness in the process for Xavier's canonization, he said that he now realized that this Xavier had been Pater Magister Franciscus Xavier, since no other of this name had come to that area (\*Lisbon, *RProcess* I, n. 2, 63; Bartoli, *Asia* 4, 27). When Francisco de Sousa wrote his *Oriente Conquistado* in 1697, he noted that even then the people were unwilling to hand over to the priests for any price in the world the house in which the saint had lived in Mozambique, and which in Xavier's time had obviously been used as a hospital (1, 4, 1, 106). When C. J. Caldeira visited the island in the middle of the nineteenth century, he was shown the so-called "Rock of St. Francis Xavier," on the beach in the south of the island, where the saint according to tradition was accustomed to meditate. If a stone was thrown at it, it gave off a metallic ring like that of a broken bell. The people also said that the priest had sailed from there across the sea to the opposite mainland on his cloak (*Apontamentos d'uma viagem de Lisboa á China e de China á Lisboa* 2 [Lisboa, 1853] 27). Felipe Neri Xavier gives more details about the traditions of the Negro population of the island in his short life of Xavier published in 1859, and in a longer form in 1861. Once when Xavier wanted to sail to the mainland, the boatman asked him for half a *vintem* as the price of the voyage. Francis told him that this would always remain the price. As a consequence the same sum was still asked for this service, even if they could have obtained half a *pataca*. Another time, when a Moorish ferryman refused to carry him across, Francis spread his mantle upon the water and crossed on it [the ancestors of his authorities probably heard from the former Dominican missionaries on the island of the miracles of St. Raymond Peñafort or St. Hyacinth]. The priest had written in a letter to Rome how obstinate were the Moors of Mozambique and how they would always remain so. When he departed, Francis left two footprints on the rock where he had been accustomed to pray on the southern tip of the island. The author added that in 1860 he had received from a friend a piece of the footprint 2 thumbs long and 1 ½ broad (*Resumo*, 1861, 15-16; see also *Les Missions Catholiques* 20 [1888] 509-511, with a picture). In 1879 there was laid out in the neighborhood a cemetery named after Xavier for those who had fallen in the Messangano campaign between 1867 and 1869. In 1892 a stone marker (*padrão*) was set up near the "Xavier rock" with the misleading date "1883" (J. J. Lapa, *Africa Oriental Portuguesa. Páginas de pedra* [Moçambique, 1893] 77-80). A chapel still recalls the spot where Xavier allegedly embarked for India (Guerreiro, *Quadros* 133).



## CHAPTER VIII

### MELINDE AND SOCOTRA (MARCH—MAY, 1542)

#### 1. FROM MOZAMBIQUE TO MELINDE (MARCH, 1542)

During the period of the fall monsoon, which began in August, it usually took ships from twenty-five to thirty-five days to sail from Mozambique to Goa.<sup>1</sup> But in March, the time of the so-called "Small Monsoon," there were frequent calms and northerly winds. Ships therefore did not as a rule arrive in India before the end of May.<sup>2</sup> The *Coulam* was a new vessel,<sup>3</sup> a galleon with an upper and lower deck, easy to maneuver, and built for combat and swift sailing.<sup>4</sup>

The ship moved cautiously out of the harbor to avoid the reef on the right.<sup>5</sup> Soon the white, high-placed chapel of Nossa Senhora do Baluarte, the landmark of Mozambique, and the African mainland disappeared from view. The pilot then steered the ship out into the open sea, constantly directing his course toward the northeast, carefully measuring the height of the sun with his astrolabe to obtain the latitude, and watching the deflection of the magnetic needle to determine the longitude. On the left at the twelfth degree of latitude, fifteen leagues from the coast, were the Shoals of St. Lazarus, and on the right the Comoro Islands, both surrounded by coral reefs.<sup>6</sup> After some four days<sup>7</sup> the Great Comoro Island came into view<sup>8</sup> and remained visible for almost the entire day.<sup>9</sup> It was a long island, two hundred miles from the African coast, with a volcano at its southern end reaching to a height of 7,744 feet above the sea.<sup>10</sup> Pagan

<sup>1</sup> "The voyage usually lasted about thirty days" (Linschoten I 23). In 1562 the *São Martinho* took twenty-two (DI V 543-546), in 1556 the fleet took twenty-seven (DI III 520-508), in 1561 the *São Felipe*, and in 1562 the *Rainha* took twenty-eight (*ibid.* V 225 579-580), in 1564 the *Santo Antonio* twenty-nine (SR IX 328-329), in 1567 the *São Rafael* thirty (*ibid.* X 240), in 1538 the *Gryfo* (Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 311-375), in 1562 the *São Vicente*, and in 1563 the *Castello* thirty-one (DI V 531 VI 42), in 1583 Linschoten needed thirty-two (I 24-27), in 1563 the *São Felipe* thirty-eight (DI VI 60), and in 1565 the *Esperança* forty-four (*ibid.* 536-537-540).

<sup>2</sup> On this see the section "Viagem de Moçambique para Goa na monção de Março" (Motta 122-123) and the route from Cape Delgado to Mombasa (\*Ataide, *Roteiros* 25).

<sup>3</sup> Correa describes the ship in 1541 as a "galeão novo" (IV 163).

<sup>4</sup> Lopes de Mendonça 25-31.

<sup>5</sup> Motta 122.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 117-188 122; Gaspar Manuel 53.

<sup>7</sup> In 1564 the *Santo Antonio* sighted the island on the third day after leaving Mozambique. Castro, who gives a sketch of it [PMC I, p. 59 C], sighted it on the fourth (*Roteiro a Goa* 313-315). The *Castello* in 1563, the *São Felipe* in 1561, and Linschoten in 1583 sighted it on the fifth.

<sup>8</sup> Also called "Angasija." It was usually sighted to gain bearings so as not to be carried by the current onto the St. Lazarus Shoals and the Kerimba Islands.

<sup>9</sup> Linschoten I 24.

<sup>10</sup> In 1563 Pero da Cruz wrote: "On the third day after setting sail [from Mozambique] we saw the islands of Comoro, the highest place that I have ever seen in my

Negroes lived within the interior of the island, and there were Arab merchants on the beach who engaged in trade with Melinde and Madagascar, but not with the Portuguese.<sup>11</sup>

They then sailed northward, keeping far off from the African mainland and without sighting the Kerimba Islands, Cape Delgado, and the city of Kilwa,<sup>12</sup> until they reached the cluster of islands formed by Mafia, Zanzibar, and Pemba above the eighth degree of latitude. These were luxuriantly green island paradises with slim coconut palms and fruit trees of every kind. They were inhabited by Moors who were at peace with the Portuguese and drew many of their provisions from Mozambique.<sup>13</sup> Mafia and Zanzibar were connected to each other by coral reefs. Boats therefore sailed along their eastern coast and then westward between Zanzibar and Pemba<sup>14</sup> until the lofty mountains of the African hinterland came into view. At their foot farther north, but hidden from view, lay the hostile city of Mombasa, marked by three adjoining hills. The next goal of the voyage was eighteen leagues from here. For ten of these the *Coulam* sailed past lofty wooded mountains. Next, immediately beyond these, was a small island with a red beach, then a series of reefs pierced by the waves and a crag resembling the sail of a ship. The coast became flat and opened up into a bay bounded on the north by a pink sand dune<sup>15</sup> and on the south by a coral outcropping, from which a tall white pillar arose like a minaret. On the top of this heraldic column, which Vasco da Gama had left here on his return from India in 1499, was a gleaming golden cross.<sup>16</sup> Behind the bay was a green palm grove and a forest of other fruit trees; and, stretching out along the beach, was a

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life. It is said that it is inhabited by pagan mulattoes, who trade with Moors from Mecca, Persians, and Arabs. I saw this land above the clouds, and I could not believe that it was land. It seemed to me to be a tall, dark cloud until, coming nearer, I saw that it was land. It is said that there is no higher land in the world" (DI VI, 62).

<sup>11</sup> In 1538 Castro wrote: "Os moradores desta Ilha são negros, e ao longo do mar vivem alguns mouros." Then he added: "E sendo esta Ilha tão vista de todas as naos que paixão, até oje não he sabido della" (*Roteiro a Goa* 314).

<sup>12</sup> Motta 122 118.

<sup>13</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 16.

<sup>14</sup> See Bernardo Fernandes 76-78. It seems that the Moorish pilot of Vasco da Gama already took this route in 1498 (Strandes 25).

<sup>15</sup> See the sailing instructions of B. Fernandes from 1548 (78), Gaspar Manuel from around 1605 (55-56), and the *Africa Pilot*, part 3 (London, 1939) 383 399-400; the description of Thomé Lopez of 1502 (Ramusio 145), the detailed data of João de Lisboa from 1530 (184-188); and \*Ataide, *Roteiros* 27v-28.

<sup>16</sup> About 1605 Gaspar Manuel spoke of a "padrão a modo de alcorão que é o que alí prantou a primeira nossa Armada" (55). This *padrão* "in the form of a minaret" obviously refers to the still standing stone column, crowned with a heraldic cross, which was set up as a warning for ships. This is what Xavier had in mind when he speaks of the great gilded stone cross near the city that had been erected by the Portuguese (EX I 122). According to Correa the column, "visible from afar on the sea," was set up before the return home in 1498 (I 66-67); but the *Diario* indicates that this happened only on the return in 1499 (115-116), as Castanheda also rightly observes (I, 27). When Cabral arrived in Melinde, the king had removed the "padrão de marmor" and hid it in a house since the neighboring king of Mombasa had persecuted him on its account (Barros I, 5, 3). In the oldest accounts there is no mention of a column like the one existing today. It was probably erected to bear the stone coat of arms after Cabral's visit and before Xavier's arrival. Boxer gives a photograph of it in *Mombaça* 32. The column, which towards the top has the shape of a four-cornered tower, is about seventeen feet high without the cross.

city with white houses, terraces, cupolas, and slender minarets. Melinde,<sup>17</sup> Portugal's most faithful ally on the east African coast, had been reached.

## 2. A FAITHFUL ALLY (1498-1542)

On April 15, 1498, Vasco da Gama landed with his fleet at Melinde. Whereas the sheik of Mozambique and the king of Mombasa had proved to be hostile, he found here, after some initial hesitancy, stalwart friends.<sup>18</sup> The king sent a prominent Arab and a Mohammedan *mullah*, or *casīs*,<sup>19</sup> to the ship and a gift of three wethers, oranges, and sugar cane, and offered him his services. He received as gifts in return a red cloak, two necklaces, three brass basins, a hat, bells, and two carpets. Since Vasco da Gama, as a measure of prudence, refused to go on land, they met together in boats not far from the beach. After this the king sent a second gift consisting of six wethers and a quantity of spices—cloves, caraway seed, ginger, nutmeg, and pepper. On this occasion the king appeared in full regalia. He wore a caftan made of red damask lined with green silk and a very costly turban and was seated on a richly adorned chair of hammered brass covered with a silken cushion. An attendant held a red silk umbrella over his head; and an old man, who had a precious saber in a silver sheath, served him as a page. Twenty prominent Arabs and numerous musicians stood by his side with Moorish trumpets and two horns, each as tall as a man, made of richly carved elephant tusks with their mouthpiece at the center. The king would have liked to introduce his lame old father to da Gama, but when the latter continued to refuse to disembark, he left a son and a *casīs* with the Portuguese as hostages and took two of da Gama's men with him to his palace. To the delight of the Portuguese during their nine-day stay, he staged tournaments upon the beach in which men on foot and horseback took part. When Vasco da Gama was about to sail, he asked for a pilot and received one who showed him the way to India.<sup>20</sup> And when the fleet returned to Portugal the following year, the king of Melinde sent a young man with it to tell the Portuguese king how greatly he desired his friendship.<sup>21</sup>

When Cabral sailed with a second fleet to India the following year, 1500, he brought back with him the young ambassador<sup>22</sup> and found in Melinde the same hearty welcome that had been given to Vasco da Gama. The king sent him

<sup>17</sup> B. Fernandes 78; Gaspar Manuel 54-56; Thomé Lopez, who states that the royal palace was located on the beach (Ramusio 145).

<sup>18</sup> Our main source is the *Diario* 50-57, used by Castanheda and enlarged by a few additions (I, 11-12). Correa's account is somewhat romanticized (I 46-70), as has been shown by Hümmerich (*Studien* 241-244 277-281).

<sup>19</sup> "Xarife" (*Diario*), "Caciz" (Castanheda). Earlier the *Diario* states that the king of Mozambique had sent a white Moor, "que era Xarife, que quere dizer clerigo," as an intermediary<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Kutb-ud-dīn states that this pilot was the renowned Ahmad ibn Mājid of Julfar (Oman), who wrote numerous works on sailing, among which was the pilot's manual *Kitāb al-fawā'id* ("Book of Useful Instructions"), which gave advice on sailing from Sofala to China. On him see Ferrand, *Introduction* 183-236; and Leo Bagrow, "The Vasco Gama's Pilot," *Studi Colombiani* 3 (Genova, 1952) 105-110. Three sailing manuals recently discovered in Leningrad have appeared in Portuguese translations: T. A. Chumovsky, *Três Roteiros desconhecido de Ahmad ibn-Mājid* (Lisboa, 1958) (cf. *Studia* 1 [Lisboa, 1958] 316-318); Costa Brochado, *Ibn Mājid. O piloto arabe de Vasco da Gama* (Lisboa, 1959).

<sup>21</sup> *Diario* 115-116.

<sup>22</sup> Goes, *Chronica* 1, 54, 57.

a great many capons, chickens, ducks, lemons, and oranges, and also his greetings through two prominent individuals. In return Cabral sent the factor Aires Correa to the palace in the company of many prominent *fidalgos* with a letter from King Manuel and his gift. Before its entrance many women were standing with censers in their hands, and the fragrance of the incense pervaded the whole area. The king received the embassy on his throne surrounded by the great men of his realm. King Manuel's letter, which had been written in Portuguese and Arabic, was read and his gift valued at a thousand ducats was presented. This consisted of an elaborate caparison for a horse: a costly saddle, an enameled head-piece, gilded stirrups with enameled inlays and silver spurs, a breast-piece of precious red silk and a bridle with golden reins. The king was also given two brocaded and two scarlet pillows, and four pieces of costly material: atlas, scarlet, red atlas, and red taffeta. Both the letter and the gifts were received by the assembly with loud cries of approval. At the king's request, Aires Correa had to remain on land for three days as his guest. During this time he was richly provided with capons, chickens, rice, milk, butter, dates, honey, and all kinds of fruit. The only thing lacking was bread. The king and Cabral then met each other on the sea. On this occasion the Portuguese as a precautionary measure carried concealed weapons beneath their clothes, but these proved to be unnecessary. When the fleet sailed on to India, the king furnished it with water and everything else that was needed. He also gave the Portuguese a pilot to show them the way, and at his request Cabral left two of his men behind with him.<sup>23</sup>

During the following years, whenever the Portuguese anchored at Melinde on their way to India, they were always welcomed with generous hospitality. The fleet that sailed in 1502 was again under the general command of Vasco da Gama. Because of a contrary wind he was himself compelled to remain at anchor six or seven leagues from Melinde, but one of his ships was given a magnificent reception by the city. Thirteen or fourteen prominent Arabs, among whom was a cousin of the king, came on board with a trumpeter and one of the two Portuguese that had been left behind and greeted the visitors in their lord's name. The visitors were entertained with cakes, preserves, Portuguese fruits, and good Portuguese wine. When they departed, they were given a basket full of cakes, biscuits, hazelnuts, walnuts, raisins, and almonds for the queen, who was expecting the birth of a child; and she sent to them in return a good many chickens, fish, and other refreshments. The king ordered rich provisions to be brought for sale to the ship and invited the Portuguese to come on land without fear since his kingdom was at the service of the Portuguese king. His palace was on the beach, and he received them in one of its rooms that opened up onto the sea. He was sitting on a low, four-legged chair that was only a foot high. It was upholstered in gleaming black leather and draped with a bright-colored cloth. Eighteen or twenty Moors, some of whom were barefooted, sat on other chairs; and some of the chairs were empty. The king was wearing slippers and a large silk cloth wound around his head in the manner of the Moors. His mouth was red from the betel nuts which he was constantly chewing. He began at once by inquiring about the health of King Manuel and his queen,

<sup>23</sup> See the account of the pilot in Ramusio (133v-134v), where the factor is called Ariscorea; cf. Barros 1, 5, 3. A somewhat different list of gifts is to be found in TdT: *Gavetas* 20-13-80. Here also the account of Correa has been adorned with romantic details (I 162-167); see Hümmerich, *Studien* 234-244.

and he expressed regrets that the admiral had not been able to come in person. Then he showed his visitors his palace and his two young elephants. When they left he gave them an ox for each of the ships. The Portuguese could freely go about the city, where everyone showed them great honor. They were sold an amazing number of chickens, fish, oranges, lemons, and other edibles, and were given as much water as they wished.<sup>24</sup>

The friendship of the Moors of Melinde was not entirely disinterested. Their city, which was built on the flat beach of the mainland, did not have a good harbor and was not protected by its position like the other Arab settlements on the islands off the coast. They were threatened by hordes of pagan Negroes from the surrounding areas<sup>25</sup> and in a constant state of war with the Moors in the neighboring cities, especially with those of Mombasa, who had bitterly persecuted them since the arrival of Vasco da Gama. They already complained about this to Cabral in 1500.<sup>26</sup> In 1505, at the request of Sayyid Alī, the king of Melinde, Dom Francisco de Almeida burned this hostile city.<sup>27</sup> In 1529 Nuno da Cunha, with the help of auxiliary troops from Melinde, again put the city to flames.<sup>28</sup> When he continued on his voyage, he left behind at Melinde Manuel Tristão Homem and Jurdão de Freitas with eighty men who were ill. These helped to defend the city when it was attacked by Mombasa.<sup>29</sup> In 1507 Tristão da Cunha had punished in a similar fashion the hostile city of Oja lying seventeen leagues north of Melinde,<sup>30</sup> and Sepúlveda took vengeance on other sites in 1541. But Mombasa was now stronger than ever and a constant threat to Melinde.<sup>31</sup>

The king of Melinde and his merchants were dependent, moreover, upon the good will of Portuguese, who controlled the seas, for their trade with India and East African cities. Without their permission it was impossible for their dhows to sail. The encroachments of the Portuguese captains had so angered the prince that he thought of abandoning his country in 1508.<sup>32</sup> The viceroy Almeida also objected to their activities, and his complaints were acted upon in Portugal. King Manuel sent King Alī of Melinde a number of gifts, including a large astrolabe; and in 1512, when the king asked for a letter of protection for his ships, a nautical index with Arabic annotations, a large sundial without images, a small astrolabe with Arabic instructions upon it, and a globe (*poma*), his requests were granted.<sup>33</sup> A similar petition was sent from Melinde to Portugal in 1515. In it, with an Oriental torrent of words, Sheik Wagerakh<sup>34</sup> called

<sup>24</sup> See the account of Thomé Lopez, the secretary of the ship of Ruy Mendes de Britto (Ramusio 145-v). On Correa's fictionalized account (I 284-287), see Hümmerich, *Studien* 245-247.

<sup>25</sup> In 1547 the successor of King Alī, Fath ibn Alī, wrote that he was very poor and in a ruinous state because of the many taxes which he had to pay to the Kaffirs, as the governor might know (Q 3268).

<sup>26</sup> Barros 1, 5, 3.

<sup>27</sup> See above, p. 54, and the letter of the king of Mombasa to that of Melinde, Sayyid Alī, in *Strandes* 173-174.

<sup>28</sup> See above, p. 54. The king of Melinde had promised 800 men, but because of his haste the governor took only 150 with him (Barros 4, 3, 4). According to Castanheda the king gave 600 (7, 88).

<sup>29</sup> Barros 4, 3, 9.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 2, 1, 2; cf. *Strandes* 75.

<sup>31</sup> Q 984; see above, pp. 98-99.

<sup>32</sup> Correa I 912.

<sup>33</sup> CA III 337.

<sup>34</sup> In 1547 "Aje Xequê" (Hājī Shaikh), *regedor* of the city of Melinde, reminded the

down the blessings of Allah upon the Portuguese king and asked permission to sail each year with a ship to Goa and Mozambique. He also asked the king to look with pious and favorable eyes upon the people of Melinde.<sup>35</sup> The sheik's requests were granted, and in 1520 he thanked King Manuel for the favors received and concluded with the words:

All the people of Melinde esteem you more than any other creature, for the benefits you have conferred upon them and upon me have been superabundant. May Allah therefore prolong your life forever! Amen.<sup>36</sup>

### 3. THE STAY IN MELINDE (MARCH, 1542)

A similar grateful attitude was prevailing in Melinde when Martim Affonso de Sousa came to anchor<sup>37</sup> with his splendidly decorated ship<sup>38</sup> in the roadstead of the city, which was far from the beach, and indicated his arrival by firing off his cannons in salute.<sup>39</sup> Only a few weeks had passed since Sepúlveda and his men had actively assisted the people of Melinde in fighting their foes. The king therefore came to the galleon to greet the new governor in person and to show his loyal friendship for his Portuguese allies.<sup>40</sup>

While the *Coulam* was taking on water and provisions,<sup>41</sup> Xavier had the opportunity of sailing in the sloop to land. Melinde<sup>42</sup> was a large, beautiful city with its streets laid out in regular order. The first Portuguese to visit it had been reminded of the city of Alcochete near Lisbon.<sup>43</sup> Its many-storied, white-washed dwellings were made of stone and lime and fitted with richly carved door- and window-frames and flat roofs, and their interiors were well appointed. Here and there among them could be seen the cupola and slender minaret of a mosque. The town stretched along the beach, and behind it was a large grove of coconut palms interspersed with straight, graceful areca palms and other fruit trees, especially orange trees with large and delicious fruit. Adjoining the grove were gardens watered by Persian wheels. These produced rice, millet, and a wide variety of vegetables. The land had an abundance of

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governor, Dom João de Castro, in a letter written in Portuguese in his own hand of the old friendship which his father, his grandfather, his brothers, and he himself had always had with the Portuguese. The king of Portugal had always recommended them to his captains, and they in turn had always been of help to them (Q 3279).

<sup>35</sup> Arabic letter in Sousa, *Documentos árabicos* 67-73, where the sheik is erroneously called "a king" by the editor.

<sup>36</sup> Arabic letter, *ibid.* 123-124.

<sup>37</sup> Castanheda 1, 10. Vasco da Gama anchored a half a mile from the land; he then drew nearer (*Diario* 51-52).

<sup>38</sup> This was the custom. See the account on the arrival of João da Nova in 1501 and of Vasco da Gama in 1502 (Correa I 237 284).

<sup>39</sup> See Correa I 237 284.

<sup>40</sup> EX I 122. "Com muitas festas e tangeres, e lhe mandou diante hum grande presente de cousas da terra," according to Couto 5, 8, 9.

<sup>41</sup> Correa I 226.

<sup>42</sup> See the description of the city in *Diario* (56-57), in Barbosa (122-23), and Castanheda 1, 10. Monclaro, who visited Melinde in 1570, found it in ruins, for the sea had almost entirely devoured it. But, as he noted, what was still standing clearly showed how prominent it once had been and how accurately the Portuguese chronicles had described it (500). The same tradition of an encroachment of the sea was still current in 1888. See Le Roy, *Les Missions Catholiques* 21 (1889) 101.

<sup>43</sup> *Diario* 56.

cheap and excellent food and many domestic animals: cows, goats, fat-tailed sheep, and chickens.

The inhabitants were for the most part well-built, curly-headed Negro slaves, dressed only in a loincloth. The ruling class, however, consisted of white, prosperous, Arab merchants, followers of the False Prophet.<sup>44</sup> They were richly arrayed, especially the more prominent individuals. They wore silk or fine cotton skirts or a caftan, and had precious daggers with large tassels made of brightly colored silk and beautifully adorned sabers stuck in their belts. They also used bows and arrows for weapons and were reputed to be good archers. Their women were famous for their beauty and wore rich garments and precious gold and silver ornaments.<sup>45</sup> There were also many Indian merchants in Melinde, Gujars from Cambay, both pagans and Mohammedans, who exchanged gold, ivory, amber, tar, and wax for copper, mercury, woven cottons, and beads. They came here each year in their ships from India.<sup>46</sup> There were also Portuguese merchants as a rule in the city, and the Christians who died here were laid to rest in large graves; and these graves, as Master Francis discovered, were marked with a cross in contrast to those of the Mohammedans. He rejoiced particularly at seeing the beautiful gilded cross on the tall white column in the south of the city, triumphant among so many Moors.

During the short stay of the *Coulam* at Melinde, one of the sick men who had been brought from Mozambique died. Francis went to bury him alongside his countrymen, and the Moors were obviously edified by the ceremonies with which the Christians interred their dead.<sup>47</sup>

Portuguese was not unknown to the residents of Melinde.<sup>48</sup> One of the most prominent men of the city came to speak with Master Francis and asked him if the churches in his country were much frequented by the Christians,

<sup>44</sup> Barros states that, according to the Arabic chronicle of Kilwa, Arabic Zaidites were the first to come to Melinde. Later, about the year four hundred of Mohammed, that is, about 1009 A.D., Arabs from al-Ahsā in eastern Arabia founded Mogadishu and Barāwa, and from these, other villages along the East African coast. The earlier, heretical settlers had at their coming withdrawn into the interior and mingled with the Negroes. Their descendants were the Bedouins of his day. The founding of Kilwa by a Persian prince from Shīrāz occurred seventy years later (1, 8, 4-5, pp. 211-212 224-226; see G. Ferrand, *Les Sultans de Kilwa* [Paris, 1928] 242-244). In Melinde there is a local tradition according to which this city was also founded by Persian immigrants (Barbosa I 22, n. 2).

<sup>45</sup> Castanheda cites the proverb: "Cavaleyros de Mombaça e damas de Melinde" (1, 10).

<sup>46</sup> Barbosa 22-23 and Freitas (Q 127).

<sup>47</sup> EX I 122.

<sup>48</sup> Monclaro, who visited Melinde in 1570, wrote of its inhabitants; "Fallão muytos bom portuguez por ser aqui o principal tracto nosso com elles e assento de Capitão" (500). In 1542 this was already partially the case, as it was in other Moorish cities which had been dealing with the Portuguese for a long time. In 1499 a young man had sailed from Melinde with Vasco da Gama as ambassador of the king to Portugal, and he had returned with Cabral in 1500. Pilots from this city had accompanied ships to Portugal in 1499. In 1498, 1500, and probably on frequent later occasions, they had also gone with ships to India (*Diario* 57; Barros 1, 5, 3). In 1508 the Portuguese fleet had wintered here (Castanheda 2, 105); and in 1528 Nuno da Cunha had left 150, and in 1529 80 sick, in the city. The Moors of Melinde had repeatedly fought side by side with the Portuguese against the neighboring towns, and for longer or shorter periods Moorish merchants from Melinde had stopped in Mozambique, as Portuguese merchants had in Melinde. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the recorder of Melinde, "Aje Xequê" (Hājī Shaikh), wrote a letter in Portuguese to the governor of India in 1547 (Q 3279). He could have added what the king of Ormuz wrote to John III in 1540: "An interpreter is not necessary; we all speak Portuguese" (Q 424a).

if the people were earnest in prayer, and if piety was waning among the Christians as it was among them. In Melinde there were seventeen mosques, but only three of these were visited, and even these by only a very few. He was greatly confused since he did not know the reason for this decline in the spirit of belief, and he told the priest that it could have its cause only in some great sin. Francis replied that God the Lord, who is true in all things, finds no pleasure among infidels, and still less in their prayers, and that the reason why He willed that their prayers should cease was that he was not served by them.<sup>49</sup> The two spoke together at length about this matter, but Master Francis did not succeed in convincing his opponent. Another follower of the Prophet, a *casís* (a Mohammedan theologian) who was well versed in his religion, was in Melinde, and he said that if Mohammed did not come within two years to visit them, he would not believe any more in his sect.<sup>50</sup>

While he was staying at Melinde, the governor received a letter from a certain Diogo Soares de Mello,<sup>51</sup> whose ship lay at anchor in a harbor north of the city. The author was a *fidalgo* from Galicia who had been banished to India because of a number of homicides. When the governor Dom Estevão da Gama was wintering in Goa in 1540, a quarrel broke out between two of the nobility, Fernão Drago and Christovão de Lacerda, over an unmarried woman. When the governor took Drago under his protection and lodged him in a house close to his palace, Lacerda and his followers broke into the house and stabbed his adversary. To punish the murder, despite all the pleas of his friends, Dom Estevão had him publicly beheaded near the pillory in front of the city. He

<sup>49</sup> EX I 122-123. Brodrick takes needless offense at this (108-110). Xavier is speaking of God's displeasure with a false religion as such, not about the prayer of a follower of this religion offered to Him in good faith. On this see the numerous places in the Old Testament where God's loathing for the idolatry of the Jews is indicated and the chapter on Elias and the priests of Baal (3 Kings 18:1-16). See also our review in AHSI 29 (1960) 409-413.

<sup>50</sup> Both Sunnites and Shiites were awaiting the arrival of the Mahdī, the restorer of their religion, at the end of the world. Among the Shiites it will be the return of the hidden Imām, the infallible descendant of the Prophet. According to the "Twelvers," the principal group of the Shiites, this will be, specifically, the twelfth Imām, Muhammad al Mahdī. In 1609 Santos wrote that all the Moors of the East African cities were Shiites of this group, or Imāmites (I 380). The first Arab settlers in East Africa were, as we have seen, Zaidites, members of a Shiite sect who ruled in southern Arabia, particularly in Yemen, from the ninth century. Their name goes back to Zaid, the grandson of the martyr Husain, the son of Alī and Fatima. Kilwa and probably also Melinde were founded by Persian Shiites. Ahmad ibn Mājid, Vasco da Gama's pilot, was a Shiite (Ferrand, *Introduction* 207 228). Perhaps Mahdī was that Mohammed whose coming was awaited by the spiritual leader in Melinde. On the teaching of Mahdī, see H. Lammens, S.J., *L'Islam* (Beyrouth, 1926) 157-166.

<sup>51</sup> Diogo Soares de Mello (Correa simply calls him Diogo Soares) is first encountered in 1526 as the captain of a *fusta* at the capture of Ujong Tanah on the peninsula of Malacca (Correa III 83 85 89). In 1543 M. A. de Sousa sent him to the island of St. Lawrence in search of his missing brother. He returned without him but with stolen booty and numerous slaves (*ibid.* IV 266 275). In 1545 he sailed as captain of Patane to Malacca, but a storm drove him to Pegu, where he campaigned against Arakan with the Burmese king Tabinshwehti. In 1546 he sailed to Patane. In 1547 he met Xavier in Malacca and helped destroy the Achinese fleet near the Parles River (Couto 6, 1, 1 and 3; 6, 5, 1-2). Xavier recommended him to John III for this (EX I 411). Between 1548 and 1553 he was in the service of the Burmese kings as leader of the Portuguese mercenaries. He served first under Tabinshwehti, with whom he marched against Siam in 1548, and then, after the king's murder in 1553, under his successor, Smim Htaw, who had him beheaded (Couto 6, 7, 8-9; 7, 2, 5; from the data of a Portuguese who was present at this death and escaped to Goa; see Q 4390).



also tried to arrest Soares, Lacerda's principal assistant, in order to execute him as well. The latter therefore fled from the country with his followers. Since the governor refused to grant him a pardon, he bought a *fusta*, armed it, and sailed to the coast of Melinde, where he was engaged in piracy. After writing this to Martim Affonso, he added that he had a *fusta* and a *catur* with twenty men and was ready to serve him with his men and boats if he were assured that he would not be punished and was given a letter of safe-conduct. Both requests were granted. Soares came at once and was received by the governor with open arms. When Dom Affonso sailed from Melinde, Soares accompanied him and was able to give him much unfavorable information on Dom Estevão.<sup>52</sup> In the meantime Dom Affonso sent his servant Miguel d'Ayala to Ormuz with an order to get the money that had been collected there from tolls and bring it to Goa.<sup>53</sup>

#### 4. ON THE ISLAND OF THE DRAGON'S-BLOOD TREES (MARCH-APRIL, 1542)

The *Coulam*, accompanied by Soares and his men, sailed north along the African coast from Melinde past Lāmū, Patta and Barāwa, the latter on the other side of the equator, where the polestar again appeared. These were all Arab settlements which the Portuguese had brought under subjection in 1506 and 1516. Thirty leagues north of the equator the voyagers were within sight of the coast, some two leagues away. The compass here had a deflection of fourteen degrees.<sup>54</sup> Soon after this Mogadishu came into view, a proud, unconquered, merchant city 150 leagues from Melinde. With its countless minarets and lofty palace of the sultan, it lay stretched far out along the beach.<sup>55</sup> They then sailed for 250 more leagues along the dry, flat, barren, and almost uninhabited coast to Cape Guardafui.<sup>56</sup> Behind this, far within the interior, lay the kingdom of Preste Joam, for whom Xavier was carrying a letter of recommendation, and within whose land Dom Cristovão da Gama and his four hundred men were at this time engaged in a death struggle with Moorish invaders.

From Cape Guardafui they sailed forty leagues to the east, past the lofty island of Abd el-Kūri and the smaller "Two Brothers."<sup>57</sup> Behind these two islands there rose out of the deep blue sea a large, rocky island, on whose sun-drenched, brown, limestone heights, overgrown with scrub, no trace of human habitation could be seen. For a long time they sailed to the left of its sharply falling coast. But after a time the hills receded, leaving room for a treeless plain some five leagues in length. The heights then drew near again and fell off steeply into the sea, which crashed against them with its white, foaming waves.<sup>58</sup> Then there was another change of scene. Behind the cape there ap-

<sup>52</sup> Correa IV 154 226.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* 275.

<sup>54</sup> In Gaspar Manuel's *Roteiro* there is an addition to his list of deviations of the magnetic needle on the voyage from Portugal to India: "Em altura de 1 grão e 2/3 da banda do norte da linha e duas leguas da costa á vista della, na galeota com o visorey Dom Martim Affonso indo de Moçambique para a India, a agulha de norestear 14 grãos" (72).

<sup>55</sup> João de Lisboa described the sight in 1530 (190). See also Barbosa I 31.

<sup>56</sup> Santos I 445-447. On their return from India, ships as a rule kept at a distance of five to six leagues from the coast (*ibid.* 446).

<sup>57</sup> Gaspar de San Bernardino mentions "the Two Brothers" (today, "Brothers"): Semha and Dersi, three leagues from Socotra.

<sup>58</sup> According to Wellsted, who on his way from Arabia in the middle of January,

peared a bay, shaped like a half moon.<sup>59</sup> A forest of green date palms cut through by three streams could be seen behind the white sands of the beach. Beyond the forest lay a hilly plain, whose slopes were covered with parched, yellow grass;<sup>60</sup> and in the background there arose an amphitheater of overwhelming majesty and beauty: grey, and red granite peaks and serried ridges rose in fantastic forms high up above the clouds,<sup>61</sup> while silvery streams, glistening in the sun, fell in foaming white cascades through steep, dark ravines overgrown with brush and large dark green, umbrella-shaped dragon's-blood trees to find their way through the rolling plain and then the date palms to the sea, where their mouths were choaked with sand.

On the far right could be seen an Arab village with low, white, cube-shaped, terraced houses to the left of a palm grove and brook, and to the right of another brook. Behind it was a limestone mountain rising up to a height of nearly two thousand feet.<sup>62</sup> Within the village was the white palace of the sheik. This consisted of a square main building crowned with triangular pinnacles with a row of six windows over the portal, a strong square tower, a low addition on

1835, sailed along this coast (129). See also the geological map of Socotra in Kossmat (a reduction of 250,000 to 1).

<sup>59</sup> The following description is based upon the precise drawing which D. João de Castro made in 1541 for his *Roteiro atee Soez* (pl. 2: "Agoada do Xequê"). Kammerer, *Routier* 42, erroneously gives this as "Bender Dibni." Since the center section of the London exemplar is burned and the central portions of four brooks are missing, this is understandable, even when a comparison is made with the inaccurate copy of the Palmella manuscript (Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge* II, pl. 31). Malte-Brun, *Annales des Voyages* 10 (Paris, 1810) 129, gives a description of the bay of Tamarida. Fuller details are given by Wellsted in 1835 (129-130), Bent in 1897 (361-363 391-394, with picture), Kossmat in 1902 (31), and Forbes in 1903 (pp. XXXI-XXXIV). Castanheda mentions three capes, meaning anchorages: "Calances" (Kalenzia), "Çoco" (Suk), and "Debeni" (Dibeni, in 2, 39 erroneously given as *Deberā*). These were the three harbors where the Portuguese were accustomed to lay over, and the Arab settlement was in Suk (Barros 2, 1, 3). Tamarida is mentioned for the first time by Motta as "the great place of the sheik" (182). In 1835 Wellsted was shown a number of Moorish graves near Suk. Their inscriptions were badly weathered and practically illegible, but what could be read indicated that they were no more than two hundred years old. He was told that excavations had been made in the palm groves of Suk for bronze swords and fragments of armor; and in the neighborhood of the village he was shown the ruins of Hadibo, which according to tradition had once been the main city of the island (137-138). In 1897 Bent found a hamlet of the Somali and ruins in the neighboring palm grove. The former harbor had sanded up. The residence of the sheik was "Tamarida," as the Arabs called it, or "Hadibo," according to the natives, the "Bedouins" (391 394). Castro's drawing gives a panorama of the entire bay, 4 1/3 miles long. In the east is the Djebel Hauwēri and the church and ruined fortress of Suk, separated from each other by the most easterly of the four streams. Between two streams in the west are the Djebel Rēgit, Rās Hebak, and the palace of the sheik. In between these are the Haghier Mountains with the fourth, central stream. In 1605 Gaspar Manuel described Socotra as a marvelously beautiful island (58), and Bent declared that nowhere was there anything more beautiful to see than the palm-fringed lagoons of Suk with the mountains in the background (391).

<sup>60</sup> When Forges came to Suk in December, the slopes were covered with fresh green grass. But when he returned there from the mountains in the middle of February, during the hot, dry season of the year, the scene was completely changed. There was no longer any trace of grass, only a brown, rocky wilderness<sup>43</sup>. This explains Xavier's description: "We came to a large island some twenty-five or thirty leagues long called Socotora; a poor and forsaken land. No wheat, rice, millet, wine or fruit is gathered there. The land is very dry and sterile, ... a very hot land" (EX I 123).

<sup>61</sup> The Haghier Mountains rise to a height of 4,684 feet. Their peaks are seldom free of clouds (Wellsted 195; *Red Sea and Gulf of Aden Pilot* [London, 1932] 475).

<sup>62</sup> Djebel Rēgit.

its right, and a small mosque on its left. At the east end of the bay, nearer the roadstead,<sup>63</sup> could be seen the ruins of two towers surrounded by a circular wall.<sup>64</sup> To its left, at the foot of a hill that was completely covered by bright brown shifting sands<sup>65</sup> was a small white church with a bell tower over its entrance.<sup>66</sup> It stood in the midst of date palms, and to its right was a flat-roofed cottage. This was "the Bay of the Sheik," which, together with Suk, comprised the capital of Socotra, the fabled home of incense, aloes, and the dragon's-blood tree,<sup>67</sup> which had already been known to the ancient Greeks under the name of "Dioscorida."<sup>68</sup>

##### 5. THE PORTUGUESE ON SOCOTRA (1505-1542)

In 1503 King Manuel sent three ships to India under the command of Antonio de Saldanha. These were to cruise between Cape Guardafui and Arabia in order to capture any Moorish vessels which might be sailing from, or into, the Red Sea. Before they reached the Cape of Good Hope, however, they were scattered by a storm; and Diogo Fernandes of Setúbal, one of the three captains and an experienced seaman, looted the coast of Melinde with great success. He then wintered on the island of Socotra and explored its coast, the first Portuguese to do so. In 1504 he returned to Portugal,<sup>69</sup> where he and Saldanha described the advantages of the island to the king. It lay at no great distance from the entrance to the Red Sea and the cities of Aden, Zeila, and Berbera, and was on the route to Ormuz and the other cities of the Persian Gulf and to Cambay. Ships from Mecca and elsewhere generally anchored there to take on water as they sailed to or from the Indian Ocean. It had excellent harbors for every season of the year and an abundance of foodstuffs. It was inhabited by many native Christians and only a few Moors. It was a strategically important point from which trade in the Indian Ocean and, especially, any vessels sailing into the Red Sea could be controlled.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>63</sup> In 1507 the Portuguese fleet anchored on the east side of the bay opposite Suk (Castanheda 2, 40). Here was the usual roadstead, from 1 to 1 1/2 leagues from Rās Haulaf (Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 13). In 1555 Gonçalo Rodrigues landed a good half a league from the church of Suk (Beccari X 59). According to the *Roteiro* of Nicolau Fernandes da Fonseca of 1770, one anchored half a league from land in front of the town (20). In 1507 Tristão da Cunha sent the ships to the harbor of Dibení since it was the safest (Barros 2, 1, 3). The expedition of 1899 anchored near Rās Haulaf between Suk and Dibení (Kossmat 6).

<sup>64</sup> See Castro's drawing.

<sup>65</sup> Djebel Hauwēri 1,220 feet high.

<sup>66</sup> Castro's drawing has a small tower with a bell. It thus represents the church dedicated to St. Thomas which the Franciscans erected in 1507 outside of the fortress of the natives' village. This was equipped with a bell ("com seu sino"). The Portuguese lived on the other side of the bay near the fortress (Correa I 686-687), where the small mosque had been dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Vitoria (Barros 2, 1, 3, p. 49).

<sup>67</sup> On the peculiar flora of the island, consult the more recent travelers such as Wellsted and Bent, and especially J. B. Balfour, "The Botany of Socotra," *Transactions of the R. Society of Edinburgh* 31 (1888), and Forbes (1903). See also the pictures in F. v. Wettstein, "Sokotra," in Karsten-Schenck, *Vegetationsbilder* 3, 5 (Jena, 1905).

<sup>68</sup> See Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 15. The name, "Dioscorida" among the Greeks, is usually traced back to the Indian Dvība Sukhādhāra ("Lucky Island"). King sees in this the Arabic Sūk Kutra ("Dragon's-blood Harbor") (189-190). But this does not correspond to the Greek. On the name, see also Tkatsch 497-498.

<sup>69</sup> Barros 1, 7, 2 and 4; 1, 8, 10. According to Motta he was the first to winter in Socotra (168).

<sup>70</sup> According to the king to the viceroy in 1506 (CA III 269).

In 1506 King Manuel therefore sent Tristão da Cunha and Affonso de Albuquerque, the former with nine, and the latter with five ships, to seize a site on the island and fortify it.<sup>71</sup> The fleet had to spend the winter in Mozambique and, guided by an Arab pilot from Barāwa, did not anchor at Suk until the beginning of April, 1507.<sup>72</sup> To their surprise, the Portuguese had learned on their way that there already was a Moorish fort standing near the town,<sup>73</sup> which consisted of some two hundred homes. Twenty-six years before, in 1480, the sultan of Qishn, whose land lay opposite Socotra on the southern Arabian coast near Cape Fartak, had sent a fleet of ten dhows with one thousand warriors under the direction of his nephew to conquer the island and erect a fort.<sup>74</sup> It was the distance of a crossbow's-shot from the sea. Small, narrow, and located on level ground, it had two towers, a two-storied main tower and another for the castellan. It also had bastions with loopholes and a surrounding ditch<sup>75</sup> and a garrison of 120<sup>76</sup> battle-trying Fartakis<sup>77</sup> under the command of Sheik Khoja Ibrāhīm, a son of the sultan of Qishn. When they proudly refused to obey an order to surrender, Albuquerque and Cunha took the fort by storm, despite a stout resistance by its occupants. During the battle the sheik fell at the head of his followers, and the garrison was cut down to the last man, since no one was willing to surrender.<sup>78</sup> The battle had lasted from morning until noon.<sup>79</sup> The bodies of eighty-five of the Moors covered the floor; thirty-five succeeded in reaching the mountains.<sup>80</sup> Only two fell alive into the hands of the victors, a pilot<sup>81</sup> and an old, blind man who had hidden himself

<sup>71</sup> Barros 2, 1, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Castanheda 2, 40; Barros 2, 1, 3.

<sup>73</sup> Barros 2, 1, 3.

<sup>74</sup> On June 19, 1508, the king wrote to the archbishop of Braga on the voyage of Tristão da Cunha. He had come to Socotra "sem saber que nella avia fortelleza, nem yso mesmo o tinhamos dantes sabido" (CA II 421). Barros notes that though Cunha did not have as much knowledge about the island when he arrived there as was later known, still, from information furnished by the Moors whom they took with them from Melinde and some prisoners from Barāwa, he already knew about the fortress there (2, 1, 3).

<sup>75</sup> CA II 421. According to Castanheda it was "pequena e conchegada, com torre de menagem e torre d'alcaide, e alguns cobelos no muro da banda de fóra." East of it was a mountain (Djebel Hauwēri) and a bay with a palm grove (2, 40).

<sup>76</sup> On the capture of the fort we have, in addition to the letter of King Manuel of 1508 (CA II 241-242), the detailed and reliable account of Castanheda, which we usually follow (2, 40-42), that of Barros (2, 1, 3), and of the *Commentarios* (1, 15-18), and the less accurate account of Correa (I 678-688 707). Barbosa also mentions it briefly (I 61-62). According to Castanheda there were 120 men in the fort, according to Barros 130, according to the *Commentarios* 150, and according to the letter of King Manuel 200.

<sup>77</sup> The Fartakis (Mahras) had the reputation of being the bravest of the Arabs. Like the Swiss, they served as mercenaries. They wore a coat of mail, had bows and arrows, spears, swords, and round leathern shields (CA II 421-422; Castanheda 2, 39), but no firearms. The *\*Desenhos* represent them with long, falling hair, white turban, red breeches, a blue, gold-flowered caftan with a red belt, shoes with upturned toes, a long sword, and a red, round shield (pictures 9-10). According to Castanheda, Ibrāhīm wore a coat of mail covered with red silk and an old-fashioned morion. He carried a leathern shield and a javelin and had a richly embellished sword at his belt.

<sup>78</sup> According to Castanheda, Barros, King Manuel, and the *Commentarios*. According to Correa eighteen were imprisoned (I 683).

<sup>79</sup> From six in the morning until noon (Castanheda), from six to one (*Commentarios*). The final battle, according to Barros, lasted for three hours.

<sup>80</sup> Castanheda 2, 41.

<sup>81</sup> According to Castanheda and Barros, the pilot's name was Homar. According to the *Commentarios*, he had a sailing manual for all towns in the kingdom of Ormuz,

in an empty cistern.<sup>82</sup> Only one of the Portuguese was killed, though some fifty were wounded. Seven of these later died of their wounds.<sup>83</sup> The head of the sheik was fastened to the tower of the fortress;<sup>84</sup> the mosque was changed into the church of Nossa Senhora da Vitoria;<sup>85</sup> and a Franciscan, Frey Antonio do Loureiro, who had accompanied the fleet with four of his fellow religious,<sup>86</sup> celebrated a Mass of thanksgiving within it. The native Christians, who had fled from the town, returned and were given the women who had been taken away from them by the Moors. To their joy they learned that the victors were Christians who had come to free them from their slavery.<sup>87</sup>

The friars equipped the church in Suk with a bell, altarpiece and other trappings.<sup>88</sup> They took care of the Christians and baptized them, for they were as ignorant of this sacrament as they were of all the others.<sup>89</sup> The fleet in the meantime wintered farther east near Dibení,<sup>90</sup> since it offered more protection from the wind; and the fortress, now dedicated to St. Michael, was re-

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which a traveling companion, the pilot Omar, had given to him, and which he in turn handed over to Albuquerque.

<sup>82</sup> Barros 2, 1, 3.

<sup>83</sup> Castanheda 2, 41.

<sup>84</sup> CA II 422-423.

<sup>85</sup> According to Castanheda, Barros, and the *Commentarios*. But the *\*Livro da receita* of the factory of the fortress of São Miguel on Socotra (Q 28) calls the church of the fortress in 1510 "da Conceição de Nossa Senhora" and assigns to this same year the gift of a series of objects from the captain to the church. Among these were a gilded altarpiece of *Nossa Senhora da Pyadade* and two statues of the Virgin, a gilded silver chalice, a small bell, an incense holder, a crucifix and lamps made of brass, vestments, antependia, and so forth (41-42).

<sup>86</sup> According to the *Noticia* of 1724 of Frey Clemente de Santa Eyria, O.F.M., Frey Antonio do Loureiro, O.F.M., came to Socotra with four companions (SR V 400-401); Correa also mentions a secular chaplain of the fleet, João Gomes (I 687). On Frey Antonio, see F. Romanet du Caillaud, "Un successeur de l'Apôtre Saint Thomas, Frère Antonio Loureiro," *La Palestina* 1 (1890) 463-467, (1891) 282-289.

<sup>87</sup> Castanheda 2, 41; Barros 7, 1, 3; *Commentarios* 1, 17; Correa I 683-684; CA II 422-423.

<sup>88</sup> According to Correa, Tristão da Cunha told the natives that the king had ordered him to build a fortress on Socotra to protect the Christians and also a church, where the friars would instruct them. He then goes on to say: "The friars accordingly built a church on the site [Suk]. It was situated on the hill on one side of the road to the fortress. On the other side [of the bay] another village was laid out for the Portuguese where the land was flat. The houses were made of straw thatch and were near date palms and lagoons with excellent fresh water" (I 683-684). Later on he added: "Since the fortress was small, a church could not be built within it for the friars. One was therefore built outside of it, as has already been said; and they equipped it with its bell and all the other needed objects that they had brought with them from the kingdom, including an organ and a beautiful altarpiece of the Pyadade, which so disposed the natives towards our faith that almost all the people on the island were converted" (*ibid.* 686-687). As is already indicated in the *\*Livro da receita*, the fortress was dedicated to São Miguel, and the Pyadade would have been given to the church of the fortress, Nossa Senhora da Conceição. The church of the Thomas Christians was already standing before the arrival of the Portuguese and was probably only furnished by the friars for their own use.

<sup>89</sup> According to Castanheda the elders of the village came with their clerics to speak with Tristão da Cunha. He goes on to say "que se fizessem Christãos segundo costume da igreja Romana, como logo começaram de fazer na mezquita, à que ho capitão mór pos nome Nossa Senhora da Vitoria, onde ele e todos os fidalgos e capitães forão em procissão, e levarão com grande festa os primeyros que si fizerão Christãos" (2, 42). In 1508 King Manuel wrote that many had already received baptism from the priests he had sent and that it was hoped that all would follow their example (CA II 422).

<sup>90</sup> Castanheda 2, 42; Barros 2, 1, 3.

paired.<sup>91</sup> When the ships sailed away in August,<sup>92</sup> a garrison of a hundred men under the command of Dom Affonso de Noronha was left behind in it.<sup>93</sup>

But the men had to live, and the mountaineers brought no food to the fort. They had been aroused by fugitive Arabs who told them that the strangers had only come to take their land and carry them and their wives and children off into slavery. The men of the garrison as a consequence suffered from hunger<sup>94</sup> and made raids on their cattle and goats; but this only embittered the natives still more, since meat, milk, and butter were almost their only food. They therefore joined the Moors in armed resistance.<sup>95</sup> It was only after Albuquerque returned in May, 1508, to winter at Socotra and forcibly subdued them that they promised to obey the captain of the fort in the future and to hand over a yearly tribute of six hundred small animals, twenty cows, and forty bales (*fardos*) of dates.<sup>96</sup> During the following months, more sites passed over to the Portuguese,<sup>97</sup> and the Franciscans visited them in order to instruct and baptize the Christians.<sup>98</sup>

But the climate was not healthy, especially in the feverish plain of Suk,<sup>99</sup>

<sup>91</sup> According to Castanheda, Tristão da Cunha ordered the captain of the fortress to strengthen it (2, 42); Barros states the same (2, 1, 3). According to the *Commentarios*, Cunha procured numerous stones and lime and began to build the fortress at once, which was finished in a short time (1, 17). According to Correa, Cunha had new towers built within the fortress, the walls raised, cisterns enlarged (I 683), terraces laid out on the two bastions, a residence made for the captain in the main tower, dwellings for the factor and the other officials in the bastions, and cottages within the fortress for their servants (*ibid.* 687).

<sup>92</sup> According to Castanheda 2, 53; Barros 2, 1, 3; *Commentarios* 1, 17-18, in contrast to Correa, who erroneously has Albuquerque sail away at the end of February, 1507, and in one passage has Cunha sail away in August, and in another on July 20 (I 686-687).

<sup>93</sup> Barros 2, 1, 3, as opposed to Correa, who says that the garrison amounted to two hundred men, of whom one hundred spent their nights within the fortress and the others outside it (I 687 707).

<sup>94</sup> Castanheda 2, 42; Barros 2, 1, 3; *Commentarios* 1, 17; cf. the memorandum of Captain Albuquerque of November, 1507 (CA III 283-285). In 1508 the king wrote that the native Christians slew the fleeing Moors to avenge the wrongs they had suffered (CA II 423).

<sup>95</sup> CA III 284. According to the *Commentarios*, the soldiers ate only palm shoots and a few goats that they seized from the natives (1, 17). According to Barros, at the time of Albuquerque's arrival in 1508 most of the garrison were dying from hunger and sickness. They had cut down half of the palm grove near the fortress so that they could eat the stems of the leaves. Their other food had been dates, the fruit of lotus trees, and a few goats they had shot (2, 3, 2).

<sup>96</sup> *Commentarios* 1, 54; Correa I 872. According to Castanheda, the natives fought with the Portuguese when Albuquerque wintered there in 1508 because the latter had confiscated all the dates they had in order to still their hunger (2, 85).

<sup>97</sup> The *\*Livro da receita* mentions dates, cows, sheep, and butter, which the villages of the island "that had concluded a peace" paid as annual tribute. Thus, for example, on August 14, 1510, the factor received 300 bales (*fardos*) of dates as tribute from the village for that year (5), from September 21, 1510, to January 14, 1511; 36 jars of butter, each jar amounting to around 2 1/2 quarts (47), on July 24, 1510; six cows on August 5; 71 sheep and 35 more as part payment for 25 bales of dates which a village on the island still owed for this year (50).

<sup>98</sup> According to Barros, Frey Antonio was much beloved by the natives and went to preach within the interior of the island with apostolic zeal (2, 1, 3). Correa states that almost the whole island was converted (I 687), and Clemente de Santa Eyrria wrote in 1724 that Frey Antonio with four companions had worked for five years without interruption on Socotra. He taught the so-called "Johannine Christians" [found only near Basral the practices of Rome and baptized many pagans and a few Moors (SR V 401).

<sup>99</sup> Forbes, p. XXXVI.

with its stagnant streams swarming with mosquitoes<sup>100</sup> during the heat of the year. Almost all of the soldiers fell ill,<sup>101</sup> and two of the friars had already succumbed when the guardian, Frey Antonio, sailed to India with Dom Affonso de Noronha in 1510 to ask the governor for some necessary items and to write to the king about the conditions in Socotra.<sup>102</sup>

King Manuel had been erroneously informed when he ordered the erection of a fortress there. The island did not have a suitable harbor where ships could safely winter or a sufficient supply of food to support a garrison, and the fortress could not prevent ships from Mecca sailing to India. In 1510, on the advice of Albuquerque and the viceroy,<sup>103</sup> the king therefore ordered the costly fortress to be demolished and the island to be abandoned, and his order was carried out.<sup>104</sup> In 1511 three ships came from India and removed the garrison. Many Christian women of the island did not wish to be separated from the Portuguese soldiers, by whom some of them had already had children. They therefore followed them to India.<sup>105</sup> The two Franciscans also sailed with them and brought along the vestments, sacred vessels, and altarpiece of their church.<sup>106</sup> Their guardian had not returned from India; his ship had become stranded on the coast of Surat, and the survivors, including Frey Antonio, had fallen into the hands of the king of Cambay and were not released until 1512.<sup>107</sup> The Christians of Socotra were thus left abandoned.

When Albuquerque returned to Suk in 1513 he encountered there fifty Fartakis who had again settled on the site. Upon his arrival, however, they immediately fled to the west of the island. He destroyed and burned their dwellings, but gave cloth goods and rice to the Christian men and women who came to speak with him. They thus returned happily to their homes.<sup>108</sup> In 1517 the governor, Lopo Soares, came to Socotra with forty ships and some three thousand men, including Duarte Galvão, King Manuel's ambassador to Preste Joam, to obtain wood and water for the voyage to the Red Sea and remained there for twelve days. The Moors, who had reoccupied the coast, fled into the mountains at their coming and kept the Christians from going to the Portuguese to sell them food.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Kossmat 31.

<sup>101</sup> CA III 284. According to Correa the people fell sick because of the bad air and food. Tristão da Cunha was keeping the ships' biscuits for the further voyage. They were eating only cooked millet, which caused constipation. Many fell ill from this and began to die "e principalmente com a conversação das mulheres" (I 687).

<sup>102</sup> Correa II 29 123.

<sup>103</sup> CA III 195-196 242.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* 76; Barros 2, 5, 11; Castanheda 3, 48, 71; Correa II.

<sup>105</sup> Albuquerque speaks of "algumas mulheres cristãs" (CA I 76). Correa says that there were more than two hundred, many of whom later married prominent men in India (II 177 199), for example, in Cochim in 1514 (SR I 235) and, at about the same time, in Goa. It is said of Tristão Lopo in the latter city that "his wife is an Abyssinian, and he obtained her in Socotra"; of Alvaro Pirez, that "his wife is brown and is from Socotra"; and of Pero Homem, that "he has a son that is 2 1/2 years old from his wife, who is white and from Socotra" (TdT: *Fragmentos* 1).

<sup>106</sup> They were given to the church of Ormuz in 1511 (SR I 51).

<sup>107</sup> Barros 2, 4, 2; 2, 7, 3; SR I 132-135 143-144; Castanheda 3, 14 37 46 95; Correa II 29 180-181 200-203 537.

<sup>108</sup> CA I 295; Barros 2, 7, 7; Castanheda 3, 103; Correa II 336; *Commentarios* 4, 1.

<sup>109</sup> According to Corsali, who accompanied the fleet on December 18, 1517, from Cochim (Ramusio 196v). Ramusio erroneously dates the letter on September 18 and the voyage in 1516. Folio 192, however, contains a warning of the editor, that if errors are found in the letters of Corsali, the reason for them is "il triste esemplar che

In the following years the attitude of the Fartakis in Suk towards the Portuguese improved, since the sultan of Qishn had become the principal friend of Portugal on the south Arabian coast. In 1523 and 1526 the fleets that sailed to the Red Sea to bring back Dom Rodrigo de Lima, the ambassador to the Preste, if they could, took on water at Socotra;<sup>110</sup> and in February, 1527, when Martim Affonso de Mello came to Suk with a fleet from the Maldiv Islands for the same purpose, he was received with every honor by the sheik. The latter was the nephew of the sultan of Qishn, and all the residents on the island, both Moors and Christians, were under his dominion. In a letter to the king, Mello praised him and his Fartakis:

They are the best people of this region and great servants of Your Highness and our friends, and they show this in their deeds. They give us everything that is found in their country and everything that is needed by our fleet, and they also permit us to obtain full information about the Rumes (Turks), who are their principal foes. Your Highness must urgently commend these people to the governor so that they are shown every favor and honor on their voyages and in everything else.

Mello mentioned the abandoned Christians of Socotra:

On Socotra there are many Christians of the race which was converted there by St. Thomas. They have churches and crosses, and their manner of praying is like that of the Chaldeans. In everything they live as Christians. They have only one wife. With time they have, it is true, fallen into some errors, since they have no one to instruct them and have Moors living near them in their own separate villages and intermarry with them at times. It seems to me, and I write this to discharge my conscience, that Your Highness must take care of them and order a church to be built there and send a couple of clerics of good life to remain there and teach them our faith and show them how they should conduct their lives. Your Highness has an obligation in this regard, for they are your vassals and are subject to your obedience; and they desire this and have asked me to write to you. The Moors who rule over them permit them to live according to their law and will agree with everything that Your Highness orders in this regard. The sheik told me that he was the vassel of Your Highness and rules the land for you in order to do everything that you command.<sup>111</sup>

When the governor Nuno da Cunha took on water at Suk on his voyage to India in 1529, the sheik showed himself to be a true friend of the Portuguese.<sup>112</sup> But in 1535 their relations were somewhat strained. Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho, with whom Xavier became acquainted in Mozambique, had been ordered to sail to the Red Sea with three *caturs* to gather information and to send one of his ships to the sheik of Socotra to secure what was left of the cargo of a vessel that had been stranded on the island. He was also told that he should recommend the Christians there to the sheik, since the king had written to this effect, and he should inform the sultan of Qishn that he too should give the same orders to his sheik if he wanted to enjoy the friendship of the Portuguese.<sup>113</sup> The warning proved to be effective. In March, 1540, An-

habbiamo havuto." On the expedition, see also the other accounts of Dinis Fernandes (Ramos-Coelho 409) and Francisco Alvarez (Graça Barreto 84), who took part in it; Barros 3, 1, 2; Castanheda 4, 10; and Correa II 489.

<sup>110</sup> Barros 3, 7, 9; 3, 10, 1.

<sup>111</sup> The letter (Q 111) is partially published in SR II 130-131.

<sup>112</sup> Barros 4, 3, 9.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.* 4, 8, 15.

<sup>114</sup> Sikkah (Jibus) Islands, near Ras el-Khelb, west of Mokalla.



tonio Cavalho could write to the viceroy from the Canacani Islands,<sup>114</sup> off southern Arabia, that the sheik of Socotra, to whom he had given the letter, had taken it well, and that he had brought from Socotra a Portuguese who had been imprisoned in Sanā in Yemen for ten years and had fled there by way of Qishn.<sup>115</sup> When Dom Estevão da Gama in 1541 remained with his fleet for seven days in Suk to take on water, he also was well received.<sup>116</sup> Shortly before the *Coulam's* arrival at Socotra in the middle of May, Manuel de Vasconcellos had anchored there with four *fustas* on his voyage to the Red Sea, and the sheik had visited him and had advised him not to sail to the straits, since the Turks had many ships there and were keeping a sharp lookout for the Portuguese from Aden.<sup>117</sup>

#### 6. ABANDONED CHRISTIANS (APRIL, 1542)<sup>118</sup>

Martim Affonso de Sousa lay at anchor opposite Suk for a short stay to take on water and to barter for provisions. Master Francis seized the opportunity to sail twice to land in the sloop in order to visit its inhabitants.<sup>119</sup> The sheik lived with some thirty Fartaki Moors on the western margin of the bay in a poor, white palace resembling a fort.<sup>120</sup> They were strangers<sup>121</sup> to the island,

<sup>115</sup> Q 495.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 10 18 and D. Manuel de Lima (Q 858). According to Martim Correa they remained nine days (Q 837).

<sup>117</sup> Correa IV 232.

<sup>118</sup> For works on the Christians of Socotra see, in addition to the bibliography of James Jackson, *Socotora. Notes bibliographiques* (Paris, 1892): W. Germann, "Das Christenthum auf Socotora," *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* 44 (1874) 227-258; J. S. King, "The Aborigenes of Sokotra," *The Indian Antiquary* 19 (1890) 189-215; and J. Tkatsch, "Sokotra," in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* IV 496-503. In addition to these, for the period after the arrival of the Portuguese: Antonio Brásio, *Missões Portuguesas de Socotorá* (Lisboa, 1943). Because of neglect and the oppressions of the Mohammedans, Christianity was constantly on the decline. There is still no basic study on the early Christians on the island. In the following, we give the dates on which the respective authors visited the island and, in italics, the dates of the draft or publication of their accounts: King Manuel in 1508, from the data of the first occupiers of the island (CA II 421-423); Corsali in 1517 (Ramusio 196-v); Barbosa in 1518 (I 59-63); Castro in 1541 (*Roteiro atee Soez* 14-18, in detail); Castro's companion in 1541 (Q 867); Xavier in 1542 (EX I 123-125, in detail); Castanheda 1552 (2, 39); Barros in 1553 (2, 1, 3); Gonçalo Rodrigues, S.J., in 1555 (Beccari X 48-51, in detail); Fulgencio Freire, S.J., in 1560 (*ibid.* 103-104); Coelho, S.J., in 1562 (DI V 520-524, in detail); Correa in 1563 (I 685-687); Valignano, S.J., in 1583 (437-439); Seb. Gonçalves, S.J., in 1593 (I, 11); Gouvea, O.E.S.A., in 1606, from the data of two Augustinians who made a visit to the mission in 1603 (*Jornada* l. 3, c. 9-10, ff. 130-137v, very detailed); Frey Felix de Jesus, O.E.S.A., in Goa in 1606, in his *\*Primeira Parte da Choronica e Relação do principio que teve a Congregação da ordem de S. Augustinho nas Indias Orientais*, on the same visit to the mission; and that of Frey Pedro de Nazareth, O.E.S.A., who spent eight days on Socotra in 1602 and with great efforts obtained information about the Christians (Evora, Bibl. Publica: *Codex 115-1-8*, ff. 49-50v 62-64; another copy in TdT: *Livraria. 1740*); Santos, O.P., in 1609 (I 455-462; uses Gouvea); Frey Gaspar de San Bernardino, O.F.M., who visited the island in 1606 (*Itinerario* 1611, cc. 9-10; uses Gouvea); \*Confalonieri in 1621 (143); \*Machado, S.J., and Pereira, S.J., in 1624 (ARSI: *Goa* 33, 753-754); \*Almeida, S.J., in 1668 (*ibid.* *Goa* 35, 61); Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, C.D., in 1672 (*Viaggio* l. 2, c. 1; 5, c. 9; was not on Socotra, uses Gouvea); Wellsted in 1834 (in detail); Balfour in 1880; Schweinfurth in 1881; King in 1890; Bent in 1897; Forbes in 1898.

<sup>119</sup> EX I 124. Xavier speaks of "aquele lugar" and "estos lugares" where he baptized. He also visited Suk and its environs (*ibid.* 124-125).

<sup>120</sup> In 1546 Xavier referred to this house and its inhabitants: "hasta 30 moros en

which was eighty-one miles long.<sup>122</sup> The natives, who were widely scattered throughout the land, were about fifteen thousand in number.<sup>123</sup> They spoke a language of their own that was different from the Arabic of the Fartakis.<sup>124</sup> Since 1507 Portuguese was also known in Suk, and Francis therefore did not need an interpreter to converse with its people.<sup>125</sup>

Externally they were markedly different from the Arabs. They were from medium size to tall, strong, slender, and well built, with a slightly hooked nose, lively, expressive eyes, almost European features, and a light brown color. Their slightly curly hair hung loosely down over their shoulders or was gathered together at the back of their head. The men had long full beards. The women, most of whom were fairer than the men, had similarly beautiful features.<sup>126</sup>

una casica a manera de fortaleza" (*ibid.* II 40). Castro's picture of 1541 shows that it was a rather large building.

<sup>121</sup> "Moros de la cuesta de Arabia," according to Xavier (EX II 41). In 1517 the Arabs were only in the coastal towns (Ramusio 169v). In 1603 a small number of Arabs lived on the coast in three small villages, as did descendants of Arabs and native women, an ill-favored, little-esteemed race with black skin and curly hair, the consequence of a strong admixture of Negro blood, who engaged in fishing (Gouvea 135). In 1641 the dress of the Arab men and women of Tamarida is described as being "very different from that of the natives" (*Portugallia* [Lugd. Batavorum, 1641] 445-448). In 1834 there were Arabs, "foreign immigrants," a mixture of Arabs, Somalis, Indians, and Negroes, in Kalenzia, Kadhup, Tamarida, and the larger part of the east side of the island (Wellsted 214). Schweinfurth estimated that the immigrant Arabs comprised a tenth of the population.

<sup>122</sup> "Twenty-five or thirty leagues long," according to Xavier (EX I 123).

<sup>123</sup> According to al-Hamdāni the Christians living on the island in the tenth century came to ten thousand men who could bear arms (Tkatsch 499). In 1545 Miguel Vaz spoke of fifteen thousand Christians (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 243). In 1954 it was estimated that there were from six thousand to eight thousand people on the island. Earlier estimates were thirteen thousand (Tkatsch 501), more than twenty-five thousand (Herbertson-Howarth, *Asia* [Oxford, 1914] 336).

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Heinrich Müller, *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache* (*Südarabische Expedition* [Wien, 1902-1905] Bd. IV, Teil 1-2); M. Bittner, *Vorstudien zur Grammatik und zum Wörterbuch der Soqotri-Sprache* (*ibid.* 1913-1918), and the lists of words in King 200-210 and Bent 440-448. Barbosa already noticed that the Socotrans had their own language (60), as did Castanheda (2, 39). In 1562 Coelho wrote that the language was difficult and different from Arabic and Abyssinian (DI V 523).

<sup>125</sup> When Frey Gaspar de S. Bernardino came to Socotra in 1606, almost all that he met could speak some Portuguese, since a Portuguese ship had sunk near the island and the survivors had spent the winter on the island (90; cf. Gouvea 133v). This was even more so the case in Xavier's time since a Portuguese garrison of a hundred soldiers had been stationed in Suk from 1507 to 1511, who took native wives, and especially since Portuguese ships later landed their regularly. Xavier as a consequence did not preach to the Christians of Socotra through signs as Tursellinus (1, 16), Lucena (1, 12), Bartoli (*Asia* 1, 24), and other authors supposed, nor in virtue of a supernatural gift of tongues as Bouhours presumes (1, 2), nor through signs and an interpreter who knew Arabic, as Brou suggests (I 122). He spoke with them in Portuguese.

<sup>126</sup> According to the author of the *Periplus* (70 A.D.), the natives of Socotra were Arabs, Hindus, and Greeks. Short descriptions of the natives, called "Bedouins" by the Arab immigrants, are given by Corsali, Barbos, Castro, and Seb. Gonçalves; more in detail by Wellsted, Balfour, Schweinfurth, King, and Bent (366). In 1835 Wellsted found among the natives the tradition that the tribe of the Bahi Rahau (Beni Rahov) near Cape Mōri west of Tamarida were descended from Jews, and that the four tribes of Gambars (Sari, Sayffi, Dermi, and Zirghi) in the mountains behind Tamarida were descendants of Portuguese and native women. He learned that some of the members of these tribes still had Portuguese names, and that a few families in the mountains could even speak Portuguese (214). According to King the Karshim in the west were descendants of Portuguese, the Mōmi in the east of natives and Abyssinians, the Kamahēn in the Haghier Mountains of natives and Mahra Arabs (192).

They had no boats,<sup>127</sup> and even though the sea was swarming with fish, they did not try to catch them.<sup>128</sup> The land, though it produced a strange variety of plants, was harsh and relatively fruitless. Among these were umbrella-shaped dragon's-blood, spurge, incense, cucumber, and adenium trees. These latter were shapeless and thick towards the bottom, but then narrowed near the top and formed a ludicrous pyramid of twigs, leaves, and flowers.<sup>129</sup> There was no wheat, millet, or rice on the island, and practically the only fruit trees<sup>130</sup> were the date palms on the beach and lower ground. The natives lived on the produce of animals.<sup>131</sup> Their wealth consisted in cattle, which were mostly of a reddish brown color,<sup>132</sup> and in sheep, all hornless,<sup>133</sup> but especially in goats.<sup>134</sup> Being without bread, they lived on milk, butter, meat, and dates.<sup>135</sup> At times they exchanged a leathern bottle of ghee (clarified butter) or the juice of aloes, which they pressed from the leaves of the herbs that grew wild all over the island, or a sack of red resin from the dragon's-blood tree<sup>136</sup> for some rice or a piece of cloth, or a knife from the ships. Socotra was rich in medicinal plants. Its aloes were the best in the world and worth many times that of other regions.<sup>137</sup>

The islanders had no organized society or state.<sup>138</sup> They lived without chiefs in small settlements consisting of from twelve to fifteen round or oblong huts made of stone, straw, or palm branches. These were surrounded by loose stone, circular walls for retaining cattle.<sup>139</sup> But it was now April. The grass had withered in the lowlands, and most of the people had gone off with their herds to the higher mountain valleys, where they dwelt in caves.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 18; Castanheda 2, 39.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* and EX I 124.

<sup>129</sup> Corsali, whose ship remained three days at Suk to take on water in 1517, had already described the pyramid-shaped tree, which he erroneously took for dragon's-blood trees (Ramusio 196v). They were isfed (*Adenium socotranum*) and kamhān, or gurken, (*Dendrosicyos socotrana*) trees, which are common near Djebel Rēgit and Rās Hebak (cf. Wettstein, pls. 27-28).

<sup>130</sup> EX I 123. According to Barros, they also planted some millet in the mountain valleys; according to Castanheda, dates and millet were their principal food.

<sup>131</sup> According to all the accounts after the arrival of the Portuguese. Castro painted on his picture of the bay four herdsman, two of whom are chasing a goat with their staves.

<sup>132</sup> Schweinfurth (mostly reddish brown). In 1633 mention is made of red and white cows (Hagenauer, *Begin end Voortgang* 21, 57).

<sup>133</sup> According to Schweinfurth.

<sup>134</sup> Hagenauer and other accounts. Goats were the usual animals of sacrifice.

<sup>135</sup> On their food see EX I 123; Corsali (Ramusio 196v); Barbosa (I 61). Castro adds that they seldom drank water (*Roteiro atee Soez* 17). Coelho notes that they did not eat chickens or other fowl (DI V 523).

<sup>136</sup> According to Schweinfurth. Corsali wrote that a little rice was imported. He gives the resins of the dragon's-blood and amber trees as objects of trade (Ramusio 196v). Barbosa also mentions cowries (I 63). On the extraction of the juice of aloe trees and of resin from dragon's-blood trees, see Bent 379-382.

<sup>137</sup> Orta I 26. Pires wrote to the king in 1516 that only the aloes of Socotra were valuable (514).

<sup>138</sup> According to Corsali (Ramusio 196v) and Castro (*Roteiro atee Soez* 17).

<sup>139</sup> Bent speaks of villages of five or six round or oblong houses. He heard that there were four hundred such sites on the island (369). In 1562 Coelho wrote that the villages as a rule had twelve or fifteen families (SR IX 53).

<sup>140</sup> Travelers usually described the natives as cave dwellers. Bent corrects this: They had houses in the protected valleys; but in the dry season of the year, from November till the beginning of June, they moved with their herds to higher pastures, where they then lived in caves (365-369). According to Coelho, sons and servants were

Their dress was simple. It consisted of a cambolin,<sup>141</sup> a skirt of coarse material which they wove from black and white goat's hair and wore about their hips.<sup>142</sup> Instead of this, however, they also often wore a skirt made of cloth which they had obtained from the Arabs or Portuguese in exchange for foodstuffs.<sup>143</sup> They also wore a simple cross hanging from their necks,<sup>144</sup> for they were proud of being Christians even though they had little knowledge of their faith, because of the long centuries of isolation and neglect. They could neither read nor write, and they had no books or manuscripts.<sup>145</sup> But they all had Christian names.<sup>146</sup> Most of the women were called Maria.<sup>147</sup> The men usually bore the names of an apostle—Peter, John, Andrew,<sup>148</sup> Matthew, and especially Thomas,<sup>149</sup> to whom their churches were dedicated.<sup>150</sup> According to

those who went with the cattle to the mountains (DI V 523). By this he probably had Suk mainly in mind. Castro had already said that they had no large villages, lived mostly in caves, and that a few had straw huts (*Roteiro atee Soez* 17). Corsali spoke of huts of palm branches (Ramusio 196v), and Bent describes their stone houses with their flat roofs and furnishings (368-360).

<sup>141</sup> From the Konkani word *kāmbal* (Dalgado I 190).

<sup>142</sup> According to Barbosa, they wore loincloths of cotton material and at times also of skins (I 60). According to Castanheda, men and women wore such loincloths and purchased the material for them from the ships (2, 39). In 1541, however, Castro wrote that the usual garb for men was the cambolim, which was produced here in great numbers (*Roteiro atee Soez* 17-18) and, as Barbosa indicated, exported to the Melinde coast (I 63). In 1603 there is a reference to cambolim made of black or white wool from goats (Gouvea 135). According to Castanheda this loincloth was the only clothing of men and women (2, 39), but Castro restricts it to the men. In 1593 we hear that the sheik purchased black cloth from Melinde and that the women clothed themselves respectably with it (Seb. Gonçalves 1, 11). In 1641 it was said that the men wore loincloths from the wool of goats or of cotton and sandals, but that the women differed little in their dress from Arabs, being content because of their poverty with iron rings and glass beads, and embellishing their face with black or white pigments (*Portugalia* [Lugd. Batavorum, 1641] 448-449). In 1555 mention is made of a veil for women (Beccari X 49). On the other hand, Vincenzo di S. Caterina stated in 1658 that men and women always went bareheaded (I. 5, c. 9). According to Santos both, in addition to a loincloth, wore a kind of mantle thrown over the shoulder (I 461). According to Balfour, an end of the loincloth was thrown over the shoulder (p. XXVIII).

<sup>143</sup> Castanheda 2, 39.

<sup>144</sup> "Sam todos grandemente devotos da Cruz, e de maravilha se achará huma soo pessoa, que a nam traga ao pescoso" (Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 17). In 1508 King Manuel wrote that they greatly honored the cross. If anyone wore it around his neck, he could go safely over the whole island, even if he had enemies (CA II 421). When the Augustinians came to Suk in 1603, the priests of the village carried the cross hidden under their clothes and only showed it when they were forced to do so by the sheik (Gouvea 113v). The clerics always wore a small, wooden cross with many eyes as a mark of distinction. It was 1 1/2 spans long, and if they did not have it or let others touch it, their hand was cut off as a punishment (*ibid.* 135v).

<sup>145</sup> EX I 123, II 24; DI V 523. Wellsted therefore errs in writing that the Portuguese found Chaldean books among the Christians. He adds that the people said that the fanatic Wahhabis had destroyed them when they came over from Arabia in 1800 and the people fled from them into the mountains (211).

<sup>146</sup> EX I 123.

<sup>147</sup> Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 17; Barros 2, 1, 3. Castanheda gives as names of the women: Maria, Isabel, and Anna (2, 39; cf. Valignano 438). According to Gaspar de S. Bernardino, they did not use the name Maria in honor of the Mother of God but that in their language it simply meant "woman" (94-95).

<sup>148</sup> According to Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 17. In 1508 King Manuel had already written that they frequently had the name of an apostle (CA II 421), as did Barros and Castanheda.

<sup>149</sup> "Thomé, Pedro, and Matheus" (Valignano 438). Gaspar de S. Bernardino was of the opinion that the *casis* whom he met in Suk in 1606 had told him only as a

their own tradition they were descendants of those converts whom this apostle had once made on Socotra.<sup>151</sup> In contrast to the Moors, the islanders had only

pretence that the women had the name of Maria and the men that of the apostle Thomas. Actually, they did not have Christians names (94-95). According to the Augustinians who lived on Socotra in 1603, the true names used most frequently by the natives were Lacaa, Sumaa, Xambe, Teremo, Xamaxama, Suraca, and the like. Apparently some had added Christian names in the hope of a baksheesh (Gouvea 137). In opposition to this is the fact that the Portuguese found Christian names among them when they first came to the island in 1507, as is indicated by King Manuel's letter.

<sup>150</sup> In 1541 Castro's companion wrote that all the churches of Socotra had the apostle Thomas as their patron (Q 867), whereas Castro says that they had no other patron than the cross (*Roteiro atee Soez* 16-17). Seb. Gonçalves also declared that their churches were usually dedicated to the cross (1, 11).

<sup>151</sup> EX I 124, II 24. On the tradition of St. Thomas on Socotra, see (1) the Portuguese accounts: The Moors did not let Corsali speak with the Christians in 1517; but from one who had been on the island from the first, that is, from 1507, he learned that the natives had been converted a long time before by an apostle of Christ (Ramusio 196v). In 1527 M.A. de Mello wrote that the Christians of the island were descended from those whom St. Thomas had converted there (SR II 130), and Castro, a very conscientious reporter, wrote in 1541 that the Socotrans were converted to Christianity by the apostle Thomas "segundo elles mesmos testemunhão" (*Roteiro atee Soez* 16). Xavier wrote the same: "Son devotos de Santo Thomé; dizem ellos que son de los cristianos que hizo Santo Thomé en estas partes" (EX I 124). Gonçalo Rodrigues, who was on Socotra in 1555, obtained further data. According to the tradition of the natives, the ship of the apostle Thomas was stranded on the island; and from the wood of the wreck, "como a obra mostra, fes e emmadeirou a casa," that is, the church of St. Thomas in Suk (Beccari X 49). According to Santos the boat became stranded during a severe storm while lying at anchor, and several churches on the island were built from its wood, one of which according to the natives was still standing (I 455-456). Coelho, who worked among the Christians in Suk in 1562, wrote that according to them their church had had its origins with St. Thomas (DI V 524; see also Couto 7, 4, 4). Seb. Gonçalves, who wintered on the island in 1593, states that the Christians held the apostle Thomas in great honor because he had converted their ancestors (1, 11). Correa is less precise. In 1507 he wrote that some of the Christians in Suk told the Portuguese that they were descendants of those who had been converted there by a saintly man who had gone away, but they knew not where (I 685). Valignano also states that the natives told him that a man by the name of Thomas had baptized their ancestors, but they did not know if he had been the apostle (438). According to the information of the Augustinians, who had a dramatic meeting with the Christians of Socotra in 1603 in the presence of the sheik, they no longer had any remembrance of the apostle, as Gouvea observes (133). But he suspected that the wily sheik had incited them against the priests (137v). When their confrere Frey Pedro de Nazareth visited the island in 1602, he had learned from the Christians that they invoked the apostle Thomas in their needs (\*Felix de Jesus, *Primeira Parte da chronica*, f. 50v). — (2) The east Syrian tradition: In 1533 a Syrian bishop of the Thomas Christians testified under oath that he had been born in Babylon and had lived for fifteen years in India and had heard in his homeland and in Malabar that the apostle Thomas had come to Socotra by way of Babylon and Basra. There he had converted many to the Christian faith and had built a church, and from there he had gone to Mailapur in India (Q 70; Barros 3, 7, 11, according to whom the bishop had been twenty years in India when he testified during the governorship of Nuno da Cunha). In 1578 Francisco \*Dionisio, S.J., a missionary among the Thomas Christians of Malabar wrote to the same effect. According to the unanimous testimony of old, trustworthy individuals, there was a common tradition in Malabar, which was also found in their books and songs, that it was certain that the apostle Thomas went to Socotra and converted many Christians there (ARSI: Goa 12, 439). — (3) The first definite notice about Christians in Socotra is given by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who about 525 A.D. sailed with Christian natives of the island, descendants of colonists who had been settled there by the Ptolemies. They traveled to Ethiopia, spoke Greek, and obtained their priests from Persia. According to al-Hamdāni (†945 A.D.), the Byzantines who were settled in Socotra by the Persian king Khosrau were later followed by immigrant Mahrās from

one wife.<sup>152</sup> They no longer had any knowledge of the sacraments;<sup>153</sup> yet they practiced circumcision like the Christians in Abyssinia.<sup>154</sup> In every town there was a church with a cross and lamps<sup>155</sup> and a *casīs*, or priest,<sup>156</sup> who was also a judge.<sup>157</sup>

southern Arabia, most of whom were Christians. According to al-Masūdī (†956 A.D.), Alexander the Great settled Greeks from Astāghar (Stageirus) on the island, who sailed there from Kulzam (Suez). They conquered the Indians living there and banished their giant idol. When Christianity arrived, they accepted it. According to him they were the only Greek settlement in the world that carefully preserved its genealogies without ever marrying with Romans or other races (King 190). Edrīsī wrote in a similar fashion in 1154: When the religion of the Messiah came, the Greeks of Socotra, who had been settled there by Alexander, became Christians; and their sons and the other inhabitants of the island had remained Christians. During the reign of the patriarch Sabr-Ishō (1064-1072 A.D.), they received a bishop (cf. Germann, *Das Christentum auf Socotora* 229-238; Tkatsch 499; Medlycott 136-137 201). Tkatsch would take the introduction of Christianity back to the brief rule of the Ethiopian kings in southern Arabia. Bent believes that inscriptions in old Ethiopic script can be seen near Kalenzia and Mōrī; but Esteves Pereira notes that the royal chronicles of Ethiopia and its legends of the saints never speak of Socotra, and that the inscriptions could be Himyaritic rather than Ethiopic ("La chrétienté de l'île de Socotra," *Aethiops* 2 [1923] 14). Since Socotra was frequently visited for its aloes and was a regular stopping place for ships sailing from Egypt to Persia and India for pepper, pearls, and precious stones (in 25 B.C. 120 boats sailed each year to India alone), and since about the middle of the first century A.D. the trade of Rome with India was at its height, as is indicated by thousands of Roman coins found in southern India and the recently excavated Roman trading station at Arikamedu south of Mailapur, the tradition of a visit of the apostle Thomas to Socotra is not in itself improbable. We shall discuss his voyage to India later.

<sup>152</sup> According to King Manuel in 1508 (CA II 421). In 1562 however Coelho wrote that they married within forbidden degrees of kinship, for example, between cousins, and they dismissed their wives as often as they wished (DI V 523). According to Gouvea they could have as many wives as they wished (136).

<sup>153</sup> According to Xavier they had no knowledge of baptism (EX I 124), and the same was written by Barbosa (I 60) and Seb. Gonçalves (I, 11). Gonçalo Rodrigues, who was for eight days in Suk in 1555, wrote that they had a baptismal font and a baptismal formula, whose words he had easily learned (Beccari X 49), obviously a survival of the Franciscan mission of 1507 to 1511. He added that he had celebrated Mass for the people of his ship in the church of the village and had given Holy Communion to some of them, "probably the first time that the Blessed Sacrament had been distributed since St. Thomas built that house" (*ibid.* 50), since the *casises* do not celebrate Mass (Santos I 460).—Seb. Gonçalves wrote with respect to *rites for the dead* that they placed crosses upon the graves, strewed flowers over the dead, invited relatives and friends to the funeral and slaughtered a goat for the occasion (I, 11), probably aftereffects of the Portuguese influence in Kalenzia, where the priest wintered. In 1603 we hear that the dead were placed in caves without being covered with earth, and that those who were dying were also often placed there. Those who, because of age, sickness, or misery, became a burden to others, often ended their life by drinking the white sap of a tree, a deadly poison, by drowning in the sea, or by having themselves bound hand and foot and water poured into them until they suffocated. The knife which everyone carried on his hip was usually placed near the deceased. When anyone was dying, he summoned his children and enjoined upon them three things: (1) to have no other law except that of their ancestors, (2) not to mingle with other races, (3) to avenge all the wrongs that had been done to their parents (Gouvea 136v-137).

<sup>154</sup> According to Coelho in 1562 (DI V 522) and Gouvea 136. According to Santos they cut off the right hand of one who was not circumcised. Children could not enter the church before circumcision, and the *casises* performed the ceremony (I 460-461). In Wellsted's time circumcision took place at puberty in contrast to Arabic custom; a stone chair in the southeast of the island served for the ceremony (212).

<sup>155</sup> EX I 123. The churches were called "mokamo" (Gouvea 135v; Dalgado II 60 506). There were many of them (Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 16; Q 867), all with altars and crosses (King Manuel, Corsali, and M. A. de Mello). When Xavier speaks of lamps, he

The churches were small and plain,<sup>158</sup> and without bells. The people were summoned to worship by boards being clapped together, as was done in Europe during Holy Week.<sup>159</sup> Each church had but one altar and upon it a cross,<sup>160</sup> for the Christians of Socotra had a great reverence for the cross.<sup>161</sup> They observed two periods of fasting each year. One of these began with the April<sup>162</sup>

probably means by this the censer, which was hung like a scales from three chains, and which was called a lamp by Seb. Gonçalves (1, 11). The churches were built of stones (Corsali) and provided with a forecourt surrounded by a loose stone wall (G. Rodrigues, Gouvea). They had date palms and cattle (Coelho), received a kind of tithes (King Manuel) in the form of dates (Seb. Gonçalves), and had the right of asylum (Gouvea 136).

<sup>156</sup> The title *casīs*, usually employed for Mohammedan spiritual leaders, here means a Christian priest (Dalgado I 165-166). The Socotrans called their priests *hodamo* (Gouvea 135v), related to the Arabic *khuddām*, "servant" (Dalgado I 458, II 498). Corsali calls a priest an *abuna*. In 1555 there were three clerics in the church of Suk. They wore a loincloth reaching to the knee and a shawl over their shoulder. They slept on skins, were poor, without a fixed income, and begged for their food—milk, meat, and dates—from the faithful, who held them in high esteem (Beccari X 48-49). In 1560 there were four or five *casīs* in Suk, all very poor (*ibid.* 104). They had no special garb (Seb. Gonçalves 1, 11), were elected by the people, and a different one was superior each year (Gouvea 135v).

<sup>157</sup> According to Corsali (Ramusio 196v) and Gouvea, who adds that the most common crime was the stealing of another's cattle. The most common penalty was the cutting off of the fingers of the right hand, or of the arm; and there was no appeal from the judgment of the *casīs* (135v-136).

<sup>158</sup> They were small, unadorned (Seb. Gonçalves, Gouvea), and dirty since the walls were smeared with butter (Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina).

<sup>159</sup> EX I 124. Two long planks were struck together to call the people to church (Gouvea 135v; cf. Beccari X 49). One board was placed on the shoulder and was struck with the other (Seb. Gonçalves).

<sup>160</sup> The church of Suk has been described a number of times, in detail by Gonçalo Rodrigues, Gouvea, and Gaspar de S. Bernardino. According to G. Rodrigues and Fulg. Freire, it was dedicated to St. Thomas. It was built in the manner of an old synagogue. It had an outer and inner forecourt and was divided into three rooms, each with a low entrance (Beccari X 49). According to Gouvea, all the churches had a flat roof and three entrances that were so low that when entering one bumped one's head on the lintel. The forecourt was surrounded by a wall of loose stones. In the interior there was only an altar with a cross upon it, and to the right and left of this two rods in the form of a lily stalk, which also seemed to represent a cross (135v-136), or three crosses in the form of a Johannine cross, as Seb. Almeida \*wrote in 1668 (ARSI: Goa 35, 61). Gaspar de S. Bernardino gives further details with respect to his visit to the church of Suk. On the roof there were perched eight white vultures, as usually happened. On entering the church they saw on the right a jar of butter and next to it the censer in the form of a scales hanging from three chains. On the altar stood three crosses, the center having the shape of a Maltese cross, the two others coming to an end in a fleur-de-lis. They all seemed to be made of black wood, but they dared not be touched by the foreign visitors. The *casīs* anointed the three crosses with butter. He tossed glowing charcoals and chips of fragrant wood into the censer and incensed the interior of the church, the doors, and the forecourt with it (92-94; similarly in Gouvea 135v-136). The church of Kalenzia had a large wooden cross upon the altar that was smeared with butter, and to the right and left of the altar was a room. One was for the tithes of dates; the other could not even be entered by the *casīs* (Seb. Gonçalves 1, 11).

<sup>161</sup> In 1517 Corsali wrote that the Socotrans had a very great reverence for the cross because of Christ's death upon a cross (Ramusio 196v). But when the Augustinians came to the island in 1603, the people no longer knew of the death of Christ or the meaning of the cross. They honored it merely because their ancestors had done so without knowing why (Gouvea 133v; cf. Santos I 457 and Gaspar de S. Bernardino 95).

<sup>162</sup> Gouvea 135v. In 1542 the April new moon fell on the nineteenth.

new moon and lasted for two months.<sup>163</sup> Their priests were married.<sup>164</sup> They could not read any better than their people, but they knew many prayers by heart in a language which they no longer understood.<sup>165</sup> Four times each day they came to the churches to recite these prayers—at midnight, dawn, the hour of Vespers, and in the evening for Compline.<sup>166</sup> The priests were great fasters. During their period of fasting, they ate neither fish nor flesh nor drank any milk; and they would rather have died than do so. Although the island was rich in fish, they ate nothing but dates and vegetables at these times. If a layman ate any meat during a period of fasting, he could not enter the church; and during such a time the women did not enter a church at all.<sup>167</sup>

Master Francis once attended Vespers conducted by one of the *casís*. It lasted for a full hour, and during this time the priest was continuously occupied with incensing the cross and reciting prayers.<sup>168</sup> Francis wrote three or four

<sup>163</sup> EX I 124-125. "Sixty days without interruption" (Gouvea 135v). According to Coelho, their Lent endured almost a month and a half (DI V 522). According to King Manuel they ate neither fish nor flesh in Lent and Advent.

<sup>164</sup> EX I 124; "with only one wife" (Seb. Gonçalves).

<sup>165</sup> EX I 124; Seb. Gonçalves 1, 11.

<sup>166</sup> EX I 124 and Seb. Gonçalves. According to King Manuel there were prayers three times a day: Matins, Vespers, and Compline (CA II 421). According to Santos they prayed twice in twenty-four hours, when the moon rose and disappeared (I 460). According to Gouvea they went to church three times during the day and three times during the night (135v).

<sup>167</sup> EX I 124-125 and Seb. Gonçalves 1, 11. According to Coelho, the *casises* refrained from meat, butter, and milk during Lent and ate only a paste made of dates and crushed palm shoots (DI V 522-523). Gouvea adds that whoever broke the fast once lost two fingers from his right hand; whoever did so twice lost his right hand; and whoever did so three times, the whole arm (135v). Xavier is silent on the feasts. According to King Manuel they celebrated the principal Christian feasts. According to Corsali, they went to church with their wives and children on Sundays and on many feasts of obligation, but they remained outside in the forecourt. Coelho describes their Easter ceremonies. On Easter Day the people came together near the church. Goats were slain, and all were given them to eat at the expense of the church. A month later they gathered together in their churches and sang throughout the night with their staves in their hands before a curtain after the manner of Jews. In the morning they slaughtered goats and marked their heads with their blood and performed other ceremonies which Coelho did not see. In all their sacrifices they slaughtered goats with certain words, and they said that the blood was for God and the rest for themselves, and they ate the flesh roasted (DI V 522). On certain feasts the herdsmen came down from the mountains and were treated with dates of the church. They brought with them their first-born kids and set them free, and these were used only for sacrifices. For this the animal was brought with songs to the beach, and it was then slaughtered on a black stone in the forecourt of the church after a priest had laid a cross upon it (Seb. Gonçalves 1, 11). When the Augustinians came to Socotra in 1603, the ignorant Christians had however substituted the moon goddess for Christ. Before the beginning of Lent they offered a hundred goats and sheep to the moon so that she would preserve their flocks. In the presence of twelve representatives of the people an old *casís* told the missionaries: "We pray to the moon, whom we see every day, but these [the Augustinians] pray to their Christ whom we have never seen nor know where he is" (Gouvea 132v). Every month, at the time of the new moon, they held a procession around their church. At certain times of the year they offered cattle to the moon with much solemnity, music, and dancing (Santos I 457 460). In 1603 we even hear of a sacrifice for rain. A circle was drawn and a man placed within it to pray to the moon for rain. If he prayed without success, his hand was cut off (Gouvea 136v-137). Cf. the worship of the goddess of the Sabbath by the Abyssinian Jews (J. S. Trimmingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* [London, 1952] 20).

<sup>168</sup> EX I 124. Others describe the ceremonies in greater detail. The *casís* smeared the central cross with butter and then the two others. He next incensed the altar three times, using an unintelligible language, then the three doors, then the vestibule



of these down and believed that the prayers were recited in Chaldean.<sup>169</sup> During the ceremony the *Alleluia* was frequently heard.<sup>170</sup>

On his two visits to the island Xavier was warmly received by the Christians. He baptized many of the children. Their parents were happy at this, but once he had some trouble. A woman in Suk had two small children. Francis wanted to baptize them since he thought that they were Christians. But their mother was a Mohammedan. Her children fled to her for help, and the woman came in tears and asked him to refrain since she was a Mohammedan and did not want to change her religion or have her children baptized. The Christians of the village, moreover, told the priest that he should not on any account confer this sacrament upon them, even if their mother should ask him to do so; for they had a great hatred for the followers of the Prophet. The Moors did not deserve to become Christians, and they would never consent to their becoming such. The people themselves, however, were most kind to Francis and showed their hospitality by giving him dates and whatever else they had in their poverty.<sup>171</sup> They earnestly asked him to remain with them. Then all, both old and young, would let themselves be baptized.<sup>172</sup> They also complained

from within the church; he then went three times around the forecourt incensing it and praying (Gouvea 135v-136; cf. Gaspar de S. Bernardino 91-92). Seb. Gonçalves notes that each time that the priest went to the church to sing, he walked around it three times (1, 11; cf. Beccari X 104). Barros says that the leader of the prayers recited a verse and the choir answered with a second (2, 1, 3; cf. Beccari X 104).

<sup>169</sup> EX I 124. "Rezam as oraçoens em caldeo, segundo fui enformando," Castro wrote in 1541 (*Roteiro atee Soez* 17). M. A. de Mello had already noted the same in 1527 (SR II 130; cf. Barros 2, 1, 3). Barros erroneously calls the Christians Jacobites. They were Nestorians and subject to the patriarch of Babylon, as Marco Polo determined in 1293, Abūlfidā in 1331, and Conti in 1435. Teixeira (841) and Seb. Gonçalves (1, 11) wrote that they had Nestorians errors. They had had their own bishop (not archbishop, as Marco Polo says) until the advance of Islam broke their connection with Babylon (Santos I 456). One of these was Cyriacus, who ruled in 1281 (German, *Das Christenthum auf Socotora* 233-236; Medlycott 136-137; Mingana 62).

<sup>170</sup> EX I 124; Seb. Gonçalves 1, 11. Gonçalves Rodrigues gives some words of this prayer as he heard them: "Miriansin xon elejla, elejla" (Beccari X 49).

<sup>171</sup> EX I 124. In 1560 the sheik gave the fleet forty wethers and four bundles of dates (Beccari X 104). In 1606 his representative entertained his visitors with dates, milk, and butter (Gaspar de S. Bernardino 91).

<sup>172</sup> EX I 124, II 72. All the old accounts speak of the good character of these Christians and of their longing for instruction and missionaries. In 1527 they asked M. A. de Mello to beg the king for apostles (SR II 130-131). In 1541 Castro wrote that the Christians longed for instruction and earnestly asked for it, especially on the teachings and customs of the Roman church. They all said that these were good and must be obeyed (*Roteiro atee Soez* 17). In 1555 Gonçalves Rodrigues found the people well disposed, and their *casises* were greatly pleased when the priest on his journey offered Mass in their church and placed an altarpiece of the apostle Thomas upon the altar (Beccari X 49-50). When two Jesuit missionaries settled among the Christians in 1562, however, they were badly received. One died and the other, after two years of fruitless labors, left the island with broken health (Valignano 439). Seb. Gonçalves, on the other hand, found the inhabitants of Kalenzia well disposed towards the faith when he wintered there in 1593. They were delighted with the statue of a saint which a Portuguese captain left there (1, 11). But in 1603 the Augustinians in Suk encountered bitter opposition among the Christians, who told them that they would rather die than give up the customs of their fathers. All fled when the missionaries visited their villages, and the latter had to leave the island with their mission unachieved. Had the people been incited by the Moors? Was the dramatic encounter of the priests with the representatives of the Christians a well executed trick of the sheik? Gaspar de S. Bernardino, who was on Socotra in 1606, did not have much good to relate about the Christians there, nor did Santos in 1609. Yet \*Almeida still praised their

to him about their dire needs and about the tyranny of the Moors, who took away their daughters and forced them to adopt their religion, robbed them of their goods, and let them have no weapons so that they might keep them always enslaved.<sup>173</sup>

Master Francis felt great compassion for these poor abandoned Christians who had such a great longing for priests, help, and instruction, and who were so well disposed. He asked Martim Affonso to leave him behind on the island, where such a ripe harvest was waiting for a reaper. But the governor reminded him of the fact that there were no Portuguese on Socotra to protect him, and that the island was open to the attacks of the Turks. There was thus the danger of his being carried off by them as a slave. He would send him to other Christians in India who had an equal, or even a greater need of instructions than the Christians of Socotra, and among whom he would render greater service to the Lord God. Francis, therefore, to his great sorrow, had to leave this abandoned flock without a shepherd.<sup>174</sup> He hoped, however, that some day he could answer their request for a priest from India.<sup>175</sup>

#### 7. FROM SOCOTRA TO INDIA (APRIL—MAY, 1542)

Slowly the tall, wild, granite peak of Suk, the steep, brown, limestone mountains, and the east cape of Socotra disappeared from Francis' view<sup>176</sup> as the

good character in 1668, adding that the Moors did everything to prevent the Christians from coming to the strangers in order to keep their monopoly on trade with them. (ARSI: Goa 35, 61). Corsali had already discovered this in 1517 (Ramusio 196v).

<sup>173</sup> EX II 40; SR II 331. In 1541 Castro wrote that among the Christians throughout the island no weapons for attack or defence were to be found with the exception of very small swords made of common iron (*Roteiro atee Soez* 17). Barros notes that they fought with slings, though a few also had iron swords (2, 1, 3). Santos repeats the same (I 461), and Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina states that the women used slings as skillfully as the men, and that in close combat they fought with short swords and clubs (I. 5, c. 9).

<sup>174</sup> EX 124, II 39-41 72. In his Spanish life of Ignatius, Ribadeneyra, following Teixeira's original, wrote of Xavier in 1583: "Dexo señales biuas de su virtud en Melinde . . . y tambien en Cocotora" (I. 4, c. 7). Valignano, as censor, observed on this: "Se puede todo esto quitar; porque, aunque passó por ellas, ni se detuvo ay, ni hizo en ellas ningún fruto más que procurar que se diesse algún remedio á Socotora, como se dize en la primera parte de la Historia indica" (MI *Scripta* I 742). Xavier however later wrote: "I had the greatest compassion when I saw the persecutions which they suffered from the Moors of the coast of Arabia" (EX II 40-41).

<sup>175</sup> When Tursellinus (Teixeira 841) goes on to say that Xavier had immediately written to the king from India, and that the latter had sent a fleet which captured the island, drove out the Moors, freed the Christians, and left a fortress there with a garrison (I, 16), he erroneously transfers the events of 1507 to Xavier's time.—When did Xavier leave Socotra? He arrived in Goa on May 6 (EX I 125). A voyage from Goa to Socotra (and vice versa, with a similar wind, from Socotra to Goa) took from eleven to twenty-two days. The fleet of D. Estevão da Gama (sailboats and, especially, others equipped with oars) needed fourteen days to go from Goa to Socotra in 1541 (Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 1-10); Lopo Soares in 1517 between twenty and twenty-two (Ramusio 196; Ramos-Coelho 409); Fulg. Freire in 1560 fourteen (Beccari X 103); Mendes in 1625, from Diu to Socotra with a good wind, seventeen; Almeida, from the same place, with poor winds, because he was sailing outside the normal time, forty-one (*ibid.* XI 512; XII 28). According to Correa, Manuel de Vasconcellos sailed from Monte Felix near Cape Guardafui for Socotra on April 24, 1542, but M. A. de Sousa was no longer there. He returned to Goa on May 8 (IV 232) or 13 (*ibid.* 241). Martim Affonso would thus have already sailed from Socotra for India before April 24.

<sup>176</sup> See Castro's drawing of the northeast coast in Kammerer, *Le Routier* 34-35.

*Coulam* steered out into the wide expanse of the Indian Ocean. At this time of the year it usually took from two to three weeks to sail to India, for there were frequent calms and contrary winds at the end of April and beginning of May.<sup>177</sup> After its departure from Mozambique, Master Francis had resumed his earlier apostolate on the *Coulam*. He reserved his cabin for the sick, taking his own rest as a rule on the coiled ropes of the ship, using an anchor for a pillow.<sup>178</sup> One of his penitents on this voyage was Antonio de Sousa, a *fidalgo* of the royal house. Many years later he still recalled the following about his fellow voyager:

I sailed with Mestre Francisco from Mozambique and never saw him do anything that had even the appearance of a venial sin. He was always busy with good and pious works, with teaching Christian doctrine and preaching wherever he was, with hearing confessions and distributing Holy Communion and converting pagans to our holy faith. He was chaste and full of zeal for the service of God, and never in my life did I see a person more persistent in this than he. I always found him to be simple and natural, poorly clad, humble and unassuming, and this more than any other person whom I have ever seen.<sup>179</sup>

It was already May, and they had sailed for almost three hundred leagues when, at the sixteenth degree north latitude, signs of the proximity of land began to increase.<sup>180</sup> They could see yellow, spotted sea-snakes large as eels, gulls and ravens, turtles, clusters of seaweed that looked like white foam or white fish scales and were known as *tostões* and *vitens*, since they resembled these coins, and palm branches and other similar objects. Finally a sailor in the crow's-nest spied the long, pale blue heights of the Ghats. On the evening of May 4,<sup>181</sup> they reached the Ilhas Queimadas,<sup>182</sup> small, barren, russet, uninhabited, rocky islands and reefs, a league from the coast of the Indian mainland. From here Martim Affonso sent Diogo Soares in his *fusta* to the bar of

<sup>177</sup> The viceroy D. Francisco da Gama sailed on May 7, 1597, in a *fusta* with his fleet from Socotra, and, "although he encountered on this passage the usual calms and contrary winds," he arrived on May 22 with all his oared vessels at the bar of Goa. Five days later Manuel de Almeida also showed up in a galiot (Couto 12, 1, 2).

<sup>178</sup> Teixeira, who errs in having Xavier sail from Mozambique in April, speaks of his visit in Melinde and then states: "Y continuando su viage, començõ tambien á continuar su charidad y exercicios, como arriba diximos; y assí oímos dezir en Goa, que gran parte deste viage había tenido por cama una amarra enrollhada ó maroma, y por cabecera una áncora del galeón; y esto por dar su aposento á los enfermos" (840). Teixeira's Italian text speaks of Xavier's labors for the sick and well on board the ship. He then continues: "Onde dopo alcuni de' nostri gli sentirno dir in Goa" (15v). Valignano mistakenly extends Teixeira's text to the entire voyage to India and ascribes the information to Xavier "como él mesmo decía" (18), whereas Teixeira is only speaking of the voyage in the *Coulam*, in which he is followed by Seb. Gonçalves (1, 11), Tursellinus (1, 16), and Lucena (1, 12).

<sup>179</sup> MX II 373-374. Another witness, Pero de Mendonça Furtado, who sailed to India in 1558 and 1576 and knew Xavier's friend Diogo Pereira there, declared in 1615 that he had heard that the priest on his voyage to India had given a great example of holiness in his way of life to the sailors, voyagers, and soldiers and had shown great patience in bearing the hardships of the boat and those caused by the passengers (\*Lisbon, Process I, n. 22, 155v).

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Gabriel Pereira 75 121; Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 370-374; Linschoten I 26-27; Stephens 709-710.

<sup>181</sup> Castanheda gives this date of arrival (9, 31).

<sup>182</sup> Today called *Vengula Rocks* or *Burnt Islands*. Picture in Castro, *Roteiro a Goa* 374.

Goa, twelve leagues farther south, ordering him to light a fire there at the fall of night so that the pilot would not miss it in the darkness.<sup>183</sup> He then followed with the *Coulam*. It was already late at night when they arrived at the bar and cast anchor.<sup>184</sup> They had reached their ardently desired goal, and the year-long, arduous voyage to India had come to an end.

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<sup>183</sup> Correa IV 226.

<sup>184</sup> Correa errs in having Soares reach the bar on May 7 and Martim Affonso the next morning (IV 226-227). Couto confuses the arrival at Goa with that at the bar (5, 8, 9).

BOOK II

IN THE CAPITAL OF GOA

(May—September, 1542)

*Vimos buscar christãos e especiaria.*

"We came to seek Christians and spices."

*Diario da viagem de Vasco da Gama (60)*



## CHAPTER I

### PORTUGUESE INDIA (1497—1542)<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. FROM "THE CAPE TO CHINA"

In 1515, Thomé Pires, a secretary of the factory of Malacca, completed in India his "Eastern *Summa* from the Red to the China Sea," in which he gave an extensive account of the lands and peoples of the East.<sup>2</sup> A year later Duarte Barbosa, the secretary of the factory of Cannanore, completed a similar work, which included the east coast of Africa from the Cape of Good Hope and the East African islands as well; for Portuguese India in the fullest sense extended from "the Cape to China."<sup>3</sup>

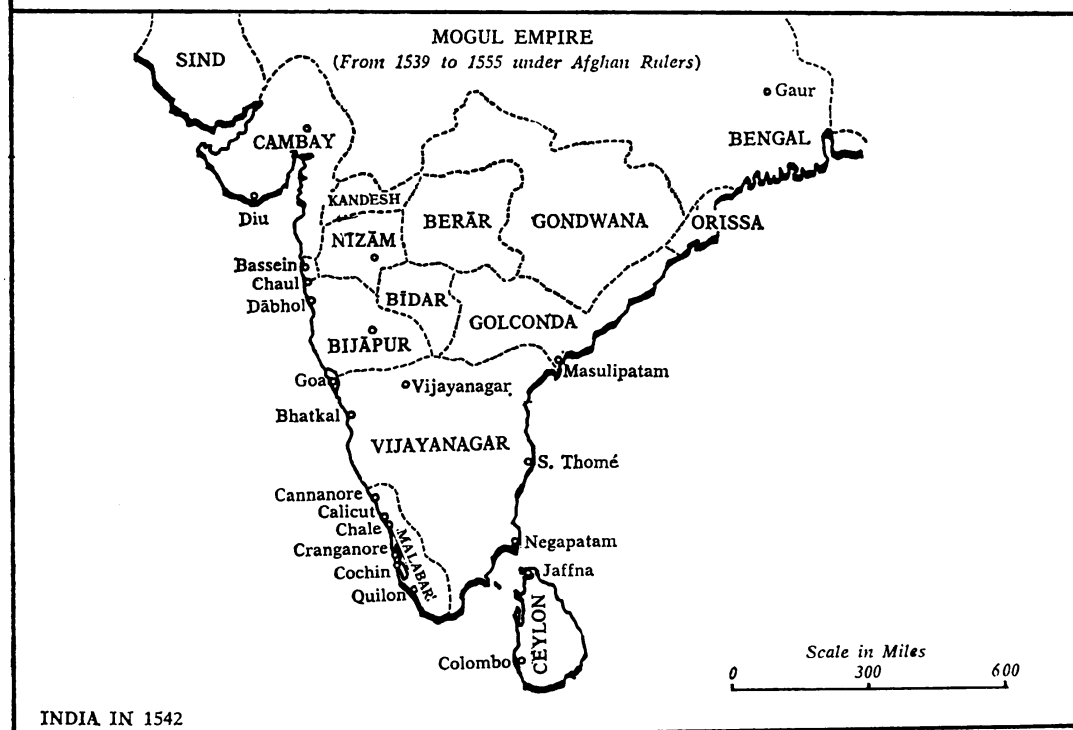
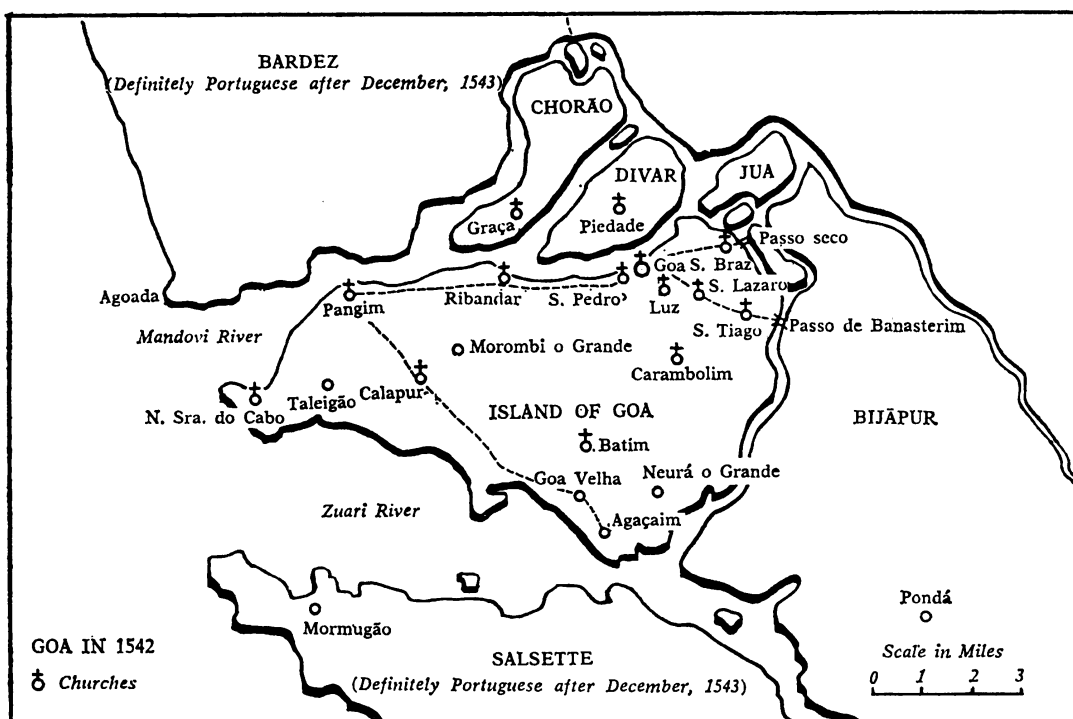
From Sofala to Mogadishu the Arab settlers on the East African coast were at constant war with the pagan Negro tribes of the interior. The Christian empire of Preste Joam lay in the highlands and was of very difficult access. But the coasts of the Red Sea were in the hands of the Moors. The king of Zeila, the traditional enemy of the Christians of Abyssinia, ruled over Berbera and Zeila in the south. The Egyptians ruled over Suakin and Suez in the north. On the east coast was Jidda, the harbor for pilgrims going to Mecca, who came from all over the Islamic world to visit the tomb of the Prophet. On the southwest coast of Arabia, before the straits of Bab el-Mandeb, was the strong city of Aden under the rule of the Imām of Yemen. In the east was Ormuz, the key to the Red Sea, the capital of the kingdom of the same name, the principal harbor for exporting the famed Arabian horses, and the key to the Persian Gulf. On the southern Arabian coast the sultans of Shihr in the west and of Qishn in the east strove to get the better of each other.

Over the king of Ormuz was the Sophi, the powerful king of Persia. As the leading representative of the Shiite sect of the Mohammedans, he was at constant war with the Sunnite Turks, who were attempting to spread their rule ever farther to the east, west, and south. The Sophi's mighty empire ranged from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea, from the Caucasus to the snow-covered mountains of India. In the south it was inhabited by slender Shirazis and in the north by warlike Turkmen and Khorasans. East of Ormuz lay the barren, rocky coast of Makrān, the home of the Nōdhaki-Baluchis. These bold and

<sup>1</sup> For the following see, in addition to the classical works of Barbosa and Pires, the introduction to Schurhammer, *Quellen*, pp. XXIV-XXXIII; Barros 1, 9, 1; and SRH 6-18; maps, p. 136; and Ch. Joppen, S.J., *Historical Atlas of India* (London, 1910), maps 12-13 and text.

<sup>2</sup> The *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires, tr. and annot. A. Cortesão (London, 1944) (Hakluyt Society).

<sup>3</sup> *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, tr. and annot. M. L. Dames (London, 1918-1921) (Hakluyt Society). The Portuguese text appeared in Lisbon in 1812 and 1867, and in a modernized text in 1946. For the mss., see Q 58.





notorious pirates were also nominally under the Persian king, but they were actually independent.

India from the Himalayan Mountains to the Kistna River at the latitude of Goa had for a long time been under the dominion of the Mohammedans. Only the brave Rajput princes in the northwest had preserved a certain measure of independence. The powerful sultan of Delhi ruled over the Land of the Five Rivers, the high mountains of Kashmir, the wide, fruitful valley of the Ganges, the sacred river of India with its teeming millions, and from the wild mountains of Afghanistan to the boundaries of Bengal. Sind, in the lower Indus Valley between the mountains of Baluchistan and the Indian desert, had for a long time been subject to Islam. East of it lay the realm of the king of Cambay, stretching along the west coast of India from the peninsula of Kathiawar down as far as Bombay. It was famous for its cotton goods and was the home of the clever and industrious Banyans, Hindu merchants, whose ships were to be found everywhere from Sofala to Malacca. The country, which was also known as Gujarāt, had a series of important markets such as Diu, Broach, Rander, Surat, Damão, Bassein, and Thāna within its boundaries. It also possessed an ancient culture and had been visited and mentioned by the Greeks and Romans.

The high, steep walls of the Western Ghāts stretched south from Gujarāt to the southern tip of India. To the west of this range lay "India" in the strictest sense of the word, the hot, humid, and fruitful coastland, called Konkan in the north, Kanara south of Goa, and Malabar still farther south.<sup>4</sup> East of the Ghāts were the dry, arid highlands of the Deccan, gradually falling off toward the east coast of India. At the time of the coming of the Portuguese, the kingdom of the Bahmanis, which embraced Konkan and the Deccan, was falling apart. Five Mohammedan kings supported by their foreign mercenaries, Turks, Rumes,<sup>5</sup> Turkmen, Khorasans, Abyssinians, and Arabs, had divided the country up among themselves; but they were in constant warfare with the Hindus to the south and with each other. East of Bombay and Bassein lay the dominion of the Nizamaluko (Nizām-ul-mulk), a follower of the Shiite sect. He held court at Ahmednagar and had a good harbor at Chaul. South of this was the realm of the Hidalcão (Adil Khān), the king of Bijāpur, with harbors at Dābhol and Goa. Within the interior of these two states lay Berār, the kingdom of the Madremaluko (Imād-ul-Mulk) in the north, and Bīdar, the kingdom of the Verido (Barīd Shāh) in the south. Still further east on the coast was Golconda, under the sway of the Cotamaluko (Kutb-ul-mulk).

Only in the Dravidic south, which was already separated from the rest of India by its language, had the powerful Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, with its capital of the same name, been able to withstand the onslaught of the Islamic conquerors. On the west coast in Kanara it had a series of important harbors such as Honāvar in the land of the princes of Gersoppa, Bhatkal, Basrūr, Bārkūr,<sup>6</sup> and Mangalore, the harbor of the queen of Ullāl. South of this was Malabar, the land of pepper and the home of the brave warrior caste of Nāyars, of black and white Jews, and of Thomas Christians. It was a land filled with ancient traditions and had its own language and culture; it had been visited by Greeks and Romans. It was divided up into a number of independent kingdoms, Cannanore, Calicut, Tanor, Cranganore, Cochin, Quilon, Travancore, and others, over

<sup>4</sup> On *India* in the narrowest sense, see Delgado I 465; EX I 235 434 465.

<sup>5</sup> On the difference between Rumes and Turks, see Vol. I 686.

<sup>6</sup> Portuguese: Onor, Batecala, Barçalor, Bacanor.

which the Zamorin, the king of Calicut, claimed dominion. It had become rich and powerful through the trade of Moorish merchants, who played a dominant role at his court, and whose fellow worshipers, married to Indian women and engaged in shipping and trade, had founded settlements all along the coast and were known as Naitias in Kanara and as Moplahs in Malabar.

West of Malabar were the coral Laccadive Islands, ruled over by the king of Cannanore. South of these were the Maldives, inhabited by Islamic Singhalese, whose sultan was called "the King of the Eleven Thousand Islands." These were important islands since they supplied coconut fibers used in making tackle for ships. Opposite Cape Comorin, the southern tip of India, lay the large, fertile, island paradise of Ceylon, the home of the cinnamon tree. In the north it was occupied by Hindu Tamils, and in the south by Bhuddist Singhalese; and it was divided up among a number of kings who were constantly feuding among themselves.

At Cape Comorin began the Fishery Coast, the land of the Paravas. It had received its name from the ancient Pearl Fishery which took place each year between this coast and Ceylon. Its capital was Tuticorin. North of it, on the other side of the Shallows of Chilaw, which were only navigable by small boats, lay the Coromandel Coast with harbors at Negapatam and Pulicat within the territory of Vijayanager. It continued north past the rarely visited kingdoms of Golconda and Orissa to Bengal, where the Mohammedan king had his court at Gaura, a two hours' sail upstream. Bengal had both a small and a large harbor at Satgaon in the delta of the Ganges on the west, and Chittagong on the east.

Here was the beginning of Farther India. Running along the coast to the southwest were the pagan kingdoms of Arakan and Pegu, with Burma in the interior, and Siam, the Malay Peninsula, ruled over by Mohammedan sultans. The most powerful of these lived in Malacca, the famous trading center of the Far East, the principal port of exchange between the East and the West, where Arabic, Persian, and Indian merchants dealt with those from Siam, the Liu-kiu Islands, and China, and traded their own wares for the products of the Far East, especially Chinese silks and porcelains.

Finally, on the other side of Malacca lay the islands of the Malay Archipelago: Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Macassar, the Sunda Islands, Timor, the home of fragrant sandalwood; and in the farthest east Banda, the source of nutmegs, and north of it the distant Moluccas, that of the highly esteemed cloves.

## 2. THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE (1498-1542)

Like the Spaniards, the Portuguese, in their wars against the Moors, had a crusading spirit running through their veins. In 1139 King Affonso Henriques began the reconquest of the land taken by the Moors and defeated them near Ourique. In 1147 Santarém and Lisbon were recaptured with the help of French, German, and English crusaders; and in 1250 the Sons of the Prophet were also driven out of Algarve, the last province they held in Portugal. In 1340 the kings of Portugal and Castile defeated the combined forces of the Moorish kings of Granada and Morocco at the Salado River on Spanish soil. The Portuguese then carried the war to Africa with the capture of Ceuta in 1415. This was soon followed by the conquest of other cities. And in 1492, Spanish Granada, the last Moorish stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula, was captured.

But the Mohammedans had been relentlessly pushing towards the west ever

since the Turks set foot on European soil in the middle of the fourteenth century. Greece and the Balkan states successively fell to the onslaught of the Half-Moon, and a threat to the whole of Christendom was posed by the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The Venetians therefore sent an ambassador to the Turkmenian ruler Usun Hasan in Persia a few years after the fall of the Byzantine capital in order to win him over as an ally against the Turks. In 1487 Pedro de Covilham set out at the request of the Portuguese king to visit the legendary Preste Joam within the interior of Africa and to encourage this powerful Christian prince to battle against their common foe. The traditional enemy of Christendom had to be attacked from the rear in order to weaken his drive towards the west.

A second blow was to be directed against the trade of the Christians' enemy. Venice, the proud merchant republic, had become rich and powerful through trade in pepper from India and cloves from the Moluccas, spices that were very highly prized in Europe. The Venetians obtained these precious wares from Turks in Aleppo and Egyptians in Alexandria, where they were brought overland by caravans from the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Taxes on these spices provided an important source of revenue for the Islamic rulers. The Portuguese kings therefore strove for a long time to send their ships around Africa in order to strip the Moslems of their profitable monopoly. In 1492 Columbus discovered America in his search for India. In 1493 the pope divided the lands across the seas between Spain and Portugal, giving the East to the latter. Five years later Vasco da Gama discovered the seaway to India for his king. After coming to anchor on May 25 at Calicut, he prudently sent a man on shore to investigate. When two Moors from Tunis, who understood Portuguese, were brought to him, they shouted in anger: "The devil take you! What brought you here?" To this he courageously replied: "We have come in quest of Christians and spices."

Trade with the East was firmly in the hands of the Moors. The lands and harbors from Sofala to Suez, from Aden to Ormuz, and northern and central India were under their control. They had wrested Goa from the Hindus and made it a harbor for importing Arabian horses. Their merchants comprised the ruling class in Calicut, the center of the pepper trade. They had gained control of the Pearl Fisheries off Cape Comorin and of the cinnamon trade in Ceylon. Malacca had become a leading city of Islam, and the principal harbors of Sumatra were under the control of Mohammedan sultans. The Half-Moon ruled over north-west Borneo and the harbors of central Java, on the Banda Islands and the Moluccas. Even in China the followers of Islam were becoming strong, and the fall of Vijayanagar, the last great Hindu empire in southern India, was now only a question of time. Nevertheless, with the rashness of the Crusaders, the small kingdom of Portugal began a campaign against the immensely superior forces of the Moors in the East in order to wrest from them their monopoly on trade and their dominion over the seas. The result was a battle for life and death, in which the Mamelukes in Egypt and the Turks also became engaged, especially since the Portuguese were seizing pilgrim ships sailing to Mecca.

Vasco da Gama had been given a hostile reception by the Zamorin, who had been stirred up by the Moors; but he had discovered the way to India, and from then on the fleets of Portugal had sailed there every year to obtain pepper and cloves. Cabral, who left Lisbon in 1500, was well received by the kings of Cochin and Cannanore. During his second voyage, in 1502, Vasco da Gama concluded

trade agreements with both of these rulers, and fortresses were erected in both cities to protect the Portuguese factories. In 1504 Duarte Pacheco turned away a bloody assault of the Zamorin on Cochin. In 1507 a fleet of the sultan of Egypt came to help his coreligionists in India, and Dom Lourenço, the son of the viceroy, Dom Francesco de Almeida, died a hero's death while fighting at Chaul; but his father avenged him and utterly destroyed the foe near Diu. In 1509 Dom Francesco de Almeida was succeeded as governor of India by Affonso de Albuquerque, a crusader of the old school endowed with the vision of a genius. During his sixteen years of office he gained control of the main centers of trade and laid the foundations of the Portuguese empire in the East. In 1510 he captured Goa, centrally located in India on the border between the Mohammedan north and Hindu south, and made it the center of a new state. The march of Islam to the south was thus brought to a halt. In 1511 Malacca, the key to the Far East fell, and in 1515 Ormuz, a similar key to the Persian Gulf, suffered the same fate. Although the Portuguese failed in their attempt to gain control also of Aden, the key to the Red Sea, they sailed to Pegu in Siam in 1511. In 1512 Serrão, at the request of Albuquerque, discovered the route to the spice islands of the Moluccas; and in 1513 Jorge Alvares found the way to China. When the governor died in December, 1516, Portugal was the mistress of the seas in the East, and no ship could sail on them without the permission of the Portuguese.

Albuquerque's successors, Soares de Albergaria (1515-1518), Lopes de Sequeira (1518-1522), Dom Duarte de Meneses (1522-1524), Dom Vasco da Gama (1524), Dom Henriques de Meneses (1524-1526), Lopo Vaz de Sampaio (1526-1529), Nuno da Cunha (1529-1538), Dom Garcia de Noronha (1538-1540), and Dom Estevão da Gama (1540-1542), continued his work. In 1516 the Portuguese sailed to Bengal; in 1518 the Singhalese king of Kōttē in Ceylon became a tributary. The following year the Portuguese built a fortress at Quilon in the south of Malabar; in 1521 another at Chaul in the territory of the Nizam; in 1522 still another at Ternate, the principal island of the Moluccas, in order to anticipate the Spaniards who had been vying with them for these islands since Magellan's fleet had sailed around the world in 1521. In 1525 the fortress which had been built twelve years before in Calicut was refurbished; in 1531 a new one was erected not far from it in Chale; and in 1536 still another farther south in Cranganore. Both of these were built in order to prevent the smuggling of pepper and to keep the Zamorin in check, who was a constant source of trouble before Martim Affonso de Sousa captured Edappalli in 1536 and completely routed the fleet of his Moorish captains on January 30, 1538, near Vēdālai, and Miguel Ferreira repeated the rout the following year off Ceylon. These defeats finally forced Calicut to conclude a peace with the Portuguese in 1540.

In contrast to the Mohammedan conquerors, who had powerful kingdoms with millions of inhabitants under their control, the Portuguese, except for the small island of Goa, were restricted to their naval bases and the narrow circuits of their fortresses and factories. It was not until 1534 that they acquired their first fairly extensive piece of land. In 1529 the Portuguese had destroyed the fleet of Sultan Bahādur of Cambay near the island of Bombay. Five years later, threatened by the Mogul king Humāyūn, and planning a campaign against Chitor, he sought the help of the Portuguese; and to obtain it he handed over to them the southern part of his kingdom, the territory of Bassein. A year later he also permitted them to build a fortress at Diu. When the Moguls, however,

suddenly withdrew, he regretted his generosity and sought to obtain a revision of the treaty. But then, when a panic broke out while he was negotiating with the governor, Nuno da Cunha, he drowned in the sea. Shortly before this he had treacherously asked the Turks for help against the Portuguese. In 1517 these had plundered Kurdistan and Egypt and had established themselves in Yemen. In 1534 they had already reached Baghdad as they pressed on towards India. But the attempt of the Turks under Sulaimān Pāshā to capture the newly built Portuguese fort at Diu and to drive them out of India foundered as a result of the heroic resistance of the small garrison stationed there, and in 1538 they were forced to retreat from there without achieving their goal.

That same year the Afghan Shēr Shāh captured Bengal; the following year he ascended the throne of Delhi; and in 1540 he forced the Mogul ruler, Humāyūn, to flee to Afghanistan. Meanwhile in Persia the Sophi, Shah Tahmāsp, the successor of Sheik Ismāil, received help from Portugal and the emperor in the form of cannons and arquebuses. With these he was able to hold the Turkish sultan at bay and to recapture from him his lost territories of Georgia and Kurdistan in 1541. But the Turks in turn, when they sailed to Diu in 1538, had treacherously gained control of the important city of Aden; and this made them a constant threat to India. In 1521 a revolt of the Moors from the Portuguese in Ormuz had been vigorously repressed, and the vizier Raīs Sharaf, had been taken as a political prisoner to Portugal in 1528 for his treacherous machinations.

In Farther India, Tabinshwehti, the energetic king of Burma, captured Pegu in 1539 and extended his kingdom to the north and south in 1541 and 1542. The sultan of Malacca, after being driven from his country, established himself on the Malay Peninsula, first on the island of Bintang and then, after the destruction of his new capital, at Ujong Tanah on the mainland. From then on he was constantly preoccupied with plans for recapturing his former residence, which had been seized by Albuquerque. There had also arisen a new and dangerous opponent on Sumatra in the person of the sultan of Achin, who between 1520 and 1524 had captured the neighboring kingdoms of Daja, Pedir, and Pasei, and the Portuguese fortresses located within them. Both princes were allied with their coreligionists in Java, who had gained possession of the old Hindu kingdom of Madjapahit within the interior of the island. In 1522 they had captured the last Hindu harbor in western Java, and they were attempting to extend their dominion over the Hindu princes ruling in the eastern part of the land.

The influence of the Javanese reached as far as the Moluccas, where the four Malayan kings, either in alliance with, or at war against, the Portuguese and Spaniards, were fighting for supreme control among themselves and devising one plot after another. Because of the folly of one of their captains the Portuguese had not been able to establish a trading post in China. In 1536 the companions of Thomé Pirez, who had been the leader of the embassy sent there in 1517, were still languishing in prison; and the Portuguese could only engage in trade with the Chinese in secret.

### 3. THE EXTENT OF MARTIM AFFONSO DA SOUSA'S DOMAIN

The authority of the governor of India ranged from the Cape of Good Hope to the Moluccas, and it extended over the captains of the ships and of the fortresses that had been built to protect both trade and the fleets. When Martim Affonso sailed to India in 1541, there were fourteen of these: Sofala and Mozam-

bique on the east coast of Africa; Ormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf; Diu and Bassein in Cambay; Chaul, in the territory of the Nizām; Goa, the seat of authority, within the domain of Adil Khān, where the governor was accustomed to hold court and to pass the winter; Cannanore, Chale, Cranganore, Cochin, and Quilon in Malabar; Malacca on the Malay Peninsula, and Ternate, or Maluco, in the Moluccas. In 1518 a fortress had also been built at Colombo in Ceylon, but it had been abandoned four years later. A factory sufficed thereafter for the cinnamon trade. In addition to these, there were two Portuguese settlements on the Coromandel Coast within the territory of the king of Vijayanagar—Nagapatam and São Thomé. The latter, near the tomb of the apostle Thomas, was the usual headquarters for the captain in charge of the coast. Portugal's fleets and fortresses secured her dominion over the seas in the East.

Portugal's overseas territories were practically a private possession of the king, and their trade a private enterprise. He equipped the annual India fleet, appointed the governor, or viceroy, of India and its more important officers—the India secretary, the *vedor da fazenda*, the *ouvidor geral*, the paymaster, and the registrar; and in the fortresses he appointed the captains, factors, *almoxarifes*,<sup>7</sup> secretaries, physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries; he also appointed the captains and secretaries of the royal ships.

The *vedor da fazenda* was the royal agent who had to see to the loading of the pepper ship in Cochin. He was second in importance to the governor. The *ouvidor geral* was in charge of the courts.

The support of the fortresses and their officials, of the fleet and its personnel, and of the soldiers and *fidalgos* entailed heavy expenditures on the part of the royal treasury. These were partially defrayed by the profits gained each year by the India fleet, whose wares were sold at the India House in Lisbon and at the royal factory in Flanders. They were also partially defrayed by the revenues of India. In Ormuz the sultan's tribute had been gradually raised to an average of 100,000 *xerafins* a year, but the vizier was far in arrears in his payments.<sup>8</sup> At Diu, in virtue of the treaty of 1539, the Portuguese received a third of the tolls and the duties on horses coming from the harbors east of Cape Ras el-Hadd, that is, from Ormuz. The king of Cambay, on the other hand, received the duties on those coming from the west of the same cape, that is, from southern and western Arabia.<sup>9</sup> Bassein, with its taxes on its numerous villages and its other imposts, was one of the richest sources of revenue for the Portuguese in India.<sup>10</sup> In Chaul the Nizām made an annual payment of five thousand gold *pardaus*. In March, 1542, he received in return for this the two mountain strongholds of Sānkshi and Karnala in the hinterland of Bassein and the annual revenues from a hundred Arabian horses to assist him in paying his taxes.<sup>11</sup>

A six-percent tax was levied upon all goods brought into Goa. Besides this there were property taxes on the villages and additional taxes on merchants, money-changers, goldsmiths, laundrymen, fishers, and members of some other castes.<sup>12</sup> An important source of revenue was the duty on horses. This amounted

<sup>7</sup> *Almoxarife*, superintendent of the royal warehouse for food and merchandise.

<sup>8</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 78-86.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 230-231.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 138-203.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 115-120.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 46-56.

to forty-two gold *pardaus* on each of these valuable animals, which were much needed by the Indian princes for their military campaigns and were the object of eager rivalry, especially between Adil Khān and his adversary, the king of Vijayanagar.<sup>13</sup>

South of Goa, Honāvar, Bhatkal, and Basrūr, harbors of the latter, paid a fixed sum of rice as an annual tribute to the Portuguese.<sup>14</sup> The fortresses of Malabar formed the first line of defense for the pepper trade. In Cochin the Portuguese authorities even paid a fixed sum to the neighboring princes, since the pepper trade depended to a large extent upon their good will.<sup>15</sup> In Ceylon the king of Kōttē had agreed to pay an annual tribute of three hundred *bahārs* of cinnamon sticks, each *bahār* being the equivalent of three *quintals*. Whatever was exported in excess of this was purchased from him at three *pardaus* per *bahār*.<sup>16</sup> In Malacca, finally, the king received six percent of all wares coming from India and a similar sum, called a *bulibulião*, on all those coming from other countries in the East, as had been exacted by the sultan before 1511.<sup>17</sup> In Farther India, however, and in the Malay Peninsula and the islands beyond it, the power of the governor of India was restricted to the areas within the sphere of influence of the fortresses of Malacca and Ternate.

The sailing of the vessels was determined by the monsoons.<sup>18</sup> In September, at the close of the rainy season of the southwest monsoon, the fleet usually arrived in Goa from Portugal. It then sailed from there to Cochin in October to take on the cargo of pepper. In January the ships from the Moluccas came to Cochin with spices so that the fleet might start its voyage back to Lisbon during that same month or in February. In the middle of April the royal clove ship sailed from Goa for Malacca, and since 1534 it had sailed from there past northern Borneo<sup>19</sup> to Ternate. Only in January of the third year did it return to Cochin, and from there to Goa.<sup>20</sup> The Coromandel ship also sailed from here. It usually left for São Thomé in April and from there for Malacca in August, as did the ships heading for China.<sup>21</sup> The ship for Banda left Goa in September and returned with the clove ship of the second year.<sup>22</sup> The cinnamon ship sailed for Ceylon in September.<sup>23</sup> The royal merchantman, on the other hand, usually left India in April for Melinde and Sofala and began its

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 55. According to Corsali the duties on horses in Goa amounted to 30,000 ducats in 1515. A horse was usually sold for from four hundred to seven hundred ducats and many for nine hundred to two thousand (Ramusio 195v). According to Barbosa they sold for from two hundred to three hundred each (I 178). Before the capture of Goa, trade in horses was the main source of income for the Moors (Correa II 55-56). Albuquerque seized it for himself and concentrated it in Goa (*ibid.* 66 335-336). Around 1546 Basra supplied from six to eight hundred of these animals every year (Q 3149). In 1554 a toll of forty-two gold *pardaus* was paid on each horse, two of which went for brokerage (Botelho, *Tombo* 55; Barros 2, 5, 2, p. 455).

<sup>14</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 246 257.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 25.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 240.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 104-107.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. EX I 58\*-64\*; Schütte I 1, 123-133; OOP 10 (1913) 283-286.

<sup>19</sup> Q 163.

<sup>20</sup> Rebello 499; EX I 341.

<sup>21</sup> Ex I 293, II 223; Schütte I 1, 125.

<sup>22</sup> EX I 106.

<sup>23</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 241.

return voyage in August or September.<sup>24</sup> Ships sailed to Ormuz from January to March, and from September to October.<sup>25</sup>

During the winter, that is, from June to August, the sea on the west coast of India was unnavigable, and the governor remained with the fleet in Goa. The sea became calmer in September, and in October he would send the Malabar fleet to the south and the northern fleet to the coast of Cambay to search for smugglers and Malabar pirates. At the same time he would himself set out with the main fleet to visit the fortresses, to punish rebellious or hostile princes, or to assist the allies, for the enemy never slept,<sup>26</sup> and the Red Sea was always a storm center threatening India with an attack from the Turks. Every year, in January or February, patrol boats were therefore sent from Goa to the straits of Bab el-Mandeb to learn if a fleet was being equipped in Suez to sail against India so that preparations might be made for the dreaded war.<sup>27</sup>

#### 4. THE ROYAL PATRONAGE<sup>28</sup>

In 1455 Pope Nicholas V sent to King Affonso V the bull *Romanus Pontifex*. In it he recalled the great services which the grandmaster of the Order of Christ, the infante Dom Enrique, had rendered in spreading the Christian faith. During the wars with Moors and at the capture of Ceuta he had risked his life. He had discovered and peopled new islands and had carried the knowledge of Christ as far as to the Negroes of Guinea. For more than twenty-five years he had annually sent his caravels to the south in order to discover the route to the Indies, where it was said there were Christians, in order to win them over as allies in the war against the Saracens and to convert the heathen and those infected with Islamism. The pope, therefore, to prevent other nations from disturbing Portugal in these regions with their rivalry, granted to the Portuguese king and his successors a monopoly on subjecting, trading with, and converting all the lands that he had hitherto conquered and those still to be conquered from Cape Bojadar to Guinea and beyond. A year later, in 1456, Callistus III confirmed this monopoly by means of his bull *Inter caetera* and committed its ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the right of appointment to all its benefices to the Order of Christ, whose undertakings had been financed by the infante, "from Cape Bojador to the Indies."

After Columbus, in the service of the Spanish king, had discovered a new world in 1492 and the pope had in the following year given the same monopoly on subduing, trading with, and converting these lands in the West to Spain as he had to Portugal in the East, it was necessary that a precise distinction should be made between their respective territories. Through a bull of demarcation of May 4, 1493, Spain received all the lands a hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands and the Azores, while Portugal received those in the East. Through a second bull of September 26 of the same year this distribution was further

<sup>24</sup> Linschoten I 23.

<sup>25</sup> Ex II 223; OOP 10 (1913) 283.

<sup>26</sup> Pyrard 2, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Correa I 907.

<sup>28</sup> The sources are given in *Bullarium Patronatus*. For the bibliography, see Streit IV, nn. 368 ff. and Q 1-2 5-9 11 41-42 45 145 170; for accounts: Jann 25-100; Almeida, *Hist. da Igreja* II 226-228, III 1, 515-618; Silva Rego, *O Padroado Português do Oriente* (Lisboa, 1940).



clarified. Spain obtained the right of all the islands and lands not occupied by Christians which it discovered by sailing west, south, and east. Finally, through the Treaty of Tordesillas of June 7, 1494, an agreement was reached between the two kings, according to which the line of demarcation was set 370 leagues west of Cape Verde.

In 1516 King Manuel received rights of patronage over the three knightly orders in his country along with the authority to name their respective grandmasters. When he died, his successor, John III, through the bull *Eximiae devotionis* of the year 1522, was authorized to dispense the honors and dignities that had pertained to the office of the grandmaster of the Order of Christ. He thus received life-long jurisdiction over its spiritual and temporal affairs within his own territories, as his father had possessed before him.

But the area embraced by the diocese of Funchal, founded in 1514, was too large. In 1533 it was therefore split up into a number of bishoprics, and Funchal itself was raised to a metropolitan see. In 1534, through the bull *Aequum reputamus*, Paul III erected the diocese of Goa. This new see stretched from the Cape of Good Hope to China; and the king, as administrator and lord patron of the Order of Christ, received the same rights and obligations in its regard as he had for Funchal. Among these was the right of presentation for the office of bishop and for all other benefices. In return for this he undertook the task of enlarging the parish church of St. Catherine into a cathedral and of maintaining all the other existing churches, chapels, monasteries, and pious foundations, and, where necessary, of restoring them or creating new ones. He also accepted the responsibility of furnishing the churches and monasteries with all their needs and of providing them with a sufficient number of secular and religious priests. The cathedral was to receive a chapter. The former pastor of St. Catherine's was to become the dean of the cathedral; his assistants were to become canons of the cathedral and their number raised to twelve. These were to be supplemented by the usual dignitaries—dean, archdeacon, treasurer, and scholar, all to be taken from the secular clergy. The expenses of the clergy were to be defrayed from the revenues of the Order of Christ.<sup>29</sup>

Every year since the time of Vasco da Gama's voyage of discovery, secular and religious priests had accompanied the Portuguese fleet to India. In 1500, for example, a priest of the Order of Christ, eight secular priests, and eight Franciscans sailed with Cabral. Churches were erected near the factories and within the forts and were attended by a *vigario* and one or more beneficed assistants, who were charged with the spiritual care of the Portuguese and their native wives and children and of the new converts and baptized slaves. The first convent of the Franciscans was erected in Cochin in 1518-1522, the second in Goa in 1519-1527.<sup>30</sup> The Dominicans came only singly to India.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Bullarium Patronatus* I 148-152; CDP II 373-374; Jann 80-100; SRH 303-306.

<sup>30</sup> On the beginning of the church in Portuguese Asia and particularly in Goa, see SRH 103-523. This is expanded by a series of accounts in ARSI: Goa 38 that were drawn up for Maffei: (1) *\*Mestreschola* (261-266v). (2) *\*Anonymous*, from the data of the first *mestreschola*, Manuel Garcia, appointed in 1539 (262-266v). (3) *\*Aleixos Afonso*, parish priest of the Rosario church in Goa in 1548 (260). (4) *\*Francisco Pinto*, treasurer of the Sé, Goa (295v-296v 284v-285). (5) *\*Registrars* (296v-297) and, based on them: *\*Manuel Teixeira*, S.J. (288-292), and *\*J. B. Crasso*, S.J. (294-297v); also an account of the former inquisitor Bart. Fonseca, composed in Lisbon (137-140v).

<sup>31</sup> SRH 272-278; B. Biermann, O.P. "Die ersten Dominikaner in Ostindien (1503-1548)," ZMR 26 (1936) 171-192; *idem*, "Documenta quaedam initia missionum Ordinis Praedica-

Jurisdiction lay in the hands of a vicar general appointed by the king from either the secular or religious clergy, who ruled the Indian portion of the diocese in the name of the bishop of Funchal. Such were Mestre Diogo Pereira (1505-1510), João Fernandes (1510-1513), Frey Domingos de Sousa, O.P., the chaplain of Albuquerque (1513 to about 1517), João Pacheco (1518-1521), Sebastião Pires (1521-1532), and Miguel Vaz (since 1532).<sup>32</sup> For functions such as ordinations and confirmations, the king sent bishops from time to time to visit the East as a substitute for the bishop of Funchal; but these had no jurisdiction.<sup>33</sup> Such were Dom Duarte Nunes, O.P., the bishop of Dume (1519),<sup>34</sup> Dom Martinho (1523),<sup>35</sup> a third, whose name is unknown (1529),<sup>36</sup> and Frey Fernando Vasqueiro, O.F.M., bishop of Aureopolis *in partibus infidelium* (1532), who died at Ormuz in 1535.<sup>37</sup> Since Bishop Don Francisco de Mello, the ordinary of the newly erected diocese of Goa, died before his departure for India,<sup>38</sup> Frey Juan de Albuquerque, O.F.M., was presented to the pope by John III and approved by him. He was consecrated in Lisbon at the beginning of 1538 and landed in Goa in September of the same year with his confrere, Frey Vicente de Lagos, and Mestre Diogo, who had been appointed preacher in the cathedral. Since the income provided in the bull erecting the chapter was not sufficient to support all the canons, their number was lowered from seventeen to thirteen: five dignitaries and eight simple capitulars. In addition to these, there were six chaplains, a parish priest, four choristers, and an assistant treasurer. The chorister Estevão Madeira was sent to Rome in order to obtain the necessary ratification of this change.<sup>39</sup>

torum in India Orientali illustrantia (1503-1548)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 10 (1940) 132-157.

<sup>32</sup> SRH 287-295.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* 294-303.

<sup>34</sup> On Nunes see B. Biermann, O.P., "Der erste Bischof in Ostindien, Fray Duarte Nunes, O.P.," *NZM* 9 (1953) 81-90; SR I 377-382 443-457, II 18-24 (letters), I 439-440 459-462; ARSI: *Goa* 38, 260 262v 282.

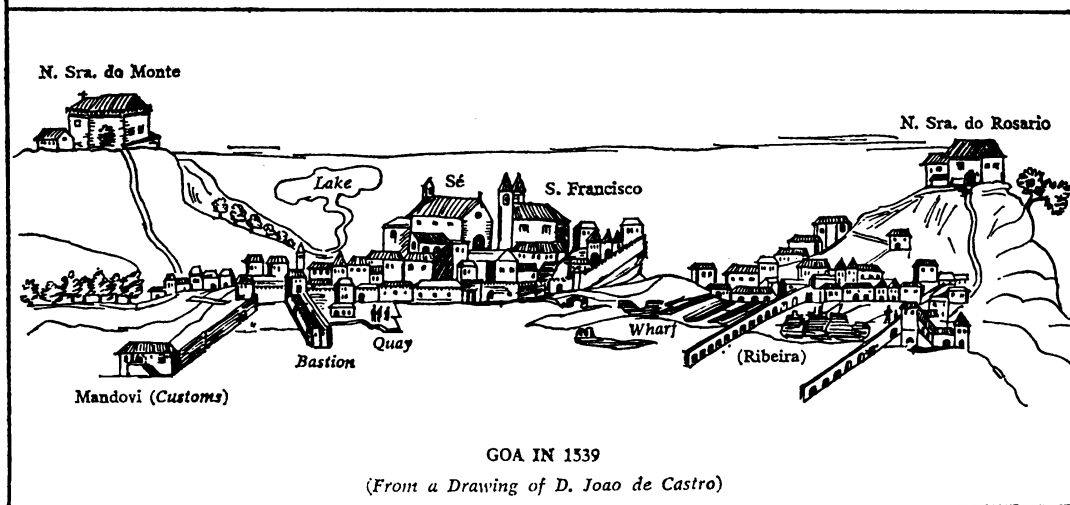
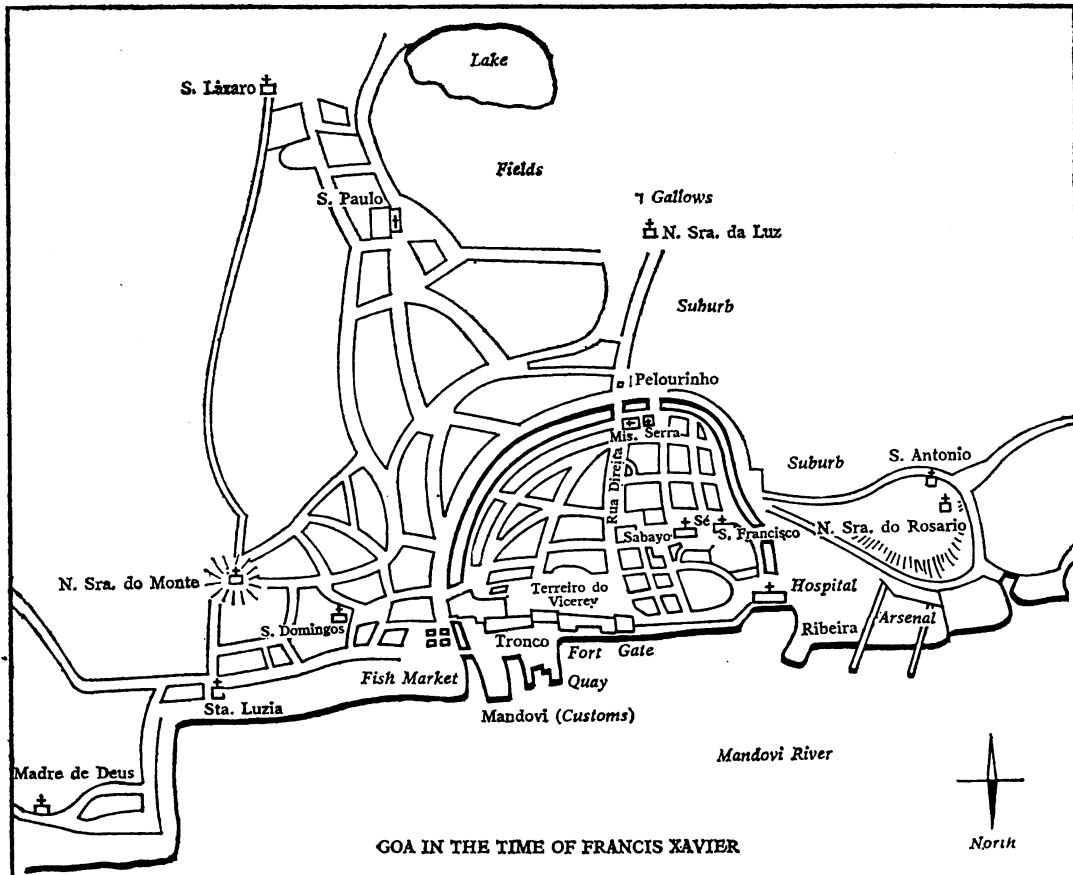
<sup>35</sup> The same as D. Martinho de Portugal, the later bishop of Funchal?

<sup>36</sup> Correa III 331. Is he the same as Frei André Clement de Torquemada, O.F.M., who in December, 1520, was titular bishop of Duvno (Van Gulik 205)?

<sup>37</sup> On Vaqueiro, the "bispo Aurensis," see SR II 235-237; SRH 301-303; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 19; ARSI: *Goa* 38, 261 262v 282 289; TdT: *Gavetas* 20-1-53.

<sup>38</sup> Mello, born in 1490, was presented to the pope by the king in May, 1532 (CDP II 376), appointed by the latter on January 31, 1533 (Q 146), and died in 1536 in Evora. On him see SR IV 111; SRH 306-307; Van Gulik 220; Silva III 8-10.

<sup>39</sup> SR II 322-323; SRH 307-314.



## CHAPTER II

### ARRIVAL IN GOA (MAY 6, 1542)<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. A NIGHT SURPRISE

On May 4<sup>2</sup> the sun had declined and darkness had shortly set in<sup>3</sup> when the *Coulam*, carrying Martim Affonso de Sousa and Master Francis and guided by the fire kindled by Diogo Soares,<sup>4</sup> entered the bar of Goa and came to anchor.<sup>5</sup> The moon and stars were shining.<sup>6</sup> A dark hill, the Aguada,<sup>7</sup> which formed the northern boundary of the bar, fell off steeply into the sea. The southern cape was not visible, for the mouth of the Mandovi River was a league broad. Round about, all was deathly still. No houses were to be seen, or any living creatures moving about on the dark, lonely strand,<sup>8</sup> which belonged to the territory of Adil Khān of Bijāpur.<sup>9</sup> Goa, the capital of Portuguese India, lay another league and a half further upstream.

<sup>1</sup> For the arrival of Sousa, and thus of Xavier as well, there are the contradictory accounts of the eyewitness Corrêa (IV 226-229), Castanheda (9, 31), and Couto (5, 8, 9). We generally follow Corrêa. His data are confirmed, augmented, or corrected by four contemporary documents drawn up by eyewitnesses in Goa: (1) Xavier's letter of September, 1542 (EX I 119 125); a \*letter of Pero Godinho of November, 1542 (Q 1014); (3) a passionate complaint of a *casado* of Goa against the rule of M. A. de Sousa, composed in 1545 under the title of *\*Verdadeira enfformaçam das cousas da India* (Q 1821); and (4) the *\*Relação dos governadores da India*, written in 1571 by D. Duarte de Eça, whose father, D. João de Eça was the captain of Goa in 1542. We have also drawn on the accounts of the arrival of earlier and later governors of India, which give the usual ceremonies connected with it. The contradictions in the authors are in part only apparent, for they do not as a rule distinguish between the arrival at the bar, at the home of A. Correa, and at the quay of Goa. Xavier came with Sousa to the bar on the fourth (Castanheda), to the house of Correa on the fifth (Eça, Godinho), to the quay on the sixth of May (Xavier). The accounts in Couto, Brou, and Zaleski must be corrected accordingly. The two letters of João de Sepúlveda to Pero Folque, dated from Goa on April 25 and October 6, 1542, which A. Soares published under the title of "The City and the Saint (Letters from an Eye-Witness)," in *Souvenir of the Exposition of St. Francis Xavier 1922* (Bombay, 1922) 11-23, and which authors such as Welfle, Narayan, and Collis have believed to be authentic, are pure fiction! In 1763 Louis de Gad, S.J., found a chapel of Xavier on the beach at Mormugão with a "tradition" that the saint had here first set foot on India (De Ravignan, *Clément XIII et Clément XIV* 2 [Paris, 1854] 34). The chapel, however, does not recall Xavier's arrival in India but his help during an attack by the Dutch.

<sup>2</sup> Couto 5, 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Castanheda 9, 31 (against Correa and Couto).

<sup>4</sup> Correa IV 226-227.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* At other times also the governors anchored at the bar when they arrived, for example, in 1515, 1528, and 1538.

<sup>6</sup> Swamikannu Pillai V 286.

<sup>7</sup> Already mentioned by Castro in 1539 (*Roteiro até Dio* 17).

<sup>8</sup> Couto 5, 8, 9.

<sup>9</sup> Temporarily occupied by the Portuguese in 1510, 1520, and 1536, Bardez and Salsette were only definitively ceded to them in 1543.

Since he had no time to lose, Martim Affonso ordered his secretary to go on board the *fusta* of Diogo Soares so that he might inform Dom Estevão da Gama of his arrival and then to return at once. With him sailed the governor's confidant, Jerónimo Gomes,<sup>10</sup> a companion<sup>11</sup> with secret instructions, and Gabriel Fermoso, the French chaplain, who had asked for this favor, since he wished to obtain a reward from his friends and others who had been appointed to offices by the king for bringing them the welcome news of the governor's arrival in India.<sup>12</sup>

Late at night the *Coulam* also weighed anchor and sailed up the Mandovi River<sup>13</sup> with its hilly bank on the left. Men and beasts were all asleep as they passed Pangim, a short hour's distance away. This was located on the right side of the river and consisted of a fortress from the time of the Moors, a few houses, and a white church.<sup>14</sup> Here the river was already narrower, only a cannon's-shot in width.<sup>15</sup> As the boat continued on its way, the flat beaches on both sides were hidden for an hour by the heavy darkness. At Ribandar, a fishing village with a white church,<sup>16</sup> hills could again be seen rising up on the right behind the beach with its tall coconut palms. Here, too, everything was wrapped in deathly silence as the ship glided noiselessly on.

It was past midnight when Soares' *fusta* came back downstream<sup>17</sup> with the secretary Cardoso, Gomes and his companion, and three officials all on board—the treasurer of India, Ruy Goncalves de Caminha, the factor of the Red Sea fleet, Luis de Moura, and the scribe of the factory.<sup>18</sup> Soares and his ship had reached the quay of Goa about midnight.<sup>19</sup> Here the men had gone their separate ways. The chaplain had sought out his friends.<sup>20</sup> Cardoso had gone directly to the Sabayo Palace, which was close at hand, and declared that he must speak at once with Dom Estevão about an important matter. The governor was called out of bed. Coming in his nightgown,<sup>21</sup> he asked the reason for this strange and untimely visit. The secretary then told him that the new governor wished

<sup>10</sup> Couto calls him Jerónimo Gonçalves Sarmento, his chamberlain.

<sup>11</sup> Mentioned only by Couto.

<sup>12</sup> Correa IV 227 and the *\*Verdadeira enfformaçam* (against Couto).

<sup>13</sup> An oared sailboat usually passed from Pangim to Goa with the current (at flood tide) in 2 1/2 hours, and against it (at ebb tide) in three to four hours (F.N. Xavier 372). From the bar this would be around three hours with the current. The *Coulam* thus sailed from the bar between ten and eleven in the evening.

<sup>14</sup> The church is already mentioned in 1541 (DI I 767). Albuquerque strengthened the fortress in 1513 (CA I 203).

<sup>15</sup> Around 3,280 feet.

<sup>16</sup> Nossa Senhora da Ajuda, one of the oldest churches in Goa (\*Anonymous 263v; \*Pinto 295v).

<sup>17</sup> Correa IV 227.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* and the *\*Verdadeira enfformaçam*; cf. Couto's account on the arrival of the viceroy in 1581 (10, 1, 9).

<sup>19</sup> According to Couto's first draft, Soares came to the quay, where he fired off a falcon, "sendo ja meia noite ou mais" (5, 8, 9); according to the second, "sendo ja perto de meia noite" (De Jong 523). Correa's account that Soares sailed up the river with a splendidly flagged ship and fired his guns repeatedly on the way to attract the people to the quay so that they could learn the news he was bringing is hardly probable. He had to take Dom Estevão and his officials by surprise.

<sup>20</sup> Since Sousa came completely out of the normal time for sailing, no one was willing at first to believe that he had arrived (Castanheda). Fermoso remained in Goa.

<sup>21</sup> The *\*Verdadeira enfformaçam* states, probably with some exaggeration, that Sousa (that is, his secretary) "a Dom Estevão tomou na cama sem te lugar pera vistir huma camisa." According to Couto's first draft, D. Estevão came out "cuberto com hum roupão," according to the second, "em camisa, cuberto com hum roupão."

him to be informed that he had just now come to the bar of Goa. When he was asked the name of the new governor, Cardoso replied that it was Martim Affonso de Sousa. He then returned immediately to his *fusta*.<sup>22</sup>

Gomes had in the meantime gone to the house of Luis de Moura<sup>23</sup> and had presented him with an *alvará* from Martim Affonso. Its purport was that he must obey the instructions of his legate. Gomes then took Luis with his keys and the chest containing his accounts to the house of the treasurer.<sup>24</sup> There he locked up the latter's trunks in a room and pocketed the keys as well. Finally, he summoned the secretary of the factory<sup>25</sup> and went with him, taking along the treasurer's account book, to the factory, where he deposited it with the factor's and locked everything up. Then, without giving them time to dress properly,<sup>26</sup> he took the three officials and sailed back on the *fusta* with them and the secretary. When he met the governor on his way upstream, he handed both the keys and the officials over to him.

Martim Affonso welcomed the newcomers, apologized for having disturbed their rest, and warned them not to lay a finger on the king's possessions or their books and papers without his expressed command, and not to leave their dwellings before his arrival. Failure to obey would be, he added, taken as an act of treason and would be sufficient reason for confiscating their possessions. He then sent them to their homes.<sup>27</sup>

The *Coulam* came to anchor. A solitary house lay between dark coconut palms on the beach to its right. This belonged to Antonio Correa, a rich citizen of Goa. The site it occupied was known as Santos,<sup>28</sup> a cannon's-shot from the city.<sup>29</sup> Martim Affonso disembarked in order to spend the rest of the night there.<sup>30</sup> His surprise attack had been successful, and he was in possession of the required documents. The hands of Dom Estevão and his officials were tied so that they were no longer able to prey upon the royal possessions or safely retain any stolen goods.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Correa, who takes the side of D. Estevão, has him give a calm reply. According to Couto, Cardoso told him that Sousa was already in the house of A. Pessoa (that is, of A. Correa). At this D. Estevão struck himself on the head and cried: "Does Sir Martim Affonso thus come upon me like a thief? Well, tell him that he is welcome."

<sup>23</sup> Probably the same as the king's *reposteiro*, who sailed to India in 1525, having obtained the office of a secretary for the deceased (*Emmentia* 315), and the son of João Lopes de Setubal, who sailed there again in 1531 (*ibid.* 332).

<sup>24</sup> Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha.

<sup>25</sup> Correa speaks of the secretary; Couto, of the India secretary, João da Costa, whom we encounter in this office from 1540 to 1542 (Botelho, *Tombo* 120 254).

<sup>26</sup> Couto.

<sup>27</sup> According to Correa. According to Couto, Sousa detained the treasurer and the secretary the whole night in the house of A. Correa in order to ask them about the condition of the king's possessions.

<sup>28</sup> Couto's first draft calls it "casas de Ant. Pessoa Correa a que chamavam Santos, que estam fóra da cidade no caminho de S. Pedro," the second more accurately: "casas de Ant. Correa, que depois forão de Ant. Pessoa e ao presente são de Reimão Falcão, filho de Simão Gonçalves Preto, chansarel mor do Reino." D. João de Castro also lived here for a few days in 1547 (Correa IV 618), as did the wife of the governor Cabral (*ibid.* 688), the king of Tanor (*ibid.* 694), and M. A. de Sousa frequently (Q 1821).

<sup>29</sup> \**Verdadeira enfformaçam* 6v.

<sup>30</sup> Correa IV 227-228; Castanheda 9, 31; Couto 5, 8, 9 (who has him arrive already at eleven in the evening).

<sup>31</sup> According to the \**Verdadeira enfformaçam*, Sousa came to Goa outside the usual time "por fazer mall a D. Estevão." Correa has D. Estevão complain that Martim Affonso had wanted to surprise him in order to catch him *in flagranti* and thus to convict him of every excess that he was accused of (IV 242-243).

2. ENTRANCE INTO GOA (MAY 6)<sup>32</sup>

The news of the unexpected arrival of the governor had spread like wildfire during the night; and, on the following day, *fidalgos* and captains, *casados*, and officials streamed to the house of Antonio Correa, where he was staying, to visit him and to extend their greetings. He was the man from whom everyone expected favors during his three-year term of office.<sup>33</sup>

Dom Estevão also came in the company of many of the nobles to pay his respects. Of a knightly appearance, he was of medium height, broad shouldered, and strong; he had a long, dark beard, and was in his upper thirties.<sup>34</sup> Martim Affonso descended the steps to receive him. He embraced him and asked him and his companions to be seated. While they were speaking with each other, the magistrates, who represented the city, made their appearance and asked the new governor to put off his solemn entrance until Sunday so that the necessary preparations could be made.<sup>35</sup> Dom Estevão, however, refused to consider such a postponement, and at his insistence the following day was set for it.<sup>36</sup>

On the morning of Saturday,<sup>37</sup> May 6, all of Goa was on its feet and in a festive mood. The river was covered with crowded *fustas* and *catur*s decorated with bright flags and green boughs sailing to Santos to fetch the governor.<sup>38</sup> Martim Affonso and his companions took their places on one of the boats and, to the sounding of trumpets and beating of kettledrums, which had been provided by Antonio Correa,<sup>39</sup> the *Coulam* and the other ships then sailed or rowed up the silvery Mandovi River under the gleaming Indian sky. On the left was the island of Divar with its flat, sunburned fields and its poor, brown, native huts covered with palm leaves. Above these, on a wooded hill, was the chapel of Nossa Senhora de Piedade beneath the shade of green palms. And on the right, stretched out along the bank, was a thick grove of slender coconut palms with their trunks and crowns mirrored in the water.<sup>40</sup>

Soon the white chapel of Nossa Senhora de Rosario shone forth from amidst the tops of palm trees on a steep hill to the right. Then there appeared the houses of the western suburb, the extensive buildings of the arsenal with its warehouses and workshops, the residence of the *vedor da fazenda*, and the rising, red strand of the Ribeira, covered with rowboats and sailing vessels in need of repair or in the process of construction. Next, the city itself came into view. It was surrounded by a parapeted wall and protected on the side facing the land by a ditch as well. Behind its walls could be seen well-built, whitewashed homes and green gardens, and towering over them the high roof of the cathedral

<sup>32</sup> We usually follow Correa. Barros says of Nuno da Cunha, who came to Goa in 1538, that he was received with the usual ceremonies (4, 10, 19, p. 723). We have also used the analogous accounts of the reception of other governors.

<sup>33</sup> "All the *fidalgos* and captains" (Castanheda), "the whole city" (Correa), "what usually occurred on the arrival of the viceroy" (Couto 12, 1, 22).

<sup>34</sup> Correa IV 122 (with picture) 242; Couto 5, 19, 2, p. 309.

<sup>35</sup> Correa IV 228. Similarly, Couto's accounts for 1538, 1554, 1558, and 1581.

<sup>36</sup> Correa erroneously has *quinta feira* instead of May 5.

<sup>37</sup> Correa also errs here with *sexta feira* instead of May 6, whereas Xavier (in opposition to Couto) clearly writes: "Legamos a la ciudad de Goa a seys de Mayo" (EX I 125).

<sup>38</sup> Thus Correa; cf. the similar occurrence in 1545 (IV 432), 1529 (Barros 4, 3, 17), and 1581 (Couto 10, 1, 9).

<sup>39</sup> According to Correa; cf. the receptions in 1529 and 1545 (IV 331 432).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the map and panorama of Goa on p. 147. The latter is taken from Castro's *Roteiro até Dio*, pl. 1; text, p. 10 [cf. PMC I, pl. 60 A B C].

with its bell tower<sup>41</sup> and the Franciscan church with its twin-pointed spires. Behind these was a green hill with a white church, Nossa Senhora do Monte. The fort with its two towers and the gate to the city on the right was at the end of the quay. Further upstream to the left appeared the customhouse with its docks, and behind these a grove of fresh, green mango trees stretching from the suburb of Santa Luzia to Daugim. The river was alive with countless ships of every size and shape, and the beach with a dense throng of Portuguese, Indians, and representatives of the most diverse lands of the East in their white and brilliantly colored garments.

As the flotilla neared the quay with the new governor, it was greeted by a mighty salvo from the cannons of the fortress and of the ships lying at anchor.<sup>42</sup> Martim Affonso and his companions disembarked. The magistrates received him before the closed gate of the city with their precious red canopy<sup>43</sup> and book of privileges, which the new governor confirmed after the usual address. The gate was then opened.<sup>44</sup> Near the royal warehouse, adjoining the gate on the right, Dom Estevão de Gama, his predecessor, was waiting for him with the captain of the city and numerous companions. After they had greeted each other,<sup>45</sup> Martim Affonso delivered to Dom Estevão his brief of appointment.<sup>46</sup> There then followed the solemn transfer of office.<sup>47</sup> The captain of the city presented the gilded key of the fortress on a silver tray. Dom Estevão took it and handed it over to his successor, indicating in this way that he was relinquishing to him the whole of India with all its forts, its fleet, warehouses, and royal capital,<sup>48</sup> all of which were neatly described in a volume which he gave to the secretary. The latter, then, in accordance with custom, affirmed in writing that he had received it.<sup>49</sup>

The solemn entrance then took place. The Rua Direita, the main street of the city, had been swept, sprinkled with water, adorned with green boughs and carpets, and decorated with flags. The procession made its way through the dense throng amidst the ringing of bells, the sound of tambourines, and the customary dancing.<sup>50</sup> It turned right to the governor's palace and passed by

<sup>41</sup> Castro's drawing has only a small lantern for the bell, but in December, 1542, the church tower was already built (SR II 309-310).

<sup>42</sup> Correa; similarly in 1538 (IV 11) and 1549 (DI I 544).

<sup>43</sup> Barros 4, 3, 17; DI I 544; Correa II 465 ("according to regulations"), IV 694.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the receptions in 1529 (Correa II 331; Barros 4, 3, 17; Castanheda 8, 1), 1538, and 1545 (Correa IV 11 432).

<sup>45</sup> "Engrando o Governador pola porta da cidade, junto do almazem, chegou D. Estevão" (Correa IV 229). Meant is the *Porta do caes*. This was torn down in 1597, and on the same site was erected the still standing Arco dos Viceréis (Saldanha II 168 214-216). Cf. the receptions in 1538 (Correa IV 11) and 1564 (Couto 8, 1).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Couto 8, 1 and 10, 1, 9 (for 1564 and 1581).

<sup>47</sup> According to Correa, against Castanheda, who places the transfer in the Sabayo palace after the blessing in the Sé (9, 31), and against Couto, who has it occur the day before D. Estevão moved to the house of A. Correa, where the transfer took place in 1545, and separate from the surrender of the key to the city gate (Correa IV 432). The handing over of the office usually took place at the time of the entrance into Goa, for example, in 1538, 1554, 1558, 1561, and 1564. The oath of office which the governor was accustomed to take on this occasion is given by Couto for 1573 (9, 15, pp. 108-110).

<sup>48</sup> According to Correa IV 229; cf. 11-12 694; Barros 4, 3, 17.

<sup>49</sup> "Onde logo Dom Estevão lhe fez sua entrega e residencia per apontamentos, ... tudo per escrito em hum caderno, que entregou ao sacretario, de que lhe pedio seu estormento; o que tudo o sacretario recebeo, e depois lhe deu estormento segundo costume" (Correa). Similar accounts for 1545, 1558, 1561, and 1564 in Couto.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the festivities in 1529, 1545 (Correa III 331, IV 432), and 1560 (DI IV 769-770).



Sabayo Square to the cathedral, where the bishop received the officials with cross and clergy. Then, after reciting a prayer, he gave them his blessing.<sup>51</sup> The festivities were concluded with a banquet in the great hall of the Sabayo Palace, the governor's residence.<sup>52</sup> The former governor and his successor ate alone on the upper floor and, after the meal, spoke to each other for a long time. Meanwhile, Dom Estevão had his possessions carried to the house of Antonio Correa. After he had taken his leave from his successor,<sup>53</sup> he remained for four days in Santos. During this time the city celebrated the arrival of the new governor with the usual festivities.<sup>54</sup> Dom Estevão then moved to the fortress of Pangim, a good league down the river near the bar. After waiting there with his retinue for the end of the approaching rainy season, he sailed to Cochim, and from there to Portugal in the following January.<sup>55</sup> Martim Affonso, in the meantime, established his residence in the Sabayo Palace and took over at once the reins of government.

A residence was also put at the disposal of Master Francis, the papal nuncio. Though he was received with the greatest kindness,<sup>56</sup> he refused everything that was offered to him. Near the city wall, not far from the bishop's house, was the royal hospital. He therefore went personally to its *provedor* and, as a poor religious, asked him for a place to stay. A poor little cottage next to the main building was accordingly given him as a residence.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Correa IV 229; Castanheda 9, 31; similarly in 1529, 1538, 1545, and 1549, when the king of Tanor was led from the city gate with "folhas e danças, e festas costumadas, e ruas enramadas e paramentadas... ao terreiro das casas do Governador, que he em caminho da igreja" (Correa IV 694-695).

<sup>52</sup> In 1554 D. Pedro Mascarenhas transferred his residence to the fortress since, because of his age, he could only climb the many steps of the Sabayo Palace with difficulty. Later governors followed his example (Couto 7, 1, 3).

<sup>53</sup> The old governor took his departure from the new in the Sabayo Palace and moved to the house of A. Correa also in 1538 and 1545 (Correa IV 12 432). According to Castanheda, Sousa returned to Santos for eight days in 1542, while his predecessor took up his residence in Pangim (9, 31).

<sup>54</sup> Bullfights, tilting at the ring, and tourneys were part of the festivities (cf. Correa III 331).

<sup>55</sup> Correa IV 229-230.

<sup>56</sup> EX I 126 135.

<sup>57</sup> Teixeira 842-843; MX II 801 and the evidence of Dr. Saraiva (*ibid.* 188) and Menelao (*\*Lisbon, RProcess I*, n. 7, 86). In 1559 the Jesuits who had care of the service of the sick still lived in a poor, little house near the hospital (DI IV 792). Civezza is wrong in saying that Xavier lived for two months with the bishop (VI 266).

## CHAPTER III

### THE FIRST VISITS (MAY, 1542)

#### 1. THE BISHOP

Father Master Francis paid his first visit to the bishop, Frey Juan de Albuquerque,<sup>1</sup> who lived near the cathedral, not far from the royal hospital.<sup>2</sup> His diocese was the largest in Christendom. It embraced all the lands east of the Cape of Good Hope, even though it had only thirteen parishes: Sofala, Mozambique, Ormuz, Diu, Chaul, Goa, Cannanore, Cochin, Quilon, Colombo, São Thomé, Malacca, and Maluco,<sup>3</sup> but only one of all its churches was consecrated, that at Cannanore.<sup>4</sup> Frey Juan was a Spaniard, and he always felt more at home in Spanish than in Portuguese.<sup>5</sup>

He had been born in Spanish Estremadura of simple, poor parents<sup>6</sup> and had joined the Franciscan Recollects, who had founded a small monastery in his native province in 1500.<sup>7</sup> In 1505, through the intervention of Dom Jaime, the young duke of Bragança, they had also received three houses in Portugal from the Conventuals. Four years later, when these were separated from the Spanish monasteries as the *Custodie da Piedade*, Frey Juan had remained in Portugal.<sup>8</sup> Here they were called "Capuchos" because of their pointed cowls, which distinguished them from the other Franciscans.<sup>9</sup> They wished to follow the rule of St. Francis without mitigations or additions.

Their monasteries were to be small, poor, and set apart from villages so that their prayers might not be disturbed by frequent visits from externs. They were not to accept any money, even for Masses or preaching. They were forbidden to wear shoes or sandals. Only in case of illness could they be allowed

<sup>1</sup> His sources (Q, index) are for the most part published in SR II-VI, DI I-III, and Schurhammer, *Ceylon*. Accounts in Monforte 3, 36, pp. 398-403; Nazareth I 20-30 595-597; SRH 307-315; Farinha 7-69; S. Biain, O.F.M., "El primer obispo de la India Fray Jaun Albuquerque," *Misiones Franciscanas* 39 (1955) 130-136. Picture in OOP 2-3 (1932) 58; colored coat of arms in *\*Memorias para a historia ecclesiastica do Arcebispo de Goa* (Lisboa, Bibl. Nac. *Fundo Geral* 176, 97v; cf. SRH 310); his seal is on the letter cited in Q 3530 (five stigmata), his tombstone in the Sé, Goa (Q 6009). He died in Goa on February 28, 1553.

<sup>2</sup> See the city plan in Linschoten I 120. The present bishop's palace is of a later date (Saldanha II 13).

<sup>3</sup> In 1545 there was still no priest in Chale, in Bassein in 1546 still no church (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 239-240 324).

<sup>4</sup> \*Pinto 296.

<sup>5</sup> SR III 437-441.

<sup>6</sup> "Hijo de un ombre plebeo y pobre" (*ibid.* 437).

<sup>7</sup> Monforte 8-9 23-25.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 70-72 107-109 398.

<sup>9</sup> The Recollects were called *Capuchos* in Portuguese, the Capuchins *Capuchinos*. In 1517 the pope prohibited the pointed cowl and ordered uniformity in dress (M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche* I [Paderborn, 1933] 717).

these by their superiors. Their habits, which were made of a rough material, were short, narrow, and frequently patched. They wore no underclothes. Their mantle was without folds and no longer than was necessary to cover the fingertips of their outstretched arms. They fasted on all Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays throughout the year, and as strenuously as the monks of the old religious orders during the Great Fast. Only the old and infirm were given meat and fish. The rest had to be content, like the poor, with herbs and vegetables. Only the sick were permitted to take wine. They devoted 2½ hours a day to meditation and took a discipline every day except Sundays during Lent and Advent, on all Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of the year, and on the vigils of the principal feasts. They recited the Office standing in choir, slowly, solemnly, and with pauses. Matins were recited at midnight. Their vestments and other ecclesiastical robes were made of wool or cheap materials. Silk was forbidden. A monastery could have no more than two or three plain silver chalices for the celebration of Mass and a small silver vessel for preserving the Blessed Sacrament.<sup>10</sup>

In 1517 the *Custodie da Piedade* was raised to the status of a province,<sup>11</sup> and Frey Juan had ruled it twice as provincial, from 1526 to 1529 and from 1532 to 1535. Besides this he had been the confessor of the order's protector, the duke of Bragança, and later of King John III.<sup>12</sup> In 1537, upon the recommendation of Dom João de Castro,<sup>13</sup> he was nominated by the king and approved by the pope for the newly erected episcopal see of Goa. In January, 1538, he received the episcopal consecration in Lisbon, and sailed shortly afterwards for India. He arrived there sick and, because of the siege of Diu, was not able to erect the cathedral and its chapter until 1539.<sup>14</sup>

The bishop was already advanced in age and in poor health.<sup>15</sup> He suffered from stones, which compelled him from time to time to keep to his bed.<sup>16</sup> He was therefore unable to visit all of the far-flung communities of his vast diocese.<sup>17</sup> But he did what he could.<sup>18</sup> He saw to it that the divine services were worthily performed, and in the cathedral they were celebrated with as much solemnity as in the court of a prince.<sup>19</sup> He gave a bright example to his clergy.<sup>20</sup> He avoided all pomp.<sup>21</sup> He remained even as a bishop a poor, unpretentious friar.<sup>22</sup> Any excess of income he generously divided up as alms for the poor.<sup>23</sup> He was

<sup>10</sup> Monforte 26-27.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 120-123 127.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 398. According to \*Fonseca he was the confessor of the infante D. Fernando, brother of John III, who died in 1534 (137v); according to Correa he was a servant of the queen (I V10).

<sup>13</sup> SR III 437.

<sup>14</sup> SRH 307-312.

<sup>15</sup> EX I 250-251; CI I 92 171 328 422; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 293; SR IV 471.

<sup>16</sup> SR III 440.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* IV 471; DI I 744.

<sup>18</sup> EX I 409; Q 3530.

<sup>19</sup> SR IV 565-566; DI I 531.

<sup>20</sup> SR IV 245-246; DI I 530.

<sup>21</sup> DI I 422.

<sup>22</sup> Correa IV 10; DI II 316; SR IV 566.

<sup>23</sup> Frey Vicente de Lagos wrote in 1549 that the bishop gave many alms. The people consequently, but wrongly, believed that he had much money. Actually, he pawned his silver for this purpose on many occasions (SR IV 208). Complaints were made against him that he fined native Christians if they did not go to Mass on Sundays and feast days, and the pagan merchants if they displayed their wares in the booths before Mass

in a special way a loving father to the new converts, even to the poorest among them.<sup>24</sup> He sent one of the two companions whom he had brought with him to India, Frey Vincente de Lagos, a fellow religious, to Malabar, where he founded a college for the children of the Thomas Christians in Cranganore; and he appointed Mestre Diogo as preacher in his new cathedral.<sup>25</sup> He was himself a good theologian, and never failed to preach the word of God. He constantly heard confessions, even those of the slaves, in his church.<sup>26</sup> He was loved and treasured by all for his virtue.<sup>27</sup> He was zealous in spreading the faith,<sup>28</sup> but was prudent in adapting himself to circumstances.<sup>29</sup> Despite the ecclesiastical honors which had been conferred upon him, he had preserved his humility.<sup>30</sup> He ruled over his clergy with great patience, mildness, and humility. No one could say that he was harsh, even though he was, after all, a Castilian.<sup>31</sup>

Master Francis informed the bishop that His Holiness, Pope Paul III, and His Highness, the King, had sent him to India to help the Portuguese, to instruct the new converts, and to labor for the conversion of the infidels. At the same time he presented the bishop with the papal briefs appointing him nuncio, which he had received from the king; and he declared that he was surrendering them to His Lordship and would not use them in any other way than that approved by him, the bishop, the shepherd of his flock. The kind, old bishop touched by such humility embraced his visitor and with great affection returned the documents to him and told him that he should make use of the faculties which he had received from the pope and king. From that day on, these two men of a single mind and heart were bound together by a close friendship.<sup>32</sup>

## 2. THE VICAR GENERAL <sup>33</sup>

The bishop had an excellent assistant in his vicar general, Miguel Vaz Coutinho.<sup>34</sup> Master Francis also paid him a visit. Miguel Vaz was neither a priest nor cleric but a layman.<sup>35</sup> Despite this fact, Dom João de Castro had written to the king from Goa in 1539 that he knew no one upon whose head a bishop's miter might better pass than his.<sup>36</sup> As a *baccalaureus iuris canonici*,<sup>37</sup> he was well versed in canon law.<sup>38</sup> He was also filled with zeal for the service of his king,<sup>39</sup> the honor of God, the salvation of souls, and the spread of the faith.<sup>40</sup>

on these same days, and that he exacted a larger fine from those who entered secret marriages than was usual in Portugal. He declared that the first accusation was false, the second exaggerated, since his fine was less than that which was customary in the diocese of Funchal (*ibid.* 137-138). The accusation which \*Antonio Pereira Marramaque made in 1558, that the "shoeless Recollect" Frey João de Albuquerque had worshiped the golden *serafine* more than the heavenly ones is therefore also false. The writer of the letter admits that he had himself been imprisoned in Lisbon for eight years as an usurer (Lisbon, Ajuda: 51-2-23 f. 297).

<sup>24</sup> SR IV 565; DI I 530.

<sup>25</sup> SRH 310.

<sup>26</sup> SR II 291, III 498, IV 565; Q 3530.

<sup>27</sup> His virtues are praised by Xavier (EX I 250-251 282, II 61), the administrator of Goa (SR IV 565-566), Cosme Anes (*ibid.* III 535), Ant. Gomes (DI I 422), Frey Vicente de Lagos (SR IV 208), João Soares (*ibid.* 245-246), Lancilotto (DI II 133), Gaspar Correa (IV 10), and Frey João Noê (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 611). Even his harsh critic, Frey Diego Bermudez, O.P., agrees that he was a "buen hombre," but adds "pero ruin pastor" (*ibid.* 573).

<sup>28</sup> SR III 498, IV 131-137 208; DI I 422.

<sup>29</sup> SR III 296-301 524, IV 150; Q 2583 (according to which the text in SR III 405 should be corrected).

<sup>30</sup> SR III 437 453 523; DI I 422.

He was universally loved and esteemed<sup>41</sup> for his pure and mortified life, his mildness, and self-forgetfulness. He used his whole income on alms and pious works and was a shining example for all, both priests and laymen. Martim Affonso de Mello, the captain of Ormuz, described him as a great friend of God;<sup>42</sup> Dom João de Castro called him a paragon of virtue, a precious reliquary;<sup>43</sup> and the cathedral chapter praised him for his good administration and most edifying life, by means of which he kept all on the way of justice.<sup>44</sup>

He had directed the Church in the East since 1535,<sup>45</sup> when he had been sent as vicar general to India by the newly appointed bishop of Goa, Dom Francisco.<sup>46</sup> At the time of his arrival, the clergy left much to be desired. Ten years before, the bishop of Dume had written to the king that the secular priests and the friars living outside their monasteries were leading lives that were for the most part very corrupt, and that they undermined the piety of the native Christians by their bad example.<sup>47</sup> The new vicar general attacked the problem with a firm hand. He immediately banished one of the priests for his immorality to the island of São Thomé off the coast of Africa. At the beginning of 1534, he sent three more back to Portugal, one of them because of a scandal he had given; another, who was "worse than the pest," for various offenses; and a third, a Franciscan who had lived as a layman, and worse than any layman, for twenty-two years in India. On the same ship with them he also sent back an account of his visitation to John III, describing what he had observed.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Correa IV 10; cf. SR IV 208; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 611. Many, on this account, called him too weak and hindsighted (DI I 422; SR III 491-535; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 573). He could, however, also become when necessary energetic (SR III 498; DI I 530-531).

<sup>32</sup> Teixeira 842; EX II 455.

<sup>33</sup> The sources for Miguel Vaz (see Q, index) are today partially published in EX, SR, DI; Schurhammer, *Ceylon*; Freire de Andrade; Castro, *Cartas*; Baião, *Historia*. See also Correa IV 142 290 292 316 and the brief but important data in \*Afonso, \**Mestreschola*, \*Fonseca, and the \*Anonymous of 1583. Three important documents in his hand are preserved: his reports to the king of 1534 (Schurhammer, "India-Letters," n. 108) and 1543 (SR II 324-344), and his memorial of 1545 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 229-260). Farinha 133-184 has an account of him. — He was vicar general of India from 1533 to 1545, sailed in 1545 to Portugal, returned in 1546, and died January 11, 1547, in Chaul (\*Anonymous 263).

<sup>34</sup> \*Fonseca 139v gives his full name.

<sup>35</sup> According to Correa IV 290, \*Afonso 260, and \**Mestreschola* 261, who expressly states: "Não era sacerdote." His successor therefore wrote that the vicar general should be a priest (SR IV 559). Cardoso maintained, but probably without reason, that Miguel Vaz and his contemporaries Simão Vaz and Francisco Alvares, both missionaries on Moro; his namesake in Abyssinia; Gaspar Coelho, vicar in São Thomé; and Vicente da Veiga (read: Viegas) in Malacca were probably disciples of Juan de Avila (I 301-302).

<sup>36</sup> *Cartas* 32.

<sup>37</sup> His contemporaries call him a bachelor (Q 268 1772) and doctor (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 288; \*Afonso 260 and \*Anonymous 263).

<sup>38</sup> "Varam, nam menos virtuoso que letrado," he is called by Garcia da Orta (II 120); cf. EX I 415.

<sup>39</sup> In 1534 he gave the reason for his voyage to India to the king: "que foy soo por muyto folgar de o servir" (Q 161).

<sup>40</sup> EX I 249-250 282 415.

<sup>41</sup> SR III 126.

<sup>42</sup> DI I 793.

<sup>43</sup> *Cartas* 32.

<sup>44</sup> SR III 126 127.

<sup>45</sup> EX I 282; cf. Q 161 and 268.

<sup>46</sup> Q 268.

<sup>47</sup> SR II 19; cf. earlier complaints in SRH 512-515.

<sup>48</sup> Q 161; cf. Ford I 218.

In Cannanore he had the dilapidated old church torn down and a new one erected. In Cochin a temporary structure with a palm-leaf roof served as the parish church and was in marked contrast to the mosques of the Moors and the pagodas of the pagans. When Miguel Vaz arrived in Goa, the church of St. Catherine was already finished except for a sacristy and bell tower; but he had to provide for the baptism of many children of Christian parents who, though they were from nine to eleven years old, had not as yet received this sacrament because of the negligence of the priests. The king, as he noted in his letter to him, would have to send vicars with authority and with at least some degree of learning for the parish churches in Goa and Cochin. He would also have to send preachers to instruct the people. Sebastião Pires, the pastor in Cochin, had been Miguel's predecessor as vicar general for twelve years, but neither in knowledge nor in conduct had he measured up to the dignity of his office. Nevertheless, he had been kept on by the bishop, Dom Fernando, the governor, and the latter's secretary. His assistant, Pedro Gonzales, who had applied to the king for the position of parish priest was too young for the office, and was even far worse off than Pires as far as knowledge was concerned.<sup>49</sup> Since 1527<sup>50</sup> the pastor in Goa had been a Hieronymite<sup>51</sup> by the name of Diogo de Morais, who had sailed to India in 1515, when he was forty-four years old. He had been appointed vicar of Calicut<sup>52</sup> by King Manuel and had sailed with Dom Joam da Cruz, the ambassador of the Zamorin, who had been baptized in Portugal,<sup>53</sup> in order to give him further instructions in the faith.<sup>54</sup> He was still the pastor of Goa when Bishop Albuquerque arrived in India in 1538. By virtue of the bull founding the diocese, he was destined to become the dean of the projected cathedral chapter. As an eyewitness declared, he had no qualifications for the post, and the bishop had him resign it a year after his own arrival.<sup>55</sup> Although no fault could be found with Morais on moral grounds, he was the most emotional person and stupidest priest that those called to testify about him had ever seen. No one could live with him. The vicar general had to dispense him repeatedly from choir so that the clergy of the cathedral could sing the praises of God in peace. In his outbursts of fury, he scolded them as "cobblers," "blacksmiths," "muleteers," "miserable rascals," "scoundrels," "bandits,"<sup>56</sup> "cutthroats,"<sup>57</sup> and called them his "assistants," who had to support him by order of the king. He threatened to strike and beat them and to box their ears,<sup>58</sup> but he was himself unable to carry out his duties as vicar of the cathedral. He knew nothing about singing in choir. Not even once was he able to say Mass, to distribute Holy Communion, or to impart blessings properly. When he administered the sacraments of baptism and extreme unction, or presided at funerals and other ecclesiastical functions, he was on dubious ground; and his homilies

<sup>49</sup> Q 161; see also the ecclesiastical investigation of Seb. Pires and Pedro Gonçalves in SR II 364-369.

<sup>50</sup> SR II 108 270.

<sup>51</sup> He made his profession in the monastery of Nossa Senhora do Espinheiro (SR III 139-140).

<sup>52</sup> He was a servant of the duke of Bragança and received the position of vicar of Calicut through the mediation of the duchess, a sister of King Manuel.

<sup>53</sup> On him see Vol. I 594. He will be spoken of later.

<sup>54</sup> See his letter of January, 1516 (SR I 277-279).

<sup>55</sup> The deposition is given in SR II 269-290; cf. 265-268.

<sup>56</sup> "Çapateiros, ferreiros, almocreves, villãos roins, velhacos, ladroes."

<sup>57</sup> We have thus translated "tubarões, rapaz tubarão," literally: "shark."

<sup>58</sup> "Cotalladas, pancadas, bofetadas."

at the High Mass on Sundays provoked his hearers to laughter. During the baptism of the king of Maluco<sup>59</sup> in 1537, which was attended by Nuno da Cunha Pate, Morais stumbled so badly over the prayers in the ceremonies that the governor could not refrain from laughing. He finally told him to use a candle so that he could read better, and it was only with the help of the other priests who were present that the *vigario* completed his task. At other times he got so tangled up in the ceremonies of baptism that the captain of the city of Goa and Diogo Pereira, the captain of Chale, doubted about the validity of the sacrament he had dispensed. In order to carry out the conditions of the bull, a compromise was finally reached. Morais, who was now past seventy and in poor health, was to retain the title and income of a cathedral dean but was to have no jurisdiction in the church or in the choir. He would moreover be obliged to provide a priest for the cathedral from his own income.<sup>60</sup>

In his account of 1534, Vaz drew attention to other abuses as well. Many Portuguese who were already married at home were living in concubinage in India, and the former vicar general had been all too easy in annulling marriages and blessing new ones. Vaz further observed that while money was being squandered by some on fancy clothes, the soldiers frequently had to go without pay and support for a whole year. In order not to die of hunger, they sold their title to support at a ridiculously low price, begged day and night in the streets, or passed in swarms over to the Moors. The newly converted poor were oppressed by fines imposed upon them for the slightest offenses. The pagans were therefore frightened away from baptism. The new vicar general had taken a personal interest in them, had commissioned a priest to instruct them, and had energetically defended them from their oppressors. As a remedy he suggested to the king that they should be given work in the arsenal or on the Ribeira and a "Christian father" to protect them. The king should, moreover, recall from India those who had married years earlier in Portugal. He should punish bigamists, forbid divorces, and send only unmarried men to India, or married men with their wives. He should also see that wages were paid regularly and forbid the sale of rights to pay.

Since the writing of this letter, some improvements had been made with respect to the clergy and the people, but the church of Cochin was still covered with palm leaves,<sup>61</sup> and many other things needed to be corrected. India was, for example, full of New Christians, that is, Christians of Jewish descent who had come from Portugal and formed a closely knit clique. According to rumors whispered about among the Old Christians, the New Christians secretly clung to their old beliefs.<sup>62</sup> In 1536 John III had obtained a bull which entrusted the

<sup>59</sup> Tabarija, as a Christian, "Dom Manuel." We shall discuss him later.

<sup>60</sup> As dean, Morais should have received an income of forty *milreis*, but he had to give twenty-four of these and the baptismal stipends to his substitute (SR II 140; cf. *Bullarium Patronatus* I 150). In 1539 the priest for the cathedral was Damião Penalvo (SR II 283).

<sup>61</sup> SR II 330.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* 338-339. On the New Christians in Goa, see A. da Silva Carvalho, *Garcia d'Orta* (Coimbra, 1934). Garcia d'Orta himself, physician of M. A. de Sousa and *physicus* of the royal hospital in Goa, lived on the Rua dos Namorados not far from São Francisco. Though he regularly attended Mass, he was like his relatives a New Christian and secretly observed Jewish ceremonies, as was determined after his death in 1568 (*ibid.* 72-78). Excluded from public offices, the New Christians devoted themselves to trade, were in treacherous relations with the Turks and Moors, sold swords, arquebuses and other wares to them, and purchased extensively the pay of poor soldiers,

supervision of the New Christians in Portugal to the Inquisition. Almost as soon as he learned of this, Vaz had asked that the same should be done for India; but his request had not as yet been granted. But this was not the limit of the vicar general's desires. He had two others in mind. The diocese was so large that it was impossible for the ailing bishop to visit in person its more distant posts, such as Sofala, Ormuz, Malacca, and Maluco. In addition to this, candidates in India for the priestly and religious life were for the most part former soldiers who, because of the incessant wars, had incurred numerous canonical impediments to ordination. Vaz was therefore of the opinion that the pope should grant the more distant vicars permission to administer the sacrament of confirmation, and the bishop the faculty of dispensing from the aforesaid irregularities.<sup>63</sup>

The vicar general had nothing to say but good of Dom Estevão da Gama. He had always been most courteously treated by him. Throughout his term of office the governor had earnestly endeavored to serve his royal master, as even his foes had to admit. He had seen that justice was properly administered and had never touched the goods of another. Every year he had taken pains to secure a good cargo for the Portuguese fleet, and he had built a number of new ships. If he had erred, it was because he had gone too far in his zeal to protect and increase the revenues of the king. He had forbidden private sailings for the sake of trade, a restriction that had earned him the hatred of all. Even Vaz could not approve of this measure. He was of the opinion that the king should aim at making all of his subjects in India as rich as possible, for only then would they be ready and willing to defend Portuguese India in case of need.<sup>64</sup>

According to Miguel Vaz, Dom Estevão had also served his king in the help he had given to Preste Joam. On this he could give further details to Master Francis. Dom Garcia de Noronha, the deceased viceroy, had sent a *catur* to the straits. It had wintered there and had then returned with the news that the kingdom of the Preste had been destroyed and was now almost entirely in the hands of the Moors. Many of his people had already gone over to the victors, since they no longer saw any other means of saving themselves; and the king, completely crushed, had withdrawn into the mountains. The rest were asking for help in words full of grief and anguish over the outrages they had experienced. They were also begging for compassion, since they were Christians; and at the beginning of their letters a picture of the Crucified was painted. But their land was distant, unknown, and inaccessible; and since all the resources of India were already engaged, it was impossible to think of sending them help. Though many were of the opinion that ships should sail to the straits to seek out the Turkish galleys, the viceroy had succeeded in opposing this. Since he was constantly urged to change his mind, he sent Mestre Diogo an *alvará* one Sunday when he was preaching and ordered him to read it from the pulpit. In it he declared that he had decided to sail to the Red Sea the following spring with a large number of ships, which he enumerated. But Dom Garcia was already mortally ill, and it was understood that he had only done this in order to put an end to the constant importunities and to obtain some peace. He died soon

as Nuno Alvares already wrote to the king in 1527 (Baião, *Inquisição* I 17-20). Baltasar Coelho made new complaints in 1534 (Q 173), and Bras Bayão in 1540 (Q 587).

<sup>63</sup> SR II 339-340.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 336-338.



after this, on April 3, 1540, and Dom Estevão, his successor, had undertaken the expedition and had sent his brother, Dom Christavão, with help to the Preste. Although there were some who believed that the whole undertaking was a complete mistake, Miguel Vaz was of the opinion that the Lord God had entrusted him with this expedition in order that he might have the opportunity of rescuing that great and ancient Christian kingdom from the hands of the enemies and blasphemers of His Holy Name. He therefore hoped that the Lord, despite all the forebodings, would bring this perilous undertaking to a successful end.<sup>65</sup>

Master Francis found in the vicar general a man after his own heart, a kindred soul, and from his first meeting he struck up an intimate friendship with him as he had with the bishop.<sup>66</sup>

### 3. THE GUARDIAN

A few steps from the bishop's residence and the cathedral lay the great monastery of the Franciscans of the Strict Observance with its church dedicated to their holy founder and its monastery gardens. These were surrounded by a wall and separated from the royal hospital by a row of houses and a street.<sup>67</sup> One of Master Francis' first visits after calling upon the bishop and the vicar general was to the guardian of the monastery, Frey Paulo de Santarem, who was also the commissary of his order in India and well acquainted with the land and its people through his long years of experience.<sup>68</sup>

As early as 1500 eight Franciscans had accompanied Cabral on his voyage to India.<sup>69</sup> Three of these were slain in an attack upon the factory of Calicut; one returned to Portugal; and four remained in Cochin.<sup>70</sup> After the massacre one of these latter went to the court of the Hindu king of Vijayanagar and won him over to an offensive and defensive alliance with the Portuguese, but in 1510 he fell as the victim of a murderous attack by a Turk in that city.<sup>71</sup> In 1506 King Manuel sent five Franciscans under the direction of Frey Antonio do Loureiro to found a mission in Socotra. Two of these died from the feverish climate of the island; the superior suffered shipwreck and was taken prisoner by the sultan of Cambay; and the remaining two were forced to leave Socotra

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 333-336.

<sup>66</sup> DI I 133.

<sup>67</sup> See the plan of the city in Linschoten I 120.

<sup>68</sup> Frey Paulo was already in India in 1532 and in relation with the rajah of Tanor (Q 141). In 1539 Castro praised him as the guardian of the monastery in Goa (*Cartas* 33). In 1542 the India mission of the Observants, consisting of the two monasteries in Goa and Cochin, was raised to a custody; and Frey Paulo received as his successor Frey Pedro de Atouguia (SRH 263; SR II 327-328 331). In 1545 he was again guardian in Goa (SR III 279-281 301 432). Five letters are published in SR III 279 301 and Baião, *Hist.* 216-218. He is mentioned for the last time in the monastery in Goa in 1550 among the "Padres velhos e honrrados" (L. Nunes 110).

<sup>69</sup> Soledade gives their names (III 489). On the beginnings of the Franciscans in India, see SRH 153-161 246-272 and A. Meersman, O.F.M., *The Friars Minor or Franciscans in India 1291-1942* (Karachi, 1943). The Franciscan chronicles for our period in India are to be used only with the greatest prudence!

<sup>70</sup> Correa I 203; SRH 157.

<sup>71</sup> On Frey Luis see SR I 33-34 37 45-46 88, V 396-400; Correa II 31 172-173. According to Correa he died "de doença"; but according to the Franciscan chronicles and the *Commentarios Dalboquerque* (3, 8) he was murdered in Vijayanagar at the instigation of Adil Khān by a Moor, or, as Albuquerque wrote in 1512, by a Rume (SR V 399-400; CA I 39).

when the fort was abandoned in 1511.<sup>72</sup> After being freed from prison, Frey Antonio returned to Portugal in 1513 to obtain reinforcements. Four years later he sailed back to India with twelve confreres and a commission from the king to found permanent houses of his order there. Between 1518 and 1520 a monastery was built in Cochin, and between 1519 and 1527 another in Goa.<sup>73</sup> New associates were received there, and four of these were ordained in Goa by the bishop of Dume in 1521.<sup>74</sup> By 1527, however, two of Frey Antonio's companions had already died and six had returned to Portugal. Homesickness had claimed at least two or three priests each year. The monastery in Goa had, as a consequence, only fourteen religious at this time, and that in Cochin only twelve.<sup>75</sup> In addition to this, in 1531 word had come from their religious superiors in Portugal that no sons of Portuguese and native women were to be admitted into the order. But twenty religious had already died in Goa since 1518. The commissary therefore decided, with the approval of the captain and governor, to ignore the prohibition and to fill out their thinning ranks by accepting mixed-bloods.<sup>76</sup>

The king had taken generous care of his friars, richly providing them with vestments and books,<sup>77</sup> and furnishing them with their support. The people, too, were not remiss with their alms,<sup>78</sup> for the sons of St. Francis enjoyed a good reputation in India. Soon after their arrival in Goa in 1518, they had converted eight hundred pagans, despite the obstacles placed in their way by the secular clergy.<sup>79</sup> In 1522 the bishop of Dume praised their virtue and good example;<sup>80</sup> in 1524 the city of Goa did the same, describing them as good religious;<sup>81</sup> and in 1539 Dom João de Castro wrote to the king that he had never seen such edifying friars or any who were so highly regarded by the people as in Goa. He attributed much of this to the fact that they had such a good shepherd in their guardian, Frey Paulo.<sup>82</sup> Fearless of death and carrying a cross, the friars led the soldiers into battle against the Moors and pagans. Most of them had been soldiers themselves, and, despite the fact that at other times they were so humble, peaceful, and edifying, on these occasions they showed that the hearts of old soldiers still beat under their rough habits.<sup>83</sup>

Their beginnings in Goa had not been easy.<sup>84</sup> When Frey Antonio came there in 1518 with eight companions and the king's permission to build a monastery, the governor, Lopo Soares, told him that there was no room for it within the narrow confines of the city walls, since these already contained the churches

<sup>72</sup> See above, p. 119.

<sup>73</sup> He sailed back to Portugal in order to obtain the king's approval for the founding of the monastery in Goa, and returned there with twelve companions in 1517 (SR I 177, II 133; SRH 157-158 248-255). Correa first mistakenly has him return to Goa in 1515, but later correctly has him return in 1517 with eight friars for the monastery (II 459 537).

<sup>74</sup> SR I 453 459-462.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* II 133.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 213-214.

<sup>77</sup> See the list of books which the king gave them in 1518 in SR I 336-339; SRH 257-259.

<sup>78</sup> SR I 134; SRH 260.

<sup>79</sup> SR I 351.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* 453.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* II 36.

<sup>82</sup> *Cartas* 33. His opinions on Tanor show his ripe judgment (SR III 301-304).

<sup>83</sup> L. Nunes 109-110; cf. Baião, *Hist.* 216 and Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 349.

<sup>84</sup> Correa II 537-538; SRH 249-255.

of St. Catherine and of Nossa Senhora de Serra and the chapel of the Crucifixion. He then offered him property bordered by trees on Lake Timoja outside the walls as a site for the monastery. But Frey Antonio insisted that it had to be within the city itself so that the religious might dispense the sacraments. He finally obtained a free-standing house with a large adjoining garden once owned by the *tanadar* João Machado, who had fallen near Pondá in the war against the Moors. Before the start of the rainy season, the friars provided themselves with a chapel and choir, a sacristy and cells around the garden, and a frame scaffolding as a temporary bell tower. But when Frey Antonio received five novices into the community, the site became too small. A number of additional houses were therefore purchased in which unmarried native women had been living. On Candlemas Day, 1520, the cornerstone for an elegant, new monastery could then be laid.<sup>85</sup> Seven years later this stood complete with a spacious church, sacristy, cellar, cloister, kitchen, refectory, dormitory, cells, infirmary, workshops, and a large open area with a pond, well, vegetable gardens, and fig trees. There was no monastery of the order in Portugal apart from the one in Lisbon that could compare with it. The house of João Machado was torn down and an open court laid out in front of the monastery gates with a plain cross at its center mounted on a tall stone base.

There were, of course, some who murmured about the monastery's great cost, especially since it had been for the most part built with money paid in fines. Sixty thousand *pardaus* had been spent on its construction, whereas the cathedral had cost only twenty thousand. Others were unhappy over the fact that the friars had succeeded in having the windows of the neighboring houses that overlooked their monastery garden walled up.<sup>86</sup> The friars had even protested against the erection of the bell tower of the cathedral since there would be a view from it into their garden.<sup>87</sup> The secular clergy, moreover, saw that their own income was being diminished;<sup>88</sup> and Martim Affonso de Sousa did not speak too highly of these religious.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, the city was still proud of the monastery. The people had a high regard for the Franciscans, especially since a number of their own sons had taken the habit there.<sup>90</sup> A confraternity which had been erected in the church under the patronage of Nossa Senhora da Conceição was in a flourishing state.<sup>91</sup> The religious community ruled over by Frey Paulo had already increased to a total of forty.<sup>92</sup> Most of these were young men who had been received in India,<sup>93</sup> and the guardian had even sent religious to Cannanore and was thinking about founding other houses of his order in Chaul, Bassein, and Diu.<sup>94</sup> Master Francis also spoke with Frey Paulo about the abandoned Christians on the island of Socotra. They too should receive help after the passing of the rainy season.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Frey Antonio's letter of October 27, 1520, which we published in *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 74 (1957) 56-66.

<sup>86</sup> Correa IV 669, II 538.

<sup>87</sup> SR II 309-310.

<sup>88</sup> DI I 143.

<sup>89</sup> SR II 390-310.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.* 36 214.

<sup>91</sup> *Boletim V. da Gama* 74 (1957) 65.

<sup>92</sup> EX I 121. There were more than thirty in 1545 (DI I 31), forty in 1548 (Correa IV 669).

<sup>93</sup> L. Nunes 109-110.

<sup>94</sup> SR II 309-310.

<sup>95</sup> We conclude this from SR II 331.

## 4. THE REGISTRAR

Another person with whom Master Francis struck up a friendship at his very first visit<sup>96</sup> was the trusted friend of the vicar general, the paymaster and registrar, Cosme Anes,<sup>97</sup> who lived on the other side of the city beyond the customhouse and city walls in the quiet, sparsely populated suburb of Daugim, near the church of Santa Lucia. This was located in the shade of coconut palms and mango trees<sup>98</sup> between the river and the hill of Nossa Senhora do Monte.

Cosme Anes, a *cavalleiro fidalgo* of the royal house, had already served a fair number of years, from 1527 to 1535, in the Secretariate of State in Lisbon under Fernandalvares de Andrade, the secretary of the Royal Treasury,<sup>99</sup> when he sailed for India in 1538, with the fleet of the viceroy, Dom Garcia de Noronha, after receiving from the king the office of paymaster and secretary of the General Registry of India for four years.<sup>100</sup> The unusually large fleet of fifteen ships with more than two thousand soldiers, among whom were more than eight hundred *fidalgos*, ran the risk of encountering the Turks. News had reached Lisbon that they were fitting out ships at Suez and were planning to drive the Portuguese out of India with the help of the sultan of Cambay.<sup>101</sup> When the viceroy arrived in Goa on September 11, he learned that Diu was being besieged. Cosme Anes then boarded the galley of Dom João de Castro with his brother, relatives, and friends, eager to distinguish himself in the service of his king in fighting the Turks, the traditional enemies of Christendom. But the viceroy postponed equipping the fleet for two full months. When they were finally ready to sail from the bar of Goa, they learned that the enemy had given up the siege and had secretly sailed away so that they might return safely to the Red Sea. Cosme Anes therefore remained in Goa in order to take up his duties as registrar, as he wrote to the count of Castenheira and Fernandalvares de Andrade. In a letter to the king he expressed his hopes that he could serve him in such a way as to be an example for others. The departure of the Turks was a clear sign that the Lord God was accepting the sacrifice made by His Highness in holding onto India despite the great efforts and expenditures that this involved.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>96</sup> DI I 133.

<sup>97</sup> The sources for Cosme Anes (cf. Q, index) are partially published in DI, EX, SR; see also APO V 267; MX II 184-187 260-261; Valignano 48-49; Polanco IV 663, V 651; his signature in Q pl. XI.—He was registrar from 1547-1548, married the daughter of the chancellor Dr. Francisco Toscano in 1546, was secretary of India from 1547 to 1548, *vedor* from 1548 to 1551 and 1554 to 1556, was a witness at Xavier's process in 1556, died in Goa in 1560, and was buried in the chapel of our Lady in the church of the College of St. Paul (DI IV 730; Valignano 418-419; \*Teixeira It. 2, 2), one of the principal benefactors and friends of the Jesuits, in whose midst he wished to die (MX II 184-187). M. Diogo was living at the time with Cosme Anes (MX II 184).

<sup>98</sup> He was living in Daugim de baixo, also called Ella, in 1552, when Xavier took his departure from him (MX II 186). That he was already living there in 1541 is probable from \*Valignano's letter from Goa of December 25, 1575 (=1574). He writes that when Xavier came, a Portuguese priest [Magister Diogo] was caring for some orphans of native Christians near the church of Madre de Deus [not far from St. Luzia]. He fed and instructed them with an alms from the king [meant are the later pupils of St. Paul's College], and when Xavier came, he handed their direction over to him (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 299). See the map on p. 147 and the plan in Linschoten I 120.

<sup>99</sup> He signed the documents from 1527 to 1535 in the *Registo* of the India House; cf. Q 2931; Ford I, 101; ARSI: *Goa* 38, 221.

<sup>100</sup> For four years (Q 224).

<sup>101</sup> See Vol. I 695.

<sup>102</sup> \*Letter of December 10, 1538 (Q 344).

The list of the registry included the names of all those who received annuities, salaries, and support from the king, that is, the soldiers, *mocos fidalgos*, *fidalgos*, and *cavalleiros* of the royal house. But it had not been kept up to date, and it would require a great deal of effort to put order into the chaotic list. On November 1, 1540, Bras Bayão, who had been serving in India for the past twenty years, wrote as follows to the king from Goa:

Your Highness should know that one of the three things that are of the gravest concern to the Indies are the general registers of India, Malacca, and Goa. All three of these lists have more people than are alive and still active in your service. During the winter have a roll called in all the fortresses and a new list drawn up from it! On the register of Malacca I saw the name of a sailor from the time of Pedro Mascarenhas (1525-1526), but no payment or rebate has been recorded for him during these past sixteen years. And I saw the names of many others who are either dead or have gone over to the Moors. Your Highness should know, moreover, that there are many New Christians here who help each other a great deal. They have purchased a large part of the register, and there is one here who receives from 5,000 to 6,000 *pardaus* from it. I say nothing of the many *fidalgos* who devour the land and feed Portuguese boys twelve or thirteen years old who came to India with a thousand *reis* salary along with their upkeep, and who would have to be struck from the list of payments if a check were made. If a few were struck here and there from the list, Your Highness would not have to send any money here.<sup>103</sup>

The previous year Dom João de Castro had made a similar complaint, but he had congratulated the king in the choice of his new registrar in the following terms:

I have become somewhat acquainted with the register and have reached the following conclusions with respect to it: Besides the numerous crimes of usury and theft, the loss of shame, and the plundering of Your Highness's possessions—for the evil can no longer be called a register but rather a swollen sea—I found on it many individuals who were being paid twenty and thirty thousand *crusados*, which they had purchased at fifteen or twenty per cent, and countless others for less. I am convinced that the register was the teacher that taught the Portuguese to forget their shame and the fear of God and their devotion to your service. It is a great help that Your Highness has provided a remedy for this in such a virtuous person as your secretary Cosme Anes, who takes such great pains to reach the truth.<sup>104</sup>

Others, too, praised the new registrar for his virtue and fear of the Lord.<sup>105</sup> On the seal which he used for his letters there was an hourglass,<sup>106</sup> an excellent symbol of his character, for he kept the hour of his death constantly before his eyes and used his precious time in the service of both his earthly and his heavenly king.<sup>107</sup> His zeal in the service of the former was known.<sup>108</sup> And

<sup>103</sup> Q 587.

<sup>104</sup> *Cartas* 26.

<sup>105</sup> According to \*Frey Antonio do Casal, O.F.M., in 1549 (Q 4148).

<sup>106</sup> According to his \*letter of November 30, 1547 (Q 3516).

<sup>107</sup> In 1548 he wrote: "Eu descarto-me asy de tudo como homem que está na hora da morte" (SR IV 475).

<sup>108</sup> EX I 309. "Cosme Anes and the factor danced through the whole night," the *vedor* Braz d'Araujo wrote from Cochin when the news of the victory at Diu reached there at the end of 1546 (Q 2577). Cf. his \*decision on pepper in 1545, written "com muyto zelo e vomtade do serviço de Su Alteza" (Q 1730).

no less was his zeal for the spread of the faith.<sup>109</sup> In this he shared a single mind and heart with Miguel Vaz. Without great efforts the Moors had gained control of almost all the nations of the East through their trade. Cosme Anes was of the opinion that if factories were erected in Ormuz, Pegu, Bengal, and other places for the sale of the surplus pepper which was not sent to Portugal, many would be won over to Christianity, and thus to the service of God and of the king.<sup>110</sup>

But he also had a still greater project in mind. If the king himself or another like him, his brother, for example, the infante Dom Luis, should come to India, then all the dispersed Portuguese would rally under his banner; and he would thus be able to gain possession of a kingdom in this world greater than that of Alexander, and in the next a brilliant crown for having converted so many souls to the faith of Christ and saved by His grace. The peoples of the south, of Siam, Burma, Pegu, Bengal, and elsewhere were only waiting for this and would make hardly any resistance if he came with a fleet. Moreover, if the king came in person and only two Moors on the entire coast of India, Adil Khān and Nizām-ul-mulk, were overthrown, the other rulers would be easily subdued and become tributaries. And no great expense would be involved in this enterprise. The king would, on the contrary, gain possession of great treasures and control of all India. He would then be able to free himself from the great expenditures which he was constantly incurring in sending people there, since he would give them lands, estates, and revenues with which they could both support themselves and render him service. If a Moorish dog with three or four companions of the same belief ruled over fifty thousand pagans, and if two Moorish slaves<sup>111</sup> had seized such a large empire for themselves and were holding it fast under their tyrannical rule with the help of a very few foreign mercenaries who had no ties with them, could not the Portuguese easily do the same? All that was needed was to make a beginning. If one kingdom fell to them, the others would follow. If one king became a Christian, many others would be converted; and with the grace and help of God, this task could be accomplished in four or five years. For if many kingdoms and provinces became tributaries, if Aden was reconquered, if the straits of Mecca and Ormuz were secured, if a treaty and a friendly alliance were concluded with Shāh Tahmāsp, and if Abyssinia regained its former status, Christendom would be extended, trade would flourish, and the fleets, to the delight of all, would sail to many regions with crowds of people.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Cf. his letters of 1547 (DI I 213-222) and 1548 (SR IV 469-476) and Misser Paulo's opinion (DI I 348).

<sup>110</sup> Q 1730.

<sup>111</sup> For example, Adil Khān.

<sup>112</sup> See his letters in DI I 217-218; SR IV 470-476.

5. THE CATHEDRAL PREACHER<sup>113</sup>

Master Diogo, the cathedral preacher,<sup>114</sup> was living with Cosme Anes. He had come with him and the bishop to India in 1538. At his very first visit Master Francis struck up a friendship also with him.<sup>115</sup> Diogo had been born in the village of Borba in Alemtejo<sup>116</sup> and had studied in Salamanca.<sup>117</sup> He had earned a master's degree and possessed a good knowledge of theology.<sup>118</sup> He had worn the habit of St. Francis for a long time but had already laid it aside<sup>119</sup> when the king, who had a high regard for his virtue, sent him to India<sup>120</sup> to preach in the cathedral, the principal church in Goa, and to work for the conversion of the pagans.<sup>121</sup> Despite his age and declining health,<sup>122</sup> he devoted himself zealously to both tasks.<sup>123</sup> In his well-prepared sermons<sup>124</sup> he set forth the truths of the faith and flayed the prevailing vices without any human respect.<sup>125</sup> His labors were successful. The city of Goa thanked the king for sending it this preacher of the word of God;<sup>126</sup> and the people of Cochin, where he filled the pulpit for a few months in 1540, wrote to John III at the beginning of 1541, asking him to give them Master Diogo for at least a portion of the year, during the monsoon or in the summer, so that he might instruct them in Chris-

<sup>113</sup> The sources for Mestre Diogo (Q 447 489 640 847 849 1044 1139 1490 1547 1581 1622 1681 1692 1693 1702 1768 1853 1883 1886 1927 1932 1940 1972 1984 2070 2094 2193 2382 2450 2784 2794 2822 2922 3440 3516 3632 4130 4344) are partially published in EX, DI, SR, and Baião, *Hist.*, which has three letters (DI I 50-56; SR III 287-295 307-313); his signature in Q, pl. V; a description in Cardoso I 137 142-143.—Magister Diogo, also known as Diogo de Borba from his place of birth (DI I 776; EX II 74), was the principal founder of the Association for the Faith and of St. Paul's College and was the first director of the latter. In 1545 he was appointed to accompany the Ceylon princes to their homeland. After their death, at the beginning of 1546, he was sent to the rajah of Tanor to instruct him in the faith. He died in Goa in 1547. Always a great friend of the Jesuits (DI I 30 46 51), he was buried in the choir of the church of St. Paul's College (Sousa, *Or. Cong.* 1, 1, 1, 32).

<sup>114</sup> MX II 184.

<sup>115</sup> DI I 133.

<sup>116</sup> Cardoso I 142.

<sup>117</sup> Cardoso presumes that he had joined Juan de Avila after finishing his theology in Salamanca, and that after his reputation for virtue and preaching reached Portugal, he was summoned by John III and sent to India (I 137 143 307). He is probably confusing him with Diogo da Santa Cruz, whom Juan sent to Portugal with other clerics at the request of the infante D. Henrique, and where, at Coimbra in 1550, he entered the Society of Jesus (Juan de Avila, *Obras Completas*, ed. Luis Sala Balust 1 [Madrid, 1952] 107; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 668).

<sup>118</sup> "Persona litterata, teólogo letrado, vir magna doctrina" (DI I 30 132; SR II 291); cf. his citations from St. Augustine (SR III 309-310).

<sup>119</sup> He had an impediment for entrance into the Society of Jesus (DI I 30 46), for he had been a friar, as S. Rodrigues wrote in 1548 (*Ep. Broëti* 582). Teixeira first wrote that he had been a Hieronymite (\*Teixeira It. 2, 2), but he corrected this, noting that he had been a Franciscan for some time (*Anotações* 44). Tursellinus wrote that he had been a Franciscan in Goa (*Vita* 2, 1), which was denied by Seb. Gonçalves (Wicki, "Die Zenzuren" 89). Couto's assertion that he became a friar at the time of Miguel Vaz's death in the Franciscan monastery of Goa (6, 7, 5) is attributed to Cardoso. He is not to be confused with Frey Diogo de Borba, who in 1529, 1535, and 1543 was elected provincial of the Piedade province (Monforte 276 313 339).

<sup>120</sup> APO I 1, 23.

<sup>121</sup> DI I 776-777; \*Teixeira It. 2, 2.

<sup>122</sup> DI I 4654.

<sup>123</sup> DI I 29-30 46 132.

<sup>124</sup> Correa IV 291; DI I 132.

<sup>125</sup> DI I 45.

<sup>126</sup> APO I 1, 23.

tian doctrine, preach the Gospel to them, and teach them the way of salvation. They had no preachers who were so learned in theology. Not only through his words but also through the noble example of his life, he had produced great fruit among them.<sup>127</sup> They were right in this, for Master Diogo was as virtuous as he was learned.<sup>128</sup> He was universally esteemed<sup>129</sup> for his holy life,<sup>130</sup> his prudence and experience,<sup>131</sup> and his love for the poor,<sup>132</sup> especially among the new converts, for whom he had a paternal affection. At the end of 1539 Dom João de Castro could write to the king about him as follows:

The people here have a high regard for the virtue of Master Diogo, the preacher; and, as a matter of fact, his life and manner of acting are in keeping with his reputation, as are his teaching and instructions. Your Highness would set a fine example if you would remember him and openly recognize his service, so that all would see how highly you regard the good and despise the wicked.<sup>133</sup>

#### 6. THE *Provedor* OF THE MISERICORDIA<sup>134</sup>

Afonso Vaz Pestana,<sup>135</sup> the *provedor* of the Misericordia, was another important personage in Goa.<sup>136</sup> In 1498 the royal widow, Dona Leonor, upon the advice of her pious confessor, the Spanish Trinitarian Frey Miguel Conteiros,

<sup>127</sup> SR II 291.

<sup>128</sup> DI I 46.

<sup>129</sup> DI I 30 46.

<sup>130</sup> In addition to being praised by John III and the citizens of Goa and Cochín, he was praised by other contemporaries such as M. A. de Mello and Lancilotto (DI I 793 29-30 46 132), the cathedral chapter of Goa (SR III 516), Cosme Anes (*ibid.* 533), and Correa (IV 291). Lancilotto speaks of his "incredible virtues" (DI I 46), his great virtue and his saintly works (*ibid.* 30). Teixeira calls him "molto spirituale" (\*Teixeira It. 2, 2).

<sup>131</sup> DI I 30 46 132; cf., after the first exuberant hopes (SR III 287-295), his prudent judgment on the king of Tanor (*ibid.* 307-311). Criminali found his instructions for baptism too summary and his hopes with respect to the students of St. Paul's College too optimistic (DI I 14 22). Pero Fernandes Sardinha wrote that throughout his life he had always been very credulous (SR III 491); but his character was certainly very different from that of Magister Diogo, and not to his favor.

<sup>132</sup> According to Lancilotto he was not only the father of the College of St. Paul but also of all the poor of Goa (DI I 46; cf. Cardoso I 137).

<sup>133</sup> *Cartas* 33.

<sup>134</sup> On the Misericordia in general see Costa Goodolphim, *As Misericordias* (Lisboa, 1897), which gives the text of the compromise of 1516 in an appendix. For Lisbon see Victor Ribeiro, *A Santa Casa da Misericordia de Lisboa* (Lisboa, 1902); for Goa, J. F. Ferreira Martins, *Historia da Misericordia de Goa* (Nova Goa, 1910-1914), from the archives of the confraternity there, but without an index, obscure, and with texts and dates that are not always reliable. It is supplemented by SRH 237-246, Seb. Gonçalves 8, 23, and Wicki, "Die Bruderschaft" 79-90.

<sup>135</sup> The contract of conveyance of the hospital of May 12, 1542, in the Lisbon copy gives its full name, but it lacks the signatures (SR II 319), whereas the text in the archives of the confraternity in Goa in Ferreira Martins shortens the conclusion and has it signed by the *provedor* simply as Pestana (II 298).

<sup>136</sup> In 1583 \*Pero de Crasso, S.J., wrote that the hospital and the Misericordia of Goa had been founded, like the chapel of St. Catherine, under Afonso de Albuquerque, for it was customary for the Portuguese, when they captured or built a fortress, or when a town had a sufficient number of Portuguese and other Christians, to build at once a hospital and erect a Misericordia; and the secretary of the hospital had shown him in the archives of the confraternity an investigation on the founding of the hospital and the Misericordia, and all who knew anything about them agreed that both had been founded under Albuquerque (ARSI: Goa 38: 294v 296v).



had founded the confraternity of the Misericordia in Lisbon. Thanks to the queenly favor, it quickly spread throughout Portugal; and wherever the Portuguese established a fort or factory across the seas, their first care was, as a rule, to establish a church, a hospital, and a confraternity of the Misericordia. Goa, too, had received its Misericordia, and King Manuel had shown it his favor. In 1519 he entrusted it with the distribution of the annual alms of 570 *pardaus* which he had designated for the newly converted poor in the city. Every week thereafter the Misericordia in Goa received 11 ½ *pardaus* from the factor, and every Friday these were distributed among the needy.<sup>137</sup> The king had moreover written this same year to the captain of Goa that the city physician should in the future treat free of charge all the sick presented to him by the *provedor* and the other officials of the Misericordia.<sup>138</sup>

The *Compromisso*, printed in Lisbon in 1516, contained the norms to be observed by the Misericordia in Portugal and in the lands beyond the sea.<sup>139</sup> It began by setting forth the fourteen corporal and spiritual works of mercy, which all good Christians are bound to practice, and for which they will be accountable on the Last Day. In order to carry out these works, the confraternity was founded for a hundred brothers<sup>140</sup> "of good repute, clean hearts, and edifying lives, who feared God and kept His commandments, were meek and humble, and ready to serve God and the aforesaid confraternity in any way, mindful of the words of St. Paul: 'Bear one another's burden.'" The confreres, if they were not legitimately prevented, should always be ready at the sound of a bell to go to the headquarters of the confraternity to undertake the task assigned to them; and all should, as far as possible, be there on three days of the year: the feast of the Visitation, Maundy Thursday, and All Saints' Day. At the time of his reception, each one promised under oath to faithfully fulfill his duties as a brother.

July 2, the feast of the Visitation, was the patronal feast of the confraternity, for it was on this day that Mary showed compassion for her cousin Elizabeth by visiting her. The annual election of the *provedor* and the twelve officials of the confraternity took place on this day. These latter consisted of nine coun-tilors, a scribe, and two *mordomos*. Together with the *provedor* they brought the total number of officers up to thirteen, the same as that of Christ and His twelve apostles, the holy company that was to serve them as their example. The officials, with the exception of the two *mordomos*, held office for a year. The latter were elected for only a month.

The *provedor* was at the head of the confraternity. While half of the other members were chosen from the nobility, and half from the working class, the *provedor* always had to come from the upper strata of society. He had to be a man of authority, virtue, and good repute, and be very humble towards, and patient with, the many different types of men with whom he had to deal. And

<sup>137</sup> SR II 47 127-129; SRH 241; APO V 41; Seb. Gonçalves 8, 23; Ferreira Martins I 156-157, II 479-480.

<sup>138</sup> SRH 241; APO V 69.

<sup>139</sup> We cite the text from Costa Goodolphim; in 1568 the Misericordia in Goa stated that the old compromise which had come from Lisbon had hitherto been followed (Ferreira Martins I 176).

<sup>140</sup> In the course of time the number was increased, in Goa to two and three hundred, under the viceroy D. Duarte de Meneses (1584-1588) to four hundred, and in 1609 to six hundred (Ferreira Martins I 193-195 223). In 1583 there were three hundred, half from the nobility, half from the common citizenry (ARSI: Goa 38, 297).

he had to be constantly, or at least most of the time, in the chapel, where the round table of the confraternity was located,<sup>141</sup> and where its meetings were held and current business handled. Just as Jesus had sent forth his disciples, so he sent his officials out two by two, one always being a prominent individual and the other a working man, in order to exercise the corporal and spiritual works of mercy.

The *provedor* sent two as visitors to the hospital and to the sick poor of the city in order to obtain information about those in need and to provide them with bread, money, a place to stay, a bed, and so forth, and to draw up a list of the same. Another pair visited the sick in prison and in the city. They brought them the medicines prescribed by the confraternity's physician and provided them with clothes, shelter, and beds according to the *provedor's* instructions. At the same time they provided them with spiritual medicine, seeing to it that they received the sacraments of penance, Eucharist, and extreme unction. If one of their charges was dying, they assisted him, reciting the Creed, the prayers for the dying, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and the Litany of the Saints. On such occasions they brought with them a crucifix and a vessel of holy water, and they did not abandon the sick until God called them to Himself. Two others cared for those who were poor and forgotten in prison. On Sundays and Wednesdays they brought them bread and one-half of a quart of wine. On Sundays they also brought them a piece of meat. In this way they saw to it that the prisoners had something to eat throughout the week. They also took care of cleaning out their cells.<sup>142</sup> At the bidding of the *provedor* and the other officials, one of the latter, accompanied by the secretary, sought out those who had concealed their poverty through a sense of shame. Information on these individuals was obtained from their parish priests, confessors, and neighbors. The needs of all the poor in the city thus came to be known. The men assigned to make these calls were given money by the confraternity to assist those they found in need. Two more took care of collecting the alms bequeathed to the Misericórdia by various wealthy individuals. They also collected the rents and revenues that had been given to the confraternity and, if necessary, defended its rights to gifts and inheritances in court. But the *provedor* always had to ask the advice of the twelve, or at least of the majority of them, on donations of money and the distribution of clothes to the poor and the granting of requests; and at least once a month he went with the secretary to the prison, to the hospitals, and to the secret poor to see if they were being well served.

There were two *mordomos*, one to take care of the chapel and the other of the finances. These were always elected on the last Sunday of the month from the thirteen officers if other members of the confraternity did not volunteer their services. With their staves of office, they had to keep order at processions and funerals. The one in charge of the chapel spent his whole month there. He collected the alms and petitions that were placed upon the altar, served the priest at Mass, and made the necessary arrangements for the funerals conducted by the confraternity. The *mordomo* in charge of the finances paid what was necessary to free the poor from prison and bought them clothes if needed. He also took care of the other expenditures. Like the other members

<sup>141</sup> The compromise of 1595 speaks of it. During the sessions it was placed in the center of the chapel (Ferreira Martins I 180 225).

<sup>142</sup> In 1499 the Lisbon Misericórdia obtained the privilege "que possa mandar limpar as cadeias a horas honestas" (Ribeiro 326).

of the confraternity, he kept an exact record of what he spent and at the end of the month gave an account of it.

Every month three or four more brothers were elected to take up a collection at the doors of the churches for the works of the Misericordia after the Masses on Sunday. And all of this was done by the members of the confraternity for a heavenly reward. The Misericordia was dependent upon alms. When it received any property, this was immediately sold at auction and the proceeds spent upon the poor. The alms, however, flowed in abundantly; and all, even the poorest left something after their death to the confraternity.<sup>143</sup> On the council table was a savings box in which the confreres placed their voluntary offerings. In addition to this, there was in the chapel a large chest for clothes: coats, mantles, jackets, shirts, and similar objects donated by benefactors. And about the city there were a number of poor-boxes for the collection of alms. The confraternity was not extensively equipped with goods or furniture. Besides the vestments for Mass, it had a strongbox for its money, two coffins with litters for burials, its banner with the image of Our Lady of Mercy on both sides,<sup>144</sup> a hand-bell to call the brothers together, two tables, the round conference table and another smaller one, and thirteen or more black frocks for those who carried the coffin, the standard, and the usual six torches at funerals.

Mass was offered by a chaplain appointed by the confraternity.<sup>145</sup> At High Masses and funerals he was assisted by two other priests. He celebrated a High Mass every Wednesday and on all the feasts of the Blessed Virgin. He preached on Wednesdays and on the patronal feast and heard the confessions of all those who were cared for by the confraternity and of those who were condemned to death. He conducted the funerals and helped to bring about reconciliations, a work with which the *provedor* and his assistants were earnestly engaged throughout the year, but particularly during Lent. A careful account was also kept of these, and every reconciliation that was effected between two parties was signed by the *provedor* and four witnesses. The thirteen officers of the confraternity met twice a week, after the Mass on Wednesday and on every Sunday afternoon. The council table was placed in the chapel for these meetings, and during them the petitions that had been submitted by the poor and imprisoned were read and the necessary measures taken.<sup>146</sup>

One of the works of mercy undertaken by the confraternity was the burial of the poor. The brothers attended these funerals in their black robes, carrying with them their rosaries, a string of fourteen black beads commemorating the fourteen works of mercy; and they recited fourteen Our Fathers and Hail Marys for the dead.

Another work of mercy was the care of those condemned to death. As many of the brothers as possible had to accompany the poor fellows on their last journey. The standard of the confraternity led the way. This was followed by a number of the brethren, whose identity was concealed by their robes, doing penance in order to move the unfortunates to sorrow for their sins. The ritual for this last journey was precisely fixed, and the chaplain was obliged to assist

<sup>143</sup> ARSI: Goa 38, 297v. In 1611 the Misericordia of Goa had rich silver fixtures and an annual income in alms to the equivalent of 25,000 to 30,000 *cruzados* (Seb. Gonçalves 8, 23).

<sup>144</sup> Picture in Ribeiro 35. On the standard was also the image of the founder, Frey Miguel Contreiras (Seb. Gonçalves 8, 23; Costa Goodolphim 425-432).

<sup>145</sup> In 1539 the chaplain was Frey Diogo de Vargas, O.F.M. (SR II 281).

<sup>146</sup> Compromise of 1595 (Ferreira Martins I 225).

the condemned man by strengthening him in the holy Catholic faith. On the day of his death a Mass was read for him. He was clothed in a white linen garb and given a crucifix to kiss. As the sentence was being executed, the chaplain chanted the verse *Ne recorderis* ("Do not be mindful of my sins, O Lord!") and sprinkled the dying man with holy water "so that he might return his soul to God who created him and redeemed him so dearly with His precious blood." In the evening the brothers went to the gallows and removed the body unless it had to remain hanging there because of more serious offenses. They then buried it and had a Mass of the dead offered up the following day for the repose of the man's soul. But even those who could not be immediately buried but had to remain hanging until the rope rotted away were not forgotten. On All Saints' Day the confraternity went with the secular and religious clergy of the city to the place of execution on the far side of Nossa Senhora da Luz.<sup>147</sup> They dug up the bones of those who had been executed and brought them to the Misericórdia, where they were buried in the consecrated ground of their cemetery. On All Souls' Day a Mass was read for them and another for all who had been executed.

The confreres of the Misericórdia took part in the penitential procession on Holy Thursday and visited the "Holy Sepulcher" in the different churches of the city. As they walked along dressed in their black robes, their faces covered by their cowl, with only a slit in it for them to see through, they scourged themselves to blood and performed other acts of penance. The confraternity also appointed a man wearing a blue mantle and carrying a little bell to walk in front of every procession.<sup>148</sup>

King Manuel had given the Misericórdia a series of privileges, and these were listed in the Compromise. The thirteen members of its board were excused from all the offices of the city and its environs during their year of service. They were not obliged to quarter soldiers in their homes. They did not have to take part in any processions other than those specifically named. They were the only ones allowed to collect public alms for the prisoners and for the secret poor. They could take their sick to the hospitals of others where they had none of their own. The warden of the prison was required to assist them in their works of mercy; and, in order that the trials of the prisoners might be expedited, the *corregidor* of the city had to visit the prison and hold a hearing every two weeks and the criminal judge every week. At these audiences the procurator of the Misericórdia was the first to be heard. The confraternity also received inferior goods that had been confiscated, and its officials could purchase meat from the butchers before these took care of their other customers.

<sup>147</sup> *Idem* (*ibid.* 244; Seb. Gonçalves 8, 23).

<sup>148</sup> He was a servant and not a member of the Misericórdia (Costa Goodolphim 47 60). The confraternity had "13 sayos ou mais," which covered the face, for penitents. In 1552 Frois wrote that thirty to forty blue gowns had been made in the college for the penitents, who disciplined themselves during the penitential processions; if these were not enough, some were borrowed from the Misericórdia; and mothers made disciplines for their children and blue gowns like those of the Misericórdia (DI II 483). According to Seb. Gonçalves the servants of the confraternity in 1611 received the same garb as those in Lisbon—a long, dark blue robe (8, 23).

## 7. THE TREASURER OF REVENUES

The treasurer of revenues in Goa was Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha.<sup>149</sup> His family had originated in Galicia; and its founder, Fernão de Caminha, had entered the service of the Portuguese king in 1367.<sup>150</sup> In 1493 his uncle Alvaro de Caminha had been the first captain of the islands of São Thomé and Príncipe on the West African coast; and if the current secretary of state of Portugal, Pedro de Alcáçova Carneiro, was a wealthy man, it was due to him. His father and predecessor in the office, Antonio Carneiro, had been the personal secretary of John II but had been banished together with his bride, Dona Beatriz de Alcáçova, to the island of Príncipe because of his secret marriage to her. There he struck up a friendship with Alvaro and received his post and income for himself and his successors after Alvaro's death in 1500.<sup>151</sup>

Alvaro's sister, Catarina de Caminha, the mother of Ruy Gonçalves, had married João de Durães de Castanheda. But his parents had not been blessed with earthly goods.<sup>152</sup> In 1500 he therefore sailed to India in order to seek his fortune there,<sup>153</sup> and five years later he was followed by his brother João Alvares, who had obtained the position of a scribe of the *almoxarife* in Goa.<sup>154</sup> The young Ruy Gonçalves found friends and helpers in Francisco Vaz and his brothers, and for this he was ever grateful.<sup>155</sup> Though his brother João Alvares returned to Portugal after long years of service and there became the royal treasurer and founded a family,<sup>156</sup> Ruy Gonçalves remained in India and married a mestiza, Isabel Pereira,<sup>157</sup> the daughter of the wealthy Duarte Pereira, who had helped to capture Goa in 1510,<sup>158</sup> and whose sons Francisco, Fernão, Christovão, Lopo, Nuno, and Ruy Dias Pereira belonged to the leading *casados* of the city.<sup>159</sup> Their marriage had been childless,<sup>160</sup> but Ruy Gonçalves, who was an expert and energetic businessman<sup>161</sup> and had dealt with property and people from his youth, became very wealthy<sup>162</sup> through his trading, especially in horses.<sup>163</sup> For a time he had also been the collector of taxes on horses.<sup>164</sup> He was one of the most influential citizens of Goa and was held in the highest repute throughout the land, even by the pagan and Mohammedan merchants and princes.<sup>165</sup> Among these were Asad Khān, the governor of Belgaum, his special friend,<sup>166</sup> and the principal Brahmans of the island of Goa, such as Gopu, Loku,

<sup>149</sup> With but few exceptions, the sources for Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha (Q, index) have not been published. Judgments on him are given in Q 4411 3468; favoring him are Q 1837 2504 2738 2753 3811 2910 2996 3545 3668 3678 3796 4286; against him are Q 3595 4097 4105a 4144 4250. After the appearance of our *Quellen* the letters of D. João de Castro and Q 4104 4105 4286 were published in EX; 4105a in SR IV 469 (where December 30, 1549, stands for 1548).—He will be frequently mentioned later on. He died after Xavier's departure for Japan in 1549 or 1550. The seal for his letters shows the interlocked letters IRP, probably for Isabel Ruy Pereira.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. his family tree in Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* IX 669-670, where, however, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha should be read instead of *Ruy Vaz Caminha*.

<sup>151</sup> Q 3426; cf. Braamcamp Freire I 180-183, who erroneously regards the banishment as legendary, and Brásio I 161 166.

<sup>152</sup> Q 2843.

<sup>153</sup> Q 1772.

<sup>154</sup> *Emmentia* 236.

<sup>155</sup> Q 2843. In 1546 Castro leased to the harbor master (*patrão*), Francisco Vaz, the villages of Pornil (Purne), Vaiguão (Vādghar), in the borough (*pragandá*) of Anzor (Anjor) in northeast Bombay (Botelho, *Tombo* 184-185).

<sup>156</sup> In 1510 João Alvares was the notary in the factory of Cochin (CA III 310); from 1513 to 1520 he was engaged in trade with the permission, and on the orders, of the king (Correa II 365; CA III 388, 1339 364, VII 177). In 1535 he was already treasurer

and Raluchatim, whose names were recorded next to his as his colleagues in the account books of the factory.<sup>167</sup>

He had also been able to win the favor of the governors with his money, gifts, and business acumen.<sup>168</sup> In the contest between Lopo Vaz de Sampayo and Pero Mascarenhas, he aligned himself with the former and was recognized by him on this account.<sup>169</sup> Dom Garcia de Noronha made him treasurer of the revenues<sup>170</sup> of Goa, and he also retained this same office under Dom Estevão de Gama.<sup>171</sup> When Dom Estevão sailed for Diu at the beginning of 1542 in order to visit the forts in the north, he entrusted him also with the office of *vedor*, and Ruy Gonçalves, riding leisurely about on his mule and making no singular efforts, worked wonders in a short time, especially on the Ribeira and in the warehouses.<sup>172</sup> Rich, childless, and independent as he was, he did not have to take account of anyone;<sup>173</sup> and, as he himself expressed it, he did not have to take or steal the money of others.<sup>174</sup> In the service of his king he squeezed the last farthing out of the factors and the *almoxerifes*, and wrung everyone out a hundred times before he let him go. His dry, cutting remarks were more feared by the officials than a severe penalty, for he never minced

in Lisbon (Ford II 19-20). He was married to Isabel Cabral; his son Alvaro served in Goa in 1547 as captain of the artillery (Castro, *Cartas* 345-347; L. Nunes 158); he fell in the battle of Alcacer Quebir in 1578 (Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* IX 669-670; Couto 5, 9, 11).

<sup>167</sup> Her letter of February 9, 1547, to D. Alvaro de Castro shows her maternal care for the sick and well (Q 2813; cf. Castro, *Cartas* 315 326 350).

<sup>168</sup> Duarte Pereira, brother of Gonçalo Pereira (CA II 15), sailed to India in 1505 (Correa I 563). He was perpetually banished from there for murdering his wife, but because of his services in the capture of Goa in 1510, in the battle for Banasterim in 1512, and in the expedition against Aden in 1513, he was pardoned by Albuquerque in November of this last year (CA II 117-118). His brother was the *alcaide-mor* of Banasterim, and when he died in 1549, Duarte received his position in 1550 (Q 4564).

<sup>169</sup> His sons, whom we shall often encounter later on, were: (1) Francisco (TdT CC 1-106-41), a witness in the process of Xavier's canonization in 1556 (MX II 190); (2) Fernão, brother-in-law of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha (Q 3783); (3) Christovão, brother of Lopo, a witness at the same process (MX II 208; cf. 203-204); (4) Lopo, a witness in the same process (*ibid.* 208; cf. Q 4363); (5) Nuno, brother of Ruy Dias Pereira (*Registro*, nn. 289-290); (6) Ruy Dias Pereira (Q 2867); and two daughters (Q 2867). They were mixed-bloods, unless some of them were born before 1505 in Portugal.

<sup>160</sup> Q 2753 3833.

<sup>161</sup> In this he had no equal (Q 3468 2843 3595).

<sup>162</sup> Q 2753; Castro, *Cartas* 363.

<sup>163</sup> Q 2797 2815 2843.

<sup>164</sup> Thus in 1523 (CA IV 34).

<sup>165</sup> Q 2719; Castro, *Cartas* 364.

<sup>166</sup> Q 1677 4124. Correa calls him a procurator of Asad Khān (IV e 15).

<sup>167</sup> Q 104; cf. Q 2500 2590 2638.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. the opinion of Simão Botelho (*Cartas* 14), Cosme Anes (SR IV 473), and Correa, who wrote that he was "homem principal na cidade, que, como quer que as cousas que requeria aos Governadores as ceuaua e untava com dadivas, tudo acabaua; polo que era em muyta priuança com os Governadores, e tal era de suas condições e obras que lhe chamauão conde de Galalão, como o outro da estoria dos doze pares" (IV 315).

<sup>169</sup> Correa III 135. He was accused of having taken from Lopo Vaz 1,500 gold *pardaus* from the horse tolls that belonged to the king (\*letter of Diogo Mariz of November 13, 1529, in TdT *Gavetas* 20-2-23).

<sup>170</sup> Q 1017 1772.

<sup>171</sup> Correa IV 219 227.

<sup>172</sup> Q 2753.

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.* and Castro, *Cartas* 364.

<sup>174</sup> Q 3833.

words.<sup>175</sup> He always called a spade a spade and was a foe to false compliments.<sup>176</sup> He spoke ill of everyone and was spoken ill of by all in turn.<sup>177</sup> This may well be why he never received an answer to his letters from the king. He had written repeatedly to him about his own services on the king's behalf during the course of so many years and those of his dependents: Simão Duares, who had been killed by the Moors in Arzila; Jorge Durães, who was buried in India; Antonio de Caminha, who had died as a page at court; and of his brother. He ascribed the silence to the fact that even the king forgot the *casados* of India.<sup>178</sup>

To be sure, he did not share the missionary zeal of such individuals as Miguel Vaz; Cosme Anes; Dr. Pedro Fernandes, the *ouvidor geral*; and Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco, the former *vedor de fazenda*.<sup>179</sup> Besides this he had too many friends among the pagans and Moors. Not even the Misericórdia numbered him among its brethren.<sup>180</sup> Nevertheless, despite all this, he was a faithful Christian, who took it for granted that one did not pass over into the next life without going to confession and receiving Holy Communion.<sup>181</sup> Like the other citizens of Goa, he was pleased with the bishop, who never offended anyone nor ever alienated Christians or pagans with excessive severity.<sup>182</sup> Not particularly bothered by scruples, Ruy Gonçalves was a businessman who looked rather at the end than at the means.<sup>183</sup> His brother, João Alvares, who was concerned about his spiritual welfare, would have liked to see him back in Portugal, far from the enervating climate of India and the "skirts of the Negro slaves," as he expressed it.<sup>184</sup> But Ruy Gonçalves had grown old in India. His

<sup>175</sup> Castro, *Cartas* 364 342; Q 3595 2299; cf. his bitter invective, for example, in Q 3546 3599.

<sup>176</sup> Q 1772.

<sup>177</sup> Castro, *Cartas* 365.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. his \*letter to the king on his services of December 3, 1545 (Q 1772).

<sup>179</sup> In 1545 he \*wrote to the king that His Highness could learn of his merits from those who sailed to Portugal, "e que piores obras me fizeram," M. A. de Sousa, Dr. Pedro Fernandes, Dr. Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco, and the bachelor Miguel Vaz, though they were not his friends but rather his adversaries. Under oath they would testify to the known facts, for they were people who would tell the truth (Q 1772). Cf. the \*letter of the city to the king of December 27, 1546, which was signed also by Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha himself, with respect to "virtuous people" who wished to make the king believe that the pagans should be expelled (Q 2638). And in 1548 he wrote to the governor that he should not believe any lies about him. People like himself, who had neither sons nor daughters and were probably on that account less pious than others, were still more steadfast and independent, and did not need to take or steal the possessions of others. He should therefore not believe anything improper about him before he had been heard and had had an opportunity to give an accounting of himself (Q 3833).

<sup>180</sup> This is indicated in his \*letter of December 15, 1546 (Q 2590).

<sup>181</sup> Cf. his \*letters on the sudden death of Antonio Correa, who died without confession, Communion, or a will (Q 2788 2794). "We must make ourselves conformable to the will of God in these matters," he wrote at the time of the death of the *vedor* Braz d'Araujo in 1547 (Q 2729). When the old Miguel Ferreira, his guest, was seriously ill, he informed the son of the governor that he had made his will, confessed, and received Communion as a good Christian and honorable man (Q 2788). To the governor he wrote that he had more than what was necessary in temporal goods, and for this he thanked God the Lord from his heart (Q 2843).

<sup>182</sup> Q 2500.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. Botelho, *Cartas* 13-14, and Castro, *Cartas* 364. The opinion of the editor of the *Subsidios* (p. XVIII), that he was a man "sem pudor nem consciencia," is still too severe.

<sup>184</sup> \*Letter of February 27, 1547 (Q 2857).

black beard was already turning grey.<sup>185</sup> He was too advanced in years for such a long and difficult journey and said that the way to heaven was as short in the East as it was in the West.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Castro, *Cartas* 342-343.

<sup>186</sup> Q 2857.



## CHAPTER IV

### SULTRINESS BEFORE THE MONSOON (MAY, 1542)

#### 1. THE CAPTURE OF GOA (1510)

The old capital, known as Goa Velha,<sup>1</sup> lay on the southeast of the island along the broad Zuari River. For hundreds of years the Hindu kings of the Kadamba dynasty had held there a brilliant court,<sup>2</sup> but since 1366 it had been ruled by governors of the kings of Vijayanagar.<sup>3</sup> Though it had formerly been famous for its elaborate temples, learned Brahmans, trade, and command of the sea, it had sunk to a miserable village by the time Xavier arrived in India in 1542.<sup>4</sup> Mahmūd Gāwān, the captain of the powerful Bahmanī king Muhammad III, had captured it in 1471 and leveled it to the ground.<sup>5</sup> Now only scattered ruins, skillfully cut stones and pillars, and abandoned pools bore witness to its former splendor.<sup>6</sup>

An hour and a half north of the old ruined capital on the northeastern part of the island, near the village of Ella on the bank of the Mandovi River, was the new Mohammedan capital of Goa. Here the anchorage was deeper and the strand more suitable for larger vessels.<sup>7</sup> In 1479 the Naitias, descendants of Moorish immigrants of Arabic and Persian stock and native women, who were being persecuted by the Hindus, had come to New Goa from the harbors of Honāvar and Bhatkal in Vijayanagar under the leadership of Malik Husain. In their former homeland they had earned their livelihood by trading in Arabian and

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<sup>1</sup> Goa Velha, in older texts called Govāpuri, Gōpakapura, Gōpakapattana, and Gové, had been the capital of the Kadamba kings since 1052. It is not to be confused with Velha Goa, the capital during Moorish and Portuguese times, also called Goa Nova in older authors (CA II 20; Castro, *Roteiro até Dio* 8), or with Nova Goa, or Pangim, the former capital of Portuguese India.

<sup>2</sup> On pre-Portuguese Goa see G. M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula* (Bombay, 1931), and the valuable studies of P. Pissurlencar, "As Primitivas Capitais de Goa," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 1 (1931) 1-20, and "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa" (*ibid.* 22 [1938] 381-460). A quick view of the ancient history of Goa is given by C. F. Saldanha, S.J., *A Short History of Goa* (Bombay, 1952) 18-52. From 966 to 1052 and from 1310 to around 1343 the capital was Chandrapura (Chandor in Salsette, the Sindābūr and Sandābūr of the Arabian travelers, and as a consequence also called as a rule Goa Velha) (Yule 379 837-838).

<sup>3</sup> A list of the Vijayanagar governors of Goa is given by Pissurlencar, "As Prim. Capitais" 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the descriptions of the *Suta Samhita* and of the inscriptions (*ibid.* 1-5, and Moraes 176 185).

<sup>5</sup> Goa fell on February 11, 1471. Cf. Pissurlencar, "Colaboradores Hindus de Afonso de Albuquerque," *Bol. Vasco da Gama* 49 (1941) 22, from native sources, especially Ferishta II 485.

<sup>6</sup> *Commentarios Dalboquerque* II 20; Castanheda 3, 8; Moraes 213; Pissurlencar, "As Prim. Capitais" 11-12.

<sup>7</sup> Correa II 55. *Comm. Dalboquerque* II 20.

Persian horses, and they continued to do so after coming to New Goa. Since these horses were of great importance for waging war, their trade in them contributed much to the growth of the city.<sup>8</sup> When the corrupt Bahmanī empire, which embraced the whole of central India, disintegrated ten years later and was divided into five independent states, the lion's share, that is, the south-western part, was united under the rule of Yūsuf Adil Khān,<sup>9</sup> with Goa as its principal harbor and Bijāpur in the interior as its capital, and given the name of Sabā, or Sabayo, after its ruler's Persian home.<sup>10</sup> Yūsuf Adil Khān paid special attention to Goa,<sup>11</sup> which together with his provinces on the mainland brought him an annual income of 500,000 gold *pardaus*, 100,000 of which came from Goa itself and its taxes on horses. He surrounded the city with a wall and moat, built a citadel and palace<sup>12</sup> within it, and furnished it with a garrison of about nine thousand men: Rumes, Turks, Persians, Arabs, and a good many renegades, Venetians and Genoese in particular; and he equipped it with two hundred guns.<sup>13</sup> When, at the end of February, 1510, Albuquerque, who had been summoned by the oppressed Hindus, and his friend and counselor Timmōja, the admiral of the Honāvar fleet,<sup>14</sup> unexpectedly appeared before Goa with twenty-three ships and twelve thousand men, the city opened its gates to him without resistance.<sup>15</sup> Three months later, however, Ismāil, the young son of the recently deceased Yūsuf,<sup>16</sup> came with sixty thousand men and, assisted by the inhabitants of the city, compelled the Portuguese to withdraw.<sup>17</sup> Albuquerque and his Hindu allies, however, returned at the end of the rainy season and, on November 25, despite a stout resistance on the part of its defenders, recaptured Goa<sup>18</sup> and severely punished its treacherous citizens. After four days of looting and slaughter, the whole city was turned over to the flames. Albuquerque ordered the pagan Brahmans and peasants to be spared, but no mercy was shown to the Moors. Many died in battle. Others were drowned as they fled to the mainland. Many were cut down by the Hindus as they retreated. No consideration was given

<sup>8</sup> According to Barros, the king of Vijayanagar in 1479 had more than ten thousand Naitias slain for handing over horses to his enemies, the Moors of the Deccan. The survivors then moved to Goa (1, 8, 10). According to Couto, Husain came in 1479 with four hundred of his people (4, 10, 4).

<sup>9</sup> Ferishta III 18-19; CA I 22; *Cambridge History of India* III 421-426. According to Barros, Yūsuf slew Malik Husain, who had assembled twelve thousand men (2, 5, 2).

<sup>10</sup> According to Barros, "from the chronicles of the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar and the Persian chronicles that agree with them, which I had translated for me" (2, 5, 2). According to Pires, Yūsuf was a Turk, a slave of the Bahmanī king, who made him *sabayo*, that is, captain, of his bodyguard, whereupon he took the name of Adil Khān (50-54 371-374). All his contemporaries (for example, Barbosa I 172, n. 1; Yule 778-779) are opposed to Couto, who makes the Sabayo out to be a Hindu vassal of the king of Kanara (4, 10, 4).

<sup>11</sup> Barros 2, 5, 2.

<sup>12</sup> Castanheda 3, 8; Correa II 56.

<sup>13</sup> Castanheda 3, 42; CA VI 409.

<sup>14</sup> On him see Barros 1, 8, 10; 2, 5, 2, and Pissurlencar, "Colaboradores" 22-42.

<sup>15</sup> The date is uncertain: February 17 (Castanheda 3, 11; Barros 2, 5, 3), March 1 (Correa II 59), March 5 (*Comm. Dalboquerque* II 20-21).

<sup>16</sup> In February, 1510, Yūsuf was already dead, as Timmōja told Albuquerque on the voyage to Goa (Castanheda 3, 7; Barros 2, 5, 2; Correa II 56; *Comm. Dalboquerque* II 18); Ferishta has him die from grief over the loss of Goa in Hegira 917 (cf. "The Death of Yusuf Adil Shah," *Proceedings of Indian Hist. Congress* 1938, 319-323).

<sup>17</sup> CA II 22; Correa II 84. The date is uncertain: May 20 (*Comm. Dalboquerque* II 34), May 23 (Correa II 97), May 31 (Castanheda 3, 25; Barros 2, 5, 6).

<sup>18</sup> Correa II 142-154; Castanheda 3, 41-43; Barros 2, 5, 8-9; *Comm. Dalboquerque* III 1-11.

to either age or sex. A mosque was filled with Moors and set on fire. The number of dead soon mounted to six thousand. In December Albuquerque wrote: "I left no Moorish tomb or structure standing. I had those who fell alive into our hands burned. A renegade was captured here, and I ordered him to be burned. I am determined not to allow any Moors to exist in Goa."<sup>19</sup>

When the author of the letter was returning to India from Malacca, still at the beginning of 1512, he learned in Cochin that a captain of Adil Khān had invaded the island of Goa and had stationed himself near the pass of Banasterim. Only after a hard battle did Albuquerque succeed in driving the enemy out in November, 1512.<sup>20</sup> Since then the Moors had not been able to get a foothold on the island. The mainland provinces of Bardez, Pondá, and Salsette were definitely lost. When Ismāil died in 1534, the Portuguese regained them and two years later routed the Moorish captain Sulaimān Agha near Vernā on Salsette. In the treaty of peace with Ibrāhīm, the new Adil Khān, they had, however, to be content with Goa and its three neighboring islands of Chorão, Divar, and Jua.<sup>21</sup>

## 2. THE CITY AND ITS ENVIRONS

The island of Goa had the shape of a triangle,<sup>22</sup> with its tip turned toward the west. It was three leagues long and, in the east, two leagues wide from north to south. It had a coastline eight leagues in length, and was bounded on the north by the Mandovi River, on the south by the broad bay of the Zuari River, and on the east by a channel which connected the two rivers and was hardly a musket's-shot in width in many places.<sup>23</sup> There were five control stations for those going from the island to the mainland, the more important of which were protected by watchtowers that had a complement of a captain, a notary, and a group of soldiers,<sup>24</sup> who controlled the passage of all who came and went.<sup>25</sup> These checking points were Pangim, in the west; Daugim, Gandaulim, and Banasterim, in the northeast; and Agaçaim, in the southeast. There was also a control at Naroá, leading from the island of Divar to Bicholim. The ford of Gandaulim, also called "Passo seco," was so shallow that at ebb tide the water reached only to one's knees.<sup>26</sup> Earlier rulers had, however, sown crocodiles in the river, which prevented trespassers from approaching the island and slaves from escaping by swimming to the mainland.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>19</sup> CA I 26-27, VI 408-410. According to Correa half of the Moors fled past the customs controls and three thousand drowned in the process; fifteen hundred fell in battle; and many died later of their wounds (II 155).

<sup>20</sup> CA I 102-116, II 124-126; Correa II 184-214 292-324; Castanheda 3, 64-74 87 89-95; Barros 2, 6, 8-10; 2, 7, 1-17; *Comm. Dalboquerque* III 40-51.

<sup>21</sup> On the battles on the mainland between 1534 and 1536, see Correa III 639-649 690-699 707-710 741-742 756-761; Castanheda 8, 53 104-106 123 136-138 148-150; Barros 4, 7, 5-17; Couto 4, 10, 4-5 7-9. The victory over Sulaimān Agha was on February 7, 1536 (Barros 4, 7, 12, p. 258).

<sup>22</sup> Descriptions of the island of Goa are given by Albuquerque in 1510 (CA I 21-22), Corsali in 1516 (Ramusio 193-v), Castro in 1539 (*Roteiro até Dio* 8-9), Castanheda in 1552 (3, 8), Barros in 1553 (2, 5, 1-2), *Comm. Dalboquerque* in 1563 (II 20), Linschoten in 1592 (I 120-125), and Pyrard in 1611 (2, 16-23).

<sup>23</sup> Castro, *Roteiro até Dio* 8.

<sup>24</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 72-74; Castanheda 3, 8; Correa II 314. The tower of Banasterim was built with stones from the ruins of Goa Velha (CA I 43).

<sup>25</sup> Barbosa I 175; Castanheda 3, 8.

<sup>26</sup> Linschoten I 120; Castanheda 3, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Corsali (Ramusio 193v); Castro, *Roteiro até Dio* 9; Correa II 55; Barros 2, 5, 1. Still in 1566 a crocodile twelve ells long was killed near Chorão (SR X 187).

Outside the city of Goa there were fifty thousand inhabitants<sup>28</sup> on the island divided up among thirty villages, as was already indicated by the name Tissuary (Thirty Villages) that had been given to the island.<sup>29</sup> Hills and valleys were intermingled with plains. The slopes of the hills were covered with withered, yellow-colored grass and briars. At their foot were fields of rice and millet, which were now dried up and run through with deep, broad fissures, for May was the hottest month of the year. The sun beat down mercilessly from a deep blue sky, and the air quivered from the waves of heat. Near the fields were stretches of coconut groves.<sup>30</sup> The fresh green of their fronds rose up in sharp contrast to the deep, red, parched, and stone-hard ground. The low, palm-covered, clay cottages of the brown natives with their sacred toolsey plants<sup>31</sup> at the entrance lay in the shade of coconut and areca palms, banana bushes, wide-spreading mango and jackfruit trees, and Indian fig trees with their exposed roots.<sup>32</sup> Next to them stood the sacred pipal tree on the half-dried temple pond,<sup>33</sup> where black, large-eyed buffalo with turned-back horns stood in water or mud up to their necks as a protection against the searing rays of the sun, while noisome gnats and light grey, humped oxen, lean goats, and chickens sought their food along the banks. The rivers were swarming with fish,<sup>34</sup> but most of the food had to come from the mainland since the island could not by itself feed its numerous inhabitants.<sup>35</sup> Though there were no wild animals, there were countless snakes, including the dreaded cobra, whose haunt, the tall, red termite mound, was held in superstitious awe by the Hindus.<sup>36</sup> There was also another, even more poisonous reptile, whose bite could bring death within half an hour.<sup>37</sup> The villagers wore a white loincloth, or *dhoti*, and a turban of the same color. In addition to these, the Brahmans wore a triple holy cord across their breast as a sign of their caste. The women wore a brightly colored sari, which covered them from head to foot.<sup>38</sup> The islanders were called Canarins, but their language was Konkani, and not the completely different Kanarese of their southern neighbors.<sup>39</sup>

The city of Goa proper, that is, within the walls, was small. It formed a half circle resting upon the banks of the Mandovi River. The distance from the arsenal to the customhouse, both on the river, was less than half an hour, and

<sup>28</sup> According to Castro "15,000 vezinhos Canaris" were living on the island in 1539 (*Roteiro até Dio* 8). In 1548 the number of pagan Canarins on the island amounted to at least forty thousand (DI I 253), in addition to these there were more than seven thousand Christian Canarins (*ibid.* 408).

<sup>29</sup> As Barros rightly observed (2, 5, 1). The *foral* of 1526 names thirty-one villages (APO V 119). Pais 153-154 gives a list of them and their present names. In addition to these there were seven villages on the three neighboring islands of Chorão, Divar, and Jua.

<sup>30</sup> Castro, *Rot. até Dio* 8; Castanheda 3, 8.

<sup>31</sup> DI IV 307; Calgado II 390-391.

<sup>32</sup> In 1515 Pires cited the old proverb: "Let us go to refresh ourselves in the cool shade of Goa, and let us taste the sweetness of its betel!" (57; cf. Couto 4, 10, 4; Castanheda 3, 8).

<sup>33</sup> Castanheda mentions the many temple ponds surrounded by brick walls (3, 8). A list of the temples destroyed in 1540 is given by Pissurlencar in Pais 165-169.

<sup>34</sup> Castanheda 3, 8.

<sup>35</sup> Linschoten I 124-125.

<sup>36</sup> DI IV 307; *A Índia Portuguesa* I (Nova Goa, 1923) 453.

<sup>37</sup> Castro, *Rot. até Dio* 8. The krait (*Bungarus caeruleus*) is probably meant.

<sup>38</sup> \**Desenhos*, nn. 65-66.

<sup>39</sup> Dalgado I 197.

it took only a quarter of an hour to walk from the quay on the Rua Direita straight through the city to the Misericórdia. Albuquerque had raised and strengthened the walls of the city, but in November, 1540, Sebastião Garcês still wrote to the king: "If a *camelo* (field gun) fired at its strongest point, it would level it all to the ground."<sup>40</sup> Two years before this the city had complained that it was not sufficiently protected by walls,<sup>41</sup> and John III had ordered the viceroy to remedy the situation. The city moats were filled with water only during the rainy season. Four gates led to the exterior. On the north was the main gate, the Porta do Cais, by the river; in the south, near the Misericórdia, was the double Bacaes Gate, leading to the suburb of Nossa Senhora da Luz; in the east was the tollgate, leading to Santa Luzia; and in the west was St. Catherine's Gate, near the hospital, leading to the church of the Rosario, to the springs of Banguenim, and to Ribander. Goa had around fourteen thousand Christian inhabitants.<sup>42</sup> In addition to these there were pagan Canarins, foreign merchants, and, during the rainy season, a garrison of some three thousand soldiers who were stationed there. With its churches and public buildings, its well-laid-out streets, and well-built homes, it gave the impression of being a Christian, European city. The houses, which were adapted to the climate, had as a rule only a ground and upper floor, and in the rear a garden with coconut palms and other fruit trees.<sup>43</sup>

On the Ribéria were the docks and the arsenal, the foundry for guns, the warehouses with provisions and materials of war, the shops for the repair and equipping of the ships, the residence of the *vedor*,<sup>44</sup> the Chagas chapel, the *sala* for those condemned to the galleys,<sup>45</sup> and mighty elephants, prompted by the goad of their dark-skinned drivers, moving heavy beams with their trunks from one place to another.<sup>46</sup>

Not far from the place where, at the time of the capture of the city, the main mosque of the city had stood was the Sé, the cathedral dedicated to St. Catherine.<sup>47</sup> It had been built partly with alms and partly with revenues

<sup>40</sup> Q 589.

<sup>41</sup> APO I 1, 22-23.

<sup>42</sup> In Goa in the winter of 1540 there were "1,800 moradores e 3,600 lascarys" (Correa IV 140). In 1527 there were five hundred *casados* (Q 113), in 1529 eight hundred *moradores* with more than one thousand Portuguese children and many converted pagans, whose number was constantly increasing (Q 124). In 1546 five thousand Christians took part in a procession (Q 2488); and in 1548 two hundred children of Portuguese, five hundred of native-Christian, and one thousand of pagan, parents were baptized in the parishes of the city (Q 4037). At a normal birth rate, this would indicate a population of from three to four thousand Portuguese and ten thousand native Christians.

<sup>43</sup> In 1541 two citizens gave to the cathedral a house in a palm grove on the road leading to the Misericórdia as a foundation for Masses (Q 830). In 1567 Gaspar Dias, S.J., wrote that in Goa all the houses were very beautiful, with high roofs and each with its own garden full of jambo, mango, and other fruit trees and banana bushes (SR X 243). In 1565 J. B. de Ribera, S.J., noted that the city was "muy alegre y aplazible; tiene muy buenas cales, y los edificios se van de cada dia haziendo a la usança moderna" (DI VI 542-543).

<sup>44</sup> On the Ribeira see Saldanha II 193-206; Ficalho 140; map, p. 147; and the plan in Linschoten I 120. For the officials see Botelho, *Tombo* 63-66, and for the foundry for cannons SR VI 180 and DI IV 341-344.

<sup>45</sup> DI II 466 485.

<sup>46</sup> SR IX 568. In 1541 the \*governor spoke of the king's elephants on the Ribeira (Q 838); see also the plan in Linschoten I 120.

<sup>47</sup> For the history of the Sé, see the important account of the \*Anonymous (ARSI: Goa 38, 262-265v) drawn up from the data of the first cathedral scholar, Manuel Garcia,

from the money-changers that had been granted by the king.<sup>48</sup> The high altar was adorned with an altarpiece portraying St. Catherine. The two side chapels were dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary and to St. Peter.<sup>49</sup> The governor Nuno da Cunha had added a third in honor of St. Sebastian as a place of burial for his two brothers Simão and Manuel.<sup>50</sup> And in 1541 Martim Affonso de Mello had begun a fourth in honor of the apostle Thomas, which was to serve as a chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, since the sacred species had hitherto not been preserved in the new church because of the lack of such a chapel. It was to be the largest, most beautiful, and best gilded chapel in the church.<sup>51</sup> The cathedral had a triple nave.<sup>52</sup> The eight-cornered, black, stone baptismal font had been given by Jorge Gomes in 1532, as was indicated on its inscription.<sup>53</sup> In the choir was the tomb of the vicar general Sebastião Pires, the predecessor of Miguel Vaz,<sup>54</sup> and that of the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha, with the simple inscription: "Here lies Dom Garcia de Noronha, who was the viceroy of India. He died in this city of Goa on April 13, 1540."<sup>55</sup> Already in 1521 the king had sent a series of furnishings for the Sé: chalices, chasubles, copes, antependia, lamps, printed and hand-written missals, a choir book, a monstrance, a bell, four altarpieces representing St. Catherine, a painted and gilded statue of the same saint, and other items.<sup>56</sup> In 1531 the city asked John III for four bells and further adornments for the church, and he granted all that was requested.<sup>57</sup> Because of the protests of the Franciscans, the people had been forced to be content with a small bell tower over the main door of the church,<sup>58</sup> though they had already built a bell tower. Since it overlooked the garden of the Franciscans, the latter had threatened to leave their monastery on its account.<sup>59</sup> The church had cost twenty thousand *pardaus* to build,<sup>60</sup> but it was devotional,<sup>61</sup> richly

who held the office from 1539; SRH 211 215-217; Correa II 154 158 200, IV 669; Seb. Gonçalves 10, 25; and the accounts in Saldanha II 3-16 and Telles 1-22. The present cathedral was built between 1562 and 1631. It is not to be confused with the chapel of Santa Catarina de Monte Sinai near St. Catherine's Gate, built by Cabral in 1550 on the site where Albuquerque forced his way into the city (Correa IV 716) and restored in 1952.

<sup>48</sup> APO I 1, 13-14; Botelho, *Tombo* 52.

<sup>49</sup> According to Seb. Gonçalves (10, 25) the chapel of the Mother of God was on the Epistle side.

<sup>50</sup> Telles 13. Manuel was knighted by Albuquerque during the capture of Goa in 1510. He fell in 1511 during an attack of the Moors on Goa. His brother Simão died in 1529 on his return voyage from Bahrein to Ormuz and was buried there, then in Goa, and finally in Olhalvo (Portugal) (Braamcamp Freire I 175-176).

<sup>51</sup> Letter of November 6, 1541 (SR II 15). A \*brief of October 26, 1543, states that since the cathedral of Goa did not have a decent place in which to preserve the Blessed Sacrament, a prominent Portuguese had at the request of Bishop John commissioned an ornate chapel of St. Thomas to be built; and that in it, by virtue of the privileges which the Holy See had given to the confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, a similar confraternity was erected in Goa, to which almost all the citizens belonged. The request of the city, that the chapel should never be transferred into the choir or to any other place, was guaranteed by the brief (Vatican Archives: *Reg. Lateran.* 1718, ff. 271-272).

<sup>52</sup> Seb. Gonçalves 10, 25; cf. SR I 252.

<sup>53</sup> The baptismal font is still preserved; a picture in OOP 2/3 (1932) 59.

<sup>54</sup> \*Anonymous 263.

<sup>55</sup> Q 5254; Seb. Gonçalves 10, 25.

<sup>56</sup> SR I 428-435.

<sup>57</sup> APO I 1, 13-14.

<sup>58</sup> SR II 187 286-287.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* 309.

<sup>60</sup> Correa IV 669.

and elaborately adorned, and the pride of the city.<sup>62</sup> When Miguel Vaz came to India in 1532, there were attached to it, in addition to the vicar, six beneficiaries, each with an annual income of twelve *milreis*. He increased their number;<sup>63</sup> and in 1539, when the church became a cathedral, it received a chapter;<sup>64</sup> and divine services were carried out in it with all solemnity, especially since the Sé was the only parish church in Goa.<sup>65</sup>

A few steps from it was São Francisco, the church of the Franciscans, with its twin pointed towers, a landmark in the city.<sup>66</sup> The cornerstone of the church had been laid on the feast of the Purification, February 2, 1520, by the governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. When the commissary, Frey Antonio de Loureiro, wrote in October of this same year to the king, the choir was already a lance and a half high, and its two side chapels were finished. The choir was to be vaulted since wood was expensive. There were eight more chapels along the nave, four on each side. All were vaulted and each one was eighteen feet high and fourteen feet, nine inches, broad. The church of the order in Evora had been used as a model, and the writer of the letter was convinced that once it was finished the church would be as beautiful and splendid as any in Portugal apart from those in Lisbon. What was lacking were the altarpieces for the church. He therefore asked the king for a large one for the high altar and ten for the side altars, the latter to be fourteen feet, nine inches, by four feet, eleven inches, and carved in wood by a skilled craftsman. He also asked for another of Mary's Conception for the confraternity of the same name that had been founded in the monastery, and for this he sent alms.<sup>67</sup> Two years before this, Frey Antonio had been granted his request to be allowed to use the stones of the famous, but largely destroyed, pagoda of Divar for building the church and monastery.<sup>68</sup> The church became grand and elegant as he had foretold.<sup>69</sup> A manuelesque portal afforded an entrance into the church.<sup>70</sup> From the floor to the vault of the ceiling, the nave was forty-nine feet high.<sup>71</sup> In 1527 the

<sup>61</sup> SR II 187.

<sup>62</sup> "See muy honrada," according to Xavier (EX I 121); "templo tão sumtuoso e tão ornado," M.A. de Sousa (Q 1116); "catedrale molto ricca et magnifica," Lancilotto (DI I 31).

<sup>63</sup> \*Anonymous 262-v.

<sup>64</sup> ARSI: Goa 38, 281; Correa IV 88-89.

<sup>65</sup> Q 1116; SR II 322-323.

<sup>66</sup> On the erection of the church, see SRH 246-272; Telles 23-37; Saldanha II 33-42; for a picture see map, p. 147. The present church was begun in 1661.

<sup>67</sup> Letter of Frey Antonio of October 27, 1520, in *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 74 (1957) 58-60.

<sup>68</sup> This concerns the famous Shiva temple of Saptanātha, which was destroyed by the Moors in the fourteenth century and again, it seems, during the capture of Goa in 1471. In 1515 Corsali wrote of it: "In una isoletta qui vicina detta Diuari, hanno i Portughesi per edificare la terra di Goa, distrutto un tempio antico, detto Pagode, ch'era con marauiglioso artificio fabricato, con figure antiche di certa pietra nera lauorate di grandissima perfettione, delle quali alcune ne restano in piedi ruinate e guaste, però che questi Portughesi non le tengono in stima alcuna. S'io ne potrò hauer alcuna à mano così ruinata, la drizzarò a V.S. [il Duca Giuliano de Medici] á fine ch'ella vegga quanto anticamente la scoltura in ogni parte fu hauuta in prezzo" (Ramusio 193v); cf. DI IV 206.

<sup>69</sup> In 1549 Frey Antonio do Casal called the church "tam honorado e sumtuoso templo" (SR IV 256).

<sup>70</sup> Preserved in the present church (picture in Telles 35).

<sup>71</sup> In 1565 Frois wrote from Miyako that in the Tōfukuji monastery of that city there was a statue of Buddha as high as from the floor to the vault of the church

church received a tile roof<sup>72</sup> and the altarpieces which had been sent from Portugal.<sup>73</sup> As a consequence, the monastery church of the cathedral stood worthily at its side.

South of the fortress, on the Rua Direita, the main artery of the city, there was first on the right the town hall, then the Sabayo Palace,<sup>74</sup> the dwelling of the governor, on an open square. This was a three-storied, elegant building with tall, black granite steps and a large reception hall. At the end of the street near the Bacaes Gate,<sup>75</sup> to the right, on the Rua do Crucifixo was the Misericórdia with its chapel.<sup>76</sup> Over the right section of the twin gate<sup>77</sup> was the small chapel of Nossa Senhora da Serra,<sup>78</sup> access to which was given by a high stone staircase. The building was vaulted and its battlements gave it the appearance of a fortified tower guarding the entrance into the city. Its façade was on the northwest.<sup>79</sup> On its exterior<sup>80</sup> left of the entrance, that is, on the Gospel side of the chapel,<sup>81</sup> was the elaborate monument of Dom Antonio de Noronha with his family coat of arms—the five shields of Portugal squared off with the combined arms of Castile and Leon, a castle between two rampant lions. Over his sarcophagus were two angels with a banner carrying the following inscription:

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of São Francisco in Goa. The statue, which was burned in 1881 along with the temple, was forty-nine feet high (Schurhammer, "Das Stadtbild Kyotos" 167).

<sup>72</sup> SR II 102-103 105.

<sup>73</sup> In 1549 Frey Antonio do Casal wrote to the king that the church did not have an altarpiece on the high altar, for the old one was already falling into ruins, as were the two in the transept. The hall of the chapter also lacked an altarpiece and he had already written about it several times. The friars were sad that such a splendid and ornate church did not have an altarpiece (SR IV 256).

<sup>74</sup> The buildings of the Sabayo Palace were "casas mui nobres, obra mui formosa e bem lavrada" (*Comm. Dalboquerque* 3, 4), "com hum grande terreiro e grandes alpenderes com esteos de páo de muytos labores, com jardim d'ervas cheirosa" (Correa II 59). In front of it were high stone steps (Castanheda 3, 42). In 1538 the palace was in a miserable state. In 1539 the viceroy, D. Garcia de Noronha, therefore had 3,500 gold *pardaus* assigned to it (Correa IV 12 87-88). In 1557 the palace was dilapidated, Barreto therefore made a definitive transfer of the residence of the governor to the fortress (Couto 7, 5, 8). In 1560 it became the seat of the Inquisition. In 1820 its last remains were torn down (Saldanha II 149-162). A plan of the building from 1634 is given by Baião, *Inquisição* I 88.

<sup>75</sup> "Grocers' Gate" (*bakkal*: grain merchant, grocer).

<sup>76</sup> At the time of his entry in 1547, Castro first prayed in the church of the Misericórdia, then in Nossa Senhora da Serra, where he sprinkled holy water on the tomb of Albuquerque (Correa IV 591). The little, old church of the confraternity was not replaced by a large, new one until 1563 (SR IX 238).

<sup>77</sup> Named after the chapel (Barros 2, 10, 8).

<sup>78</sup> On the church see SRH 213-215; Seb. Gonçalves 10, 25; Saldanha II 145-146; Bragança Pereira, "Templos levantados em Goa por A. de Albuquerque," OOP 23 (1939) 12-130, and Albuquerque's will of 1515, published by Ch. Ayres in *Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das sciencias de Lisboa* 4 (1911) 115-139. In it Albuquerque calls the church "Nossa Senhora da Anunciação e Encarnação" (121 125 138). Correa also calls it "Nossa Senhora da Conceição" (II 457).

<sup>79</sup> Correa II 376 472; plan in Linschoten I 120.

<sup>80</sup> Couto wrote in 1603 that D. Diogo de Noronha, who died in Damão in 1560, had ordered that his bones should be brought to Goa and placed in the church of Nossa Senhora da Serra, where those of his uncle Affonso de Albuquerque and of D. Antonio Noronha were, and he added: "E ainda hoje estão estas tres sepulturas, a de Affonso de Albuquerque na Capella, e as outras duas nas paredes de fóra, em sepulturas de pedra muito bem lavradas e curiosas" (7, 9, 9, p. 368).

<sup>81</sup> That of D. Diogo was on the Epistle side (Seb. Gonçalves 10, 25).



Here lies Dom Antonio de Noronha, son of Dom Fernando de Noronha and Dona Constança de Castro. He was descended from the royal houses of Portugal and Castile. By order of the noble lord Afonso de Albuquerque, his uncle, the governor of India, he was the first captain of this city, which he captured from the Moors. He received a wound in the defeat which he, as one of the principal captains, inflicted upon the fleet of Idalquā [Adil Khān] on this river; and he died from it on July 6, 1510, at the age of twenty-four.<sup>82</sup>

The praise was well deserved. Four years earlier Dom Antonio had sailed to India with his uncle and, despite his youth, had become one of the bravest captains and, as it were, the governor's right hand. He had distinguished himself at the storming of Barāwa and Socotra, in the campaign against Ormuz and Calicut, and also in the sea battle between Dom Francisco de Almeida and the Egyptian fleet. His death had been keenly felt by his uncle Albuquerque, who had had his body temporarily buried under a tree on the southern tip of the island of Divar.<sup>83</sup> After the recapture of Goa he had it placed in a stone sarcophagus<sup>84</sup> in the chapel of the fortress.<sup>85</sup> Later his tomb was transferred to Nossa Senhora da Serra.<sup>86</sup>

In February 1515 Albuquerque had sailed to the Red Sea with the ship *Nossa Senhora da Serra* in order to capture Aden and together with Preste Joam destroy the house of the False Prophet in Mecca. When he was sailing past the island of Kamarān, he ran into a shallows and was in danger of sinking. He recommended himself to his heavenly Mother and vowed that he would spend one thousand *cruzados* in building a Mary chapel in Goa.<sup>87</sup> Immediately after his return he carried out his promise and ordered the erection of forty-eight sales-booths outside the Bacaes Gate, whose income was to accrue to the chapel.<sup>88</sup> It was for the most part completed, having been partially built with stones from the ruined Great Pagoda of Divar,<sup>89</sup> when Albuquerque sailed for Ormuz at the beginning of 1515.<sup>90</sup> Even there he did not forget his cherished foundation. When the Persian king Shaikh Ismāil sent him a precious robe of state and other gifts, he ordered a garment to be made from it for Nossa Senhora da Serra.<sup>91</sup> Even before his departure from Goa he had endowed the church with quantities of silken cloth for vestments and antependia. On November 1, 1515, before he left Ormuz mortally ill, he dictated his final testament, in which he ordered the chapel of Our Lady of the Conception and Incarnation, as he called Nossa Senhora da Serra, and the forty-eight booths to be com-

<sup>82</sup> Today in the museum of São Francisco in Goa; cf. OOP 13 (1936) 283-284, picture 302-v.

<sup>83</sup> Correa II 109.

<sup>84</sup> In a "tumba de pedra" (*ibid.*).

<sup>85</sup> Correa states that Albuquerque first had his stone sarcophagus placed in the Sé and then in Nossa Senhora da Serra, and he adds: "E hoje em dia ahy está, e estará em quando Nosso Senhor quiser" (*ibid.*). But in his will Albuquerque says: "Mando mais que a sepultura, em que jaz a osada de meu sobrinho Dom Antonio, que Deus aja, que está dentro na capella da fortaleza em Guoa" (Ayres, *Testamento* 138).

<sup>86</sup> *Idem*; *Comm. Dalboquerque* 2, 38.

<sup>87</sup> Correa II 347; Castanheda 3, 109; Barros 2, 8, 2.

<sup>88</sup> Ayres, *Testamento* 121.

<sup>89</sup> Under the ruins of the church of Nossa Senhora da Serra were found sculptures which, according to Bragança Pereira, came from this pagoda. They are now in the museum of San Gaetano in Goa; cf. OOP 23 (1939) 135-135.

<sup>90</sup> SR I 250-251.

<sup>91</sup> Correa II 425.

pleted. He also gave orders that he should be buried in the said chapel and that a chaplain should be maintained from the revenues of the booths, who should every day offer in it a Mass of the Conception for the repose of his soul if he should die in India. The chaplain should receive an annual income of eighteen *milreis* for this, and what was left over from the revenues required by the church should be passed out each Friday to the most abandoned and neediest orphans of the city at the door of the chapel. All the silk, brocade, damask, velvet, and satin materials which were found in his trunks, and all the clothes suitable for the purpose should be given to the chapel and vestments made from them.<sup>92</sup> On his voyage back to India, Albuquerque learned from a letter that had been found on a Moorish ship that the king had appointed his worst enemy, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, to be his successor as governor of India.<sup>93</sup> On November 23 he accordingly added a codicil to his will in which he gave orders that his body should be buried in a well-known spot outside the chapel because there was no room for him within it,<sup>94</sup> and when it had decomposed, his bones should be carried back to Portugal.<sup>95</sup> The tomb of his nephew, however, Dom Antonio, should be transferred from the chapel of the fortress to that of the Conception (*Nossa Senhora da Serra*); and over it the chaplain should recite the *Responsorium* and sprinkle holy water, as he should over his (Albuquerque's) own grave as long as his body remained in India.<sup>96</sup>

He was never again to see his beloved Goa. On the evening of December 15 his ship, the *Flor de la Rosa*, reached the bar. He felt that his end was near and asked his confessor, Frey Domingos de Sousa, to read for him the Passion from the Gospel of St. Luke, for he had always had a great devotion to the sufferings of Christ. He then had himself dressed in the white habit of a knight of St. James; and an hour after midnight, on the morning of December 16, 1515, the third Sunday of Advent, he rendered his soul up to his Redeemer.<sup>97</sup>

All wept as his body was carried in solemn procession on an open bier through the Rua Direita to the chapel of *Nossa Senhora da Serra*, for all, Christians, pagans, and Moors, regarded him as their father.<sup>98</sup> When the pagans saw the face of the dead man with its long white beard reaching down to his hips and its half-open eyes, they refused to believe that he had died but said in their lamentations that God had called him to Himself in another land in order to wage a war for Him there.<sup>99</sup>

Lopo Soares, the new governor, enraged by the honors which the people showed to the deceased Albuquerque, did everything he could to undo his work and to destroy his memory. He even went so far as to order Gaspar Correa, the *vedor* of the buildings of Goa, to tear down the chapel and to uproot the

<sup>92</sup> Ayres, *Testamento* 126 138.

<sup>93</sup> Castanheda 3, 154; Barros 2, 10, 8; *Comm. Dalboquerque* 4, 45; differently in Correa IV 457-458.

<sup>94</sup> Ayres, *Testamento* 138.

<sup>95</sup> Only in 1565, when a bull forced them under the threat of excommunication, did the people of Goa let his bones be taken to Lisbon, where they were placed in a prominent grave in the Graça monastery. They were rediscovered there in 1900 (*Comm. Dalboquerque* 4, 49; A. Baião, *Afonso de Albuquerque* [Lisboa, 1913] 119-123).

<sup>96</sup> Ayres, *Testamento* 138.

<sup>97</sup> Castanheda 3, 154; Barros 2, 10, 8; *Comm. Dalboquerque* 4, 45. Correa errs in having him die on December 27 (II 459).

<sup>98</sup> Castanheda 3, 153; Barros 2, 10, 8; *Comm. Dalboquerque* 4, 46.

<sup>99</sup> *Comm. Dalboquerque* 4, 46; Barros 2, 10, 8.

bones of his predecessor from beneath a neighboring tree; but this he refused to do. When Pedro de Albuquerque, the captain of Ormuz, learned of this, he sent one of his men to surround the grave with a fence and to set the chapel in order. He also had the governor informed that, since he was leaving the Rumes in Kamarân, who were still alive, at peace, he should also leave the bones of his uncle, which were lying in his grave, at peace.<sup>100</sup> The natives, however, came for a long time and laid flowers and fragrant plants on his resting place and brought oil for the lamps and spoke to the deceased as if he were still alive, and complained to him about their sufferings when they were oppressed by Albuquerque's successor, and they asked him for help.<sup>101</sup>

Beyond the Bacaes Gate lay the bazaar of the goldsmiths, the Pelourinho,<sup>102</sup> and the column of justice. From here there were four streets radiating out into the suburbs, which were primarily occupied by natives. At a distance of a quarter of an hour straight south was the triple-naved church of Nossa Senhora da Luz,<sup>103</sup> where Gabriel Fermoso, who had accompanied Xavier on his voyage to India, was exercising his office of rector as he had before.<sup>104</sup> The patroness of the church was Our Lady of the Snows,<sup>105</sup> although there was never any snow in Goa. A side chapel on the Epistle side was dedicated to the conversion of St. Paul. Dom Henrique de Meneses, captain of Goa in 1524 and then governor of India until 1526, had endowed it with a daily Mass.<sup>106</sup> In the sacristy was preserved the chalice which King Manuel had given to the church.<sup>107</sup>

To the right of the bazaar there was a road that led one climbing it slowly in half an hour to two churches standing near each other, Santo Antonio and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. The hill on which they were located fell off here towards the north and, near the church of the Rosario, sharply off also to the west. It afforded a beautiful view of the city and the river with its islands. On the memorable morning of November 25, 1510, Albuquerque stood here with the royal standard and two hundred men and directed the battle for the recapture of Goa. When one of his captains, Antão Nogueira,<sup>108</sup> observed to him:

<sup>100</sup> Correa II 472 482.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* 472; *Comm. Dalboquerque* 4, 46. According to \*Queyroz, it was elaborately restored by the viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque (1591-1597) and adorned with a precious altarpiece, a cenotaph of Albuquerque, and a statue of him over the façade (London, Br. Museum: *Egerton 1646*, f. 9v; Lisbon, Bibl. Nac., *Fundo Geral 482*: \**Vida e ações de Mathias de Albuquerque*). The church was destroyed in 1811 and the façade in 1842. Its site now serves as the cemetery of the Sé. Over the vault of the choir of the church of Nossa Senhora da Serra in Chimbél (on the island of Goa) is a bust of the Mother of God with her Child on a mountain which, according to tradition, goes back to our church (OOP 18 [1937] 13-15). The cenotaph was discovered under the ruins in 1892 and is today in the museum of the Geographical Society in Lisbon (OOP 2 [1905] 619-641). The statue is today in Pangim (Baião, *A. de Albuquerque* 126-127).

<sup>102</sup> The Pelourinho Velho (Correa II 376; see the plan in Linschoten I 120). The Pelourinho Novo, erected later, is preserved between the old church and Nostra Senhora da Luz.

<sup>103</sup> Located in the native quarter (DI I 779, IV 154-156) and described in 1610 by Seb. Gonçalves (10, 25), it had thirty thousand parishoners in 1614, eight in 1827, and was torn down in 1831. The gallows stood nearby. Their foundations are still visible (Saldanha II 19).

<sup>104</sup> SR II 287; EX II 219.

<sup>105</sup> \*Pinto 295v.

<sup>106</sup> DI I 779, where a later addition states that the donor must have been an "afilhado do governador deste nome."

<sup>107</sup> Seb. Gonçalves 10, 25.

<sup>108</sup> The contradictory data about Antão Nogueira in Correa and Barros indicate that there were several persons of this name in India.

"Senhor, our men have forced their way into the city and captured it; and here on this spot there will be a church to Our Lady of the Rosary," the governor replied: "A church of our Lady and one in honor of St. Anthony."<sup>109</sup> Albuquerque did not forget what he had said. When, already deathly ill, he was dictating his testament in Ormuz, he added: "I order that a chapel of the blessed St. Anthony be built in Goa, and it should be above the other chapel on the beach where the boats are drawn up on the land."<sup>110</sup> His order was carried out.<sup>111</sup> Nogueira also kept his word.<sup>112</sup> A stone's-throw from Santo Antonio he had the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Rosario built over the western slope of the hill.<sup>113</sup> It became a landmark for ships coming to anchor near the beach below it.<sup>114</sup> North of it, on the peak of the palm-covered hill of the island of Divar, Nogueira built a second chapel, Nossa Senhora da Piedade;<sup>115</sup> and still in Albuquerque's time he provided both with an income. The patronal feast of the church of the Rosario was celebrated on the Assumption, August 15, and a native artist painted for its high altar a small picture in oils which could not, of course, bear comparison with the altarpieces of the Flemish masters.<sup>116</sup>

North of the Carreira dos Cavallos, which lead to the leprosarium, and reached by a road rising steeply from the bazaar was the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte,<sup>117</sup> the oldest church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin on the island. The

<sup>109</sup> Correa II 151-152.

<sup>110</sup> Ayres, *Testamento* 129.

<sup>111</sup> On the church of Santo Antonio, see F. X. Gomes Catão, "Capela Real de Santo António em Goa," *Boletim Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Goa* 19 (1960) 50-57; Seb. Gonçalves 10, 25; Telles 74-77; Saldanha II 27-28. It was rebuilt and enlarged in 1680, during the course of which the choir and portal were exchanged (SR XI 126).

<sup>112</sup> \*Aleixos Afonso, who was parish priest of the Rosario church in 1548 (Q, pl. XI 2) and retained an excellent memory even in his great old age (\*Anonymous 264v), wrote in 1583: "Antão Nogueira de Brito mandou fazer o Rosario e Nossa Senhora da Piedade em Diuar e lhe deixou rendas no tempo do governador Affonso de Albuquerque" (260).

<sup>113</sup> In 1548 Aleixos Afonso wrote to the king together with the representatives of the confraternity of the Rosario that among the churches and chapels of the suburbs of Goa, some of which were now parishes, the oldest was their church of Nossa Senhora do Rosario (SR IV 128). By this he probably meant that their church was the oldest parish in the suburbs. The \*Anonymous, who appeals to the oral data of the first scholar of the Sé, wrote that Nossa Senhora do Monte was the first church built to Mary on the island of Goa, and he added that Bishop Albuquerque erected four parishes: Rosario, which had precedence over all the others, Luz, Pangim, and São João Bautista (263v-264) in Carambolim. The church was torn down in 1548 and 1549 and a larger one built. Once one of the largest parishes in Goa, it had only six parishoners in 1827. It was suppressed in 1869 and turned into a dependent chapel of the cathedral (Saldanha II 17). Cf. M. Tavares Chicó, "A Igreja do Priorado do Rosario de Velha Goa," *Belas Artes* 7 (Lisboa, 1954) 17-22; Seb. Gonçalves 10, 25; Telles 71-74. An account of 1774 confuses the erection of the parish in 1543 with the founding of the church (OOP 8 [1911] 244). The claim that Pero de Faria, who had a house on the Rosario hill (Correa II 151), had given the ground for the erection of the Rosario and Santo Antonio chapels (Seb. Gonçalves 10, 25; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 2, 1, 2, 49) is contradicted by contemporary sources.

<sup>114</sup> Queyroz, *Basto* 30.

<sup>115</sup> The present church of the Piedade on Divar was built in 1710; the old church was thereafter used as a cemetery. See Cipr. Peregrino Gomes, *Estudo Historico-Archeologico da Egreja de Nossa Senhora da Piedade da Ilha de Divar* (Bastorá, 1902) and Rocha e Sá, "Na Agonia do Heroe. Affonso de Albuquerque e a Ermida da ilha de Divar," OOP 8 (1911) 176-183.

<sup>116</sup> SR IV 128.

<sup>117</sup> On it see Telles 77-78; Saldanha II 28, and \*Henrique Bravo de Moraes, *Noticia de como e quando se erigiu a cathedral de Goa, e dos Bispos e Arcebispos que nella houve. 1722* (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac., *Fundo geral* 176, 161) (cf. OOP 1 [1931] 149-150). The

peak of the hill on which it stood was 262 feet high and dominated Goa. When Adil Khān came to help his Moorish captains in May, 1510, with forty thousand foot soldiers, eight thousand cavalymen, and one thousand guns, he planted here his blue-red banner and his guns that caused severe damage in the city.<sup>118</sup> In March, 1511, the Moors again fired upon the city from this hill, though they were not successful this time in recapturing it.<sup>119</sup> To replace a pagan temple in honor of a Hindu goddess, Albuquerque had a church built here in honor of the Queen of Heaven;<sup>120</sup> and, on his last voyage from Ormuz to India, he still thought of it and added a postscript to his will which read as follows: "I order a gold plaque to be made with a crimped edge and a hole in its center containing a small *pelourinho* and a betel nut, and that it should be brought to Nossa Senhora do Monte in Goa, for I promised it."<sup>121</sup> A sacristan, who lived near the chapel, was maintained from the endowment which he had given to it.<sup>122</sup> On the feast of Mary's Nativity, September 8, the pagans also brought their offerings to it—wax, oil, and money.<sup>123</sup>

From the square near the church there was a splendid panorama. Below, to the north, was the city at the foot of the hill,<sup>124</sup> with its walls and moats, its red tiled roofs, and green gardens. Rising up from it were the tall towers of the Franciscan church, the Sé, and the fortress and ornate Sabayo Palace. East of the city was the sparkling white church of Santa Luzia in the midst of the fresh green of coconut palms and mango trees.<sup>125</sup> Immediately below and to the right of the hill, near the pass of Daugim, was the church of Madre de Deus.<sup>126</sup> On the far side of the silvery Mandovi River lay three islands. On the right was the flat island of Jua, to the left hilly Chorão, and in the center Divar, with the white chapel of Nossa Senhora da Piedade on its highest ground. The island had once been famous for its numerous temples, to which pilgrims came from afar in order to obtain forgiveness of their sins in their holy waters.

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present church was built in 1557 to replace the old, larger church. It has been repeatedly restored since then.

<sup>118</sup> Correa II 93-94.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* 193 195.

<sup>120</sup> \*Bravo de Moraes 161.

<sup>121</sup> "Numa folhad'oro com hum buraquo no meio como framzido e nelle hum pellourinho pequeno com huma avellã" (Ayres, *Testamento* 137).

<sup>122</sup> In 1519 Gonçalo Coelho, "irmitão de N. Sra. do Monte," received 14 1/2 *cruzados* of his livelihood for fourteen months of service in this office up to the end of April; and as long as he served in it, he was to receive his support as *homen de armas* (SR 386-387).

<sup>123</sup> \*Bravo de Moraes 161.

<sup>124</sup> Already in 1567 Gaspar Dias, S.J., praised the panorama (SR X 243-244). See map, p. 147, and the plan in Linschoten I 120.

<sup>125</sup> The church was built before 1538 by João Rodrigues de Vasconcellos at his own expense on a piece of ground he gave for this purpose (\*Afonso 260; cf. \*Anonymous 264), the same person whom we encounter in 1542 as treasurer of the India House in Lisbon (Q 1005). It became a parish church under Bishop Gaspar de Leão Pereira (1560-1567) (\*Pinto 295), and was pulled down in 1873 (Saldanha II 20-21).

<sup>126</sup> The chapel of Madre de Deus was built not long before 1539 (\*Anonymous 263). The natives, who by the beginning of 1543 were almost all converted to Christianity, had destroyed their temples and asked for a church, and in 1543 the sanctuary of the Mother of God was already a very popular place of pilgrimage (SR II 343). In 1567 Bishop Gaspar built a Recollect monastery next to it. Both this and the church were demolished in 1873 and the miraculous picture brought to the parish church of Saligão on Bardez (Saldanha II 93-100).

The island was inhabited by proud Brahmans, who stubbornly held to the religion of their fathers and strengthened the faith of the people in their old gods.<sup>127</sup>

In the west, on the hill above the city, could be seen the two churches of Santo Antonio and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. Beyond the hill, and separated from it by a little valley, was the height of Banguenim with its famous spring that provided Goa with its fresh water.<sup>128</sup> Hidden from view on the far side of the palm groves growing along the Mandovi River was the suburb of Panelim and then Ribandar with its church of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda.<sup>129</sup> A half a league farther on was Pangim with its castle and church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição.<sup>130</sup> Still a half hour farther on, beyond Taleigão, on the outermost tip of the island, was another landmark, the solitary chapel of Nossa Senhora do Cabo, where a hermit dwelt.<sup>131</sup>

To the south, also hidden from sight, on the other side of the hill, not far from the ruins of the former capital of the Hindu kings, was the village of Batim with its church of Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe.<sup>132</sup> Still further south was Agaçaim with its chapel of Saint Lawrence,<sup>133</sup> a solitary witness to Christianity in a pagan land. Close under Nossa Senhora do Monte on the south was the hospital for lepers, São Lazaro, near the road leading to the Banasterim Pass, the key to Goa and the gateway for invading Moors in earlier times.<sup>134</sup> Further east, along the same street, was the church of St. James<sup>135</sup> near the strong four-storied tower of St. James, which Albuquerque had built from the stones of the old Hindu capital.<sup>136</sup> Further south, on the other side of the pond of Timmōja,<sup>137</sup> was the large village of Carambolim with its church of St. John the Baptist, built from the ruins of the former main temple on the island.<sup>138</sup> North of Banasterim was the *passo seco* with the church of St. Blaise,<sup>139</sup> which was also protected by a rampart.<sup>140</sup> A wall with bastions that had been built by the Moors led from Daugim to Carambolim in order to block the attack of

<sup>127</sup> DI IV 668-673; Castanheda 2, 34. A list of the former temples on the three islands is given by Pissurlencar in Pais 166-168.

<sup>128</sup> Linschoten I 125.

<sup>129</sup> The church of Ribandar was built before 1539 (\*Anonymous 263v). It was raised to the status of a parish church by Bishop Albuquerque, who died in 1553 (\*Pinto 295v; \*Afonso 260).

<sup>130</sup> The church of Pangim was also built before 1539 (\*Anonymous 263v). It became a parish church under Bishop Albuquerque (\*Pinto 295; \*Afonso 260).

<sup>131</sup> DI I 769.

<sup>132</sup> The church was built under Miguel Vaz, who came to India in 1533, before 1539 (\*Afonso 260; \*Anonymous 263v). It became a parish church under Bishop Albuquerque (\*Pinto 295v).

<sup>133</sup> DI I 768.

<sup>134</sup> CA I 43.

<sup>135</sup> The chapel was built before 1539 (\*Anonymous 264). It became a parish church under Bishop Gaspar (\*Pinto 296).

<sup>136</sup> CA I 43 201.

<sup>137</sup> So called after the house which Timmōja, Albuquerque's assistant in the capture of Goa, had there (Correa II 62).

<sup>138</sup> Banasterim, Divar, Pangim, Batim, Carambolim, and the suburb of Luz were, outside of Goa, the main centers where most of the Christians, Portuguese and natives, lived (DI I 767). Carambolim was the largest and most prominent village of the island, and the main pagoda stood here. Miguel Vaz destroyed it and built the church in its place (*ibid.* IV 657-658), which is already mentioned in 1541 (*ibid.* I 767). It became a parish church under Bishop Albuquerque (\*Pinto 295v; \*Afonso 260, and Botelho, *Tombo* 69). According to tradition, a Brahman's dream prompted the request for a church (\*Trindade 180-181).

<sup>139</sup> It was being built in June, 1541 (DI I 768). Bishop Gaspar raised it to a parish church (\*Afonso 260).

<sup>140</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 73; Correa IV 699.

enemies upon the island.<sup>141</sup> Beyond it, on the north, south, and east lay the rolling country of the mainland. At its closest point it was only half an hour from Nossa Senhora do Monte. This was pagan territory under the rule of Adil Khān with sacred pools, shrines, and statues of gods with many arms or with the heads of men, elephants, monkeys, boars, and lions; with its triune deities of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva; its Brahman priests and fakirs, temple prostitutes and sacred cows, where widows had to let themselves be burned alive on the funeral pyre of their husbands in order not to be condemned to a life of shame.<sup>142</sup>

Pondá, the frontier fortress of the Moors, was only three hours away from Goa. Beyond it, far to the east, rose the high, pale blue wall of the Ghāts, separating the coastal provinces of Konkan from Bālāghāt, the highland of the Deccan. There, fifteen leagues from Goa, lay Belgaum, the residence of Asad Khān, a sly and slippery neighbor of the Portuguese. The areas along the coast were under his control.<sup>143</sup> His city was full of Portuguese renegades, and his armory of Portuguese weapons. Fifty of these deserters had fought under his captain Salābat Khān when the Hindus under their king Krishna Deva took the city of Raichūr in 1520,<sup>144</sup> and since then things had become worse rather than better.<sup>145</sup>

On the other side of Belgaum, forty-five leagues to the northeast was Bijapur, the many-mosqued capital<sup>146</sup> of the overlord of Asad Khān, Ibrāhīm Adil Khān,<sup>147</sup> the most powerful of the five Moorish kings of the Deccan, whose grandfather had snatched Goa from the Portuguese in 1510.

Forty leagues south of Bijapur, and sixty leagues to the southeast of Goa, was Vijayanagar,<sup>148</sup> the capital of his hereditary foe, the powerful king of

<sup>141</sup> Correa II 93 304; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 1.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. the descriptions of the land by Domingos Paes, who went as a horse trader from Goa to Vijayanagar around 1522 (Sewell 236-246), of the horse trader Fernão Nunes of about 1535 (*ibid.* 390-395), of Barbosa of about 1516 (I 212-228), and of the \*Desenhos, nn. 78-93.

<sup>143</sup> He was a Turk by the name of Khusrū, but was also called Sufo Lari after Lar, his native village. He entered the service of Ismāil Adil Khān and received from him as a reward for his services the title of Asad Khān, and Belgaum as his fief. On him see Sewell 172-177 187-188.

<sup>144</sup> Data of Fernão Nunes, according to D. Lopes 39. Sewell has by mistake fifty instead of five hundred (142).

<sup>145</sup> See the drastic description of November 3, 1540, given by the old \*Seb. Garcês (Q 589).

<sup>146</sup> On Bijapur see the *Gazetter of the Bombay Presidency* 23: *Bijapur* (Bombay, 1-84) 567-644, and J. Burgess - H. Cousins, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1897) 152-182.

<sup>147</sup> On him see K. K. Basu, "An Account of Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh of Bijapur (1534-1557)," *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 26 (1940) 60-81 (from original Persian sources). He was born in 1524 (Correa III 639), ruled from 1534 to 1558, and in 1537 assumed the title of Adil Shāh (OOP 22 [1938] 449). He was also widely called by the Portuguese Idalcão (Adil Khān). Two accounts drawn up for the governor around 1548 describe his land, his revenues, and his imports and exports (Almeida Calado 48-50 76-88). According to these he received from Goa between seven to eight hundred, and at times a thousand, horses each year (*ibid.* 49). In 1561 Gonçalo Rodrigues described his trip from Goa to Belgaum (DI V 131-136).

<sup>148</sup> Vijayanagar (Victory City) was founded in the fourteenth century by King Harihara I. Since its destruction by the Mohammedans in 1565 it has been a ruins near the village of Hampi. Its remains still give evidence of its former splendor. Cf. A. H. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins Described and Illustrated* (sec. ed., Calcutta, 1925).

Narsinga,<sup>149</sup> or Bisnaga, as the Portuguese called his kingdom of Vijayanagar. All of the Hindu princes of southern India from sea to sea, and from Orissa in the northeast to Cape Comorin, with the exception of Malabar,<sup>150</sup> had united under his standard in order to defend their land and the faith of their fathers from the constant pressure of the militant followers of the Prophet.<sup>151</sup> From the beginning the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagar had taken the side of the Portuguese. The first of these was Narasimah, then, after 1509, the warlike Krishna Deva, who brought his capital to a flourishing state and adorned it with magnificent buildings.<sup>152</sup> In 1530 he was succeeded by his brother Achyuta, who, despite his generosity towards the Brahmans, alienated his chief followers through his vices, his perfidy, cowardice, and cruelty.<sup>153</sup> The Hindu lords needed the costly horses of Arabia and Persia for their wars against the Moors. The Portuguese had managed to obtain a monopoly on these. Hindu ambassadors as a consequence came repeatedly to Goa, and Portuguese ambassadors in turn went frequently to Vijayanagar.<sup>154</sup> The first of these was the Franciscan Frey Luis, who fell victim to a Turkish dagger in 1511. The last was Christovão de Figueiredo, who, with his twenty companions, helped King Krishna Deva capture the Moorish stronghold of Raichūr in 1520.<sup>155</sup> The Portuguese horse traders of Goa, especially the *casado* Fernão Nunes, were able to give accounts of the marvels of the great capital of the Hindu empire. Both he and his countryman Domingos Paes wrote very detailed accounts of it. They described its magnificent palaces built on high pyramidal terraces covered with sculptured reliefs; its countless pagan temples with their gilded copper roofs; its large courtyards surrounded by columned verandas; its open pavilions adorned with numerous statues; its friezes and surrounding walls; its numerous idols, fashioned of stone and metal in the shape of men, devils, lions, monkeys, and steers; its high gate towers; its steep pyramids covered from top to bottom with figures

<sup>149</sup> So called after King Vira Narasimha, who ruled from 1505 to 1508, at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese.

<sup>150</sup> Barbosa I 198-199.

<sup>151</sup> Nunes gives the number of vassal princes (Sewell 374 384-389; cf. Heras 172-192).

<sup>152</sup> Paes and Nunes, two horse traders who visited Vijayanagar at the time, have given a detailed account of Krishna Deva, who ruled from 1508-1530. About 1520 Paes described his court and capital. Nunes gives the earlier history from a Hindu chronicle and that of more recent times, up to 1535, as an eyewitness. Both works are given by Sewell with an extensive historical introduction in an English translation with a commentary. The original texts have been published by D. Lopes. For the sources on Krishna Deva see: S. I. Ayyangar, *Sources* 1919, and K. A. N. Sastri—N. Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, 3 vols. (Madras, 1946). For the inscriptions see Rangacharya I 302-306 311-313; for accounts, S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *The Yet-Remembered Ruler of a Long-Forgotten Empire, Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar, A.D. 1509-1530* (Madras, 1917); A. Rangaswami Sarasvati, "Political Maxims of the Emperor-Poet Krishnadeva Raya," *Journal of Indian History* 4 (1926) 61-88. The Tirupati temple (Chittoor District) preserves the realistic bronze statues of Krishna Deva and his two queens, a gift of the king (picture in Longhurst 114).

<sup>153</sup> See the harsh judgment of Nunes, who lived for three years under him in Vijayanagar "with little profit" (Sewell 235 367-369 377).

<sup>154</sup> In 1505 we already find Frey Luis do Salvador, O.F.M., with his nephew Pero Leitam at the court of Vijayanagar, from where he returned with an ambassador of Narasimha to Cannanore (CA II 341). Krishna Deva also repeatedly sent ambassadors to Goa, and ambassadors were sent from there to him (cf. Sewell 123-128 251; D. Lopes LXXVI-LXXXII; Heras, "Early Relations Between Vijayanagara and Portugal," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 16 [1925] 63-74).

<sup>155</sup> See the extensive account of Nunes in Sewell 323-360 and Sewell's careful study of it (*ibid.* 137-160).



of men and women that were frequently obscene. They also described the palatial quarters of the king with its apartments for his queens, his 500 wives, his countless concubines, and his 4,000 female servants; his standing army of 600,000 infantry, 24,000 cavalry, and numerous war elephants; the annual military review; the feasts of the gods with their processions, during the course of which fanatics let themselves be crushed by the heavy wheels of the clumsy wagons of the gods, high as towers and carrying dancers and musicians; and the main feast of the year, when the blood of thousands of sacrificial animals flowed in streams; and more besides.<sup>156</sup>

### 3. ON THE RUA DIREITA<sup>157</sup>

Goa's Rua Direita, with its ornate shops and bustling throngs,<sup>158</sup> was not unlike the Rua Nova dos Mercadores in Lisbon.<sup>159</sup> It passed from north to south, from the quay to the Bacaes Gate, and was the main artery of the city. All the products of the East and West were offered here for sale: rich Persian rugs, white and colored cottons from Cambay, precious silks and blue and white enameled porcelains from China, Portuguese woolen fabrics, gold and silver objects and ivory carvings from India, pearls from the Fishery Coast and the Persian Gulf, precious stones from southern India and Ceylon, nutmegs and cloves from the Moluccas, ginger and pepper from Malabar, laquered wares from Pegu, earthenwares from Martaban, horses from Arabia and Persia, male and female slaves from Africa and all the lands of Asia, and other items as well.

A varied and colorful populace enlivened the streets under the brilliant May sun. There were bearded Arab and Persian horse traders in long, colorfully decorated caftans;<sup>160</sup> brown Naitias, of mixed Moorish blood from the Kanara coast in long white robes;<sup>161</sup> Banyans, Hindu merchants from Cambay, wearing shoes with pointed, upturned toes and golden earrings, the most enterprising traders in the entire East, who scrupulously avoided killing any living creature, even an ant or a fly, and who had in their homeland a number of hospitals for old and sick animals, wearing a long, colorful frock, a white turban, and a white cloth thrown over their shoulders;<sup>162</sup> Hindu women wrapped in brilliantly colored

<sup>156</sup> Domingos Paes describes the city and its festivals at great length (Sewell 242-290). Fernão Nunes' account of the life at court is shorter (*ibid.* 369-395).

<sup>157</sup> For the following see the reconstruction in Ficalho, *Garcia da Orta* 139-214 (particularly 175-199). An extensive description of life and activities in Goa at the end of the century is given by Linschoten (especially I 120-128 153-155) with the picture "O Leilão que se faz cada dia pola menha na Rua direita na Cidade de Goa" (I 124). For the seventeenth century see Pyrard 2, 20-31 33 36-40. See also Botelho, *Tombo* 48-55. Among the foreigners mentioned in Goa in 1554 were Moors, Turks, Persians, Arabs, Abyssinians, Chinese, and many others, each wearing his own typical dress (DI III 114). In 1560 there were "caldeos, hebraicos, gregos, armenios, geniceros, rocios, arabios, parsios, mouros, judeus, bramenes, joges, abdutos, fartaquins, nobins, coroaçanes, mogores, guzarates, dacanís, canarins, canarás, malavares, chingalas, malaíes, pegus, bengalas, cafres, japões, chinas, maluquos, patanes, macasares, e tantas outras diversidade[s] de nações, que serya largo processo avê-las de particularizar" (*ibid.* IV 837-838). Their garb is given in the *\*Desenhos*, painted in India between 1538 and 1546.

<sup>158</sup> "Always full of people" (Correa IV 668).

<sup>159</sup> DI III 114.

<sup>160</sup> *\*Desenhos* 7.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.* 102.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.* 69; cf. Barbosa I 110-113; Pires 41; Linschoten I 167-169.

saris, their ankles, arms, ears, and nose adorned with rings;<sup>163</sup> heavily veiled Mohammedan women; black Negro slaves, who carried in pairs on a stout bamboo pole a heavy earthenware vessel with fresh water from Banguenim;<sup>164</sup> and brown Canarins, Hindu farmers of the surrounding areas, with short, white loincloths and bare breasts, carrying fruit or vegetables to the market.<sup>165</sup>

Money-changers, with their legs crossed beneath them, sat at the street corners. They were Shiva worshipers, having the white stripe of their sect painted upon their forehead and wearing a narrow, white, close-fitting garb that was brought together under the armpit, and upon their head a white turban.<sup>166</sup> They exchanged Portuguese gold *cruzados*, stamped with the globe and the cross of Christ and valued at 400 *reis*, or Venetian gold ducats, worth 420, for the countless different coins of the East.<sup>167</sup>

Mainatos, members of the washer caste, hauled huge bundles of clothes upon their backs.<sup>168</sup> Hindu drivers from the Deccan passed by in long rows with their oxen laden with sacks of grain.<sup>169</sup> A marriage cortege with musicians and dancers and women in gay saris, their gleaming, jet-black hair adorned with fragrant blossoms,<sup>170</sup> made their way through the throngs. Among the crowds could be seen Portuguese sailors and soldiers, *casados*, and an occasional *fidalgo*, riding on a horse, in hose, doublet, and a long, sleeveless frock, wearing a flat, black felt hat, a gold-trimmed dagger at his side, and accompanied by white, black, or brown servants, one of whom protected his lord from the rays of the sun with the obligatory red umbrella;<sup>171</sup> or a prominent mixed-blood in an open or closed litter carried by four servants and surrounded by a swarm of other servants, both male and female.<sup>172</sup>

The prosperous sales-booths were for the most part in the hands of Portuguese New Christians. After their forced conversion under King Manuel, they had not forfeited their business acumen and had stayed close together.<sup>173</sup> When the viceroy Noronha in 1540, shortly before his death, ordered one of them to be hanged for his complicity in a murder, the merchants of the Rua Direita offered to pay the weight of the condemned in silver if he were set free.<sup>174</sup> In December, 1539, the physician Jerónimo Dias had already written to the king from Goa:

There was burned one in this city who said that there is only life and death, and he spoke a thousand other blasphemies and heresies against our holy Catholic faith;

<sup>163</sup> \**Desenhos* 53-54; Valignano 26.

<sup>164</sup> Linschoten I 124. The Mandovi River had fresh water from June till September, sea water the rest of the time (Pyrard 2, 40-41).

<sup>165</sup> \**Desenhos* 65-66; Linschoten I 172-174.

<sup>166</sup> \**Desenhos* 49-50; Linschoten I 155.

<sup>167</sup> On the money see A. Nunez 1554; Ferrand, *Les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies*; Pyrard 2, 39-40; Barbosa I 99-100; Linschoten I 155.

<sup>168</sup> \**Desenhos* 71-72.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.* 61-62.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.* 98-101.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.* 96.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.* 97. Already in 1513 Correa spoke of native women who went to church accompanied by three or four female slaves laden with gold (II 375).

<sup>173</sup> \*Bras Bayão wrote in 1540 that one of the reasons why the Indies were going to ruin were the many New Christians who had already purchased a large share of the registers. One of these had already received from these alone from five to six thousand *pardaus* (Q 587).

<sup>174</sup> Correa IV 117.

and since he was a New Christian, he returned to his Jewish practices and uttered heresies that were worse than those of Luther, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius. And there are not a few of these in this city and in the other towns and fortresses of Your Highness of this same type and ferment, and they cause all kinds of harm in contracts and in trade as in everything else; for they seize and control everything, and everything goes through their hands, and there are no longer any honorable and responsible men here who can live with them. All the vessels of the India fleet are full of them. They come here as stowaways and without your permission, and it is believed here that Your Highness knows nothing of this, for they circumvent and nullify all the prohibitions which Your Majesty can make in this regard with money and bribes.<sup>175</sup>

#### 4. THE RELEASE OF DOM ALVARO DE ATAIDE

Martim Affonso de Sousa had hardly established himself in the Sabayo Palace when he took the necessary means to put some order into the country. He later wrote as follows:

I found this land in such a state of ruin and decline that I truthfully did not recognize it. The *fidalgos* were all dispersed throughout the fortresses, and many *fustas* were in open mutiny and causing great harm to the country. The people in India were so poor that they went through the streets at night and with loud cries asked for alms for the love of God. Remedies were immediately found for all this. I immediately ordered the *fidalgos* to help the soldiers in their need by providing them with a table. And I began to look after Your Highness' goods, and I put pressure on the factors to obtain money. With this I began to pay these poor people their salary, and I had a proclamation made that whoever went begging for alms in the future would be publicly flogged. When the soldiers saw their hunger stilled and their pay given to them, the earlier thefts and robberies ceased. All became tranquil, and all were well content. The *fidalgos* all came at once to me, and I had an open proclamation made in all the towns and fortresses of India that all mutineers should come to me within a fixed, short period of time, for they would be pardoned; but if anyone refused to do so, he had no hope of mercy from me. Most of them came and surrendered their ships and artillery. I had the others pursued and got them all into my hands. I punished them severely, and with this peace was established in the whole land.<sup>176</sup>

Through his seizure of the chests and books of the treasurer, of the factor of the fleet and of the trading station, the new governor had secured control of the royal properties. He handed over the important office of *vedor da fazenda*, which had been occupied by Fernão Rodrigues de Castelló Branco, to the former captain of Sofala, his cousin Aleixo de Sousa.<sup>177</sup> The chests and royal warehouses were empty. The debts of the king had risen to 200,000 *pardaus*. The register, with its ten thousand names, was long antiquated. Justice was rendered so slowly that trials broke down under their own weight, and the prisons were overflowing.<sup>178</sup> Bassein was threatened in Cambay, and in Malabar the kings of Cochin and Porakād<sup>179</sup> were in conflict with the king of Cranganore and

<sup>175</sup> Q 439 a; cf. DI III 408.

<sup>176</sup> *Autobiographia* 146.

<sup>177</sup> Couto 5, 8, 9.

<sup>178</sup> *Autobiographia* 147-148.

<sup>179</sup> South of Alleppey.

<sup>180</sup> As the rajah of Vadakkumkūr in the southeast of Cochin was called.

the Pepper King.<sup>180</sup> Martim Affonso immediately sent *catur*s with letters to the fortresses of India to announce his arrival; and his name, still freshly remembered by everyone, was sufficient to keep the foes in check and secure peace.<sup>181</sup>

Dom Estevão da Gama could obviously not forget that his successor had been critically informed about him by his enemies, that he had seized him like a thief in the night, and that, the very night of his arrival, Martim Affonso had arrested his officers and had their books and coffers confiscated in order to bring suit against him for embezzlement of the royal purse. He therefore summoned the *ouvidor geral* and the *provedor-mor* of the deceased with their notaries to Pangim and had them hold an inquisition before witnesses and make an inventory of his possessions so that he could clear himself with the king. He had the conclusion reached that he was fifty thousand *pardaus* poorer than when he entered into his position as governor, chiefly because of his expenditures on the expedition to the Red Sea.<sup>182</sup>

In nothing else did he say anything that might seem to be opposed to his successor. If anyone visited him in Pangim and mentioned the new governor, he turned the conversation to another topic; and, despite all the advice of his friends, he did not even ask for the release of his brother, who was still being held in custody. The result was that Martim Affonso, who was kept informed on everything, finally released Dom Alvaro de Ataide with an apology. After this, peace was reestablished, at least externally, between the two governors; and they mutually visited each other.<sup>183</sup>

##### 5. THE RETURN OF THE PATROL BOATS (MAY 13)

In January, 1542, Dom Estevão had sent out the usual patrol to the Red Sea in order to obtain news there of any preparations on the part of the Turks and on Dom Christovão. This consisted of five *fustas* under the command of Manuel de Vasconcellos. On May 13, seven days after the arrival of Martim Affonso de Sousa in India, four of them returned from there.<sup>184</sup> Already on their way out the sheik in Socotra had warned them of the many Turkish galleys in Aden that were keeping a sharp lookout for a Portuguese fleet that might be coming from India. He was right. There were twenty-two of them, and the five *fustas*, constantly pursued by their enemy, finally succeeded in making the voyage from Bab el-Mandeb, arriving at Massaua on February 24. By the time they arrived, the people, with the exception of a few who were old and sick and had been left behind, had fled. From these they learned that the king of Zeila had already fought a number of battles with Dom Christovão and had been consistently beaten, and that the Portuguese had killed one of his sons and nephews and had already captured numerous villages. The enemy was seeking revenge and was enlisting many Turks for the decisive conflict. The Portuguese had lost only four men, and the Preste had regained his whole kingdom. He was going with his forces to one frontier, his mother with a second army was going to another, and Dom Christovão was going with a great host to a third. A captain of Bähr-Nagāsh then came and confirmed all of this and added that Dom Christo-

<sup>181</sup> Correa IV 230-231.

<sup>182</sup> Couto 5, 8, 9, p. 238; Castanheda 9, 31; Q 1030.

<sup>183</sup> Correa IV 215.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.* 215 241 (against p. 232, where he has them arrive on May 8).

vão was a twelve days' march from Massaua and had promised a great reward to all who brought him letters from his countrymen. Two Portuguese were therefore sent with numerous letters from Dom Estevão and others, informing him that they had quantities of preserves, marmalades, clothes, and shoes for his men, and that they would wait until March 20 so that he could send for them. If the Turkish galleys should come to Massaua, they would sail farther along the coast and he could indicate by three fire or smoke signals where they should land.<sup>185</sup> The *fustas* then sailed on to Suakin and Jidda and learned that the Turks were equipping a large fleet in Suez, up to 200 ships, including 120 galleys and galiots, in order to conquer India. For this they had already assembled forty basilisks<sup>186</sup> and many other large and small guns. On their return voyage, the Portuguese found Massaua occupied by Turkish galleys. Manuel da Fonseca was therefore left behind with a ship in order to obtain, if at all possible, news of Dom Christovão. The other four *fustas* successfully passed through the straits; and on April 24 they left Monte Felix,<sup>187</sup> near Cape Guardafui, behind them. In Socotra they met the *Santiago*, Martim Affonso's lead ship, and gave it mutton and butter. Since it was sailing too slowly, they continued on ahead in order to reach India as soon as possible.<sup>188</sup>

The news of the Turkish preparations in Suez was a serious matter. Plans had to be made against their coming as soon as the monsoon had passed. Their coming meant a battle of life and death, of the presence or absence of Portuguese power in the entire East. Martim Affonso de Sousa therefore gave an immediate command to the officials of the Ribeira to ready the fleet for battle during the coming rainy season; and on May 20 he sent Payo Rodrigues as captain to Cochín and ordered him to complete as soon as possible a galiot and four caravels that had been begun by Dom Estevão and to make them very solid, and also *albetoças*,<sup>189</sup> which could be rowed; and each should have a basilisk at the bow and six heavy cannons on the sides.<sup>190</sup> He also sent word on the coming of the Turks to the Indian princes such as the Nizâm, with whom his

<sup>185</sup> At the end of February (according to Correa IV 360 at the beginning of March) the two Portuguese came with six Abyssinians to D. Christovão. He immediately had Francisco Velho get ready to go with forty men to the ship to give it letters for D. Estevão and the king and to obtain powder and other supplies needed for the war (Castanhoso 25-26; Correa IV 360-361). A \*copy of his letter to the king is extant (ARSI: Goa 10, 428-429), dated Baçanete (Ambā Sanēt), March 10, 1542. In it he wrote that the king of Zeila (Ahmed Granhe) had obtained from the Turkish captain of Zebid two hundred Rumes and two hundred Arabs. The decisive battle would take place in June. He asked the king, since the future was uncertain, to give his brother D. Alvaro the captaincy of Malacca in his stead. The latter would pay his debts for him, but he was himself so poor that if he received this favor too late, it would either no longer be of any use to him, or he would be forced to do something illicit. He had not as yet seen the Preste. Having lost his land, he was wandering in flight about the forests. He had only received two letters from him. He, D. Christovão, had on the other hand taken eighty leagues of land from the Moors. Thus far the letter. It is not clear how it got to Goa since Vasconcellos did not succeed in making further contact with D. Christovão; Fonseca probably brought it there in the fall.

<sup>186</sup> The basilisk was a heavy cannon thirty-five spans long and weighing up to 150 hundredweights (Pieris-Fitzler 328).

<sup>187</sup> Rās Filuk.

<sup>188</sup> Correa IV 232-241.

<sup>189</sup> A small, decked vessel.

<sup>190</sup> Correa IV 243.

predecessor had concluded a defensive and offensive alliance in March;<sup>191</sup> Adil Khān and his governor, Asad Khān;<sup>192</sup> and Achyuta, the king of Vijayanagar.<sup>193</sup>

#### 6. THE LOSS OF THE *Santiago* (BEGINNING OF JUNE)<sup>194</sup>

The first signs of the approaching southwest monsoon could already be seen. Masses of clouds with sheet and bolt lightning appeared daily over the Ghāts. Towards evening they would disappear and be replaced by a clear, starlit heaven. The sea was now becoming rough<sup>195</sup> when four merchantmen of Martim Affonso de Sousa's fleet appeared before Goa<sup>196</sup> on their way from Mozambique. A sudden, heavy storm from the south made it impossible for them to enter within the bar.<sup>197</sup> Numerous *caturs* were sent from the city with ropes and anchors. They took the ships in tow and finally, after great efforts and considerable danger, brought them into the Zuari River near Goa Velhá so that they could winter there.<sup>198</sup> They had been ready to sail from Mozambique on March 8, but because of bad weather and a strong current<sup>199</sup> they had not been able to leave until the twentieth;<sup>200</sup> and they had stayed too long in Socotra getting water.<sup>201</sup> Misser Paulo and Mansilhas had been left behind in the hospital, where the many sick and convalescent needed their assistance. They would reach Goa in September with the fleet sailing this year.<sup>202</sup> The *Santiago* had weighed anchor with the others at Mozambique<sup>203</sup> but had become separated from them on the way.<sup>204</sup> There was concern about the ship's delay. It was hourly, but vainly, expected. Master Francis frequently spoke with Cosme Anes about it. He was gravely concerned and said repeatedly: "Oh, the ship!" No one knew what he meant, but the tragic news came a few days later.<sup>205</sup>

The *Santiago* had sighted the Indian continent near Bassein and had sailed southwards from there in order to reach Goa.<sup>206</sup> But storm winds from the

<sup>191</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 117.

<sup>192</sup> Correa IV 253.

<sup>193</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 146-147.

<sup>194</sup> For the following the main sources are Xavier's letter of September 20, 1542 (EX I 125); \*João de Sepúlveda's letter from Mozambique of August 10, 1542 (Q 984); the \**Verdadeira enfformaçam* of 1545 (Q 1821); the testimony of Cosme Anes of 1556 (MX II 184); Correa IV 249; Castanheda 9, 31; the \**Memoria das Armadas* of 1566; \*Eça 36; Teixeira 841-842; Couto 5, 8, 9; and the accounts in Lucena 2, 1; Seb. Gonçalves 7, 6; Bartoli, *Asia* 1, 22; and Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 16.

<sup>195</sup> See *Segelhandbuch für die Westküste von Hindustan* (Berlin, 1907) 28.

<sup>196</sup> They came "a 20 e tantos de majo de fronte da barra de Goa" (\*Eça), ten or twelve days after Xavier (Teixeira), at the beginning of June (Correa), at the end of May, and according to others in June (Sousa), and August (Couto, Lucena).

<sup>197</sup> \*Eça.

<sup>198</sup> With great effort (\*Eça), danger (Castanheda).

<sup>199</sup> Because of the current (\*Eça), because of the bad weather (Sepúlveda).

<sup>200</sup> In the middle of March (Xavier), March 20 (Sepúlveda).

<sup>201</sup> \*Eça.

<sup>202</sup> According to Sepúlveda, against \*Eça, who has them come with Xavier, and Teixeira, who has them come with the four ships.

<sup>203</sup> According to \*Sepúlveda and Correa.

<sup>204</sup> Correa IV 241, against Couto and Lucena, who place the separation after Socotra.

<sup>205</sup> MX II 184. Cosme Anes errs in calling the ship "*São Thomé*." Bartoli has Xavier prophesy the sinking of the boat on the way to Mozambique (*Asia* 1, 22). Sousa makes two prophecies out of it, one before Mozambique and another in Goa (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 16).

<sup>206</sup> From Correa; according to Couto land was sighted north of Dābhol.

south had threatened to sink it.<sup>207</sup> Counsel was taken and, to avoid the worst, the ship was run aground in the Rio das Cabras, two leagues south of the fortress, opposite the pagoda of Salsette.<sup>208</sup> Almost all were rescued by the natives who came up with their boats.<sup>209</sup> Only six or seven drowned as they attempted to swim to the coast.<sup>210</sup> Immediate help came from Bassein, where Dom Francisco de Meneses was captain.<sup>211</sup> Before the wreck broke up and sank, much was saved from it—the money chests, all the artillery, and most of the copper in the hold, anchors, masts, crossbeams, windlasses, pulleys, and so forth.<sup>212</sup> The valuable cargo that the ship was carrying was, however, for the most part lost.<sup>213</sup> The survivors, all of whom were sick, were brought to Bassein to spend the winter,<sup>214</sup> since sailing on to Goa was at this time out of the question. The southwest monsoon had set in with thunder, lightning, and drenching rains.

The first rain changed the appearance of Goa with a stroke. The parched earth appeared as if it had been washed and refreshed. The rays of the sun were not so stinging as before. The wind had shifted and now blew constantly from the southwest. The skies were crossed by grey, low-hanging clouds and were constantly releasing sudden bursts of rain that beat through the tile roofs, changed the squares and streets into lakes and torrents, and drenched the lightly clad passers-by to the skin. After a shorter or longer interval the sun would shine again and mirror itself in thousands of brilliant raindrops on the green leaves of the banana bushes, on the crowns of the coconut palms, and on the tall, rising grass. A damp, musty smell filled the houses, a green mold crept over everything. Boats were drawn up upon the beach and protected against the rain by palm-leaf roofs. The salty waters of the Mandovi River turned sweet, and its swollen waters rushed swiftly to the sea. Farther out, the raging sea rose in mountainous waves, one after the other, and with foaming crests dashed noisily against the beach. The sea was unnavigable. For the next four months the governor, officers, soldiers, merchants, and along with them, Master Francis were held fast in Goa; and no ship could leave the harbor. For the period of waiting Francis found work to do in Goa, obtaining his room and board in the hospital. Cosme Anes never heard him speak again of the sinking of the *Santiago*

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<sup>207</sup> According to \*Eça. The ship apparently ran onto the reefs in front of the northwest coast of Salsette (near Bombay).

<sup>208</sup> At the Rio das Cabras, two leagues from Bassein (\*Eça), between Bassein and Versova (Sousa), opposite the pagoda (Correa). Castro is more precise: The Rio do Pagode, three leagues south of Bassein had received its name from a small pagoda in the north, on the bank of the river. On this coast there is only a small river known as the Rio das Cabras, into which *fustas* and *caturis* can sail during high tide (*Roteiro até Dio 90-91*). The small river called the Rio de Manapasser by Seb. Gonçalves (7, 6) is the Dahisar Nadi, which has its origins near the famous cave temple of Kanheri and empties out near the Mandapeshvar pagoda into Manori Creek, where the ship became stranded.

<sup>209</sup> According to Xavier, as opposed to Lucena, who has them all drown.

<sup>210</sup> Castanheda and Couto.

<sup>211</sup> According to Castanheda, the factor came; according to Couto, the captain himself.

<sup>212</sup> Couto and Sousa.

<sup>213</sup> Correa says that little was rescued, only the goods of the king; all of the possessions of the passengers were lost. According to \*Eça, the people and much of the goods were saved.

<sup>214</sup> Castanheda and Couto praised the concern of the captain of Bassein for his shipwrecked countrymen.

neither at length nor in passing; <sup>215</sup> whereas Gaspar Correa, the old *casado*, ascribed all the blame for it to Martim Affonso: He had ordered his ship to sail out of the usual time. <sup>216</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> According to Cosme Anes (MX II 184).

<sup>216</sup> Correa IV 249.



## CHAPTER V

### APOSTOLATE IN GOA (MAY—SEPTEMBER, 1542)<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. IN THE ROYAL HOSPITAL<sup>2</sup>

Immediately after the capture of Goa, Albuquerque had built a hospital on the site of the later bishop's palace. It was a long, single-storied, adobe building; and next to it was the chapel of St. Catherine, also built of adobe. Both were covered with palm leaves.<sup>3</sup> Fourteen years later the old building was replaced by a new structure which the captain of the city, Francisco Pereira Pestana, erected next to St. Catherine's Gate, running along the inner side of the city wall.<sup>4</sup> The citizens wrote to the king that they knew of no better place for the sick outside of Lisbon.<sup>5</sup>

When Master Francis came to Goa, Cosme Anes was busy renovating the old building and enlarging it with verandas and a new pharmacy. Miguel Vaz had, moreover, obtained from Dom Estevão da Gama an annual subsidy of 3,500 *cruzados* for the hospital and was trying to persuade the confraternity of the Misericórdia to take charge of it.<sup>6</sup> A stairway led from the door to the upper floor, where the wards for the wounded and sick were mainly located.<sup>7</sup> Although the quarters were narrow,<sup>8</sup> the vicar general regarded the hospital as a jewel of the city.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The principal sources for Xavier's labors in Goa in 1542 are his letters (EX I 93-144, II 455), a short notice of Lancilotto (DI I 133), and in particular the testimony of ten witnesses who were with the saint at the time in Goa. Nine of these are published in MX II: (1) Cosme Anes (184-185), (2) Dr. Cosme Saraiva (187-188), (3) Mestre João (211-212), (4) Bento Gomes (294-296), (5) Christovão de Castro (301-302), (6) Duarte de Miranda (371-372), (7) Antonio de Sousa (373-374), (8) João de Artiaga (374-375), (9) Antonio Pereira (417), and (10) João de Menelao (\*Lisbon, *RProcess* I, n. 7, 86). Accounts are given by Teixeira 841-846; \*Teixeira It. 2, 1-2; Valignano 45-59; Tursellinus 2, 1-5; 3, 7; Lucena 2, 1-7; 5, 3; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 3-7; Brou I 160-184.

<sup>2</sup> On the hospital see SRH 228-237; Saldanha II 183-189; Ferreira Martins 287-334; A. C. Germano da Silva Correia, *La Vieille-Goa* (Bastorá, 1931) 295-301; Silva Carvalho 96-106; cf. the *Regimento* of 1584 (APO V 1006-1051) and the letter of Philip II of 1593, in which he orders its reconstruction (*ibid.* III 386-387). The few remains of walls still extant are from the new hospital built between 1594 and 1598, to which all the descriptions of later travelers such as Pyrard also belong. The relief of the Holy Spirit with the inscription "Hospital Real do Espiritu Santo da Cidade de Goa, emparo de toda a India e remedio de toda a Soldatesca" probably also comes from it (picture in OOP 13 [1936] 306-307).

<sup>3</sup> Correa II 158.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 818; Botelho, *Tombo* 56.

<sup>5</sup> SR II 36-37.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 325-326.

<sup>7</sup> APO III 548 (1595), V 1006 1042.

<sup>8</sup> APO III 386-387.

<sup>9</sup> SR II 326.

Since the time of Albuquerque, the hospital had been under the care of the factor of the city; but this had entailed many disadvantages. When the factor ran out of funds, the sick had to suffer for it; and even though the king gave large sums for their care, the patients, because of the carelessness and mismanagement of the officials, were badly served.<sup>10</sup> The funds provided by the king quickly disappeared into their pockets, and only a small portion of them reached the sick. Master Francis had not spent a week in the hospital when Martim Affonso, informed about these irregularities, remedied them.<sup>11</sup>

On May 12 the governor went to the Misericórdia, where at his request the bishop, Cosme Anes, the *provedor* Pestana, with his secretary, and the rest of the confraternity had gathered. He reminded them of how the conquest of this part of India had led to a great increase in the Christian faith, and how the Portuguese, far from their homeland, had maintained this faith in the midst of so many sacrifices and dangers. He also reminded them of how the king sent his fleet every year to Goa for this purpose, and how the citizens were on this very account obliged to take care of their sick countrymen who came in these fleets and fell sick in the service of their king. He then spoke of the irregularities which had been noticed in the management of the hospital and earnestly asked the brothers of the Misericórdia, who had made so many personal sacrifices in the service of their neighbor, to take charge of it. He would gladly pay all their expenses and give them complete freedom and jurisdiction in managing it. The members of the Misericórdia had hitherto hesitated to take over the hospital. Since the governor had now, however, accepted all of their conditions, they acquiesced to his request. The Compromise<sup>12</sup> drawn up at the request of Cosme Anes and signed by the governor, the *provedor*, the secretary, and the brothers contained the following provisions:

1. From April 1, 1543, the hospital shall receive an annual income of 3,697 *pardaus*,<sup>13</sup> one *pardau* being worth five *tangas*. This income is the equivalent of the maximum expenditures of the preceding years. It will be paid four times a year out of the royal revenues from the islands of Jua<sup>14</sup> and Chorão, from the *tangas brancas*<sup>15</sup> which the *gancars*<sup>16</sup> have to pay each year; and the Misericórdia is empowered to imprison and punish those who refuse to pay. For the current year, 1542, it will receive these incomes from the city's horse tax; and if the brothers so desire, they can also receive their money from this tax later on. The *provedor* has to give an account of the use of this money only to the confraternity.

2. The hospital is exempt, so that neither the bishop nor royal officials can interfere in its management; and the members of the confraternity and all other people employed there enjoy all the privileges of the thirteen brothers at the table of the Misericórdia.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 313 325.

<sup>11</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 148.

<sup>12</sup> The text of the Compromise has been published by Ferreira Martins II 294-298 and, from a copy, in TdT SR II 312-319.

<sup>13</sup> According to Miguel Vaz, D. Estevão da Gama gave 3,500 *cruzados* (at 7 *tangas*, or 420 *reis*), and M. A. de Sousa raised it to 4,000 *cruzados* (SR II 326). Botelho however writes that when the Misericórdia took over the hospital it had an annual income of 3,697 *pardaus*, three pipes of wine, and one pipe of oil, which came to a total of 3,950 *pardaus* (Tombo 69). From the context he means silver *pardaus* at five *tangas*, and Vaz seems to have taken these *pardaus* for *cruzados*.

<sup>14</sup> Instead of *Jua*, SR has *Divar*.

<sup>15</sup> The *tanga branca* was a fictitious coinage.

<sup>16</sup> *Gancar* (*gāmvkār*), a representative of a village commune (cf. Delgado I 416-417).

<sup>17</sup> Those members of the confraternity who were actually in service.

3. The *provedor* and the brothers are completely free with respect to the appointment and dismissal of officials in the hospital, such as the physicians, pharmacists, and the rest of the personnel.

4. If the annual income is not sufficient, the Misericórdia can, in addition to the three hundred *pardaus* which it receives for the hospital on the arrival of the ship from Portugal, spend another two hundred *pardaus* from the funds which it has. Moreover, the hospital is to receive annually four pipes [at 114 gallons per pipe] of wine, one pipe of vinegar, and a quarter of oil; and everything it receives from Portugal or the continent shall be customs free. The *mainatos*,<sup>18</sup> who take care of the wash for the house, moreover, pay no caste tax, and are free from forced labor on the Ribeira when the ships are dragged onto the land.

5. Further, the governor is to take care of all expenses for necessary repairs of, and additions to, the sickrooms, laboratories, beds, and so forth; for the annual income must only be used for the nursing of the sick. And if a new hospital has to be built, he will also take care of the expenses.

The hospital was dedicated to the Holy Spirit.<sup>19</sup> From the time that it was taken over by the Misericórdia, it had as its administrator a *mordomo*, who represented the *provedor*. The *mordomo*, a rich and distinguished *fidalgo*, was elected each month by the confraternity. He received no pay for his services and was in charge of the personnel:<sup>20</sup> the physician,<sup>21</sup> surgeon,<sup>22</sup> barber (for

<sup>18</sup> The *Mainatos* (*mannatti*, alias *dhobi*) are the caste of launderers (Dalgado II 12-13).

<sup>19</sup> APO V 1031.

<sup>20</sup> On the following see the *Regimento* of the hospital of 1584, in which the daily order and the individual offices (that of *mordomo*, pp. 1016-1023) are handled in detail. Botelho names the *physicus*, surgeon, barber, purchasing agent, and pharmacist for 1553 (*Tombo* 70). See also the *Regimento* from around 1576 in Ferreira Martins II 318-332.

<sup>21</sup> The *physicus* of the hospital was the New Christian Garcia d'Orta, whom Xavier probably encountered there on his arrival, even though he was at times summoned by native princes, for example, the Nizām. Born in 1500, he had studied in Salamanca and Alcalá. In 1526 he received the appointment of *physicus* and taught philosophy at the University of Lisbon from 1526 to 1534. In 1534 he sailed to India with M. A. de Sousa as his personal physician and accompanied him on his voyages to Diu and Malabar. After Sousa's departure in 1538, he remained in India. He married Brianda de Solis, a daughter of the secretary of the *Santiago*, Henrique de Solis, probably in 1542. In 1543 he sailed with M. A. de Sousa to the pagoda. From 1548 to 1554 he was hereditary tenant of the island of Bombay. In 1555 he was present at the death of the viceroy, D. Pedro Mascarenhas. In 1559, already "old and frail and one of the greatest scholars of these parts," he attended a solemn disputation in the College of St. Paul in Goa. He sailed with the viceroy to Jaffna in 1560. In 1563 he published in Goa his *Coloquios de Simples e Droga*, which were to make his name immortal. He died in Goa in 1568 and was buried in the Sé. Still, on the basis of the trial of the Inquisition of 1580, his bones were dug up and burned this same year. On him, besides the new edition of his *Coloquios* and the monographs of Ficalho and Silva Carvalho, see A. Martins, S.J., "O catolicismo de Garcia de Orta," *Broteria* 77 (1963) 35-46, and Th. Braga, *Historia de Universidade de Coimbra* 1 (Lisboa, 1892) 361-369. He writes of Xavier in *Coloquio* 35, where he speaks of the pearl fishers, who were converted by "the vicar general Miguel Vaz, who was as virtuous as he was learned." Afterwards, the numbers of Christians were increased by "Mestre Francisquo, a theologian, who was together with Pater Ignatius the origin of this holy Society. If one were to describe his virtues and holiness, a great book would be filled with them" (II 120). Dr. Cosme Saraiva came to Goa with Xavier in 1542 as the personal physician of M. A. de Sousa (Q 746). On January 11, 1541, the licentiate Francisco Rodrigues was appointed *physicus* in Goa (Q 646).

<sup>22</sup> Mestre Manuel, who was appointed surgeon of the hospital of Cochin on February 17, 1542 (Q 904), is encountered in 1546 in the hospital of Goa (Q 2572; Silva Carvalho 175). Mestre Ambrosio also came with M. A. de Sousa as a surgeon (Q 746), as did Mestre João as surgeon for Ormuz (Q 640; see Vol. I 705).

the numerous bleedings), pharmacist,<sup>23</sup> orderly, chaplain,<sup>24</sup> secretary (who had to keep an exact account of each of the sick persons and, when necessary, to write up their wills),<sup>25</sup> buyer, cooks, washermen, and Negro slaves,<sup>26</sup> who performed the menial tasks and had to haul drinking water from Banguenim every day.<sup>27</sup>

The *mordomo* had also to see to it that the supplies for the hospital were bought at the proper time. In September and October, when the annual fleet arrived from Portugal, he had to purchase wine, vinegar, oil, paper, pens, and bedpans. In October, November, and March, he had to purchase imports from Ormuz—raisins from Qishn,<sup>28</sup> almonds, jam, saffron, rose water, dates, and preserved fruits. In March and April he had to buy supplies coming from Bengal—sugar, wax for the chapel and house, and rice for the servants. In April and May he obtained wares from China, Malacca, and Maluco—China-roots for venereal diseases, dishes and porcelain wares, antidotes, cloves and cinnamon sticks, benzoin and incense for the chapel. At the same time he had to purchase stores needed during the four-month rainy season—firewood, polished rice for the sick, rough rice for the servants, butter, coconut oil, onions, and sesame oil for the lamps. In May, June, and July, finally, he had to obtain whatever was necessary for the sick due to arrive with the annual fleet coming from Portugal—beds with and without coconut-fiber nets, blankets, comforters, pillows, sheets, handkerchiefs, towels, shirts, hose, long underwear, pewter jugs for the washwater, and so forth. Moreover, he had to see to it that the henhouse was in good condition, and that there was attar of roses on hand for sprinkling the sick rooms when there were contagious diseases or times of great heat.<sup>29</sup> The hospital usually had about forty patients;<sup>30</sup> but with the arrival of the *Coulam* and the other four ships of the fleet at the beginning of June, this number was considerably increased and the building was filled.<sup>31</sup>

The clothes which Master Francis<sup>32</sup> brought with him from Portugal were

<sup>23</sup> João Teixeira sailed to India with M. A. de Sousa as a pharmacist (Q 746).

<sup>24</sup> In October, 1548, the cleric Antonio Ponce wrote to the king that his origins were in Fregenal de la Sierra (in the province of Badajoz), that he had served in India as a soldier for ten years, that he had been parish priest in São João (Carambolim) for the past five years, and that before this he had been chaplain of the hospital for three years and five months (SR IV 55).

<sup>25</sup> He signed the Compromise of the hospital as secretary in 1542, and in 1545 Francisco de Sousa did the same (Ferreira Martins II 298 301; in SR II 319 the name is given as Francisco de Bouro).

<sup>26</sup> According to the *\*Verdadeira enfformaçam* the hospital at the end of 1545 had two or three *mestres* (physicians). So many died in it because the physicians left the care of the sick to Negro slaves, who had no experience whatever (11r).

<sup>27</sup> APO V 1036; Ferreira Martins II 326-327.

<sup>28</sup> *Passas quezomes*. Quexome (Qishn) is an island near Ormuz.

<sup>29</sup> APO V 1021-1022 1014-1015.

<sup>30</sup> Thus, for example, in November, 1547 (Q 3446; Freire de Andrade 485). In December, 1554, Baltasar Dias wrote that there were always forty or fifty sick in the royal hospital (DI III 157).

<sup>31</sup> In 1562 Seb. Gonçalves wrote that the royal hospital was indeed very large but, because of the many sick who came with him to India, all of the rooms, the verandas, and the adjoining house were full of beds, and many had to be taken into private homes (DI V 532).

<sup>32</sup> Our sources for Xavier's stay in the hospital in 1542 are: (1) Eyewitnesses: Xavier (EX I 125); M. A. de Sousa (*Autobiographia* 148); Dr. Saraiva (MX II 188); Cosme Anes (*ibid.* 184); D. Luis de Ataíde (Teixeira 842-843); João de Menelao (*\*Lisbon, RProcess I*, n. 7, 86); the secretary of the hospital (his testimony is given by Hier. Gomes, S.J., in *\*Rome, RProcess II*, n. 6: *\*Summarium* 91); and his contemporary Christovão Carvalho

too warm for the hot Indian climate. They were ragged and torn and marked by the hardships of the long sea voyage.<sup>33</sup> Dom Luis de Ataíde,<sup>34</sup> a young, noble, and wealthy *fidalgo*,<sup>35</sup> was *mordomo* of the hospital for the month of June. He was the second eldest son of the *alcaide-mor* of Coimbra and lord of Atouguia, Dom Affonso de Ataíde. In 1538 he and many other nobles had sailed for India with Dom Garcia de Noronha.<sup>36</sup> There, as the captain of a *fusta* with sixteen banks of oars,<sup>37</sup> he had immediately gone with other ships to the help of Diu, which was being besieged by the Turks.<sup>38</sup> He had then sailed with the others against Honāvar.<sup>39</sup> The following year he wintered at Bassein, and from there made war on Burhan-ul-mulk,<sup>40</sup> the captain of the king of Cambay, and lay in wait for ships going to Mecca<sup>41</sup> in the Bay of Cambay. In 1541 he sailed with Dom Estevão to Suez and was knighted by the latter near Tor.<sup>42</sup> In the same year his elder brother died a hero's death at the fall of the fortress of Gué in North Africa, leaving him his right of primogeniture.<sup>43</sup> Master Francis went to Dom Luis and asked him for the love of Christ to have a *loba* made for him, the sleeveless, light, black cassock worn by poor priests in India over a black camisole. It had a slit at the neck and was without cincture or cape.<sup>44</sup> Dom Luis immediately had a robe made for him out of rough camlet and gave it to him, saying that this was the kind of cassock worn by priests in India. When Francis saw that it was made of silk, he would not take it and said: "Your Grace, have this given to some poor priest, and have one made of cotton for me." His request was granted, and the sleeveless *loba*, made,

(MX II 304). (2) Later authors: Teixeira 842-843; \*Teixeira It. 2, 1; Tursellinus 2, 2; 6, 7; Lucena 5, 3; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 3; and the following witnesses at the remissorial processes: \*Rome, *RProcess* II, n. 7: Gaspar Vogado, O.P. (\**Summariū* 309v); \*Lisbon, *RProcess* I, n. 22: Pero de Mendonça Furtado, who came to India in 1558 and heard much about Xavier there, especially from his friend Diogo Pereira (155v); Goa, *RProcess*, n. 11: João Lopes Rebello (\**Relatio* 38v); *ibid.* n. 41: Bento da Silva Pereira (\**Relatio* 21v; \**Summariū* 797v 807); and also a series of witnesses in *Cochin, RProcess* (MX II 461-462 473 479-480 484 495 498 504 505 565 567 575). A summary of the main evidence is given in \**Relatio* 23v-24 in the section *De charitate erga proximum*.

<sup>33</sup> Teixeira 843; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 3.

<sup>34</sup> D. Luis de Ataíde, who died in India in 1581, equally distinguished for his deeds in war as for his self-forgetfulness, was twice viceroy of India (1568-1571 and 1578-1581). On him see Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XII 1, 19-22. His activities as viceroy are described by Couto, *Decades* 8-9 (years 1578-1580 are lacking); Antonio Pinto Pereira, *Historia da India no tempo em que governou D. Luiz de Ataíde* (Coimbra, 1616); and Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Memorias para a historia de D. Sebastião* (Lisboa, 1736-1751).

<sup>35</sup> In 1539 he sailed to the help of Bassein with a *fusta* that he had purchased and fifty servants and friends, whom he fed the whole time (Castanheda 9, 17).

<sup>36</sup> *Emmentia* 370.

<sup>37</sup> TdT: *Col. S. Lourenço* 4, 249.

<sup>38</sup> Correa IV 65; Couto 5, 4, 12.

<sup>39</sup> Castanheda 9, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Portuguese: Bramaluco.

<sup>41</sup> Castanheda 9, 17-19; Couto 5, 7, 3-4.

<sup>42</sup> Correa IV 162 168 176; Couto 6, 7, 5, and 8, p. 138.

<sup>43</sup> See Vol. I 724.

<sup>44</sup> Seb. Gonçalves calls the garment a *loba* (2, 3 contrary to Lucena 5, 3). See the drawing in Eredia (47) and the engraving by Theodore Gallaeus in Tursellinus (Roma, 1596). Both go back to the painting of Xavier that was ordered to be made in Goa. \*Valignano wrote on December 31, 1583, that he was sending along a copy to Rome and that another was staying in Goa. The priest was represented in it in the garb which he was accustomed to wear in India, with his hands raising his cassock on his breast and his eyes lifted up to heaven (ARSI: *JapSin.* 9 II 231-322v; cf. KM 51 [1922] 41-42). The *loba* was practically a light English gown without wings.

as was customary in India, out of black, light cotton and without cincture or cape, remained from then on Xavier's dress until his death.<sup>45</sup>

The *mordomo* also saw that Francis' shoes were torn and repeatedly patched. Since they were not worthy of a priest, he tried to give him a new pair, but all his efforts to have them accepted were in vain. The old shoes were still good enough, Master Francis observed.<sup>46</sup> Dom Luis was not offended by his refusal. On the contrary, he obtained a high regard for Francis' holiness. He had already discovered that Francis usually spread his mat out at night near the bed of the person most seriously ill and most in need of help so that he might always be at hand in case of an emergency.<sup>47</sup>

After some time, however, the poor cotton cassock which Master Francis wore in the hospital also became tattered and torn. One of his friends and penitents, Francisco de Paiva,<sup>48</sup> who had come to India with him,<sup>49</sup> had a new one made for him. Both he and other friends of Francis tried to persuade him to exchange the old one for the new, but their words fell on deaf ears. They had to employ a stratagem. While the priest was asleep, they removed his old garment and laid the new one in its place. The next morning when he awoke, Francis put on the new cassock without noticing anything, although it was quite different from the other. In the evening Paiva invited him and some of his fellow conspirators to supper. When they all praised his beautiful robe and asked him with feigned innocence where he had got it, he looked closely at it for the first time and recognized the pious fraud. He then laughingly observed that a new garment would fit another one better and begged so long for his old cassock that they finally took the new robe back and gave him his old one.<sup>50</sup>

Francis' daily order was simple. In the morning he performed his spiritual exercises at an early hour and celebrated Mass with great devotion in the chapel of the hospital.<sup>51</sup> He then gave his attention to the sick. He showed great love

<sup>45</sup> Teixeira, who heard the story from D. Luis de Ataíde himself, adds that his confreres had worn this same garb: "Aunque de poco tiempo acá [he was writing in 1580] andan ceñidos y con manteos, como también lo comiençan a hazer algunos sacerdotes de la India" (842-845).

<sup>46</sup> Tursellinus 2, 2; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 3. Tursellinus speaks of the *custos* of the hospital with respect to the garb, and of the *praefectus* with regard to the shoes. Gonçalves mentions the *mordomo* for both occasions, and from the context the same one. He places both incidents in 1542.

<sup>47</sup> Teixeira names D. Luis as his authority for this also (842). His \*Italian text is indefinite: "Come dipoi c'è stato narrato da quelli che si trovorno presenti" (2, 1). Bento da Silva Pereira testified the same in the royal process in Goa as the forty-first witness (\**Summarium* 807).

<sup>48</sup> Francisco de Paiva accompanied M. A. de Sousa on his campaigns against Bhatkal in 1542 and to the pagoda in 1543, and was knighted by him for this. In 1549 he was dwelling in Lisbon and had the document confirmed on May 24 (Q 4200). He is not to be confused with his namesake in Malacca (Q 4703), nor with Francisco de Barros de Paiva.

<sup>49</sup> Lucena 5, 3.

<sup>50</sup> Tursellinus 6, 7; Lucena 5, 3; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 3. Tursellinus and Gonçalves agree on the story of the *loba* and place it in Goa. Lucena places the incident in Malacca in 1547 in a general introduction on Xavier's poverty at the time of his arrival in Goa. We can place it at the end of the rainy season in Goa, where Paiva was with him. During his later visits to this city Xavier lived in the College of St. Paul, where Master Diogo took care of him. Amador Rebello, S.J., distorts the facts. According to him a certain chancellor [Cosme Anes] sent Xavier, when he saw him in a torn robe, "quandam suam togam cimatilem seu indulatam cum manicis; illa usus est Pater, quousque detrita et lacerata fuit" (\**Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 11, 107v-108). He was never in India.

<sup>51</sup> \*Teixeira It. 2, 1; Pero de Mendonça Furtado (\**Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 22, 155v).

for them<sup>52</sup> and went from bed to bed encouraging and comforting them. He heard their confessions and brought them Holy Communion. The newcomers were already acquainted with him from their voyage with him from Lisbon and from Mozambique; and their importunities were so great that he would have had enough to do even if he could have been in ten places at once. When he was finished with the sick, he heard the confessions of the externs who came to see him.<sup>53</sup> "He comforted the sick with all the spiritual works of mercy," Doctor Saraiva later declared.<sup>54</sup> The scribe of the hospital noted, moreover, that Francis dealt openly and humbly with all, with great meekness, and was thus able to draw many away from their sins.<sup>55</sup> He was at the disposal of everyone at any hour of the day or night; and Cosme Anes saw that he was ever cheerful and ready to help anyone, even if the hour when his assistance was sought was most inconvenient.<sup>56</sup> No one could withstand his humility and fervent charity,<sup>57</sup> and he was often seen raising his cassock from his breast as if he wished to cool the ardor that glowed within him.<sup>58</sup> His face was often seen to be supernaturally aglow, for his heart was ever united with God; and after the work of the day, he still spent long hours of the night in prayer.<sup>59</sup>

Among the sick of the hospital whom he assisted in death was a passenger who had come with him to India. His name was João de Menelao.<sup>60</sup> He was a relative of Affonso Pires do Valle,<sup>61</sup> a distinguished citizen of Goa, who had preceded Dom Luis in the office of *mordomo*. Menelao came from Greece. He had been born of a distinguished family in Athens and had come to Portugal as a teacher of Greek. He introduced Prince John, later King John III, into the secrets of this language and was promoted to the rank of herald. João, his eleven-year-old son, had accompanied him on his voyage to India and was

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On the devotion which Xavier used to offer Mass in India, see also the testimony of Antonio de Andrade (Lucena 5, 5).

<sup>52</sup> The witnesses speak repeatedly of this, for example, MX II 461-462 480.

<sup>53</sup> EX I 125.

<sup>54</sup> MX II 188.

<sup>55</sup> Hieronymus Gomes, S.J., heard "a quodam notario xenodochii Regis, qui cum Patre Francisco conversatus fuerat, quod cum omnibus sincere, humiliter ac mansuete conversabatur, et multos hoc modo a peccatis retrahebat" (*Rome, RProcess* II, n. 6: \**Summarium* 91).

<sup>56</sup> MX II 184.

<sup>57</sup> "Resplandecia en él granda humildad para con todos, y una grande y encendida charidad, con que robaba los coraçones de todos" (Teixeira 844).

<sup>58</sup> According to Bento da Silva Pereira, who, although he does not give the precise place, speaks of the hospital where Xavier lived and slept at the feet of those who were ill (*Goa, RProcess*, n. 41: \**Summarium* 797v; \**Relatio* 21v).

<sup>59</sup> Valignano 49-50.

<sup>60</sup> On him see Frazão de Vasconcelos, "Uma família de origem grega que serviu na Índia Portuguesa nos séculos XVI e XVII," *Boletim Geral do Ultramar* 32 (1956) 49-53.

<sup>61</sup> On February 28, 1541, A. Pires do Valle, who was living in Goa and had fought against the Moors with the *casados* in Salsette (Couto 4, 10, 5, p. 433), received a title to the position of a secretary in that city for three years (Q 745). In 1546 he signed a document as a brother of the Misericórdia (SR III 364); in 1547 another as a representative of the city of Goa (*ibid.* IV 566); and in the same year he received as a reward for his help in the siege of Diu one thousand palm trees in Nelur that had belonged to the deceased Moor Moquarbaquao (Mukarrab Khān) in return for a rental of thirty-one *tangas* and a *bazaruco* (\**Mercês* 156v). In 1548 the governor, because of his many years of service in India, permitted him to suggest another post as scribe in a factory instead of the one he had been granted (*ibid.* 174).

with him in the hospital when Xavier stood by his father's deathbed. He later testified that Francis was already then regarded as a saint.<sup>62</sup>

But in his care for their spiritual needs, Master Francis did not forget the bodily necessities of his sick as well.<sup>63</sup> Whenever he received an alms, he spent it entirely on the sick.<sup>64</sup> Whenever it was necessary, he went begging with his sack from door to door to collect alms for his charges<sup>65</sup> from his friends and benefactors. He was also able to interest Martim Affonso, the governor, in the sick. By transferring the hospital to the Misericórdia, Affonso had already provided it with more efficient management and care. To keep his initial zeal from growing cold, the governor went there every Friday to assist at Mass and to receive an exact account of everything.<sup>66</sup> Some of the privileges which he had granted in the Compromise drawn up at the time the hospital was handed over to the Misericórdia were specifically reaffirmed on July 15 and August 7: The hospital was to be exempt from customs on goods brought in from the continent, and the confraternity was to be free in the appointment and dismissal of the hospital's staff.<sup>67</sup>

## 2. WITH THE PRISONERS AND LEPERS

After Master Francis had heard the confessions of the sick and of the externs in the hospital in the morning, he went after his noon meal to visit the prisoners.<sup>68</sup> These were confined in one of the buildings on the east side of the fortress,<sup>69</sup> where the captain of the city lived.<sup>70</sup> The jailer also lived there with his family, his servant, and the slaves that he had under him.<sup>71</sup> The

<sup>62</sup> According to the younger João de Menelao, son of the João de Menelao who died in India (*\*Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 7, 85-87). His mother was Beatriz Matosa. He was related by marriage to A. Pires do Valle and had sailed to India with his father and Xavier when he was ten years old. In 1552 he received for his father's services the post of a *tanadar* of Salsette near Bassein. In 1555 he received in place of this the same office in Salsette near Goa for three years. In 1563 he received the position of treasurer of the large customhouse in Diu for four years, since he had renounced that of a factor. In 1581 he sailed as the captain of a ship to India and also received the right to bear the coat of arms of his father. In 1583 he obtained for his son Constantine an India voyage; in 1615 he was living with his wife, Isabel Godinho, on his estate of Seixal near Lisbon (Frazão de Vasconcelos, "Uma família," and APO V 266 530).

<sup>63</sup> Pero de Mendonça Furtado testified that Xavier had devoted himself to the spiritual and temporal needs of the ill in the hospital in Goa, as was publicly known (*\*Lisbon, RProcess* I 155v).

<sup>64</sup> Teixeira 844; *\*Teixeira* It. 2, 1 (he took little for himself, much for the poor and sick); MX II 467 (if he was sent food, he gave it to the poor); cf. his instructions for Gaspar (EX II 100).

<sup>65</sup> Bento da Silva Pereira has him gather "pannos laceros ad aegrotorum curatio-nem" (*Goa, RProcess: \*Summarium* 807).

<sup>66</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 148; Castanheda 9, 31; Tursellinus 2, 2; cf. SR IV 563 and Q 1582.

<sup>67</sup> Ferreira Martins II 312 298.

<sup>68</sup> EX I 125. The prison (*tronco, cadea*) had a primitive chapel from 1511 to 1513 (Saldanha II 182-183). Only in 1547 was an episcopal prison (*aljube*) proper erected for the clergy (Andrada IV 73). In 1557 there were two parts to the *tronco*, one for the Portuguese and one for the natives: Christians, Jews, Moors, and pagans. On the Ribeira there was also the *sala* for those condemned to the galleys (DI III 707, IV 276).

<sup>69</sup> Plan in Linschoten I 120.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the letter of the licentiate Lopo Fernandes of November 16, 1529 (TdT: *Gavetas* 10-2-28).

<sup>71</sup> Correa IV 149-150.



sanitary conditions left much to be desired. The prison was a dirty, ill-smelling place, for there was no drain from the sewer to the outside, and it was emptied only from time to time.<sup>72</sup> The prison was also overcrowded, for the courts worked slowly, and the trials dragged on endlessly.<sup>73</sup> The jailer was a Negro, Domingos da Fonseca, a worthy person, who had filled the office with great conscientiousness for many years.<sup>74</sup> At the end of 1539 the *ouvidor geral*, Dr. Pedro Fernandes, had written to the king that a better man for the post could not be found, and that he should be given the office for life.<sup>75</sup>

Among the thirty to forty prisoners whom Xavier came to know in the prison,<sup>76</sup> there was one in whom he must have taken a particular interest. This was João Fernandes Correa,<sup>77</sup> about whom he had been informed by Miguel Vaz. As captain of the Fishery Coast, Correa had used his position, as his predecessors had done before him, to extort as much money as he could from the newly converted Paravas during his three-year term of office; and he had been so reckless that he had even hanged some of them.<sup>78</sup> He had promised the Brahman who claimed the throne of Jaffna in Ceylon help against the usurper in return for a diamond that was given to him, but he had then done nothing for him.<sup>79</sup> Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho, who had escaped from the prison in Goa, then showed up on the Fishery Coast.<sup>80</sup> Since Dom Estevão da Gama refused to grant a pardon after his flight, he became a freebooter. With a fleet of five sailing vessels and two hundred Portuguese arquebusiers whom he had assembled, he ordered Correa to surrender his artillery. The captain, who had only three *caturs* and thirty men under him, was forced to yield. Coutinho then sailed on past Negapatam to Pegu in order to attack and plunder the Moorish ships there. Shortly after his departure Correa was replaced by order of the governor and brought to Goa and placed in the prison,<sup>81</sup> where, since November, 1540, he had been waiting in prison for the completion of his trial. Thirteen months after his imprisonment, in December, 1541, he had written to the king

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the drastic account of the help given by the Jesuits in 1559. They brought a large kettle full of rice for the prisoners, carried the garbage past the fortress square to the Ribeira, swept the rooms, carried the excrement to the river, emptied every Friday the cesspool full of urine and dirty water; and the stench, which the sick prisoners in the vicinity had to endure without interruption, was enough to kill them by itself (DI IV 275-276).

<sup>73</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 148; Q 868.

<sup>74</sup> Correa IV 149. In 1547 the governor allowed the warden of the prison, Domingos da Fonseca, to send a *fusta* to Bengal in 1548 as a reward for his services (Q 3221).

<sup>75</sup> Q 428.

<sup>76</sup> There were this many in December, 1541 (Q 868). M. A. de Sousa found the prison overflowing at the time of his arrival (*Autobiographia* 148).

<sup>77</sup> He was captain of the Fishery Coast from 1538 to 1540.

<sup>78</sup> On January 6, 1543, Miguel Vaz wrote about his extortions and imprisonments, noting that Sousa had sent the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa to the Fishery Coast "pela enformação que teve de muytas desordens que lá fazia outro, que mamdou Dom Estevam de Gama, quando mamdou vir João Fernandez Correa pelos que lá enforcou" (SR II 332).

<sup>79</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 347.

<sup>80</sup> On Vaz Coutinho see Q 4432; Correa III 348 455-456 756, IV 41; on his flight 149-151; his arrival at the Fishery Coast 151-153. He sailed from Pegu to Ceylon and, since he was still refused a pardon, he sailed to the Maldives in search of booty until the arrival of M. A. de Sousa. He then passed into the service of Adil Khān, had his family come, and with it adopted the faith of his new lord, who gave him lands with a rich income as his reward (*ibid.* 298 540).

<sup>81</sup> SR II 332.

and complained about the unjust treatment he had received. He maintained that after Martim Affonso de Sousa defeated the Moorish fleet near Vēdālai in 1538, twelve or thirteen thousand Moorish archers and arquebusiers, survivors of the fleet of Pate Marakkār and his colleagues, had rendered the Coromandel Coast unsafe and had prevented the Portuguese fortresses on the west coast from obtaining provisions. He had been offered a bribe of fifteen thousand *fanams*, but to gain time he had asked for more. When he was sufficiently prepared, he had attacked and defeated them. In so doing he had captured more than forty-two of their ships, including nineteen *praus*, and had cleared the coast. As a reward for this Dom Estevão had locked him up in prison, where he now was with some thirty or forty criminals. He had further been deprived of the office which he had obtained through the blood he had shed in the service of his king. From Dom João de Castro and other *fidalgos* His Highness could learn why Dom Estevão had imprisoned him without giving him a hearing; and he could further learn from Nunalvares, the registrar, whether he had equipped the fleet with which he had defeated the Moors with money borrowed from the king. And if he would ask his predecessor, Diogo Rebello,<sup>82</sup> to swear on a missal, he also would confirm the truth of his statements and show how little money or anything else meant to him in comparison with his service to his lord.<sup>83</sup>

Francis patiently listened to the complaints of the prisoners and promised them his help. He encouraged and consoled them and taught them how to make a good general confession.<sup>84</sup> Further, at his request, Martim Affonso took up the practice, common in Rome, of going himself in person to the prison.<sup>85</sup> There he listened to the prisoners, and by word of mouth settled all the cases that did not require a longer judicial process. Most of the prisoners could thus be dismissed, and their number thereafter amounted to no more than ten or twelve.<sup>86</sup> Whenever the governor found that individuals had been imprisoned

<sup>82</sup> Captain of the Fishery Coast from 1532 to 1535 (Correa III 649). He sailed for Portugal at the beginning of 1541 (Q 621).

<sup>83</sup> See his letter from the prison of December 10, 1541 (Q 868).

<sup>84</sup> EX I 125.

<sup>85</sup> "Neste auto judicial, querelas e prisões, hé esta gemte da terra muyto mal tratada. Requery algumas provisões pera ysto ter algum remedeo. Numqua nenhuma foy tam proveitosa coma hir o Governador cada mes huma vez ao tromquo fazer audiencia aos presos, o que lhe lembrou Mestre Framcisco, e cuyo que o fazem asy em Roma" Miguel Vaz wrote at the end of 1545 (DI I 73). From this Brodrick wrongly presumes that Xavier was only concerned with the spiritual welfare of the prisoners (118).

<sup>86</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 148. Miguel Vaz speaks only of a monthly visit, but Pero Fernandes Sardinha wrote in 1549 that the governor should visit the hospital and prison every fourteen days, as was always done from the time of Martim Affonso till the death of D. João de Castro (SR IV 563). Castanheda moreover notes that Martim Affonso visited the prisoners every week, gave them a hearing, and always freed a few. If they were imprisoned for debts which they could not pay, he had these paid from their salary; and he did this as long as he was in office (9, 31). This, to be sure, did not prevent the old Pero de Faria from writing to the king at the end of 1545: "Hos seus Governadores sabem muyto em vemderem sua mercaderia aos omens, e a Sua Alteza fazem-se devotos que vão ao esprital e ao tromquo e corem nas igreijas... tudo hé epucrisia" (Q 1582).—Among those who were set free seems also to have been Fernandes Correa. We encounter him again as captain of the Fishery Coast from 1547 to 1550 (Q 3558; L. Nunes 101), where he was present for a Mass offered by Criminali shortly before the latter's martyrdom and sought to rescue him by attacking the Badagas (Seb. Gonçalves 6, 4). In 1559 he sailed from Goa to Cochin and from there to the Fishery Coast with a Jesuit to whom he spoke of Criminali (DI IV 266-268).

for failing to pay their debts and did not have the money to do so, he ordered money to be given them so that they could be released.<sup>87</sup>

Master Francis was also concerned about the lepers. When Lopo Vaz de Sampayo was governor, Antonio Camacho had built for them the leprosarium of São Lazaro and given it the ground on which it was located.<sup>88</sup> In 1531, he had asked for it the privileges of the *Compromesso* and the *Regulamentos* of the leprosarium at Lisbon, and a third of the fines.<sup>89</sup> The house lay apart,<sup>90</sup> outside the city, to the left of, and somewhat apart from, the Rua da Carreira dos Cavallos, which led eastwards from the Bacaes Gate to the fort of Santiago and the Banasterim Pass, a half hour outside the city. Francis went there early Sunday mornings and celebrated Mass for the lepers. They made their confession to him and received Holy Communion from his hand. On one occasion he also preached to them. All were his good friends, for they saw how much he loved them.<sup>91</sup>

### 3. *Casados* AND *Soldados* <sup>92</sup>

But Francis' zeal was not satisfied with his care for the sick, the imprisoned, and the lepers. Others also needed his help. And there were two cancerous

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In 1560 he was captain of Negapatam and helped the viceroy in the capture of Jaffna (Couto 7, 9, 3-4).

<sup>87</sup> Castanheda 9, 31.

<sup>88</sup> "Antonio Camacho fes São Lazaro a sua custa e deu-lhe todo aquele chão em tempo do Governador Lopo Vaz de Sampayo; e não avia prelado," wrote \*Aleixos Afonso (260). It was a beautiful, well-built structure (Saldanha II 192). In 1614 the church had an altar in honor of St. Louis, king of France (\*Seb. Gonçalves 10, 25). Lopo Vaz directed it from 1526 to 1529. Silva Rego places its foundation earlier. He believes that Correa is speaking of São Lazaro when he writes at the end of 1524 that the hospital had been built with the money which the city captain Francisco Pereira Pestana took from the conspirators (II 818), but Correa is speaking of the hospital near St. Catherine's Gate. Silva Rego further cites a document, allegedly of February 24, 1522, in which Vaz de Sampayo orders the factor, Miguel do Vale, to pay the *mordomo* of São Lazaro, André Comacho, for the support of the persons named in five statements (SRH 235-236). The date is impossible. Vaz de Sampayo was in Portugal in 1522 and did not return to India until 1524, where he was captain of Cochim from October of this year till his appointment as governor in 1526 (Correa II 816 831 928 974). Miguel do Vale came from Portugal in 1520 as secretary of the customhouse in Ormuz, which had been taken over by the Portuguese. He occupied this post from 1521 to 1524, and then became factor in Goa from 1524 to 1527 (*ibid.* 609 654; SR I 434, II 128); see also Lopo Vaz de Sampayo's \*letter of December 31, 1527 (TdT: *Gavetas* 20-7-29).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. the king's answer of March 26, 1532 (APO I 1, 12).

<sup>90</sup> In 1564 the city explained to the governor that the field of São Lazaro with its adjoining hills was the only place on the island where the troops could exercise. The cattle of the city were pastured here, and it afforded access to the passes of the island in case of an alarm. To the great detriment of the city the *gancares* of Carambolim and Corlim had divided the field up among private individuals. At this the governor decreed that no one could farm on the site, that it had always been free for the use of the people, and that the *gancares* could not dispose of it. The city had permanent possession of the field for its own use (APO II 151-153).

<sup>91</sup> EX I 126. In 1827 São Lazaro still had a resident chaplain. In 1840 the house was torn down. The statue of St. Lazarus that had been in the church was taken to the neighboring parish church of Corlim. Today only a few remains are extant (Saldanha II 192).

<sup>92</sup> The old biographies of Xavier paint the moral decay of Goa at the time of Xavier's arrival in the darkest colors in order to emphasize the changes he wrought.

evils in Goa which he had to combat in particular, religious ignorance and moral laxity.

A great hardship for the Portuguese in India was the lack of European women. They were strictly forbidden to sail there,<sup>93</sup> and exceptions to this rule were rarely made.<sup>94</sup> When Vasco da Gama went to India as viceroy in 1524, three women were found in Mozambique who had secretly boarded the vessel against his will at Lisbon. When they reached Goa, he had them publicly flogged, even though all the *fidalgos*, the bishop, the friars, and the Misericórdia interceded for them; and compassionate individuals even offered a sum of three thousand *pardaus* for their release from prison.<sup>95</sup> King Manuel had found a solution for this delicate problem.<sup>96</sup> In order to stabilize the position of the Portuguese in India and to bind them to the land and its inhabitants, he supported Albuquerque in his plan for having the men marry native women of light complexion and a better social standing, especially Mohammedan women whose husbands and relatives had fallen in the capture of Goa. These were Persians from Gilan and Khorasan, Naitias, and the wives of Brahmans from Konkan and the Deccan.<sup>97</sup> The Portuguese married to them, the *casados*, were

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Brou describes in detail the good and evil aspects of the city, but his graphic descriptions are to a large part taken from the fictitious travels of Biervilla, published in Paris in 1736, and from Linschoten, Pyrard, and Moquet, who visited Goa fifty years and more after Xavier. Further, no general conclusion can be drawn from one or other account alone. These accounts, written at times by pessimists, by personal foes of a particular class of individuals, or for motives of personal gain, are often full of exaggerations, misrepresentations, and generalizations and must be treated with great prudence. The count of Castanheira wrote, not without reason, in a \*memorial destined for the king in 1553 that the oldest and most typical sin of the Portuguese was *mur-muração* (TdT: Col. S. Vicente XIII 60). In our *Zeitgenössischen Quellen* we have collected all the available sources for Xavier's time. Only when they are all taken together do they give us a clear picture, as the old warrior Pero Fernandes Lascarim emphasized in 1545, when he wrote to the king: "When many write, a few tell the truth" (Q 1645). In the present chapter we describe the abuses from the contemporary sources. The brighter side is taken up in our chapters "The First Visit," and "Pagans and Moors."

<sup>93</sup> Albuquerque complained to King Manuel that he did not let women sail to India (Correa II 375), and in 1534 Miguel Vaz wrote that the king should let husbands take their wives with them to India (Q 173, ff. 19v-20). Germano da Silva Correia treats this problem at length in his *História da Colonização Portuguesa na Índia* (6 vols., Lisboa, 1948-1958) and strives to show that many Portuguese women came to India before 1541. But the work has two fundamental errors: when the *Emmenta* (lists of passengers) have "casado com," this does not mean that the man's wife sailed with him; and when a woman obtained for her future husband an office in India, this does not mean that he actually entered upon it and that his wife accompanied him. The entry "D. João de Castro, cazado com D. Leonor Coutinho" (*Emmenta* 368), who sailed for India in 1538 without his wife, becomes in Silva Correia: "D. Leonor Coutinho, casada com D. João de Castro," and he repeats the same with nine women, even with the wife of Splendão de La Cerda, though it is expressly stated in the *Emmenta* that he was married in Beja (*Emmenta* 370).

<sup>94</sup> In 1535, for example, the king gave Isabel de Aguiar permission to sail with her brother to India; but he withdrew this because of admittedly false information (Ford I 210). From 1545 on, the king sent orphan girls every year to India for marriage (Silva Correia II 65-65); and from then on, voyages of women were more frequent (for 1548, see Correa IV 666).

<sup>95</sup> Correa II 819-820.

<sup>96</sup> The plan had its origins with him (CA I 56).

<sup>97</sup> Albuquerque gave them "mulheres, que foram mouras, alvas e castas," and "mulheres de bramenes e filhas delles castas e de bom viver, alvas." He wanted nothing to do with "mulheres malavares porquesam negras e currutas" (*ibid.* 338; cf. 27). He

the merchants, officials, and skilled workers, bakers, innkeepers, shoemakers, masons, carpenters, tailors, and smiths<sup>98</sup> of Goa and constituted its permanent citizenry. In contrast to these were the constantly changing royal officials and soldiers and the pagan Mohammedan inhabitants. From the beginning there were also *fidalgos*<sup>99</sup> among them. As a class the *casados* enjoyed a privileged position. They were not obliged to serve in the fleet like the soldiers, and they only had to go into the field when it was necessary to defend Goa against attacks from the mainland.<sup>100</sup> They had grown in numbers. When Albuquerque died in 1515 there were already 200 *casados* in the city; in 1524, there were 450; and in 1527, 500. In 1529 their number had risen to 800 and that of the Portuguese children to over 1,000.<sup>101</sup> A census taken during the rainy season in 1540 showed that there were 1,800 citizens and 3,600 soldiers in Goa.<sup>102</sup>

The women were baptized and received a Christian name before their marriage, and Albuquerque had ordered the priests to teach them their prayers in the church after the noon meal. He had also appointed a *meirinho* (church warden), who summoned them for processions and led them in the same carrying his staff of office.<sup>103</sup> Every *casado* was obliged to teach his wife and female slaves the Our Father and the Hail Mary within a fixed period of time. Whenever Albuquerque learned that a female slave had died without confession and Holy Communion and without any signs of Christian faith, her master was fined two *milreis*.<sup>104</sup> The wives of the *casados* lived a secluded life and were jealously guarded by their husbands. They seldom came to church, where sermons were only seldom, or never, preached; and even the brief instructions which the governor had ordered to be given to them were all too often forgotten. The wives and male and female slaves of the *casados* were, as a consequence, often so ignorant of the faith that they lived almost like their Mohammedan or pagan relatives and neighbors and shared their superstitions.<sup>105</sup> The female slaves created an additional problem. They were cheap and came from all the varied races of the East. There were jet-black Negresses, light brown or yellow slaves from Pegu, Siam, and China, and fair-skinned women from the lands of the

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had, however, a number of pagan women come for marriage from Cannanore (Correa II 159). At the king's request, Frey Domingos de Sousa, O.P., sent him from Goa in December, 1514, a list of the *casados* and their wives with data on their color and extraction. Two fragments of this are preserved. The particulars include: "bramena, canarim, abexim, naitea, agilam [from Gilān in Persia], decany [from the Deccan], coraçana [from Khorasan in Persia]"; for example, "Pero Madureira, his wife is brown (*baça*) and was a Brahman"; "Tristam Lobo, his wife is an Abyssinian, and he brought her from Socotra"; "Pero Homem Bruno; he has a two-and-one-half-year-old son from a woman who was a white Socotran" (TdT: *Fragmentos*, fasc. 1 and 30). Similar lists of the same year are given for Cochin, Quilon, and Cannanore in SR I 232-241; cf. Correa II 295.

<sup>98</sup> CA I 63; Correa II 160.

<sup>99</sup> "Homens limpos" (CA I 27); "casam muitos homeens de bem e muitos ofeciaes, ferreiros e carpinteiros, torneiros e bombardeiros, e algum alemães sam quá casados" (*ibid.* 63); "cavaleiros e fidalgos" (*ibid.* 337), Albuquerque wrote against the slanders of his adversaries, for example, Antonio Real (*ibid.* III 351). See also Correa II 375; Silva Correia I 393-406; Almeida, *Hist. Port.* II 265, III 460.

<sup>100</sup> Privileges of 1518 (APO II 3-10; Silva Correia II 408-418).

<sup>101</sup> CA I 63; Correa II 199; Castanheda 3, 47; SR II 36; Q 113 124.

<sup>102</sup> Correa IV 140: 1,800 *moradores*. In 1543 there were 1,600 *moradores* and almost 3,000 soldiers (*ibid.* 287-288).

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.* II 374-375; SR III 19.

<sup>104</sup> CA V 341.

<sup>105</sup> Valignano 48-49; SR II 191-192, III 19; EX I 346.

Moors.<sup>106</sup> Many of the *casados* and single men had four, five, or six of these slaves and sinned with all them.<sup>107</sup> Their presence in the city naturally lowered its moral standards. A few of the *casados* even fell so low as to compel their female slaves under threats of punishment to earn each day a fixed sum of money, even if it had to be through prostitution.<sup>108</sup> It is no wonder then that the offspring of these unions, spoiled and enervated by their half-pagan and immoral surroundings, failed to reach the standards of virtue to be found in the families of Portugal. Albuquerque had already suggested that they should be educated from their twelfth to their twenty-fifth year in Portugal.<sup>109</sup>

The morals of the *fidalgos* and soldiers also left much to be desired. Like the *casados*, they were naturally religious. They were convinced Catholics, always ready to fight for their faith against the Moors and pagans, to take part in Church feasts and processions, and to contribute to pious causes. Under certain circumstances they were readily inspired with religious ideals.<sup>110</sup> But their stay among foreigners, far from home and family, in a strange and debilitating climate, in a land filled with occasions of sin; their rough life as soldiers; and their enforced idleness during the rainy season, which kept them for months within the fortresses, did not fail to have a corrupting influence. This was particularly true after 1538, when the king sent to India an unusually large fleet with two thousand men to ward off the threat from the Turks, "among whom were more than eight hundred *fidalgos* and *cavalleiros*, the rest being beggarly, ragged individuals, and beardless lads with five hundred *reis* as a salary, individuals who were good for nothing."<sup>111</sup> Goa was thus filled with young *fidalgos*,<sup>112</sup> and the old battle-trying blades complained bitterly about them to the king.

Thirty-five years before, when Dom Francisco de Almeida was viceroy, a man still walked about on foot and had a cotton smock over his doublet reaching down to the knee. He wore knee-breeches, long drawers, and sandals made of hemp in summer, but of wood in winter; and he was proud of his weapons and had the means to keep them polished.<sup>113</sup> But young *fidalgos* now came from Portugal bringing their luxurious and extravagant ways with them. No one cared any longer to walk. There were now more horses than swords for the defense of one's life, and few had any weapons. Instead, in spite of all the prohibitions of the king and governor, they wore fancy clothes—pinked cloaks made of velvet, silk, and camlet, the tailoring of which cost more than the material itself, elegant, low shoes made of cordovan, and perfumed gloves. Moreover, they called it a "service of the king" if they rode with straddled legs through the Rua Direita with four lads and a boy behind them to hold a parasol over their head; and the king had to pay for all of this, even though a single one of these useless *fidalgos* cost more than thirty of forty *cavalleiros*; and they came to India less to fight than to lead a carefree life.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Tursellinus 2, 3.

<sup>107</sup> According to an account from the beginning of 1542 which Lucena found in the archives of the College of Coimbra of the Society of Jesus (Lucena 2, 2; cf. Valignano 47-48).

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> Correa II 347-375.

<sup>110</sup> Valignano 48; EX I 136 277-278.

<sup>111</sup> Correa IV 10-17.

<sup>112</sup> Q 856 857.

<sup>113</sup> From Baltasar Coelho in 1534 (Q 173, f. 28); cf. Couto, *Soldado Pratico* 144.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Q 173 856 859 1582; SR V 105; Couto 7, 1, 12, and the \*memorial of the count of Castanheira (TdT: Col. S. Vicente XIII 36).

"Most of the *fidalgos* live openly with concubines as if they were lawfully married to them," the Dominican friar Vincent de Laguna had written with some exaggeration to the king from Goa in 1530. "The *casados* here look upon all female slaves as prostitutes, and the people are as licentious as if they were not Christians at all."<sup>115</sup> Fifteen years later, Manuel Godinho, who had grown grey in the Indies, declared: "Nowadays men call it 'serving Your Highness' if they amuse themselves in Goa for ten of the twelve months of the year without regard for the service of God and of Your Highness, and this in things so shameful that my sense of decency prevents me from calling them by name."<sup>116</sup> A contemporary has left an account in writing of the common soldiers who wandered about Goa, lived with prostitutes, and dishonored married women.<sup>117</sup> What was even worse was the fact that some of these soldiers and *fidalgos* had wives and children in Portugal but lived with others in India.<sup>118</sup>

Added to all of this was the pursuit of glittering gold. Both the *casados* and the royal officials lived largely on trade. They bought and sold their wares in pagan and Moorish lands, where usury was not considered to be a sin, and where every means for gaining wealth was favored. The Portuguese merchants had few scruples about following the example of their neighbors; and, in their ignorance, they regarded many contracts as permissible which a strict application of the principles of Christian morality would have forbidden.<sup>119</sup> No mention need be made of their trade in goods that were a monopoly of the king, such as, for example, pepper; or their sale of these items to pagans and Moors, which was proscribed with excommunication by the bull *Coena Domini*. If a soldier or *fidalgo*, after long years of service under the tropical sun amidst a thousand dangers of death and unspeakable privations, finally received as his reward a three-year term of office in India, he sought by every means before its expiration to sweep together enough money so that he could return rich to Portugal and there spend the evening of his life in peaceful security.<sup>120</sup> Already in 1522 the bishop of Dume had written about this to the king from Cochin:

Many persons, and among them men of the highest rank, tell me: "You preach restitution. No one can here make restitution, for we came here simply to get money by any means and to rob through usury and other evil devices, for example, through the purchase of wages for less than half of the same." ... And despite all this, they make an annual confession and receive their Lord without restitution, and I see this daily; and this is why, my Lord, I believe that even if an apostle of Christ our Lord came here, he would be of little profit to their souls. This is why St. Thomas said to our Lord when he sent him here: "Lord, send me wherever you will, but not to the Indians!" And Your Highness may well believe me that there are reasons why all the Portuguese in this land change their country and manner of acting and accommodate themselves to the land. They are led solely by their sensuality and say: "Why did I come to the Indies if it was not to make a fortune? If I were to make restitution, I would have nothing left but a single shirt."<sup>121</sup>

<sup>115</sup> SR II 195-196 237.

<sup>116</sup> Q 1629. Valignano wrote of Xavier's time: "Most of the Portuguese lived in open concubinage" (47).

<sup>117</sup> SR III 492.

<sup>118</sup> Frey Vicente de Laguna, O.P., in 1530 (SR II 196); Bishop D. Fernando in 1532 (*ibid.* 237; cf. III 21-22); Miguel Vaz in 1534 (Q 173, f. 36).

<sup>119</sup> Valignano 49.

<sup>120</sup> "The holder of a one-year voyage or a three-year captaincy obtained a total profit of twenty, thirty, fifty, or eighty thousand ducats" (*ibid.* 44).

<sup>121</sup> SR I 445-446.

It was no wonder, then, that in such surroundings the reception of the sacraments was almost forgotten. In 1519 the governor, Lopes de Sequeira, had given an instruction to the captain of Goa which included a provision that he should give material assistance only to those who produced evidence from the vicar or their confessor that they had made their annual confession.<sup>122</sup> But now the majority let many years go by without receiving the sacraments. Others were content to fulfill their Easter duty during Lent, and anyone who went to confession and Communion more than once a year was looked upon as a hypocrite.<sup>123</sup>

The religious ignorance of the native-born Christians was also great. Many had become Christians from worldly motives; and most had received only a very cursory, or even no, baptismal instruction at all, and had then been left to themselves.<sup>124</sup>

There was no lack of priests. In Goa and its environs there were, including the Franciscans, about a hundred.<sup>125</sup> But the clergy left much to be desired.<sup>126</sup> Most lacked the learning required for their high vocation.<sup>127</sup> They did not even have an adequate knowledge of Latin,<sup>128</sup> let alone a sound theological training.<sup>129</sup> The morals of many of these clerics were also a frequent cause for complaint.<sup>130</sup> Many lived openly with concubines<sup>131</sup> and were more concerned with their trade

<sup>122</sup> APO V 21.

<sup>123</sup> According to the account of 1542 in Lucena 2, 2; Valignano 48.

<sup>124</sup> DI I 13-16 31-32 182-183.

<sup>125</sup> When the Dominicans came to Goa in 1548, there were already forty friars there in the Franciscan monastery, more than thirty canons and chaplains in the cathedral, and in the city and its environs fourteen churches and chapels with more than a hundred clerics apart from the "vagamundos" (Correa IV 669).

<sup>126</sup> On the clergy in India from 1500 to 1542, see SRH 507-515. In addition to this see also Correa's judgment on the clerics in Ternate in 1533 (III 488) and Goa in 1548 (*ibid.* IV 668), the process against the clergy in Diu in 1546-1547 (SR III 455-489), and the letter of Frey João de Villa de Conde of March 16, 1547, in which he writes that the bishop had imprisoned four clerics, taken the benefice away from one, and had sent the vicar general to hold hearings about them in Bassein, Chaul, and other places; he had also ordered the vicar of São Thomé to be arrested and brought, and the vicar of Ternate to be taken in irons; and he was now having the vicar brought from Ceylon (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 451), indications that despite all the efforts of Miguel Vaz not everything was as yet in order.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. the complaints of 1510, where a priest in Cannanore was so ignorant that he could not celebrate Mass even once (SR I 78 110), of 1522 (*ibid.* 448), and of 1530 (*ibid.* II 197). Even the vicar of Goa from 1527 to 1539 was so ignorant (SR II 142-143 269-290) that Miguel Vaz wrote to the king in 1534 that at least the two main churches of Goa and Cochin should have vicars "que saibam algumas letras" (Q 173, f. 19v).

<sup>128</sup> The vicar of Malacca, who sailed with two clerics in 1514, said of them that they were no Latinists (*Studia* 1 [1958] 116). When Lancilotto upbraided the bishop, asking him how he could have ordained Mansilhas to the priesthood even though he did not know enough Latin to say Mass or his breviary, the latter replied: "Non sunt doctiores, quid remedium?" (DI I 138). The bishop himself wrote to the king in 1548 that he should have the extant briefs, in virtue of which the vicars in the distant fortresses could confirm, translated into Portuguese since few of these understood them in the original Latin text (SR IV 113).

<sup>129</sup> EX I 136.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. the drastic letters of 1510 for Cochin (SR I 78) and Cannanore (*ibid.* 109-113), of 1518, 1530, and 1532 (*ibid.* 343, II 192 230-231); the written accusation against the vicar of Cochin, Seb. Pires, and his assistant, Pero Gonçalves, of around 1533 (*ibid.* II 364-369); the account of Miguel Vaz of 1534 (Q 173, f. 21v) and that of Correa (III 488, IV 668).

<sup>131</sup> For example, in Diu in 1546 (SR II 455-489).



than with the spiritual welfare of their flocks, for they had come to the Indies with the sole intention of returning as rich men to Portugal.<sup>132</sup>

In 1530 Frey Vincent de Laguna had already complained in Goa about the negligence of the vicars in instructing their flocks, and two years later he renewed his complaint. If on one day they gave instructions, they would then let a hundred pass without scruple. The result was that many unmarried women lapsed back into paganism and worshiped pagan gods.<sup>133</sup>

In Cochin, Albuquerque had found a chest full of catechisms and had employed a teacher to instruct the children. In 1512 there were a hundred of these,<sup>134</sup> but by 1518 the school had already died out.<sup>135</sup> In 1527 the vicar or another cleric instructed the native Christians there twice a week.<sup>136</sup> In 1514 Albuquerque had also opened a school in Goa, but this was closed after his death.<sup>137</sup> In 1521 the governor Duarte de Meneses had sent fifty catechisms and a teacher from Cochin to Goa in order to teach the children there how to read and write and to instruct them in the faith.<sup>138</sup> But by the time that Xavier landed in Goa, classes in Christian doctrine had again passed into oblivion.<sup>139</sup> At the beginning of 1542, shortly before his arrival, a leading personage of Goa had sent a report to the king describing the moral corruption of the capital and of the whole of India in the darkest terms, and he concluded his report as follows:

May it please God to find holy men to show us the way. For the Portuguese are not yet so hardened that they would oppose those who would first seek to draw the beams out of their own eyes before striving to remove the splinters from those of their brothers. Spiritual persons will therefore work here with no little fruit. On the contrary, if they come, we shall very soon have here true Christianity. India will be led back from her evil ways, which are leading her to the scaffold with the *Ora pro ea!* in front of her and the *Senhor Deus misericordia!* behind.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Criminali's complaint in 1545 (DI I 21). On the trade of the clerics, see, for example, Cannanore in 1510 (SR I 113), Goa in 1514 (*Studia* 1 [1958] 113-114), and Diu in 1546 (SR III 457).

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.* II 192-193 230.

<sup>134</sup> CA I 44-45.

<sup>135</sup> SR I 355.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.* II 144.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.* I 222-223; SRH 187.

<sup>138</sup> SR I 419-421.

<sup>139</sup> EX I 126; DI I 13-16; Teixeira 843.

<sup>140</sup> Lucena 2, 2. In the third edition of his *Asia*, Bartoli adds an account about the Trinitarian Frey Pedro de Covilham, who allegedly accompanied Vasco da Gama on his voyage to India in 1497 as his confessor and on July 7 of this same year, when he was dying as a martyr, pierced through with arrows in Calicut, prophesied that a new order with the name of Jesus would soon come, and that one of the first priests of this order would go to farthest India and convert the greater part of it (*Asia* 1, 10; *Degli uomini e de' Fatti* 1, 8). He names as his authority Frey Juan de Figueras Carpi, O.S.S.Trin., *Chronicum Ordinis Sanctissimae Trinitatis de Redemptione Captivorum* (Veronae, 1645), f. 205, "according to an old manuscript in the archives of the Trinitarian monastery in Coimbra." In Bouhours the sources are their Lisbon monastery and the memoirs of the library of the Portuguese king (*Vie* 1, 2). Sousa calls the author Figueroa and has the martyr die in 1498 (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 1, 1). Faria y Souza is silent on the martyrdom and prophecy and distinguishes two namesakes: the confessor of Vasco da Gama and the discoverer of Preste Joam (t. 1, p. 1, cc. 3-4). But the Portuguese chronicles know of only one Pedro de Covilham, who came to Calicut in 1488 and lived at the court of the Preste from 1494, where Francisco Alvarez still encountered him in 1520 (Vol. I 594 689 693). On the credulity and historical carelessness of Figuera, see the sharp criticism of Frey Antonino de la Asunción, T.D., *Diccionario de Escritores Trinitarios de España y Portugal* 1 (Roma, 1898) 307-312.

4. IN NOSSA SENHORA DO ROSARIO<sup>141</sup>

Ignorance of religious matters was one of the main evils in the city. Master Francis began with it. He spent his mornings with the sick in the hospital and noons, with all their heat, at the prison with its inmates. In the evenings, when it was cooler,<sup>142</sup> he went with a little bell<sup>143</sup> through the streets and squares of Goa and stopped at certain places, for example, at a street corner, and cried out in a loud voice: "Faithful Christians, friends of Jesus Christ, send your sons and daughters and your slaves, both men and women, to learn about the faith, for the love of God!" This novel approach proved to be successful.<sup>144</sup> Children, slaves of both sexes, and adults gathered around him. He arranged them into a column<sup>145</sup> and led them to the Bacaes Gate and through the native

<sup>141</sup> The sources for this section are: (1) Xavier's letter of September 20, 1542 (EX I 126); (2) his small catechism (*ibid.* 106-116); (3) his instruction for catechists (*ibid.* 304-307); (4) Perez' account of his catechesis in Malacca in 1548 "according to the directives of P. M. Francisco" (DI I 372-373); (5) Xavier's statements about his method on the Fishery Coast, in Travancore, and in Ternate (EX I 162 273 377-378); (6) the brief details in Brandão of 1554 and Quadros of 1555 (DI III 188 336); (7) the account of Teixeira (843-844 and \*It. 2, 1). See also the descriptions in Tursellinus 2, 3; Lucena 2, 3; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 4 (who cites the text of the catechism printed in Goa in 1557, which is now lost).

<sup>142</sup> "After the confessions of the prisoners" (EX I 126).

<sup>143</sup> Teixeira 843; cf. Xavier's instructions for Gaspar (EX II 93) and Pérez (DI I 372) and the statements of the witnesses in MX II 467 (that of the eyewitness Bento Coelho de Pina) 461 462 504. The little bell used by St. Francis to summon the people to catechism is today in Castello Branco in the possession of the Sousa Barbosa Marçal family, where we examined it in 1923. It is made of brass, silvered on the interior, and has an iron tongue. It is 5 1/8 inches tall; the handle alone is 2 5/16 inches; the diameter is less than 2 9/16 inches. The bell has a clear, sharp tone (picture in *O Nosso Colégio, Caldas de Saúde* XV [February, 1953] 16). The accompanying \*document of authentication has the following legend: "Campainha com que S. Francisco Xauier chamaua os meninos para a doutrina. Dizem, que a deu Marçal da Costa, Secretario das Mercês nesta Corte de Lisboa. Declaro que eu enho a campainha com que o Sancto Padre Francisco Xauier fazia as doutrinas na India Oriental, a qual me deu o Padre Jorge de Gouvea, Relligioso da Companhia de Jesus, no tempo que neste Reyno de Portugal seruiu de procurador geral da mesma Companhia das partes da India e de procurador da beatificação do mesmo Samto, a qual campainha eu deixo á Casa Professa de Sam Roque da Companhia de Jesu, onde tenho pedido que me enterrem."—Gouvea was named procurator for the process of Xavier's beatification in 1614 (\**Summariun* 754v). Marçal da Costa signed the document as secretary of favors (TdT: \**Fragments* 29) in 1620 and died, apparently, in 1645 (*Inventario dos Livros das Portarias do Reino* 1 [Lisboa, 1904] 152; *Inventario dos Livros da Matricula* 2 [Lisboa, 1917] 290). The bell was already honored as a precious relic in Lisbon in 1620 (*Relaçam das Festas que a religiam da Companhia de Iesu fez em a Cidade de Lisboa, na Beatificaçam do Beato Francisco de Xavier* [Lisboa, 1621] 30v), and it was still in the professed house of São Roque in 1813 (Bibl. Vat.: \**Borgian. Tonkin.* 10, 280-281; 15, 478). As the owner of the relic, D. Possidonio Marçal, told us in 1923, the bell later came into the possession of a convent of Carmelite nuns, whose superioress was a relative of his family. From there it passed to the convent of the Carmelite nuns in Rato (Lisbon) and finally to Castello Branco. P. Lancicius gave another of Xavier's bells to the Jesuit college of Starawies in Galicia, but the authenticating document was lost when the priest was robbed, as I was informed.

<sup>144</sup> Teixeira 843. Teixeira \*It. gives Xavier's words: "Fideli christiani, amici di Giesù, mandate li vostri figli et schiavi alla dottrina por amor di Dio!" (2, 1). Pérez' account is similar: "Christianos, mandad vuestros hijos y hijas, esclavos y esclavas a la predi-cación de la fe!" (DI I 372; cf. 347 and III 336). Xavier speaks only of *muchachos* (EX I 126), but in his instruction for Barzaeus he orders him to teach the catechism to the children of the Portuguese as well as the male and female slaves and native Christians (EX II 86).

<sup>145</sup> Lucena 2, 3.

quarters<sup>146</sup> up to the tranquil, isolated church of Nossa Senhora do Rosario<sup>147</sup> on the outskirts of the city, a short quarter of an hour from the hospital. More than three hundred would frequently be brought together for instruction.<sup>148</sup> The confraternity which maintained the church was glad to furnish space for this purpose.<sup>149</sup>

When he reached the church, Francis would take his place before the altar, lift up his eyes and heart to heaven, and with bared head make the sign of the cross and say in a loud, clear voice: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."<sup>150</sup> He then began to sing the lesson in order to impress it more deeply upon the minds of his hearers.<sup>151</sup> Two boys, and then all the rest together, had to repeat his words.<sup>152</sup> They began with the petitions of the Litany of the Saints: "Lord God, have mercy on us!"<sup>153</sup> This was followed by the Creed, which was sung like the rest of the catechism:<sup>154</sup>

I believe in God, the Father almighty, the Creator of heaven and earth. I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord. I believe that He was conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary. I believe that He suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried. I believe that He descended into hell, and that on the third day He arose from the dead. I believe that He ascended into heaven and sits at the right hand of God, the Father almighty. I believe that He will come from heaven to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit. I believe in the holy Catholic church. I believe in the communion of saints and the forgiveness of sins. I believe in the resurrection of the body. I believe in life everlasting. Amen.

At the end of the Creed, he recited a prayer which all repeated word for word:

O true God! As a good and faithful Christian, I gladly and from my heart believe in the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the one and only God. I firmly believe without doubting all that our holy Mother, the Church of Rome, believes and

<sup>146</sup> In 1529 Diogo Mariz wrote that most of the native Christians lived in this suburb and therefore suggested that a parish should be set up for them there in the church of the Rosario or in the neighboring Santo Antonio (SR II 188). In 1566 Gomes Vaz repeated that the church of Santo Antonio lay in a quarter of the city inhabited by many native Christians (*ibid.* X 96).

<sup>147</sup> According to Teixeira 843, who was followed by all the authors until 1861, when Felipe Neri Xavier tried to prove that Xavier did not give his instructions in the Rosario, "only built in 1543," but in a chapel dedicated to Mary near the hospital or São Francisco, probably in the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Conceição mentioned in 1595 (*Resumo Histórico* 35, n. 42). He was followed by Gracías (OOP 8 [1911] 82-96); Saldanha II 23; Telles 74, and Brou I 165. We have shown the untenability of the new hypothesis in "Nossa Senhora do Rosário e S. Francisco Xavier," *Anuário de S. Francisco Xavier* 3 (Velha Goa, 1959) 58-60, in which we show, among other things, that there was no chapel of Nossa Senhora da Conceição before 1577. H. Gomes had already written against the new hypothesis in *Boletim Eclesiástico de Goa* (1952) 278-282. The Jesuits used also to preach later in the Rosario, for example, in 1552 (DI II 483 486) and 1558-1560 (*ibid.* IV 182 282 728 791).

<sup>148</sup> EX I 126.

<sup>149</sup> Two letters of the confraternity are preserved. The first, of 1548, is signed by Aleixo Afonso as vicar, Manuel Pereira, the *mordomo*, and Melchior Luis do Quintall and Jorge Gomez (Q, pl. XI 2); the second, of 1549, by Diogo Lopes and Antonio Pesoa (SR IV 361).

<sup>150</sup> EX I 304; df. 273 377; Lucena; Seb. Gonçalves.

<sup>151</sup> EX I 273 377; Pérez; Teixeira; Valignano 50; cf. DI III 188.

<sup>152</sup> EX I 304.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.* 106; Pérez; Seb. Gonçalves.

<sup>154</sup> For the following, see the text of the small catechism (EX I 106; 116).

teaches. And I also promise as a true Christian to live and die in the holy Catholic faith of my Lord Jesus Christ. And should I at the hour of my death be unable to speak, I now for that moment of my death confess with all my heart my belief in my Lord Jesus Christ as the only begotten Son of God.<sup>155</sup>

This was followed by an Our Father and Hail Mary and then by the rest of the catechism: the Ten Commandments of God, the Five Precepts of the Church, the *Confiteor*, the Prayer for Meals, the Seven Capital Sins and the Seven opposite Virtues, the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity, the four cardinal virtues of Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Fortitude, the Corporal and Spiritual Works of Mercy, the five senses, the three powers of the soul, the three enemies of the soul—the World, the Flesh, and the Devil—and the prayers at the consecration of the bread and wine at Mass. All of these were recited in Portuguese, but the short meal prayer was in Latin.<sup>156</sup> This was the catechism which the superintendent of the India House in Lisbon, João de Barros, had ordered to be printed at the end of 1539.<sup>157</sup> But Master Francis adapted it to his Indian hearers. He added the invocation at the beginning of the instruction and the prayer at the end of the Creed, and he repeated the words “I believe” at each of the articles.<sup>158</sup> He also made other changes. At the end of the Ten Commandments, he added:

God says: “Whoever keeps these Ten Commandments will go into paradise.” God says: “Whoever does not keep these Ten Commandments will go to hell.”<sup>159</sup>

He then had his hearers offer up a triple colloquy like that in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius:<sup>160</sup>

I beseech you, Lord Jesus Christ, give me the grace on this day and throughout the whole of my life to keep these Ten Commandments! I beseech you, holy Mary, my Lady, pray for me to your blessed Son, Jesus Christ, that he give me the grace today and throughout all my life to keep those Commandments!

I beseech You, Lord Jesus Christ, forgive me the sins which I have committed this day and in the whole course of my life because I have not kept these Ten Commandments. I beseech you, holy Mary, my Lady, Queen of the Angels, that you obtain forgiveness for me from your blessed Son, Jesus Christ, for the sins which I have committed this day and in the whole course of my life because I have not kept these Ten Commandments!”<sup>161</sup>

To the *Confiteor* he added the names of the archangel Michael, to whom he had a special devotion, of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Thomas, the Apostle and Patron of the Indies.<sup>162</sup> He then added three devout prayers as a conclusion.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>155</sup> EX I 106-107; Pérez; Seb. Gonçalves.

<sup>156</sup> In the catechism the prayer for meals is given in the last place. In Pérez it is after the *Confiteor*.

<sup>157</sup> *Grammatica da lingua portuguesa com os mandamentos da santa madre igreja* (Lisboa, 1539).

<sup>158</sup> EX I 106-107. Seb. Gonçalves already drew attention to this.

<sup>159</sup> 9X I 108; Seb. Gonçalves.

<sup>160</sup> Vol. I 220.

<sup>161</sup> EX I 108-109; Seb. Gonçalves.

<sup>162</sup> The king had ordered that the apostle Thomas should be mentioned in the prayers (SR III 15).

<sup>163</sup> “Con agunas oraciones muy devotas, que dizen en el principio y en el fin” (Valignano 50). “Fecit quendam librolum Doctrinae Christianae aliquot orationibus devotissimis, sed dicebat dictus Pater Antonius á Quadros, qualiter se valde paeniteret illarum non recordari” (\*Lisbon, RProcess I, n. 11, 106v: P. Amador Rebello, S.J.).

The first was to strengthen his hearers in their faith and to fill them with a horror of idolatry. It ran as follows:

O mighty God and merciful Father of my soul, Creator of all things on earth, I firmly believe without doubting in You, my Lord and God, since You are my every good. I believe that I shall be saved through the infinite merits of the sufferings and death of Your Son Jesus Christ, my Lord, as great as are the sins of my youth and all the others that I have committed up to the present hour. For your mercy is greater than the malice of my sins. You, O Lord, have created me, and not my father or my mother; and You have given me a body and soul and all that I have. And You, my God, have made me to Your likeness, and not the *pagodas* [idols], which are the gods of the heathens in the form of irrational cattle and beasts of the devil. I renounce all *pagodas*, magicians, and soothsayers because they are the slaves and friends of the devil. O you heathens, how great is the blindness of your sins that you make God out of beasts and the devil, since you pray to Him under their forms! O Christians, let us give praise and thanks to the triune God for having revealed to us the faith and the true law of His Son Jesus Christ!<sup>164</sup>

The second prayer was directed to the Mother of the Lord.

Holy Mary, my Lady, Help of Christians, Queen of Angels and of All Saints, who are with God in heaven! I commend myself to you, my Lady, and to all the saints now and at the hour of my death, so that you may protect me from the world, the flesh, and the devil, my enemies, that are eager to draw my soul down into hell.

The third prayer was directed towards the leader of the heavenly hosts, St. Michael, who was represented as a judge at the Last Judgment with sword and scales near the yawning mouth of hell on the façade of Santa Maria in Sangüesa.<sup>165</sup>

O lord, St. Michael, protect me from the devil in the hour of my death, since I must give an account to God of the whole of my past life! Weigh, lord, my sins with the merits of the sufferings and death of my Lord Jesus Christ and not with my few deserts; then I shall be free from the power of the enemy and shall go into eternal and everlasting happiness.

But this was not all.<sup>166</sup> After the Creed had been sung, Francis would repeat one article of the Creed after the other<sup>167</sup> in order to clarify them and to impress them more firmly upon the minds of his hearers. He would then ask:

"Do you all believe in one true God, who is almighty, everlasting, infinite, and all wise?" All then had to answer with their hands crossed upon their breasts:<sup>168</sup> "Yes, Father, through the grace of God, we believe this."<sup>169</sup> He would then continue: "Then all say together with me: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the Living God, give us the grace that we may firmly believe this article without any doubting.' And let us say an Our Father to obtain this grace."

<sup>164</sup> "E otras oraciones en que le enseña a areñegar de los ídolos a que ca llamamos pagodes" (Pérez in DI I 373).

<sup>165</sup> Cf. C. M. Weber, "La portada de Santa Maria la Real de Sangüesa," *Príncipe de Viana* 20 (1959) 154 and pl. VI 3.

<sup>166</sup> The following is from the Instruction, of which he says that he had himself experienced its efficacy (EX I 304).

<sup>167</sup> Cf. EX I 162-163 273-274.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.* 162 273; Lucena.

<sup>169</sup> EX I 163 273.

He would then continue: "Say with me: 'Holy Mary, Virgin Mother of God, obtain for us from God the grace to firmly believe this article without doubting!' And in order that we may obtain this from her, let us all pray quietly a Hail Mary in her honor!"<sup>170</sup>

Then Master Francis would continue: "Do you believe, my brothers, that this true God is one, a single God in substance but three in person, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit?" All then had to answer: "Yes, Father, through God's grace, we believe this."

Do you believe, my brothers, that the Second Person of the Most Blessed Trinity, the only begotten Son of God, was conceived of the Holy Spirit, took flesh in the womb of the most pure Virgin Mary, and was born of her, our ever virgin Lady?—Yes, Father, through the grace of God, we believe this.

Do you believe, my brothers, that this same Son of God, who became man, was crucified, died, and was buried; and that He descended to the lower world and freed the souls of the holy fathers who were waiting there for His holy coming?—Yes, Father, through the grace of God, we believe this.

Do you believe that our Lord arose on the third day and then ascended into heaven; that He sits there at the right hand of God, the Father Almighty, from whence He will come to judge the living and the dead, when He will ask an account of each one's service and reward or punish him according to the good and evil that he has done?—Yes, Father, through the grace of God, we believe this.

Do you believe that there is a hell, that is, an everlasting fire, where everyone who dies outside the grace of God will be tortured forever? that there is a paradise and an everlasting happiness, which the good will enjoy who have ended their lives in God's grace? that there is a purgatory, where souls make satisfaction to the divine justice for a period of time as they atone for the punishment due to their sins, which, although they were forgiven them during life, still were not entirely expiated before they died? Do you believe in the seven sacraments, in the entire teaching of the holy Gospels, and in all that the Holy Roman Church believes and confesses?

After each question his hearers would cross their arms upon their breasts and reply: "Yes, Father, with the grace of God, we believe this." And after each answer they would repeat the prayer to Christ and His blessed Mother and an Our Father and Hail Mary. They then recited seven Our Fathers and seven Hail Marys in honor of the Holy Spirit and made together an act of hope and of love:

Christ Jesus, my Lord and God, trusting in your divine mercy, I hope through Your merits, with the help and assistance of Your grace, and my own cooperation with it, through good works and the keeping of Your Commandments, to finally obtain the glory and everlasting happiness for which You have created me. O God, I love You above all else with my whole heart. I am sorry that I have offended You. Since You are what You are, most deserving of all praise, all honor, and all service, because of the highest love which I owe You, and because I treasure You far more than any other good, however great, I am firmly resolved never to do anything that could offend Your divine will and bring me into the danger of losing Your grace. Amen.

He then instructed his hearers on a specific point of Christian doctrine and used an example to clarify what he had said. After 1 1/2 or 2 hours<sup>171</sup> he con-

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.* 164 305.

<sup>171</sup> Instructions in Malacca in 1548 lasted from 1 1/2 to 2 hours (DI I 371). Xavier wanted a cleric to teach Christian doctrine in Ternate for two hours each day after his departure (EX I 385).

cluded the lesson with a prayer to the Mother of God, three Hail Marys<sup>172</sup> or the *Salve Regina*.<sup>173</sup>

Francis spoke in a plain and simple fashion. He adapted himself to the mental capacities of his listeners<sup>174</sup> and, in order to be better understood, used the broken Portuguese of the Negro slaves.<sup>175</sup> But he spoke with an ardent zeal,<sup>176</sup> and his words went to their hearts. He told his listeners to repeat what they had heard to the male and female slaves and the rest at home. Anyone who walked through the city after the ringing of the *Angelus* could hear all along the ways and in the houses the pious melodies of the catechism being sung by children and male and female slaves.<sup>177</sup>

Overjoyed with the success of these instructions, the bishop ordered the priests in the other churches and chapels to follow the example of Master Francis and give instructions in the catechism. On the afternoons of Sundays and feast days, Francis preached and gave instructions in the church of the Rosary, which was reserved for the native Christians, on an article of the faith and concluded with an Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed, and the Commandments. The crowds

<sup>172</sup> Thus far the Instruction. One Ave for those present, two for others (EX I 307).

<sup>173</sup> EX I 164; Lucena.

<sup>174</sup> EX I 306.

<sup>175</sup> In 1549 Xavier wrote from Japan that his confreres in Goa should use the Negro-Portuguese of the slaves when giving instructions, “de la manera que hio lo hacía quando allá estava” (EX II 220); and Misser Paulo wrote in 1548: “Do P. Mestre Francisco não tenho lingoa pera declarar... o grande fruto que de suas confissões sae, e de suas doutrinas e ensinos; que todos os moços e moças, escravos e escravas ficam por elle perdidos, pola grande saudade que delle tem e das suas pregações que faz aos ditos moços e moças, escravos e escravas em falla negra, e por melhor dizer, como em sua lingua” (DI I 347). The editor of this text mistakenly believes that this Negro language was Konkani. Quadros clearly writes that in his instructions Xavier spoke “meo negro e meo portuges” (DI III 336), as does Valignano: “hablandole medio negro, como ellos suelen quando hablan nuestra lengua portuguesa” (50-51; similarly \*Teixeira It. 2, 1). It was the patois, a corrupt, simplified Portuguese interspersed with native words, like that which the mixed-bloods still speak today in the former Portuguese possessions, the *Cristão*, which the pastor of the Portuguese parish in Malacca still speaks with his parishioners. On this see, for example, B. A. Coelho, “Os dialectos românicos ou neo-latinos na Africa, Asia e America,” *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (1880) 129-196; and Ant. da Silva Rego, *Dialecto Português de Malaca* (Lisboa, 1942). Xavier was blamed for this manner of preaching (Valignano 50, n. 14), but unjustly so. He preached thus for his hearers who would otherwise not have understood him well (EX II 226), but not when he was preaching to Portuguese.

<sup>176</sup> Beatriz Peres, who was born about 1535 and attended Xavier's instructions in St. Paul's College, still remembered well in 1615 how “adeo ardens et observans et zelator christianae pietatis” he was during them (*Goa, RProcess*, n. 3: \**Summarium* 785-v).

<sup>177</sup> This was Xavier's practice wherever he went. He mentions it himself for the Fishery Coast and Ternate (EX I 162 377). Pérez mentions it for Malacca in 1548, Barzaeus for Ormuz (DI I 373 624), and Valignano for the whole of India (50; cf. DI III 188 and Teixeira 844). According to the information provided by Dr. Miguel de Lacerda, who had heard much in India about Xavier's life from his contemporaries, Amador Rebello had testified in 1615 that Xavier's instructions in Christian doctrine “tam profunde penetrabant omnium corda, ut eius doctrina non solum doceretur in omnibus scholis Indiae et eam pueri cantarent, euntes et redeuntes ab scholis, sed per plateas noctu nullae aliae cantilenae quam hae audiebantur a servis et puellis puerisque transeuntibus per vias; et a P. M. Francisco mansit haec consuetudo docendi hanc doctrinam in domibus saecularibus singulis noctibus servos et pueros singulorum cantando eam alternis choris, et crevit adeo haec consuetudo, ut audiverit multoties dictus Miguel a Lacerda a P. Quadros, qualiter res Patris Francisci Xaverii ita se insinuabant hominibus veluti res ipsae Apostolorum” (\**Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 11, 106v-107. See also the testimony of Hieronymus Gomes, S.J. [*Rome, Process* II, n. 6: \**Summarium* 295]).

that attended were so great that the chapel could not hold them all.<sup>178</sup> He also gave instructions in Christian doctrine on the other days of the week unless something unusual prevented him from doing so.<sup>179</sup>

## 5. WITH THE LOST SHEEP

Master Francis also proclaimed the word of God to the Portuguese. His preaching was straightforward and natural, without learned flourishes or theatrical display. He spoke of sins and their consequences for body and soul, of the injury which they do to God, of the everlasting pains of hell, of death, which only too often comes suddenly and hales men when they least expect it before the judgment seat of God. He spoke also of the wiles of the devil and his deceitful temptations, of the scruples and the lack of peace which follow every violation of God's commands. And he did this with quotations from Scripture and examples from daily life, from the writings and lives of the saints, or with a colloquy of a sinner with his crucified Saviour, as Ignatius did in the first week of the Exercises: "What have You done for me? What have I done for You? What am I doing, what can I do, what must I do for You?"<sup>180</sup>

Francis' zeal suggested to him another kind of preaching as well. Every day in the streets of Paris a small bell was rung to invite the people to say an Our Father for the poor souls in purgatory,<sup>181</sup> and the night guard in the narrow streets near the cemetery of the Innocents ended his cry with the words: "Wake up, you people, who are sleeping here and pray to God for the souls of those who have died!"<sup>182</sup> At night, after the *Angelus*, Master Francis therefore went with his little bell through the streets of the city and invited the residents to pray for the souls of the deceased in purgatory and for those who were living in a state of mortal sin and did not wish to be converted.<sup>183</sup>

His main means of winning over sinners was, however, his own personal dealings with them.<sup>184</sup> His cheerful manner<sup>185</sup> was irresistible.<sup>186</sup> He was every-

<sup>178</sup> EX I 126.

<sup>179</sup> "Quasi todos los dias" (Teixeira 843).

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Xavier's Instruction for Barzaeus (EX II 88-89 99) and Valignano 50.

<sup>181</sup> Alfred Franklin, *Journal du Siège de Paris 1590* (Paris, 1876), p. 48, in his historical introduction on the morals and customs of the Parisians in the sixteenth century up to 1545.

<sup>182</sup> Hilaire Belloc, *Paris* (London, 1900) 345.

<sup>183</sup> In 1616 the priest Francisco Nunes, who had also visited Goa, declared in Quilon that he had heard from trustworthy persons that Xavier had urged the people in Goa at night with his little bell to pray for the souls in purgatory, and he did this everywhere he went (MX II 480). He introduced the custom also in Ternate (EX I 385) and Ormuz (*ibid.* II 93; DI I 630 675-676 686). The Compromise of the Misericordia of Goa in 1595 ordained that four men should go three times a week at night with a little bell and say in a loud voice: "O believing Christians, servants of Jesus Christ, think of the souls who are in purgatory and of those who are living in the state of mortal sin and help them with an Our Father and Hail Mary so that God our Lord may have mercy upon them and forgive you your sins. Amen!" (Ferreira Martins I 245).

<sup>184</sup> "Sobre tudo isto tinha tam grande maneira de conversar como hos homens e tirar de pecados, que parece que á muitos annos que Deus não comunicou est dom em tanto grao a nenhum homem; e así, na conversação fes mais fruito que na pregação," Quadros wrote from Goa in 1555 (DI III 336).

<sup>185</sup> The witnesses come back to this again and again: "Tudo fazia com muita alegria" (Dr. Saraiva, MX II 188); "con huma alegria e spiritu muito de edificação" (Cosme Anes, *ibid.* 184); "sempre muito allegre e prazenteiro, com a boca cheia de rizo" (Man-silhas, *ibid.* 319). Bento Gomes, who knew Xavier from the time of the latter's arrival



where a gladly welcomed guest,<sup>187</sup> and he knew how to take an interest in everything. With the *fidalgos* and soldiers he spoke of their experiences with the fleet and during times of war; with the merchants he spoke of their business and of the foreign lands they had visited.<sup>188</sup> Like Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, he became all to all.<sup>189</sup> But no matter how affable he showed himself to be, jesting with those who joked and answering a clever remark with his own ready wit, he never forgot himself; with great discretion and self-control, he avoided every word that could give offense to others;<sup>190</sup> and, at the end of his conversation, he could always make a spiritual point.<sup>191</sup> As a consequence, all had the highest regard for him.<sup>192</sup> He did not read many books. His principal reading, apart from his breviary, was Marcus Marulus, where he found examples for his preaching and instructions.<sup>193</sup> He preferred, rather, to study the living books, the people with whom he associated.<sup>194</sup>

in Goa, stated that it was astonishing how simple and natural (*simgello e leue*) P. M. Franciscus had been in his conversations, "porque sempre andava com o rosto muito alegre, e com a boca sempre cheia de riso; e d'esta maneira conversava a todos, asy a maos como ha bons" (*ibid.* 295). And Christovão de Castro, who had also known Xavier in Goa in 1542, declared that he had been affable, "que nunca le saya o rizo para todo o mundo, pryncipalmente para os que vevão mall' (*ibid.* 302). See other, similar testimonies, *ibid.* 270 279 283 287 291 300 301 306 310, and Valignano 18. And in his Instruction for Barzaeus he also stressed that he should always show a cheerful countenance to all (EX II 93 97).

<sup>186</sup> Teixeira 844.

<sup>187</sup> Era muito accepto em suas palavras e obras, e em sua conversação e tratamento e onestidade, a todas as pessoas que o vyão e conhecyão," according to Gomes Freire (MX II 425); and Duarte do Soveral da Fonseca, who was with Xavier in Amboina, stated "que d'ele a nenhum soldado vio murmurar nem venialmente, amtes a todos comprazia em cabo sua conversação asy no espiritoal como no temporal" (*ibid.* 390).

<sup>188</sup> "Trataba con ellos con tanta familiaridad, como si fuera entre soldados un soldado, y un mercader entre mercaderes" (Valignano 90). Amador Rebello testified that during his journeys in Japan he spoke with the Japanese about astronomy, meteorology, and medicine, so that they forgot the difficulties of their travels (*\*Lisbon, RProcess I*, n. 11, 108). And he advised Barzaeus to study living men and thus become well informed about their lives and business methods (EX II 92-93 97-99).

<sup>189</sup> "Teve verdadeiramente aquillo de S. Paulo: 'Omnia omnibus factus sum': com os lascarins lascarim, e com todos todo. Isto com tanto tento, que nunca perdeo de si nada, nem ninguem por quantas graças e zombarias dixe o teve em peor conta, ante em mais reverencia," Quadros wrote in 1555 (DI III 336).

<sup>190</sup> Valignano 18; cf. Xavier's Instruction for Barzaeus: "Deal with all as though they would some day become enemies. Use this shrewdness with this wicked world!" (EX II 88).

<sup>191</sup> MX II 372.

<sup>192</sup> Lancilotto wrote of Xavier's arrival in India: "Ubicunque versabatur omnium oculos et mentes in admirationem sui trahebat" (DI I 133). Christovão Carvalho testified: "Tanta veneraçam e acatamento lhe tinham todos, grandes e pequennos, como teryão a hum saonto e e canonizado pela igreja" (MX II 306).

<sup>193</sup> MARCI/MARVLI/OPVS DE RELIGIO- / se uiuendi institutione per exempla, ex ue-/teri nouoque testamento collecta: ex auto/ribus quoque diuo Hieronymo presbyte-/ro, beato Gregorio Pont. Max. Eusebio/Caesarieñ episcopo, Iohanne Cassia-/no eremita, nonnullisque alijs, / qui uitas conscripsere / sanctorum. / Apud sanctam Coloniā. Anno / M. D. XXXI. Mense / Ianuario. /—The book was to be found in the professed house of the Society of Jesus in Madrid and was burned by the Reds in the Spanish Civil War in 1931 together with its entire, valuable library. It was a duodecimo volume (15 × 10.5 cm.) of 680 pages printed in Roman letters except for the Gothic letters of the chapter headings upon strong paper. It was bound with boards covered with thin, stamped, black leather, and was in a good state of preservation. In front, on the second blank page, the well-known Japanese missionary Gil de la Mata wrote: "Receuí este Marco Máculo del P. Hierónimo Xauier, prepósito de la casa professa de Goa el mes de octubre de 1593, el qual me dió para que lo entregase al P. Francisco

In confession he encouraged his penitent. He spoke to him of the great mercy of God. He helped him to overcome false shame, and if there was anyone who was so blinded by his attachment to some unlawful possession, by his sensual passions or hatred and vindictiveness that the thought of the love and worship of God or the fear of death and hell made no further impression upon him, he would then set God's punishments already in this life before his eyes—an early death, severe and painful sicknesses, the loss of honor and possessions, persecutions from the captains, dangers from storms at sea, and the like in order to move him to remorse until he had confessed his sins. He also spoke of the dangers in which his own soul had been at the University of Paris. If he had a penitent before him who, because of some difficulty, could not be reconciled with God, or who could not give up an evil passion, he would encourage him to reflect on what he would tell a friend who was in a similar condition, what remedies he would suggest, and he would then tell him that he should apply the same to himself. When people came to him in the hospital who had not confessed for a long time or had a heavy burden upon their conscience, he advised them to first think over their past life for two or three days in order to recall their sins and to write them down. Then, after they had made a good confession, he did not give them absolution at once but postponed this for two or three days and gave them during this time some points from the first week of the Exercises so that they might reflect upon their failures, grieve and do penance for them, make restitution of ill-gotten gains, become reconciled with their enemies, and remove the proximate occasions of sin.<sup>195</sup> When the individuals to whom restitution had to be made could no longer be found, he gave the money to the confraternity of the Misericordia so that it could be distributed among the poor; and he directed those who came to him more to beg than for spiritual help to this confraternity, for its members knew these people better than he did.<sup>196</sup>

de Benauides, diciendo que lo estimase en mucho, porque era el libro spiritual de que vsaua el P. Mo. Francisco Xauier, de santa memoria; el qual libro truxe conmigo de Goa, y entregué al dicho P. Francisco de Benauides el mes de otubre de 94 en este collegio de Madrid. Gil de la Mata." There then followed a second entry in a different hand: "En diez días del mes de enero de 1597 años, el P. Francisco de Benauides, rector deste collegio de la Compañía de Jesús de Alcalá de Henares, me entregó este libro spiritual de que vsaua el P. Mo. Francisco Xauier, de santa memoria, como consta de lo arriba scrito, para que lo pusiese en este cobreçico donde están otras reliquias. Juan de Cárdenas." And on the third leaf was written: "Está este libro expurgado conforme a las reglas del expurgatorio que secó el año de 1612 la Inquisición; y por la berdad lo firmé de mi nombre. Gonzalo de Albornoz." As a matter of fact, in many places offensive passages were made illegible with black ink. It was a collection of examples, made as it were for preachers and catechists; and at the beginning was a poem—a pious colloquy with the crucified Lord. This book could be meant when Quadros wrote of Xavier in 1555: "Nunca se embarcava com mais de huma sobrepelis e hum breuiario, e outro livro" (DI III 335); and when Gago remarked that Xavier had taken with him all that was needed for celebrating Mass to Japan and also books, in case they might be necessary, "aunque el P. maestro Francisco no lee ny estudia sino en su libro" (*ibid.* I 554). See also Vol. I 556. Jerónimo Xavier (Ezpeleta), the grandnephew of Xavier, was superior of the professed house in Goa in 1593, when Gil de la Mata came as procurator from Japan and sailed at the beginning of 1594 from India for Portugal.

<sup>194</sup> EX II 97-99.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.* 89-90 95-97. This also explains why the confessions which Xavier and Barzaeus heard took so long at times. Barzaeus, for example, wrote from Ormuz that the confessions had been so many that he could not avoid them day or night. He added: "There were nights when there were six confessions" (DI I 656).

<sup>196</sup> EX II 87.

As a penance he liked to give a fixed time for practicing the first kind of prayer taught by Ignatius in his Exercises. Morning and evening they should meditate upon the Commandments of God and of the Church in order to observe them, upon mortal sins in order to avoid them, upon the great reward which God gives to those who obey His holy law, and upon the severe penalties which those who break His Commandments have to suffer.<sup>197</sup>

Not everyone, however, came to the priest in the hospital. Many came to know him from his rounds of begging, when he went from door to door asking alms for the poor sick or those in prison.<sup>198</sup> His friends told him of others. When he instructed the slaves, both male and female, he learned of still others from them. He learned also from them if a master was keeping his slaves as concubines.<sup>199</sup> These lost sheep were also worth saving.<sup>200</sup> When one told him of a great sinner who was living a particularly wicked life, he made great efforts to win his friendship and confidence.<sup>201</sup> He sought him out and with a cheerful

<sup>197</sup> Seb. Gonçalves 2, 3; cf. EX I 449-451 459-460. On August 21, 1599, the provincial, Bernardino Rosignoli, wrote from Rome to P. Filippo Rinaldi in Frascati that, according to Father Gil Gonzáles, Xavier carried the *modi orandi* of the Spiritual Exercises on pieces of paper in a pocket. After a person had made his confession, Francis would instruct him on, and give him as a penance, these manners of prayer for a certain number of days and ask him to give an account of his success from time to time. He would then give him one of the slips of paper. After he had gradually introduced his penitent to a higher mode of prayer, he would give him the Exercises (EX I 442). In his directory for the Exercises, which he composed before 1591, Gil González wrote with respect to the first manner of prayer: "Se sabe que el Padre Francisco Xavier le usava con sus penitentes, con notable fruto y ayuda de sus almas, y les dava por penitencia lo hiziessen a la mañana una vez y a la tarde otra" (MI *Exercitia* 934).

<sup>198</sup> Seb. Gonçalves 2, 3.

<sup>199</sup> DI III 336.

<sup>200</sup> In 1555 Quadros described Xavier's method in converting those living in concubinage in Goa (DI III 336). It was everywhere the same, as the testimonies of the process of 1556 indicate (MX II, in general: 278 299-300 304-305; in India: 313-314; in many parts of India: 286-287 317 319; in São Thomé and Malacca: 192 270 278 282-283 287 290-291 294-296 379 392; in the Moluccas: 176 192 302; on the Fishery Coast: 310). Three had seen Xavier in Goa in 1542: Bento Gomes (*ibid.* 294-296), Christovão de Castro (*ibid.* 301-302), and Christovão Carvalho (*ibid.* 304-305). The testimony of the inquisitor Bartolomeu da Fonseca goes back to information obtained from Xavier's contemporaries. In Goa in 1575 he heard much about Xavier from Martim da Silva, S.J. (\**Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 18, 135v). The same is true of the testimony of the canon Manuel Monteiro, whose grandfather, João Monteiro, was married in Goa and had told him what he knew from his own personal observation of Xavier (MX II 508). All of these witnesses limit themselves as a rule to short, general statements. Teixeira in 1580 gave the first concrete example. He tells how the saint in 1549 gradually took away seven prostitutes from a Portuguese in Malacca, and he adds that this was one of the methods he employed with similar sinners (875-876). Valignano illustrates Xavier's method in his chapter on the saint's stay in Malacca in 1545 with four universally accepted examples: (1) the one given by Teixeira; (2) persuading his host to marry his concubine; (3) persuading the same host to dismiss another who was ugly; and (4) asking to speak with the cook and praising her without any reproach (89-91). In 1596 Tursellinus employed four examples: that of Teixeira for Xavier's stay in Goa in 1542, but somewhat altered; the second and third of Valignano; and, for Xavier's stay in Goa in 1548, a variant of the fourth.

In 1617 Barradas gave three more examples from Malacca and Sancian from the depositions of the lost Malacca process of 1616 (71-72). Lucena follows Valignano and Tursellinus; Bartoli follows these and Barradas with some data from the lost processes (*Asia* 4, 48); he is followed by Sousa (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 1, 112-113).

<sup>201</sup> "Quanto mais elle semtia a hum omem ser pecador, tanto mais se achegava para elle, e se convidava para ir as suas casas e comer com helles, de maneira que

expression invited himself as a poor priest to dinner.<sup>202</sup> His conversation was pleasant. He praised everything. At the end he also wanted to see the cook. The slave was called. He praised her cooking, thanked her for his good reception, told her that she should become a saint, and took his leave from his host.<sup>203</sup> There was no reference to the latter's sinful life or exhortation to repentance.<sup>204</sup> This alone was often sufficient to bring the sinner to his senses and to move him to give up his illicit relations.<sup>205</sup>

Or there were already children of the union. He had them called and caressed them. He also had their mother come. He praised her good features, when this was possible, and frequently at this first visit urged his friend for the sake of his good name and for the honor of his children and their mother to be married in the church with his slave.<sup>206</sup> When the concubine was dark in color and ugly featured, he employed all his eloquence to separate his host from her.<sup>207</sup> He was even ready, if necessary, to find for him a more suitable mate.<sup>208</sup>

But often enough the householder had a whole harem of slaves. There were three, four, and more with whom he was having sexual relations. They served at table, in the kitchen, and in the house. In the course of their conversation, Francis would ask his friend how many servants he had in the house. He wanted to become acquainted with all of them. He praised the cooking and the good service. He asked each one about her home, her country, how long she had been baptized, and was able to win all with his easy amiability. It appeared as if he did not notice anything out of order. His host, who had expected a lecture, breathed a sigh of relief. He invited his pleasant company to dine for a second, a third, and a fourth time. When Xavier had obtained his friendship and the field was clear, he began his attack. Why were there so many servants in the house, who fought with each other, caused discord, and were a waste of money? And he persuaded his friend to release one of them for whom he had already found a husband. Ten or twenty days later he brought his host around to giving up a second, then a third and a fourth, until finally only one was left, whom her lord also released<sup>209</sup> or, upon the advice of his guest, mar-

pella mansydão e muita conversação que com hos taes tinha, os tirava a todos do pecado em que hestavão," testified Bento Gomes (MX II 295-296). Similar testimonies, *ibid.* 283 291 300 302 306 319, and DI III 336.

<sup>202</sup> He invited himself: MX II 176 283 319 508, and \**Lisbon*, *RProcess* I, 135v. He ate with sinners: MX II 279 286-287 300 302 306 313.

<sup>203</sup> Valignano 89-90.

<sup>204</sup> "Como sabia que hum homem estava em pecado, fazia-se grande seu amigo sem mais pratica de Deus e depois de muita amizade o trazia a Deus. Particularidades se contão delle, de sua maneira de trazer os homens a Deus, que certo me tem espantado," Quadros wrote in 1555 (DI III 336). In 1556 Christovão Carvalho wrote in a similar fashion: "Hya comer com helles, nam lhes estranhando nunca seus pecados nem seus maos costumes; he com esta conversação, que com helles tinha, os ensytava á virtude e no serviço de Deos, que os apartava de todo o mall e os convertia ás virtudes sem escandallo nenhum" (MX II 306; cf. 300 310 314 319 and Teixeira 876; Valignano 89-90; Tursellinus 3, 15).

<sup>205</sup> Tursellinus 3, 15.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.* 2, 3.

<sup>207</sup> Valignano 90-91; Tursellinus 3, 3. In 1554 Coelho testified that Xavier had separated many in São Thomé from their concubines or married them (DI III 194). See also the testimony of 1556 in MX II 192 270 278 283 287 290 295 299 305 310 313 317 379, of 1616 (*ibid.* 508), and of Fernão de Mendonça, according to whom Francis persuaded a merchant in Malacca to give up an ugly concubine (\**Lisbon*, *RProcess* I, n. 21, 149v-150).

<sup>208</sup> Valignano 90.

<sup>209</sup> Teixeira 876; Valignano 90. "Os que tinhão tres ou mais [amigas] mandava-lhes

ried,<sup>210</sup> for it was difficult to refuse a request<sup>211</sup> of "the holy priest," as he was known.<sup>212</sup>

## 6. PAGANS AND MOORS

Under Albuquerque a married citizen of Goa found a badly corroded metal crucifix one span long with a broken-off forearm at a depth of three fathoms when he was digging a well not far from the tower of the Bacaes Gate. The discovery created a sensation. The figure was carried in a silver casket in solemn procession to the church, and at the end of 1514 the precious treasure was sent with an official document to King Manuel. From that time on, the street between the Misericórdia and São Francisco, where the crucifix had been found, was called Rua do Crucifixo; and on the site where it was found, a small oratory was erected where a Mass was read on every Friday.<sup>213</sup>

But, when the Portuguese captured Goa in 1510, they had found there only Moors and pagans. There were no traces of any Christians, and no remembrance of their ever having lived there.<sup>214</sup> Before the city had been founded by the

e rogava-lhes que deixassem huma delas, que as outras lhe abastavão, e assi cada des ou vinte dias lhe ia itrando huma até que ficavão sem nenhuma: a homem portuges tirou pouco a pouco desta maneira outo ou nove mancebas," Quadros wrote in 1555 (DI III 336). And Monteiro heard from his grandfather, "who was present for everything that he told me," how Xavier, when he learned that many Portuguese had concubines whom they had purchased in their homes, asked them to invite him to their noon meal. When they were eating, he asked his host to call his servants, which they did because of the respect they had for him. He then persuaded them to marry their concubines or to dismiss them" (MX II 508); similarly Fonseca (*Lisbon. RProcess* I, 135v).

<sup>210</sup> Valignano 90-91.

<sup>211</sup> "Nunca requereo cousa a ninguem, por grande que fose, que tudo não haca-base, pela sua grande hautorydade e santidade; e isto sem agravar nem escandalizar nynguem, que hera huma cousa muito grande," testified Bento Gomes (MX I 296; cf. 270 279 283 287 300 306 310 392).

<sup>212</sup> MX II 422 423 427.

<sup>213</sup> The discovery of the crucifix is mentioned in the following: a receipt of Aires Dias of July 10, 1514 (CA VI 96); a letter of Frey Domingos de Sousa, O.P., of Goa, dated December 22, 1514 (SR I 252-253); Correa II 328-329; Barros 2, 5, 11; *Commentarios Dalboquerque* 3, 4; Lucena 1, 15; Guzmán 1, 5; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 2 and *Censures* 83 93; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 18. Dias, Frey Domingos and Barros speak of a metal crucifix, Correa of a corpus of a crucifix, the *Comm. Dalboquerque* of a copper image of a crucifix. According to Frey Domingos, it was found "debaixo da torre"; Correa, in the excavations for a well; the *Comm. Dalboquerque*, in the demolition of a wall; Barros, in the destruction of the foundations of a house; Lucena and Seb. Gonçalves, in a wall during the destruction of houses and Hindu temples; Guzmán, in the demolition of a Hindu temple. Lucena places the discovery in 1510 or 1511; Correa, in the rainy season of 1512; but the receipt and Frey Domingos indicate 1514. Frey Domingos states that by order of Albuquerque he received from the factor 4 1/2 silver coins for the Hindu goldsmiths who at his request made a monsternce for the Blessed Sacrament and a small chest for the crucifix that had been found. In December he informed the king about the discovery and added that the crucifix was being sent to him with an authenticating document.

<sup>214</sup> Correa II 328. Barros suggested that in early times before the coming of the Portuguese, Goa had a Christian community which probably went back to the apostle Thomas. He gave two reasons for this: (1) the crucifix that was found; (2) a sheet-copper document of the king of Mantrasar of 1391, which the leaseholder Loku presented in court in 1532 to prove that certain lands had been given to a pagoda and were as a consequence tax free, and which clearly referred to a Creator of the world, the Incarnation, and the Trinity. But Seb. Gonçalves observed on this that neither of the two proved the existence of a Christian community. The crucifix had perhaps

Moors more than thirty years earlier, the area had been nothing but a forest with a hunting lodge of the Moorish lord, the Sabayo.<sup>215</sup>

At the time of his first conquest of Goa, Albuquerque had guaranteed full religious freedom to its inhabitants. The request of Shaikh Ismā'il, that the Moors living there should be forced to accept his Shiite sect, was refused.<sup>216</sup> But after this same sect treacherously played into the hands of their fellow worshipers and thus forced Albuquerque to withdraw, he showed no forbearance towards the Moors after his second capture of the city; and every remembrance of them was destroyed.<sup>217</sup>

Still, at the end of 1513, he wrote that Goa must be repopulated and brought back to its old prosperity by fostering trade. He therefore gave a hearty welcome to the Moorish merchants who came from Arabia and Persia with horses, and he supported them in every way. Horse trading was a rich and safe source of income for the king. It attracted wealthy caravans from the interior and gave him a control over its kings and over Adil Khān in the Deccan and the Hindu princes in Narsinga, for horses were indispensable in their mutual warfare: one who had horses was certain of victory over another who did not.<sup>218</sup>

Albuquerque favored the Hindus as he did the Moorish merchants. They had given him valuable assistance in his capture of Goa, and he had already thought of freeing their homeland from the yoke of their Mohammedan oppressors.<sup>219</sup> Although he had forbidden the burning of widows,<sup>220</sup> he had granted them in everything else the free practice of their religion; and the common law, which the *foral* had approved in 1526, left this freedom undisturbed.<sup>221</sup> Goa

belonged to a Moor, a Christian slave, or an Armenian merchant. The document, moreover, spoke of the Hindu Trimurti, not of the Christian Trinity; and Hindu manuscripts, for example, the *Anada Purāna* of Namadeu, mention an incarnation of their gods. Sousa followed Gonçalves with respect to the crucifix, but was of the opinion that the plate-copper document indicated the existence of a Christian community in Goa Velha if their apparently Christian expressions did not have a Hindu meaning. The document is still extant. In 1933 it was in the possession of the Brahman priest Govinda Raghoba Zoxi in Bendorá (Pondá, Goa). It is written in Sanskrit, at the beginning in the Devanāgarī, and at the close in the Canarese, script and states, after an appeal to Ganpati, Shiva, "the foundation pillar of the compass of the three worlds," and Vishnu, "who appears under the form of a boar," that under King Vira Harihara his minister of state (*mantrisvar*), Shri Madhava, gave the two villages of Goalim and Moulá on the island of Goa for the support of the Brahmans and that they were free from taxes in perpetuity. In 1928 the Hindu scholar Valaulicar showed from internal evidence that the document was a forgery (for example, Madhava was no longer alive in the year of the gift). The document was probably drawn up or commissioned by the owners of the two villages around 1532 in order to prove their rights before the Portuguese court. See the basic study of P. Pissurlencar, "Um passo do Cronista Barros elucidado á luz duma inscrição sânscrita," OOP 18 (1937) 35-48 (with photographs, original text, translation, and commentary); cf. 4 (1933) 74-90; 22 (1938) 412-441. The Christian interpretation of the document is already found in Barros' \*source, a Portuguese translation of August 16, 1532, signed by the translator Gupu (TdT: CC 3-11-107).

<sup>215</sup> Couto 4, 10, 4, p. 425.

<sup>216</sup> CA I 39; Correa II 69.

<sup>217</sup> CA I 26-27, VI 409.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.* I 199-200, III 68-69; Correa II 460.

<sup>219</sup> Pissurlencar, "Colaboradores Hindus de A. de Albuquerque," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 49 (1941) 22-42; Correa II 460; CA I 26-27; OOP 7 (1910) 67.

<sup>220</sup> *Comm. Dalboquerque* 2, 20; cf. Dalgado II 297-299; it was again forbidden in 1535 (DI III 406).

<sup>221</sup> The *foral* has been repeatedly published (cf. Q 105), for example, in APO V 118-133. It speaks of the form of an oath, of the burning of corpses, of polygyny, and of temple dancers.

and its three neighboring islands were as a consequence sown with Hindu temples.<sup>222</sup> The oath of the Hindus was taken by their idols.<sup>223</sup> Pagan marriages were celebrated with elaborate and noisy processions.<sup>224</sup> The annual feast of the Saptanātha temple on the island of Divar, celebrated towards the end of the rainy season, drew great numbers of pilgrims from near and far—more than thirty thousand from the island of Goa alone. They bathed in the sacred waters of the river and had prayers spoken over them by their priests and yogis in order to be freed from all their sins.<sup>225</sup> Trade lay for the most part in the hands of Moors and Hindus,<sup>226</sup> and Brahmans were indispensable as translators and secretaries and in other offices. As leaseholders for the collecting of taxes, they had the people in their power.<sup>227</sup>

King Manuel had deeply at heart the spread of the faith in his new Indian possessions; and Albuquerque, though he showed himself tolerant towards the Moors and pagans, favored accordingly a change to Christianity in Malabar and Goa<sup>228</sup> and kept his lord current with respect to the success of his efforts. In 1512 he was able to write to him that some Brahmans and *neiquebares*<sup>229</sup> in Goa had become Christians and had served His Highness faithfully and well in the recent siege of the city by the Moors. Cojequi, whom he made municipal judge<sup>230</sup> and *tanador-mor*<sup>231</sup> because of his loyal service in the first and second capture of Goa, died in the service of Portugal. Although he was a Moor, he was a Christian in deed, and he died with the holy names of Jesus and Mary on his lips. It was only the suddenness of his death that prevented his baptism. Albuquerque gave the offices of the deceased to his son, who wished to become a Christian.<sup>232</sup> The Franciscans came five years later and were able to tell the king by the next post that they had already converted eight hundred pagans.<sup>233</sup> In 1526 an entire village on the island of Goa became Christian and received a church.<sup>234</sup> In 1529 the secretary of the council, Diogo Mariz, wrote to John III

<sup>222</sup> A list of the same is given by Pissurlencar in Pais 165-169.

<sup>223</sup> APO V 126; in 1532 the king confirmed a decree of the governor according to which the pagans had to swear on the pagoda of Bandorá (*ibid.* I 1, 16-17).

<sup>224</sup> DI III 407 727. A drawing of a wedding feast is given in \**Desenhos* 98-101.

<sup>225</sup> DI IV 205-206. The feast was celebrated on the fourth day of the waning moon in the month of Shrāvana (July/August). In 1542 it thus fell on July 31 (Swamikannu Pillai V 287; see also Castanheda 2, 34).

<sup>226</sup> Valignano 46.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.* 46-47. A \*document of 1548, signed by the treasurer Gomes Serrão and his secretary Antonio Pires, enumerates the twenty-six sources of income for the city with the names of the leaseholders and the amount which each one owed to the king (Q 4061). Three or four of these were in the hands of Portuguese, one in those of a Moor, all the rest in those of Hindus: Ramu Sinai, Santu Sinai, Vitu Sinai, Mangu Sinai, Pitis (Pittu), Santupa, Lucas de Sá (Loku), Guanu, Narsu, Naique, Crisna, Banu Sinai, Chandu Chetim, Sancara Naique, and Lumi Sinai. The representatives of the city had already written to the king in 1529 that Goa had practically been sold to the Moorish and Brahman leaseholders (SRH 206).

<sup>228</sup> In 1514 Albuquerque gave the king a detailed account of his unsuccessful efforts to persuade the rajah of Cochin to accept Christianity, something that D. Manuel had desired (CA I 367-369).

<sup>229</sup> *Nāyakavādis*, village administrators, captains of the native troops (Dalgado II 104).

<sup>230</sup> Quituall (Kotual); *ibid.* I 237-239.

<sup>231</sup> The *tanadar-mor* (chief *thānadār*) was the district official who also collected taxes and commanded the native troops (*ibid.* II 353).

<sup>232</sup> CA I 63-64; see also VI 446 465.

<sup>233</sup> SR I 352 353.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.* II 143.

that many natives had been, and were constantly being, converted in Goa. A chaplain and a church should therefore be given to them, preferably Santo Antonio or Rosario, which were near where most of them lived.<sup>235</sup> Conversions had also not been lacking after 1529, and ten years later there were already larger or smaller groups of new converts spread throughout the island and its neighbors. In addition to the churches in the city there were also chapels in a series of villages. Most of these were dedicated to the Mother of God. On the island of Divar they were located at Daugim and Banasterim in the northeast, in Ribandar and Pangim in the northwest, and at Batim in the south.<sup>236</sup> But the vast majority of the villagers, more than forty thousand, were still pagans;<sup>237</sup> and letters to the king had repeatedly referred to the obstacles that stood in the way to a rapid spread of the faith.

In 1518 Frey Antonio do Loureiro, O.F.M., had suggested separating the new converts from the Moors and pagans, distributing rations of rice among the poor, and prohibiting the entrance of yogis upon the island.<sup>238</sup> Four years later the bishop of Dume, Frey Duarte Nunes, O.P., had written that the island was full of temples and idols, and that many Portuguese and native Christians also went to their annual feasts. The pagodas should be destroyed and churches built in their stead, and all who did not wish to become Christians should be banished from the island. All without exception would then be converted and their children at least would then become good Christians.<sup>239</sup> In 1527 the vicar general, Sebastião Pires, complained that as soon as the natives let themselves be baptized, they were treated like slaves, and this kept many from taking the step.<sup>240</sup> At the beginning of 1534 his successor, Miguel Vaz, suggested that the king should appoint a "father of the Christians," who would espouse the cause of the new converts. The children should also be taught a craft so that they could find work in the arsenals of the Ribeira. And since they were very poor, the king should order that they should not be tyrannized through fines for every little thing.<sup>241</sup> At the end of 1541 Martim Affonso de Mello finally wrote to John III that many pagans and Moors were becoming Christians and that still more would be converted if there were not certain individuals who kept them from doing so. These individuals were Krishna, Loku, and Anu Sinai and some of their relatives, who were preventing all these pagans from becoming Christians. He continued as follows:

Your Highness, for the service of God and your own, must find some means to make these prominent leaders Christians; or, if they do not wish to become such, you should order them to be brought to you under the pretext that you wish to obtain information from them about matters here. If they were away for a couple of years, it seems to me that all the people of this island, or at least the greater number of them, would

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.* 188.

<sup>236</sup> According to the \*Anonymous there were in 1539, "when Bishop D. João converted the church [of St. Catherine] into the Sé," on the island of Goa and its environs the following churches or chapels: Nossa Senhora do Rosario, Luz, Divar, Pangim, Ajuda (Ribandar), Guadalupe (Batim), São Thiago (Banasterim), São Lazaro, Nossa Senhora do Monte, Santa Luzia (Daugim), Santo Antonio, Madre de Deus (Daugim de cima), the chapels outside of the city having a chaplain (263v). Cf. the list of 1541 (DI I 767-769).

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.* 253.

<sup>238</sup> SR I 353-354.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.* 452-453.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.* II 143.

<sup>241</sup> Q 161 (ff. 18v-19).



become Christians. And if these individuals return without having become Christians, you should order them to accept our faith within six months; and if they are unwilling to do this, they should live apart from this island. In order not to be forced to leave their homeland, they would let themselves be baptized. In this way Your Highness would be the cause of winning many souls, and you would thus render a great service to God.<sup>242</sup>

Anu Sinai was the official horse broker in Goa,<sup>243</sup> Loku<sup>244</sup> the leaseholder for taxes. Aleixo de Sousa wrote that the latter charmed the governors with his cymbals and horns. He used their music to greet them when they came.<sup>245</sup> Both were wealthy and influential men, and they did everything to prevent the conversion of their coreligionists, Anu Sinai by oppression and tyranny, Loku by alms.<sup>246</sup> But the chief support of paganism in Goa was Krishna,<sup>247</sup> who had succeeded his father in the office of *tanadar-mor*.

Krishna was still a young man when Albuquerque seized Goa from the Moors in 1510. On this occasion he successfully obtained a letter from the victor granting protection to the Hindus.<sup>248</sup> In all the subsequent battles with the Moors of Adil Khān, he fought bravely on the side of the Portuguese as the captain of the native auxiliaries; and in 1511, when the Moor Pulat Khān was making an attack, he revealed the latter's attempt at bribery.<sup>249</sup> Albuquerque repeatedly rewarded him and his people for their loyal service.<sup>250</sup> In 1515, for example, he gave him two cows for his small sons.<sup>251</sup> At the beginning of the same year, when an ambassador of Krishna Deva, the king of Vijayanagar, came to Goa, he was the guest of the *tanadar-mor* in his large house in the suburbs.<sup>252</sup> In 1518 Frey Antonio do Loureiro wrote to the king that he would render a great service to God on the island of Goa if he summoned Krishna to his court. He was a great servant of His Highness, the leader of the pagans, and very near being a Christian. He, Antonio, had often spoken with him about the

<sup>242</sup> DI I 792-793.

<sup>243</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 32.

<sup>244</sup> Loku will be frequently mentioned hereafter. His name appears along with those of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, Gopu, one of the other principal Brahmans in Goa, and Raluchatim, the head of the caste of goldsmiths, who sailed to Portugal in 1518. All are mentioned in the \*account books of the city in 1542 (Q 104). He became a Christian in 1548 under the name of Lucas de Sá (DI I 272 325-327 331 399-401) and died under the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha (1550-1554) (SR VI 177-178). On him see Pissurlendar in Pais 160-162. In 1952 his descendant was, as the author told us in Goa that same year, Braz de Sá Gancar of Chorão.

<sup>245</sup> Correa IV 437.

<sup>246</sup> DI 326.

<sup>247</sup> The sources on Krishna are abundant: Q index; CA V 233, VI 35 73 82 85 138 155 233 454 470 478 482, VII 25 40; Correa II 376-377 515, III 708-709, IV 401; SR I 354, II 196 296, IV 560; TdT: *Fragmentos* 1; *Chanc. D. Manuel* 18, 62v-63; *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 24, 4v; 51, 12-v; *Gavetas* 20-2-25; *Col. S. Lour.* IV, 249; Barros 2, 6, 8; 4, 7, 15; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 232-235 319-321 323; APO V 65-68 164; DI I 69-71 326-329 399-400 744-745 763 792; accounts: R. Pissurlendar, *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na Índia* (Bastorá-Goa, 1952) 1-21; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 233. Krishna will often appear later, and also his son Dadaji. In 1544 Krishna was sent to Adil Khān in Bijāpur as an agent and was detained there. He is mentioned for the last time in 1548 (Q 4056 4061 4062).

<sup>248</sup> Goes, *Chronica* 3, 4, pp. 13-14; 3, 11, p. 44.

<sup>249</sup> Barros 2, 6, 8, p. 116.

<sup>250</sup> Pissurlendar, *Agentes* 5-7.

<sup>251</sup> CA VI 35. Dadaji is probably meant.

<sup>252</sup> Correa II 376-377.

faith, and the latter always had but one excuse: If he visited His Highness in Portugal, he would there become a Christian.<sup>253</sup> The addressee complied with the request, and Krishna sailed for Lisbon in 1520,<sup>254</sup> where King Manuel overwhelmed him with favors, since his visitor promised to receive baptism with his whole family after his return.<sup>255</sup> Krishna received for life the four main offices of the city of Goa. He became *shahbandar* (prefect of the harbor), *tanadar-mor*, captain of the native troops, and horse broker. In addition to this he received various privileges which Albuquerque had already in part given to him<sup>256</sup>—the use of a sedan chair, umbrella, and torches, and a bodyguard of eight native soldiers when he went out. After the death of King Manuel, John III confirmed these favors and granted him the further right of presenting the Brahman secretaries for the passes of the island of Goa.<sup>257</sup>

In 1523 Krishna was again in Goa,<sup>258</sup> where his four lifetime offices aroused easily understood jealousy and resentment among the Portuguese,<sup>259</sup> especially since he did not carry out his promise to become a Christian. In 1529, as *tanadar-mor*, he wrote to the king that two Brahman interpreters should be dismissed from the factory since they only showed the Portuguese officials how they could enrich themselves from the money of His Highness.<sup>260</sup> The following year, on the other hand, Frey Vicente de Laguna, O.P., wrote to John III that the three offices of Krishna should be given to three *fidalgos* since he was stealing from the king and from all the pagans and letting slaves escape through the passes.<sup>261</sup>

His suggestion was accepted. Nuno da Cunha, the new governor, who came to India one month after Frey Vicente's letter, brought the *tanadar-mor* to trial and in 1531 deprived him of his offices so that he could give them to Portuguese. In 1532, after his return from Bassein, he gave the offices of prefect of the harbor and horse broker back to him; but he initiated another suit against him, during the course of which three hundred witnesses were heard. Krishna was put in jail and only released a year later after posting bail.<sup>262</sup> But then his star rose again. In 1534, when a struggle for the succession broke out after the death of Adil Khān, he was sent as an intermediary to Asad Khān in Belgaum and obtained from him the cession of the provinces of Bardez and Salsette for the sum of 42,000 *pardaus*.<sup>263</sup> When the Moor regretted this and sent his captains

<sup>253</sup> SR I 354.

<sup>254</sup> Q 77.

<sup>255</sup> SR IV 560.

<sup>256</sup> APO V 67.

<sup>257</sup> TdT: *Chanc. D. Manuel* 18, 62-63; *D. João III, Doações* 51, 12-v.

<sup>258</sup> See the *Regimento de Tanadar e Corretor* which the *vedor*, Dr. Pero Nunes, gave him on October 20, 1523 (APO V 65-68).

<sup>259</sup> See the letter of the city of Goa of October 31, 1524, in Lagõa, *Grandes* II 44-45.

<sup>260</sup> TdT: *Gavetas* 20-2-25; see also the \*letter of the end of 1533 in which the king wrote that some of the Brahman officials in Goa were spies and he wanted an investigation (Q 173, f. 24v).

<sup>261</sup> SR II 196.

<sup>262</sup> Cf. the \*extracts from three of Krishna's letters written in 1534 (Schurhammer, "India-Letters," nn. 115-117); the \*letter of Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho of October 10 asking for Krishna's offices; and that of Francisco de Vasconcellos of October 24, 1533, who had occupied them and wished to retain them (nn. 43 and 72). On January 12, 1537, Jurdão de Freitas received in Portugal Krishna's offices for as long as his trial endured (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 24, 4v). But the decree was never executed, since Freitas sailed back to Portugal from India at the beginning of 1538.

<sup>263</sup> According to Krishna in 1546 (*Pissurlencar, Agentes* 10-12).

Sulaimān Agha, Jane Beg, and Sarna Beg to regain the two provinces in 1535 and 1536, Krishna fought so bravely as the commander of five hundred native troops that the captain of the city, Dom João Pereira, dubbed him a knight.<sup>264</sup> When the governor, Dom Garcia de Noronha, equipped a fleet in November to fight against the Turks, Krishna, who already under Nuno da Cunha had equipped two galiots for the service of the king,<sup>265</sup> was at hand as a captain of the *Flor de la Mar*, a brigantine with eighteen banks of oars.<sup>266</sup> The offices which Nuno da Cunha had taken from him had in the meantime been returned, and he used them, as did Anu Sinai and Loku, though with greater stealth and dissimulation, to keep his pagan countrymen in the faith of their fathers.<sup>267</sup> In addition to the oppression which the converts to Christianity experienced from the tax collectors and Brahman officials, they were repudiated by their relatives and disinherited. They lost their caste<sup>268</sup> and, as a rule, found no help even from the Portuguese officials.<sup>269</sup>

#### 7. THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY FAITH<sup>270</sup>

When Miguel Vaz arrived in India, he was pained by the sight of the numerous pagan temples on the island of Goa with their sacred trees, sacred pools, and sacred cows. He was also distressed by the red-bedaubed stones with the image of the sacred cobra, the sacred stone bull, and the temple priests and dancers. Within the dark, windowless interiors of the sanctuaries, the numbing fragrance of fresh flowers was mingled with the nauseating stench of fading blossoms, sour milk, rancid butter, oil, and the dung of bats. There also the flickering light of the lamps revealed the ugly stone images of many-armed gods and goddesses with the heads of men, apes, lions, and elephants. In the eyes of the vicar general the service of these false gods was a grievous injury to God, to whom alone worship belongs. These places of idolatry, which were at the same time, with their *bajaderes* (dancing girls), places of lechery, could not be tolerated by the Christian king within his territories.<sup>271</sup>

The viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha died on April 3, 1540.<sup>272</sup> With the permission of his successor, Dom Estevão da Gama,<sup>273</sup> Miguel Vaz therefore decided to destroy the pagan temples on the island of Goa and its neighbors. The execu-

<sup>264</sup> Q 906; cf. Pissurlencar, *Agentes* 10-12.

<sup>265</sup> Q 173, f. 24.

<sup>266</sup> TdT: *Col. S. Lour.* IV 249.

<sup>267</sup> DI I 326.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.* 780-781.

<sup>269</sup> The letter in Lucena (2, 2, pp. 64-66) from the beginning of 1542 was freely expanded by Seb. Gonçalves, and this in turn by Cros (*Vie* I 215). Among Gonçalves' additions is the following: "The influential Moors and pagans, favored by the Portuguese themselves, oppressed the new converts in such a way that they did not dare admit that they were Christians; and those who wished to enter the church through the holy door of baptism grew cold since they saw, on the one hand, the scandalous lives of our people and, on the other, the slight benefits which they received from them and the great oppressions of the infidels who lease the taxes of Goa and possess many offices of the city, so that they become proud and avoid the lower classes" (2, 3, p. 109).

<sup>270</sup> The sources for the confraternity of the Holy Faith are published in DI I 756-801 131-133; SR II 326-328 332-333 343; EX I 132-133; MX II 184; Pais 66-75 159-182; Correa IV 289-291; accounts: Teixeira 844-846; Valignano 51-54; Lucena 2, 5-6; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 5; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 25; \*Trindade 235-236; SRH 279-286.

<sup>271</sup> On Miguel Vaz's attitude see DI I 66-68.

<sup>272</sup> Correa IV 117-118.

<sup>273</sup> Cf. SR II 334 336.

tion of his plan was undertaken by his loyal helper, the zealous Fabião Gonçalves, a soldier who earlier, before his voyage to India, had been in the service of the deceased bishop Francisco de Mello.<sup>274</sup> Before the end of 1540 the work was finished: All the idols had been annihilated or had disappeared; all the temples had been destroyed,<sup>275</sup> in part by the pagans themselves;<sup>276</sup> chapels had been erected on the principal sites. In the suburb of Daugim the pagans had torn down their temple and had asked for a church of the Mother of God.<sup>277</sup> In Carambolim, the largest and most prominent village on the island of Goa, where the main temple of the whole island was located,<sup>278</sup> St. John the Baptist appeared to a pagan Brahman in a dream and told him to ask the bishop for the erection of a church in his honor.<sup>279</sup> By order of his superiors, Miguel Vaz had the pagoda destroyed and a church built over its ruins.<sup>280</sup> Already before the coming of the Portuguese the Moors had demolished the famous and magnificent temple of Saptanātha on the island of Divar, and its ruins had been used as a quarry for the erection of the Misericórdia and São Francisco.<sup>281</sup>

Miguel Vaz and his friends now took a further step. On the last day of the year 1540<sup>282</sup> the governor had sailed with a fleet of eighty-four sailing vessels and two thousand men to the straits in order to burn the Turkish galleys in Suez and bring help to the Preste. He had left the *casados* in Goa and had named the *vedor*, Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco, as his administrator with full authority.<sup>283</sup> One day during the absence of the governor, Mestre Diogo, during a sermon in the cathedral, recommended that a book should be procured and the names of all the persons who were willing to act as sponsors at the baptism of the neophytes and to take them under their protection should be entered. In this way the pagans, when they saw how well these were treated, would also be moved to ask for baptism.<sup>284</sup> A great friend of Mestre Diogo was the *ouvidor geral*, Dr. Pedro Fernandes. He was universally loved and esteemed for his uncorruptible rectitude and virtue, his knowledge and his

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.* 353.

<sup>275</sup> DI I 764. A list of the temples and of the idols that fled to the mainland is given by Pissurlencar in Pais 165-182.

<sup>276</sup> Correa writes that Magister Diogo, Miguel Vaz, Pero Fernandes, and Cosme Anes had obtained from the governor Nuno da Cunha [*sic*] the incomes of the pagodas for the college they were founding, "as quaes casas de pagodes e ministros d'ellas o Mestre Diogo e seus ajudadores tanto os perseguirão, e moverão antre elles taes debates, e demandas, e males, que os mesmos gentios per sy vierão a derribar a desfazer as casas dos pagodes, per onde as rendas ficarão assy vãs, e se recolhião pera ElRey" (IV 290).

<sup>277</sup> SR II 343. The church was already built in 1539 (\*Anonymous 264).

<sup>278</sup> DI IV 657-658.

<sup>279</sup> \*Trindade 181.

<sup>280</sup> DI IV 658.

<sup>281</sup> Pais 163-164; OOP 4 (1907) 13; 23 (1939) 134-135.

<sup>282</sup> Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 1.

<sup>283</sup> Correa IV 162-164. On Rodrigues de Castello Branco, see the sources in Q, index, and the indices of Correa and Castanheda. We encounter him in India in 1535 as *ouvidor geral* (Castanheda 8, 121). Dr. Pedro Fernandes came in 1537 to take his place (Q 428). In 1538, as *vedor*, he loaded the ships (Correa III 831-832). In 1539, as such, he had the inventory of the deceased king Bahādur drawn up (Q 417). In January, 1542, he sailed back to Portugal (Correa IV 217), where for two years he was sued by an Indian cleric and was condemned to pay 1,520,000 *reis* (Q 1249-1250, where 1,000,520 is given by error). Falling ill as a consequence, he went, like D. Estevão da Gama to Venice (Q 3060). In 1548 he returned to Portugal (CDP VI 146 208-209 254), where we meet him in 1552 as *provedor dos almazens* (Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos Nauticos* I, 521).

<sup>284</sup> DI I 776-778.

prudence. He was an upright servant of his king, who had sent him to India in 1537.<sup>285</sup> Mestre Diogo conferred closely with him and with Miguel Vaz, Cosme Anes, and Frey Paulo de Santarem as to what further could be done for the conversion of the pagans. All five agreed that a confraternity of the Holy Faith should be founded under the protection of the Apostle of the Gentiles, St. Paul, which would have as its goal the spiritual and temporal welfare of the new converts; and, at the same time, it would collect funds for the building of a college in which native boys would be educated for the clerical state so that they might work as missionaries among their countrymen.<sup>286</sup> In addition to his preaching in the cathedral, Mestre Diogo had become interested in the conversion of the pagans and had taken into the house of Cosme Anes, where he lived,<sup>287</sup> a number of newly baptized boys whom he instructed in Christian doctrine, in reading and writing Portuguese and the elements of Latin. They had already rendered him good service as interpreters, and with their help he had persuaded a great many pagans to be baptized.<sup>288</sup>

The five laid their plan before the bishop and the *vedor* since he was the representative of the absent governor. Both were filled with enthusiasm for the project. They encouraged them in their intent and promised their wholehearted support for it. April 24, 1541, the first Sunday after Easter, was fixed as the day for the solemn founding of the confraternity. On this day the bishop, the *vedor*, all the nobility, and the common people assembled at the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz,<sup>289</sup> which was for the most part used by native Christians. Mestre Diogo preached on the conversion of St. Paul, the reasons for founding a confraternity, and its objectives; and he earnestly recommended it to the benevolence of all. The altar of the conversion of St. Paul, which had been endowed by Henrique de Meneses in this same church, was established as the site for the new foundation, and four *mordomos* were immediately appointed for it. They were all distinguished men, two Portuguese and two native Christians; a secretary was also appointed. The appeal of the cathedral preacher did not fall on barren soil. An abundance of alms flowed in, and these were immediately distributed among the poor new converts.<sup>290</sup>

In order to obtain a fixed income for the newly founded confraternity, the *vedor* on June 28 assembled in his residence on the Ribeira the three leading

<sup>285</sup> On Dr. Pedro Fernandes see the sources: Q 372 428 842 1115 1220 1772 4080; Castro, *Cartas* 32; DI I 776 793-794 799; Correa III 841-842, IV 217-218 265 271-274 290 293 295 343. He was sent by the king in 1537 as *ouvidor geral* to India (Q 428) and also commissioned to put the estates of the deceased in order (Q 842). His praise was proclaimed by D. João de Castro in 1539 (*Cartas* 32) and Martim Affonso de Mello in 1541: "Dr. Pedro Fernandes, the *ouvidor geral*, has the reputation here of being a virtuous and very conscientious man, and he serves Your Highness very well" (DI I 793-794). Correa, who did not lightly pass over a mistake, wrote of him: "a man of good judgment and conscience, inclined towards good, one who administered justice well and was the last *ouvidor geral* of all India" (IV 290). At the beginning of 1546 he sailed back to Portugal, and on this occasion Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha wrote to the king: "Ask M. A. de Sousa and Dr. Pedro Fernandes, who was the *ouvidor geral*, and Dr. Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco and the bachelor Miguel Caz about my deserts. Although they are not my friends but rather my opponents, they will tell under oath what is generally known, and they are individuals who will speak the truth" (Q 1772).

<sup>286</sup> DI 776-778.

<sup>287</sup> See above, pp. 165 167.

<sup>288</sup> DI I 132.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.* IV 654 779.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.* I 778-780.

Brahmans of the island, the *tanador-mor* Krishna and Loku and Gopu,<sup>291</sup> and the chief *gancares*, the representatives of the villages pertaining to Goa. He told them that some time before he had ordered the incomes of the pagodas, all of which were now destroyed and could not be rebuilt, to be freely given to the chapels that had been built on the islands and to the confraternity of the Holy Faith. These revenues even earlier had not gone to the villagers but had been used for the aforesaid pagodas and their gurus,<sup>292</sup> dancers,<sup>293</sup> Brahmans, jesters,<sup>294</sup> smiths, carpenters, washers, barbers, cobblers, painters, and other servants of the temples. In this way they would do a favor for the king, their lord; and God would bless their fields and would enlighten them so that they found their way to Him and to the true faith. In reply to this they had asked for a few days' time in order to consider the matter. The period of time had now run out, and they could now say what they had decided.

They replied that the king could not make any claim upon the revenues of the pagodas. They were free gifts of the villages; and since the temples had been destroyed, the estates and their revenues reverted to the villagers. They were only obliged to pay to the king the taxes that were contained in the *foral*.<sup>295</sup> But they were ready, because of the reasons presented by the *vedor*, to pay from October 1 an annual sum of two thousand *tangas brancas*<sup>296</sup> from the aforesaid revenues on the condition that in the future, in return for this, they were left in peaceful possession of the estates of the pagodas as well as all the mobile properties of the temples and their jewels and coins. The *vedor*, as representative of the governor, accepted these conditions in the name of the king, and all signed the pertinent document.<sup>297</sup>

With respect to the distribution of the two thousand *tangas brancas*, the equivalent of 768 *pardaus*, it was decided that, since the king recommended nothing so highly as the spreading of the faith, and since this money came from the natives, it should also be used only for them. The Portuguese were already sufficiently cared for by their churches, chapels, and hospitals, by the monastery of the Franciscans, and by the Misericordia. The revenues should therefore be primarily used for the support of the chapels in the villages and their chaplains, for the confraternity of the Holy Faith, and for the assistance of new converts who were in need. In particular, the *mordomos* should immediately hold back three hundred *pardaus* from the first revenues for the college. With the rest of the 468 *pardaus* they should pay the salaries of the chaplains of the more important chapels which, though they were attended by a number of Portuguese,

<sup>291</sup> Gopu already appears in 1524 in the \*account books of Goa next to Loku and Raluchatim as *mukdam* (guild master) of the charcoal dealers (Q 104, ff. 25 30v 36v 40 44v). In 1532 a Gopu (probably the same) translated the forged sheet-copper document which Loku presented in court (see above, pp. 229-230). In 1545 Miguel Vaz wrote that Bardez and Salsette should not be leased to Krishna and Gopu since all constantly complained that they were great tyrants (DI I 70-71).

<sup>292</sup> A Hindu priest of the Sudra caste (Dalgado I 444).

<sup>293</sup> *Bailaderas*: dancers and temple prostitutes (*ibid.* 20).

<sup>294</sup> *Chocarreiros*.

<sup>295</sup> The common law defined in 1526.

<sup>296</sup> The *tanga* was a silver coin worth sixty *reis*. The silver *pardau* was worth five *tangas*, the gold *pardau* six. The *tanga branca* was an imaginary coinage. According to Philippe Neri Xavier, on Salsette and Bardez it was worth 152 1/2 *reis*, but in Goa and the other three neighboring islands ninety-six (Dalgado II 355). Since in 1541 2,000 *tangas brancas* corresponded to 768 *pardaus*, the value of a *tanga branca* on the island of Goa at the time was 115 *reis*.

<sup>297</sup> DI I 763-766.

were used by a greater number of new converts, who should at least have a Mass and instructions on Sundays and feast days. Where the king was not already supporting a chaplain, the confraternity should provide one, who would receive the same annual stipend of twelve *milreis* as the others. In return for this they should read a Mass in their chapels on all Sundays and feast days, and they should teach the natives the Our Father, Creed, *Salve Regina*, and other good prayers and the Commandments, and whatever else a good Christian should know. Furthermore, they should hear their confessions during Lent and also at other times when they wished to go to confession, and especially when they were ill. With the passage of time native priests should obtain these chaplaincies. The people would more readily accept instructions from those who spoke their own language. The chapels were as follows: Santiago in Banasterim, Nossa Senhora in Divar, Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Pangim, Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe in Batim, São João in Carambolim, and Nossa Senhora da Luz. They were in good condition and provided with all that was needed. If they should, however, need repairing some day, this should be paid for from the two thousand *tangas brancas* from the pagodas. The same should also hold for the remaining churches: the church of Madre-de-Deus in Upper Daugim, Santa Luzia in Lower Daugim, São Lourenço in Agaçaim, São Braz near the *passo seco*, which was under construction, and the still-to-be-built chapels in Morombim-o-grande<sup>298</sup> and on Chorão; and these also should receive chaplains since there were many new converts in these places. The churches and chapels had as a rule an abundance of ornamentation, and they also had no lack of alms. The only exception was the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Cabo, located on the uninhabited west end of the island of Goa as a landmark for ships. The *mordomos* accordingly had to maintain a sacristan there with an annual income of fifteen *pardaus*. They also had to repair the building when this was necessary. What remained after the payment for all these posts from the 468 *pardaus* had to support the college and the confraternity. But since the building of the college entailed great expenses, all the money left over from what was paid for salaries was used for it this first year.<sup>299</sup>

One month later, on July 25, the Compromise, that is, the twenty-one chapters of the statutes of the confraternity, was finished and signed by the *vedor*, the *ouvidor geral*, Cosme Anes, Mestre Diogo, and Miguel Vaz.<sup>300</sup> In addition to the four *mordomos*, who were to be elected each year on January 25, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul,<sup>301</sup> the confraternity should have two protectors. For this there were envisaged the *ouvidor geral*, or municipal judge, the *provedor-mor* of the deceased, or similar officials; and the governor and his successor should be asked to take the new foundation under their protection.

The *mordomos* should in the first place take care that the pagans do not rebuild or re-erect their idolatrous temples. They should have the Brahmans punished who criticize or abuse Christians. They should give work to new converts so that they

<sup>298</sup> Southwest of Ribandar.

<sup>299</sup> DI I 760-763 766-770. This section on the division of the money is dated June 30.

<sup>300</sup> The summary of the Compromise drawn up in 1575 by the secretary in Goa names, in addition to the signers mentioned, eight more: the governors D. Estevão da Gama and M. A. de Sousa, who ratified it, the *mordomos* Bastião Luis, Diogo Frois, Cosme Anes (who had already been named), Dr. Francisco Toscano, Filipe Gonçalves, Julião Fernandes, and the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa (DI I 775-776). It is a question of later added names.

<sup>301</sup> DI I 777, note.

do not lead an annoying life of idleness; and they should punish them, when necessary, if they do not improve. When they are in need, the confraternity should support them; and it should help them when they are brought to court so that they are not condemned because of their simplicity. They should visit the abandoned sick and provide remedies for body and soul, and, when they die, a Christian burial. If the daughters of prominent individuals are converted to the Christian faith, marriage should be provided for them in decent homes. The patronal feast of the Conversion of St. Paul should be celebrated with Solemn Vespers and a sung High Mass, and all the Christians should be invited to them. Since many come from a distance, the *mordomos* should have rice with curry cooked for them and the other customary dishes on such occasions so that all are satisfied and forget their pagan feasts. In addition to this, they should have three Masses read for the living and deceased brethren of the confraternity and its benefactors either by the priests living in the college or by extern priests at the expense of the confraternity.

The *mordomos* should further see to it that the Moors and Jews do not circumcise their pagan slaves and convert them to their sect. If there are transgressions in this regard, they should see to it that their masters are banished forever and their slaves freed; and attempts should be made to convert to the Christian faith those who have been thus liberated. They should defend the freedom of the Christians and prevent anyone from taking their possessions. In short, they should labor for the increase, defense, and support of the holy Catholic faith, and take care that the Christians should be augmented, protected, and favored, so that they may live consoled in the service of God and others may long for baptism. The pagans should be moved towards baptism by instructions, preaching, and every kind of benevolence and good deed that the confraternity is capable of doing, for example, by levying greater taxes on nonbelievers and freeing the Christians from them, as may be possible in certain instances.

The Compromise then took up the founding of the college, and this was treated in sixteen chapters. The view of the founders of the confraternity went beyond the narrow limits of Goa. In Maluco, Malacca, and on Cape Comorin and in other places<sup>302</sup> where conversions had begun to be made, there were hopes of a rich harvest. Native priests, who knew the languages of the countries, were needed to instruct these peoples in the faith. In order to educate such priests it was desirable, with the approval of the *vedor* as the representative of the governor, and of the bishop, to erect a college for boys of different nations near Nostra Senhora da Luz, the headquarters of the confraternity, and to hand it over to the direction of a religious order.

The number of pupils would be limited to thirty. They should be of good descent and talent, and not less than thirteen years old so as not to forget their mother tongue during their studies.<sup>303</sup> They should learn how to read and write both cursive and block letters and study Latin and moral cases. And they should live in the college until they were ordained to the priesthood. With the approval of their commissary, Frey Paulo de Santarem, the Franciscan priests

<sup>302</sup> The less accurate text of Seb. Gonçalves has for this: "Ceilão, Malaca e Maluco" (DI I 783). The Ceylon mission was not begun until 1543. The list of nations from which the students were to be taken in Gonçalves, "canaras, paravás, malaiois, malucos, chins, bengalas, chingalas, pegus, de Siam, guzarates, abexins, cafres de Sofala e Moçambique e da ilha de São Lourenço" (*ibid.* 784), is also missing in the better text and has been taken from the statutes of 1546 (*ibid.* 120).

<sup>303</sup> Correa however wrote: "Em tanto que se fazia [a casa] o mestre Diogo per sua industria apanhou moços pagãos e mouros, de todolas nações que pôde aver, que todos fez christãos, e outros que já erão christãos, todos moços de dez annos até doze annos, e tambem de menos idades, que nom avião conhecimento de molheres, e os recolheo pera' casa, huns per vontade, outros constrangidos" (IV 290).



should undertake their instruction.<sup>304</sup> The food of the pupils should consist of rice with curry, butter, and fruit. Their clothing should be a shirt, hose, jacket, and frock. After their ordination, however, they should wear a cassock and biretta; and the *mordomos*, with the concurrence of the bishop, should provide for them a position in a parish among their countrymen. There should be a sung Mass on Sundays as soon as the boys were sufficiently trained for it. The confraternity should be transferred to the high altar of Nostra Senhora da Luz as soon as the chapel of the Conversion of St. Paul was completed. Since the annual income of three hundred *pardaus* would not be enough once the college was finished, further revenues should be asked of the king.<sup>305</sup>

At the end of August Dom Estevão da Gama returned from his voyage to Suez.<sup>306</sup> He accepted the office of protector of the confraternity<sup>307</sup> and ratified the agreement which the *vedor* had made with the *gancares*<sup>308</sup> and also the Compromise.<sup>309</sup>

The site which had been chosen for the college was, however, unsuitable. It lacked water and the soil was rocky. In addition to this, the *mordomos* of the confraternity of the church were opposed to the erection of a college near Nossa Senhora da Luz since another foundation would injure their own and threaten to throw it into the shade. From the beginning the *mordomos* of the confraternity of the Holy Faith were also opposed to the proposed site and

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<sup>304</sup> Did the Franciscans have charge of the school during its first months? \*Frey Paulo da Trindade wrote: "Since the education and instruction of the students was entrusted to the friars of our holy father Francis, those who were deemed suitable for it were appointed by our guardian for this purpose. They made the arrangements and started two classes. In one they taught reading and writing and Christian doctrine, in the other Latin. Teachers were appointed for both. This continued for four months for both teachers and pupils; and even though the labor was great, their zeal still made it all easy. But it was seen that teachers and pupils would have to live together in one house. The seminary was consequently founded on November 10, 1541, in the Carreira dos Cavallos. A year later there were already sixty boys in the seminary, some already sufficiently instructed in Latin. Our friars only taught. The direction of the pupils was in the hands of Mestre Diogo de Borba.... This seminary was cared for by our friars until the arrival of the blessed St. Francis Xavier in 1542. The seminary was immediately given over to him" (235-236).—What is to be said of this? Text 11, one of the extracts from the Compromise, states indeed that Frey Paulo and his priests had with great readiness taken over the care of, and the instruction in, the college (DI I 786-787); but the briefer and more reliable text 2 simply states: "In chapter three it [the Compromise] states that this task and care should be given over at once to the religious of St. Francis, and P. Frey Paulo, the commissary, accepted it." But then it continues: "The following clarification, signed by Cosme Anes, is on the margin: 'This chapter was never used, since it was decided that it would be better if the care of the administration and instruction were taken over by the Religious of the Apostolic Order [the Jesuits], as is now the case'" (*ibid.* 786-787). Miguel Vaz in 1543 (SR II 327), Lancilotto in 1546 (DI I 132), Correa in 1551 (IV 290), and \*Valignano in 1574 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 299) knew nothing about the teaching of the Franciscans. According to them Magister Diogo had the boys in his dwelling, where he taught them, and moved with them in the winter of 1543 to the completed college. The Compromise further says that the students should live in the house and study there and not leave it (DI I 786). The decision to move the college states that the Franciscans should take over the instruction in it when it was finished (*ibid.* 796).

<sup>305</sup> DI I 775-790.

<sup>306</sup> Castro, *Roteiro atee Soez* 272; Correa IV 207-208.

<sup>307</sup> DI I 796.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.* 790.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.* 776.

suggested in its stead a site on the Rua da Carreira dos Cavallos<sup>310</sup> where a large mosque of the Moors had formerly stood.<sup>311</sup> With the compliance of the governor and bishop, the suggestion was acted upon. On November 10 Dom Estevão da Gama, Cosme Anes, Miguel Vaz, and Mestre Diogo signed a document in which the decision was made to build the college on the proposed site under the name of the "College of Conversion to the Faith." An agreement was reached with respect to the plan of the college and its environs with Frey Paulo and his confreres, since after the completion of the building they should take over the teaching in it if the king did not make other provisions. For the purchase of the necessary property the alms of a number of residents on the same street in the suburb were relied upon, and the work was immediately begun.<sup>312</sup>

Among the *fidalgos* who had sailed to Suez with the governor and were now returning to Portugal was Dom João de Castro, a great friend of Cosme Anes and his circle<sup>313</sup> and of the infante Dom Luis.<sup>314</sup> The confraternity of the Holy Faith gave him a letter that had been written to the king on December, 14, 1541, and signed by the four *mordomos*, Antonio Fernandes, Manuel da Cunha, Antonio de Robereda, and Manuel de Faria, and also by Dr. Pedro Fernandes, Miguel Vaz, and Cosme Anes.<sup>315</sup> In it they noted how John III, the addressee, and his father, King Manuel, had undertaken the discovery of the seaway to India and the maintenance of its lands for the increase of the holy faith and the conversion of unbelievers; and they informed the king that they had founded the confraternity of the Holy Faith for the same end. They enclosed a copy of the agreement with the *gancares* and of the Compromise, and they asked him to ratify both and, as protector of the new foundation, to augment its revenues and privileges and to obtain from the Holy See numerous indulgences and favors for the college, a list of which was also included.<sup>316</sup>

On January 25, 1542, the confraternity solemnly celebrated for the first time its patronal feast in Nossa Senhora da Luz. Good progress with the building

<sup>310</sup> Seb. Gonçalves 2, 5, p. 124.

<sup>311</sup> Correa II 93.

<sup>312</sup> DI I 796-797. On the margin was later added: "Only Manuel de Faria helped with fifty *pardaus*."

<sup>313</sup> In 1539 Castro wrote to the king: "In the *vedor da fazenda* [Fernão Rodrigues Castello Branco] Your Highness has a good servant and official, and I do not know if there is anyone who came to these parts this year who has been more blameless in your service. As far as I see, he is not only poor but also much in debt. It seems right that Your Highness should help in this. We treasure the vicar general [Miguel Vaz]; and, for my part, I look upon him as a paragon of virtue. I know at the time of no head upon which a miter would better rest and shine.... The *ouvidor geral* [Dr. Pedro Fernandes] is a great judge. He has two things which we seldom see together: He is beloved by the people and is regarded as a man of good judgment. I would say many other things of the same sort about him if our common interests and education did not make me suspect. Padre Mestre Diogo, the preacher, is held here in high regard because of his virtue, and truly his life and his conduct are in strict agreement with the teaching and instruction which he imparts.... One of the good things which we have here is the monastery of São Francisco of this city of Goa, and I assure Your Highness that I have not seen friars so retired and so esteemed by the people as these. I believe that the good shepherd whom they have, the guardian Frey Paulo, is much responsible for this" (*Cartas* 32-33).

<sup>314</sup> Cf. Castro's letter to the infante (*Cartas* 18-19 36-37 47) and his answer (Q 365 2915) as well as the forewords to Castro's three *Roteiros*, all dedicated to him.

<sup>315</sup> See the signatures in Q, pl. XI 1; the names in SR II 308 and SRH 283 should be corrected from them, where *Camara* stands for Cunha, *Roledo* for Roboreda, *Faya* for Faria, and *Lourenço* for Cosme.

<sup>316</sup> DI I 797-799.

of the college had been made under the able direction of Cosme Anes<sup>317</sup> when at the beginning of May Martim Affonso de Sousa, the new governor, and Magister Franciscus unexpectedly arrived in Goa. Francis immediately struck up a friendship with the builders,<sup>318</sup> and the new governor also showed the greatest interest in the new foundation. He immediately visited the site of the building, where work had been suspended because of other tasks, and promised all the help he could.<sup>319</sup> On August 2 he ratified the agreement made with the *gancares* and the Compromise; and he stipulated that as long as the college was under construction, the income of two thousand *tangas brancas* should be used only for it. Only after the house had been completed and furnished with all it needed should the salaries of the chaplains and the expenses for the chapels be paid from them.<sup>320</sup>

#### 8. SALGHAR SHĀH, THE KING OF ORMUZ<sup>321</sup>

The college in the process of construction was to educate priests not only for the island of Goa but also for the distant lands of the pagans and Moors. After his arrival in Goa, Master Francis met two representatives of these lands, the kings of Ormuz and of Maluco.

The king of Ormuz lived in a large house that the governor Dom Estevão da Gama had placed at his disposal for himself and his servants, who were maintained at the expense of the state.<sup>322</sup> He had the name of Salghar Shāh,<sup>323</sup> though he had previously been called Rāis Alī.<sup>324</sup> He was twenty-eight years

<sup>317</sup> MX II 184.

<sup>318</sup> DI I 133.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.* III 813.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.* I 801; EX I 132. Two thousand *tangas brancas* were, as we have seen, the equivalent of 768 *pardaus* at 360 *reis*. The round sum of eight hundred *cruzados* at four hundred *reis* in Lucena 2, 5, \*Trindade 235, and Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 19, is therefore too high. In 1543 Correa wrote that the income from the pagodas had originally amounted to fifteen hundred gold *pardaus* and at the present time [1551] already passed eight thousand (IV 290).

<sup>321</sup> For Salghar Shāh see the sources: Q 424a 428 568 592 800 826 831 834 860 1151 1705 2366; Sá I 376; Castanheda 8, 49 76; 9, 27; Correa III 459-460, IV 160-161 210-211 271-275 310 338-342 399-400; and Couto 5, 9, 5; 5, 10, 1, though he is to be used with caution. A second source used by Couto, but without his naming it, is Frey Agostinho de Azevedo, O.E.S.A., *Estado da India e donde tem o seu principio*, composed in Lisbon in 1603 (London, Br. Museum: *Add. Mss.* 28461, ff. 210-275v), ed. in *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa* I (Lisboa, 1960) 197-263, where the author discusses Ormuz and its history (201-217). Frey Agostinho lived for eleven years in Ormuz, questioned the Moorish scholars there, studied the books of the local factory and the manuscripts of the Moors, for example, the chronicles of the Persian kings, such as the *Shāhnāma* of King Turān Shāh I, who died in 1378. In addition to extracts from these works, he sent Couto, at his request, others from the *Rājāvaliya*, the royal chronicle of the Singhalese, and a treatise entitled "Beliefs, Rites, and Ceremonies of All the Pagans" (201-211 235-243 249-260). On him see Barbosa I 54; Tovar 221-225.

<sup>322</sup> The governor gave him "honradas casas e largo gasto para sua pessoa e servidores" (Correa IV 210-211). In 1542 Correa has him complain that he was separated from his wives and children, who were now forced to beg (*ibid.* 271-273). Francisco Lopes, the factor of Ormuz, \*wrote, when the king sailed away on September 5, 1541, that the captain had sacrificed four months of his administration in order to sail with the king and to escort him honorably along with his whole court (Q 831). The first time he was brought to Goa, in 1532, he had come "com toda sua casa" (Castanheda 8, 49).

<sup>323</sup> This is the way his son writes his name in a Persian letter (Q pl. XXI 8); the Portuguese texts have Çargolxa, Cargolxa, Xalgorxa, Çargloza, Callguorxao.

<sup>324</sup> Rayxale, REXxalle, in Castanheda 8, 49 and 76.

old,<sup>325</sup> spoke fluent Portuguese,<sup>326</sup> and was the second oldest son of King Saif-ud-dīn,<sup>327</sup> whom Albuquerque had made a tributary in 1507.<sup>328</sup> Persians and Arabs vied with each other for the mastery of his kingdom, which embraced the islands and both banks of the Persian Gulf.<sup>329</sup> The kings were puppets in the hands of their respective grand viziers, who placed children on the throne in order to be able to rule alone, and who blinded all the relatives of the royal house who could be dangerous as pretenders to the throne by having a glowing hot iron held before their eyes.<sup>330</sup> In 1515 Albuquerque had sent around thirteen of these "blind kings" from Ormuz to Goa, where they remained until their death. The last of these sat under a large tree on the square of the Misericordia and asked for alms as a beggar.<sup>331</sup>

In 1514 Saif-ud-dīn had been poisoned to death.<sup>332</sup> Shortly before this he had received from Shaikh Ismā'il, the Persian king, the red fez as a sign of his religion and had in this way passed from being a Sunnite to a Shiite Mohammedan.<sup>333</sup> His brother Turān Shāh III followed him as king;<sup>334</sup> and after he also suffered a violent death,<sup>335</sup> Muhammad Shāh, the twelve-year-old,<sup>336</sup> first

<sup>325</sup> Castanheda, 8, 49.

<sup>326</sup> As he said himself in 1540 (Q 424a).

<sup>327</sup> Salghar Shāh in 1540 calls him Abanozraat Xaa (Abū Nusrat Shāh) (Q 424a).

<sup>328</sup> Barros 2, 2, 4, according to whom Saif-ud-dīn was twelve years old.

<sup>329</sup> Barbosa gives a description of the kingdom of Ormuz (I 68-82); Barros gives a list of the credits and debits with statistics for the individual vizierates from an extract from the account books of the kings of Ormuz (2, 10, 7, pp. 477-484).

<sup>330</sup> Correa II 419-420; Barbosa I 98-99; Azevedo 211-212; Couto 5, 10, 1.

<sup>331</sup> The number of "reis cegos" whom Albuquerque sent from Ormuz to Goa in 1515 varies: thirteen (Azevedo 211), thirteen to fourteen (Barbosa I 105; cf. 99), fifteen (Castanheda 3, 148), seventeen (Lopo Vaz da Sampayo in 1527, in TdT: *Gavetas* 20-7-29), more than twenty (Barros 2, 2, 2), more than thirty (Correa II 420). Correa and others call them "kings," Barbosa and Castanheda "former kings," Barros "royal officials," as does Francisco de Sousa, who was in Ormuz in 1515; he assumes however that kings also were blinded (Q 169). Azevedo gives the following explanation: "During the eleven years that I was repeatedly in Ormuz in constant contact with the king, the vizier, and the most prominent and learned Moors, I saw all the chronicles and ancient writings of Ormuz; and I never found a reference to these blind kings; and a king was never blinded so that another might take his throne. I often spoke of this and investigated this with a great desire for knowledge during all my free time; and, when I was in Ormuz in 1589, I spoke about it in particular with the 120-year-old, blind Cojesadim [Khoja Saad-ud-dīn], who was already a grown man at the time of Albuquerque's visit; and I discovered that none of the blind individuals who were kept in the three still extant, but decrepit, towers were kings. They were, rather, brothers and cousins, sons of Magçudxaa [Masūd Shāh] and Xabadim [Sihab-ud-dīn] and Sar-golxaa [Salghar Shāh], and Xaues [Shams?], the four brothers and cousins, sons of Turuxaa [Turān Shāh IV], who ruled one after the other. For these kings were accustomed, as soon as they succeeded to the throne, to blind their brothers, cousins, and relatives who had a claim on it. And I found in Goa individuals who still remembered two of these blind men, whom the governors had so forgotten that they had to beg for alms. And an old citizen of Goa assured me that he had seen one of these under a large tree that was formerly on the square of the Misericordia in Goa. He used to beg for alms with these words: 'Give alms to this man whom they blinded to take away his kingdom!'" (211-212; Couto 5, 10, 1).

<sup>332</sup> Correa II 405 447 449; Barros 2, 10, 5.

<sup>333</sup> CA I 138; Barros 2, 10, 5. On the red cap which Sheik Ismā'il used to send to the Moorish kings with the order that they become Shiites, see Barbosa I 84-85.

<sup>334</sup> Original signature in Q, pl. XXI 6. On Turān Shāh III, see Correa II 449. In 1515 he was twenty-two years old (*ibid.* 420).

<sup>335</sup> According to Castanheda he was throttled (5, 88), according to Correa poisoned (II 699); but Francisco de Sousa, who was in Ormuz in 1522, wrote in 1534 that he

son of Saif-ud-dīn, was raised to the throne in 1522.<sup>337</sup> His younger brother was staying in Goa when towards the end of 1534 news was received there of the king's death. The prince returned to Ormuz in order to mount his father's throne as Salghar Shāh III. On his way there he was forced by the Arabs of Kiryat<sup>338</sup> to give to his companion, Shaikh Hāmid, the barely sixteen-year-old son of the vizier Shaikh Rashid, the office of his recently deceased father. As an indication of his gratitude for this, Hāmid immediately seized all the authority for himself, as his predecessors had done, and ruled as a tyrant<sup>339</sup> until he was murdered in 1539.<sup>340</sup> But the king was at constant odds also with the new vizier, Rukn-ud-dīn,<sup>341</sup> and the new captain of the fortress, Martim Affonso de Mello.<sup>342</sup> On November 6, 1540, the governor Dom Estevão da Gama summoned the *fidalgos* of his council and Miguel Vaz, the vicar general, to his residence in the Sabayo Palace and informed them that Martim Affonso de Mello and other *fidalgos* and residents of Ormuz had written to him. The king had imprisoned the vizier Rukn-ud-dīn in his home in order to obtain from him money from the revenues of the customhouse. Since the worst was to be feared because of the violent temperament of Salghar Shāh, the captain had sent him an order to free the prisoner. When this proved to be of no purpose, he went himself to the palace with some *fidalgos* and *cavalleiros*, where the king had already provided his slaves with weapons, including guns. The captain repeated his order and promised to pay the king the sum that was due him from the next revenues of the customhouse. But this only increased the anger of the agitated prince. He sprang up and drew a dagger to kill Mello and had to be disarmed by Mello's companions. An official document was drawn up with respect to the affair on September, 1540, confirming what had happened and submitted by Dr. Pedro Fernandes, the *ouvidor geral*.

The governor added that the king would be detained in a house until further

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had hurled himself from a tower in a "furia real" because of the confiscation of the customhouse and was immediately slain after this (169).

<sup>336</sup> Portuguese: Mamadaxa, Mamaxa, Mamed Xa, Patxa [Pādishāh] Mahmetxa. On his age, see Castanheda 8, 49; Correa II 701.

<sup>337</sup> Castanheda 5, 88; Correa II 449; cf. the treaty of 1523 in Ramos-Coelho 476.

<sup>338</sup> Portuguese: Culiarte (Q 424a).

<sup>339</sup> Castanheda 5, 88; Correa II 449.

<sup>340</sup> Dr. Pedro Fernandes wrote this to his king on October 31, 1539 (Q 428).

<sup>341</sup> Portuguese: Rocomudym, Rex Roquenadym, Roconodin, Roquenorde, Nocordim, Noordim, Nordim, Reis Nogar Nadim, Magonadym. The viceroy Noronha first sold the office of vizier for seven thousand *xerafins*, then, to Rukn-ud-dīn, for more (Correa IV 94). The latter was apparently a younger brother of his predecessor, Hāmid. In 1540 he was hardly sixteen years old (Q 424a). Like Hāmid, he was a nephew of Raīs Sharaf and also his son-in-law (Q 1705 1845). Just as the king complained about him (Q 424a), so he complained bitterly in his letter to his uncle at the end of 1543 about Salghar Shāh, who was of a passionate and intolerable nature and took advice from no one. In the same letter the vizier writes that he had been serving the latter's son, who was ruling for his father, for 2 1/2 years (Q 1151). We find him as vizier until 1547, when his uncle returned from Portugal and took over his office, and together with him until 1549. In 1552 he was imprisoned in Goa, where he was to be tried (Botelho, *Cartas* 32). His Persian signature is in Q, pl. XXI 5.

<sup>342</sup> M. A. de Mello Jusarte became captain of Ormuz in place of D. Pedro de Castello Branco, who after two years and two months had to give an accounting of his regime because of complaints in India (Q 847; Correa IV 76). He came to Ormuz in May, 1539, and served there for nineteen months, until the return of Castello Branco on December 22, 1540. He was again captain of Ormuz from the beginning of 1542 until the beginning of 1544 (Q 847; Correa IV 338).

regulations came from Goa, and he asked those present to give their opinions. They concluded that the prisoner should be brought to Goa since in Ormuz he was seriously compromising the service of the Portuguese king. He was crazy, a drunkard, and wretched in manners and morals. His eighteen-year-old son should be made king in his stead. Later, the bishop also signed this verdict.<sup>343</sup> A year later the new captain, Dom Pedro de Castello Branco, came personally with the accused to Goa.<sup>344</sup> Shortly after their arrival, Aleixo de Sousa wrote the following to Lisbon on November 24, 1541:

The king of Ormuz has been imprisoned and brought here to Goa, and it is said that the main reason for this is that he is a drunkard. But if the kings of these countries, who are so given over to wine that they lie witless from it for one and two days, are to be imprisoned on this account, the Limoeiro<sup>345</sup> of Lisbon would be too small to receive all who would have to be arrested on this charge.<sup>346</sup>

But there were also other accusations against the king. He and his family had already been brought as prisoners to Goa in 1532. He had been found hiding at night with a dagger under the bed of his ruling brother Muhammad. Encouraged by his mother, he had wanted to kill him in order to obtain the throne for himself.<sup>347</sup> When he was in exile the Abyssinian Bibi Gazelá had borne for him his now reigning son, Turān Shāh.<sup>348</sup> It was also said that when his brother died in 1534, he had had the latter's son poisoned in order to obtain the succession for himself.<sup>349</sup>

Rumor also ascribed to him the blame for the murder of the detested vizier Hāmid, though the *ouvidor geral* named a Portuguese as the assassin.<sup>350</sup>

The king had defended himself against the accusations of his enemies. In October, 1540,<sup>351</sup> he described his shameful state to John III and complained bitterly about his viziers, Raīs Hāmid, and the latter's barely sixteen-year-old successor,<sup>352</sup> who allowed him no say in the government but only sought to enrich themselves. They oppressed the merchants, who now avoided Ormuz. They exercised no justice, and his kingdom was consequently going to ruin. Only two of his many towns, Magostān and Manūjan,<sup>353</sup> still remained to him.

<sup>343</sup> Esteves Pereira, *Dos feitos* 115-117.

<sup>344</sup> D. Pedro de Castello Branco was captain of Ormuz from the beginning of 1536 till the beginning of 1538 (Q 847; Correa III 696 839, IV 76), and again in 1541 until the end of August, when he still used this title as a witness (Q 834). On September 5 his deputy as "captain of Ormuz" appeared as a witness (Q 836). On the same day Francisco Lopes wrote about D. Pedro's \*departure with the king and noted that for this he had renounced the four months that still belonged to him (Q 831). He arrived in Goa with the king, it seems, in October and there met his successor Mello (Correa IV 210).

<sup>345</sup> The municipal jail in Lisbon (cf. Vol. I 598).

<sup>346</sup> Sá I 376.

<sup>347</sup> Instead of the "debayxo do seu catele" of Castanheda (8, 49), Correa, who here copies him almost word for word, has "na sua camara" (III 460).

<sup>348</sup> Azevedo 203; Couto 5, 10, 1.

<sup>349</sup> Castanheda 8, 76.

<sup>350</sup> Q 428.

<sup>351</sup> A contemporary Portuguese \*translation of a lost Persian letter dated October 27, 947 (Hegira 947 began on May 8, 1540, and this year is also required by the context, which states that seven years before this Shaikh Rashid, the father of Shaikh Hāmid, held the office of vizier. Shaikh Rashid died at the end of 1534).

<sup>352</sup> The barely sixteen-year-old vizier is Rukn-ud-dīn. His predecessor, Raīs Hāmid, according to the king in 1535, was fifteen or sixteen years old.

<sup>353</sup> Both were opposite Ormuz on the Persian peninsula.

No small blame for all this was due to his interpreter and a certain João Fernandes, who took all the bribes he was offered and was constantly trying to sow discord between him and the captain. He, the king, had already written three or four times to His Highness, but he was afraid that his letters had not been forwarded to him. The vizier was now sending one of his servants by the name of Muhammad Saif-ud-din to Lisbon with a forged letter for the king, allegedly written by him. He thus asked the king not to give any credence to it and to allow him to prosecute the heirs of Shaikh Rashid who had seized the money of his deceased brother Muhammad and his mother and used it for themselves. He should also be given the authority to appoint and dismiss his viziers and other officials at his own discretion. An interpreter was unnecessary since all knew Portuguese. And His Highness might free him from the helpless situation he was in through the next captain.

Mello's successor, Dom Pedro de Castello Branco, informed the king that he had ordered Salghar Shāh to be brought to Goa in order that he might defend himself against the accusations of his adversaries. He readily embarked, but before sailing he asked for an official document with respect to his deserts. Between August 22 and 27, 1541, eighteen witnesses were heard, including his friend Captain Dom Pedro de Castello Branco. All interceded for him.<sup>354</sup> They mentioned all that he had done for the service of the Portuguese king, more than any other lord, and this in spite of the opposition of his leading men and *mullas*.<sup>355</sup> When at the end of 1537 the Genoese Misser Duarte<sup>356</sup> brought news of the coming of the Turks to Ormuz, Salghar Shāh had spent great sums<sup>357</sup> in building the bastion for the gate of the fortress, which made it the strongest in all India. When the Turks were laying siege to Diu, and it was feared that they might also come to Ormuz, he had, at the request of the governor, ordered the three-hundred-year-old palace of his fathers, the most beautiful and strongest of any of the Moorish kings of those lands, to be torn down; and he had himself struck the first blow with a pickax, since it stood too near the fortress and in case of a siege the latter could be fired upon from there. He had moreover handed over to the king his customhouse,<sup>358</sup> for the sake of which the city had earlier rebelled against the Portuguese. And in the six years of his rule he had conferred more benefits upon the captains and their officials and upon the poor Portuguese and native Christians than any of his predecessors. Further, when his slave heard of his embarkment and was coming from Manūjan<sup>359</sup> to his assistance with five to six thousand men, he immediately ordered him to

<sup>354</sup> On August 21 the king asked for a hearing of witnesses. Our \*copy, made for John III, is dated September 11, 1541 (Q 834).

<sup>355</sup> Mohahmmedan spiritual leaders.

<sup>356</sup> Catanho. On him see Vol. I 699-700 706; Correa III 839-841.

<sup>357</sup> In September, 1540, Mello Jusarte \*wrote that he had completed the bastion for the gate at a cost of fifteen hundred *pardaus*, though the king had given five thousand for it (Q 568); Castanheda has the king give thirty thousand *pardaus* for it.

<sup>358</sup> The firman of Salghar Shāh through which he handed over to Portugal the customs office is preserved in an authentic Portuguese \*translation made at Ormuz in 1565. It is signed by the vizier Raīs Rukn-ud-din and dated "lua de Moarram of the year of Mohammed 948" (Q 800). The beginning of the year of the Hegira 948 was April 27, 1541, the first of Muharram. Azevedo copied the text of the firman in the *Livro dos Registros* of the factory of Ormuz for Couto, but wrongly interpreted the date as February 27, 1543 (205-206), which was uncritically adopted by Couto (5, 9, 5, p. 332).

<sup>359</sup> Portuguese: All Gebrelall, Agebrelall, Agebelall, All Gebellall, and Al Geberall.

withdraw. Padre Pedro Rodrigues, a beneficiary in the church of Ormuz, had moreover declared that the king was more of a Portuguese than a Moor and he showed this in many ways. He had a Christian prayerbook and a picture of our Lady in a reliquary which he wore about his neck. He swore all of his oaths according to the Portuguese manner, and he often gave alms for the poor Portuguese and sick native Christians in the hospital. And when he was forced to sail to Goa, he said that he placed his confidence in our Lady so that she would bring him back safely again to Ormuz.<sup>360</sup>

Because of the delay of the annual fleet from Portugal, so much work had piled up for the governor, Dom Estevão da Gama, that he had found no time to conduct the trial of the king of Ormuz.<sup>361</sup> As soon as his successor, Martim Affonso de Sousa, came to India, Salghar Shāh had a petition submitted to him asking to be tried by him or to be sent to the *ouvidor geral* so that his case might be investigated and a sentence passed. At the request of the governor the *ouvidor geral*, Dr. Pedro Fernandes, therefore visited the king. The latter, tearing his beard, complained with many tears and loud cries about the treatment he had received simply because of the false accusations of Captain Mello and the vizier who was allied with him. They had plotted against him so that they might rob him undisturbed.

He had never thought of murdering the captain. He had at the time summoned the vizier so that he might give an account of his administration. The latter, conscious of his own misdeeds and fearing that he would be punished, asked the captain for help, saying that his life was in danger. The captain, greatly excited, came at once with many men and called him a simple fool who was incapable of ruling. He, the king, sought to calm him. He took him by the hand and asked him to sit down. When he refused, he himself stood up in order to invite him again to be seated. Mello took this for an attack. He fell back and gave a wink to his men. They immediately fell upon him, the king, and bound his arms. During the course of this his clothes were torn; and because of the blows and shoves to which he was subjected, his turban fell to the ground. Even the slaves had laid hands upon him; and the captain had arrested him and placed him under a guard on the grounds that he had rebelled against the Portuguese and wanted to murder him with a dagger. His own people, who had been enriched by Mello and were devouring his possessions, had every reason for bribing the Moors and Portuguese to testify against him so that he would not return and punish them. He therefore asked for a judicial investigation, and if the *ouvidor geral*, the highest judge of India, and the governor, the representative of the Portuguese king, did not have the authority to handle his case, authentic documents could be given to him so that he might send them to Portugal in order to obtain justice for him from the king there. Salghar Shāh gave the doctor a signed memorandum to this effect, and the latter had a protocol drawn up by his secretary. He brought both documents to the governor, and the latter presented the matter to the *fidalgos* of his council along with the depositions which Mello had sent from Ormuz. It was decided that the king should be sent back to Ormuz at his own expense as soon as the rainy season was over, and the secretary of state Cardoso should go with him in order to hold new, more reliable hearings there. But the friends of Mello, who had returned to Ormuz as captain at the beginning of 1542 in

<sup>360</sup> The \*hearing of witnesses is Q 834.

<sup>361</sup> Correa IV 211.



order to complete the two years of service still due to him, did everything they could to prevent the return of the king during his term of office.<sup>362</sup> It was therefore decided that Cardoso should sail alone in order to take over the customhouse in Ormuz in the name of the Portuguese king, to whom it had been given by Salghar Shāh, and to put the finances there in order.<sup>363</sup> In 1507 Albuquerque had imposed upon King Saif-ud-din the payment of an annual tribute of 15,000 *xerafins*.<sup>364</sup> In 1517 this had been raised to 25,000,<sup>365</sup> in 1523 to 60,000,<sup>366</sup> and in 1529 to 100,000.<sup>367</sup> But for years payment had been irregular, and by the time of the surrender of the customhouse the debt of the king to the Portuguese already amounted to around 500,000 *xerafins*.<sup>368</sup>

#### 9. DOM MANUEL TABARIJA, THE KING OF MALUCO<sup>369</sup>

The king of Ormuz was a representative of the Mohammedan West. The second king whom Master Francis met in Goa was a representative of the most

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.* 271-275. The circle about Miguel Vaz and the bishop were among Mello's friends, as his letter from Goa of November 6, 1541, indicates. In it he speaks of the vicar general, of Magister Diogo, Dr. Pedro Fernandes, Cosme Anes, and Frey Paulo de Santarem in terms of highest praise and of their zeal for the spreading of the faith and of their College of St. Paul (DI I 793-794). Correa was not a member of this circle and wrote badly of Mello and Cardoso, who, according to him, accepted bribes (IV 160-161 274-275). From all that we know about the two, Correa's suspicions were unfounded. Couto states that the secret hearing of witnesses which Cardoso had held with respect to Mello had completely vindicated him, for the captain was a *fidalg*o, virtuous, affable, and little inclined to greed (5, 9, 5). Correa states that for the trial conducted in Goa of D. Pedro de Castello Branco between 1538 and 1540, he had examined the testimonies of the hearing which Dom Pedro had had conducted on his own behalf in Ormuz, "in four parts, each of the four on rice paper, eighty sheets which I saw" (III 843). He also saw, it seems, the vindicating document which Salghar Shāh gave to the *ouvidor geral*, "apontamentos em escrito muy bem apontados, per elle assinado" (IV 274). The speech which the king delivers according to him is derived from this.

<sup>363</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 86-87; Couto 5, 9, 5. According to Castanheda the governor sailed off to Bhatkal at the end of October, and before doing so sent Cardoso to Ormuz (9, 31). Couto says the same (5, 9, 5, pp. 301-302); but he has him arrive later, in February, 1543 (*ibid.* p. 327), since he erroneously, with Azevedo, places the gift of the customhouse in this year, though Azevedo has him arrive already in September, 1542 (204). The \*letter which Cardoso wrote from Goa on November 2, 1542 (Q 1013), shows that he did not sail until November or December, 1542; and the *Tombo*, according to which he drew up regulations for the customhouse and took it over on January 1, 1543, shows that he had already arrived in Ormuz in December (*Tombo* 86-87).

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.* 79.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.* 78-79.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.* 79-84.

<sup>367</sup> *Ibid.* 85.

<sup>368</sup> According to Azevedo, Salghar Shāh handed over the customhouse on the condition that all his debts were remitted, and he adds: "A receipt to this effect was immediately prepared, which I myself saw in the books from which I have drawn this chapter when I sent an account to Diogo do Couto of the origin and founding of the kingdom of Ormuz along with other information and gifts (204-205; cf. Couto 5, 9, 5, p. 329). Botelho seems not to have known about this remission of debts (*Tombo* 86).

<sup>369</sup> The sources for D. Manul Tabarija are: Q 102 164 204 (letter) 205 (gift of Amboina) 408 860 1103 1158 1193 1195 1231 1344 1378 1420 1438 1501 (will) 1619 1768 1860 2938 3596 3986, most of which were edited by Sá (see his index). Besides these there are the accounts of contemporary chroniclers who knew him personally: the author of the \**Tratado*, Rebello, Castanheda, and Correa; see also Barros, Couto (less reliable), and the markedly legendary Malayan sources, more folklore than history, in which the individuals are frequently all confused. See also Valentyn and the chronicle of Ternate,

eastern part of the far-flung Portuguese Indian empire, Dom Manuel Tabarija, King of Maluco.<sup>370</sup> He lived in a house which the governor Nuno da Cunha had set at his disposal with his mother, Niachile Pokaraga,<sup>371</sup> his stepfather, Patih Seran,<sup>372</sup> the regent,<sup>373</sup> and a number of his mandarins, as the prominent men of Molucca were called,<sup>374</sup> and their wives<sup>375</sup> and servants.<sup>376</sup>

The king was approximately twenty-four years old.<sup>377</sup> He wore Portuguese clothes<sup>378</sup> and spoke Portuguese without difficulty.<sup>379</sup> His kingdom embraced a great part of the Moluccas, which were renowned for their five spice islands of Ternate, Tidore, Motir, Makian, and Batjan.<sup>380</sup> He used the title of "King

composed in 1861 by Naidah, the mayor of Soasio on Ternate, and published in the original Ternatan and Malayan texts with a Dutch commentary by P. van der Crab in BKI 4.2 (1878) 381-493.

<sup>370</sup> In the Portuguese texts Maluco means: (1) in the widest sense, the north and south Moluccas; (2) in a narrower sense, the kingdom of Ternate; (3) the island of Ternate; (4) in the narrowest sense, its capital: Gam Lao in the southwest part of the island under the Portuguese, and Ternate in the east under the Dutch.

<sup>371</sup> She is so called in the text of the will which Couto published from the *Registo dos Contos* of Goa (5, 10, 10, p. 448), whereas the copy of 1550 in Sá erroneously has *Pancachilt Pocaraga* (II 21). In the report of the seizure of the kingdom by Freitas in 1545, she is called Quechil Pucaraga (*ibid.* 27 30). According to the *\*Tratado, Quachil* is the equivalent of "Dom," *Nachil* of "Dona" among the Ternatans, who said that they had taken these titles from the Javanese (10; similarly Rebello 358). Valentyn calls her Njai Tsjili Bokje Radja and adds that *Njai Tsjili* is her name, *Bokje* (Princess) *Radja* (King) her title, but he notes that neither the Ternatans nor the Tidorese can do anything with the name Neachila Bokaraga (II 1, 146-147).—In his will Tabarija describes her as "queen and principal wife of all those whom my father had" (Sá II 21); and, in a letter of 1537, "da mays valia e mais aparentada que pessoa nenhuma outra daquelas partes" (Q 204). Correa calls Tabarija a bastard who had no right to the throne (III 493; also Barros 4, 6, 22). But Rebello, who was better informed, expressly states that the Ternatans hated Tristão de Ataíde because he imprisoned their king Tabarija and forced another (Hairun) upon them who, according to them, was not of equal birth because of his mother (489-490), for Hairun's mother was a Javanese concubine (Castanheda 8, 92); and Tabarija states in his will that Hairun was his half brother from a different mother, "who was not a king's daughter as was the queen, my mother" (Sá II 22-23). Niachile was a queen, but not the principal wife.

<sup>372</sup> Patih Seran means regent (Dalgado II 190). Rebello uses the expression as a title (*o Pateçarangua* 420) and as a name (*o regedor Pate-Çarangua* 489).

<sup>373</sup> Portuguese: *regedor*, Ternatense: *djogugu* (De Clercq 324).

<sup>374</sup> Mandarin, Malayan *mantari*, the equivalent of *fidalgo* on the Moluccas (*\*Tratado* 10), or higher official (Dalgado II 20-22). In 1537 Tabarija wrote that he "e certos regedores meus" had been sent to India (Q 204), whereas Rebello says that he had been sent as a prisoner to India with many of his mandarins (489).

<sup>375</sup> "The governor met King Tabarija and Pateçarangue and their wives and other women prisoners in Goa [in 1536]" (Correa III 710), and he notes that four women had been arrested with the queen (*ibid.* 634-635).

<sup>376</sup> In his will Tabarija also takes care of his slave Bastiam, who had served him from childhood and had come with him from Maluco, and for his female slave Mecia (Sá II 24).

<sup>377</sup> According to Castanheda, Tabarija was fourteen or fifteen in 1532 (8, 57), according to Correa thirteen (III 492), according to Barros fourteen in 1533 (4, 6, 24). Since he married the wife of his half brother Dayāl in 1532 (Castanheda 5, 93), he could have been born around 1518.

<sup>378</sup> During the baptism (Couto 5, 9, 3) and afterwards (Correa III 726; SR II 341; cf. Sá I 373). In 1546 Hairun also returned to Ternate "vestido á portugueza" (Rebello 445), and he and his sons and principal wife also later wore Portuguese garb (*ibid.* 297).

<sup>379</sup> He signed his will in Portuguese "por saber ler e excrever portuguez" (Sá II 38). He signed his letter of 1537, however, only in Malayan, using Arabic characters, and his secretary added the translation (Q, pl. XXIX 2).

<sup>380</sup> Rebello names "Ternate, Tidore, Moutel, Machiem, e Bachão," but he notes that

of Ternate, Hiri, Maitara, Motir, Makian, Kajoa,<sup>381</sup> and of All the Lands from Moro<sup>382</sup> to Batachina<sup>383</sup> as well as the Island and Islands of Amboina<sup>384</sup> and Seran from Buru to the Papuas.<sup>385</sup> His mother, a shrewd woman and well-versed in her Mohammedan sect,<sup>386</sup> was a daughter of Al-Mansūr, the rajah of Tidore,<sup>387</sup> the second queen of the sultan of Ternate, Bayān Sirrullah.<sup>388</sup> In 1512 the latter had extended his hospitality to the shipwrecked Francisco Serrão, the first Portuguese on the Moluccas, and had protected<sup>389</sup> him from three other Moorish kings of these islands, namely, of Tidore, Djailolo,<sup>390</sup> and Batjan. He had in turn been poisoned by these in 1521<sup>391</sup> for having attempted to gain sovereignty over them with the help of Portuguese arms.<sup>392</sup>

Sirrullah had left a series of sons from his queens and concubines,<sup>393</sup> among whom were two from his principal wife, who also was a daughter of the rajah of Tidore.<sup>394</sup> These were Abu Hāyat<sup>395</sup> and Dayāl<sup>396</sup> both of whom

other islands also had cloves (353 302 378); Barros gives also the original names: "Gape, Duco, Moutil, Mara, Seque" (3, 5, 5, p. 567).

<sup>381</sup> In the deed of Amboina of 1537 and in the will of 1546, Hiri, Ternate, Maitara, Tidore, Motir, Makian, and Kajoa are named from north to south. According to Pires, Makian and half of Motir were under Tidore (214 217).

<sup>382</sup> Moro consisted of Morotai (the district of Galela on the northeast coast of Halmahera) and the islands of Morotai and Rau that were near it.

<sup>383</sup> Halmahera. Rebello writes "Batochina" (*batu*: rock); Barros, "Batechina" (*bate*: land; "Chinaland" 3, 5, 5, p. 577).

<sup>384</sup> Amboina and the three Ulie Islands.

<sup>385</sup> The "land of the four Papuan kings" was subject to Batjan. It was the group of islands northwest of New Guinea.

<sup>386</sup> According to Frois, from data furnished by Nicolau Nunes, who personally knew them very well (DI III 540).

<sup>387</sup> Al-Mansūr, already called king in 1512 (\**Tratado* 22), was in 1521 according to Pigafetta around forty-five (205). He had eight sons and eighteen daughters from his two hundred wives (*ibid.* 209). He died in 1526 (Navarrete III 188).

<sup>388</sup> So called in the Malayan letter written in 1522 in Ternate in the name of Abu Hāyat (Sá I 124). Rebello calls him Cachil Boleife, "a name which is not known by any of the Ternatans, and which was never borne by any of their kings" (Valentyn I 2, 147). Pigafetta calls him Raja Abuleis (209). From information furnished by his son, Rebello states that he had called himself Cachil Baiano Cirola, which means "Good Clean Place," and "Clear Object" (488). In Pires this becomes Bem Acorala (214); in Barbosa, Binaracola (II 200). In his will Tabarija calls his father Cachil (Dom) Culano (King) Magitá (*Mahādhira*), "Great King".

<sup>389</sup> On Serrão see Sá I 79-80 113 116 121-123 135 160-161 176-177; Pires 215; \**Tratado* 22; Rebello 210-211 405; Castanheda 3, 75, 86; Correa II 280 710-712 714-716; Barros 3, 5, 6 (the best account).

<sup>390</sup> The Malayan letter of 1521 has Jailolo (Sá I 122-123), Pires has Heilolo (213), Pigafetta has Gailolo (211), the Malayan signature of the king of Djailolo of 1532 has Galulu (Q, pl. XXIX 1), Freitas has Yeilolo (Sá I 432), as does Xavier's letter of 1546 (EX I 347); the other Portuguese authors have as a rule Geilolo or Gilolo.

<sup>391</sup> On this see the exact accounts in the letter of Abu Hāyat of 1521 (Sá I 12), Pigafetta's diary (209), and also in the letters of Captain Antonio de Brito and his factor Fago (Sá I 133 135 160).

<sup>392</sup> See Bayān's letter of around 1514 (Sá I 85-87) and Abu Hāyat's (*ibid.* 122-123).

<sup>393</sup> Pigafetta gives the names of the nine principal sons whom he left at the time of his death (209); Valentyn gives the names of sixteen sons (I, 2, 151); Naidah of seventeen (440). According to Barros he left two legitimate sons, Bohaat (Abu Hāyat) and Dayalo (Dayāl), and seven illegitimate sons (3, 5, 7, p. 611).

<sup>394</sup> Couto identifies Tabarija's mother with that of kings Abu Hāyat and Dayāl (4, 7, 7, p. 156), as do Lucena 4, 6, Seb. Gonçalves 3, 6, Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 3, 1, 21, Valentyn, I 2, 158, Brou I 396, and the other authors. Both queens were daughters of King Al-Mansūr of Tidore. In 1521 Pigafetta met three sons of the king of Ternate on Tidore with their wives, daughters of the rajah of Tidore. The widow of the deceased Bayān Sirrullah was also a daughter of the king of Tidore (225-226).

followed him as rulers. The first was seven years old,<sup>397</sup> the second also only a child when he became king.<sup>398</sup> For the sake of security the Portuguese captains, however, held them as hostages in the fortress that had been begun in 1522 in Ternate, the capital of the same-named island;<sup>399</sup> and they let a royal vizier rule in their place.<sup>400</sup>

The rajah of Tidore died in 1526, poisoned, as rumor had it, by the captain.<sup>401</sup> Abu Hāyat followed him to the grave in 1529 after having been similarly poisoned, as it was said, by the royal vizier, Taruwēs.<sup>402</sup> He in turn, accused of being traitor, was beheaded the following year. Dayāl, who was similarly accused of treacherous designs, fled;<sup>403</sup> and the fourteen-year-old Tabarija was named king in his stead and received Dayāl's wife as his bride, while his mother married the royal vizier Patih Serang.<sup>404</sup> The following year, however, Freitas, as captain of the clove ship, brought a new captain, Tristão de Ataide, who arrested his predecessor and sent him back to India.<sup>405</sup> After he had sailed away, Tabarija, who was living with two half brothers in the upper story of the fortress was also accused of wanting to murder the captain in alliance with his mother and the royal vizier and thus make himself the master of the fortress. Ataide gave credence to the slanderers.

He had the accused come to him under a pretext and imprisoned them as being guilty of high treason.<sup>406</sup> In place of Tabarija he named the thirteen-year-old<sup>407</sup> Hairun,<sup>408</sup> an illegitimate son of Bayān Sirrulah and a Javanese concubine,<sup>409</sup> as king and Patih Samarau as royal vizier.<sup>410</sup> Those who had

<sup>395</sup> This is the spelling of his name in his Malayan letter of 1521 (Sá I 121). Other forms are Boyahate (in Tabarija's will), Bayate (\**Tratado* 24), Buaia (Rebello, in Sá III 489 erroneously as Buará), Bohaat (Barros), Bohat (Couto), Bohejat (Valentyn), Bahitij (Naidah).

<sup>396</sup> In Tabarija's will he is called Dayalo, as he is in \**Tratado* and Rebello; in other authors Ayalo (Castanheda), Ajallo (Barros), Ajulo (Correa).

<sup>397</sup> Castanheda 6, 12. In February, 1523, he was eight or nine years old (Sá I 135), in 1525 twelve (*ibid.* 194).

<sup>398</sup> The year of his birth cannot be fixed with certainty.

<sup>399</sup> The fortress was begun on June 24, 1522, the feast of St. John the Baptist, and was dedicated to him (Sá I 163; \**Tratado* 23v; Rebello 410; Castanheda 6, 12; Correa II 715; Barros 3, 5, 7). The place, lying in the southwest of the island of Ternate, was called Ternate, Maluco, and Gam Lamo (Great City). The Dutch built their fortress (Fort Oranje) on the east of the island on the site of the small Portuguese outpost of Malayo, 1 1/2 leagues from Gam Lamo (Van de Wall 232).

<sup>400</sup> \**Tratado* 24v. According to Rebello, Cachil Taruwēs advised Captain Brito to put the young king Abu Hāyat in the fortress (410). The captains also did the same with the later kings (*ibid.* 489).

<sup>401</sup> Castanheda 7, 39.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.* 8, 18.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.* 8, 56.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.* 8, 58.

<sup>405</sup> Cf. the detailed letter of Captain Tristão de Ataide of February 20, 1534 (Sá I 284-331; another, unpublished *via* is given in Q 163). See also Castanheda 8, 71; Correa III 568; Barros 4, 6, 23.

<sup>406</sup> Castanheda 8, 92 and Tabarija's letter of November 6, 1537 (Q 204).

<sup>407</sup> According to Correa he was at the time twelve years old (III 635); according to Barros, fourteen (4, 6, 24).

<sup>408</sup> Portuguese: Aeiro; Valentyn calls him Hairun Jamilu (I 2, 190).

<sup>409</sup> Castanheda 8, 92; Rebello 489; Couto 4, 8, 13.

<sup>410</sup> D. Jorge de Meneses, captain from 1527 till 1530, banished him because he had allegedly, in league with Cachil Taruwēs, wanted to kill him. Ataide however recalled him in 1534 against the wishes of Tabarija and Patih Serang (Castanheda 8, 20 and 71; Correa III 568).

been arrested, however, were locked up with four women and numerous mandarins in a windowless dungeon of the fortress, where there was no telling of day from night. In addition to this, they were bound with neck irons and had chains about their feet and were subjected to beatings. Here they remained deprived of all their possessions until the captain, in February, 1535, had them put on board ship<sup>411</sup> laden with irons and sent back with written accusations for trial in Goa.<sup>412</sup>

When they arrived, Nuno da Cunha, the governor, summoned the *ouvidor geral*, Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco; the admiral of the sea, Martim Affonso de Sousa; the city captain, Dom Gonçalo Coutinho; Garcia de Sá and many other *fidalgos* for a meeting of his council and presented them with the accusations made by Ataide. All were of the opinion that the prisoners did not deserve any punishment, and that the governor should therefore send them back as being innocent and restore the king to his post of honor in order to recompense the people for the offense to which they had been subjected. But since in the meantime news had come from the Moluccas that the kings there had joined in a conspiracy against the Portuguese after the departure of Tabarija in order to drive them from their islands and had laid siege to the fortress of Ternate, Cunha detained the king and his companions in Goa and sent Antonio Galvão as captain to Maluco in order to first re-establish peace there.<sup>413</sup>

The governor had an income given to Tabarija through Jurdão de Freitas,<sup>414</sup> who had known Tabarija in Ternate and had espoused his cause, and both strove to win over their young protégé to the Christian faith. The governor had him told that he should let himself be baptized since Christianity was the true faith. Many in his country had already become Christians,<sup>415</sup> and he should also become one in order to win over his remaining subjects for it. He would in this way consolidate the rule of his overlord, the king of Portugal, who would bestow numerous favors upon him on account of this.

The news of the sudden, violent death of Bahādur, the sultan of Cambay, in February, 1537, and the power of Portugal in the East were not without effect upon the young prince, who was highly pleased with Portuguese manners and customs.<sup>416</sup> But Freitas still had to argue with him throughout the rainy season before his young friend finally gave in and, without asking his mother, his stepfather, or his mandarins, declared that he was ready to accept the Christian faith.<sup>417</sup> When the monsoon of 1537 was coming to an end, Tabarija, as Dom Manuel, received baptism with all solemnity in the church of St. Catherine in Goa from the hands of the vicar, Diogo de Morais, in the presence of the vicar general, Miguel Vaz, and other priests and laity.<sup>418</sup> His sponsors were Nuno

<sup>411</sup> Cf. Tabarija's letter of 1537 (Q 204); \**Tratado* 25; Castanheda 8, 111; Correa III 533-536 710-711; Rebello 295 420 489; Barros 3, 5, 6; 4, 6, 24; Couto 4, 8, 13.

<sup>412</sup> Cf. Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger" 220, n. 342.

<sup>413</sup> Sá I 370-374.

<sup>414</sup> We encounter Freitas from the beginning of 1535 in Goa, when, with the other *casados*, he took part in the battles on the mainland against the captains of Asad Khān as captain of the native troops and of the cavalry and was wounded (Castanheda 8, 123; Correa III 640; Barros 4, 7, 10-12 and 17; Couto 4, 10, 5). He went from Goa as a peace negotiator to Adil Khān (Q 384).

<sup>415</sup> Meant are the conversions on Moro, about which the captain of Ternate wrote at the beginning of 1534 (Sá I 316-319 322).

<sup>416</sup> According to Nuno da Cunha (*ibid.* 373).

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.* and Q 204.

<sup>418</sup> On the baptisms see Morais' lawsuit (SR II 269-290); the letters of Tabarija

da Cunha and Jurdão de Freitas. Before the baptism the governor went to meet him at his home. He kept him next to himself at the Mass and personally explained to him all the details. After the ceremony he had royal honors shown to him and gave him clothes and everything he needed and increased his income.<sup>419</sup> After this the king of Maluco could be seen dressed in silk clothes of a Portuguese cut riding through the streets of Goa.<sup>420</sup> His mother, his stepfather, and his mandarins, however, did not follow his example,<sup>421</sup> even when he later received confirmation.<sup>422</sup>

As a reward for the services which Freitas had afforded him, the king on October 8, 1537, soon after his baptism, gave him his southern possessions, the island and islands of Amboina and Seran with all the territories from Buru to the great lands of the Papuas with all their rights and revenues in perpetuity; and this was done with the agreement of his mother and Patih Serang, who also signed the deed.<sup>423</sup> A month later, however, Dom Manuel dictated a letter to King John III<sup>424</sup> in which he noted how the Portuguese captains of Ternate were destroying the land with their greed and alienating the people from Portugal. Cachil Taruwēs had been slain even though he had been one of the best servants of His Highness. When the Spaniards came he had shown them five cloves which he held in his hand in the form of a cross and had told them: "This is the coat of arms of the Portuguese king; this land of cloves therefore belongs to him."<sup>425</sup> Dom Manuel then described his own sufferings and his conversion, and he asked the king not to punish Ataide since his transgressions had brought him the happiness of the true faith. He hoped after his return to bring this faith to all in his country. He therefore asked the king to make a good choice of the officials whom he sent to Ternate and to give them the instructions they would need. He would have gladly taken Freitas with him, but he had now to sail to Portugal and His Highness could learn from him about himself, the king, and his country.

(Q 204) and Nuno da Cunha (Sá I 343-374); Barros 4, 6, 24; Couto 5, 9, 3, according to whom the governor had the candidates for baptism instructed by some pious religious; and Correa III 725-726, who mistakenly calls him D. Jorge. The chronicle of the order composed by Frey Clemente de Santa Eyria, O.F.M., between 1722 and 1724, which for our period is replete with errors, states that his confreres preached on the Moluccas, that King Tabarija accepted Christianity through the efforts of P. Frey André do Spirito Santo, and that the Franciscans baptized the king, three princes, his brothers, the queen, four *fidalgos* and the majority of the common people in 1530 on the northern Moluccas (Ternate) (SR V 435-436). The contemporary accounts know nothing of this. According to \*Trindade the said friars preached in Maluco during the time of D. Julião, the last captain of the fortress of Ternate (1109). The fortress was captured from the Moors in 1575 under Nuno Pereira de Lacerda, the last Portuguese captain of Ternate. The sources know nothing of a captain named Julião, and there were no Franciscans on the Moluccas before 1606. A Fray Andrés del Espiritu Santo signed a document with two of his religious brethren in Manila in 1593 (Colin-Pastells II 61, note).

<sup>419</sup> Sá I 373-374.

<sup>420</sup> Correa III 725-726.

<sup>421</sup> Sá I 374. His mother and stepfather were later baptized in Ternate (Rebello 489).

<sup>422</sup> Cf. his will.

<sup>423</sup> Two \*copies of the deed are preserved, one of 1543 in TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 6, 53, published by Sá IV 31-34; and one of 1642 in London, Br. Museum: *Add. Mss.* 21,526, 72 (Q 205).

<sup>424</sup> Q 204. He says that he had the letter written by a foreign hand. For his own Malayan signature "Dom Manuel Rey de Malūku," see Q, pl. XXIX 2.

<sup>425</sup> Garcia da Orta erroneously ascribes the saying to Tabarija (I 362). Nuno da Cunha has Meneses arrested for the execution of Taruwēs "porque todos tinhamos Quechyle de Aroez por mui grande voso servidor dyno de muita mercê" (Sá I 259).

Shortly after his baptism the young king was to lose his two sponsors. At the beginning of 1538 Freitas sailed from India.<sup>426</sup> A year later he was followed in this by Nuno da Cunha.<sup>427</sup> In September, 1538, the latter's successor arrived, the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha. The new governor was past sixty; he was poor and had many sons and daughters to care for. Because of the danger from the Turks he had come with two thousand men and numerous servants and friends, whom he had to reward for their services.<sup>428</sup> Dom Manuel, the recently converted king of Maluco, was as a consequence forgotten. The income which Nuno da Cunha had granted to him was constantly in arrears; and neither Noronha nor his successor, Dom Estevão da Gama, could make up their mind about sending him back to his kingdom.<sup>429</sup>

The king was suffering from want, and his morals also left much to be desired.<sup>430</sup> Having grown up as a Mohammedan, and not as yet sufficiently instructed and strengthened in his new faith and abandoned by his baptismal sponsors, he had need of a kindly tutor who could teach and guide him. Even when Freitas was still with him in Goa, he had had neither the required authority nor a corresponding concern for this, especially since he lived far from Dom Manuel and was more interested in his own profit than in the spiritual progress of his royal godchild. After his baptism the young prince had repeatedly asked for such a guide, but to no avail. Miguel Vaz would have been the right man for this, but as vicar general he was occupied with other labors; and even though he frequently visited him in his free moments, this was still not enough to exercise a restraining influence upon him. Vaz, moreover, often omitted these visits so as not to be forced to see his needs without being able to help them. He repeatedly wrote to John III and recommended Dom Manuel to him. He was the first king in these lands of the East to become a Christian; his neglect and the misery in which he lived was a great scandal to his Mohammedan subjects, who were frightened by this from following his example.

The needs of the forgotten prince became so great that when Dom Estevão da Gama returned to Goa from Suez in August, 1541, and Dom Manuel wished to visit him, he had to borrow a shirt from his neighbor, a *casado*, for the occasion since he had none of his own.<sup>431</sup> The *casado* was a member of the Misericórdia and he brought up the incident at the next meeting of the confraternity so that it might take care of him. When the vicar general visited him, however, the king told him that he would not accept any support from the Misericórdia since

<sup>426</sup> As captain of the *Gallega* (Couto 5, 2, 3-4). On June 19, 1539, he wrote to King John III from the island of Madeira (Q 384).

<sup>427</sup> He set sail from Cochin in January, 1539, and died on the voyage after rounding the Cape of Good Hope (Couto 5, 5, 5).

<sup>428</sup> Correa IV 9-11.

<sup>429</sup> According to Correa, Nuno da Cunha did not wish to send the king back as long as his friend Tristão de Ataíde was captain of Ternate (III 711). According to Couto, D. Estevão da Gama and Tabarija sent their papers to John III so that the case could be decided in Portugal (5, 9, 3).

<sup>430</sup> Miguel Vaz spoke of "mocidades" and "oulhar pera as janellas" (Sá I 340 342); and Freitas wrote in 1545 that his protégé was indeed a "bragante" (good-for-nothing), but Hairun was much worse than he (*ibid.* 431).

<sup>431</sup> The *casado* was probably Manuel Faria, who lived on the Rua da Carreira dos Cavallos. He was a member of the confraternity of the Misericórdia and also gave an alms for St. Paul's College. Miguel Vaz heard of the incident from the *casado* himself.

this would compromise the royal officers.<sup>432</sup> Aleixo de Sousa nevertheless wrote on November 24 of this same year to John III:

The king of Maluco became a Christian and since that time he has been so poor that he has nothing to eat and no one to serve him. There are people here who help him out with underhose and shirts so that he has something to wear. The brothers of the Misericórdia told me that after hearing of his poverty, they wanted to give him a little money; but he told them that he did not need it, for Your Highness had ordered that everything he needed should be given to him. He thanked them much, but it was not necessary. Yet at the time they knew that he was near death from hunger. Since he is a king who became a Christian and is a vassal of Your Highness, it seems to me of utmost importance that Your Highness reflect on this and that he should be maintained here with words and deeds until Your Highness sends a reply.<sup>433</sup>

Miguel Vaz also presented his case to Dom Estevão da Gama so that he would be paid his monthly allowance. The governor then gave orders to this effect, but the officials only obeyed when they felt like it, and the coffers were empty. When Martim Affonso de Sousa came in 1542, the vicar general immediately sought him out and informed him of the king's plight. When he heard of it, the governor immediately gave strict orders that Dom Manuel should be paid the money due him. Miguel Vaz also urged that the king should be sent back to his own country. According to the letters coming from Ternate, Hairun was hated by the people because of his shameful life. All wanted Tabarija back, and if he came, according to the letters, there was hope that the entire country would be converted to the Christian faith.<sup>434</sup>

#### 10. THE CONVERSION OF THE PARAVAS (1535—1537)<sup>435</sup>

Miguel Vaz had prevailed upon the members of the confraternity of the faith, but not without some difficulties, that the college which was being built

<sup>432</sup> SR II 340-342.

<sup>433</sup> Sá I 376-377.

<sup>434</sup> Miguel Vaz wrote on January 6, 1543, that he had received letters from the clergy in Maluco. The whole country was waiting for Dom Manuel and longed for him, and all would without doubt be converted if he came (SR II 342). He had probably received these letters in 1542. The Moluccan kings had revolted against the Portuguese "from the Papuas to Java," as the *\*Tratado* states (25), when Tabarija was arrested and carried away. The people wanted their king Tabarija back from Galvão and would have nothing to do with Hairun (Castanheda 8 180 and 9, 23, where Aeiro should be read for *Pero Paes*), since he was hated for his immorality (Sá I 431). Dayāl, Tabarija's adversary, had fallen in the capture of Tidore in 1536 (*\*Tratado* 28v-29).

<sup>435</sup> On the following see Schurhammer, "Die Bekehrung der Paraver," AHSI 4 (1935) 201-233. The main sources are: (1) the letter of D. João da Cruz of December 15, 1537, which we published in the original text in "Dois textos inéditos sobre a conversão dos Paravás, pescadores de pérolas na Índia (1535-1537)," *Ethnos* 1 (Lisboa, 1935) 22-26; (2) Teixeira 846-848; (3) Seb. Gonçalves 2, 7, which contains valuable supplementations from now lost sources. The following offer further details: Frey Lourenço de Goes, O.F.M., in 1536 (SR II 245); D. João III in 1537 (CDP III 415); Gouvea in 1538 (DI I 749); Barros, *Grammatica*, in 1539; Xavier in 1542 (EX I 147 150-151); Miguel Vaz in 1543 (SR II 332-333); Xavier in 1545 (EX I 254); Pero Gonçalves in 1550 (DI III 257); Castanheda in 1561 (8, 173); Orta in 1563 (II 120); \*Crasso in 1583 (ARSI: *Goa* 38, 289v); \*Q 6171a, a deposition from the Fishery Coast; Valignano (58-59); \*Aires de Sá (ARSI: *Goa* 17, 51); \*Frey Sebastião de São Pedro, O.E.S.A., around 1629 (not very reliable) (Bibl. Vat., Vat. lat. 6424, 2-2v). Tursellinus and Lucena follow Teixeira; Couto's account is full of mistakes (6, 7, 5). The Franciscan chronicles are here very legendary.



should, after its completion, be handed over to the Franciscans for the education of the students; and these, including their guardian and commissary, Frey Paulo de Santarem, had readily agreed to this. Thanks to the support of the governor and the efforts of Cosme Anes, the work had made great progress during the rainy season. The walls of the church already reached up to the height of the roof. It was hoped that in the coming spring it would be ready for the celebration of Mass and that Mestre Diogo and his students would be able to move into the college.<sup>436</sup> Their number had already risen to over sixty. Almost all could now read and recite the Office. Many could already write in Portuguese, and it was hoped that they could soon begin with Latin. The revenues of the college were now sufficient for a hundred students and the outlook was extremely favorable<sup>437</sup> when in September, towards the end of the rainy season,<sup>438</sup> the Franciscan chapter, instead of electing the commissary to be guardian of the newly erected custody, chose for this position Frey Pedro de Atouguia.<sup>439</sup> At the same time it refused to take over the College of the Faith—a bitter disillusionment for Miguel Vaz and his friends.<sup>440</sup> Mestre Diogo was already feeling the burden of age with its illnesses and infirmities, and he would have gladly handed over the school to younger men.<sup>441</sup> Because of its great importance for the development of a native clergy and for the conversion of the pagans, Master Francis considered the college to be the most necessary work in all India.<sup>442</sup> Mestre Diogo and his friends therefore wanted to hand the school over to him.<sup>443</sup> Francis promised to ask Ignatius for a Latin teacher and other priests for the new foundation.<sup>444</sup> But as for himself, God was calling him elsewhere, to Cape Comorin, where the Parava fishers had passed over to Christianity a few years earlier and were in urgent need of his help.<sup>445</sup>

In Rome Xavier had already heard of the conversion of the Paravas.<sup>446</sup> In 1538 Gouvea, the old principal of the Collège de Sainte-Barbe, had written to Rodrigues and Favre from Paris that information had come from India that

<sup>436</sup> According to Miguel Vaz (SR II 326-327) and Xavier (EX I 132 136; cf. DI I 786-789).

<sup>437</sup> EX I 132 135-136; Correa IV 290.

<sup>438</sup> Miguel Vaz wrote about this on January 6, 1543. The offices were held as a rule for three years. His successor, Frey Antonio do Casal, was elected in September, 1545 (SR IV 254). He already signed his name as guardian on September 19 (*ibid.* III 281). We therefore place the election of Frey Pedro in the first half of September. On the twentieth of this month Xavier asked Ignatius for priests for the college (EX I 136), an indication that the Franciscans had already refused to take it over. Xavier's biographers generally state without reason that he was offered the college immediately after his arrival.

<sup>439</sup> Frey Pedro de Atouguia, whose name is given by Miguel Vaz in the letter mentioned (SR II 231), sailed in 1533 as commissary with the governor's fleet to Bassein (Correa III 468). In 1543 he was present at the auto-da-fé in Goa (*ibid.* IV 292, where he is erroneously called Frey Antonio). In 1544 he came in conflict with M. A. de Sousa, who put him in prison and treated him badly (*ibid.* 406; \**Verdadeira enfformaçam* 4v). In September, 1545, he was again free (SR III 281). At the beginning of 1546 he sailed for Portugal (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 186; Q 1692). L. Nunes esteemed him (110). That he founded the monastery in Chaul in 1511, as Jacinto de Deos maintains (11), is wrong. In December, 1542, M. A. de Sousa wrote that the Franciscans wished to begin a monastery there (SR II 209).

<sup>440</sup> SR II 328; DI III 813-814.

<sup>441</sup> As he wrote in 1545 (DI I 54-55).

<sup>442</sup> EX I 132-133.

<sup>443</sup> DI I 133-134; Teixeira 846.

<sup>444</sup> EX I 134-137.

<sup>445</sup> DI I 133-134.

<sup>446</sup> *Paraver* is the Tamil plural of Parava.

through the preaching of a vicar who had been sent by Bishop Mello, a bachelor in canon law—by this was meant Miguel Vaz—sixty thousand “Balamares” had become Christians, and that a rich harvest was there beckoning him and his companions. Already in the previous year King John III had informed the Holy Father through Mascarenhas that on Cape Comorin more than fifty thousand pagans had let themselves be baptized and that there were hopes of converting the entire province. And in 1539 he had written to his ambassador in Rome that he should try to obtain the Parisian masters who had been recommended to him by Gouvea for the instruction and strengthening of the new converts and the conversion of the pagans in his Indian possessions. This was the first thing that the king had had in mind when he sent Francis to India.<sup>447</sup> When the latter wished to remain in Socotra on his way there, Martim Affonso de Sousa had rejected the request because of the danger from the Turks. He had however consoled him by saying that he would send him to other Christians who had an equal, or even greater need of his instructions than those of Socotra, meaning by this the Paravas. Already on the voyage to India Francis had heard much about the pearl fishers, whom Sousa had freed from their cruel oppressors, the Moors, at the battle of Vēdālai. Miguel de Ayala, who sailed with Xavier from Lisbon to India, had also fought at Vēdālai, and in Mozambique Francis had met other *fidalgos* who had taken part in that memorable battle.<sup>448</sup> And in Barro’s catechism, which he took with him from Lisbon, there was already mention of the conversion of 57,000 souls in Malabar, by which the Paravas were again meant.<sup>449</sup>

But no one could give Master Francis better information about their conversion than his friend the vicar general, Miguel Vaz, who had himself played a principal role in it.<sup>450</sup>

From time immemorial the Paravas had lived as fishers and pearl divers on the southeast tip of India, the Fishery Coast, opposite Ceylon.<sup>451</sup> At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese they were divided up among three kings: the Great King of Quilon in the south, the king of Kayattār in the center, and Tumbichchi Nāyak in the north, the latter two being vassals of the king of Vijayanagar;<sup>452</sup> and all were concerned about their share of the rich yield of the annual Pearl Fishery. Years before, the Moors, who had already succeeded in appropriating<sup>453</sup> for themselves the entire overseas trade on the west coast of India, had also firmly established themselves on the east coast—in Kāyalpatnam in the south, the territory of the Great King, and in Kilakarai in the

<sup>447</sup> Vol. I 440-441 543-544 718.

<sup>448</sup> See above, p. 73.

<sup>449</sup> Vol. I 598.

<sup>450</sup> He informed Xavier about the Paravas and their condition (\*Teixeira It. 2, 3; Valignano 59; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 7).

<sup>451</sup> On the origin of the Paravas, formerly called Paradavar and today Bharatas, see S. C. Chitty, “Remarks on the Origin and History of the Parawas,” *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* 4 (1837) 130-134; *Ramnad District Manual* (Madras, 1889) 39-40; Kanakasabhai 22 42-45; Thurston VI 140-155; J. Hornell, “The Chank Shell in Ancient Indian Life and Religion,” *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 4 (Bangalore, 1913) 157-164; *idem*, *The Sacred Chank of India* (Madras, 1914) and *The Chank Shell Cult of India* (Bombay, 1942); Pate 230; N. Sastri, *Pāndyan Kingdom* 35 52-53; *idem*, *History* 121-122 133 147.

<sup>452</sup> The Cēra king of Quilon, whose domain reached to Tāmbraparni, was lord of Kāyalpatnam; the Pāndya king of Kayattār was lord of Tuticorin; the Tumbichchi Nāyak was lord of Vaippār and Vēmbār.

<sup>453</sup> Barbosa II 74-78.

north;<sup>454</sup> and as leaseholders they had gained control of the Pearl Fishery. But new rivals entered the scene with the discovery of the seaway to India. In bitter struggles that lasted for years the Portuguese wrested from the Malabar Moors their monopoly on the overseas trade of the Indian Ocean and, as masters of the seas, they soon made good their claim on the Pearl Fishery as well.<sup>455</sup> The governor of India had instructions from Lisbon to send each year a captain with boats and soldiers from Cochin to the Fishery Coast in order to keep an eye on the Pearl Fishery and to exact from the Hindu officials the annual tribute which they had paid to the Mohammedan leaseholders for the king of Portugal. In 1524 João Froles was the first captain of the Fishery Coast to be sent there.<sup>456</sup>

The Sons of the Prophet, however, did not let themselves be displaced without a struggle. They called on their fellow worshipers on the west coast for help, and a fourteen-year war for the Pearl Fishery set in.<sup>457</sup> In 1527 Froles and all his men were cut down by the Moors.<sup>458</sup> In 1528 Affonso de Mello avenged this by burning down Kāyalpatnam, the Mohammedan stronghold in the south; and he obtained from the Moors of Kilakarai an annual tribute of three thousand *pardaus* for the defense of the Pearl Fishery.<sup>459</sup> But the battles continued with fluctuating fortunes among the Hindu princes themselves in the interior, and between the Moors and Portuguese on the sea, from the Shallows of Rāmanankovil<sup>460</sup> in the north to Cape Comorin in the south.

The Paravas, after the Moors had gained control of the Pearl Fishery, saw themselves reduced to the status of day laborers and slaves. In addition to paying tribute to their Hindu lords, they had to pay the hated Mohammedan leaseholders; and the arrival of the Portuguese had placed them between two fires.<sup>461</sup> A spark would be sufficient to cause their long pent-up hatred for their Moorish oppressors to burst into flame. And they did not have to wait long for this to happen.<sup>462</sup>

In Tuticorin<sup>463</sup> a Parava woman was insulted by a Moor as she was selling a cake known as *paniyāram*.<sup>464</sup> When her husband learned of this, he started a fight with the Mohammedan. During its course the Moor cut off one of his ear-lobes. This was the greatest insult that could be inflicted upon a Parava, since their chief ornamentation were their ear-lobes drawn down to their shoulders by heavy gold ornaments.<sup>465</sup> The honor of the entire caste was compromised.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.* 120-124.

<sup>455</sup> João Garcês \*wrote in 1529 that he had discovered the Pearl Fishery (Q 121); but Miranda de Azevedo had already given an account of it to the king in 1519 (Q 73).

<sup>456</sup> Correa II 778-779.

<sup>457</sup> Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 205-207.

<sup>458</sup> Letters of Seb. Pires of December, 1527 (SR II 137), and of Lopo Vaz de Sampayo of January, 1528 (*TdT*: CC 1-38-70); Correa III 235-236.

<sup>459</sup> Barros 4, 2, 7, where, instead of "Cara near Calecare," Kāyalpatnam near Kilakarai should be read. In 1520 Froles had already concluded a contract with the *nainar* (lord) of Kilakarai with respect to the Pearl Fishery (CA VII 184); cf. the *\*Enformação* of 1568 (Q 6159b).

<sup>460</sup> The Pamban Narrows, called by the Portuguese Baixos de Chilao, de Rāmeswarāram, de Rāmanankovil.

<sup>461</sup> Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 206-207.

<sup>462</sup> For the following, see *ibid.* 207-225.

<sup>463</sup> \*Teixeira It. 2, 3; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 7.

<sup>464</sup> *Paniyāram* is a rice dumpling with palm sugar. In the Spanish translation of Teixeira it becomes, since the Tamil expression was not understood: "cosas libianas," in the Italian "cepolla."

<sup>465</sup> Still even today the usual adornment of Parava women.

The injured Parava called on his friends and relatives for help. They seized their weapons and fell on the Moor and his companions. Some were mistreated; others were killed; the rest fled out to sea, where a part of them were caught in a storm and drowned.

This provoked revenge from the opposition. The Moors were rich and powerful, especially their two leaders in Kāyalpatnam and Kilakarai. They came together, and many Paravas were robbed, ill-treated, and slain. Not content with this, the Mohammedans decided to conduct a war of extermination by sea and land against their foes.<sup>466</sup> They bribed the pagan landlords with valuable gifts so that they would not let anyone escape and would help them in their work of revenge. A price of five *fanams*<sup>467</sup> was placed on the head of a Parava. But the heads which were handed over to the Moors were so numerous that the bounty was lowered to one *fanam*. When the pagans saw that the price had been so reduced, they ceased their slaughter. But the Paravas, blockaded by the Moors at sea and plundered by the pagans when they fled into the interior, knew of no escape from their desperate plight. The inhabitants of the two northern villages of Vēmbār and Vaippār,<sup>468</sup> which were subject to Tumbichchi Nāyak, obtained protection from the pagan officials, the Maniyakkārāns.<sup>469</sup> But these in turn attacked Tuticorin and took many Paravas away as captives.<sup>470</sup> When their plight had reached its depths, God sent them a saving angel in the form of the Malabar horse trader Dom João da Cruz.<sup>471</sup>

Dom João da Cruz was descended from the distinguished Chetti caste in Calicut.<sup>472</sup> In 1513, when he was only fifteen years old, he was sent by the

<sup>466</sup> Silva Rego regards the account as exaggerated since the Moors still needed the Paravas for pearl fishing (SRH 365-370). But there were also Karaiyan and Moorish pearl fishers, and the very well informed *\*Emformaçam* of 1568 confirms the severity of the persecution.

<sup>467</sup> The *fanam*, a tiny little gold coin, varied in value according to place and time. It wavered between twenty and forty *reis*. In Kāyalpatnam in 1554 sixteen *fanams* came to a gold *pardau* of 360 *reis* (Nunez 36). In 1548 three good, very large chickens could be bought on Cape Comorim for one *fanam* (DI I 319). During the famine of 1516 parents sold their children on the Coromandel Coast for four or five *fanams* (Barbosa II 125); cf. Calgado I 386-387. For the tribute of the Pearl Fishery the *fanam* was counted at thirty *reis* (EX I 168, n. 26; Botelho, *Tombo* 244).

<sup>468</sup> How Heras can write of the "Nayaks of Bembar (Pedāmbur?) and Vaipar (Viranar?)" (119) is incomprehensible to us for such well-known places that are still to be found on any large map.

<sup>469</sup> They were village overseers and leaseholders for taxes (Dalgado II 32). They were directly subordinate to Tumbichchi Nāyak, and the latter to the Nāyak of Madura, a vassal of Vijayanagar.

<sup>470</sup> Seb. Gonçalves.

<sup>471</sup> For D. João da Cruz, not to be confused with the Parava of the same name (MX II 309), the sources are: his letters in Q 51 61 75 83 88 157 211 (ed. SR II 256); cf. Schurhammer, "Letters of D. João da Cruz," *Kerala Society Papers* I 304-307; *idem*, "Some Malayālam Words," *ibid.* 221-224; also CA II 451, III 208-209; EX I 285; SR I 278, II 256-261; Correa II 331 556 558 891 895; Q 3231 3274; Goes, *Chronica* 2, 11; Couto 4, 7, 14; \*Pimenta de Avellar 213v. For his signature, see Q, pl. X 2. U. B. Nair, "A Nair Envoy to Portugal," *Indian Antiquary* 57 (1928) 157-159, has been supplanted by Schurhammer, "João da Cruz, a Chetti, Not a Nair," *Kerala Society Papers* I 276, and "Bekehrung" 207-211.

<sup>472</sup> He asserts this himself. He states that in Calicut there were different castes: Brahmans, Chettis, Naires, and so forth, and that the most prominent after the Brahmans were the Chettis in the strict sense—not those who called themselves Chettis in search of honor. He then enumerates the privileges of the Chetti caste and says that he belongs to this caste (CA III 208); thus against Correa II 556 and Goes, who met him at court (*Chronica* II 11).

Zamorin as his agent to the court of King Manuel in Lisbon, where he was honorably received. He received baptism under the name of João da Cruz and in 1515 a title of nobility along with the robe of the Order of Christ.<sup>473</sup> In the same year he returned to Calicut with Diogo de Moraes, later the pastor of the cathedral in Goa. Full of zeal for his new faith, he built a church in Calicut<sup>474</sup> and turned to trade since the Zamorin had released him from his service for becoming a Christian. But fortune did not favor him. A loss of ships caused him to become indebted to the royal factories. When, after being wounded in the siege of Calicut in 1525, he was sailing to Cochin with his wife and children in an oared sailboat, he suffered shipwreck and escaped with nothing but his life. Before his departure the Zamorin had confiscated his properties worth over 35,000 *pardaus*. Miserably treated by the Portuguese officials and even incarcerated by the captain of Cochin because of his debts, he fled into the interior; but he returned again to Cochin with a letter of safe conduct from the *vedor* Pero Vaz and received at the end of 1535, as he had requested of John III, permission to bring to Cape Comorin a dozen Arabian horses tax free in order to pay his debts with the profits. While he was vainly waiting for the Great King to pay for his horses, he got the idea of visiting the Paravas in order to persuade them to accept Christianity. They described their desperate plight to him, and he told them that the only remedy consisted in their becoming Christians. The Portuguese would then help them as fellow believers against the oppression of the Moors and would make the latter their hired hands. His advice was not without effect.<sup>475</sup>

When the Portuguese patrol boats returned to Cochin at the end of 1535,<sup>476</sup> Cruz and fifteen of the most prominent Paravas<sup>477</sup> sailed with them. The latter, as representatives of their people, wished to receive baptism and to ask for a fleet to help them, and for priests to baptize the rest. When Pero Vaz, the *vedor* and captain of Cochin,<sup>478</sup> was dubious about the matter because of their

<sup>473</sup> Correa II 331; Goes, *Chronica* II 11; Couto 4, 7, 14. He became a Knight of Christ on March 12, 1515 (\*Pimenta de Avellar 213v).

<sup>474</sup> SR I 278.

<sup>475</sup> Cf. his letter of December 15, 1537 (SR II 256-261). When M. A. de Sousa came to Manappād at the end of 1537 and was asked by the Great King and his prince for permission to buy horses which they needed for their war with Vijayanagar, he replied that the governor had withdrawn this permission since they did not pay for their horses and they mistreated the Christians (Correa III 826).

<sup>476</sup> On the date see Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 221-225.

<sup>477</sup> Cruz writes: "I took with me about twenty of the most prominent individuals" (SR II 257). Teixeira first had: "The Paravas first sent their *patangatins*, that is, their overseers [\*Teixeira It.: *patangatini maggiori*] to Cochin with money" (848). He corrected this however in his *Anotações*: "Cross out *patangatines-mores* and the money" (848), for we later learned that only a few prominent Paravas went to Cochin, without money, and were there baptized" (44). Seb. Gonçalves wrote: "Mandaram logo os Patangatins quinze homens," where, according to the punctuation, "Patangatins" can be either subject or object. According to \*Frey Sebastião de S. Pedro there were only three prominent Paravas.

<sup>478</sup> Pero Vaz de Sequeira sailed to India in 1532 "por Vedor da fazenda e Capitam de Cochim" (Emmenda 333). He immediately took over the position of *vedor* (Correa III 456-459) but that of captain only in March, 1534, when the three-year term of office of Francisco de Sá ran out (*ibid.* 419). Immediately after taking over the office, he left his son Nuno as his administrator and sailed to Ormuz, from where he returned to Cochin at the end of 1534. He remained in office until the end of 1536 (*ibid.* 556-560 581 583 744; Castanheda 8, 73). Couto errs in calling him Pero Vaz do Amaral and having him enter both offices in 1532 and serve until 1537 (4, 8, 2; 5, 2, 4).

small number, one of them left Cochin and returned with seventy more of his people.<sup>479</sup> Through the intermediacy of the vicar general, Miguel Vaz, who was by chance staying at the time in Cochin, they all received baptism along with a Portuguese name, and many chose for this that of their companion João da Cruz.<sup>480</sup>

The Moors got wind of what had happened and sought to prevent their conversion. They sent two of their most eminent individuals to Cochin with eight valuable pearls, twenty thousand *fanams*, and some precious cotton goods so that their coreligionist, the well-known merchant Cherina Marakkār, who was living in the city,<sup>481</sup> might bribe the captain with them. But the latter returned the gifts with the assurance that even if they should give him a mountain of gold, he would not change his mind. When the governor, Nuno da Cunha, who was staying far up in the north in Diu,<sup>482</sup> learned of the matter, he gave the necessary instructions;<sup>483</sup> and in February, 1536,<sup>484</sup> the fleet that had been requested sailed with Cruz; the Paravas; the vicar general, Miguel Vaz; the *vigario* of Cochin, Pedro Gonçalves; and three more priests from Cochin.<sup>485</sup> At

<sup>479</sup> According to Seb. Gonçalves. Teixeira also wrote: "The *patangatins* and the other people who came with them were baptized in Cochin." Brou, who names Bartoli and Sousa as sources, regards the events as "pur roman," for it seemed incredible to him that fifteen *patangatins* and seventy village overseers should have come (I 139, n. 4). But his authorities do not say that these seventy were overseers.

<sup>480</sup> According to \*Frey Sebastião de S. Pedro, there was also among them the *patangatin-mor* who took the name of Mascarenhas. In 1557 the prominent Parava Joam da Cruz appeared as a witness (MX II 309). In 1607 Joam da Cruz, *patangatin* of Tuticorin and chief treasurer of the Fishery Coast, and his namesake, a brother of the *patangatin-mor* of Tuticorin, signed their names as representatives of the Paravas (Q, pl. XXVII). In 1909 the *jāti talaivar*, the hereditary supervisor of the Paravas, was Gabriel da Cruz Lazarus Motha Vaz (Thurston VI 146).

<sup>481</sup> Seb. Gonçalves calls him "Chavari Marcá mouro muito conhecido." Cherina Marakkār can only be meant by this. In 1501 (Barros 1, 5, 6), 1511 (Castanheda 3, 50), and 1520, he is called the chief merchant of Cochin. In the last year he was sent by the captain of Cochin with Diogo Pereira to Quilon in order to conclude a peace there with the queen of Quilon and that of Cape Comorin (Correa I 602; Castanheda 5, 43-44).

<sup>482</sup> Cruz writes that he brought the Paravas to the *vedor*, vicar general, and governor in Cochin. But the governor, Nuno da Cunha, was not at the time in Cochin. On September 20, 1535, he sailed from Goa to the north, remained there in Diu from October 10, 1535 (Sousa Coutinho 50), until March 20, 1536 (Barros 4, 6, 17), and then returned to Goa, where he spent the winter (Correa III 693-699). He was briefly informed and then gave his consent to the baptisms.

<sup>483</sup> Teixeira.

<sup>484</sup> In January, 1536, the ships departed from Cochin for Portugal. Nothing was yet known of mass baptisms. Only after their departure could the fleet have been sent to help. According to \*Frey Sebastião de S. Pedro, there were only two ships.

<sup>485</sup> The vicar general and four clerics (Cruz); the vicar of Cochin and some priests (Teixeira); Pedro Gonçalves with two priests (Frey Sebastião de S. Pedro); Miguel Vaz with other priests (Seb. Gonçalves); Miguel Vaz, Pero Gonçalves, and other priests of that city (Pedro Crasso, ARSI: Goa 38, 258); Miguel Vaz and the officials of the Portuguese king (\*hearing of witnesses on the Fishery Coast in 1583: Q 6171a). Xavier (EX I 254) and Correa (IV 408) also state that Miguel Vaz converted the Paravas. In 1555 Pedro Gonçalves wrote that he had baptized almost all the Christians on Cape Comorin (DI III 257); and in 1558 H. Henriques declared that Vaz had administered baptism to a large part of the Christians of the Fishery Coast (*ibid.* IV 23). Couto's account is full of errors. According to him the Paravas, upon the advice of the Parava [read: Chetti] João da Cruz under the governor D. Estevão da Gama [read: Nuno da Cunha], asked the captain of Cochin, Gonçalo Pereira [read: Pero Vaz], for help, and the latter sent Magister Diogo [read: Miguel Vaz] with Franciscans to baptize them (6, 7, 5). \*Trindade cites him in 1638 and adds that Frey Antonio Padrão and

the Pearl Fishery in March and April, the mass baptisms of the men took place without any further, more detailed instructions, since no one knew their language.<sup>486</sup> This was followed by the baptism of the women, the elderly, and the children, who had remained behind in the villages. The following year, during the next Pearl Fishery, there were further mass baptisms of the Paravas who lived in the north on the other side of the Tāmbraparni River in the territory of the king of Vijayanagar in Tuticorin, Vēmbār, and Vaippār. By the end of 1537 the entire caste had accepted Christianity, and further conversions were anticipated. When Cruz returned from the Fishery Coast this same year, the king of Travancore promised him that he would allow the fishers of his territory to become Christians if the Portuguese governor would again grant him permission to buy horses, which he needed for the war of the Great King with Vijayanagar.<sup>487</sup>

With a final, desperate attempt the Moors tried to regain their lost control over the Fishery Coast and the Pearl Fishery.<sup>488</sup> To achieve this they had to gain control also of Ceylon,<sup>489</sup> where Māyādunne,<sup>490</sup> the rajah of Sītāvaka,<sup>491</sup> asked for their assistance in his struggle with his overlord,<sup>492</sup> the king of

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some of his confreres had helped with the baptisms (973). In Frey Jacinto de Deus (1690), his place is taken by Frey Manuel de S. Mathias, who with eleven comrades and Frey Rodrigo, one of the first eight priests, worked in Quilon. Some of these baptized two thousand Paravas before Xavier's arrival in Tuticorin and converted six hundred on Manār, who later died as martyrs in Patim (11-12; cf. SR V 421-422). Similar accounts are given in the *Gabinete letterario das Fontainhas* in 1846, Civezza in 1881, and the *Catholic Directory of India* in 1926, according to which eleven Franciscans baptized twenty thousand Paravas in 1534 (161). The authors get the centuries confused. Frey Manuel de S. Mathias went with twelve companions in 1616 to Porakād in Malabar and died in Goa in 1632 (\*Rindade 129-139 679; Schurhammer, *The Mission Work of the Jesuits in Mutedath (alias: Arthunkal) and Porakad in the 16th and 17th Centuries* [Alleppey, 1957] 27). The contemporary documents say nothing of religious, although it is possible that Franciscans also accompanied Miguel Vaz in 1536. For more details on the Franciscan authors, see Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 230-233; Meersmann, *Tamilnad* 92-95.

<sup>486</sup> EX I 147 161-162 196; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 7; the \*hearing of witnesses in 1583 (Q 6171a); Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 230-233.

<sup>487</sup> According to Cruz in 1537 (SR II 257-261). On the number baptized: 80,000 plus 60,000 (Cruz), around 200,000 (Pedro Gonçalves), over 30,000 (Frey Sebastião de S. Pedro), 20,000 (Teixeira). See Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 225-230, with detailed statistics.

<sup>488</sup> The main sources for the victory of Vēdālai are: the accounts of eyewitnesses: seven documents on knightings (Q 245 and 4868 313 324 and 4597 379 566 1282 4789); Martim Affonso de Mello o Punho (Q 850); M. A. de Sousa (*Autobiographia* 144); Garcia da Orta (I 205); of contemporaries: Xavier (EX I 150); Correa (III 818-837; from the data of two freed prisoners); Castanheda (8, 173-176; from data furnished, it seems, by Miguel de Ayala, who took part in the battle); Zinadim 63-64; Barros (4, 8, 13-14); and brief notices in Pero de Faria (Q 612) and João Fernandes Correa (Q 808); also Couto (5, 2, 4-5; mainly from the document on the knighting of Simão Rangel); Queyroz 168-171 (caution!); Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* (1, 1, 1, 29); Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 216-219.

<sup>489</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 144.

<sup>490</sup> Māyādunnē, born about 1501, king of Sītāvaka from 1521 to 1581, fought his brother Bhuvaneka Bāhu and the Portuguese for fifty years. On him see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 2-14 and index; P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon* I 61-210; S. G. Perera, S. J., *History of Ceylon for Schools 1505-1911* (Colombo, 1932) 20-66.

<sup>491</sup> Sītāvaka (Avissāwēlla), thirty miles east of Colombo on a tributary of the Kelani.

<sup>492</sup> On Bhuvaneka Bāhu, king of Kōttē (1521-1551), see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 2-13 and index; Pieris, *Ceylon* I 61-113; Perera, *History* 20-44.

Kōttē,<sup>493</sup> and the Portuguese.<sup>494</sup> The whole monsoon was spent in feverish activity in the harbor of Malabar; and at the end of 1537 the three chief captains of the Zamorin, Pate Marakkār, Kunhāli Marakkār, and Ali Ibrāhīm,<sup>495</sup> sailed with fifty large, heavily armed battle *praus*<sup>496</sup> and two thousand men<sup>497</sup> around Cape Comorin to the Fishery Coast, where they attacked the Christian villages and seized the boats of the fishers.<sup>498</sup> In the absence of Coutinho, the Portuguese captain, they sacked and burned the principal city of Tuticorin. They took the altar stone and vestments for Mass, murdered many of the inhabitants,<sup>499</sup> and carried others away in order to make them and the captured Portuguese their galley slaves.<sup>500</sup> They then sailed north to Vēdālai near the straits of Rāmanankovil, set up a fortified camp near a palm grove, and dragged their ships onto land in order to ready them for the voyage to Ceylon.<sup>501</sup> By enlisting pagans and others of his own faith, Pate Marakkār brought his forces up to seven thousand men<sup>502</sup> and boasted that he would campaign in Ceylon until the Rumes that had been summoned by Sultan Bahādur arrived in Diu. Then all the Moors of India would join up with them, and with the help of the remaining princes they would capture all the fortresses of the unbelievers. They would slay all the Portuguese and make an end of their rule in India.<sup>503</sup> The revenues of the Pearl Fishery, which would be due in March, should not this time escape the Moors.

But on January 28, 1538,<sup>504</sup> Martim Affonso de Sousa came with three hundred, and, if the sailors and slaves were included, seven hundred, men<sup>505</sup> and twenty-two oared boats to Vēdālai. Before dawn on the morning of the thirtieth<sup>506</sup>

<sup>493</sup> Kōttē, a little east of Colombo.

<sup>494</sup> Correa III 823; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 2.

<sup>495</sup> Pate Marakkār, a merchant and one of the most prominent Moors in his native city of Cochin, fought the Portuguese from 1519 on as a captain of the ships of the Zamorin because they had taken two rich vessels from him (Correa II 569 680 and *passim*). His nephew Kunhāle Marakkār, who used to kill the Portuguese with exquisite cruelty, did the same; but in 1534 he was engaged and annihilated by Antonio da Silva near Kanyimedu (*ibid.* III 553-557; Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 206-207). On the family of Marakkār, see Zinadim 52.

<sup>496</sup> Sousa speaks of fifty *praus*, each with forty or fifty men (*Autobiographia* 144). According to others there were forty-two (Zinadim), forty-seven (documents on knightings, Castanheda, Barros), fifty-one (Couto), fifty-seven (Orta), or sixty-one ships (Correa).

<sup>497</sup> Barros 4, 8, 12.

<sup>498</sup> EX I 150.

<sup>499</sup> Castanheda 8, 173.

<sup>500</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 144.

<sup>501</sup> Correa III 824; Castanheda 8, 174.

<sup>502</sup> Seven thousand (Q 245 313 324 566; Barros), more than eight thousand (Correa III 828), including a thousand arquebusiers (245 313 566). Castanheda wrongly has eight thousand already sail away from Malabar (8, 173).

<sup>503</sup> Correa III 823-824. <sup>504</sup> Castanheda 8, 174.

<sup>505</sup> The data vary: 300 soldiers (Q 313, Mello o Punho), 400 (Barros), 450 (Couto), 600 (Correa), 650 (Queyroz). During the battle the ships in the center attacked with 80 soldiers and sailors, while Sousa attacked by land with around 600 men, including slaves and sailors (Castanheda 8, 175).

<sup>506</sup> According to Zinadim the battle was at the end of the month of Shabān, Hegira 944, according to Castanheda on January 30, 1538, which corresponds to Shabān 28, 944. The document for the knighting of André Luis is dated Vēdālai, February 1, 1538 (Q 245). He was, according to Castanheda, one of the prisoners freed during the battle (8, 175). Barros errs in dating the battle on February 15, Queyroz on February 20.—We follow Castanheda in the description of the battle and give the main variants in the notes. His authorities were the attacking Portuguese, for whom *right* means east. Correa



he set out again with his main force and landed unnoticed a quarter of a league east of the village.<sup>507</sup> He then had the remaining eighty men in seven *fustas*<sup>508</sup> attack the enemy from the sea in order to divert it. While the Moors were quickly manning a number of boats to prevent them from landing and the battle on the beach was in full progress, Sousa attacked the Moors on their flank. A raging battle developed. For a long time the balance of fortune wavered from side to side. Most of the Portuguese were already wounded and many slain<sup>509</sup> when one of the Malabar Christian captains<sup>510</sup> had the fortunate thought of setting the ships of the Moors that had been drawn up on the beach on fire so as to make it impossible for them to escape by sea. When the foe saw their fleet in flames, they were seized with despair and fled in blind haste into the interior. The battle had been decided at ten in the morning.<sup>511</sup> The bodies of eight hundred Moors covered the field of battle.<sup>512</sup> Their whole camp and an abundance of booty fell into the hands of the Portuguese—four hundred cannons,<sup>513</sup> over a thousand muskets,<sup>514</sup> and many other weapons, twenty-two war *praus*,<sup>515</sup> chalices and vestments that had been seized by the Moors,<sup>516</sup> and even the field tent of Pate Marakkār and the ceremonial umbrella which the Zamorin had sent as a gift to Māyādunnē.<sup>517</sup> Those whom the Portuguese were not able to capture were seized by the Parava Christians who had come up in their boats. Their imprisoned countrymen and also some Portuguese were freed.<sup>518</sup> Stolen ships were restored to their owners, and Martim Affonso gave the boats of the Moors to those who had none.<sup>519</sup> In revenge for the wrongs they had suffered, the Paravas again burned down the newly rebuilt Moorish town of Kāyalpatnam.<sup>520</sup>

The Christians were triumphant. The Singhalese king of Kōttē greeted Sousa

follows the data of the two captives of the Moors, for whom *right* is west. Where mention is made of the north, the *east* is meant, when of the south, the *west*.

<sup>507</sup> With six hundred soldiers, slaves, and sailors in four large *fustas* (Castanheda), in eight *fustas* (Correa), with three hundred men a half a league north of the spot; Sousa sent the fleet after the landing back to the center (Couto).

<sup>508</sup> Eighty men and the sailors in seven *caturs* under captains Antonio de Sousa and Gaspar de Lemos (Castanheda); one hundred and fifty men, it seems, under the head captain Fernão de Sousa de Távora (Couto); a hundred men in the *fustas* in the center, a hundred more south of the site (Correa).

<sup>509</sup> According to M. A. de Sousa. "A good seventy wounded, ten dead" (Castanheda); thirty dead (Barros).

<sup>510</sup> Antonio Fernandes (Castanheda), Francisco de Sequeira (Barros, Couto).

<sup>511</sup> According to M. A. de Sousa. According to Castanheda the ships were burned at eight in the morning.

<sup>512</sup> Six hundred (Queyroz), more than six hundred (Barros), more than seven hundred (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.*), fifteen thousand (Orta).

<sup>513</sup> Three hundred (M. A. de Sousa), four hundred (Q 245 566 1282 4789; Mello o Punho, Castanheda), more than two hundred (Couto), two hundred and twenty (Correa), six hundred (Orta).

<sup>514</sup> Two thousand (M. A. de Sousa), more than one thousand (Orta), fifteen hundred (Castanheda), three hundred (Couto).

<sup>515</sup> There were forty-seven (Q 245 313 324 566 1282 4789; Mello o Punho). Of these twenty-five were burned (Castanheda, Barros); twenty-two were captured (Castanheda) twenty-three (Barros), twenty (Correa), all (Zinadim).

<sup>516</sup> M. A. de Sousa.

<sup>517</sup> Barros, Orta, Couto.

<sup>518</sup> Correa III 831.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid.* and EX I 150.

<sup>520</sup> Correa III 831. Frey Sebastião de S. Pedro has the Portuguese destroy Kāyalpatnam and build churches in Manappād, Punnaikāyal, and Tuticorin already in 1536.

as his rescuer.<sup>521</sup> The power of the Moors of Calicut had been broken,<sup>522</sup> and at the end of 1539 the Zamorin asked for peace, which was concluded after his death with his successor in 1540. According to its terms the prince was obliged to let his ships sail only with the permission of the Portuguese. He was not to permit any Turks, Rumes, or other enemies of Portugal in his lands, and he was not to build any more war *praus*.<sup>523</sup> His three military commanders who had fought at Vēdālai were all dead. Alī Ibrāhīm had died during his flight to the west coast.<sup>524</sup> The two others had been beheaded by Māyādunnē a year after the battle when Miguel Ferreira, the victorious captain of a Portuguese fleet had imperiously demanded their heads.<sup>525</sup> Martim Affonso de Sousa was never to forget his victory at Vēdālai and his Paravas. During the battle he had stood in the midst of a rain of bullets and had been struck by a musket ball. At the time of every new moon a crippling pain on the place of the wound reminded him of it.<sup>526</sup>

Through the victory of Vēdālai the Paravas were freed from their pagan and Moorish oppressors. But their sufferings were not yet ended. From then on a Portuguese captain came with his men every year from Cochin to Tuticorin to oversee the Pearl Fishery in March and April and again in the fall, and also to collect the taxes for the Portuguese king. But the individual captains were not content with this. Martim Affonso de Sousa had returned to Portugal at the beginning of 1539, and Miguel Vaz had bitter complaints to make about the captains of the Fishery Coast and their men:

Up until now Christians of Tuticorin have been so oppressed by most of the captains and Portuguese who are there that only a few of them would now be left if they found any way to earn their living within the interior of the country. Greed so blinds these captains and their men that they lose all sense of guilt for the way in which they offend God and their neighbor. All who go to that coast have only one object in mind—to become rich through the sweat and toil of those poor people who, in addition to the taxes which they must pay to the Portuguese crown and to the many native rulers, are subject to so many levies that their burden has become unbearable.

Miguel Vaz knew this from the young Paravas whom he had taken to Goa at the time of their conversion in order that they might be educated and become priests for their countrymen.<sup>527</sup>

At the time of the mass baptisms in 1536 and 1537 there had been no question of giving the people even a halfway sufficient instruction in the faith, and the priests who had accompanied the captain and his men as chaplains to Tuticorin for a few months each year did not understand the language of the Paravas.<sup>528</sup> Through his greed Froles, the first captain of the coast, had become

<sup>521</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia*; Castanheda 8, 176; Correa II 831; Couto 5, 2, 5.

<sup>522</sup> Castanheda 8, 176; Correa III 837.

<sup>523</sup> Castanheda 9, 20 and 30; Couto 5, 6, 6-7; Zinadim 65; cf. Q 448. Botelho, *Tombo* 250, gives the text of the treaty.

<sup>524</sup> Zinadim 64.

<sup>525</sup> *Ibid.* 65; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 88.

<sup>526</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 144.

<sup>527</sup> SR II 332-333.

<sup>528</sup> According to Tursellinus the priests soon after the baptisms sailed back to Cochin, frightened away by the unhealthy climate and the lack of food. The newly baptized, as a consequence, without shepherds or instructions, lived again like pagans (2, 5). Pedro Gonçalves wrote that at times he had baptized 1,000 and 1,500 on a single day, and in the three years that he was there more than 120,000 (Polanco II 145), and

hated;<sup>529</sup> and Fernandes Correa, the first after the battle of Vēdālai, had been arrested by Dom Estevão da Gama for his tyranny and brought to Goa, where Xavier had become acquainted with him in the prison. When Martim Affonso de Sousa came to India in 1542 with Master Francis, Miguel Vaz had immediately recommended his Paravas to him. He had described their sufferings and explained the oppressions to which they had been subjected under the successor of Fernandes Correa; and he had asked that a third of the annual tribute, amounting to 75,000 *fanams*, should be left to them.<sup>530</sup>

Since the victory at Vēdālai Martim Affonso had regarded the Paravas as his favorite children,<sup>531</sup> and he was determined to do all that he could to help them. Until a further decision was made by the king, he lowered the tax to 60,000 *fanams*. He further decided to send the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa to the Fishery Coast to hold hearings on the captain, to arrest him and bring him to Goa, and to make amends to the oppressed Christians.<sup>532</sup> Cosme de Paiva should sail with Xavier to Cape Comorin and take over his place as captain.<sup>533</sup> In addition to this, in order to free the Paravas from the tyranny of the pagan kings of the mainland, he pondered over a plan for transferring them to an island and giving them their own king, who would look after them and rule them with justice, and of sending them a priest to take care of their souls.<sup>534</sup> Miguel Vaz and Mestro Diogo had already prepared the ground for this. Three of their Parava students were already nearing the priesthood, two deacons and one with minor orders. It was hoped that they could be ordained by the bishop within two years.<sup>535</sup> In the meantime they should accompany Master Francis as interpreters on his voyage to the Fishery Coast as soon as the rainy season was over and the weather permitted. Everyone in Goa told the priest that he would be able to do great work there for the honor of God and that he would convert many pagans.<sup>536</sup> As papal nuncio he wished to inspect that mission field in person and see for himself how urgent was the care of those newly converted Christians.<sup>537</sup>

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that, when Xavier arrived, he had personally given the mission over to him (DI III 257). This may mean that during his three visits from 1535 to 1537 he baptized a large number. Couto, who here, as we have already seen, is little reliable, wrote that during Lent the Franciscans had visited the Christians from Cochin (6, 7, 5); and Frey Fernando de Saledade, taking to task Tursellinus and Couto in strong, apologetic terms, adds that during the course of the year his confreres had frequently assisted the newly baptized Paravas with instructions and the dispensation of the sacraments (III 534-535). But this is contradicted by those who were on the scene: Xavier (EX I 147 196), the Paravas at the \*hearing of witnesses in 1583 (Q 6171a), and the missionaries on the Fishery Coast (cf. Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 230-233).

<sup>529</sup> Correa II 786-787.

<sup>530</sup> SR II 332-333.

<sup>531</sup> EX I 124 150.

<sup>532</sup> SR II 332-333.

<sup>533</sup> He was captain of the Fishery Coast from the end of 1542 till the end of 1545 (EX I 287; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 347).

<sup>534</sup> EX I 150-151.

<sup>535</sup> SR II 333.

<sup>536</sup> EX I 126-127.

<sup>537</sup> According to Cosme Anes (MX II 184-185).

## CHAPTER VI

### THE SEA BECOMES NAVIGABLE (SEPTEMBER, 1542)

#### 1. A FALSE ALARM

A week after Xavier's arrival in Goa the patrol boats from the Red Sea brought news that the Turks intended to come to India after the monsoon. In Goa the entire rainy season was therefore feverishly engaged in work on the Ribeira getting the fleet in order. The *fustas* of private individuals and those of the king were repaired, and as soon as the ships were ready they were launched into the river and equipped with guns and ammunition and supplies of water so as to be safe against any surprise attack.<sup>1</sup> The governor also sent spies to the land of Preste Joam in order to keep him current on what was happening on the Red Sea.<sup>2</sup>

The report on the plans of the Turks was confirmed by a Jew who came to Goa by land from the fortress of Chale<sup>3</sup> in August, during the middle of the monsoon. He declared that after sailing from Mecca in a boat of Arab merchants he had landed in Calicut instead of in Cambay because of an error of the pilot. Under a cargo of grease the ship was secretly bringing artillery and sixty thousand Venetian gold *sequins* for Khoja Safar in Diu so that he could prepare for the arrival of the Turks. Thirty sailboats were sailing with them to Aden along with three thousand Rumes and many cannons. A letter of the captain of Chale which arrived later confirmed these data. Sultan Mahmūd of Cambay also wrote to the governor that the Turks were coming to India with a great fleet after the end of the rainy season. Martim Affonso did not trust his assurances of friendship, nevertheless he had the sultan thanked in the most obliging fashion for his warning and immediately wrote to Malabar that preparations be made for the coming battle.

The messenger had hardly departed when letters from the captains of Diu and Bassein arrived saying that they had learned for certain from numerous Cambayan merchants who had come from the Red Sea that the Turks had disarmed their ships on orders from the sultan of Constantinople and would not sail to India this year. Everyone breathed more easily, and Martim Affonso wrote to the captain of Cochin that he need not hurry with the preparations. He also sent the reassuring news to the kings of Cochin and Cranganore, and to the Pepper King.<sup>4</sup> The *fusta* of Manuel da Fonseca, which Manuel de Vasconcellos had left behind in the Red Sea, also arrived in Goa at the end of August or the beginning of September. After many attempts it had finally succeeded

<sup>1</sup> Correa IV 293.

<sup>2</sup> SR II 336.

<sup>3</sup> Chāliyām, south of Calicut.

<sup>4</sup> Correa IV 249-251.

in passing through the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb in spite of the Turkish patrol boats. But neither he had been able to leave the provisions he had brought for Dom Christovão da Gama.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. CONFUSION WITHIN THE INTERIOR

Asad Khān, the Moorish governor of Belgaum and neighbor of Goa had immediately sent one of his important men to greet Martim Affonso de Sousa as soon as he learned of his arrival in India. He also sent with his envoy a gift of cows, rice, and butter and a letter in which he assured the governor of his unbreakable friendship and offered him his unqualified service. Through his confidant, Jerónimo Gomes, the governor sent him as a return gift, still during the rainy season, a magnificently bridled Arabian horse, silk goods, and other precious objects, for it was politically prudent to keep these powerful captains of Adil Khān in good humor.<sup>6</sup> And this was all the more urgent at the time since disturbing reports were coming from the interior.<sup>7</sup>

Achyuta, the hated king of Vijayanagar, had died<sup>8</sup> and had left a minor son<sup>9</sup> under the protection of an uncle,<sup>10</sup> who seized control<sup>11</sup> of the royal

<sup>5</sup> D. Christovão's letter of March 10, 1542, seems, however, to have come into his hands and to have been brought by him to Goa.

<sup>6</sup> Ibrāhīm; Correa IV 253-254.

<sup>7</sup> The best and most detailed account of the confusion in Vijayanagar after Achyuta's death is that of Correa (IV 247-249: for 1542; 276-283: for 1543). We have followed him but have used for the sake of comparison Ferishta (his compilation, made in 1596, is confused and full of gaps, but parts of it go back to earlier sources); Couto 6, 5, 5, who however hardly touches the events; and in particular the contemporary sources which have been used by Sewell (179-184) and more in detail by Heras than by others (1-12). K. Ayyangar, *Sources* (1919), and N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya, *Further Sources III*, give these in the original text and abstracts, and the latter has used them in his *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagar* (Madras, 1935) 76-90, and also by N. Sastri in *History* (1955) 276-277. Sastri's account (unfortunately short) supplants that of the *Cambridge History of India* III 439-440 498. We accept the following genealogy: Narasa Nāyaka (1491-1503) had six sons and two daughters from different wives, among whom were Vira Narasimha (1505-1509), Krishnadeva Rāya (1509-1529) from a second wife, Ranga Kshitindra (probably murdered in 1542) from a third, and Achyutadeva Rāya (1530-1542). One of his daughters married Salakarāja Tirumala (regent in 1542). Ranga left two sons: one, who was insane, renounced the throne, and Sadāshiva (shadow-king from 1542 to 1576). Achyuta left a minor son, Venkata I (murdered in 1542). Krishnadeva left two daughters, the younger of whom, Tirumaladevi, married Rāma Rāja (regent from 1542 to 1564), the elder, Vengalamba, his brother Tirumala (regent from 1570 to 1571), while their third brother Venkatādri was the commander in chief of the army. See the family tree in Sewell 180, Ayyangar, *Sources*, pp. XII and XIV, and N. Sastri, *History* 299-300.

<sup>8</sup> According to Heras, Achyuta died at the end of 1541 (2-3), according to the other authors in 1542. His inscriptions go until June, 1542; only in July, 1542, do those of his successor Sadāshiva begin (Q 5332-5340 5348 ff.).

<sup>9</sup> Venkatādri, also called Chikkarāya, Chikka Udaiyar, and, as king, Venkata I, was proclaimed crown prince in 1530 at the coronation of his father. On him see Heras 3-8, from inscriptions and the contemporary *Achyutarāyābhyudayam* (Ayyangar 158) and *Varadāmbikā Parinayam* (*ibid.* 172). An inscription of August 27, 1542, is dated under his rule (Q 5349).

<sup>10</sup> Correa calls Salakam, the uncle of the crown prince, first by mistake the brother (IV 247) of the deceased king Achyuta, then correctly his brother-in-law, married to a sister (half sister) of the same, an aunt of the child (Venkata) (*ibid.* 276). His name varies with the authors: Uche Tima Rao, that is, "the crazy" Tima Rao (Couto); Bhoj Tirumal Ray (Ferishta); Hoj Narmal Rāj (*Cambridge History of India* III 439); Salaka (Ayyangar 216); Salakam Timma Rāju (*ibid.* 181); Salakam Timmanna and Salakarāju

treasure. As regent, he appropriated the rule for himself and, through bribery, drew a number of the leading men to his side. The majority of these, however, in conjunction with the king's widow,<sup>12</sup> wanted the crown prince and the rule to be handed over to two guardians.<sup>13</sup> When the regent rejected their suggestion, the widow asked Adil Khān for help. The latter set out for Vijayanagar with his troops, but after he had gone halfway he returned, having been bribed by the regent. The opposition now freed the elder brother of Achyuta, who had been robbed by him of his dominion and imprisoned in a fortress. He in turn now asked for help from his Moorish neighbor. The latter came with his army to the Hindu capital with the intent of profiting by the confusion to gain control over the crown prince and, along with him, the whole kingdom. The leaders, recognizing the danger, came together and promised the freed brother of the deceased king<sup>14</sup> that they would hand over the regime to him until the prince reached his majority.<sup>15</sup> They made a united attack on the camp of Adil Khān, who was wounded in the fighting and had to retire. The regent however, supported by numerous followers, remained at the helm; the others therefore returned grumbling and in open rebellion to their domains.<sup>16</sup>

The troubles in the interior were also noticeable on the coast. The queen of Bhatkal had made herself independent. For years she had paid no tribute

Cina Timma (Sastri-Venkataramanayya 184 183); Pedda Tirumala, to distinguish him from his younger brother Pinna Tirumala (Ayyangar 172; cf. 14); and Aalakarāju Tirumala (Sastri, *History*). On him see Heras 4-12. According to the *Varadāmbikā Parinayam*, composed by a lady of the court about 1530, Achyuta's wife was a sister of the two ministers Pedda and Pinna Tirumala (Ayyangar 172). According to the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, composed at the latest in 1542, she was the sister of Salaka Rāju, the father of the two Tirumala (*ibid.* 158). According to the *Vasucharikamu*, written around 1570, Salaka was the brother-in-law and minister of Achyuta (*ibid.* 216).

<sup>11</sup> Salaka was Achyuta's treasurer (Sastri-Venkataramanayya 183 185-186).

<sup>12</sup> She is called Varadādevi Ammal in an inscription in Conjeevaram (Kāñchipuram) in 1532 (Q 142). She is called Varadāmbikā in the poem of the same name. On her see Heras 3-6.

<sup>13</sup> According to the annals of *Handé Anantāpuram*, which was composed at the earliest in 1596 and places the confusion erroneously in the time after the death of Krishnadeva, his two widows wanted Rāma Rāya and his brother Tirumala as regents. When Salakam Timmaya wanted to imprison them on this account, they fled from Vijayanagar to Penukonda and recruited troops to oppose him (Ayyangar 178). According to the *Svaramēlakalānidhi*, completed in 1549, Rāma Rāya, to whom the work is dedicated, fled with his two brothers to the fortress of Gutti (*ibid.* 190). According to the *Vasucharitramu*, composed by a favorite of Rāma Rāya, they fled to the fortress of Penukonda (*ibid.* 216); cf. Heras 5, and Sastri-Venkataramanayya 183-187.

<sup>14</sup> Correa calls him "the lawful king, from whom the kingdom had been taken, the brother of the deceased king" (IV 248), by which he can only mean Ranga, the elder brother of Achyuta and the father of Sadāshiva, as Sewell rightly suspects (183), not Sadāshiva, as Sastri maintains (*History* 277). Sadāshiva according to Correa was sixteen at the time (IV 282), according to Couto a little over thirteen (6, 5, 5).

<sup>15</sup> Venkata, the son of Achyuta.

<sup>16</sup> The later events of 1542—the murder of Venkata, the elevation of Sadāshiva to the throne, the death of Salakarāju Tirumala—are mentioned by Correa under the year 1543, probably because news of them did not reach Goa until this year. Sewell gives the texts of Nunes (364-369) and Ferishta (167-171) on the campaign of Adil Khān against Vijayanagar in 1535 and believes it is "almost certain" that Correa is speaking of the same year and through an oversight places the campaign in 1542, "unless the king undertook two such campaigns" (182). Sastri on the other hand follows Correa (*History* 277), and we believe with reason. Correa and his fellow citizens, the Portuguese horse traders of Goa, who knew Vijayanagar from their own point of view, had a vital interest in the political vicissitudes in the neighboring kingdom and were as a consequence always well informed on them.

to the Portuguese; and she had protected the Malabar pirates, who found a safe refuge in her river.<sup>17</sup> A punitive expedition would have to bring the rebel to her senses. In September the fleet should come from Portugal, and Martim Affonso decided to wait until it did.<sup>18</sup> The ship was also to bring the two companions whom Master Francis had left behind in Mozambique.<sup>19</sup> But the first, second, and third weeks of September arrived and the fleet had not yet arrived. In the meantime the monsoon was gradually coming to an end. The showers of rain were less frequent; the wind blew slowly towards the east; the sea became navigable; and Francis had also to leave Goa with the ships that were being readied for their voyage south. Before this, however, he prepared the letters which the Portuguese fleet in January would take from Cochin to Lisbon.

### 3. THREE LETTERS FOR ROME (SEPTEMBER 20, 1542)

In his first letter,<sup>20</sup> to his confreres in Rome, Master Francis described his voyage to India, his stay in Mozambique, his experiences with the Moors in Melinde, his visit to the ignorant, abandoned Christians of Socotra, and his arrival in Goa. His first impressions of India were favorable:

Goa is a city pleasant to see, entirely inhabited by Christians.<sup>21</sup> It has a monastery with many friars of St. Francis, a very fine cathedral with many canons, and many other churches. There is reason for giving many thanks to God our Lord on seeing how the name of Christ is flourishing so well in such distant lands and among so many infidels.

Later he came to the sinking of the *Santiago* and his labors in Goa:

We reached the city of Goa on the sixth of May in the year 1542. We left Maçambique at the end of February. The five ships left at the middle of March; their flagship went aground; almost all the people were saved. It sank near land. It was a very rich ship; it was carrying a great amount of merchandise; it was a ship of seven hundred tons and more.

Here in Goa I took up my residence in the hospital. I heard the confessions of the sick who were there and gave them Communion. There were so many who came to confession that I would not have heard the confessions of all of them if I had been in ten different places. After I finished with the sick, I heard the confessions in the morning of those who were well and had come to see me; and in the afternoons I went to the jail to hear the confessions of the prisoners, first giving them some knowledge and instruction on the manner and order they should keep in making a general confession. After I finished hearing the confessions of the prisoners, I went to a chapel of our Lady which was near the hospital and there began to teach the children their prayers, the Creed, and the Commandments. The number of those who came for instructions often reached more than three hundred. The Lord Bishop ordered

<sup>17</sup> Correa IV 252; Sousa, *Autobiographia* 168.

<sup>18</sup> Couto 5, 9, 1.

<sup>19</sup> EX I 121.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 116-128.

<sup>21</sup> Goa, with its churches and chapels and its fifteen to twenty thousand native Christians, gave the impression of a Christian city at the time of Xavier's arrival (Q 2488). In 1548 one thousand pagans, two hundred children of the Portuguese, and five hundred native adults received baptism in the parishes of the city (Q 4037). The pagan temples and the mosques had been destroyed and every kind of non-Christian worship was forbidden.

the same to be done in the other churches, and this is still being done, and the service which is rendered to God our Lord by this is greater than many imagine.

With great love and good will on the part of those of this city I have lived here during my stay. On Sundays and feast days I preached after the noon meal to the Christians of the land in that chapel of our Lady on the articles of the faith. So many people came that there was not room for them in the chapel. After the sermon I taught them the Our Father, Hail Mary, the Creed, and the Commandments of the Law. On Sundays I went outside the city to say Mass for the lepers. I heard the confessions of all who lived in that house and gave them Communion. I preached to them once. They were very devoted to me and were my best friends.

But God was now calling him to a new field of labor. He continued:

The Lord Governor is now sending me to a land where all say that I shall make many Christians. I am taking three from that land with me, two of whom are of the Epistle and Gospel.<sup>22</sup> They know Portuguese very well and their native language still better. The other has only minor orders. I believe that we shall be able to do much for the service of God our Lord. The Lord Governor told me that when Micer Paulo and Francisco Mansilhas come from Maçanbique, he will immediately send them to where I am going, which is two hundred leagues from Goa. The land to which I am going is called Cape Comurín.<sup>23</sup> May it please God our Lord, with the help and assistance of your pious prayers, our Lord God not looking at my countless sins, to grant me His most holy grace so that I can do much for His service here in these regions.

The cross also certainly awaited him on this new, unknown mission field. Had he not dreamed on his trip to Italy that he was carrying an Indian on his shoulders who was so heavy that he almost crushed him? And had he not cried out in the Spanish hospice in Rome: "More! More! More!" when the Lord showed him in a dream the crosses and sufferings in the distant pagan lands?<sup>24</sup> And had he not written to Ignatius from Bologna that the Portuguese ambassador was showing him so much attention that he consoled himself with the thought that he would have to suffer so much the more for it in India, and that he would also make the sacrifice of his life out of love for his crucified Lord?<sup>25</sup> And in Lisbon, where he suffered no persecutions, had he not consoled himself with the thought that in India he would find a substitute for this? For it seemed to him that when the cross was long absent there was no service as a true soldier.<sup>26</sup> The love of the cross made all things light. In this regard he wrote to his confreres in Rome:

The difficulties of such a long voyage, the care of many spiritual ills, when one cannot be finished with one's own, living in a land so subject to sins of idolatry, and so difficult to dwell in because of the great heat that is there—if these hardships are taken as they should be taken, they become a source of great comfort and the occasion of many great consolations. I believe that those who truly love the cross of Christ our Lord find rest when they encounter these trials and die when they flee from them or are without them. What death is so great as the life of one who abandons Christ after he has known Him in order to pursue his own inclinations and affections!

<sup>22</sup> The deacons Gaspar and Manuel.

<sup>23</sup> Tamil: Kumari. In a wider sense the expression means all of South India: Travancore and the Fishery Coast.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Vol. I 339 728.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 538.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 596.



There is no painfulness equal to this. And, on the contrary, how peaceful it is to live by dying each day, by going against our own will in seeking "not what is our own but what is of Jesus Christ!"<sup>27</sup>

A sacrifice for the lonely missionary was also his separation from his beloved confreres:

For the love and service of God our Lord, I ask you, dearest brothers, that you write to me at length about all of the Society! Since I do not expect to see you again in this life "face to face," may it at least be *per enigmata*,<sup>28</sup> that is, through your letters. Do not deny me this favor, even though I do not deserve it, remembering that God has let you acquire merit so that I may hope and receive through you much merit and consolation.

He then closed his long letter with another request.

For the service of God our Lord, write to me at length what method I should follow with these pagans and Moors to whom I am now going, since I hope that through you the Lord will let me know the method I should follow here in converting them to His holy faith. The mistakes which I make in the meantime, while waiting for an answer to this letter, I hope in the Lord to perceive through your letters and to correct in the future. In the meantime, through the merits of our Holy Mother the Church, in which I place my hope, whose living members you indeed are, I have confidence in Christ our Lord that He will hear me and grant me the grace that He may employ this useless instrument that I am to plant His faith among the pagans. For if the divine Majesty should make use of me, then there would be great confusion among those who are capable of great things and an encouragement for those who are fainthearted; and seeing that I, "dust and ashes,"<sup>29</sup> and these of the meanest sort, am able to bear clear witness to the need this land has for laborers, I shall ever be the servant of those who are desirous of coming to these parts in order to work in this most extensive vineyard of the Lord.<sup>30</sup>

And so I bring this to a close with the request to God our Lord that He, in His boundless mercy, may bring us together in His glory, since we were created for this; and that He may here in this life increase our strength so that we may serve him in all and for all, as He has ordered, and fulfill His holy will in this life.

From Goa, September 20, in the year 1542.

Your useless brother in Christ,

Franciscus de Xabier.

The other two letters were addressed to Ignatius. The first dealt with the College of St. Paul and the confreres that should be sent for it and for the work in Goa.<sup>31</sup> It began as follows:

In this city of Goa, God our Lord moved certain individuals to serve Him by founding a college, which is more needed in these regions than anything else, and which daily becomes more necessary. There is reason for giving many thanks to the Lord that He ordered His servants to erect such material buildings for the edification of many spiritual temples, for the instruction and conversion of many pagans. Second, that those who took care to build the college are very eminent and influential men.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Phil. 2:21.

<sup>28</sup> 1 Cor. 13:12: "in a dark manner."

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Gen. 18:27.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Matth. 9:37.

<sup>31</sup> EX I 129-137.

<sup>32</sup> Cosme Anes and Magister Diogo.

The Lord Governor is giving all his assistance to bring the college into existence. It seems to His Lordship that the erection of this house, so necessary in these parts, is of such a great service to God that, because of his support, it will be enlarged and in a short time completed. The church which they are building within the college is very beautiful. The foundations have been completed and the walls are already up. They are now putting a roof on it. This summer Mass will be said in it. The church is almost twice as large as the church of the Collège de Sorbonne.<sup>33</sup> The house already has revenues with which more than a hundred students can be maintained. Each day it becomes better endowed since it appears to all to be an excellent work.

We here trust in God our Lord that from this college before too many years there will go forth men who will greatly increase the faith of Jesus Christ in these regions and extend the boundaries of our Holy Mother the Church. I believe that before six years have passed it will have more than three hundred students, among whom there will be those of different languages, countries, and peoples.... If God our Lord grants peace to the Lord Governor—for here we live almost constantly at war—he will complete the building of this college in a short time, for it seems to him to be the most pious and holiest thing in all India. For such buildings, founded on Christ, are the occasion of many victories over the unbelievers. His Lordship has indeed obtained many glorious victories over them in the past, and he now hopes that God our Lord will grant him much greater victories in the future. He therefore is asking that you, for the love and service of God our Lord, keep in your prayers and those of all the Society a special remembrance of Martín Alfonso de Sosa and recommend him to God our Lord so that He give him the grace to rule this land well and “that he conduct temporal matters in such a way that he does not lose those that are eternal.”<sup>34</sup>

And if I thought that it was necessary on my part to ask you not to forget him in your devout sacrifices, I would commend him to you as I do to my own soul, so great is my indebtedness to him. So much has his virtue obliged me to be his, and also the fact that he is so concerned for me. And all these mutual obligations, both his and mine, are in Christ through the grace of God. And if I should ever forget them, and may our Lord never let this happen, then it seems to me that God our Lord should punish me for this neglect alone, for having offended Him through so serious a sin of ingratitude.

The Lord Governor is writing to the King about the college so that His Highness may write to His Holiness in Rome asking him that he deem it well to send some of our Society to this land so that there may be spiritual edifices from so holy a college as this. Here some call it the College of the Conversion of St. Paul, and others of the Holy Faith. This last seems more suitable to me since it must be preached and planted.

The Lord Governor has told me that I should write to you at great length about this college and its foundation. It was founded so that the natives of this land here might be instructed in the faith, and that these should be of different nations and races; and when they shall have been well instructed in the faith they are to be sent to

<sup>33</sup> A picture of the no longer extant Sorbonne chapel, built in 1322 and replaced in 1635 by the new one, is given in the city plan of Paris of around 1551 by O. Truschet (Paris, 1908). See also A. Berty, *Topographie historique du Vieux Paris: Région Centrale de l'Université* (Paris, 1897) 426-427. In 1555 Quadros wrote from Goa: “I measured St. Paul’s church; it is about half again as large as São Roque” (DI III 352). The chapel of São Roque for the cemetery for the victims of the plague in Lisbon was fifty-five feet, 9 inches long. Begun in 1506 and consecrated in 1515, it was handed over to the Jesuits in 1553. Widened in 1555, it was replaced by the present new church of the professed house between 1566 and 1588 (Victor Ribeiro, *A Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa* [Lisboa, 1902] 180-189; F. Rodrigues, *Historia* I 1, 621-629). The old St. Paul’s church was according to this some eighty-two feet long. It was “very small” (DI IV 192) and was torn down in 1560. The present ruins are of the new church that was begun in the same year (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 2, 48). Its cornerstone was laid on January 25, 1560 (DI IV 726-727).

<sup>34</sup> “Ut te rectore, te duce, sic transeamus per bona temporalia, ut non amittamus aeterna,” was the prayer read at Mass for the third Sunday after Pentecost.

their homelands so that they may gain fruit with the learning they have received. The Lord Governor is so taken with our Society and our manner of acting that I cannot finish describing it. It seems to him, since God our Lord has called all of us who belong to one Society through you, that he is fulfilling a duty towards God and his conscience if he indicates to you the need there is that some of our Society come to instruct the pupils of this college, and that the task of providing the spiritual foundations of this college pertains to you, and to His Lordship to complete and enlarge the material structures.

Master Francis added a further request, also in the name of the governor. The status of a privileged altar should be obtained for the high altar of the college church from the Holy Father so that, just as in the case of the privileged altars in Rome, everyone who read a Mass for the dead at it would free a soul from purgatory. And this should be obtained on the condition that the priest offered the Mass gratis and confessed before it, and that the one who asked it to be read should receive Communion at it. For it was right and proper that one who had a soul saved from purgatory should first rescue his own from hell. And in this case the Holy Father should provide instead of the customary temporal profit a plenary indulgence or some other spiritual favor for the celebrant.

Francis then became more specific about the confreres that were to be sent.

I am certain that there is a person, or there are persons, among those who will come from our Society upon whom you place great trust, since they must undertake the direction of a college such as this one and must overcome many difficulties, for the people of this land are strong in proportion to the weakness of those who have not been born here. Think of a single fact: The land and the sea will show what is in them. This land is only for those of sound health and not for the aged. It is more for young people than for the elderly, even if it is also good for the old who have ceased to work. Those who came from our Society will be received with much charity and love by the inhabitants of this land. They will be very busy with numerous confessions, Spiritual Exercises, and preaching. Know that they will find a great harvest. There are already more than sixty native boys who are in the care of a Padre Reverendo.<sup>35</sup> They will live in the college this summer. Among these, many, almost all, can read and recite the Office; and many of them can already write. They are already so advanced that they can be taught Latin. I am telling you this so that you send one to dedicate himself here only to the teaching of Latin. He will have an abundance to do.

The Lord Governor also wishes that among those who come there should be a preacher who can devote himself to the clergy by giving them the Spiritual Exercises or lectures on Sacred Scripture or material on the sacraments, for the clerics who come to India are not all educated.<sup>36</sup> In conjunction with this, by putting into act what he reads to and teaches them, he should move and inflame them with the love of God and the salvation of their neighbors when they see him doing what he teaches, for deeds are what move more than words. The others should occupy themselves with hearing confessions, dispensing the sacraments, and conversing with the pagans of this island; for they have many to convert, and boundless fruit to obtain among souls given to idolatry; for many of them, because they have no one to assist them to emerge from such great ignorance, have come to such great unbelief that they do not know their Creator and Lord.

The Lord Governor hopes that three clerics and a teacher of Latin will come from Rome, for so it seems to me he is writing to the King so that His Highness may write to His Holiness and obtain from him four of our Society, and also to secure our indulgences, about which I wrote to you on another sheet, so that the King can

<sup>35</sup> Magister Diogo.

<sup>36</sup> "No son todos letrados," is Xavier's euphemistic expression.

see to it that they are sent from Rome. If those who come from our Society bring these with them, be assured that they will obtain with them the good will of all the Portuguese in India and possess great authority and respect among all, and this will be a great help in impressing all spiritual things upon their souls. Of all the nations that I have seen, I believe that the Portuguese excels all in the esteem it has for the graces and indulgences of Rome. The granting of these favors will lead many to approach the sacraments much more frequently; and thus, for this reason, as also for the fact that the Portuguese are very obedient, the pope will be moved to grant the indulgences they hope for.<sup>37</sup> All the favors which those of our Society bring from there must be brought well authorized by bulls of His Holiness so that they may have more authority and a greater increase in devotion.

The Lord Governor, as I believe, is writing to you; and even though he does not know you personally, he is greatly devoted to you and to all of the Society. Do not fail to write to him and to send him two rosaries, one for his wife,<sup>38</sup> and one for himself, with all of the indulgences which you can obtain from His Holiness. He will hold them in great esteem both for the graces, indulgences, which His Holiness will have granted to them and also for your having sent them. In addition to this, because of the great confidence which he has in you, the Lord Governor asks you to obtain this grace and privilege from His Holiness, that each time he and his wife and his sons and daughters<sup>39</sup> go to confession His Holiness grants them those indulgences which they would obtain if they visited the Seven Churches of Rome in person. In this way the Lord Governor would obtain a great affection for you and would believe that I have some credit with you if you obtain from His Holiness these graces and the others by my writing on his behalf.

I bring this to an end, asking Christ our Saviour, since He has joined us in this life through His infinite mercy, that He may after death lead us to His most holy glory. [From Goa, September 20, in the year 1542.

Your son in Christ,

Franciscus de Xabier.]

The third letter, to which Xavier refers in the foregoing, dealt with the graces which the governor and he asked of the Holy See for the spiritual welfare of India.<sup>40</sup>

In the first place, His Holiness, because of the great respect which the people have for the glorious apostle St. Thomas, the patron of India, should grant to all those who confessed and received Communion on the occasion of his feast<sup>41</sup> and its octave a plenary indulgence. Lent occurred, of course, in India during the summer,<sup>42</sup> when all the men were at sea with the fleet. For the Portuguese were lords of the sea as the infidels were of the land. During Lent, since all the soldiers were at war and all the merchants on their ships of trade, it was impossible for them to receive the sacraments. The feast of the apostle Thomas could promote the reception of the sacraments and become another Lent.

<sup>37</sup> These and similar passages in Xavier's letters should not be forgotten when he and his contemporaries describe at times the shady side as well.

<sup>38</sup> D. Anna Pimentel, who remained in Portugal.

<sup>39</sup> She bore him five sons and three daughters: Pero Lopes, Lopo Rodrigues, who died on the voyage to India in 1541-1542, Pedro Affonso, Rodrigo Affonso, Gonçalo, Inês, Brites, and Catarina (HCPB III 112-114).

<sup>40</sup> EX I 138-143.

<sup>41</sup> On December 21.

<sup>42</sup> On the west coast of India there are two seasons of the year: winter, that is, the time of the monsoon or rainy season, from June to September; and summer, that is, the dry season, from October to May. Only in the second was the sea navigable.

Second, Ignatius might obtain from His Holiness the favor for the hospital of Goa<sup>43</sup> that all the sick and those who served them would receive each time they confessed and received Communion a plenary indulgence, and that those who died there would be freed from their guilt and punishment. This would encourage the people to receive the sacraments and inspire those who were well to serve the sick with charity, and all would thus give a good example to the infidels.

Third, the governor had a great devotion to our Lady, and most of the time he was with a large court in Goa, an island three leagues long. On this island there were a number of very devotional chapels to the Mother of God, rich in structure, vestments, and clergy. The only thing they lacked were spiritual favors. Each one celebrated its patronal feast with a great deal of external display. Now, in order to increase devotion to these chapels, and in order that our Lady might also be truly honored by living temples on her feast days, the governor asked that on these days all who went to confession and received Communion, and only these, by making a visit to these chapels should obtain a plenary indulgence. These graces were more necessary here in India than in any other place in the whole of Christendom, for there were few confessors but many Christians, both Portuguese and native, and every day many Christians were converted who could not all receive the sacraments during Lent. These favors would draw the people to the sacraments and would make everyone perceive the true treasures which Christ our Lord left behind Him in this life in order that they might with their help pass on to the next. Francis then came to speak of the confraternity of the Misericordia.

Also, you must know that in most of the Christian settlements in this land there is a company of very distinguished men who aim at helping all who are in need, both native-born Christians as well as those who have been recently converted. This company of Portuguese men is called the Misericordia. It is a matter of admiration to see the service which these good men do to God our Lord in assisting all those in need. In order to increase the devotion of these good men, the Lord Governor asks His Holiness that he grant to all the members of this holy Misericordia that they, having confessed and received Holy Communion each year, receive a plenary indulgence and after their death the remission of guilt and pain; and this, through a desire that the works of mercy be exercised with greater zeal when it is seen that His Holiness so favors them; and since most of these men are married, that their wives share in this same grace.

A fifth request concerned the sacrament of confirmation. Miguel Vaz was of the opinion that the pope should give the faculty of administering this sacrament to the distant vicars,<sup>44</sup> and Xavier gave the reasons for this:

Also, you must know that the Portuguese in these parts of India are lords of the sea and that many of their places are near the sea. In these places the king has fortresses, and in these fortresses there are settlements of Christians inhabited by married Portuguese; and the distance from one place to another is great; for from this city of Goa to Maluco, where the king has a fortress, it is a thousand leagues; and from here to Malacha, where many Christians live, it is five hundred leagues; and from here to Hormuz,<sup>45</sup> a very large city, where many Portuguese live, it is four hundred leagues; and from here to Diu it is three hundred leagues, and from here to

<sup>43</sup> The royal hospital and that of the lepers.

<sup>44</sup> SR II 340.

<sup>45</sup> Persian: "Hormuz"; Portuguese: "Ormuz."

Maçanbique it is five hundred leagues, and from here to Çofala it is twelve hundred leagues.<sup>46</sup> In all of these places the bishop has placed vicars, and because of the distance of the places from each other the Bishop cannot visit them. The Lord Governor, seeing the necessity that we all have of sharing in this sacrament of confirmation because of the many contacts, imprisonments, and wars that we constantly have with the infidels, asks His Holiness for the greater strength, perseverance, and increase of our holy faith, that he grant the bishop the power to delegate to his vicars the faculty for dispensing the sacrament of confirmation in these distant places and in whatever others there may be which he, despite his desire to do so, cannot visit because of the great distance that they are from each other and because he is the only bishop in these regions of India.

At the end Francis asked for the transfer of Lent.

Also, about this land I would have you know that when it is summer there, it is winter here; and when it is winter there, it is summer here, completely contrary to what is there. The summer here is extremely difficult because of the great heat. It is so great that fish spoil as soon as they are killed. The people here sail from one place to another in the summer; in winter the sea is so wild and desperate that no one sails. During Lent all the military sail with the fleet on the sea; and the merchants sail from one region to another and conduct trade with their wares, for all here live on trade since they are not lords of the land but only of the sea. Because of the great heat and because the people are sailing the sea at the time, they do not keep Lent, having nothing else but meat to eat. The Lord Governor told me that I should write to you and explain this to you and earnestly ask you for the love and service of God our Lord that you should, if possible, obtain that Lent should be transferred to another time when the people are not sailing and the merchants are not trading upon the seas. This would be in June and July, for in these two months the winter has reached its peak so that there is no great heat and the people are not sailing. In this very temperate time many would fast and eat no meat; the people would confess and communicate, and there would be a greater regard for Lent than there is now. Since this is for the service of God and important, the Lord Governor earnestly asks you, for lack of someone else who might undertake the matter or who would put it into execution, to do what you can in this regard. The reward for all these labors, as His Lordship says, will be that you will here win the hearts of all and have a share in the great service of God and of numerous opportunities of reward for what you have to give to those who are here.

From Goa, September 20, in the year 1542.

Your son in Christ,

Francisco de Xabier.

When I left Lisbon to come to India, I wrote to you with respect to a college which the King wished to build for our Society at the University of Coimbra. His Highness asked me to write to you so that you might send one of the Society from Rome, and at the same time His Highness offered to give all help and assistance for the building of the said college. How many reasons the King has for erecting this college of our Society may be seen from the fact that he needs men in order to provide so many pagan lands with those who can instruct them in the faith of Jesus Christ. For the love of our Lord, I ask you to let me know what has happened in this regard.

Before his departure from Lisbon Master Francis had also requested and obtained from Rome the authority to give six individuals permission to pray the new, short breviary of Quiñones.<sup>47</sup> On September 21, one day after writing

<sup>46</sup> Rough estimates.

<sup>47</sup> EX I 68; cf. Vol. I 451 664 671.

these three letters, he gave one of these permissions to the secular priest Agostinho de Salas,<sup>48</sup> the son of one of the earliest Portuguese settlers in Goa.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4. THE DEPARTURE FROM GOA (END OF SEPTEMBER, 1542)

Just as soon as the sea was again navigable Martim Affonso sent Belchior de Sousa<sup>50</sup> with twelve small *fustas* and *catur*s to the Kanara Coast in order to extirpate the pirate nest on the Baindūr River south of Bhatkal,<sup>51</sup> and Jerónimo de Figueiredo as the commander of four *fustas* to Malabar to patrol the coast for pepper smugglers. In the same month of September the boat for Banda lifted anchor as usual in order to obtain nutmegs from the Moluccas.<sup>52</sup> With it the governor sent the factor<sup>53</sup> Simão Botelho, who had returned from Ceylon, to Malacca in order to organize the customhouse there.<sup>54</sup> Dom Estevão da Gama, who had been relieved of his office of governor by the king and had been entrusted with the loading of the Portuguese ships, now took his departure from his successor and sailed in a *fusta* with his brother Dom Alvaro de Ataíde and his men to Cochin. Francisco de Ayora also sailed with him in a galleon in order to obtain the tribute of cinnamon in Colombo. Antonio Pessoa,<sup>55</sup> the factor and *alcaide-mor* of Ceylon, also sailed in another ship. Because of conflicts with his predecessor he had come to Goa. In addition to these, Martim Affonso sent his confidant Jerónimo Gomes to Cochin with the money for the cargo of pepper.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>48</sup> He was the son of Diogo de Salas, a servant of the former steward of the queen, as Albuquerque wrote in 1513 (CA I 149). In 1510 Diogo was secretary of the *tanadar* in Cintacora (Chitākul; Castanheda 3, 47); in 1514 chief steward of the ship *Rosario* (CA VI 200); and in 1526 secretary of the island of Goa and its neighboring islands, to which Chorão also belonged (APO V 114). In 1552 his son Agostinho, at Xavier's request, offered Mass in Chorão on Sundays and feast days (EX II 398-399).

<sup>49</sup> Seb. Gonçalves 2, 3.

<sup>50</sup> Probably meant is Belchior de Sousa, *fidalgo escudeiro*, illegitimate son of Garcia de Sousa Chichorro and Catarina Pereira, who sailed to India in 1538 as *homem d'armas* (heavy-armed soldier) (*Emmentia* 367), brother of Aleixo de Sousa (*\*India Portuguesa* II 38v) and of Henrique de Sousa Chicorro (*ibid.* 25; Q 2187); not Belchior de Sousa, son of Diogo Lobo (*Emmentia* 334), or Belchior de Sousa Tavares (Castanheda 8, 49).

<sup>51</sup> Correa IV 252. Portuguese: Bador and Batalalá.

<sup>52</sup> Couto writes that in September, 1542, the governor sent Fernão de Castro with the Malacca ships in order to become captain of Maluco (5, 9, 1). On February 2, 1538, he had received the right to this position after the elder Lionel de Lima, who had sailed there in April, 1542, with the clove ship from Goa; but on the way he had fallen in a duel in Malacca. The news of his death could not have reached Goa until 1543. Fernão de Castro consequently sailed in this year. He also died on the way in Malacca, as the new captain of Maluco, D. Jorge de Castro, wrote from Ternate in February, 1544 (Sá I 385-386).

<sup>53</sup> Correa IV 218-253.

<sup>54</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 105-107; Q 1328-1329 (to be dated in 1542!); cf. 1322; thus against Correa, who has him sail in 1544 (IV 338); and Couto, at the beginning of 1543 (5, 9, 3).

<sup>55</sup> Antonio Pessoa, a prominent *fidalgo* and one of the most distinguished citizens of Goa, was the son of Henrique de Goes and married to Isabel Botelha. He sailed to India in 1515, was in the Moluccas in 1524, in Malabar in 1525, factor in Bassein in 1539, and factor in Ceylon from 1541 to 1543. In the beginning of 1548, as a reward for his services in the siege of Diu in 1546 and in the battles on Salsette in 1547, he received from D. João de Castro seven villages in the district of Bassein in hereditary tenure, among which were Badorá and Mazagon. In 1548 he was recommended by Xavier to the king, and in 1556 he was still named among those who wrote to the king or queen in Portugal (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 589). He is not to be confused with his namesake, the son of Pedro Pessoa (*Emmentia* 431).

<sup>56</sup> Correa IV 253-254.

Master Francis had now to prepare for his departure for Cape Comorin. If Ignatius did not send any men from Rome for the College of St. Paul, or at least until they came, Miguel Vaz thought of calling Frey Vicente de Lagos from Cranganore, where he had founded a flourishing college for the sons of the Thomas Christians, to direct it. He could bring some of his pupils to Goa with him and the rest could be cared for by Frey Jorge, a Malabar, who was expected from Portugal, and his priest nephew.<sup>57</sup>

The three Parava seminarians from Tuticorin,<sup>58</sup> the deacons Gaspar and Manuel and the third in minor orders, should accompany Master Francis.<sup>59</sup> Cosme Anes wished to provide for the priest, but the latter told him that he already had a pair of shoes and a piece of leather to protect him from the sun. He did not need anything more.<sup>60</sup> Xavier left the books which he had brought with him from Lisbon in Goa. His missal, breviary, and book of spiritual reading<sup>61</sup> were enough for him. Martim Affonso, the governor, was as ever helpfulness itself to the priest. He had taken the Paravas to his heart. They were his beloved children in Christ. He had risked his life for them at Vēdālai, and he was now ready to defend, if necessary, these sheep of Christ against the Moors; and he did not tire of recommending them to Master Francis when he was leaving.<sup>62</sup> The Franciscan friars would take care of the poor, abandoned Christians of Socotra. When Francis paid a parting visit to Frey Pedro de Atouguaia, the newly elected guardian, he was told that in the coming year Frey Paulo de Santarem and a confrere would be sent to them, and Martim Affonso had promised that he would have them placed on the island by the ships sailing to the straits.<sup>63</sup>

As he later observed, Dr. Saraiva was sorry to see Master Francis depart:

As long as the priest was in Goa, he continued to preach and to hear confessions. He lived in the hospital and consoled the sick with all the works of spiritual mercy. He reconciled people who were at enmity and did many other works for the service of our Lord. He was held in honor by all the people, and everyone showed him great

<sup>57</sup> SR II 328. This was Jorge de S. Pedro, who came to India in 1545 (DI I 76). He was a Malabar secular priest, whom we find after this in Cranganore with an income of fifty *milreis* (Botelho, *Tombo* 27).

<sup>58</sup> EX I 147; SR II 333; Q 7261a.

<sup>59</sup> EX I 127.

<sup>60</sup> According to Cosme Anes, Xavier said: "que já tinha humas botas e hum couro para o sol" (MX II 185). According to Teixeira a leather jerkin (*vestido de cuero* 850; *gippone de corame* \*Teixeira It. 2, 3) was meant by this. He is followed in this by Tursellinus 2, 5, and Lucena 2, 7. According to Sousa it was "uma coura para se reparar do Sol; se por ventura não foi para supprimento de gibões, e camizas, de que não levava grande provimento" (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 4). According to Cros it was a parasol (*Vie* II 436-437). According to Brou it was probably leather for new shoes (I 185). On the Fishery Coast we hear nothing of leather clothes for Xavier, for example, a leather pilgrim's mantle. In Travancore he went barefooted with a *loba* (*vestecilla muy rota*) and a small cowl (*caperucilla*) of black cloth (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231). In 1544 Xavier had two *sombreiro*s sent to his companion Mansilhas (EX I 202), by which parasols (*sombreiro*s de pé) were meant. Magister Diogo wrote from Tanor in 1545 for a pair of shoes (SR III 313), and in 1603 \*Valignano ordered the procurator to send from Goa to Macao each year "dous coiros de bufara para solas de sapatos" (Lisbon, *Ajuda* 49-466, 16v-17).

<sup>61</sup> Probably the book of Marcus Marulus (see above, pp. 225-226).

<sup>62</sup> EX I 150-151. Teixeira gives the words of M.A. de Sousa and Xavier at the time of the latter's departure (849).

<sup>63</sup> SR II 331.



respect and listened to him when he advised them with regard to the salvation of their souls, and he continued with this until he departed for Cape Comorin.<sup>64</sup>

The old bishop, Frey Juan de Albuquerque, was also saddened by the separation, and he almost wept when Master Francis asked him for his blessing at the time of his departing visit.<sup>65</sup>

It was the end of September<sup>66</sup> when Francis said farewell to his friends on the Ribeira and boarded ship.<sup>67</sup> The vessel glided swiftly down the Mandovi River. The walls and roofs of Goa, the towers of the cathedral and São Francisco disappeared. On a hill to the left, the voyagers could see Nossa Senhora do Rosario, and on the right, on the highest point of Divar, Nossa Senhora da Piedade. They then passed the fresh green hills of Chorão and Bardez, on the right, and on the left, in the shade of coconut palms, the churches of the Mother of God in Ribandar and Pangim, and finally, on the outermost foothill, the white, solitary chapel of Nossa Senhora do Cabo. They then continued out into the open sea and, making a turn to the left, sailed towards the south. Sailing with Master Francis were Cosme de Paiva, the new captain of the Fishery Coast and Cape Comorin,<sup>68</sup> and his men<sup>69</sup> and the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa, who had been commissioned by Martim Affonso de Sousa to defend the rights of the Parava Christians.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> MX II 188.

<sup>65</sup> Teixeira 849.

<sup>66</sup> According to Teixeira, Xavier sailed at the beginning of October (850; Seb. Gonçalves 2, 7; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 5), according to Valignano in November (59). We believe that he sailed at the end of September, for (1) his last date in Goa is September 21 (EX I 143); (2) he departed before the arrival of his two confreres (EX I 121); but these left Mozambique before the arrival of the Portuguese fleet of 1542 and before August 10 (Q 984) and reached Goa "soon after Xavier's departure" (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 24) but before the arrival of the *Graça* of Vicente Gil, who was already in Goa on October 10 (Q 1000, against Correa IV 264). The voyage from Mozambique to Goa usually lasted from twenty-five to thirty-five days during the fall monsoon (see above, p. 105). (3) On October 28 Xavier already wrote from Tuticorin after he had, coming by land from Manappād, baptized the children in all the villages that had not been baptized and the inhabitants of an entire town (EX I 147-151).

<sup>67</sup> "The galiot of the captain of the Fishery Coast," according to Seb. Gonçalves 2, 7.

<sup>68</sup> Teixeira 850 and Seb. Gonçalves 2, 7. They do not give the name; it was Paiva. Teixeira and all the later authors err in having him take Mansilhas also with him and in having Misser Paulo remain in the college.

<sup>69</sup> The captain of the Pearl Fishery had as a rule two or three *caturs* and around thirty men to watch over the Pearl and Chank Fisheries (Botelho, *Tombo* 245). In 1550, for example, B. Fernandes Correa had three ships and thirty men (Correa IV 151). In 1559 the captain was in Punnaikāyal with fifteen to twenty Portuguese (DI IV 267). At the end of 1547, however, the *vedor*, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, complained that Fernandes Correa, as captain of the Fishery Coast, was maintaining seventy men there instead of ten or fifteen, and that his predecessor, Aires de Figueiredo, had maintained forty men at the expense of the state (Q 3588). Paiva probably recruited his men in Goa and sailed with them from there to Tuticorin.

<sup>70</sup> On January 6, 1543, Miguel Vaz wrote from Cochin that at his suggestion M. A. de Sousa had sent the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa to the Fishery Coast in order to make a judicial investigation of the captain and to give compensation to the Christians, and he continues: "He actually went there and brought him back as a prisoner as he had been ordered to do, and he had the necessary restitutions made. This was something new for those Christians and it was a great source of satisfaction for them to see that care was taken to treat them justly, and this also seemed good to the pagans" (SR II 332). Silva Rego assumes that Gamboa sailed already in May from Goa for the Fishery Coast (SRH 376), but this is unlikely. On May 20 Payo Rodrigues sailed for Cochin in order to take over its captaincy (Correa IV 230). But

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from there Gamboa would have had to travel by land, as Francisco Pérez did in 1557. The latter left Cochin on May 27 and then made his way for seventy leagues to Punaikāyal, in a boat through the lagoons and canals to Quilon, and from there on foot to the Fishery Coast, since at this time of the year the sea was already unnavigable, as he declared. Gamboa would also have had to return by land through the territory of the pagan kings to Cochin, as Pérez later did (DI IV 41-42), and this with the captive captain and the latter's men, who could certainly not have been left on the Fishery Coast without a captain. It was also not feasible to leave the Fishery Coast from June to October without a captain. Otherwise Gamboa would have had to remain till October, during the entire rainy season, in Tuticorin with nothing to do until the new captain came.

BOOK III  
ON CAPE COMORIN  
(1542 — 1544)

*Avan vilai yerapetra oru muthai  
kanda māthirathil pōi thanakkundāna  
yāvatrayum vitru athai vāngikkollukirān.*

“When he discovered a pearl of great price,  
he went back and sold all that he had and  
bought it.”

*Matt. 13:46 (Tamil)*



## CHAPTER I

### A YEAR AMONG THE PARAVAS (OCTOBER, 1542—SEPTEMBER, 1543)

#### 1. TO THE PEARL FISHERY COAST (SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER, 1542)<sup>1</sup>

The distance from Goa to the Fishery Coast was more than 150 leagues.<sup>2</sup> At the end of September or the beginning of October, when the winds and current were favorable,<sup>3</sup> a boat could sail the route in from nine to twelve days.<sup>4</sup> To secure a wind<sup>5</sup> and to avoid the reefs along the coast, a vessel was kept at a distance of some two or three leagues from the shore; and the pilot, constantly sounding the depths with his plumb, set his course in water that was between twenty and twenty-five fathoms deep. Where it was deeper, there was a danger that the voyagers would never be able to return to land.<sup>6</sup>

The cape, with its white chapel of the Virgin Mary, was the southern boundary of the bar of Goa. Beyond it, on the left, was a broad bay formed by the mouth of the Zuari River, which gave access to Old Goa. To the south of this bay were the steep slopes of the foothills of Mormugão,<sup>7</sup> the farthest reaches of the great peninsula of Salsette. Like its neighboring province, this island was subject to Adil Khān, the sultan of Bijāpur. On the right lay three rocky islands covered with brush.<sup>8</sup> The passage lay between them and the mainland, whose flat, sandy coast was fringed with coconut palms.

<sup>1</sup> We have used the following sources to reconstruct the voyage: (1) The two lists of stations of 1530 (Brito Rebello 224 and \*André Pires 45v-47); (2) the sailing instructions for Goa—Cochin in Vicente Rodrigues of 1575 (107-108); (3) those of Monteiro of 1600 (156-158), of Ferreira Reimão of 1612 (39-40), and of \*N. Fernandes da Fonseca of 1770 for Galle—Surat (27-42); (4) the *Segelhandbuch für die Westküste of Hindostan* (Berlin, 1907); (5) the descriptions in Tomé Pires of 1515 (54-84) and in Barbosa of 1516 (I 181-197, II 79-105); and (6) those of the gazetteers of [North] Kanara by Campbell, South Kanara by Sturrock (I) and Stuart (II), Malabar by Innes and Travancore by Nagam Aija.

<sup>2</sup> The distance given by Xavier is inexact: 200 leagues (EX I 127), which is also found in Lancilotto (DI I 134); Brandão is more accurate: 150 leagues (*ibid.* III 171-172). From Goa to Tuticorin it is 177, to Cape Comorin 157, leagues.

<sup>3</sup> *Segelhandbuch* 27.

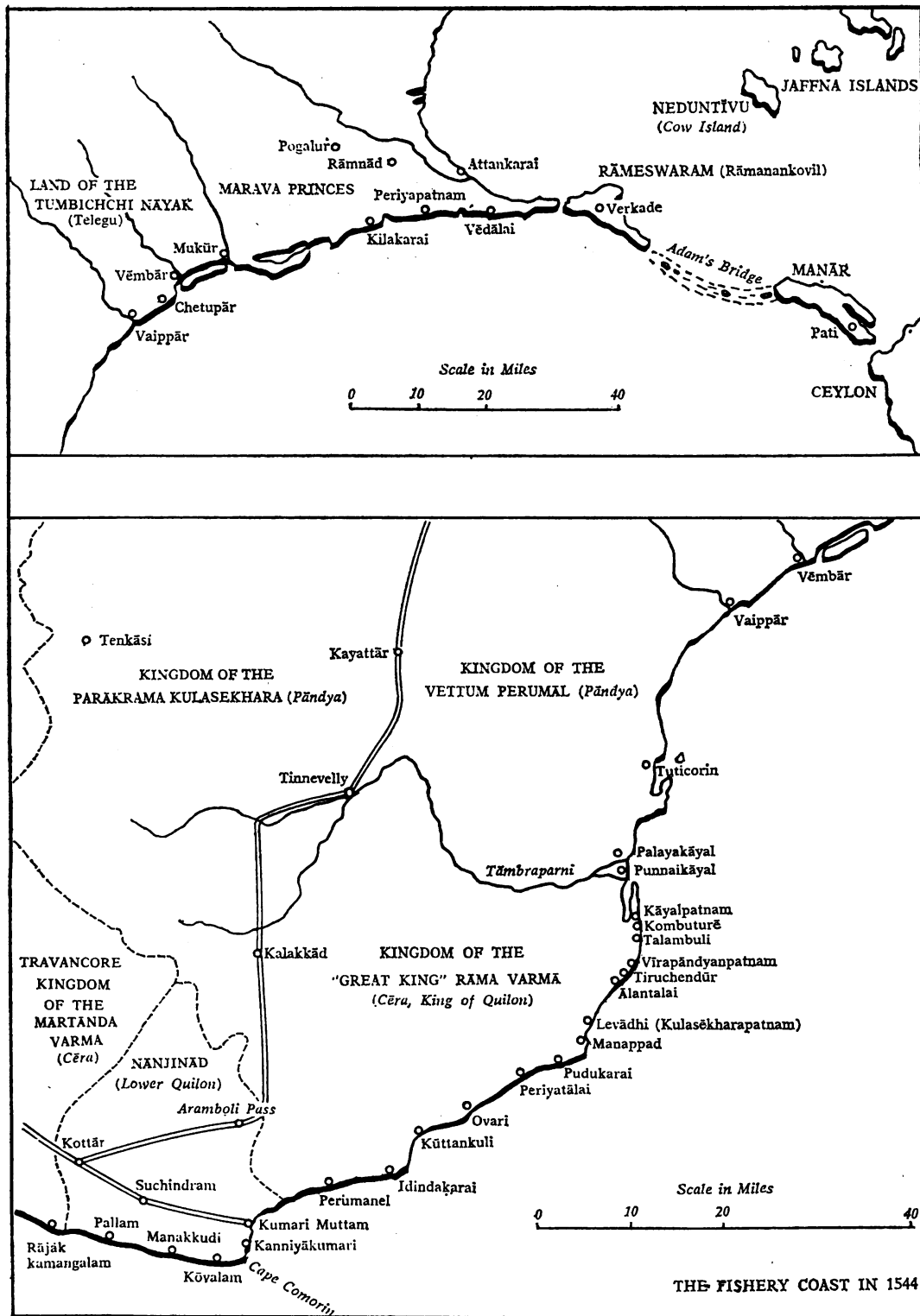
<sup>4</sup> At the end of September, 1545, Frey João de Villa de Conde sailed from Goa to Colombo, 170 leagues, in twelve days (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 157). On November 13, 1546, Braz d'Araujo sailed from Goa and arrived in Cochin eleven days later. Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha wrote in 1547 that on November 3 he would sail in a *catur* as quickly as he could from Goa to Cochin, would spend a day in Cannanore and half a day in Chale on the way, and hoped to reach Cochin on the tenth (Q 3426). The news of the victory at Diu on November 10, 1546, reached Goa the evening of the sixteenth. The distance between these two sites was the same as that between Goa and Cochin—one hundred leagues.

<sup>5</sup> *Segelhandbuch* 25.

<sup>6</sup> Monteiro 156 158; Vic. Rodrigues 107.

<sup>7</sup> Picture in *Segelhandbuch*, pl. 1, 3.

<sup>8</sup> The São Jorge Islands (*ibid.* 124).



Six leagues from Goa, near Cape Rama, the land became hilly; and six leagues farther on, Cintacora came into view.<sup>9</sup> This was on the northern bank of the Kālinadi River, and the southernmost stronghold of Adil Khān. South of this lay the province of Kanara, pertaining to the territory of the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. Here the wooded heights fell steeply into the sea, and beyond them rose the high, blue peaks of the Ghāts. The picturesque coast, with its constantly shifting peaks and bays, was replete with reefs and small islands; and it was, as a consequence, perilous for sailing.<sup>10</sup> South of Cintacora lay the coconut-covered island of Angediva, which had been discovered in 1498 by Vasco da Gama.<sup>11</sup> It still contained the ruins of a Portuguese fort that had been built there in 1505 and abandoned two years later.<sup>12</sup> Leaving this island on the right, boats steered their course southwards past Ankola. The mountainous coast of North Kanara was constantly kept in view. Over it, south of Honāvar,<sup>13</sup> the harbor of the queen of Gersoppa, could be seen the peak of a steep blue mountain,<sup>14</sup> and south of it another with a flat profile like that of a hipped roof.<sup>15</sup> Eighteen leagues beyond Angediva, ships sailed between two broad islands, each about 325 feet high. The one on the left was pyramidal in shape.<sup>16</sup> East of these lay Bhatkal,<sup>17</sup> the last harbor of North Kanara. Over it towered the majestic blue mountains of the interior, rising to a height of more than 3,200 feet.<sup>18</sup> These continued to limit the view of those sailing past the flat, palm-covered coast of South Kanara,<sup>19</sup> with its harbors of Barcelor<sup>20</sup> and Bacanor.<sup>21</sup> As the voyage continued, a group of low-lying, basalt islands could be seen on the left: Santa Maria,<sup>22</sup> which had received its name from the pillar with its coat of arms erected there by Vasco da Gama on September 15, 1498,<sup>23</sup> and Primeira.<sup>24</sup> The blue Ghāts of the mainland here rose to a height of more than six thousand feet.<sup>25</sup> These gradually receded and eventually disappeared as one approached Mangalore, the harbor of the queen of Olala (Ullal), lying next to the flat coast. As the voyage continued, there arose here and there a solitary hill, like that of Monte Formoso.<sup>26</sup> Fifty-eight leagues from Goa the foothills of Monte Deli, which at first looked like an island,

<sup>9</sup> Chitākul; cf. \*André Pires 47; Barbosa I 182; Campbell II 277-279.

<sup>10</sup> Campbell I 2-3. Picture of the Kārwar coast in *Segelhandbuch* 101.

<sup>11</sup> *Diario* 103; Correa I 121-129.

<sup>12</sup> On Angediva, see *Segelhandbuch* 116; Campbell II 249-257. Roçadas gives its history in OOP I (1904) 117-128 157-168.

<sup>13</sup> Portuguese: Honor, Onor.

<sup>14</sup> Yeljita Guddo, Yelgudda, 2,950 feet high (Sturrock 4).

<sup>15</sup> Kollur Gudda, Kodasahyadri Parvat, Kotaghadri, 4,400 feet high (*ibid.*).

<sup>16</sup> Ilha dos Pombos, Pigeon Island, Netrani, and, east of it, the pyramid of Hog Island, Shirali (*Segelhandbuch* 111; Campbell I 3).

<sup>17</sup> Portuguese: Batalalá.

<sup>18</sup> Campbell I 2.

<sup>19</sup> Sturrock 3.

<sup>20</sup> Basrūr, four miles east of Kandāpur (Barbosa I 193; Yule 45; Stuart 242).

<sup>21</sup> Bārūr (Stuart 264-265).

<sup>22</sup> Darya Bahadurgarh, already mentioned in 1530 by \*André Pires (47). Picture in *Segelhandbuch* 106.

<sup>23</sup> *Diario* 102-103. According to Correa João da Nova gave the names to the islands (I 238).

<sup>24</sup> Mulki Rocks; *Segelhandbuch* 104-105. Already mentioned in 1530 (Brito Rebello 224).

<sup>25</sup> View of the mountains from Mulki Rocks 1 1/2 knots away from the coast: Buffalo's Hump (Walkunji) 3,415, and south of it Mount Haidar (Kudre Mukh) 6,215, feet high (picture in *Segelhandbuch* 107).

<sup>26</sup> Monte Formoso, 500 feet high, seven miles south of Barn Hill (Sturrock 7-8).

came into view. From time immemorial they had been the best known landmark for all sailing along the coast.<sup>27</sup> The territory of Vijayanagar had come to its end. Beyond this was Malabar, covered with a thick forest of coconut and areca, or betel-nut, palms and other fruit-bearing trees. Its flat, sandy coast, which stretched down as far as Cape Comorin, was ruled by a series of more or less independent rajahs and *kaimals* (princes).

Four leagues farther south lay Cannanore,<sup>28</sup> the oldest Portuguese fortress in India. It had been built upon a reddish brown tongue of land with steeply falling rock walls and had been cut off from the mainland by a wall and moat. Within it was a parish dedicated to St. James, a white chapel of Nossa Senhora da Victoria on the outermost tip of the rock, and a Franciscan monastery near the mainland that had only recently been founded.<sup>29</sup> Within the walls of the fort lived fifty *casados* and more than seven hundred native Christians.<sup>30</sup> The native city with its temples and mosques lay to the south of the bay. Over its beach, lined with coconut palms, could be seen in the south the pale blue heights of the distant Ghâts. The Hindu rajah bore the title of Kolattiri. The Mohammedan vizier who assisted him had fifty thousand Nāyar warriors under his command.<sup>31</sup> At the time of Vasco da Gama's arrival, his predecessor had immediately struck up a friendship with him.<sup>32</sup> The Portuguese erected a factory here in 1500, and a fort between 1505 and 1507. They further strengthened this in 1526 and 1527. Ships sailing from Goa to Cochin stopped here as a rule in order to take on water and provisions. It was here that Master Francis first set foot on Malabar. In Goa the common dress was the *dhoti*, a cloth wound about the hips and passed between the legs; but here it was a long, white, close-clinging skirt reaching down to the feet. In the north a native's hair was worn with tufts hanging down the back, but here it was rolled into a bun over the forehead. On all sides one could see proud Nāyar warriors wearing only a skirt and carrying a large, round, red shield in one hand and a broad sword in the other. These were their inseparable companions.<sup>33</sup> In speech, manners, and dress, the people were completely different from those in the north.

A bit beyond Cannanore, near Tellicherry, lay the territory of the Zamorin. With its vassal states, it reached as far as Cochin. The land was traversed by numerous streams, and its many towns along the coast were for the most part inhabited by fanatical Moors, Moplahs, who had gained a sad renown during the endless wars between the Portuguese and the Malabar smugglers and pirates. A small, white, rock island<sup>34</sup> that was visible from afar recalled these constant

<sup>27</sup> Barbosa II 79; Yule 303. Picture in *Segelhandbuch* 99.

<sup>28</sup> On Cannanore, see Roçadas in OOP 1 (1904) 215-230 259-272 325-339 379-392 427-440 497-510 587-596; P. Menon II 187-231; Innes 393-397; Barbosa II 80-81; SRH 317-342. Picture in Correa III 16; Silveira III 403-409.

<sup>29</sup> SR II 309.

<sup>30</sup> In 1523 there were seven hundred native Christians and twenty-five *casados* (*ibid.* 17); in 1527 there were still less than fifty *casados* (Q 113).

<sup>31</sup> According to Varthema in 1506 (Ramusio 171).

<sup>32</sup> In 1542 his nephew had been ruling since 1507 (Q 1825; the letter is to be dated in the fall of 1545).

<sup>33</sup> \**Desenhos* 114-115.

<sup>34</sup> Ilhas de Pandarene (Correa I 603), Ilheos de Pandarane (Brito Rebello 224); Velliyan Kallu (White Island), Sacrifice Rock (Innes 433 gives the legend on the origin of the name). It was already called "White Island" in the *Periplus* (*ibid.* 32). The whiteness comes from the excrement of birds. It is therefore also called Ilha Cagada and Ilheus Cagados in the old *Roteiros* (\*André Pires 46v; Vicente Rodrigues 108). The island is visible from a distance of ten knots (*Segelhandbuch* 93).



battles between the two rivals for trade. Lying south of Tellichery and opposite Pandarane,<sup>35</sup> it marked the site where the viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida had utterly destroyed the fleet of the Zamorin in 1505 and had colored the sea with the blood of four thousand Moors who were slain during the encounter.<sup>36</sup>

Sailing to the east of this island, a ship soon approached Calicut, the capital of the kingdom, barely visible on the flat strand. To its south was a sharply rising mountain,<sup>37</sup> and to the east, in the interior, was a beautiful view of the bright blue Ghâts rising to a height of more than six thousand feet.<sup>38</sup> Two leagues farther south, boats sailed past the small Portuguese fortress of Chale. This had been built on an island in the delta of the Beypore River in 1531. Its rajah, though he was, like his neighbor the king of Tanor, a vassal of the Zamorin, was nonetheless a friend of the Portuguese.<sup>39</sup>

Near Ponnāni, twenty leagues from Cannanore, the high mountains of the interior disappeared.<sup>40</sup> Ten leagues farther on they again came into view.<sup>41</sup> Soon after this there was a break in the palm-covered coast formed by the inlet into the Periyar River, on whose bank in the interior lay the fortress of Cranganore.<sup>42</sup> Behind it rose a blue plateau. Five leagues farther on, and one hundred leagues south of Goa, the palm-covered coast was again breached. A broad but short stretch of the sea led into an extensive basin ringed by dense groves of coconut palms and sown with flat, palm-covered islands that seemed to be floating on the blue waters. Over the green tops of the palms could be seen the pale blue mountains, among which were twin peaks resembling a pair of rabbit ears.<sup>43</sup> On the south bank of the entrance into the bay, in the midst of coconut palms, banana bushes, and breadfruit trees, lay the Portuguese city with its tile-covered, stone houses, grey fortress,<sup>44</sup> palm-covered Sé,<sup>45</sup> Misericórdia, and Franciscan monastery with its church of São Francisco. This was Cochin,<sup>46</sup> the most important city of the Portuguese in India after Goa. It was entirely inhabited by Christians,<sup>47</sup> some fifteen thousand in number,<sup>48</sup> among

<sup>35</sup> Pantalāyani.

<sup>36</sup> Correa I 603-605.

<sup>37</sup> Dolphin's head, Urōt Mala, 1,573 feet high (*Segelhandbuch* 88).

<sup>38</sup> Picture in *Segelhandbuch*, pls. 1, 2. The highest and steepest mountain is Camel's Hump (Vāvūl Mala), 7,677 feet high, widely visible from the sea (Innes 3). On May 20, 1498, Vasco da Gama here saw "the highest mountains ever seen by men, over the city of Calicut" (*Diario* 58); in 1530 \*André Pires said that five leagues from Calicut, near Pandarane, are "the highest mountains in all India" (46v). Calicut is now known as Kozhikode.

<sup>39</sup> On Chale (Chaliyam), see Innes 414; Correa III 434-438 (with picture); Castanheda 8, 43; Zinadim 57-60; Botelho, *Tombo* 130-132.

<sup>40</sup> The Palghat Gap breaks through the line of the Ghâts.

<sup>41</sup> Colungode, which is plainly visible during the northeast monsoon (*Segelhandbuch* 77), is more than 5,900 feet high.

<sup>42</sup> Monteiro 157. The fortress, built in 1536, was not visible from the sea.

<sup>43</sup> Monteiro 157. Picture of the entrance in *Segelhandbuch* 77.

<sup>44</sup> Correa I 640-641.

<sup>45</sup> SRH 146-151; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 251-252 340.

<sup>46</sup> On Cochin, see Innes 402-410; P. Menon I 161-215; Charles Allen Lawson, *British and Native Cochin* (London, 1861); SRH 103-161; pictures in Silveira III 412-417.

<sup>47</sup> Since 1512 (CA I 44).

<sup>48</sup> In 1513 there were 6,000 Christians, in 1518 between 10,000 and 12,000, not counting slaves and servants. The Ilavas (palm growers) and Macuas (fishers) were already almost all converted. In 1517 a thousand were baptized (SRH 128-129). Moreover, there were in 1517, for example, a thousand soldiers in the city (Q 113).

whom were more than three hundred Portuguese *casados*.<sup>49</sup> A wall with bastions on the north<sup>50</sup> and a broad moat filled with water on the south protected the city from hostile attacks. After crossing the moat on a bridge, one passed through shady coconut groves to Upper Cochin, nearly a quarter of an hour's distance away. This was the native city inhabited by Hindus, Moors, and Jews, with their respective temples, mosques, and synagogues.<sup>51</sup> Here also were the palace of the Hindu rajah,<sup>52</sup> who had gained a high estate through the Portuguese, and the pepper scales,<sup>53</sup> to which the merchants of the Thomas Christians brought their precious wares for sale by boat from the lagoons and winding streams of the interior.<sup>54</sup> These people wore Indian garb, employed Syriac as their liturgical language, and according to their own tradition were descendants of the Christians whom the apostle Thomas had baptized in India and of Syrian merchants who had come after him and had married Indian women.

After a short stay in Cochin, the ship continued on its way, with the flat coast and its coconut palms on the left, passing by the coastal villages of Muterte and Porakād, whose inhabitants had the reputation of being incorrigible pirates. As recently as 1540 the Portuguese had been compelled to undertake a campaign against their leaders. The *kaimal* of Muterte fell in the ensuing battle, and the soldiers cut down ten thousand coconut palms between Cochin and Quilon as a penalty for the seizure of a Portuguese ship.<sup>55</sup> Inland, farther south, was the harbor of Kanyankulam,<sup>56</sup> used for the loading of pepper. Five leagues from it, the entrance to a large bay stretching deeply into the interior came into view. Leaving this on the left, boats sailed around a steep, maroon, rock cape, the south side of which was covered with coconut palms and other fruit trees. A small fort located on the beach had a strong, square tower and a church.<sup>57</sup> In the shade of the trees was a cluster of adobe houses covered with palm leaves,<sup>58</sup> some thirty homes in all.<sup>59</sup> Portuguese Quilon,<sup>60</sup> the southern

<sup>49</sup> In 1527 there were 160 *casados* (Q 113), in 1546, 343 (Q 2188), and in 1551, 450 to 500 (Q 4592).

<sup>50</sup> Castanheda 7, 104; Q 454.

<sup>51</sup> On Upper Cochin (Cochim de cima, Mattancheri), see A. Menon 376-377. The Jews had been there for a long time and in 1550 were reputed to be the best soldiers of the rajah (Correa IV 708). In 1542 the Portuguese king was in debt to them (Q 1632). Soveral describes their synagogue in 1556 (DI III 435). On the Cochin Jews, see A. Menon 229-232; P. Menon II 504-531; Zinadim, foreword, p. LXXXI-XC.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Sá I 118-119.

<sup>53</sup> Q 4159. In 1550 the scales were shifted to Ponta de Calvete, east of the fortress (Q 4592).

<sup>54</sup> In 1524 Bishop Mar Jacob wrote that P. João Caro had arrived four years earlier and, at his suggestion, he had induced his Christians to take their pepper directly to Cochin instead of sending it through Mohammedan middlemen (SR II 352-354). The Thomas Christians lived near the fort on the Rua de Coulão (\*Roz 90v).

<sup>55</sup> Schurhammer, *The Mission Work* 4-5; Correa IV 133-136; Barbosa II 95-96.

<sup>56</sup> Barbosa II 96-97.

<sup>57</sup> Castanheda 5, 21 gives a description of the fort; picture in Correa II 394 (larger in Silveira III 417-419). The main tower is still standing, but in ruins.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. SR X 9-10; DI III 379. Only temples, mosques, and palaces could have tile roofs in Malabar (Pires 81-82).

<sup>59</sup> "Lugarinho de 30 vizinhos," according to Heredia in 1552 (DI II 411).

<sup>60</sup> Tangasseri, as the native name was pronounced, already mentioned as such by Castanheda (5, 44), is today inhabited entirely by Catholics, the descendants of Portuguese and natives (cf. Innes 505-506; Ayyar-Souter 273-276; P. Menon I 270-292 361-362). In 1503 there were 3,000 Thomas Christians in the city of Quilon (Ramusio 157); 12,000 homes of the same in the kingdom of Quilon (Castanheda 1, 61), if we can credit these data. Later authors placed the work of Frey Manuel de S. Mathias, O.F.M., who

center of the pepper trade, some twenty leagues from Cochin had been reached.

East of Quilon was a long, white beach dotted with coconut palms. On this strand, a half hour away, was Upper Quilon, the native city, inhabited by Moors, Jews, and Thomas Christians. With its old grey temples and mosques, it had once been one of the most famous centers of trade in India.<sup>61</sup> Here began the territory of the Great King, as the rajah of Quilon was known. In addition to his own domain of Travancore he ruled also over Cape Comorin and the southern part of the Fishery Coast. The actual control of Quilon usually pertained, however, to the queen and her regents, since the king spent most of his time in the south defending his newly conquered possessions from the attacks of the troops of Vijayanagar and their allies<sup>62</sup> with the help of his cousin the rajah of Travancore. The palm-leaf-covered parish church<sup>63</sup> near the fortress stood on the site of the former church of St. Thomas that had belonged to the Syrian Christians.<sup>64</sup> According to their traditions it had been built either by St. Thomas himself<sup>65</sup> or by one of his servants,<sup>66</sup> or by Sts. Sapor and Aprot,<sup>67</sup> who had been buried there some seven hundred years before.<sup>68</sup> In 1505, when the factor seized the sails and oars of the Moorish traders so that they could not load their ships before those of his king, they slew him and his companions and burned the church along with the Portuguese, a deacon, and forty Thomas Christians who had taken refuge within it.<sup>69</sup> The building was later reconstructed and from then on served as the parish church of the Portuguese.<sup>70</sup> The Syrian pepper merchants in turn transferred their church to Upper Quilon.<sup>71</sup> On the beach near the fortress could still be seen a badly weathered, white, stone pillar. According to tradition this was the place where the two brothers Sapor and Aprot had been accustomed to pray.<sup>72</sup> Another tradition, however, maintained that it had been erected by the apostle Thomas, who had prophesied that white men would come and teach the inhabitants to observe the law he preached when the sea, which was at the time still half a league from the spot, would advance this far.<sup>73</sup>

died in 1632, a hundred years too early and had him baptize 12,000 Moplahs in Quilon in 1515 (SRH 407; SR V 409; Civezza VI 243). In 1560 Portuguese Quilon and its environs (a league in circumference) numbered only 2,500 native Christians and a few Portuguese *casados* (DI IV 497).

<sup>61</sup> Barbosa II 97; Yule 751-753. The temple of Rāmēshvarasvāmin has inscriptions from 1102 A.D., the temple of Ganapati one from 1496, and the mosque of Kollampalli one of 1326. (Poduval 182-185).

<sup>62</sup> Castanheda 1, 61; 4, 14; 5, 5; Botelho, *Tombo* 30-36; Schurhammer, "Iniquitribem" 11-15.

<sup>63</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 252 350.

<sup>64</sup> *Commentarios Dalboquerque* 1, 5; Botelho, *Tombo* 30-31.

<sup>65</sup> Barbosa II 97-98; Castanheda 1, 61.

<sup>66</sup> Correa II 395; \*Roz 89.

<sup>67</sup> Correa III 423; cf. Q 70. Mar Sabrisho and Mar Peroz are meant.

<sup>68</sup> *Commentarios Dalboquerque* 1, 5. They were translated to the new church in Upper Quilon and had an inscription in an unknown alphabet, neither Malabar or Chaldean. Bishop \*Roz suspected that it was Abyssinian (89v).

<sup>69</sup> \*Roz 89v; Correa I 579-580 592-594.

<sup>70</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 30-31.

<sup>71</sup> \*Roz 89v; Diogo Gonçalves 93-94.

<sup>72</sup> Correa III 423. \*Trindade wrote in 1638 that the column was still standing and had the following inscription: "Mar Aprito and Mar Thor used to pray here" (687).

<sup>73</sup> According to \*Monserrate in 1579 (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 521v-522; 33, 149). He adds however that God only knows whether it was the apostle Thomas or Mar Thomas. The stone was set up by Marignolli, who states that he erected the marble column in

Quilon was the southernmost fortress of the Portuguese on the west coast of India. It was, as a consequence, a depot for ships going to Ceylon or the Coromandel Coast. From here ships sailed southwest, keeping in view the tall blue mountains rising above the thick groves of coconut palms on the flat beach. In many places high, silvery waterfalls could be seen cascading down the steep slopes.<sup>74</sup>

Three leagues south of Quilon the solid continuity of the palm groves was broken by the tall, red, sandstone slopes of the Barreiras Vermelhas.<sup>75</sup> On the far side of Cape Viliñjam,<sup>76</sup> thirteen leagues from Quilon, began the territory of the rajah of Travancore. Six leagues in width, it reached almost as far as Cape Comorin.<sup>77</sup> Here one fishing village was strung out after another. Their brown, palm-leaved roofs could be seen in the shade of the coconut palms rising up from the white sand dunes, or clinging to the steep red slopes. The sea was full of catamarans, the only vessels that could navigate the heavy surf. These consisted of three roughly hollowed, palm-tree trunks tied together with coconut fibers. Their sides were only slightly higher than the surface of the water. Each one, equipped with a slanting bamboo mast and three-cornered sail, was manned by two or three persons,<sup>78</sup> whose dark silhouettes stood out clearly against the horizon.<sup>79</sup> At times the reddish brown soil of the coast could be seen. At other times black rocks rose out of the water, as they did near high lying Kolachel and the tall, steep, rocky cape of Kadiapattanam. Beyond this site began again the territory of the Great King, the rajah of Quilon. The mountains of the interior came closer to the sea. Near the village of Manakkudi a small bay provided a view of the interior over the tops of the palms. Soon after this there appeared a bright, brown, rocky prominence.

1347 with Latin and Indian inscriptions (Nagam Aiya I 273). Only in the second half of the nineteenth century did the advancing sea sweep it away (Yule, *Cathay* III 218-220).

<sup>74</sup> Tomé Pires wrote in 1515 that the Malabar Coast from Cannanore to Viliñjam was replete with coconut palms; but that from Viliñjam to the Coromandel Coast they were so few, in fact practically nonexistent, that they could be counted (83). This can hardly have been the case from Viliñjam to Cape Comorin, especially since he says nothing about them in the "Kingdom of Travancore," and only states that in the subsequent "Kingdom of Comorin," he had seen no, or very few, palms (81). He may have deduced this from the only harbor that Travancore had at the time, Kolachel, which was formed by a bare scarp, applying it to the rest of the coast which was not navigable to the Portuguese because of its heavy surf. The Sanskrit poem *Subhaga Sandēsa*, composed in the sixteenth century before 1544, describes the many ships which sailed about Cape Comorin laden with pepper, coconuts, areca nuts, and bananas of South Travancore (KSP II 239). Morais, who visited the Macua (Mukkuva) villages from Viliñjam to Cape Comorin in 1548, found "countless palms" here, and noted that coconuts were there the principal source of food (DI I 462 244); in 1600 we hear that the name of the village Tengapatam (Coconut-Palm City) came from its many coconut palms (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 14). In 1645 Barretto wrote that the land of Travancore from Quilon to Cape Comorin was full of palms, in contrast to the treeless Fishery Coast (*Relatione* 1661, 52); and \*Monserrate wrote in 1577 that Travancore was the opposite of the Fishery Coast: it was green and full of trees, at least from Kolachel to Quilon (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 387v).

<sup>75</sup> Already mentioned in 1530 (Brito Rebello 224). The sandstone cliffs of Verkala are meant (Nagam Aiya I 37).

<sup>76</sup> Portuguese: Birimjão, Brimjão, Bilimjão.

<sup>77</sup> Tomé Pires 80-81; Barbosa II 102. Travancore stretched from the village of Pūvār to Rājakkamangalam inclusively. Here began the Nāñjinād.

<sup>78</sup> Kattumaram (Dalgado I 231), described in Thurston VI 179-181.

<sup>79</sup> Marcos Nunes was reminded of the souls of the dead rising from their graves and of pictures of the Last Judgment (DI IV 267).

This was covered with sand and bore a small white pagoda surrounded by a wall.<sup>80</sup> Behind was the picturesque outline of high, jagged mountains, the last outcroppings of the Ghāts. A brown fishing village lay to the left on the bare strand. To its right was a second village located among green shade trees and coconut palms.<sup>81</sup> In front of it three bare, brown, stone islands rose from the waves of the sea. Cape Comorin, the southern tip of India had been reached.

From here the ship sailed northeast. The slim, graceful, coconut palms disappeared. In their stead there was now the bare, white, sandy coast or groves of perfectly straight palmyra palms with their crown of stiff, flat leaves. Here there were fewer fishing villages, but the sea was still alive with catamarans. The dark brown fishermen, who wore only a small loincloth and a white scarf about their head, were Paravas, about whose baptism Master Francis had heard while he was still in Rome. Twelve leagues beyond the cape, there rose on the left a high mound of sand that fell off sharply towards the north. Behind it was a small bay, and on its sandy beach there appeared within an oasis of fan palms a large fishing village. This was Manappād, at the center of the Fishery Coast. The long, monotonous voyage had come to an end.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> The temple, already mentioned in the *Periplus* in 70 A.D. as a famous place of pilgrimage, contained inscriptions from the eleventh century A.D. (TAS VI 141-145).

<sup>81</sup> Kōvalam and Kanniyākumari.

<sup>82</sup> The letter which Xavier wrote immediately after his arrival in Tuticorin on October 28, 1542, shows that he had passed through many Christian villages on his way on foot, and that he had baptized a great number of children and an entire pagan village (EX I 147-149). There is thus a question of only two landing points: Cape Comorin and Manappād, for it is impossible that he traveled by land from Cochin, as Astrain maintains (I 468). This would have meant that he went straight over the Ghāts and through pathless, primitive forests for 155 miles, and along the coast for 249 more. \*André Lopes in 1644 mentions the church of Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres, intending by this the church of Kanniyākumari, and adds the following explanation of its name, "Our Lady of Joy": "This joy, and it was not slight, was felt by St. Francis Xavier, who landed there for the first time and so laid the foundation for the conversion of the pagans" (529). Sousa follows him (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 5), and Al. Martin wrote from Punnaikāyal in 1838 that he had found on Cape Comorin near Kanniyākumari a large, beautiful church and on the beach a small chapel built to honor Xavier on the spot where he had traditionally landed (*Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de la nouvelle Mission du Maduré* 1 [Toulouse, 1865] 56). But it is little likely that the priest left the ship here this early in order to go with his companions for seventy-five miles on foot to Tuticorin, especially since he arrived there before October 28. For ships coming from the west coast of India, Manappād was the first harbor; south of it only catamarans could land (Pate 501; *The West Coast of India Pilot* [London, 1926] 87). Towards the end of 1537, M. A. de Sousa here found a haven from the stormy weather for his ships (Correa III 826). Denis Guchen, S. J., also found in Manappād a tradition that the saint had landed there in October, 1542 (*Cinquante Ans au Maduré* 2 [Paris, 1889] 191); and in 1616 the Parava João Fernandes Chinnatambi, who had been born in Manappād and was living there, testified that three years before he had heard from Thomé Fernandes Panikkan, who was then dying at the age of eighty, that when Xavier came to Manappād, since he had no place in which to stay, he had lived with him (MX II 359). The expression "por lugares de Christianos," which Xavier uses, indicates that he did not pass through all the Christian villages coming from the cape. If he had, he would have written "por los lugares" (EX I 147). When Pedro Gonçalves sailed from Cochin to the Fishery Coast in October, 1557, he also landed at Manappād, since he met "in a village six leagues south of Punicalé" P. Pérez, who was traveling from Punnaikāyal to Cochin. By this he could have only meant Manappād (DI IV 47). During the southwest monsoon (May to August), however, when the sea was not navigable, one went by foot from Quilon to Punnaikāyal. This is what Pérez did on his way there at the end of May and on his return in July (*ibid.* 41-43). Similarly, in May, 1560, Pedro Gonçalves went with a sick lay brother by land from Punnaikāyal to Quilon

## 2. THE FIRST MIRACLE (OCTOBER, 1542)

Manappād was a Parava village like the others along the Fishery Coast.<sup>83</sup> The poor homes of its inhabitants beneath the sparse shade of the tall fan palms were built of adobes and covered with palm leaves, or they were constructed entirely of the latter. Here and there could be seen a solitary coconut palm, an unpretentious puarasu tree with its heart-shaped leaves,<sup>84</sup> or a *vēmbu* tree with its wide-spread, feathery fronds.<sup>85</sup> Drawn up along the beach was a long row of catamarans, some piled up on others so that their beams might dry out more readily. Anchored in the water were a number of *vallams*<sup>86</sup> or *tonis*,<sup>87</sup> large vessels with mast, sails, and oars; and fishing nets were spread out on the sand or hung up on bamboo poles to dry. The Paravas themselves were dark brown, lean, and sinewy, and almost European in their features. They wore their long, black hair, glistening with oil, bound up at the crown of their head with a red cord and tassel. When working on the sea or beach, they wore only a narrow loincloth. When they were occupied elsewhere, they wore a white skirt that fell to the knees like that of the women.<sup>88</sup> At times the skirts of the latter reached to the ground. The bodies of both men and women from the waist up were bare. Their chief ornamentation were heavy gold earrings, often beset with pearls. These stretched the lobes of their ears in thin strips

(*ibid.* 556-557). In 1559 a captain sailed in a *fusta* from Goa to Cochin with João Fernandes Correa, and from there with him and Marcos Nunes, S. J., around Cape Comorin, where they saw the pagoda from the sea, but did not land. They arrived at Punnaikāyāl on October 22. Two days later the captain sailed from there with a letter of the priest to Goa (*ibid.* 266-269).

<sup>83</sup> On Manappād, see Pate 502-503; Ayyar-Souter 324-325; Besse 527-535. For the statistics on the villages of the Fishery Coast, we have used the following sources: (1) a letter of H. Henriques of January 13, 1558, giving a list of villages and the caste of their inhabitants (DI IV 31-35); (2) a \*list of towns in Travancore with distances and the patrons of the churches (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 84-86v); (3) a \*list of villages in the Travancore mission in a letter of Alvaro do Rego of January 7, 1573, including patrons and the number of Christians and students (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac., *Fundo Geral* 4532, 115-116); (4) \*André Lopes, *Breve Relação*, a detailed list with patrons, numbers of Christians and pupils, distances, and outposts; (5) the statistics of the Fishery Coast for 1664 (Nieuhof 182); (6) exact \*statistics, with all the outposts, patrons, distances, Christians and those going to confession, in a letter of Antonio Brandolini of October 15, 1713 (ARSI: *Goa* 56, 601-608v); (7) the \*list of all the stations and outposts with their patrons in Josephus de Miranda, *Catalogus Ecclesiarum Provinciae Malabaricae anni 1715* (ARSI: *Goa* 29, 182-183v); (8) precise \*statistics of all villages and outposts with the number of Christians, patrons, and distances of the Travancore Mission by Franz Weis in *Litterae Annuae Travancoridis 1716* (ARSI: *Goa* 56, 637-646v); (9) the \*list of the stations and outposts with the number of Christians, patrons, and distances by Frey Nicolau de Santa Rita, O.F.M., in 1779 (*Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 54 [1942] 97-103; English extract in Meersman 82-86); (10) Besse, *Geschichte und Statistiken* for 1941; (11) *Catholic Directory of India 1954*.—The number of Christians in Manappād amounted to 2,513 in 1644, 4,000 in 1664, and 3,580 in 1954. In 1644, 160 children attended instructions in Christian doctrine, 30 were in school. The later statistics include later converts of other castes and outposts. Up until 1930 five villages had *padroado* churches, which were not as a rule counted in the statistics of the other churches. These were: Vaippār, Tuticorin, Punnaikāyāl, Manappād, and Kudu Tālai.

<sup>84</sup> Tulip tree (*Thespesia populnea*).

<sup>85</sup> Konkani: *nimb* (*Melia azadirachta*).

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Dalgado II 401.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* 378-379; Yule 323.

<sup>88</sup> Baltasar Nunes 1552 (DI II 559-560). According to him the *dhōī* (long loincloth) was from ten to twelve ells long, according to Moraes an ell wide, six to seven ells long (*ibid.* 243-244).

down to their shoulders, leaving an opening through which a fist could be passed. Boys and girls went around naked until they were ten years old.<sup>89</sup>

The villagers came up to greet the newcomers, especially the white Father, the *swāmī*.<sup>90</sup> Six years earlier, like the inhabitants of the other Parava villages, they had been baptized and had received a Portuguese first and last name.<sup>91</sup> But there were no churches in their villages, no Portuguese, no priests to offer Mass for them, nor anyone to teach them the Creed, the Our Father, the Hail Mary, or the Commandments.<sup>92</sup> Only in Tuticorin was there as a rule, when the Portuguese came to the city, a priest.<sup>93</sup> Because of his short stature, he was known as "Katte Padre."<sup>94</sup> Baptism had as a consequence not altered their way of life, and in this regard they were no different from their pagan neighbors in the interior.

With the help of his interpreters, the three Parava seminarians, Master Francis asked the people what they knew about their new faith. Their answer was that they only knew that they were Christians; they were ignorant of what they should believe since they did not understand the language of the Portuguese.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless they brought him the children that had been born since the mass baptisms of 1536 and 1537, and the priest imparted to them the sacrament of rebirth with the simple baptismal formula and without further ceremonies.<sup>96</sup> The Parava children, with their large black eyes, were especially trustful. They left the white *swāmī* no rest, no time for his breviary, for eating or sleeping, until he had taught them some prayers, the Sign of the Cross, the Creed, the Our Father, or the Hail Mary. And the same scene was repeated in each of the succeeding villages on the way to Tuticorin. The priest was astounded by the quick apprehension of his small, dark brown pupils, and he thought of Christ's words: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven!" And he was convinced that if they had anyone to instruct them in the faith they would eventually become good Christians.<sup>97</sup>

While the ship with its passengers and crew sailed on to Tuticorin, Xavier continued the rest of the way on foot with his companions, the seminarians, in order to get to know the country and its people. Tuticorin was nine leagues from Manappād, but there was no road to it. The way was along the seacoast; and the soft sand, piled up by the northeast monsoon yielded to each step and made the going difficult.<sup>98</sup> Progress was thus slow. The sun beat down mercilessly, even though it was still the cool season of the year. Since there were no

<sup>89</sup> B. Nunes in 1548 (*ibid.* 320).

<sup>90</sup> Title for a priest used by both Hindus and Christians.

<sup>91</sup> This was at the time the universal custom, but the Paravas frequently retained also their Tamil name.

<sup>92</sup> EX I 147; cf. 196.

<sup>93</sup> According to the \*evidence taken in 1583 (ARSI: Goa 47, 258-286).

<sup>94</sup> Seb. Gonçalves 2, 8.

<sup>95</sup> EX I 147 161-162.

<sup>96</sup> Xavier was accustomed to administer baptism in India without additional ceremonies to both children and adults since there was no time for more (DI III 420-421 600).

<sup>97</sup> EX I 148.

<sup>98</sup> In 1558 H. Henriques wrote that the Christian villages of the coast stretched from Pūvār to Rāmanankovil for sixty leagues or more "de bem roin cominho por ser d'area, quinda que algum pouco delle andamos por mar" (DI IV 31). In December, 1547, Morais stated that at times he covered ten leagues a day along the Fishery Coast (*ibid.* I 235). But this was, if he was not exaggerating, surely a great exception and only possible in May and June, when the sand was hard.

trees to offer shade, a halt had to be made during the middle of the day until the greatest heat had passed. The flat land was unspeakably poor and bare. White sand dunes stretched out along the beach. Here and there they were covered with clumps of grass<sup>99</sup> or weeds with fleshy leaves and blue and yellow flowers,<sup>100</sup> and low briers.<sup>101</sup> Beyond the dunes, at times nearer and at times farther, could be seen clusters of straight, tall fan palms intermingled with thorny acacia.<sup>102</sup> At times white buildings sparkled like watchtowers on distant mounds of sand, but on closer approach they were seen to be lime kilns. The pagan Shānās<sup>103</sup> were accustomed to come here each year in December to burn mussel shells for lime. They also came in May or June and remained for six months to climb the fan palms and remove the sweet sap flowing from a cut in the stem of the leaves.<sup>104</sup>

Two leagues north of Manappād was Ālantala.<sup>105</sup> This was also a Parava village. An hour farther on was Tiruchendūr,<sup>106</sup> on the edge of which a settlement of Christian fishers of the same caste was likewise to be found.<sup>107</sup> But the town proper was chiefly inhabited by Brahmans. On a rocky cape jutting out into the sea there had been built here a temple with a high tower shaped like a pyramid<sup>108</sup> covered with statues of gods. This temple, which was in constant view of travelers from Manappād, was an ancient, revered sanctuary<sup>109</sup> of the six-headed son of Shiva, Arumuga Perumāl,<sup>110</sup> riding upon a peacock. Pilgrims were accustomed to come here by the thousands with their offerings and wash away their sins in its holy waters. Here Master Francis saw for the first time a pagan palace with its high-caste Brahmans wearing their triple holy cord across their naked breast; unkempt fakirs, in yellow penitential garb,

<sup>99</sup> *Mulli.*

<sup>100</sup> *Kalli.*

<sup>101</sup> *Wodai.*

<sup>102</sup> *Sayal (Acacia spirocarpa).*

<sup>103</sup> Today they call themselves Nadars. On the Shānā caste see Thurston VI 363-378; Pate 125-132.

<sup>104</sup> We heard this from a Parava in December, 1956, on our way from Ālantalai to Manappād. On the palmyra palm (*Borassus flabellifer*) and the uses made of it, see Pate 220-226.

<sup>105</sup> On Ālantalai, see Besse 525-526. In 1644 there were 1,178 Christians, and in 1954, 1,550.

<sup>106</sup> On Tiruchendūr, see Pate 505-507; Ayyar-Souter 327-328; J. Ayyar 499-502; *India's Sacred Shrines and Cities* (Madras, 1940) 115-117; Rangacharya 1504-1505; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 2, 2, 1, 17.

<sup>107</sup> Called Christian villages in 1544 (EX I 227) and 1571 (Q 6161); see also Besse 394. About 1591 the inhabitants, along with those of Ālantalai and Talambuli, were transferred to Virapāndyanpatnam because of the persecution they were suffering from their pagan neighbors, as is noted by \*Seb. Gonçalves in 1600 (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 16).

<sup>108</sup> The temple structures visible today are partially of a later date. In a war between the Paravas and the Shānās (*Shānār*) in 1590, the pagans burned the Christian villages and churches. The governor, Manuel de Sousa Coutinho, sent his son with a fleet to avenge this. The soldiers attacked the pagodas of Tiruchendūr, smashed the artistically carved stone figures and desecrated the temple by slaughtering a cow (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 365-v). After their departure the pagans demolished the desecrated sanctuary and rebuilt it (Barretto, *Relatione* 36).

<sup>109</sup> The inscriptions go back into the eighth century. The temple itself is already mentioned in the poems of the Shāngam period in the second century A.D. (Sastri, *Pāndyan* 32). In 1591 \*Pedro Martins wrote that the pagoda of Tiruchendūr was highly revered since it was so old that the time of its founding was not known. Some even said that it had been built by dwellers in heaven (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 365v).

<sup>110</sup> Subrahmanya. The Tamil name, Arumugam Perumāl, means "Lord of the Six Heads" (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 2, 2, 1, 17; J. Ayyar 502).



with matted hair and beard and black coconut shell for collecting alms; worshipers of Shiva, breast, upper arm, and brow painted with stripes;<sup>111</sup> worshipers of Vishnu with the red-white, vertical mark of their god upon their forehead; temple dancers in gay-colored saris, tricked out with rings in their nose, and on their ears, neck, and feet; and sacred cows, which passed unhindered through the streets, where food, metal statues of the gods, and ex-voto offerings were sold in the bazaar: cradles of wood or metal, statues of children, or silver models of parts of the body.<sup>112</sup>

A half league beyond Tiruchendūr was another large village of the Paravas, Virapāndyanpatnam,<sup>113</sup> and soon after this another, Talambuli.<sup>114</sup> All resembled Manappād, and everywhere the *swāmī* had to baptize the children and teach the boys and girls some prayers before they would let him go on his way.

On the other side of Talambuli the travelers came upon a pagan village.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>111</sup> DI I 247.

<sup>112</sup> Pate 120 505-506.

<sup>113</sup> On Virapāndyanpatnam, see Ayyar-Souter 328; Besse 520-523. The number of Christians amounted to 2,220 in 1644, 900 in 1664, 2,188 in 1713, and 2,050 in 1954.

<sup>114</sup> Talambuli is called a Christian village in 1558 and 1571.

<sup>115</sup> There is no question of this being a Parava village since the entire caste was baptized between 1536 and 1537. In 1558 H. Henriques gave an orderly account of the Christian villages from Pūvār to Vēdalāi. From Cape Comorin to Tuticorin he names only Parava villages, but with one exception: "Between Punical and Talambulim is the Carea village of Kombuturē" (DI IV 34-35). The Karaiyas, "the lowest," were a lower part of the unclean caste of the Pallas, who were only a little above the Paraiyas, the "pariahs" proper. They were mussel-shell burners and pearl fishers and had to live outside of the villages of the other castes. Their settlements as a consequence were frequently next to the Parava villages. In 1600 a church dedicated to St. James was built for the Paliyas near Manappād, since they dared not enter the church of the Paravas (ARSI: Goa 55, 16). In 1610 de Nobili wrote in his "First Apology," that P. Aires de Sá had been forced to build a church of their own for the Karaiyas on the Fishery Coast since the Paravas would not let them enter their churches (P. Dahmen, *Robert de Nobili, Première Apologie* [Paris, 1931] 61). Similarly, the Karaiyas in Kombuturē in 1571 had their own church separate from that of the Paravas in Talambuli (Q 6161).—Xavier identifies Kombuturē with the Parava village of Talambuli. In 1544 he names its *patangatis* in the same breath with those of Punnaikāyal and Vēmbār, and orders them to bring the Paravas who had fled to the Tuticorin islands from there to Kombuturē. He distinguishes this village from the Karaiya villages in the vicinity, which still clung closely to their idols and were in need of care and instruction; and he writes to his confrere Mansilhas that he should visit the Christians of Kombuturē, the Karaiyas, the village of Thomé da Motta, and the one near Pattanam (Kāyalpatnam), since they were in great need of a visit (EX I 208-210 223-225 228). In 1600 Seb. Gonçalves wrote that the villages of Ālantalai, Tiruchendūr, and Talambuli had been transferred to Virapāndyanpatnam. From there Mass was also offered in the church of St. Stephen in the Karaiya village of Kombuturē near Kāyalpatnam (ARSI: Goa 55, 16). In 1644 this had two hundred Christians and was visited as a place of pilgrimage (ARSI: Goa 56, 530). About this time Xavier's two Karaiya villages had probably already been united, the residents of one of which had been baptized by the saint in 1542. Kombuturē is today called *San Estevan Cruzadi*. It lies southwest of Kāyalpatnam and is separated by only a sand dune from the sea. When we visited it in January, 1953, we found the chapel with a statue of St. Stephen and three poor cottages of Parava fishers from Punnaikāyal, who sold their fish in Kāyalpatnam. There is today a Karaiya village, Kadayakkudi, north of Kāyalpatnam on the way to Punnaikāyal. On Kombuturē, see Besse 523-524. H. Henriques wrote in 1558 that the Paravas had been baptized some twenty-seven, and the Karaiyas some twenty, years earlier (DI IV 35). If two witnesses of the cure of the woman in 1616 place it in the vicinity of Tuticorin (MX II 563-564 572), this is not to be stressed any more than the modern local "traditions" in Punnaikāyal and Palayakāyal that lay claim to the miracle. For the following our source is the letter which Xavier wrote a few days later from Tuticorin (EX I 148-149).

Its inhabitants had not been baptized with the Paravas, for they belonged to another caste, that of the Karaiyas;<sup>116</sup> and their pagan lord, who owned the village, had refused to permit them to become Christians at the time. A woman of the town had been in labor for three days when the travelers arrived, and many were in doubt about her life. The *mantras*,<sup>117</sup> magical incantations, had been of no avail; the gods had remained deaf. In their plight, they called upon the newcomer, the white *swāmī*. Master Francis took one of the seminarians with him as an interpreter and went to the cottage where the people were gathered about the ailing woman.

The gods of the heathen were all demons, as the Psalmist had rightly said,<sup>118</sup> and the Lord as a consequence had found no pleasure in the prayers of the people.<sup>119</sup> The priest, however, in the midst of all these pagans, had confidence in the infinite power of the ever-present Creator of all things, "to whom belongs the earth and its fullness and all that dwell therein."<sup>120</sup> He called upon the Holy Name and then recited the Apostle's Creed in a loud voice, while his companion explained each article to those present in their own tongue. Grace was effective. The sick woman saw in the new faith a last hope. When Master Francis asked her if she wished to become a Christian, she was ready to become one at once. He read a Gospel over her and baptized her without further ceremonies. The confidence of the sick woman was rewarded. She immediately gave birth to a child, and the priest could now impart the sacrament of rebirth to her husband, her sons and daughters, including the newborn child, and to all the other members of the household. The news of the miracle which the *swāmī* had performed spread like wildfire about the village. But when Xavier called upon the village leaders and urged them in the name of God to believe in His Son, Jesus Christ, in whom alone there is salvation, they answered that they dared not become Christians without the permission of their lord. By chance, however, a servant of the latter was staying at the time in the village. He had come to collect certain taxes for him. The priest sought him out and spoke with him, and the latter agreed that it was a good thing to be a Christian. He granted permission to the inhabitants of the village to be baptized, though he himself remained a pagan. The leaders of the village then received the sacrament with all their dependents, and after these the priest baptized the rest of the villagers, both great and small.<sup>121</sup>

The travelers then renewed their journey. They soon reached Kāyalpatnam, which had once been the principal city of the Moors. At the beginning of 1538, after the victory of Vēdālai, it had been burned by the Paravas and had only

<sup>116</sup> On the Karaiyas see Thurston III 6; V 472-486; Dalgado I 216 (who, however, erroneously calls them a division of the Paravas). Seb. Gonçalves wrote that they were a caste very different from the Paravas, but he could be in error when he states that they had been baptized in 1536 under Captain João Fernandes Correa (2, 9).

<sup>117</sup> In 1547 Morais wrote on the use of *mantras*, for example, in the case of pregnant women and the birth of a child (DII 244-245); cf. Dubois 138-145 and \*Gonçalo Fernandes, *Sumario das serimonias* (ARSI: Goa 59, 5-6v).

<sup>118</sup> Ps. 95:5. The Pallas, to whom the Karaiyas belonged, were nominally Shivaists, but in actuality they were devil-worshippers (Thurston V 485).

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Ps. 101:1.

<sup>120</sup> Ps. 23:1.

<sup>121</sup> In 1616 two witnesses declared that almost the whole village had been baptized at the time (MX II 544 564); Xavier, however, baptized at this time only those who were present in the village.

been partially rebuilt.<sup>122</sup> After crossing a branch of the sea<sup>123</sup> they came to Punnaikāyal. This was a large Christian village<sup>124</sup> a league and a half north of Kāyalpatnam. It was located on a bare, flat, desolate sandbar in the delta of the Tāmbraparni River and thus protected from hostile attacks. The river, which was spread out here in a maze of different branches, marked the boundary between the territory of the Great King in the south and of the Pāndya king of Kayattār,<sup>125</sup> who was over Tuticorin.<sup>126</sup> After proceeding on for another league towards the northwest, crossing in the meantime several branches of the river, they came to the Parava village of Palayakāyal, or "Old Kāyal."<sup>127</sup> This lay near a branch of the river at a distance from the coast in a small oasis of coconut palms. They then continued their way straight across a monotonous, barren plain that was only sparsely inhabited. Here and there were fan palms and clumps of briars, and on the right were salt pans. Three hours after leaving Palayakāyal, they caught sight of Tuticorin, the main city of the Fishery Coast.<sup>128</sup> This large city lying close to the sea was the home of the three seminarians, and they were here received by the inhabitants with open arms.

Here Francis met the captain of the Fishery Coast, Cosme de Paiva, and his assistants. He also met the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa<sup>129</sup> and the parish priest of Cochin, Pedro Gonçalves.<sup>130</sup> Along with Miguel Vaz and

<sup>122</sup> Pate cites a (perhaps forged) sheet-copper document in the possession of the Moors of Kāyalpatnam, in which Tirumala Nāyaka (1623-1657) ordered the head of the community to gather together his dispersed people and to reestablish themselves on the spot; and for this he granted them great privileges (499-500). The village was at least partially rebuilt shortly after 1538 (EX I 234; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 347). In 1547 the Great King was willing to give the property of the Moors of Kāyalpatnam, who were very wealthy, to the Portuguese if they helped him (*ibid.* 460). In 1600 the Moors of the village burned the church of Kombuturē and were the mortal enemies of the Christians (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 16).

<sup>123</sup> In 1600 Punnaikāyal was reputed to be the safest place on the entire coast. On one side was the sea and a large inlet, which could only be crossed by boat; and it was cut off from the land by a river (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 15). In 1566 the place was almost an island and became flooded in times of high water. This same year new arms of the river were formed that saved the village (SR X 35).

<sup>124</sup> Punnaikāyal (New Kāyal) was the second largest village on the Fishery Coast (DI I 225). On it see Ayyar-Souter 326-327; Besse 510-520. The number of Christians came to 4,000 in 1644, 2,800 in 1664, 2,660 in 1713, and 2,452 in 1954.

<sup>125</sup> Beyond Kayattār, the capital of Vettum Perumāl, lying within the interior thirty-one miles northwest of Tuticorin; see Pate 381-384.

<sup>126</sup> "When St. Francis Xavier came to the Fishery Coast in 1542, and later, the lord of Tuticorin was a prince called the king of Cayetarro, and also lord over other neighboring villages until he was deprived of his rule by the Nayque of Madurē" (Queyroz, *Basto* 60-61). On the Pāndya king see Schurhammer, "Iniquitriberim" 18 27-34.

<sup>127</sup> The continuous sanding up of the delta of the Tāmbraparni brought about changes in the center for the trading of pearls. In the first century, according to the author of the *Periplus* (70 A.D.), it was at Korkai; in the tenth century it was at Māramangalam; in the thirteenth it was already at Palayakāyal; and this was still in 1600 the market for pearls and pearl dust (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 15); cf. Pate 429-435; Besse 486-499. The number of Christians came to 800 in 1644, 1,231 in 1713, and 2,175 in 1954.

<sup>128</sup> In 1547 H. Henriques called it the largest place on the Fishery Coast (DI I 225). On Tuticorin, see Pate 429-435; Besse 515-517. The number of Christians came to 8,270 in 1644, 10,000 in 1664, 21,600 in 1954.

<sup>129</sup> He had sailed on with the captain of Manappād to Tuticorin, while Xavier continued on foot.

<sup>130</sup> Pedro Gonçalves, who was born in Montemor, as is indicated on his tombstone, was in the service of Sebastião Pires, vicar general and pastor of Cochin from 1522 to 1532. When Miguel Vaz came to Cochin in 1533 as vicar general, Gonçalves was administrator of the parish and tried to obtain the parish from the king. Vaz wrote

other clerics, he had baptized the Paravas in the years 1535 to 1537. As he had done before, he had now come to Tuticorin to act as chaplain for the Portuguese. He introduced Francis to his new field of labor,<sup>131</sup> and soon after his arrival Francis was able to send a letter to Ignatius on a ship that was sailing back to Cochin.<sup>132</sup> From there it would be carried on one of the vessels of the fleet sailing in January for Portugal. In this letter he described his passage through the Fishery Coast and gave an account of his experiences and first impressions. He began as follows:<sup>133</sup>

From Goa I wrote to you at great length about our entire voyage, from the time of our departure from Lisbon to our arrival in India, and also that I was going to Tutukurim<sup>134</sup> with some *padres* [clerics] of that city.<sup>135</sup> They had been brought as

at the beginning of 1534 that the administrator, although he was a good man and led a good life, was too young and inexperienced for the position of vicar in a city such as Cochin. For this position there was need of one with a certain amount of formal education and great authority (Q 161). An anonymous document from about this same time accuses both Seb. Pires and his assistant, Pedro Gonçalves, of the greatest excesses, stating that Gonçalves was known throughout India as being guilty of open concubinage from the time of his arrival in the country, and that no cleric led such a wicked life as he (SR II 364-369). However, in contrast to the author of this document, all his other contemporaries, such as Miguel Vaz, Lancilotto (DI II 148-149) and Xavier (EX I 410, II 305), praise him for his morally blameless life and zeal. After 1536 we encounter him as parish priest of Cochin, after 1547 as royal chaplain, and in 1560 as the first dean of the cathedral in the city (DI IV 556). As a great friend of Xavier and of his order, he always welcomed him and his confreres in his house. In gratitude for this Ignatius sent him the privileges of his Society along with other favors (DI II 311-312 323 326, III 218 256-257). He died in Cochin in 1569. The tombstone which the cathedral chapter erected for him was on the Rua de Queiroz in 1867 near the entrance to the house of the treasury official Green. The inscription was published in *Chronista de Tissuary* 2 (1867) 98.

<sup>131</sup> In 1555 Gonçalves asked Ignatius to obtain from the Holy Father certain favors for him. He added that he could tell His Holiness that he had baptized with his own hand almost all the Christians of Cape Comorin, who amounted to about 200,000 souls (a gross exaggeration). He then wrote: "porque, quando veo Mestre Francisquo de Portugal, eu residia naquele tempo laa, e lhe emtreguey a cristymdade toda, e dahy nos ficou ha amizade grande que tinhamos ambos" (DI III 257). Around 1549 he had already written to the founder of the order about his baptisms. He had been the first priest to begin to baptize the fishers of Cape Comorin, from 1,000 to 1,500 on a single day; and in the three years that he had stayed there he had baptized over 120,000 (Polanco II 145; cf. EX II 71; DI I 517). The number of Paravas baptized in 1536 and 1537 came to some 20,000 (see Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 225-230). In 1558 H. Henriques declared that Pedro Gonçalves had baptized a large part of these (DI IV 23). The three years referred to by Gonçalves are probably to be understood in the sense that he was present for the mass baptisms in 1536 and 1537, and that he acted as chaplain for the captain and his Portuguese assistants in 1542. The Paravas declared in 1583 that before Xavier's arrival there had only been one secular priest on the coast, and that he had served as vicar but gave no instructions in the faith (ARSI: Goa 47, 758-786). Seb. Gonçalves wrote that the Paravas had called this priest *Katte Padre*, that is, "Short Father" (2,8). Pedro Gonçalves is probably meant by this since we do not hear of any others having contacts with the Paravas before Xavier. When the peace on the Fishery Coast was ruined by two fiercely warring parties which H. Henriques was unable to control, the provincial persuaded the governor to send the licentiate Francisco Alvares and Pedro Gonçalves to them to bring about peace (DI IV 23). Three years later we again encounter him there (*ibid.* 556).

<sup>132</sup> Pedro Gonçalves probably sailed in this ship back to Goa with Gamboa and the imprisoned ex-captain.

<sup>133</sup> EX I 146-151.

<sup>134</sup> Here, as elsewhere, Xavier gives the Indian pronunciation of the name: Tüt-tukkudi (Yule 946).

<sup>135</sup> Xavier writes: "Os ecreví ... cómmo estava de partida para Tutucurin en con-

boys to Goa and had there been taught about the Church. They are now men of the Gospel.<sup>136</sup>

We passed through Christian villages where the people had been converted some eight years ago.<sup>137</sup> There are no Portuguese living in these villages since the land produces very little and is extremely poor. Since the Christians in these villages have no one to instruct them in the faith, they can say nothing more about it than that they are Christians. They have no one to say Mass for them, nor even one who could teach them the Apostles' Creed, the Our Father and Hail Mary, or the Commandments.<sup>138</sup> When I arrived in these villages, I baptized all the children who had not as yet been baptized. I thus baptized a great many infants "who could not tell their right hand from their left."<sup>139</sup>

When I reached a village, the children would not let me say my Office or eat or sleep until I had taught them some prayers. Then I began to understand that "of such is the kingdom of heaven."<sup>140</sup> Since it would have been impious to refuse such a holy request, I began with the Confession of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the Creed, Our Father, and Hail Mary, and taught them in this way. I saw that they had great talents; and I am convinced that if there were anyone to instruct them in our holy faith, they would soon be good Christians.

Francis then gave an account of his visit to a pagan village and how he had baptized the whole place after the fortunate birth of the child. He also described the warm and affectionate manner in which the residents of Tuticorin had received

paña de unos Padres de aqueste lugar" (EX I 146-147; cf. 127; DI I 45). Antonio Coutinho, a Parava who accompanied the saint as a servant along the Fishery Coast, testified in 1583 that the two clerics who came with him were Paravas (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 276). J. Castets, S.J., the historian of the Madura Mission is accordingly wrong when he writes that Xavier's companions in 1542 were Eurasians, a statement which he emended in his later writings to "native born Goans, from whom no one could have learned Tamil, or seems to have attempted to learn a word of this language" (*Catholic Herald of India*, N.S. 21 [1923] 60; *St. Francis Xavier's Indian Mission* [Trichinopoly, 1923] 11 18 21; *The Madura Mission* [ibid. 1924] 4; *\*L'ancienne Mission de Maduré* 13-14 20).

<sup>136</sup> Deacons.

<sup>137</sup> More precisely, 6 1/2 years.

<sup>138</sup> In 1583 Gonçalo Fernandes, the procurator of the Jesuit mission on the Fishery Coast, in compliance with a commission given him by the other priests, interviewed fifteen Paravas on what the Society of Jesus had up till then done for the people. The official document with the \*testimonials is still extant (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 258-286). The witnesses, mostly old men, part of whom had known Xavier personally, declared that the Paravas, who a few years before Xavier's arrival had been baptized by Miguel Vaz and the king's officials, had been abandoned and had lived through ignorance of their faith as they had before they were baptized and as their pagan neighbors did. There were at the time more than twenty Christian villages, but only one secular priest had served as vicar when Xavier came; and nowhere was there a church or any instructions in Christian doctrine. "Não avia ygreias nenhuas, nem nenhum modo de emsynar a Doutrina," as the Parava justice Pero Lopes expressed it (*ibid.* 284). \*Aires de Sá, who had been a missionary on the Fishery Coast since 1587, wrote in 1611: "When P. Magister Franciscus, our saint, came to India, the Paravas had been Christians for twelve years, but of such a kind that no one knew anything about Christianity; and if anyone knew that he was named Pedro or Maria and that he had been baptized, he was a very learned person. The blessed Father therefore had *canacapoies* teach them Christian doctrine and ordered him to prepare the people for confession and Communion.... But the priests were too few, the Christians too many and badly instructed. They therefore seldom went to confession, and still less to Communion. P. Diogo da Cunha told me that before P. Valignano came as visitor [1575], there were perhaps in the whole mission five hundred who went to confession and one hundred to Communion" (ARSI: *Goa* 17, 51). On this see Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 230-233.

<sup>139</sup> Jonah 4:11.

<sup>140</sup> Matt. 19:14.

him and his companions. At the end he wrote of his friend and benefactor Martim Affonso de Sousa, the great savior and protector of the Paravas, and of his brilliant victory at Vēdālai. His words showed that there still flowed in his veins the blood of his ancestors, who during centuries of warfare had helped free Navarre and all of Spain from the slavery of the Moors:

The Lord Governor has a great love for these Christians, who only recently have been converted in these parts. He gave them great help at the time when they were being mistreated and persecuted by the Moors. These Christians are all bound to the sea and live exclusively from the riches of the sea. They are fishers. The Moors seized their ships, with which they gained their livelihood. When the Lord Governor heard of this, he sailed here with a fleet in person against the Moors. He overtook and slew a great number of them and put them all to flight. He took all their ships away from them without leaving them a single one, including those that had been seized as booty from the Christians of this land. He returned their ships to all the Christians and gave those that he had taken from the Moors to the poor who had neither ships of their own nor the money with which to buy them. He attained a great victory that will long be remembered. And just as our Lord has helped him, so he knows how to acknowledge it, since he is so generous with the Christians. No one now remembers the Moors, nor is there anyone among them who dares to raise his head. The Lord slew all their leaders and those of any importance. The Christians of this land look upon the Lord Governor as their father, and the Lord Governor treats them as sons begotten in Christ.<sup>141</sup> God our Lord knows how dear to me are these new plants<sup>142</sup> of Christ.

The Lord Governor is now about to do something that will be long remembered and will contribute greatly to the service of God our Lord. It is to unite all these Christians, who live far from each other, and settle them on an island,<sup>143</sup> and give them a king to care for them, to see that justice is maintained, and along with this, give them one who can care for their souls.

If His Holiness knew how well the Lord Governor serves him here, he would thank him for the services which he renders him here. See to it therefore that he writes to him, thanking him for the services which he does for him here. He does not need to commend to him the Christians, for he already cares for them himself; but he should give him the due thanks that his services deserve since he takes such good care of his sheep and is so assiduous in watching over them so that the infidels, ravening wolves, do not devour them.<sup>144</sup> Do not fail to write to him, for I am sure that he will be greatly pleased by your letters. And may you and all of the Society also commend him to God our Lord so that He may give him His most holy grace ever to persevere in doing good, for our salvation consists not only in beginning well but in persevering unto the end.<sup>145</sup>

I trust in the infinite mercy of God our Lord and hope that with the assistance of your sacrifices and prayers and of all the Society that, in case we do not see each other again in this life, we shall in the next with greater peace and joy than we do in this.

From Tutukurin, October 28, in the year 1542.

Your son in Christ,

Franciscus de Xabier.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 4:15.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Ps. 143:12.

3. FOUR MONTHS IN TUTICORIN (OCTOBER, 1542—FEBRUARY, 1543)<sup>146</sup>

There were good reasons for the warm reception given to Francis and his companions in Tuticorin. The appointment of M.A. de Sousa, their liberator and protector, as governor of India had filled the Paravas with new hope; and he had sent them this priest. They had not been deceived in their expectations. One of the governor's first official acts had been to reduce the annual tribute to the Portuguese crown from 75,000 to 60,000 *fanams*.<sup>147</sup> The licentiate Gamboa had come with the staff of the new captain in order to rectify the acts of oppression and extortion committed by the former captain. The licentiate had witnesses heard who confirmed the complaints made against the captain. To the edification and admiration of both Christians and pagans, he had the money that had been taken from the Paravas restored to them and sent the captain as a prisoner back to Cochin.<sup>148</sup>

The northeast monsoon, and with it the cool time of the year, which lasted from October to the beginning of January, had begun when Xavier arrived in Tuticorin; and the heat, which fluctuated between seventy-three and eighty-two degrees was bearable. But the rain clouds, which discharged themselves upon the distant mountains in the west, seldom came as far as Tuticorin. In contrast to Malabar, with its abundant rain and luxurious vegetation, the east coast was a land with little rain; and drought and famine were common whenever the countless artificial ponds in the interior dried up.<sup>149</sup> During these months winds blew frequently from the west, filling the air at times with red sand that darkened the skies.<sup>150</sup> This was the season for chank fishing, when the Parava divers

<sup>143</sup> The plan was only executed twenty years later. On December 1, 1560, Frois wrote from Goa that the viceroy, D. Constantino de Bragança, was of the opinion that the island of Jaffna should be seized in order to transfer all the Christians from the Comorin Coast there, "something which our blessed Father Master Francis of pious memory ardently desired because of the great peace and security this would give to the Christians" (DI IV 743; cf. 640). After the fall of Jaffna, the viceroy took possession of the island of Mannār and had a fort erected there with a captain and a garrison of 150 men. In 1561 he settled the Paravas and Karaiyas there. But when a plague broke out in 1563 and carried away four thousand Christians, the Paravas returned to their former villages on the mainland (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 35; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 2, 26-29, and DI V-VI, index: Mannār).

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Matth. 7:15; Acts 20:29; 1 Peter 5:8.

<sup>145</sup> Matth. 10:22.

<sup>146</sup> EX I 165. Where did Xavier live in Tuticorin during his first stay there? Close to the beach there is still today the parish church of Our Lady of the Snows with its venerated miraculous picture of the Mother of God from Portuguese times. But it was not sent there at his request after his death by a nun in Manila, as "tradition" would have it, since this city was only founded in 1571. Not far from there can be seen on the left of the façade of the church, lying somewhat to the rear near an old cemetery, the ruins of the church of São Pedro Koil on the street of the same name. It has a *cruzadi* where, according to tradition, Xavier used to celebrate Mass. In 1644 this was the church of the Jesuit residence (\*André Lopes 530v). In 1607 the bishop of Cochin claimed jurisdiction over it since it was the oldest church in Tuticorin, having been built by Pedro Gonçalves before Xavier's arrival (Queyroz, *Basto* 68 75). According to tradition the saint lived east of the Dutch cemetery near the present customhouse, as the sacristan of the parish church informed me in 1953 (cf. also Besse 486).

<sup>147</sup> SR II 332-333. Of these 28,000 were paid during the Small Fishery in November and 32,000 during the Great Fishery in March (\**Enformação do principio*).

<sup>148</sup> SR II 332; cf. 329.

<sup>149</sup> Pate 28 251.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.* 29; Nieuhof II 188 192-193.

gathered the large tritons from the floor of the sea between the pearl and coral banks near the islands lying before Tuticorin. These were sold to merchants who shipped them as a rule to Bengal, where they were made into bracelets; but they also served as temple trumpets.<sup>151</sup>

Tuticorin had a mixed population. A good many pagans lived here among the Christian Paravas,<sup>152</sup> and Master Francis for the first time came into close contact with the pagan beliefs and practices of India.<sup>153</sup> One could only enter a temple barefooted.<sup>154</sup> There in the darkness of the sanctuary and in the dim light of an oil lamp could be seen grinning down at the visitor an ugly, black idol, ill-smelling from the coconut oil with which it was smeared.<sup>155</sup> There were numerous images of the gods in the temples and wayside chapels, on the borders of the streets, and in the fields. These were made of wood, clay, metal, and stone in every possible form.<sup>156</sup> Frequently they were only heaps of sand, earth, or stone shaped like little pyramids. Those who passed by them tossed upon them as a sign of respect a handful of sand, a stone, or the twig of a tree so that the devil living within them might not harm them.<sup>157</sup> Besides these, there were stones with the fearful portrait of a cobra with either one or seven inflated heads,<sup>158</sup> or of a reclining, stone bull, the sacred mount of Shiva,<sup>159</sup> or of a peacock, the mount of the god Subrahmanya,<sup>160</sup> and representations of gods and goddesses with many arms and all kinds of symbols, and especially that of the bloodthirsty Kali. Among these were Hanumān, the ape-god;<sup>161</sup> Puleyar, the fat-bellied god with an elephant's trunk, frequently placed at a street crossing so that he could watch for a mate who would be more beautiful than his mother,<sup>162</sup> a devil in the form of a crow;<sup>163</sup> gaily painted horses, cows, and elephants made of clay, the mounts of the protecting god of the village and his companions when they set out at night to drive the evil spirits from the fields;<sup>164</sup> and statues of temple guards with raised, menacing clubs.<sup>165</sup>

The Brahmans were the priests of the temples and lived off of their revenues.<sup>166</sup> Twice a day trumpets made from the shells of tritons, gongs, and drums announced the offerings that they brought to the gods: rice and curry,

<sup>151</sup> On the Chank Fisheries, see above p. 258. The chank mussels were fished on the stretch of coast reaching for ten leagues between Virapāndyanpatnam and Ilha Doce (Nallatanni Tivu, Freshwater Island) near Mukūr, lying to the north of Vēmbār, the northernmost Parava village. (Nieuhof II 191); see also Pate 235; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 244; EX I 242.

<sup>152</sup> \*H. Henriques in 1587 (ARSI: *Goa* 33, 326).

<sup>153</sup> On the following see the accounts of Xavier's companions: Manuel de Morais in 1547 and 1549 (DI I 244-247 465), Baltasar Nunes in 1548 and 1552 (*ibid.* 320-322; II 559-572), and H. Henriques in 1548 (*ibid.* I 289-295).

<sup>154</sup> DI I 245.

<sup>155</sup> EX I 172.

<sup>156</sup> DI I 320; EX I 170.

<sup>157</sup> DI I 245, II 571. On the demon gods and their pyramidal symbols (*pūdam*), see Pate 113-120.

<sup>158</sup> DI I 245, II 571.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.* I 320, II 570-571.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.* I 245, II 571.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.* I 320, II 571.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.* I 320-322, II 571.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.* I 245; Dubois 487.

<sup>164</sup> DI I 245 320, II 571; Pate I 108.

<sup>165</sup> Pate I 108.

<sup>166</sup> EX I 170; DI I 246.



fruit, melted butter, palm sugar, flowers, and incense.<sup>167</sup> When the aroma of the food had been dissipated, the priests ate the offerings,<sup>168</sup> using banana leaves as plates.<sup>169</sup> They never tasted meat. On feast days, the idol was adorned with precious ornaments and led in solemn procession through the streets with loud music. The priests, who were held in the highest esteem by all the people,<sup>170</sup> could tell many ridiculous and even filthy stories about their gods. The Brahmins bathed every day<sup>171</sup> and scrupulously avoided any contacts with the lower, and especially the unclean, castes.<sup>172</sup> They took careful note of the distinction between good and bad days,<sup>173</sup> between favorable and unfavorable omens.<sup>174</sup> When a child was born, an astrologer was called to take its horoscope in order to see if the infant had seen the light of day under a favorable or unfavorable constellation;<sup>175</sup> and countless were the ceremonies which had to be observed from dawn to dusk and from birth to death.

The religion of the pagans was, especially for the common people, a religion of fear. If one died a violent death, his spirit found no rest and wandered about as an evil demon. In fact, the whole world was full of evil spirits, of bloodthirsty devils, who had to be pacified with sacrificial offerings.<sup>176</sup> When the Brahmins lacked provisions, they threatened the people with the wrath of the gods in order to obtain what they needed.<sup>177</sup> When a woman was expecting a child or when someone fell ill, a Brahman was called to pronounce his *mantras* over them and to tell the people what must be offered at the pagoda that their prayers might be heard.<sup>178</sup> Before a suppliant brought his offering, he anointed himself with oil, washed his body, cleaned his teeth, rubbed his body with fragrant sandalwood, cooked a mess of rice, killed a goat, a wether, or some chickens, and had a meal with his companions near the temple.<sup>179</sup> At other times a reunion would be held in the house of the sick person at night. Animals would be slaughtered, for the demons who caused the illness longed for blood. Palm wine was passed around, and while the reveling was going on to the light of oil lamps, a devil-dancer, a man from a lower caste, came into the cottage fantastically tricked out as a demon with brass bells and ankle bones. The musicians kept time with drums, cymbals, and bells. The dancer moved slowly at first with irregular, convulsive gestures, as all watched in silence. Then the music and the dancer's movements increased in tempo, his leaps became wilder and more frenzied as the musicians, in the room reeking with the smell of blood and arrack, whipped him into a state of madness with their instruments and cries. Suddenly the dancer stopped. His glazed eyes stared through the darkness. The spirit had taken possession of, and now spoke through, him. All present threw themselves as if dead upon the floor and prayed to the demon within him. He answered their questions, gave the name of the devil that had caused the sick-

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.* and Dubois 847-848.

<sup>168</sup> DI I 320-321, II 570.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.* I 244; Dubois 184.

<sup>170</sup> DI I 246 321.

<sup>171</sup> Dubois 185-186; cf. DI I 247.

<sup>172</sup> Diogo Gonçalves 15-17.

<sup>173</sup> DI I 292.

<sup>174</sup> Diogo Gonçalves 72-73.

<sup>175</sup> DI II 567; cf. Dubois 500.

<sup>176</sup> DI I 290 580, IV 36; Pate 116.

<sup>177</sup> EX I 270.

<sup>178</sup> DI I 244-245 295 465.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.* 245 465.

ness, and indicated how many *fanams* and how much cloth should be given, and how many goats or hens would have to be sacrificed to him so that he would not slay his victim.<sup>180</sup>

When a man died, his body was burned,<sup>181</sup> and his widow had to follow him into the next world. A great funeral pyre was kindled in a trench and the wife was brought to it dressed in festal garments, her neck and arms adorned with golden ornaments. As the village musicians played their instruments, the widow's relatives danced with her about the pyre, removing her jewelry and clothing piece by piece. After she had been made drunk with palm wine, her closest male relative danced once more with her about the ditch and then shoved her into the fire, which, being fed with oil, consumed its victim within a few moments so that not even a bone remained of her. If a widow refused to allow herself to be burned, she was repudiated by her relatives and condemned to a life of shame.<sup>182</sup>

The Parava fishers, who were some twenty thousand in number,<sup>183</sup> lived in twenty-two villages<sup>184</sup> stretching along the coast for a distance of thirty-five leagues from Rājakkamangalam on the other side of Cape Comorin to Vēmbār. They were divided into two classes: the more prominent, who owned a boat,<sup>185</sup> and the common fishers. Some few of the former also possessed fields of cotton, a number of fan palms, and slaves. The latter had nothing of their own except a clay or palm-leaf hut, and at best a net and a catamaran.<sup>186</sup> The *patangatis*, who ruled over a village, were chosen from the more prominent individuals. At their head was the *patangati-mor*, the chief of the caste.<sup>188</sup> In

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.* 244-245 465 580, IV 36. On the devil-dancers see Pate 118-119; Nagam Aiya II 56-57; Thurston V 141-149, VI 139-141 (with pictures of Nalke and Parava devil-dancers); P. Menon III 493-496; Diogo Gonçalves 68-70.

<sup>181</sup> DI I 246-247.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.* 253-254; II 561; Diogo Gonçalves 66-67.

<sup>183</sup> Teixeira 848; Schurhammer, "Bekehrung" 225-230.

<sup>184</sup> In 1583 the \*witnesses spoke about more than twenty towns (ARSI: Goa 47, 258-286); Teixeira mentions twenty-two (*ibid.*, Goa 38, 289v). In 1558 H. Henriques counted twenty-one Parava villages: (1) one beyond the cape (Rājakkamangalam), (2) Coualão (Kōvalam), (3) Cabo do Cumurim (Kanniyākumari), (4) Mutão (Kumari Muttam), (5) Permanél (Perumanal), (6) Irinjacalú (Idindakarai), (7) Cutāogulipatanão (Kūttankuli), (8) Uvarim (Ovari), (9) Tale (Periyatālai), (10) Puducaré (Pudukarai), (11) Manappār (Manappād), (12) Alemdalé (Ālantalai), (13) Trechamdūr (Tiruchendūr), (14) Virandapanāo (Virapāndyanpatnam), (15) Talambuli (Talambuli), (16) Punicále (Punnaikāyal), (17) Cáyle Velho (Palayakāyal), (18) Tutucurim (Tuticorin), (19) Vaipār (Vaippār), (20) Chetupār (Chetupār), (21) Bembār (Vēmbār) (DI IV 32-34); in addition to these is (22) Mukūr.

<sup>185</sup> Xavier calls them *champanotes*, that is, owners of *tonis* or *vallams* (EX I 209). "The *patangatis*, *champanotes* and *toneotes*, who are the aristocrats," \*Aires de Sá observed in 1611 (ARSI: Goa 17, 51).

<sup>186</sup> DI II 562.

<sup>187</sup> Pattankati (Dalgado II 188-189). "Thirty to forty aristocrats rule the people," according to Aires de Figueiredo in 1547 (DI I 161).

<sup>188</sup> The *patangati-mor* had the title of *jāthi talavaimore* (*talavāy*: overseer, prince-ruler; *talaivan*: administrator). In the language of the people he was also called "Chief of the Seven Villages," that is, of the Pearl Fishery villages of Vēmbār, Vaippār, Tuticorin, Punnaikāyal, Virapāndyanpatnam, Tiruchendūr, and Manappād (cf. Besse 397). When these villages split into two parties in 1557, each one chose a different *patangati-mor* for the coming Pearl Fishery. At the suggestion of the priests, a meeting was held in Punnaikāyal at which the *patangatis* of Vēmbār, Chetupār, Vaippār, Tuticorin, Punnaikāyal, Virapāndyanpatnam, Tiruchendūr, Ālantalai, and Manappād agreed upon a *patangati-mor*, the one to whom the right of office according to their custom belonged (DI IV 43-45). Among the signatures to a document of 1607 is that of "Dom

the neighborhood of the Parava villages there were also as a rule small settlements of Karaiyas,<sup>189</sup> who were practically the slaves of those of higher rank.<sup>190</sup> There were also Shānās farther inland, who tended the palmyra palms. In Tuticorin and the other villages in the north there was a representative of the pagan king of Maniyakkāran, who held a lease on the collection of taxes. He also acted as a judge for the pagans.<sup>191</sup> South of the Tāmbraparni River, in the territory of the Great King, the *adhigaris* held this office.<sup>192</sup> But the Parava villages had their own government, and all the authority lay in the hands of the *patangatis*.<sup>193</sup> Whereas the inhabitants of the northern villages were pearl and chank fishers, those living in the villages south of Manappād were solely engaged in catching fish.<sup>194</sup>

In their daily lives they were no different from their pagan neighbors. The men ate by themselves and turned their backs to their wives.<sup>195</sup> They ate from copper bowls, without touching their food with the left hand; and they also drank from copper vessels, usually without bringing the rim to their mouth.<sup>196</sup> They did not kill cows, and the Portuguese were the only ones who ate the flesh of these animals.<sup>197</sup> They chewed betel, the nut of the areca palm rolled up with lime in the leaf of the same tree, a practice which turned their teeth black and their saliva red.<sup>198</sup> They drank the sweet, intoxicating arrack of the palmyra palm.<sup>199</sup> On the death of their husband, women gave expression to their grief in wild lamentations.<sup>200</sup> Pagan ideas were also still deeply rooted in the Paravas, especially the fear of demons, who were the cause of all their ills and misfortunes, and who had to be propitiated with gifts.<sup>201</sup>

The first task was, therefore, to instruct the Paravas in the Christian faith; and, since they knew no Portuguese, this had to be done in their own Malabar tongue, Tamil.<sup>202</sup> The language was difficult,<sup>203</sup> the sounds and grammar were

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João Pires, patangatim-mor de toda a Costa da Pescaria" as representative of "the Seven Villages" of the Paravas, and "Dom Francisco de Mello, patangatim-mor de Tutucorim" (Q, pl. XVII). Pires was already in office in 1583, when the *patangatim-mor* of Tuticorin was Joam da Cruz (ARSI: Goa 47, 265v 279v). \*Aires de Sá also speaks of two *patangatis-mores* at the Pearl Fishery in 1611 (ARSI: Goa 17, 51v). Under the Dutch the office was sold to the highest bidder (Besse 471-472). The *jāthi talaivan*, whose office was not recognized in recent times by a part of the caste, also enjoyed certain rights under British rule, for example, the proceeds of a boat at the Pearl Fisheries. A picture of the *jāthi talaivan* Dom Gabriel Motha Vaz in his official robes is given in KM 50 (1922) 112. The last "King of the Paravas" died in 1954. On the office, see Pate 122-123, 234; Ayyar-Souter 172-174 204; Thurston VI 146 154.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Thurston V 473-476.

<sup>190</sup> DI I 284.

<sup>191</sup> Maniyakkāran (Yule 576-577; Dalgado II 32) were appointed in Vaippār, Vēmbār (Seb. Gonçalves 2, 7), Punnaikāyal (ARSI: Goa 48, 165), and Tuticorin (Besse 420).

<sup>192</sup> Cf. Dalgado I 11-12; EX I 205 230-231 236-237 239 428.

<sup>193</sup> EX I 192 200 209 211-212 225. They were appointed by the Great King, for example, four in Manappād (*ibid.* 237).

<sup>194</sup> DI IV 34.

<sup>195</sup> ARSI: Goa 47, 205.

<sup>196</sup> DI I 244, II 559.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.* I 244.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.* 295; cf. 558, II 433, IV 684; Dalgado I 121-124.

<sup>199</sup> EX I 191-192 196.

<sup>200</sup> ARSI: Goa 47, 205; Dubois 350-352.

<sup>201</sup> DI I 290 580.

<sup>202</sup> Xavier and his fellow workers used the word *Malabar* also for Tamil (EX I 162; DI I 584). Elsewhere he described it as *Malayālam* (*ibid.* 547). H. Henriques made a more accurate distinction and called the two languages *Malleame*. He noted that

completely different from the languages of Europe. Every means for learning it, grammars, dictionaries, and teachers, were lacking. Their books were long, narrow, brown strips of palm leaves held together by a cord; and they were written in a complicated script unknown to the Portuguese. Xavier's predecessors had therefore despaired of learning the language. But not so Master Francis.<sup>204</sup> He brought together the most learned individuals of the place and sought out individuals who, like his three seminarians, had some knowledge of Portuguese in addition to their own native speech.<sup>205</sup> During the course of numerous sessions and with the expenditure of untold efforts,<sup>206</sup> he was able with their help to translate in the course of the following three months<sup>207</sup> the most necessary sections of the Small Catechism: the Sign of the Cross, the Creed, the Commandments, the Our Father, Hail Mary, *Salve Regina*, and the *Confiteor*. But frequently they sought in vain for the expression of Christian ideas in Tamil terms. What word should be used, for example, so as not to confuse the Christian God with the gods of the pagans?<sup>208</sup> To avoid misunderstandings,<sup>209</sup> Xavier therefore retained the Portuguese words for the following: Holy Spirit, Catholic church, Communion of Saints, heaven, grace, Mass, Christ, Lent, Communion, Easter, Ember Days, tithes, sacraments, baptism, confession, last anointing, marriage, cross, priest, apostle, purgatory, host, chalice, and other similar expressions. In addition to translating the essential parts of the catechism, he also composed a short address in which he explained what it means to be a Catholic, what are heaven and hell, and who goes to the one and who to the other; and he had this sermon translated into their own language by his fellow workers.<sup>210</sup>

Master Francis wrote down in Latin characters the prayers and Commandments that had been translated, for he could not even think of learning the difficult Tamil alphabet with its numerous characters and combinations.<sup>211</sup> He then memorized the foreign text. Latin characters could, it is true, only represent very imperfectly sounds that were frequently much different from European

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the two languages were a bit more different than Castilian and Portuguese (*ibid.* II 305; cf. Diogo Gonçalves 29).

<sup>203</sup> DI I 286, III 416, IV 27. H. Henriques describes the astonishment of the Paravas when he, the first European to do so, learned even the conjugations and declensions of their language (*ibid.* I 286). He called the language "trabalhosissima" (*ibid.* II 302).

<sup>204</sup> Our source for the following is Xavier's letter of January 15, 1544 (EX I 162-166).

<sup>205</sup> Castets presumes that Xavier's helper in making the translation was a mixed-blood of the place (*St. Francis Xavier's Indian Mission* [1924] 9). Our sources for this period do not mention any Tamil-speaking mixed-bloods in Tuticorin. The captain, however, had an official interpreter, and in 1544 Xavier wrote of an interpreter whom his companion Artiaga could buy (EX I 190).

<sup>206</sup> EX I 162; DI I 283.

<sup>207</sup> Xavier wrote that he had remained for four months in Tuticorin and had taught the catechism there for a month after completing its translation (EX I 162).

<sup>209</sup> On Xavier's translation of the catechism, see EX II 581-590. It was full of "mentiras" (DI I 583, II 302), the prayers "cheas de mil errores" (*ibid.* II 299), as H. Henriques wrote in 1552. In 1578 he therefore had a new translation of the catechism printed in Quilon, and in 1579 a more extensive one in Cochin (G. Schurhammer - G. W. Cottrell, "The First Printing in Indic Characters," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 6 [1952] 147-160). Xavier's fellow workers repeatedly complained about the unreliability of the translators (DI I 287, II 158-159 381).

<sup>210</sup> EX I 168.

<sup>211</sup> H. Henriques, in 1548, was the first also to learn the script with its 234 characters (DI I 286).

sounds. His pronunciation of the different *l*-, *r*-, *n*-, and *d*-sounds,<sup>212</sup> for example, must have frequently appeared to his hearers as strange, unintelligible, and amusing, especially since every change of a long for a short vowel completely altered the meaning of a word.<sup>213</sup> But none of this terrified the zealous priest. To be better understood, he had his words repeated and explained by one of his seminarians.<sup>214</sup> As soon as he had everything memorized, he went through the whole village with his bell and gathered together all the men and boys he could.<sup>215</sup> Twice a day he taught them their prayers, the Creed, and the Commandments. For a whole month he continued this instruction, and his hearers had to repeat what they had learned at home to their parents and other members of the household and to their neighbors.

On Sundays Francis brought together all the Christians of the village, men and women, old and young, and had them repeat the prayers in their own tongue. All this was new to the people, and they eagerly came to the instructions. The Sign of the Cross at the beginning was a confession of their faith in one God in three Persons. They then recited the Creed in Tamil in a loud voice, the priest reciting one sentence at a time, while the others repeated it after him. Xavier then repeated each individual article of the Creed and explained it with the help of his interpreter. To be a Christian is to believe firmly, and without any doubt the twelve articles. He therefore asked after each of them if they firmly believed it. All together, men and women, young and old, would answer in a loud voice, with their arms crossed before their breast: "Yes, we believe." And this confession of faith he repeated for his hearers more frequently than any other section of the catechism.

Next came the Commandments. He explained to his hearers that the Christian law has only Ten Commandments, and that one is a good Christian if he keeps them as God commands, and one is a bad Christian if he does not. Both Christians and pagans were astounded to see how holy was the law of Jesus Christ and how close it was in everything to the dictates of natural reason.

After the Creed and the Commandments, Xavier recited the Our Father and Hail Mary and had his hearers repeat his words: twelve Our Fathers and twelve Hail Marys in honor of the twelve articles of the Creed, and ten in honor of the Ten Commandments. This was done in the following fashion. After the first article he repeated in the language of his hearers the words he had spoken when teaching the faith in Goa:

"Jesus Christ, Son of God, give us the grace to believe firmly and without any doubt the first article!" And to gain this grace, they all recited together

<sup>212</sup> Cf. Diogo Gonçalves 29-30.

<sup>213</sup> In 1551 H. Henriques wrote: "The pronunciation is a very difficult matter" (DI II 164-165).

<sup>214</sup> Mansilhas in 1544 (EX I 193) and H. Henriques in 1548 did the same (DI I 286-287).

<sup>215</sup> "Muchachos y hombres" (EX I 162). On October 30, 1548, H. Henriques wrote from Vēmbār that when he came to the Fishery Coast a year and a half before, the boys (*niños*) came twice a day for instructions. He ordered that from then on the girls, who had hitherto not come for them, should be instructed in the morning and the boys in the evening. Xavier had arranged the instruction of the boys (*niños*) as soon as he came to this coast (DI I 283). In his letters of 1544 he constantly speaks of the instruction of the *meninos*, which could mean boys and girls. In 1547 Beira speaks of boys (DI 177). The Parava Estevão da Cunha declared in 1616 that he had heard from his father, Sebastião da Cunha, who had served Xavier and had given instructions, that the priest summoned the boys of the Fishery Coast with his bell for these (MX II 577).

the Our Father and then added: "Holy Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, obtain for us the grace from your son Jesus Christ to firmly believe, and without any doubt, the first article!" To obtain this grace they said a Hail Mary. The same was repeated after each of the other articles of the Creed.

It was the same with the Commandments. The priest recited a Commandment; the others repeated it, and then said together:

"Jesus Christ, Son of God, give us the grace to love you above all things!" And for this they prayed an Our Father and then added: "Holy Mary, mother of Jesus Christ, obtain for us the grace from your Son so that we can keep this First Commandment!" They followed this with a Hail Mary, and the same was done for each of the remaining Commandments.

Through these constant repetitions, Xavier impressed the Christian prayers and Commandments upon his hearers; and he explained to them that if they obtained these graces from God the Lord, He would give them everything else in abundance, even more than they could ask for.

He had all, but especially the catechumens, recite the *Confiteor*, and after it the Creed. And after each of the articles he would ask those preparing for baptism if they firmly believed it. After they had said they did, he explained to them the law of Christ which they had to obey in order to be saved. He then baptized them.<sup>216</sup> He always concluded the prayers with the *Salve Regina*.

Master Francis found particular delight in his small pupils. He was of the opinion that they would someday be better than their fathers, for they showed a great attachment and affection for their faith and a great zeal to learn the prayers and to teach them to others. They also had a great abhorrence for the idolatrous practices of the pagans. Frequently they were at odds with them on this account. They reproached their father and mother if they engaged in pagan ceremonies and came to tell the priest about it. When he heard that outside the village someone was practicing idolatry, he gathered together all the boys, and this was something which he did later also in the other villages that he visited,<sup>217</sup> and went with them to the spot where the idols had been erected. His pupils smashed the clay figures of the demons to dust and spit and stamped upon them, and thus gave more insults to the devil than their parents had shown honor to him.

The reputation of being a wonderworker had accompanied Master Francis to Tuticorin. His companions told how his prayers had obtained a successful delivery for the Karaiya woman who was already in the throes of death. The white *swāmī* had *mantras* that were more potent than those of the Brahmans. During the four months that he stayed in the capital of the Paravas, he was called from all sides to the homes of the sick so that he might pray over them and over the others in the house. Still others brought their sick and infirm to visit him, so that simply the reading of the Gospels over the sick would have taken all his time. But he had to administer baptism, bury the dead, translate the prayers, instruct the children and adults, answer the queries of his visitors, and do other tasks besides. Busy as he was, however, he never thought of turning down a pious request, for he did not want the people to lose their faith. But the requests became ever more frequent, and the people vied with each other as to which house he should visit first. To satisfy them

<sup>216</sup> Cf. the baptismal instruction for the Fishery Coast of 1548 (EX I 432).

<sup>217</sup> "When they give me news of idolatrous ceremonies performed outside the villages," Xavier wrote (EX I 164-165).

all, Francis set up the following program. He sent the boys who already knew the prayers to the cottages of the sick and ordered them to assemble all the members of the household and their neighbors. They should all then recite the Creed many times over and say to the sick person that if he believed, he would get well; and they should then recite the other prayers. With this procedure he was able to satisfy all. At the same time he managed in this way to teach the Creed and other prayers and the Commandments to the people in their homes and in the squares. And God granted many graces to the sick, including health of soul and body, because of their own faith and that of their families and friends. As Francis later wrote to his confreres, there was thus shown in them the great mercy of God, who called them through their sickness and, as it were, brought them by force to the faith.<sup>218</sup>

#### 4. THE GREAT PEARL FISHERY (MARCH—APRIL, 1543)<sup>219</sup>

On Ash Wednesday, February 7, 1543, Lent had begun. Four months had flown by since Father Master Francis arrived in Tuticorin. The rainy season had passed, the northeast monsoon had subsided, and the winds from the mountains in the west had ceased to blow. Although the nights were still cool, the days were getting noticeably hotter each week. At the beginning of March,<sup>220</sup>

<sup>218</sup> With the exception of his account of the Karaiya woman, this is the only place in which Xavier speaks of miracles (EX I 164-165).

<sup>219</sup> Accounts of pearl fishing in the Gulf of Manār, where the methods have not altered during the last five hundred years, may be found in the following (1) for *pre-Portuguese times*: Marco Polo in 1293 (178-179); (2) for *Portuguese times*: Barbosa in 1516 (II 116-117 122-124); Castanheda in 1552 (2, 22); Cesar Frederick in 1563 (in Purchas, *Principal Navigations* [Glasgow, 1904] 395-397; Pedro Teixeira in 1588 (Hakluyt, sec. ser. 9 [1901] 177-179; Linschoten in 1592 (II 60-62); \*Aires de Sá, S.J., in 1611 (ARSI: Goa 17, 51-52); \*A. Leni, S.J. (*ibid.* 64-69v); in 1645 Barretto (62-67); Pieris, *Kingdom* (39-45); (3) for the *Dutch period*: in 1665 W. Schouten (I 185); in 1666 Nieuhof (189-193); in 1672 Tavernier (347-354); in 1672 Baldaeus (144-145); in 1685 Ribeiro (75-79); in 1686 Sousa (*Or. Conqu.* 2, 2, 1, 11-15, from the data of P. Ant. de Carvalho, who was in Tuticorin in 1685 and 1686); in 1698 L. Le Comte, S.J. (in *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* 2 [Amsterdam] [from the Ms. of V. Bouchet, S.J.] 344-354; in 1700 P. Martin, S.J. (107-120); in 1708 H. Becker, *Memoir* (Colombo, 1914) 12-14; in 1737 J. W. Heydt, *Allerneuester Schauplatz* (Wilhermsdorff) 242; (4) for the *English period*: in 1803 Percival, *An Account of the Island of Ceylon* (London), ch. 3; in 1804 James Cordiner, *Description of Ceylon* 2 (London, 1807), ch. 16; in 1836 Carl Ritter, *Erdkunde* 6 (Berlin) 160-180; in 1843 J. Stewart, *Account of the Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon* (London); in 1859 Tennent (II 559-566); about 1863 Sägelken; in 1863 A. Grandidier (in *Le Tour du Monde* 2 [1869] 97-99; in 1894 E. Thurston, "The Pearl and Chank Fisheries of the Gulf of Manaar," *Bulletin of the Madras Museum* 1); in 1898 J. Spillmann, S.J., *Durch Asien* 2 (Freiburg im Br.) 568-570; in 1903 Willis (23-34); from 1903 to 1906 Herdman; in 1925 Pierre Duchaussois, O.M.I., *Sous les feux de Ceylon* (Paris, 1929) 302-306; in 1926 Ayyar-Souter (203-204). Their history is given by James Hornell, *The Indian Pearl Fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar and Palk Bay* (Madras, 1926) 6-50, and S. Arunachalam, *History of the Pearl Fishery on the Tamil Coast* (Annamalai Nagar, 1952).

<sup>220</sup> In the time of Marco Polo the Great Pearl Fishery was in April and May, in Xavier's time in March and April (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 348). Although Aires de Figueiredo wrote in 1547 that it should begin between the end of January and March (DI I 160), it always began in March (Barretto, Sägelken); only in exceptional instances, for example, in 1925, did it begin in February. In 1611 the king wrote to the viceroy that the Pearl Fishery was in March and April; it lasted as long as the land and sea breezes held out; it ceased when the south wind began to blow on the coast of Ceylon (*Documentos remetidos* II 132), which it did in April (Pieris, *Kingdom* 39-45). According to Ribeiro and Sousa, it always began at the beginning of March; according to Le Comte,

in this period of transition between the two monsoons, when the sea was clear and tranquil, the Paravas were engaged in the most important event of their year, the opening of the Great Pearl Fishery, which took place as a rule along the opposite coast of Ceylon south of the island of Manār.<sup>221</sup> This was generally followed by another, the Small Pearl Fishery, in September.<sup>222</sup>

The usual scouting of the pearl banks<sup>223</sup> had already indicated that the yield would be sufficient to pay expenses<sup>224</sup> and secure a profit. The two *patangatins-mores*<sup>225</sup> had then communicated this information and the day on which the fishing would begin to all the villages along the coast and to the merchants within the interior.<sup>226</sup> Boat owners had set their *champanas*<sup>227</sup> in order and had recruited divers and sailors for them.<sup>228</sup> In earlier times the wealthy Moors of Kāyalpatnam and Kilakarai had kept the pearl fishing in their own hands; the Paravas had practically been their hired hands and slaves. After receiving baptism, however, the Paravas had been freed from the tyranny of

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always on the fifteenth of this month. According to F. Pérez, S.J., the Great Pearl Fishery lasted from twenty to thirty, the Small from eighteen to nineteen, days (ARSI: *Lus.* 70, 353).

<sup>221</sup> In 1611 Leni counted the different places where pearls were fished up to his day (1) Kāyalpatnam, an unimportant fishery still remembered by the elderly; (2) the coast from Tuticorin to Vēmbār; (3) Talaimanār, to the northwest of Manār; (4) Mugel (Mūsāli), some two leagues south of Manār, "the main place, where for many years an endless number of pearls were found"; (5) Cardiva (Kurativu); (6) Chilaw. His companion Aires de Sá wrote in this same year that it was almost always off the coast of Ceylon, near Manār, in the area of Mugel.

<sup>222</sup> Only in 1645 was it decided that in the future the Pearl Fishery should take place only once a year (Pieris, *Kingdom* 45). According to Marco Polo and Xavier, the Small Pearl Fishery was in September (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 348); according to the *\*Enformação* of 1568 and Pero Luis, S.J., of 1571, it was in November (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 97).

<sup>223</sup> Sousa 2, 2, 1, 12. In 1609 Bernardo Almeida wrote that at times a hundred men had to explore beforehand to see if there were pearl mussels (ARSI: *Goa* 33, 265; cf. 665v); Leni noted in 1611 that some months before the Pearl Fishery twelve to fifteen ships with five hundred men had to investigate the pearl bank. According to Sousa four *tonis* were sent for this purpose. If pearls worth less than six *fanams* were found in one hundred mussels, the fishery would not cover the expenses. Frederick already mentioned this exploration in 1563.

<sup>224</sup> The costs were very high (Barretto, Le Comte). In 1567 the Paravas spent 15,000 *patacas* on it (*\*Enformação*). The *pataca*, eighty of which were worth 1,000 *fanams* (SR X 325), was a silver coin stamped by the viceroy Affonso de Noronha (1550-1554) valued at a gold *pardau* (APO II 176). Equipping a *champana* alone cost at least four hundred *pardaus*, and many had to borrow the money from the Moors or Chettis in Kāyalpatnam at a high rate of interest (Leni). A profitless Pearl Fishery as a consequence meant the ruin of the Paravas, for example, the one that the bishop of Cochín forced upon them in 1609 (ARSI: *Goa* 33, 263-265).

<sup>225</sup> The one on the coast and the other of Tuticorin (Aires de Sá).

<sup>226</sup> All, both Christians and Moors (*idem*), were informed, including the kings of the Malabar, Madura, Coromandel, and other coasts (Heydt).

<sup>227</sup> On the *champanas* see Dalgado I 255; Yule 789. The name was applied to large and small vessels, each differing according to region. Nicolau Pereira, S.J., declared in 1581: "Do Cabo de Comorim para dentro ha huns embarcações grandes que chamão champanas; são tamanhas como caravelas pequenas e são d uma só cuberta" ARSI: *Goa* 38, 151). According to Ribeiro they were similar to *summacas* (junks) of forty tons. Nieuhof calls them *tonis* from eighteen to twenty feet long. Herdman describes four kinds of ships that were used in pearl fishing (III 13).

<sup>228</sup> Manuel de Lima, the *patangati* of Vēmbār, had the supervision of the *champanas* and divers during the fishery. In 1568, already old and sickly, he passed the office over to his son (ARSI: *Goa* 8, 653v). In 1569 *\*Soveral* wrote that the usury practiced by the ship owners in their dealings with the divers was "a very old matter, from which they cannot free themselves" (*ibid.* 694v; cf. DI I 161).



the Moors and had fished under the protection of the Portuguese. They controlled the vast majority of ships and divers,<sup>229</sup> and others who took part in the pearl fishing with ships and divers were under the jurisdiction of the *patangatis*<sup>230</sup> of the Paravas. Among those who were thus engaged were Moors from Kāyalpatnam<sup>231</sup> and Kilakarai;<sup>232</sup> pagan Karaiyas from the Fishery Coast and Manār;<sup>233</sup> and Pāriwaras<sup>234</sup> from Periyapatnam between Kilakarai and Rāmeswaram, who belonged to the warrior caste of the Maravas.

The Parava villages that furnished the divers,<sup>235</sup> especially those north of Manappād, were practically deserted during Pearl Fisheries. Only the aged and ill,<sup>236</sup> the women and small children, remained behind.<sup>237</sup> At the beginning of March the ships set sail, and with them were Cosme de Paiva and his men and their patrol boats. It took four or five days of sailing<sup>238</sup> along the coast, past Rāmeswaram, Adam's Bridge, Manār, and Ceylon, to the beach of Mūsāli,<sup>239</sup> where the pearl fishing usually took place.<sup>240</sup> This was a lonely, almost unin-

<sup>229</sup> Leni wrote in 1611 that of the four hundred ships on the fishery about three hundred belonged to Christians.

<sup>230</sup> The two *patangatis-mores* along with the *canacapole-mor* and the *topaz-mor* were the chief authorities on the Pearl Fishery (Aires de Sá).

<sup>231</sup> D. João da Cruz promised the Paravas in 1535 that if they became Christians, the Moors would at once have to become their hired hands and would only fish with their permission (Teixeira 848).

<sup>232</sup> In 1708 there were 2,380 Christian, as against 1,551 Mohammedan, and 390 pagan divers (Becker); in 1926 there were 883 Christians, 1,081 Indian Mohammedans, mostly from Kilakarai and Periyapatnam, and 44 Arabs from the Persian Gulf.

<sup>233</sup> In 1571, 1588, 1611, and later, they are named as divers. In 1645 it was agreed that two ships of the Paravas and two of the Karaiyas from Manār should conduct the exploration (Pieris, *Kingdom* 39).

<sup>234</sup> In 1645 it was decided that if the *patangatis* on the occasion of a particularly rich catch of pearls wished to levy a special tax with the approval of "the Seven Villages," this should only be levied from the said "Seven Villages" (the Parava villages from Manappād to Vēmbār), and not from the Moors, pagans, Palavilis, Careas, or others (Barretto 44 63). On the Palavilis (Pāriwaras), see Thurston VI 156-158; Pate 132-135; DI IV 34-35.

<sup>235</sup> According to H. Henriques, "all, or almost all," of the Paravas south of Manappād lived from fishing, those north of it were "all, or almost all," pearl fishers (DI IV 34).  
<sup>236</sup> DI IV 143.

<sup>237</sup> The women remained behind (EX I 191). After the return of the men from the Pearl Fishery, Mansilhas had to instruct the men and women separately (*ibid.* 196 198). In 1560 Vishvanātha, Nāyak of Madura, threatened to take the women and children away as slaves if they did not give him a day of the Pearl Fishery as tribute. The expected sum was worth about 3,000 *pardaus* (Aires de Sá; DI V 6). In 1588 the Pāndya king, who controlled Tuticorin, asked for 8,000 *fanams*. In order not to leave their women and children in peril during the coming fishery, they had to comply with the request of the tyrant (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 405-v). Leni wrote in 1611 that the Paravas had to pay 1,000 *pardaus* during the fishery to protect their wives and children who had been left behind, and that at one time they had given 20,000 to the Nāyak, and at another 10,000 so that he would let them go safely. Only in 1591 did the Paravas take their wives and children with them to Manār because of their war with the Shānās (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 365v).

<sup>238</sup> Aires de Sá.

<sup>239</sup> The region of Mugal (Mūsāli Pattu), south of that of Māntota, reached as far as Cape Kudirimalai (Pieris, *Ceylon* II 160) and contained the coastal villages of Arippu, Silavathurai, Kondachchi and, south of the Kal-Aru River, Marichchukkaddi. The site of the Pearl Fishery, however, stretched from the Aruvi-Aru to the Kal-Aru rivers. It was directly opposite the pearl banks, as the massive heaps of empty pearl mussels still show (Tennent II 560).

<sup>240</sup> In 1546 we encounter the captain at the Pearl Fishery near Mourão (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 348 371), a name which recalls that of Murungan, a village near Arippu.

habited wilderness of sand, with only here and there a few palms and briers stretching along the flat beach. Farther inland, however, where the land rose gradually were dense, primitive forests with large numbers of wild elephants and buffaloes, which had to be fended off at night by bonfires.<sup>241</sup>

The arrival of the fishing fleet completely altered the scene as if by magic. Fifty thousand, and at times more than one hundred thousand people came here together:<sup>242</sup> ship owners, sailors, divers—the Paravas alone could, when needed, muster ten thousand warriors from among those engaged in fishing—traders in pearls, merchants from all parts of India, people eager to buy, and others who were simply curious. A whole city of cottages made of wood and palm leaves stretched out for three hours along the beach.<sup>243</sup> There were streets and rows of booths which became at once engaged in business.

To prevent quarrels between the different castes and races, Paravas and Karaiyas, pagans and Moors, had their separate quarters.<sup>244</sup> The various entrepreneurs, the goldsmiths and cloth merchants, for example, also had their own streets. The booths, adorned with gay buntings, flags, pennants, and green palm branches, offered all the products of the East and West for sale: gold and silver ornaments, precious stones, amber, attar of roses, carpets, and cottons and silks of all varieties and colors.<sup>245</sup> It was an annual fair with all the colorful splendor of the East. Provisions of all kinds were also there: fish, game,<sup>246</sup> chickens, peacocks, butter, oil, rice, bananas, coconuts, sweet cakes, palm wine, and whatever else one might desire. Men brought water in large bronze vessels. Heavily laden buffalo carts brought in firewood and stalks and leaves of fan and coconut palms for building the huts. A wide variety of garb could be seen: merchants from the north with their turbans; Malabars in long, white skirts with tufts of hair over their foreheads; Singhalese in gaily colored sarongs and a tortoise-shell comb in their hair; bearded Moorish merchants from the Fishery Coast with black fezzes and long caftans; Paravas, Karaiyas, and rough Maravas from

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On the map in Mercator, from around 1560 or 1565, the Mūsālī region is called *Mouzel Mouraci*; on the Sanson map, simply *Mouraci* (Brohier, pls. 4 6 7). In 1552 Mugal is recorded as a site for the Pearl Fishery (ARSI: *Goa* 38, 305). In 1587 it was said to be often here, only rarely near Tuticorin, Punnaikāyal, and Kombuturē (*ibid.* *Goa* 33, 326). From 1590 to 1602 it was always here (Leni). In 1563 Frederick wrote that the place was changed each year, but he probably means by this only the pearl bank. In 1588 Pedro Teixeira stated that the camp kept changing its site.

<sup>241</sup> Aires de Sá; Pimenta 22.

<sup>242</sup> The numbers fluctuated. In 1611 Aires de Sá wrote that 40,000 people went to the Pearl Fishery in the *champanas*, among whom were 7,000 Christian divers, sometimes more sometimes less. For this same year Leni gives as the total number of people in the camp as 100,000 and more. In 1698 the number was given as 150,000 (Le Comte), and the same figure is given for 1804 (Ritter). Other numbers are as follows: in 1573, 20,000-30,000 (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 257); in 1585, 50,000 (Besse 396); in 1588, 50,000-60,000 (P. Teixeira); in 1598, 60,000 “with their families” (Pimenta 23); in 1607 and 1638, 40,000 (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 163; Besse 396); in 1905, 10,000 visitors, 4,991 divers (Herdman); in 1926, 15,000 visitors, 2,008 divers (Ayyar-Souter 203-204).

<sup>243</sup> Aires de Sá. It was thus the whole strand between the Aruvi-Aru and the Kal-Aru rivers. Sägelken and Willis give a graphic description of the camp. Diogo da Cunha gives a sketch of the liturgy during the Easter season on the Pearl Fishery of 1573 (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 256-257).

<sup>244</sup> In 1571 there was such a conflict between the Paravas and Karaiyas on the Pearl Fishery that it almost came to open warfare (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 166v). In 1611 and 1645 it is noted that they had separate camps like the other groups (Leni; Pieris, *Kingdom* 40).

<sup>245</sup> Diogo da Cunha (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 257); Nieuwhof; Ribeiro; Sousa; Sägelken.

<sup>246</sup> Aires de Sá; Ribeiro; Sousa.

the north, wearing a white cloth scarf wound about their head; Brahman priests with the holy cord over their bare, bronze-colored breast; barefooted, shaven-headed Buddhist monks in saffron colored robes which left the right shoulder bare, carrying their black begging bowls and palm-leaf fans, selling charms for the divers and *ollas* inscribed with lucky signs, and asking for alms in the name of Buddha. By midday the air was already oppressively hot. There was only a faint breeze. The surface of the sea, brilliant as a lake of molten silver, was hardly wrinkled. In the bazaar, however, the crowded throngs kept busy late into the night. From the arrack booths came the sound of pipes and gongs. The singing, dancing, the squalling of sailors and divers, the sharp odor of palm wine, the aroma of sweet cakes cooked in oil, and the incense of the merchants' booths were all mingled together in grand confusion, while overhead the star-studded, southern sky arched in all its shimmering splendor.<sup>247</sup>

Two, three, four, and even five hundred *champanas* as a rule took part in the pearl fishing.<sup>248</sup> The largest of these had from thirty to forty, the smaller twelve divers.<sup>249</sup> Each of the latter had two assistants, known as *mandakkas*,<sup>250</sup> to assist him in his work. As a consequence, it took a hundred and more persons to man the larger *champanas*.<sup>251</sup> The total number of divers with the fleet ranged from three to twelve thousand.<sup>252</sup> The vessels themselves were sluggish, their beams held together with coconut fibers instead of nails, and were equipped with oars, bamboo mast, and sail.<sup>253</sup>

The first concern of the ship owners on their arrival was to select a place not far from the beach some half an hour away from the bazaar and huts.<sup>254</sup> There they dug a large four- to five-foot-square ditch in the sand for their mussels.<sup>255</sup> They surrounded this with a wall of dried thorn branches, leaving only a single entrance to the pit, which could itself be closed.<sup>256</sup> The presence of the shark-exorcist was also necessary for pearl fishing. The fleet did not dare to sail without him, for the sea was everywhere swarming with these dangerous predators. The presence of the conjurer with his secret, magical formulas, passed on from father to son, was constantly needed while the men were diving to banish the sharks and render them harmless.<sup>257</sup>

<sup>247</sup> Sägelken 111-112.

<sup>248</sup> The number of boats varied: 200-500 (Castanheda), frequently 200 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 103), 500 each year from 1577 to 1602 (ARSI: *Goa* 15, 205v), 400-500 vessels (Barretto, P. Teixeira), ordinarily 400 large *champanas* (Aires de Sá; Leni). In 1903 there were 200, and in 1905 318, ships (Herdman).

<sup>249</sup> Twelve divers (ARSI: *Goa* 15, 205v), 30-40 (Leni), 15-20 (Barretto), 5-8 (Nieuhof; Ribeiro), not over 16 (Sousa), 20 (Le Comte).

<sup>250</sup> Dalgado II 20; Aires de Sá; Sousa.

<sup>251</sup> The total personnel of a ship: 25-30 (Castanheda), 100 and more (Leni), 50-60 (Le Comte); 2 pilots, 10 rowers, one coolie for bailing out water, 10 divers (Sägelken).

<sup>252</sup> In 1592, 3,000-4,000 divers and more (Linschoten II 60); before 1604, 12,000 as a rule, among whom were about 7,000 Christians, at times more, at times less (Aires de Sá); in 1604 only 4,000, since one-half of the Christian Paravas had emigrated because of their distress (Leni); in 1708, 4,321 (Becker); in 1926, 2,008 (Ayyar-Souter).

<sup>253</sup> Sägelken 110; Herdman III 13; picture in Spillmann.

<sup>254</sup> Ribeiro.

<sup>255</sup> Le Comte.

<sup>256</sup> Ribeiro.

<sup>257</sup> Marco Polo already mentions a Brahman as a shark-exorcist. He received as his reward five percent of the catch. In 1573 Diogo da Cunha mentions a fish-magician and the great fear which the Christian Paravas had of his threats (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 257v). There are repeated accounts of the great confidence which even Christian divers had in the efficacy of the shark-exorcists (Schouten, Nieuhof, Baldaeus, Ritter, Tennent,

On the day for the opening of the pearl fishing the fleet was ready. The pearl banks lay some five to six leagues off from the shore.<sup>258</sup> Sailing to them took from three to five hours, depending upon the strength of the wind.<sup>259</sup> After midnight the *champanas* and the Portuguese captain with his patrol boats sailed with the wind blowing from the land. When they reached the designated spot, they cast anchor and remained quiet until the sun rose and the sea had become perfectly clear and calm.<sup>260</sup> One-half of the divers crouched on the timber or bamboo poles fixed to the outer edges of the boat. There they waited for the signal to begin their work.<sup>261</sup>

Their equipment was simple.<sup>262</sup> Their dress consisted of a narrow loincloth. Their hair was smoothed down with butter.<sup>263</sup> About their neck they carried a coconut-fiber net for the mussels. Next to the divers there was hanging from a rope a cottage-shaped stone with a sling into which the right foot was thrust. A second, stouter rope was tied about their waist.<sup>264</sup> This was used to draw the divers up from the depths. Both *manakkas* held fast to the other end of the rope in the boat itself. To prevent their hands from being cut while tearing the sharp mussels away from the rocky floor of the sea, the divers wore coarse leathern gloves<sup>265</sup> or used a sickle-shaped knife for this purpose.<sup>266</sup> Many also had a stone tied to their abdomen in order to have a firmer footing on the floor of the sea.<sup>267</sup>

When the signal was given, the heavy stone was loosed from the side of the ship. The diver closed his nostrils with his hand, took a deep breath, raised himself up, and then descended feet first with his thousand or more companions swiftly and silently into the deep.<sup>268</sup> Only a few bubbles remained in the water as a reminder of his descent. The pearl mussels were found in clusters in water from five to twelve fathoms deep.<sup>269</sup> Since the water was almost perfectly clear,

Sägelken). In 1804 Cordiner speaks of two magicians, one of whom sailed with the fleet, the other remained behind on the beach. The government granted them ten mussels from each ship. According to Tennent the office was hereditary, and at his time it was held by a Christian. Sägelken gives a detailed description of a pagan exorcist and his manner of acting (113-114 117-119). According to the divers, his mere presence was sufficient to drive away the sharks. On the last Parava to hold this office as hereditary to his family and his refusal to go on the Pearl Fishery after making the Spiritual Exercises, see Stéphen Coubé, S.J., *Au pays des castes* (Paris, 1889) 17-19.

<sup>258</sup> Tavernier 357.

<sup>259</sup> Willis, Cordiner.

<sup>260</sup> Barretto 44; Martin 110; Cordiner; Sägelken 112-115; Grandidier; Willis 30.

<sup>261</sup> Sägelken 115; Willis 30.

<sup>262</sup> Castanheda, Ledi, Barretto, Schouten, Nieuhof, Ribeiro, Sousa, Le Comte, Martin, Heydt, Tennent, and Sägelken describe their preparations.

<sup>263</sup> Aires de Sá.

<sup>264</sup> About thirty pounds (Schoute, Grandidier, Tennent), about fifty pounds, a half-foot long (Nieuhof), a sixty-four-pound, square stone (Ribeiro), a ten-pound, cone-shaped, granite stone (Sägelken 116).

<sup>265</sup> Barretto, Nieuhof, Sousa: "luvas de couro grosso sem pontas." According to Le Comte the hands were wrapped with bands.

<sup>266</sup> Leni: "facas"; Le Comte: "fourchettes de fer"; Sousa: "uma fouce um pouco arqueada á maneira do trinchete."

<sup>267</sup> Le Comte; Cordiner.

<sup>268</sup> According to Castanheda the divers closed their nose with a clip; according to Frederick and Meydt some stopped their ears, nose, and mouth with wads dipped in oil. This was the custom in the Persian Gulf, but not on the Indian Pearl Fisheries, as Le Comte, Tavernier, Martin, and Tennent expressly state.

<sup>269</sup> The divers descended to a depth of ten to twelve (Barbosa), twelve to fourteen (Leni), seven to ten, fathoms of seven feet, two inches, each (Barretto, Baldaeus,

the diver could be seen from the boat.<sup>270</sup> As soon as he had reached the bottom, he took his foot out of the sling, gave a tug to the rope to which the stone was attached, and it was immediately drawn up to the boat. The diver then turned face downwards and, swimming along, gathered as many mussels as quickly as he could. After he had put from thirty-five to seventy of them<sup>271</sup> into his net and had spent up to a minute and a half below the surface, his breath started to give out.<sup>272</sup> He then tugged on the second rope, put the net with the mussels on top of his head, and held his hands locked together over it. In an instant the two *mandakkas* pulled him to the surface.<sup>273</sup> At the same time fifty, five hundred, a thousand, and even more, black heads surfaced, puffing and sputtering from the sea. The crews dragged the full nets into boats, the divers, only slightly tired, clambered over the edge of the boats; and when the last one was on board, the second shift, which had been waiting silently, lifted themselves up and disappeared noiselessly with stones and nets into the sea. Except for short periods of rest, the divers continued in turn their hard and dangerous work until noon. Many bled from ears, mouth, and nose when they had held their breath too long.<sup>274</sup> Many lost consciousness and drowned when they ran out of breath. Some too fell prey to sharks despite all the incantations of the exorcists. They and their nets disappeared without a trace or were drawn up into their boat streaming with blood and sadly injured.<sup>275</sup>

Around noon, after five or six hours of toil, the divers were exhausted.<sup>276</sup> Each of the ships was now filled with from four to twenty thousand mussels.<sup>277</sup> The tall, yellow, bamboo masts were set in place. The wind, which had shifted and was now blowing towards the land, filled the great white sails; and in a

Le Comte), never more than thirteen (Tennent). They refused to dive to greater depths than usual (Botelho, *Tombo* 245).

<sup>270</sup> Schouten, Willis, Tennent II 555.

<sup>271</sup> Sägelken, Willis, Duchaussois, Grandidier.

<sup>272</sup> According to Barbosa the divers could remain many hours, according to Le Comte a half an hour, according to Sousa a quarter of an hour and more, under water. According to Percival they usually remain below for two minutes, some for four or five, one for six, minutes. But these are exaggerations. Ribeiro gives the time as that of two *Credos*; Nieuhof states that four times this length was usually fatal. More precise investigations have shown that divers as a rule cannot remain a full minute under water, and none longer than a minute and a half (Tennent, Herdman).

<sup>273</sup> Sägelken, Nieuhof, Martin.

<sup>274</sup> Heydt, Duchaussois.

<sup>275</sup> Duchaussois writes that the pearl fishers were not more than forty or fifty years old. Many died from overexertion, others contracted inflammation of the lungs. Dysentery, typhoid fever, marsh fever, and cholera repeatedly took their toll in the camp. Xavier had already advised his fellow workers to attend to the sick when the people returned from the Pearl Fishery (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 464). Linschoten and Schouten wrote that every year many divers drowned or were eaten by sharks. Martin notes that there were as a rule many sick people in the camp. This was at times due to their eating the indigestible mussels, at times to the stench of the rotting mussels. Tennent states that after the fishery was taken over by the English (1796), there had been only one certain instance of a shark carrying off a victim.

<sup>276</sup> Martin is wrong in stating that the fishers could dive only seven or eight times a day. Grandidier states that they could dive from eighty to eighty-four times a day. Tavernier exaggerates in saying that they dove for ten to twelve hours a day, staying under water for seven minutes. In 1804 they dove for five or six hours (Ritter, Cordiner). According to Martin, Grandidier, and Willis, the fleet returned at noon; according to Barretto and Nieuhof, in the evening; according to Ribeiro and Sousa, at four P.M.; according to Le Comte, when night forced them to. In 1804 they returned at one P.M. (Ritter).

<sup>277</sup> From 4,000 to 8,000, at times 30,000 (Grandidier); from 10,000 to 20,000 (Sägelken).

swift, three- to four-hour run, the fleet returned to the beach, where their keels ploughed into the sand, and where thousands were waiting for news of the haul.<sup>278</sup> The divers had had nothing to eat since midnight. As they now took their well-deserved meal,<sup>279</sup> the *mandakkas* and other members of the crew carried the mussels in baskets and dumped them into the pits, where they were left to rot in the sun so that they could be opened and the pearls extracted.<sup>280</sup>

The same spectacle of the departure and return of the fleet was repeated day after day, and the heaps of mussels mounted higher and higher. After one or two days they were already surrounded by myriads of flies. These also invaded the entire camp and made eating and sleeping difficult with their persistency.<sup>281</sup> To this was added the pestilential smell rising from hundreds of thousands of rotting mussels that was carried, despite the distance, into the huts and the bazaar.<sup>282</sup>

Easter this year fell on the twenty-third of March.<sup>283</sup> Twenty to thirty days after its inception, the pearl fishing came to a close.<sup>284</sup> The mussels lay by the millions in heaps along the beach.<sup>285</sup> When the last had rotted away, the owners of the boats and their men started to work on their pits. The thorn fence was removed and the evil-smelling mass of mussels was flushed with water until all the rotten flesh had been washed away. The pearls were then removed.<sup>286</sup> Most of the shells had no pearls or only pearl dust, but others yielded from five to eight large pearls.<sup>287</sup> Pearls from China were reputed to be the whitest, those from Bahrein in the Persian Gulf to be the roundest, but those from Ceylon to be the best,<sup>288</sup> even though they were relatively small and the largest of them scarcely reached the size of a hazelnut.<sup>289</sup> Rubbing with crushed rice and salt gave them their final luster.<sup>290</sup>

The pearls were sorted by being passed through a series of small copper

<sup>278</sup> Sägelken, Willis.

<sup>279</sup> Barretto, Sousa, Le Comte.

<sup>280</sup> Castanheda, Frederick, Schouten, Ribeiro, Sousa, Le Comte, Martin, Sägelken.

<sup>281</sup> Ribeiro, Heydt, Willis.

<sup>282</sup> Schouten, Nieuhof, Sägelken, Duchaussois.

<sup>283</sup> Was Xavier at the Pearl Fishery in 1543? We can answer in the affirmative. He went to the Fishery Coast to obtain information on the Christians there, as his friend Cosme Anes indicates (MX II 184-185), and later he sought to obtain a personal view of the mission fields. The reports which he had composed on Japan and China and his own letters which he sent to Europe show the pains he took to obtain information on a land and its people, their way of life, religious attitudes, morals and customs, and their readiness to receive the Gospel. It would be incomprehensible for him to have let the occasion of the Great Pearl Fishery slip by. Further, it was Easter time and he had the spiritual care of the Portuguese who were taking part in the fishery with their captain. Here he was able to encounter the Paravas of the different villages, their neighbors, the Karaiyas and Maravas, and representatives of the different regions of India and Ceylon. In later times the Jesuits always went on the Pearl Fisheries, where the Paravas built three churches and cottages for them. They offered Mass for the Christians, settled quarrels, prevented thefts, and protected the Christians from oppression. The visitor Pimenta declared that without their presence the maintenance of order would have been impossible (23-24; cf. Aires de Sá and Leni).

<sup>284</sup> According to Pérez in 1568.

<sup>285</sup> According to Sägelken the fleet daily brought in some 2,000,000 to 4,000,000 mussels. In 1904 more than 41,000,000 were obtained, and in 1905, 81,500,000 (Herdman).

<sup>286</sup> Castanheda, Martin, Sägelken, Willis.

<sup>287</sup> Nieuhof, Tavernier.

<sup>288</sup> Tomé Pires 517.

<sup>289</sup> Schouten, Tavernier.

<sup>290</sup> Orta II 123; Nieuhof.



sieves, each with successively smaller holes. Only the smallest reached the copper plate set below the sieves. Each was then counted by the merchants according to size.<sup>291</sup> The roundest, clearest, largest, and least-blemished pearls secured the highest prices.<sup>292</sup> Pearl dust, which was used as a medicine, was sold at a low price.<sup>293</sup> The pearl dealers sat in open booths with their treasure spread out upon a dark cloth. They had a tiny shovel to lift the pearls and a miniature scales with agate weights and small red balls and a number of basket-shaped sieves. Again and again they tested the individual pearls for size, color, shape, and weight. The precious objects were then carefully weighed and locked up in strongboxes. Hours were spent on determining their value with the help of friends and acquaintances and in haggling over prices. The pearl cutters crouched in the streets in order to round off shapeless pearls with their primitive instruments or to bore holes in the larger ones so that they could be strung together.<sup>294</sup>

At both the Great and the Small Fisheries, the Portuguese captain who protected the fishing fleet and the camp with his vessels from any attacks of the Malabar pirates took a toll for his king.<sup>295</sup> But the native kings of the mainland, from which the divers came, also obtained a share of the season's finds. These were Rāma Varma, the Great King, lord of the southern villages of the Paravas;<sup>296</sup> Vettum Perumāl, the Pāndya ruler of Kayattār and lord of Tuticorin;<sup>297</sup> Tumbichchi Nāyak, who ruled over the northern villages of Vēm-bār and Vaippār; and the Marava lords, who ruled over the Moors of Kilakarai and the Pārivaras of Periyapatnam.<sup>298</sup> Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the Singhalese king

<sup>291</sup> Frederick, Linschoten, Nieuhof, Martin. Nine different grades were distinguished (Ribeiro).

<sup>292</sup> The best were sold around 1665 for eighty and more royal dollars (Schouten). The largest pearls were sold for six hundred dollars (Le Comte). A black pearl, not very valuable in India at the time of Tavernier and Le Comte, was found in 1905 and valued at 10,000 rupees (Duchaussois).

<sup>293</sup> The Portuguese distinguished between *perola* (a large pearl) and *aljofar* (small pearls and pearl dust); cf. Orta II 119-131.

<sup>294</sup> Willis, Spillmann.

<sup>295</sup> At the time of the conversion of the Paravas the tax was fixed at 74,000 or 75,000 *fanams* at twenty-five *reis* per *fanam*, the equivalent of 6,000 *pardaus* (Botelho, *Tombo* 244). M. A. de Sousa lowered this to 60,000 *fanams* (SR II 132-135). The captain exacted this tax at the Pearl Fishery and paid the maintenance of his men with it (DI I 159).

<sup>296</sup> Castanheda writes that the Great King had a representative at the Pearl Fishery who collected the tribute for him. In 1516, in the time of Barbosa, he had much earlier leased this to a rich Moor in Kāyalpatnam. In 1547, when he was being threatened by the Bagadas, he promised the Portuguese, if they would help him, all the revenues from the Pearl Fishery on land and sea, and other revenues as well (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 456-460). In the same year, however, he lost Tinnevely to Vijayanagar.

<sup>297</sup> In 1587 H. Henriques wrote that before their conversion the Paravas paid taxes to their pagan lords as well as tribute from the Pearl Fisheries, when there was one, and additional imposts if the tyrants demanded them. The second tax was omitted when there was no Pearl Fishery. The inhabitants of Tuticorin, however, whether Christians or pagans, had always to pay some thousands of *fanams* to their lord, the king of Kayattār, whether there was a Pearl Fishery or not (ARSI: *Goa* 33, 326). In 1603 his oppression became so unbearable that the Paravas and their priests settled on the neighboring royal island and declared that they would not return until the Nāyak of Madura, his overlord, dismissed him and placed another in his stead. This ended his rule since the Nāyak took away his land (ARSI: *Goa* 33, 326; 66, 1-5v; Queyroz, *Basto* 61).

<sup>298</sup> The Maravas inhabited the territory north of Tuticorin, opposite Rāmeswaram, and farther north. Their chief was the Sētopati Dēvar of Rāmnād, already mentioned

of Kōttē, near Colombo, who claimed sovereignty over all of Ceylon, though he had no fleet<sup>299</sup> and had practically lost the land opposite the pearl banks to his rivals,<sup>300</sup> made good his claims. When the Mohammedan *mudaliyar*<sup>301</sup> of Kāyalpatnam was still the leaseholder of the Pearl Fisheries, the Great King received, in addition to the tribute which the Paravas paid to him as the lord of the land, the large pearls; the fishers could keep only the small ones for themselves. In addition to this, the divers had been obliged to work on Fridays for the ship owners and, at the end of the pearl fishing, a whole week for the Moorish leaseholders.<sup>302</sup> Some thirty years earlier, under King Parākrama Bāhu,<sup>303</sup> one of the predecessors of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the Moors of Kāyalpatnam, under the leadership of Mudaliyar Kadi Rāyana, landed near Chilaw. They had hoped to gain control of the pearl fishing and to capture elephants in the forests of the interior, but they suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Singhalese troops sent from Kōttē. Their leader fell in battle, their ships were destroyed by the war elephants of their foes, and eighty-nine of their men were thrown into prison.<sup>304</sup> Since then they had handed over to the king of Kōttē the duties collected on pearl fishing until the Portuguese put an end to their dominion.<sup>305</sup> When Bhuvaneka Bāhu sent the *pandita* as his ambassador to Lisbon at the beginning of 1542 in order to secure the succession to his throne for his grandson Dharma-pāla, he had asked for a series of privileges, among which was a request that the Portuguese king should have his right to the revenues from the pearl fishing confirmed. Every February and October pearls were fished in his harbors of Karatīvu<sup>306</sup> and Chilaw.<sup>307</sup> Many pagans came to fish for these in their *champanas* and they had been accustomed to pay him taxes on them. But the

by Marco Polo as the lord of the Pearl Fisheries under the name of Sender Bandi Devar, who ruled the mainland with four brothers. In 1553 there is a reference to Marava lords in Kilakarai. One of these, influenced by gifts, assisted the Turks; the other, from Periyapatnam, supported the Christians, who promised him over and above the customary tribute a *champana* of mussels from the Pearl Fishery (ARSI: Goa 38, 307). In 1611 Aires de Sá wrote that the Palivili (Pārivara) Christians in Periyapatnam lived in the territory of four Marava lords, to whom presents had always to be given. In 1660 the Nāyak of Madura gave lands to Sētupati on the condition that he protect the Pearl Fishery (*Ramnad District Manual* 220). In 1708 the Nāyak received gratis 96 1/2 pearls, 4 from Christian, and 92 1/2 from Mohammedan, divers; the "Theuver," as the Dutch called the Dēvar, received gratis 60 pearls from the Moors (Becker). In 1700 all the pearls of the first day belonged to the Nāyak of Madura or to the prince of Marava, according to the locality of the fishing (Martin).

<sup>299</sup> Castanheda.

<sup>300</sup> In 1560 the territories of Māntota and Mūsāli had been occupied for a long time by the king (Pieris, *Ceylon* I 166). In 1521 Bhuvaneka Bāhu and his two brothers murdered their ruling uncle and shared his kingdom among themselves. The civil war which ensued weakened ever further the power of the king of Kōttē (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 1-3 210).

<sup>301</sup> *Mudaliyar*: "superintendent," as he is called in the *Rājāvaliya* (Dalgado II 61-62).

<sup>302</sup> Barbosa.

<sup>303</sup> King of Kōttē 1491-1513.

<sup>304</sup> *Rājāvaliya* 71-72; Pieris, *Ceylon* I 43-44 452.

<sup>305</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 103.

<sup>306</sup> Portuguese: Cardiva, south of Mūsāli. In 1588 the Pearl Fishery was held here again, but with little success (ARSI: Goa 13, 404). The place still retains the name of "Portuguese Bay."

<sup>307</sup> Chilaw is not named in later times as a site for the Pearl Fishery. In 1611 the pearl banks of Mugul, Cardiva, and Chilaw were exhausted. At the last two sites there are no traces of mussels left, even though they have been sought for many years (Leni). In 1588 Pedro Teixeira wrote that the Pearl Fishery of Chilaw got its name from the fact that formerly it had been a site for pearl fishing (177).



Portuguese captain of the Fishery Coast was now coming with them and forcing the Moors to pay the duties to him, the captain, and not to the king of Kōttē. More than two hundred large and small vessels frequently came to fish, usually for four days, but when the yields were low, for ten. One of these was for the king, the rest were for themselves. He therefore requested that a provision should be made that would confirm his traditional right.<sup>308</sup> But when the Great Pearl Fishery took place in March, 1543, John III's answer had not as yet been received. A series of Hindu temples also had sheet-copper documents in virtue of which they received certain revenues from their princes on this occasion.<sup>309</sup> The temple of Tiruchendūr had earlier received many pearls as offerings from the Paravas, but these gifts had been suspended when they became Christians.<sup>310</sup> From time immemorial the usual pearl market had been in Palayakāyal.<sup>311</sup> But a similar market was also held in Kilakarai, and in 1531 the Marava prince of that region had reserved a half a *fanam* for each hundred pearls that were sold in the town.<sup>312</sup>

About a month after the opening of the Pearl Fishery the *patangatis* announced its end. The merchants packed their wares and loaded them on the ships. Booths and cottages were set on fire<sup>313</sup> and the return voyage begun. They left the inhospitable coast behind them as lonely and bare as they had found it, a haunt for hungry jackals and poor dwellers in the vicinity, who sought for a few lost pearls in the sand of the pits<sup>314</sup> In the Parava villages, however, the wild lamentations of the women began for fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons, whom the sea, sharks, and sickness had carried away and would never again return.<sup>315</sup>

## 5. THE VISIT TO THE VILLAGES (APRIL—SEPTEMBER, 1543)

Master Francis had spent four months in Tuticorin. He had translated the most important prayers and truths of the catechism into the language of the Paravas and had taught them to both children and adults. Now that the Pearl Fishery was over, he had to visit the other towns in order to begin his apostolate in them. The Paravas were settled in twenty-two towns stretching along the coast for thirty-three leagues.<sup>316</sup> The villages north of Manappād, where the

<sup>308</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 103.

<sup>309</sup> Pieris, *Ceylon* II 493: donations in 1541 1546 1553 1609 and so forth. In 1804, in accordance with an old custom, the temple of Rāmeswaram received as a gift two diving boats and ten mussels each day from every boat. Ten mussels per ship per day were also donated to the temple of Nagore (Cordiner).

<sup>310</sup> In 1557, during a period of drought, the Brahman magicians declared that the gods were angry because the Parava Christians no longer gave any pearls, as they had before their conversion (DI IV 47).

<sup>311</sup> ARSI: *Goa* 55, 15; Pate 432-435.

<sup>312</sup> Rangacharya 1167, n. 63.

<sup>313</sup> Heydt.

<sup>314</sup> Willis. As a regulation of 1645 states, the Portuguese sold the *rebusca*, the right to look for pearls in the sand, after the breaking up of the camp (Pieris, *Kingdom* 42).

<sup>315</sup> Linschoten.

<sup>316</sup> See above, p. 306. When Xavier, at the beginning of 1544, speaks of thirty Christian villages, he is counting the villages and towns of other castes baptized by him as well (EX I 168). When H. Henriques in 1552 raises the number to forty, he includes the Macua villages of Travancore baptized by Xavier at the end of 1544 (DI II 285); and when Baltasar Nunes writes in the same year of "fifty large and small towns on fifty leagues of coast," he includes the smallest settlements on the edge of the other

pearl fishers lived, had a special need of his coming, for many as a rule returned ill from their fishing. He therefore left two of his seminarians behind in Tuticorin<sup>317</sup> and set out with the third as an interpreter and a native servant on his missionary journey.<sup>318</sup>

The towns lying north of Tuticorin in the territory of Tumbichchi Nāyak were hard to reach by land.<sup>319</sup> Travelers, as a consequence, usually went by water<sup>320</sup> in a *toni*, an open boat with a sail and oars common to the land,<sup>321</sup> especially since the sea was navigable along the Fishery Coast throughout the year.<sup>322</sup> The Ghāts in the west and Ceylon with its neighboring islands in the east broke the force of the monsoon winds. From Tuticorin to Vaippār, a large Parava town<sup>323</sup> lying on the north bank of the Vaippār River, was a sailing distance of four leagues. This could be made in favorable weather in four hours,<sup>324</sup> keep-

villages (*ibid.* 559), many of which had only ten, fifteen, or twenty homes in them (*ibid.* IV 35).

<sup>317</sup> "I leave someone behind to continue the work and then visit the other villages and do the same there" (EX I 166).

<sup>318</sup> At the end of 1544 Xavier wrote to Mansilhas that he should take with him to Travancore the Malabar Christian Antonio Fernandes, who had accompanied him there; the small Matheus; the policeman (*meirinho*), who had come with him, Xavier, from Virapāndyanpatnam; his servant; and a *kanakapula* as secretary so that he could leave a copy of the prayers behind in every village and read and write letters for him in Tamil (EX I 246-247). Some of Xavier's companions during his visits to the villages in 1543 and 1544 are named in his letters, in the processes, and in other documents. He had an interpreter (*ibid.* 211). In 1577 \*Monserrate wrote that the missionaries on the Fishery Coast were alone except for a *topaz* (interpreter) and a *moço* (servant) for cooking (ARSI: Goa 12, 387). Xavier had as interpreters his seminarians (*Ep. Mixtae* I 232); a certain Antonio (EX I 211), probably to be identified with the Antonio de Miranda who as a boy served the priest "at Mass and in other pious and spiritual matters" (MX II 535 570 572-573 613); and the young Matheus, whom he often mentions in his letters as a helper. He also had a cook, who knew no Portuguese, and was similarly named Antonio. When this Antonio fell ill, Xavier employed a cousin of his by the name of Antonio o Parava (EX I 239) for the same services. One of the two is to be identified with Antonio Coutinho, who stated in 1583 that he had gone with the saint as his servant (ARSI: Goa 47, 275v-277v). In 1560 \*Durão wrote in the same vein as Monserrate was to write later: "I came from Ovari to Tale with Pedro, the cook, and Anriques, the interpreter" (ARSI: Goa 38, 303). We shall speak again below of other companions of Xavier who served him and helped with instructions.

<sup>319</sup> From this came the proverb: "It is easier to get to heaven than to Vēmbār."

<sup>320</sup> Cf. DI IV 31 and, with respect to Vaippār, MX II 548-549.

<sup>321</sup> In 1544 Xavier attempted to sail to the cape with twenty *tonis* (EX I 207 209). He ordered help to be brought to the Christians who had fled to the islands in *tonis* (*ibid.* 223 225). In Manappād he attempted to get a *toni* and sail to "India" (*ibid.* 235). He told Mansilhas to come to Travancore from Manappād in a *toni* (*ibid.* 246).

<sup>322</sup> ARSI: Goa 48, 68.

<sup>323</sup> Today's Vaippār, to be distinguished from the Hindu villages of Mēl Vaippār (West Vaippār) and Kīla Vaippār (East Vaippār). Only a few steps from Vaippār is Sippiculam. The two now form a single town south of the delta of the Vaippār River. When I visited Vaippār in December, 1956, the eighty-four-year-old Parava Tomai Laser Silva told me that the village had been located a hundred years before on the north bank of the northern branch of the Vaippār River and had been called Kottal Vaippār (Vaippār Bend). The Parava Alfonso Fernando, president of the village *panchayat* (community council), confirmed this tradition and added that a flood had destroyed Kottal, and that its inhabitants had moved to the present location an hour farther to the south a hundred years before. Because of the fertility of the soil they had called their earlier site "Little Bengal." All that remained of it were the foundations of the houses and the ruins of a bridge. The survey map of 1812-1832 (*Madras Provisional Issue* N. 58 K) has north of Sippikulam on the south shore of a delta island the town of Keela Vypār (Kīla Vaippār) and on its north side a second town northeast of it, Poothoocotel (Puthu Kottal: New Kottal). Kottal Vaippār was according to village

ing the flat coast on the left and four small, flat, uninhabited islands on the right. Two leagues farther north lay the second great Parava village, Vēmbār,<sup>325</sup> to which two smaller settlements, Chetupār in the south<sup>326</sup> and Mukūr in the north,<sup>327</sup> belonged. Lying far from the other villages of the same caste, separated from the land by swamps and lagoons, and subject to another lord, these villages with their groups of fan palms were somewhat different from the others. The only village temple in Vēmbār, a large, imposing building made of beautiful hewn stones,<sup>328</sup> was now abandoned and doomed to decline. The *patangati*, Manuel de Lima, who had charge of the *champanas* and the divers at the Pearl Fisheries, was one of the four chief personages along the coast, and was to prove himself to be a loyal assistant to the priest.<sup>329</sup>

When he first arrived on the Fishery Coast, Xavier had become acquainted with the villages south of Tuticorin as far as Manappād. At that time the journey had cost him and his companions a great deal of perspiration; but now, in April and May, the hottest months of the year,<sup>330</sup> walking was immensely more difficult if one did not pass from one village to another before sunrise or after sunset. Although the sand was packed in May and June,<sup>331</sup> a factor which

tradition, the town visited by Xavier. It apparently lay opposite New Kottal on the north bank of the river. In 1956 Sippikulam had twenty-one *tonis*, twelve catamarans; Kīla Vaippār had three *tonis* and fifty catamarans. In 1644 the number of Christians in Vaippār was 850. A few years before that it was still over 2,000. In 1954 there were 1,750 Christians in Kīla Vaippār and 994 in Sippikulam. On the history of Vaippār see Besse 499-507.

<sup>324</sup> In December Coubé sailed with the north wind in a *toni* from Manappād to Periyatālai in two hours, a distance of two leagues (120).

<sup>325</sup> On Vēmbār see Besse 499-507. In 1644 there were 1,300 Parava Christians in the village, in 1954 3,028 Parava and Shānā Christians.

<sup>326</sup> Mentioned in 1558 and 1571. H. Henriques states that it lay between Vaippār and Vēmbār (DI IV 34). The list of 1571 gives the town after Vēmbār and notes that it had no church, the inhabitants going to Vēmbār for Mass.

<sup>327</sup> On Mukūr see Besse 507-509. The village with its church is already on the list of 1571. In 1708 it had 3,306 Christians. In 1954 it had, including the stations outside of it, 4,300. The Paravas of Mukūr, who have the reputation of being foolhardy sailors, move to Rāmeswaram to fish if the southwest monsoon drives the fish there. They remain there from April to October, many until December, living in palm-leaf huts. We encountered them there in December, 1956.

<sup>328</sup> The ruins are still to be seen near the rectory. The walls now enclose the cemetery, which still has the grave of the daughter of the superintendent of the village, who died in 1602. The inscription on her tomb is still well preserved. According to tradition the inhabitants wished to convert the temple into a church but lacked the funds to rebuild such a colossal structure (*Lettres d'Uclés* 2 [1892] 21-22). In 1956 the pastor of the church of Our Lady of the Snows in Tuticorin, who had been born in Vēmbār, told us that formerly there had been so many exorcists in Vēmbār that there was a saying: "Every foot of ground in the city has an exorcist and temple." Even today the exorcists there are not extinct.

<sup>329</sup> H. Henriques in 1568 praised his piety (ARSI: *Goa* 8, 653v). In 1583 he was one of the witnesses in favor of the Jesuits (*ibid.* *Goa* 47, 269v). There is a small church of St. Francis Xavier on the beach a mile north of Vēmbār. According to local tradition Xavier used to live or pray there when he was in Vēmbār. For six months of the year the Shānās go there to take care of the palmyra palms. The rest of the time the site is abandoned. Our authority in Vaippār added that a Mass was offered there once or twice a year, and also out of season, if one was requested; that the Paravas had apparently built the chapel and turned the care of it over to the Shānās; and that, according to others, Xavier had only visited the site without living there when he came to Vēmbār. From the name of the chapel, it was concluded that he was there.

<sup>330</sup> Pate 28.

<sup>331</sup> So I was assured in 1956 in Ālantalai.



significantly facilitated walking, it was glowing hot; and along the coast there were no shade trees or resting places between the villages. The glaring white of the sandy waste burned one's eyes; the air shimmered with heat; the sun's rays were untempered by any clouds; there was no speck of green except for the tall, straight fan palms with their small crown of leaves, the wretched, thorny umbrella acacia, and the prickly dune grass.<sup>332</sup> Only an occasional breeze from the sea made the going somewhat easier.<sup>333</sup>

From Tuticorin the way passed for 2 1/2 leagues through the barren flats to Palayakāyal, a small oasis of fan and coconut palms. From there it continued for a league through a maze of deltas of the Tāmbraparni River to the bare, sandy waste of Punnaikāyal, and from there two leagues farther on to Kombuturē and Talambuli, passing the Moorish village of Kāyalpatnam on the way. Not far beyond these were the large Parava city of Virāpandyanpatnam and the smaller one of Tiruchendūr, which lay in the shade of its great pagoda, where thousands of pilgrims came on April 19, the time of the full moon, for the principal feast of the year.<sup>334</sup> The way then went close along the sea to Ālantalai, two leagues south of Virāpandyanpatnam, and finally two leagues more to Manappād, where its foothills greeted the travelers from afar.

Following the large, populous Parava villages of the north, whose wealth was largely based upon the Pearl and Chank Fisheries, were, south of Manappād, eight smaller and poorer villages that lived almost entirely by fishing.<sup>335</sup> Whereas in the north the people even had *tonis*, which many of the richer Paravas employed for trading with Ceylon and even the Maldiv Islands,<sup>336</sup> the people in the south, because of the heavy surf, could only use catamarans. These were a kind of unsinkable raft made up of three wooden beams some three to four yards long tied together with coconut fibers. The center beam was positioned somewhat lower than the others, and the fore and aft parts were somewhat higher than the middle. Waves continually swept over the craft, so that only those who could swim dared ride on one, and then girded only by a loincloth.<sup>337</sup> The same

<sup>332</sup> In 1607 \*Hieronymus Gomes wrote that the coast from Cape Comorin to Manār, 120 leagues long, had nothing attractive about it because of the drifting hills of sand, the burning rays of the sun, and thorns fallen from bushes (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 162). \*Monseratte wrote in 1577 that the priests of the Fishery Coast always went on foot and for the most part barefooted in the sun since there was no shade and no trees except such as had thorns as thick as the quills of swans (*ibid.* *Goa* 12, 387). In 1556, however, Soveral noted that one could not go on foot because of the many bushes with thorns like nails. The way was always along treeless wastes of sand. If one went by sea, one had to be a good swimmer and be lightly dressed since the boats often capsized (DI III 434; cf. II 559). Schouten adds that if the hot winds were blowing, even the Hindus had to wear shoes on the sand (I 188).

<sup>333</sup> Pate 28.

<sup>334</sup> Pierre Suau, S.J., *L'Inde Tamoule* (Paris, 1901) 169.

<sup>335</sup> In 1547 Morais wrote that he had nine villages from Manappād to Cape Comorin (DI I 248). When the villages of the pearl fishers were moved to Manār in 1560 by order of the viceroy because of the encroachments of Vishvanātha Nāyak, the southern villages remained behind. These were "the Christian villages of Tale (Periyatālai), Pudukare to Comorin, seven or eight small villages"; "poor people who fish from three beams called catamarans"; "some eight villages from Talle to Cape Comorin, mostly small places that are all engaged in fishing" (DI V 8-9 12 387). In 1611 \*Leni wrote that the Fishery Coast began two leagues beyond Cape Comorin and on one stretch of ten leagues there were only five or six small villages of from one hundred to two hundred homes (ARSI: *Goa* 17, 66).

<sup>336</sup> EX II 53.

<sup>337</sup> DI III 434.

scene was repeated at each village—a long row of catamarans drawn up on the sand, partly resting on each other, and near them long, wide nets spread out to dry. In many places the more finely meshed nets for smaller fish were hung on four bamboo poles, but the heavier, coarser nets used for catching larger fish, such as sharks, were always laid upon the sand. Since these were made of coconut fibers, the sea water did not damage them. Beyond the boats, nets, and dunes lay the village, a maze of low, clay huts covered with palm leaves or built entirely out of the stiff leaves of fan palms. Here and there a few unpretentious puarasu trees or palmyra palms offered some shade.

The way from Manappād led for three hours straight over the sandy ridge of the foothill to the beach and then along this past the Parava village of Pudukarai<sup>338</sup> to Periyatālai, the largest of the southern villages.<sup>339</sup> Hereafter the landscape was, with but few exceptions, constantly the same—a bare strip of sand with white sand dunes sparsely covered with prickly shrubs, dune grass, and umbrella acacia; in the background, clusters of fan palms rising from the deep red soil, and often coming up through the dunes; and again and again on the hills of sand the white, towerlike ovens in which the Shānās,<sup>340</sup> neighbors of the Paravas, made lime from mussel shells. In the morning, they could be

<sup>338</sup> The Parava village of Pudukarai (New Beach) is mentioned by H. Henriques in 1558 as being between Periyatālai and Manappād (DI IV 34). On November 10, 1544, Xavier went from Manappād to "Pudicare" (Pudukarai), while he sent Coelho to the north (EX 1243). In 1571 the village had a church. It is not mentioned after that. Three miles south of Manappād, not far from the site known as Ellu Chullai (Seven Lime Kilns), the bare rock rising above the surface of the sand dunes resembles four or five full sacks of rice. These have given rise to a legend which a Parava student told us on our way from Periyatālai to Ovari. In Ellu Chullai there was once a market. Xavier came to it and asked for something to eat. But he was turned down as a stranger. He cursed the site and the rice sacks were turned into stone and the place abandoned. This is a remembrance of the now extinct village of Pudukarai, which seems to have been united with Periyatālai before 1644. In this year \*André Lopes wrote that two villages had been united. The two patrons, Stephen and John the Evangelist, were therefore retained in the church (530).

<sup>339</sup> On Periyatālai (Large Tālai), so called to distinguish it from the neighboring Chinnatālai (Small Tālai), see Besse 536-540. It is simply called Tale in Xavier's letters. The name *Tālai* means "Pandanus," that of the neighboring village of Kudutālai, formerly under Periyatālai, means "Pandanus Grove." In 1644 Periyatālai had 1,200 Christians, in 1954, 2,403. In 1754 there were 2,403 Christians in Periyatālai, 976 in Kudutālai.—A half-hour west of the village, separated from it by a pamyra-palm grove, is the present Shānā settlement of Chetti Vilei, and ten minutes farther on is the small village of Kannakankudiyiruppu with its church of Our Lady of the Sand on the edge of a great sand waste. Formerly it was entirely, today it is still to a large extent, buried by the shifting sands. In Vaddakkānkulam an elderly Indian priest told me in 1953 that the village was of recent date. According to tradition it had earlier been located a mile away in the direction of Manappād. He further declared that some of the Paravas in Xavier's time lived west of Periyatālai in a village whose name he did not know. It had been abandoned because it had been covered by drifting sands. Two villages were then brought together and the patrons united. One tradition maintains that Frances Xavier visited the church of Our Lady of the Sand, but this confuses him with Father Francesco Tomassini, S.J., who died here in 1775 on his way from Sāttankulam to Manappād. Some three hundred years ago the Blessed Virgin is said to have appeared to a Christian and ordered him to build a church there, which he did. At the time there was on the site a great pagan village which the Mother of God leveled to the ground because of its abominable sins. Its tile remains are still to be seen scattered far and wide about the sand (Denis Guchen, S.J., *Cinquante ans au Maduré* 2 [Paris, 1889] 240-241; Besse 727).

<sup>340</sup> On the Shānās, who call themselves Nādārs today, see Thurston VI 363-378; Pate 125-132; Nagam Aiya II 392-398.

seen, thin in body and brown in color, coming from among the fan palms, where they had their cottages, wearing a loincloth and a white scarf wound about their hair with baskets full of fuel, charcoal and straw, upon their head. The men then descended into the surf and with a sieve began to lift masses of sand from among the waves. They then shook this until only mussel shells remained. After these had been piled upon the beach, their helpers, women and boys, filled baskets with them, placed them on their head, and took them to the kilns in which they were burned. In the evening one could at times encounter a Shānā who had purchased a fish in a neighboring Parava village or carrying on his head an earthenware jar filled with the sweet, fresh sap of the fan palm. The care of the palms was reserved to this caste; and twice a day, morning and evening, they climbed up the trees to collect the full vessels hanging beneath the slashed stems of the leaves and to replace them with empty ones.

Xavier also saw the Paravas at their work as he went from village to village. In the early morning, before sunrise, a fleet of catamarans that had been out fishing could be seen far out on the tranquil sea, a long row of three-cornered sails, whose dark silhouettes stood out sharply against the morning sky. Some of the Paravas fished during the day, others set out in the evening and returned only the next morning. The equipage of a catamaran was simple. At its front was a longish chink for the mast; in the rear was another, smaller chink for the bar which held it curved back. The bamboo mast was almost as long as the boat. The russet cotton sail, like the nets, was strengthened by being boiled in cow dung dissolved in water and mixed with certain roots. A broad, half bamboo log served as a rudder, at one time on the right and at another on the left. To one of its beams was fastened one or two collapsible double bags of plaited palm leaves for the catch of fish. Nets were also tied to the catamarans. These were provided with wooden floats to indicate their position and with stones tied to coconut fibers to drag them down into the depths. The launching and beaching of a catamaran was difficult because of the heavy surf. The same scene was repeated all along the coast. Breakers came foaming and roaring against the beach, six or seven in a row, and their opposition had to be overcome. Two or three men were again and again seeking to shove a catamaran through the waves. Two of the dark, lean forms, clothed only with a narrow loincloth and wearing a kind of white turban wound about their head stood with splayed limbs as if planted on the beams of their craft. The catamaran was tossed up and down, but the men upon it did not flinch as a third, standing up to his hips in the surf, shoved the boat out into the waves. He then pulled himself on board and with the others, standing or sitting, stroked the water quickly with his paddle in order to reach the open sea. The mast was then raised and the large, three-cornered sail unfolded; and soon the whole flotilla was out upon the more tranquil waters. Two catamarans as a rule sailed together, a larger one with a crew of two or three, and another, smaller craft with one or two, in order to be of mutual help in fishing. They were not always successful in taking the boat through the surf on the first try. The breakers would hurl it back against the beach, or a particularly powerful wave would sweep the men away, and only by swimming out into the sea could they again secure their aimlessly floating raft and begin the battle anew.

The return, six or seven hours later, presented similar difficulties. The three-cornered sails of the fleet came nearer and nearer to land. Sails and masts were taken down before the surf was reached. Then the struggle with

the foaming waves was renewed. The catamaran was tossed up and down, but the crew, standing with soaked limbs as if spellbound, paddled on and did not budge from where they stood as the craft rose and sank until they reached the beach, where women, children, and buyers were waiting for their return. The beach became a scene of lively activity. While some dragged the catamarans to land and spread out the nets, the fish which were not reserved for the day's use or for drying were sold or auctioned and quickly carried off by the buyers, both men and women, to the neighboring Hindu villages for sale in the markets. An oil was obtained from the livers of sharks that was later sold abroad. Huge turtles were frequently caught on the coast. Both they and their eggs, found buried under heaps of sand, were regarded as delicacies; and their blood was used as a cure for dysentery. During the day, while the men were out on the sea on their laborious and dangerous work, the women sat at home and spun cords for new nets or repaired the old ones; or they carried water in large, earthenware vessels balanced on their head and a second one of brass under their arm, or a child upon their hip. During the northeast monsoon the wells from which they obtained their water were half-buried in the sand.

The path from one village to another was largely bare and lonely. There was hardly any vegetation rising from the sandy waste. All over the sand could be seen strands of brown seaweed, dainty, white- and brown-colored mussels, the claws and shells of crabs and crayfish, bones of cuttlefish, fragments of sponges, and dead, reddish brown sea urchins. At times a small, brown, stiff-legged crab scurried across the sand into the water or disappeared into a hole at the approach of a traveler, or a swarm of small white birds flew out into the sea or settled down again upon the sand a few yards farther on.

Beyond Periyatālai a dense forest of palmyra palms and thorny, dark green, umbrella acacias rose from the deep red soil. Some five to six leagues wide from north to south, it stretched deep into the interior. Beyond this forest, still farther inland, was the great, red waste of shifting sands known as Tēri. It was to a large extent similarly covered with fan palms and thorn bushes; and it was feared by the natives for the evil spirits of the dead believed to be dwelling there, but still more because of the tigers which came to the ponds of the Hindu villages in the evenings and carried away cattle, children, and even adults. No one, as a consequence, dared to go out at night, and fires were kindled to keep the wild animals away.<sup>341</sup> Between the tall trunks of the palms Francis could see, as he continued on his way, occasional houses and temples in the villages inhabited for the most part by Shānās.<sup>342</sup>

Two leagues beyond Periyatālai, Ovari came into view.<sup>343</sup> This village, which

<sup>341</sup> In 1700 P. Martin wrote that several times he had been in danger of being torn apart by tigers on his missionary journeys from Periyatālai to Cape Comorin. In the past year, in addition to the cattle that had been ravaged, more than seventy persons had disappeared along the coast and had obviously been eaten by them (88-90). The palmyra-palm grove with some million trees comprises today 150 English square miles. It begins as an insignificant strip a few English miles from Cape Comorin and attains its largest extent in the Tēri region, an area of shifting, red sand dunes extending from the mouth of the Nambiyār River to Sāttankulam and Periyatālai and into the hinterland of Tiruchendūr (Pate 16-18 293 296 496). On the spirits of the dead see *ibid.* 116. The forest in the Tinnevely district has in general been greatly reduced in the past 150 years (*ibid.* 204).

<sup>342</sup> "In our visit to the Christian villages, we passed by many pagodas" (Xavier, EX I 171).

<sup>343</sup> Ovari is already mentioned by Xavier (EX I 241). In 1644 it had 400 Christians,

was the center for shark fishing, could be seen from a distance as if it and its palm grove lay on the tip of a tongue of land stretching far out into the sea. But this was an optical illusion, which was also repeated near the following villages. Two leagues beyond Ovari the mouth of the broad Nambiyār River was reached. Like all the other rivers on the coast south of Kāyalpatnam, it was blocked at this time of the year by a sand dune. Only in the middle of June, when the southwest monsoon had swollen the rivers in the west with torrential rains, did they succeed in finding a way to the sea through the sand that had been heaped up by the northeast monsoon.<sup>344</sup> Here was the first view into the interior. Beyond the tops of the fan palms could be seen the long chain of the lofty, dark blue Ghāts, through which the Arāmboli Pass led to Travancore. They were here only some 4½ leagues from the east coast. A half-hour later there was the mouth of a second, smaller watercourse, similarly sanded up; and beyond this, on the neighboring sand dunes, was the next Parava village of Kūttankuli.<sup>345</sup>

in 1954, 1,282. See Besse 541-543 and Bishop Faisandier, S.J., "Chez les Paravers. Les pêcheurs d'Ovari," *Lettres de Gemmert* 4 (1911-1912) 321-326.

<sup>344</sup> Pate 29.

<sup>345</sup> On Kūttankuli, which in 1644 had 300, but including the outposts deep in the interior 700, Christians, and in 1954, 2,767, see Besse 544-549. A good half hour south of Kūttankuli I was shown in 1956 a small grove of palmyra palms. These were in an open area raised somewhat above the coast of the sea. It is called Vijayātālai. According to a local tradition, Xavier spent some time here and preached and built a small chapel, one or other stone of which is still extant. My authority, the seventy-four-year-old village historian, John Anthony Moduthagam, had used the others in 1944 to rebuild the Xavier chapel somewhat nearer Kūttankuli since the Hindu owner of the land at the time would not allow the ruined sanctuary to be rebuilt on the old site. The legend runs as follows: When Xavier arrived, there was no village in Kūttankuli. The inhabitants of Vijayātālai, because their site was rocky, had to go to Idindakarai and Kūttankuli to fish. They were Hindus and had such names as Mudasami, Villi Madan, Chudalai Madan, and Pulai Madaneli, but they received Christian names in baptism. Nothing is to be seen of the former village. But half a mile from there is the village of Avadayāpuram, occupied today by Shānās. These are perhaps descendants of former inhabitants of Vijayātālai. So much from my source. The Parava student Xavier Francis Pattankatti, who accompanied us from Ovari to his birthplace, Idindakarai, provided us with further data. In Xavier's time Idindakarai is said to have had only five families, whereas Vijayātālai was at the time a great village. But since the area was rocky and unsuitable for fishing, the people moved from there to Idindakarai and Kūttankuli. According to others Vijayātālai was abandoned because of a contagious disease. One of the Paravas of the village married a girl of the Marava caste. His descendants carried the title of *Thevar*, which was common in the caste, for example, in Idindakarai: Manne Thevar, Mathippu Thevar, Kathāva Thevar, Vellayya Thevar, and so forth. A Manne Thevar in Avudayāpuram still owns a small tub which he keeps as a precious reminder of Vijayātālai, as the parish priest of Ovari, P.L. Ephrem, wrote to us on April 20, 1958. — Thus far the legends. They are based on the fact that a church to St. Francis once stood here. The \*village list of 1571 states that between Idindakarai and Kūttankuli was the village of Tale with a few houses but no church (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 86). In 1715 the village is named among the churches which belonged to the mission of Periyātālai: "In pago Vigiāvadi Tāla B. Xaverii [ecclesia]" (*ibid.* Goa 29, 182v). An account of 1779 on the churches of the Fishery Coast cared for by the Franciscans after the suppression of the Society of Jesus mentions the parish of São José de Guardata [Kūdutālai] with 411 individuals and six leagues of coast and the following missions: São Francisco Xavier de Vigiavadi Taley (Vijayātālai with 93, São João Bautista de Catagole (Kūttankuli) with 278, S. André de Vuari (Ovari) with 211, and São João Evangelista e S. Estevão de Taley (Periyātālai) with 1,624 souls (*Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 54 [1942] 101). Another local tradition in Kūttankuli, that the Xavier chapel was built by the Dutch, may refer to the fact that it was built during the time of Dutch rule.



Thus far the reddish brown granite of the area had only rarely risen to view above the surface of the sand. But beyond Periyatālai the land became more rocky. The gleaming, deep red hills rose steeply from the sandy beach, so that the gray trunks of the fan palms stood out in sharp contrast to their background. An hour later there was another sanded river mouth. Beyond this the sandy beach soon gave way to a rocky coast, whose brown, overhanging wall threatened to plunge into the sea, already sown with crumbling blocks of stone. On the slopes above it was Idindakarai, "the Village of the Dashing Sea," as its name indicated.<sup>346</sup>

The way beyond this village was again along the beach. Boulders, some of which were black, could be seen at times out in the sea. Fan palms frequently reached down as far as the shore, and between their trunks could be seen the blue mountains. A league beyond Idindakarai, Cape Comorin could be seen in the distance for the first time, the southern tip of India, a low tongue of land stretching far out into the sea. Abruptly to its right arose the jagged, isolated twin peaks of Marutva Malai, "the Mountain of Healing Herbs," more than a thousand feet high, and, separated from it, still farther to the right, the higher mountain ranges in the north. From then on one had "the Mountain of Healing Herbs" constantly before one's eyes, and an hour later there unfolded to view the whole long chain of the high, blue Ghāts, from the cape to the distant north, where five peaks, separated by deep defiles, appeared above the tops of the palms.<sup>347</sup>

In gradually increasing numbers slim, fresh green coconut palms began to appear along with the palmyra palms and umbrella acacia, and blocks of stone rose from the sea close near the shore. The way then passed over the sanded mouth of another river, the Hanumānādhi, to the Parava village of Perumanal, perched on the slope of the beach. To it also belonged the settlement of Pangel located on a height on the north side of the river.<sup>348</sup> An hour

<sup>346</sup> H. Henriques, who had a good knowledge of Tamil, called the site in 1558 Irinja Calú (Idinda Kalu: Crashing Rock), as does the list of 1571. But by 1644 it had already been given its present name: Hiringicaré (Idindakarai). The village had at the time 200 Christians; in 1954 there were 3,695. On it, see Besse 544-549.

<sup>347</sup> From south to north: Marutva Maia 1,213, Parvatam Mali 881, two other peaks 1,469 and 1,581, and Mount Tekkumalai 2,652, feet high.

<sup>348</sup> On Perumanal, see Besse 560-561. Already mentioned in 1556 and 1558 (MX II 375; DI IV 34), the village had 600 Christians in 1644, and 653 in 1954. Pangel is first mentioned in 1715 under the name of Pangelim, but the parish priest of Perumanal, Xavier Fernandes, told us in 1956 that the village was as old as Pangel. That the two villages in Xavier's time had 4,000 inhabitants, as the ninety-year-old Parava Elisabetān wished us to believe, is not historical. Other old men of the village observed that Xavier had come along the coast to Perumanal and had converted many people there.—A mile beyond Perumanal is the Parava village of Kūttapuli (Tamarind Clump) next to the boundary of Travancore, which was determined in 1547, when it lost South Tinnevely. Five minutes inland from the village is the "Xavier Pool," called Urani, formerly only a puddle of water nourished by a spring but without an outlet. Since 1946 it has been surrounded by walls and adorned with a statue of Xavier. The Paravas wash themselves there after fishing. Powers of healing are attributed to the water, and there is a legend to the effect that in Xavier's time there were living three or four families in a tamarind grove one mile away from the present village. The saint visited them, washed his feet in the well, and gave it healing powers. Later the people moved to the present village to fish there, as the parish priest told me in 1956 (see also *La Mission de Maduré* [1909] 77-78). The name Kūttapuli is never given in the lists of missions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The list of 1571, however, mentions a church of St. Joseph on the boundary of Travancore east of the cape,

and a half beyond Perumanal the coconut palms stretched down close to the sea, leaving only a narrow strip of the coast free. An hour farther on, the white salt pans and salt mounds of Vāriyūr appeared,<sup>349</sup> while on the left a dark rock rose out of the water. Known as Par, it was reputed to be the home of a devil who had already caused the death of many a fisher.<sup>350</sup> Farther on there were rocks on both the sea and shore, and on the right were pandanus thickets amidst a forest of coconuts.

Two leagues beyond Perumanal, Kumari Muttam<sup>351</sup> was reached, a small village inhabited by Parava fishers. It lay on a dune and had a very old church dedicated to the apostle Thomas. It belonged to Syrian Christian merchants<sup>352</sup> living within the interior in Kottār<sup>353</sup> and at the court of Tiruvankod in Travancore.<sup>354</sup> Not far from the church<sup>355</sup> were two stone pillars with inscriptions

and St. Joseph is the patron of the church of Kūttapuli. The village was a toll station between Travancore and the territory of the Nāyak of Madura and held a special rank among the villages of the coast. It was apparently a later foundation, for which Christians scattered along the coast were brought together. On it see Besse 549 564. Pate mentions a legend according to which Xavier hung a lamp on a chain made out of drops of sea water in Kūttapuli (121), probably a variant of a similar legend noted by H. Hosten (*Antiquities* 253-254 258-259).

<sup>349</sup> The salt pans of Vāriyūr, one of the three principal sources of salt in Travancore, are already mentioned in an inscription of King Kulottungacholadeva I (1070-1118 A.D.), according to which he handed over to the temple of Suchindram two salt pans for the maintenance of an ever burning lamp (TAS I [1910-1913] 247-248).

<sup>350</sup> As my Parava companion told me in 1956.

<sup>351</sup> Kumari Muttam, not to be confused with the Macua village of Muttam on the west coast, had 210 Christians in 1573 and a church dedicated to St. Sebastian, as it has today. The jurisdiction of the college of Quilon reached this far. H. Henriques stated in 1558 that the place was inhabited by Paravas who had been converted some twenty-four years earlier (DI IV 34-35).

<sup>352</sup> The church, whose foundations are still visible, lay north of the present chapel of St. Sebastian, and the present St. Thomas cross (*cruzadi* of São Thomé) is a remembrance of it. When we went there on January 6, 1953, only the upper tip of the *cruzadi*, like those of the two adjacent *cruzadis* of São José and São Francisco Xavier, was to be seen. The northeast monsoon had buried the rest in the sand. A woman, however, told us that they would all be free in two months, when the wind came from the southeast. The name of the church, Thomaypalli, called simply *palli* in the inscription of 1494, shows that the church belonged to Thomas Christians, since the Tamil Christians never named their churches in this manner. They were apparently merchants who lived here near the harbor. An addition to Barbosa, which is found only in Munich Ms. 571, states: "Near this Cape Comorin is an old church of Christians which was founded by Armenians [Aramaeans: Syrians], who still have it and celebrate Christian Masses within it and have crosses on the altars. All voyagers pay tribute to it, and the Portuguese offer Mass in it when they pass through here. There are many tombstones here, among which is one with a Latin inscription: 'Hic jacet Catuldus Gulli filius qui obiit anno . . .'" (Barbosa II 102-103). L. Dames, the editor of Barbosa, regards the text as a rather late interpolation, but R. C. Temple notes on this: "So precise a statement as this should be capable of corroboration. In regard to the fact that all Indians revere tombstones, the remains of such may even now to be found to exist, if sought for" (*Indian Antiquary* 52 [1923] 131-132). P. Hosten sought the tombstone of Catuldus, but he did not find it, since he had no time to excavate for it (*Antiquities* 560).

<sup>353</sup> Baltasar Nunes, who worked on Cape Comorin in 1548, wrote in 1552 that all the Christians lived near the sea; but he added: "Within the interior there are no Christians with the exception of those who have remained from the time of St. Thomas; but they have no dealings with us" (DI II 562). In 1615 and 1616 Thomas Christians are mentioned in Kottār as merchants (Diogo Gonçalves 82; MX II 480).

<sup>354</sup> \*Campori gives a detailed account of the Thomas Christians at the court of Travancore whom he had visited. They were prominent and, as a consequence, did not associate with the Christians of the lower caste and their missionaries, nor even

giving a list of the revenues which the king of the country gave for its coconut-oil lamps<sup>356</sup> and a decree ordering the magistrate of the village to preserve its peace and order.<sup>357</sup> From here, through coconut and palmyra palms and umbrella acacia, there was a splendid view of Cape Comorin, at no great distance, and of the three rocky islands in front of it.

In a little over a quarter of an hour the way led along the beach to the next Parava village, Kanniyākumari,<sup>358</sup> lying on the edge of a coconut grove.<sup>359</sup> West of it, surrounded by a wall painted with red and white vertical stripes, was the ancient, revered sanctuary that gave the cape its name. From time immemorial pilgrims from all over India had come here,<sup>360</sup> especially at the time of the new moon, and above all on Pongal Vali, the feast of the winter

with other Thomas Christians except under certain conditions. They were called Tarijācal and were the bankers of the kings of Travancore. They still had many pagan customs and even idols, but they also had a zealous sacristan. There were two hundred of them scattered among the pagans (ARSI: *Goa* 17, 232v-233); cf. Diogo Gonçalves 94 and Placid, T.O.C.D., "The Dhariyaikal Christians of Tiruvancode," *Indica, the Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume* (Bombay, 1953) 317-319. At the time of our visit in December, 1956, there were still two families there, Jacobites; and in their small, ornate church they preserved over the tribune of the choir a tabernacle with a Portuguese inscription.

<sup>355</sup> The two inscriptions, today in the museum in Padmanabhapuram, were until the end of 1952 in the south and southeast of the former church of St. Thomas, in a cotton field known as Mūthanāyinārvilai, not far from the sea (Nagam Aiya I 296; Velu Pillai II 172; Besse 738a). All early data on them have been superseded by the critical edition in TAS 6 (1929) 176-181.

<sup>356</sup> The first inscription is dated Kollam 609 (1494 A.D.). In it the king (Udaya Mārtaṇḍa Varma) grants revenues to the church (*palli*) of Kumari Muttam for the coconut oil for its lamps, for four types of nets, a *fanam* of the harbor toll on each small boat that took on or discharged cargoes in Kōvaikkulam (Kōvalam), a *fanam* from each freighter, duties on rice and other items, and also tolls on fish caught in the harbor. He also decreed that anyone who lived within the temple precincts (*shankēitam*), designated by the four inscribed columns, should be exempt from the duties of the right- and left-handed castes, from military levies, and other taxes "as long as the moon and stars exist."

<sup>357</sup> The second inscription, dated Kollam 701 (1526 A.D.), is addressed to the junior and senior overseers (*kankan*, a title for the Parava overseer of that coast, still maintained in Kōvalam) and other subjects in the harbor of (Kumari) Muttam. It states: "It has pleased us to bring to an end the unruly strifes, the injustices, tyrannies, oppressions, and extortions of fish. In the future they shall therefore live in that village as in a place of refuge for those who are oppressed." In Nagam Aiya the first edict is directed to the *Roman Catholic church* and the overseers of the *Christian Paravas* of Kumari Muttam. The second orders the overseers not to burden the *Christians* any more and to give them a village of their own in which to live. The reason for this order was a complaint of *Christian Paravas* of Kumari Muttam who were being persecuted by pagan Hindu fishers of the village and forced to pay tribute to them (I 197 296, II 148). Nagam Aiya is followed in this by later authors such as Besse, Rangacharya, Velu Pillai, and Villavarayan. But there is no mention in the inscription of a *Roman Catholic church* and of *Christian Paravas*. The Paravas of Kōvalam still come today to Kumari Muttam to fish when the weather on the western side of the cape is bad.

<sup>358</sup> Kanniyākumari (the name means "the Virgin Goddess") is first mentioned as a Christian village with this name in 1713. From 1558 on, the usual name given in the lists of villages is simply "the church of Cape Comorin." In 1573 the village had 548 Christians, in 1954, 4,012.

<sup>359</sup> In 1953 the place had 6,000 coconut palms, 4,000 of which belonged to Christians.

<sup>360</sup> The pilgrimage is already described in the *Periplus* (about 70 A.D.). The *Mahābhārata* tells of a bath in the sacred bathing place of Kanyā on the shore of the sea which cleansed one of all sins and brought one to Manu, the lord of creation (cf. Yule 238-239; P. Menon 17-13; TAS 3 [1922] 87-90).

solstice, to honor the virgin goddess Bhagavatī and to wash away their sins with a bath in the sea.<sup>361</sup> The Brahmans of the temples had a store of legends to narrate: when, for example, the goddess rejected the marriage proposal of the god Shiva in the neighboring temple of Suchindram, the rice brought for the wedding feast was turned to sand. Again, when Hanumān,<sup>362</sup> the ape-god and commander of the hosts of the god Rāma, tore blocks of stone from the Himalayas in northern India to build a bridge for his army to Ceylon, he let one of them, “the Mountain of Healing Herbs,” fall near the cape.<sup>363</sup> He also left two footprints on the neighboring island when he leaped to Ceylon. Pilgrims honored these imprints and the head of a giant which the goddess had slain and turned into stone.<sup>364</sup> Exteriorly the temple complex was unpretentious, but

<sup>361</sup> Here is one of the five holiest bathing places in India (Nagam Aiya II 88-89). Diogo Gonçalves, who was here in 1604, saw on a single day 100,000 pilgrims cram the seven bathing areas of the cape. Most came at the time of the new moon, especially in July and January (42). In the annual \*letter of the Malabar province of 1605 it is said that the Brahmans of the temple gave a great feast to the pilgrims every year and performed certain ceremonies which they called Pongavale. In the temple a monstrous virgin was revered, but the author of the letter declared that he would not narrate the fables connected with her since this would be too great a digression, and that they were, like all their fables, filled with obscenities (London, Br. Museum: *Add. Mss.* 9853, 71v-72). The Latin draft of the \*letter states that the famous, ornate temple was dedicated “impurissimae cuidam virgini,” whom the Brahmans, according to their custom, had made into a goddess (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 119). The “virgin goddess” Bhagavatī was identified by the Hindus with Durgā, alias Pārvati, alias Kali, the bloodthirsty wife of Shiva.

<sup>362</sup> The temple legends of 1615 are given by Diogo Gonçalves (48-52). Later legends are given by the *Kanyākumari Purāna*, which was composed by Arunācalakkavirāyer in Tamil not earlier than the eighteenth century (Pillay, *Sucindram* 94 97-99). See also Nagam Aiya II 89, III 583; Velu Pillai I 596, IV 624; Jagadisa Ayyar 502-503.

<sup>363</sup> Pillay 109; P. Menon I 13; Diogo Gonçalves 55-56. According to another version, Hanumān wanted to bring the mountain to Ceylon because of its healing herbs in order to revive Lakshmana, who had been lamed by Rāvaṇa's *mantras*. The building of Adam's Bridge is described in the *Rāmāyana*.

<sup>364</sup> According to the fifth book of the *Rāmāyana*, Hanumān leaped from Mount Mahendragiri, 15 1/2 miles north of Cape Comorin. When the king of Travancore persecuted the Christians and burned their churches, they fled with Fathers A. Bucciari and Diogo Gonçalves to one of the three islands at a distance of five hundred paces from the cape. Bucciari lived with thirty of them on the island, which was from 100 to 130 feet high and 1,640 feet in circumference, for three months. On the highest spot of the island were the alleged footprints of the ape-god along with the hole which was left by his staff, the highly honored goal of pilgrims from all over India. The priest destroyed them with a pickaxe and erected on the site a *cruzadi* that could be seen from far and wide (according to the above-mentioned \*letter of 1605). It has only recently disappeared. According to the annual \*letter of 1605, the Christian fishers had earlier been forced to carry the pilgrims on their boats to the island. This was why the priest destroyed the footprints and erected the cross, which even the pagan fishers revered (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 59). Diogo Gonçalves adds that even before this another priest had thrown a similarly revered boulder into the sea, the petrified head of the giant Vānen, which the goddess had with Vishnu's help struck off, or a copy of the same. He gives a detailed account of the legend about the origin of the goddess, a daughter of Hirtin Yasodā, according to which the footprint was that which the goddess left behind when she left the head of the giant there (48-51). The boulder is still known today as Sīvalipparai, or Sripadapparai (Footprint-Rock), that is, the footprint of Rāma. The poem *Subhaga-sandesa*, composed about 1540, describes how the poet found his messenger Subhaga while the latter was honoring the virgin goddess in her temple in Cape Comorin, in whose neighborhood Rāma had once lived (KSP 2 [1932] 239).

its interior contained a rich treasury and numerous inscriptions of the old Pāndya and Cōla kings of earlier centuries.<sup>365</sup>

From here the path led for a quarter of an hour over the bald, rocky foothills to Kōvalam.<sup>366</sup> Here, on the other side of the cape, there was a change of scene. Groves of thick, green coconut palms lined the sandy beach. A rich vegetation replaced the dry, parched land of the east coast; for here, where the southwest monsoon blew unhindered, there was an abundance of rain.<sup>367</sup>

Beyond Kōvalam were the villages of the pagan Macua fishers.<sup>368</sup> Manakudi<sup>369</sup> with its salt pans and fields of rice lay at the entrance of a lagoon surrounded by coconut groves. Over their crowns could be seen the jagged peak of Marutva Malai. For an hour the way continued along a forest of coconut trees intermingled with pandanus thickets and an occasional tall fan palm. The sand dunes then became higher; only the crowns of the palm trees could be seen over them, and these too eventually disappeared. Rocks, at times covered with green algae, rose out of the water. The coconut palms again appeared, and over them, close at hand, the dark blue mountains. Then Pallam,<sup>370</sup> a village lying high on the sand dunes and similarly inhabited by pagan Macuas. A league farther on was Rājakkamangalam,<sup>371</sup> the last of the Parava villages, lying in the shade of coconut palms and beneath the blue mountains of the mainland. Its inhabitants had received baptism seven years before with the rest of their caste.<sup>372</sup> The surf near Cape Comorin and beyond, which was even stronger than along the Fishery Coast, precluded the use of catamarans and made it impossible to sleep at night until one's ears had become accustomed to the surging sounds. With Rājakkamangalam, the territory of the Paravas came to an end. Beyond it lay the pagan land of the Macuas, subject to the king of Travancore. Twenty leagues farther along the coast was Quilon, the nearest Christian town on the coast.

<sup>365</sup> A description of the temple is given in TAS 3 (1922) 87-92 and Velu Pillai I 596-597, and another of some of its jewels from around 1671 in TAS 7 (1931) 64. When Diogo Gonçalves wrote his *Historia do Malavar* around 1615, the surrounding wall of the temple had been raised in height some years before and its treasures had been removed through fear of an attack by the Portuguese. The pagan village near the temple was small, consisting of the servants of the sanctuary and a few merchants. The environs were bare. There were no fruit trees, not even wild palms, but only thorn bushes and some gardens of cotton, lentils, and *mungo* (vetch) (51-52). The dated inscriptions of the temple go back to the eleventh century. Poduval gives a list of them (73-95). They have been partially published in TAS I III-IV VI-VIII. In one of these, dated Kollam 708 (1532 A.D.), King Udaya Mārtānda gives for the daily sacrifice in the temple of Bhagavati various rents and some pieces of land "for as long as the sun and moon endure" (TAS 6 [1929] 124-130).

<sup>366</sup> In 1573 there were 324 Christians in Kōvalam, in 1644 513, and in 1954 2,005. According to a village tradition the Kalingarai family received the name of Pereira at their baptism. They were a kind of *patangati* and had a tax privilege, as I was informed in the village in 1956.

<sup>367</sup> While Tuticorin has an average annual rainfall of 22.11 inches, Kūttankuli has 25.45 (Pate 251), Rājakkamangalam 44.1, and Quilon 91.1 (Nagam Aiya I 65).

<sup>368</sup> Today they call themselves Arasa. On them see Thurston V 106-117.

<sup>369</sup> Manakkudi, already mentioned by Xavier (EX I 246), had 421 Christians in 1573, 900 in 1779, and, including Tamarakulam, 4,200 in 1954. The salt pans of its lagoons are already mentioned in the eleventh century (TAS I [1910-1913] 162-164).

<sup>370</sup> In 1573 Pallam had 395 Christians; in 1716, 349; in 1954, 2,058.

<sup>371</sup> In 1573 Rājakkamangalam had 1,049 Christians; in 1644, 640; and in 1954, including two stations, 2,314. The village had about 500 catamarans in 1956.

<sup>372</sup> DI IV 32.

6. THE APOSTLE OF THE PARAVAS (APRIL—SEPTEMBER, 1543)<sup>373</sup>

In all the villages Master Francis found the same ignorance of the faith that had been there when the people were baptized seven years before. The only change in their lives was that they now bore, instead of, or along with, their former pagan, a Portuguese name. They had no churches or schools, priests or teachers. Xavier therefore stayed in each village for a number of days to instruct the people with the help of his Tamil catechism and interpreters.

His daily order was everywhere the same.<sup>374</sup> In the early morning he made his meditation, read his breviary, offered Mass, and then went with his crucifix and translator, that is, one or other of the boys who knew the prayers well, and whom he used as tutors, from house to house and asked if anyone was sick or dying, or whether there were any children or adults to be baptized. If he found one who was ill, he raised his eyes and hands to heaven and recited the *Confiteor*, Creed, and Ten Commandments in the language of people, with great devotion and in a loud voice, as he did in preaching. At times he had his words repeated by his companion so that they might be better understood. After each article he asked if the patient firmly believed it, and at the end he read a passage from the Gospels. If there was someone to be buried, he went, praying on the way, with his crucifix and companions to the house where the corpse was laid out. Instead of a Gospel, he read a *Responsorium*, over it, and another before the burial. After this he delivered a short discourse on survival after death, and how one must prepare for it by a good life if one wishes to go to heaven.<sup>375</sup> Child mortality was great.<sup>376</sup> Many died before,<sup>377</sup> and many after, receiving baptism;<sup>378</sup> and, in the face of the ignorance and carelessness of the people, these visits from house to house were the only means of preventing many more from dying without this sacrament.<sup>379</sup>

When the person to be baptized was a child, he read a Gospel<sup>380</sup> or recited

<sup>373</sup> The principal sources for the following section are: (1) Xavier's letter of January 15, 1544 (EX I 160-177), complemented by his instructions to Mansilhas of the same year (*ibid.*, 189-247), and his instructions for the missionaries of the Fishery Coast of 1548 (*ibid.* 426-435); (2) the letters of the missionaries there: Morais (DI 232-249 462-466 494-495), Beira (*ibid.* 277), and H. Henriques (*ibid.* 279-285 290 579-580, III 600); (3) the testimonies in 1556-1557 of Artiaga (MX II 374-378), the Parava João da Cruz (*ibid.* 309-311), Mansilhas (*ibid.* 316-319), and João Peres (*ibid.* 217), and the account of Paulo Vaz (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231), all of whom were Xavier's companions in 1544; (4) the testimonies of 1616 in MX II, many of an already legendary character. Only two of the witnesses at this time, all natives, had known Xavier personally: Diogo Fernandes and Gaspar de Miranda. The others recounted what they had heard from Xavier's companions or contemporaries, such as Pedro Fernandes, Thomé Fernandes, Antonio de Miranda, Agostinho de Pina, Antonio Cheruquil, Sebastião da Cunha, Antonio Henriques, and Manuel of Muttam.

<sup>374</sup> The daily order is given by Artiaga (MX II 376-377).

<sup>375</sup> *Idem* and EX I 426-429.

<sup>376</sup> By the end of 1543 over a thousand of the children baptized by Xavier had already died (EX I 176-177); see also DI I 249, IV 42.

<sup>377</sup> EX I 258.

<sup>378</sup> DI I 249, III 416.

<sup>379</sup> I 426.

<sup>380</sup> Morais describes the baptism of adults in 1549 (DI I 564). According to him the Gospel of St. Mark "Recumbentibus undecim discipulis," that is, Mark 16:14 ff.,

the Creed over it and poured the baptismal water over its head with the words: "Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti." He then added a prayer or read a second Gospel.<sup>381</sup> When adults were baptized, for example, the slaves of affluent Paravas or their pagan neighbors, he recited the *Confiteor*<sup>382</sup> and the Creed and had the person to be baptized repeat everything word for word. After each article he asked the individual or individuals if they believed it: "*Visuvasamo?*—Do you believe?" The candidates and all present, and there were always many at hand on such occasions,<sup>383</sup> replied: "*Visuvasam.*—We do believe." He then conferred the sacrament<sup>384</sup> upon them without further ceremonies, as with the children; for, as he used to say, there was no time for more.<sup>385</sup>

These labors usually occupied him in the morning until ten or eleven.<sup>386</sup> He then went with his little bell through the village, calling the children and the adults whom he met to the lesson in Christian doctrine<sup>387</sup> if his interpreter had not already done so.<sup>388</sup> As he had done before in Tuticorin, he taught them the truths of the faith and their prayers for an hour<sup>389</sup> in their own language. And, as he had done with his Latin students in Paris, Master Francis had his pupils repeat the prayers again and again, first with the help of his companion, so that they could be better understood,<sup>390</sup> and then all together till they were firmly fixed in their memory; and more than anything else he had them repeat the Creed and the Commandments.<sup>391</sup>

While his servant prepared something to eat, Francis performed his spiritual exercises and took some rest. After his dinner, he received the Christians who wished to see him, answered their questions through his interpreter, and arbitrated their quarrels<sup>392</sup> if he did not have these settled by the *patangatis*.<sup>393</sup> In the afternoon he had another hour of catechism;<sup>394</sup> and in the evening, or at times after nightfall, he went to the verandas of the homes, where many had gathered, and preached to them whatever God might have suggested to him.<sup>395</sup>

Once a week he also gathered the adults together, the women as a rule on Saturday and the men on Sunday, for two hours of divine service and instruction. He had the truths and prayers of his Tamil catechism repeated, and with the help of his interpreter he explained them. At the end he gave a sermon in which he expounded the Gospel or the truths of the catechism, rebuked the widespread vices of the people, such as drunkenness, immorality, quarrelsomeness, and idolatry, with examples and comparisons and indicated

with the words "Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved; whoever does not believe will be condemned" (Mark 16:16), was read.

<sup>381</sup> See also Xavier's instruction (EX I 432).

<sup>382</sup> EX I 164 432.

<sup>383</sup> Artiaga.

<sup>384</sup> Morais describes the rite of baptism in this way for 1547 (DI I 234-235).

<sup>385</sup> According to H. Henriques (DI III 420-421 600).

<sup>386</sup> Artiaga.

<sup>387</sup> EX I 162; MX II 577 (Seb. da Cunha).

<sup>388</sup> Artiaga.

<sup>389</sup> Morais (DI I 243).

<sup>390</sup> Cf. EX I 193.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.* 162-164 168.

<sup>392</sup> Artiaga; cf. DI I 226; EX I 428.

<sup>393</sup> EX I 430-431.

<sup>394</sup> *Ibid.* 152; DI I 177.

<sup>395</sup> "Pelos baileus," according to Artiaga; cf. Dalgado II 461-463.

how God, if they were not converted, would punish them with sicknesses, with the tyranny of the *adhigāris* (tax-collectors) and *maniyakkāras* (village overseers), or of the native kings and *pulas* (barons), and in the end with everlasting punishment in hell.<sup>396</sup>

When Xavier had completed his instructions in one village, he left behind a copy of his catechism written on palm leaves and told those who knew how to write to copy out the prayers, to learn them by heart, and to recite them each day.<sup>397</sup> He further appointed someone in each village to continue his work and to assemble the people on Sunday for prayers.<sup>398</sup> Whenever he revisited a village, regardless of how tired he might be, he sought out the teachers and examined the children to see how much they knew.<sup>399</sup>

The mass baptisms of 1536 and 1537 had done little to alter the lives of the Paravas: the old pagan attitudes and customs were still flourishing with a thousand roots in their daily lives.<sup>400</sup> Their thinking and acting, like that of their pagan neighbors, was still influenced by a fear of demons and of the spirits of the dead. Sicknesses and misfortunes were attributed to them.<sup>401</sup> In Vēmbār no one dared to pass the night alone in the places where spirits dwelt, for example, on the sea or on their fishing boats, since numerous devils were alleged to be seen there in fiery forms.<sup>402</sup> Not far from the sea, five minutes from the village of Kōvalam, there was a large boulder painted with white vertical stripes in a grove of coconut and fan palms. It was known as Mannēn Dévan Parei, "the Rock of the Good King," since in olden times a king fleeing from his enemies had been captured there and slain. His spirit was still there, and at night he went to the sea to bathe. He had to be mollified so that he would not become angry and send sicknesses. A poor little temple made of clay with a thatched, palm-leaf roof was set up against the stone; and the Shānās, who, as tillers of the palms, had their cottages nearby, kindled fragrant sandalwood or lit a coconut-oil lamp to honor the king's ghost; and even the Paravas left offerings there in the form of money or a large fish (*katta*).<sup>403</sup>

<sup>396</sup> EX I 427-428; Beira (DI I 177); Morais (*ibid.* 235-236); Artiaga (MX II 377); cf. EX I 162 192 196 198 200 208.

<sup>397</sup> EX I 166.

<sup>398</sup> Teixeira 852.

<sup>399</sup> Artiaga.

<sup>400</sup> According to the \*deposition of 1583 (ARSI: Goa 47, 258-286); DI I 233 284.

<sup>401</sup> DI I 289 580, IV 36.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.* 290.

<sup>403</sup> On December 20, 1956, we visited the stone and temple with the parish priest of Kōvalam. The temple, a small adobe structure, was served by Shānās. The fear of the spirit of the king has not yet disappeared. We were told that the gong of the temple had been endowed by Christian Paravas, that Parava women crossed themselves and threw *annas* at it when they passed it, and that many Christians still secretly offered sacrifices to the spirit. Cyril Fernando, the thirty-nine-year-old priest of Putenturai, who had been born in Kōvalam, told us the following legend which he had heard as a boy from his mother, who had died eight years before at the age of eighty: "The inhabitants of Kōvalam worshiped a devil, the spirit of Mannēn Dévan Parei and offered him *katta* (long fish), from 1 1/2 to 2 spans long. After their baptism they continued with this practice. To punish them, God sent a plague and a woman died of it. When Xavier came, the people asked Xavier to raise her from the dead. But he said: 'She worshiped the devil; I am therefore not going to help you.' But they asked him again, and he bade them promise that they would live thereafter according to their faith if he raised her from the dead. They promised to do so, and he brought the woman back to life. The place where this occurred was where the cemetery now is near



The magicians frequently played a significant role in the lives of the people, who ever and again made crude statues of the gods or demons and brought them offerings <sup>404</sup> in order to procure a favorable birth, <sup>405</sup> a good catch of fish, <sup>406</sup> or some other advantage, or to avert some misfortune. If anyone became ill, this was ascribed to the wrath of the gods or demons. The Brahmans were summoned so that they might pronounce their *mantras* over the sick; or a devil-dancer was called in so that the spirit might enter into him and indicate the cause of the sickness, and what would have to be done so that the person might be healed. <sup>407</sup>

Where Francis had instructed the Paravas in their faith, such practices had to be terminated. He relentlessly attacked idolatry. When the boys who helped him with his teaching told him that someone had made an idol, he went with them, as he had in Tuticorin, and had it broken into a thousand pieces and overwhelmed with shame and abuse. <sup>408</sup> He showed the people how ridiculous were the fables which the pagan priests narrated about their gods, and he did all he could to free them from their fear of demons. <sup>409</sup> If there was no other means to stop those who, despite all his prohibitions, made images of the gods, he had them punished by the *patangatis* or banished to another village. <sup>410</sup> One day the *swāmi* learned that idols had been worshiped in the house of a Christian. He ordered the cottage to be burned down as an example for others. All that the entreaties of those who were present obtained was that the culprit could take his poor furniture to safety before his home was devoured by the flames. <sup>411</sup>

Francis employed the same energy in suppressing vice. He had those guilty of adultery with married women publicly flogged by the *patangatis* and imprisoned. <sup>412</sup> He also acted strongly against drunkenness. <sup>413</sup> But before he took

the church." Thus far the legend. As the place of the miracle I was shown a spot directly next to the door of the parish church of St. Ignatius, near the right corner of the wall of the old cemetery, where there was a row of *puarasu* trees. Twelve years before the burial grounds had been removed since the sand had advanced as far as the church and was burying everything under it.

<sup>404</sup> In 1547 Beira wrote with the optimism of an inexperienced novice that, thanks to the labors of P. Magister Franciscus, there was no remembrance of idols and other errors among the Paravas (DI I 177); and in 1559 Durão wrote that there were no longer many remains of pagan practices (*ibid.* IV 356). But in 1640 the Parava Christians of Periyatālai, for example, were still clinging closely to their pagan ceremonies and to their service of the devil in times of sickness. Only the saintly P. João Ferreira broke them of this by using the so-called "snake-root" as a general remedy along with an appeal to the divine help (Besse 454). The suppression of the Society of Jesus and the lack of priests led to a sad decline of religion along the coast at the beginning of the nineteenth century. When the Jesuits finally returned in 1841, they undertook an energetic campaign against magic and drunkenness. In one village an entire load of magical books and devices was publicly burned. In Virapāndyanpatnam even the overseers were devoted to magic until a divine judgment opened the eyes of the people (Joseph Bertrand, S.J., *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de la nouvelle mission du Maduré* 1 [Toulouse, 1865] 285-288).

<sup>405</sup> Cf. DI 233.

<sup>406</sup> \*Monserrate 1577 (ARSI: Goa 12, 387v).

<sup>407</sup> DI I 244-246 465, IV 36.

<sup>408</sup> EX I 164-165 192 208 696.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.* 171.

<sup>410</sup> *Ibid.* 433.

<sup>411</sup> \*Teixeira It. 3, 8; Tursellinus 6, 11; Lucena 2, 9.

<sup>412</sup> DI I 236.

<sup>413</sup> EX I 191-192 196 206.

such stern measures, he tried with goodness and kindness to convert the sinner. Joam da Cruz, one of the most prominent Paravas on the coast, later declared that the priest had not only given others an example of a chaste life, but he had striven with great care and vigilance to bring others to the same. In this way he freed many Christians on the coast, both prominent individuals and ordinary people, from many deadly sins. Because of him they gave up the vice of usury, which had flourished among them, and many others. He persuaded many natives and Portuguese who were living among them to give up their prostitutes, and he encouraged others to marry the woman with whom they were living in sin. And he did all this so that the Christians might be freed from their vices and sins and not go to hell after their baptism.

The holy life of the priest made a deep impression on both pagans and Christians. His simple, humble ways, his cheerful, happy manner, his ready, saintly smile won their hearts without prejudicing his authority.<sup>414</sup> Among the people he was called the *Periya Padre* (Great Father), or "the Holy Father."<sup>415</sup> "The Christians," according to Joam da Cruz, "had such confidence in him that, if he repeatedly asked one to give up his sins and failed to persuade him to do so, the latter no longer had any peace of mind and ate and drank only with great difficulty until he went to Father Master Francis and confessed his guilt and did what he was told. Whoever failed to do so and remained obstinate to the end, died an unholy death; and I knew many of these."<sup>416</sup>

Pedro Fernandes of Virapāndyanpatnam, who had accompanied the *swāmī* in his youth on his visits to the villages of the Fishery Coast and had helped him with his teaching, had much to say about the saintliness of the priest, his ardent love for the poor, his great zeal, his esteem for holy poverty, his abnegation; how he always prayed much and ate very little; and how, in the company of the boys who helped him with his teaching, he prepared his meals with his own hands and ate them together with them.<sup>417</sup> Visitors as a consequence frequently found him busy lighting a fire so that he might cook his rice.<sup>418</sup> And Diogo Fernandes of Tuticorin, who as a boy had also seen the priest on his travels from Punnaikāyal to Cape Comorin, declared that everyone had regarded him as enamored of all virtues and had called him a saint.<sup>419</sup> Another companion who went with Master Francis as far as Cape Comorin was the fifteen-year-old Agostinho de Pina of Manappād. "The priest" he declared, "was extremely abstemious. He ate very little and spent the night almost

<sup>414</sup> MX II 310-311.

<sup>415</sup> Paulo Vaz (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231), Pérez (DI I 367-368), Estevão da Cunha (MX II 577), Gaspar de Miranda (*ibid.* 537), Teixeira 851.

<sup>416</sup> MX II 310-311.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.* 552. Pedro Gonçalves gave his testimony in 1616. Another witness of the same process, Thomé da Cruz Chumdremanetenem (Sundara-Manettanan), *patangati* of Virapāndyanpatnam, also appealed to Pedro Fernandes; and he noted that he had been married in his village as a catechist and had held the same office in many other villages on the Fishery Coast. He had been a very God-fearing man and had often gone to confession and Communion; he was eighty-seven years old when he knew him. He had been in Kombuturē in 1543 when Xavier healed the boy who had fallen into the well (*ibid.* 547-548). In 1568 \*H. Henriques wrote that he lived for the most part in Virapāndyanpatnam and was one of the chief helpers of the mission (ARSI: Goa 8, 653v). He is probably to be identified with the Pedro whom Xavier sent to Mansilhas in Punnaikāyal from Tuticorin on May 14, 1544 (EX I 203).

<sup>418</sup> \*Teixeira It. 2, 4.

<sup>419</sup> MX II 573-575. He was living as a widower in Manār in 1616 and was over seventy-six years old.

without sleep. The greatest part of it he employed in prayer. He frequently slept on the bare ground; and if friends or admirers sent him food, he gave it to the poor without tasting it."<sup>420</sup>

His dress was simple. Over his shirt and trousers he wore a dark garment that reached to his knees, and over this a thin, dark, sleeveless cassock without a cincture that was always patched and torn by briers, and a kind of hood made of dark material to protect him from the sun, or a biretta. He wore his rosary about his neck, and he often went barefooted in the sand.<sup>421</sup>

He adapted his diet to that of the poor fishers. There was no bread or wine, except palm wine, in the villages.<sup>422</sup> His usual food was rice. At times he also had fish and milk when his new converts gave these to him, as the pagans also often did.<sup>423</sup> "He always practiced great abstinence," as was later observed by the Portuguese João Peres in Goa, who had accompanied Xavier for two months to Cape Comorin. "He ate very little and only once a day. He seldom ate meat, and that only when he was invited out."<sup>424</sup> In many places there was never any good water to drink.<sup>425</sup>

His bed was the bare earth or a wooden frame fitted with a coconut-fiber net and a hard pillow without sheets or covering.<sup>426</sup>

The priest was a man of prayer. He did not become absorbed in external works. While he worked he was always united with God, and he made of his work a continuous prayer.<sup>427</sup> At night, after the heat and labors of the day, he withdrew to a lonely spot and prayed for a long time, as the sea murmured and the splendor of the star-strewn heavens unfolded over the crowns of the lofty palms.<sup>428</sup>

<sup>420</sup> *Ibid.* 538. He died in his eighties in 1608 in Manappād. His testimony was given by his companion and countryman Gaspar de Miranda in 1616, who was himself at the time over seventy-eight, married in Manappād, and a merchant and local judge (*ibid.* 537-538). Heitor Rodrigues also cited Pina, whom he had met in Manappād in 1586 (*ibid.* 613-614).

<sup>421</sup> "Trazia huma cabaia muito velha remendada, e hum saio, e hum barrete muyto safado... com humas contas que o Padre trazia ao pescoço," in the words of Artiaga, who accompanied him to the coast in 1544 (*ibid.* 375-376). Another companion of the same year, Paulo Vaz, stated that the priest went "descalço y con una vesteçilla muy rota, y con una coperuçilla de tela prieta" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231). The clergy of the *padroado* retain the black cassock to the present time.

<sup>422</sup> EX I 258.

<sup>423</sup> \*Teixeira It. 2, 4. The parish priest of Vīrapāndyanpatnam told us in 1953 that the people said that Xavier, if he had no cook on his travels, went at times to a neighboring house and asked for some *kanji* (rice water) with milk or rice.

<sup>424</sup> MX II 217.

<sup>425</sup> EX I 258; DI I 243.

<sup>426</sup> "Não lhe lembrava ver-lhe na sua cama collchão nem lemçoys," according to Artiaga. But Teixeira states: "Su dormir era en el suelo" (850). In 1616 João Fernandes Chiatambi (*chinnatambi*: teacher) declared that he had heard from Fernandes Panikkan (fencing master), who had died three years earlier at the age of eighty, and whose father had received Xavier into his house in Manappād, that he had often seen the priest sleeping on the bare floor without pillow or covering (MX II 539).

<sup>427</sup> Valignano 62.

<sup>428</sup> Mansilhas (MX II 316; cf. 539). The parish priest of Vīrapāndyanpatnam told us in 1953 that the Paravas of the village actually said that after sundown, if his work was finished, Xavier usually went to a spot outside the village in order to pray at night; and the old people said that he was on such occasions at times seen to be raised above the ground. Different places are still shown today along the Fishery Coast where he was accustomed to pray or to celebrate Mass, for example, in Tuticorin (Mass in Peter Kovil), Palayakāyal (Xavier monument), Punnaikāyal (Mass in the sacristy

Upon his arrival in Manappād, Master Francis found a place in the house of a Parava named Fernandes. His ten-year-old son Thomas watched the *swāmī* and later stated that he had often seen him sleep on the bare ground without a pillow or covering, and that he spent a great part of the night and of the day in prayer and meditation; and he had frequently seen him raised more than an ell above the floor, his face and eyes glowing with light, especially during the celebration of Mass.<sup>429</sup>

A little over a quarter of an hour from Manappād, at the base of the foothill, was an artificial grotto that had been hewn out of the rock. Twelve feet high and wide, it had been the dwelling of a pagan yogi before Xavier's arrival. Within the grotto, to the right of the entrance, was a cistern of drinking water. Only the sea and the skies could be seen from the cave, but from it at night the Southern Cross was also visible above the sea amidst the twinkling stars. From the hill above the grotto there was a beautiful view of the surrounding area. To the west was the green oasis of Manappād, with its dark green grove of fan palms surrounded by a sandy waste. To the east was the wide, blue, roaring sea; and in the north, the foothills of Tiruchendūr and its tall pagoda. The grotto afforded a welcome protection from the stinging rays of the sun. Since it had been made, as it were, for a hermitage, Francis was glad to be able to retire there for prayer and meditation and for the celebration of Mass.<sup>430</sup>

of the Xavier church), Virapāndyanpatnam (Xavier chapel and boulder on the beach), Manappād (cave), and Periyatālai (*cruzadi* and chapel at the north end of the village).

<sup>429</sup> The witness, the Parava João Fernandes, a teacher who had been born in Manappād and lived there, heard this from Thomas Fernandes himself, who in 1543 at the time of Xavier's visit was only ten years old (MX II 539). Only one of the other thirteen witnesses who were heard with him in Manappād in 1616 knew anything about this miracle. The thirty-five-year-old *kanakapula* Pedro Luis, living in Perumanal, and sacristan and catechist of the parish church of the Visitation there, said that his father, Antonio Henriques, who died in his nineties, had served Xavier in that church. He had often told him in the presence of his mother and cousins and others since deceased how the priest had made a pilgrimage with him from Perumanal to the church of the Cross in Manappād and had there offered Mass, and how he had seen him transformed and raised for a long time a span above the earth (*ibid.* 532). But it was only in 1580 that the priests erected a cross on the hill above the cave of Manappād, which was frequented by numerous Christian and pagan pilgrims. And only in 1582 did they build on the same site a chapel of the Cross for more than 1,000 *pardaus*, the first stone church on the Fishery Coast, to which the pagans also came on pilgrimage (ARSI: Goa 47, 239 244). There is no mention of a church of the Cross in Manappād before this (thus against Brou I 200). Another witness, the Parava João Nareguerigue (Naragari) in Tuticorin, appealed to the same Antonio Henriques in the same process. He would have heard from him that he had seen Xavier raised above the floor during his Mass in the church of St. Thomas in Mailapur in the presence of many persons (*ibid.* 556), a miracle about which all others are silent, even Gaspar Coelho, the parish priest of the village and host of the saint.

<sup>430</sup> To the right of the cave is a kind of small bath sunk down into the rock. This is filled with water taken from the cave so that women can dip their children in it. To the left of the cave there is a modern inscription which says in English and Tamil that a Shaivite hermit formerly lived here, and after him St. Francis Xavier. When one enters the cave, one sees at once on the right a round well. Near it is a vessel made of palm leaves attached to a coconut-fiber rope for drawing out the water. The latter is good, even though the well is connected with the sea. At the time of the full moon it enters the well, but then flows out again. If a lemon is thrown into the well, it comes out in the sea. The water is regarded as being endowed with healing powers. Pilgrims come even from Malabar and take some of it away with them. P. Louis Lassus, S.J., a missionary in Manappād from 1885 to 1906, changed the cave into a chapel. On the simple altar is a modern statue of Xavier, and near it on the left is a walled-up cleft in the rock. There was allegedly here a passage to the church

At the time of Xavier's arrival the Paravas had no churches outside of Tuticorin, where the Portuguese captain usually stayed with his soldiers and their chaplain.<sup>431</sup> At first Francis would celebrate Mass and give instructions in the shade of a tree, if there was any such in the village. But soon, at his insistence, the villagers would erect a temporary chapel of palm leaves, a *ramada*, as he called it, or a more substantial clay chapel with a palm-leaf roof.<sup>432</sup> Stone

of the Cross. According to others, the yogi who lived in the cave before Xavier's arrival used to hide his concubine here when visitors came. The *cruzadi* over the cave was allegedly erected by Xavier. When we visited the site in 1956, the sixty-four-year-old guardian of the chapel showed us the cave and its environs. According to him it was built by the king of Rāmnād. It had earlier been inhabited by a *sanyassi*. Xavier came from Periyatālai and asked for the place for himself. The *sanyassi* replied: "You are stronger than I," and left him the cave and went away. The well was smaller at the time. Xavier enlarged it. He said Mass here, wrote his letters, bathed, and washed himself in the well. He preached and baptized here and in Manappād. While he was here, a Moor came on horseback and wanted to fight with him. Francis held up his crucifix against the Moor and his foe fell from his horse between the chapel and the lighthouse above the cave. Not far from this latter the guardian showed us on the reddish, weathered sandstone rock a number of white stripes which, according to him, represented the horse of the Moor. With some imagination and good will, one could recognize something like a horse with a long neck. Next to it he showed two broad holes in the rock, Xavier's footprints; a third, always full of water, where the saint stuck his staff into the ground; a fourth, where his shoe had entered; and a fifth, also ever full of water, from which he drank—legends with which popular imagination has adorned the life of the apostle. Similarly, on the way from Periyatālai to Kūdūtālai, two holes are shown in the rock, allegedly prints left by Xavier's horse, as my Parava companion told me in 1956. That the Portuguese built the church of the Cross over the cave before Xavier's coming, that the saint did not apparently go to the village of Manappād, and that the people brought his food to the cave, as the cave's guardian added, is of course contradicted by the facts. According to others the priest drove the devil Sendil Murugan from the cave. The latter then went to Tiruchendūr. In addition to the local legends of the Paravas, there are those of the Hindus in the Tamil *purāna* of the Tiruchendūr temple, probably composed in the eighteenth century. This was allegedly translated from the Sanskrit by Venrimālai Kavirāya. According to it Subrahmanya lived in the cave as a Shaivite penitent. The first historical data on Xavier's connection with it is found in the annual \*letter of the Malabar province of October 18, 1708, where the section dealing with the church of the Cross in Manappād has the following: "Ad radices huius montis prope mare quaedam cernitur aedicula per modum speluncae, ubi Divum Xaverium sacrum fecisse ac per aliquod tempus habitasse traditione fertur" (ARSI: Goa 56, 569).

<sup>431</sup> In the \*deposition of witnesses in 1583, the Paravas declared that there had been no church on the Fishery Coast before Xavier's arrival. Meant is: outside of Tuticorin. In 1607, during his controversy with the Jesuits, the bishop of Cochin, Frey André de Santa Maria, O.F.M., claimed that in addition to the church of St. Peter in Tuticorin the one in Punnaikāyal had been built before Xavier's arrival, since it also had been founded by Pedro Gonçalves, the vicar of Cochin (Queyroz, *Basto* 75). But this was not so. Punnaikāyal later became the residence of the Portuguese captain of the Fishery Coast instead of Tuticorin; and on January 13, 1575, \*H. Henriques wrote: "Although we usually punish the Christians when they deserve it and arbitrate their quarrels, since hitherto nothing else could be done, we asked the bishop for a vicar for this. There is one now in Punicala, an Indian, a very good priest" (ARSI: Goa 12, 251v); and \*Valignano wrote in 1579 that there was in Punnaikāyal a native vicar for the Portuguese and the Christians of the village (*ibid.* Goa 7, 24).

<sup>432</sup> Paulo Vaz, who accompanied Xavier in 1544, stated in 1545 in Portugal that Xavier had built forty-four or forty-five churches in the villages along the coast that had become Christian (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231). But when Ribadeneyra wrote in his life of Ignatius that Xavier had founded more than forty churches on Cape Comorin (*Vida* 4, 7), Teixeira replied in 1584 by noting that he had not built any churches in Travancore. On the Fishery Coast he ordered at most that some churches should be built of palm leaves and straw or earth, as some, or most, of them still were (MX II 801). The

buildings were proscribed by the pagan kings for fear that they might be used as strongholds in time of war.<sup>433</sup> He also had *cruzadis*<sup>434</sup> erected—plain, large, wooden crosses with two cross arms but no image of Christ. These were painted black and fixed into a white-washed stone base as a sign of the victory of the Christian faith. Often they had a niche for a lamp. Each village also had a patron for its church.<sup>435</sup>

When Francis had finished his visit to a village, he set straight out on his way again. Never did he spend an entire month, or even twenty days, in the same place.<sup>436</sup>

first stone church of the Jesuit mission in South India was built by the Karaiyas in "Great Village" (Erukampaddi) on Manār. It was made "of stone, lime, and tiles," as \*Pero Luis, S.J., expressly noted on January 11, 1572 (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 99). The first stone church on the Fishery Coast was, as the annual \*letter of 1582 observes, the chapel of the Cross built in the same year in Manappād (*ibid.* *Goa* 47, 239; cf. *Goa* 13, 127v). In 1588 \*Gonçalo Fernandes wrote from Tuticorin that the church there had been bequeathed 2,000 *pardaus* so that it could be built of stone, for the earlier churches had been made of wood with adobe walls and palm-leaf roofs (*ibid.* *Goa* 13, 405v). In 1579 \*Valignano, however, wrote that the churches of the Fishery Coast were all made of adobes and covered with palm leaves (*ibid.* *Goa* 7, 24). When Artiaga states that on Sundays Xavier gathered the people in a church or *ramada* erected for this purpose (MX II 377), this, as all the data with respect to the building of churches, refers to those made of adobes or palm leaves.

<sup>433</sup> In 1591 \*Pedro Martins wrote that in revenge for the attack of the Portuguese on the pagoda of Tiruchendūr, the pagans had burned almost all the villages of the Paravas after their settlement on Manār. The damage, however, was not great since the houses and churches were not expensive. The Nāyak of Madura wanted peace and also wanted to allow the erection of stone churches in the future (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 377v). None of the extant churches were therefore built in Xavier's time. The local traditions are consequently in error when they say, for example, in Punnaikāyal, that the choir of the Xavier church was built by him and that he had celebrated Mass in the present sacristy. The Xavier chapel in Vēmbār and that of Vijayatālai, which many ascribe to him, were built later and dedicated to him. The church of Our Lady of the Sand near Periyatālai is also, of course, of later origin. In 1616 the seventy-four-year-old Parava Manuel Gago Belandem, who had known Xavier as a boy, declared that when the church of Perumanal collapsed and the people wanted to build a new, smaller one, Manuel de Almeida, S.J., the pastor of Cape Comorin, said: "We shall not make this church, which was built by Father Francis, smaller, but larger" (MX II 623). Here also there is at best a question of an adobe church.

<sup>434</sup> In 1614 the \*licentiate Affonso de Barbuda, who had been visitor of the diocese of Cochin under Bishop Frey Matheus de Medina (1579-1588), stated that there were two famous crosses in Vaippār and Punnaikāyal through which many miracles had been worked, and which were piously venerated by both pagans and Christians. Many ex-votos of gold, silver, and precious stones that had been given by pagans hung from them; and there was a tradition that they had been erected by P. Magister Franciscus. He had been told this in Tuticorin by people of great authority who had known Pater Franciscus there, the *patangatis* Joam da Cruz, Tomas "Zilanus" da Cruz, and Sebastião Morais; and he had been told the same by H. Henriques and Diogo da Cunha, who were among the oldest priests of the Fishery Coast (\**Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 2, 61v-62v).

<sup>435</sup> We have lists of the churches of the Fishery Coast with their patrons for 1571, 1644, 1715. We give them according to the list of 1644 where otherwise not indicated: Vēmbār (Spirito Santo), Vaippār (Assumpção), Tuticorin (S. Pedro; 1715: N. Sra. das Neves), Palayakāyal (Madre de Deus), Punnaikāyal (Nascimento de N. Sra.), Kombuturē (S. Estevão), Vīrapāndyanpatnam (S. Thomé), Tiruchendūr (1574: Reis Magos), Ālantalai (S. Pedro), Manappād (Assumpção), Pudukarai (S. Estevão?), Periyatālai (S. João Ev. e S. Estevão), Ovari (S. André), Kūttankuli (S. João Bautista), Idindakarai (S. Pedro e Paulo), Perumanal (Visitação), Kumari Muttam (1573: S. Sebastião), Kan-niyākumari (1571: N. Sra. do Cabo; 1573: N. Sra. do O., N. Sra. da Expectação), Kōvalam (1571: S. Lourenço; 1573: Sta. Catharina; 1716: S. Ignacio), Rājakkamangalam (1571: Jesus; 1573: Circumcisão).

<sup>436</sup> Artiaga.

Here, as in Tuticorin, he had the reputation of being a wonder-worker. From all sides he was summoned to visit the sick so that he might read a passage of a Gospel over them. If he could not go in person, he sent, as he had there, his young assistants with his rosary or crucifix to pray over the sick, and almost all were cured.<sup>437</sup> His companions could therefore soon tell of the miracles which the holy priest worked in his rounds of the villages.<sup>438</sup>

One day when the *swāmī* set out by boat from Vaippār, the river was swift and swollen from downpours of rain in the distant mountains and had flooded the countryside. Francisco Fernandes, the catechist of the church, had also embarked with him. Francis told him to leave and to remain on the land. He then became wrapped in prayer and did not notice until the boat had reached the open sea that Fernandes was still with him. When he asked him why he had not left the boat, Fernandes replied that he had been afraid of being carried off by the swirling waters. Francis then made the sign of the cross over him and told him to go. The catechist jumped into the river and instantly found himself on dry land through a miracle wrought by the priest, as he was firmly convinced.<sup>439</sup>

In the neighborhood of Cape Comorin, Malabar pirates captured and plundered a *toni* that was coming with merchants from the Coromandel Coast. The voyagers reached land stripped of their possessions. Among them was a Portuguese soldier by the name of Jerónimo Fernandes Mendonça,<sup>440</sup> who had lost all of his wares. At the time Xavier happened to be staying at the cape with

<sup>437</sup> EX I.165-166. Dr. Saraiva testified in 1556 how news came to Goa in 1543 of Xavier's activities on Cape Comorin and of the supernatural works which the Lord effected through him, that is, he healed the sick and wrought other similar things (MX II 236). Artiaga added that no one had been sick in Punnaikāyal who did not call for P. Magister Franciscus so that he might read a Gospel over him, and they had in this way as a rule regained their health, or through the rosary which he wore about his neck; and he was never able to keep it with him, for they asked him for it so that they might touch some sick persons with it, and these regained their health through it (*ibid.* 375). In 1555 Quadros wrote that individuals who had gone with Xavier to Cape Comorin had told him that the priest had continuously worked many miracles there, healing the sick and driving out devils; he was also told that he had seldom recited a prayer over a sick person who did not get well (DI III 336). Diogo Fernandes, who knew Xavier, also testified in 1616 that the saint had worked many miracles on the Fishery Coast by healing the sick (MX II 575).

<sup>438</sup> Cf. DI I 312-318. We place the following incidents in 1543 since Xavier's companions of 1544 are silent about them in their depositions.

<sup>439</sup> According to his son Luis Fernandes (MX II 548-549).

<sup>440</sup> We have for this six witnesses: (1) Diogo Madeira in 1556. He sailed with Xavier from Negapatam to São Thomé and heard of the matter from a man on the Coromandel Coast (MX II 215). (2) The licentiate Affonso de Barbuda in 1614. He was in India from 1578 to 1592 and learned of the incident from Mendonça himself in Goa (\*Lisbon, *RProcess* I, n. 2, 59v-60v). Other witnesses were four Paravas who testified at the hearing of witnesses on the Fishery Coast in 1616: (3) Thomé Leão, who heard about it from an old Parava of the village of Kanniyākumari who had been robbed along with Mendonça (MX II 536; Barradas 68-69); (4) Gaspar de Miranda, who as a boy with his companion Agostinho de Pina had been an eyewitness (MX II 538-539); (5) Pedro Gonçalves, who was told of the event by Pedro Fernandes, Xavier's companion; and (6) Marcos de Miranda, whose father had accompanied Xavier (*ibid.* 572). All the witnesses agree on the essential fact. Teixeira erroneously lays the miracle on the Coromandel Coast (917). Tursellinus, drawing on this, makes it a city of Coromandel (6, 3); and Lucena, São Thomé (3, 8). Thomé Leão calls him Mendonça. Barbuda gives his full name and notes that Miranda was around sixty-five when he met him in Goa and that he had a great devotion to Xavier because the saint had freed him from a serious illness and the state of mortal sin in which he had lived for many years.

Pedro Fernandes and two boys from Manappād, Gaspar de Miranda and Agostinho de Pina. The soldier came and asked the priest for an alms. The latter reached into his pocket and drew his hand out empty. But he advised the petitioner to have trust in God and went a few steps away to pray. He then returned and drew out a handful of coins and gave them to him with the request that he should tell it to no one. Agostinho, however, told his companion Miranda that it had certainly been a miracle, for he knew that the priest had no money in his pocket and that he had not received any from anyone.<sup>441</sup>

At the same cape, Agostinho and Gaspar were eyewitnesses of a cure. A beggar was all covered with sores that caused him great pain. Francis washed off the filth and dried the sores and, finally, one day drank the water with which he had washed the man to mortify himself. He then knelt down and prayed, and to the amazement of his two young companions the sick man was healed.<sup>442</sup>

Another incident created a great sensation.<sup>443</sup> In the Karaiya village of

<sup>441</sup> Pedro Gonçalves speaks of "some coins," Gaspar de Miranda of a handful of coins, Madeira of a handful of *fanams*, Marcos de Miranda of coins of the finest gold and silver, as does Leão, who declared that they were more than fifty in number. Mendonça told Barbuda that they were unknown coins of the finest silver and not common in India, and that the pagan merchants to whom he gave them for exchange had paid him handsomely for them because of the extraordinary purity of their silver. According to Barradas, all the shipwrecked came to Xavier and he distributed the money among them all.

<sup>442</sup> On the cure there is the official opinion of the physician of the Rota, A. Victorius (*Medicae Consultationes* 407-408). The miracle was chosen by the auditors of the Rota for their *\*Relatio* in 1619 (59v-60v), and it was included in the bull of canonization (MX II 710). Of the eight depositions, seven are still extant. An eighth, mentioned in the *\*Relatio*, was that of João Lopes in the Goa process of 1615, which went back to his father. The other testimonies were given by natives in the process of 1616 on the Fishery Coast. Among these was an eyewitness, Gaspar de Miranda, who declared that he had seen the miracle on Cape Comorin along with his companion Agostinho de Pina (MX II 538). João de Mesquita states that he had heard from Pina that he had often seen Xavier wash and dry the great filth and running sores of a beggar, which greatly afflicted him, and that the priest then drank the water and prayed and the beggar was immediately cured (*ibid.* 536-537; Barradas 69). Luis de Pina also appealed to Pina (*ibid.* 549). The other testimonies are based on hearsay (*ibid.* 550 555 557 562) and probably go back to Pina and Miranda. Francisco Vaz, a thirty-seven-year-old beneficiary in Punnaikāyal, added that the priest had frequently carried a jug full of water on his shoulders in the hospital of Punnaikāyal and had washed the feet and sores of the sick and had often drunk the water he had used to mortify himself (*ibid.* 55). But this is an error since the hospital was not founded until 1550 by H. Henriques (DI II 161-162). Victorius argues from Galen and Hippocrates that water is harmful for sores since they should dry up. The cure was thus supernatural, especially since it did not follow the washing but immediately after the prayer, apparently as a reward for Xavier's self-abnegation, as the auditors of the Rota noted. Without denying the possibility of a miracle, we believe that two things must be noted: (1) The age of the two principal witnesses. In 1616 Miranda stated that he was over seventy-eight years old and had known Xavier when he was still a boy. He could thus have been little more than ten in 1543. Pina died in 1608 at the age of eighty and was thus a youth of fifteen in 1543 (MX II 537-538). (2) The manner of healing. According to Pina, Xavier frequently washed and dried the filth and sores. The cure was thus not immediate and the means were not harmful, *salvo Galeno et Hippocrate*. Brou erroneously makes a leper out of the beggar (II 710); and the present "tradition" in Ovari, that Xavier here healed a leper, probably goes back to this miracle.

<sup>443</sup> The miracle of the well of Kombuturē is the first mentioned and the most famous of the so-called raisings from the dead wrought by Xavier. A whole series of others is derived from it. Since the witnesses of 1556-1557 vaguely lay the site on Cape Comorin or the Fishery Coast, attempts were later made to locate it either in



Kombuturē there was an open well with its walls reaching slightly above the sand only a few steps from the palm-leaf chapel<sup>444</sup> dedicated to St. Stephen.<sup>445</sup> One day Master Francis was on the point of beginning Mass when a loud cry and lamentation could be heard outside. He asked those near by the reason for this and learned that a boy had fallen into a well and drowned. Francis immediately left the chapel with those who were there. A group of people waving their arms encountered him, and the boy's mother threw herself at his feet and tearfully asked him for help. The boy, speechless and unconscious,<sup>446</sup> and apparently dead from drowning, was brought to the priest.<sup>447</sup> Francis lifted his eyes to heaven, knelt down, prayed for a short time, stood up, read a Gospel

the neighborhood of the cape, in Kumari Muttam to the east, or in Kōvalam or Rājakkamangalam to the west, of it. Kumari Muttam was then confused with Muttamtura (Muttam Harbor) in south Travancore and Muttam (Muttatangādi), south of Cochin; and Kōvalam (Portuguese: Coualão), with the fortress of Coulão (Quilon). Or Cape Comorin was taken in a wider sense for the whole Fishery Coast, and the site was sought in the neighborhood of Punnaikāyal or elsewhere: in Tuticorin; Vēdālai; on Manār; on Cow Island; in Vēmbār, where Francis allegedly raised a twelve-year-old boy; in Vaippār, where he allegedly raised a girl of the Cruz family; and in Kannankudiyiruppu, near Periyatālai. Moreover, since at one time *menino* is read in the Portuguese text of the process, and at another *menina*; and *mancebo aparentado morto* becomes a *puerum satis notum et nobilem*; and *moço* is translated as *puer*, but also as *juvenis*, two or more persons are made out of a single one. For our purposes the most important witnesses are: 2 4 6-8 in the Goa process of 1556; 4-5 9 13 in that of Cochin in 1557; 78 80 82-83 85-87 90 98-99 in that of 1616. All the witnesses heard on the Fishery Coast and Manār in 1616 placed the incident in Kombuturē. Among them was an eyewitness, the Parava Diogo Fernandes, who was "more than seventy-six" in 1616, and thus a child or boy in 1543. He also maintained that he had been present for the raising from the dead in Kōvalam (MX II 574). Five more who testified had heard about the matter from eyewitnesses: from the Karaiya Paulo Vaz of Kombuturē, who was ninety in 1591 (*ibid.* 545), from him and Xavier's companion, the eighty-seven-year-old Pedro Fernandes (*ibid.* 547), from Seb. da Cunha (*ibid.* 576), and from Antonio Cheruquil of Punnaikāyal (*ibid.* 550 551 555 556 557), who died before 1616 at the age of ninety (Barradas 55). Cosme Anes had heard of the wonder from two prominent Paravas, who accompanied Xavier to Goa at the end of 1543. He gave the explanation of the saint (*ibid.* 185); and the same was done more briefly by A. Dias, G. Vaz, Mansilhas, and Christovão de Castro (*ibid.* 180 183 288 303). According to this, Xavier said that the child had not been dead, through humility according to Mansilhas. M. Nunes Barreto mentions a raising from the dead on Cape Comorin in 1554 (DI III 78). In 1571 Maffei makes of the incident two (II 9); in 1572 Ribadeneyra has *mortuos* (Vita 4, 7). But in 1580 Teixeira regarded all as uncertain (851-854 917), as did Valignano in 1583 (67-68). In 1584 Teixeira wrote to Ribadeneyra that H. Henriques had made an investigation and that the raising from the dead on Cape Comorin was not certain (MX II 804-806); and in 1585 \*H. Henriques himself wrote to the general from Tuticorin that it would be false to maintain that Xavier had raised one or several individuals from the dead on the Fishery Coast (ARSI: Goa 13, 291; Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung" 157).

<sup>444</sup> In 1544 Xavier furthered the building of the church in Kombuturē (EX I 207 210). Apparently the palm-leaf cottage was replaced at the time by an adobe hut.

<sup>445</sup> The place is called today San Estevan Cruzadi. About twenty steps away from the church there is a *cruzadi* and near it the well. It is not deep, and its surrounding wall rises only the width of a hand above the ground. Its water, which was formerly good, is today brackish. Punnaikāyal can be seen from the roof of the church, and the pagoda of Tiruchendūr from the neighboring strand.

<sup>446</sup> We follow in particular the detailed account of Pedro da Cunha, which goes back to the statements of the Karaiya Paulo Vaz (MX II 545). That the child was in the well for a long time, as Cunha and D. Antonio maintained (*ibid.* 545 551), or even for many hours, as Thomé da Cruz declared (*ibid.* 547), is excluded by the account since the well was only a few steps from the church.

<sup>447</sup> The *mancebo aparentado morto* of the text is corrected to *mancebo aparentando morto* (*ibid.* 185).

over the boy, took him by the hand, and ordered him in God's name to arise. At this, life returned to the boy. The child, who was thought to be dead, straightened up and opened his eyes.<sup>448</sup> Those present cried: "Miracle! Miracle!"<sup>449</sup> The saintly priest, however, told them to be quiet since the child had not been dead, and the Lord had wished to restore him to health.<sup>450</sup> But the others were convinced that the *Periya Padre* had raised the child from the dead. Among those who were present was the Karaiya Paulo Vaz, who had been born in Kombuturē and was at the time about forty years old; the Parava Antonio Cheruquil from Punnaikāyal, a young man of about seventeen; the small boy Diogo Fernandes from Tuticorin; Pedro Fernandes from Virapāndyanpatnam, Xavier's companion; and Sebastião da Cunha. All of these later gave witness to the miracle.<sup>451</sup>

<sup>448</sup> Cf. Xavier's statement (*ibid.* 180 185).

<sup>449</sup> According to the data of the eyewitnesses Paulo Vaz, Pedro Fernandes, and A. Cheruquil (*ibid.* 545 547 551); see also 388 303 574.

<sup>450</sup> See Xavier's statements (*ibid.* 180 183 185 303 319). Before 1616 \*João da Fonseca heard from an eyewitness, a 105-year-old Parava in Punnaikāyal, that Xavier had told the bystanders to keep silent, that the child had only fallen asleep, and that he had been awakened from his sleep by the reading of the Gospel (\**Lisbon, RProcess* II, n. 2, 21v; similarly, n. 14, 42v).

<sup>451</sup> To this year also pertains another event (a case of epilepsy?), in which A. de Pina and his younger companion Antonio de Miranda played the principal roles, and upon whose accounts the testimonies of 1616 depend. There is the further fact that Barradas' extract from the lost, original Portuguese text repeatedly differs from the Latin translation (45-55), and Brou (I 224-225) and Cross (*Vie* II 329-393) do not give the text exactly. According to the Latin text, Giraldo de Miranda heard from his father (Antonio de Miranda) the following: When he was a boy helping Xavier in Talle (Periyatālai) with his teaching, he saw his companion, another boy who also assisted the priest, suddenly fall to the ground and die in agony with a foaming mouth, having been bitten by a poisonous snake. The priest saw him fall, knelt down and prayed, anointed the wound in the foot with saliva, and immediately called the dead boy back to life (MX II 570). The Portuguese extract of Barradas, however, has the following: When Xavier was eating in the evening and the boy was serving him, the latter suddenly fell unconscious to the ground without a word. He was foaming at the mouth and as if dead. All ascribed this to the bite of a cobra or another poisonous creature (*bicho*, which can mean a scorpion, a centipede, or a tarantula). The priest saw him fall, prayed, and at the same moment the boy (*moço*) arose and served at table as he had done before, and all looked upon this as a miracle. The second witness, André Fernandes, heard the incident from Antonio de Miranda himself: When he went with a companion to Talle, he, Miranda, was bitten during the night by a snake while he was sleeping in a cottage with his companion; and he died, since almost all the snakes there are poisonous. When Xavier was informed of this, he came, knelt down, prayed, and anointed his foot with saliva. He was immediately healed, stood up, and spoke; and all regarded this as a great miracle (*ibid.* 535). According to Barradas this was on the way to Kombuturē. A snake bit Miranda. He fell speechless to the ground. When the priest was told of this, he had the boy brought speechless as he was. He knelt down, prayed, and anointed his foot with saliva. The lad immediately came to, spoke, and was well. The third witness, Heitor Rodrigues, heard the incident from Agostinho de Pina in 1586. When the latter was sleeping with his companion in a straw hut of the village of Pandocal (Pandesāle, between Kulasēkharapatnam and Manappād), near Talle, not far from Manappād, a hooded cobra (*cobra de capello*) bit him. In the morning Pina found his companion dead. He lifted up the mat and saw the snake escaping. He called Xavier who told the dead boy to rise in the name of Jesus and thus raised him (*ibid.* 613-614). Barradas has Paiva instead of Pina, but otherwise he here agrees with the Latin text. The four other witnesses, who place the incident in Talle, have no new details and speak from hearsay (*ibid.* 559 562 565 576).

## 7. IN THE LAND OF THE MARAVAS (APRIL—SEPTEMBER, 1543)

In his wandering through the villages of the Christian Paravas, Xavier also came into contact with their pagan neighbors, especially the Karaiyas, whose fellow castes he had baptized on his arrival in Kombuturē in 1542. They were on a lower level than the Paravas and lived apart from them in five or six hamlets of from ten to twenty families.<sup>452</sup> Among these were Pudukudi (New Village) north of Manappād, Pudukudi south of Ālantalai,<sup>453</sup> and other settlements near Virapāndyanpatnam and Kāyalpatnam.<sup>454</sup> The apostolic zeal of the priest succeeded in winning these also to the faith.<sup>455</sup>

But the love of Christ urged him on still farther. Their fellow castes in the north, in the land of the Maravas, who were accustomed to take part in the Pearl Fisheries as divers must also hear the good news. A *toni* brought him and his companions from Vēmbār along the flat, sandy beach fringed with palmyra palms to Kilakarai (East Beach), some 5 1/2 leagues farther north. This village, like Vaippār and Vēmbār, was subject to Tumbichchi Nāyak, a prince of the Telugu-speaking Kammava caste. Kilakarai, a rival of Kāyalpatnam, and in former times one of the two main centers for pearl fishing, lay in the shade of a palmyra-palm grove. This large city, near an old Shiva temple, was inhabited by Labbais, a people with strains of Moorish blood, and Hindus. Here could be seen a number of mosques and the whitewashed tombs of Moham-medan saints.<sup>456</sup> The Karaiyas, who were pearl and chank fishers like their Moorish neighbors, readily accepted baptism, as their fellow castes had done in the south.<sup>457</sup>

<sup>452</sup> According to H. Henriques in 1558 (DI IV 35).

<sup>453</sup> "Puducurim, a rather large village; since it is near Manapar, it has no church; the people go to church in Manapar. Puducurim, a village near Alendale, has no church; the people go to church in Alendale," according to the \*list of 1571 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 86). We suspect that they were Karaiya villages.

<sup>454</sup> Cf. EX I 227-228.

<sup>455</sup> In January, 1558, H. Henriques wrote that the Paravas had been baptized some twenty-four years before, the Karaiyas some twenty years before, and the Macuas by Xavier (DI IV 35); and Seb. Gonçalves wrote that the Paravas had received baptism ten years before Xavier's arrival on their coast, the Karaiyas in 1536 under Captain João Fernandes Correa because of the kindness which he showed towards them; and that earlier during the persecution of the Paravas they had sided with the Moors (2, 8-9). Both authors thus erroneously place the baptism of the Paravas in 1533, whereas their first representatives became Christians only at the end of 1535, and the mass of the people only in 1536 and 1537. We consequently have doubts also about their data on the Karaiyas. Those in Kombuturē were certainly baptized by Xavier in 1542. Fernandes Correa was captain from 1538 to 1540 and was brought back as a prisoner to Goa because of his oppression of the Christians. He was again captain of the Fishery Coast from 1545 to 1547.

<sup>456</sup> On Kilakarai, see Barbosa II 120-122; *Ramnad District Manual* 158-159; *Imperial Gazetteer of India* XI 304. The *Handbook of the Madras Presidency* (London, 1879) mentions eleven *makbaraks*, that is, tombstones of Moorish saints who died here (230). Rangacharya gives two inscriptions of the old Sokkanāthaswāmin temple from Xavier's time (1167). The church was consecrated in 1715 to St. Anthony of Padua (ARSI: *Goa* 29, 182). The *Livro de Marinharia* has an instruction of about 1530 for sailing from Cape Comorin to Negapatam and notes that Kilakarai is recognizable by a small palm grove in front of it (225).

<sup>457</sup> In 1556 Xavier's companion Artiaga testified that the priest had converted six or seven pagan villages to the faith "in the neighborhood of Vēdālai and Rāmeswaram (*ā roda de Beadala e Tramanamquor*)," and that he had regularly visited all the Christians from Rāmeswaram to Vilinjam (MX II 375 378). These villages should be: (1) Kī-lakarai, (2) Periyapatnam, (3) Vēdālai, (4) Verkade, (5) Kadukkāy, and (6) Attankarai. In 1547 Frey João de Villa de Conde wrote that the Moors, encouraged by the Badagas,

Three leagues farther to the northeast was Periyapatnam (Large City),<sup>458</sup> which also lay on a sandy beach overgrown with fan palms. Many Hindus lived here next to the numerous Mohammedan Labbais. Among the Hindus were the Pāriveras,<sup>459</sup> a lower caste of the Maravas; Karaiyas, all of whom were pearl and chank fishers; Shānās, who cared for the palm trees; and others. The city lay in the territory of the four Marava lords,<sup>460</sup> and it was no small achievement for Xavier to convert the Pāriveras along with the Karaiyas. Three leagues farther east along the flat, sandy coast was Vēdālai, famous for the victory which M.A. de Sousa had achieved over the Moors there in 1537. It also lay on the edge of a palmyra-palm grove. Besides Moors, there were Karaiyas in the city, and these received baptism.<sup>461</sup> The village lay on the southern coast of a narrow tongue of land stretching toward the east. Overgrown with thorny acacia and fan palms, it was here only half a league in width. Within the interior there were two Karaiya villages, whose inhabitants were not fishers but lived on the fruits of the forest. They also accepted the good news of the Gospel.<sup>462</sup>

From Vēdālai the tongue of land stretched for another league and a half to the east till it reached the Shallows of Chilaw,<sup>463</sup> which separated Ceylon

caused many insults to the Portuguese and much evil to the Christians by killing, striking, and persecuting them. Many, as a consequence, became Moors, especially those from Kilakarai and Vēdālai, since the Badagas there forced them to serve not only themselves but also the Moors. His companion Antonio Moniz Barreto stated that most of these had become pagans again because they had been forced to do so (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 457-461).

<sup>458</sup> On Periyapatnam, see Besse 355-358. Today almost all the Christians live in the neighboring Muthupettai. In 1954 there were 667 Catholics.

<sup>459</sup> The name is variously written: *Palivilis* (DI IV 35), *Palavelis* (ARSI: *Goa* 17, 67v), *Palavalis* (*ibid.* *Goa* 56, 529v), *Paravellins* (Queyroz, *Basto* 77). Seb. Gonçalves writes that they too were pearl fishers, "quasi tão honrados como os paravás," and that they had been converted some time after the Paravas (2, 9). On the Pāriveras, see Thurston VI 156-158; Pate 132-134; W. Francis, *Madura District Gazetteer* (Madras, 1906) 102-103. In 1558 H. Henriques wrote that in addition to the Karaiyas in Periyapatnam there were those of another caste, the Palivilis, and that these were still weak in the faith (DI IV 34-35).

<sup>460</sup> In 1611 Leni wrote that the expenses of the Pearl Fishery included bribes paid to the pagans, which had never been suspended in Periyapatnam. This village was territory of the four Marava lords of the robber caste and had a church of Christian Palaveli (ARSI: *Goa* 17, 67v). When Alī Arrūmī, a Turk in the service of the Zamorin, attacked Punnaikāyal in 1553 with a Moorish fleet and Gil Fernandes de Carvalho fought against him, Alī obtained the help of prominent Maravas in Kilakarai by means of bribes; but in the process he passed over a prominent Marava in Periyapatnam. The Christians won him over; and when the Portuguese fleet attacked the Moorish fleet in front of Kilakarai, the Marava landed with his troops above the village and the Mohammedans were thus annihilated (ARSI: *Goa* 38, 305-309v; cf. DI III 252-253; Couto 6, 10, 9; Zinadim 67-68; Besse 383-386).

<sup>461</sup> In 1544 Xavier wrote to Mansilhas that he would be glad if the latter would baptize the Karaiyas on Manār and would on the way also visit the Karaiya Christians in Vēdālai (EX I 220). In 1914 only Mohammedans and Hindus were still living in Periyavēdālai, the principal village on the coast. In Chinnavēdālai, in the interior separated from them, there were still living twenty-four Christians with some pagans near the modern church dedicated to St. Vincent (Besse 353-355). In 1956 we still encountered three Christian families in the village, two that had been there for a long time and one that had come recently.

<sup>462</sup> "On the other side of Beadala (Vēdālai)," H. Henriques wrote in 1558, "there are two small Carea villages, but they are still very weak in the faith. There are few Christians, and they are poorly visited by us since there is little prospect of fruit. One of them is Remanancor [Rāmeswaram]. On the other side of this Remanancor, some leagues farther on, are Christians in some pagan villages whom we are not able

from the mainland. Within the shallows was a chain of reefs  $4\frac{1}{2}$  leagues in length, stretching from the island of Rāmeswaram in the west to that of Manār in the east. According to the Hindus, these reefs, which were a barrier to shipping, were the remains of a bridge which the ape-god Hanumān had built for the army of Rāma. They were called "Adam's Bridge" by the Moors, since according to them, the father of mankind had come across them from Ceylon to India when he was driven by Allah out of Paradise. The strait between Rāmeswaram and the Indian continent, half a league wide, was also barred by a chain of rocks which at ebb tide lay exposed and dry. A narrow, winding channel was here the sole means of passage. Full of shallows and extremely dangerous, it was called by the natives Uriyāru (Mussel River) or Pambuāru (Snake River). Large vessels had to sail around Galle, the southern tip of Ceylon, if they were going to Coromandel.<sup>464</sup> Only small coastal vessels of shallow draft and boats of middling size could pass through here, and this only at high tide, after they had been unloaded,<sup>465</sup> and were guided by experienced pilots. Nevertheless, despite all the precautions that were taken, every year a good many ships were lost.<sup>467</sup> More than a hundred years earlier, when the Chinese came to conquer India, they were said to have lost their entire fleet of junks here.<sup>468</sup> The Indians themselves had suffered a great loss of ships here in 1502 when they sailed through the shallows to encounter the fleet of Vasco da Gama.<sup>469</sup> In 1534 a Portuguese fleet consisting of a galleon, two Latin caravels, and nine *fustas* had nevertheless succeeded in passing the shallows after they had removed their cannons.<sup>470</sup> In the east there was a second, narrower channel passing to the north between Manār and Ceylon.<sup>471</sup>

to visit" (DI IV 35). The list of 1644 contains the villages which pertained to the station of Periyapatnam: "Periapattão, church of Mary's Purification, 350 Christians. To it belong, in a circuit of seven leagues the following churches: Vārucāru, near the famous pagoda of Remanancor, whose patron is São Thiago, with 450 Christians, of whom 70 children come daily for Christian instructions; Curicātu ueetī, whose patron is Santa Cruz, with 80 Christians. The Christians between the two churches [between Periyapatnam and Verkade] never suffer from hunger. Divine Providence gives them every month of the year a kind of woodland fruit on which they live, for these Christians do not live on the beach nor from the sea but in the forests. They are a crude people and of a lower caste. The Christians of the residence of Periyapatão are in all 966" (\*Lopes 531).—Vārucāru is the famous pilgrim church of Verkade on the island of Rāmeswaram; Atancarēn is the well-known harbor of Attankarai at the mouth of the Vaigai River, in former times the center of the Chank Fishery, two long leagues northwest of Vēdālai on the other side of Pamban Road. The Christian village pertaining to it apparently lay at a distance within the interior. *Curicātu ueetī* is perhaps Kādukkay, between Attankarai and Vēdālai in the interior, where *ueetī* recalls Vettear (Vetter River), as the Vaigai, flowing past Attankarai into the sea, is called (*Ramnad District Manual* 160). A half-hour north of Kādukkāy, on the shore of the sea near Pirappamvalasai, there is a *cruzadi* from immemorial times (Besse 358), going back to an ancient settlement.

<sup>463</sup> On the *Baixos de Chilão*, see Yule 194; Castanheda 2, 22. Barbosa II 119-120; Queyroz 57; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 24; Ribeiro 1-2; DI IV 31, V 54, VI 30. It is not to be confused with the *Baixos de Ceylão* to the southeast of Ceylon.

<sup>464</sup> Ribeiro.

<sup>465</sup> Ribeiro.

<sup>466</sup> Queyroz.

<sup>467</sup> Castanheda, Barbosa.

<sup>468</sup> Barros speaks of eighty junks (3, 2, 1). Orta of more than two hundred (I 205), Gaspar da Cruz of a very large Chinese fleet that sank here (7).

<sup>469</sup> Barbosa states that the number of those that drowned in the attempt was reckoned at twelve thousand men.

<sup>470</sup> Correa II 560.

<sup>471</sup> Ribeiro.

The sacred island of Rāmeswaram had a flat, sandy, barren surface overgrown with briers, umbrella acacia, puarasu trees and fan palms, and had a long, narrow tongue of land that stretched out for a distance of almost five leagues toward the east. The island had one of the most famous places of pilgrimage in India. Throughout the year countless pilgrims came here from all parts, even as far as the snow-covered Himalayas. From Pamban, a village on the west coast of the island, where ships docked, there was a sandy road that passed by a great number of small temples and *chattrams* (hostels for pilgrims), where visitors received free meals and lodgings. After walking for two hours, one finally came to the sanctuary, which was surrounded by a small Brahman city.<sup>472</sup> It was one of the largest and most beautiful temples in the land, square in shape, and surrounded by three high walls, the outermost of which embraced an area as large as that of a town with three hundred homes. Between the outer and inner walls were two *corridors* lined with columns that were used for trade, and near them were eighty to one hundred vaulted chapels adorned with pictures of different divinities. The exterior of the outer wall had numerous gaily enameled figures of the gods. Around the wall itself was a street where on feast days splendid carts containing idols and symbols of the gods were drawn in procession. Enameled figures of the gods were also placed above the towered gate to the west, the *gōpura*, through which one passed to the main temple. It rose to a height of seventy-eight feet in six superimposed tiers of diminishing size. Like the unfinished gates to the north and south, it was made of large, dark grey blocks of sandstone.<sup>473</sup>

To the right of the central, columned corridor, which led from the west gate to the interior of the sanctuary, visitors saw an elegant, pillared, ceremonial *pavilion*.<sup>474</sup> Following this there was a large, square *pond*, lined with stones, that could be approached from all sides. Those entering the temple were accustomed to wash themselves here. But the water also served for the needs of the neighboring kitchen.<sup>475</sup>

The central corridor led directly to the *main temple* of Rāmanāthaswāmi,

<sup>472</sup> Baltasar Nunes visited the temple in 1551 and gave a description of it with a plan that has been generally maintained. We follow him where we do not indicate another source (DI II 568-572). Other descriptions are given in James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1876) 355-359, with a plan; *Handbook of the Madras Presidency* (London, 1879) 230-232; James Burgess, "The Ritual of Rāmēs-varam," *Indian Antiquary* 12 (1883) 315-326; *Ramnad District Manual* 162-168 202; J. Ayyar, *South Indian Shrines* 492-497; N. Vānamāmalai Pillai, *The Setu and Rameswaram* (Madras, 1929); *India's Sacred Shrines and Cities* (Madras, 1940) 105-109; H. A. Newell, *Rameswaram (The Sacred Island). An Illustrated Guide* (sec. ed., Madras, n. d.); Rangacharya 1167-1172.

<sup>473</sup> Nunes. The unfinished north and south gates were built in 1420, the outer wall and the western *gōpura* in 1434 (Burgess). The height of this *gōpura* is variously given as 74, 78, and 100 feet. The large Shiva and Vishnu shrines were, it seems, connected with the west gate and the outer wall around 1434 (V. Pillai 67). The eastern *gōpura*, the highest of all, was not begun until after Xavier's death (Burgess and *Ramnad Manual*) and only completed in the twentieth century. Of the three *prakāras* (corridors) which surround the temple on four sides, the largest and most famous obtained its present shape only in the eighteenth century. The southern half of the second, middle, corridor was built before 1543, the northern half of it after Xavier's time (Burgess; *Ramnad Manual* 202).

<sup>474</sup> The pavilion (*vimāna*), called Krishnapuram, built in the form of a *mandapam*, or columned pavilion, is ascribed to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Fergusson).

<sup>475</sup> Nunes. The Mādhava Pushpa Kārini (Mādhava's, that is, Krishna's, Pool of Flowers) is meant.

dedicated to Shiva, the god of Rāma.<sup>476</sup> Before it lay in adoration, under a roof supported by columns, the huge stone statue of *Nandi*, the sacred mount of Shiva, completely filling the room and adorned with a great chain of bells about its neck and many other bells and chains, all carved out of stone and painted. Pilgrims first paid reverence to the god in the temple and then touched the sacred bull with their rosaries made of large, brown beads to obtain a blessing on them.<sup>477</sup> A *cupola* covered with statues of the gods and crowned with a gilded tip was raised over the *sanctuary*.<sup>478</sup> Near it was a *second*, smaller *chapel*, dedicated to Pārvati, the wife of Shiva,<sup>479</sup> and behind it was a *third*, where the *lingam*, a truncated column, the symbol of the god, was worshiped, allegedly the one which Rāma's wife, Sita, had made.<sup>480</sup>

According to legend, Rāvana, the demon prince of Ceylon, carried away Sita, the wife of Rāma. To free her, Rāma mounted a campaign against him. Hanu-mān, the ape-god, joined him with his host of long-tailed apes. He offered his help for the campaign and built a bridge from Rāmeswaram to Ceylon with blocks of stone taken from the Himalayas. After crossing this, they slew Rāvana and his demons, and Rāma returned victoriously with his wife to his island. But the slain prince was the son of a Brahman and a demoness, and the slaying of a Brahman was considered to be the gravest of all sins. Rāma was advised by his counselors to bathe in the sea and recognize Shiva as his lord and revere him under the form of a *lingam* in order to atone for his guilt. Hanu-mān was therefore sent to northern India to fetch a *lingam*. When the astrologers could not obtain a favorable hour for the prescribed ceremonies, Sita made one of sand. When the ape-god finally returned and saw it, he attempted in his rage to tear it out of the earth, but without success. Leaping high into the air, he fell with a blood-streaming face in front of Rāma. To calm him Rāma promised him that in the future all the pilgrims would first honor the *lingam* he had brought, and only then that of Sita. Through Rāma's bath, the waters of the island were sanctified.<sup>481</sup> Both inside and outside the temple were scattered throughout the island twenty-four baths, known as *thirtams*. Not far from the temple itself, for example, were the baths of Agni Thīrtam and of Agastir Thīrtam, where bearded priests in saffron-colored robes, wearing the rosary of Shiva about their neck, the U-shaped, red-white mark of Vishnu on their brow,

<sup>476</sup> So called because Rāma, after returning from Ceylon, here recognized Shiva as a god. According to Burgess the principal shrine was built in 1414 by Udaiyan Setupati, the Marava prince, with the help of the prince of Jaffna, Pararaja Sekhara. Further additions were added in 1450 and 1490. But an inscription in Vatteluttu, on the base of a sacrificial stone (*balipītha*) of the Rāmanāthaswāmi temple, refers back to the tenth century, when this script was common (Rangacharya 1169, 89).

<sup>477</sup> Nunes.

<sup>478</sup> A picture is given by J. Ayyar 294.

<sup>479</sup> The present temple of Pārvatavardhani-Amman was only built in the seventeenth century to replace an earlier one of the fifteenth (Newell). An inscription on the flagpole (*dhvajastambha*) of the temple states that the gilded mast was erected in 1468 A.D. by Gōpa Tippa (from 1453 to 1468 viceroy of the south) (Rangacharya 1168, n. 88).

<sup>480</sup> The present Rāmalingesvar temple was not built until after Xavier's time (Rangacharya 1169, n. 90-93).

<sup>481</sup> The *Sētu Purānam*, the temple chronicle composed in the middle of the sixteenth century by Niramba Alagiya Dēshikar, describes in 3,437 Tamil strophes the legendary history of the shrine and the merits of a bath in the sacred bathing places of the island (cf. JCB 1, 4 [1849] 66-67; N. Sastri, *History of South India* 367). On the legends, see the works already mentioned, for example, *Ramnad Manual* 162-163; *Handbook* 232; *India's Sacred Shrines* 105-106; J. Ayyar 492.

or the three, white, diagonal strokes of Shiva painted on their forehead, breast, and arms, mumbled their healing *mantras* over the pilgrims. The latter, standing up to their hips in the sea, took their atoning bath in the foaming spray of the surf. Not far from this bathing spot, in the shade of a wide-spreading pipal tree, was a row of gray stones with the image of a cobra winding about a small, black idol of the elephant-headed god, with hands and forehead painted red and smeared with coconut oil. The god was accompanied by his mount, a rat, which was worshipping him. Nearby were also some catamarans that had been left lying on the beach.<sup>482</sup> The most sacred of the *thirtams* was *Dhanushkodi*, a bath three leagues from the temple at the end of the narrow tongue of land, where the sand heaped up by the northeast monsoon rose at times to the crowns of the palmyra palms and threatened to suffocate them. Here, where two seas met, the Indian Ocean and the waters of the Bay of Bengal, the pilgrims were accustomed to bathe in order to wash away all their sins before they entered the temple.<sup>483</sup> Occasionally there would be from 1,000 to 2,500 in the water at the same time. At the end of their pilgrimage the visitors sought out the small *sanctuary dedicated to Vishnu* to the left of the temple pond. There Shiva's rival under the name of Setu Mādhavaswāmi was worshiped. He had appeared on earth under this name in the form of a Brahman and had seduced the daughter of a Pāndya king.<sup>484</sup> Besides this, they also climbed the *Hill of Gandhamāna*, a half-hour north of the temple, where the footprints of Rāma were revered.<sup>485</sup>

Everything reminded a visitor that he was here in the heart of heathendom. Within the temple itself were many windowless chapels, where the mysterious darkness was penetrated by flickering oil lamps. Within the inner enclosure alone there were more than two hundred demons represented. Stone and metal statues portrayed gods and goddesses as dancing, threatening, or smiling. They had the heads of men or of beasts or wore ugly, grimacing masks. Some appeared in the shadow of the seven-headed cobra<sup>486</sup> or loomed out of the dark background in the form of a *lingam*.<sup>487</sup> There were numerous pilgrims and yogis, the latter, with their brown bodies smeared with gray ashes, were clothed in orange, penitential garb or in rags or the skins of animals and carried a pilgrim's staff and a black coconut shell as a receptacle for alms.

When an offering was brought to the idol, the triton-trumpets rolled, and musicians and dancing *bayaderes* accompanied the Brahman priests to the sanctuary, where the steaming gift was placed before the statue of the god and remained there until its fragrance had dissipated and the divinity had been satiated with it. There were about a hundred dancers in the temple, many of whom were daughters of aristocrats or of native kings. Here in the sanctuary as "brides of the god," they led the lives of prostitutes.<sup>488</sup> The temple was reputed to be one of the wealthiest in India and the value of its gifts was believed to be some thirty millions in gold.<sup>489</sup> It received tribute from many villages<sup>490</sup> and had a

<sup>482</sup> We describe these *thirtams* as we found them in 1956. A description of thirty-nine sacred bathing sites on the island is given by V. Pillai 92-107.

<sup>483</sup> Nunes.

<sup>484</sup> *India's Sacred Shrines* 108. The legend is given by J. Ayyar 492.

<sup>485</sup> *Ramnad District Manual* 167; V. Pillai 36-37.

<sup>486</sup> Nunes.

<sup>487</sup> In the inner, third, corridor, 108 *lingams* were revered.

<sup>488</sup> Nunes.

<sup>489</sup> According to the *\*Relazione d'alchune cose principali del Regno di Bisnaga* (ARSI: Goa 33, 323).

<sup>490</sup> Rangacharya 1168, n. 88; *Ramnad District Manual* 202. In 1889 the temple re-



share in the profits of the Pearl Fisheries.<sup>491</sup> More than a thousand persons were supported from its income. In addition to the main shrine, there were numerous other large pagodas and hostels for pilgrims.<sup>492</sup> The pavement in front of the dwellings of the Brahmans was painted red and white in complicated geometrical patterns to honor the gods and to turn away the evil spirits.<sup>493</sup> The highly revered idol in the main temple was daily washed with water from the Ganges, which was brought here on the shoulders of yogis, who had to carry it for many days.<sup>494</sup> The stream of pilgrims was particularly numerous for the principal feasts of the year in January and July.<sup>495</sup>

Here also, in the capital of heathendom, Xavier planted the banner of the cross. He succeeded in winning over the Karaiya fishers who lived in clay or palm-leaf cottages in small settlements along the extensive coast of the island. In the fishing village of Verkade, an hour west of the temple on the coast of the sea, a chapel was erected. For its patron Xavier chose the champion of the Christians, the apostle San Tiago.<sup>496</sup>

The throngs that he converted to Christianity were so great that his arms often became tired from the many baptisms, and his voice failed him from the constant repetition of the Creed and other prayers and the Commandments, which he pronounced before the neophytes in their own tongue, and from the repetition of a sermon which he had learned by heart, in which he explained to them what it means to be a Christian, and the realities of heaven and of hell, and who goes to the former and who to the latter. It even happened that he converted an entire village on a single day, and towards the end of the year the number of Christian villages rose from twenty-two to thirty.<sup>497</sup> The progress of the Gospel

ceived the taxes from fifty-seven villages, amounting to an annual income of forty thousand rupees, granted by former rajahs of Rāmnād, the protectors of the sanctuary (167).

<sup>491</sup> See above, p. 321.

<sup>492</sup> Nunes.

<sup>493</sup> Still extant today.

<sup>494</sup> \**Relazione* 323; cf. *Ramnād District Manual* 167.

<sup>495</sup> Nunes. In 1877 the temple had 47,000 visitors (Johannes Walther, "Die Adamsbrücke," in *Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft* 102 [1891] 12).

<sup>496</sup> That Xavier founded the mission of Rāmeswaram is not only indicated by the texts of Artiaga of 1556 and of H. Henriques of 1558, cited on pp. 343-344, but also by the letter of B. Nunes of 1552, in which he writes that at the bidding of H. Henriques he went to the Shallows of Chilaw to visit the Christian villages near the famous pagoda. He had gone there once before, but not to see the pagoda (DI II 568-569). In 1715 the island already had two churches—that of Santiago of Verkade, famed for miracles and honored even by the pagan king, and Nossa Senhora dos Remedios, immediately in front of the famous pagan temple (ARSI: *Goa* 29, 182). On the mission of Rāmeswaram, see Besse 350-364. The Christian fishers of Kīlakarai, Muthupettai (Periyapatnam), and Pamban live for six months of the year, from March to September, in temporary huts on the island of Valai Tivu south of Pamban in order to fish there, as do the Parava fishers of Mukūr. Remedios was the church of Attikadu (Besse 362). In 1911 the island had 13,848 inhabitants, among whom were 1,379 Catholics, mostly Karaiyas, scattered in twenty-six settlements. The parish of Thangachimadam on the island, which also has a few chapels on the mainland, had 2,126 parishioners in 1954. At the time of my visit to Rāmeswaram in December, 1956, my guides and authorities were the native parish priest B. Pinto and Father Jules Boddéle, S.J., who in the course of thirty-three years had brought the mission to its flourishing state.

<sup>497</sup> EX I 168. Added to the twenty-two Parava villages that had been baptized before Xavier's arrival were those of the Karaiyas of Kombuturē, converted by him, and six or seven places mentioned by Artiaga in the neighborhood of Vēdālai and Rāmeswaram.

filled the zealous priest with great consolation. Indeed, if in this life there was any true joy, this was it; and he often prayed when his heart threatened to burst from his great joy: "O Lord! do not give me such great consolations in this life; but if You, in Your boundless goodness and mercy still will to give them, then take me into Your holy glory, for it is so great a pain to live without seeing You after You have communicated Yourself so intimately to Your creatures!"<sup>498</sup>

#### 8. WITH THE CASTE-PROUD BRAHMANS (APRIL—SEPTEMBER, 1543)

In contrast to the Karaiya fishers, who were on a low social level and were easily won over to Christianity, the priestly caste of Brahmans proved to be unapproachable. They were the main support of idolatry, since they lived from it. They were, as a consequence, the principal foes of the new faith. Their influence on the people was extensive, and their strongholds were the three famous places of pilgrimage: Rāmeswaram in the north, Tiruchendūr in the center, and Suchindram in the south. As in Rāmeswaram, so in the other two temples, the Brahmans could narrate marvelous tales about the origin of their sanctuaries.

The great temple of Tiruchendūr<sup>499</sup> had formerly been the greatly revered, national sanctuary of the Paravas,<sup>500</sup> who brought it their precious pearls and offerings.<sup>501</sup> The temple was dedicated to the six-headed warrior god, Arumugam Perumā, <sup>502</sup> mounted upon a peacock. This divinity, also known as Subrahmanya, the son of Shiva, had in times past freed the land from the dreaded demon-monster Sūra,<sup>503</sup> and on this account he had received the honored title of Velāyuda Perumā (Spear-bearing King). He allegedly married the daughter of a Parava,<sup>504</sup> and since then the chief *patangati* of Vīrapāndyanpatnam had

<sup>498</sup> EX I 174-175.

<sup>499</sup> For the bibliography on Tiruchendūr (see above, p. 296), see also "A l'ombre des Temples de Tiruchendur," *Franciscaines Missionnaires de Marie* (1953) 23-25. We give the legend of the god as found in Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 2, 2, 1, 17, which is an earlier source for the tradition than the temple *purāna* composed by Venrimālai Kavirāya, apparently in the eighteenth century. This was allegedly translated from Sanskrit into Tamil, but it distorts the names: Aromogua Perumal (Arumugam Perumā), Curē (Sura), Belaydal Perumal (Velāyuda Perumā). An extract from the *purāna* is given by Sir Alexander Johnston in *The Asiatic Journal* 23 (London, 1827) 201-206 317-322 under the title of "Legend of the Hindoo Temple at Tritchendoor."

<sup>500</sup> Ayyar-Souter 173; DI VI 756.

<sup>501</sup> DI IV 47.

<sup>502</sup> The six-headed and twelve-armed Muruga was the war god of the Kuruvas. His praises were already sung by a poet of the Shangam period, Nākkirār, who allegedly lived from 100 to 130 A.D., in his *Tiru-murugaruppadaḥ* (Kanakasabhai 195-197 229-231).

<sup>503</sup> According to the *Tiru-murugaruppadaḥ*, he killed him in Lanka (Ceylon), where Sūra was ruling.

<sup>504</sup> Ayyar-Souter 173. According to the tradition of the Kuruvas, he married a daughter of their caste (Kanakasabhai 229). When I visited Manappād, I was told by some educated Paravas the following version of the *purāna* of the temple: When Subrahmanya was alive, he was in the cave of Manappād as Andi Pandāran, that is, as a yogi of Shiva. His first wife was Deivāna, a Parava girl from Manappād. Coming from the south, he carried her off by night. His first attempts failed since every time that he was on his way to Idindakarai the morning dawned. He therefore called the site Vidindakarai, "the Coast of Dawn." He fled with her by way of Idindakarai, where he rested, to Kanniyākumari, where he lived with her. He carried off a second wife from Katilgama in Ceylon. In Manappād he slew the giant Sūra Samhara, but the monster came to life again with six new heads, and as large as a mango tree. Subrah-

enjoyed among his other privileges that of making the first tug on the chain of the huge wagon of the gods for the great procession on the feast of the temple of Tiruchendūr. The leaders of his village, who were also bearers of the temple idol,<sup>505</sup> were the only members of the Idaya caste who had the right to be borne in litters. Subrahmanya had received his name as a six-headed god in the following fashion:

A saintly hermit asked and received from his three main gods the favor that all that he touched with his hand should be changed into ashes. When the god of Rāmanankovil heard of this, he feared for his life and decided to kill the man. He therefore changed himself into a marvelously fair maiden and visited the yogi in his cave. The sight captivated the anchorite. His seductive visitor told him that if he wished to have him for his wife, he must first swear, with his hand on his breast, that he would never turn her into ashes. The hermit thoughtlessly did what he was requested and burned himself to ashes. When the exultant victor told his stratagem to another god, he was asked to take the form of a maiden once again. He did as he was asked; and from the union of the two, six children were born, who, when they were placed in the arms of a goddess, united themselves so as to form a single body with six heads, the six-headed god of Tiruchendūr.<sup>506</sup>

The temple of Suchindram,<sup>507</sup> which was located within the interior two hours away from Cape Comorin in the midst of green fields of rice and coconut palms was like that of Rāmeswaram in age, pomp, and extent. Here also the square outer wall embraced a great number of temples, shrines, chapels, and open halls, whose roofs were supported by pillars, and columned pavilions richly adorned with sculpture. Like the temple of Rāmeswaram, it was primarily dedicated to Shiva, but Vishnu also found lodgings here, as he did in Rāmeswaram and Tiruchendūr. Here also the Brahmans deluded the people with fables as to the origin of the sanctuary and through solemn feasts and processions maintained their belief in the old gods of the land.

In early times, they said, when all was covered with a thick forest, there lived here in retreat a pious hermit, Atri, with his wife, Anasūya. One day when he was not at home, the divine trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva decided to put the chastity of his wife to test. They visited her under the form of old, mendicant *sanyassis*. When Anasūya, in accordance with the custom of the land, wished to entertain her guests, they asked her to do this unclothed. In her ignorance the woman sprinkled her visitors with holy water and repeated a magical formula which changed them into helpless infants. When the three goddesses Sarasvati, Lakshmi, and Pārvati learned of the plight of their husbands, they came to secure their release. But only after the petitioners had performed penance at the edge of a neighboring pond, and after her husband, who had returned, had asked her to do so, did Anasūya restore the gods their original form. In gratitude for their release, the divine trinity granted to the hermit his desire of always enjoying their sight. In order to be always near him, they took the form of a holy fig tree and of a *lingam*, which simultaneously contained all three divinities.

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manya then cursed him with the words: "The mango tree must fall!" and he slew him again; and this is why no mango trees grow in Manappād.

<sup>505</sup> Ayyar-Souter 173.

<sup>506</sup> Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 2, 2, 1, 17.

<sup>507</sup> On Suchindram see the excellent monograph of K. K. Pillay, *The Sucindram Temple* (Madras, 1953).

The site became a popular place of pilgrimage, and one day the god Indra also came as an unwonted pilgrim. He had attempted to seduce the wife of the sage Gautama, and was cursed by him for this and covered with disgraceful growths. In order to be liberated from this curse, the great sinner had done penance on "the Mountain of Healing Herbs" near Cape Comorin. At Shiva's bidding he entered a caldron of seething butter in Suchindram and was thus cleansed. To show his gratitude, Indra erected on the site an elaborately adorned temple and a Brahman village. The place had thus received the name of Suchindram, "the Cleansing of Indra."<sup>508</sup>

These were some of the fables which the Brahmins<sup>509</sup> were able to relate about their temples and gods, and since they and their wives and children lived off of the sacrificial offerings brought to them, they made the ignorant people believe that the gods desired alms and food; and they threatened them, if they neglected to bring these offerings, with the wrath and vengeance of the gods, who would kill them or send sicknesses and demons into their homes. The ignorance of the pagans was great, and the Brahmins of the coast were people of little learning.<sup>510</sup> When Master Frances spoke to them in person, they admitted that they deceived the people and composed these tales because the stone idols were their only source of income. The *swāmī* knew more than all of them put together. They knew full well that there was only one God. They sent Xavier gifts so that he would not betray their secret, and they promised, to pray to God for him. But to their great sorrow, the priest refused their gifts and told them without mincing his words what he thought of them; and he explained the frauds of their priests to the poor, deceived people until he was weary. Many thus lost their fear and reverence for the devils and became Christians.

During the course of his travels through the villages of the Christians, Master Francis passed many pagodas, and on one occasion he even visited one in which two hundred Brahmins were dwelling.<sup>511</sup> They came to meet him, and in the course of their conversation he asked them a series of questions. One of these was that they should tell him what they were told to do by the gods and idols whom they worshiped in order to attain eternal life. A great dispute arose among them as to who should give the answer. Finally, one of the oldest was asked to give a reply to the white *swāmī*. He was over eighty years old, and in order to free himself from his embarrassment, he said that the priest should first state what the God the Christians wanted them to do. But Master Francis saw through his feint and insisted that he first be given the answer to his own question. The old man realized that he had to admit his ignorance. The gods, he declared, have given two commands to be observed by those who would enter into their abode: first, that they should not kill any

<sup>508</sup> Pillay 88-110, following the temple *purāṇa*, apparently first composed in the eighteenth century (both the Sanskrit text and its Tamil translation), but employing traditions of earlier centuries. According to Pillay, the Indra legend goes back at least to the tenth century (96-100).

<sup>509</sup> For the following our source is Xavier's letter of January 15, 1544 (EX I 170-174).

<sup>510</sup> When Xavier wrote his letter, he knew nothing of the learned school in Madura.

<sup>511</sup> Apparently Tiruchendūr, since Xavier always passed by this temple on his visits to the Parava villages. According to tradition Subrahmanya brought two thousand Brahman families here for service in the temple at the time of its founding. At least a thousand of their descendants still live in Tiruchendūr (Pate 505-507). But it would not be impossible for the meeting to have taken place in the temple of Rāmeswaram or that of Suchindram.

cows, since these are worshiped by men; and second, that they should give alms, and these to the Brahmans who serve in the temples.<sup>512</sup>

Master Francis was grieved to see that the devils had such control over his fellow men that they prayed to them rather than to God Himself. He stood up, told the Brahmans to sit down, and recited to them in a loud voice the Creed and the Commandments in their own language, pausing for a moment after each of the latter. He then delivered the Tamil sermon which he had composed in Tuticorin, and in it explained to them the meaning of heaven and of hell and indicated who go to the former and who to the latter. When he had finished, they all stood up and expressed their highest approbation,<sup>513</sup> admitting that the God of the Christians was indeed the true God, since His Commandments were in such conformity with natural reason.

They then asked him some questions. They wanted to know if the soul dies with the body as it does in the case of brute beasts. God enabled the priest to find arguments attuned to their comprehension, and he was able to give them a clear understanding of the immortality of the soul. They were delighted with this, even though the rational grounds which must be used with the uneducated cannot be as subtle as those found in the writings of the teachers in universities.

They also asked him where the soul of a man went after death, and if, when a person sleeps and dreams, he is in a place with his friends and relatives, or whether the soul goes there and ceases "to inform" the body. They further wished to know whether God was white or black.<sup>514</sup> Most of their idols were of this latter color, and they were so ugly that their very appearance generated terror. Moreover, since they were frequently anointed with butter, they also gave forth a frightful stench.

Master Francis was able to give a satisfactory answer to all their questions. But when at the end he drew the conclusion that they should become Christians, since they recognized the truth, they replied: "What will the world say of us if we change our former way of life, and how shall we then live?"<sup>515</sup>

Only in one place on the coast did Xavier find a Brahman<sup>516</sup> who had some

<sup>512</sup> On this see what Barbosa wrote about the ceremonies of the knighting of Nāyars in Malabar, where the king of Cannanore said to the knights: "Protect the cows and Brahmans!" (II 46).

<sup>513</sup> "Y me dieron grandes abraços," Xavier wrote; but this is probably not to be taken literally, especially since from the Brahman point of view every contact with a European caused a ritual defilement. Xavier was probably the first European, or the first white *swāmi*, however, to visit the temple; and this prejudice would not have involved him.

<sup>514</sup> The Hindu gods also have different colors: white for Shiva, blue or black for Vishnu.

<sup>515</sup> For the same answer, see DI I 292.

<sup>516</sup> He was probably a follower of the Mādhva sect, a religion founded in the thirteenth century by Mādhva. In the sixteenth century it had numerous followers in Tamil territory and a great influence at the court of Vijayanagar, where Rāma Rāya favored the Mādhva teachers, and in the court of Tanjore, where they were favored by Sevvappa Nāyaka (1549-1572) (Heras 514-515 521-522 531). A Brahman of this sect still brings sacrificial offerings three times a day into the Hanumān chapel in Rāmeswaram (V. Pillai, *The Setu and Rameswaram* [Madras, 1929] 60). The main tenets of the sect were: The one god, Vishnu, souls, and matter are immortal. God formed the world out of matter. The other idols are demons or manifestations of Vishnu; the other gods are his servants. There are ten commandments, and the main prayer is: "Om Sṛī Nārāyana namah" (H. v. Glasenapp, *Mādhva's Philosophie des Vishnu-Glaubens* [Bonn, 1923] 38 44 46-51 66-75 85-86). On Christian accords, see *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* VIII 232-235. See also A.P. Karmarkar and N.B. Kalamdani, *Mystic Teachings*

education. He was told that he had studied at a famous school.<sup>517</sup> His efforts to arrange a meeting were successful, and the Brahman told him under the seal of the strictest secrecy that the first thing that the teachers in that school required of their pupils was that they swore never to reveal certain secrets which they taught them. However, because of his special friendship for the priest, he shared these secret teachings with him in strictest confidence. One of these was that they should never reveal that there is one only God, who lives in heaven and is the Creator of heaven and of earth. They should pray to this God and not to the idols, who are demons. The followers of this sect, as Master Francis learned from his friend, had their own writings which contained the Commandments. The language of instruction in that school was like Latin among the Christians.<sup>518</sup> He recited the Commandments to the priest in fine fashion and gave a good explanation of each. He further added that their wise men also kept the Sunday observance, and that on this day they said no other prayer than one which they repeated many times over: "Om Srī Narāyana namah!" which means: "I ask you, God, for your help and grace for ever!"<sup>519</sup> They repeated this prayer very slowly and with a low voice so as not to break the oath they had taken. The Brahman further told him that the natural law forbade polygamy, and that according to their writings there would come a time when all would live under one law. And he added that in the schools many magical formulas were taught.

In exchange for his revelations he asked the priest to share with him the principal teachings which the Christians had in their law, and he promised to betray them to no one. But Master Francis answered him saying that he would do this only if his friend would promise him to the contrary that he would not keep them secret but proclaim them openly. The Brahman promised he would. At this the priest explained to him the length and breadth of the momentous saying of Sacred Scripture: "Who believes and is baptized will be saved."<sup>520</sup> On this same occasion he gave him an explanation of the Creed and of the Commandments, and his friend wrote all this down in his own language and script. He also confided to him that one night, to his great joy and satisfaction, he had dreamed that he would become a Christian and would accompany the priest on his wanderings. He therefore asked to be baptized in secret and under certain conditions, but these were unacceptable. More could not be obtained for the present. Master Francis told him that, until God gave him the grace to accept Christianity without these conditions, he should teach the simple

of the *Haridāses of Karnātak* (Dharwar, 1939), where the history of the folk singers of the Mādhva sect in Kanara is given; G. Venkoba Rao, "A Sketch of the History of the Mādhva Acharyas," *Indian Antiquary* 43 (1914) 233-237 262-266, with a critical appraisal of the previous literature; S. Hanumantha Rao, "Sri Madhwāchārya," *Journal of Indian History* 27 (1949) 25-41, in which the history of his successor is also discussed; B.N. Krishnamurti Sarma, "History of Devotional Literature in Kannada," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* 29 (1938) 18-23, which treats of three Mādhva teachers of Xavier's time, and his "Life and Works of Madhva," *Indian Historical Quarterly* 16 (1940) 370-379.

<sup>517</sup> The school was probably the Vyasaraya Matha in South Kanara or the Samatindra Matha, where the protégé of Sevvappa Nāyaka, the renowned Mādhva teacher Vijayandra Tirtha, studied and received the yellow robe of a *sannyasi* (Heras 521-522).

<sup>518</sup> Sanskrit.

<sup>519</sup> Literally "Om [the mystical, secret name of the supreme being] Srī [holy] Narāyana [the name of Vishnu, who rests upon the sea] namah! [be greeted!]." The prayer is common to the Brahmins of the Vishnu sect.

<sup>520</sup> Luke 16:2.

people to pray to the one true God, who is in heaven, the Creator of heaven and of earth. But, because of his oath, he did not dare do this through fear that the devil would kill him.<sup>521</sup> The priest met only one Brahman on that coast who became a Christian. He was a young man of excellent disposition, and he undertook to teach the boys the catechism.

In the meantime a year had flown by since Master Francis had begun his stay on the Fishery Coast with his three seminarians. He felt alone, and frequently his thoughts went back to the University of Paris, where so many of his former professors and fellow students in the midst of their books forgot the needs of the pagan world.<sup>522</sup> Awake and in his dreams he was often in his thoughts with his confreres in Rome.<sup>523</sup> And where were his two companions whom he had left behind in Mozambique? When he sailed from Goa in 1542, the ship that was to bring them from there to India was daily expected; and M. A. de Sousa had promised him when he was leaving that he would send them at once to him in Cape Comorin. But no one had come, and since May the southwest monsoon had broken off all connections between the western and eastern coasts. But September brought the priest a great surprise. The month was almost over when the governor himself came to the south in person. With a fleet of more than twenty oared sailboats, he crossed the Shallows of Chilaw<sup>524</sup> and landed on Cow Island between Rāmeswaram and Jaffna on the other side of them. Here, on Cow Island,<sup>525</sup> where Martim Affonso had Francis brought,<sup>526</sup> the veil over the strange and secret voyage of the governor would be lifted.

<sup>521</sup> Probably this man is identical with the one about whom H. Henriques wrote in 1548. He had studied with a famous and highly esteemed teacher (DI I 291-294 584-586). On Pentecost, 1550, he was baptized in Punnaikāyal under the name of Manuel Coutinho (*ibid.* II 159-161). He died in 1552 (*ibid.* 398).

<sup>522</sup> EX I 166-168.

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid.* 172 175.

<sup>524</sup> Correa IV 324.

<sup>525</sup> The Indian names of the island are *Neduntivu* and *Portugalu divu*; Portuguese, *Ilha da vacas*; Dutch, *Delft*.

<sup>526</sup> That Xavier learned of the arrival of the governor is obvious. Sousa sailed along the coast (Correa IV 324), and the arrival of such an unusual fleet became of course immediately known and a common topic of conversation all along the coast. That Martim Affonso had the priest brought is also obvious. His personal friendship with Xavier, his interest in the Paravas, Xavier's knowledge of the land and its people, the assistance which he and his Christians could give him in word and deed all prompted him to do so. A priest was also needed to celebrate Mass and distribute the sacraments to himself and his men for such a dangerous undertaking as the campaign against the pagoda of Tirumala. Even if he had not been invited, Xavier had reasons for seeking out the governor to obtain financial assistance for the mission, to inform him about its condition, to obtain information on the whereabouts of his two companions, to receive letters from Europe and news about the events of the past twelve months, and also to lend his spiritual assistance to the Portuguese. That he was on Cow Island is also indicated by his knowledge of the pretender of Jaffna (EX I 275); and in 1557 Antonio Mendes declared in Malacca that he had heard from Xavier's companion Eiró that Master Francis had raised a pagan or a Moor from the dead on Cow Island near the Shallows of Chilaw (MX II 422).

## CHAPTER II

### THE VOYAGE TO THE PAGODAS (SEPTEMBER—NOVEMBER, 1543)<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. ON COW ISLAND (OCTOBER, 1543)

An oared sailboat brought Master Francis through the Straits of Pamban, also known as "the Shallows of Chilaw," to the small, uninhabited island of Kachchativu, and from there to Cow Island, called Neduntivu by the natives.<sup>2</sup> It was a flat island, about two leagues long and one league broad, overgrown in the south with trees and grass, and in the north by tall fan palms. In between was a lagoon. It lay seven leagues to the northeast of Râmeswaram and had a shallow harbor on the north which protected ships from the southwest monsoon.<sup>3</sup>

The small island, which had received its name from the numerous cows found there,<sup>4</sup> had become a military camp. Among the many soldiers and *fidalgos* and their Negro slaves, Francis found many old acquaintances from his voyage to India and his stay in Goa around the governor, M. A. de Sousa. Among these was the secretary Cardoso. At the governor's request he had taken over the customhouse of Ormuz that had been left to Portugal by Sultan

<sup>1</sup> On "the Voyage to the Pagoda," as the expedition was called at the time, our sources are: (1) *Accounts of those who took part in it*: Vasco da Cunha (Q 1305 1693); \*D. Duarte d'Eça (36-36v); the \**Verdadeira enfformação* of a *casado* of Goa (Iv and 4); briefly: Christovão de Castro (Q 1309); Caminha Vilasboas (Q 4266); Antonio Correa (Q 3595); Garcia d'Orta (II 232; cf. 235-236); L. Nunes (44); and the documents of knight-hood for Francisco Alvares (Q 1315) and Francisco de Paiva (Q. 4200). (2) *Accounts of contemporaries*: Gaspar Correa, who was an eyewitness of the preparations in Goa and gives the most detailed and valuable account from data furnished by individuals who took part in it (IV 266-270 285-288 297-311 325-331); and briefly, D. Garcia de Castro (Q 1139); Manuel Godinho (Q 1629); the agent of the city of Goa (Q 2638); Antonio Fernandes (Q 1595); Pero Fernandes Lascarim (Q 1645); Miguel Ferreira (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 346-347); and Nunalvares Pereira (*ibid.* 179); further, on the treasure of Tēvalakara, Q 3089 3223 3260 3283 3297 3527.—(3) *Descriptions*: Couto (5, 19, 7 and 9), not always certain in details for our period. Faria y Sousa follows Couto (II 135-138); Maffei follows Eça (*Hist. Ind.* 319-320). The description in Queyroz (250-254) is a completely worthless piece of fiction (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* I 92 474-475). Nothing new is offered by W. R. Varde-Valavlikar in "An Account of the Expedition to the Temples of Southern India," *Indian Antiquary* 41 (1912) 238-242. He follows Correa and Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India* (London, 1899) 282-285, who is followed by Nagam Aiya (I 289-299) and Velu Pillai (II 174-175). M. A. de Sousa passes over the expedition in his *Autobiographia*.

<sup>2</sup> The route is described by the *Livro de Marinharia* 226 (about 1530).

<sup>3</sup> *The Bay of Bengal Pilot* (London, 1931) 151-152; Tennent II 550; Baldaeus 398.

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Livro de Marinharia* the island was uninhabited around 1530 (226). According to Baldaeus the Portuguese gave it its name because many cows were brought from Tondi on the Coromandel Coast to pasture there. There were also numerous goats on the island (398).



Salghar Shāh. He had reorganized it<sup>5</sup> and had returned promptly from Ormuz in order to take part in the expedition.<sup>6</sup> There were also Francis' old friend Francisco de Paiva;<sup>7</sup> Miguel de Ayala, the confidant of the governor;<sup>8</sup> Manuel de Vasconcellos, the brave defender of Diu;<sup>9</sup> Dom Duarte de Eça, the son of the captain of Goa;<sup>10</sup> Dr. Garcia d'Orta, the medical officer of the royal hospital in Goa, who had already accompanied the governor as his physician in the latter's earlier stay in India, when he was still the chief admiral of the Ocean. He was particularly interested in bezoar stones found in the stomachs of male goats after they had been slaughtered.<sup>11</sup> With the governor were also many *casados* from Goa with their horses, who had volunteered their services for the expedition.<sup>12</sup> Among the *fidalgos* was also the old Garcia de Sá,<sup>13</sup> whom Xavier had already come to know in Goa. He was now past sixty, of a good height, and white-bearded. He was a son of João Rodrigues de Sá, the *alcaide-mor* of Porto, and a *fidalgo* of the royal house.<sup>14</sup> He had gone to India for the first time in 1518,<sup>15</sup> had twice been captain of Malacca,<sup>16</sup> and had defended the fortress against the sultans of Bintang and Achin.<sup>17</sup> As captain of Bassein he had built the fort there<sup>18</sup> and, despite his age, had sailed in 1541 with Dom Estevão da Gama to Suez,<sup>19</sup> and in 1542 with M. A. de Sousa to Bhatkal.<sup>20</sup> He was one of the most experienced and deserving men of India and a counselor of the governor.<sup>21</sup>

On the island Francis also encountered new faces, such as that of Vasco

<sup>5</sup> M. A. de Sousa praised his work in Ormuz on December 2, 1543 (Q 1138).

<sup>6</sup> He came on September 9, 1543, from Ormuz and immediately set sail with Sousa (Correa IV 310). He himself mistakenly wrote in 1545 that he had come there in October (Q 1678); but in October he was with Sousa in Tēvalakara (Correa IV 328).

<sup>7</sup> Q 4200.

<sup>8</sup> He was a captain of an *albetaça* (a small, decked boat) of the fleet (Correa IV 307).

<sup>9</sup> He was the captain of a *fusta* (*ibid.* 308).

<sup>10</sup> He describes the expedition to Tēvalakara in the first person (36v).

<sup>11</sup> *Coloquios* II 232.

<sup>12</sup> In 1546 the citizens of Goa wrote: "O anno traspassado foram com seu governador Martim Affonso de Sousa ao pagode perto de cem cavaleiros, com cavallos e armas adereçados com grandes e riquos arreos, e outros atavyos, e vestidos e armas ríquas tuodo em grande perfeição e com muito gasto de suas fazendas, e asy foram na dita armada muitos homens d'armas, moradores da cidade" (Q 2638). The author of the *\*Verdadeira enformação* exaggerates when he writes that of the 3,000 who went to the pagoda, more than 1,500 were *casados*, since no *laskars* were to be found in India (4). Cf. Correa IV 287-288 and the *\*letter* of the captain of the city D. Garcia de Castro (Q 1139). The *casados* were only obliged to defend Goa and to fight on the neighboring mainland.

<sup>13</sup> On Garcia de Sá, governor of India from 1548<sup>1</sup> to 1549, see in addition to the chronicle the sources in Q index. On his rule see Q 3949-4203; signature Q, pl. VII, 4; picture Correa IV 661; family tree Couto 6, 7, 6, pp. 108-110.

<sup>14</sup> Couto 6, 7, 10. According to him he was seventy at the time of his death in 1549, according to Correa he was over sixty (IV 679).

<sup>15</sup> Castanheda 4, 44.

<sup>16</sup> 1519-1521 and 1529-1533 (*ibid.* 5, 13 and 66; 7, 99; 8, 63).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 5, 35-37 and 76; 7, 100-101.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 8, 120 123; Correa III 689 743 778 837. He was captain of Bassein from 1535 to 1538. The ruins of the bastion of the citadel still bear today the inscription: "Ho primeiro capitam que edificou esta fortaleza foi Garcia de Sá por mandado do Governador Nuno da Cunha era de 1536" (Brás A. Fernandes, *Armas e inscrições do Forte de Baçaim* [Lisboa, 1957] 11 and pl. 1).

<sup>19</sup> Q 598 609.

<sup>20</sup> Correa IV 259-261.

<sup>21</sup> Couto 6, 7, 10.

da Cunha,<sup>22</sup> scarcely four years older than himself. He came from the Cunha of Antanhal. In 1521, when he was hardly twenty, he had sailed to India and had served valiantly in the fleet there; and he had also fought against the Moors in Arabia, North and South India, and in Malacca. In 1523 he had helped conquer Shihr in Arabia and had led the attack and broken through the city gate at the storming of Dhofar. In 1525 he took part in the battle of Calicut in which a thousand Moors were slain. In 1534 he fought with Dom Paulo da Gama against the fleet of the sultan of Bintang, and the numerous wounds which he received in that combat had never completely healed. In 1536, after fifteen years of service, he sailed back to Portugal; and two years later he returned with the right to a captaincy of Chaul, already given to four others. In 1540 he subdued the rebellious Honāvar. In 1541 he sailed with the governor to Suez, and in 1542, at the latter's request, to Bengal, where he found the land in the power of the foreign, warlike Pathans. With great efforts he concluded a treaty with them and brought to heel the Portuguese mutineers who were making the sea unsafe.

Fernão de Sousa de Távora<sup>23</sup> was a warrior like Cunha. The son of Christovão de Távora, he had sailed to India as a young *fidalgo* with M. A. de Sousa in 1534<sup>24</sup> and had accompanied him on all his voyages and in all his battles,<sup>25</sup> not excluding the foolhardy expedition with Sultan Bahādur into the interior from Diu against the Moguls.<sup>26</sup> He was present at the victory of Vēdālai.<sup>27</sup> In 1541 he took part in the voyage to Suez<sup>28</sup> and in 1542 in the campaign against Bhatkal.<sup>29</sup> Small in body, he was endowed with a brave soul.<sup>30</sup> At the end of 1534 M. A. de Sousa had already written to the king with respect to him: "He is a man to rule the world."<sup>31</sup> John III had given him the right to three voyages to Banda and the captaincy of Sofala as a reward for his services.<sup>32</sup>

Among the soldiers was also one who had sailed from Lisbon at the beginning of 1543. At the bar of Goa he had, without touching land, gone from his ship to the galley of Affonso Henriques and come with him to Cow Island. This was the twenty-three-year-old Gaspar Caminha Vilasboas, who was able to give Francis the latest news from Europe.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>22</sup> On Vasco da Cunha, see in addition to the chronicle the sources in Q index. Most important is his \*letter of November 6, 1544, in which he enumerates his ancestors and his services (Q 1305). Sent ahead by Sousa in a caravel, he was forced by the weather to land in Cannanore and to purchase two *fustas* and a *catur* for his men and horses, with which he reached the governor's fleet.

<sup>23</sup> For Távora see in addition to the chronicles the sources in Q index. His coat of arms is contained on the lacquered wax seal of his brother Lourenço Pires de Távora: five wavy, blue crossbands on a silver field (Q 2766). For his signature see Q, pl. XVI, 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Emmenta* 334. Cf. the letter of M. A. de Sousa of December 12, 1535: "Estes mancebos que comyguo vyeram" (*Studia* 1 [1958] 245).

<sup>25</sup> Correa III 712 774-776.

<sup>26</sup> Couto 4, 9, 10, p. 379.

<sup>27</sup> Correa III 819-828.

<sup>28</sup> As captain of a *fusta* (Q 841).

<sup>29</sup> Castanheda 9, 31.

<sup>30</sup> Sá III 217; Couto 6, 1, 4, p. 26.

<sup>31</sup> *Studia* 1 (1958) 245.

<sup>32</sup> *Registo*, n. 310 323.

<sup>33</sup> Q 4266.

2. THE YEAR'S HAPPENINGS (SEPTEMBER, 1542—SEPTEMBER, 1543)<sup>34</sup>

Much had happened since Xavier, a year before, at the end of September, 1542, had left Goa. Soon after his departure the two long awaited companions, Misser Paulo and Mansilhas, entered Goa with their sick charges.<sup>35</sup> Since the ships from the Portugal had failed to appear, the captain of Mozambique had readied a vessel for them and sent them off on it.<sup>36</sup> They had been detained at the College of St. Paul instead of being sent to the Fishery Coast, as had been arranged. Shortly after this, in the course of the first week in October, the first ship of the fleet which had set out from Lisbon at the beginning of 1542 also arrived.<sup>37</sup> The winds had blown two others to Cannanore; a third had been forced to winter at Mozambique; and the fifth had found it necessary to return to Portugal.<sup>38</sup>

At the end of October the governor had gone with a fleet of seventy vessels and about two thousand armed men against rebellious Bhatkal, which was affording refuge to the Moorish pirates of Malabar and refusing to pay its taxes. When two Portuguese were killed in a fight in the bazaar, he had ordered the city to be sacked and burned and the palm and fruit trees to be cut down so that the queen would be forced into subjection.<sup>39</sup>

From here Martim Affonso had sailed on to Malabar, had strengthened the rajah of Tanor in his war with the Zamorin,<sup>40</sup> and in January had prepared the cargo of pepper in Cochin for the four vessels of the fleet sailing to Lisbon. In the last of these his predecessor, Dom Estevão da Gama, and his brother Dom Alvaro de Ataíde, his bitter enemies, had sailed to Portugal.<sup>41</sup>

Before leaving Cochin, Martim Affonso had concluded a treaty of peace with the queen of Bhatkal<sup>42</sup> and renewed the one that had been negotiated with the Zamorin on New Year's, 1540.<sup>43</sup> He had also sent Diogo Soares de Mello to St. Lawrence Island to look for his brother Pedro Lopes, who had disappeared on his return from India. But the search had proved to be fruitless; Pedro Lopes had disappeared without leaving a trace.<sup>44</sup> In September, 1542,

<sup>34</sup> The main source for this section is Correa IV 257-307.

<sup>35</sup> Sousa, who has Xavier sail from Goa at the beginning of October, 1542, states that his two companions "chegaram pouco depois" (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 24), in contrast to the other authors, who have them sail with Xavier in May, 1542 (\*Eça 36; Couto 5, 8, 9), a few days after him (Valignano 21; Seb Gonçalves 1, 11), ten to twelve days after him (Teixeira 841-842), or before Xavier's sailing for the Fishery Coast (Lucena 2; 7), or arrive on October 20, 1542 (Brou I 185).

<sup>36</sup> As the captain wrote on August 10, 1542 (Q 984).

<sup>37</sup> It was the *Graça* under Captain Vicente Gil. The ship arrived at the latest on October 8, since on this day the bishop gave a receipt for the wine and oil it had brought (SR II 321). Correa has it arrive on October 20 (IV 264).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* 264-265.

<sup>39</sup> On the expedition against Bhatkal, see Sousa, *Autobiographia* 168-169; Correa IV 252 237-262; Castanheda 9, 31; Couto 5, 9, 1-2; and the data of those who took part in it Q 1282 1309 1315 4200 and of contemporaries Q 1629.

<sup>40</sup> According to the king in 1546 (SR III 294-295).

<sup>41</sup> Correa IV 265-266. Whereas D. Estevão da Gama left Portugal in a bad state of health and was in Venice and Brussels from 1547 to 1549 (Couto 5, 9, 2; Sousa, *Annaes* 421 423; CDP VI 146, XI 532 536), we encounter D. Alvaro in April, 1544, in Lisbon, where he presented a copy of privileges and obtained the payment of his annual income of 4,333 *reis* (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 9, 76v).

<sup>42</sup> Couto 5, 9, 3.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* and Q 1045.

<sup>44</sup> Correa IV 266. Soares de Mello returned in May with large sums of money and numerous slaves obtained through his robberies (*ibid.* 274).

Sousa had sent Simão Botelho to Malacca to reorganize the customhouse<sup>45</sup> and to send back to Goa the bones of his other brother, João Rodrigues de Sousa, who had fallen there together with Dom Paulo da Gama in 1534 in the battle with the sultan of Bintang.<sup>46</sup>

After returning to Goa from his campaign in Bhatkal, Martim Affonso had appointed Dom Garcia de Castro the city captain of Goa,<sup>47</sup> since his predecessor, D. João de Eça, had sailed to Portugal. On January 25, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, he had been present with the bishop and all the *fidalgos* for the solemn dedication of the College of St. Paul, which had been completed in the meantime. Mestre Diogo, assisted by a native-born deacon and subdeacon, had sung the High Mass on this occasion.<sup>48</sup>

About this same time the governor had sent two Jewish spies and other informers to the straits to obtain news about any preparations being made by the Turks. He had also ordered the captain to gather information. At the end of April an ambassador of Sultan Mahmud of Cambay had come to Goa and informed the governor that the Rumes were making preparations in the Red Sea to sail to India in September, as all the merchants of Mecca had assured the sultan. He had also told the governor that the Moguls were gathering troops in the north to attack by land. The sultan had therefore asked that in this event he might be permitted to bring his treasures and his harem to the fortress of Diu for safekeeping.<sup>49</sup> In the middle of May, Pero Vaz de Sequeira had also come from the straits and confirmed the report of the Turkish preparations. He had also brought the news that Dom Christovão da Gama had defeated the king of Zeila and had already taken almost all of his land from him. The Portuguese were, as a consequence, highly esteemed in the land of Preste Joam.<sup>50</sup>

During the whole of the rainy season the ships of the fleet had been overhauled and readied for battle in Goa. They had been provided with drinking water and heavy artillery and, covered with straw roofs, were anchored in the river and carefully watched by day and night.<sup>51</sup> The governor and leading *fidalgos* had provided the soldiers with elaborate meals, and M.A. de Sousa had taken care that the common soldiers had arquebuses and the *fidalgos* and *casados* horses.

Cosme Anes, the registrar, had had a census taken and had determined that there were almost three thousand *laskars* on the payroll and more than sixteen hundred on the list of residents (*moradores*).<sup>52</sup> But in this same winter of 1543 a dangerous pestilence, called by the natives *mordeshi*,<sup>53</sup> had broken out in Goa; and against it the doctors were helpless. Those who fell ill had the immediate symptoms of being badly poisoned: they suffered from vomiting, severe diar-

<sup>45</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 105-108; Couto 5, 9, 3; Q 1322 1328. Correa does not have Botelho sail for Malacca until 1544 (IV 338 415); Castanheda has him do so in 1543 (9, 31).

<sup>46</sup> Couto 4, 8, 11. On December 4, 1535, Martim Affonso wrote from Diu: "My brother João Rodriguez is dead. He died fighting the enemies of the faith and in the service of his king. He left 4,000 *cruzados*; he had no more, and he could not have had more since he helped many needy people in Malacca, where he was" (Q 183).

<sup>47</sup> Correa IV 266.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 289-291.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 268-270.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 268-269. The news was obsolete and surpassed by more recent events.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 266-267.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 286-288.

<sup>53</sup> Cholera; cf. Dalgado II 69-71; Orta I 261-267; cf. 272-276.

rhea, a drying up of the stomach, violent thirst, cramps in the calves of the legs, and a high fever that carried them off in from twelve to twenty-four hours. Of a hundred who fell ill, less than ten survived. Every day there had been from fifteen to twenty funerals, and the governor had forbidden the ringing of bells for the dead so as not to frighten the citizens more than necessary. Since the numerous burials had exceeded the resources of the cathedral clergy, the bishop had raised the churches of Rosario and Luz, despite their protests, to the rank of parish churches in order to cope with them.<sup>54</sup>

This same year the ecclesiastical court, consisting of the vicar general, the cathedral preacher, Mestre Diogo, the commissary of the Franciscans, a Dominican preacher,<sup>55</sup> and other religious under the presidency of the bishop, had handed a physician over to the secular court as a heretic. This was the bachelor Jerônimo Dias, a New Christian, who had lapsed back into Judaism. The latter court had in turn condemned him to be burned to death. When Mestre Diogo, however, convinced him in his last hour of his error and persuaded him to make a public apology, he had been throttled in the Pelourinho before being burned.<sup>56</sup>

### 3. CONFUSION IN THE DECCAN (1542-1543)<sup>57</sup>

In the meantime the confusion caused by the death of King Achyuta continued. The regent, who had seized the rule in Vijayanagar for himself,<sup>58</sup> had through murders done away with the two brothers<sup>59</sup> of the deceased king, his nephews, and, finally, his infant son and successor to the throne.<sup>60</sup> He then sought to disarm the other leaders who might lay claim to the throne by blinding them. He succeeded in doing this with the first two whom he summoned. But when the others learned what had happened, they took on oath against him and asked Adil Khān for help. When the latter, however, used the temples as stables for his horses, slew cows, and tried to force the great lords to become Mohammedans, they turned against him; and when the regent bribed the sultan with a large sum,<sup>61</sup> the latter, under the pretext of illness, returned richly laden to his own country.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Correa IV 288-289.

<sup>55</sup> Probably Frey Pedro Coelho, who in 1539, at the request of John III, was to accompany Bermudez with three of his religious confreres to the Preste, but remained behind on the way in Chaul (Bermudez 7). He was a good *letrado* and a great preacher (Santos II 91). In 1544 he was, however, imprisoned by M. A. de Sousa for the free way in which he spoke (Q 1304; Correa IV 406) and sent back to Portugal (Q 1821; SR IV 570).

<sup>56</sup> Correa IV 292-294.

<sup>57</sup> We follow the account of Correa IV 276-283, by far the best and most detailed; but we also use the other contemporary and later accounts to complete, clarify, and correct it (cf. Heras 2-12). Correa gives the events as they were seen in Goa and as they could thus have been learned by Xavier. See above, pp. 268-271.

<sup>58</sup> Salakarāju Tirumala.

<sup>59</sup> Among them, as it seems, Sadāshiva's father, Ranga Kshitindra (Heras 7).

<sup>60</sup> Venkata I, in 1542 (Heras 6-7; Ferishta III 83).

<sup>61</sup> He (Adil Khān) brought fifty buffaloes laden with gold *pardaus* and very many precious stones (Correa IV 280). "The Ydalcão was summoned by the king of Bisnaga so that he might help him, for his kingdom was split; and it was said that he was given seventy hundredweights of gold," Manuel Godinho wrote from Goa in 1545 (Q 1629).

<sup>62</sup> Correa IV 277-280. On this campaign of Adil Khān in 1542, see also Ferishta, who confirms Correa's data, complements it, and places it correctly after the murder of Venkata, but wrongly in Hejira 942 (1535-1536 A.D.) (III 83-84). The *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* attributes it to 1540-1541 (Haig 202-203). Heras has assembled the sources for this (8-10).

But in the meantime Rāma Rāya, the lord of Pulicat and son-in-law of Krishna Deva,<sup>63</sup> the half-brother and predecessor of Achyuta, had declared himself in favor of Sadāshiva, the sixteen-year-old son of a brother of Achyuta,<sup>64</sup> against the tyrannical regent. He had had his protégé proclaimed king and had obtained a hundred oxen laden with gold from the Brahmans of the temple of Tirumala,<sup>65</sup> the richest in the whole territory of Vijayanaga.<sup>66</sup> With this he had recruited an army of 60,000 mounted and 1,500,000 foot soldiers and had marched on the capital.<sup>67</sup> Abandoned by his dependents and threatened by his foes, the tyrant in his insane wrath had caused his horses and elephants to be blinded and their tails cut off. He had locked up his fairest wives and his great treasury in his palace and had had his diamonds and other jewels and pearls of inestimable value ground into dust between heavy millstones and thrown onto the floor and everything put to flames. After this he had fallen on his sword.<sup>68</sup> Rāma Rāya had then entered Vijayanagar as its conqueror, and Sadāshiva was placed upon the throne of his father.<sup>69</sup>

#### 4. A SECRET VOYAGE (AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1543)

In the meantime, during the rainy season in June and August, reassuring news about the Rumes had reached Goa. The Grand Turk was said to have died, and, because of the quarrels over the succession, it was unthinkable that they would come this year. The people, however, did not trust the news, and the governor had also continued with his preparations.<sup>70</sup> Although the rains continued he had ordered the fleet to be uncovered on July 20 and the oars and

<sup>63</sup> According to Correa, Rāma Rāya was married to an "irmã do Rey antecessor do morto" (IV 280-281). His wife was Tirumala Dēvi II, alias Tirumalambika, a daughter of King Krishna Deva and Queen Tirumala Dēvi I. Correa seems to confuse the two similarly named women. Rāma Rāya's wife was a sister-in-law of Achyuta and a cousin of Venkata I (cf. Heras 15 20-21 and the family tree in Sastri, *Hist.* 299).

<sup>64</sup> There were two brothers. The elder of these, since he was mentally ill, voluntarily relinquished the throne. According to Correa, they were "filhos do Rey antepassado do Rey morto, sobrinhos de sua molher d'este grande senhor de Paleacate [Rāma Rāya]" (IV 281). Here is the same confusion of the two Tirumala Dēvis. They were sons, not of Krishna Deva, but of Ranga Kshitindra, a half-brother of Achyuta, and not nephews, but cousins of the wife of Rāma Rāya, and nephews of the wife of Krishna Deva (Heras 13-14).

<sup>65</sup> Tirumala (in Correa: *Tremele*), "the holy mountain," near Tirupati, eighty-seven miles northwest of Madras, formerly in the district of North Arcot, but today in that of Chittoor, Taluk Chandragiri. It is one of the most famous temples of Vishnu in South India, who is here worshiped under the title of Venkatēśvara Perumāl. It was a kind of family sanctuary of the kings of Vijayanagar, in which they were crowned. It still possesses a votive offering of Krishna Deva: bronze statues of himself and of his two queens (picture in Longhurst 43). On the temple, see J. Ayyar 507-531; A. F. Cox-H. A. Stuart, *North Arcot 2* (Madras, 1894) 326-333; *Handbook of the Madras Presidency* (London, 1879) 342-344; Rangacharya 472-475; and, for his relations with the royal house, Heras 15 60-61 222-223 314-316 536-538 541 547-548. On the Tirupati temple, see Krishna-swami Aiyangar, *A History of Tirupati* (Madras, 1940-1941).

<sup>66</sup> On the wealth of the pagoda, see Correa (IV 282 301-303), Santos II 304; Dubois 601-602; *Imperial Gazetteer of India* 23 (1909) 393-394.

<sup>67</sup> Correa IV 282.

<sup>68</sup> Ferishta III 84-85; cf. Correa IV 282. For other accounts of his death, see Heras 10-11 and Sastri-Venkataramanayya 182-187.

<sup>69</sup> Correa IV 282-283; Heras 11-12 15-17. Sadāshiva seems to have been, like Achyuta, crowned twice, first in Tirumala and then in Vijayanagar (Heras 15-17).

<sup>70</sup> Correa IV 285-286 296-297.

light cannon and munitions brought onto the galleys. The masts had been raised and everything put in order, even the cavalry. It was said that this had been done so that Turks, if they came, would be immediately stopped wherever they landed.<sup>71</sup>

When the rainy season was coming to its end, Martim Affonso had given his servant Jerónimo Gomes the profitable sailing to China;<sup>72</sup> and he had sent the accuser of Dom Estevão da Gama, Jerónimo de Figueiredo, with a galleon and two *fustas* to seek for the legendary Gold Island<sup>73</sup> instead of Diogo Cabral, who had been imprisoned for allegedly slandering his person.

On August 27 he had then sent Vasco da Cunha and three other captains on a secret embassy with sealed instructions on three caravels and a galley.<sup>74</sup> No one knew where they were going, but the governor let it be known that they were sailing for Pegu, where the king of that land had promised a great sum if he received help against the Burmese, who had seized his kingdom.<sup>75</sup> At this same time the governor had given orders that all should be ready on September 25 for the sailing of the fleet.<sup>76</sup>

The wildest rumors were spread about with respect to the purpose of this voyage, especially since the coming of the Turks seemed to be more and more remote. Some thought that he was actually going to Pegu. Others were of the opinion that the king of Ceylon, who had sent his ambassadors to Lisbon in order to secure the succession of his grandson to his throne, had asked Sousa for help against his brother Mâyādunnē.<sup>77</sup> The majority, however, believed that the expedition was aimed at the famous pagoda of Tirumala, lying inland from São Thomé on the Coromandel Coast. Every year from three to four million pilgrims from all over India descended upon it and left behind mountains of gold. The governor, as a consequence, wanted to acquire this treasure with the help of four hundred cavalymen, two thousand infantrymen armed with guns, and two thousand slaves to carry the booty. He would land with his galleys and *fustas* in the small river of Pulicat, and, while he marched by land on the pagoda, the inhabitants of São Thomé would board the caravels and sail around Ceylon in them. São Thomé itself and the church of the Apostle would be razed, and the relics of the saint would be taken away to avoid the vengeance of the pagans provoked by the plundering of their temple. Had not

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* 295-297.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* 307.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 306. On Figueiredo and his voyage, see Q 1821 1822. Mendes Pinto wrongly places his voyages in 1542 (c. 20). D. Garcia de Castro gives a very harsh judgment on Diogo Cabral (Q 1139). On the ghost of Gold Island, see Ruge 207-212. It was a fiction of the inhabitants of West Sumatra, who wished to divert attention from the wealth of gold in Minangkabau.

<sup>74</sup> Correa IV 297-298. According to \*Eça they were to have sailed around Ceylon and to wait for Sousa in Negapatam, but they were hindered by a storm (36-v), as Cunha also notes (Q 1305).

<sup>75</sup> In 1539 the king of Burma, Tabinshwehti Pegu, had sacked Martaban, the capital of the kingdom of Talaing, in 1541, and Prome in 1542. He was hostile to the Portuguese since they had helped the king of Pegu and had defended his harbor against him, as Correa noted for 1538 (III 850-852). On the capture, see Harvey 154-157 and Couto 5, 5, 9 and 5, 6, 1. Takayutpi was the king of Pegu in 1539. After the fall of his capital he fled to Prome, and in 1542, to Ingabu in the delta region, where he died during an elephant hunt (Harvey 120). Vasco da Cunha also wrote in 1545 that Martim Affonso had ordered him to sail on ahead in a boat (*navio*) in order to make the people believe that he was sailing to Pegu (Q 1693).

<sup>76</sup> Correa IV 298.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* 299-300. The king of Ceylon was Bhuvaneka Bāhu (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 3).

Martim Affonso himself declared when he was chief admiral of the ocean that he would sail in person to the Coromandel Coast, suppress São Thomé, and devastate the coast with fire and sword, since it was a haven for rebels and criminals, whom the captains there could not control.<sup>78</sup>

Others, however, said<sup>79</sup> that the Great King of Cape Comorin had died and left behind a young son as heir to the throne.<sup>80</sup> The king of Travancore had seized him and his mother and was keeping them under strict custody and would not let them go until they gave him a piece of land adjoining his own. But this would make him so strong that he could do any kind of mischief that he wished to the boy and his mother. They had therefore secretly written from their prison<sup>81</sup> to Master Francis, who was with the Christians of Cape Comorin; and they had asked the governor to make the boy king of all the Christians on the other side of the cape and to free him and his mother and establish him in peaceful possession of his kingdom. For the expenses of the governor, the imprisoned prince was willing to give a million gold *pardaus*, to become a vassal of the king of Portugal, and to pay an annual tribute of fifty thousand gold *pardaus*. When Master Francis received this letter, he was afraid that it might contain nothing but empty promises and had therefore written to the two prisoners to this effect. They in turn had sent one of their chief men to him in all secrecy, allegedly with twenty thousand gold *pardaus*.<sup>82</sup> After receiving the money, the priest secretly buried it, the only witness being

<sup>78</sup> Correa, an eyewitness, gives a detailed account of the annual feast at the August full moon (IV 300-304).

<sup>79</sup> For the following our only source is Correa IV 304-305. A better text of it is given in MX II 149-151. Correa gives a second, similar account about the rumors of Cape Comorin, which were already nearer the truth, for October, 1544 (IV 468-649; MX II 151-152). See our first attempt to throw some light on the matter in "Iniquitriberim" 1-3 39-40, partially corrected in EX I 183-188. If Xavier wrote to Mansilhas on March 20, 1544, that a matter of great importance for the service of God was coming to light (*ibid.* 193), meaning his negotiations as intermediary between the Great King and the king of Travancore and the governor (*ibid.* 197 199), it does not follow that he had already been approached by the Pāndya kings as an intermediary.

<sup>80</sup> The "Great King of Cape Comorin" was Rāma Varma, who ruled from 1541 (cf. the inscription of June 4, 1541 in Q 5320, where we mistakenly call him the king of Travancore) to his death in 1559 (DI IV 351; Nagam Aiya I 300). He can not thus be meant. Neither could it have been the king of Travancore, Mārtānda Varma, who ruled from January 6, 1544 (Q 5488) to 1554 (DI III 423; KSP I 713), or his predecessor, Aditya Varma, who, as it seems, died on January 6, 1544, since a king was accustomed to take his predecessor's place on the day of the latter's death (KSP I 3); but Aditya Varma is mentioned for the first time in 1542 and his short reign was marked by inner troubles (Velu Pillai II 173) and is wrapped in darkness (cf. Nagam Aiya I 296-297; Poduval 203, n. 45). Should one of the Pāndya kings be meant, from whom the king of Quilon, Udaya Mārtānda Varma, seized South Tinnevely, and with whom he was, as a consequence, at constant war? The Pāndya king of Kayattār, Māravarman Sundara Perumāl, who ruled from 1531 to 1555, does not enter the picture. But the king of Tenkāsi, Jatilavarman Kulasēkhara Srivallabha, seems to have died about this time. His period of rule is variously given: 1531-1542 (Ayyar-Souter 157-158), 1534-1542? (Sastri, *Pāndyan* 249), 1534-1543 (ARE 1927 [Madras, 1928] 98). Although his inscriptions go to 1545 (Q 5485 5505-5507 5532), the first year of the reign of his successor, Parākrama Kulasēkhara, who ruled until 1560 (Q 5441 5514; Schurhammer, "Iniquitriberim" 29-30), is Saka 1465 (1543/1544 A.D.) or Saka 1464 (1542 A.D.) (ARE [1918] 160).

<sup>81</sup> Probably in Correa by the Great King of Cape Comorin is meant the Pāndya king of Tenkāsi; by the king of Travancore, the Cēra king of Quilon and the king of Travancore, who was united with him; and by the disputed land, South Tinnevely. In 1544 the Pāndya and Cēra kings asked Francis to intervene with the governor (EX I 341; Correa IV 409).

<sup>82</sup> Correa IV 305: 200,000; MX II: 20,000.



the man who had brought it; and he swore to him that he would return the money if the governor did not comply with their wish. Immediately after this he wrote to the governor and to the bishop, and both agreed to fulfill his request. This was why the governor wanted to sail to Cape Comorin, and why he was taking with him the cavalry.

Such were the rumors that were being spread about when on August 30 the *Urquinha*, which had wintered in Mozambique, arrived at the bar of Goa and announced that five ships had come from Portugal, and that they had encountered one of these as they were sailing from Mozambique. Two days later, on September 1, Martim Affonso went to Pangim;<sup>83</sup> and on the following day<sup>84</sup> he set sail with his entire fleet, consisting of forty-one oared boats with more than three thousand men, soldiers, and sailors, among whom were numerous musketeers. More than three hundred horses were also on board the ships.<sup>85</sup> Very soon, however, they encountered three ships of the fleet from Portugal under the command of Diogo da Silveira. They therefore returned to the bar with them. The governor disembarked with the captains of the incoming vessels near Nossa Senhora do Cabo and remained there for two days in order to read the letters from the king and to give instructions in accordance with their contents.<sup>86</sup> The *pandita*,<sup>87</sup> the ambassador of the king of Ceylon, and five Franciscans under the direction of Frey João de Villa de Conde had also come with the fleet.<sup>88</sup> Sousa accordingly sent two boats under the command of Francisco de Ayora to take them to Colombo and to bring back the annual tribute of cinnamon.<sup>89</sup>

On September 5 Martim Affonso was finally able to sail without betraying his destination.<sup>90</sup> But the skies were not favorable. A violent storm dispersed the fleet. While the ships were gradually reassembling in Cochin and repairing the damages that had been done, the governor sailed with thirteen of the boats to Cape Comorin, leaving behind instructions that the others should follow as soon as possible.<sup>91</sup> On September 28, the time of the September new moon, still

<sup>83</sup> Correa IV 305 308.

<sup>84</sup> On September 2, according to Correa, and this is confirmed by D. Garcia de Castro on December 3, 1543 (Q 1139); similarly \*Eça: at the beginning of September (36), as opposed to Couto 5, 9, 7 (August 12).

<sup>85</sup> According to Correa, the fleet, including the four boats that had been sent ahead, consisted of forty-five vessels: twelve galleons, nine galiots, two *albetocas*, three Latin caravels, two small *navios*, sixteen *fustas*, and a brigantine. He also gives their captains (IV 307-308). According to D. Garcia de Castro, more than twenty-five hundred men embarked on the ships, among whom were more than two hundred knights (Q 1629). According to the *\*Verdadeira enfformação*, three thousand sailed (Q 1821); according to Manuel Godinho, two thousand (Q 1629). Couto has twelve galleons, eight galiots, three caravels, and thirteen *fustas*; his list of captains differs at times from that of Correa (5, 9, 7).

<sup>86</sup> Correa IV 308-310. Caminha Vilasboas wrote in 1549 from Goa: "I came here in the ship *Vitorea* under Captain Fernandalvares da Cunha, and it reached the bar on September 3. The governor, M. A. de Sousa, had already made up his mind to sail to the pagoda. From the boat on which I was, I went directly to the galleon captained by Alonso Anriques without going on land and sailed for the pagoda" (Q 4266).

<sup>87</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 99 122; Correa IV 310.

<sup>88</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 3 109 125 195 399.

<sup>89</sup> Correa IV 306-307. On Ayora see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 394 and Vol. I 703.

<sup>90</sup> Correa IV 310; Q 1139 1821.

<sup>91</sup> On the storm, see Correa IV 310-311 and the voyagers L. Nunes ("foy diabo"), Vasco da Cunha, and the author of the *\*Verdadeira enfformação*, and also D. Garcia de Castro and Manuel de Castro.

another storm from the north, the dreaded *Vara de Coromandel*,<sup>92</sup> which usually came at this time, dispersed the fleet again as it was sailing on the other side of the cape along the Fishery Coast. The governor, however, was able to report that, with the help of pilots from Vēdālai, he had succeeded in crossing the Shallows of Chilaw with the majority of his oared vessels and had reached Cow Island, where twenty of his boats were eventually brought together.<sup>93</sup>

### 5. THE PAGODA OF TIRUMALA (OCTOBER, 1543)

On Cow Island—which was a distance of some thirty hours from Tuticorin by *toni*<sup>94</sup>—Master Francis learned the carefully guarded secret about the goal of Martim Affonso's voyage. The king had ordered him to seize the treasures of the pagoda of Tirumala before they fell into the hands of the Moors because of the confusion in the Deccan or were dissipated by the insanity of a usurper, as had happened in Vijayanagar. Letters had been written from India to John III, and the venture had been described as something relatively easy.<sup>95</sup> In June, 1543, Martim Affonso had sent an ambassador to the Nizam in Ahmadnagar with the suggestion that together with him and Barīd Shāh they should move against the perfidious Adil Khān, seize his fortress of Panala,<sup>96</sup> and share its treasures among themselves. They would then place Mialī<sup>97</sup> on the throne of Bijāpur. The ambassador had further told the Moorish prince that nothing in the world could withstand their combined forces and that they would

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Dalgado II 404-405.

<sup>93</sup> Couto 5, 9, 7; Correa IV 324. D. Garcia de Castro wrote that the governor had, contrary to all expectations, encountered instead of favorable weather, as it always was at this time of the year, weather that was very contrary and stormy, "an unheard of thing in this country; but he continued with his voyage against the sea and the winds until he came to the Shallows of Chilaw, where the monsoon and favorable weather ceased."

<sup>94</sup> A voyage of thirty leagues. In a *toni* with a favorable wind, Coubé covered two leagues in two hours (120).

<sup>95</sup> On November 6, 1544, Vasco da Cunha wrote expressly to the king: "Pera a yda do paguode, a que se soo por mandado de Vosa Alteza detreminou, ffuy numa caravela" (Q 1305). Couto is more detailed: "The king was informed by numerous letters of some people in India that in the pagoda of Tremel in the kingdom of Bisnaga there was an endless treasure of houses full of gold that were very lightly guarded, which the governor could easily obtain if he went in person with a fleet. The king was so often urged to undertake this that he was finally persuaded to order the voyage, for he was poor because of the great outlays made for the large fleets which he had sent to help in India; and in the last boats he ordered the governor, M. A. de Sousa, to personally undertake that voyage under any circumstance, and he sent him copies of the letters which he had received from India with regard to it" (5, 9, 7). In 1545 the old Manuel Godinho, who was married in Goa, blamed the governor for having needlessly placed the lives of two thousand soldiers in jeopardy during the voyage to the pagoda and the attack on the temple near Quilon. Nevertheless, he still complained that, despite the needs of the king, the governor had through his own fault caused three treasures in India to be lost to the Portuguese: that of the king of Cambay, which the Moguls took; that of the Bengalis, the greatest in India, which was seized by the Pathans, and which could have been taken with very little danger; and finally that of Asad Khān, valued at seven or eight millions in gold; and all were lost through the fault of M. A. de Sousa (Q 1629).

<sup>96</sup> In the region of Kohāpur, Bombay Presidency.

<sup>97</sup> Mialī (Meale), alias Abdullah, was according to Couto, who learned this from him and his grandsons, as he expressly states against Castanheda and Maffei, a son of Sultan Yūsuf Adil Khān and a younger brother of his successor Ismāil, and thus the uncle of Sultan Ibrāhīm, who ruled in Bijāpur from 1534 to 1558 (5, 9, 9, p. 363).

seize all the treasures of both Vijayanagar and Tirumala. But the negotiations had fallen through because the Nizam refused to turn his son over to the Portuguese as a hostage.<sup>98</sup>

To safeguard his venture, Martim Affonso, while the fleet was gradually coming together and the weather was clearing, sent a swift sailing *catur* to Miguel Ferreira, the captain of the Cormandel Coast, in Pulicat, near São Thomé, to get information and the opinion of the experts there on the undertaking. The ship returned with letters from Ferreira and others urgently advising the governor to suspend his operations. The Pulicat River had so little water that no one could sail up it except in times of flood, and it afforded no protection from the dangerous north wind, the *Vara de Coromandel*. The temple, moreover, lay more than twenty leagues within the interior<sup>99</sup> on a high mountain a three days' march from the sea. The news of the governor's coming had already been spread far and wide and had reached the court of Vijayanagar. The whole country was consequently on the alert and numerous troops had already been stationed in the temple itself to defend it in case of an attack. Even if they should march on it with two to three thousand men, not a one of them would return from it alive, even if they were armed and accompanied by ten thousand arquebusiers. So many people had come together that a handful of earth from each one of them would be enough to bury them all alive. Authentic instruments were sent in this regard to the governor. He was thus forced, to his great sorrow, to give up his plan, especially since the advanced season of the year also prevented their sailing towards the north.<sup>100</sup>

#### 6. JAFFNA AND KANDY (OCTOBER, 1543)

Martim Affonso, however, had not remained idle. While he was waiting for a reply from Pulicat, he had turned his attention also to the south, to the island of Ceylon. Earlier, in Lisbon he had spoken to Master Francis about an island in the Indies inhabited only by pagans without any admixture of Moors or Jews, where he could reap a great harvest, and where there was a great hope that the king himself and his subjects would become Christians.<sup>101</sup> The hope now seemed to be on the point of realization. The king was Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the Singhalese ruler of Kōttē, near Colombo.<sup>102</sup> In 1542 he had sent an ambassador with a gold, life-sized statue of his grandson and a precious crown to Lisbon in order to secure the succession for his grandson and a series of other privileges.<sup>103</sup> The ambassador had aroused hopes at the court of Portugal that the king would allow himself to be baptized if learned apostles of the faith would come to him.<sup>104</sup> John III had therefore solemnly crowned the statue in

<sup>98</sup> Cf. the letter of the ambassador (Galvão Viegas?) from Ahmadnagar to M. A. de Sousa of the middle of August, 1543 (Q 1113).

<sup>99</sup> Couto places it erroneously only twelve leagues from São Thomé (5, 9, 9).

<sup>100</sup> Correa IV 324-325. "O Governador por lhe o tempo nam dar lugar ou quiza Nosso Senhor pola sua piadade, fez volta a Coulão," wrote Vasco da Cuna (Q 1305). "He anchored off Cow Island, where he learned that he could not sail into the river [of Pulicat] as he had been told, nor make the fleet safe from the Vara [of Coromandel], a very bad wind on that coast; and since the latter had already begun, he turned around without further ado and sailed for Quilon" (\*Eça).

<sup>101</sup> EX I 80; cf. Vol. I 718.

<sup>102</sup> On him see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 2-14.

<sup>103</sup> See the *apontamentos* of Bhuvaneka Bāhu for John III of 1541 (*ibid.* 99-106).

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* 127 197 520 588. In Coimbra it had even been written at the beginning of 1543 that the ambassador had allowed himself to be baptized in Lisbon (*ibid.* 108).

the presence of the princes of his realm,<sup>105</sup> had granted all the requests of the king of Ceylon,<sup>106</sup> and had sent his ambassador back with seven Franciscan missionaries.<sup>107</sup>

But the political status of the island was involved. In the north it was inhabited by Hindu Tamils, and in the middle and south by Buddhist Singhalese. These peoples were different in race, speech, and religion; their rulers frequently refused to recognize the overlordship of the king of Kōttē and were at constant war with each other. Bhuvaneka Bāhu's brother Māyadūnnē, the ruler of Sītāvaka, had aligned himself with the Moors of Calicut in order to obtain the kingdom for himself;<sup>108</sup> the Singhalese rajah of Kandy in the highlands of the interior was seeking the help of the Portuguese; and Trincomali in the northeast, ruled over by a Tamil prince, was encroaching upon his realm.

Cow Island lay within the territory of the rajah of Jaffnapatam, who ruled over the northern tip of the island of Ceylon, a peninsula forty leagues long and from three to eighteen leagues in width,<sup>109</sup> and over the archipelago between Ceylon and Rāmeswaram. The ruler was the Tamil Chekarāsa Sēkaran, usually known simply as Sankily.<sup>110</sup> He was a Brahman<sup>111</sup> already advanced in years and without heirs. A bloodthirsty tyrant, who was hated by his people,<sup>112</sup> he had murdered his predecessor twenty-four years earlier, had slain more than two thousand of the latter's followers, and had seized the rule for himself, which rightly belonged to his elder brother, who was living with his relatives and followers as a refugee within the interior of the mainland, three hours away from Kāyalpatnam. When João Fernandes Correa was captain of the Fishery Coast he had once put him on board a ship in order to reestablish him upon his throne. He had even received a diamond as a gift for this; but he had then done nothing more for him. Martim Affonso had the pretender again summoned and

<sup>105</sup> Its reception in Lisbon and its solemn coronation are described by Couto 5, 7, 4, pp. 112-113, and \*Trindade 725-726. On two contemporary ivory chests in the Munich Residence Museum, whose scenes are frequently similar, see the excellent study of Wilhelm Slomann, "Elfenbeinreliefs auf zwei singhalesischen Schreinen des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Pantheon* 10 (1937) 357; 11 (1938) 12-19. The main relief of the larger chest shows Bhuvaneka Bāhu on his throne, the entry of his ambassador on an elephant, male and female dancers, the worship of Shiva by the king, and the presentation of the statue of Dharmapāla and its crowning by John III. The two chests were obviously made in Ceylon for this embassy and presented by the *pandita* in Lisbon. According to Couto he brought the gold statue and crown of the grandson in a large chest (5, 7, 4; a better text in De Jong 440). The statue is also mentioned by the *Rājāvaliya* (77). According to \*Trindade the ambassador brought two statues, a large, richly carved, ivory figurine which represented Bhuvaneka Bāhu, and a smaller one of Dharmapāla; and the crowning was in the Sé (725).

<sup>106</sup> See the text of the fourteen *alvarás* drawn up for Bhuvaneka Bāhu in Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 110-121.

<sup>107</sup> Since two remained on the way in Socotra, only five came to India at the end of 1543 (*ibid.* 125).

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* 2-3.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.* 214.

<sup>110</sup> According to Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., *The Kings of Jaffna* (Jaffna, 1920) 5-7 11, following the Tamil *Yalpana-Vaipava-Malai*. Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 74-75.

<sup>111</sup> His brother is called a Brahman (*ibid.* 347; EX I 275).

<sup>112</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 214. When the Portuguese captured the city of Jaffna in 1560, they found at the entrance of his palace a tremendous block for executions, on which he had had many of his vassals beheaded every day, and this without a long trial. The smallest irritation, even a mere thought or dream had been sufficient for this (Couto 7, 9, 3).

brought to Cow Island in order to play him off against his brother the usurper, and he received from him a few pearls since he had no other treasures. Still, while he was offering him the hope of a return to his kingdom,<sup>113</sup> the governor sent Antonio Mendes de Vasconcellos with two *caturs* to the rajah in Jaffna and had him told that he should recognize the rule of the king of Portugal and pay tribute. Otherwise he, the governor, would come in person with his fleet and give the kingdom to his brother. Being as weak as he was, in order not to lose his throne, the rajah yielded to the ultimatum and promised to pay an annual tribute of five thousand *pardaus* and two elephants; and he immediately sent as an advance payment the tribute for the next two years. He further offered the governor a large sum of money for the artillery from the Portuguese ships that had been stranded on his coast, since he needed the guns in his war with his neighbors. At this Martim Affonso dropped the pretender and sent him back to the mainland.<sup>114</sup>

The kingdom of Kandy in the interior of Ceylon, surrounded by wild mountains and thick, impenetrable forests, was, like Jaffna,<sup>115</sup> inhabited by Singhalese. The two countries had originally been under the domination of the king of Kōttē, but they had both achieved their independence from him.<sup>116</sup> The rajah Jayavīra, also known as Vira Viccama,<sup>117</sup> was fifty-seven years old;<sup>118</sup> and his kingdom, thirty leagues in length and breadth, was at its nearest point fifteen leagues distant from the sea. The land was fruitful and densely populated, but lacking in fish and salt when its connection with the sea was broken by war. Its main objects of trade were elephants, many of which roamed wild in the primeval forests, wax, areca nuts, and precious stones: sapphires, emeralds, cat's-eyes, and rubies. There were also cinnamon trees.<sup>119</sup> Firearms had been unknown to the Singhalese before the arrival of the Portuguese,<sup>120</sup> and the armed forces of the rajah consisted of twenty thousand archers. They had no other weapons.<sup>121</sup> Because of his constant wars with his neighbors, the kings of Kōttē and Sītāvaka, who were now partially equipped with firearms, the king of Kandy sought the help of the Portuguese; and since July, 1542, he had retained at his court a Portuguese soldier, Nunalvares Pereira, as middleman and secretary.<sup>122</sup> Already on August 14 of this same year, Jayavīra had sent to Martim Affonso a letter written in Singhalese on a gold leaf along with a covering letter of Pereira and a ring adorned with a precious stone and had asked for the erection of a factory in Trincomali and for Portuguese arquebusiers. He had also promised to pay for them. The governor had accordingly entrusted his valet, Amaro Mendes, with the founding of the factory. But the enemies of the rajah, who controlled the coasts on the east and west of the island, repeatedly interrupted the negotiations. The king of Kōttē did everything he could to prevent the erection of the factory; and his brother Māyāduṇṇē, who wanted the help

<sup>113</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 347.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.* and Correa IV 325.

<sup>115</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 104 123 214 418 430.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.* 123 420.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.* 149, n. 1.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* 425; cf. 374.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* 276 425.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. the *Rājāvaliya* 73, and Pieris, *Ceylon* I 447-448.

<sup>121</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 276.

<sup>122</sup> For the following see the detailed letter of Pereira of October 13, 1545, in which he describes the mutual negotiations with precise details (*ibid.* 175-184; cf. 167).

of the Portuguese for himself, even thought of subjecting Kandy to his own authority when he heard of Jayavīra's arrangements with the governor. Despite all the efforts of Pereira and Miguel Ferreira, the captain of the Coromandel Coast, nothing had as yet been achieved when Martim Affonso came to Cow Island. Here, through Amaro Mendes, he received a new letter from the king of Kandy and his secretary, which a Portuguese in the commission of both had brought by way of Batticaloa. Mendes further informed the governor that he had sent the messenger back with a reply in which he promised to come to Trincomali in the following January.<sup>123</sup>

## 7. THE ADVENTURE OF TĒVALAKARA (OCTOBER, 1543)

Master Francis had a great request to make of Martim Affonso, who had already shown a great and continued interest in his work among the Paravas. *Kanakapulas*<sup>124</sup> should be appointed as catechists and teachers in the thirty Christian villages of the Fishery Coast, who would be seriously engaged in helping the missionary with his daily instructions in Christian doctrine and be a substitute for him during his absence. In addition to the sixty thousand *fanams* which the Pearl Fisheries annually paid to the king of Portugal, there was an additional tribute of four thousand *fanams* for "the queen's slippers," as the tax was called. This sum would be sufficient to support the teachers, and the governor could turn it over for this purpose during his three years of office. He readily granted this request to the priest;<sup>125</sup> but in order to continue receiving this income after his departure, Xavier would have to write to the queen for her approval.<sup>126</sup>

Mid-October had already passed and the northeast monsoon was on its way. The wind was blowing from the north, and it was time for the fleet to return.<sup>127</sup> Master Francis sailed also with the governor.<sup>128</sup> He should see his confreres, the letters from Europe, and his old friends in Goa. He would also have to look for new assistants and get the mail ready for Lisbon and Rome. Two

<sup>123</sup> "Martim Afonso... viu as cartas nos Baixos; preguntou polo homem que es levára. Amaro Memdez lhe dixe, que jaa o tinha despachado per qua," Pereira wrote (*ibid.* 179).

<sup>124</sup> Tamil: *kanakkapillei* (Dalgado I 194-195); cf. EX I 247; Teixeira 852.

<sup>125</sup> EX I 168-169. At Xavier's time, 4,000 *fanams* of the Fishery Coast equalled 400 silver *pardaus* at 300 *reis*.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.* 177-178.

<sup>127</sup> The governor remained fairly long (*de vagar*) on Cow Island (Correa IV 325), "for many days, until the [southwest] monsoon died down," according to Couto, who adds that he then assembled the captains, showed them the letters of the king and those that had been written to him from India, and declared that he was ready to execute the order of his king if it were still possible to pass through the Baixos; but the pilots replied that it could no longer be done (5, 9, 7). Did Couto forget that Cow Island was north of the Baixos? According to the *Bay of Bengal Pilot*, October is the most changeful and deceitful month of the year in the Bay of Bengal (52). In October and the beginning of November the northeast monsoon sets in on the Tinnevely coast (Pate 29). The end of October was considered to be the most favorable time for a voyage from Tuticorin to Cochin (ARSI: *Goa 15*, 151v). Both \*Eça and Correa say that the north wind had already set in (IV 325).

<sup>128</sup> Xavier came to Goa in the middle of November (EX I 161), and thus with the governor. Since he had to sail there, it is obvious that Martim Affonso took him with him.

prominent Paravas<sup>129</sup> and a number of boys who were to study for the priesthood in the College of St. Paul<sup>130</sup> accompanied him.

The coming of the governor with his fleet, his stay on Cow Island, and his actions against the rajah of Jaffnapatam had alarmed Rāma Varma, the Great King, who was waging a war with his neighbor, the Pāndya king in Tinnevely. He feared an attack on his own land. When the fleet reached Cape Comorin, he sent it enough cattle and other provisions for all the ships. But since the wind was favorable, Martim Affonso did not wish to stop. He sent his thanks to the king and continued sailing on to Quilon.<sup>131</sup> A league from the Portuguese fort the narrow entrance opened up onto the large Asthamudi Bay. Not far from the bar there was a small island overgrown with coconut palms by the name of Nindakara.<sup>132</sup> Near it was a second, barren island. At this latter the fleet cast anchor and the governor went on land.<sup>133</sup>

No one knew what Martim Affonso had in mind. The next morning he had his men transferred to the mainland where, on the north, was a narrow tongue of land overgrown with palms jutting out into the bay. Since the Great King was waging war near Cape Comorin, the country was devoid of troops and there was no resistance to the landing.<sup>134</sup> In single file the men passed through the groves of coconut palms and other fruit trees. When the natives perceived that the march was against the pagoda of Tēvalakara a league away, they offered the governor fifty thousand *pardaus* if he would turn back. But he refused the offer and continued on, giving strict orders to his men that they should steal nothing on the way. By accident or design the guides made a detour of about three leagues,<sup>135</sup> so that the party reached the temple late in the day not far from a church of Thomas Christians.<sup>136</sup> Near the temple was a large village with palm-leaf huts and a bazaar, where wares of all sorts were for sale, espe-

<sup>129</sup> MX II 185.

<sup>130</sup> The young Paulo Vaz, who had accompanied Xavier in 1544 along the Fishery Coast, declared in Portugal in 1545 that the priest had four native priests with him whom he had had ordained, that there were now six natives in the College of St. Paul preparing for the priesthood, and that they would go to where he was, a distance of 250 leagues (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231-232). According to Lucena, at the end of 1543 Xavier left in the college some Parava boys that he had brought with him (2, 16).

<sup>131</sup> Correa IV 325. Couto erroneously has Sousa sail to Callecoulão (Kāyankulam).

<sup>132</sup> About 1615 Nindakara had some 50,000 coconut palms (Diogo Gonçalves 86).

<sup>133</sup> The island was uninhabited in 1615, though it had a well of fresh water and room for a hundred families. It was called "Ilha de Martim Affonso, por alli se recolher Martim Affonso, quando foy dar em Tevalacare" (*ibid.*). It was only made arable in the eighteenth century by the *dalava* (minister) Agyapan Mārtānda Pillai, and consequently received the name of Dalavāpuram (Velu Pillai III 363).

<sup>134</sup> For the expedition to the pagoda of Tēvalakara, the main account is that of Correa (IV 326-330), complemented by the less reliable Couto (5, 9, 7, pp. 348-352) and the data of those who took part in it, who confirm Correa's account in four points: the *\*Verdadeira enfformação*, Vasco da Cunha, Christovão de Castro, Caminha Vilasboas; the documents for the knighting of Francisco de Paiva and Francisco Alvares; the letters of the contemporaries D. Garcia de Castro, Manuel Godinho, Manuel Lobato (Q 1139 1629 3260 3283), and others. There is no mention of this expedition in Xavier. Martim Affonso did not dare place the life of the priest in jeopardy. He left him on the ship or in Quilon.

<sup>135</sup> "He marched three leagues inland to the pagoda of Quilon, where many Moors [sic] were slain and wounded," according to the *\*document* for the knighting of Alvares (Q 1315); four leagues inland (*\*Eça*; D. Garcia de Castro).

<sup>136</sup> "Veyo a Coullão e se foy a huma casa de São Tomé, onde estavam muitos negros cristãos [meant is the ancient church of the Thomas Christians of Tēvalakara], e ahy entrou em hum pagode" (*\*Verdadeira enfformação*).

cially white cottons from Cape Comorin. The governor forbade under the threat of the gallows that anything, even as much as a banana, should be taken from it. When a Canarin<sup>137</sup> appropriated for himself a couple of pieces of cloth, Martim Affonso had both of his ears publicly cut off in the presence of the villagers.

The roof of the temple was covered with copper plates, and it was itself surrounded by a high wall. Martim Affonso and all of his men took their position within this latter and set a watch so that no one could leave. The natives had already come up with bows and arrows and a few guns and were shouting loudly. From a distance could be heard cries of alarm in the language of the country, which was known as Kukuya.<sup>138</sup> The sound of these calls for help from people in the vicinity resembled that of a swarm of cranes before taking flight.

No one slept that night. All had their matches lit and were ready to fire. An accidentally dropped shield almost caused a fatal panic,<sup>139</sup> and throughout the night the natives shot arrows over the wall behind which the Portuguese had taken their stand.<sup>140</sup> The governor shut himself up in the pagoda with some of his confidants<sup>141</sup> and had a number of the temple priests scourged so that they would tell where the treasure was hidden. After digging, they uncovered a large stone slab. No one learned what was found beneath it. Nevertheless, the governor had two casks of powder emptied and filled with the booty, and they were so heavy that eight Negro slaves had to be detached to carry each one. On the return trip they were put under the charge of Garcia de Sá and the secretary Cardoso and carried in the midst of the troops. To deceive the men with regard to their contents, they were filled with water that dripped out as they were carried along.<sup>142</sup>

At dawn a large, threatening crowd had already gathered about the pagoda. The governor ordered the huts in the village to be set on fire and the retreat to begin, the lancers in the center and the arquebusiers on the right and left. There were a thousand of these, and most had slaves to carry their guns or shields and lances. When the column got under way, one of the prominent Nāyars, adorned with golden earrings and bracelets and armed with a shield and sword, stood in its way with twelve or fifteen companions. It was the captain of the temple guard and his men, and they foolhardily attacked until, pierced with a hundred wounds from the Portuguese lances, they fell dead upon the ground. Fortunately, the second captain had gone with ten thousand men to help the Great King near Cape Comorin; otherwise, as the natives assured them, not one Portuguese would have returned alive from the pagoda.<sup>143</sup> Under

<sup>137</sup> A native of the island of Goa.

<sup>138</sup> According to Correa; cf. Dalgado I 328. When Melchior Nunes Barreto came to Tēvalakara in 1561, the attack was still freshly remembered. He was regarded as a spy who wanted to get information on the pagoda and was planning a new attack. Throughout almost all the night the people with their "cucuiada" called those in the environs to arms in order to defend the pagoda and its treasure. The result was that the priest had to sail away the following day after Mass (DI V 417).

<sup>139</sup> According to Correa.

<sup>140</sup> \**Verdadeira enfformação*.

<sup>141</sup> According to the \**Verdadeira enfformação* Sousa remained in it for half a day and a night.

<sup>142</sup> Couto confirmed this detail with data from contemporaries.

<sup>143</sup> According to Correa. Godinho blames the governor for running the risk of losing all his men without accomplishing anything in his campaign on the pagoda in the territory of Quilon (Q 1629).



constant attack—a hundred Nāyars<sup>144</sup> followed them from a distance shooting at them with bows and guns—they marched slowly on. Jorge de Lima led the van.<sup>145</sup> Martim Affonso followed fearlessly in the rear, mounted high upon his horse, surrounded by whizzing arrows and bullets, and in constant danger of his life, until Vasco da Cunha finally forced him to dismount and go on foot like the others.<sup>146</sup> Two men were killed; twenty to twenty-five were wounded by arrows;<sup>147</sup> and one of the soldiers, Fulgencio Freire, was shot in the stomach but survived.<sup>148</sup>

About the hour for Vespers the Portuguese force reached an open field where there was a good well. The governor planted his banner, made of yellow damask with the cross of St. George upon it in red silk, and let his men take their noonday meal. About three in the afternoon they continued their march on to another pagoda, also roofed with copper, apart from the road.<sup>149</sup> In it was only found, according to reports, a poor-box full of money. It was taken without being opened and had to be carried with the help of many Negroes to the shore. From here the men crossed in boats to the island where they had earlier landed. It was only then that Martim Affonso had the box opened. All that was found in it were some silver coins of slight value, which the governor had thrown out to the crowd. He then publicly declared that the king had been sorely deceived by the people in India who had made him believe in Portugal that the pagoda had a great treasure. The king had ordered him to take it,<sup>150</sup> and this was the reason why he had gone to such great expense and had caused so many difficulties for his men. They had found nothing but a gold kettle full of *pardaus*, about two thousand, to judge by their weight; and he showed them the kettle.<sup>151</sup> But this did not convince his men, who said

<sup>144</sup> \*Eça also mentions a hundred Nāyars; there were two hundred according to Couto.

<sup>145</sup> According to Correa, but Couto says it was Garcia de Sá.

<sup>146</sup> According to Correa. Couto is more explicit. According to him, when Sousa refused to yield to the entreaties of the *fidalgos*, Vasco da Cunha seized the bridle of his horse; and, since Martim Affonso was not his friend, because Cunha had been a friend of D. Estevão da Gama, and would not listen to him, he pulled him by the leg and thus forced him to dismount. Cunha himself \*wrote to the king at the end of 1544: "Whether I served Your Highness at Quilon and the governor had need of my person can be told you by your people, and the governor must have written about it to you, for he publicly and at length expressed his great satisfaction about this; and he privately told his secretary that he would undo the evil which he had done to me in Your Highness' regard" (Q 1305). A year later he \*wrote to the infante D. Luis: "Whether he [Sousa] on the day of Quilon had need of my person, and whether I deserve to be honored and rewarded for it after the danger, should be indicated by Martim Affonso according to his duty and his conscience. . . . I will not say how much he owes me for that day, for which there are so many *fidalgos* and *cavalleiros* as good witnesses" (Q 1693).

<sup>147</sup> The Malabars slew and wounded many on their way back (Correa), around thirty men (\*Eça); twenty to twenty-five were wounded by arrows, and two were killed (\**Verdadeira enfformação*). Couto maintains that thirty Portuguese were killed during the operation and 150 wounded, a number of whom later died.

<sup>148</sup> Couto.

<sup>149</sup> Perhaps the temple of Pavumpura is meant.

<sup>150</sup> Correa's statement that the king ordered Sousa to seize the treasure of the pagoda, which, on the basis of information provided by earlier captains of Quilon, consisted of precious stones, is confirmed by the \*letter which D. Garcia de Castro wrote to John III on December 3, 1543, in which he says that on his return voyage "sayo [M. A. de Sousa] em Coulão e foy ao pagode que lhe Vosa Alteza mamdou" (Q 1139).

<sup>151</sup> Correa's data is confirmed by other sources. The gold vessel is also mentioned

that the whole thing was a fraud, that the governor had certainly found a large sum of money, that the vessel had contained the jewels of the treasury,<sup>152</sup> and that all this was kept secret so that they would not receive the share of the booty that belonged to them for their efforts. Martim Affonso, on the other hand, became ill with a high fever and had to be bled three times and confined to his bed for two days.

As soon as he had recovered, the governor sailed with his fleet to Quilon, where he left behind three galleys;<sup>153</sup> and on October 25, in the absence of the Great King, he concluded a treaty<sup>154</sup> with his representative, Adhigāri Kimal Katti Nambiar,<sup>155</sup> and with all the *pulas*, *mares*, and leaders of the area.<sup>156</sup> It was signed by the captain of the fortress, Francisco Correa, and his predecessor, Diogo da Silva. The earlier peace treaty was thus renewed, and it was further stipulated that if Portuguese or native-born Christians violated it, they should be punished by the captain of the fort; but if they were Moors or pagans, they should be handed over to the *adhigāri* for punishment. The tribute that had earlier been fixed for the church of St. Thomas the Apostle should again be paid according to custom. The Portuguese paid no customs tax, though other merchants did, even if they sailed on Portuguese vessels. *Zambucos*,<sup>157</sup> which brought in polished and unpolished rice, cotton, and other wares, would have to pay the regular duties. The pepper scales were not to be moved.<sup>158</sup> No cows were to be slaughtered in the territory of the Great King on the island where the fortress was located.<sup>159</sup> Further, if Nāyars or Moors became Christians, they retained their possessions and passed under the jurisdiction of the captain, but they had to continue paying the usual property taxes, as before, to the lord of the land.

#### 8. THE OATH OF THE GOVERNOR (NOVEMBER, 1543).

Without further delay Martim Affonso sailed again with his fleet for Cochin, where two or three days after his arrival<sup>160</sup> a *catur* came with a courier from the captain of Goa, Dom Garcia de Castro. He was carrying a letter from the

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by Couto and by the contemporaries Duarte da Gama (Q 3089), Manuel Lobato (Q 3260), and \*Eça. According to Lobato, Sousa took from the pagoda of the Brahmans a gold vessel with 3,500 *pardaus*; according to Eça, one full of *fanams*; according to Couto, the vessel was for the water with which the idol was washed.

<sup>152</sup> The *\*Verdadeira enfformação* states: "The people did not know what the governor found in the pagoda; but there was every indication that he found much money and many jewels."

<sup>153</sup> \*Eça.

<sup>154</sup> Botelho gives the text in his *Tombo* (36-38) under the title of "Trelado da capitolação das pazes que fez o Governador Martim Afonso de Sousa."

<sup>155</sup> Adhigāri Kaimal (in the *Tombo*: Adiguar Carymale) is the title for a minister as an agent of the king. Katti Nambiar (in the *Tombo*: Catinembiar) was probably his name.

<sup>156</sup> The *pulas* were barons (Dalgado II 228), the *mares* were probably *pillamars*, officials, not Nāyars, as understood by Panikkar (*Malabar and the Portuguese* [Bombay, 1929] 124), or Syrian merchants, as Dalgado intends (II 37).

<sup>157</sup> Small, open boats with a flat bottom.

<sup>158</sup> After the treaty of 1529 they were in front of the fortress (Botelho, *Tombo* 35).

<sup>159</sup> The island, a league long and half a league broad and practically separated from Upper Quilon and the mainland by a canal, was in the territory of the Great King. The Portuguese city on its southern tip was Portuguese territory.

<sup>160</sup> Couto 5, 9, 9, p. 359.

latter urgently asking the governor to return to the capital because of important business.<sup>161</sup> Martim Affonso immediately ordered a number of light, swift sailing *catur*s to be fitted out, since his galleys were in need of repair. He was already on the point of sailing when the four ships of the Portugal fleet, under the command of Diogo da Silveira, arrived from Goa and anchored off the bar of Cochin.<sup>162</sup> The governor therefore postponed his departure in order to supervise the loading of the ships,<sup>163</sup> and with them he also sent the gold kettle that he had taken from Tēvalakara.<sup>164</sup>

The failure of "the March on the Pagoda," as his expedition was called, was a severe blow for Martim Affonso de Sousa.<sup>165</sup> The fleet that had been equipped at such great expense had returned in a lamentable condition. The *casados* of Goa, who had procured ships and horses at great cost,<sup>166</sup> and the soldiers, who had placed such great hopes on the mysterious voyage, returned disheartened, disillusioned, and many in a pitiable condition, "without shirt or pants."<sup>167</sup> The governor's celebrated reputation throughout India as former chief admiral of the sea now seemed to be without foundation. It was no wonder that he was already longing to return to Portugal.

During the consecration of the Mass that he attended in the Sé of Cochin, he said to Silveira:

Tell the king, Senhor, that he should send a successor for me in the next ships, for I do not venture to rule India because of the change in truthfulness and sense of honor which I have found among the people. If he does not do this, I swear by this consecrated Host and by the true Body of Christ which is in it, that I shall open up the succession and hand over the rule to the person to whom His Highness entrusts it. And the king should not place his vassal in the risk, as I now am, of one day having his head struck off by him.<sup>168</sup>

And in this Martim Affonso was in bitter earnest. He was already thoroughly disgusted with India and used to say that he found it completely changed from what it had been before, and that the men there could no longer be trusted. He swore as much on the holy Gospel and had an instrument drawn up to that effect and had it signed by all the *fidalgos* who were present.<sup>169</sup>

Two days after Silveira's arrival the governor set out in all haste for Goa in a swift sailing *fusta*,<sup>170</sup> leaving behind his fleet, which had to be repaired before it could sail farther on. He left Aleixo de Sousa as *vedor* in Cochin to

<sup>161</sup> Couto 5, 9, 8-9, \*Eça, and Correa IV 322-323 330, in particular, speak of a courier.

<sup>162</sup> Couto 5, 9, 9. The four boats were the *São Thomé* under Diogo da Silveira, the *Conceição* (*gallega*) under Simão Sodré, the *Victoria* (*atougia*) under Fernandalvares da Cunha, and the *Santa Cruz* (*zambuco*) under D. Roque Tello (Figueiredo Falcão 160; cf. Correa IV 309). According to Couto they did not reach Cochin until October 29.

<sup>163</sup> Couto.

<sup>164</sup> \*Eça.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Couto 5, 9, 7, pp. 37-348.

<sup>166</sup> The agent of Goa (Q 2638) and D. Garcia de Castro speak of this.

<sup>167</sup> According to the \**Verdadeira enfformação* and Sousa himself (Q 1595).

<sup>168</sup> Couto 5, 9, 9; De Jong 590.

<sup>169</sup> D. Garcia de Castro informed the king of this on December 3, 1543 (Q 1139). On November 6, 1544, Vasco da Cunha again wrote that Martim Affonso was determined to open up the list of successors if no new governor came the following year (Q 1305).

<sup>170</sup> Couto; \**Verdadeira enfformação*.

supervise the loading of the cargo of pepper.<sup>171</sup> And without stopping anywhere along the way, in the middle of November, Martim Affonso, accompanied by Master Francis, arrived in Goa.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Correa IV 330-331.

<sup>172</sup> "In a few days" (Correa IV 331; Couto 5, 9, 9). \*Eça erroneously has Sousa come to Goa only in February, 1544; but the \**Verdadeira enfformação* states that he had set sail from Cochin on a swift sailing *fusta* "sem lhe lembrar armada, se foy caminho de Goa soo," that is, without his fleet; but he certainly took Xavier with him. That Martim Affonso reached Goa in the middle of November, and that the priest was with him, follows from Xavier's letter of January 15, 1544, in which he states that he had received the letters from Europe two months earlier, that is, around November 15 (EX I 161). He received them, moreover, in Goa. That he arrived there so early is an indication that the governor brought him with him.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE TREASURE OF ASAD KHAN (NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1543)

##### 1. IN THE COLLEGE OF ST. PAUL

At the insistence of Mestre Diogo, Master Francis and his companions had to take up their residence in Goa in the College of St. Paul,<sup>1</sup> where Mestre Diogo had settled with his charges, some seventy in number.<sup>2</sup> Here Francis met his two companions, Misser Paulo and Mansilhas, whom he had not seen since his departure from Mozambique at the end of February, 1542. They were in the best of health.<sup>3</sup> Thanks to the beneficent care of the governor and the activity of Cosme Anes and Mestre Diogo, the college had prospered. The church and many other buildings, including the large refectory on the ground floor and the dormitory for the students above it,<sup>4</sup> were now completed. There was enough room for five hundred students, and a sufficient income for the same number. The college also received alms in abundance. Many of the students were learning Latin, while others were learning how to read and write. They were all children of pagan parents and spoke different languages. Misser Paulo had taken over their care, since Mestre Diogo was greatly occupied with his preaching in the cathedral. He offered Mass for them each day, heard their confessions, gave them spiritual instructions, and cared for their bodily needs.<sup>5</sup>

##### 2. MAIL FROM EUROPE (MID-NOVEMBER, 1543)

On his arrival at St. Paul's College Master Francis was given the mail that had been sent to him from Europe: <sup>6</sup> letters from Rome, dated January 13, 1542, from Ignatius and his companions, which gave him much consolation; and two from Simon Rodrigues, written at the beginning of 1542 and 1543.<sup>7</sup> The letters

<sup>1</sup> According to Cosme Anes (MX II 185) and Teixeira (853).

<sup>2</sup> In September, 1542, according to Xavier, there were more than sixty (EX I 135); in 1543, according to Correa, seventy to eighty (IV 291).

<sup>3</sup> EX I 161.

<sup>4</sup> Correa IV 290; cf. DI I 42.

<sup>5</sup> EX I 169.

<sup>6</sup> Misser Paulo gave it to him (Seb. Gonçalves 2, 11); cf. EX I 161.

<sup>7</sup> On January 15, 1544, Xavier wrote to his confreres in Rome: "I have received only one letter from you" (EX I 160-161); on January 27, 1545, he wrote to Ignatius: "Four years ago I sailed from Portugal; in this whole time I have received only one letter from you in Rome and two from Master Simon in Portugal" (*ibid.* 259). We believe it is certain that Ignatius wrote to Xavier in 1542 as he did to the other first companions. On May 5, 1542, Martino Pezzano wrote to Ignatius from Lisbon: "Le lettere ch'mandasti per la India, bene sono andate" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 93). Rodrigues sent his first letter with these. The letter which Ignatius sent to Xavier in March, 1543, arrived too late for the fleet (cf. MI *Epp.* I 267), which sailed on March 25 from Lisbon (Figueiredo Falcão 160) and carried Rodrigues' second letter with it. All three letters

of 1542 had come with the *Urquinha*, which had been compelled to pass the winter in Mozambique<sup>8</sup> and had therefore only reached Goa on August 30, 1543, four days before the ships of the following fleet arrived, on September 3, with the third letter.<sup>9</sup>

After the Society of Jesus had been confirmed on September 27, 1540, through the bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*,<sup>10</sup> Ignatius had called to Rome the five companions that were free to come.<sup>11</sup> In March, 1541, they had commissioned him and Codure with the composition of the Constitutions;<sup>12</sup> and on April 8 Ignatius, despite his opposition, was elected general of the order.<sup>13</sup> On April 22, the Friday after Easter, the Parisian masters Inigo, Jay, Broët, Laynez, Codure, and Salmerón then made a pilgrimage from St. Peter's basilica<sup>14</sup> to St. Paul's Outside the Walls, where the newly elected general offered the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass at the altar of the Madonna to the right of the *confessio*.<sup>15</sup> During this Mass, as they had earlier done before receiving Holy Communion at Montmartre, they pronounced their solemn vows of profession and promised God to live a life of perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience in accordance with the bull and the Constitutions that had already been, or would be, written. To these three vows they added a fourth of obedience to the Holy Father with respect to the missions and the obligation of instructing boys in the elements of the faith.<sup>16</sup> They then completed their pilgrimage to the Seven Churches.<sup>17</sup> When it was already late in the afternoon, they took their midday meal near the Lateran basilica. This had been prepared<sup>18</sup> for them by Pedro de Ribade-

are lost. We have attempted to reconstruct their apparent contents from the letters of his confreres. Cf., for example, Ignatius' letter to Xavier of July 24, 1543, with a postscript of January 30, 1544 (MI *Epp.* I 267-271), which refers to an earlier, lost letter for events up to March, 1543; Ignatius' letter to Favre of September 20, 1541, which describes events after July 24 (*ibid.* 181-185); and the circular letter written at his bidding in March, 1543, and June, 1544, to all the confreres (*ibid.* 248-253). Xavier had asked that a letter should be written to him about everything in such detail that it would take him a whole week to read it (EX I 88-89). Two letters of 1544 indicate the detail with which Favre was accustomed to write to him (*Fabri Mon.* 232-236 262-265), but they never reached him (cf. EX II 540-541).

<sup>8</sup> EX I 161; Correa IV 264. The ship was the *Urquinha*, alias *São Matheus*, under the command of Henrique de Macedo Salvago.

<sup>9</sup> Correa IV 305 309-310.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Vol. I 671. For the following see, in addition to the sources indicated, Tacchi Venturi II 2, 6-15 and Polanco I 90-97.

<sup>11</sup> Polanco I 90.

<sup>12</sup> MI *Const.* I 33-65. The first part (34-48) was written by Ribadeneyra and signed by the six companions (MI *Scripta* II 873).

<sup>13</sup> The account of Ignatius on the election and profession is edited in FN I 15-22; cf. Camara, n. 209, and G. Castellani S.I., "La Solenne Professione di S. Ignazio di Loiola e di cinque dei primi compagni in S. Paolo fuori le mura (22 aprile 1541)," *AHSI* 10 (1941) 1-16.

<sup>14</sup> We conclude this from the fact that the Lateran was the last of the Seven Churches visited, where they arrived only in the late afternoon.

<sup>15</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 3, 1; Camara, n. 209. On the status of the altar, which also served as the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, see E. Pesarini, "La Basilica di S. Paolo sulla Via Ostiense prima delle innovazioni del sec. XVI," *Studi Romani* 1 (1913) 402 394-395.

<sup>16</sup> FN I 20-22. For the text of the profession of the general and of the five companions, written by Broët and signed by the five companions, see MI *Const.* I 67-68.

<sup>17</sup> FN I 20.

<sup>18</sup> Ribadeneyra in the process for \*Ignatius in Toledo (Rome, Bibl. Innocenziana) ff. 210v-211 states with respect to the profession: "Ipse testis hoc tempore erat in Societate et comitatus fuit Patres visitantes septem ecclesias et praeeparavit ipsis apud Sanc-

neyra,<sup>19</sup> a nephew of Dr. Ortiz.<sup>20</sup> He had been a page of Cardinal Farnese, but seven months earlier, at the age of fourteen, he had been received by Inigo as a novice. Codure, who, in the company of Laynez, had preceded the others in their visit to the Seven Churches, had shown at the time an extraordinary emotion.<sup>21</sup> Four months later, on August 29, the feast of St. John the Baptist, the Lord had called him, the first of the Parisian masters, to his everlasting home.<sup>22</sup> The next day Araoz had returned from Spain with two new candidates, Martin de Santa Cruz, from Toledo, and Millán de Loyola, Inigo's nephew.<sup>23</sup> Ten days later Broët and Salmerón had set out for Ireland as papal nuncios together with Francisco Zapata, who had left everything in order to serve God in the Society of Jesus.<sup>24</sup>

Other candidates had also come. Two of these had been won over by Laynez through the Exercises in August. Both were from Burgos: Francisco de Torres, who however soon died; and an acquaintance of Xavier from his years in Paris, the apostolic notary Juan de Polanco.<sup>25</sup> Three others had come from Parma: Giovanni Baptista Viola, Martino Pezzano and Elpidio Ugoletti.<sup>26</sup> Several other Spaniards had also entered in Rome, for example, the elderly priest Alonso Cipriano<sup>27</sup> and his younger countrymen Oviedo, Baroel, Villanueva,<sup>28</sup> and Esteban Diaz.<sup>29</sup> There was also the Frenchman Frusius, an excellent Latin scholar.<sup>30</sup> They were all living in a narrow tenement near the small church of Santa Maria della Strata, whose transfer to the Society had been secured from the pope in June, 1541, by Codacio.<sup>31</sup> Here a few weeks later an extraordinary ceremony was conducted in the presence of the Madama,<sup>32</sup> the cardinals of Santiago<sup>33</sup> and Burgos,<sup>34</sup> the Spanish<sup>35</sup> and Portuguese ambassadors,<sup>36</sup> and numerous bishops and members of the nobility: the solemn baptism of a Jew who had been converted through Inigo's efforts, and his ecclesiastical marriage with a converted sinner. On this occasion Laynez delivered the sermon and Salmerón administered the sacrament of baptism.<sup>37</sup> While Laynez took over the office of confessor for the Madama and her family,<sup>38</sup> Favre was staying at the imperial

tum Joannem lateranensem in quodam hospitio quaedam ad manducandum, quia valde sero advenerunt et defessi. Ideo potest deponere tanquam testis de visu." Since the Seven Churches were regularly visited, and Ignatius kept strictly to this practice in order to avoid difficulties with the people (cf. Camara, nn. 216-217; FN II 357-258), we must presume that the Lateran was the last church to be visited, against Böhmer, who boldly asserts that Ribadeneyra's data was "surely not true" (266; cf. also FN I 22, n. 4); and against Castellani, who was of the opinion that they had visited the remaining three churches after the Lateran.

<sup>19</sup> Ribadeneyra I 9 12-13.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 3; MI Epp. IV 135.

<sup>21</sup> Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 3, 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* He was buried in the church of Santa Maria della Strada (MI Epp. I 406-407).

<sup>23</sup> MI Epp. I 184. For the Spanish voyage of Araoz and Millán, see Vol. I 495 520-522.

<sup>24</sup> MI Epp. On the expedition to Ireland, in which Broët took the place of Codure, see Vol. I 551; on Zapata, see *ibid.* 500 656 721; cf. also FN I 134.

<sup>25</sup> Polanco I 91; cf. Vol. I 239.

<sup>26</sup> On Viola, see MI Epp. I 184 and Tacchi Venturi II 1, 230. On Ugoletti, see Schurhammer, "Criminali" 249, and Tacchi Venturi II 1, 229. Pezzano took his first vows in Rome in September, 1541, where he already was in February, 1541 (*Fabri Monumenta* 77).

<sup>27</sup> MI Epp. I 184.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* and Polanco I 195. Oviedo entered Rome on June 19, 1541 (Tacchi Venturi II 1, 372; Astrain I 209). Baroel took his first vows in Rome on September 24, 1541. In the same month Villanueva entered the order there (Astrain I 209).

court in Germany as the companion of Dr. Ortiz until July, when he was sent with him to Spain.<sup>39</sup> At the beginning of 1542 Jay, who had been successfully working in Faenze,<sup>40</sup> and Bobadilla, who had been summoned from Calabria, were sent in their stead to Germany.<sup>41</sup>

The students who at the end of April, shortly after Xavier's departure, had left Rome under the guidance of Dom Diego de Eguía were now in Paris: Ferrão, Rojas, Carvajal, and Isbrando. They and their fellow students who had joined them, Cáceres, Doménech, the three from Parma, Don Paolo d'Achille, Master Gregori, and Antonio, and Angelo Paradisi, had found acceptance as portionnists in the Collège des Trésoriers.<sup>42</sup> When Eguía returned to Rome in March, 1541, Doménech became their superior.<sup>43</sup> He obtained three Frenchmen<sup>44</sup> and a Catalan, Mirón, for the Society.<sup>45</sup> The community, as a consequence, had to move to the larger Lombard College,<sup>46</sup> especially since further additions were sent from Rome. The two Strada<sup>47</sup> came in April, Cassini and a companion in June,<sup>48</sup> and Oviedo and Viola in October.<sup>49</sup> The young students of the order found warm friends in Masters Picard and de Cornibus. Picard even said that if his limbs were not in such a poor condition, he would himself join them, and de Cornibus defended the young order when others spoke against it.<sup>50</sup> The old Master Diogo de Gouvea would have been delighted to turn his Collège de Sainte-Barbe over to the Society and was always most ready with his help.<sup>51</sup>

Rodrigues sent joyful news from Portugal.<sup>52</sup> As a replacement for their temporary dwelling on the Rossio Square in Lisbon, the king had given them the former monastery of the Dominican nuns, Sant'Antão, in the Mouraria quarter; and on January 5, 1542, the vigil of the Epiphany, he had moved there with six companions: Medeiros; another priest;<sup>53</sup> Bernardino, who had been

<sup>39</sup> Schurhammer, "Die Anfänge" 99; *Ep. Mixtae* I 104.

<sup>40</sup> Polanco I 91. His first vows were on December 25, 1541.

<sup>41</sup> Through the bull *Sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae* of June 24, 1541 (*MI Const.* I 69-77); it became effective however only on May 15, 1542 (*Tacchi Venturi* II 2, 22).

<sup>42</sup> Margarita of Austria, see Vol. I 435.

<sup>43</sup> D. Pedro Sarmiento, Margarita's chaplain; cf. *ibid.* 416.

<sup>44</sup> Juan Alvarez de Toledo.

<sup>45</sup> The marqués de Aguilar, Juan Fernandez Manrique de Lara; on him see Vol. I 440 449 487 499.

<sup>46</sup> Christovão de Sousa, cf. *ibid.* 720.

<sup>47</sup> *MI Epp.* I 181-184. With this Ignatius began his mission for the Jews in Rome, the success of which he was always glad to relate.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 184; Polanco I 93.

<sup>49</sup> Favre, *Memoriale* 44-48; Polanco I 93.

<sup>50</sup> Polanco I 92-93; *FN* I 132-134 224-226.

<sup>51</sup> Bobadilla 620; *FN* I 226-228.

<sup>52</sup> Vol. I 656; Fouqueray I 127-133.

<sup>53</sup> Polanco I 93; see his letter in *Ep. Mixtae* I 52-75 79-91.

<sup>54</sup> Cogordan, whom Xavier probably knew in Paris (Vol. I 567), Le Pelletier and Roillet (*Ep. Mixtae* I 74; Fouqueray I 130).

<sup>55</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 55-57.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 62-63 72 74.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 59; cf. Vol. I 417 451.

<sup>58</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 71; cf. Vol. I 508.

<sup>59</sup> *MI Epp.* I 184; *Ep. Mixtae* I 82-83.

<sup>60</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 64.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 84-86.

<sup>62</sup> For the following see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 281-308.

<sup>63</sup> Royas describes him as a "sacerdote muy onrrado y doto en jure canonico, y predicador" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 75), Santa Cruz a "comendador de Santiago de muy buena vida y docto." At the request of the infante D. Luis, Rodrigues gave him certain abbeyes



received that same day, and who was from then on called Bernardino dos Reis, instead of Excalceato; and three students of the order who at Inigo's request had been sent from Paris in September for the college projected by the king: Rojas, Mirón, and the French priest Cogordan.<sup>54</sup> Manuel Godinho, who had made a general confession to Xavier in Almeirim and had been an able help at the time of their moving to the former monastery, soon after this made the Exercises under Mirón and was in March similarly taken into the Society.<sup>55</sup> Another of Xavier's acquaintances, Manuel Fernandes,<sup>56</sup> followed his example; and in August an excellent preacher, Francisco Neto, joined the group.<sup>57</sup>

At the beginning of 1542, Isbrando and Paradisi, two favorites of Rodrigues, had come at his request, and with them was a Frenchman, Onfroy.<sup>58</sup> Five more confreres who had been sent from Rome arrived in April: Cipriano and four students: Villanueva, Martino Pezzano, Baroel, and Jacobo Romano.<sup>59</sup> In addition to Godinho, Rodrigues secured two more squires, Cardoso and Seixas, and two other young men for the order.<sup>60</sup> This meant that it was now time for the king to open up the college he had promised the order at the university. After he had sent Godinho on ahead, Rodrigues himself arrived with eleven students in Coimbra on June 13, 1542. After being generously given temporary lodgings by the canons of Santa Cruz, they took up their residence in a tenement on July 2.<sup>61</sup> By October they had been joined by fourteen other students, some coming from the city itself, for example, Adam Francisco, who was received as a lay brother,<sup>62</sup> and some being sent from Rome, such as Martin de Santa Cruz and the two Italians Lancilotto and Antonio Criminali.<sup>63</sup> There were great hopes, as a consequence, that this nursery would soon be able to send many laborers into the abandoned vineyard of India.

### 3. THE PROFESSION OF MASTER FRANCIS (END OF 1543)<sup>64</sup>

Xavier's first visit in Goa was to the bishop. After the condemnation of the New Christian Jerónimo Dias, the bishop had himself preached the following Sunday in the cathedral. From the pulpit he read the bull of the Holy Inquisition and reminded his hearers of the obligation incumbent upon all Christians to denounce those who clung to heresies opposed to the Catholic faith.<sup>65</sup> From Rome Ignatius had sent to Favre, Rodrigues, and Xavier the text of the vow formula which had been used there so that they might follow their confreres' example.<sup>66</sup> It ran as follows:

of the Knights of St. John to reform (*ibid.* 107). He does not seem to have persevered in the Society (Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 290).

<sup>54</sup> *MI Epp.* I 184-185; *Ep. Mixtae* I 75-78; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 287-292; cf. Vol. I 567.

<sup>55</sup> Vol. I 607 670; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 293-294.

<sup>56</sup> Vol. I 615; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 294-295.

<sup>57</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 108-109; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 294-295.

<sup>58</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 78 81 88; *MI Epp.* I 206-207; *Ep. Broëti* 523.

<sup>59</sup> *MI Epp.* I 184 206; *Ep. Mixtae* I 91-93; Polanco I 95; *Ep. Broëti* 525 528; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 295-296.

<sup>60</sup> Vol. I 606; *Ep. Mixtae* I 106; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 297.

<sup>61</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 106; *Ep. Broëti* 528-529; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 304-308.

<sup>62</sup> Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 313.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 311-312 322, Schurhammer, "Criminali" 253-255.

<sup>64</sup> On Xavier's profession, see EX II 575-581.

<sup>65</sup> Correa IV 294.

<sup>66</sup> This lay in the nature of the case and is shown, for example, in Favre's formula of profession, which agrees almost verbatim with that of Rome. He gives the text

I, N.N., promise to almighty God in the presence of His virgin Mother and of the whole court of heaven and in the presence of the Society and you, Reverend Father, as the representative of God, perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience according to the rule of life contained in the bull of the Society of our Lord Jesus and in the Constitutions that have been, or will be, written. In addition to this I promise to the pope special obedience with respect to the missions which are mentioned in the bull. I further promise obedience with respect to the instruction of boys in the basic truths of the faith in accordance with this same bull and the Constitutions.<sup>67</sup>

Master Francis accordingly placed the profession of his vows<sup>68</sup> in the hands of his friend the bishop, and from then on he carried a copy of it in a copper reliquary about his neck along with the signatures of his beloved father Ignatius and his first companions which he had cut from their letters.<sup>69</sup>

#### 4. JOYFUL HOPES (END OF 1543)

Francis also met the vicar general, Miguel Vaz, in Goa. At the beginning of 1543 he had written in detail to the king about the condition of the Church in India. Among the matters which he discussed were the hospital and the College of St. Paul in Goa; the abandoned Christians on Socotra; the sufferings of the newly converted Paravas on the Fishery Coast; the appeals for help from Preste Joam, now threatened by the Moors, and the sending of Dom Christovão da Gama; the need of the Inquisition in India because of the numerous Jewish Christians; the gaining of the right to confirm for the vicars of the parishes in the distant fortresses which the bishop could not visit; the scandalous abandonment and poverty of the Christian king of Maluco; the conversions in Goa; the good beginnings of M.A. de Sousa; and the deserts of his predecessor, Dom Estevão da Gama. At the end of 1542 he had gone with the governor to Cochin and had obtained the transfer of the hospital there to the Misericórdia as in Goa, and the governor wished to do the same in the other fortresses. A grave hindrance to conversions in Malabar had been that the native kings seized the goods of their subjects if they became Christians. When the vicar general

twice, with minor variations, in his letter of July 9, 1541 (*Fabri Mon.* 117-119), and in his *Memoriale* (47).

<sup>67</sup> The text is found in the account of Broët with the original signatures of the five companions (*MI Const.* I 68), and with small variations in the account of Ignatius (*FN* I 20-21). Seb. Gonçalves, who no longer had a copy of Xavier's text, gives a reconstruction of it (2, 11). The text which Xavier sent to Rome (*Ep. Mixtae* I 198) is lost. See also the formula in the Constitutions (*MI Const.* II 200).

<sup>68</sup> Seb. Gonçalves regards it as probable that Xavier placed his profession in the hands of the bishop (2, 11). The general could give his authority for this to others, for example, to bishops (*MI Const.* II 198 497). Favre made his profession in private and into no one's hands. He wrote however to Ignatius that, since these were not solemn vows, he was ready, if the general desired, to lay them again into someone's hand (*Fabri Mon.* 118). Rodrigues also took them in private (*Ep. Broëti* 536); B. Palmio laid his into the hands of a bishop in Padua (*MI Const.* II 497, n. 9).

<sup>69</sup> A Portuguese on Sancian took the reliquary for himself after Xavier's death. Melchior Nunes Barreto received it from him in China in 1555 or 1556. When it was opened in Cochin in 1559, there was found in it a small bone relic of the apostle Thomas, the signature of Ignatius cut from a letter, and Xavier's vow formula written in his own hand, as the \*Italian text of Teixeira states: "Nella China li fu trovato in uno reliquiario di rame, come per reliquia il nome del P. Ignatio tutto per propria mano, sotto il quale era scritta la sua professione come se in quello mostrassi ancora la sua soggettione al detto padre" (3, 8). Cf. *EX* I 330, II 577-578.

brought this to the attention of the rajah of Cochin during Dom Estevão da Gama's term of office, he had replied that in this he had to follow the custom of his predecessors. When the Portuguese king was informed about this, he had expressed his desire that a remedy for this should be obtained. Thanks to the efforts of Miguel Vaz, Martim Affonso had secured the abolition of this custom; and it had been openly proclaimed that the rajah's subjects should thereafter retain their possessions if they became Christians. Immediately after this a prominent individual in Chale had become a Christian, and he was determined to bring the hundred people in his retinue also to baptism.<sup>70</sup>

The vicar general had sought in vain to persuade the Franciscans in Goa, and then their confrere Frey Vicente in Cranganore, to take over the College of St. Paul. His friend Cosme Anes, on the other hand, was fully convinced that its direction should be given to Master Francis and his confreres; and with regard to this he had had a good many discussions with the captain of the city, Dom Garcia de Castro, who wished to give it to the Dominicans. Four of these, Frey Pedro Coelho and his three companions, had already come to India in 1539 and had moved from Chaul to Goa. Dom Garcia was of the opinion that the king should send six of the best priests of their order to take over the college.<sup>71</sup>

Martim Affonso was also more favorably impressed by the Dominicans than by the Franciscans. When he came to Cannanore in December, 1542, he encountered there sons of St. Francis who refused to heed the command of the king and of the governor, who did not want a monastery in that stronghold. They even threatened to found two or three more in Chaul, Bassein, and Diu. They were an exempt order and had permission for this from the pope. The governor wrote to the king that they did this simply out of enmity for the secular clergy, who had built, despite all the protests of the Franciscans, a bell tower for the Sé in Goa that afforded a view into their garden.<sup>72</sup> Master Francisco, as he always did when he was in Goa, also paid a visit to the Franciscans there. Frey Paolo had not gone to Socotra, but two Franciscans who had come with Frey João de Villa de Conde for Ceylon had remained with those neglected Christians. They were thus for the present being cared for.<sup>73</sup>

Necessary measures were also taken on behalf of the two kings who happened to be in Goa. The evidence which the secretary Cardoso had taken in Ormuz had proved to be favorable to Sultan Salghar Shāh; and in January, 1544, Luis Falcão, the new captain of that fortress, had had him brought back and replaced upon his throne with all due honors.<sup>74</sup> In Portugal Freitas had obtained at court all that he had requested for Dom Manuel Tabarija, the king of Maluco. John III had also confirmed the grant of Amboina. Freitas and his descendants could therefore have the land in perpetuity as an entailed estate with both lower and middle jurisdictions.<sup>75</sup> He had also obtained the captaincy

<sup>70</sup> SR II 324-344; DI III 812-815.

<sup>71</sup> Letter of Garcia de Castro of December 3, 1543 (Q 1139).

<sup>72</sup> Letter of Sousa of December 23, 1542 (SR II 309-310).

<sup>73</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 242-243 303; Correa IV 342; Q 1322.

<sup>74</sup> Correa IV 275 338 342; Q 1179; against Couto, who has Salghar Shāh die in Ormuz, in November, 1543, after which Luis Falcão sailed from there with his son Turān Shāh (5, 10, 1).

<sup>75</sup> In 1540 the Negro king of Benin had sent an ambassador to Lisbon (Barros 1, 3, 4). With them John III sent a ship under the command of Freitas, who in virtue of the instructions he had received had hanged some French pirates. Since this did

of Ternate for three years.<sup>76</sup> The king had further sent with the fleet of 1543, which carried Freitas and his son Antonio and his nephews João and Francisco to India,<sup>77</sup> a laudatory document and numerous gifts for Tabarija and a letter for Martim Affonso. In this he ordered the governor to send Freitas with the Christian king to Maluco and to have Dom Manuel again established in his kingdom.<sup>78</sup> The many letters which the vicar general had written to John III on behalf of Tabarija had thus not been without success.<sup>79</sup> The following April Freitas, whom Xavier encountered in Goa, was to sail with his protégé and his family to the Moluccas; and because of his zeal for the spread of the faith, there were hopes that the whole kingdom would be won over for Christ.<sup>80</sup>

In Goa Master Francis also encountered the two ambassadors of the kings of Kōttē and Kandy who had come from Ceylon to deal with the governor. The return of the *pandita* whom Bhuvaneka Bāhu had sent to Portugal and the news that the Portuguese king had confirmed his grandson Dharmapāla as his successor and the numerous privileges which the ambassador had obtained for his lord in Portugal had stirred up bad blood in Ceylon. The two princes, sons of Bhuvaneka Bāhu by a concubine, were not willing to give up their claim upon the throne; and Māyādunnē, the brother of Bhuvaneka Bāhu and king of Sitāvaka, who was also vying for supremacy, had immediately taken up arms in order to obtain possession of Kōttē. Bhuvaneka Bāhu had therefore sent the *pandita* at once back to India to ask the help of Martim Affonso against his traitorous brother and, if he were not successful in this, to sail back to Portugal and obtain the help of the Portuguese king through the infante Dom Luis. The governor should also help him overthrow the rebellious kings of Jaffna and Kandy and set the two princes in their place and thus content them. He declared that he was ready to pay all the expenses of the fleet sent to help him, and that he would remit the fifty thousand *cruzados* which he had earlier lent him and the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha.<sup>81</sup> But the king of

not go well in Lisbon, he had to wait a year and a half for the execution of his business (Sá I 555; cf. 532). On March 15, 1543, the gift of Amboina was however finally ratified by the king (*ibid.* IV 31-35).

<sup>76</sup> On February 12, 1543 (*Registo*, n. 360; TdT: *Chanc. D. João III. Doações* 6, 36v).

<sup>77</sup> *Emmentia* 375.

<sup>78</sup> Couto 5, 9, 3. M. A. de Sousa gave Freitas a letter of recommendation for the captain of Malacca and an *alvará* with respect to Amboina (Sá I 551 421).

<sup>79</sup> SR II 340.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* 342; EX I 322 340.

<sup>81</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 122-124 197, n. 1; Correa IV 299-300. According to Gonzaga's account, the *pandita*, detained by business, remained in Goa and only arrived some days after the Franciscans, who brought the letters of the king and governor and the gifts of John III to Kōttē (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 126-127). According to Correa, Martim Affonso immediately sent the ambassador to Ceylon with Ayora, who was sailing from Goa to Ceylon as the captain of a galleon and a *nau* for the Ceylon voyage (IV 306-307 310; cf. 615). The ambassador probably sailed with Ayora in the galleon, which was detained longer than the *nau* with the friars, who consequently arrived earlier. Correa has the *pandita* return to the governor from Ceylon with the cinnamon ship in 1543 in order to ask for help, and has him meet the latter in Cochin on his voyage to the pagoda. Martim Affonso told him to wait in Goa for his return (IV 299-300). His account is wrong. The cinnamon ships had to load their cargo in Colombo and sail before the middle of November for India (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 397 495, for 1546 and 1547). The letter for the infante D. Luis which Bhuvaneka Bāhu gave to his ambassador at the time of his return to India bears the date of November 28, 1543 (*ibid.* 122). Since the governor already reached Goa in the middle of November, and the voyage from Colombo to Goa took some twelve days (*ibid.* 157), the *pandita* could only have met Sousa in the middle of December.

Kandy was also alarmed, and the Portuguese whom he had earlier sent with a letter for Amaro Mendes at the Shallows of Chilaw had now arrived in Goa with his *ollas* and a letter of his secretary Nunalvares Pereira and a gold ring and precious stones for the governor to obtain his help.<sup>82</sup>

#### 5. REPORTS OF MIRACLES (END OF 1543)

For the sake of his two confreres and because of the insistence of Mestre Diogo, Master Francis took up his residence at this time in St. Paul's College. Still, because of his great love for poverty, he asked for his keep there as a poor man of Christ from the directors of the institution.<sup>83</sup> The two prominent Paravas who came with him had wonderful things to say about "the Great Father": the countless baptisms which he had administered on the Fishery Coast;<sup>84</sup> the numerous cures and other miracles he had wrought;<sup>85</sup> and above all how, in the presence of a large crowd that had brought a dead boy to him with loud cries, Master Francis had taken his hand and restored him to life. Mestre Diogo went to his friend Cosme Anes and told him what he had heard and suggested that they should go together and ask the priest about the incident. Cosme Anes lacked courage for the project but urged his friend that he should go alone and ask about the matter. A few days later Mestre Diogo reported what had happened. He had gone to Master Francis, had told him what was being said about him, and had then asked him point blank: "Father Master Francis, for the love and honor of God, what about the boy whom you awakened at Cape Comorin?" At this the priest, greatly embarrassed, embraced him with a smile and said: "Jesus! Senhor Padre Mestre Diogo, did I wake one up to life, a sinner such as I? They brought the boy just as he was, and he came still living;<sup>86</sup> and I told him that he should get up in the name of God, and he got up, and the people were filled with wonder at that." But Mestre Diogo told Cosme Anes: "You can be sure that the boy was dead, and the priest raised him to life through the grace of our Lord."<sup>87</sup> And Martim

<sup>82</sup> Nunalvares Pereira wrote of the Portuguese who in October, 1543, went from Kandy to the Shallows of Chilaw by way of Batticaloa with letters of the king of Kandy and from himself for Martim Affonso and Amaro Mendes: "He came here [to Kandy] in November of the same year with letters for the king and me, which said that he [Amaro Mendes] would be in Trincomali in January even if he had to beg the money for the expenses of the voyage from his friends, since the king [of Kandy] could not send it because of the dangers of the way; and he would be glad if he [Pereira] could send that man once more with his answer before his arrival. At the end of that month the man returned to him with *ollas* of the king and letters from me in which he [Mendes] was asked to come at any price in order to bring the matter [the founding of a factory in Trincomali] to a conclusion. And he [the king of Kandy] sent a gold ring and precious stones as a pledge of fidelity, and the ring was to be for the lord Martim Affonso. The man who was sent returned to Quota [Kōttē] towards the end of January, 1544, with letters of the lord Martim Affonso for the king and me and also with letters of Amaro Mendes" (*ibid.* 179-180).

<sup>83</sup> Seb. Gonçalves 2, 3.

<sup>84</sup> According to Lancilotto in 1546 (DI I 134).

<sup>85</sup> According to Dr. Saraiva in the Goa process of 1556 (MX II 188).

<sup>86</sup> "Traziação aquele mamçebo asy, e vinha vivo, e eu dise-lhe que se alevantase em nome de Deos, e ele alevantou-se." For *vinha vivo* the Latin translation has "vivus tamen veniebat."

<sup>87</sup> According to Cosme Anes in the same process (*ibid.* 185). The boy who fell into the well in Kombuturē is meant.

Affonso also told Dr. Saraiva that the priest had raised a boy to life at Cape Comorin.<sup>88</sup>

#### 6. THE STRUGGLE OVER MIALĪ (SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER, 1543)<sup>89</sup>

But even more than about the miracles and the baptisms of “the Holy Priest,” about which everyone was speaking, the residents, of Goa, and especially the governor, were concerned about the problem which had caused the captain of the city, Dom Garcia de Castro, to call him urgently back: the struggle over Mialī.

A few days after the governor had sailed away a serious revolt had broken out in the Deccan.<sup>90</sup> Ibrāhīm, the young Adil Khān of Bijāpur, was hated for his immoral and tyrannical life. No woman, no possession, no life was safe from him;<sup>91</sup> and his captains were unhappy that, despite the mass of gold that he had brought back after his campaign against Vijayanagar, he had not paid them for the expenses they had incurred in supplying troops. Most of them, as a consequence, had withdrawn to their own estates and refused to obey him.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>88</sup> MX II 188-189.

<sup>89</sup> For the following our principal sources are: (1) The eyewitness Correa (IV 311-325 331-336), whose data we can control, especially for the period after the return of Martim Affonso, with the contemporary accounts and with the later description in \*Eça (A 36v-37; B 212v-213) and Couto (5, 9, 8-11). The latter drew upon the oral reports of Mialī and his sons and the account books of Goa. He probably knew Eça's report, but he often errs in his reconstruction, at times expanding or correcting his originals. (2) Particularly important are the original accounts of contemporaries, whose registers are given in our *Zeitgenössischen Quellen*: for 1543: two letters of the city captain (1139 1148), one of the governor (1323; written in 1543 and not in 1544), another of the ambassador to the Nizām (1113), and the letter of safe-conduct for Khoja Shams-ud-dīn (1145); for 1544: two further documents for the *khoja* (1199 1207), a letter of the governor (1322) and another of Frey Pero Coelho (1304); for 1545: a lengthy letter of the *khoja* (1553), and especially one of his interpreter Antonio Fernandes, the most important source (1595); the deposition of witnesses in the *auto* requested by Sousa (1565): of the *khoja* (1636), Cardoso, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha (1677), and Antonio Fernandes (1733); two important letters of Pero de Faria (1582 1670) and one of Manuel Godinho (1629); the *\*Verdadeiro enformação* (1821), and the letter of the captain of Cannanore based on the data of the *khoja* (1749); for 1546: a letter of Krishna (2563, ed. Pissurlencar, *Agentes* I 19-21); and for 1557: the *Autobiographia* of M. A. de Sousa.—These sources show what great care must be used in drawing upon the extremely confused and tendentious accounts of the later Persian court chroniclers of the Nizām (Haig 202 217-222) and of Adil Khān (Ferishta III 87-101 229-230). The brief accounts based on them in Heras (77-79 92-93) and in the *Cambridge History of India* (III 441-442) are consequently worthless. Briggs, the well-deserving translator of Ferishta, would not have written his footnotes on the ignorance of the Portuguese (III 96 100) if he had known their contemporary accounts.

<sup>90</sup> According to the captain of the city (Q 1139; cf. Correa IV 311).

<sup>91</sup> Ibrāhīm is described as a tyrant by the city captain (Q 1139 1148), the *\*Verdadeira enformação*, Correa (IV 312-313), and Ferishta (III 96 98 102), who relates how he gave himself to drink and prostitutes towards the end of his life, and how, during his last illness, he had his physicians beheaded or trampled upon by elephants (*ibid.* 111-112). In 1550 L. Nunes wrote that he was “duro, ingrato, tiranno, cobiçoso e pesado e casu doudo” (13); and he added: “He is a Moor without any truthfulness, full of filthy vices and immorality, greedy and evil, ever drunk on hashish and opium, which makes one drunker than wine and is the source of all wretched and shameless filthiness” (154). Couto's observation that he was “bom homem e de boa natureza” has, to the contrary, a strange ring about it (5, 9, 8). In 1543 Ibrāhīm was only eighteen years old (Ferishta III 144; Correa III 639).

<sup>92</sup> Correa IV 312-313.

Asad Khān, the governor of Belgaum, the most powerful and influential of his captains, who outwardly feigned to be true to his lord, was secretly raking the coals.<sup>93</sup> He invited the Nizam and the latter's neighbor, Barīd Shāh to press their territorial claims with the sultan of Bijāpur. They came and took almost all of his land from Ibrāhīm.<sup>94</sup> He would have been ruined if his father-in-law,<sup>95</sup> Imād-ul-mulk, the sultan of Berār, had not assisted him because he objected to the apostasy of the Nizam from the sect of the Shiite Mohammedans, to which Asad Khān also belonged.<sup>96</sup> The foes had therefore lifted the siege of Bijāpur; and Asad Khān, who saw that his scheme had come to light, feared the vengeance of his lord, who had had many of his best officers and officials, forty Hindus and seventy Moors, executed on trivial grounds of suspicion.<sup>97</sup> When Ibrāhīm summoned him to his court, Asad Khān pretended that he was sick, holed himself up in Belgaum, brought his troops together,<sup>98</sup> and had his treasure, rumored to be some ten millions in gold,<sup>99</sup> brought to the mouth of the Sangamēshvar River,<sup>100</sup> seventeen leagues north of Goa, by two trusted eunuchs<sup>101</sup> and five hundred slaves. If necessary, he would be able to bring it from there to Cannanore in the territory of a Hindu rajah, where he had a fortified house erected and a ship built for a voyage to Mecca.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>93</sup> According to Ferishta, Asad Khān was always a true vassal of Adil Khān (III 97-100). According to Alī Samanānī, the court chronicler of Ahmadnagar, he was always at heart a true servant of the Nizām (Haig 219).

<sup>94</sup> On December 3, 1543, the city captain of Goa wrote: "A few days after the departure of the governor these lords of the Deccan began their great revolts against Ydalcām [Adil Khān]. They sought to remove him because he was a tyrant and a man of evil life and to replace him with Myalyquão [Mialī Khān], his uncle, a brother of his father.... Acedecão [Asad Khān], as a consequence, had Yzamaluco [Nizām-ul-mulk] and Verido [Barīd] come upon Ydalcão; and they attacked his land and took almost all of it from him and completely defeated him; and after they had brought him to this condition, they decided unanimously, including also most of the captains of the captains of the Ydalcão, to send for the Mialycão" (Q 1139). The chronicler of the Nizām writes in a similar strain (Haig 217-218). Ferishta, however, who was on the side of the Adil Khān, seeks to show that the alleged treacherous correspondence of Asad Khān with the Nizām was a slander of his adversaries, Yūsuf Turk, the Nizām, and Barīd Shāh (III 87-90). But the governor D. João Castro clearly wrote in 1545 that Asad Khān and his ally, the Nizām, had appealed to the city captain in 1543 (*Cartas* 114); and he could have known this since he was related to the city captain. Ferishta speaks of two attacks of the Nizām: Hejira 949 (1542/43 A.D.) with Barīd Shāh, and Hejira 950 (1543/44) with the latter's troops and those of the kings of Golconda and Vijayanagar (III 89-93). Cf. the \*letter of the Portuguese ambassador to the Nizām of the middle of August, 1543, in which he speaks of the plan to bring the Nizām, Barīd Shāh, and the Portuguese governor by land against Adil Khān in order to replace him with the Mialī. At the same time the ambassador of Rāma Rāya of Vijayanagar was seeking to win over Kutb-ul-mulk, the sultan of Golconda, as a partner in the alliance (Q 1113).

<sup>95</sup> Correa errs in having Ibrāhīm flee to the Nizām, his neighbor and friend, and marry his daughter to obtain his help (IV 313-314). He confuses the Nizām here with Imād-ul-mulk. Ferishta writes correctly: "In the following year 950 [1543/44] Ibrāhīm Adil Shāh married Rubia Sultana, the daughter of Allāh-ud-dīn Imād Shāh" (III 92).

<sup>96</sup> Haig 202.

<sup>97</sup> Ferishta III 89-90 95-96.

<sup>98</sup> Correa IV 314-315; \*Eça 36v-37; Couto 5, 9, 8, pp. 355-356; Ferishta III 88 96-98.

<sup>99</sup> Couto 5, 9, 8, p. 356; Q 1628 (seven to eight million).

<sup>100</sup> Couto, l.c. 356-357. The river (Portuguese: Sanguicer) lay in the territory of Asad Khān.

<sup>101</sup> Doltão e Melique Atai (Couto, l.c. 357); Cardoso calls Melique Dulltea the treasurer of Asad Khān (Q 1677).

<sup>102</sup> Couto, l.c.; Manuel Godinho (Q 1269); Correa IV 318-319.

But before the issue came to extremes, he wanted to try something else. Mialī,<sup>103</sup> an uncle of Ibrāhīm, the younger brother of his father, the predecessor of Ismāil,<sup>104</sup> was living in Cambay. Mallū, the elder brother of Ibrāhīm, had, after ruling for six months, been deposed and blinded by his grandmother for his licentious life in 1534. Because of this his brother had received the throne.<sup>105</sup> Since his life was no longer safe, Mialī had then set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1538 he had sailed with the fleet of Sulaimān Pāshā from Arabia to Diu.<sup>106</sup> After the departure of the Turks, he had placed himself under the protection of Sultan Mahmūd of Cambay, who gave him the city of Nagar with its surrounding villages and a good income.<sup>107</sup> Asad Khān now wished, with

<sup>103</sup> In the Persian texts he is always called Abdullah. Correa and Couto write: "Meale"; he himself and his secretary write respectively: "Me alle cam" (Q 4282) and "Mialycão" (Q 4707); he signed the treaty of 1555: "Ally Ydalcão" (APO V 275); D. Garcia de Castro writes: "Mialy" (Q 1139), Krishna: "Mialle" (Q 2563). His seal for letters has: "Abdallāh" (Q, pl. XXI, 3).—On Mialī see the sources in Q index: Meale; his letters Q 4073 4282 4707. A younger son of Yūsuf Adil Khān of Bijāpur, who died in 1510, he lived in Goa after 1543. An attempt to place him on the throne of Bijāpur in 1555 misfired, since Rāma Rāya sent his brother Venkatādri with 150,000 men to help the threatened Ibrāhīm. The conspirators had to return to the territory of the Nizām, where Mialī and his two sons and Khoja Shams-ud-dīn were imprisoned. They were only able to return to Goa after paying a large ransom in 1556. Here the daughter of Mialī became a Christian in 1557. In 1584 Yūsuf let his two sons entice him to the mainland. There, at the command of Adil Khān, he was blinded and died a short time later. The eldest son of his brother Muhammad, who was already deceased in 1595, became a Christian in 1588 under the name of D. João de Meneses and received in 1611 the habit of the Order of Christ and an increase in income to a thousand *xerafins*. See Pissurlencar, *Regimentos* 108-110; DI III 734-735.

<sup>104</sup> Correa errs in calling Mialī the elder (IV 320), Ferishta in calling him the younger, brother of Ibrāhīm (III 98), D. João de Castro in calling him, in his letter to Ibrāhīm, the latter's brother-in-law (*Cartas* 127). Briggs is wrong in saying that the Portuguese had called Abdulla "Meale" because they identified him with Mallū (Ferishta III 100), Heras in saying that the Portuguese called him a nephew of Ibrāhīm (92). Actually, he was the latter's uncle. The treatise of 1555, signed by Mialī, clarifies the problem. It states: Yūsuf, the sultan of Bijāpur, had two sons—Ismāil and Mialī. Ismāil, the eldest succeeded to the throne [1510-1534]. He was followed by his son Mallū [1534], who was blinded by Ibrāhīm and died without legitimate heirs. Ibrāhīm therefore mounted the throne. He was the younger brother of Mallū, who, as an illegitimate son, had no right to it (APO V 267). That Mialī was the uncle of Ibrāhīm is stated by Couto (see above, p. 370), D. Garcia de Castro in 1543 (Q 1139), Krishna in 1546 (Q 2563), L. Nunes in 1550 (*Cronica* 13), Paes in 1595 (*Tombo* 98), and Sousa (*Or. Conq.* 1, 1, 2, 17: "according to the account books of the city"). The erroneous statements in Heras (92); Sewell (185); Pissurlencar (OOP 22 [1938] 449; *Boletim da Ac. Hist. Portuguesa* 18 [1954] 96); *Cambridge History of India* III 704; DI III 734; and others are to be corrected.

<sup>105</sup> Ferishta III 76-77.

<sup>106</sup> Correa III 643-644 869; IV 25-26; \*Eça (B 212v). That he returned with the Turkish fleet to India could not of course commend Mialī in the eyes of the Portuguese. Couto therefore gives another version, following Mialī's account: In April, 1541, with the permission of Ibrāhīm, Mialī set sail with his family from Dābhol for Mecca in order to remain there. Because of a contrary wind he had to stay the winter in Zeila, where the king and people robbed and mistreated him. He therefore gave up his journey to Mecca. In August, 1541, he sailed for Surat and sought out Sultan Mahmūd in Ahmadābad (5, 9, 8). Ferishta gives a third version, according to which, at the outbreak of the conspiracy against Ibrāhīm in 1543, he fled from Bijāpur to Goa in order to avoid being mistreated by Ibrāhīm. At this, the latter had all of the Brahmans in charge of the police put to death with the cruelest tortures in the main square of Bijāpur (III 96 98). In 1545 D. João de Castro simply wrote that Mialī had fled from the Deccan to Cambay through fear of death (*Cartas* 114). L. Nunes states that he lived there in banishment (13).

<sup>107</sup> "Sultan Mahamud gave him the city of Nagarā with its villages, which provided



the help of his allies and fellow conspirators, to proclaim him king of Bijāpur and in this way cause the overthrow of Ibrāhīm. He accordingly sent his confidant and administrator, Khoja Shams-ud-dīn,<sup>108</sup> with gifts, money, and letters to his energetic agent and procurator in Goa, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, and to the captain of the city, Dom Garcia de Castro. His letters stated that Adil Khān had fled,<sup>109</sup> all were opposed to him, and the leaders of the realm wanted Mialī as their king. The Portuguese should therefore send a well-equipped ship to bring his ambassador and the pretender, to whom the kingdom rightly belonged, to the Bandá River.<sup>110</sup> He, Asad Khān, would then have him taken away from there by his troops. In return for this he promised to hand over the provinces of Bardez and Salsette and all of Konkan, which produced revenues of a million *pardaus*. He would also give 400,000 *pardaus* for the expenses of the troops. Other requests followed this first one, each more urgent than the last.<sup>111</sup>

In a secret meeting in the Franciscan monastery,<sup>112</sup> the young city captain asked the advice of the leaders of the city, the bishop; the vicar general; the *ouvidor geral*, Dr. Pedro Fernandes; the admiral, Diogo da Silveira; Dom Jorge Tello; Dom Alvaro de Lima; Pero de Faria; and other experienced *fidalgos*. Despite all the efforts and bribes of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, all the old *fidalgos* expressed their opposition to the plan. All the others wanted the governor to be first informed. Still, in spite of all this, Dom Garcia decided that the

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him with an income of eight to ten thousand *pardaus*" (Couto 5, 9, 8). By this Bhau-nagar is obviously meant; for according to Correa, Lobato sailed to Surat, from where the ambassadors of Asad Khān sought out Mialī in Gogha and gave him the latter's letters. Mialī thereupon went to the court of Mahmūd in Chāmpāner and received his permission for the voyage (IV 317). In 1548 \*Mialī wrote: "Here [in Goa] I was imprisoned in the fortress for four years, robbed of my freedom, whereas in Cambay I and my wife and children were perfectly free; and I was greatly honored by the king of the land, who gave me an annual income of ten thousand *cruzados* and permission to go and come as I pleased" (Q 4073). In 1543 D. Garcia de Castro stated: "He had lands and revenues and a great house in Cambay" (Q 1139).

<sup>108</sup> Khoja (Lord) Shams-ud-dīn (Son of the Faith) Gīlāni (from Gīlān, in northwest Persia), in his original letters *Coja Xemeçadim* (Correa: Cojexemeçady) (his letter seal in Q, pl. XXI, 1), is described by Correa as the principal messenger in the negotiations for Mialī (IV 319); and he himself states that he was the main reason why Mialī came (Q 1553). He brought him to Goa (Q 1749).—He had been a friend of the Portuguese since 1505 (Q 1553); the agent and confidant of Asad Khān, he received in 1543 the treasure of his deceased lord in Cannanore. In 1543-1544 he readily gave 500,000 *pardaus* and, less readily, an additional 250,000 (Q 1595) along with many other gifts (lists of them are given in Q 1677 1749 1595 1553 1733). He was the leading merchant in India and sent his ships everywhere with the safe-conduct of the Portuguese (Q 1898 3517). Through his brother in Jidda he constantly obtained information for the Portuguese on the movements of the Turks in the Red Sea (Q 2202). After the unsuccessful attempt to place Mialī upon the throne of Bijāpur in 1555, he returned to Cannanore, where he died in 1559. His fortune was in the meantime greatly eroded by the sums which he had to pay to the rajah and to his Nāyar bodyguard. During his last illness his faithless wife fled with her lover and the rest of his wealth (Couto 7, 7, 3).—On him see the sources in Q, index, p. 493; Correa IV 319 335-336 339-342 403-404 411 414 421-422 433 619 683, and Couto 5, 9, 9-11; 5, 10, 1-2 6-8; 6, 1, 1-2; 6, 3, 9; 6, 7, 3; 7, 6, 2-4; 7, 7, 3.

<sup>109</sup> Ibrāhīm fled to Gulbarga, where Imād Shāh joined him (Ferishta III 90).

<sup>110</sup> The Rio de Tiracol, 18 1/2 miles northeast of Goa.

<sup>111</sup> Correa IV 315-316; Q 1139 1629 1648. The high offers are not unlikely. In August, 1543, the Portuguese ambassador to the court of the Nizām wrote that Rāma Rāya had promised the Nizām fifteen *lakh* (1,500,000) gold *pardaus*, Barīd and Kutb-ul-mulk 500,000 *pardaus* each, and an additional sum for Shāh Tāhir, the confidant of the Nizām, if they would march with him against Adil Khān (Q 1113).

<sup>112</sup> Correa IV 321-322.

requests of Asad Khān should be immediately fulfilled. He sent Bastião Lopes Lobato<sup>113</sup> with a *fusta* to get Mialī.<sup>114</sup>

The boat had hardly sailed before the situation changed in the Deccan. Supported by Imād-ul-mulk,<sup>115</sup> Adil Khān had moved against Belgaum<sup>116</sup> and had blockaded the harbor of Konkan so that his adversary, Asad Khān, would not be able to escape with his treasure, while the rebellious captains submitted to Ibrāhīm. When Lobato came to the Bandá River with the pretender, he found the harbor occupied by the troops of the sultan of Bijāpur. He was therefore obliged to return with him to Goa.<sup>117</sup>

In the meantime Adil Khān had learned through his spies of the deliberations in Goa with respect to Mialī. Since he feared his coming, he had sent one ambassador after the other to the captain of the city and his council and had urgently requested that for the sake of his past loyalty they should not let Asad Khān escape and Mialī come. He promised his enemy's treasure in Belgaum<sup>118</sup> and sent letters for the governor, who should obviously be informed before any decision was made. To reassure him Dom Garcia had sent a number of *fustas* as a watch to the Sangamēshvar River.<sup>119</sup> A few days later, however, Lobato with Mialī and the latter's wife and children and a number of servants arrived in Goa,<sup>120</sup> much against the wishes of the old *fidalgos*, and especially

<sup>113</sup> On Lopes Lobato, see the sources in Q index. In 1541 he described his services to the king in India, which he had not left since 1514 (Q 881). Wounded three times while fighting against the Moors, he helped capture Ormuz in 1515 and build the fortress there, as he later did in Bassein. He married in Goa in 1535, and in 1536 he was knighted in Salsette in the battle of the citizens against Sulaimān Agha. In 1541 he sailed as the procurator of Goa to Lisbon, where he obtained from the king the appointment of a permanent procurator for his city. He returned from Lisbon in 1542 with many favors and copies of the privileges of the city of Lisbon (APO I 1, 23; 2, 48-130). From 1545 to 1547 he was the factor in Ormuz. On his return he became *alcaide-mor* of Goa (Q 3165) and *ouvidor geral* of India (Q 3378). From the governor D. Joam de Castro he and Antonio Fernandes, the agent of Shams-ud-dīn, received in 1547 a piece of land in Majordá, Salsette, with one thousand coconut palms (*\*Mercês* 147v). In 1548 he composed for Castro's successor, Garcia de Sá, accounts on the sulphur trade and the revenues of the kingdom of Ormuz (Almeida Calado 117-120 128-130). In \*1552 he wrote to the viceroy from Ormuz, which the Turks were besieging, that he had served for thirty-nine years and that he and his ten children were in need (Q 4900).

<sup>114</sup> Correa IV 316-317. His data are confirmed by the letters of the city captain (Q 1139 1148), Mialī (Q 4073), D. Joam de Castro (Q 1648), and also by L. Nunes (14) and Couto (5, 9, 8).

<sup>115</sup> Q 1139; Haig 202; Ferishta III 89-92 230.

<sup>116</sup> \*Eça (B 212v); Correa IV 320. In December, 1543, when a boat was sailing to fetch Mialī, D. Garcia de Castro \*wrote, "como os mouros são pouquo costamtes, em tudo afroxaram o Ydalcão de o averem por desbaratado, e ele reformou-se com gramde ajuda que teve do Madre Maluquo e veyo sobre o Acedecão pera o destroyr" (Q 1139).

<sup>117</sup> According to D. Garcia de Castro, l.c. In 1545 D. Joam de Castro wrote that Lobato had taken along an instruction of D. Garcia ordering them to bring Mialī to Goa (*Cartas* 115).

<sup>118</sup> Correa IV 320-321; according to Couto he promised only the main part of the treasure (5, 9, 8).

<sup>119</sup> Correa IV 322-323. According to Couto the city captain sent five ships under Nuno Pereira de Lacerda to the Sangamēshvar River to blockade its mouth. He also gave him secret orders to bring the servants of Asad Khān and his treasure to Goa if it was at all possible (5, 9, 8).

<sup>120</sup> The city captain and \*Eça wrote that he came "only with his wife and children" (Q 1139). L. Nunes states that he was "muy acompanhado de sua gente, com sua mulher e familia e com tres filhos de mui gentis pessoas e desposições" (14). The children were Yūsuf, Muhammad, and a daughter. According to Correa he came with a few servants (IV 323).

of Pero de Faria.<sup>121</sup> The city captain provided the newcomer with a good, safe dwelling within the fortress<sup>122</sup> and immediately sent a swift boat to summon the governor.<sup>123</sup> Such then was the situation when Martim Affonso de Sousa arrived in Goa with Xavier in the middle of November, 1543.<sup>124</sup>

The governor's first concern was for the two thousand men of his fleet who, unhappy about the outcome of the voyage to the pagoda, had returned to Cochin in a poor and tattered state. Martim Affonso had always maintained good relations with Asad Khān and, through his treasurer, Khoja Shams-ud-dīn, had received two loans of five thousand and ten thousand *pardaus* from him; and when he was still only the admiral of the sea, he had received numerous gifts for his troops in the form of cows, wethers, fabrics, rice, and butter from him.<sup>125</sup> At the time of his departure for the pagoda he had left instructions that Asad Khān should be given all that he requested from the warehouses of Goa.<sup>126</sup> He now accordingly summoned Antonio Fernandes, a relative of Khoja Shams-ud-dīn, who had been converted to Christianity, and who had been in his service and had acted as his interpreter for seventeen years. He sent him to his lord on the Sangamēshvar River to ask him for a loan for his fleet, which he would repay with the first duties received on horses. Shams-ud-dīn came with him to Goa and declared that he was ready to lend him fifteen thousand *pardaus*<sup>127</sup> if

<sup>121</sup> Q 1139.

<sup>122</sup> Correa IV 323.

<sup>123</sup> According to Correa the city captain wrote to the governor before the arrival of Mialī (IV 323; and also Couto 5, 9, 8). But D. Garcia de Castro wrote that Mialī came to Goa and informed the governor about everything (Q 1139). L. Nunes states that D. Garcia and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha only informed Martim Affonso after his arrival (14). \*Eça states that he wrote to him that he had the Mialī and his wife and children in Goa (B 212v). According to Correa also the pretender was already in the fortress when Sousa reached Goa (IV 331).

<sup>124</sup> On the basis of the contemporary accounts we propose the following chronology: *In November, 1543*: arrival of Sousa and Xavier on the fifteenth; Fernandes summoned on the sixteenth; departure of Fernandes on the seventeenth to get the *khoja*; both in Goa and a letter written to Asad Khān on the twenty-first; Asad's reply on the twenty-sixth; march against Banasterim on the thirtieth. *In December*: Sousa back to Goa and a letter on the first (Q 1137); letter on the second (Q 1138); letter of the city captain on the third (Q 1139); *khoja* and Fernandes to Honāvar on the fourth; numerous discussions from the fourth to the sixth; the general council decides in favor of Adil Khān on the seventh; the *khoja* goes with Fernandes to Goa, but alone to the Sangamēshvar River, and Fernandes divulges the treasure on the twelfth; the death of Asad Khān on the thirteenth; news of this reaches Goa on the fifteenth; the *khoja* returns to Goa; the *khoja* promises 200,000 *pardaus* and receives a letter of protection on the twentieth (Q 115); the *khoja* raises the sum to 500,000 and sails off with Cardoso and Xavier on the twenty-first; arrival in Cannanore on the twenty-sixth; the *khoja* gives 300,000 *pardaus* on the twenty-eighth; Cardoso and Xavier sail away, arriving in Cochin on the thirty-first. *In January, 1544*: Cardoso counts the money from the first to the third and hands it over to the captains of the ships on the last day.—Eça's chronology to the effect that Sousa did not come to Goa until February, 1544, that Ibrāhīm moved to Belgaum in March, and that Cardoso sailed to Cannanore in May with the *khoja*, is wrong.

<sup>125</sup> Sousa, *Autobiographia* 169; Antonio Fernandes (Q 1749 1595); Khoja Shams-ud-dīn (Q 1553); and the captain of Cannanore, who gives a list of gifts received (Q 1749). In 1538, for example, Asad Khān sent to the viceroy in Goa 1,000 cows, 1,000 wethers and goats, 500 *man* (1,420 gallons) of butter, 400 *khāndīs* (each more than 100 *moios* of 28 1/2 bushels) of wheat, and 600 *khāndīs* of rice (Correa IV 25).

<sup>126</sup> Correa IV 315.

<sup>127</sup> According to Antonio Fernandes (Q 1595). He is probably the Knight of Christ (Q 1549, f. 39v 3618), citizen of Goa, brother-in-law of Lopes Lobato (Q 2501), to whom D. Joam de Castro gave a Turkish ship with the right to send wares in it to Ormuz

his lord agreed to this. At the request of Martim Affonso he and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha therefore wrote to Asad Khān. The latter agreed with the proposal but stated that for the moment the roads were too insecure to send the sum from Belgaum.<sup>128</sup> The governor therefore put a ship at the disposal of Shams-ud-dīn and Fernandes so that they could sail to Honāvar, where the former had deposits and wanted to get the sum requested.<sup>129</sup>

In the meantime news of the return of the governor had reached Adil Khān. His ambassadors and those of Asad Khān were now outbidding each other in their promises and violently wrangling with each other in order to get the governor on their side. Adil Khān stressed the fact that he had always been a friend of Portugal and had many patents from the king of Portugal that had been ratified by all his governors. Asad Khān, on the other hand, was his slave and a rebel<sup>130</sup> and traitor. Mialī should therefore not be allowed within the interior at any price.<sup>131</sup> To support his claims he also sent sixty thousand *pardaus* and had ten thousand *pardaus* distributed among the *fidalgos* of the council through Krishna, the *tanadar* of Goa, in order to win the governor over to his side.<sup>132</sup> Asad Khān on the other hand, sent captains to the neighboring Pondá, only 2½ leagues from Goa, and promised the governor ninety thousand *pardaus* for the pay of his troops if he delivered Mialī to him. At the same time both parties promised to hand over the neighboring provinces of Bardez and Salsette.<sup>133</sup>

After numerous sessions of his council, Martim Affonso, against the advice of all the old *fidalgos*, decided to execute the wishes of Asad Khān. He went with the pretender and his troops to the pass of Banasterim, determined to cross the river the following morning and to take Mialī to Pondá and there hand him over to the captains of Asad Khān. During the night the old Pero de Faria sought out the governor in his tent and persuaded him to desist from his plan, even though the latter had explained to him that he did not know how he could pay his soldiers without the ninety thousand *pardaus* that had been promised for them. The next morning Martim Affonso returned to Goa with Mialī under the pretext that urgent letters had come from Ormuz.<sup>134</sup>

because of the financial assistance he had given for the beleaguered city of Diu in 1546 (Q 2529). In 1547, together with Lobato, he received 1,000 palms in Salsette (\**Mercês* 187v); and in 1548 he received permission to send a ship to Bengal (Q 3618). Three of his letters, which show his zeal for the faith and his patriotism, are still extant (Q 1595 2501 3488).

<sup>128</sup> According to Shams-ud-dīn (Q 1553) and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha (Q 1677).

<sup>129</sup> Antonio Fernandes and Shams-ud-dīn (Q 1595 1553).

<sup>130</sup> Correa IV 332. Manuel Godinho wrote in 1545: "The old Ydalção [Ismāīl], the father of the one who is now reigning [Ibrāhīm], bought a slave of Turkish origins and made a great lord of him. He was the captain of a city named Bilgão; and at the time when I came to India [Godinho served in Malacca under seven captains and helped build the fortress of Chaul in 1521], he was called Sufolarym [Yūsuf Larī]; and after the death of the old Ydalção, the present one named him Açadacan" (Q 1629). According to Couto, *Asad Khān* is a title equivalent to *condestabre de Reyno* (4, 7, 6). See also Castanheda 8, 53; Barros 3, 4, 5, and Sewell 340.

<sup>131</sup> Correa IV 331-332; Q 1148.

<sup>132</sup> \*Eça (A 37).

<sup>133</sup> According to D. Garciade Castro, Asad Khān promised much money (Q 1148), according to Pero de Faria 90,000 (Q 1582), and according to \*Eça 80,000, *pardaus* (A 37); cf. Correa IV 332.

<sup>134</sup> According to \*Eça (A 37). Couto here inserts a fictitious speech of Faria (5, 9, 10). \*Eça sets the campaign against Banasterim fifteen days before the arrival of the news of the death of Asad Khān. Couto wrongly makes three days from it (5, 9, 11). Pero

On December 1 he wrote a letter to the king in which he recommended the old *fidalgo* Antonio de Lemos, who had lost four brothers in India and deserved the position of captain of Goa for life. The next day he wrote a letter of recommendation for his loyal secretary Cardoso, and on the third he described for the king the events of the past month and the present strife in detail.<sup>135</sup> In the meantime the ambassadors of the two parties went back and forth. Asad Khān sent forged letters of the four kings of the Deccan expressing their desire for Mialī.<sup>136</sup> The debates then spread further. There were weighty reasons for and against each side, and the decision was so difficult that Martim Affonso had to take refuge in Masses and prayers in order to obtain light, as the count of Castanheira wrote.<sup>137</sup>

The general council was finally assembled in the governor's house. The representatives of the two parties presented their documents and arguments to the assembly. They then had to leave the room.<sup>138</sup> Twenty-five representatives of the church and of the state were present.<sup>139</sup> All the speakers declared that the ninety thousand *pardaus* should be accepted and that Mialī should be given to Asad Khān. Then Pero de Faria had his say.<sup>140</sup> His seventy-eight years had not broken the native strength of the old warrior. He had been living in India<sup>141</sup> since 1509 and had helped capture Goa in 1510 and Malacca in 1511, where he had served for fifteen years, twice as captain,<sup>142</sup> and had persuaded the Chinese to again conduct business with the city with their junks.<sup>143</sup> He

de Faria also \*wrote that he had spoken with the governor and given him reasons why Mialī should not be given over to the captains of Asad Khān. Sousa replied that Asad Khān was giving him 90,000 *pardaus* for this, and without this money he had nothing with which to pay his men (Q 1582).

<sup>135</sup> Q 1137-1139.

<sup>136</sup> Correa IV 333 speaks of the forged letters of Verido (Barīd), Izam Maluco (Nizām-ul-mulk), Cotamaluco (Kutb-ul-mulk), and Madremaluco (Imād-ul-mulk).

<sup>137</sup> As M. A. de Sousa \*wrote on December 23, 1543 (Q 1323). He certainly recommended the affair to Xavier's prayers.

<sup>138</sup> Correa IV 333-334.

<sup>139</sup> Pero de Faria \*wrote that in October, 1545, there were twenty-five councilors present, and twenty a month later. He names in addition to himself only the vicar general and Luis Falção, since these approved his reasons (Q 1582 1670). Correa states that there had been present for the general meetings "todos los fidalgos e pessoas pera isso, e os officiaes da camara, e em mesa, com todos los officiaes de justicia e fazenda" (IV 334). Before the arrival of the governor, the city captain consulted with the bishop, the vicar general, the *ouvidor geral*, and a number of *fidalgos*, including Pero de Faria (*ibid.* 316; Q 1139). In 1545, in the case of the king of Tanor, who asked for baptism and military help, the bishop, vicar general, guardian, and others had to give an opinion (Q 1927 1932 1940 1941). We therefore believe that Xavier was invited along with the bishop and the guardian for the general meeting in December, 1543.

<sup>140</sup> According to Pero de Faria (Q 1582 1670). On him see the sources in Q index. In addition to the many details about him in Correa, Castanheda, and Couto, see Luis Keil, "Porcelanas chinesas do século XVI com inscrições em português," *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes* 10 (1942) 18-69. The seal for his letters has a small circle with a flower in a large one with his name: "P<sup>o</sup> DE FARIA" (Q 1670). Faria lived near the church of the Rosario, where he had purchased a piece of land as city captain in 1526 (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 2, 1, 2, 49). He was married to a native woman, who bore him a number of children. He died in Bassein while sailing to beleaguered Diu, where his younger son in August of the same year followed him in death (Baião, *Hist.* 62 101). He had already lost his elder son in 1540 (Q 613). Leonor, the elder of his two daughters, married D. Duarte de Eça in 1546 (Baião, *Hist.*, pp. XXXVI-XXXVIII, where he is mistakenly called Vicente. Cf. Q 2622, suppl.).

<sup>141</sup> \**Memoria das pessoas* 21; cf. Q 1582.

<sup>142</sup> 1528-1529 and 1539-1542.

<sup>143</sup> Q 1582; Keil 52.

had returned from Malacca to Goa in 1543 but because of ill health had not been able to take part in the expedition to the pagoda.<sup>144</sup> As a son of the captain of Arzila in Africa, he had grown old fighting the Turks and the Moors.<sup>145</sup> He was a friend of Mestre Diogo and shared his zeal for the faith. He even used to buy Diogo's shoes for him.<sup>146</sup> Because of his long experience in India, he had an authority that was hardly equalled by any other *fidalgo* in the city.<sup>147</sup>

All listened attentively as he, contrary to all who had spoken before him, spelled out in a moving speech the reasons why they should remain true to Adil Khān. It would not be to the service of their king, he maintained, to send Mialī to Asad Khān, for Adil Khān was their friend and also the legitimate king and ruler. What hatred would fall upon the Portuguese if they drove him from his throne and attempted to set Mialī in his place! Adil Khān had harbors and good rivers in his land, and to avenge the grave injustice inflicted upon him he would appeal to the Grand Turk. He had good harbors, where the Turks could gain a foothold and great quantities of food, wood, flax, iron and all the other things they needed for their fleets. And Adil Khān would do what the king of France had done, who had called the Turks into his lands and cities. He would ruin himself provided he could wage war upon the Portuguese and do them harm. They dared not, as a consequence, break the peace with the sultan of Bijāpur in order to favor Asad Khān, one of his slaves. And he presented many other reasons for his stand. The vicar general and Luis Falcão then spoke after him. They agreed with what he had said, and the reasons appealed to the governor as well. The question was presented to the council, and all agreed with Faria.<sup>148</sup> The result was that the governor decided in favor of Adil Khān. It was fifteen days after the expedition to Banasterim.<sup>149</sup> The decision was immediately communicated to the representatives of Adil Khān and solemnly proclaimed in the city. A number of Portuguese road off at top speed, vying with each other to be the first to bring the welcome news to the Moorish prince. The first to arrive received from Sultan Ibrāhīm four hundred *pardaus*, a beautiful horse, and a lifelong exemption from taxes on wares to the value of one thousand *cruzados* a year.<sup>150</sup> He further confirmed the donation of Bardez and Salsette and sent his servant Muhammad Chauli with eighty thousand *pardaus*: sixty thousand as pay for the men with the fleet, ten thousand to the governor for bracelets for his wife, and ten thousand for a festal banquet in Goa, and many other great gifts.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>144</sup> Correa IV 316.

<sup>145</sup> He finished his \*observations on the king of Tanor in 1545 in a typical manner: "And now the friars may tell us that I am a devil—and I do not envy their lives, for they pray with their rosary and book, and I pray with my weapons, spears, and arquebuses, and with my possessions and my person; and I have offered my sons to God the Lord and to His Mother, our Lady, so that they, in His service, may oppose those who are hostile to our holy Catholic faith and to the Gospel. I am willing in this way to sacrifice my possessions and to place my person in jeopardy. I pray the *Ave Maria* and the *Credo* with such rosaries; and I do not as a consequence envy their life, good and virtuous as it may be" (Q 1936).

<sup>146</sup> SR III 313.

<sup>147</sup> \*Eça (A 37).

<sup>148</sup> According to Faria (Q 1582 1670).

<sup>149</sup> \*Eça, against Couto (A 37).

<sup>150</sup> Correa IV 334.

<sup>151</sup> On December 23, 1543, Martim Affonso \*wrote that Adil Khān in addition to Bardez and Salsette had given 70,000 *pardaus* for the fleet, 10,000 for a gem for his (Sousa's) wife, and 10,000 for a banquet (Q 1323). In 1545 he wrote however that the

## 7. THE DISCOVERY OF THE TREASURE (DECEMBER, 1543)

Antonio Fernandes and Khoja Shams-ud-dīn in the meantime, eight days after their departure from Goa, had returned there and had given to Martim Affonso the desired fifteen thousand *pardaus*, and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha had stood security for their repayment. When Fernandes was alone with the governor, however, he observed: "If you had the money that I saw in Honāvar,<sup>152</sup> you would never have to ask for a loan for ten more years."

Three or four days later news came<sup>153</sup> that the ninety-year-old<sup>154</sup> Asad Khān had died of grief<sup>155</sup> six days after learning of the decision of the council.<sup>156</sup> Adil Khān had marched on Belgaum<sup>157</sup> and had occupied all of Konkan.<sup>158</sup> His foes had retreated and he was now the undisputed lord of his kingdom.<sup>159</sup> Martim Affonso immediately congratulated him on his victory and Sultan Ibrāhīm renewed his gift of Bardez and Salsette on the condition that Mialī be sent to Malacca.<sup>160</sup> In return he surrendered to the Portuguese the treasure of Asad Khān, wherever it might be.<sup>161</sup> The captain of the city in company with the ambassador of

same had promised 80,000: 60,000 for the king and 20,000 for a robe for his wife; he had paid only 42,000 of the first sum since Asad Khān had died in the meantime (Q 1565). Krishna also \*wrote that he had only given 42,000 (Q 2563), whereas D. Joam de Castro stated that he had given 80,000 (Q 1648). Manuel de Vasconcellos, the captain of Cannanore, \*wrote in this same year of 1545 that Khoja Shams-ud-dīn said that Adil Khān had sent 80,000 *pardaus* through his servant Mamede Chauly, and that he, the *khoja*, had together with Krishna handed the money over to the governor. The *khoja* had asked him, Vasconcellos, what had happened to the money since he knew that only 42,000 gold *pardaus* had been given to the treasurer (Q 1749). Ruy Gonçalves declared on the other hand that Martim Affonso had come to an agreement with Adil Khān that he should give 80,000, but that he had sent only 42,000 (Q 1677). Correa states that Ibrāhīm gave 60,000 for pay, 20,000 for the wife of the governor, and 10,000 for a banquet, and that he also gave many other rich gifts to the *fidalgos* who supported him (IV 334-335). In his *Autobiographia*, however, Sousa states only that Adil Khān had given 30,000 *pardaus* a few days before the death of Asad Khān (169).

<sup>152</sup> According to A. Fernandes (Q 1595). The *khoja* also states that he lent him the 15,000 *pardaus* in Honāvar (Q 1553). Couto errs in writing that he brought the treasure from the Sangamēschvar River only after the news of the death of Asad Khān (5, 9, 9).

<sup>153</sup> Q 1595.

<sup>154</sup> Couto 5, 9, 9, p. 366. The Persian chronicles have him die at the age of a hundred at the beginning of Hejira 956 (1549 A.D.) (Ferishta III 100 and Basu in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 26 [1940] 74-75), or in March, 1546 (*Cambridge History of India* III 442); but these dates would make the whole chronology collapse.

<sup>155</sup> According to Martim Affonso in December, 1543 (Q 1323).

<sup>156</sup> Correa IV 335; Q 1629; L. Nunes 15. According to Couto he died after a six-day fever (5, 9, 9).

<sup>157</sup> \*Eça (A 37).

<sup>158</sup> Couto 5, 9, 10; cf. Q 1323.

<sup>159</sup> Haig 219-220; Q 1323.

<sup>160</sup> On December 29, 1543, the city captain \*wrote to the king: "The lands of Salsette and Bardez are at peace; the Ydalcão gave his royal firmans and letters, signed and sworn to on his Koran, in which he hands over the lands which belonged to the *tandarias* of Salsette and Bardez to Your Highness and to all of your successors in the kingdom of Portugal" (Q 1148). The gift was made on the condition that Mialī was sent to Malacca, as Krishna (Q 2563), D. Joam de Castro (Q 1648), and L. Nunes declare. Nunes adds the following: "Ysto soube pella melhor emformação que pude, e parece-me que estou na verdade" (15). According to Couto it was decided that Mialī should be sent to Malacca or Maluco (5, 9, 11); and in March, 1544, Ibrāhīm sent his ambassador Khoja Muhammad Chauhi with 32,000 gold *pardaus*, which he (Couto) found recorded in the account books of Bastião da Fonseca, and obtained the execution of this clause of the agreement (5, 10, 2).

<sup>161</sup> Krishna \*wrote that, in addition to Salsette and Bardez and 42,000 gold *pardaus*,

Adil Khān then took immediate possession of the two surrendered provinces,<sup>162</sup> which were then leased to the *tanadar* Krishna for 143,000 *pardaus* for a period of three years.<sup>163</sup>

Martim Affonso, however, could not forget what Fernandes had said about the treasure.

"How far is the money from the beach, and is the road to it good or bad?" he asked him after the news of the death of Asad Khān reached Goa. "It is a quarter of an hour away, but the going is bad," was the reply. On the same day the governor had the interpreter called again. He asked him the same question and repeated it three or four times. Fernandes saw that he was thinking of seizing the treasure, which had in the meantime been taken to Cannanore. He advised against it. The governor should call Khoja Shams-ud-dīn, who had succeeded in reaching Goa safely from the Sangamēshavar River<sup>164</sup> after learning of the death of his lord and was living in the house of Fernandes. He should offer him his protection for the future and tell him that he knew that he had money, and he should ask him to give some of it to the king, since he had need of it.

Martim Affonso followed his advice. When Shams-ud-dīn arrived, he wept and in the midst of sobs declared that he had lost a good lord. Henceforth he wished only to serve the king of Portugal and his governor, and he asked that he should not be abandoned. He would render him great service. The governor consoled him and promised to obtain for him a royal letter of protection. He then asked him how much he was ready to give to the king. To this Shams-ud-dīn replied, "Two *lakh*<sup>165</sup> of gold *pardaus*." And he asked him for a ship for Cannanore, where he had his money. Martim Affonso was so overcome by this reply, falling as if from the clouds, that he did not know how to thank the Moor. Yet he could hardly believe that the *khoja* was serious. When Fernandes assured him that he was and that he would keep his word, Sousa had the *fusta* of Francisco Mendes readied for sailing within two hours and the letter of protection that he had promised drawn up.

Because of the many services which the deceased Asad Khān rendered to all the governors, and because of the many loans which he granted to them, and all of these

Ibrāhīm also gave to the Portuguese king all the money of Asad Khān that was in Cannanore, and this in a letter sent to him, Krishna (Q 2563). Correa also states that Adil Khān immediately gave the money and property which Asad Khān had owned in Cannanore since it was already outside his realm (IV 335). L. Nunes wrote that after Asad Khān's death Ibrāhīm gave to the Portuguese king "toda a fazenda e dinheiro do Cedacam que se achase em Guoa e per toda a fralda do mar" (14-15). \*Eça has a similar account (A 37).

<sup>162</sup> According to the city captain on December 20, 1543 (Q 1148); Couto 5, 9, 11.

<sup>163</sup> "We found it thus stated in the receipt of Fabião da Mota, who was treasurer in Goa at the time" (Couto 5, 9, 11). Krishna \*wrote that they were leased for 48,000 *pardaus* a year (Q 2563). The revenues were estimated at 45,000 (Q 1148 1323), 50,000 (Sousa, *Autobiographia* 169), 60,000 (Correa IV 332), and from 60,000 to 70,000 *pardaus* (L. Nunes 15).

<sup>164</sup> According to Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, the *khoja* was on the Sangamēshvar River after the death of Asad Khān (Q 1677), where he had apparently sailed after his return from Honāvar in order to bring, despite the Portuguese patrol boats, the rest of the treasure in fishing boats to Cannanore a bit at a time. While he was engaged in this, he learned of the death of Asad Khān (Couto 5, 9, 9). After hearing this, he had of course to flee. According to A. Fernandes, he was already with him in Goa on December 20, 1543 (Q 1595).

<sup>165</sup> 200,000 gold *pardaus*.



through his treasurer Khoja Shams-ud-dīn Gīlāni, as he is called, in the name of the king he gives to him and to all his relatives, friends, servants, and people pardon and protection for all time with respect to any past offenses against Adil Khān and other persons with whom they have been at odds. Further, he can engage in trade without paying duty and without being obliged to give an accounting to any person with respect to it, neither to Adil Khān nor to any other lord of the Balaghat [Deccan] despite his obligations with respect to the affairs of Asad Khān and his goods and treasures. The king therefore orders his governor and all his successors and all present and future captains of his cities and fortresses and the captains of all ships and all the judges and officials of his cities to favor him in every way and to furnish him with all the provisions and whatever else he may need, even though he is a Moor and not a Christian, for he shall enjoy all the honors and privileges of a *fidalgo* of the royal house. And this letter of protection was signed by the secretary of state Cardoso and the governor, in Goa, the twentieth of December, 1543, and it has been affixed with the Great Royal Seal.<sup>166</sup>

Along with the *fusta* of Francisco Mendes a second should sail with Cardoso for Cannanore so that he might obtain the money and carry it to Cochin for the ships. When Shams-ud-dīn took his departure from the governor on the following day, the Moor, at Martim Affonso's suggestion, raised the sum for the king to 300,000 *pardaus*<sup>167</sup> and promised to give 200,000 more for the needs of India.<sup>168</sup>

On December 21, four days before Christmas, the two *fustas* sailed from Goa.<sup>169</sup> One carried Francisco Mendes, Shams-ud-dīn, Fernandes, and forty sailors.<sup>170</sup> The second had the secretary<sup>171</sup> and Antonio Dias,<sup>172</sup> who had been married in Goa since 1511,<sup>173</sup> was a member of the Confraternity of the Misericordia,<sup>174</sup> and had been knighted in 1536 when Sulaimān Agha attacked Salsette.<sup>175</sup> Master Francis also sailed in the *fusta* of the secretary<sup>176</sup> together

<sup>166</sup> The authentic copy is in Q 1145.

<sup>167</sup> According to A. Fernandes (Q 1595).

<sup>168</sup> As Martim Affonso \*wrote on December 23, 1543, to the count of Castanheira (Q 1323). In his *Autobiographia*, destined for the queen, Sousa, however, later wrote that Khoja Shams-ud-dīn had told him that he wanted to give him 500,000 *pardaus* on the condition that he swore to him that he would not under any condition give any of it to the king; but he, the governor, with great joy gave the money to His Highness in order to help the king with it in his needs (169). Couto erroneously has the *khoja* promise 800,000 *pardaus* and has him give half of it at once in Cannanore and the other half in March, 1544 (5, 9, 11).

<sup>169</sup> On the day after the issuing of the letter of safe-conduct according to A. Fernandes (Q 1595). \*Eça erroneously sets the departure in May, 1544 (A 37-v).

<sup>170</sup> In 1548 the *khoja* complained that the captain of Ormuz, D. Manuel de Lima (1544-1545), had only let him and his wife and sons sail from Ormuz to Cannanore after he had paid one thousand instead of two hundred *pardaus* for two horses (Q 3755). Couto errs in having the *khoja* and Cardoso first sail in the galley of Fernão de Sousa de Távora to the Sangamēshvar River, where the Moor took his entire family on board the ship which he had brought along for this purpose, and then has them all go together from there to Cannanore (5, 9, 11).

<sup>171</sup> According to A. Fernandes (Q 1595).

<sup>172</sup> MX II 180.

<sup>173</sup> CA V 77-78 287-288.

<sup>174</sup> SR III 283, where the signatures however are omitted as being "undecipherable." Dias signed with the other confreres of the Misericordia.

<sup>175</sup> Q 910.

<sup>176</sup> In the Goa process of 1556 Antonio Dias, whom Luis de Figueiredo in 1616 praised from personal knowledge as a trustworthy, honorable man, and an excellent Christian (MX II 607), testified that he had sailed with the secretary Cardoso and Xavier

with Mansilhas and two other helpers, a Spanish secular priest, Juan de Lizano,<sup>177</sup> and a soldier, Joam de Artiaga, who had sailed to India as an *escudeiro* of the royal house.<sup>178</sup> Also on board were the two prominent Paravas who had come with Francis to Goa from the Fishery Coast.<sup>179</sup> Master Francis would have liked to have also taken with him Misser Paulo, but because of the requests of Martim Affonso and of the founder of the College of St. Paul, he had been compelled to leave him behind to teach the seminarians and be their confessor.<sup>180</sup>

It usually took four days to sail from Goa to Cannanore.<sup>181</sup> During this time Cardoso, in the presence of Antonio Dias, told Master Francis that it was said that he raised to life a child at Cape Comorin that had fallen into a well and had been taken dead from it. To this the priest replied: "It is true that I read the Gospel over it, but the child was alive and not dead."<sup>182</sup>

The secretary's *fusta* was the first to arrive at Cannanore, and Cardoso informed the captain of the fort, Diogo Alvares Teles, the reason for his coming. When Khoja Shams-ud-din landed shortly afterwards on the quay, Teles wanted at first to detain him in the fort. But finally, after listening to the secretary, he let him ride off with Fernandes to Upper Cannanore, where he had a residence.<sup>183</sup> This was less than half a league from the fort<sup>184</sup> in the midst of a coconut grove not far from the palace of the rajah.<sup>185</sup> It was surrounded by a strong, high wall<sup>186</sup> and had elaborate gardens and buildings and the treasure of Asad Khān, guarded by a corps of five hundred Nāyars under the vizier Bakr Alī.<sup>187</sup>

Two or three days later, in two different convoys, Fernandes brought the

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from Goa to Cochin (*ibid.* 180). By this the voyage at the end of December, 1543, can only be meant. Seb. Gonçalves thus errs when he has the priest depart from Goa only in February, 1544 (2, 10), led astray by Teixeira, who says that Xavier returned to the Fishery Coast in February, 1544, that is, arrived there (854).

<sup>177</sup> Cf. EX I 319. In 1556 he was already dead (MX II 376).

<sup>178</sup> In 1555 João d'Arze (Artiaga), married and resident in Bassein, declared that he had been a servant of the queen as a groom (*moço d'estribeira*). When he left Portugal, she had raised him to the rank of an *escudeiro* of the royal house. In 1548 he received for eight years the office of a guardian and overseer (*alcaide*) of the sea in Bassein with an income of eighteen *milreis* and a complement of ten native soldiers (TdT: CC 1-94-83, f. 6; Q 3808). In 1556 he was a witness at the process in Bassein and declared that he had been associated with Xavier from the time when the latter landed with M. A. de Sousa in Goa, when they came from Portugal, to the time when he embarked in São Thomé for Malacca (MX II 374-378).

<sup>179</sup> According to Seb. Gonçalves, Xavier took a native cleric with him from Goa, which probably means Coelho, and another priest, Lizano, and some pious laymen, including Artiaga (2, 10). According to Teixeira two native priests helped Xavier on the Fishery Coast in 1544. They had come from Goa and Cochin for this purpose (854). Our sources only know Mansilhas, Lizano, Artiaga, and the Indian priest Francisco Coelho, who was a Malabar and knew Tamil. He probably did not come, therefore, from Goa but from Cochin, where Malayālam, a language close to Tamil, was spoken.

<sup>180</sup> DI I 134.

<sup>181</sup> Couto 5, 10, 1.

<sup>182</sup> MX II 180.

<sup>183</sup> According to A. Fernandes (Q 1595).

<sup>184</sup> In *Cananor de cima* (*ibid.*); in the Moorish village outside the fortress (Q 1565); less than half a league from it (Couto 5, 10, 1).

<sup>185</sup> Correa IV 319.

<sup>186</sup> When the Moorish village was for the most part burned down in 1547, the high walls protected the house (Correa IV 619). Couto describes it as it was in 1544, in the midst of green fields and shady gardens, with large halls and verandas and large stone vessels filled with roses and fragrant plants (5, 10, 1, p. 388).

<sup>187</sup> Portuguese: Pocaralli (Couto 5, 9, 11; 5, 10, 6).

300,000 *pardaus* in sixty sacks, each containing five thousand gold pieces, to the fortress. The secretary had with him a letter of the governor for Diogo da Silveira in which he informed the latter that Cardoso would give him 300,000 *pardaus* for the king. Since the secretary was afraid that some of this might be missing in Cochin, he wanted to count the gold, but Fernandes told him that six days would not be enough for this. He would speak with Shams-ud-dīn about it. The latter had Cardoso informed that if he discovered any deficit in Cochin, he should borrow the missing amount, and he would repay him on his return. This satisfied the secretary and he let matters stand as they were.<sup>188</sup>

During his short stay in Cannanore,<sup>189</sup> Master Francis was invited to the home of one of the citizens, Pedr' Alvares,<sup>190</sup> so that the latter's wife, Margarita Ludovisi, might meet "the holy priest," whose reputation had reached even here. Alvares offered his guest a chair and placed before him his two children, the seven-year-old Gregorio and his younger sister, Isabel. As the little girl placed her arm on the chair,<sup>191</sup> her father complained about the boisterous behaviour of her brother. But "the holy priest" laid his hand on the boy's head and said that the small Gregorio would one day become a great servant of God.<sup>192</sup>

<sup>188</sup> Q 1595 1733; cf. 1553 1636 1677 1749. Couto errs in having him hand over 400,000 *pardaus* in gold bars on the same day as the secretary's arrival (5, 9, 11).

<sup>189</sup> We place the event during this visit in opposition to Bartoli, who has it on the occasion of Xavier's return voyage from Goa in January, 1545 (*Asia* 1, 47). In 1542 Xavier was still hardly known in Cannanore and probably stayed here only a very short time on his way from Goa to Cochin. In December, 1544, on his voyage to Goa, and in January, 1545, on his return voyage, he was in great haste and had no reason for stopping there. In 1548 he stayed with the Franciscans (SR IV 254). Further—his reputation for sanctity had already reached Cannanore by the time of this incident, but the wife of Pedr' Alvares had not yet seen the priest. This fits in with his stay in 1543 but not with later visits.

<sup>190</sup> In 1547 Pedr' Alvares received from the governor, D. Joam de Castro, thirty *pardaus* because he had come to the help of Diu in 1546 with his *catur* (Baião, *Hist.* 312). In 1548 he received another favor for having gone with his ship immediately after the rainy season to take part in the war against Cambay and Adil Khān (Q 3619).

<sup>191</sup> This detail is only in Barradas (57-58), whose text varies also elsewhere from the Latin translation.

<sup>192</sup> According to the testimony of the one-hundred-year-old mother and her more-than-seventy-year-old daughter in 1616 (MX II 458; Barradas 57-58). A third witness, the Parava judge Gaspar de Miranda in Manappād, over seventy-eight years old in 1616, is less reliable. He said that he had heard the following from Frey Lucas of the order of St. Francis, a man of great wisdom and a great preacher of the Gospel, and known for his holy life, who had died as a martyr some twenty-two years earlier (1594) at around the age of sixty in the kingdom of Kandy: When he, Lucas, was still a boy, Pater Franciscus Xaverius had come to his birthplace of Cannanore; and, since in those first days he had no other shelter, he had taken up his residence in his father's house; and his father had at times complained about the boisterousness of his son. The priest however excused him on account of his years and prophesied that he would become a father of his confreres and a holy religious of the Franciscan order (MX II 537-538). Up to the end of 1543 the Franciscans had been only temporarily employed in Cannanore. At the end of 1545 Frey Paulo began to build the monastery (Q 1749). The hospital, which was exaggeratedly esteemed as the best in India in 1519, was so small that the sick from the incoming ships had to be taken into the private homes. In 1554 the Misericordia wrote that the old, unusable hospital building was now a magazine for powder and munitions and that it no longer had an infirmary (SR V 375-377). Xavier would hardly have left his companions; he probably found a place to stay with the secretary in the fortress. After Gregorio had spent his youth in the service of his king, he entered the Franciscans and received the name of Frey Lucas dos Santos. When, as commissary of Kandy, he was going to the city with the queen widow D. Catarina in 1594 and a Portuguese force under the command of Captain Pero Lopes de Sousa, he fell into the hands of his former student, the apostate D. Joam

As soon as the secretary received the money from Khoja Shams-ud-din, he and Xavier and his companions continued on their way.<sup>193</sup> They reached Cochin about New Year's Day.<sup>194</sup> A number of the pepper ships had already sailed for Portugal, but three still lay at anchor, the *São Thomé* of the admiral Diogo da Silveira, the *Victoria* of Fernandalvares da Cunha, and the ship of Jorge de Lima.<sup>195</sup> Cardoso now had the sixty sacks of coins counted, and it turned out that more than three thousand *pardaus* were missing.<sup>196</sup> He had a voucher drawn up to this effect and then had it signed by the *ouvidor geral*, by Diogo da Silveira, and by many other *fidalgos*.<sup>197</sup> He then borrowed the missing sum and on January 3, 1544, he gave each of the three captains 100,000 *pardaus* for the king.<sup>198</sup>

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Chingala, who had him and his companions cruelly put to death (\*Trindade 778-779 781).

<sup>193</sup> Among those whom Xavier met in Cannanore in 1543 was the old *vedor* Duarte Barbosa, the author of the famous description of the lands and peoples from the Cape of Good Hope to China (completed in 1516), "one of the shrewdest observers that ever visited India," as he is called by Jarl Charpentier (*Livro da Seita* [Uppsala, 1933], p. XX). Gaspar Correa knew and treasured his treatise (I 3 357) and was with him as a secretary in the factory in Calicut. After 1518 we encounter Barbosa as a resident in Cannanore, where in 1546 the captain had the factor move into Barbosa's house for lack of any other. In the same year he was *vedor* of the town and delivered in Goa a gift from the vizier of Cannanore. He died soon after, probably in Cannanore, for on May 22, 1547, the vizier gave Barbosa's son an *alvará* so that he might have it confirmed in Goa. On him see Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger," 193-194.

<sup>194</sup> According to A. Fernandes (Q 1595). Couto errs in having them sail from Cannanore only at the beginning of January (5, 9, 11). Since the counting of the 300,000 *pardaus* required time, we must presume that the secretary arrived in Cochin two or three days before the third of January.

<sup>195</sup> According to Correa (IV 335).

<sup>196</sup> According to Cardoso (Q 1677). According to A. Fernandes more than 4,000 were lacking (Q 1595), according to Correa 5,000 (IV 335).

<sup>197</sup> Q 1595 1677.

<sup>198</sup> Correa IV 335. Couto erroneously has Cardoso hand over 400,000 *pardaus*: 300,000 to Diogo da Silveira and 100,000 to Jorge de Lima, ex-captain of Chaul, who was sailing in the ship of Fernandalvares da Cunha (5, 9, 11).

## CHAPTER IV

### COCHIN AND KÖTTË (JANUARY, 1544)

#### 1. LETTERS FOR EUROPE (JANUARY, 1544)

Master Francis found a place to stay for himself and his companions in Cochin in the hospitable home of the vicar, Pedro Gonçalves.<sup>1</sup> As he usually did, he also visited the neighboring Franciscans.<sup>2</sup> In their church was the tomb of the Abyssinian ambassador Zagā Za Ab, who had died in 1539 shortly after arriving in Cochin from Portugal.<sup>3</sup> During his brief stay here in Cochin, Xavier was able to win over a new helper for the mission on the Fishery Coast, the secular priest Francisco Coelho, who, since he was a Malabar, also understood Tamil.<sup>4</sup> Francis' main work, however, in Cochin was preparing the mail for Europe, since the time for the sailing of the three ships was drawing near.

<sup>1</sup> Pedro Gonçalves in Tuticorin handed the Christianization of the Fishery Coast over to Xavier, and the two were ever after united in a bond of closest friendship, as the vicar wrote in 1555 to Ignatius (DI III 257). In 1548 the saint assured the king that the house of the vicar of Cochin was a shelter for members of the Society of Jesus. He was such a great friend of theirs that he borrowed money and incurred debts for them (EX I 41). In 1549 he wrote to Simon Rodrigues that Gonçalves was a true and sincere friend of the Society, who with great charity offered lodgings to all the confreres when they passed through Cochin (*ibid.* II 71).

<sup>2</sup> The monastery of Santo Antonio with its church dedicated to St. Francis was built between 1518 and 1522 and had fourteen cells. From their windows ships could be seen as they arrived or left the city, as Frey Antonio wrote in 1529 (*Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 74 [1957] 62). See also SR I 336-339 350-355; II 132-135 347-349; SRH 153-161. In 1580 the monastery was greatly enlarged, and from then on it usually housed from fifty to sixty friars (\*Trindade 659). When the Dutch plundered Cochin in 1663, they destroyed all of the churches except this (Baldaeus 113). From then on, it was used for Calvinist, and later, Anglican worship. The Portuguese tombstones were nevertheless preserved, the oldest of which bears the date 1546 (Q 5575). The painted screen of the high altar is today in the church of Vaipim, opposite Cochin. It has a representation of the Madonna and below this other saints, including Sts. Francis of Assisi and Bonaventure (Chr. Allen Lawson, *British and Native Cochin* [London, 1861] 24-33). Baldaeus' map for 1672 has the former chapel of Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem, also known as Nossa Senhora dos Anjos, as a Reformed church. South of this it has the Franciscan monastery with its church and, opposite this, on the other side of the street, the residence of the preacher (120). In the twentieth century the house lying to the south of the church of St. Francis, reputedly the former monastery, belonged to a Hindu. One of its rooms with two windows was held in honor. It remained uninhabited and was adorned with flowers and lamps, since, as it was said, a holy man had once lived in it. Xavier was the person in question. Later, for example, in 1549 he and his brethren were hospitably received there by the Franciscans (DI I 642-643; SR IV 254). Three years before our visit to Cochin in January, 1957, the house was torn down and replaced by a new building, which caused the disappearance of this record of the saint. P. Charles, S.J., erroneously describes the house as that of a Portuguese merchant (*Yamaguchi* [Louvain, 1937] 27-28). A. Gille, S.J., calls it that of the vicar (*Christianity at Home* [Calcutta, 1924] 37).

<sup>3</sup> Correa IV 108.

<sup>4</sup> EX I 429, II 582 Teixeira 854; DI I 6.

He wrote to the king and queen about his first experiences on the Indian mission and about the four thousand *fanams* which M. A. de Sousa had been willing to allot during his period of office for the support of the *kanakapulas*, and he asked that this grant might be confirmed in perpetuity.<sup>5</sup> Since the sum comprised the so-called "slipper-money" of the queen, he jokingly added that Her Royal Highness could find no better slippers to carry her more quickly to heaven than the Christian children who would be instructed with the help of this sum on the Fishery Coast, and Her Highness might therefore approve of this change of slippers.<sup>6</sup>

Francis wrote a second letter to his Father Ignatius, and he enclosed with it his vows of profession.<sup>7</sup> He also wrote to Rodrigues,<sup>8</sup> and by two different routes he sent his confreres in Rome a detailed account of his labors and successes on Cape Comorin.<sup>9</sup> He began as follows:

It is two years and nine months since I sailed from Portugal, and since my departure I have written to you three times, including this letter.<sup>10</sup> I have received only one letter from you during the time that I have been here in India. This was written on January 18, 1542, and God our Lord knows what consolation I received from it. This letter was given to me about two months ago. It came so late to India because the ship that carried it wintered in Mozambique.<sup>11</sup>

Micer Paulo, Francisco de Mansillas, and I are in the best of health. Micer Paulo is in Goa in the College of the Holy Faith. He has the care of the students in that house. Francisco de Mansillas and I are with the Christians of Cape Comorin.<sup>12</sup> It is already more than a year that I have been with these Christians, and I can tell you that they are many, and that each day many become Christians.

As soon as I came to this coast, where they are, I sought to learn from them what they knew about Christ our Lord. But when I asked them about the articles of the Creed which they believed or held more firmly now that they are Christians than when they were pagans, I could get no other answer from them than that they were Christians, and that, since they did not understand our language, they did not know our law, nor what they should believe. And since they did not understand me nor I them,

<sup>5</sup> EX I 177. The request was granted.

<sup>6</sup> Teixeira 852-853. Since the thirteenth century the queen of Portugal had the city of Alenquer for the maintenance of her court, or, as it was said, for the "chapins da rainha" (Bluteau II 276; Pinho Leal I 95). In 1549 Shams-ud-din sent the queen D. Catarina one thousand hundredweights of ginger and two hundred hundredweights of pepper "pera huns chapins" (Couto 6, 7, 3, p. 86). The *Regimento* of 1645 still listed under the different taxes on the Pearl Fishery four hundred *patacas* for the same "chapins da rainha" (Pieris, *Kingdom* 41-42).

<sup>7</sup> The letters to Ignatius and to the king and queen are lost (EX I 177). However, on February 9, 1545, Araoz wrote to Ignatius from Evora: "I have already written to Your Reverence that we sent his [Xavier's] vows of profession to Rome along with other writings that he had sent. We do not know if you have received them" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 198).

<sup>8</sup> One of the two *viae* of the main letter was addressed to Rodrigues, as the text of the codex *Varia Historia* of Alcalá expressly states (EX I 158). The letter was intended primarily for the confreres in Rome and secondarily for all those in Europe. Xavier probably included a personal letter to Rodrigues.

<sup>9</sup> EX I 152-177.

<sup>10</sup> In addition to this letter of January 15, 1544, the two letters to his confreres in Rome are meant. One of these was written from Mozambique on January 1, and the other from Goa on September 20, 1542 (EX I 90-93 116-128).

<sup>11</sup> The ship *São Matheus*, alias *Urca* and *Urquinha*, which brought the letter, sailed from Lisbon on April 23, 1542. It had been forced to winter in Mozambique and only arrived at Goa on August 30, 1543 (Figueiredo Falcão 160; Correa IV 264 305).

<sup>12</sup> When the letter arrived in Rome, its author was with Mansilhas in the mission of Cape Comorin, that is, on the Fishery Coast.

their language being Malabar<sup>13</sup> and mine Basque,<sup>14</sup> I brought together those who were most knowledgeable and looked for individuals who understood both our language<sup>15</sup> and theirs. We then worked together for many days and translated with great efforts the prayers from Latin into Malabar: first how to bless themselves, confessing that there are three Persons in one God, then the Creed and the Commandments, the Our Father, Hail Mary, *Salve Regina*, and the *Confiteor*.

Francis then described in detail how he had spent an entire month in Tuti-corin and how, after the course of this month, he had taught the prayers and the truths of the faith in all the villages of the Fishery Coast. He also described how his young catechists argued with the pagans, told him about Christians who were practicing idolatry, and destroyed their idols and heaped insults and ridicule upon them. He also wrote how he was called to the sick from all sides and how, when he lacked the time to satisfy them all, he sent his pupils to pray over them, and how God through this means gave health to many and at the same time, through His gentle power, led them to the faith. He then continued:

Many cease to be Christians in these lands because they have no one who is concerned with such pious and holy matters. Many times I am seized with the thought of going to the schools of your lands and there cry out like a man who has lost his mind, and especially at the University of Paris, telling those in the Sorbonne who have a greater regard for learning than for willing so that they might dispose themselves to produce fruit with it: "How many souls fail to go to glory but go instead to hell through their neglect. Would that they were as diligent in studying how much God our Lord will demand of them as they are in studying letters, and what will be expected of them for the talent which they have received; then they would be greatly moved, and taking means and making spiritual exercises to know within their soul the will of God, conforming themselves to it rather than to their own inclinations,<sup>16</sup> they would say: "Lord, here I am! What would you that I should do? Send me wherever you will, and, if necessary, even to the Indians!"<sup>17</sup> With how much greater consolation would they then live; and they would have great hope in the divine mercy at the hour of their death, when they encounter that particular judgment which no man can escape, saying for themselves: "Lord, you gave me five talents, behold, I have gained another five."<sup>18</sup>

I fear that many who study in the universities study more to obtain honors, benefices, or bishoprics with their learning than with the desire of conforming to the

<sup>13</sup> Malabar is here used, as elsewhere, for Tamil.

<sup>14</sup> On this see Schurhammer, "Die Muttersprache des heiligen Franz Xaver," *Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques* 20 (1929) 246-255, and "Nuevos datos sobre Navarra, Javier y Loyola," *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Vascongada de los Amigos del País* 16 (1960) 270-271.

<sup>15</sup> Xavier distinguishes between "my speech," Basque, and "our speech," Portuguese, and then states that he has translated the catechism from Latin into Malabar (cf. Schurhammer, "Nuevos datos" 273-274).

<sup>16</sup> Cf. MI Ex 222-226 (the first and second annotations). Allusions to the text of the Exercises are being constantly repeated in the following parts of the letter.

<sup>17</sup> "Domine, ecce adsum, quid me vis facere: Mitte me quo vis; et si expedit, etiam ad Indos." Here, as elsewhere, Xavier cites the Latin text, uniting here two sayings, the first of St. Paul at the time of his conversion: "Domine, quid me vis facere?" (Acts 9:6), and that of the Apostle Thomas in his legend: "Mitte me, quo vis, sed non ad Indos." Cf. similar passages in the letters of the bishop of Dume in 1522 (SR I 445), of H. Henriques in 1558 (DI IV 36), and Gonçalo Rodrigues (*ibid.* 166). Canisius, making a play on Xavier's letter, wrote to Ignatius in 1551: "Domine, mitte me, quo vis, etiam ad Indos" (Braunsberger I 377).

<sup>18</sup> "Domine, quinque talenta tradidisti mihi, ecce alia quinque superlucratus sum" (Matth. 25:20).

exigencies that these honors and ecclesiastical states require. Those who study are accustomed to say: I wish to become learned so that I can obtain a benefice or ecclesiastical honor and then serve God with this honor. They consequently make their decision according to their inordinate affections, fearing that God might not wish what they desire; for their inordinate affections do not let them leave this choice to the will of God our Lord.<sup>19</sup>

I was almost moved to write to the University of Paris, or at least to our Maestre de Cornibus and Doctor Picardo,<sup>20</sup> how many millions of pagans would become Christians if there were laborers, so that they might be eager to find and support persons "who seek not what is their own but what is of Jesus Christ."<sup>21</sup> There is such a multitude of those here in this land where I am who are converted to the faith of Christ that my arms are often tired from baptizing and I can no longer speak because I have recited so often the Creed and the Commandments in their language and other prayers along with an exhortation which I know by heart in their language and in which I explain to them the meaning of the word Christian, and what paradise is and what hell is, telling them what kind of people they are who go to the one place and what kind to the other. Beyond all other prayers I recite most frequently the Creed and the Commandments; and it happens that on a single day I baptize an entire village,<sup>22</sup> and on the coast where I am there are thirty Christian villages.

The governor here in India is a great friend of those who become Christians. He makes a grant of four thousand pieces of gold<sup>23</sup> each year, and these must only be used for, and paid to, those persons who with great diligence teach Christian doctrine in those places which have been newly converted to the faith. He is a great friend of all of our Company. He greatly desires that some of our Company come to these parts, and I believe that he is writing this to the king.

Last year I wrote to you about a college that is being built in the city of Goa. There are already many students in it, who speak different languages and were all born of pagan parents. Among those in the college, where many buildings have already been erected, are many who are learning Latin, and others who are learning how to read and write. Micer Paulo is living with the students of this college. He says Mass for them every day and hears their confessions, and he never ceases to give them spiritual instructions. He takes care of the physical needs of the students. This college is very large; more than five hundred students could live in it, and it has revenues that could support them. Many alms are given to this college, and the governor is very generous with his favors. All the Christians have reason for giving thanks to God our Lord for the holy founding of this house, which is called the College of the Holy Faith. Through the mercy of God our Lord, I hope that before many years the number of Christians will be greatly increased and the boundaries of the Church will be expanded through those who study in this holy college.

Francis then spoke of the Brahmans, the main support of paganism, to whom the words of the Psalmist could be applied: "From an unholy people, from an evil and treacherous man deliver me!" They did not tell the truth, but rather

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the preamble to the election (MI Ex 372-375).

<sup>20</sup> Xavier's professors and friends in Paris. See Vol. I 250-251 184-185.

<sup>21</sup> "Qui non quaerunt quae sua sunt, sed quae Jesu Christi" (Phil. 2:21).

<sup>22</sup> The villages which Xavier baptized were for the most part the small settlements of the Karaiyas. According to H. Henriques there were five or six of these with ten, fifteen, or twenty homes (cf. EX I 208 228; DI IV 35; and Schurhammer, "Die Taufen" 44-50).

<sup>23</sup> These were 4,000 gold *fanams*, equivalent to 400 silver *pardaus* of 300 *reis* each, a sum that at the time corresponded to 210 *cruzados*. The *fanam* kept its value while the *pardau* and *cruzado* were constantly sinking. As a consequence in 1600, when Lucena wrote, 4,000 *fanams* were worth 400 *cruzados*. Polanco erroneously translates 4,000 *fanams* by "4,000 ducats" (I 123), Seb. Gonçalves by "400 gold *cruzados*" (2, 8), and Teixeira even by "4,000 *pardaus*" (852).



deceived the people. "If there were no Brahmans," he observed, "all the pagans would be converted to our faith." Master Francis then described in detail his visit to a temple where there were more than two hundred Brahmans and his conversation with them. He then wrote of the only Brahman whom he had met who was somewhat educated. The latter had told him in strictest confidence of the secrets of their teaching, which he had learned in one of their schools. Only one of this caste had received baptism since his arrival on the Fishery Coast. This was an excellent young man who was now teaching children lessons in Christian doctrine. Francis then continued:

I can tell you nothing more about these parts than that the consolations which God our Lord gives to those who go among these pagans and convert them to the faith of Christ are so great that, if there is ever any joy in this life, this can be said to be it. Many times it happens that I hear one who goes among these Christians exclaim: <sup>24</sup> "O Lord, do not give me many consolations in this life! Or, since You in Your infinite goodness and mercy still give them, take me into Your holy glory, for it is most painful to live without seeing You after You have so communicated Yourself interiorly to Your creatures!" <sup>25</sup>

His thoughts then again drifted back to the University of Paris:

Oh, if those who study letters used as much effort in helping themselves to relish these consolations, how they would labor by day and night to know them! Oh, if those joys which a student seeks in understanding that which he is studying, he should seek in order to assist his neighbors to appreciate that which is necessary so that they may know and serve God, with how much greater consolation and preparation would they give an account of themselves when Christ asks of them: "Give an account of your stewardship!" <sup>26</sup>

In these parts, my dearest brothers, my recreations consist in frequently calling you to mind and the time when through the great mercy of God our Lord I knew you and conversed with you. And I know interiorly and feel within my soul how much I lost through my own fault of the time that I conversed with you, since I did not appreciate the many insights which God had shared with you about Himself. Through your prayers and the constant remembrance which you have of me in commending me to Him, God has granted me a great grace. I know that God our Lord, despite your physical absence, through your kindness and help, lets me perceive the boundless number of my sins and gives me the strength to go among the infidels, for which I give great thanks to God our Lord and to you my dearest brothers.

Among the many graces which God our Lord has granted me in this life and continues to grant me every day is one which I greatly desired to see fulfilled in my days, namely, the confirmation of our rule and mode of life. <sup>27</sup> Thanks be to God our Lord for all eternity that He found it well to manifest publicly that which he gave in secret alone to His servant Ignatius and our Father. <sup>28</sup>

During the past year I wrote to you the number of Masses which we, that is, Micer Paulo and I, have read in these parts of the Indies for *el Rmo. Cardenal Guidati6n*. <sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Xavier means himself.

<sup>25</sup> This is the principal source for what is always later attributed to Xavier: "Satis est, Domine, satis est!" (See also DI III 332).

<sup>26</sup> "Redde rationem villicationis tuae!" (Luke 16:2).

<sup>27</sup> While he was still in Portugal, Xavier received the news of the confirmation of the Society through the bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae* of September 27, 1540 (EX I 87). In Xavier's letter *regla* means, as it does in the bull, the *Formula Instituti*, namely the Five Chapters contained therein (MI Const. I, pp. XI 28 378; cf. Vol. I 462).

<sup>28</sup> On this see Vol. I 485.

<sup>29</sup> Xavier's letter of January 18, 1549, which exists only in a copy, like the one here

I do not know the number that we have offered this past year; but believe me, all of our Masses are for him. For our consolation let us know how His Most Reverend Lordship distinguishes himself in the service of God so that the devotion of Micer Paulo and myself may be increased towards him, since we are his permanent chaplains. Do not fail to write to us about the fruit which he works within the Church.

I bring this to a close asking God our Lord that, since He in His mercy united us and for His service has again separated us so widely from each other, He may also unite us again in His holy glory. And in order to obtain this grace and favor we shall take as our advocates and intercessors all those holy souls of these parts where I am whom I have baptized with my own hand, and whom God our Lord has taken to Himself in His holy glory before they lost their state of innocence, and whose number I believe is over a thousand.<sup>30</sup> I ask all of these holy souls that they may obtain from God our Lord this grace that all the time that we are in this place of banishment we perceive within our souls His most holy will and that we fulfill it to perfection. From Cochín, the fifteenth of January in the year 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.

With the same ships that carried these letters, Martim Affonso sent the king the 300,000 *pardaus* from the treasure of Asad Khān, the gold kettle which he had taken as booty from the temple of Tēvalakara,<sup>31</sup> and letters in which he gave an account of his experiences.<sup>32</sup> He also sent a letter to the count of Castanheira,<sup>33</sup> telling him how, in the rivalry between the two Moors in the Deccan, he had decided in favor of Adil Khān, and how the latter had given him two provinces on the mainland, seventy thousand *pardaus* for the fleet, and twenty thousand for himself personally, that is, ten thousand for finery for his wife and ten thousand for a banquet. In addition to this the treasurer of Asad Khān, who had died in the meantime, had promised to contribute 500,000 *pardaus*, 300,000 of which he was now sending to the king with the fleet to help with the marriage of the infanta.<sup>34</sup> From this last sum he had taken 30,000 *pardaus* for himself as a tithe which he was sending to his wife. He could have kept the entire sum for himself without its being known, or he could have made a claim for it in court, for he had obtained it through his personal friendship with the Moor who had been the master of Asad Khān's treasury. He would have to hand over 70,000 of the balance of 200,000 *pardaus* to the Moor, since they had made such an agreement among themselves;<sup>35</sup> and he would pay all of His Highness' debts in India and for the cargo of two ships sailing to Portugal during the coming year with the remaining 130,000. He would also pay his men, who had been poorly treated up till now; and he

cited, has Guidati6n instead of Guidiccioni. On the Masses vowed for him see Vol. I 470. The second *via* has instead of "el Rmo. Cardenal Guidati6n" the more general "intenci6n de nuestro Padre Ignacio."

<sup>30</sup> Infant mortality was high. F. Pérez, who in 1558 went by land from Cochín to Punnaikāyal, wrote: "Every year more than six to eight hundred children who die after baptism go from this coast to paradise" (DI IV 42; cf. EX I 147-148 166, and Schurhammer, "Taufen" 49).

<sup>31</sup> \*Eça 36v.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. EX I 169. Of the letters of the governor to the king, there are only two short letters of recommendation still extant (Q 1137-1138). The principal letter is lost.

<sup>33</sup> Q 1323 (written in 1543, not in 1544).

<sup>34</sup> On the marriage of the infanta D. Maria with D. Felipe, the son of Charles V, in 1543 and the great expenses involved in it—the dowry of the infanta, 400,000 *cruzados*, was finally lowered to 300,000, still an enormous sum—see Sousa, *Annaes* 360-363.

<sup>35</sup> No other document mentions this.

would take care of the other necessary expenses required by the anticipated attack of the Turks, as he had written to the king. Since the desire in Portugal was that no peace should be concluded with them, they would certainly sail with their fleet to India.

## 2. THE VISIT TO BHUVANEKA BĀHU (JANUARY, 1544)<sup>36</sup>

After he had finished writing his letters for Europe, Master Francis continued on his way with his companions to the Fishery Coast from Cochin. But

<sup>36</sup> We base this first visit of Xavier to Ceylon on the following: After receiving news of the sudden death of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the viceroy, D. Affonso de Noronha, sailed to Ceylon, where the factor, Gaspar de Azevedo, had precipitously proclaimed Bāhu's grandson Dharmapāla king. On January 27, 1552, the viceroy informed John III of his voyage. In Kōttē he had summoned the father of Dharmapāla and the lord high chamberlain and had told them that Azevedo had acted badly and had exceeded his authority in proclaiming Bāhu's grandson as king, for "Vosalteza lhe fizera aquela mercê, por seu avoo lhe mandar dizer, que se avya de fazer cristão, como els poderiam ver por hũa carta, que lhe Vosalteza escreveo por Mestre Francisco da Companhia de Jhesu." His Highness had also written to D. Joam de Castro that if the king (Bhuvaneka Bāhu) did not carry out what his ambassador had agreed upon with His Highness, he should not execute the provisions (the ten *alvarás*) which he (the ambassador) had brought. The *pandita* had immediately sought to deny that he had said anything of the sort: his interpreter may have made the promises on his own account. But Noronha had told him that further disputes on the matter would be useless "porque abastava ha carta de Vosalteza" (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 588). It seems impossible that the viceroy should have been in error with respect to the bearer of the king's letter and substituted Xavier for somebody such as Frey João de Villa de Conde. The *pandita* and the lord high chamberlain raised no objection, and they certainly knew the difference between the two. Moreover, Noronha had an explicit instruction from John III in which he mentioned the sending of the Franciscans in 1543 and the hoped for, but still uneffected, conversion of Bhuvaneka Bāhu and ordered him to give him a precise account of the matter (Andrada l. 4, c. 73). He had further taken with him to Kōttē the bishop, the Franciscan guardian, the Jesuits A. Gomes and B. Gago, and the *vedor* Simão Botelho, who could likewise have known the difference. Moreover, there can be no question here of a letter of 1543 which John III sent with the fleet that brought the *pandita* and the Franciscans to India. Xavier was the papal nuncio and confidant of the Portuguese king, who had sent him primarily for the mission of Cape Comorin, which was near Ceylon. Even before Xavier's departure from Lisbon, M. A. de Sousa had given him hopes of converting the king and the whole island of Ceylon. It is therefore probable that in 1543 John III also sent him to the Singhalese ruler in order to persuade him to receive baptism as had been promised. At the beginning of 1544 John III still had no news of the arrival of the Franciscans in Ceylon. At the beginning of 1545 he sent with D. Joam de Castro a new letter to Bhuvaneka Bāhu, in which he again reminded him of his promise. He also sent an instruction for the governor not to insist absolutely upon the prince's baptism if he fulfilled his other obligations. Castro had this second letter, which Noronha expressly distinguishes from the one brought by Xavier, carried in September, 1545, by his ambassador Duarte Barbudo to Bhuvaneka Bāhu (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 6-7 157-158 194-198 223-225 227-228 264-265 274 410-411). When John III again wrote to Castro at the beginning of 1546, he had received news in writing from Xavier and André de Sousa, and orally from Miguel Vaz, of the completely changed conditions in Kōttē because of the murder of Jugo and the flight of the pretender D. João. Other measures were consequently necessary (*ibid.* 308-310 337-339). On the delivery of a letter by Xavier there could be no question, since in 1546 and 1547 he was far away in the Moluccas and the king received the news of his return at the same time as that of his projected visit to Japan, from where he returned only at the beginning of 1552.—But even apart from the delivery of the letter, Xavier had reasons for visiting Ceylon early in 1544. This island was also within the sphere of his competency as nuncio: one of his briefs contained a recommendation to all the princes and lords of the islands of the Red and Persian seas and of the Indian Ocean, and of

at Quilon<sup>37</sup> he had to interrupt his journey to pay a visit to Ceylon. John III had written to him about the embassy of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the king of Ceylon, the enthronement of his grandson Dharmapāla, and the promise of the *pandita*, his ambassador, who had declared that his lord would be converted to Christianity and be baptized. He had also mentioned the great privileges which he had given to the Singhalese king because of this promise and to the Franciscans whom he had sent at his request to instruct him and his subjects.<sup>38</sup> John III had also enclosed a letter for Bhuvaneka Bāhu, which Master Francis was to deliver in person to the prince, reminding him of the promise which he had made to receive baptism through his ambassador.<sup>39</sup>

Two ambassadors were also sailing with Xavier from Goa back to Ceylon. The first was the *pandita*,<sup>40</sup> the Brahman who had sailed to Lisbon in 1542 at the request of Bhuvaneka Bāhu and had returned from there with the Franciscans. At the end of November, soon after his arrival in Ceylon, he had been sent back to Goa with a message for the governor, and he was now returning

the provinces on both sides of the Ganges (Vol. I 713-715). As founder and superior of the Jesuit missions, he believed it was his duty to obtain a personal view of the mission fields, as he maintained against those who criticized his many journeys (Valignano 83-84; Seb. Gonçalves 3, 21). Ceylon lay very close to his mission on the Fishery Coast. His Paravas, as pearl divers and merchants, had constant contacts with the island, and Bhuvaneka Bāhu was a personal friend of M. A. de Sousa and deeply indebted to him. Besides this, John III had heartily encouraged Xavier at the time of his departure to write to him in great detail about the readiness of the people in the East to accept Christianity (Vol. I 718). Xavier consequently mentions the Ceylon mission again and again in his letters (EX I 253 404-407 II 60-61) and appointed two priests to conduct back to Ceylon the two princes of that country who had fled to India (*ibid.* I 292-293). He was moreover a friend of the Franciscans, whom he always visited in Goa when he went there, even before he visited his own confreres (Teixeira 881). It is therefore quite certain that on his voyage to the Fishery Coast in January, 1544, he visited also in Ceylon the newly arrived Franciscan missionaries, especially since this involved only a slight detour, and the return of the two ambassadors from Cochin afforded an opportunity for sailing. That he made this detour is supported by the fact that he did not arrive at the Fishery Coast until the middle of February. His first letter to Mansilhas, who carefully preserved all the letters of his master, is dated February 23, and Xavier used to write to him every week or two. In his letter of January 20, 1545, only extant in the Latin translation of Possinus, Xavier refers to the stubbornness of Bhuvaneka Bāhu. The king could learn more directly from Miguel Vaz (EX I 253). See Schurhammer, "Quellen für Ceylon," *Ceylon*. An English translation of a portion of these sources may be found in Pieris-Fitzler, *Ceylon*. They form the base for L. Bourdon, *Les Débuts de l'Évangélisation de Ceylan* (Lisbonne, 1936).

<sup>37</sup> Boats sailed from Cochin to Colombo by way of Quilon (DI II 411).

<sup>38</sup> That John III wrote to Xavier in this regard is obvious since he had already sent him to Bhuvaneka Bāhu.

<sup>39</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 588.

<sup>40</sup> He signed his long letter to Queen D. Catarina in 1551 in the Grantha-Nagari script. Under the signature in Latin characters is written: "De Pandita embaixador" (Q, pl. XXII 6). Pieris read the unusual signature as Srī Rādaraksa. S. Paravitana, an epigraphical specialist in the department of archaeology in Colombo, reads it as Srī Rāmaraksa (Who Has Rāma as Protector). See *Ceylon Literary Register* 2 (1932) 42-46 240. The *Rājāvaliya* calls him Sallappu Arachchi (77). For other names, see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 99. In 1551 he describes himself as a pagan and Brahman (*ibid.* 566). He was a great lord, similar to a cardinal, and had a good knowledge of his religion (*ibid.* 108 640 660). He was sent as an ambassador to Portugal in 1542 and to the governor in India in 1543, 1549, and 1550 (*ibid.* 549 553 559-568 582). At the beginning of 1551 he was taken by Noronha as an hostage to Goa (*ibid.* 599), where he was baptized in the College of St. Paul as Dom Affonso de Noronha. This same year he sailed back from Goa to Ceylon with Manuel de Morais. At this time he already had a good command of Portuguese (*ibid.* 639-640 660).

with the answer. The latter had told him that he would help the king against his brother if the danger from the Turks left him free to do so. There could of course be no question of deposing the kings of Jaffna and Kandy and replacing them with the two princes who were unhappy with Bhuvaneka Bāhu's choice of Dharmapāla as his successor.<sup>41</sup> The second ambassador was the Portuguese who had gone to Goa at the request of the king of Kandy and had asked in his name for military assistance and the erection of a factory in Trincomali. He was now returning to Kandy with letters of the governor and of his secretary, Nunalvares Pereira, and a document of Amaro Mendes, who had been appointed as factor for Trincomali.<sup>42</sup>

It usually took four days to sail from Quilon to Colombo,<sup>43</sup> and three days to sail there from Cape Comorin.<sup>44</sup> The northeast monsoon had reached its height, the weather was clear, the sky was bright. The first sign of the proximity of Ceylon was the appearance in the south, above the pale blue, tree-covered mountains of the interior, of the steep, granite pyramid, Adam's Peak, which, during the rest of the year, was usually hidden by clouds.<sup>45</sup> Then the flat coast of the island, covered with dense green palms came into view, and the harbor of Colombo with its houses concealed within the shade of coconut groves. On a tongue of land on the south shore of the bay were the factory and dwellings of the Portuguese and their church dedicated to St. Lawrence.<sup>46</sup> Here, on a large stone block, Dom Lorenzo de Almeida, the son of the viceroy, on his first visit to Ceylon in 1506 had carved as *padrão*, at the request of King Manuel, the royal coat of arms and over it the cross of Christ.<sup>47</sup>

The Portuguese settlement was small. Together with their countrymen in Kōttē there were only about thirty of them, some married and some single;<sup>48</sup> and on the whole large island there were hardly more than forty Portuguese in all.<sup>49</sup> Since 1531 the colony had had its own *vigario* in the person of the secular

<sup>41</sup> Correa IV 300.

<sup>42</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 180.

<sup>43</sup> Gomes de Brito II 77-78.

<sup>44</sup> Orta II 52; CA III 376.

<sup>45</sup> Correa I 650; *Handbuch für Ceylon und die Malakka-Strasse* 32 119.

<sup>46</sup> Picture in Correa II 541 with the fortress demolished in 1522 and the city of the natives in the midst of a palm grove and orchards. See the description in Pieris, *Ceylon* I 35-36; the general descriptions of Ceylon in Barbosa I 109-120 and Tomé Pires 85-87. The factory was in Colombo on the site of the former fortress (Castanheda 8, 47). Already in 1521 the king mentions a church with a vicar and prebendaries (SR I 414-416). Correa's plan has the three-cornered fortress without the church. The tombstone of the vicar Monteiro states that he had built the church of St. Lawrence, which probably replaced an earlier one of adobes thatched with palm leaves.

<sup>47</sup> Picture in Codrington 95. The erroneous date, 1501, is probably a later addition. The stone, which was rediscovered in 1898, has been in the Gordon Gardens, not far from its original location, since 1913. When the viceroy D. Francisco de Almeida sailed in 1505 for India, the king ordered him, after he had loaded the pepper ships, to explore Ceylon, Pegu, and, Malacca and there "poeram nosos padrões de pedra, com as armas reaes e a cruz de Christos em cyma, os quaes padrões lá mandrês fazer aos pedreiros que vão" (CA II 327-328). In December, 1506, the viceroy informed his lord: "A cruz de Christos, e as armas reaes, e a devisa ficam en Ceilam em padram" (*ibid.* 393). A small brass plate in the customhouse marks the original site of the stone (cf. JCB 16 [1899] 15-28; Gnana Prakasar 19-20). The basic study of Donald Ferguson, "The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506," JCB 19 (1907) 284-400, shows that Almeida first came to Colombo in 1506.

<sup>48</sup> According to Bhuvaneka Bāhu at the close of 1541 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 101).

<sup>49</sup> According to the Portuguese of Ceylon in 1547 (*ibid.* 496). In October, 1550, the viceroy, Noronha, ordered all the unmarried Portuguese in Ceylon to go to India and

priest João Vaz Monteiro. He had been born in Setúbal, had built the parish church, and was in his eighties<sup>50</sup> at the time of Xavier's arrival. The Franciscans had come in 1543 to convert the pagans and had built a small, adobe monastery and a chapel with a palm-leaf roof.<sup>51</sup>

The native city, stretching along the beach to the north, was inhabited by Buddhist Singhalese, recognizable by their distinctive haircomb, and by Hindu, Tamil, and Moorish merchants. In the midst of the adobe houses, thatched with palm leaves, and the green of the coconut palms could be seen the white minarets of mosques, the whitewashed, pointed cupolas of *dagobas*, or Buddhist reliquary shrines, and those of ornately gilded temples with their seated or recumbent statues of Buddha, and Hindu pagodas with their grotesque idols made of stone, copper, and gilded wood.<sup>52</sup> On the busy streets could be seen proud Brahman priests, wearing a white skirt and a holy cord about their naked breast and the mark of Vishnu or of Shiva upon their brow, and barefoot Buddhist monks with shaven head, round, palm-leaf fan, and coconut begging-bowl, wearing an orange-colored skirt reaching to the ground and a similarly colored scarf thrown over the left shoulder in such a way that the right shoulder remained bare.<sup>53</sup> There were also bearded Moorish merchants in caftans and turbans, who controlled the maritime trade, carrying coconuts, areca nuts, precious stones, and other products of the island, particularly cinnamon bark and elephants, to India, and timbers for building ships even as far as Ormuz.<sup>54</sup>

Kōttē, the residence of Bhuvaneka Bāhu,<sup>55</sup> lay two leagues inland to the

those who were married to go to Colombo. In December, 1552, Colombo is called the main settlement of the Portuguese on Ceylon (*ibid.* 556 651).

<sup>50</sup> The long disputed question with respect to the first *vigario* of Ceylon has been resolved by S. G. Perera, S.J., in "João Vaz Monteiro. The Earliest Portuguese Tombstone in Ceylon," *Ceylon Literary Register* 4 (1935) 233-241. The tombstone, which was discovered in 1836 on the site of the former Portuguese fort and published the same year with the wrong date of 1536 instead of 1566, was broken up and the fragments used in the foundations of the cathedral, so no control was possible. However an original letter of Monteiro from Colombo dated December, 1561, which Perera discovered in the Torre do Tombo, resolves the problem. In it the vicar writes to the queen that he is now over one hundred years old and has been vicar in Ceylon for thirty years. When Xavier sailed from India in 1545, there were five Franciscan and two secular priests on Ceylon (EX I 319).

<sup>51</sup> Frey João de Villa de Conde wrote in 1546 that the Franciscans had their main church in Colombo (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 404), and in 1547 Frey Antonio Padram declared: "We have here churches of adobe and palm leaves" (*ibid.* 481).

<sup>52</sup> In 1552 Morais gave a detailed description of the temple of Colombo (*ibid.* 630-632; cf. the pictures in Willis 100 108).

<sup>53</sup> Followers of the Burmese sect leave the right shoulder bare, those of the Siamese sect draw the cloth over both shoulders. Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 648-649; picture in Willis 98 100.

<sup>54</sup> Barbosa I 109-117; Pires 86-87; Correa I 646-647. The transmarine trade before the coming of the Portuguese was almost entirely in the hands of the Moors, whose chief had five hundred Abyssinian soldiers in his service in the fourteenth century (Yule 236). A Mohammedan tombstone with a Cufic inscription of the year 848 was found in Colombo (Pieris, *Ceylon* I 447). There were many Moors in all the ports of Ceylon, especially in Colombo (Castanheda 2, 22; Barbosa II 110; Ray I 703-712).

<sup>55</sup> Kōttē, whose complete name is Jayawardhanakōttē or Jayawardhanapura (Victory-bringing City) was built in the second half of the fourteenth century in the swamps near Colombo as a fortress by the great minister Alakēshvara, who was murdered in 1411. King Parākrama Bāhu VI (1412-1467) enlarged it as his capital and furnished it with elaborate buildings. In 1565 it was abandoned and a hundred years later it was already a forest in which wild elephants were hunted (Couto 8, 7; Queyroz 421; Pieris, *Ceylon* I 188; Schweitzer, for 1677, in *Germans in Dutch Ceylon* [Colombo, 1952] 43 50).

southeast of Colombo. It had the shape of a long triangle pointing towards the north.<sup>56</sup> It was protected by a citadel<sup>57</sup> and surrounded by a strong wall made of blocks of red laterite.<sup>58</sup> Its entrances, known as "passes,"<sup>59</sup> were strengthened by towers and bulwarks.<sup>60</sup> The city, which was about an hour and a half in circumference,<sup>61</sup> was protected on the east and west by lakes and canals which had to be crossed in boats, especially since the builder of the city in the fourteenth century had sown the waters with crocodiles.<sup>62</sup> On the south Kōttē was protected by two deep trenches. In time of war the whole swamp around the city was filled with water and the approach rendered still more difficult for the enemy and his elephants by pits, traps, and pointed bamboo and iron stakes buried in the ground.<sup>63</sup>

The road from Colombo led over flat land to the pass of Ambola<sup>64</sup> near a

Up until recent times the people in the vicinity have used the ruins overgrown by the jungle as a quarry, despite the protests of E. W. Perera (since 1900). When the Archaeological Department finally began the first excavations there in 1949, it had to declare: "Nowhere has this destruction by man of the handiwork of his predecessors been carried out with greater thoroughness than at Jayavardhana-pura, or Kōttē" (*Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon for 1949* [Colombo, 1950] 19). The principal source for the reconstruction of Kōttē as Xavier saw it is E. W. Perera. On the basis of contemporary native accounts he gives a picture of the city before 1565 in his two valuable studies: "The Age of Śrī Parākrama Bāhu VI," JCB 22 (1910) 6-45, and "Alakésvara: His Life and Times," *ibid.* 18 (1904) 281-312. In addition to the *Cālavamsa* written in Pāli, a continuation of the *Mahāvamsa*, begun in the thirteenth century and continued until 1815, he used for his articles the following Singhalese historical works: the *Rājāvaliya*, begun in the sixteenth century and carried on to the middle of the seventeenth, which was already used by Couto and Valentyn; the *Nikāya Samgraha*, composed in 1386 (English edition by C. M. Fernando in 1908); the *Perakumbā Sirita* (fifteenth century); and the *Rāja Ratnākara* (English edition by Upham in 1833). He also used the following Singhalese poems: *Hamsa*, or *Tisara Sandēsa* (News of the Swans), from the fourteenth century; *Selalihini Sandēsa* (News of the Magpies), English edition by Macready in 1865; *Paravi Sandesa* (News of the Doves); *Kōkila*, or *Kovul, Sandēsa* (News of the Cuckoos), and *Girā Sandēsa* (News of the Parrots), from the fifteenth century.—In two further articles Perera handles the local traditions, finds, and excavations in Kōttē. The first appeared originally in the *Ceylon Observer* (Colombo, November 9, 1900) (but we cite the new impression in JCB 18 [1904] 304-307); the second is "Ruins of Kōttē Fort," JCB 23 (1917), part 4: "Supplement, Notes and Queries," pp. LV-LVII. We cite his articles simply as "P" with the year.—Supplementary details are to be found in the *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon* for 1909 (21-24), 1949 (19-25), and 1951 (14-43), also in Couto (7, 10, 14), Queyroz (29 338 421), Pieris, *Ceylon* (I 39-41 143-144 504), and Sousa Viterbo, *O Thesouro do Rei de Ceilão* (Lisboa, 1904) 19-44.

<sup>56</sup> A summary plan in Pieris, *Ceylon* I 143.

<sup>57</sup> *Perakumbā Sirita* and *Hamsa Sandēsa* (P 1917).

<sup>58</sup> In 1900 the destruction of the outer wall, whose outline was still clearly visible, had already begun (P 1900).

<sup>59</sup> The list of passes, or fords (*totas*), is given by Couto 7, 10, 14, p. 551, and 8, 3, p. 16, and by Pieris, *Ceylon* I 504, n. 14.

<sup>60</sup> *Cālavamsa* II 212-213; *Rājāvaliya* 68; *Nikāya Samgraha* (P 1904, 284-285). According to Queyroz the walls were of earth provided with stone bulwarks near the shallow fords (29).

<sup>61</sup> P 1917. According to Couto, Kōttē was two thousand *passos geométricos*, that is, two miles in circumference (they become twenty thousand in Queyroz).

<sup>62</sup> Letter of Antonio Dias of 1552 (DI II 534); Queyroz 29; Couto 7, 10, 14; *Nikāya Samgraha* (P 1904 1900); Pieris, *Ceylon* I 143-144.

<sup>63</sup> *Nikāya Samgraha* (P 1904, 285 288 302); *Rājāvaliya* 66. The two dikes are still extant (P 1900).

<sup>64</sup> According to Couto there was here an isthmus of fifty, according to Queyroz (39 338) seventy, *passos geometricos*, which would correspond to 246 and 344 feet respectively.

stone halting place, the Gal Ambalmama,<sup>65</sup> where a drawbridge over the first moat led to the outer fortress of Pitakotte.<sup>66</sup> A Buddhist temple with a white *dagoba* marked the spot to which the king had to ride before his coronation in order to take part in the ceremony of cutting down a talipot palm.<sup>67</sup> A quarter of an hour north of the first moat there was a second, deeper ditch bordered by a sloping stone wall that marked the limits of the capital proper, which was known as Etulkotte (Inner Fortress). The ditch was thirty-five feet wide at its greatest width.<sup>68</sup> A bridge crossed over it to the massive main gate of the city.<sup>69</sup> At this point the elaborate temple of Mahasen Mahā Pēya rose over the walls.<sup>70</sup> This was dedicated to the war-god Skanda Kumāra,<sup>71</sup> whose brightly enameled and bejeweled statue adorned its interior.<sup>72</sup> The banners flown over the temple bore the image of the god's mount, the sacred peacock.<sup>73</sup> On other sections of the city wall were three more temples, corresponding to that of Mahasen Mahā Pēya, dedicated to the protecting deities of the kingdom: Kihireli Upulvan, or Vishnu; Samanboksel, or Lakshmana, the brother of Rāma and the protecting spirit of Adam's Peak; and Vibhisana, the brother and successor of Rāvana. All of these temples had been built 150 years before by the great minister Alakēshvara.<sup>74</sup>

The royal street, which passed straight as a die through the city from north to south,<sup>75</sup> was lined on both sides by well-built houses and palaces. These had verandas on their upper story and were richly painted with pictures of the gods and the different spirits of the wind.<sup>76</sup> After Kōttē was plundered by the Chinese in 1408,<sup>77</sup> King Parākrama Bāhu VI had reconstructed it with

<sup>65</sup> This is still extant with its stone pillars. Nearby are the remains of a subterranean gallery (Pieris, *Ceylon* I 504). According to some, this was where the treasure of the king was kept. A vase was found here full of coins. These are now in the Colombo Museum, as we were told on our visit in 1957. According to others, the gallery could have been used to blow up enemies if they attacked here. According to still others, it led to Livramento in Colombo.

<sup>66</sup> Tamil: Pira Kottai; in Couto: Prea Cota; in Queyro: Perea Cota.

<sup>67</sup> Perera wrote in 1900 that the temple had disappeared but that the still extant *dagoba* had been recently used as a quarry by a villager for building his house. Only the base was left, and this too soon disappeared.

<sup>68</sup> *Nikāya Samgraha* (P 1917). According to Couto this pass was called Prea Cota. In 1917 outside the west wall there was a round area already almost level with the ground. This had been the place for executions (P 1917). In 1900 Perera complained that the steps which had led down into the old ditches and many of the stones with which the walls had been covered had been taken away to be used as doorposts or stairs for private homes.

<sup>69</sup> *Selalihini Sandēsa* (Pieris, *Ceylon* I 39).

<sup>70</sup> The name means "the great palace of Mahasen," and the place where it stood is still called "the temple of the god Skanda," that is, the war-god Subrahmanya (*Report* 1949, 24). The *Nikāya Samgraha* describes its foundation (P 1904).

<sup>71</sup> Another name for Kārtikēya, Subrahmanya, or Kataragama Deviyō. The *Selalihini Sandēsa* describes the temple as the glory of the city, "bright like a globe with a thousand rays, flashing with authentic jewels" (P 1910, 15).

<sup>72</sup> *Paravi Sandēsa* (*ibid.* 15-16).

<sup>73</sup> *Selalihini Sandēsa* and *Kōkila Sandēsa* (*ibid.* 16).

<sup>74</sup> *Nikāya Samgraha* (P 1904, 285-286). On the mixture of Hinduism and Buddhism at the court of Kōttē, see *Kōkila Sandēsa* and P 1910, 16-17.

<sup>75</sup> No longer used today. A part of it, greatly reduced in width, is the present Gansabha Street (P 1917).

<sup>76</sup> *Selalihini Sandēsa* (Pieris, *Ceylon* I 39); *Rājāvaliya* 68.

<sup>77</sup> P 1904, 291-293. On the seven voyages of the Chinese admiral Cheng Ho to Nearer and Farther Asia between 1405 and 1433, see Pelliot, "Les Grands Voyages maritimes au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *T'oung Pao* 30 (1933) 237-451; 31 (1934) 274-314; 32 (1935) 210-222;



new and greater brilliance.<sup>78</sup> Clay pipes led rain water from the street towards the west.<sup>79</sup> The street itself was forty ells wide, so that during solemn processions, when the ruler, adorned with his customary sixty-four ornaments, including his tall, pointed, jeweled crown, rode along it on his splendidly trapped elephant and was accompanied by four divisions of his army, the elephants could walk in the parade breast to breast.<sup>80</sup>

In the northeast of the city, not far from the surrounding wall, was the Pas Māl Pēya, an elaborate, five-storied, royal palace,<sup>81</sup> whose walls were covered with shimmering blue moonstone.<sup>82</sup> The granite columns and their capitals,<sup>83</sup> the stone door and window frames, were adorned with reliefs and carvings of lions, peacocks, and lotus garlands.<sup>84</sup> A stone triumphal arch<sup>85</sup> rising from the jaws of a *makara*, a fabled monster resembling a crocodile, adorned the approach to the many-stepped ivory throne<sup>86</sup> of the audience hall;<sup>87</sup> and from

and JCB 24 (1915/16) 74ff.; 28 (1920) 32. A reminder of these is the stone memorial in three languages, Persian, Tamil, and Chinese, which Cheng Ho erected in Galle in 1409, discovered there in 1911. See E. W. Perera, "The Galle Trilingual Stone," *Spolia Zeylanica* 8 (1913) 122-132; S. Paranavitana, "The Tamil Inscription on the Galle Trilingual Slab," *Epigraphia Zeylanica* 3 (1933) 331-41. See also Ray I 651-652 664-668.

<sup>78</sup> *Rājāvaliya* 68; Valentyn V 3, 72; P 1910, 13-14. Parākrama Bāhu VI moved his residence to Kōttē and ruled there until 1467.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. P 1900 1917.

<sup>80</sup> *Hamsa* and *Paravi Sandēsa* (P 1917). The villagers say that filings from precious stones that were strewn during the processions of the tooth reliquary can still be picked up along the former royal road (P 1917).

<sup>81</sup> The palace was located opposite the present village of Battaramula, as Schweitzer wrote in 1681 (*Germans in Dutch Ceylon* [Colombo, 1952] 79). The area in which it lay is still called *Pas Māl Pēya Watta* (Garden of the Five-storied Palace), with the adjacent *Maligā Watta* (Temple Garden). In 1737 Heydt wrote that the ruins of the palace could still be seen but that they were in a very poor condition. There were only gardens and fruit trees on the site and here and there a Singhalese cottage (*Heydt's Ceylon* [Colombo, 1952] 8-9). In 1909 the owner of the area, J. Fonseka Muhandiram, excavated a large building measuring fifty by one hundred feet. It was popularly known as "the Palace of Don Juan Dharmapāla," and is probably to be identified with the *Magul Madawa* (Great Palace) of Parākrama Bāhu VI, about which contemporary poets sang (*Report*, 1909). The palace was between two streets on a plot somewhat higher than the royal road (P 1910, 15). It was oriented towards the southeast. The interior of the palace has not yet been excavated (*Report*, 1909), that is, two mounds of ruins, one of which is strewn with old bricks (P 1917). The *Report* for 1951, printed in 1954, indicates that the Archaeological Department is undertaking steps to acquire the property on which the palace stood.

<sup>82</sup> *Selalihini Sandēsa* (Pieris, *Ceylon* I 40); Valentyn V 3, 72.

<sup>83</sup> The Colombo Museum acquired in 1909 twelve fragments of columns with carvings on them from the palace or the Tooth Temple. Another column and a capital which were found on the site of Nayiwala and had apparently been used in the building of a church were given to the museum. In 1900 Perera wrote: "Only one or two broken stumps of stone pillars mark the site of the stately pile where the mighty Parākrama held court. What Portuguese and Dutch invaders spared, the exigencies of the Public Works Department could not do without, and the few perfect stone columns that remained were carted away some years ago to build the bridge at Hendala" (P 1904, 305).

<sup>84</sup> *Report* 1909.

<sup>85</sup> Among the most beautiful fragments which the Colombo Museum obtained in 1909 was a fine face of *Kirtti-mukha* with a lotus flower and bud hanging from its mouth, apparently the crown of a granite *makara-torana* (*makara* [a legendary sea monster] triumphal arch) over the entrance to the palace or the audience hall. Before 1909 it stood on the altar of the Portuguese church in the area of Nayiwala (*Report* 1909). Cf. the *makara* triumphal arch over the throne of Bhuvaneka Bāhu on the two ivory boxes in the Residence Museum in Munich (Slomann 360, and pl. 4).

<sup>86</sup> As King Manuel wrote to the pope in 1507, the Portuguese embassy of 1506 was received by the king (Parākrama Bāhu IX) in Kōttē in a very large hall, at the end

the golden, pointed peak of the palace<sup>88</sup> a great ruby gleamed in the light of the sun.<sup>89</sup>

A few yards north of the palace was the granite coronation terrace<sup>90</sup> overlooking a bathing pool trimmed with stone.<sup>91</sup> Not far from there, on the royal road close to the surrounding wall, was the palace pagoda, the Daladā Māligāwa,<sup>92</sup> with its honored relic, a tooth of Buddha. This was the principal temple

of which was the king's throne shaped like a very elaborate altar (JCB 19 [1907] 340). According to Queyroz, the king sat on an ivory throne with six steps (180). Cf. the picture of the ivory throne in Slomann, pl. 4, and p. 360.

<sup>87</sup> JCB 19 (1907) 340.

<sup>88</sup> *Selalihini Sandēsa* (P 1910, 15). The picture of the royal palace in Mandalay can give an idea of it (Dahlmann I 146).

<sup>89</sup> *Kōkila Sandēsa*. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang reported in the seventh century that there was a large ruby crowning the tip of the Tooth Temple in Anurādhapura. In old Ceylon the tips of royal and religious buildings were as a rule adorned with gold and silver and set with precious stones. The palace in Kōttē was probably built in the form of a pyramid, like the palaces in Anurādhapura and Polonnaruwa, the upper stories having a constantly decreasing circumference (P 1910, 14-15). See the picture of the seven-storied palace in Polonnaruwa in Dahlmann II 258.

<sup>90</sup> The *Gal-āsanaya* (Coronation Stone) lay on the site known today as Gabada Watta. In 1900 Perera wrote: "The coronation seat, a *dais* composed of slabs of dressed granite, had long escaped the ravages of the villagers, being covered with turf. But recently digging near the spot a rustic accidentally struck on the granite basement, and now the stones forming one side of the throne have been removed to a neighbouring temple garden, where they are being utilized in the building of a new *vihāré* [monastery]" (P 1904, 305). And in 1917 he wrote that north of the bathing pool had been the coronation stone, but that a few years before the granite stones had been carried away for the building of the Gabada Watta temple.

<sup>91</sup> In 1900 Perera wrote that the old pool, which tradition ascribed to Alakēshwara, was still extant since it had been evergrown by a dense covering of *lantana* (ironweed), but that the stones would soon be carried away and all trace of it would disappear. According to the *Report* of 1909 a few yards from the palace had been a pool with beautiful granite steps. These had been sold and carried off. On the site was found a large stone basin which was placed in the courtyard of the Supreme Court. According to tradition, the bathing pool for the women of the palace had been here. In 1917 all that was left of the pool was the depression in the ground, into which a few cottages had been built. The dam to the west of it should still show remains of brick walls (P 1917). Alakēshwara was beheaded on the coronation stone, and his head rolled down into the pool (P 1904, 294).

<sup>92</sup> The plot of ground on which the Daladā Māligāwa (Tooth Temple) stood is still called today Maligā Watta (Temple Garden). In 1551 an inventory was made of the objects which were found in the palace and the palace pagoda. It has been published in Sousa Viterbo, *O Tesouro do Rei de Ceilão* (Lisboa, 1904) 19-44. It mentions wash-bowls, spittoons, shovels for sandalwood, kettles, basins, neck chains, belts, spoons, small boxes, lamps, necklaces and bracelets, all of gold, strings of pearls with rubies and sapphires, and so forth. In the palace pagoda were large and small gold idols, basins, spittoons, fans, lamps, shovels for sandalwood, ninety rings, one thousand large and small earrings set with semiprecious stones, all made out of gold, and also coins. The treasure proper was not, however, found (see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 573 575-576 582-602 605 613 618). In 1558 the viceroy wrote that the pagoda "estava nos paços" (*ibid.* 594), that is, within the palace precincts. Dharmapāla was baptized in 1557, and the Tooth Temple was changed into a church (Queyroz 330), as the viceroy had already desired in 1551 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 593). When Kōttē was abandoned, the building was destroyed (Couto 8, 7). Ruins of the palace and of the church could still be seen in 1737 (*Heydt's Ceylon* [Colombo, 1952] 8). The church provided the major part of the material for the Dutch Wolfendahl church in Colombo. The land finally came into private hands, as Perera noted in 1900 with the following observations: "Not content with selling the pillars, carved capitals, pilasters, and dressed slabs lying about, the massive foundations of the palace were attacked on one side and the firmly cemented granite rubble sold and carted away. In the course of these "excavations" the huge iron tripod or lamp on which the lights blazed at festivals was, I understand, unearthed,

of the city.<sup>93</sup> It was three stories high, shaped like a steeply rising pyramid,<sup>94</sup> capped by a tip of pure gold,<sup>95</sup> and resting upon artistically carved granite pillars.<sup>96</sup> It was further adorned with little bells that tinkled in the wind.<sup>97</sup> The relic enshrined within the temple was highly revered throughout the whole of Ceylon and had survived all the wars and persecutions that had afflicted the island. With seven thousand pieces of silver, Parākrama Bāhu VI had had four small caskets made of gold and adorned with jewels so that they fitted into each other.<sup>98</sup> These precious reliquaries for the tooth were solemnly carried through the streets of the city during the main procession of the year.<sup>99</sup> The same king had also set up pious foundations so that the worship of the protecting gods of the city could be carried on with the help of pipes and drums and singing and dancing without cease in the four Hindu temples of the city wall.<sup>100</sup> He had also given rich revenues to the Buddhist monks and had built a monastery for them and a great hall of initiation, where the novices at fixed times received their yellow robe in the presence of their many confreres and were taken into the order.<sup>101</sup> He also endowed the Tooth Temple with numerous land taxes and harbor tolls from all parts of his kingdom.<sup>102</sup>

and other sundries, but where they are at present, the deponent not knowing cannot say.... The digging has commenced on the hitherto untouched sites of the *Nata*, *Vishnu*, and *Déwālas* [Hindu temples], which supported the Temple of the Tooth, and some beautifully carved granite capitals have been already thrown out. Their fate is not uncertain, as the *Maligawatta* is the common quarry of the village" (P 1904, 306). The Tooth Temple had, it seems, a Hindu shrine at each of its four corners dedicated to Nātha, Saman, Vishnu, and Shiva respectively (P 1910, 16). Near the palace pool was a mound of earth, allegedly the site of the Daladā Māligāwa. It was partially excavated by the proprietors, and some glazed tiles and two beautiful stone statues of Hindu gods were found (*Report* 1909). In 1924, from information provided by a friend, Gnana Prakasar wrote with respect to the church of São Salvador: "The ruins of that church are still to be seen in Etul Kotte (inner fort) nearly six miles from Colombo. The land in which the church stood is still called *Palliewatte* (church-garden). These ruins seem to indicate that the church was a stately and magnificent building. The property is at present owned by one Joseph Fonseka Muhandiram. In the same and adjacent lands are to be seen the ruins of some other buildings. The palace of the King of Kotte must have been somewhere here" (*History* 179).

<sup>93</sup> P 1910, 16.

<sup>94</sup> *Cūlavamsa* II 215; *Selalihini Sandēsa* (Pieris, *Ceylon* I 40). It was built in the form of a crown according to the *Paravi Sandēsa* (P 1910, 16), that is, a pointed pyramid, similar to the crown which Bhuvaneka Bāhu is seen wearing on the relief of the ivory casket in Munich (Slomann, pls. 4-5). The Shwedagon pagoda in Rangoon, for example, has this same shape, and the same type of crown was worn by the king of Siam.

<sup>95</sup> *Girā Sandēsa* (P 1910, 16). The Kiri Vihāra *dagoba* in Polonnaruwa also had a golden tip (Tennent II 595).

<sup>96</sup> P 1910, 16.

<sup>97</sup> *Selalihini Sandēsa* (Pieris, *Ceylon* I 39).

<sup>98</sup> *Cūlavamsa* II 214-216. The *Mahāvamsa* and *Cūlavamsa* give the history of the tooth relic of Buddha, which came to Ceylon from India in the fourth century. It is not mentioned in the inventory of 1551. According to Queyroz it was removed for safekeeping by the father of Dharmapāla, who died in exile in Jaffna in 1556. The viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança seized it here in 1560 and had it destroyed in Goa. Imitations of it were later honored in its stead. Cf. Couto 6, 10, 7 and 12; 7, 2, 4; 7, 35; 7, 9, 2 and 17; 8 12-13; Queyroz 325-326 333 364-365 and 60; also J. Gerson da Cunha, *Memoir on the History of the Tooth-Relic of Ceylon* (Bombay, 1875); Gnana Prakasar, *History* 112-113 144-146 157-159; Harvey 172-174; Ray I 758-762 and *passim*; Seb. Gonçalves 8, 12.

<sup>99</sup> *Hamsa Sandēsa* (P 1917); *Cūlavamsa* II 216.

<sup>100</sup> *Nikāya Samgraha* (P 194, 285-286).

<sup>101</sup> *Cūlavamsa* II 216-217; *Girā Sandēsa* (P 1910, 17).

<sup>102</sup> *Rājaratnākara* (P 1910, 32).

Parākrama Bāhu VI died in 1467 after ruling for fifty-five years. In 1506, during the reign of his fifth successor, Parākrama Bāhu IX, the Portuguese came to Ceylon. His successor in turn, Vijaya Bāhu VII, asked the Moors for help against them, but he was himself deposed and murdered in 1521 by his nephews<sup>103</sup> Bhuvaneka Bāhu, Māyādunnē, and Rayigam Bandāra. The three brothers divided the kingdom up among themselves. Bhuvaneka Bāhu as the eldest received the lion's share, the south and southwest coasts of the island from Negombo to the other side of Galle.<sup>104</sup> Māyādunnē received Sitāvaka in the interior on the upper course of the Kelani River, while his brother obtained the territory adjoining it north of Galle. But since then the land had never been at peace. Whereas Māyādunnē relied upon the help of the Moors from Calicut, Bhuvaneka Bāhu had appealed to the Portuguese.<sup>105</sup>

His embassy to the court of Lisbon had been crowned with success. The *pandita* had returned with ten *alvarás* in which John III granted the requested favors "in gratitude for his generous and repeated assistance."<sup>106</sup> The most important of these was the confirmation of Dharmapāla Bandāra,<sup>107</sup> the grandson of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, as successor to the throne after the latter's death. The king had only one child, a daughter, and Dharmapāla was her only son. In this kingdom sons were accustomed to succeed their fathers, as was noted in official documents.<sup>108</sup> Other *alvarás* protected the king from the encroachments of the Portuguese. They could no longer cut down coconut palms, breadfruit, or punamaram trees,<sup>109</sup> and they could only build ships with the permission of both the governor of India and the king of Kōttē. No Portuguese could in the future acquire gardens or other lands within the king's domain without his permission, and the new owner would have to pay the ordinary land taxes upon it. The Portuguese could not in the future pay the natives for goods in advance and thus defraud them. They could no longer use force in their business negotiations, and they would have to observe the usual prices and pay the various tolls and taxes of the land. All of the ships sailing from the harbors of Bhuvaneka Bāhu's kingdom should be examined before their departure by his officials so that children would not be taken from their parents or slaves from their masters, or cinnamon bark and other forbidden wares be exported. If slaves of pagans became Christians, their new Christian masters should pay the price of their purchase; and if freemen became Christians, they were still bound in the future to pay the customary taxes on their gardens and lands as they had before baptism. The Portuguese king further confirmed the office of Bhuvaneka Bāhu's interpreter, Antonio Pereira, for life. He also agreed that Tamita Semba-

<sup>103</sup> Others call them his sons. At the time polyandry frequently prevailed in Ceylon, and the *Rājavaliya* states that when the brothers Rāja Sinha and Vijāya Bāhu were still young they had a single wife, who was the mother of the three princes (74).

<sup>104</sup> \*Trindade 725; Codrington 96.

<sup>105</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 2-3.

<sup>106</sup> For his requests, see *ibid.* 99-106; for the *alvarás*, *ibid.* 110-121.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* 110-111.

<sup>108</sup> When he was baptized in 1557, Dharmapāla received the name of D. João Periya Bandāra. He remained until his death a true friend of Portugal and an apostle of his new faith. He moved to Colombo in 1565, and in 1580 he designated the king of Portugal as the heir to his kingdom. When he died in 1597, there were more than one hundred parishes in his kingdom (Gnana Prakasar, *Hist.* 118-124 180-189 243-245).

<sup>109</sup> *Calophyllum inophyllum*. The wood from these trees is especially good for masts and spars (Dalgado II 229).

hap Perumāl,<sup>110</sup> the lord high chamberlain, the highest official at court, who had brought up the king's children, should after the king's death retain his office under Dharmapāla, and that this office should remain within his family in perpetuity.<sup>111</sup>

Talmita Sembahap Perumāl was the brother of Vīdiye Bandāra,<sup>112</sup> the father of Dharmapāla. The confirmation of the king's grandson as successor to the throne had done nothing but create bad blood with Māyādunnē, who was aiming at the throne of Kōttē. In addition to his daughter,<sup>113</sup> the mother of Dharmapāla, Bhuvaneka Bāhu had two sons from a concubine, the elder of whom, Jugo,<sup>114</sup> also had pretensions on the throne. Further, the son of the king's sister, according to the Malabar right of inheritance, would have been his successor. Bhuvaneka Bāhu therefore had every reason to keep his Portuguese allies, and especially the Portuguese king, well disposed towards himself.

The Portuguese colony in Kōttē was small. At its summit was the excellent Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho, whom Xavier came to know on his voyage to India.<sup>115</sup> In September, 1543, he had succeeded Antonio Pessoa as factor, *alcaide-mor*, and *guarda-mor* of King Bhuvaneka Bāhu; and he represented the governor of India at the court of the Sinhalese ruler.<sup>116</sup> After him were the prince's interpreter, Antonio Pereira, who, advanced in years, was living in Kōttē with his wife and children,<sup>117</sup> and Antonio Saraiva, who served the prince as his Portuguese secretary. He also had lived for a long time in the royal city and, like Pereira, knew Sinhalese.<sup>118</sup> Despite their small number, the little community, which had received an increase of native converts,<sup>119</sup> had its own Misericordia, whose church stood on the square in front of the royal palace.<sup>120</sup> Bhuvaneka Bāhu had given the confraternity an annual income of fifty *pardaus* and ten *bahārs* of cinnamon sticks, and another ten *bahārs* for making a silver chalice and censer.<sup>121</sup> Al-

<sup>110</sup> The *Rājāvaliya* calls him Tamita Sūrya Bandāra (81). He was imprisoned and sent to Goa in 1555. Here he received baptism and took the name of his sponsor, the governor Francisco Barreto (Couto 7, 2, 4). He was sent back to Ceylon with honor, where we still meet him in 1566 bravely fighting on the side of the Portuguese (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 120).

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.* 120-121.

<sup>112</sup> Vīdiye Bandāra (Portuguese: Triuele Pamdar, Tribuly Pandar, Triava Pandar) was, according to \*Trindade, the lord of Mādampe (725). According to the *Rājāvaliya*, he was the son of King Taniyawalla in Mādampe, the lord of the Seven Corals (79; see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 151). His life by John M. Senavaratne, *Vidiya Bandara* (Colombo, 1930), is primarily based on the unreliable Queyroz. On his name see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 110.

<sup>113</sup> On her name, Samudra Dēvī, alias Kuda Adahasin, see *ibid.* According to \*Trindade she had two sons, Vijayapāla, who died childless, apparently before 1543, and Dharmapāla (725; cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 110-111).

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.* 165.

<sup>115</sup> See above, pp. 73-75.

<sup>116</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 149 154-155 180 195 339. His position as *guarda-mor* of the king corresponded in some degree to that of an English resident in former times at the court of an Indian rajah.

<sup>117</sup> He had accompanied the *pandita* to Lisbon as an interpreter (*ibid.* 106). In 1545 he translated the letter which Bhuvaneka Bāhu wrote to the governor of India (*ibid.* 198). In 1546 he was old, had seen much service, had a wife and children, and was poor since the factors had not paid him his support (*ibid.* 402).

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* 172. In 1545 Antonio da Fonseca was already secretary (*ibid.* 198).

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* 118.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.* 565.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.* 400 412. He gave the *bahārs* when Duarte Teixeira was factor, that is, between 1539 and 1541.

though the king was a Buddhist, he was naturally good-humored, generous, and amiable. Only his own personal life left something to be desired. He was addicted to unnatural vice, introduced by Buddhist monks, and to palm wine and opium.<sup>122</sup> He had given the Franciscans, whom he had himself requested, a generous welcome and had presented them with a site near his palace for their small monastery and church.<sup>123</sup> But all efforts to convert him to Christianity had thus far been of no avail. Xavier learned more about this from their guardian, Frey João de Villa de Conde, whom he met in Kōttē.<sup>124</sup>

The friars had arrived in India with the *pandita*, but he had remained behind there on business. The guardian and his three companions<sup>125</sup> had, consequently, arrived in Kōttē without him, where they were joyfully greeted by their countrymen. The king had them immediately visited and received them in audience three days later. They presented him with the letters of the Portuguese king and the governor of India. Bhuvaneka Bāhu received them warmly and took care of their needs. After a few days, Frey João and his companions began to explain the truths of Christianity to the king and his courtiers with the help of an interpreter and warned them of their errors, namely, that they prayed to works made by human hands and offered sacrifices to demons instead of to the almighty God, the giver of all good things, and were thrusting their souls, which had been destined for heaven, into everlasting ruin. When the guardian kept bringing this up to the king, he became sad. When the friar then asked him why he had promised the Portuguese king through his interpreter that he would receive baptism, Bhuvaneka Bāhu replied that he had never authorized the *pandita* to give such an assurance, and that for the time being he did not intend to accept the religion of the Christians. The priest would therefore have to wait until his ambassador returned. Everything would then be clarified. In the meantime he would gladly help them in any other way he could.

Soon after this the *pandita* arrived in Kōttē and delivered to Bhuvaneka Bāhu the letters, *alvarás*, and gifts of the Portuguese king. He told him how the latter had urged him to warmly recommend to his lord in his own name the Franciscan missionaries who were being sent with him, so that he might actively support them in spreading the Christian faith; for all the good or ill that he showed them would be considered as being shown to his own person.

Bhuvaneka Bāhu then had the friars summoned. He renewed his promises

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* 127; cf. 425 495.

<sup>123</sup> In 1551 the *pandita* wrote that in the center of the royal square there were two main churches (*ibid.* 565). By these were meant the Misericórdia and the church of the Franciscans.

<sup>124</sup> Our source for the following, the Latin account in Gonzaga (*ibid.* 125-134), is obviously the account which Frey João de Villa de Conde sent at the first opportunity to Lisbon. The guardian left Ceylon in 1544. He returned to Kōttē in 1545 with the ambassador Barbudo and sailed to Portugal in 1549 in order to give an account of the mission to the king. Returning to Ceylon in 1555, he and his confreres were able to baptize the seventy thousand Karaiya fishers between Colombo and Negombo in 1556, and Dharmapāla and his chief followers in 1557 (*ibid.* 125-126). He is last mentioned in 1567, when he visited the Jesuit missions in Manār and Punnaikāyal (SR X 323-324). He died with a reputation for sanctity and was buried in the monastery of S. Antonio in Cochin (\*Trindade 669).

<sup>125</sup> When Xavier left the Indies in 1545, there were five Franciscans in Ceylon (EX I 319). Apparently one of the Socotra missionaries had been added to them. Named in addition to the guardian are the following: Frey Antonio Padram in 1545 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 362), Frey Francesco de Montepandone in 1546 (*ibid.* 363), Frey Simão de Coimbra (*ibid.* 370), and Frey Gonçalo de Lamego (*ibid.* 562).

of assistance and offered them seventy gold *pardaus* for their immediate needs and an annual income for the future of two hundred *pardaus*.<sup>126</sup> The friars, however, refused the money, saying that they sought nothing but the salvation of souls. If the king received baptism, they would give an excellent account of him and would send one of their number back to Portugal so that he might personally further the king's affairs at the Portuguese court.

The king asked for a delay, for he had first to reflect on such a difficult step. At their request, however, he repealed the laws according to which converts lost their property when they became Christians and the king appropriated the possessions of his deceased subjects even if they had become Christians.

The guardian continued to advise the king to stop worshiping idols made of wood and stone and to worship the Creator of heaven and earth. But when he saw that his admonitions were only making the king more sad, he had the *pandita* summoned and called him to account in the presence of the whole court. He had promised the king of Portugal that the ruler of Ceylon would accept Christianity if some learned Franciscans were sent to him. Why had these promises not been kept? The ambassador replied that he had told the Portuguese king that it would be good to send some upright and religious men to his lord so that they might expound the secrets of the Christian faith and teach him the way of truth, for he was certain that he would give credence to such men and receive baptism.

At the guardian's insistence, the king finally decided to have a public disputation held in his presence, to which he invited the scholars of his kingdom, Hindu and Buddhist priests, the people of his court, the friars, and the Portuguese factor. It was further stipulated that whoever was defeated in the duel would have to accept the religion of the victor. At the king's request, Frey João proposed the following questions which his adversaries would have to answer: (1) What is God? (2) What is heaven? (3) What is an angel? (4) What is a saint? (5) What is the devil? (6) What is virtue? (7) What are sin and vice?

Attempts to answer these questions caused confusion in the ranks of his opponents. The opinions of the Hindus and Buddhists were worlds apart, and they began to quarrel among themselves. The king and three others with some pretensions to learning stammered out a few replies; but the harder they tried, the more they contradicted themselves, so that the bystanders finally burst out laughing. But there was also some grumbling since the pagans were shocked that neither their king nor his scholars could defend the religion of their land.

After these disputations had continued for fifteen days without result, or rather to the shame of the public authority, the king suspended them with the following explanation: His predecessors on the throne, learned and virtuous men who were concerned about their own salvation, had died as pagans. The friars should be content that they held fast to the faith of their fathers, since there is none better. The king also refused the offer of the guardian to answer and explain the seven questions he had proposed. He further rejected a proposed ordeal as being unnecessary—Frey João had declared he was ready to mount a burning pyre with one of the leading monks or Brahman priests, or to enter a lake swarming with crocodiles.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>126</sup> The account of Gonzaga has one hundred *pardaus* (*ibid.* 128), according to Bhuvaneke Bāhu there were two hundred (*ibid.* 399; cf. 195).

<sup>127</sup> Queyroz erroneously states that he actually climbed up on the funeral pyre (260-261).

When the guardian kept pushing the king and reproaching him for despising the friendship and benefits of the unconquered king of Portugal, whom he had openly extolled above all other kings, Bhuvaneka Bāhu replied:

Neither for the present king of Portugal nor for two more like him will I abandon the law in which I was born, nourished, and educated; and I assure you that I shall never accept the law of the Christians and profess it. And if anyone would force me to do so, I would rather lose my kingdom and my country than be baptized. You and your friars can offer your law to my subjects. If any wish to accept it, this will be agreeable with me; and I shall prevent no one from joining you. But if they do not wish to do so, no one will be able to blame me for it.

He spoke in this manner since he was convinced that the priestly Brahmins and the *sanghattaras*, Buddhist priests, would keep the people from becoming Christians. To calm the friars he again offered them an annual income of two hundred *pardaus*. But the guardian persisted in his refusal to accept it even when Bhuvaneka had the money offered to him by the *guarda-mor* and by Belchior Rodrigues, who was married in Kōttē.<sup>128</sup>

Under such circumstances the letter which Master Francis presented to Bhuvaneka Bāhu on behalf of the king of Portugal had no effect. The king declared that he had never promised to be baptized and placed all the blame on his ambassador, who in his turn sought to exculpate himself. Perhaps his interpreter in Lisbon had made such a promise on his own initiative.<sup>129</sup>

The Portuguese messenger whom the king of Kandy had sent to the governor, and who had been sent back to Ceylon by him with some letters in Xavier's company, found the road to the territory of Sītāvaka blocked. Since the return of the *pandita* and the confirmation of Dharmapāla as successor to the throne of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, there had practically been a state of war between him and his brother Māyādunnē. A short time before this Māyādunnē had murdered a mestizo, the son of Lazaro Martin of Quilon, and his companion, a servant of Nunaivares Pereira, who was carrying letters to his lord. The Portuguese messenger did not as a consequence dare to continue his journey to Kandy. Instead, he gave his letters to the *guarda-mor* for forwarding. Coutinho entrusted them to a messenger of the king of Kōttē who had to go to Kandy. Bhuvaneka Bāhu, however, took the documents from him, and they consequently failed to reach their destination.<sup>130</sup>

Frey João de Villa de Conde, when he saw that all of his attempts to convert the king were futile, began to think of leaving Kōttē and returning to India.<sup>131</sup> Master Francis also saw that the time for Bhuvaneka Bāhu's baptism had not yet arrived, and after a short stay he continued on his journey to the Fishery Coast.

<sup>128</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 195-196 399.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* 127 197 224 410 520 588. In 1546 Simão de Coimbra wrote to King John III that Bhuvaneka Bāhu had immediately written to the king of Kandy after the latter's baptism that he could not believe that he, a king from so high a caste, would wish to become a Paraiya. He, Bhuvaneka Bāhu, had asked for friars from the king of Portugal apparently because he wished to become a Christian, but actually only because he wanted in this way to obtain his requests from the Portuguese king (*ibid.* 426).

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.* 180 154.

<sup>131</sup> He did this at the end of February or the beginning of March, 1544, since Bhuvaneka Bāhu wrote in 1545 that he had offered a pension to the friars for five or six months but that the guardian had quarreled with him, and they had gone away without reason and without speaking to him (*ibid.* 196).



## CHAPTER V

### CÊRAS AND PANDYAS (FEBRUARY—DECEMBER, 1544)<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. NEW HELPERS IN THE VINEYARD (FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1544)

In the middle of February, 1544, Xavier returned to the Fishery Coast with his new helpers: Coelho, Lizano, Mansilhas, and Artiaga. He could now organize the work of the missions. He gave his companions written instructions<sup>2</sup> and divided them up for their wide field of labor.<sup>3</sup> He left Mansilhas in Manappād with Artiaga, a cook, and the young Matheus, a Parava boy who had first been his own servant, and who had learned Portuguese sufficiently well to serve as an interpreter.<sup>4</sup> With the four thousand *fanams* which M.A. de Sousa had generously given him for each year of his term of office, Master Francis could now appoint a *kanakapula*, or catechist, in each village, who would teach Christian doctrine twice a day, one hour in the mornings to the boys and a second in the evenings to the girls. The *kanakapula* also acted as sacristan of the church. He assembled the people on Sundays for prayers, baptized in case of necessity, kept lists of births and of the people who were a source of trouble or were at odds with each other, and of those who wanted to get married. With respect to the latter, he made inquiries with respect to any impediments so that

<sup>1</sup> The main source for this chapter are Xavier's twenty-six letters to Mansilhas (EX I 188-247). Besides these there are the testimonials of Mansilhas (MX II 316-318), Artiaga (*ibid.* 374-378), and Joam da Cruz (*ibid.* 309-311). For the baptism of the Macuas, there is Xavier's letter (EX I 273-274) and the account of Paulo Vaz (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231-232). For the political background, see the summaries in *Zeitgenössische Quellen*, pp. 392-442 509-511, our introduction to the letters to Mansilhas (EX I 178-188), and our "Iniquitribirim and Beteperumal." These correct the earlier accounts. Seb. Gonçalves has the king of Travancore ask the help of the Badagas against the king of Quilon (2, 12-13). According to Bartoli they marched against both kings (*Asia* 1, 40-42), an error which has constantly been repeated. Filippucci makes Vettum Perumāl a captain of the Badagas (EX II 550-559). Heras identifies him with Vitthala (113-118 140-153), as does Velu Pillai (II 164-180). Nagam Aiya places the baptism of the Macuas before the attack of the Badagas in 1544 (I 297-298, II 153). We must distinguish between three incursions of the Badagas: from 1532 to 1533 against, in 1544 for, and in 1547 again against the Cêra kings. In 1547 this brought about the loss of South Tinnevely for the Cêra kings.

<sup>2</sup> EX I 189 192-193.

<sup>3</sup> Xavier seems to have handed the care of the villages north of Tuticorin over to Lizano, perhaps until April along with Coelho. Xavier first mentions him in his letters to Mansilhas in December, 1544. Lizano stated that he had several times heard Xavier's confession, an indication that he was usually stationed at a distance from him since the saint was accustomed, for example, in São Thomé to confess daily, as was the practice for the priests at the castle of Xavier. And Artiaga, who also was occasionally in Vēmbār, stated that Lizano had been his confessor and that he had conversed much with him (MX II 376).

<sup>4</sup> Matheus was a Parava boy who had served Xavier before this as an interpreter and was much attached to him (EX I 196 223; cf. 192 200 205 212 218 247).

he could give an account of everything to the missionary when he came to the village.<sup>5</sup> Among the *kanakapulas* there were, for example, Francisco Fernandes in Vaippār,<sup>6</sup> Pedro Fernandes in Virapāndyanpatnam,<sup>7</sup> Manuel in Kumari Mut-tam,<sup>8</sup> Antonio Henriques in Perumanal,<sup>9</sup> Sebastião da Cunha,<sup>10</sup> and others. When necessary, the village authorities, the *pantangatis* or the *meirinho*, the police officer,<sup>11</sup> could add efficacy to the teaching of the catechists and punish those who failed to live up to the standards of Christian morality. A number of prominent and affluent Paravas were also of valuable assistance to Master Francis. Among these were Joam da Cruz<sup>12</sup> and Manuel da Cruz in Punnaikāyal<sup>13</sup> and Manuel de Lima,<sup>14</sup> three of the most influential men on the coast. He never spoke without effect in their presence when he needed money for the building of a church or for something else for the mission.

Xavier chose Punnaikāyal as his residence since it was centrally located and near Tuticorin, where Cosme de Paiva, the captain of the Fishery Coast, was stationed with his men. This also made it easier for them to make their Easter

<sup>5</sup> Teixeira 852; DI IV 356; ARSI: Goa 7, 22v.

<sup>6</sup> MX II 548-549.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 547 552.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 623.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 532; cf. 623.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 576-577.

<sup>11</sup> Xavier mentions policemen (*meirinhos*) twice (EX I 191 247). In 1559 there was an *irmitão* (*kanakapula*, "catechist") and a *meirinho*, who had to bring the people to instructions and prayers (DI IV 356). In 1579 Valignano \*wrote that in every village in Travancore there was a *meirinho* who had charge of the jail and called the adults and every day the children to instructions, and a *kanakapula*, who gave instructions in Christian doctrine, took care of the church, and informed the priest on baptisms and those who were ill (ARSI: Goa 7, 22v).

<sup>12</sup> Joam da Cruz—not to be confused with the Chetti D. Joam da Cruz who induced the Paravas to receive baptism—was a prominent Parava. At the Pearl Fishery in 1545 he collected two thousand *fanams* for the teaching of the children (EX I 285), and in 1557 he was a witness at the process in Cochin (MX II 309-312).

<sup>13</sup> Manuel da Cruz is often mentioned in Xavier's letters to Mansilhas (EX I 198 203 205 208 212 223 228 231 239). In 1568 H. Henriques \*wrote from Punnaikāyal: "The time that I was in Tutocorim I heard the confessions of the old mother of Manuel da Cruz. She is the mother and aunt of two of the four most prominent individuals on this coast. She is also very zealously concerned about her salvation. We settled all of her affairs outside of confession, and she left everything to our discretion. She also said that in the future the priests should direct her affairs and take over the care of her almsgiving and restitutions" (ARSI: Goa 8, 653v).

<sup>14</sup> Manuel de Lima, who is twice mentioned by Xavier (EX I 207 210), is probably the *patangati* about whom H. Henriques wrote in 1567 from Punnaikāyal: "Among the many who came and asked us to hear their confession was a *patangati* from among the aristocrats of this village who had ships for the Pearl Fishery. He had an old contract with the divers who sailed in them that smelled so much like usury that the priests were afraid to hear his confession. He earnestly entreated them to hear him. They could then decide what they wished, for he was determined to obey them in everything and to make restitution of all that was necessary. We were edified by his entreaties, and as often as he came to our house to confess, we gave him the consolation that he sought" (SR X 313-314). A year later \*Henriques reported that he had received a letter in Manār from a fellow worker who wrote that he had heard in addition to the usual confessions of the men and women that also of Manuel de Lima, one of the four principal persons on the coast, who was now old and sickly. He added: "He is obviously so concerned about his salvation that in my presence he called his son and gave him his *champanas* and divers and told him that he might unburden his conscience of all that he deemed necessary. He further handed over to him the office of *patangati* and all his other affairs with the captain and the *patangatis*, for he wanted to have no other concern before his death than his soul's salvation" (ARSI: Goa 8, 653v).

duty. The Parava Antonio served him as an interpreter and another Parava, also named Antonio, acted as his servant and cook.<sup>15</sup> During his first visit to Punnaikāyal in the preceding year, Francis had stayed in the home of a Parava by the name of Nicolau Vaz, who had three daughters. While he was living with them, Vaz and his wife had asked him to obtain a son for them from God. Xavier had replied that they should firmly believe in God, and he had promised them that if they did so their desire would be fulfilled. In time of need or sickness the Paravas liked to wear some words from a Gospel about their neck or arm. Xavier's host had asked him for such a token as a pledge of his promise and had obtained one. Now, a year later, the promise had been fulfilled.<sup>16</sup>

Xavier kept up an active correspondence with his confreres. Mansilhas easily lost patience with his flock and at times needed encouragement. In addition to this, Cosme de Paiva had written to Francis that he had given ten *pardaus* to Artiaga, who had asked for these in Xavier's name. On February 23, Francis therefore wrote to his confrere in Manappād:<sup>17</sup>

May the grace and love of Christ our Lord be a constant help and assistance to us! Dearest brother! I have a great longing to know what you are doing. I earnestly entreat you, for the love of Jesus Christ, that you let me know at great length about yourself and your companions.<sup>18</sup> I shall let you know when I arrive in Manapar.<sup>19</sup> Recall those things which I gave to you in writing,<sup>20</sup> and ask God to give you much patience to deal with those people. Reckon that you are in purgatory purifying yourself from your sins and that God is granting you a great favor in cleansing you from your sins in this life. Tell João d'Artiaga that the captain<sup>21</sup> wrote to me that he had given him ten *pardaus* for me, and that I am writing to the said captain that neither you nor João d'Artiaga nor I have needed money since he came to the Fishery Coast,<sup>22</sup> and that he should return them to the captain since I am writing to the captain that he should collect them at once. If the captain, however, gave them because of an *alvará* which the Lord Governor gave to him, then he can buy a *topaz*<sup>23</sup> with them. But if he did not give them because of that *alvará*, tell him that he should return

<sup>15</sup> On them see above, p. 322.

<sup>16</sup> According to the testimony of his son Thomé Vaz in 1616, over sixty-seven years old at the time. He added that after Xavier's promise his father had three sons, of whom he was the third (MX II 554-555).

<sup>17</sup> EX I 188-190. For our translation of the twenty-six letters to Mansilhas, see our introduction to them (*ibid.* 178-183). There was no uniform orthography at the time either for the Tamil texts, or even for their transcription, for the Latin alphabet frequently lacked the necessary characters. Xavier is as a rule reasonably true in giving oriental names according to their local pronunciation, but as a Spaniard he made no distinction between *v* and *b*; and, following Portuguese usage, he has the words end with a nasal sound. Thus, for example, *Tiruvadi* becomes *Triberim* with him as with others. Further, it must be noted that Xavier often dictated his letters, and that the letters to Mansilhas are extant only in copies from copies, and these in the very imperfect Macao codex in which the oriental words are often badly corrupted. Xavier always wrote the cacuminal *d*, a sound between *d* and *r*, as *r*, for example, in *Manapar*.

<sup>18</sup> Artiaga and Matheus.

<sup>19</sup> In the texts of the letters we preserve Xavier's orthography.

<sup>20</sup> The instruction is lost. The context makes it probable that this was Xavier's first letter to Mansilhas.

<sup>21</sup> Cosme de Paiva.

<sup>22</sup> The captain was accustomed to collect the tribute for his king on the Pearl Fishery.

<sup>23</sup> Tamil: *tupāssi*, "interpreter" (Dalgado II 382).

them to the captain at once. May our Lord give you His grace to serve Him, and this as abundantly as I wish for myself. From Punicale, the twenty-third of February, 1544.

I am not writing to João d'Artiaga since this letter is for you and for him.

Your dearest brother,

Francisco.

February 27, four days after the writing of this letter, was Ash Wednesday, the beginning of Lent. At the beginning of March the Paravas sailed to Ceylon for the Great Pearl Fishery. The captain and his men sailed with them to protect them from hostile attacks and to collect the annual tribute for the king. During the two months of March and April the villages north of Manappād, where the pearl fishers lived, were to a large extent deserted. Only women and children, the old and the sick, remained behind. Master Francis therefore exchanged places with Mansilhas. He went to Manappād, from where he could more easily visit the southern villages stretching to Cape Comorin and beyond. In turn, Mansilhas, accompanied by Artiaga and Matheus, took his place in Pun-naikāyal. He soon, however, received a letter from there in which Mansilhas complained that the women, in the absence of their husbands, were busy drinking palm wine. He further noted that he had received a letter addressed to him from Alvaro Fogaça, one of the Portuguese *cavalleiros*. On March 14, Xavier therefore replied as follows:

Dearest brother in Christ! I am greatly pleased with your letters. I earnestly entreat you to deal with your people as a good father does with his evil sons. Do not be annoyed by the many evils that you see, since God, who is so greatly offended by them, does not slay them, although he could; nor does He deprive them of all that they need for their subsistence, although He could take away the things they need to live on. Do not be annoyed, since you produce more fruit than you think; and if you do not do all that you would like, be content with what you do, for you are not to blame.

I am sending you a *meirinho* (policeman), who will assist you until I come. I am giving him a *fanam* for each woman that drinks *urraqua*,<sup>24</sup> and she is moreover to be confined for three days. And let this be known throughout the village. And tell the *patangatis* that if I hear that *urraqua* is no longer drunk in Punicale, they have paid me very well.

Tell Matheus that he should be a very good son, and that I shall take better care of him than his parents would. Until I come, see to it that these *patangatis* amend their ways, for otherwise I shall have to have them arrested and sent to Cochin; and they will never again return to Punicale, for they are responsible for all the evil that occurs there.

Be very careful about baptizing the newborn children and instructing the children as I have urged you to do; and on Sundays teach all the people their prayers with a little sermon. Forbid the making of pagodas,<sup>25</sup> and keep that letter which Alvaro Fogaça<sup>26</sup> sent me until I come. May God our Lord give you as much consolation

<sup>24</sup> Tamil: *urāk*, "palm wine," "arrack" (*ibid.* I 49).

<sup>25</sup> Pagoda can mean "temple," "idol," or "coin" with the picture of the reincarnation of Vishnu (*ibid.* II 129-135). Here it means "idol."

<sup>26</sup> In January, 1551, A. Fogaça, *cavalleiro* of the royal house, was a witness in Cochin on the service of Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda in the war with the Zamorin and his allies (Q 4578; cf. 4575). In January, 1552, Xavier recommended him to the king (EX II 308). He is mentioned in 1555 (TdT: CC 1-37-32) and, possibly, in 1507 (Correa I 720).

in this life and in the next as I wish for myself. From Manapar, the fourteenth of March, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>27</sup>

## 2. A DOOR OPENS (MARCH—JUNE, 1544)

The letter was successful. Mansilhas informed Master Francis he was now content. A week later Francis wrote to him again. He had some important news for him, and he was also concerned about a number of Portuguese who had remained in Tuticorin during the Pearl Fishery.

Dearest brother in Christ! I was greatly consoled by your writing to me that you were living in consolation. And since God has such great concern for you, you also should have regard for Him, and do not grow weary of doing and persevering in what you have begun. Give thanks to God always that he has chosen you for such a great office as that which you have. I shall not recommend anything more to you than what I gave to you in that memorandum. Remember me, since I never forget you. Tell Matheus that he should be a good son and that I shall be a good father to him. Take good care of him, and tell him that he should repeat loudly on Sundays what you tell him so that all hear it, and even I who am here in Manapar.<sup>28</sup> Let me know about the Christians of Tutocurim, if they have suffered injuries from the Portuguese who have remained there, and if there is any news about the governor coming to Cochin.<sup>29</sup>

Here something is taking place that is of great importance for the service of God. Ask our Lord God that it develops so that it eventually comes to light. I earnestly entreat you to treat the people there, I mean the leaders and then all the people, with great love; for if the people love you and are on good terms with you, you will do great service for God. Learn how to deal with those who are weak with great patience, remembering that if they are not yet good, they will be so in time. And if you cannot do all with them that you wish, be content with what you can. May the Lord God be always with you and give us His grace so that we may always serve Him. From Manapar, the twentieth of March, 1544.

Your brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>30</sup>

What was the great door that was beginning to open for the service of God? Why did Master Francis ask if the governor was coming to winter in Cochin, and why was he concerned about the Portuguese who had not gone to the Pearl Fishery with the captain but had remained behind in Tuticorin?

For centuries war had been waged back and forth between the kings of Cēra, to the west of Cape Comorin,<sup>31</sup> and those of Pāndya, to the east of it.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> EX I 190-192.

<sup>28</sup> Xavier is joking: Punnaikāyal is 18 1/2 miles from Manappād.

<sup>29</sup> The governor usually spent the period of the southwest monsoon (June—September) in Goa with his fleet; but M. A. de Sousa, as chief admiral of the ocean, had spent this period with his ships in Cochin in 1537 and 1538 (*Autobiographia* 143; *Castanheda* 8, 147; *Correa* III 835-880).

<sup>30</sup> EX I 192-194.

<sup>31</sup> The Cēra kings ruled in Kerala from Roman times until 1956. See Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (Madras, 1956), and Sesha Aiyar, *Cēra Kings of the Sangam Period* (London, 1937). The first half of the sixteenth century has only been slightly investigated. The king lists are useless; the inscriptions, a list of which is given by Poduval, are only partially published. The territory between Quilon and Cape Comorin was divided up among a number of more or less independent princes

The main reason for this had been the rich revenues of the Pearl Fishery. In earlier times the mighty empire of the Pāndya kings had stretched from Madura in the north to Travancore. But their once great power had been waning for a long time. Attacked in the north by the Cōlas, Bānas, and Maravas, and in the south by the Cēra kings of Travancore, the Pāndya kings had suffered a constant erosion of their territory.<sup>33</sup> A belligerent Cēra king of Quilon, Udaya Mārtānda Varma,<sup>34</sup> married to a Cōla princess and known as “the Great King of Cape Comorin,”<sup>35</sup> had adopted the haughty title of *Venrumankonda Bhūtala-vīra* (World-Conqueror and Lord of the World)<sup>36</sup> and had transferred his residence to Kalakkād in South Tinnevely.<sup>37</sup> Through constant warfare he had stretched his domain ever farther to the north. When he gave refuge to Sāluva Vāra Narasimha,<sup>38</sup> the rebellious ruler of the land of the Cōlas,<sup>39</sup> however, and

who had the title of *Tiruvadi*, the “Five Tiruvadis” of the inscriptions. The most important of these were the rulers of Quilon and Travancore. From 1517 to 1520 Castanheda distinguished between (1) the Great King of Quilon; (2) his sister, the queen of Cape Comorin with her two sons Mārtānda and Rāma; (3) the queen of Quilon, probably the wife of the Great King; and (4) the king of Travancore, against whom she was fighting (4, 14; 5, 38-39). After his death the Great King was succeeded by his sister’s son according to the Malabar law of inheritance (Pires 81). In 1537 the king of Travancore (SR II 259) and the crown prince fought together with the Great King in Tinnevely against the Pāndyas (Correa III 826). In 1615 Diogo Gonçalves distinguished between the *Rey Grande* (of Quilon), the *Principe* (the crown prince, also his nephew), and the *Rey Pequeno* (of Travancore) (17 22 62). Xavier made a similar distinction between the Great King (Unnikē Tiruvadi), the Prince, that is, his nephew, and the King of Travancore (EX I 228 230 466). On this see Schurhammer, “Iniquitriberim and Beteperumal,” and Rajaraja Varma Rapa, “Some Travancore Dynastic Records (1544-1677),” KSP 1 (1928) 1-29.

<sup>32</sup> On the earlier history of the Pāndyas, who were already ruling in southeast India in Roman times, see Kanakasabhai and, in particular, Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāndyan Kingdom* (London, 1929). For the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Gopinatha Rao, “Some Inscriptions of the Later Pāndyas,” TAS 1 (1910-1913) 41-152 251-282. We have assembled the principal data for our period in “Iniquitriberim and Beteperumal.” Sewell, in the *Indian Antiquary* 44 (1915) 165-176, and N. Sastri have noted the following difficulties in research on the history of the Pāndyas: (1) The same names are constantly being repeated. (2) The names of two thrones are regularly interchanged. (3) The number of reigns overlap. (4) There is as yet no correct solution to the doubled years of rule. (5) There are frequent mistakes in the inscriptions, for example, incorrect years of rule. (6) The astronomical data are often false and falsely corrected by their editors. (7) The texts are for the most part still unpublished. Sastri notes that our knowledge of the power of the Pāndya under the Vijayanagar rule is still very fragmentary (248). Nevertheless, despite their declining power, the Pāndya kings still retained such pompous titles as *Kōṇērimaikondam* (Unrivalled among the Kings), *Tribhuvana Chakravarti* (Ruler of Three Worlds), *Tirunelveli Perumāl* (King of Tinnevely), and others.

<sup>33</sup> N. Sastri, *Pāndyan* 211-246.

<sup>34</sup> On Udaya Mārtānda Varma, see TAS 6 (1927) 124-125; ARE (1927) 105-106; Nagam Aiya I 295-296; Velu Pillai II 156-172. His inscriptions date from 1495 to 1535.

<sup>35</sup> Portuguese: *Rey Grande*; Sanskrit: *Mahārājah*; Malayālam: *Valiya Tampurān*.

<sup>36</sup> For example in 1532 (TAS 6 [1927] 129 131).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 124; Nagam Aiya I 295.

<sup>38</sup> Also called Chellappa.

<sup>39</sup> On this first march to the south in 1532, see Gopinatha Rao in TAS 1 (1913) 54-56; Rangachari in IA 43 (1914) 188-192 217-218; K. Ayyangar, *Sources* (1919) 11-13 108-109 158-170; Heras 113-118; Schurhammer, “Iniquitriberim” 35; Velu Pillai II 164-171; Pillay, *Sucīndram* 39-44; and the commentaries on the inscriptions in ARE 1900, 27-30; 1907, 85; 1911, 85; 1913, 23; 1921, 105; 1924, 112-113; 1938, 54 65 105. The main sources are: the contemporary historical poem written in Sanskrit on the life and victories of Achyuta, composed during the lifetime of the king, who died in 542, by his court poet, Rājanātha Dindima, and entitled *Achyutarāyābhūdayam* (partly published by Ayyangar in *Sources*

threatened the king of Tenkāsi<sup>40</sup> with ruin, the latter asked his overlord, Achuyta, the king of Vijayanagar, for help. Achuyta had come to his assistance in 1532 and had sent his general Sālaka Timma with his Badaga troops<sup>41</sup> from the sanctuary of Srīrangam in Cōla territory to the farthest south. Sālaka Timma had crossed the Tāmbraṇi River and had decisively defeated the Cēra king at the foot of the mountains. Udaya Mārtānda had been forced to surrender the Cōla rebels, recognize the overlordship of Vijayanagar, and make a gift of horses and elephants. The Pāndya king was re-established in his domain. He gave Achyuta his daughter as his wife, and the Tāmbraṇi River thereafter formed the southern boundary of his kingdom.<sup>42</sup> From then on, Srīvallabha, the king of Tenkāsi, bore the title of *Iranda-kalam-edutta* (the One Who Brought Back the Past).<sup>43</sup> Tumbichchi Nāyak, the aggressive Telugu ruler in the north of the province of Tinnevely, who was waging war on Vettum Perumāl, the Pāndya king of Kayattār, was on this occasion defeated;<sup>44</sup> and Achyuta from then on carried the title of Pāndya-Rājya-sthāpanāchārya (Ruler Again of the Pāndya Kingdom).<sup>45</sup>

But in the twelve years that had passed since that campaign, much water had flown down the Tāmbraṇi River. Achyuta had died, and instead of the shadow-king Sadāshiva, his successor, Rāma Rāya was the real ruler of Vijayanagar. The inheritance of the Great King Udaya Mārtānda,<sup>46</sup> who had died in 1535, had been shared by two brothers, his nephews Rāma and Mārtānda.<sup>47</sup> Since January, 1541,<sup>48</sup> the former, *Unnikē Tiruvadi*,<sup>49</sup> as he was also called, had

108-109 158-170); the inscription of Elavānāsīn of March 7, 1532 (ARE [1938] 105); and the two of Kāñchīpuram of Saka 1454 (1532/33 A.D.) and 1456 (1533/34 A.D.), described in ARE (1900) 27.

<sup>40</sup> The king of Tenkāsi was Ahavarāma, the father of the Srīvallabha, who succeeded him in 1534 (see the family tree in Sastri, *Pāndyan* 249, from the sheet-copper document of Pudukottai of 1583).

<sup>41</sup> The Badagas (the Kanara form for the Tamil *Vadagar*: "North People") were the troops of the king of Vijayanagar (Dalgado I 76).

<sup>42</sup> The first inscription in Kāñchīpuram states that Achyuta had planted a victory standard at the Tāmbraṇi River (ARE [1907] 27; Q 142). Only near the city of Tinnevely and west of it did the boundary of the Great King cross over the north bank, as the inscriptions before 1546 indicate.

<sup>43</sup> TAS 1, 54-55; Schurhammer, "Iniquitriberim" 29.

<sup>44</sup> ARE 1900, 28; 1921, 105; 1924, 46. The second Kāñchīpuram inscription states that Achyuta surrendered to Tumbichchi Nāyak (Q 143). In December, 1533, Dom Joam da Cruz wrote that the king of Cape Comorin, the king of Travancore, Tumbichchi Nāyak, Vettum Perumāl, and the neighboring kings were at war with Vijayanagar (Schurhammer, "Iniquitriberim" 13-14).

<sup>45</sup> TAS 1, 54-55.

<sup>46</sup> He died in Kalakkād in 1535 (Velu Pillai II 172).

<sup>47</sup> Their mother was Tangachi Sanbagarāma, a sister of Udaya Mārtānda Varma (Ayyar-Souter 260); in 1519 they were already grown men (Castanheda 4, 14; 5, 38-39).

<sup>48</sup> Rāma Varma, alias Unnikē Tiruvadi, the Great King, Lord of Quilon, Cape Comorin, and South Tinnevely, Senior of the Princely Family of Jayatunganādu (Q 5642 5644 5731), succeeded Ravi Varma, who is last mentioned in Kollam 715 (1539/40 A.D.) (Ayyar-Souter 289). In his first inscription, recording a foundation for the Shiva temple in Pallakkāl in South Tinnevely, he calls himself *Sankaranārayana* (Union of Shiva and Vishnu) *Venrumankonda Bhūtalavira Srī Rāma Varma* of Jayatunganād (Q 5320). A servant of his nephew, the Brahman Nārāyana, dedicated a Sanskrit poem to him, the *Subhaga Sandēsa*, composed before 1544. This has him living in Tirukkurumkudi, south of Kalakkād, and praises his bravery, justice, piety, generosity, his knowledge of the Vedas, and his high esteem of poets (KSP 2, 235-248). His piety is shown by his gifts to different temples in South Tinnevely (Q 5406 5491 5643 5731; Ayyar-Souter 290). In 1544 he appointed a treasurer in the temple of Suchindram (Q 5489); in 1545 he gave a

been ruling over the territory north of Travancore proper as far as Quilon, and also over Nānjinād, the region between Travancore and Cape Comorin, and South Tinnevely, from the cape to Tāmbraparni.<sup>50</sup> Since January 6, 1544,<sup>51</sup> his brother had been ruling in Travancore.<sup>52</sup> But war was in the air. The *pulas*,<sup>53</sup> or barons, in South Tinnevely, were restless under the yoke of the foreign Cēras and were only waiting for an opportunity to shake it off in order to come again under the rule of their old Pāndya king. Vettum Perumāl, the Pāndya prince of Kayattār, who was also ruling over Tuticorin, had bought horses from Cosme de Paiva for the approaching war,<sup>54</sup> whether it would be against his northern neighbor, whose captain had attacked Tuticorin in 1535,<sup>55</sup> or against his neighbor to the south, the Great King and his brother.<sup>56</sup> In Tenkāsi, the western Pāndya kingdom, where Srīvallabha had been ruling since 1534,<sup>57</sup> his

teacher of the sacred writings in a Hindu monastery of the city of Tinnevely several other monasteries (Q 5569); in 1546 he appointed an administrator in the monastery of Ambāsamudram, who also had charge of the reciting of the hymns and of the garlands of the divinity in the Shiva temple there (ARE [1936] 28 46 90). But he was never again rid of the Badagas, whom he summoned in 1544; in 1547 he had to withdraw from South Tinnevely to Vijayanagar (Q 5870). From then on we encounter here only inscriptions of the Pāndya kings and those of Vijayanagar. In 1558 he drove back an attack of the Badagas with a banner of Christ which Francisco Pérez sent him at his request, but he died at the beginning of 1559 without having received baptism (DI IV 351). In March of this same year he was succeeded by his nephew (Nagam Aiya I 300).

<sup>49</sup> Xavier writes the name *Inikitriberim*; the Malabar D. Joam da Cruz, *Unike Trebery* (Q 157); Frois, following the authority of one of the most prominent native Christians of Quilon, *Uniki Treuery* (DI IV 351); A. Moniz Barreto, *Nykee Travadim* (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 459). The title *Unnikē Tiruvadi* is a shortened form of *Unnikērala Tiruvadi* (Son of Kerala's Prince), which several kings of Quilon bore (Schurhammer, "Iniquitriberim" 26-27), for example, Vira Unni Kērala Varma, the successor of Rāma Varma (Velu Pillai II 180-181; TAS 6, 115). The king of Cochin used a similar signature: in 1546 Unnikērala Kōvil, in 1548 Unnikēla Kōvil, in 1549 Unikēla Kōval, in 1557 Unikēla Kōvil, where *Kōvil* means "King" (Q, pl. XXIII).

<sup>50</sup> The king of Quilon ruled from Quilon to Kāyalpatnam (Correa I 782) with the exception of Travancore, which began south of Viliñam (Pires 80-81). The inscriptions show that Nānjinād (the regions of Tōvāla and Agastisvaram) belonged to the territory of the Great King (Schurhammer, "Iniquitriberim" 22-23).

<sup>51</sup> On January 6, 1544, Mārtānda Varma, instead of the dying Aditya Varma II, was crowned king in Vilavur Madom in Attur, in the northwest part of the kingdom (KSP 1, 7 and 13). He was the senior of the Siraivāy family (Q 5639 5640 5730 5870) and carried the same title as his brother (Q 5639 5730). In 1546 he endowed a sacrifice in two temples in the city of Tinnevely, as had been customary in the time of his uncle Udaya Mārtānda Varma. He erected in the temple of Shiva in the city seventy-two copper portraits of saints and statues of the deceased superiors of the monastery to be used in the wedding processions of the god. He also gave a series of candelabra, each with seven lamps, completed the columned hall in front of the temple of Ganpati, and endowed a sacrifice in his name (Q 5640; ARE [1927] 105). In 1547 he vainly fought with his brother against the Badagas and had to surrender, like his brother, to them (Q 5870). He died on March 9, 1554. Aditya Varma III was crowned as king in his stead in Tiruvankod (KSP 1, 7 and 13; DI III 423).

<sup>52</sup> Travancore embraced at this time the present Talukas Eraniel, Kalkulam, Vilavankod, and East Neyyatinkara; the capital was Tiruvankod, where the palace stood next to the old, still extant, Shiva temple.

<sup>53</sup> *Pulas*: barons of the Sudra caste in Malabar and Tinnevely (Dalgado II 228), here the followers of the Pāndyas in South Tinnevely.

<sup>54</sup> EX I 216 223 287. On his capital of Kayattār, northwest of Tuticorin, see Pate 381-384.

<sup>55</sup> Seb. Gonçalves 2, 7; Schurhammer, "Bekehrung der Paraver" 213.

<sup>56</sup> In 1537 the king of Travancore wanted to buy horses, "which are very necessary for the wars which the Great King has with his neighbors" (SR II 259).

<sup>57</sup> Thirteen inscriptions are still extant of Jatilavarman Srīvallabha, also known



nephew Kulasēkhara Parākrama had ascended to the throne of his ancestors in 1543.<sup>58</sup> But what was happening in the interior was obscure. In Goa it was rumored<sup>59</sup> that the Great King, after defeating his neighbor, a Pāndya king, had captured him through the treachery of his followers and had imprisoned him in a stronghold.<sup>60</sup> The prisoner had informed his mother, who was staying in an impregnable mountain retreat,<sup>61</sup> of what had happened; and she had sent a secret messenger to Master Francis in Manappād with a request that he approach the Portuguese governor for help to free her son. For this she was ready to hand over to the Portuguese governor her treasure, which was worth three millions in gold, and to pay an additional two thousand gold *pardaus* for the expenses of the expedition<sup>62</sup> as soon as she received a reply from the governor.

What truth was there in these rumors? It was certain that both parties, the *pulas*, who sided with the Pāndya kings, and Unnikē Tiruvadi, the Great King, were seeking the assistance of the governor. The Portuguese were the rulers of the sea; their soldiers, equipped with firearms, were the most feared warriors in the East; and without the governor's permission no king could obtain the horses that were needed for a military campaign. Both parties, therefore, turned to "the Great Father," as Xavier was called, so that he might obtain the governor's help for them. Master Francis in turn was glad to be an intermediary since he thus secured the favor of the native princes for his Christians. If Martim Affonso came to winter with his fleet in Cochin during the rainy

as Kulasēkhara, the son of the Ahavarāma (Q 5288 5301 5305 5485 5505-5507 5532; ARE 1909, 85; 1910, 100; 1927, 98; TAS 1, 47-48, nn. 13-16: gifts to temples and to individuals). He began to rule in Saka 1456 (1533/34 A.D.). The year of his death is uncertain (see above, p. 368). According to an inscription of 1544, "in the tenth year of his reign," he gave the Shiva temple of Karivalamvandallūr (Q 5485). Gifts of his coregent are still mentioned in 1545 (Q 5505-5507 5532).

<sup>58</sup> In our *Zeitgenössischen Quellen* we give forty-six inscriptions of Kulasēkhara Parākrama, the son of the Abhirāma Parākrama, dating from 1544 to 1552. Two more from his sixteenth year of rule, in 1557, and from his twentieth, in 1560, are given in TAS 1, 49, n. 20, and Rangacharya 1476, n. 304. See also ARE (1918) 160. In 1545 he established a foundation for a member of the monastic school in Tenkāsi with the duty of teaching the sacred writings of the Shaivas: the *Āgamas*, *Purānas*, and the *Shaiva-Siddhanta* (Q 5514); and a second in Kuttālam for the recitation of the lyrics of the Shaiva singer Iñāsambandhar and other hymns (Q 5524). In 1546 he gave two scribes of the Vishnu temple in Srīvilliputtūr some land and a share in the food offerings (Q 5599); he established a foundation for the bath, sacrifice, and ever-burning lamp before the picture of Vishnu and his wife on his birthday (Q 5610); and in 1549 he appointed two guards for the shrine of the goddess Ulagamuludumudaya Nāyaki in the Shiva temple of Tenkāsi (Q 5819). In *Zeitgenössischen Quellen* we give thirty-two inscriptions dating from 1544 to 1552 of his younger brother, coregent, and successor, Tirunelvēli Perumāl. Six more for 1553 to 1563 are given by Rangacharya and TAS 1, 49, n. 21. When he was crowned king in 1552, he took the name of Kulasēkhara Pāndya (Q 5965). He was famed as a patron of poets (cf. ARE [1918] 160 and Q 5867 5913 5929).

<sup>59</sup> Correa IV 408-509 (we follow the better text in MX II 151-152 from the copy in the Torre do Tombo).

<sup>60</sup> If the rumor is based on facts, this can have reference to Kulasēkhara Parākrama, who began to rule between 1542 and 1544 in Tenkāsi (Schurhammer, "Iniquitriberim" 29-30; ARE 1910, 100; 1918, 160; 1927, 98).

<sup>61</sup> Perhaps Panpuli, in the mountains northwest of Tenkāsi, with its temple built upon a steep rock and the remains of a fortress (Pate 465-466); or Kuttālam, south of it, with its very old Hindu sanctuary (*ibid.* 459-465). In both there are inscriptions of the Pāndya kings of Tenkāsi from the year 1545 (Q 5505-5507 5524 5531-5532).

<sup>62</sup> The Ms. of the Torre do Tombo has 2,000 (MX II 151), the printed text 200,000 (Correa IV 409).

season (June—September), the exchange of letters would be quicker and easier, especially since the sea on the west coast of India at this time was unnavigable. During these negotiations, however, it was of utmost importance that the Portuguese in Tuticorin did not tolerate any acts of violence against the natives. Francis was thus all the more grieved by the news which he received four days after sending his letter to Punnaikāyal.

Mansilhas wrote him that his Christians had improved, but he added that they were being oppressed by pagans and Portuguese, and that a palm-leaf letter from the *patangatis* contained a complaint that some Portuguese had seized Christian women and carried them away from the village as slaves while their men were on the Pearl Fishery. On the very same day Francis therefore sent off a letter by a courier to the *vigarios* of Quilon and Cochin. They should impose ecclesiastical censures upon the guilty, and three days later he informed Mansilhas of what he had done. Since the Pearl Fishery was now coming to a close and there were as a rule many sick among those returning from it, he told him what should be done. He further informed him that there were two passages that needed to be corrected in his Tamil translation of the catechism:

Dearest brother! I am very glad to have news from you and to have received your letter and to see the fruit which you are producing. May God give you the strength always to persevere in passing from good to better. With respect to the evils which the pagans and Portuguese are causing your Christians, I cannot cease feeling it within my soul, as I should. I have become so accustomed to seeing the offenses committed against these Christians without being able to help them that it is a sorrow that I constantly bear. I have already written to the *vigarios* of Coulão and of Cochin about the female slaves whom the Portuguese seized in Punicale so that they may learn through great excommunications who they were whom they seized. I took care of this three days ago as soon as I received the *ola*<sup>63</sup> of the *patangatis*. Give Matheus all he needs for his clothing and be kind to him so that he does not leave you, for he is free. Treat him with great love, as I did when he was with me so that he would not leave me.

In the Creed, where you say *enakuvenum*, you must say *vichuam* instead of *venum*; for *venum* means "I wish," and *vichuam* means "I believe." It is better to say "I believe in God," than "I wish in God."<sup>64</sup> Do not say *vão pinale* for this means "by force," and Christ suffered freely and not by force.<sup>65</sup>

When they come from the Fishery,<sup>66</sup> visit the sick and have some children at hand to say the prayers, as is indicated in the memorandum I gave you. At the end read a Gospel. Always treat these people with great love and make efforts to be loved by them. I am greatly pleased to learn that they are not drinking *urraqua* or making pagodas, and that on Sunday all come for the prayers. If at the time that these people became Christians there had been someone to instruct them as you are instructing them, they would be better Christians than they are now. May our Lord give you as much consolation in this life and glory in the next as I wish for myself. From Manapar, the twenty-seventh of March, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Malayālam: *ola*; Tamil: *olei*: palm-leaf letter (Dalgado II 117-120).

<sup>64</sup> Xavier's emendation needed further correcting: *enakku vēnhum*, "is necessary for me," is replaced by *enakku vichuam*, "I have belief." "I believe" in Tamil is *vicchuvasikkirēn*.

<sup>65</sup> *Vampinale*, "necessity," was replaced by *pādupattu*. On Xavier's Tamil catechism and its later corrections, see EX II 581-590. In 1552 H. Henriques wrote of it: "As orações que se ensinavão na propria lingua da terra os tempos passados estavam cheas de mentiras," since the interpreters translated so poorly, as he explained in 1549 (*ibid.* 584).

<sup>66</sup> The Great Pearl Fishery is meant.

<sup>67</sup> EX I 194-196.

Twelve days later Francis wrote again to his companion. The pearl fishers had in the meantime returned to their villages; and Mansilhas had, in accordance with the instructions he had received, visited those who had returned, especially the sick. Artiaga, who had first helped Mansilhas and then Xavier in Manappād, inconstant and vacillating as he was, had left the latter, allegedly to go to Kombuturē to instruct the Christians there with the help of an interpreter. The captain and his men had also returned to Tuticorin from the Pearl Fishery, and Francis had written to him that he should send Mansilhas what he needed for his support. At the beginning of the negotiations he had also sent a courier to Martim Affonso, and he was now hourly waiting for his answer from Goa. He thus wrote to his companion:

Dearest brother! I am very glad that you went to visit the Christians of the villages which I indicated to you. And I am still more glad for the great fruit which all tell me you produced. I hope to receive a message from the governor today or tomorrow, and if it is what I hope, I shall not fail to come to you, and I shall start out for where you are, for I greatly desire to see you, even though I always see you in spirit. João de Artiaga has been dismissed by me and is leaving beset by temptations, though he does not recognize them; nor is he on the way to recognizing them. He says that he will go to Combaturé to instruct the people there and to be near you. I have little confidence in his resolves since he is very fickle, as you well know. If he comes to where you are, do not lose much time with him.

I have already written to the captain that he should provide you with all your needs, and I have also told Manuel da Cruz<sup>68</sup> to lend you money as often as you need it, and he promised me that he would do this with great good will. Take good care of your health since you serve our Lord so well with it. Tell Matheus for me that he should serve you well, and that if you are satisfied with him, he has in me a father and mother; and if he is not very obedient to you, that I shall not see him and will not bother myself with him. Give him everything he needs for clothing.

In the villages through which you pass, have the men gather on one day in one place and the women on another day in another place;<sup>69</sup> and see to it that the prayers are said in all the homes, baptizing all those who have not been baptized, both young and old, keeping this in mind: "If the water does not come to the mill, the miller must go to the water."<sup>70</sup> May our Lord always help and protect you! From Manapar, the eighth of April, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>71</sup>

The negotiations between the Great King and the governor were in full swing when, two weeks later, Master Francis again wrote to Mansilhas from Levādhi, known also as Kulasekharapatnam. This was north of Manappād and separated from it by only a narrow stream. He had gone there to wait for the messenger of the Great King. The negotiations would have to be conducted in secret, and Coelho was with him to serve as interpreter. Now, after returning from the

<sup>68</sup> Xavier's rich Parava friend in Punnaikāyal.

<sup>69</sup> Punnaikāyal still had no church (EX I 200 203 205). The men had in the meantime returned from the Pearl Fishery.

<sup>70</sup> We have reconstructed the damaged text of the codex. The Portuguese proverb is: "Já que a água não vai ao moinho, vá o moinho a água." This is similar to the English: "If the mountain will not come to Mohammed, then Mohammed must go to the mountain."

<sup>71</sup> EX I 196-198.

<sup>72</sup> The representative of the Great King and of his brother, the king of Travancore.

Pearl Fishery, the Paravas had money. It was therefore necessary to start building churches:

Dearest brother in Christ! I have a great desire to see you. May it please God that this be soon since there is no day that passes that I do not see you in spirit, as also happens to you, so that we are continually present to each other. For the love of God, write me news about yourself and all the Christians, how you are getting along, and write in great detail. I am waiting for the *pula* of Travancore,<sup>72</sup> who is certain to come this week, for he has so written to me. I hope in God that something will develop to the service of God. I shall let you know all that happens in this regard so that you may give thanks to our Lord God.

I have already written to the *patangatins* about the *ramada*. It seems to me that it would be good to have the women come to the church on Saturday mornings, as is done in Manapar, and the men on Sundays. Do what seems best to you in this regard. When you have something to write to the captain, do it in time so that he can take care of it. Let me know about João de Artiaga, where he is and if he is serving God, for I am greatly afraid that he will not persevere in serving Him. He is very fickle, as you know. The *padre*<sup>73</sup> and I are well. Tell Matheus that he should be a good son and speak loudly, and that he should repeat what you say in a good manner. When I come, I shall give him something that will make him very happy. And write to me if the children are coming to the prayers and how many there are who know them. Write to me in detail about all this through the first person that comes from there. May our Lord be with you as I desire that He should be with me. From Livar,<sup>74</sup> the twenty-third of April, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>75</sup>

The *pula* failed to arrive when expected, and Master Francis, after being bled twice, overcame an attack of fever that had kept him in bed for four or five days. On May 1, when he was in a village not far from Levādhi, he received a letter sent by Mansilhas from Punnaikāyal that contained good news. On the same day he sent him his reply:

Dearest brother in Christ! Today, the first of May, I received a letter from you which brought me so much consolation that I would not be able to finish writing to you how much I have been consoled. For I would have you know that I had a continuous fever for four or five days and was twice bled. I am now better. I hope in God to come and see you in Punicale next week. The *pula* will come, I hope, today or at latest tomorrow, from Travancore. When I shall have come to you, we shall speak with each other about what has happened here. May God be pleased to grant that something may come to pass that will be to His service. Father Francisco Coelho is sending you two parasols.<sup>76</sup> And since we shall soon see each other, I shall say nothing more than that may it please God to give us His holy grace so that we may serve Him. From Nar,<sup>77</sup> the first of May, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Coelho.

<sup>74</sup> "Probablement Koulasegarapattanam, petit port de mer près de Manapad, où il y a 800 chrétiens paravers. Le lieu s'appelle aussi Levādhi," according to the editor of *S. Francisci Xaverii Epistolae* 2 (Hongkong, 1890) 442, who had a good knowledge of the Fishery Coast. The atlas of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* erroneously places Kulasēkharapatnam in the area north of Vaippār. Brodrick follows it (240).

<sup>75</sup> EX I 199-200.

<sup>76</sup> *Sombreiro* cannot here mean a hat but parasol (*sombreiro de pé*), as the Portuguese generally employed it in India.

<sup>77</sup> *Nar* is probably *Narei Kinher* (Ill-smelling Well), not far from Manappād and

The *pula* finally came, and the outcome of the negotiations with Unnikē Tiruvadi was that Master Francis had to go to Tuticorin. The war between the Great King and Vettum Perumāl, the Pāndya king of Kayattār,<sup>79</sup> was imminent. To protect the Christians in the territory of Vettum Perumāl from reprisals, the Paravas in Tuticorin and Palayākal would have to be transferred into the territory of the Great King.<sup>80</sup> But two parties had arisen in Tuticorin. One of these was opposed to a resettlement, and it was supported by the captain, Cosme de Paiva, who had obtained a profitable income from the proscribed sale of horses to the Pāndya king and consequently refused to consider such a move.<sup>81</sup> On May 14 Xavier wrote to Mansilhas from Tuticorin and sent him the interpreter Pedro to replace the ailing Antonio:

Dearest brother in Christ! God knows how much I would prefer to be with you for a number of days than to remain in Tutocurim; but since I must remain here for some days to calm these people, for this greatly contributes to the service of God, I console myself with being where I serve God our Lord more. I earnestly entreat you not to become irritated with these difficult people on any account; and when you see that you are overburdened with work and unable to satisfy everyone, console yourself with doing what you can; and give many thanks to the Lord that you are in a place where, even if you should wish to be at leisure, you could not be so because of the many occupations in which you are engaged, and all for the service of our Lord God.

I am sending you Pedro;<sup>82</sup> and as soon as Antonio<sup>83</sup> is well, which should be

Levādhi, inhabited today only by pagan Shānās (cf. *S. F. Xavierii Epistolae* 2 [Hongkong] 444). It could possibly also be Nārayanapuram, a short hour west of Manappād, or the village of the same name the same distance west of Kulasēkharapatnam, or Aranikinar, lying to the south of it, where the map shows a solitary Hindu temple.

<sup>78</sup> EX I 201-202.

<sup>79</sup> On Vettum Perumāl, alias Māravarman Sundara, see Schurhammer, "Iniquitriberim" 27-28 34. Nine inscriptions (1531-1555) pertaining to him are extant. See ARE 1912, 75; 1916, 128; 1918, 172; 1927, 98; 1943-1945, 29; Rangacharya 1465, 251-252; 1489, 403-404; 1490, 405; Pate 378 473. In 1533 he bought horses for the war with Vijayanagar (Q 157); in 1534 he gave land to the Shiva temple of Gangaikondān (Rangacharya 1489, 405); in 1535 he was at war with Tumbichchi Nāyak (Seb. Gonçalves 2, 7); in 1537 "Māravarman, alias Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇērimaikondān Sundara Pāndyadēva," endowed a sacrifice in Kayattār; in 1539 he made another donation (Rangacharya 1465, 252 254); in 1544 he fought against Vijayanagar and the Cēra kings, as Xavier's letters indicate. The contemporary *Dvipada Bālabhāgavatam* states that on this occasion the vanguard of Chinna Timma annihilated the pride of Bettu Perumāl (Sastri-Venkataramannayya III 188). In 1547 he gave the Pārvasi temple in Srivilliputtūr (Q 5671). In 1548 he was again at war with Vijayanagar. Ten stone sculptures in Ilāvēlankāl, east of Kayattār, depict a battle of Marava warriors with a leader of an army on horseback; and an inscription declares: "In the Saka year 1469, Kilika, 10 Panguni [March 6, 1548], when Vettum Perumāl, the Tirunelvēli Perumāl, came to Ilāvēlankāl and Vengala Rāja [a captain of Vitthala; cf. Q 5686 5742] led a force against him, the latter was killed by a Kondaiyan-kōttai Marava" (Pate 378; ARE [1939-1943], nn. 300-309, and p. 253; Q 5742). Tradition ascribes to him the erection of the fortress of Kayattār (Pate 383).

<sup>80</sup> EX I 211-212 228 242.

<sup>81</sup> In 1603, when the Christians of Tuticorin settled on the island in front of the city to escape the oppressions of the king of Kayattār, opposing parties were also formed, one for, and one against, the resettlement (Besse 417).

<sup>82</sup> Apparently Pedro Fernandes, a Parava from Virapāndyanpatnam, who was already helping Xavier with instructions (MX II 541 552).

<sup>83</sup> Different Antonios are named as Xavier's attendants: Antonio Coutinho, who accompanied him as a servant, but understood no Portuguese, and was later married in Tuticorin (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 275v-277v); Antonio de Miranda from Manappād, who accompanied Xavier as a boy, assisted him at table, at Mass, and in teaching (MX II 535 570 573 613); Antonio Henriques, *kanakapula* in Perumanal (*ibid.* 532 632); Antonio Cheruquill

in six or eight days, send him to me. I sent an *ola* to Manuel da Cruz earnestly asking him to build the church quickly.<sup>84</sup> Send me my little trunk with the first *tone* that is sailing. Just as soon as matters here have been completed, I shall come to see you since I have a great desire to remain some days with you, more than you believe. Whenever you have need of anything, write to me and send the letter through those coming from there. Always treat these people with as much patience as you can; and when this is not sufficient, employ the work of mercy which says: "Chastise him who needs to be chastised." May our Lord help you as I desire that He help me. From Tutocurim, the fourteenth of May, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>85</sup>

Mansilhas received Xavier's next letter a month later. May, the hottest time of the year on the Fishery Coast, when the sand burned like fire and the air quivered with the heat, had passed. In June the southwest monsoon had set in, and rainfalls in the mountains had brought a refreshing coolness. But for the next four months the sea along the west coast of India would be closed. M. A. de Sousa had remained in Goa,<sup>86</sup> and correspondence with him had to be carried on through *patamars*, that is, swift-footed couriers.<sup>87</sup> On June 11 Master Francis wrote from Virapāndyanpatnam to his companions in Punnaikāyal. He sent them important letters for the captain but did not tell his confreres what they contained. Nevertheless, in the tense political situation, it was important that Mansilhas maintain good relations with the *adhigāris*, the officials of the Great King:

Dearest brother in Christ! I would have you know that with the assistance of the Lord God I am very well. May it please Him, who gives me health, to give me also the grace to serve Him with it. Keep me constantly informed about yourself and the Christians, and be quick with the building of the church; and let me know when you have completed it. Forward these letters which I am sending to the captain through a very reliable person.<sup>88</sup> I highly recommend to you the teaching of the children, and you should baptize the infants with great care. And since the adults do not want to go to heaven for good or ill, the infants who die after baptism should at least go there. Commend me much to Manuel da Cruz. I tell Matheus to be a good son, a good man. Always treat your people with love, just as you deal with *adigares*. May our Lord always be with you. From Virauodianpatanão, the eleventh of June, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>89</sup>

from Punnaikāyal, an eyewitness in 1543 of the cure of the boy in Kombuturē, later a teacher of Christian doctrine in Punnaikāyal, born about 1526 (*ibid.* 550-551); Antonio Parava, a cook (EX I 239), perhaps identical with Coutinho. The Antonio mentioned here is probably the one who was ill on August 29 in Manappād, served Xavier as an interpreter (*ibid.* 221), and was still ill on September 20, and different from Antonio Parava (*ibid.* 239).

<sup>84</sup> Xavier probably is speaking of a *ramada* (palm-leaf church), which he had to build in Punnaikāyal (*ibid.* 200).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* 202-204.

<sup>86</sup> Correa IV 400-409; Q 1254.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Dalgado II 186-188.

<sup>88</sup> This obviously has reference to a letter concerning the negotiations of the governor with the Great King and the *pulas*.

<sup>89</sup> EX I 204-205, where the date is also discussed.

3. THE INVASION OF THE BADAGAS (JUNE—AUGUST, 1544)<sup>90</sup>

Master Francis had gone from Virapāndyanpatnam to the neighboring Kombuturē to visit the Christians there. They had promised to build a church; and Manuel de Lima, his Parava friend, had made a pledge of a hundred *fanams* towards its construction. But while he was there, he received bad news. Unnikē Tiruvadi had asked his overlord, the king of Vijayanagar, for help against Vettum Perumāl, who had invaded his territory; and Rāma Rāya, the regent, had sent Vitthala and the latter's brother Chinna Timma with an army to the south. Their undisciplined hordes, the Badagas, had crossed the Tāmbraparni River before the high waters had set in. They had gone through the Ārāmboli Pass on their swift Arabian steeds and had pushed on as far as Cape Comorin. There they had attacked the Christian villages because their inhabitants had been baptized and had thus come under the protection of the Portuguese. Some of these had been seized and carried away. The rest, men, women, and children, had fled on their catamarans to the neighboring, rocky islands, where they were in danger of dying from hunger and thirst. As soon as he had received this appalling news, Francis hastened along the coast to Manappād, where he arrived on the evening of Saturday, June 14, in order to equip a fleet and bring help to the fugitives. Two days later he gave an account of this to Mansilhas:

Dearest brother in Christ! Saturday evening I came to Manapar. In Combaturé I received very bad news about the Christians of Cape Cumorim, namely, that the Badegás

<sup>90</sup> On the second march of the Badagas, that is, the troops of the king of Vijayanagar, to the south in 1544, see Schurhammer, "*Iniquitriberim*" 3-11 35-36, and EX I 183-188, where it is shown, contrary to all previous accounts, that he was for, and not against, the Cēra kings. This clearly follows from Xavier's letters and is confirmed by two contemporary works dedicated to Chinna Timma, the general of the Vijayanagar troops. The Telugu poem *Bālabhāgavatam* states that Chinna Timma conquered the Pāndya ruler [of Kayattār] who fought against the Tiruvadi, and finally re-established his lost kingdom. On this account he carried the title of *Tiruvadi Rājyasthāpanāchārya* (Restorer of the Tiruvadi Kingdom) (Ayyangar 204-209). The *Dvipada Bālabhāgavatam* describes the campaign in greater detail. According to it Chinna Timma and his brother Vitthala marched to the south, plundered the fortress of Chandragiri, gave his property back to the god Srīranganātha, took Nagore and the fortress of Bhuvanagiri, exacted tribute from all the lords of the Tannarasunād (Tanjore and Rāmnād), helped the Pāndya king [of Tenkāsi] and secured his kingdom for him, broke with his vanguard the pride of the mighty Bettu Perumāl, put "the Five Tiruvadis" to flight, gave back to the Tiruvadi who implored his help [the Great King] his former realm, crossed the Tōvāla (Ārāmboli) Pass, honored the god Anantasayana (Vishnu), and erected a victory column in Kanniyākumāri to commemorate his conquest of the south (Sastri-Venkataramanayya III 188). The inscriptions confirm these data. On May 27, 1544, after the defeat of the Kuruvanniyar prince, Vitthala and his brother gave villages to the Srīrangam temple, which they had reopened (ARE [1937] 8-9 49-50 84-85). An inscription in the Suchindram temple of August 11, 1544, praises the erection of a flagpole in front of the shrine to Vishnu and the building of the east *gopūra* (gate-tower) by the two brothers. In it Vitthala has the title of *Pāndyēsvara Prathishtāpaka* (Restorer of the Pāndya Prince) (Pillay, *Sucindram*, inscr. n. 65, and pp. 42-43). On November 25, 1544, Rāma Varma, the Great King, appointed a treasurer in the same temple (*ibid.*, n. 66). The inscription of Tiruvaidaimarudur of March 24, 1545, creates a difficulty (Q 5483). In this it is stated that Vitthala confirmed the ownership of a temple pertaining to two villages when he marched from Anantasayanam in the south to Mudgal in the north during the Tiruvadi war. The expression *Tiruvadi perile* is translated by the editor of the inscription as "against the Tiruvadi." It can, however, also mean "for the sake of, in the name of, in favor of the Tiruvadi," as our confrere Michael Anton Francis informed us after a careful study of the inscription. If later authors praise Vitthala as the conqueror of the Tiruvadi, this has reference to his third campaign of 1546-1547, when the Great King lost South Tinnevely.

were making captives of them, and that the Christians, to save themselves, fled to the rocks out in the sea. There they are dying from hunger and thirst.<sup>91</sup> Tonight I am sailing from Manapar with twenty *tones* to assist them. Pray to God for them and for us, and have the children in particular pray to God for us.

The people in Combuturé promised me that they would build a church, and Manuel de Lima promised that he would contribute a hundred *fanoens* towards its cost. Go to Combuturé and order the church to be built. You can go on Wednesday or Thursday. And the following week, God willing, go to visit the Christians from Punicale to Alandale,<sup>92</sup> baptizing those who are not baptized. Visit the Christians from house to house, and be very diligent in baptizing. Take note as to whether those who teach the children and those who assist them are doing their duty.<sup>93</sup> Urge Manuel da Cruz, who is in Combuturé, to take great care of those two villages of Christian Careás,<sup>94</sup> reconciling enemies and seeing to it that they do not make pagodas or drink *urraqua*, and that they come together on Sundays to say their prayers, the men in the evening and the women in the morning. If Francisco Coelho is with you, tell him he should come at once, and that I have said so. May God protect you! From Manapar, today, Monday, the sixteenth of June, 1544.<sup>95</sup>

I have already paid the Moor who is carrying this letter what I promised for going to Careapatam.<sup>96</sup>

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>97</sup>

When night came, Master Francis, despite the wind and weather, sailed out with his flotilla into the swelling, stormy sea. The southwest monsoon had set in, and they had to face its opposing winds. For eight days and nights the Paravas, accustomed as they were to storms, strove with heroic efforts to find a way in their *tonis* to their colleagues on the islands off Cape Comorin. In their open boats, crammed with provisions and vessels of water, they were beset by the burning rays of the sun. During the day there was hardly room to move on the boats, and at night there was scarcely a place on which to lay one's head. But all in vain! Neither oars nor towropes were of any avail. With merciless force the southwest wind drove the twenty ships back to Manappād, where they arrived on June 24 completely exhausted. A week later Francis gave an account of their failure to his companion:

<sup>91</sup> Nilakanta Sastri writes that the Roman Catholics had destroyed the temple of Ranganātha in Nagore and other Hindu temples, that the Franciscans had built two churches in Negapatam in 1542 and had destroyed the idols, and that the Jesuits in São Thomé followed their example, that M. A. de Sousa wanted to plunder the temple of Kānchipuram, and that the missionaries had advised their recent converts not to obey the Indian kings. All these were reasons for the campaign in the south of 1544 (*History* 278-279; Sastri-Venkataramanayya I 246-249). More anachronisms and historical errors could hardly be put together in so brief a compass!

<sup>92</sup> Ālantalai. *Ai* often becomes *e* in Tamil.

<sup>93</sup> The *kanakapula* gave instructions in Christian doctrine; the policeman assembled the people.

<sup>94</sup> Besse correctly identifies one of these villages with Kombuturē; he identifies the other with Kānam, a large pagan village near Adeikalaburam where there were about forty Karaiya Christians (609). But Kānam is almost two hours from the coast. We can consequently identify it better with the later-mentioned "village of Thomé da Motta," or the Karaiya village near Kāyalpatnam, that is, the modern Kadayakkudi, located somewhat to the north of it (cf. EX I 228).

<sup>95</sup> On the date see *ibid.* 206.

<sup>96</sup> Perhaps the Karaiya village of Kareapatam on Manār? (*ibid.* 220). Or is this an error of the copyist for Kāyalpatnam?

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 206-208.



Dearest brother in Christ! On Tuesday I reached Manapar. God our Lord knows what labors I endured on this voyage. I sailed with twenty *tones* to bring help to the Christians who had fled from the Badegás to the rocks of Cape Cumorim and were there dying of hunger and thirst. But the winds were so contrary that we could not reach the cape either with oars or towropes. When the winds have subsided I shall return again and do what I can to help them. It is the worst pain in the world to see the great troubles which these unfortunate Christians are in. Every day many of them come to Manapar, robbed and destitute, and having neither food nor clothing. I am writing to the *patangatins* of Combuturé, Punical, and Tutocorim that they should send some alms for these unfortunate Christians, but that they should not take these from the poor; and that the *campanotes*<sup>98</sup> who are willing to give something of their own accord should do so, but that no one should be compelled in this regard. Do not let them take anything from the poor, and I am writing to this effect to the *patangatins*. I do not expect any virtue from them. Do not allow them to take any alms by force from anyone, rich or poor. Our hope rests more in God than in the *patangatins*.

I earnestly ask you to write to me at length: if the church is being built in Combuturé, if Manuel de Lima has given the hundred *fanoens*, how you succeeded in your last visits, and if the children are being instructed in the villages where I paid all their teachers for this, since I do not know what they do in my absence. Write to me at great length about everything, for I am anxious to receive news of you and your village. I was eight days on the sea, and you know well what it is to be in *tones* in winds as strong as these. May our Lord constantly protect you! From Manapar, the thirtieth of June, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>99</sup>

Since the southwest wind did not abate, Master Francis, undisturbed by the perils that beset the war-torn, hostile land, set out to go down along the coast to Cape Comorin in order to visit and assist the Christians who had fled from the Badagas. July had come, and great clouds of red sand often darkened the sky so that one could not see five steps ahead.<sup>100</sup> He remained for a whole month in the south with the persecuted Christians; and while he was there, he gathered alms, provisions, and water in the villages and sailed with them to the rocky islands of Cape Comorin.

More than once in his wanderings he came near to becoming a martyr to his charity. It was later reported that he had been frequently shot at with arrows, that the cottage in which he slept was often burned, that on a single night three or four such attempts had been made.<sup>101</sup> On one occasion at Cape

<sup>98</sup> *Champanotes*, that is, owners of *champanas*.

<sup>99</sup> EX I 208-210.

<sup>100</sup> Pate 29; Nieuhof II 192-195.

<sup>101</sup> On November 9, 1548, ten months after Xavier's return from the Moluccas, Melchior Gonçalves wrote about him from Goa: "We have a living martyr in our midst, and I believe that he will soon be one, since he seeks absolutely nothing else. For love of the Crucified he has often been the target of arrows, and many houses in which he slept have been set on fire, and three and four of them on one night" (DI I 312). In 1555 Quadros wrote from Goa: "The time that he [Xavier] spent on Cape Comorin was a constant hardship. A man who went with him told me that he was in constant danger of death from the persecutions of the pagans who sought to waylay him. As a consequence, many of the native Christians kept watch near him, especially at night. It even happened that once when certain pagans came to kill him, he climbed up into a tree and remained there all night and thus evaded them. Many also were the fatigues he suffered in Malacca, where he frequently went, and in Amboina, Maluco, and the Moro Islands" (*ibid.* III 333). Quadros lays the scene of the adventure in India,

Comorin he was in the greatest danger and would have perished if he had not had a companion who freed him from the peril and protected him. The Portuguese warned him that he should withdraw from the war zone and retire to a place of safety.<sup>102</sup> One day he was told that the Bagadas had gone to the other side of the cape to plunder and destroy the Christians living there. Setting out at once, he went fearlessly into the midst of the hostile troops and reprimanded them in the sharpest terms. He then returned and stayed with the Christians to protect them from the tyranny of their enemies and to save their lives.<sup>103</sup>

but both witnesses may be speaking of the Moluccas. In 1551 Nicolau Nunes wrote with reference to this area that the heralds of the faith were severely persecuted on the Moro Islands, where they often slept in trees, in deserts, and in cold mountains (Sá II 49). During the \*hearing of witnesses in Quilon in 1583 it was still said of Travancore that the priests there had often been shot at with arrows (Rome, *Fondo Gesù: Collegia*, t. 41, n. 12, f. 8). In 1699 Pierre Martin, S.J., discovered a tradition in Kottār that it was there that the pagans had kindled the cottage in which Xavier was praying, and where they had afterwards found him unharmed amidst the ashes. The choir and altar of the newly erected church indicated the spot where it had stood (*Lettres Édifiantes* 5 [Paris, 1724] 46-47; similarly in 1719 V. Bouchet, *ibid.* 13 [Paris, 1781] 117). But the witnesses of the processes of 1556 and 1616, two of whom were from Kottār, knew nothing of a stay on the part of Xavier in this village. Only in 1734 did the annual letter from Malabar state that he had been the first missionary in Kottār, that he had there planted a tree which was still standing, and that, miraculously, it was the only one of its kind that had no thorns (ARSI: *Goa* 56, 659); a pamphlet, *The Shrine of St. Francis Xavier at Kottar* (Nagercoil, 1952) claims that in 1544 a church or chapel had stood on the site of the present cathedral and that the Mary chapel not far from the cathedral in the Parava quarter indicated the spot where Xavier's dwelling had been (2-3 10).—A. Bucerio, S.J., who built the first poor church in Kottār in 1603, however, wrote that the king of Travancore had only given him permission to build a church in 1602. Before this the missionaries had restricted their activities to the coast and there had been no earlier church in Kottār (Guerreiro I 329-335; ARSI: *Goa* 55, 95-100; cf 56, 529). In 1603 Bucerio received a picture of Xavier from Rome which he set up in the church at Kottār, and which immediately became famous for miracles. When the priests were removed from there by the bishop of Cochin, the picture was given to a native, Gaspar Gonçalves, to carry to the college in Quilon. The latter arrived at night in Quilon and lay down to sleep in a palm-leaf hut. An hour before midnight he awoke. The neighboring house of Christovão de Miranda was blazing on fire, and the flames, driven by a strong wind, were already licking his hut. In his distress Gonçalves recommended himself to Xavier. The wind died down, the fire became extinct, and all ascribed this to the intercession of Xavier, whose picture was from then on an object of great reverence in the college (\*annual letter of December 1609 in ARSI: *Goa* 55, 174v; MX II 581). This may well have been the origin of the legend about Xavier being in Kottār. In 1953 the parish priest of Vīrapāndyanpatnam told us another "tradition" which he had heard from his father: When Xavier came to Kottār, many small shrimp were spread out for sale. He asked for, and was given, some, which he dipped in salt and ate. This is apparently a confusion of Xavier with one of the later missionaries in Kottār. The same can be said of a tradition within a family in Shērmadēvi, that it stemmed from one who was baptized by Xavier and who helped build the church in Kottār.

<sup>102</sup> This comes from the testimony given in 1614 by the seventy-four-year-old royal councilor Pedro de Mendonça Furtado, who sailed to India for the first time in 1558 and had heard it there (\**Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 22, 154).

<sup>103</sup> According to Mansilhas in the Cochin process of 1557 (MX II 318). The simple account was elaborated with time. Tursellinus erroneously places it after the baptism of the ten thousand Macuas (2, 11); Lucena compares Xavier's exploit with that of Leo the Great before Attila and has him baptize almost the whole of Travancore after it (2, 17). In 1616 the Malabar Thomé de Gouvea declared that he had heard of the incident from an eyewitness, a Parava *patangati* in Cape Comorin: When the Nāyaka of Madura marched with his Badagas against the king of Travancore and the Christians, the latter fled into the cities. But Xavier went to the foot of Mount Comorin and brought the enemy to a halt. The soldiers and then their leader saw a large

During the whole month of July Francis remained as a saving angel and true shepherd with his persecuted Christians in the south. His daring proved to be effective. The plundering hordes of Badagas withdrew,<sup>104</sup> and he was able to bring the fugitives by land to Manappād<sup>105</sup> and its neighboring villages.<sup>106</sup>

On the first of August Xavier was again in Manappād and answered a letter which Mansilhas had written to him from Punnaikāyal. The Badagas were thought to be on their way back north, and it was necessary to be on the watch for a surprise attack on the Christian villages there. The Paravas of Palayakāyal and some of those of Tuticorin had found safety in the territory of the Great King. It was important that they did not return to their villages prematurely, that is, as long as the war continued between Unnikē Tiruvadi and Vettum Perumāl:

Dearest brother in Christ! May our Lord continuously protect you and give you an abundance of strength to serve Him. I was greatly pleased with a letter which I received from you, seeing the diligence with which you watch over your people so that the Badegás do not attack them by surprise. I went by land to the cape in order to visit those unfortunate Christians who had fled from the Badegás and had been robbed by them. It was one of the most distressing things in the world to see. Some had nothing to eat; others, because of their age, had not been able to come; others were dead; others were husbands with their wives, who gave birth on the way; and there were many other pitiful sights which, if you had seen them as I did, would have caused you even greater compassion. I told all the poor to come to Manapar, and there are now many indigent individuals in this village. Ask the Lord God to move the hearts of the rich so that they have pity on these poor people.

I hope to go to Punicale on Wednesday.<sup>107</sup> Keep a close watch over your people

man dressed in a black robe and of a terrifying aspect. He rebuked them. They could not stand his fiery look and turned around. When the priest continued on his way, he encountered the king of Travancore, who was marching with his troops against the Badagas. When he learned of his deliverance, he embraced Xavier and said: "I am called the Great King, and from now on you will be called the Great Father." This event was common knowledge in Travancore and Cape Comorin, and he had also read it in the writings of the prominent individuals of that kingdom (MX II 598-599; cf. 568 569 572). According to the bull of canonization, the Badagas were frightened by a person dressed in black next to Xavier (*ibid.* 710). Bartoli gives a rhetorical elaboration of the affair (*Asia* 1, 42), as does Sousa, who in addition combines the invasion of 1558 with that of 1544 (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 20-21). In 1699 P. Martin was told in Kottār that Xavier had repelled the enemy two leagues north of this village (*Lettres Edifiantes* 5 [Paris, 1724] 38-39), that is, at the Ārāmboli Pass. Today the chapel of Vadasseri, a half a league north of Kottār, where Bucerio built the first chapel in 1603 (ARSI: Goa 55, 99v), is pointed out as the place of the encounter. But he knew nothing of a Xavier tradition either here or in Kottār. The accounts in Heras (142-147) are uncritical, as are those in C. K. Mattam, *Saint Francis Xavier and Unni Kerala Varma at Kottar* (Nagercoil, 1952), and in *Souvenir* (Ernakulam, 1952) 71-84. That Vitthala entered Travancore by way of the Pāpanasam Pass, west of Ambāsamudram, as Ramanatha Ayyar in "The Aruvaymoli Pass," *Journal of Indian History* 4 (1926) 19-20, maintains, is already indicated by the data of the *Dvipada Bālabhāgavatam*, which states that he captured the fortress of Tōvāla (between Kottār and the Ārāmboli Pass) on his way. When the Badagas again came to Cape Comorin in 1567, André Fernandes turned back a hundred of them by courageously going out to meet them (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 2, 2, 1, 6).

<sup>104</sup> In July—August, 1544, the headquarters of the Badagas seems to have been not far from Cape Comorin, as is indicated by Vitthala's inscription in the temple of Suchindram of August 11 of this same year. Later he there built the east *gōpura* (Pillay, *Sucindram* 42 128-129 232, and inscr. n. 65). Probably only the lower structure is meant, since the high tower was only completed between 1881 and 1888 (*ibid.* 129).

<sup>105</sup> EX I 211.

<sup>106</sup> Apparently Pudukarai and Periyatālai (cf. EX I 222 227).

<sup>107</sup> On August 6.

until the Badegás return to their country.<sup>108</sup> Tell Antonio Fernandes, *o Gordo*,<sup>109</sup> and the *patangatis* of Cael Velho<sup>110</sup> that I have given orders that they are not to resettle the people in Cael Velho;<sup>111</sup> if they do, they will pay me dearly for it. Give my best greetings to Manuel da Cruz and Matheus. May our Lord be with you and give us His grace to serve Him. From Manapar, the first of August, 1544.

Your brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>112</sup>

Two days later Master Francis answered a second letter of Mansilhas in which he had spoken of the consolation he had received from his visit to the villages and of the difficulties he had encountered in his work. August 3, the day on which Francis sent his letter, was the time of the full moon. Now, in the bright moonlight, the danger of an attack of the Badagas upon the villages of the Fishery Coast had greatly increased, and Francis was feverishly active in opposing it. A *kanakkar*<sup>113</sup> of the Great King whom he had befriended had come to him in Manappād to warn him. Xavier had earlier written to him that he should inform him promptly of the coming of the enemy horsemen. He had, moreover, sent Coelho to the villages north of Manappād to see that the Christians were ready to flee. He had also written to the captain at Tuticorin that he should send a *catur* with soldiers to protect them; and he had provided the *kanakkar* with a letter for Unnikē Tiruvadi, in which he told the king that, since he was a friend of the governor, he should not allow his allies, the Badagas, to harm the Christians. His letter to Mansilhas reads as follows:

Dearest brother in Christ! May God be with you always. Though I was much pleased by your letter, seeing the consolation you received from the visits you made, I have been saddened, and shall continue to be saddened, until the Lord frees you from the difficulty you have encountered. We too have had our troubles, and God be praised for them. I sent the priest<sup>114</sup> through all your villages so that they could launch their ships into the sea and embark when the time comes for this, since I am of the opinion that they<sup>115</sup> will certainly attack you and seize your Christians, for we have definite knowledge that they are coming to the coast. I received this information from an important *canaquar*, a friend of these Christians. I sent a man to this *canaquar*, a favorite of King Iniquitribirim,<sup>116</sup> with a letter for him. I wrote that since he is a friend of the Lord Governor, he should not let the Badegás do us any harm;<sup>117</sup> for the Lord Governor would be greatly irritated by the evil suffered by these Christians. The *canaquar*, who is a friend of mine, came to see me and to help me because he is a great friend of the Christians of this coast and has many relatives who are Christians. I wrote to him so that he might advise me on what was happening there,

<sup>108</sup> To Madura and Vijayanagar.

<sup>109</sup> "The Fat," to distinguish him from his namesake.

<sup>110</sup> Palayakāyal.

<sup>111</sup> The *patangatis* had the right, under the penalty of expulsion from the caste, to order a change of residence. They gave such an order, for example, in 1605 for moving from Tuticorin to the royal island (ARSI: Goa 66, 3v 5). But Xavier was over the *patangatis* and had ordered the Paravas in the territory of Vettum Perumāl to take up their residence in the territory of the Great King because of the war.

<sup>112</sup> EX I 210-212.

<sup>113</sup> *Kanakkar*: district judge, tax collector (Nagam Aiya III, *Glossary*, p. XXIV; EX I 213).

<sup>114</sup> Coelho.

<sup>115</sup> The Badagas.

<sup>116</sup> Unnikē Tiruvadi. This is the first appearance of the name in Xavier.

<sup>117</sup> This passage shows that the Badagas were not fighting against the Great King but for him against Vettum Perumāl.

and that he might inform me when they came to the coast so that we might have time to put to sea. I wrote to the captain that he should take care to send a *catur* to protect them and your people. And see to it that your people keep a very close watch on land,<sup>118</sup> for these Badegás come by night on horseback and attack us when we do not have time to embark. Keep a close watch on your people, for they are so negligent that they will fail to set a watch if they do not receive two *fanoens*. See to it that all the ships are launched into the sea and that their possessions are placed on board. See also to it that the women and children say their prayers, now more than ever, since there is now no one who can help us except God alone.

Send me the rest of the paper in the box since I do not have more on which to write to you, and send it immediately through a *culle*;<sup>119</sup> and let me know if they have launched the ships and have placed their possessions upon them, and the care with which they have done this. Tell Fernandes, *o Gordo*, for me that he should be greatly concerned about these people if he wants to be a friend of mine. These men do not seize the weak and indigent but only those who can pay a ransom. Above all be sure that they keep a sharp watch out at night, and that they have their spies on the land, for I am greatly afraid that they will come to your coast at night by the light of this moon and prey upon your Christians. Therefore order them to keep a sharp outlook at night. May our Lord protect you! From Manapar, the third of August, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>120</sup>

In the midst of all these concerns, an embassy came to the priest from the island of Manār.<sup>121</sup> This island, which was subject to the rajah of Jaffna, was separated from the sacred island of Rāmeswaram by the sandy shallows of Adam's Bridge, and from Ceylon by a narrow strait. The Karaiyas, who dwelt on the sparsely settled island, lived from the sale of *chāya* roots, used for dyes, which they dug up in the forests,<sup>122</sup> where wild elephants still roamed.<sup>123</sup> The reputation of "the Great Father," who labored so courageously for his Christians had reached them, and they wanted him to come and baptize them as he had baptized their kin in Vēdālai<sup>124</sup> on the mainland. Francis, however, could not leave his Christians at this perilous time. Mansilhas therefore wrote that he would be glad to go to Manār with Artiaga, who had again showed up in Punnai-

<sup>118</sup> Punnaikāyal practically lay on a delta island of the Tāmbraparni.

<sup>119</sup> Tamil: *kūliyāl*: day laborer, porter, coolie (Dalgado I 331-332). The word appears here for the first time in Portuguese literature and is today in current use.

<sup>120</sup> EX I 212-215.

<sup>121</sup> "In another region, fifty leagues from where I was, the inhabitants sent word to me that they wished to become Christians and asked me to baptize them," Xavier wrote (EX I 274).

<sup>122</sup> From a \*document of the representatives of the Careas written in 1642 in the "lugar grande dos Careas" (Erukampaddi) on Manār (TdT: *Jesuitas, Cartorio*, maço 88, n. 5). The Jesuit missionaries of the Fishery Coast and Manār knew only one caste of Careas (Karaiyas, or Kadeyars with cacuminal *d*) from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century: those who made lime by burning mussel shells, diggers of *chāya* roots, fishers, and pearl fishers. Today the caste has obviously split up into subordinate castes. In 1826 there were 1,000 Careas, 692 Cadeas (originally mussel-shell burners), and 720 Cadeas (*chāya*-root diggers) on Manār. See W. J. S. Boake, *Mannar. A Monograph* (Colombo, 1888) 21-22. According to E. Peiris, the bishop of Chilaw, there are today on Manār: "Paravars, Kadeyars, Karaiyars, Kannādiyars, Moors, Mestiços and Parangis" ("An Interesting Ethnical Group from Mannar," *Ceylon Historical Journal* [1953] 17). The question as to which caste the Manār martyrs belonged brought about the Gnana Prakasar—Antoninus controversy (Antoninus 56-59).

<sup>123</sup> According to the letter of 1642 cited in the preceding note and DI V 285-286.

<sup>124</sup> According to the letter of 1642.

kāyal, in order to satisfy the desires of the people there. But he also, during the present trials, did not dare leave his flock, especially now when there was the danger of an attack by Vettum Perumāl. The latter evidently learned of Xavier's negotiations with his adversary and was now threatening the Christians of Tuticorin with his cavalry, whose mounts had been bought from its captain, Cosme de Paiva. On the morning of August 19, Xavier therefore wrote to his companion that he should encourage his Christians and send him definite news with regard to Tuticorin. In the afternoon of the same day he followed this with a second letter. The Great King had sent a Brahman to Manappād, who was to sail with the captain's interpreter to Tuticorin in order to negotiate a peace with Vettum Perumāl with respect to the Badagas. His letter ran as follows:

Dearest brother in Christ! This morning I wrote to you<sup>125</sup> that you should strengthen your people in their tribulation and that you should do me the great kindness of sending me definite news about Tutucorim. I fear that some evil may come upon your poor Christians through the cavalry of Tutucorim.<sup>126</sup> I am unable to tell you how frightened they are. I do not think it would be at all wise for you to leave these people and go with João de Artiga<sup>127</sup> before the land is freed from the persecutions of the Badegaz. I earnestly entreat you to let me know as soon as you get definite news.

Iniquitribirim is sending a Bramane with the captain's interpreter in order to conclude a peace with those people.<sup>128</sup> I do not know what they will do. They are here in Manapar and will soon leave by sea. I am asking you to write to me in detail about the Portuguese of Tutucorim as soon as you have news of them in order to relieve me of my great anxiety; and if any of the Portuguese have been wounded or killed, and the same of the Christians. We can see about your journey together, or I shall write to you when the fury of the Badegaz has passed. May our Lord be with you at all times! Amen. From Manapar the nineteenth of August, 1544.

I have just now been given an *ola* from Guarim,<sup>129</sup> in which your dearest brother<sup>130</sup> has let me know that the Badegaz plundered the Christians who fled into the forest and that they wounded one Christian and one pagan. We are getting bad news from all parts. Praise be to the Lord for ever!

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>131</sup>

The Brahman envoy did not sail until the following day from Manappād to Punnaikāyal, and Xavier recommended him to Mansilhas in another letter. His companion had apparently received little help in his labors from the captain and his people.

Dearest brother! May God be with you always! Amen. From the saying of the Lord which says: "Whosoever is not with me is against me,"<sup>132</sup> you can see how many friends we have in these parts to help us make these people Christians. Let us

<sup>125</sup> The letter is lost.

<sup>126</sup> "Pelas cavalarias de Tutucorim," that is, the mounted bands of Vettum Perumāl.

<sup>127</sup> Xavier is speaking of the planned voyage of Mansilhas to Manār.

<sup>128</sup> That is, with Vettum Perumāl, as the following letter shows more clearly (EX I 218).

<sup>129</sup> The *kanakkar* mentioned above is probaby meant. *Guarim* probably corresponds to the Hindu name Kāri, less likely to the Moorish name Karīm.

<sup>130</sup> *Guarim* is meant, certainly not a blood relative or religious brother of the addressee. Xavier speaks in a similar fashion of a sick cabin boy in Mozambique as his brother (MX II 212).

<sup>131</sup> EX I 215-217.

<sup>132</sup> "Qui non est mecum, contra me est" (Matth. 12:30).

not lose heart since God will in the end give to each one his reward; and if it is His will, He can be served by a few as by many. I have more compassion for those who are opposed to God than I have desire to punish them; for in the end God inflicts a mighty chastisement upon His enemies, as we can see from those who are in hell.

This Bramane is going to your village with a message of the Badegaz for King Betebermal.<sup>133</sup> For the love of God find a means for him to sail at once to Tutocurim. Let me have news about Tutocurim, the captain, and the Portuguese and the Christians, for I am greatly concerned. Commend me much to João de Artiaga<sup>134</sup> and to Manuel da Cruz. And tell Matheus that he should not become weary, that he is not working in vain, that I shall do better for him than he believes. May our Lord be always with you! Amen. From Manapar, the twentieth of August, 1544.

For the love of God, find a sailing for this Bramane at once, and speak to the captain<sup>135</sup> so that he at least shows him respect.<sup>136</sup>

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>137</sup>

Cosme de Paiva, the captain, had obviously broken with Master Francis. He had enriched himself through the illicit sale of horses to Vettum Perumāl, whereas Francis, for the sake of his Christians, had furthered the negotiations of his adversary, the Great King, with the governor. If peace was concluded, the demand for horses would cease, and his source of revenue would dry up. It was therefore to Paiva's interest to promote the war between the Cēra king and Vettum Perumāl. He had little concern for the fate of the Christian communities, which as captain he was obliged to protect. On the contrary, through the intolerable terms which he imposed upon their fishing, he sought to squeeze the last farthing from the poor Christians. He forced them, for example, to sell him exclusively their chank mussels, and at a far lower price than they should have received.<sup>138</sup> His oppressions were so bad that Xavier had threatened him with leaving the mission if he did not put an end to his cruelty.<sup>139</sup> The letter to Unnikē Tiruvadi with respect to the persecutions of the Badagas had apparently worked. They had withdrawn into the interior. Mansilhas and Artiaga had accompanied the Brahman envoy to Tuticorin, as Xavier had wished, and he had taken their place in Punnaikāyal. From Tuticorin he received a letter from Mansilhas in which the latter again expressed his longing to go with his friend to Manār to baptize the Karaiyas and also to visit those of the same caste in Vēdālai, who had already been baptized. On August 29 Francis sent him his reply:

Dearest brother in Christ! May God assist you at all times! Amen. I am delighted with the letters you have sent me. Let me know when the land there is safe from the Badegaz so that, without scandalizing your people by my sending Francisco Coelho there to take your place, you can go to do this great service for God, that is, to

<sup>133</sup> Mansilhas' letters, like the whole *Codex Macaensis*, were copied by a Chinese scribe who more than once confuses *l* and *r*. For Vettum Perumāl he consequently has *Betebumar*, *Betermenal*, *Betimunal*, *Betermeal*, *Beterbermão*. D. Joam da Cruz is more exact in writing *Betebermal*, where it is to be noted that Tamil makes no distinction between *p* and *b*. The inscription of Ilavēlankāl has the correct Vettum Perumāl.

<sup>134</sup> Xavier had thus taken him back into his favor.

<sup>135</sup> Mansilhas must therefore personally go to Tuticorin.

<sup>136</sup> From Xavier's words it can be seen that the captain was no friend of the peace negotiations.

<sup>137</sup> EX 217-218.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.* 287-288; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 244-245 330-333.

<sup>139</sup> \*Teixeira It. 3, 8.

baptize the people of Careapatão<sup>140</sup> and that you can also go to the Careas of Beadala<sup>141</sup> and to the *mudaliar*,<sup>142</sup> for the captain of Negapatão<sup>143</sup> is very influential with the king of Jaffnapatam,<sup>144</sup> who owns those islands of Manar;<sup>145</sup> and he will take care to further your interests with the king. As soon as your land is safe from the Badegaz, send me the *patamar* so that I can immediately send Francisco Coelho to you with money and *ollas* and an instruction on what you should do on Manar. I commend you much to our brother João de Artiaga, and write to me about all his needs so that I can take care of them, as I should.<sup>146</sup>

I am alone here among these people without an interpreter. Antonio<sup>147</sup> is ill in Manapar. Rodrigo<sup>148</sup> and Antonio<sup>149</sup> are my interpreters. From this you can see the life I am leading and the exhortations I am able to give, since the people do not understand me and I understand them even less.<sup>150</sup> From this you can see the sermons

<sup>140</sup> *Careapatão*: "Village of the Karaiyas." H. Henriques, after the new settlement of Manār in 1560, distinguished between: (1) the *lugar grande dos Careas* in the northeast of the island, where the Karaiyas lived who in 1561, after the capture of Manār by the viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança from Vēdālai, were settled (today the Moorish town of Erukalam paddi); (2) the *lugar pequeno dos Careas* (Totavali) in the southeast of the island; and (3) *Patim* (Paddi Kādu) in the area of the parish of Totavali, a half hour from the fortress of Manār, which now gets its drinking water from there. The Karaiyas who became Christians in 1544 lived there. When the king of Jaffna slew six hundred of them, the survivors fled to the mainland and only returned in 1561. The present name of Paddi Kādu (Village of the Wilderness) probably comes from the fact that those who returned saw their abandoned village turned into a wilderness. Their kinsmen living north of the river joined them and likewise received baptism, over two hundred in all (DI V 379-380 680, VI 394 751; SR X 322-324; \*A. Lopes 531-v; \*letter of the Karaiyas of 1642; Ghana Prakasar, *History* 44-45).

<sup>141</sup> The Karaiyas in Vēdālai had already been baptized; Mansilhas had only to visit them. Xavier's manner of spelling *Beadala* corresponds to that in Zinadim: *Beadāla* (63).

<sup>142</sup> Tamil: *mudaliyār*: captain, administrator, judge (Dalgado II 61-62). He was over the village magistrates. Under Portuguese rule the collection of taxes in the four provinces of the kingdom of Jaffna was given to four different *mudaliyārs* (Pieris, *Kingdom* 21 55). Xavier probably means the administrator of the king of Jaffna in Manār.

<sup>143</sup> Antonio Mendes de Vasconcellos was captain from 1543 to 1546.

<sup>144</sup> Chekarāsa Sēkaran, alias Sankily, 1519-1561 (Gnana Prakasar, *The Kings of Jaffna* [Jaffna, 1920] 6-33).

<sup>145</sup> Manār and the archipelago between Manār and Jaffna.

<sup>146</sup> The subsequent outbreak of hostilities prevented the journey.

<sup>147</sup> The interpreter.

<sup>148</sup> A native servant, about whom nothing further is known.

<sup>149</sup> The cook, apparently Antonio Coutinho, who even in 1583 still knew no Portuguese.

<sup>150</sup> Paulo Vaz, who accompanied Xavier in 1544 in Travancore, declared in 1545 in Coimbra that he spoke the language of the Fishery Coast very well (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231). Captain Antonio Pereira, who sailed with Xavier from São Thomé to Malacca, declared in the process held at Malacca in 1556 that Francis learned in a few days the language of any country to which he went, for example, Malabar, Maluco, and Japan. He, the witness, knew these languages and he had spoken them with him, and also Malay (MX II 418). The licentiate Alonso de Barbuda, who was in India from 1578 to 1586, testified in 1614 that everybody in Travancore told him that Xavier spoke their language as perfectly as if he had been born there (*\*Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 2, 64v). The Parava Thomé Vaz, the son of Xavier's host in Punnaikāyal, said the same in 1616 (MX II 555). And the doctor of theology Miguel de Lacerda, from Coimbra, who arrived in India soon after Xavier's death and remained there for a long time, heard the same from Quadros and the fellow workers of the saint, Durão and João Lopes, namely, that Xavier had had the gift of tongues and had known the languages of all the people of India with whom he had conversed and had spoken Malabar and preached in it without the use of an interpreter (*\*Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 11, 105). But this letter shows that these claims are exaggerated. Xavier could speak about the most necessary matters and knew a part of Christian teachings and a sermon by heart. The numerous errors



I am giving these people. I baptize the infants and the others to be baptized. For this I do not have an interpreter. The poor let me know their needs without an interpreter, and I understand them without an interpreter when I see them. For the more important things I do not have need of an interpreter. The Badegaz who were in these regions are all now united in Calecaté.<sup>151</sup> The land is finally safe from the Badegaz. The people of the land did what harm they could<sup>152</sup> until it was calmed by Iniquitriberim. May our Lord be with you always! Amen. From Punicalé, the twenty-ninth of August, 1544.

Tonight I am going to Talle,<sup>153</sup> where there are many poor people.<sup>154</sup>

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>155</sup>

#### 4. VETTUM PERUMĀL'S REVENGE (SEPTEMBER, 1544)

The Badagas had withdrawn, and what Master Francis had long feared took place. Vettum Perumāl had learned about Xavier's dealings with the Great King. He now let the Christians who had remained in Tuticorin feel his revenge, attacking them with his bands of cavalry. Francis received news of this on September 5, when he was visiting the villages in Ālantalai. The Christians had fled to the barren islands near the coast, where they lacked both water and food.<sup>156</sup> He therefore wrote immediately to Mansilhas, who had returned to Punnaikāyal, that he should help them:

which Henriques discovered in his translation of the catechism show that Xavier had only a very imperfect command of Tamil. When Bartoli printed the first part of his *Asia* in 1653, in which he speaks in a grossly exaggerated fashion of Xavier's marvelous gift of languages (3, 8), he knew only a fragment of this letter and not its place of origin (Tursellinus, *Epistolae* 1, 6). He therefore concluded that Xavier wrote this letter when he was in the interior of the country, where a language completely unknown to him was being spoken (1, 40). In his later *Uomini e fatti*, he added that since ten different languages were spoken in that town in the interior, he had made himself known through signs (1, 15). Sousa conjectured that Xavier visited the Thomas Christians in Quilon or Cranganore at this time. For this he cites only the Tursellinus fragment (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 17). Zaleski rightly maintained that Bartoli's solution was untenable since Tamil was also spoken within the interior. He reached another, equally false conclusion: our passage is from a letter written by Xavier in 1542, when he still knew no Tamil, which was in some way or other included with those of 1544! (*St. Francis Xavier* [Einsiedeln, 1910] 73-75.)

<sup>151</sup> Kalakkād, in southwest Tinnevely, on the military road which led from the Ārāmboli Pass to the north.

<sup>152</sup> The followers of the Pāndyas, the *adhigāris* of the Great King, and the pagans in general.

<sup>153</sup> Periyatālai is always written Tālai by Xavier (EX I 222, n. 18, should accordingly be corrected). He sailed there from Punnaikāyal without landing on the way.

<sup>154</sup> Probably refugees from Cape Comorin.

<sup>155</sup> EX I 219-222.

<sup>156</sup> In 1557 Mansilhas first spoke of the islands near Cape Comorin and then added: "Em outras ilhas de Tutocorim, que estam ao mar huma flegoa pouco mais ou menos, se acolherão houtra vez ahy os Christãos por amor de outra gerra de outros lladrões; e elle, testemunha, por mandado do P. Mestre Francisco, os provya de todo o mantimento e agoa, que avia mister, porque não havia nada nas ditas ilhas; e todos hos dias os visitavão" (MX II 318). The following islands are located off Tuticorin: Punnaiyadi Tīvu and Pāndyan Tīvu (today connected with each other, and since 1923 with the mainland); Pāndyan Tīvu (Ilha dos Lebres, Hare Island; today it has a lighthouse); Vān Tīvu (Ilha dos Reis, Church Island); and Kowswari Island, farther north. Mansilhas refers to Vān Tīvu, a good league, and Pāndyan Tīvu, three-quarters of a league, from Tuticorin. In 1603 the priests with their Christians withdrew to Vān Tīvu. There is no drinking water on the islands. They have only thorn bushes and wild and domesticated palms growing upon them.

Dearest brother in Christ! May God our Lord assist you at all times! Amen. I am greatly concerned about the Christians of Tutocurim since they are left without anyone to care for them. For the love of our Lord, let me know at once what is happening; and if you see that it is to the service of God that you go with many *tones* from Combaturé and Punicalé in order to carry the people from those islands to Combaturé, Punicalé, and Trinchandur,<sup>157</sup> you should leave at once, within the next few hours, with all the *tones* that are in Punicalé, and order those from Combaturé to follow you at once. Do not let those poor people die of hunger and thirst because of Betebermal and his horses. The captain would have gained more if he had taken care of the Christians rather than of Betebermal and his horses. I am sending an *olla* to the *patangatins* of Punicalé and Combaturé, ordering them to ready their *tones* at once and go with you to get the Christians of Tutocurim, who are dying of hunger and thirst on the islands. If you think it necessary to go yourself to give orders for those people, give the *olla* to the *patangatins* and go to help them. But if you do not think this is necessary, do not go. I leave all of this to your discretion. And if you do go, be sure that the *tones* take along water and provisions. May our Lord be always with you! Amen.

Let me know how Manuel da Cruz and Matheus, whom I left disheartened,<sup>158</sup> are getting along. The fifth of September, 1544.<sup>159</sup>

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>160</sup>

The letter had already been sent when news came on the same day that the captain's boat and houses had been burned, and that he had himself taken refuge on the islands of Tuticorin. Xavier accordingly sent a second letter off at once:

Dearest brother in Christ! I have received sad news about the captain, that his ship and houses have been burned and that he has himself fled to the islands.<sup>161</sup> For the love of God, go there immediately with all the people of Punicalé and take along as much water as you can in all the *tones*. I am writing in very strong terms to the *patangatins* that they should go immediately with you to see the captain, and that they should take water in many *tones* to carry it to the people there. And if I thought that the captain would be pleased with my coming, I would go myself and you would remain in Punicalé. But since he has written me a letter in which he told me that he could not write to me about the evil which I had done to him without being extremely annoyed—God and the whole world know that he cannot write to me without being annoyed—I do not know how glad he would be to see me. For this and other reasons I have decided not to go to him.<sup>162</sup> I am writing to the *patangatins* of Com-

<sup>157</sup> Tiruchendūr.

<sup>158</sup> Matheus was, it seems, the interpreter of Mansilhas in Punnaikāyal. But when Xavier left this village on August 29, he wrote that he was without an interpreter. He probably meant that he did not have one for the visit to the villages he was undertaking.

<sup>159</sup> The letter, like the following, was probably written in Alantalai.

<sup>160</sup> EX I 222-223.

<sup>161</sup> After the failure of the peace negotiations, Vettum Perumāl's hate was turned against the captain, the Portuguese, and the Christians.

<sup>162</sup> The principal point of dispute between Paiva and Xavier was obviously the fact that the priest was taking the part of Unnikē Tiruvadi and peace for the sake of his Christians, but the captain was favoring Vettum Perumāl and war because of his profits from trading horses. At the same time, with his insatiable greed, he was so impoverishing and oppressing the Christians that Xavier wrote to Mansilhas that he should tell him the contents of, or show him, the accompanying leaf on which he had written: "If the captain N. N. does not cease his cruelty towards the Christians, hand over to him the teaching of Christian doctrine. Give it up and tell him: 'If Herod persecuted the innocent children with respect to their bodies, he is acting worse, for

buturé and Bembar<sup>163</sup> that they should immediately sail with all the *tones* and, crossing over to where the captain is, bring him water and provisions. For the love of God be very earnest about this since you see that the captain and all the Christians are in such straits. For the love of God be most earnest about this! May our Lord be always with you. Amen. From Arandale, the fifth of September, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>164</sup>

Mansilhas and the *patangatis* carried out Xavier's orders and sailed every day from Tuticorin with food and water for the fugitives.<sup>165</sup> But two days after sending this last letter, Master Francis received additional bad news. He had just finished his visitation of the Christian villages of Ālantalai, Pudukudi, and Tiruchendūr, which lay near the famous temple of Tiruchendūr, and which had urgently required his coming. He wanted to go to the neighboring Virapādayanpatnam when he learned that the country was in a tumult and the natives wanted to seize the Christians who had fled from Cape Comorin and had been brought to Manappād. The reason for this was the arrest of a brother-in-law of Vettum Perumāl by the Portuguese. In addition to this, Coelho wrote from Manappād that Francis should come immediately to protect them, for a prince, a nephew of the Great King, had even come in their regard. Moreover, Unnikē Tiruvadi had sent a letter for him to Manappād from his camp in the interior asking him to come since he wished to speak with him about important matters. The Badagas had withdrawn, and he apparently needed the governor's help against the incursions of Vettum Perumāl and his followers, the *pulas*, into his own land. On September 7 Xavier therefore sent a letter to Mansilhas from Tiruchendūr by means of a young Portuguese named Paulo Vaz, the son of the licentiate João Vaz of Coimbra, who had recently joined him as a helper:<sup>166</sup>

Dearest brother in Christ! May God give us His most holy grace since we have no other help in this land but His. I was in Trichantur on my way to Viravandião—

he is persecuting them in both soul and body. He will be responsible for the children of that coast of Comorin dying without baptism if we depart from there" (\*Teixeira It. 3, 8). A year after sending off his life of Xavier, which contained this passage, he sent, in 1581, *Addenda et Corrigenda* to it. In these he mentions two sharp letters of Xavier with respect to the captain and indicates that they should be left out, or at least the second, "for it was later learned what happened: When the captain brought a war upon the natives of this land, he withdrew with slight reason to the sea and ordered the priests to come to him and not to go onto the land to baptize the newly born children even if they could be baptized without any danger. To this P. M. Francisco sent a reply that if he continued in this fashion, he should be told that he should take care to see if he was not waging a crueler war against innocent children than did Herod, for the latter killed only their bodies, while he would be the cause of their losing their souls" (*Anotações* 62).

<sup>163</sup> Vēmbār is here mentioned by Xavier for the first time.

<sup>164</sup> EX I 224-225.

<sup>165</sup> According to Mansilhas (MX II 318).

<sup>166</sup> The Portuguese who is anxious to serve God mentioned in the following letter is obviously Paulo Vaz, who is referred to in the two subsequent letters. He is the same person about whom Martim de Santa Cruz wrote to Peter Favre from Coimbra on October 22, 1545: "There arrived here a young man from India, the son of a leading citizen of this city, the licentiate Juan Vaz, where Doña Angela was. He went for six months with P. Mestre Francisco" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231). The ships with which he returned to Portugal sailed from Cochín on January 20 and 27, 1545 (EX I 261-263). He thus joined Xavier in August, 1544. Since the passage in the letter of Santa Cruz is ambiguous, Xavier's companion has hitherto been wrongly called João Vaz.

patanão to visit the Christians, as I had done in Arandale, Pudicurim,<sup>167</sup> and Trichantur, since they were in great need of a visit.<sup>168</sup> As I was about to leave, I learned that the land was in a tumult because the Portuguese had seized a brother-in-law of Betebermal, and they<sup>169</sup> wanted to seize the Christians of Cape Cumorim.<sup>170</sup> Father Francisco Coelho wrote to me that I should leave at once, within the next few hours, to go to where the Christians of Cape Cumorim are staying; for if I did not come, they would suffer great harm. He further wrote that a prince, a nephew of Iniquitriberim,<sup>171</sup> had come for these poor people and that he would do them great harm if I did not come.

He further wrote that Iniquitriberim sent me an *olla* with three or four of his servants who, being exhausted, remained in Manapar.<sup>172</sup> And in his *ollas* he asked me to come and see him, for he is very eager to speak with me about matters which are of great importance to him. It seems to me that he has great need of the favor of the Lord Governor since the *pulas* are very prosperous<sup>173</sup> and have a great amount of money; and it seems to me that there is fear that the *pulas* may give the Lord Governor so much money that he will help them. Iniquitriberim further wrote that the Christians are safe in his lands and that he will treat them very well.<sup>174</sup>

I am setting out tonight at once for Manapar, and from there I shall go on behalf of the Christians of Tutucorim and Bembar,<sup>175</sup> so that they may be safe within the territory of the Great King, to visit Iniquitriberim and reach an agreement with him on how they can be safe in his land.

See to it, therefore, that the Christians of Tutucorim, who are dying on those islands, come to Combuturê and Punicalê. Write to me in detail as to how all the Christians, and especially the captain and the Portuguese, are faring. And if you should find time to visit the Christians of Combuturê and the Careas<sup>176</sup> and the village of Thomé da Motta<sup>177</sup> and the one which is near Patanão,<sup>178</sup> I would be greatly pleased; for I know that they have great need of being visited. For the instruction of the children borrow a hundred *fanoens* from those in the possession of your friend Manuel da Cruz of Punicalê. Use them for paying the teachers of the children after you have learned from them what I usually pay them. In this you will render a great service to God.

The man who is going there seems to me to be a very good person and eager to serve God.<sup>179</sup> Treat him well until I return from Iniquitriberim; and if you think that it will serve God, leave him there. Write me at once through one who is sailing<sup>180</sup> about conditions there, for I am greatly concerned about both the Portuguese and the Christians. May our Lord give us more rest in the other life than we have in this. From Trinchandur, the seventh of September, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>167</sup> *Pudukudi*: New Village. In 1571 there were two places with this name, one north of Manappād and the other south of Ālantalai (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 86).

<sup>168</sup> The proximity of the great Hindu temple of Tiruchendūr was probably the reason for this.

<sup>169</sup> The followers of Vettum Perumāl.

<sup>170</sup> The Christians that had fled to Manappād, Pudukarai, and Periyatālai.

<sup>171</sup> Probably Unni Kērala Varma, who, as nephew of Unnikē Tiruvadi, succeeded him in 1559 (DI IV 351; Nagam Aiya I 300; Velu Pillai II 180-181).

<sup>172</sup> The camp of Unnikē Tiruvadi was thus quite far from the coast.

<sup>173</sup> The followers of the Pāndyas in South Tinnevely.

<sup>174</sup> Those from the north and south of Tāmbraparni who had fled to his land.

<sup>175</sup> Vettum Perumāl, it seems, was also threatening, the Christians in the territory of Tumbichchi Nāyak, his adversary, in Vaippār and Vēmbar.

<sup>176</sup> Xavier here makes a distinction between the Paravas in Kombuturê and in the Karaiya settlements that were near it.

<sup>177</sup> The precise location is unknown.

<sup>178</sup> Perhaps the present Kadayakuddi (Karaiya Village) north of Kāyalpatnam.

<sup>179</sup> Paulo Vaz (cf. EX I 231 235).

<sup>180</sup> The text has *barbeiro*, probably a scribal error for *barqueiro*.

<sup>181</sup> EX I 226-229.

Almost immediately after his arrival in Manappād, Master Francis, very early in the morning of Monday, September 9, sent Coelho off to Periyatālai to the nephew of the Great King. Before he undertook his own journey to Unnikē Tiruvadi, he wanted to see the land that was half in rebellion quieted down; and he also wanted to obtain from him an order for the *adhigaris* to let rice and other provisions enter freely into the Parava villages. In the afternoon of the same day he received a letter from Mansilhas with the consoling news that the captain had been brought to a better frame of mind by the help he had received in his time of need. But it also mentioned the difficulties which the *adhigaris* were causing the Christians in Punnaikāyal in obtaining food from the interior. And this was particularly necessary in Punnaikāyal since it lay in the midst of a sandy waste, and the number of its inhabitants had been increased by the influx of Christians who had been evacuated from the territory of Vettum Perumāl.

Xavier immediately sent a messenger to Coelho in Periyatāli to secure pertinent orders from the prince for the officials, who were hostile to Christianity. The following day he sent a reply to Mansilhas with a man who was going to Punnaikāyal:

Dearest brother in Christ! I was so pleased with your letter that I cannot adequately describe it, for I was greatly concerned about the captain and all the others. May our Lord be always with them as I wish Him to be with me. On Tuesday,<sup>182</sup> two hours before daybreak, I sent Father Francisco Coelho to speak with the prince, who is in Talle, two leagues from Manapar.<sup>183</sup> The prince, a nephew of Iniquitriberim, gave him a very friendly reception. I thought it necessary for him to make this visit so that this land, about half of which was in rebellion, might be at peace. He said that Betebermal was going by sea to the king in great haste in order to fight against Iniquitriberim.<sup>184</sup> I also told him to order the *adigares* to permit the passage of rice and provisions.

On Tuesday afternoon I received your letter and immediately sent a man with a letter to Father Francisco Coelho in the village where the prince is staying so that he might send some *ollaz* ordering the *adigares* of this land to allow provisions to pass through to Punical and to treat the Christians well. I would like in some way to leave this coast in peace before setting out for Iniquitriberim and to return from him with the necessary authority to resist these *adigares*.

I shall write to the captain in the morning;<sup>185</sup> I cannot do so now because of the great haste which this man is in. I hope that Francisco Coelho returns tonight. Tomorrow I shall write to you more fully. Give my best greetings to Paulo Vaz,<sup>186</sup> and tell Matheus that I am writing there to Manuel da Cruz that he should give him twelve *fanoens* which he has asked me for his father and a poor sister. When Father Francisco Coelho comes, I shall write to you at much greater length. May our lord bring us together in His kingdom! Amen. From Manapar, the tenth of September, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>182</sup> On September 9.

<sup>183</sup> Periyatālai.

<sup>184</sup> He could only do this as long as the governor had not decided in favor of Unnikē Tiruvadi in the quarrel between the two parties, for the Portuguese controlled the sea. Whether he actually sailed is unknown.

<sup>185</sup> The help given to the captain had evidently appeased him.

<sup>186</sup> This Paulo Vaz is not to be confused with the Karaiya of the same name, who was born about 1506, was present at the cure of the boy in Kombuturē in 1543, and died in his nineties (MX II 545).

<sup>187</sup> EX I 229-231.

The good reception which Coelho had received from the prince had raised the greatest anticipations, but a serious act of violence on the part of a Portuguese suddenly threatened to crush all hopes. The day after Master Francis sent off the last letter, three pagans, subjects of the Great King, came to him in Manappād and complained that a Portuguese had seized a servant of the prince in Kāyalpatnam, had brought him to Punnaikāyal, and had declared that he would take him to Tuticorin, that is, into the territory of Vettum Perumāl. Francis was still much disturbed when he wrote about the matter to Mansilhas:

Dearest brother in Christ! I would never be able to write to you how much I desire to go to your coast.<sup>188</sup> I assure you that if I had found a boat sailing today, I would have immediately set out. Just now there came to me three pagans, subjects of the king, to complain that a Portuguese in Patanão<sup>189</sup> had seized a servant of this prince of Iniquitribirim and had taken him to Punicale and had said that he would take him from there to Tutocurim. When you have learned what has happened, write to the captain about it. And if the Portuguese is there, no matter who he may be, he must immediately set him free. And if the pagan owes him anything, he should present himself to the prince and demand justice; and the land should not be thrown into greater turmoil than it is now in. Because of these people we never make progress. If he is not there, I think I should abandon my trip to the king, for these people are angry at being so dishonored and seized in their own land, something that never happened under the *pulas*.<sup>190</sup> I do not know what to do except that we should no longer waste our time among people who have no regard for anything and are still not punished in the least. If those who went to steal that *paró*<sup>191</sup> had been punished, the Portuguese would not be doing what they are now. It is quite possible that this prince will inflict some evil upon these Christians since they have seized his servant.

Write to the captain how distressed I am by the seizure of this prince's servant. I shall not attempt to write more since these people say that they have to do evil and that no one has a right to say anything about it or to prevent them from doing it. If the man whom that Portuguese took prisoner is in Tutocurim, for the love of God go at once to where the captain is and have him free the man; and the Portuguese should come here to present his claim. For just as it would be obviously wrong for a pagan to go to the Portuguese and seize an individual while the captain was there and carry him off to the mainland, so it is obviously wrong to the people here that a Portuguese should seize one of their men in their own country and carry him off to the captain when they have a judge of their own and are living at peace with the Portuguese. And, if you cannot go, send Paulo Vaz with a letter from you to the captain. I assure you that I have been so grieved by this that I cannot express it. May the Lord give us patience to bear so many outrages. Write me at once about what is happening to the servant of this prince, if it is true that a Portuguese seized him, and why, and if he was carried off to Tutocurim. For if this is true, I am resolved not to go to Iniquitribirim. What the people here think about servants being seized in their land, and what they say about us, you can judge for yourself.

So as not to hear such things, and also to go to where I desire, to the land of the Preste,<sup>192</sup> where so much can be done for God our Lord without being persecuted, I am almost ready to take a *tome* here in Manapar and sail to India<sup>193</sup> without fur-

<sup>188</sup> To Punnaikāyal.

<sup>189</sup> Kāyalpatnam.

<sup>190</sup> At the time of the Pāndya rule in the fifteenth century.

<sup>191</sup> We know nothing more about this theft.

<sup>192</sup> To Abyssinia.

<sup>193</sup> India in the narrower sense of the term is here meant, as it is in the Portuguese texts of the sixteenth century, namely, the west coast of India from Cambay, or, more precisely, from the Ilha das Vacas (Arāla, north of Bassein; cf. Linschoten I 43-44)

ther delay. May our Lord give you His help and grace! Amen. From Manapar, the eleventh of September, 1544.<sup>194</sup>

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>195</sup>

Not without reason had Master Francis received a letter of recommendation from the pope for King David, or Preste Joam,<sup>196</sup> and often he had spoken to Mansilhas of his longing to go to the king's land.<sup>197</sup> But on the following day, when he again wrote to his companion, he had set aside his earlier anguish. The prince had sent a man with orders for the *adhigaris* to let provisions pass through to the Christian villages and to provide them with good company. Francis sent a letter with him to Punnaikāyal, and since Mansilhas had written to him that he must speak with him personally about the captain, the Portuguese, and the Christians, he asked him to give him further information on this in a letter written in his own hand:

Dearest brother in Christ! The prince, who is staying in Tale,<sup>198</sup> the nephew of Iniquitribirim, is such a great friend of ours that as soon as he heard of the evils which the *adigares* there were doing to the Christians, he immediately sent one of his servants with an *olla* ordering them to let all the provisions pass unhindered from the mainland; further, that the *adigares* there should be well disposed towards the Christians, and that the names of the *adigares* should be given to him and to me so that I can truthfully tell what is happening there if I go to see the king.

Take care that the *patangatins* show great respect to this servant of the prince since he is coming for the good of the Christians, and that they pay him for his efforts, as is only right; and what they squander on *bailaderas*<sup>199</sup> would be better spent on similar affairs, since this is reasonable and to the advantage of all the people. You should also give him something so that he speaks more freely with the *adigares* so that they do no further harm to the people and treat them well.

Let me know if it is true that a Portuguese seized a servant of this prince and carried him off to Tutocurim, and why. I wrote to you yesterday at length about this matter. If it is true, I think it will be better for me to wait than to go to see the king, for the people here consider the case to be brutal and are greatly disturbed by the seizure of a servant of the prince. He showed great honor to Father Francisco Coelho and agreed with him on all that was useful for the Christians; and in order to show them greater honor, he made four men of Manapar *patangatins* without asking any money from the people, as was customary under the *pulas*. He also made three *patangatins* from other villages without charge. In order to honor the priest who visited him, he chose many men from these villages.<sup>200</sup>

For the love of God, write to the captain on my behalf that I beg him to do me this favor, namely, that during the whole month of September he does not ask or permit anyone to harm the pagans of the land of the Great King.<sup>201</sup> Since they are all such great friends of ours in Christian affairs, there should be no need to ask that they be left unharmed. If I have to visit the king, I shall spend all of this month

down to Cape Comorin; and, in the narrowest sense, down to, but not including, Malabar (Dalgado I 465-466; Valignano 22; MX II 309; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 155 181 383; EX I 235 434 465).

<sup>194</sup> On the date, see EX I 232-234.

<sup>195</sup> EX I 231-235.

<sup>196</sup> Vol. I 695 713-715; text in MX II 127-128.

<sup>197</sup> MX II 318.

<sup>198</sup> Not the prince of Talle, as is found in various authors.

<sup>199</sup> Temple dancers invited to feasts.

<sup>200</sup> To make them *patangatis*.

<sup>201</sup> South Tinnevely.

in going and coming and in setting sail for Cochin.<sup>202</sup> And I do not want complaints on any account to be made to the king about us during this time.

Write to me in your own hand why you wrote to me that you could not write without our seeing each other.<sup>203</sup> If it is a matter of great importance and to the service of God which I can remedy, or something with regard to the captain and the Portuguese or the Christians, I shall certainly not go to Iniquitriberim and to Cochin<sup>204</sup> without seeing if I can remedy the evils. May our Lord always give us His help and favor! From Manapar, the twelfth of September, 1544.<sup>205</sup>

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>206</sup>

The requested clarification came; and Master Francis, as a consequence, immediately set out to sea. Without landing at Punnaikāyal, he sailed on to Tuticorin to settle the problems that had arisen there. Before sailing back to Manappād to begin his journey into the interior to visit Unnikē Tiruvadi, he wrote once again to Mansilhas on September 20:

Dearest brother in Christ! Antonio is still sick,<sup>207</sup> and he cannot assist me. Send Antonio Parava<sup>208</sup> to me at once in Manapar,<sup>209</sup> for I need him to prepare the food. Write to me at once, for I am greatly concerned about all the people there. As soon as I reach Iniquitriberim,<sup>210</sup> I shall try to obtain *ollas* from him, and I shall immediately send them to you so that all the village *adigares* let the provisions pass and are well disposed towards the Christians. Pray to God for me! Tell the children that they should remember to ask God for me in their prayers.<sup>211</sup> I am writing an *ola* to Manuel da Cruz so that he gives you a hundred *fanoens* for the instruction of the children. I am sending the *olla* to you. May our Lord help and favor us! Amen. From Tuticorin, the twentieth of September, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>212</sup>

## 5. THE *Periya Padre* (OCTOBER, 1544)

Master Francis' holy life, his courageous, indefatigable interventions on behalf of his Christians, persecuted and oppressed by both Portuguese and pagans, had attracted the attention of all upon him. From Manār in the north to Travancore in the south, he was everywhere spoken of as the *Periya Padre*, "the Great Father."<sup>213</sup> His fellow workers also looked upon him with wonder

<sup>202</sup> To Unnikē Tiruvadi and back to the Fishery Coast and then to Cochin.

<sup>203</sup> "Escrever-me heis por vossa mão, porque me escrevestes que sem que nos vissemos não podíeis escrever." Mansilhas wanted to say that he had to speak in person with Xavier about a question.

<sup>204</sup> In order to negotiate with the governor and his officials on behalf of Unnikē Tiruvadi.

<sup>205</sup> On the date, see EX I 236.

<sup>206</sup> EX I 236-238.

<sup>207</sup> Probably the same one who remained ill in Manappād (*ibid.* 221).

<sup>208</sup> Is this Antonio Parava identical with Antonio Coutinho?

<sup>209</sup> Xavier thus sailed directly from Tuticorin to Manappād without visiting Mansilhas in Punnaikāyal since he was in a hurry.

<sup>210</sup> In his military camp, which was constantly being shifted.

<sup>211</sup> The journey into the interior was dangerous, especially for Xavier (EX I 242).

<sup>212</sup> EX I 238-239.

<sup>213</sup> In 1545 Paulo Vaz declared in Coimbra that Xavier was called *Balea Padre* in India, that is, "the Great Father" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231); Pérez wrote in 1548 that the Christians of the Fishery Coast revered him as a saint and called him "el grande



and reverence. Juan de Lizano, who occasionally heard Xavier's confession, assured Artiaga that he had never lost his virginal innocence.<sup>214</sup> And Artiaga himself, whose inconstancy was a sore trial for "the Great Father," testified with respect to him that he had never seen his master do, or heard him say, anything that resembled a sin. He said of him:

He spoke always of God, and he was very gentle in his conversation. He acted of course at times as if he were angry with those who sinned, but I knew that in his soul he was filled with the love of God. Outwardly he seemed to avoid sinners, but inwardly he avoided only the sins; and I knew that he prayed to God for those who were weak and afflicted with vices.... He labored much in Cape Comorin. He drank no wine and ate no bread even if he had some. But when he entered the house of a Portuguese, he ate and drank what was given to him. His usual food was poorly cooked rice and still more poorly prepared fish and at times sour milk with rice or a rice cake. But he told his subjects that they should eat as much as they needed to serve God, and that they should not eat for themselves but to support their body and offer it to God for His service. He wore a very old, patched cassock and a frock<sup>215</sup> and a completely dilapidated biretta. I never remember seeing a mattress or a linen sheet upon his bed, but only a very hard pillow. A quilt<sup>216</sup> which the governor Martim Affonso de Sousa gave him along with two kegs of wine and a very fine frock from Portugal he immediately gave to the poor. He never wore the frock, and he never tasted the wine. And the alms which he distributed he always gave with great secrecy.... In the morning after he had risen he recited the hours of his Office, though he used to say that it was a very good prayer for one who sought to help the souls of his neighbors.... When the kings of the land or the Portuguese were hostile to, or mistreated, the Christians, he made great efforts to defend and free them. On Sundays he used to assemble all the people and preach to them, and he instructed all in a church or *rramada* (palm-leaf chapel) built for this purpose; and he did this in the Malabar language, which he had learned for this purpose. He visited all the Christians of Tramanancor and Berimjão and was never a month or twenty days in the same place. He always walked from one village to another and at times barefooted. And if by chance he was sick with a fever, the only medicines or salves in his house were books. In all the Christian villages, he gave orders that there should be individuals who would teach the prayers to all the people, the children during the week and all together on Sunday. And I believe that Father Master Francis had many other virtues of greater significance than these, but they surpassed my strength and understanding.<sup>217</sup>

Mansilhas also, who was not by nature too generously endowed, whose head refused to accept either Latin or Tamil, and who all too easily lost patience with his dark-skinned sheep, was full of praise for his master and carefully preserved all of his letters as precious relics. As he later testified,

Father Master Francis ... was full of the grace of the Holy Spirit, for his life was more of a saint and of an angel than that of a common man.... And he suffered many great hardships, in India, especially on the Fishery Coast, where I was his companion, in caring for the Christians and interceding for them with the captains of the King, our lord, and also with the pagan kings of the land because of the many

Padre" (DI I 368); and the same was testified by the Parava Estevão da Cunha in 1616 (MX II 577). *Balea* is *valiya* in Malayālam, *periya* in Tamil, all meaning "great."

<sup>214</sup> MX II 374.

<sup>215</sup> *Sayo*, a frock reaching down to the knees. Over it was worn a sleeveless cassock.

<sup>216</sup> *Colcha*.

<sup>217</sup> MX II 375-378.

tyrannies and wrongs which they did to them. This caused him great trials and labors from both the Christians and the pagans. And many times he offered himself for a martyr's death for the love of God and His holy faith. And in doing these things for the service of God and the salvation of souls, he completely forgot himself and the world about him. And if at night he had some time for himself, for during the day he had none, he recollected himself and scourged himself and gave himself for a long time to prayer and meditation. And he also consoled the people and heard their confessions by day and night;<sup>218</sup> and he visited the sick and gave many alms to the poor; and he begged these from others, for he never had anything of his own.... He always led such a chaste life that nothing else can be said than that in this regard, as in everything else, his conscience was always most pure. And he was not only himself chaste, but he also took great pains that others would be so too. And he was very zealous and watchful and generous in all that concerned the service of God our Lord; and he was so earnest in the service of God that he had no fear of anyone when he had to request and obtain things which he saw were needed for the service of God.... He had great zeal and wished that all the pagans would be saved and converted. And many times he urged me to go with him to the kingdom of the Preste and his lands so that he might suffer martyrdom for the love of God if this was to His service. And all these hardships Father Master Francis bore with great patience.<sup>219</sup>

His Parava friend Joam da Cruz, one of the chief persons on the coast, also praised the virtuous life of the priest, who, according to him, was more a man of God and a saint than one of this world, since he sought only the service of God in all things. He recalled how he had encountered many complaints from, and difficulties with, the captains of the coast and the governor in India in his efforts to put an end to the numerous tyrannies to which his Christians were subject. He told how he had intervened with the captains for his Christians and had reproached them if they acted unjustly. "And he bore all these evils with great patience," he added, "so that the Christians were astonished and regarded him as their father. And they had no other good than Father Master Francis." Cruz also praised the great zeal of the priest:

He made great efforts to convert the pagans through his preaching and instructions, so that the pagans held him in high esteem and regarded him as a saint; and they said that what he told them was true. And if he did not succeed in making the whole country Christian, it was not because of a lack of great efforts and diligence but because he did not remain as long a time as necessary in the land.<sup>220</sup>

There were also accounts of miracles.<sup>221</sup>

<sup>218</sup> Portuguese and those natives who understood enough Portuguese. Only in 1549 did H. Henriques master enough of the difficult Tamil language so as to be able to hear the confessions of his Christians (DI I 491 581). Only in 1550 did he begin to expound to them the mystery of the Incarnation, and in 1551 that of the Trinity and the meaning of the cross, "for in most of the villages the Christians knew nothing of them" (*ibid.* II 157 302-303).

<sup>219</sup> MX II 316-319.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.* 3-9-312. The number of children and adults whom Xavier baptized between 1542 and 1544 on the Fishery Coast can hardly have surpassed nine thousand if five thousand more were baptized by his assistants (for more details, see Schurhammer, "Die Taufen" 44-50).

<sup>221</sup> In addition to the "traditions" already mentioned of the present inhabitants of the Fishery Coast with respect to Xavier's alleged miracles, which gave rise to later legends, two more should be indicated: (1) Between Punnaikāyal and Palayakāyal the saint blessed poisonous vegetables, so that they are now edible. (2) When Punnaikāyal was threatened by a flood, he took a statue of St. Ignatius or of the Mother of God and dipped it in the water to divert it (certainly a harsh anachronism).

There was no one ill in Punnaikāyal who did not call for the priest so that he might read a Gospel over him, and the person usually became well. This also happened through the imposition of the rosary which Master Francis wore about his neck. He had almost no time for himself since he received requests from all sides that he lay something upon the sick, as Artiaga, an eyewitness, later declared.<sup>222</sup>

Many possessed persons were freed by "the Great Father" from an evil spirit.<sup>223</sup> One day in Manappād he was busy giving instructions when some people came up and told him that a wealthy man was possessed by a devil, who tortured him exceedingly, and he begged him for the love of God to give him some remedy. Francis sent one of his helpers with his crucifix. His youthful catechist read a Gospel over the afflicted man, and he was immediately cured.<sup>224</sup> There were also reports of divine punishment. Master Francis once went from Manappād to visit a pagan lord. But the latter showed him the door with a jibe that if he, the speaker, ever came to his church, he, Master Francis, would not have to open up his door for him. Not many days later, however, the fiends came upon the pagan. He sought refuge in the church of Manappād, but Francis was absent. The Paravas, who remembered the rejection of their *swāmi*, now refused in turn to open the church door to him; and he was sorely tried.<sup>225</sup>

All along the coast it was reported that a boy had fallen into a well in Kombuturē and had been taken dead from it, and that he had been recalled to life by "the Great Father." When Aritaga was in Vēmbār, he heard that his master had raised one from the dead. He asked him about it but received only an evasive answer.<sup>226</sup> Mansilhas heard many say that in the preceding year a boy, the son of a Christian woman, had died. His mother called the priest. The latter went to her house, knelt down, and prayed; and this had awakened the child from the dead. But when Master Francis was questioned about this, he declared that the boy had not been dead.<sup>227</sup>

The reputation of the *Periya Padre* had extended beyond the boundaries of the Fishery Coast. The Macua fishers of Manakkudi on the other side of Cape

<sup>222</sup> MX II 375. Artiaga adds: "In this village of Punicalle I saw a pupil of the priest through the mercy of God and the service of the priest raise a boy and a woman." But one can reasonably doubt as to whether or not they were merely unconscious or were really dead. Other contemporaries, for example, Mansilhas, who lived so long afterwards in Punnaikāyal, knew nothing about the two incidents. In 1616 the priest João da Fonseca, thirty-four years old and more, who had been in India for sixteen years, testified that he had spoken in Punnaikāyal with a 105-year-old Christian of that village, who still remembered P. M. Franciscus very well and had been present at the cure of the boy who had fallen into the well at Kombuturē. He told him that he had seen the priest frequently drive away dangerous sicknesses with holy water, and that he had also healed wounds, fevers, and virulent, pestilential illnesses (\**Lisbon, RProcess* II, n. 2, 21v).

<sup>223</sup> In 1555 Quadros wrote: "With respect to [Xavier's] miracles, men who went with him to Cape Comorin told me that he worked many; and he did this continuously, giving health to the sick and driving out demons; and I was told that he seldom recited the prayers over a sick person without his becoming well" (DI III 336; cf. also \**Con-falonarius* 271v).

<sup>224</sup> MX II 375.

<sup>225</sup> \*Teixeira It. 2, 4. He places the incident in 1543, and Tursellinus 2, 9 follows him. The warning of the priest was probably in 1543; we would prefer dating the punishment in the war year of 1544.

<sup>226</sup> MX II 376.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.* 319.

Comorin repeatedly asked him to come and baptize them and their kin in the villages of Travancore.<sup>228</sup> The Karaiyas of Manār had made a similar request, and Francis would have gladly sailed there to fulfill it; but the outbreak of war had prevented both him and Mansilhas from going to Manār. In the end he had sent a cleric<sup>229</sup> who conferred baptism on about a thousand Karaiyas on the island.<sup>230</sup> Soon he would also have to fulfill the desires of the Macuas on the coast of Travancore.

#### 6. THE GRATITUDE OF UNNIKĒ TIRUVADI (OCTOBER—NOVEMBER, 1544)

Master Francis had had good reason for asking for the prayers of the children in his last letter to Mansilhas. The journey to the camp of Unnikē Tiruvadi within the interior was dangerous. For almost two months Mansilhas heard nothing more from his master. In Goa people wanted to know what Master Francis had written to the governor during the monsoon about the offer of the *pulas*, according to which the mother of the imprisoned Pāndya king promised to give his treasure, worth some three millions, and two thousand gold *pardaus*<sup>231</sup> at once if the governor came to her aid. In his answer to Xavier, Martim Affonso had told him that he should get accurate information as to whether or not the imprisoned lord or his mother could keep this promise. If so, he was willing to undertake the matter. When the southwest monsoon had passed, Francis sent further news to the governor. The king's mother said that if he were willing to help she would immediately hand over two thousand gold *pardaus*. Since Martim Affonso was now occupied with preparing the fleet, he wrote to Aleixo de Sousa, the *vedor da fazenda* in Cochin, where he was getting the cargo of pepper ready for the fleet sailing to Portugal, that he should send a reliable person to Master Francis and make sure about the matter. If it was certain that they would give the money, he should at once return with the answer so that he, the governor, might take the necessary measures. The *vedor* then sent a man to the Fishery Coast. Messages traveled back and forth, but nothing was settled; and no action, as a consequence, was taken.<sup>232</sup>

Aleixo de Sousa then went personally from Cochin to the Fishery Coast to negotiate with the *pulas* during Xavier's absence. On November 10 Francis was

<sup>228</sup> EX I 246 273. The *Copia* of 1546, from the data of Miguel Vaz, has a similar observation: "Il Padre mastro Francesco batizo 10,000 gentili da loco in loco, chiamato dalli medesimi naturali della terra" (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 290). Valignano's account, according to which Xavier compelled the Macuas to accept baptism through promises and threats, "compellendo eos intrare ad nuptias," in that, for example, the captain of Quilon with the approval of the priest kept them from fishing on numerous occasions (69-71), appears to be a later construction that is not supported by facts.

<sup>229</sup> Xavier says that he sent a cleric (*clerigo*) for this purpose (EX I 274); the *Copia* of 1546 calls him *patre* (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 290); the opinion of the *letrados* in Portugal has *sacerdote* (*ibid.* 264), and their information, coming from Miguel Vaz, went back to Xavier. Lizano is therefore the only one in question, since Coelho was not free because of the negotiations with the Great King. The baptisms were certainly not conferred by Frey Manuel de S. Mathias, who died in Goa in 1632, as Frey Clemente de Santa Eyria wrote in 1722 (SR V 421-422), and also not by a cleric to whom Xavier gave his own name, and who died as a martyr with his neophytes, as Queyroz states in his romantic account (242-243).

<sup>230</sup> Since the king of Jaffna slew about six hundred and the rest fled to the mainland, the number of those baptized could have been around a thousand.

<sup>231</sup> The *Lendas* have 200,000 (Correa IV 409), the better text has 2,000 (MX II 151).

<sup>232</sup> Correa IV 408-409; MX II 151-152.

again in Manappād and sent an account to Mansilhas in Punnaikāyal about the negotiations that had been conducted in the camp of the Great King. At the same time he gave him needed instructions on Tuticorin, where the Christians who had remained behind against his orders had taken possession of the homes of those who had fled to the territory of the Great King. They had been encouraged in this by a certain Portuguese named Nicolau Barbosa, whose pretensions had already caused Master Francis considerable trouble. He wrote as follows:

Dearest brother in Christ I had just reached Manapar and was about to depart for the place where Aleixo de Sousa was staying<sup>233</sup> when two Nayres came with a letter from a Portuguese who wrote to me that he was staying in Boarime<sup>234</sup> and had a letter of the *vedador da fazenda*<sup>235</sup> for me and certain official documents,<sup>236</sup> which makes it necessary for me to pay a visit to Iniquitriberim. Aleixo de Sousa has gone to Coulão (Cochin), and it is said that he has become very discontent with the *pulas*.<sup>237</sup> I do not know if this is true. Tomorrow I am going overland to Cape Comurim, and I shall visit the villages of the Christians on the way and baptize the infants that are to be baptized.

I would be happy if on Monday,<sup>238</sup> or when it seems good to you, you visited the Christians of Tutucorim; and since there is no room in their cottages where they can come together, assemble them outside in the field and there instruct them.<sup>239</sup> Tell Nicolau Barbosa<sup>240</sup> for me that he should not invite to the Chank Fishery those who are living in Tutucorim in the houses of the Christians expelled from there.<sup>241</sup> For I am not willing that such disobedient individuals, or, to put it more exactly, Christian renegades, should enjoy the fruit of our sea.<sup>242</sup> And if those from Punicale want to go to the islands of Tutucorim to fish for chank, they should go in good time. And tell him that he should be on his guard about causing any more trouble, and that those, in the past were enough.

Earnestly commend me in your prayers and in those of your children. Helped by such assistance, I do not share the fear which these Christians would impart to me, saying that I should not go by land, since all those who wish ill to the Christians here desire it still more for me. I am so tired of life that it seems to me it would be better to die for the defense of our law and faith than to live and see so many offenses as we do without being able to prevent them. Nothing burdens me so much as that I was not more opposed to those who, as you know, offend God so cruelly. May our Lord always help and favor you! Amen. From Manapar, the tenth of November, 1544.

<sup>233</sup> He had thus come to the Fishery Coast for the negotiations, probably as far as Cape Comorin.

<sup>234</sup> Ovari.

<sup>235</sup> Aleixo de Sousa.

<sup>236</sup> *Despachos*, obviously suggestions to the governor as to what to do if the promises of the *pulas* were not certain.

<sup>237</sup> Correa says the same.

<sup>238</sup> On November 17.

<sup>239</sup> The Christians of Tuticorin who had been brought into the territory of the Great King were living in temporary palm-leaf huts.

<sup>240</sup> Nothing more is known of him. He was apparently one of the captain's men who at times took his place.

<sup>241</sup> Xavier is speaking of those Christians of Tuticorin who had not followed out his order to move to the territory of the Great King. Xavier's letter shows that the others were expelled by Vettum Perumāl.

<sup>242</sup> The Portuguese were the lords of the sea (EX I 141).

I am setting out immediately for Pudicare,<sup>243</sup> and Father Francisco Coelho is going to visit the Christians who are in Virandapatanão.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.<sup>244</sup>

Since negotiations with the *pulas*, the party of the Pāndyas in Tinnevely, had proved fruitless, M. A. de Sousa had decided to favor the cause of the Great King and his brother Mārtānda, the king of Travancore; and Master Francis was to convey this good news to them. He took leave of his Christians in Manappād—to his young helper, Antonio de Miranda, he had given an *Officium Beatae Virginis* as a keepsake—<sup>245</sup> and set out for Travancore with Paulo Vaz, the young Portuguese, a cook and interpreter, and a *kanakapula* to read and write his palm-leaf letters.<sup>246</sup>

The two princes, Unnikē Tiruvadi and his brother Mārtānda, whom he found in Travancore,<sup>247</sup> showed their gratitude for his efforts in their regard. When Dom Joam da Cruz, the former ambassador of the Zamorin of Calicut, had visited Mārtānda's predecessor at the end of 1537, the latter, in order to obtain through his mediation with the governor the horses which he needed for the war of the Great King on the other side of Cape Comorin, had promised him that he would let the Macua fishers of his kingdom become Christians.<sup>248</sup> His successor, Mārtānda, now honored this pledge. He and his brother made it known to the fishers that they should listen to the *Periya Padre*, "the Great Father," as they did to them, and that all who wished could become Christians.<sup>249</sup> Unnikē Tiruvadi, the Great King, moreover, gave Francis two thousand

<sup>243</sup> Pudukarai, between Manappād and Periyatālai.

<sup>244</sup> EX I 240-243. Since Xavier began his trip without Coelho, he apparently had another interpreter with him.

<sup>245</sup> MX II 573.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. EX I 247.

<sup>247</sup> On November 25, 1544, Rāma Varma, the Great King, dismissed the incumbent treasurer of the temple of Suchindram and appointed a new one in his stead, as an inscription indicates, and on December 12 the new treasurer was established in his office (TAS 4 [1923] 104-105; 8 [1938] 1-2). On this occasion the king simply calls himself Virakēralavarman with the titles of Venrumankonda Bhūtalvīra; but in other inscriptions he gives his full name: Venrumankonda Bhūtalavīra Rāmavarman, Senior of Jayatunganāda (Q 5731 5644). Xavier probably met the Great King and his brother Mārtānda Varma in Tiruvankod, the latter's residence, today a suburb of Padmanabhapuram, twenty-two miles from Cape Comorin. The road to it led from Cape Comorin past the temple of Suchindram, then by way of Kottār and Nagercoil to the foot of the mountains, and finally along them to the northwest. In 1544 Mārtānda's successor was crowned king of Travancore in Turvankod (KSP 1, 3). Because of the constant attacks of the Nāyaks of Madura, the residence was moved under Kulasēkhara Perumāl (1592-1603) to Kalkulam at the foot of the mountains west of Padmanabhapuram and a fortress built there (Diogo Gonçalves 81). Xavier's letter suggests that he did not go to Travancore this time along the coast but by way of the Ārāmboli Pass.

<sup>248</sup> On December 15, 1537, D. Joam da Cruz wrote from Cochin to the king in Portugal that when he had returned in September and October from Cape Comorin to Cochin by land through Travancore, he had visited the king of Travancore and encouraged him to become a Christian, "pera a boa paz e amizade com V. A. e pera o governador lhe deixar trazer cavalos a sua terra, os quaes lhe eram defesos, cousa de que ele tem tanta necessidade, pelas gueras que tem com os seus vizinhos o Rey Grande; he prove a Noso Senhor que com o que lhe eu dise ele deu lugar aos da orela do mar a fazeremse cristãos, e pera ist mamdou loguo seus embaxadores aquy, os quaes estão esperamdo pelo governador e pelo vigario jerall pera os averem de fazer cristãos como fizeram ao Capo de Comorim" (SR II 259).

<sup>249</sup> Seb. Gonçalves erroneously wrote that the Portuguese of Quilon had obtained

*fanams* for the erection of churches in his territory.<sup>250</sup> Through the governor's intervention, the war ended to the advantage of the Cēra kings. Unnikē Tiruvadi set the imprisoned Pāndya king free and restored his land to him in return for a great sum of money. As Gaspar Correa noted in his chronicle in Goa, the peace was further ratified through marriages between the two parties.<sup>251</sup>

## 7. THE GREAT HARVEST (NOVEMBER—DECEMBER, 1544)

There was now need of immediate action. The political situation could change overnight, and with it the attitude of the princes.<sup>252</sup> The Macua fishers<sup>253</sup> lived in fourteen villages to the west of Cape Comorin, twelve in Travancore proper, the territory of Mārtānda Varma, and two, those farthest south, in the territory of his brother, the Great King. On the scale of Indian castes, they were a degree lower than their neighbors, the Paravas and Shānās, who would eat, but not marry, with them.<sup>254</sup> They fished in catamarans and, in the northern villages, also in *tonis*. Like the Paravas and Shānās they spoke Tamil, and the women, like the Parava women, wore heavy gold ornaments that drew the lobes of their ears down to their shoulders. Like their neighbors

permission from the king of Travancore for Xavier to baptize his subjects (2, 12). For the following Xavier is not our only source. The report of his companion Paulo Vaz must also be taken into account. This must be used with caution since we have what he reported only indirectly—through the letter of Martim de Santa Cruz of October 22, 1545—but it is not simply to be rejected. According to this he said: “Quierenle mucho todos. Invenit gratiam apud Regem unum, tanto, qui hizo pregonar en todo su reyno, que ansi le obedesciessen á su hermano, el grand Padre, como á su misma persona; y que todos los de su reyno que se quisieren hazer christianos, que se hiziesen. Hale dado éste grand summa de dinero, que ha dado á pobres, ansy en vestidos como en mantenimiento” (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231). Mansilhas makes a similar exaggeration when he says that Xavier had converted almost the whole kingdom of Travancore (MX II 317); this was true only of the coast.

<sup>250</sup> Xavier speaks of two thousand *fanams* “que deo Iniquitriberim para fazer as igrejas em sua terra” (EX I 286). Thus, according to him, Unnikē Tiruvadi, the Great King, and not his brother, the king of Travancore, gave the money. On November 14, 1559, Frois wrote from Goa: “Perto do regno de Coulão estaa outro regno, tambem de malavares, cujo rey se chama Uniquitreveri. Este foi grande amigo do Padre Mestre Francisco, quando amdou por aquela costa,” and he added that the same individual had asked P. Francisco Pérez some years before in Quilon for help against an attack of the Badagas and had received a banner with the name of Jesus on it from him. With it he had put the enemy to flight and had died shortly thereafter (DI IV 351). There can here be only a reference to Rāma Varma, alias Unnikē Tiruvadi, the Great King, who died in 1559, and not to Mārtānda Varma, the king of Travancore, who had already died in 1554.

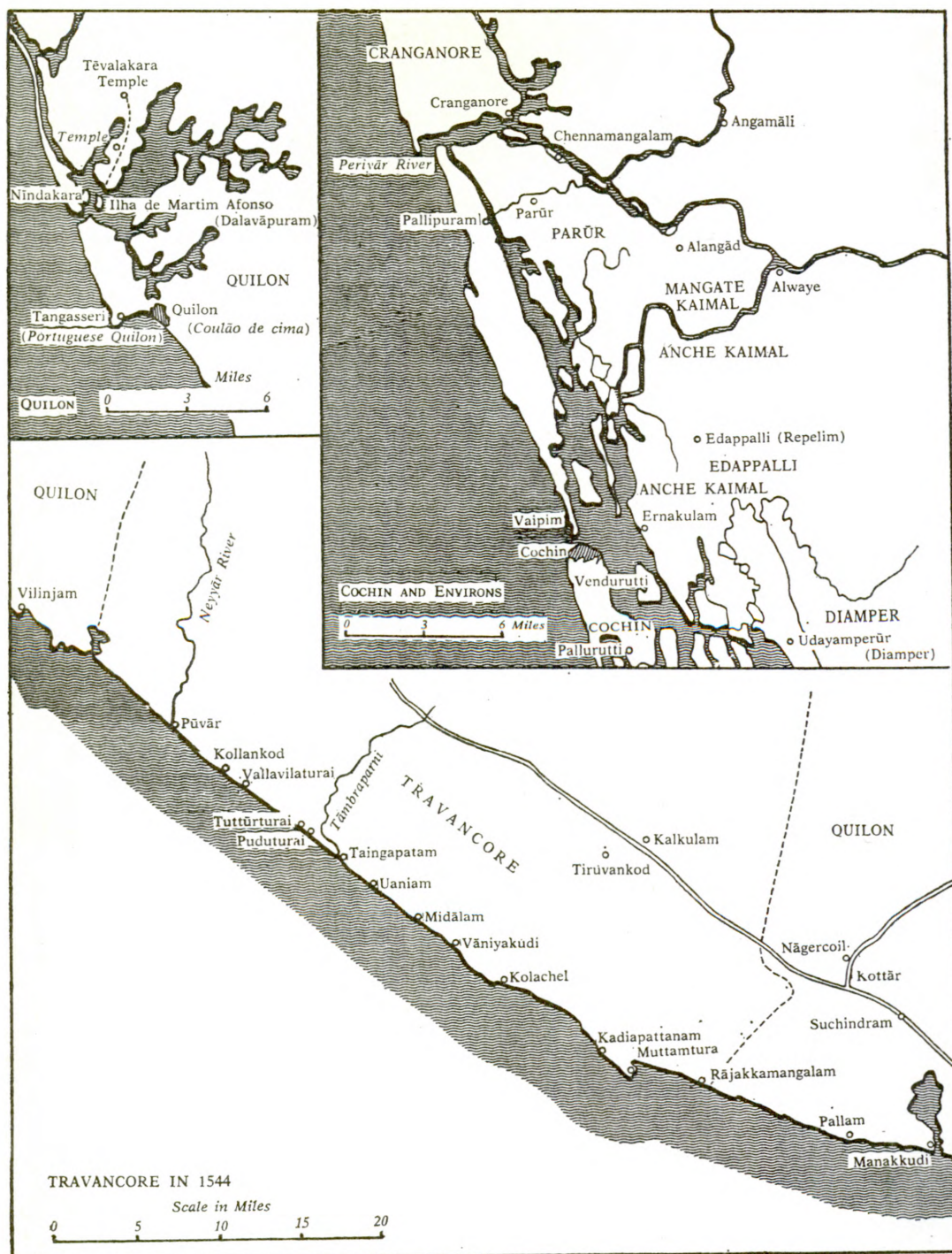
<sup>251</sup> Correa IV 409. In his inscription of August 11, 1544, in the temple of Suchindram, Vitthala uses the title of *Pāndyēsvara prathishtāpaka* (Restorer of the Pāndya King) (Velu Pillai II 178; Pillay, *Sucindram* 42-43). The *Dvipada Bālabhāgavatam* states that Chinna Timma helped the Pāndya king [of Tenkāsi] and Tiruvadi [the Great King], who had summoned him, and that he conquered Vettum Perumāl [the Pāndya king of Kayattār] (Sastri-Venkataramanayya III 188).

<sup>252</sup> In 1546-1547 the king of Travancore and his brother were at war with the Badagas, who took from them the whole of South Tinnevely. When the king received no help from the Portuguese, he followed the advice of his Mohammedan advisers and adopted a hostile attitude towards the priests and the Christians (EX I 466).

<sup>253</sup> On the Macuas (Mukkuvars, known today as “Arasas”), see Thurston V 106-117; P. Menon III 460-461; Dalgado II 7-8.

<sup>254</sup> Diogo Gonçalves 16-17. The palm tappers were called Shānās in the south, Ilavas, Chegos, or Chēgavas in the north, and Tiyaas still farther north. They comprised several castes.







they too had a certain weakness for palm wine.<sup>255</sup> Their southern coast, which was only accessible to catamarans, had the reputation of being the haunt of pirates.<sup>256</sup> Their main goddess was the bloodthirsty Bhadra Kali. Their temples were simple huts containing a rough statue or symbol of the goddess and stones on which portraits of their sacred cobra could be seen.<sup>257</sup> Impoverished and oppressed by the pagan officials, they could only gain by receiving baptism, thus placing themselves under the protection of the Portuguese like their Parava neighbors. Moreover, the contempt for death which "the Great Father" had shown in his interventions on behalf of the Christians at the time of the attack of the Badagas had inclined them toward his religion. They therefore took advantage of the permission given to them and asked the priest for baptism.<sup>258</sup>

It would be well to carry out their wish without delay after they had been given a summary explanation of Christian doctrine. Their lack of instruction could be later remedied and their knowledge of the faith deepened through the erection of schools; and if the newly baptized failed to perform their religious duties, refused to obey the missionaries, or lapsed back into idolatry, the captain of Quilon, who ruled the sea with his ships, could exert a salutary influence upon them. He could, for example, keep them from fishing or confiscate their boats. In addition to this, the fact that they belonged to a particular caste would be an added incentive for their keeping to the path they had once entered.<sup>259</sup>

Before Master Francis began his baptism of the Macuas, he and his companions sailed to Quilon to obtain information from the captain of the fortress and those familiar with the land.<sup>260</sup> Duarte da Gama,<sup>261</sup> a *fidalg*o of the royal house, had been captain of Quilon since April.<sup>262</sup> He had been in India since 1522. In 1528 he had sailed to the Red Sea with the fleet under the supreme command of Antonio de Miranda to burn the Turkish ships at Suez. On their

<sup>255</sup> In his "*\*Summarium* of the Goa Province" of 1579, Valignano wrote that the Christian fishers of Travancore were very crude, still clung closely to their old superstitions and idolatry, liked to drink palm wine, and often got drunk on it; that their women were not very respectable; and that they were very poor and were tyrannized by the officials of the king of Travancore (ARSI: *Goa* 7, 22v).

<sup>256</sup> The *\*hearing* of the witnesses at Quilon in 1583 established the fact that before the baptisms this coast had been a haven for robbers ("*covas de ladrões*") (Rome, *Fondo Gesù: Collegia*, t. 41, n. 12); Valignano 70.

<sup>257</sup> Thurston V 106-107; see also II 406.

<sup>258</sup> EX I 273; *Copia* 1546 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 290).

<sup>259</sup> Valignano 69-70.

<sup>260</sup> In 1583, at the *\*hearing* of witnesses in Quilon, the Malabar Cristovão Fernandes declared: "El conheceu ao P. Mestre Francisco e se achou com elle e em sua companhia a primeira vez que veyo vizitar a costa e de Coullão até o Cabo de Comorim" (Rome, *Fondo Gesù: Collegia*, t. 41, n. 12). Did Xavier first return to Manappād from the court of Travancore, or did he go directly from there to Quilon? The shortness of time would indicate the latter, especially since Xavier was probably already assured that the Macuas would be baptized if he obtained the assistance of the governor for the two kings.

<sup>261</sup> On Duarte da Gama, see the sources in Q, index. Repeated mention will be made of him hereafter. Unjustly treated by the governor D. Joam de Castro because of slanderous accusations and injured in his reputation, he left India and engaged in trade from 1549 to 1556 in China and Japan as the captain of a junk. He again met Xavier in Bungo, procured a brilliant reception for him, sailed with him for China in 1551, and was a witness at the processes of his canonization in Malacca in 1556 and in Goa in 1557 (MX II 415-416 261; Q 6088; DI III 318; Ayres, *Subsidios* 89 93-94).

<sup>262</sup> MX II 415. He was captain of Quilon from 1544 to 1547 (Q 1650 3223). In his letter to the king of May 23, 1547, he gives a brief survey of his services and experiences in India (Q 3089).

return the Portuguese fleet ran into that of the sultan of Cambay under the command of Alī Shāh. In the furious battle that ensued Gama lost an eye and two fingers.<sup>263</sup> He and some others were seized and cast into prison by the Moors. Sultan Bahādur, who valued his prisoners for their military experience, tried to make them apostatize, first through torture and then through a cruel imprisonment. When he saw their constancy, however, he no longer molested them for their religion.<sup>264</sup> For more than six years Duarte da Gama and his companions stayed at Bahādur's court in Chāmpāner, the capital of Cambay. In 1534 the sultan with a powerful army and a bodyguard of French and Portuguese prisoners under the command of the renegade João de Santiago marched against Chitor in the land of the Rajputs and took the fortress by storm after a three month's siege and bombardment. Among the first to force their way into the city was Duarte da Gama.<sup>265</sup> In 1535, however, Bahādur and his bodyguard had to flee before the army of the Mogul emperor Humāyūn. They withdrew from the fortress of Mandasor to Mandu,<sup>266</sup> and from there by way of Chāmpāner to Diu. Before leaving Chāmpāner, the retreating sultan freed Gama and his six fellow prisoners and sent them to the governor in Goa.<sup>267</sup> In December, 1536, the Portuguese king gave Gama, as a reward for his services, the position of factor, *almoxarife*, and *provedor* of the dying and of the hospital in Quilon for three years with an income of one hundred *milreis*,<sup>268</sup> and now the captaincy of the fortress in the same city.

<sup>263</sup> Q 3089.

<sup>264</sup> On the voyage and the battle during the return, see Castanheda 7, 68-70; Barros 4, 2, 10-11; Couto 4, 4, 1 6 9; Correa III 227-228 271-272 502-504. They do not mention Duarte da Gama.

<sup>265</sup> The principal source for the famous expedition to Chitor is the detailed \*account of Duarte da Gama's fellow prisoner and companion in arms, Diogo de Misquita Pimentel, *Chronica Geral dos sucessos do Reyno de Gusarate, a quem chamāo Cambaya*, which was completed at Diu in November, 1535. As an eyewitness and one who had a precise knowledge of the land and of its people, Pimentel describes the events of 1525-1535. This is preserved in two contemporary copies and a transcript by Correa (Q 182; Correa III 502-504 519). In addition to this there are the accounts in Correa III 570-612; Castanheda 8, 83-84 94-96 (the source: "Details about the Portuguese in the Army of the Mogul"); Lopo Coutinho 37-43; and three authors who mention Duarte da Gama by name: Botelho, *Tombo* 132-133 218-219; Couto 4, 9, 1-3 and 5; Barros 4, 6, 4-9. Persian sources: the *Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i-Gujarat* of Sayyid Mahmud from around 1572 (Sir Denison Ross lent us a manuscript containing an English abstract of this); the *Tabagāt-i-Akbarī* of Bakhshī Nizām-ud-dīn of 1594; the *Muntakhib-ut-Tawārīkh* of Abdul Latīf from around 1605 (cited in Ferishta IV 128); Ferishta in 1611 (II 73-80, IV 126-128); and the *Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī* of Sikandar-bin-Muhammad of around 1613 (English translation of 1835). Arabic source: the *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt* of Abdallāh Muhammad from around 1612 (cf. Ross, *Index*, 1928). More recent accounts, which use the native sources already mentioned: Pereira Nunes, *Diu* 116-123; Commissariat, *Brief History of Gujarat* 299-307; *idem*, *History of Gujarat* 1 (Bombay, 1938) 328-333; *Cambridge History of India* III 329-332 (Ross), IV 22-25 (Burn); A. R. G. Tiwari, "Bahadur Shah's Conquest of Chittor. Its Chronology," *Indian History Congress. Proceedings of the Twenty-First Session, 1958* (Bombay, 1959) 302-305; Ishwari Prasad, *Life and Times of Humayun* (Bombay, 1955) 67-79. Couto 4, 9, 3, p. 323, states that Gama took part in the campaign; Botelho, *Tombo* 218, that he was among the first to force his way into Chitor.

<sup>266</sup> According to Barros, Bahādur took Duarte da Gama with him on his flight (4, 6, 7, p. 42).

<sup>267</sup> After his arrival in Diu, Bahādur handed over to Simão Ferreira, the secretary of the governor, Diogo de Misquita and all the Portuguese. These embarked at Cambayete (Couto 4, 9, 3). According to Correa the sultan sent Misquita and his six companions from Chāmpāner to the governor in Goa and asked him for help against the Moguls (III 602-613).

<sup>268</sup> On December 22, 1536 (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 24, 21).

Duarte da Gama gave Master Francis a hearty welcome and most generous assistance. The captain had become acquainted with him in Cape Comorin before his own entrance into office, and he had come to respect and esteem him for his zeal and poor, apostolic life.<sup>269</sup> Francis received two Indians as companions for his return voyage to Travancore, the thirty-one-year-old Christovão Fernandes<sup>270</sup> and the Malabar Antonio Fernandes,<sup>271</sup> who was conversant with the language, land, and people of the area, especially with the Macuas. At the beginning of 1538 he had accompanied M. A. de Sousa to Vēdālai as the captain of an oared vessel and had helped him gain the victory there. While the battle was being waged indecisively back and forth between the Portuguese and their enemies, he advised Martim Affonso to set fire to the Moorish ships. This caused a panic and subsequent flight among their adversaries.<sup>272</sup> In November of this same year, Fernandes came to the help of Diu as the captain of a *catur* when it was being besieged by the Turks.<sup>273</sup> Paulo Vaz, the *kanakapula*, and a native cook and servant, who had come with Xavier from Manappād, rounded out the number of his assistants.

The fourteen villages of the Macuas<sup>274</sup> to be baptized lay on a sandy strip of coast bordered by a dense forest of coconut palms that stretched for eight leagues from north to south. The villages, a half a league or a league from each other, resembled those of the Paravas: confused mazes of adobe cottages covered with palm leaves<sup>275</sup> or built entirely of the latter. The area around rainy, fruitful Travancore was markedly different from that of the dry, stark, eastern coast. Dense groves of graceful coconut palms, frequently bordered by pandanus shrubs, stretched along the coast a short distance from the sea. Where a clearing or river bed opened up a view into the interior, the steep, tall mountains of Travancore could be seen covered with dense forests, drawing ever closer to the beach in the south.

South of the harbor-village of Viliñjam,<sup>276</sup> for the most part inhabited by

<sup>269</sup> MX II 415.

<sup>270</sup> According to his testimony of 1583 in Quilon. See above, p. 465.

<sup>271</sup> EX I 246-247. In contrast to his numerous namesakes, he is usually called Antonio Fernandes Malavar. In 1546 the governor sent him with native Christians to Cape Comorin, where the war between the Great King and the Badagas was at the time in full course. On the way he purchased horses in Cochin and promised to return in good time from the cape in order to go to the assistance of Diu, as the governor desired (Q 2325 2351).

<sup>272</sup> Castanheda 8, 174-175.

<sup>273</sup> Correa IV 58.

<sup>274</sup> In 1558 H. Henriques gave the list of the Macua villages that Xavier baptized (DI IV 32). Statistics on the individual villages exist for 1573 (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac., *Fundo Geral* 4532, 115-116), for 1644 (Schurhammer, "Taufen" 72), for 1713 (ARSI: *Goa* 56, 597-608v), for 1715 (*ibid.* *Goa* 29, 182-183v), and for 1716 (Schurhammer, "Taufen" 72). Villavarayan, *The Diocese of Kottar* (Nagercoil, 1956) 26 28 30, gives later data.

<sup>275</sup> According to \*Valignano in 1579 (ARSI: *Goa* 7, 22v).

<sup>276</sup> Artiaga declared that Xavier had converted nine or ten pagan villages from Viliñjam to Perumanal (MX II 375). The \*hearing of witnesses at Quilon in 1583 states that there had only been pagans and Moors along the coast from Quilon to Cape Comorin, a distance of twenty-five leagues, and that Xavier and his successors had converted all of these villages with but three exceptions (Rome, *Fondo Gesù: Collegia*, t. 41, n. 12). In 1558 H. Henriques wrote that the inhabitants of two villages in Travancore had been Moors before they were baptized by Xavier (DI IV 33). These were probably the two which at the end of 1552 lapsed back into Islamism because of the tyranny of the lords of the land, who had been bribed by the Moors (*ibid.* II 608-609). In 1615 there were Moors in Taingapatam, a few in Kolachel, and about a hundred in Viliñjam (Diogo Gonçalves 84). The Moors of Viliñjam, in the territory of the Great

Mohammedans, was Pūvār, the linguistic and political boundary of Travancore. Beyond it, to the north, was the territory of the Great King, where Malayālam, a language related to Tamil,<sup>277</sup> was spoken. An hour south of Pūvār, in the shade of coconut palms, was Kollankod, and over it could be seen the blue mountains of the hinterland. Drawn up upon its beach were catamarans, made of three or four beams tied together, and larger *vallams*, or *tonis*, protected from the frequent rains by palm-leaf deckings, and large fishing nets, spread out on the sand or hung up on bamboo poles to dry. When the fishers returned in the morning from their nightly labors, rows of men and boys could be seen slowly hauling onto the beach a long, thick, coconut-fiber rope, to which was attached a large dragnet, to the loud rhythm of a "Hi!" and a "Ho!" Others stood in the surf, many up to their necks in water and spray, and helped drag in the net. Another was employed in coiling up the rope on the beach. They were dark brown, lean, and sinewy, and wore a brief loincloth and a white cloth wound about their jet-black hair. As soon as the net was on land, the small, silvery fish—November and December were the least productive months—were plucked from the meshes, thrown into the middle of the net, and then piled up in heaps upon the sand and auctioned off. The buyers then hastened off with full baskets upon their heads to the villages of the interior to display their wares. The *vallams* carried up to seven persons, a pilot and from four to six rowers. They had heart-shaped oars and a roughly carved, somewhat elevated bow. The catamarans frequently fished in pairs—a larger one with three, and a smaller one with either one or two, men on board.

An hour's distance from Kollankod was Tutūr, and somewhat beyond this was Puduturai. To the left, slightly less than an hour farther on, there appeared a sluggish stream bordered by a thick, dark, coconut-palm grove, over whose tops there appeared for a moment in the background the high mountains of Travancore. The mouth of the river was sanded up at this time of the year. Ahead, and to the right, could be seen small, rock islands in the sea. The next village was Taingapatam (Coconut-palm City), a Moorish stronghold, where many Macuas had adopted the religion of Islam.<sup>278</sup> Two leagues farther on was Uaniam, a large town, opposite the islands already mentioned. After wading through deep, drifting sand for an hour and a half, one caught sight of the large twin-village of Midālam on the edge of a dark coconut grove. Vāniyakudi, the next village, a half a league farther on, was located within a coconut grove. An hour beyond this was Kolachel, a large town with a harbor protected from the waves by four small islands. Since the sea pressed forward here, the village was located somewhat higher on the rising beach. From Kolachel one walked along the flat beach with its coconut palms for two leagues to the large village of Kadiapattanam, where there was a harbor protected from the north wind.<sup>279</sup> The coconut groves that had accompanied the coast thus far now disappeared.

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King, seized a Turkish vessel in 1538 and prevented the Portuguese from landing in 1539 (Correa III 878-879 882, IV 79; see also Q 3223).

<sup>277</sup> In Pūvār classes are today conducted in Malayālam, but the people frequently still speak Tamil at home, as their pastor told us in 1956.

<sup>278</sup> According to Diogo Gonçalves the Moorish converts of Taingapatam were of the Macua caste (89). Members of the caste frequently accepted Islam elsewhere as well (Thurston V 106 110-111). In 1557 Durão wrote from Taingapatam that the village had a mosque, about fifty Moors, four or five *mullahs*, and seven to eight hundred Christians, some of whom had previously been Moors (DI III 644-645).

<sup>279</sup> Diogo Gonçalves 84.

The houses of the village were posted high above the rocky beach on a steeply rising, deep red, mountain slope strewn with yellowish brown boulders. Here and there among them were single trees or coconut palms. Black rocks rose out of the deep blue sea below the village. And from the shore the foothills rose steeply in fantastic shapes.

A narrow path led up from here through a rocky wilderness sparsely strewn with pandanus shrubs. From the top of the foothill there was a magnificent view of the village of Muttamtura lying below on the opposite side of the height. Its houses, built in the midst of yellow, flowering puarasu trees and green coconut palms, rose picturesquely up the mountainside. Beyond the village the long white beach stretched out in front of a green sea of coconut palms, over the tops of which could be seen the jagged "Mountain of Healing Herbs" of Cape Comorin. And here and there amidst the coconut palms appeared a straight, tall fan palm. The path then led down in zigzags, sometimes on steps, towards the sea through a colorful confusion of earthen houses with palm-leaf roofs and verandas, and men, women, and naked children, and dogs, chickens, ducks, and various types of vessels. The catamarans were drawn up in a long row on the beach to dry, and from out of the blue waves a small black island rose. As one continued, "the Mountain of Healing Herbs" disappeared, but to the left, over the crowns of the coconut palms on the farther side of the broad, sandy coast, could be seen the blue mountains of Travancore. And at evening, to the right, the dark silhouettes of the three-cornered sails of the fishing fleets marked the sea's horizon. The sand dunes on the left became higher, and soon only the tops of the coconut palms and a few fan palms could be seen above them. Still higher was the blue chain of the Ghāts, now close at hand. A river course then opened up a view into the hinterland and the mountains of the interior. On the other side of the river, a league from Muttamtura, was the Parava village of Rājakkamangalam, already known to Xavier from his earlier round of visits. Here in the south, because of the heavy surf, which crashed continuously against the coast and roared like thunder through the stillness of the night, only catamarans could be used. Even with these, fishers had great trouble in setting out to sea or returning to land through the heaving surf. Here was the end of the territory of Mārtānda Varma and the beginning of that of his brother Rāma Varma, Unnikē Tiruvadi, the Great King. A good league farther on was Pallam, another Macua village, perched on the heights of a sand dune and lying near the edge of a coconut grove. Another league farther on was Manakkudi, the last Macua village before Cape Comorin.

It was the middle of November when the small band arrived in Pūvār, the first Macua village of Travancore, where Xavier began his work.<sup>280</sup> As he passed from village to village, it was essentially the same. He walked barefooted, his feet sinking to his ankles in the deep, soft sand. Going along the coast from town to town was tiring for him and his companions. His black

<sup>280</sup> That Xavier began the baptisms in Pūvār and went south from there through the remaining villages follows from the fact that after receiving the news of the martyrdom of the Manār Christians he had to interrupt his work before baptizing the last village, Manakkudi. The same is also indicated by Artiaga when he states that Xavier baptized nine or ten villages between Vilinjam and Perumanal, and by Christovão Fernandes when he states that he accompanied the priest when he went for the first time from Quilon to Cape Comorin. H. Henriques also begins the list of places baptized by the saint with Pūvār, and since Xavier came from Quilon it is reasonable that he should have begun in the north.

cassock was frequently torn by thorns; his head was protected from the sun's rays by a kind of small hood made of dark cloth.<sup>281</sup> Everywhere he was joyfully received by the people.

When he reached a village, Master Francis had all the men and boys brought together. He then preached to them and explained the chief articles of the Christian faith in their own native language. He made the sign of the cross and had his hearers repeat three times their acknowledgement of one God in three divine Persons: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." He then put on a sleeveless white surplice of the kind worn by Portuguese priests and recited the Confiteor, Creed, Commandments, Our Father, Hail Mary, and *Salve Regina*, which he had translated two years before in Tuticorin and learned by heart. Then all, both young and old, had to repeat from time to time what he had said. He then gave an explanation, also in Tamil, of the articles of the Creed and of the Commandments. Then all, in the presence of the others who did not wish to become Christians, publicly asked God for pardon for the sins of their past life. At the end he asked all, both young and old, if they believed in the truth of each article of the Creed, and all replied that they believed. He then recited for them in a loud voice one article of the Creed after another, and after each article he asked them if they believed it. All would then cross their arms over their breast and reply that they believed. After this he baptized them with the simple formula, "I baptize you in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit," without further ceremonies. Each one received a palm-leaf strip on which the *kanakapula* had written his new Portuguese name in Tamil. The men then went home and sent their wives and the rest of their households; and these too, after being prepared in the same way, received the sacrament of rebirth.

When the whole village had been baptized, the priest told the people to tear down their village temples and to smash the images of the gods which they contained to bits. Those who remained pagans showed respect to "the Great Father" and praised the law of the Christians. They were ashamed that they still lived without confessing the God of the Christians, but they could not bring themselves to accept the truth after the example of their neighbors.<sup>282</sup> At times Master Francis climbed up into a tree in order to be better seen and understood when he recited the prayers and preached the truths of faith. He used a portion of the money which the Great King had given him to purchase

<sup>281</sup> "Anda descalção, y con una vestecilla muy rota, y con una caperucilla de tela prieta," according to Paulo Vaz in Coimbra in 1545 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231). In Sousa this becomes: "um chapéu de palha forrada de bocaxim preto," that is, a straw hat with a black cloth lining (*Or. Cong.* 1, 2, 1, 19). Vaz further states that Xavier built forty-four or forty-five churches along the shore of the sea in the villages that had become Christian. Following him, Ribadeneyra wrote in his life of Ignatius that Xavier had founded more than forty churches on Cape Comorin (*Vida* 4, 7). In 1584 Teixeira replied to this: "Ainda agora em ambas as costas da Pescaria e Travancor, não averá mais igrejas, fundandose depois muitas. E na de Travancor não fundou elle [Xavier] igreja alguma, mas o P. Amrique foy o Padre que naquela costa fundou igrejas, segundo elle mesmo me dise, porque até então, quando dizia algumas vezes missa em algum lugar, era debaixo de arvores, concertando primeiro decentemente algum altar. Na costa da Pescaria mandaria o P. Mestre Francisco fazer algumas igrejas de rama e palha ou barro, como ainda até agora são algumas, ou as mais dellas" (MX II 801).

<sup>282</sup> EX I 244 273-275. According to Thurston the divinity of the Macua caste is the goddess Bhadra Kali, represented by a wooden log in a hut, which they call her temple. Four times a year they come together, kill a chicken, and offer fruit to the log (V 106-107). Xavier's letter shows that they also had idols made of stone or clay.

food and clothing for the poor.<sup>283</sup> When a village had been baptized in this manner, he passed on to the next, where the same procedure was repeated. It filled him with great consolation to see these former pagans destroy their idols with their own hands.<sup>284</sup>

A month had passed and he had already baptized more than ten thousand individuals<sup>285</sup> in thirteen of the fourteen Macua villages, from Pūvār to Pallam, when he received news that made it necessary for him to leave at once without going to the last, Manakkudi.

The rajah of Jaffna, whom M. A. de Sousa had compelled to pay a tax the year before from Cow Island, and who had only been waiting for an opportunity to shake off the yoke of the hated Portuguese, had sent his troops to Manār after learning of the baptism of his subjects there. When the newly baptized Christians refused to return to their former idolatrous worship, he had had about six hundred of them<sup>286</sup> brutally treated and slain in the village of Pati.<sup>287</sup> The remainder fled to their kin in Vēdālai on the Indian main-

<sup>283</sup> According to Paulo Vaz. When Santa Cruz adds his own comments, namely, that Xavier "trae quatro sacerdotes consigo de los mismos Indios, que son aquellos que los dias passados escrivio que eran lenguas," he is not entirely correct. The saint had no priest with him in Travancore. On the Fishery Coast when Vaz sailed from India there were four priests: Coelho, Gaspar, Manuel, and Lizano. When Vaz states that Xavier had assembled three, four, and six thousand men in Travancore and had preached to them from a tree, this is an exaggerated guess. Seb. Gonçalves has Xavier at the time of these baptisms offering Mass in the shade of a ship's sail that had been unfurled for this purpose, and using a tree as a pulpit (2, 11).

<sup>284</sup> EX I 274. In contrast to what we found on the Fishery Coast, in our passage through the Macua villages in December, 1956, we found few local traditions about the saint. This can be explained from the brevity of his visit to this coast, which he never saw again. An old man in Puduturai told us that Xavier came to the village when the fishers were sleeping with their nets on the strand and that he slept near them. The more-than-eighty-year-old sacristan in Kila Midālam recounted the following local tradition, which was confirmed by another old man, and which we also heard from the sixty-eight-year-old pastor of Uaniam: "When Xavier came to Midālam, the church of the Holy Spirit was there [first mentioned in 1644]. People came from the direction of Quilon for the feast. The children threw sand at him as their parents looked on and did nothing to stop them. The priest escaped and asked God to punish them. A contagious fever came upon them. Many died from it, and the village was ruined. Some pagan Hindus of the Chetti caste in the interior were also stricken with the malady. There still are Chettis in Dalakottai, historically known as Udaya Mār-tānda, five minutes from Kila Midālam in the interior." The ruins of the old church of the Holy Spirit along with an old stone cross are today in a coconut grove outside the village towards the south. We were told in Muttamtura that when Xavier came there, the children threw stones at him.

<sup>285</sup> EX I 273. For the precise figures, see Schurhammer, "Taufen" 50-51. Xavier administered baptism here with a simple formula and no further ceremonies, as he had on the Fishery Coast (DI I 15, III 420-421 600).

<sup>286</sup> On the martyrs of Manār, see A. J. B. Antoninus, O.M.I., *The Martyrs of Mannar* (Colombo, 1945, sec., enlarged ed.). He has assembled the documents, mostly from Schurhammer, *Ceylon*, with an English translation; but he has also used other sources, for example, the fanciful, and for our purposes, completely worthless Queyroz. The Portuguese *letrados* in 1545 gave the number of martyrs as six hundred. The data came from Miguel Vaz, who had heard it from Xavier (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 263). Favre has the same number in 1545 (*Fabri Mon.* 373 408). Beira and Prince D. Joam of Kōttē have seven hundred in this same year (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 226 218). André de Sousa has more than seven hundred (*ibid.* 214).

<sup>287</sup> In 1561 H. Henriques named Pati as the place of the martyrdom. This was a half or a quarter of a league from the fortress and "inhabited by Christians of this island of the caste of the Careas, who were already Christians before we [in 1561] came to this island. When we went there to people it, however, they were living away

land.<sup>288</sup> The Christians of the Fishery Coast were so enraged by this mass murder of their fellow converts that they said that if they did not receive any help, they would go by themselves to avenge their death. This was the news that Xavier had received.<sup>289</sup> The inhabitants of Jaffna, more than ten thousand in all, were on the whole so moved by the constancy of the martyrs and so embittered by the cruelty with which the tyrant had treated his subjects and by his betrayal of his brother, the legitimate ruler, that there was hope that they would all be converted to Christianity if the tyrant was deposed and his brother made king.<sup>290</sup>

A massacre like that of Manār could not be left unpunished if the Indian Christians were not to be left to the whims of the pagan tyrants. Francis therefore interrupted his work and sailed with his companions to Quilon, and from there with Paulo Vaz, who wished to return to Portugal,<sup>291</sup> to Cochin in order to inform the captains there and to consult with them about the measures to be taken, and to prepare the mail for Europe.

On December 16 Xavier and Vaz landed in Cochin. He would have preferred to return to Cape Comorin with the next boat in order to baptize the Macuas of Manakkudi; but the vicar general, Miguel Vaz, whom he encountered

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from it because of the evils which the king of the land had inflicted upon them" (DI V 379). In the Portuguese texts the place is usually called Patim, today Paddi Kādu. Elsewhere Henriques calls it "the small village of the Careas," to distinguish it from "the large village of the Careas," the present Erukalam paddi, which was not founded until 1561 by Karaiyas coming from the mainland (SR IX 404, X 27). \*A. Lopes calls the latter in 1644 the "village of the Careas" (S. Thomé) with twelve hundred, earlier with eighteen thousand Christians, and distinguishes it from the small Carea village of Totavali (S. André), in whose territory Pati was located. He notes that "these Christians [of Totavali] were the first to be baptized on this island during the time of the apostle St. Francis Xavier, and from among these were those six hundred who died as martyrs with the prince of the king of Jaffna [a confusion with Jugo, the prince of Kōttē, who did not die on Manār], and from them the island received its name of *Ilha dos martires*" (531v). In 1952 Father Antoninus wrote to us that in 1944 he had made some excavations in Patti Taravai, two miles from the fortress of Manār. In the ruins of an old church there he found six skeletons in different positions, but he could not continue with the digging since he was transferred to another place. In Bartoli *Patim* becomes *Pasim* (Asia 1, 45). Brou errs in his identification of Careapatão as "*lugar dos Careas ou Peinale*" (I 260). In the map in Baldaeus, *Peinale* is erroneously given for *Peixale*, as it is correctly written in the text (376 399). This village, today known as Pesalai, with its church of Nossa Senhora do Bom Sucesso, in \*A. Lopes is situated in the northwest of the island, while Pati is in the southeast. On the two Carea villages, see DI V 379-380 680-681, VI 394 398 751.

<sup>288</sup> Xavier writes: "Rogué a un clérigo que fuesse a baptizarlos; y después de aver ido y baptizándolos, con muchos dellos el rey de la tierra hizo grandes estragos y crueldades, porque se hizieron christianos" (EX I 274). Thus, according to him, not all of the Christians were killed, as the *Copia* of 1546 wrongly states (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 290). Many fled to the mainland and only returned in 1561. Accordingly, when the governor D. Joam de Castro in 1546 turned the island of Manār over to Miguel Ferreira as an hereditary fief, it was "depopulated and abandoned" (*ibid.* 279-282 410). The account of the martyrdoms in Queyroz is a worthless fiction (242-244 393). Completely legendary also is the "tradition" according to which there was among the martyrs a Christian by the name of Santa Cruz, who was beheaded in the old cemetery of the city of Manār (Ghana Prakasar, *History* 45). This probably had its origins in the name of the site, the *Santa Cruz Cemetery* (Antoninus 8-9).

<sup>289</sup> From Miguel Vaz, who had Xavier as his source (DI I 38-84).

<sup>290</sup> *Copia* of 1546 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 182-183).

<sup>291</sup> In the fall of 1545 he was already in Portugal, where he said that he had been with Xavier for six months in India.



there, thought it would be better for him to seek out the governor and discuss with him the measures to be taken against the ruler of Jaffna.

From Miguel Vaz, Francis learned the latest news in Goa. In November two ships of the fleet from Portugal had arrived in Cochin, the *Santo Spirito* on the eighth and the *Sphera* a few days later.<sup>292</sup> They had brought numerous letters from Portugal and permission for Mansilhas to be ordained a priest without a benefice or patrimony. Since the bishop had not come to Cochin this year, he would ordain him in Goa. The bishop had ordained the two Parava clerics whom Xavier had taken with him from Goa in 1542 and had later sent back. Francis now met them in Cochin on their way home. Two days after his arrival a ship departed from Cochin for the Fishery Coast. Xavier sent with Francisco Mendes, who was sailing on it, a letter for Mansilhas in which he told him to finish baptizing the Macuas in his stead:

Dearest brother in Christ! On the sixteenth of December I arrived in Cochin. Before coming here I baptized all the Macua fishers living in the kingdom of Travancore; and God knows how happy I would be to return at once to finish baptizing those who remain if it were not for the fact that the lord vicar general believes that it is more for the service of God that I go to the Lord Governor in order to take up with him the punishment of the king of Jafanapatão. I shall sail from here for Cambaya in two or three days in a very well equipped *catur*.<sup>293</sup> I hope to return very soon with all the orders conformable to the service of our Lord God.

The Lord Bishop will not come this year to Cochin.<sup>294</sup> The vicar general will sail this year for Portugal. I hope to God that he will very soon return. Diogo<sup>295</sup> is in São Paulo; <sup>296</sup> he was very eager to come. Padre Mestre Diogo and Micer Paulo and the whole college are well. I have received news from Portugal through many letters sent from there. The permission for you to be ordained a priest without a patrimony or benefice has arrived. It seems to me that you did not need this permission, for the Lord Bishop would have ordained you without this permission as he ordained Padres Manuel and Gaspar to offer Mass.<sup>297</sup> They are in Cochim and will go where you are to labor effectively.

Two of our companions are coming in the ships which have not yet arrived. They wintered, it seems, in Mozambique, or returned to Portugal. One of these is a Portuguese, and the other is an Italian.<sup>298</sup> The king has written to me very favorably

<sup>292</sup> Q 1322 1349.

<sup>293</sup> Miguel Vaz, who sailed from Goa to Cochin at the beginning of December, 1544—the letter of recommendation given to him by the cathedral chapter is dated December 3—had told Xavier in Cochin that the governor was in Cambay. Actually, M. A. de Sousa was using this as a subterfuge. He had received urgent letters from Diu (Correa IV 421) and had sailed with his fleet at about this same time from Goa to the north. Before the middle of the month he reached Bassein, which had formerly belonged to the territory of the king of Cambay (*ibid.* 414; Q 1821 1553 1595; Couto 5, 10, 7-8).

<sup>294</sup> Mansilhas had therefore to sail to Goa for his ordination to the priesthood.

<sup>295</sup> Diogo Fernandes, a cousin of Simon Rodrigues. On him, see Vol. I 717. A crossed-out and fragmentary marginal note in the *Codex Ulyssiponensi* I, f. 1 has: “ficando em Moçambique... Jacobo, onde esteve... até o mandou chamar... pera India.” Lancilotto wrote to Rodrigues from Goa in October, 1545: “Aqui sta un giovane che si chiama Diego Fernando, vostro parente, quale venne con maestro Francesco de Portogallo. Lui sempre se è exercitato ne lo hospitale como in casa; adesso è despensiero de casa” (DI I 35).

<sup>296</sup> In the College of St. Paul.

<sup>297</sup> Xavier had probably taken them with him at the end of 1543 to Goa and left them there, for they are never mentioned before 1544 in his letters to Mansilhas.

<sup>298</sup> On April 19, 1544, the Portuguese Pedro Lopes and the Italian Antonio Criminali had sailed on the *Burgaleza* from Lisbon, but the ship was forced to return because

about these two Portuguese of ours.<sup>299</sup> May it please God to bring them here safely. I know neither of them. Neither was among those whom we left behind. There are more than sixty students of our Company at the University of Coimbra. There is reason for giving many thanks to God our Lord for the many good things which they have written to me about them. They are almost all Portuguese, which pleases me greatly. I have very good news about the companions in Italy. I hope that we shall see each other here in a month,<sup>300</sup> and I shall then show you all the letters; I say no more.

I earnestly ask you for the love and service of God our Lord that, as soon as you have read this letter, you get ready to go to visit the Christians of the coast of Travancore whom I have already baptized; and in each village set up a school for the children with a teacher to instruct them. You can take up to 150 *fanoens* of the money which you need for the teachers and the instruction of the children. And in all the villages of your coast pay those who teach the children their stipend up to the time of the Great Fishery. And ask the captain for the money for your expenses.

In Manapar take a *tone* for Careapatão;<sup>301</sup> and before you reach Careapatão, go to Mochuri,<sup>302</sup> a village of the Macuas who have not yet been baptized. This village is a good league from Cape Comorim, and baptize them, for they have often asked for this, and I cannot go there. Antonio Fernandez, a Malabar Christian, will fetch you with a *catur* and go with you until all who remain are baptized. He is an excellent man and full of zeal for the honor of God. He is acquainted with the people and knows well how to deal with them. Do what he tells you without opposing him in anything, for this is what I did and it always went well. I earnestly entreat you to do the same.

Take Matheus with you and the *meirinho* who used to go with me from Viravão-depatanão and your servants and a *canacapula* who can write so that you can leave the prayers in writing in each village for the young and old to learn, and in each village there should be a teacher who can give instructions in Christian doctrine. Use the *canacapula* to write some *ollas* if this is necessary, and to read those written to you. Pay this *canacapula* from the king's money which the captain will give you for this. Hand over to Padre João de Liçano<sup>303</sup> the charge of baptizing and instructing that you have there. Because of the haste which Francisco Mendes<sup>304</sup> is

of contrary winds (Schurhammer, "Criminali" 262-263; SR VI 154). They were carrying with them letters from Rodrigues and others of the companions which Xavier, as a consequence, only received in Malacca in October, 1545.

<sup>299</sup> Criminali is also called a Portuguese in jest.

<sup>300</sup> In Cochin, where Mansilhas had to come on his voyage to Goa for his ordination.

<sup>301</sup> Kadiapattanam.

<sup>302</sup> Manakkudi.

<sup>303</sup> Named here for the first time by Xavier.

<sup>304</sup> In 1527, during the strife for the position of governor, a Francisco Mendes took the side of Pedro Mascarenhas against Lopo Vaz de Sampaio (TdT: *Gavetas* 20-7-29). He sailed at the beginning of 1528 from Cochin to the Coromandel Coast with Martim Affonso de Mello Juzarte. They wintered in Pulicat, sailed in August to the coast of Arakan, suffered shipwreck there, and came with their companions to Chakiria in East Bengal, where the Moorish governor released them only after the payment of a ransom of three thousand *cruzados*. They returned to India only at the end of 1529 (Castanheda 7, 76-80 96). In October, 1538, Mendes was captain of the *fusta Nossa Senhora do Rosario* (TdT: S. Lourenço IV 249v). In December, 1543, at the request of M. A. de Sousa; he brought Khoja Shams-ud-dīn from Goa to Cannanore in his *fusta* with its complement of forty sailors. On this occasion he was accompanied by a second vessel, on which Xavier sailed. In January Mendes sailed back to Cannanore from Goa with Shams-ud-dīn (Q 1595). In 1547 the governor gave him permission to build or buy a ship in Malabar (Q 3203); in October he was secretary of the galleon *São Luis* (Q 3363); in 1553 *alcaide* of the sea at Ormuz (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 58, 21); between 1556 and 1558 he wrote as notary the *Tombo* of the pagodas of Goa (DI III 34\* 462, IV 50). All this is probably about the same person, distinct from the great friend of Gaspar Correa, who fought in Porakād in 1528 (Correa III 281), from

in, I am not writing to you at greater length. May our Lord always assist you as I desire that He assist me. From Cochin, the eighteenth of December, 1544.

Your dearest brother in Christ.

Francisco.<sup>305</sup>

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the citizen of Chaul whose signature is extant from 1547 (Q 3082), and from the son of the Fernão Lourenço who fell at Diu in 1538 (Sousa Coutinho 173-174).

<sup>305</sup> EX 243 247.



BOOK IV

THE CALL FROM AFAR

(1544 — 1545)

*Transiens adiuva nos!*  
“Pass over and help us!”  
*Acts 16:9*



## CHAPTER I

### THE PUNITIVE EXPEDITION AGAINST JAFFNAPATAM (DECEMBER, 1544—APRIL, 1545)

#### 1. THE VOYAGE WITH THE GOVERNOR (DECEMBER, 1544—JANUARY, 1545)

Xavier had written to Mansilhas on December 18. Two or three days later<sup>1</sup> he took leave of Miguel Vaz and his host, the *vigario* Pedro Gonçalves,<sup>2</sup> and sailed in a swift *catur* to the north to meet the governor in Cambay. It was the time of the northeast monsoon. The sky was clear and without clouds, and a fresh breeze blew steadily from the southwest. During this time a quick sailing vessel could make the voyage from Cochin to Goa in three,<sup>3</sup> and from Cochin to Bassein in six, days.<sup>4</sup> If all went well Francis could be back again in Cochin in the second week of January in order to get the mail ready for Europe.

Five ships had sailed from Lisbon for India on April 19, 1544, the *Sphera*, *Santo Spirito*, *São Phelippe*, *Graça*, and *Burgalesa*.<sup>5</sup> They had departed unusually late since the money for the coffers could not be collected on time.<sup>6</sup> The first to arrive, on November 8, at Cochin was the *Santo Spirito*, which belonged to Lucas Giraldi. Its crew, however, was in a lamentable condition. In order not to be constrained to spend the winter in Mozambique, its captain, Luis de Calatayud, despite the protests of his men, had chosen the route south of the island of St. Lawrence. A few days later the flagship *Sphera*, under Admiral Fernão Peres d'Andrade, dropped anchor at Cochin. It had followed the same route and its personnel was in a similar condition. Forty-five individuals had died during the voyage and the rest were almost all sick. It had consequently been very difficult to find men to tend to the sails and steering.<sup>7</sup> But it had brought numerous letters for Master Francis. They came from the king and his confreres in Coimbra. Others had been given by Ignatius,<sup>8</sup> Rodrigues,<sup>9</sup> Favre,<sup>10</sup> and the rest of the companions to the two priests who sailed on the *Burgalesa*; but neither of the captains that had arrived in Cochin knew anything about its

<sup>1</sup> EX I 244-245.

<sup>2</sup> Xavier was always welcomed in his home (*ibid.* 410, II 71).

<sup>3</sup> Q 3431.

<sup>4</sup> *Segelhandbuch für die Westküste von Hindustan* 25 27.

<sup>5</sup> Also called *São Salvador de Burgaleses* (Fonseca 331 332).

<sup>6</sup> Correa IV 413. In 1544 the king had to ask the Cortes for 200,000 *cruzados* in order to be able to pay his debts (Sousa, *Annaes* 415-417).

<sup>7</sup> Figueiredo Falcão 160; Correa IV 409 413; and, especially, the letters of L. de Calatayude (Q 349) and M. A. de Sousa (D 1322). See Schurhammer, "Criminali" 259.

<sup>8</sup> MI *Epp.* I 267-271; EX II 546, n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. EX I 259.

<sup>10</sup> *Fabri Mon.* 232-236; cf. 413 and EX II 540, n. 11.

whereabouts. If it had not been forced to return to Portugal, it had probably sailed to Mozambique to pass the winter there.<sup>11</sup> The same was probably true of the other two vessels, the *Graça* and the *São Phelippe*, which had already become separated from the rest off the coast of Guinea.<sup>12</sup>

The king and Xavier's confreres in Coimbra were able to give excellent accounts of the two priests who had been sent to India.<sup>13</sup> The Italian Antonio Criminali had been gained for the Society in Parma by Favre and Laynez. In 1542 he had been sent from Rome to Coimbra and was among the grammarians when Rodrigues assigned him to India. He had been ordained to the priesthood shortly before he sailed for the East.<sup>14</sup> The second was a Portuguese by the name of Pedro Lopes, who had studied law and was already a priest and also among the grammarians in Coimbra when he entered the Society in Coimbra in 1542. He was highly esteemed by all for his virtue.<sup>15</sup>

The number of students of the order in Coimbra had risen to more than sixty.<sup>16</sup> Among the many Portuguese who joined the Society of Jesus were many from prominent families. The entrance of two of these, Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, a son of the count of Sortelha, and Dom Rodrigo de Meneses, a son of the governor of Lisbon,<sup>17</sup> created a great sensation throughout the land.

The young people had been given temporary quarters in a number of rented buildings. Their housing comprised twenty-five rooms, four halls, a chapel, and a spacious refectory. But at the beginning of 1543 Rodrigues had found a suitable site in the salubrious upper city, where the king, who generously provided the scholastics with good professors and all their needs, wished to build a college for a hundred students.<sup>18</sup> A number of his young confreres in the university city were already known to Master Francis from Rome and Lisbon. There were, for example, among those studying grammar, Manuel Godinho, his former penitent, and Antonio Cardoso, both of whom had been among the king's pages.<sup>19</sup> In the class of logic was Rojas, who had celebrated his first Mass on January 25, 1544, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul. Despite his poor health, he was still hoping to follow Xavier to India. He sent a letter which he had received from the latter to Dom Esteban de Eguía in Estella.<sup>20</sup> In addition to these there were Isbrando and Manuel Fernandes, who were studying dialectics.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Schurhammer, "Criminali" 262. Correa states that the two boats which arrived in November reported that the *Burgalesa* had returned to Lisbon (IV 413). This is contradicted by Calatayud's silence and Xavier's vacillation (EX I 245 260 292).

<sup>12</sup> Q 3431; Correa IV 413.

<sup>13</sup> EX I 245-246. The letters which Xavier received are lost since he kept as a rule only official documents. We therefore are dependent upon Xavier's data and other sources: Polanco's *Chronicon* (I 109-121 127), Doménech's circular letter (MI *Epp.* I 248-253), Ferrão's *Epilogatio* (*Ep. Mixtae* I 120-126), and other contemporary letters which put together the main events of 1543, about which Xavier probably obtained knowledge through "many letters from Portugal," for example, from his confreres in Coimbra and Lisbon and others. On December 18, Xavier wrote to Mansilhas: "Dos companheiros de Italia tenho muito boas novas" (EX I 246). For the letters which he received in November, 1543, see pp. 381-385.

<sup>14</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 142; Schurhammer, "Criminali" 239-240 253 263.

<sup>15</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 44 69 200 277; Tellez I 109; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 312-313 322.

<sup>16</sup> EX I 246; *Ep. Mixtae* I 162-167.

<sup>17</sup> Polanco I 120; *Ep. Mixtae* I 144 162-163 170; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 315-319.

<sup>18</sup> Polanco I 119; *Ep. Mixtae* I 106 124 143-145; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 309-310.

<sup>19</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 142; cf. Vol. I 606-607 670.

<sup>20</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 156-157; *Ep. Broëti* 533.

<sup>21</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 142; cf. Vol. I 508-509.



In Lisbon Simon Rodrigues was still longing to follow his confrere to India, but the king detained him at court. He did not want to lose him and felt that his presence was necessary to provide the young order with a firm foundation in Portugal.<sup>22</sup> Medeiros, who was living with Rodrigues in Santo Antão, was constantly occupied with hearing confessions.<sup>23</sup> Since 1542 he had had Cipriano as a companion.<sup>24</sup> Angelo, who had always been ill in Paris, had come to Lisbon from Coimbra in August, 1543, and had gone from there to Rome in October. From Rome he had been sent by Ignatius to Padua to continue his studies; but since his health did not improve there, on the advice of his doctor, he returned to his own country.<sup>25</sup> In October, 1543, Ferrão, who was also ill, went from Coimbra to Lisbon, where his brother took him into his home.<sup>26</sup>

In 1543 the priests in Rome had obtained the small parish church of Sant'Andrea della Fratta near Santa Maria della Strada and two more adjoining chapels. From his own funds and with donations from Elpidio Ugoletti and the alms of other benefactors, Codacio had begun to build a professed house upon the property that had been thus enlarged.<sup>27</sup> Francisco Zapata had returned to the Eternal City from Paris and had entered the order,<sup>28</sup> while Polanco had been studying in Padua with some of his young confreres since 1542.<sup>29</sup> Through Ignatius' efforts, Pope Innocent III's decree *Cum infirmitas corporalis*, which had been approved by the Lateran Council in 1215, was again put into effect. This forbade physicians under the penalty of a fine of five hundred *scudi* to take a sick person under their care if the latter had not previously summoned a priest.<sup>30</sup>

In July, 1542, the eight students of the order in Paris had left the city under the guidance of Doménech and had gone to Louvain because of the war between Francis I and Charles V. There they had to make a new foundation. Among its members were the two Strada, Ribadeneyra, Speg, and Millán de Loyola. Eight, including Cassini, had remained in the French capital under the direction of Paolo de Achille. In February, 1543, Doménech returned to Rome with the young Ribadeneyra and a Flemish confrere from Louvain. On their way they had met Favre in Mainz, Laynez in Venice, Salmerón in Tolentino, and Broët in Foligno. In November, 1543, Araoz had left Rome with six young students of the order to go with them to Coimbra.<sup>31</sup>

Of the companions who had gone with Master Francis from Paris to Venice in 1536, Favre had been living again in Germany since April, 1542. Generously supported by the priests of the charterhouse of Cologne, he was defending the old faith in Speyer, Mainz, and Cologne against the machinations of the heretical archbishop. Since September, 1542, Laynez had been working in Venice and,

<sup>22</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 157; *EX* I 279-280.

<sup>23</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 164.

<sup>24</sup> *Ep. Broëti* 533.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 533-534; *Ep. Mixtae* I 144; Antonino Cistellini, *Il Padre Angelo Paradisi* (Brescia, 1955) 26-27.

<sup>26</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 145.

<sup>27</sup> Tacchi Venturi II 2, 23-24; *MI Epp.* I 253; Polanco I 110.

<sup>28</sup> *MI Epp.* I 252-270.

<sup>29</sup> *Lainii Mon.* I 23-32; Polanco I 112.

<sup>30</sup> Tacchi Venturi II 2, 190-195; Polanco I 110-240; *MI Epp.* I 261-267 271-286. Is Xavier's letter from the beginning of 1545, in which he urges the king to give an order that no testimony would be juridically recognized if the witness had not gone to confession, a reflex of this? (Schurhammer, "Ein neuer Xaveriusbrief" 180).

<sup>31</sup> Polanco I 115-118; Fouqueray I 137-140; Ribadeneyra I 22-37; *Ep. Mixtae* I 27-41.

later, in Padua, where he was giving lectures and spiritual conferences. Prior Lippomani, the great friend of the Society in Venice, had given it his prebend of the Teutonic Order as a college for its students and also a part of his valuable library.<sup>32</sup>

In 1542 Salmerón and Broët had gone to Scotland as apostolic nuncios. There they had been kindly received by King James, but they had not been able to undertake any useful labors because of the rivalries of the Catholic and Protestant parties. Despite all the warnings to the contrary, they had left the country and had secretly landed in Ireland. There, chased from one hiding place to another by the pursuivants of Henry VIII, they had been able to remain for only thirty-four days. In the meantime the three most powerful native princes were engaged in a bloody feud among themselves and were bowing to the yoke of the heretical English king only under compulsion. The two nuncios had therefore returned to Paris without achieving their goal. There they had left their companion, Francisco Zapata, to pursue his studies. They had then continued on to Rome, where they arrived in the summer of 1542.<sup>33</sup> In 1543 Salmerón, at the request of Cardinal Morone, went for some months to Modena, where he took up the battle against the members of the Academy, who were inclined towards heresy.<sup>34</sup> In the meantime Broët, at the request of Cardinal Marcello Cervini, had been working in Foligno and later in Montepulciano.<sup>35</sup> Since 1542, in addition to Favre, Jay and Bobadilla had been in Germany, which was being threatened by false teachings. Jay had given lectures in Regensburg but had been banished from there along with Dr. Vauchop by the heretical city council. Since March, 1543, he had been in Ingolstadt.<sup>36</sup> Bobadilla had been with the nuncio Veralli at the court of King Ferdinand in Vienna and had accompanied him to the imperial diets of Speyer and Nürnberg. Later he preached and lectured in Passau.<sup>37</sup>

Xavier reached Goa about the time of Christmas, but he did not have to continue on to Cambay to meet the governor. Martim Affonso had already left Bassein and had sailed to Chaul when Francis arrived in Cochin on December 16.<sup>38</sup> Then, after a short visit to Cannanore, he had returned with his fleet to Goa.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Polanco I 114-115; *Fabri Mon.* 232-236 621-666.

<sup>33</sup> Polanco I 98-99; *Ep. Broëti* 23-31; *Ep. Salmeronis* I 2-15 580-582.

<sup>34</sup> Polanco I 111; *Ep. Salmeronis* I 52; Tacchi Venturi II 2, 221-232.

<sup>35</sup> Polanco I 110-111; *Ep. Broëti* 31-32.

<sup>36</sup> Polanco I 112-113; Duhr I 16-19; *Ep. Broëti* 278-281; *Ep. Mixtae* I 120-121 125-126.

<sup>37</sup> Polanco I 112-113; Bobadilla 41-43 621 665; *Ep. Mixtae* I 121-122; Duhr I 25.

<sup>38</sup> On December 16, 1544, the governor's secretary Cardoso wrote from Chaul, and on the eighteenth the governor (Q 1320 1322). The letter of the governor from Goa on December 23 (Q 1323), which is erroneously dated in 1544 in Sousa's *Annaes* 413, was written in 1543, as the context indicates.

<sup>39</sup> On December 18, 1544, Xavier wrote that he was sailing to the governor in Cambay; on January 27, 1545, he stated that he had spoken with the governor (EX I 244 275). From this his biographers have concluded that he had sailed to Cambay, a small native state on the Bay of Cambay. Brou notes that this voyage borders on the miraculous because of its rapidity (I 298-299). But Cambay was larger in Xavier's time. In 1534, when Bahādur handed over this part of his kingdom to Portugal, it stretched south as far as the Bay of Dharamtar, north of Chaul (Barros 1, 9, 1, p. 293; 4, 5, 1, p. 539). Martim Affonso had let it be known that he was being urgently summoned to Diu. He had then sailed to Bassein and from there to Chaul in order to keep the real purpose of his voyage a secret. This was to take Khoja Shams-ud-dīn by surprise and bring him to Goa in order to secure for himself the treasure of Asad Khān. On the voyage see Correa IV 414-415 421-423; Couto 5, 10, 7-8; the accounts of his fellow

In the College of St. Paul, Francis encountered Master Diogo aged and ill.<sup>40</sup> He also met Misser Paulo there in good health. He was the confessor for the students and, like a good mother, cared for the spiritual and corporal needs of both the sick and the well.<sup>41</sup> Diogo Fernandes was also there, in good health and cheer. This welcome assistant<sup>42</sup> was a relative of Simon Rodrigues and had accompanied Xavier on his voyage to India. He promised that he would write to Master Simon, whom he cherished, in great detail. As always, Cosme Anes was busy with plans for enlarging and finishing the college buildings.<sup>43</sup> The number of students had risen to sixty. They spoke nine different languages,<sup>44</sup> and among them were six Paravas from the Fishery Coast.<sup>45</sup> Misser Paulo, however, was distressed that the *mordomos*, the directors of the college, did not give him a free hand in running it. He had to obtain their permission for every little detail, and he did not agree with many of their provisions. Xavier advised him, however, to obey them in everything.<sup>46</sup>

The bishop, old and sickly, was quite ready to ordain Mansilhas to the priesthood despite his slim knowledge of Latin.<sup>47</sup> In the Franciscan monastery Master Francis also met one of the two friars who had left Portugal in 1543 with Frey João de Villa de Conde and had remained on their way in Socotra. He had come to urge the governor to drive the Moors from the island, who were keeping its fifteen thousand Christian inhabitants in disgraceful slavery. Since he had not obtained from Martim Affonso de Sousa the desired help, he had remained in Goa; and there was some thought of sending another member of the order as an assistant to the one who had been left behind. When the Franciscans came to the island, the Christians were already so oppressed by the Moors that they had given up all hope of ever receiving help against them from their fellow Christians. They therefore wanted to have nothing to do with the preaching of the friars. They said that the latter would again depart and leave them helpless, and the Arabs would then treat them even worse than they had before. The missionaries assured them that they would never abandon them, and that they would see to it that the Arabs were driven from the island. At the time of their arrival the most prominent of these had already withdrawn to the Arab mainland. Only after many days did the persecuted inhabitants regain their confidence and let themselves be baptized and learned the prayers and essential truths of the faith.<sup>48</sup>

When Xavier visited his friend Martim Affonso de Sousa and spoke to him of the martyrdom of the Christians of Manār, the governor became so angry that he immediately ordered a large fleet to be sent and the murderers from Jaffna to be seized and slain. Xavier consequently had to calm him. The rajah

voyagers, the anonymous author (Q 1821) and Vasco da Cunha (Q 1693), and those of Shams-ud-dīn (Q 1553) and his friend Antonio Fernandes (Q 1595). Correa errs in making two voyages of one and having the governor sail to Diu. He only went to Bassein. According to Couto, the governor, after his unsuccessful attempt to capture Shams-ud-dīn, was again back in Goa long before Christmas (5, 10, 8, p. 433).

<sup>40</sup> EX I 245 253 280; DI I 54.

<sup>41</sup> EX I 245 253 277.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 245 280.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 253 293.

<sup>44</sup> DI I 53 58.

<sup>45</sup> *Ep. Mixtae* I 232.

<sup>46</sup> EX I 542-543.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 245; DI I 138.

<sup>48</sup> DI I 78-79; Correa IV 342; *Copia* 1546, 181.

had an elder brother to whom the kingdom rightfully belonged. Fearing that the rajah might kill him, he had fled to the mainland. In 1543 Xavier and the governor had met him on Cow Island. There the exiled ruler had declared that if the governor placed him in possession of his kingdom, he and his leading men and the rest of his subjects would become Christians. Martim Afonso, accordingly, now ordered his captains to give him the land if he and his people were converted and to slay the tyrant or do whatever Master Francis might tell them in his name. Francis hoped that the rajah of Jaffnapatam, through the boundless mercy of God our Lord and the pious prayers of the martyrs of Manār, would acknowledge his errors and ask God for pardon and perform salutary penance.<sup>49</sup>

Master Diogo and Misser Paulo gave Xavier detailed letters for John III<sup>50</sup> when he sailed back to Cochin after Christmas full of hope for the future of the mission<sup>51</sup> with *alvarás* of the governor for the captains of the fortresses in the south.<sup>52</sup>

## 2. A VISIT TO CRANGANORE (JANUARY, 1545)

Four miles from Cochin, Francis' *catur*, instead of going straight on, turned to the left and sailed a league up the broad Periyār River between groves of coconut palms to Cranganore, a small fortress on the left where the rising bank of the river turned at right angles towards the north and four broad streams

<sup>49</sup> Brodrick is wrong in doubting the seriousness of Sousa's punitive expedition (215). Xavier took *alvarás* with him which ordered the expedition (EX I 291). The brother of the king of Jaffna renewed his promises to become a Christian along with his subjects (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 382). At the time of Xavier's visit, the governor still knew nothing of the flight of the Ceylonese princes and their claims.

<sup>50</sup> EX I 253.

<sup>51</sup> See EX I 277-278. John III asked his *letrados* about the punitive expedition against the murderers of the Christians. The Augustinian bishop of Coimbra, Frey João Soares, the Dominican bishop of São Thomé, Frey Bernardo da Cruz, and the provincial of the Franciscans were of the opinion that the rajah had first to be warned and the Christian faith explained to him, whereas the bishop of Miranda, Dom Toribio Lopes, Mestre Olmedo, and Manuel Falcão maintained that an immediate war against him was permitted. In support of this the bishop of Miranda appealed to a lengthy opinion on "a just war" drawn from the New Testament, St. Thomas, and Cajetan (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 263-264; Q 1769).

<sup>52</sup> Sousa states that Xavier brought with him *alvarás* for the captains of Cochin, Chale, Quilon, Colombo, and Negapatam (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 29). Chale hardly enters the picture, and there was no captain but only a factor in Colombo. An *alvará* was certainly directed to Miguel Ferreira, the captain of the Coromandel Coast in São Thomé, who took the matter in hand in 1546.

<sup>53</sup> We conclude that Xavier visited Cranganore on this voyage from the following: In his letter to King John III of January 20, 1545, he mentions the college and its founder, Frey Vicente de Lagos, for the first time. He also mentions its flourishing state and the great hopes which it held, and he asks the king to give an alms as the priest had requested (EX I 254). As apostolic nuncio and ambassador of the Portuguese king, who had asked him at the time of his departure to write to him at great length about the readiness of his lands overseas to be converted (*ibid.* 81), as a friend of the bishop, who was a companion and religious confrere of Frey Vicente, Xavier must have been keenly interested in becoming acquainted with him and his college. On his earlier voyages from and to Goa, he had not been free to determine the course of his ship and probably had no opportunity to make a detour to Cranganore. On the other hand, on this occasion the ship in which he was sailing to Goa had been designated for his own use. The digression was of no significance. Since he had encountered the governor in Goa instead of in Cambay, he had gained time. Despite his visit to

came together.<sup>53</sup> The stronghold occupied a commanding position<sup>54</sup> and had a garrison of twenty soldiers and artillerymen. It had been built in 1536, when Martim Affonso de Sousa was supreme admiral of the sea, at the request of the local rajah to prevent the smuggling of pepper to Calicut for ships bound for Mecca and to block the Zamorin if he attempted to march against the king of Cochin or have himself crowned in Edappalli as the king of Malabar. It also served as a protection for the Thomas Christians who lived there.<sup>55</sup>

In the shadow of the fortress was the college of St. James, which Frey Vicente de Lagos,<sup>56</sup> a companion and religious confrere of the bishop of Goa, had founded three years earlier for the sons of Syrian Christians,<sup>57</sup> and which had quickly flourished as a promising nursery of future missionaries for the whole of Malabar.<sup>58</sup> Master Francis immediately struck up an intimate friendship with Frey Vicente, as he had earlier done with Frey Juan de Albuquerque.<sup>59</sup> The college was poor and had no fixed revenues. Frey Vicente therefore entrusted Xavier with a letter for the Portuguese king requesting an alms.<sup>60</sup>

The Thomas Christians used Syriac as their liturgical language and lived in more than sixty villages under different rajahs.<sup>61</sup> There were about thirty thousand families,<sup>62</sup> and in case of necessity they could muster more than twenty-

Cranganore, he returned to Cochin earlier than had been foreseen. In 1528 the governor sailed from Cranganore to Porakād, a stretch three times as long as that to Cochin, in one night (Castanheda 7, 91). On Cranganore see P. Menon I 297-328; Yule 272-273; SRH 379-399; plans are given in Silveira III 411-413, Boccardo I 328, with a text 328-337 (1634), and observations in Baldaeus 109 (1672).

<sup>54</sup> The square fortress with its round bulwarks at each corner was captured by the Dutch in 1662 and reduced to a triangle in 1709 (P. Menon I 190-191 361; plan in Valentyn V 4, 10). In the nineteenth century the tower of the fortress fell into the river (P. Menon I 328; picture 377). At the time of our visit in 1957 there were still a few remains to be seen of the Portuguese and Dutch city wall, of the tower, and of a powder magazine (picture in Tisserant 61). The site is called *Kottamuku* (Corner of the Fortress). In 1954 the parish of St. Thomas in Cranganore had 1910 individuals, the parish of St. Michael in Kottapuram had 2,675.

<sup>55</sup> Correa III 700 772; Botelho, *Tombo* 26-27; Q 131 191.

<sup>56</sup> On Frey Vicente de Lagos see the sources in Q, index; EX I 254, II 14-15 26 42-44 74-75; DI I 76-77 120 261-262 453 537-538 540-541 547 642, II 7 25-26 133 142-143 173 413 608, III 93 814; SR II 328, III 213-214 352 529 534, IV 3-6 200-211 (letter) 349 351-352 357 480-481, V 412; Lucena I, 14; \*Trindade 624-635; Monforte 403-410; Wicki, "Der einheimische Klerus" 39-42 62-68. He was a *Capucho* of the Piedade province, like the bishop, with whom he sailed to India in 1538, and a great friend of Xavier and of the Society of Jesus, to whom he wished to give his college at the time of his death. He died in 1552 after being poisoned by the Moors (Beltrami 221).

<sup>57</sup> In 1584 five former students of the college wrote that Frey Vicente had founded it in 1542 (Beltrami 221). According to the data of \*Trindade he directed the college for ten years, although he erroneously states that he founded it in 1540 and died in 1550 (635). \*Roz sets its foundation in 1540 (93v).

<sup>58</sup> EX I 254.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* II 14, DI I 453.

<sup>60</sup> EX I 254.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* II 14.

<sup>62</sup> According to the letter of the four Syrian bishops in 1504 (Schurhammer, *Malabar Church* 4). In 1515 Pires estimated the Thomas Christians of Malabar as being more than fifteen thousand in number, among whom were two thousand wealthy merchants (73). The Malabar priest Matheus Dias estimated them as being more than forty thousand in 1550 (SR IV 477). From data furnished by the Thomas Christians themselves, Penteado gave their number in 1518 as being twenty thousand families (SR III 544). \*Roz prudently observed in 1601 that the number would be very difficult to determine. Not many years before, eighty thousand had assembled for a feast (ARSI: *Goa* 15, 31v).

five thousand warriors.<sup>63</sup> According to their own traditions they were descendants of the Christians whom the apostle Thomas had converted in southern India and of Syrian merchants who arrived later and married native women. They controlled the pepper trade and, as a noble caste, were on a level with the Nāyars.<sup>64</sup> They also had certain privileges which the latter did not possess.<sup>65</sup> Their bishops were called *abunas* and their priests *kassanares*. Their old *abuna*, Mar Jacob, lived with the Franciscans in Cochin.<sup>66</sup> In 1530 he had already brought some boys from the interior to be educated by them. If his Christians entrusted their sons to Frey Vicente, it was above all due to his influence.<sup>67</sup> João Pereira, the captain of the fortress,<sup>68</sup> was also a warm supporter of the college. He had succeeded his father, Diogo Pereira,<sup>69</sup> in this office and had inherited from him dominion over the island of Vendurutti near Cochin.<sup>70</sup> A few years before he had sailed to Portugal to establish his claims at court,<sup>71</sup> and he had returned from there with Elena Pinheira as his wife.<sup>72</sup> His father had come to India in 1505 and, because of his knowledge of the native language, had been nicknamed "o Malavar." He had played a leading

<sup>63</sup> According to Mar Jacob in 1524 (SR II 354).

<sup>64</sup> Pires 73.

<sup>65</sup> See Jonas Thaliath, T.O.C.D., *The Synod of Diamper* (Roma, 1958) 4.

<sup>66</sup> When Mar Jacob came with his companion, Mar Denha, to India in 1503, they chose Cranganore as their residence. According to the local tradition the former lived on the site of the later Misericórdia and the second on that of the later Franciscan college, as the sixty-six-year-old Cheria Mapola, a resident of Cranganore, and the deacon Miguel Vaz testified in 1607. According to them Mar Jacob was the last Syrian bishop to reside in this city (ARSI: *Goa* 65, 9-v). According to \*Roz he was living here in 1536 and for a long time after, until the slanders of the Latins, who understood nothing of the Syrian rites, prompted him and his Christians to move elsewhere (90-v; ARSI: *Goa* 65, 43v). Goes, following an oral communication of Pedro de Sequeira, wrote that when the latter was treasurer in Cochin, Bishop Jacob of Cranganore had come to this city and had lived in the Franciscan monastery of S. Antonio, where he also fell ill and died (*Chronica* I 216).

<sup>67</sup> Schurhammer, "Three Letters" 79.

<sup>68</sup> On João Pereira, see the sources: Q 1401 3373 3398 3593 3898 4123 4165 4592 4761; EX II 306; SR IV 3-8 201 208-209 227, VI 249-250; Couto 6, 8, 9; 7, 8, 4; 9, 10. Like his father, he carried on his coat of arms the lily cross of the Pereiras (Q 3398). From the beginning he was one of the principal benefactors of the college (SR IV 4, VI 249-250). His wife bore him four daughters (*ibid.* IV 7). On him see also Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger" 214.

<sup>69</sup> On Diogo Pereira, "o Malavar," see *ibid.* 212-214. He had been in India since 1505, had been the secretary of a factory from 1508 to 1509, factor in Cochin from 1509 to 1511, captain of Chale from 1532 to 1534, and of Cranganore from 1536 to 1538. In January, 1539, he wrote his last letter to the king from Vendurutti. In it he entreated him to send M. A. de Sousa to India as governor for life since he knew of no one in the whole of Christendom who was more suitable for the position (Q 358). He died soon after.

<sup>70</sup> SR IV 6; after the grant Pereira called himself "senhor de Bendurte."

<sup>71</sup> João obtained the fortress under Nuno da Cunha, thus at the latest in 1538 (*ibid.*). He came back to India before 1544, probably in 1542, since he brought his wife with him and in January, 1548, already had four daughters from her (*ibid.* 7).

<sup>72</sup> Elena was an illegitimate daughter of the chief *alcaide* of Barcelos, Alvaro Pinheiro Lobo, and the sister of Maria Pinheira, the wife of Dr. Francisco de Mariz. On her and her relationship with the count of Castanheira and M. A. de Sousa, see E. Sanceau, "Uma família portuguesa quinhentista na Índia," *Studia* 1 (1958) 101-110. M. A. de Sousa had arranged the marriage between Elena and João Pereira and had obtained for him the captaincy of Cranganore for life (\*Andrade Leitão XV 534, \*letter of Vicente Carneiro in 1564 in TdT: CC 1-106-108). Frey Vicente de Lagos compared Elena with St. Elisabeth of Thüringen (SR IV 208-209), and Xavier warmly recommended her husband and her sister to the king (EX I 414, II 306-307).

role in all that had occurred in Malabar and had helped raise the ruling king of Cochin to his throne. His son was personally known to all the native princes, as he had been; and he used his influence upon them to favor the mission.<sup>73</sup>

Cranganore, whose history reached back into the dimmest past,<sup>74</sup> had once been a great city<sup>75</sup> inhabited by pagans, Moors, Jews, and Thomas Christians.<sup>76</sup> At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese these Christians had three churches there—one dedicated to St. Thomas, another to the Virgin Mary, and a third to the child-martyr Quiricus.<sup>77</sup> The oldest and most revered of these was the church of St. Thomas. It was located within the fortress and, according to tradition, both it and the highly prized stone cross outside the walls went back to the apostle Thomas himself.<sup>78</sup> According to others the building had been erected by one of the two disciples whom he had left there at the time of his departure, and whose tomb was under the foundation of the tower of the fortress.<sup>79</sup>

Two miles south of Cranganore, in the midst of dark coconut palms and surrounded by a maze of canals, was the old city of Parūr, the residence of the neighboring rajah. It also was inhabited by pagans, Moors, Jews, and Thomas Christians.<sup>80</sup> It too had a church which, according to tradition, had been built by the apostle Thomas,<sup>81</sup> and an ancient, revered Hindu temple.<sup>82</sup> When the pagans during the temple's annual festival passed by the Thomas church as they glided down the Periyār River in their two-, three-, four-, six-, eight-, and eleven-storied floats filled with pilgrims and musicians, they all lit lamps, played music,

<sup>73</sup> SR IV 6-7.

<sup>74</sup> Yule 272-273 828-829; P. Menon I 304 309.

<sup>75</sup> Tiruvanchikulam was a suburb of Cranganore (P. Menon I 304 309); at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, Cranganore was still a league in circumference (ARSI: Goa 15, 63).

<sup>76</sup> Barbosa II 88-89. About the year 1167 Benjamin of Tudela found here around one thousand Jews (Yule 828). About the year 1500 there were a few, and these were despised (*Paesi nouamente retrovati* 155), mixed-bloods, descendants of Jews and Malabars of early times (Castanheda 2, 109). There were very many Moors (*ibid.* 1, 94), mostly merchants (*Paesi* 155).

<sup>77</sup> In the old manuscript breviary of the church of Mangate, \*Roz discovered a note at the end to the effect that it had been written in 1507 in Cranganore, where there were three churches, of St. Thomas, of Our Lady, and of the young martyr St. Quiricus, the son of St. Julita, who was greatly revered by the Thomas Christians and whose feast was celebrated on July 15 (88v). In 1601 Manuel da Veiga also spoke of three churches of the Thomas Christians (ARSI: Goa 15, 62v). Barbosa (II 89) and Castanheda (1, 94) mention only the two first.

<sup>78</sup> It was one of the seven churches whose erection was attributed to the apostle Thomas in Malabar; see K. E. Job, "The Seven Churches," *St. Thomas the Apostle* 46-47. Frey Gaspar da Trindade, the vicar of the church, \*wrote that it was the earliest church built after the arrival of the apostle and was therefore highly revered by Christians and pagans and granted privileges by the pagan kings (ARSI: Goa 13, 12). On the cross see Trindade 633-634 and German 330 (following Gouvea). According to the plan in Bocarro it was in the neighborhood of the later Jesuit college.

<sup>79</sup> Barros 3, 7, 11, 234-235 (according to the oral report of a Thomas Christian who came to Lisbon to study Latin, apparently the priest Matheus Dias; see Q 4349).

<sup>80</sup> So also today. But at the time of our visit in 1957 I was told that most of the Jews had recently emigrated to Israel. The present synagogue dates from 1616 (see KSP 1 [1930] 166-168 286).

<sup>81</sup> It is one of the seven churches traditionally erected by the apostle in Malabar (see Job, "The Seven Churches," *St. Thomas the Apostle* 51). The present, ornate church is the fourth on the site where, according to tradition, St. Thomas converted the Hindu temple, known as Kottakavu, into a church.

<sup>82</sup> The temple was destroyed in 1790 by Tippu Sultan along with the other smaller temples and churches (Nagam Aiya III 594, I 398).

and danced with loud cries and screams so that the apostle would let them sail safely to the cape, where numerous vessels had already sunk.<sup>83</sup> In 1510 Albuquerque had given the two Syrian *abunas* in Cranganore a thousand *fanams* for the restoration of their church.<sup>84</sup> In 1524, during a war, the Moors of Calicut had burned it along with the synagogue of the Jews.<sup>85</sup> Those of the latter who were able to escape had left the village and moved to the east.<sup>86</sup> The Moors living in Cranganore had also been forced to settle elsewhere. But the Christians had remained<sup>87</sup> and rebuilt their church. A Malabar priest was now serving as their vicar.<sup>88</sup> A half a league west of Cranganore, on the northern bank of the Periyār River, was the place where the apostle Thomas had traditionally landed when he sailed from Socotra to India. From time to time the Christians assembled there to solemnly commemorate the day.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Couto 7, 8, 14, pp. 290-293; cf. SR II 176-177.

<sup>84</sup> CA IV 311.

<sup>85</sup> Letter of João Garcês of 1529 (SR II 177); Correa II 785-786; cf. III 703; Castanheda 6, 104; Zinadim 50-51.

<sup>86</sup> Zinadim 51, according to whom the Moors also had to settle elsewhere. The Moors live today in Azhikot in the southwest of the district of Cranganore. The Jews moved to Chēnnamangalam, an island in the Periyār River east of Cranganore (KSP 1 [1930] 167), where there were others of the same faith. When we visited this settlement of "black Jews" in 1957, most of its inhabitants, some fifty or sixty families, had emigrated to Israel a short time before; and the seven families who were still living near the synagogue were thinking about following them. They told us that their synagogue was around seven hundred years old. A Hebrew inscription of the year 1269 A.D. was on the building (KSP 2 [1932] 234). They also maintained that their Torah scroll was of the same age, while another was of the opinion that their synagogue dated back to the time of Alexander the Great!

<sup>87</sup> Mar Abraham (1568-1597) transferred the episcopal see from Cranganore to Angamale, where most of the Christians followed him (ARSI: *Goa* 65, 43v and 4v). In 1601 there were still fifteen houses of Thomas Christians in Cranganore, about a dozen families, six or seven Portuguese *casados*, a few soldiers, and a very few new converts of the Latin rite (*ibid.* *Goa* 15, 62v-63 31). In 1619 there were no more Syrians in the city (*ibid.* *Goa* 17, 251-v). They had emigrated to Parūr, Diamper, Kadutturutti (\*Roz 90v), and Angamale (ARSI: *Goa* 65, 4v). \*Roz explains the reason for this: "Both the religious of St. Francis and other Thomas-Christian clerics of the Latin rite who had encountered them were so opposed to these Armenians [Syrians] that no bishop or *kassanar* could read Mass except in the villages outside of Cranganore, and this in secret, since they were forbidden to offer Mass with leavened bread after the manner of the Greeks; nor did they permit the married *kassanars* to celebrate, and they prevented the Christians from beginning the fast of Lent before Ash Wednesday and forced them to eat fish during this period, which they did not do during their Lent.... And these priests persistently forbade some things which had no significance for their salvation and wished to change their customs" (90 93v). Further reasons for their leaving were the "numerous calumnies which they suffered from some individuals, including religious, who had absolutely no understanding of anything that was not of the Latin rite, and immediately regarded everything else as heresy and superstition, and forced them during Lent to eat fish and drink wine against their own rite, even though such fasts are in accordance with the sacred canons and with the fast of the primitive Church" (ARSI: *Goa* 65, 43v). After the retransfer of the episcopal see to Cranganore, some Thomas Christians returned there. In 1635 there were about twenty in it and a hundred white and black *casados* of the Latin rite (Bocarro I 329).

<sup>88</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 240.

<sup>89</sup> In a letter written in 1564 from Cochín, Amador Correa describes the celebration. The site was, according to him, two leagues from Cranganore, not far from Palliport, and the bishop assembled the Christians in Parūr for it (DI VI 178-180). According to tradition the site was near the island of Maliankara, a half a league west of Cranganore and two from Parūr. On it there stands today a monument to St. Thomas with the relics of the apostle which Cardinal Tisserant brought to Malabar in 1953 and a



When Vasco da Gama came to Cochin in 1502, the Christians of Cranganore sent him a delegation and presented him with their scepter, a red staff with a silver knob and three little silver bells, as a sign that they placed themselves under the protection of the king of Portugal.<sup>90</sup> A year before this one of their priests, the *kassanar* Joseph, had sailed with Cabral to Portugal in order to visit the pope in Rome and the Holy Land. He had returned to his ancestral city of Cranganore<sup>91</sup> and was still engaged there in spiritual labors in 1518.<sup>92</sup>

The Hindu king of Cranganore,<sup>93</sup> a man in his sixties,<sup>94</sup> was living north of the fortress<sup>95</sup> near the old and revered pagoda of Tiruvanchikulam;<sup>96</sup> and because of this temple he was at constant odds with the rajah of Cochin.<sup>97</sup> The latter, after the murder of one of his temple guards, had burned down the former's city and palace in 1540, and he had done this with the help of the captain of Cochin,<sup>98</sup> despite the fact that the king of Cranganore had always been a friend of the Portuguese. But Dom Estevão da Gama and Martim Affonso de Sousa had again appeased the prince through their conciliatory policies.<sup>99</sup>

From Cranganore Xavier again sailed southwards through the narrow channel lined by green coconut groves. After his ship had completed two leagues, the bank on the left receded and a wide lagoon with palm-covered islands opened up to view. Over the palms to the east could be seen the pale blue mountains of the interior. In the first half of January Francis was back again in Cochin.

### 3. BACK IN COCHIN (JANUARY, 1545)

Cochin lay at the heart of Malabar, a land far different from the rest of India in its flora and fauna, its customs and practices, its history and inhabitants.<sup>100</sup> The environs of Cochin, a labyrinth of rivers, canals, lagoons,<sup>101</sup> and

small convent of the congregation of Syrian Carmelites. \*Roz writes of a tradition according to which the feast commemorated the landing of the brothers Mar Sabrisho and Mar Peroz in the ninth century (89), to whom a church in Parūr had been dedicated (Germann 426-427). Both traditions can be reconciled: the landing place of the apostle and of the two brothers was the same.

<sup>90</sup> Barros 1, 6, 6.

<sup>91</sup> Schurhammer, *Malabar Church* 25-31; *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati* 153-166; Barros 1, 5, 8, p. 446.

<sup>92</sup> SR III 546.

<sup>93</sup> He belonged to the Kshatriya caste like the rajah of Cochin (A. Menon 71 381). His territory was small, that of the present district of Cranganore, and embraced five villages. For his letters see Q 3898 3920 4144. His signature is given in Q, pl. XXIV 1-2.

<sup>94</sup> In December, 1566, the king was already over eighty years old (SR X 151).

<sup>95</sup> He lived in Cranganor de cima, the modern Kodungalūr, less than an hour from the fortress (P. Menon I 309).

<sup>96</sup> On the pagoda, mentioned in 1548 by name, which the king of Cochin claimed (Q 3668), see A. Menon 387-388; P. Menon I 390 (picture) 466, IV 40-41. The Shiva temple, one of the oldest and most important on the west coast of India, often mentioned in the old Tamil literature, contains the statue of the legendary last emperor of Malabar, Chēramān Perumāḷ.

<sup>97</sup> Q 358 617 3665 3668.

<sup>98</sup> Castanheda 9, 29; Correa IV 155-158.

<sup>99</sup> Q 617 873; Correa IV 265 294-295.

<sup>100</sup> On the following see the descriptions of Malabar and its inhabitants in Pires of 1515 (65-84); Barbosa of 1516 (II 1-102); Correa of 1551 (I 354-357, in which he refers to Barbosa); Barros of 1552 (1, 9, 3); Castanheda of 1552 (1, 13-14); Zinadim of 1579 (26-31); Linschoten of 1592 (I 182-186); Couto of 1597 (4, 7, 14) and 1601 (7, 10, 10-12); Diogo

islands, consisted of a great forest of coconut and areca palms, banana plants, breadfruit, mango, and other fruit trees, in the shade of which the individual houses were spread out, each one standing by itself.<sup>102</sup> Some were made of wood covered with palm leaves and straw. Others were merely palm-leaf cottages. Only the palaces of the kings, the temples, mosques, and churches could be built of stone and covered with tiles.<sup>103</sup> This fruitful land, where there was never a lack of rain, was densely populated. There were crocodiles in the rivers and herds of wild elephants in the dense, primeval forests of the Ghâts within the interior. Commerce was largely conducted along the waterways, and the Thomas Christians used them to bring pepper from the kingdoms of the interior to Cochin for sale.<sup>104</sup>

The inhabitants of the country, who were from brown to black in their complexion, wore their hair in a bun over their forehead; and their earlobes were stretched down almost to their shoulders by the heavy gold ornaments they wore.<sup>105</sup> The clothing for both men and women was limited to a white skirt that reached to the ground, but among the Nāyars and the lower classes it came only to their knees. The upper part of their bodies was left bare.<sup>106</sup> The distinction of castes in Malabar was rigorous.<sup>107</sup> The Brahmans, called *Nambūdiris*, comprised the wealthy, influential, and ruling priestly caste and owned most of the land. Their daily life was regulated down to the least details by a mass of prescriptions. In order to keep the family property intact, only the eldest son was allowed to marry.<sup>108</sup> The next step below the Brahmans were the Nāyars, the military caste. From their youth they were trained in the use of arms. Outside their homes they were constantly seen with their weapons in hand, usually a round shield and a short, broad sword. They did not marry. Nayar women were at the disposition of any male of their caste or of the Brahmans, but sexual relations with lower castes were forbidden to them under the penalty of death. Instead of marriage, they practiced polyandry. Three or four Nāyars had as a rule a single wife. Their property was therefore always inherited by a sister's son.<sup>109</sup> The lower castes, the Ilavas, who tended the palms, the Macuas, who were fishers, and the Pulayas and Paraiyas in particular, who were slaves, were deemed to be unclean. Any contact with them

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Gonçalves of 1614; Nagam Aiya of 1906 (Vols. I-II); Thurston of 1909 (especially Vol. V); L. K. A. Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes* (Madras, 1909-1912); A. Menon of 1911 (1-27 185-232); Innes of 1915 (90-113); P. Menon of 1924-1937 (a kind of encyclopedia of Malabar in four volumes); Velu Pillai of 1940 (Vol. I).

<sup>101</sup> Nicolau Gonçalves gives a description of the *waterways* in 1548 (Almeida Calado 53-48).

<sup>102</sup> P. Menon IV 148-151; Velu Pillai I 383.

<sup>103</sup> Pires 81-82; Barbosa II 6; Correa I 629; SR II 330; P. Menon IV 151-158.

<sup>104</sup> Correa gives a description of the pepper boats (I 405-406).

<sup>105</sup> Barbosa II 7-8; Correa I 356-357; Linschoten I 182; Diogo Gonçalves 2; Nagam Aiya II 251; Velu Pillai I 405; pictures: \**Desenhos*, n. 114; Thurston V 312.

<sup>106</sup> Barbosa II 7 and 20; Correa I 357; Zinadim 29; Linschoten I 186; Innes 143.

<sup>107</sup> In Travancore there are 1,050 castes and subdivisions of castes (Nagam Aiya II 245); Zinadim 29-30; Innes 102-104.

<sup>108</sup> On the *Nambūdiris*, see Pires 68-71; Barbosa II 33-37; Zinadim 28; Nagam Aiya II 247-286; Thurston V 152-241; Iyer II 169-363; Innes 104-108; A. Menon 196-198; P. Menon III 27-136.

<sup>109</sup> On the *Nāyars*, see Dalgado II 93-95; Pires 67 and 71; Barbosa II 38-55; Correa I 356-357; Barros 1, 9, 3; Castanheda 1, 14; Linschoten I 182-186; Couto 4, 7, 14; 7, 10, 11; Nagam Aiya II 345-369; Thurston V 283-413; Iyer II 1-102; A. Menon 201-202; Innes 114-117; P. Menon III 161-337; pictures: \**Desenhos*, nn. 114-115; Thurston V 305 312.

was avoided with the greatest care. If a Nāyar man or woman met a person of a lower caste along the way, the latter had to leave the path; and it was precisely fixed how far the individual castes had to stay away.<sup>110</sup>

Their manner of waging war was also precisely ordained.<sup>111</sup> Night fighting, ambushes, surprise attacks, and the destruction of foreign property were all forbidden. Friends and foes therefore slept peacefully on the field of battle. At sunrise the warriors took a bath, hung up their washrags to dry, ate their rice, chewed their betel, and then went to the site where their foes were encamped. Here friends and enemies spoke with each other until the large war drum, which could be heard a league away, began to sound. The two groups then separated and took up their battle stations. In the van, crouching on the ground, were warriors armed with swords and daggers, holding their shields close to each other. Next were the archers, among whom were others armed with large throwing sticks or sharp, iron discuses, and then the rest of the army with spears and javelins. Only when a war drum was also sounded from the opposite side did the battle begin in closely locked combat. The person of the king, made evident by a small umbrella, was taboo. If he was slain in battle, something which was usually avoided, a number of Nāyars had to avenge his death by running amuck. Despite the existing peace, they invaded the land of the enemy and slew all that they met, men, women, and children, until they were themselves slain.<sup>112</sup>

In the conducting of war, as in the affairs of daily life, great care was taken to observe good and evil omens, lucky and unlucky days, which had to be determined by magicians and astrologers.<sup>113</sup> Their whole life was dominated by religion and superstition. Along with the numerous gods of the Brahmans, with their grotesque and frequently immoral legends, the old local divinities and demons were also honored, especially by the lower castes.<sup>114</sup> When a person was ill, a devil-dancer had to question these spirits and have their anger mitigated through gifts and bloody sacrifices.<sup>115</sup> Snake worship, like that of the demons, was current everywhere; and there were few Nāyars or Brahmans who did not have a place of sacrifice to this divinity in their gardens, even though every year many died from snakebite.<sup>116</sup> Elephantiasis, which caused the limbs to swell so much that they reached the circumference of those of an elephant,<sup>117</sup> was a common malady in these areas. It was frequently ascribed

<sup>110</sup> Pires 72; Barbosa II 49; Barros 1, 9, 3; Linschoten I 184; Diogo Gonçalves 102-103; Thurston V 196; A. Menon 195-196; Innes 102.

<sup>111</sup> Correa I 354-356; Zinadim 27.

<sup>112</sup> On amuck runners, called *chavars* in Malabar, see Youle 193; Dalgado I 33-36; Barbosa II 48; Correa I 364-365; Castanheda 1, 53; Couto 4, 7, 14; 6, 8, 8; Diogo Gonçalves 78-79; Bocarro I 336; P. Menon I 509-510.

<sup>113</sup> Castanheda 1, 14; Diogo Gonçalves 72-73; A. Menon 191; P. Menon IV 247-257; Innes 158.

<sup>114</sup> Diogo Gonçalves 69-72; Nagam Aiya II 55-69; A. Menon 188-190; Innes 151-155.

<sup>115</sup> On the devil-dancers, see pp. 305-306.

<sup>116</sup> On the worship of snakes, see Pires 72-73; Nagam Aiya II 59-62; A. Menon 190; P. Menon IV 474-498; Innes 155. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were already in Travancore fifteen thousand places of sacrifice for snakes (*kavus*), and their number has since increased (Nagam Aiya II 59).

<sup>117</sup> Also called "Cochin leg" (Yule 227) because the malady is chiefly found in the districts of Shertallai and Ampalapula, south of Cochin. According to Pires a fourth or a fifth of the people were afflicted with it (68-69). See also Pyrard 1, 280; Nagam Aiya II 508 (according to statistics there were in Travancore at the time 5,924 persons with elephantiasis); P. Menon I 123-128.

to a curse of the apostle Thomas, causing this affliction to pass from generation to generation among the descendants of his murderers.<sup>118</sup> The administration of justice was severe. The penalty for serious crimes was impalement; that is, the guilty person was run through with a stake while still alive.<sup>119</sup>

The land was divided up among a number of kings and princes called *kaimals*. Their territory ran around the great lagoons which stretched out from Cochin to the north and south, and their strength was indicated by the number of Nāyars they had under them<sup>120</sup>. In the north was the rajah of Cranganore. South of the Periyār River were his two neighbors, the rajah of Parūr<sup>121</sup> and Mangate Kaimal.<sup>122</sup> The former was a Brahman, the latter a Nāyar. Farther south was the Brahman prince of Edappalli,<sup>123</sup> whose territories were widely dispersed. South of these was the territory of Anche Kaimal, lying opposite Cochin.<sup>124</sup> Next to this was the land of the king of Diamper, also known as "the King of the Christians" because of the many Thomas Christians under his rule.<sup>125</sup> Also adjoining it was the northern kingdom, the territory of Vadakkumkūr, usually known as "the Pepper King,"<sup>126</sup> and the southern kingdom,<sup>127</sup> ruled over by his adversary Tekkumkūr, whose northern limits were marked by the southern shore of the great lake of Vembanād. And finally there was the territory of the rajah of Porakād.<sup>128</sup> The princes of Parūr, Mangate, Diamper, Vadakkumkūr and Porakād were under the king of Cochin;<sup>129</sup> the prince of Edappalli was a vassal of the Zamorin, and that of Cranganore fluctuated between the two. The Portuguese administration usually paid an annual sum to these princes in order to secure a normal flow of pepper and their good will.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>118</sup> P. Menon I 127-128. Therefore also called "St. Thomas leg."

<sup>119</sup> Barbosa II 27-28; Diogo Gonçalves 24; A. Menon 339; P. Menon II 285-294. Picture in Baldaeus 256.

<sup>120</sup> On the neighboring princes of Cochin, see Diogo Gonçalves 4-8; Almeida Calado 43-48; P. Menon II 101-126; A. Menon 46 80-83; KSP 1 (1930) 135-140 221-224. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, these princes had for generations been divided into two parties, the Panniyur, which had the Zamorin as their head, and the Chovaram, which had the king of Cochin for theirs (A. Menon 41-42).

<sup>121</sup> P. Menon II 124. The rajah in 1615 had twelve thousand Nāyars (Diogo Gonçalves 7).

<sup>122</sup> The prince of Ālangad, east of Cranganore (P. Menon II 124-126). In 1615 he had fifteen thousand Nāyars (Diogo Gonçalves 8). His signature is in Q, pl. XXIV 6.

<sup>123</sup> Portuguese *Repelim*. On him see P. Menon II 68-82. His territory lay principally between Ernakulam and Alwaye. His signature is in Q, pl. XXIV 3-4.

<sup>124</sup> P. Menon II 101-102. *Anjikaimal* means "five *kaimals*." The Portuguese constantly speak of the Anche Kaimal, meaning by this the head of the five *kaimals*. Around 1743 this was Chēranellūr Karta (A. Menon 106). Their main village was Ernakulam.

<sup>125</sup> Udaympērūr, to the south of Ernakulam, is famous for the synod of Diamper, which met there in 1599. See SR IV 211.

<sup>126</sup> P. Menon II 122-124; A. Menon erroneously calls the king of Tekkumkūr "the Pepper King" (82). His signature is in Q, pl. XXIV 5.

<sup>127</sup> P. Menon II 85.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.* 109-122. He was a Brahman and in 1615 had more than ten thousand Nāyars (Diogo Gonçalves 5-6).

<sup>129</sup> Couto 5, 1, 1.

<sup>130</sup> Botelho, *Tombo* 25-26. The Pepper King, the kings of Porakād and Diamper, the Lanbea (Nambiyādiri) of Parūr, and the Mangate Kaimal of the "white branch" of the family each received an annual sum of 240 *pardaus*; the Mangate Carta da lua (Karutta Tavalī, that is, the *mangate* from the "black branch" of the family) received 140. M. A. de Sousa abolished these grants, but the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha reintroduced them.

Rāma Varma, the king of Cochin,<sup>131</sup> was indebted to the Portuguese for his throne. They had defended him against the Zamorin, who had compelled his predecessors, as vassals, to give an annual tribute of a number of elephants; and he had never allowed them to mint coins or roof their palace with tiles.<sup>132</sup> Portugal's trade and protection had brought his kingdom to a flourishing state. He and his vassals could, as a consequence, field a force of 150,000 Nāyars.<sup>133</sup> He had been ruling since 1504, and the fame of his ascent had reached even to the far Moluccas.<sup>134</sup> But he showed little gratitude towards his Portuguese protectors and allies. In 1515, at the request of King Manuel, Albuquerque, using Duarte Barbosa as an interpreter, had sought to persuade the rajah to accept Christianity. He set before him all the reasons given by the Portuguese king and many others. He showed him the letter of his king and reminded him of all the benefits which he had received from him. He then indicated how Christ the Lord had sent the apostle Thomas to India, who had founded so many churches in his land. He mentioned the errors of Malabar, where no one knew who was his son, and stressed the fact that God had revealed the true faith on Mount Sinai, not far from India. When the prince declared that his subjects would no longer obey him if he became a Christian, Albuquerque replied that he had obtained his throne through the assistance of the Portuguese contrary to all the laws and customs of the land; and despite this, because of their continued support, he had encountered no difficulties from his people. Albuquerque then mentioned the fact that the rajah's uncle went with the Christians to their church and prayed with them. At the end he asked the ruler to at least allow his princes to be instructed in Christianity. But it was all to no avail.<sup>135</sup> Even though the *arel*, the superintendent of the harbor of Cochin, much against the wishes of his king,<sup>136</sup> and a thousand members of his caste had adopted Christianity; and even though almost all the Ilavas and Macuas of Cochin had been baptized in 1517,<sup>137</sup> Rāma Varma had remained stubbornly opposed to Christianity; and he remained so even after Martim Afonso de Sousa had twice driven his foes from his territory and had given him the coronation stone of Edappali and the ceremonial parasol of the Zamorin that had been captured at Vēdālai. If his subjects accepted Christianity, he, like the other Malabar princes, confiscated their palm groves and other pos-

<sup>131</sup> At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, Gōda Varma was reigning in Cochin. When the viceroy Almeida went there in 1505, the old rajah had retired, and his younger nephew, Rāma Varma, who had already signed his name to a letter of August 2, 1504, as king of Cochin (Castanheda 1, 88), was ruling, since the elder nephew, a foe of the Portuguese and a follower of the Zamorin, was out of the question. Rāma was therefore solemnly crowned as king by the viceroy (CA IV 42-43; Barros, 1, 9, 4-5; Correa I 606-608; Castanheda 2, 18, and 20). Gōda Varma died in 1510, and, contrary to the then right of inheritance, Albuquerque decided that Rāma Varma and the successors of his family should rule Cochin in the future (CA III 325-329, IV 58-60, VII 10; Barros 2, 5, 8; Correa II 135-138; Castanheda 3, 38-40, the principal account). Rāma Varma died at the end of 1545 (Q 1639 1665 2208), and was succeeded in 1546 by his eleven-year-old nephew Vira Kērala Varma (Q 1665). On this Couto (7, 10, 11, pp. 533-534) is to be corrected.

<sup>132</sup> Barbosa II 94-95.

<sup>133</sup> Correa I 353. In 1615 Cochin alone had more than 100,000 Nāyars; earlier there were 52,000 (Diogo Gonçalves 7).

<sup>134</sup> Cf. the letter of the sultan of Ternate of 1520 (Sá I 119; cf. Barros 3, 5, 4, p. 551).

<sup>135</sup> CA I 367-369 (a detailed, dramatic description by Albuquerque himself); SRH 116-119.

<sup>136</sup> CA I 269-270, III 231 315 328; SRH 122-124.

<sup>137</sup> SR I 343.

sessions and treated them as if they were members of an unclean caste. But this was not the case with those who adopted Mohammedism, which most of the people shrank from doing.<sup>138</sup> Miguel Vaz had taken up this problem with Martim Affonso de Sousa as soon as he arrived as governor in India, especially since the king of Portugal had also written that he should not tolerate this discrimination. When the governor came to Cochin at the end of 1542, he had spoken with the rajah about the matter and had taken care that an order was promulgated to the effect that in the future new converts would be able to retain their possessions. But he had then returned to Goa and, as a consequence, everything remained as it had been before.<sup>139</sup> In Cranganore Martim Affonso had told the captain, João Pereira, that if the local rajah seized the property of his people when they were converted, he, the captain, should indemnify them with the rajah's money, which Pereira had also done.<sup>140</sup> But the king of Cochin had no need to fear that the governor in such a case would come to enforce his order. Even now, after Xavier's return to Cochin, Miguel Vaz had spoken with two prominent Malabars in Cochin who wanted to become Christians but were afraid that they would lose their property if they did. He had therefore advised the vicar, Pedro Gonçalves, to use his influence on their behalf.<sup>141</sup> The vicar general had moreover learned from Frey Vicente and others that every year when the first *bahār* of pepper was weighed in Upper Cochin, the king's magicians performed elaborate ceremonies in order to determine the favorable hour for this. Portuguese officials, as a consequence, had to wait at times a whole day and deep into the night for such an hour to arrive. The first pepper was then weighed with pagan rites instead of a Christian blessing, which would bring the favor of heaven upon the pepper sale.<sup>142</sup>

In the Franciscan monastery of Santo Antonio, Master Francis met the bishop of the Thomas Christians, the *abuna* Mar Jacob. He was a venerable old man who, in his last years, had been given a home here in the convent.<sup>143</sup> He had been a monk in the monastery of St. Eugene in northern Mesopotamia. In 1503 he and two of his religious confreres had been consecrated bishops by the *katholikos*, the patriarch Elias, in his residence of Gazarta Bēt Zabdai. With his two confreres and Mar Thomas, who had come from India, he had been sent to Malabar. There they took up their residence in Cranganore, the main city of the Thomas Christians. Two of the bishops had soon died. The remaining two divided the territory up among themselves. Mar Thomas received the south with Quilon, Mar Jacob the north with Cranganore as their respective residences.<sup>144</sup> In the latter Mar Jacob finished making a copy of the Syriac Psalter<sup>145</sup> in 1504 and, six years later, another of the New Testament for the deacon George, the son of Joseph.<sup>146</sup> As a zealous shepherd, Mar Jacob had visited his Christian subjects, who were widely dispersed within the interior of the land. He baptized them and abolished the practice of his predecessor,

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, and II 179; SRH 119-122.

<sup>139</sup> SR II 329-330; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 249.

<sup>140</sup> SR IV 5-7.

<sup>141</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 249-250.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.* 241.

<sup>143</sup> On Mar Jacob see Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome* (Trichinopoly, 1934). His handwriting is reproduced in Q, pls. XVIII-XIX. He died in Cochin in 1550.

<sup>144</sup> Barros 3, 7, 11, p. 326.

<sup>145</sup> Tisserant 25.

<sup>146</sup> Q, pl. XIX, and p. 479.

who had asked a fee for the administration of this sacrament.<sup>147</sup> Mar Jacob, who was of a peaceful disposition, had always treated the Portuguese, despite their different Latin rite, as brothers in the faith; and he was grateful to them for their protection against the persecutions of the Moors and pagans. Shortly before his death King Manuel had granted him an annual subsidy of twenty *milreis*, and John III had confirmed this.<sup>148</sup> In 1522 the bishop had rendered a great service to the Portuguese king when he persuaded his suspicious Christians in the interior to stop their sale of pepper to Mohammedan middlemen and to sell it instead directly to the Portuguese officials in Cochin.<sup>149</sup> The humble bishop had readily accepted advice from his Latin friends, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and secular clergy. He had suppressed many abuses among his Christians and had even introduced oral confession for them instead of the general accusation of the *Confiteor*. On his rounds of visitation he had repeatedly taken priests of the Latin rite with him in order to introduce them to his Christians so that they might take an interest in them after his own death.<sup>150</sup> Since the arrival of the Portuguese and the capture of Baghdad by the Turks in 1534, his ties with his patriarch in northern Mesopotamia, who had reserved the consecration of bishops to himself, had been broken.<sup>151</sup> And Mar Jacob had done all this despite the fact that a secular priest, Alvaro Penteado, who had been sent to Cranganore as a vicar for the Thomas Christians by the king in 1517, had alienated them through his imprudence, impatience, and angry temperament, and had consequently had to be replaced.<sup>152</sup> Whereas in the past Moorish merchants had sold pepper to the Portuguese that was wet and dirty, the Thomas Christians now brought it to them in an excellent condition, to the great advantage of the crown. It was therefore all the more lamentable that the Portuguese officials did not observe the contracts they had concluded with the pepper merchants, and Miguel Vaz was compelled on this account to make representations to the king in Lisbon.<sup>153</sup> Mar Jacob could also give an account of something that must have been of particular interest to Master Francis. When he came to India, he heard from one of the bishops of the Thomas Christians that the apostle Thomas had, according to tradition, sailed from India to China and there made converts.<sup>154</sup>

In the Franciscan monastery Francis also obtained news about the mission in Ceylon. Frey João de Villa de Conde, the guardian, had fallen out with King Bhuvaneka Bāhu when he saw that the latter did not wish to keep the promise that his ambassador had made in Lisbon with respect to his baptism and turned a deaf ear to all of his instructions. Five or six months after his arrival in Ceylon, Frey João had therefore returned to India without taking leave of the king.<sup>155</sup> Even though Martim Affonso sent André de Sousa, who was well acquainted with Ceylon, to Kōttē in order to assist the missionaries,<sup>156</sup> the king,

<sup>147</sup> Barros 3, 7, 4, pp. 325-326; cf. SR I 178 358-360.

<sup>148</sup> Schurhammer, *Malabar Church* 15.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* 11-13; Castanheda 6, 72.

<sup>150</sup> Schurhammer, *Malabar Church* 10-19.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* 37-38.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.* 19-20; SRH 394-397 426-428; cf. his letters in SR II 357-361, III 543-553, and Schurhammer, "Three Letters of Mar Jacob."

<sup>153</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 240-241.

<sup>154</sup> EX I 335.

<sup>155</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 196 399-400.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.* 89 203.

like the rajah of Cochin, confiscated the possessions of his subjects who became Christians in order to put an end to their conversion to the religion of the Portuguese.<sup>157</sup>

#### 4. THE VOYAGE OF MIGUEL VAZ TO PORTUGAL (JANUARY, 1545)

In the isolation of the Fishery Coast and Travancore, Master Francis had been practically cut off from the outer world for an entire year. But Miguel Vaz could now inform him of the events of the preceding year better than anyone else.

At the beginning of 1544 Salghar Shāh, the king of Ormuz, had sailed from Goa with Luis Falcão, the new captain of the fortress, and was reinstated by him in his kingdom with all due honor. In March, however, news came that he had been poisoned by his enemies, who feared his vengeance. Soon after this he died; and the captain, yielding to the desires of both the leaders and the common people of Ormuz, had his son, who was still a boy, proclaimed king as Turān Shāh.<sup>158</sup>

In April Dom Manuel Tabarija, the king of Maluco, had set sail for his distant island kingdom with his mother, stepfather, retinue, and the new captain of Ternate, Jurdão de Freitas. His object in sailing was to regain control of his kingdom and to win his subjects over to the Christian faith.<sup>159</sup>

In the treaty through which he had surrendered the provinces of Salsette and Bardez and the treasure of Asad Khān to the Portuguese, Ibrāhīm, the Adil Khān, had stipulated that the governor should send his rival, Mialī, to the distant Moluccas. In March, when the time for the departure of the clove ship was drawing near, he insisted through his ambassador that this provision be carried out. In order to quiet him, Martim Affonso interned his protégé in the fortress of Cannanore.<sup>160</sup> In October, however, he had him brought back to Goa. Since then Krishna, the *tanadar-mor*, and Galvão Viegas, as ambassador, had been staying at the court of Bijāpur, and it was rumored that the governor was willing to surrender Mialī for fifty thousand *pardaus*.<sup>161</sup>

The ambassador of the Adil Khān, following the orders of his lord, had let it be known that the money which Khoja Shams-ud-dīn had given to the governor was only a small fraction of his treasure, whereas the Moor in Cannanore had averred that it did not surpass a million *pardaus*. These reports left Martim Affonso in a state of constant tension,<sup>162</sup> especially since he was accused of letting himself be duped by the crafty Moor and had thus deprived his lord, the king, of the main portion of the treasure.<sup>163</sup> According to various

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.* 249.

<sup>158</sup> Correa IV 337-338 352 399-400. Couto has the king die at Ormuz in November, 1543. The governor thereupon sends Turān Shāh, who had been in prison in Goa, back to Ormuz with Luis Falcão (5, 10, 1 and 3). This is contradicted by Correa, by the \*letter of Raīs Rukn-ud-dīn of the end of 1543 (Q 1151), and by the \**alvará* of the governor of January 21, 1544, for the departing Luis Falcão (Q 1179).

<sup>159</sup> Sá I 421-422 551; cf. Rebello 499; EX I 341.

<sup>160</sup> Couto 5, 10, 2.

<sup>161</sup> Correa IV 341 400-402. That the rumor was based on fact is indicated by the letters of the governor D. Joam de Castro (*Cartas* 122-125) and of Pedro Fernandes Sardinha (SR III 255-256); cf. Couto 5, 10, 2.

<sup>162</sup> Couto 5, 10, 2, and 6.

<sup>163</sup> Q 1821 1304; Correa IV 340-341.



reports, this amounted to two, six, seven, eight, and even ten million *pardaus*.<sup>164</sup> At times he was also accused of filling his own pockets through secret agreements. After the rainy season the governor had therefore done everything he could to entice, or capture and bring, Shams-ud-dīn to Goa in order to get control of his treasure.<sup>165</sup> This was particularly ironic since he had himself brought him to Cannanore in March, 1544, and had recommended him to the protection of the rajah there.<sup>166</sup> In December, 1543, Shams-ud-dīn had already promised him 500,000 *pardaus*, and during this same month he had paid 300,000 of them in Cannanore in Xavier's presence, and another 200,000 in Goa in January, 1544; and in March Martim Affonso in Cannanore had squeezed another 250,000 out of him.<sup>167</sup>

At the beginning of August, when the sea was again navigable, he had sent his secretary of state, Cardoso, with Miguel Vaz and the interpreter Antonio Fernandes to Cannanore in order to fetch him. They landed secretly at night near the fortress; its captain pretended to be sick and asked Shams-ud-dīn to come to him. But the latter had got wind of the landing and excused himself on the grounds of an alleged illness. The result was that the three had to return to Goa empty handed.<sup>168</sup> A second attempt to persuade him to come on the part of Antonio Fernandes, who was trusted by the Moor, likewise fell through.<sup>169</sup> At the end of September, Martim Affonso therefore sent Shams-ud-dīn's great friend, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, and earnestly invited him to come to Goa for some days of vacation and to buy European wares. De Caminha's rhetoric succeeded in persuading his friend to sail back with him. The ship and seven thousand *pardaus* for expenses were both ready when Shams-ud-dīn backed off at the last moment. He gave his visitor the seven thousand *pardaus* "as slipper-money for the queen" and let him sail back alone.<sup>170</sup> But the governor did not give up. With the money he bought costly presents for the Moor and sent Gonçalves back to Cannanore in October with the same ship and had him tell Shams-ud-dīn that he had to speak personally with him about important matters. The latter, however, saw through the ruse and sent his visitor back to Goa with equally valuable gifts for the queen, Martim Affonso, and Gonçalves.<sup>171</sup>

Peres d'Andrade had come to Cochin in November with a ship from Portugal. After he had visited Martim Affonso in Goa and returned from there, he was given a letter by Shams-ud-dīn for the Portuguese king. When the governor learned of this,<sup>172</sup> he wrote to Belchior de Sousa, the commandant of the Malabar fleet, that he must get his hands on the Moor at all costs. Peres spoke

<sup>164</sup> Couto 5, 10, 6; Q 1629.

<sup>165</sup> On the five attempts of the governor see, in addition to Correa; Couto and \*Eça (37-38), the eyewitnesses Antonio Fernandes (Q 1595; the most detailed and important account) and Shams-ud-dīn (Q 1553 1636), and the testimonials of Cardoso and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha (Q 1677), and of A. Fernandes (Q 1733) in the notarial \*document which Martim Affonso had caused to be drawn up "because of the hatred of his enemies and the envy of his friends" (Q 1565), and the list of gifts (Q 1749).

<sup>166</sup> Correa IV 339-342; Sousa, *Autobiographia* 169-170; Q 1595 1207; Couto 5, 10, 1.

<sup>167</sup> Q 1595 1553 1207.

<sup>168</sup> Q 1595 1553; Correa IV 403-404.

<sup>169</sup> Q 1595.

<sup>170</sup> Q 1595 1553; Correa IV 411; Couto 5, 10, 6.

<sup>171</sup> Q 1677; Couto 5, 10, 6.

<sup>172</sup> Correa IV 413-414.

in confidence with the vizier Bakr Ali to secure his help in the matter.<sup>173</sup> He promised him in the name of the governor dominion over the Maldivé Islands, which his brother Mamale had had, in return for it. The vizier assured him that if Martim Affonso came he would bring Shams-ud-din to the customhouse so that he could be arrested. But when the governor came in the middle of December, Shams-ud-din had been warned, and this last attempt had thus also misfired. The vizier had betrayed everything to his fellow Moor.<sup>174</sup>

When Martim Affonso had brought Shams-ud-din to Cannanore in March, 1544, and had returned from there to Goa without him, he was generally blamed for having let the treasure which Adil Khān had bequeathed to the king of Portugal slip from his hands. It was further rumored that, in addition to what Sousa had obtained in Cannanore for the king, he had personally received rich gifts from Shams-ud-din and a million *pardaus* in secret and much more in jewels, including a precious diamond.<sup>175</sup> Before the voyage to Cannanore, the Dominican Frey Pedro Coelho,<sup>176</sup> who had come to India in 1539 with three companions and, instead of going with Bermudez to the Preste, had remained in Chaul,<sup>177</sup> had already alluded in a sermon in Goa to the greed and easy conscience of the governor. He declared that everything which God created was created to a fixed measure, both natural objects and virtues. There were, for example, men who were friends up to a certain point; but when this was passed they could no longer be friends. There were others who could be trusted with a certain sum, but when it went beyond this, to 100,000 or 500,000 *pardaus*, for example, they stole. In return for this allusion, Martim Affonso had his *physicus* give the friar an ominous warning. When the Dominican again let his tongue run freely after the governor's return from Cannanore, the latter had the moralist laden with chains and confined in the jail with common criminals and then interned in the Franciscan monastery, where he was forbidden to have any intercourse with others. The guardian, Frey Pedro de Atouguia, was angered by this action of the governor. He blamed the bishop for letting the matter slide and frequently argued with M.A. de Sousa about it.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>173</sup> Portuguese: Pocaralle.

<sup>174</sup> On this voyage, out of which Correa makes two, see Couto 5, 10, 7-8; Correa IV 414-415 421-423; and the data of those who took part in it, Vasco da Cunha (Q 1693), the anonymous author (Q 1821), and, in particular, Shams-ud-din (Q 1553) and Antonio Fernandes (Q 1595). The time of the voyage is given by the \*letter of Cardoso of December 16, 1544, and that of the governor of December 18, both being sent from Chaul (Q 1320 1322).

<sup>175</sup> Correa IV 340-341. The \*list of gifts which Shams-ud-din gave to Martim Affonso at different times after the death of Asad Khān is contained in a \*letter of the captain of Cannanore from information supplied by the donor dated in July, 1545 (Q 1749), and complemented by that furnished by Antonio Fernandes (Q 1595 1733), Cardoso, and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha (Q 1677). For earlier gifts see Correa III 869 and Q 1677.

<sup>176</sup> Frey Pedro Coelho was in the convent of Santarém when the king sent him and Bermudez to India in 1539 (Santos II 91). In 1546 John III ordered the governor to ascertain the goods that he had left behind (after he had been sent back) and to send them to his confreres in Portugal with the next fleet. On December 16 Castro replied that he had caused a search to be made in Chaul and Goa but had found nothing, and he had ordered the *vedor* in Cochín to do the same (*Cartas* 310-311). Faria y Sousa errs in stating that the vicar general of São Domingo, Frey Pedro, had been present with Xavier at the death of D. Joam de Castro (II, c. 5, n. 8). He confuses him with Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, vicar general of India. He was followed by Frey Jacintho da Encarnação, O.P. (SR V 374).

<sup>177</sup> Bermudez 7.

<sup>178</sup> See his \*letter from the conventual prison of November 1, 1544 (Q 1304), and also Q 1821 1611, and Correa IV 406.

The Turkish threat had fortunately not materialized this year. At the beginning of 1544 a letter had come from Ormuz stating that there were 150 vessels in Suez ready to sail for India in September; and in March another had come with the report that thirty galleons had left Suez, but apparently only for Aden. Nevertheless, after the rainy season, the governor had summoned all the citizens and *fidalgos* of Goa into the city hall for consultation and had declared that there were sound reasons for believing that the Turks were coming, since they already had their fleet at sea. The people should therefore embark and keep watch at the bar of Goa in order to anticipate a sudden attack upon the city. In October, however, the Jew Manasse, whom Martin Affonso had sent as a spy to the straits, returned from Ormuz and reported that the Turks had actually intended to come in September, but numerous deaths among them had prevented their sailing.<sup>179</sup>

At the beginning of 1545 a ship came from Malacca in the east with worse news. A Spanish fleet with 120 men under the command of General Ruy López de Villalobos had, despite the treaty of the Portuguese king with the emperor, appeared off Mindanao in 1543 and off the Moluccas at the beginning of 1544; and there, in spite of all protests, it had based itself under the protection of the sultan of Djailolo. In February, 1544, Dom Jorge de Castro, the captain of Ternate, had therefore sent Belchior Fernandes Correa with letters and copies of all the documents to India for the governor and the king so that the necessary measures could be taken.<sup>180</sup>

These were the chief events of the past year which the vicar general could relate. He could also inform Master Francis about the conditions in the Church in Portuguese India.<sup>181</sup> Miguel Vaz had come to Cochin in order to sail for Portugal.<sup>182</sup> He had to give the king a clear view of the state of the Church in his wide field of jurisdiction and to obtain from him orders needed for the suppression of abuses and the furthering of the faith in his Indian possessions, and missionaries for the extensive field of labor.

St. Paul's College in Goa was the central point for missionary endeavors. But it needed more personnel and a larger income, which the king could now easily give since Adil Khān had handed over to him the two mainland provinces of Salsette and Bardez with their rich revenues. This subsidy was all the more needed in that the college had to support not only its own residents but also laborers outside of it and schools throughout the entire island of Goa. Idolatry was a great injury to God. The king should therefore send an edict to Goa that would provide the death penalty for the making of idols out of stone, wood, copper, or other metals, for the public celebration of pagan feasts on the island, and for the sheltering of foreign preachers from the mainland. It

<sup>179</sup> Correa IV 336 342 404-407.

<sup>180</sup> See the \*letter of Martim Affonso of January 19, 1545 (Q 1366) and that of the captain of Ternate of February 10, 1544 (Sá I 385-400), and of Hairun of February 18 and of the factor of February 20 (*ibid.* 401-408). The \*copies of the documents mentioned in the captain's letter and sent along with it are still preserved (Q 1102-1103 1109-1112 1117-1118 1120-1122 1164 1170-1171 1175 1177 1181 1185 1190-1193 1195). On January 28, 1544, he ordered copies to be made for the governor (Q 1184). On the excitement which the news stirred up in India, see Correa IV 423.

<sup>181</sup> On the following see the memorial which Miguel Vaz handed over to the king in Portugal (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 220-260; in part also in DI I 63-89).

<sup>182</sup> The letter of recommendation of the cathedral chapter, dated December 3, 1544, praises his virtue, speaks of its great sorrow at losing him, and asks God for a successor who will imitate his saintly example (SR III 126-127).

should also give the directors of St. Paul's College the authority to search the homes of all the Brahmans and other pagans for images of their gods. Although Miguel Vaz had already obtained ordinances from the governors to this effect, still, for greater efficacy and continuity after the expiration of a governor's term of office, a document from the king to this effect was necessary.

A prime obstacle to the conversion of the pagans in Goa were the Sinai Brahmans. They kept the people from becoming Christians and were the main support of paganism. They were also a danger to the state in that during times of need they could not be trusted. They had shown this during the battles of Nuno da Cunha on the mainland, when they had treacherously supported the Moors against the Portuguese.<sup>183</sup> They were all the more dangerous in that they occupied the principal posts in the administration and could therefore exercise a heavy influence upon their countrymen. The king should banish these Sinai Brahmans, or at least the most prominent of them, from the island of Goa, for Miguel Vaz knew that some of them were only waiting for such a mandate in order to adopt Christianity. Although Martim Affonso had obtained an *alvará* that forbade any official's making use of these Brahmans, and this had been publicly proclaimed in Goa, still, because of the slight zeal for the faith that many of the inhabitants of Goa had, an order of the king was necessary. Thus, for example, the important office of broker was in the hands of the Brahman Anu Sinai, a great foe of the Christian faith; and he used his position in such a way that he perpetrated numerous tyrannies and acts of injustice to the disadvantage of the Christians. Further, the governor's interpreter for incoming and outgoing letters, which frequently contained matters of state importance that should be kept secret, was Dadaji, the son of Krishna, who boasted about his paganism. Their positions must be given to Christians, either Portuguese or native converts, for the service of God and of the king. This would contribute to the advantage of the faith and encourage conversions.

Moreover, Dadaji's father, Krishna, who was now an envoy at the court of Adil Khān, would have to be excluded from any dealings with the Portuguese. Although he had from his youth grown up among the Portuguese and had received so many favors and revenues from them and, as Vaz had heard from many, had promised the dying king Manuel that he would become a Christian, and had on this account received so many honors and advantages, he was nonetheless the most hardened pagan in Goa known to the vicar general. He used all the favors he had received against the Portuguese, and every day he sent cooked rice to the prison for the natives detained there.

The service of God and of the king also required that false worship should be abolished from his newly acquired provinces of Salsette and Bardez. The governor should therefore invite their representatives to come to him. He himself and others zealous for the faith should point out the errors in which they were living and let them know that it was a great offense to God that they gave their idols honors due to Him alone. If they were left in their errors, it would be to the ruin of their own souls and of Portuguese rule. Vaz was convinced that if the matter was handled in this way, they would not be offended. Even if at the beginning there was some dissatisfaction, this would be quickly dissipated by the gains obtained through their conversion. They would receive favors, honors, and justice, and would not be handed over to the Brahmans

<sup>183</sup> In 1535 and 1536, during the attack of the captains of Asad Khān.

Krishna and Gopu, who oppressed them as tax-collectors and were a constant source of complaint.

A further means of disposing the people to accept the faith would be to see to it that the poor people, who already had to pay large taxes on their own labors, were not compelled to drag the fleet onto land or let it down into the sea without compensation. Further, it was a grievous imposition that in Goa, if a native died without a male heir, the state confiscated his entire property, even if there were surviving daughters. Vaz had frequently urged the abolition of this brutal custom, and Martim Affonso had finally decreed that daughters could retain the mobile, and the state would take only the fixed, properties. Later he had limited the amount of the former that could be retained to the value of fifty *pardaus*. The king should at least decree that if these daughters were Christians they should receive everything, for this would encourage conversions. Further, the natives, when they became Christians, were immediately harassed by the tax-collectors, who demanded a tithe from them that they had never been accustomed to pay as pagans. In Goa and in the other fortresses the king should remit these taxes, at least for a fixed period of time, for this would influence many to receive baptism.

A further oppression to which the people were subject were the endless trials and prosecutions, during which the accused languished in prison while the matter was being investigated. Martim Affonso, at Xavier's suggestion, visited the prisons every month and gave an audience to the inmates. There he settled ordinary cases on the spot by word of mouth. The king should order the captains of the other outposts also to settle the ordinary cases without formal trials and thus save the accused from imprisonment.

The police, moreover, were too hard on the natives. They imposed numerous fines upon them, mostly without a formal condemnation, and for an insignificant scratch brought them to trial for the shedding of blood. Through the governor, Vaz had already had this forbidden. But the king should confirm this prohibition so that it would survive the change of governors. He should also order that no police officer should impose a fine on the native Christians in Cannanore, Chale, Cranganore, Cochin, and Quilon. The church warden should also not burden the native Christians with a fine if they worked once on a feast day, for the bishop should rule on this. The Portuguese brought slaves from the Coromandel Coast and other regions. Under a Christian master these became Christians without any difficulty. But to gain four *pardaus* more, they sold them to the Moors in Bhatkal, Dābhol, and other places, even in the fortresses of the king. This handed them over to the slavery of the devil, whereas as Christians they could save their souls. At Vaz's request the governor had forbidden under severe penalties the sale of these pagan slaves to Moors or other unbelievers, and the king should ratify this prohibition. The king should also forbid the usury that was permitted by the statutes of Goa, since this was contrary to all human and divine law, and he did not allow it in Portugal.

The king should in addition suppress another abuse in Goa. Pagan artists were accustomed to paint pictures of Christ, of the Mother of God, and of other saints and sell them from door to door. Vaz had forbidden this practice and had also had it proscribed by the governor. The leader of their caste, who surpassed the rest in his artistic ability, had promised the vicar general that he would sail with him to Portugal in order to become acquainted with good painters, to perfect himself in his craft, and to become a Christian. He

had painted many altarpieces for the churches and homes of the Portuguese and had made a great amount of money by this. His relatives, however, heard of his intent and persuaded him to flee to the mainland. Vaz thereupon had an edict posted through Martim Affonso which forbade the painting Christian pictures by pagans under the penalty of being flogged and losing their possessions. The king should confirm this prohibition, for the painters used their profits for their gods. It was better that the people should renounce such pictures and be content with those which came from Portugal. This would persuade the leaders of the caste to accept baptism.

Since the Brahmans of Goa went also to Bassein and Diu and strengthened the natives in their paganism, the king should also banish them from these places.

The Portuguese had already been in possession of Bassein for ten years, but as yet there had been no propagation of the faith there. In this large, fruitful, and densely populated region, which was fifteen leagues in breadth and one of the best possessions of the Portuguese in India, there was still not a single church, and the true faith had not yet been preached to these vassals of the king. Missionaries should be sent to erect churches instead of pagan temples and mosques. For this purpose the king should give an annual sum of two thousand *pardaus* from the revenues of the land, for hitherto the factors had been using three thousand of these to maintain the mosques and the religion of Mohammed.

In February, 1544, the vicar general had converted a number of pagans in the fortress of Chale. Their number would increase if there was anyone there to assist them. But the new converts had been completely abandoned. There was no one to instruct them, for no one wanted to pay a priest for them. There was no Misericordia or any other confraternity in the fortress that could have obtained the money. The Christians were themselves very poor and suffered from their needs. The king should give each year two hundred bags of rice for the priest. He could take these from the two thousand bags which he obtained as tribute from Bhatkal. Vaz had asked the governor for something less, but his request had not been heeded. The governor had been busy about other matters and did not have the zeal of a St. Paul, as was noted by the vicar general.

The vicar of Cranganore entrusted the instruction of the Thomas Christians in Cochin and its environs to a Malabar and to the seminary of Frey Vicente, which was educating others for the care of souls. The *casados* of Cochin felt that they were being injured by a regulation. When they came with their ships from Malacca, they had to sail on to Goa in order to pay the duties on their wares. The rajah of Cochin had taken their side and had asked the governor to quash this provision, but up to the present without success. What pained Vaz still more in this regard was that a half, or even the lion's share, of the profits did not accrue to the state but to Ramu, a pagan Brahman and a great foe of Christianity. Moreover, it was a public scandal that the parish church of Cochin, the oldest settlement of the Portuguese in India, still had only a straw roof. Although the vicar general had obtained permission from Martim Affonso in 1542 to have it replaced with a tile roof, like those of all the mosques and Hindu temples, the work had only been begun when it was abandoned. The high altar also lacked an altarpiece. Pedro Gonçalves, the *vigario*, had given Vaz the measurements for one so that he might ask the king in Portugal

for it. Also, the church in Quilon had still to be completed, especially in view of the many Thomas Christians who were living there.

For the present the fifteen thousand Christians in Socotra were being cared for by a Franciscan who had remained there. But the king should urge his confreres to make further efforts in their regard, and he should order the governor to drive the Moors from the island. They came from abroad, plundered the land, tyrannized the Christians, and took their daughters and forced them to become Mohammedans. Their leaders had already left the island before the friars came, and an order for the rest to leave would be sufficient.

In St. Paul's College there were a number of boys being educated for Preste Joam. The vicar general had read a little book there that had been written by Damião de Goes and printed in Louvain in 1540 under the title of *Fides, Religio, Moresque Aethiopum*. In it the author set forth the teachings of the Abyssinian church from data obtained from the Abyssinian ambassador Zagā Za Ab, who had died at Cochin in 1539. Vaz had discovered numerous errors in it and hoped that a detailed refutation of these would be written in Portugal so that it could be used to instruct the Abyssinian seminarians in Goa and be sent also to Abyssinia.

In São Thomé there was an imposing Portuguese colony about the greatly venerated tomb of the apostle Thomas. The clergy were very anxious to be stationed there, not however to preach the faith, but to engage in trade. The place needed zealous missionaries. If there were no priests of the Society of Jesus available for it, *Capuchos* would be sufficient. The town could support a half a dozen of them.

The other strongholds also had need of zealous missionaries of this type, especially Maluco, where many had only recently become Christians.<sup>184</sup> Since those who preached the faith had also at times to give material assistance to the new converts, who were abandoned by their countrymen at the time of their conversion, they needed a steady income. The king should see to it that forty *bahārs* of cloves from the Moluccas should be used each year for this. Similarly, the king should use forty *bahārs* of cinnamon from what was paid in tribute by the rajah of Kōttē for the support of the Franciscans in Ceylon. It had been learned in Cochin in January that Freitas had left Dom Manuel Tabarija, the Christian king of Maluco, in Malacca in order to pave the way for his arrival in Ternate. The Portuguese king should earnestly recommend this long neglected and abused prince to his governors.

In India there were two main obstacles to the spreading of the Christian faith: the greed of the Portuguese officials and the bad example of the Christians. Because of the greed of the former, a gambling den, "the Gaogao," had been leased for many years in Goa. And in Chaul there still was one. The king should send visitors to the newly won lands of the pagans and the Moors. These should give him a detailed account of all the existing abuses in these areas so that he might suppress them and show the inhabitants the difference between a Christian and a non-Christian rule. But instead of this the Portuguese in India had retained all the tyrannies of the Moors and had even added to them. To the scandal of the surrounding world they discovered new methods for despoiling and oppressing the people. To remedy this situation the king should be greatly concerned about the way his governors were acting. Only recently an official had suggested

<sup>184</sup> Meant are the conversions on the Moro Islands under Tristão de Ataide (1533-1536) and on Amboina and Mindanao under Galvão (1536-1539).

to Martim Affonso that the salary of the few artillerymen and constables, who were so vitally needed for the defense of India, should be reduced. Vaz had made a protest about this to the governor, especially since *laskars*, from pure necessity, because they were not being paid, were selling their weapons for a ridiculously low price to pagans and Moors. Master Francis could also tell the vicar general about the greed of the officials. When the Christians of Tuticorin were not engaged in pearl fishing, they fished for chanks, which found a good market in Bengal and were sold at a good price. But the captains of the Fishery Coast forced the Christians to sell them all their mussels for much less than the going rate so that they could enrich themselves in the process. The king should therefore order them to cease their tyranny and let the Christians sell their mussels to whom they wished.

A second obstacle to conversions was the bad example of the Christians. It was a grave nuisance that many married Portuguese men came to India. Having left their wives in Portugal, they led scandalous lives with other women. The king should therefore take care that the men he sent to India were either unmarried—and these were preferable for the fleet—or that they brought their wives with them.

These were some of the matters that the vicar general wished to present to the king in Portugal in order to bring a stop to abuses and to return to India as soon as possible with new helpers and the necessary faculties and orders from the king for the welfare of the Church in India.

Master Francis also wrote a letter to the king in which he warmly recommended the suggestions of the vicar general.<sup>185</sup> He noted that God the Lord had given him, the king, in preference to all other Christian rulers, possessions in India to test him and to see how faithfully he conducted the office entrusted to him and how grateful he was for the benefits he had received, less for the sake of their temporal advantages than for the fact that he was leading the infidels of these lands to a knowledge of their Creator and Redeemer so that they did not in their blindness continue to offend Him by their sins and fall into everlasting damnation.

Miguel Vaz, the vicar general, was sailing to Portugal in order to give him an account of the condition and the prospects of the Church in these regions and to propose means for promoting the faith. The king might send him back at once with the fleet of the following year for the protection and consolation of the Christians and to ease his own conscience, since he was handing over a heavy responsibility of his high office to this faithful and experienced man. Miguel Vaz would let no opportunity pass to protect and propagate the faith. He, Francis, therefore earnestly entreated His Royal Highness to order the vicar general to return to India, where he was so greatly desired and so needed for the promotion of the faith and the protection of the new converts, especially against the insults and oppressions of the royal officials. He was courageous and firm in resisting the persecutors of the Christians.

There was absolutely no question about the bishop's need of assistance. His body, weakened by age and sickness, was no longer a match for the demands of his pastoral office, even if his soul had retained its youthful vigor.

The greatest obstacle to the propagation of the faith in India came from the royal officials. He therefore earnestly implored the king to free his con-

<sup>185</sup> The letter to the king of January 20, 1545 (EX I 248-254), is, unfortunately, only preserved in the free Latin translation of Possinus.



science of this matter. Letters of pious advice were not enough. If his subordinates did not bother about his letters, he must punish them for this and thus confer the needed sanction upon his recommendations. Otherwise, if God called him from this life, which can happen when one least expects it, he would have to hear from His judgment seat: "Why did you not act against those subordinates who were My adversaries in India, whom you punished severely if they were negligent in the administration of your revenues and possessions?" It would be of little use for the king to reply: "Every year when I wrote to India I recommended to them what would contribute to Your divine service." The king should therefore send a special official to India whose only concern would be the salvation of countless souls that were in danger there of perishing. And this official should have the necessary authority to fulfill his duties and not be subject to the influence of other officials entrusted with taxes or other affairs of government. In this way the many lamentable failures and scandals under which Christianity had labored in the past would be avoided.

The king might have an exact accounting made of his Indian revenues and then reflect on what portion of these he should use for the service of God and religious affairs. In so doing he should not be mean and stingy with respect to the Creator of all things, who had given him such great wealth. His Royal Highness should do this at once and not put it off till later. For it seemed to him, Xavier, that he heard voices from these lands of India rising up to heaven which complained that His Highness treated them too miserly, since he used only a tiny bit of his enormous income to alleviate the endless needs of these regions. To encourage the king in this, Master Francis gave him a quick review of the condition of the Church and the hopes there were for it in the territories that had been entrusted to His Highness.

In Jaffnapatam and on the coast of Quilon more than one hundred thousand souls could easily be won for the Church of Christ before the end of the year.<sup>186</sup> He was not speaking of the island of Ceylon. If God would only grant that the great affection which His Majesty had shown for its king would mellow him so that he did not exclude Jesus Christ so obstinately from every quarter of his realm!<sup>187</sup>

His Highness should send as many members of the Society of Jesus as possible to India so that there would not only be enough to baptize and instruct the many candidates in these regions, but also that there would be some who could be sent to Malacca and its neighboring lands, where many had already become Christians. Mestre Diogo and Misser Paulo had written at length about the College of St. Paul. He therefore only asked the king to encourage Cosme Anes not to become remiss in his care for this new foundation but to bring the work to completion. In addition to God's blessing, he should indicate to him the reward he deserved for this. With the converts that had been made by Miguel Vaz on Cape Comorin, there were now in addition to himself and Mansilhas three native priests. The college of Cranganore, the work of Frey Vicente, was growing in a gratifying manner. If the king should continue to show it his favor, there were reasons for hoping that within a few years heralds

<sup>186</sup> From this Polanco erroneously concluded that Xavier had baptized 100,000 in a single year (MI Epp. X 405; cf Schurhammer, "Taufen" 36). The suspension of the expedition nullified this pious hope.

<sup>187</sup> On January 20 Xavier did not yet know that Bhuvaneka Bāhu had had Prince Jugo slain.

of the faith would go forth from this college to bring the light of Christ to the whole of Malabar, sunk at present in vices and errors. The king might therefore grant Frey Vicente the alms he requested. He closed his letter as follows:

Since I hope to end my life in these regions of India and shall never see Your Majesty again in this life, I ask you, My Lord, to assist me with your prayers so that we may see each other in the next life with certainly more tranquility than we have at present. Ask God our Lord for the same grace for me that I ask for Your Majesty, namely, that He give you in this life the grace of thinking and doing that which you will rejoice to have done at the hour of your death. From Cochin, the twentieth of January, 1545.

Your Highness' servant,

Franciscus.

##### 5. SAVING THE ABYSSINIANS (1541-1544)<sup>188</sup>

From the book of Francisco Alvarez, which he had obtained and read in Lisbon,<sup>189</sup> Master Francis had learned of the land of Preste Joam and what had happened during the embassy of Dom Rodrigo de Lima. Before he departed for India, King John III had given him a number of letters, including one of recommendation from the pope for David, the king of the Abyssinians.<sup>190</sup> Oppressed by the Moors and in direst straits, he had asked the help of the pope and of the Portuguese king.<sup>191</sup> On his voyage to India Xavier had learned in Mozambique that the governor, Dom Estevão da Gama, had sent his own brother, Dom Christovão da Gama, with four hundred picked men to his assistance.<sup>192</sup>

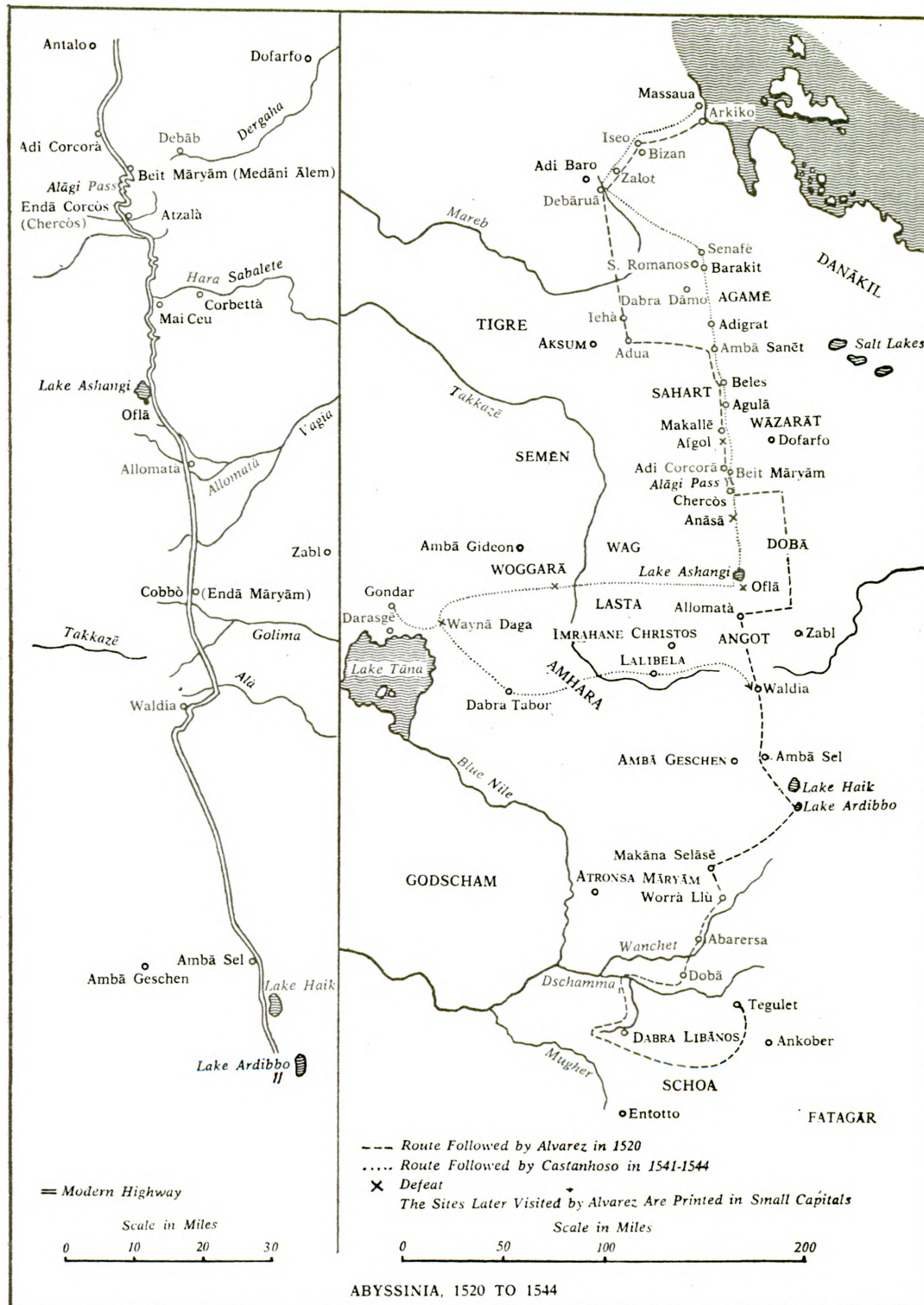
<sup>188</sup> The principal account, that of Castanhoso, was written in Abyssinia and is extant in two different drafts. The first is given by Correa (IV 343-397) from a copy which Castanhoso gave him in Goa in 1544. The second, in which he struck out some of the harshness, altered some, and added other, data, he presented to John III in 1545 in Portugal along with a letter from the Preste (Q 2039). A reworked edition of this appeared in Lisbon in 1564 and 1855, and in Porto in 1933. An accurate edition of it from a copy of the eighteenth century, in which the gaps in the edition of 1564 are completed within square brackets was published with an excellent commentary by Esteves Pereira in *Dos Feitos de D. Christovam da Gama* (1898). A German translation, also with a valuable commentary, is given by Littmann (1907). Couto gives a summary account "from a copy made in Abyssinia, witnessed by two of his companions as being true" (5, 7, 10-11; 5, 8, 7-8 13-14; 5, 9, 4; 5, 10, 4). Other sources are Paez, who also spoke with an Abyssinian companion of D. Christovão (Beccari II 293-343); Barradas, who collected local remembrances and spoke with eyewitnesses (*ibid.* IV 120 277-286); and Almeida, "following Paez" (*ibid.* V 270-319). Castanhoso is completed by Bermudez' *Breve Relação*, (Lisboa, 1565), but this must be read with great care. It was attacked by Almeida (Beccari V 327-332). For further details see also the Ethiopian chronicles (Conzelmann 130-137; Béguinot 27-30), Q 666-667 (1542) 825 852 867 1037 (to be dated in 1543) 1044 1163 1227 1241 1247 1305 1511 2039 2040 2046 2356 4547 4567 6001, the letter of D. Christovão from Ambā Sanēt of March 10, 1542 (Q 916a), and the *Copia* of 1546. New accounts are given by Coulbeaux II 119-126; Kammerer III 139-160; Doresse II 292-308. See also Vol. I 695; above, pp. 89-93; and map, p. 507, on which we give in addition to the route taken by Castanhoso the one taken by Francisco Alvarez in 1520. His text is given in an English translation with a distinguished commentary and valuable maps by C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford under the title of *The Prester John of the Indies* (Hakluyt Society, sec. ser., vols. 114-115: Cambridge, 1961).

<sup>189</sup> Vol. I, 679-693.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.* 696 713 714.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.* 695.

<sup>192</sup> See above, p. 92.



Since then he had attentively followed all the news that came about this Christian kingdom in the interior of Africa.<sup>193</sup> On the Fishery Coast he had frequently spoken with Mansilhas of his longing to go to the land of Preste Joam and labor there for Christ and for the salvation of its people and, if it pleased God, to die there as a martyr.<sup>194</sup>

In Cochín Xavier now met a man who better than any other could give him an account of the land of his desires and of the achievements of Dom Christovão da Gama. This was one of the latter's fellow soldiers, Captain Miguel de Castanhoso.<sup>195</sup> A bullet had struck him in his left arm and had caused an open wound which the native physicians in Abyssinia could not heal. No longer able to fight,<sup>196</sup> he had received permission from the Preste, King Galāwdēwos, the son and successor of King David, to return home. He had reached Goa the previous April, 1544, and was now on the point of sailing to Portugal.<sup>197</sup> He had received a letter of recommendation from the Preste, a narrow strip of parchment with the text written in red and black ink in the vigorous Abyssinian script. At its beginning was an image of the Crucified.<sup>198</sup> Castanhoso himself had also written a long and luminous account of his experiences in Abyssinia, of the heroic deeds of Dom Christovão da Gama and his men, and of the freeing of that Christian kingdom by the Portuguese from the yoke of the Moors.<sup>199</sup>

On July 9, 1541, Dom Christovão da Gama had set out from Massaua with 400 trusted followers, 130 slaves,<sup>200</sup> and the people of Bāhr-Nagāsh, the governor of the maritime province,<sup>201</sup> who had brought camels, mules, and drivers for the transport of the Portuguese guns and provisions. They were accompanied by two priests for saying Mass<sup>202</sup> and the patriarch Bermudez,<sup>203</sup> who had accompanied the embassy of Dom Rodrigo de Lima as a physician.<sup>204</sup> This had been sent by King David in 1535, when he was sorely beset by the Moors, to ask the help of the pope and of the king of Portugal.<sup>205</sup> Bermudez maintained that the Preste had nominated him to become the successor of the *abuna* Markos, that the latter had consecrated him, and that the pope had confirmed him in his position of patriarch of Alexandria.<sup>206</sup> Six nights they marched through a

<sup>193</sup> See above, pp. 161 196 364.

<sup>194</sup> EX I 235; MX II 318.

<sup>195</sup> On Castanhoso see Esteves Pereira, pp. XXXVIII-XLIII. Born in Santarém, he came from a distinguished Spanish family. From 1539 to 1541 he had a monthly income of 1,300 *reis*. In 1548 the king gave him the habit of Christ with a commendary which furnished him with an income of seventy *milreis* in 1551. He sailed again to India in 1554, where he is mentioned in 1555. He was married to D. Violante da Serra, who bore him a son Affonso. He died in 1564 or 1565.

<sup>196</sup> Castanhoso 71 74; letter of Galāwdēwos (Q 1163).

<sup>197</sup> Castanhoso 74; Q 1305.

<sup>198</sup> Q 1163, and pl. XVII; cf. Kammerer III 50, n. 2, and pl. XX.

<sup>199</sup> We follow, if it is not otherwise indicated, the first draft (Correa) and amplify it with the second (Castanhoso), which was perhaps only written after Castanhoso's encounter with Xavier. If Francis did not read the account, its contents must still reflect what he heard from its author. The *Copia* of 1546, which goes back to data furnished by Miguel Vaz, shows that he also had received information from Castanhoso, with whom he sailed to Portugal.

<sup>200</sup> Correa IV 347.

<sup>201</sup> Yeshāq (Isaac).

<sup>202</sup> Castanhoso 73.

<sup>203</sup> On Bermudez see Vol. I 695 (with bibliography).

<sup>204</sup> Alvares 4 and 8.

<sup>205</sup> Vol. I 695-696.

<sup>206</sup> So stated by Bermudez in his *Breve Relação* (3 and 127). Castanhoso always

glowing hot plain. Then they began a steep climb into the high mountains. Here, as later throughout the campaign, Dom Christovão was the first to help in carrying the guns and munitions on his shoulders over the difficult terrain when this proved to be necessary.<sup>207</sup>

On July 20 they reached a very large village with stone houses and terraced roofs.<sup>208</sup> Here the monks came out to meet them in procession with crosses in their hands. They thanked God that He had sent them as saviors to free them from their fourteen years of servitude to the Moors, who had destroyed all their churches and monasteries; and with loud cries they urged Dom Christovão to take vengeance on these foes of the Christian faith.

The day after their arrival a council of war was held, in which Bähr-Nagāsh and two Abyssinian captains also took part.<sup>209</sup> Their plan of continuing at once with their march in order to join forces with the army of the Preste before encountering the Moors was discarded as being unfeasible. The rainy season was at hand. For three months the roads and rivers would be impassable.

calls him "patriarch," and Galāwdēwos \*wrote to the pope on January 24, 1542: "We have placed John, whom you presented to us and gave us as *abuna*, upon the patriarchal throne" (Q 666-667). The Ethiopian letter was obtained from a Florentine antiquarian in 1903. It was published by H. Duensing in 1904 in the *Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, pp. 37-93, with an old Latin translation, and given to the Vatican Library in 1906 (*Vat. Aethiop.* 75). Duensing reckoned the date "January 24, 6578, since the creation of the world in the period of the evangelist Mark" as being January 24, 1541. But Petrus Tasfā Seion, the learned superior of the Abyssinian monastery of S. Stefano in Rome, in the second edition of his *Modus baptizandi* (Q 5095a), printed in Louvain in 1550, gives the correct Ethiopian date: "anno a Christo nato, scilicet nato MDXLII, qui incidit in VIII. pontificatus Pauli Tertii." Grébaut-Tisserant, because of the color of the parchment and of the ink, the character of the writing, the form *Rōmā* instead of *Rōmē*, and the lack of a seal, think it is a copy made in Europe (*Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani* [Vaticano, 1935] 283). According to Conti-Rossini the letter contains "si gravi e marchioni spropositi linguistichi" that he does not believe it was written by a scribe at the court of the Negus ("Portogallo ed Etiopia," *Relazioni storiche fra l'Italia e il Portogallo* [Roma, 1940] 332). But perhaps these defects may be explained by similar errors in a letter partially written also at the beginning of 1544 from Sion in Dāmot. Since 1542 the Negus and a few loyal followers had been wandering through the forests in flight from the Moors. Only in 1544, with the help of the Portuguese, did he free his ruined country from them. However this may be, the stupid, intransigent attitude of the alleged patriarch, whom Galāwdēwos only met eight months later, moved the Negus to ask the pope and the king of Portugal for a true patriarch (Q 1241 1511 2040 2356 2459). When he failed to appear, the Negus had a successor of the deceased *abuna* Marcus come. Bermudez, as he himself writes, from then on was only treated as the patriarch of the Portuguese (Bermudez 95). In 1556, when he returned to Goa from Abyssinia, he told João Nunes Barreto that he had been consecrated as patriarch, that he had been accepted as such in Lisbon and Goa, and that he had lost the bulls of Paul III referring to his consecration in the warehouse of D. Christovão (DI III 515-517; Bermudez 127). Bermudez wrote that during the expedition, and especially during the last two years, he had on most days said Mass and heard confessions (121; cf. 40). But the Portuguese who returned to Goa from Abyssinia in 1552 declared that during the twelve years he had been with the Portuguese he had not said Mass or heard confessions (Beccari X 29), and that since 1552 the Portuguese there were without Mass, confession, and the other sacraments (*ibid.* 37-38; DI III 215). We shall see later that Bermudez' claim that he had been chosen to be patriarch in Rome and was recognized as such in Portugal was a pure invention on his part.

<sup>207</sup> Correa IV 345 354.

<sup>208</sup> Debarua.

<sup>209</sup> One of these was Azmāch Robēl (Bermudez 16 28; Beccari IV 120 285).

Two months before the Preste had suffered a severe defeat from the Moors<sup>210</sup> and had withdrawn with a few of his people to a safe mountain in the south of his kingdom three hundred leagues from where the Portuguese presently were.<sup>211</sup> The rest of his subjects had to a large extent passed over to the Moors, and their ruler, the king of Zeila,<sup>212</sup> was in control of the whole land. As a consequence, it would be necessary to continue their march without the help of the Negus and to fight the Moorish captains and the Moorish king himself without his help. In order to obtain the support of the natives, it would be necessary to have Queen Sabla Wangēl, the mother of Preste Galāwdēwos,<sup>213</sup> in their midst. She had found refuge in an inaccessible stronghold in the mountains a day's journey away. To enter it one had to be drawn up in a basket attached to leathern thongs.<sup>214</sup> She was therefore brought to the camp riding on a mule covered by a canopy with hanging curtains and accompanied by a retinue of thirty women and fifty men. She wore a white dress made of fine Indian material and a mantle embroidered with flowers and a veil that left only her eyes free. Bāhr-Nagāsh led her mule by its bridle. In keeping with the custom of the land, he had thrown a lion's pelt over the bare upper part of his body.

Winter quarters were set up near the city in Zelten, and Dom Christovão maintained strict discipline within it. A reward was set up for the head of a fugitive slave; when a Portuguese left the camp in order to go secretly to the Preste and be the first to inform him of the coming of the relief forces, he had both of his hands cut off and was driven from the camp.<sup>215</sup> One month after their arrival a messenger appeared with a letter of the Negus, in which he expressed his joy over the coming of the Portuguese and told Dom Christovão that they should both move towards each other to unite their forces.

But only on December 15<sup>216</sup> could the Portuguese begin their march towards the south with the queen and her following—men, women, priests, monks, and two hundred Abyssinian soldiers. Christmas was celebrated in a mountain retreat of Bāhr-Nagāsh<sup>217</sup> to the sound of drums, cymbals, flutes, and trumpets. The Portuguese went to confession and received the Body of the Lord at the Christmas Mass. The queen, contrary to all court ceremonial, disguised herself and secretly slipped into the tent where the Mass was being held in order to witness the ceremonies, and she was greatly pleased with them.

<sup>210</sup> On April 24, 1541, Garād Omar defeated him at Sahart in the province of Tigre (Esteves Pereira 79-80).

<sup>211</sup> In the province of Shoa, as is indicated by Galāwdēwos (Q 4567); more precisely at Guēndbarāt according to Paez (Beccari III 19); or in Tēgulet according to tradition (Kammerer III 36).

<sup>212</sup> Ahmed ibn Ibrāhīm, called "Granhe" (Left-handed), emir of Harar. On him see Vol. I 694-695 and above, pp. 90 197 364 392.

<sup>213</sup> On Sabla Wangēl, the mother of Galāwdēwos (Claudius), see above, p. 90.

<sup>214</sup> Dabra Dāmo, described at length by Castanhoso (Correa IV 348 349), Couto (5, 7, 10), and Barradas (Beccari IV 279-280). See also Littmann 105-106; picture in Doresse I 184.

<sup>215</sup> The second draft omits this.

<sup>216</sup> Already in October according to Couto (5, 2, 7).

<sup>217</sup> In the second draft it is said that they celebrated Christmas, which the Abyssinians call Cabelaa, at this fortress (Castanhoso 15). In Correa this becomes: "The mountain where our men celebrated Christmas is called Caboa" (IV 354). Couto states that they came to a mountain which they call *o Gane* (5, 8, 7). The day before the beginning of a great feast is called *Qabalā*, and thus also the day before Christmas (Littmann 109).



On New Year's Day, 1542, they started out again on a three-day march over a lofty mountain, where the oxen could hardly drag the wagons with the weapons and munitions. At different places the men had to carry everything on their shoulders. They finally came to a city with white houses, flat roofs, and a chapel high up on the steep slope of a mountain that contained the mummified remains of thirty saints bound up in thirty leathern sacks. According to tradition they had come to this land during Roman times and had there suffered martyrdom.<sup>218</sup>

On the other side of the city lay the province of Agamē,<sup>219</sup> located on a high plateau. Its governor had passed over to the Moors and fled. His brother, who had always remained faithful to the Preste, was given his position by the queen; and people came from all the villages to tender him their obedience. The feast of the Epiphany was celebrated here, and the queen and her followers, including the priests and monks, in accordance with Abyssinian custom, took a bath in the river before the Solemn Mass began.<sup>220</sup>

As they continued on their way, numerous captains who had fled to the surrounding mountains came down to join the Portuguese when they learned that they were passing through the country with the queen. At the beginning of February they came within sight of an extremely strong mountain fortress, called Beçanete,<sup>221</sup> which a Moorish captain of the king of Zeila had occupied with fifteen hundred archers and targeteers. It was thought to be impregnable, and the Moors had only been able to take it by trickery. Each of the three entrances was guarded by five hundred men, and the last of these could only be approached barefooted with the help of spears and under a constant danger of death.<sup>222</sup> Dom Christovão decided to take the height so as not to leave any foes in the rear despite the entreaties of the queen that he refrain from such a foolhardy and hopeless enterprise. At dawn they all recommended themselves to the most blessed Virgin, whose feast was being celebrated that day.<sup>223</sup> They recited the *Confiteor* before a crucifix which a priest held in his hand, and the patriarch gave them absolution. Then, under the cover of their artillery and guns, they made a simultaneous attack on the three approaches to the fortress. Dom Christovão was one of the first to push against the most dangerous of

<sup>218</sup> The chapel of São Romanos between Barakit and Senafè (Kammerer III 145-146; picture 144; Littmann 109-112; Esteves Pereira 86-87).

<sup>219</sup> The province south of Tigre with its capital of Adigrat.

<sup>220</sup> Alvarez describes the repetition of the baptismal ceremonies on the feast of the Epiphany (c. 95). See also Esteves Pereira 87; Littmann 112.

<sup>221</sup> Ambā Sanēt, not far from Ambā Sion, south of Adigrat, in the region of Haramāt, described by Alvarez (5, 41), Castanhoso (Correa IV 355-356), Perez (Beccari II 300), and Barradas (*ibid.* IV 277-278). After the storming of the fortress, two Portuguese who had been sent by Manuel de Vasconcellos, who had arrived with five *fustas*, came here at the end of February (Castanhoso 25) or the beginning of March (Correa IV 360). On March 10, 1542, D. Christovão wrote a letter from here to his king (ARSI: *Goa 10*, 428-429; Q 916a), which he gave with many others to the two men for Vasconcellos. When they reached Massaua, Vasconcellos had already sailed away, but he had left Manuel da Fonseca with a *fusta*, who probably brought the letters to India (see above, pp. 196-268). In his writings D. Christovão also mentions the two letters which he received from the Preste.

<sup>222</sup> Barradas learned from the natives that an Abyssinian monk had led fifty of the Portuguese to the fortress along an unknown path that was more suitable for cats and monkeys than for men. In this way they were able to attack the Moors from the rear (Beccari IV 278).

<sup>223</sup> February 2, the feast of the Presentation.

these. None of the fifteen hundred Moors were left alive, and many Christian women who had been imprisoned were freed. The victory had cost the Portuguese eight dead and forty wounded. Dom Christovão sent the numerous Moorish women who had been captured to the queen, and she had them all immediately slain.<sup>224</sup> They remained here for a month until the wounded had recuperated. The mosque was dedicated as a church to Nossa Senhora da Victoria, and their fallen companions were buried within it.<sup>225</sup>

At the beginning of March they renewed their march.<sup>226</sup> The month was coming to an end when they received a second letter from the Preste, who advised them to hurry so that they could unite their forces before they encountered the king of Zeila, for it would be very dangerous to fight alone against his superior forces. But it was already too late. Two days after they had received the letter, the army of the Moors came suddenly into view—fifteen thousand archers and fifteen hundred cavalymen, among whom were two hundred Turkish arquebusiers. A violent battle ensued.<sup>227</sup> Dom Christovão had been wounded in the leg and the battle seemed to be already lost when a shot struck the king of Zeila and killed his horse. The foe then made a hasty retreat. Four of the leading captains of the Moors had fallen in the encounter. Fifty of the Portuguese were wounded, and their surgeon had been injured in the right hand. D. Christovão took over his work. Only after he had taken care of all the rest did he think of himself. The queen and her women bound up the wounds of the injured with their veils and cared for the Portuguese as if they had been their own sons. A second battle twelve days later ended in a similar victory for the Portuguese, even though the enemy had been strengthened by three thousand foot soldiers and five hundred cavalymen under the command of Garād Omar.<sup>228</sup> The Moors had lacked artillery, and Omar had fallen on the field of battle. In the two encounters the small Portuguese force lost thirty men. Fourteen others, including Castanhoso, were severely wounded. They therefore had to remain for a month in a mountain fortress of Tigremahon,<sup>229</sup> the governor of the province, in order to regain their strength.

Dom Christovão, on the other hand, supported by the five hundred infantry-

<sup>224</sup> The sentence is omitted in the second draft.

<sup>225</sup> Their graves are still extant in Enda Ghorghis, near Nebelet (Doresse II 302).

<sup>226</sup> By way of "Jarte" (Castanhoso 26), which probably means *Sahart* (Littmann 113; Paez in Beccari II 305; Kammerer III 249).

<sup>227</sup> Near Afgol according to Paez (Beccari II 306) and Barradas (*ibid.* IV 283-285), who repeats the traditions of the people who were living in the area at the time. This was a town between Antalo and Chelikut. The chronicle of the Galāwdēwos says of this slaughter: "In this year the children of Tubal [the Portuguese] marched up from the sea. They were bold and courageous men who thirsted after battle like wolves and after slaughter like lions. They helped the Christians in this war against the Mohammedans, and they began with a siege" (Conzelmann 130).

<sup>228</sup> The same leader who had besieged Galāwdēwos on April 24, 1541, near Sahart (Esteves Pereira 91). The "Short Chronicle" places the battle near Anada and has the date as March 25 (Béguinot 28). Coulbeaux places it at Anatsa, Bruce at Ainal (Coulbeaux II 121), Esteves Pereira at Aynaba (90), Trimmingham at Anāsā between Ambā Alāgi and Lake Ashangi (*Islam in Ethiopia* [London, 1952] 89). The "Short Chronicle," however, makes one battle out of the two, so that the site probably corresponds to the second place of battle, which according to Bermudez was in the area of Nazareth. According to Doresse this village was in the foothills of the Ambā Alāgi massif. A local tradition maintains that D. Christovão stopped at this church (II 304).

<sup>229</sup> Tigre Makuannen. According to Bermudez it was used for the fortress of the Azmāch Robēl (43).



and thirty cavalrymen of Bähr-Nagāsh, pursued the enemy for ten days,<sup>230</sup> until the latter found a place of refuge on a mountain on the eastern border of Abyssinia,<sup>231</sup> where they had free access to the sea and could wait for the end of the rainy season. Here in the south this had already set in at the end of April. The Portuguese therefore also set up their winter camp near Oflā,<sup>232</sup> west of the mountain of the Moors.

Dom Christovão sent Aires Dias from here to the Preste to announce the victory. Dias was a mulatto married to a woman in Cannanore.<sup>233</sup> He had already taken part in the embassy of Dom Rodrigo de Lima and thus spoke Abyssinian fluently. In August, towards the end of the rainy season, Dom Christovão set out with a hundred men and, after crossing the Takkazē on rafts, came to the Mountain of the Jews,<sup>234</sup> which was held by a Moorish captain by the name of Sid Ahmed<sup>235</sup> with four thousand infantry- and three hundred cavalrymen.<sup>236</sup> The Moorish leader fell in battle with many of his men. The rest fled and were almost all slain by the Jews, some twenty thousand of whom lived in the surrounding villages.<sup>237</sup> The former captain, who was himself a Jew, regained his stronghold and, as an expression of gratitude, he and his twelve brothers, all village chiefs, became Christians. The victors began their return with eighty captured horses. In order to move more rapidly, Dom Christovão had the animals come after him with thirty men.<sup>238</sup> He and the rest of the troops marched ahead day and night since he had a presentiment of disaster. His fears were justified. On the same night that he arrived at his camp, Turkish auxiliary forces which the king of Zeila had requested from the pasha of Zebid in Arabia entered that of the Moors—eight hundred arquebusiers, thirty of whom were mounted, and ten field guns.<sup>239</sup>

The next day Dom Christovão realized what had happened when the enemy approached and fired their first cannon ball into the camp. The following day, August 28,<sup>240</sup> the foe returned in full force. In the first line of battle were

<sup>230</sup> Castanhoso 38.

<sup>231</sup> In the Zabl Mountains southeast of Lake Ashangi according to the Abyssinian chronicles.

<sup>232</sup> The name is given by the second draft (Castanhoso 38) and the "Short Chronicle" (Béguinot 28).

<sup>233</sup> Bermudez calls him a "homem pardo natural de Coimbra" (11). Galāwdēwos mentions this embassy (Esteves Pereira 138). On Aires Dias see *ibid.* 93-94.

<sup>234</sup> According to Paez he went to Wātī in Semēn, the mountain of the Jews (Beccari II 329). In the edition of Castanhoso of 1564 this is called *Gimen* (Cf. Littmann 117-118; Kammerer III 149-150). On the mountain of the Jews and the Falāsha Jews, see above, p. 90.

<sup>235</sup> According to Bermudez, D. Christovão took Ahmed's beautiful wife as his booty; and his death was, according to the same source, a punishment of God for these "sensualidades" (34-36).

<sup>236</sup> The second draft has three thousand foot soldiers and four hundred cavalrymen (Castanhoso 42).

<sup>237</sup> The second draft has ten to twelve thousand (*ibid.*); Couto has eight thousand (5, 8, 13).

<sup>238</sup> Under the command of Affonso Caldeira (Couto 5, 8, 13).

<sup>239</sup> On March 10, 1542, D. Christovão wrote of four hundred Turks and Arabs that had been sent by the pasha of Zebid. Another eight hundred Turks had now come up. Couto is therefore wrong in having a thousand Turks come from Zebid after the second battle (5, 8, 13). Paez wrote that some said that the pasha sent seven hundred, and others that he sent nine hundred men (Beccari II 316). In 1551 Galāwdēwos spoke of more than six hundred (Esteves Pereira 138). In addition to these there gradually arrived during the rainy season six hundred Arab and Persian archers (Correa I 372).

<sup>240</sup> On the date see Esteves Pereira 96-97, and Littmann 119.

a thousand Turks with guns and cannons. A mortal combat was engaged. A shot struck Dom Christovão in the leg. Unmindful of his wound, he fought with heroic courage at the front of his men, riding from place to place to encourage them. The battle raged back and forth from dawn until late in the afternoon. Four of the five Portuguese captains and most of their men had fallen, and almost all the rest were wounded and completely exhausted when a second shot broke the right arm of their leader. Further fighting was out of question. The Moors were already entering the Portuguese camp when the patriarch Bermudez fled upon a mule. The other survivors also sought refuge on different parts of the mountain that rose steeply behind them, where they could not be pursued by the enemy's cavalry. The queen and her women, who had been attending the wounded, fled with them. Dom Christovão, helpless as he was, did not wish to survive the defeat and wanted to die on the field of battle. He was forced against his will, however, to follow the others on a mule with fourteen companions until the falling darkness separated friends and foes.

When day dawned, Dom Christovão had disappeared. The following day the thirty men who had been earlier left behind with the eighty horses arrived. Some days later, when more than 120 Portuguese had already gathered around the queen, one of the fourteen companions of Dom Christovão showed up with the sad news that he and the others had fallen into the hands of the Moors. From a second companion who had escaped from imprisonment, they learned the tragic end of their leader.<sup>241</sup> As he was being taken off to the Moorish camp, he was sorely mistreated. Grievously wounded as he was, his tormentors pulled out the hairs of his beard, pushed him and struck him, and spit into his eyes. When he came to the tent of the king of Zeila, the latter had the heads of two hundred Portuguese struck off before him. He then had him stripped and his hands bound together at his neck. He was then led through the camp, lashed with whips, and struck in the face with the sandals of the Negro slaves. Before the entrance to the tent of their captains they ordered him to make a salaam. For this they pulled him down to the ground with a rope and struck him repeatedly until he stood up again. The Moorish king had Dom Christovão's beard twisted into a wick, smeared with wax, and set on fire. He had his eyebrows and eyelashes and here and there the flesh supporting them torn out with the tongs that his prisoner had sent him in ridicule. The Portuguese captain bore all this with great constancy, asking God to forgive him his sins, until the barbarian struck off his head with his own hand. A spring broke forth on the spot, where numerous Christians were later miraculously cured. In a monastery of Abyssinian monks a tree withered on the day of his martyrdom and began to flourish again only after the Portuguese had slain the king of Zeila. The eight hundred Turks on the other hand were angry that they had not been given the captain so that he could be sent to their sultan in Constantinople. They

<sup>241</sup> On the capture and death of P. Christovão, see, in addition to Castanhosa, Bermudez, who has much that is new but must be used with caution (39-47). Barradas gives new details from the data of eyewitnesses (Beccari IV 285-286). Barreto provides others from Abyssinian traditions in 1627 (*ibid.* XII 211-213). In 1551 Galāwdēwos wrote that D. Christovão had died in battle against the Moors as a brave martyr of Christ (Esteves Pereira 138). His chronicle states that Imām Ahmed slew him, the brave hero, whose heart was like iron and steel, in a despicable manner after he had captured and bound him, a treatment that was only deserved by the weak and cowardly (Conzelmann 130). Vasco da Cunha also speaks of his "hero's death" in his letter to the king from Goa of November 6, 1544 (Q 1305).

returned to Zebid with the head of Dom Christovão and his captured companions.<sup>242</sup> The Moorish leader stationed his captains throughout the land and withdrew with his wife to the lake of the Nile,<sup>243</sup> since he was of the opinion that all the Portuguese were dead and the war was over.

But he was mistaken in this. The queen soon learned through her spies that Manuel da Cunha, the only surviving captain of Dom Christovão, had withdrawn into the territory of Bähr-Nagāsh with sixty men,<sup>244</sup> where they were well received. After the mourning for the dead, she consoled the Portuguese and promised them that her son would soon reward them for their toil. They in turn replied that they would serve her as their lady until death. They all then marched to the Mountain of the Jews to wait for the coming of the Preste. He arrived twenty days later<sup>245</sup> with a few of his men and learned to his great sorrow of the death of his rescuer and generously provided the survivors with all their needs.

When his subjects learned of his arrival, they came together from all sides, and by Christmas he already had eight thousand infantry- and five hundred cavalymen about him.<sup>246</sup> Now that the Preste again had an army, the Portuguese went to him and offered their help in order to avenge the death of their leader. The Negus was at first hesitant to accept the offer of the Portuguese because of their small number,<sup>247</sup> but he finally did so and sent messengers to Bähr-Nagāsh, ordering him to send Manuel da Cunha with his men and as many of the auxiliaries as possible and the weapons which Dom Christovão had left in the queen's fortress in the mountains. When he learned that they were on their way, he set out on February 6, 1543, with ten thousand foot, and six hundred mounted, men to find the king of Zeila, since he had learned that the latter had only two hundred Turks and a few other troops with him. The queen, however, was left behind on the Mountain of the Jews under the protection of the people there, all of whom had become Christians.

On their way the army came upon a village<sup>248</sup> with a Moorish captain<sup>249</sup> in command of a force of two thousand infantry- and three hundred cavalymen. Making a surprise attack, they slew the Moor and many of his men and put the rest to flight. From captives it was learned that the king of Zeila with his wife and children were near the lake of the Nile, a five-day journey away. With forced marches they continued on their way and reached him before he was able to obtain help from outside. On February 22, after a series of skirmishes, the decisive battle took place.<sup>250</sup> The Portuguese knelt down before

<sup>242</sup> Correa IV 381; Castanhoso 51; *Copia* 1546, 182. On his remains see Beccari II 325, IV 286, VI 501-502, XI 285-287, XII 335; Esteves Pereira, pp. XXXIII-XXXVIII.

<sup>243</sup> Lake Tāna (Tsānā), the source of the Blue Nile.

<sup>244</sup> The second draft: fifty (Castanhoso 54); Couto: forty (5, 8, 14).

<sup>245</sup> The second draft: ten (Castanhoso 54-55); Bermudez: eight (50). According to Couto the Negus arrived a day before the Portuguese (5, 9, 5).

<sup>246</sup> Six thousand on foot, four hundred on horseback (Couto 5, 9, 4).

<sup>247</sup> According to the first draft 130 (Correa V 382), according to the second 120 (Castanhoso 56-57).

<sup>248</sup> Ogara (Castanhoso 57), the province of Woggarā between the Semēn mountains and Lake Tāna.

<sup>249</sup> Miraizmāo (Castanhoso 57), that is, Emīr Osmān.

<sup>250</sup> The Moorish king was in Darasgē on the northwest coast of the lake. From there he marched against the Preste. The battle was northeast of the lake near a village which Paez calls Oinadagā (Beccari II 331), but the "Short Chronicle" Waynā Dagā (Béguinot 29). In Couto it becomes *Oé nad gas* (5, 9, 4), in the province of Dembyā, halfway between Gondar and Debra Tabor (on the site see Coulbeaux II 124-125; Beccari

the standard of the Misericórdia, since the royal standard had been lost with Dom Christovão. They prayed to God that He might grant them a victory over the enemies of His holy faith; and after they had recited the *Confiteor*, the patriarch gave them a general absolution. On the side of the Christians were the Portuguese with five hundred Abyssinian cavalymen and six thousand infantrymen, on that of the Moors fourteen hundred cavalymen, twelve thousand infantrymen, and two hundred Turkish arquebusiers.<sup>251</sup> As soon as the king of Zeila appeared upon his horse, all the guns of the Portuguese were pointed at him. A well-aimed shot struck him in the breast and he fell dead from his mount.<sup>252</sup> At news of this the army of the Moors broke up in headlong flight. The war was ended; Christian Abyssinia had been freed of its mortal enemy.<sup>253</sup>

The victory had cost the Portuguese only four men. A few days later Manuel da Cunha and his men arrived, and the queen with them. Easter was celebrated amidst universal exultation. They then withdrew into winter quarters in a large city near the lake.<sup>254</sup> Here, on August 29, the anniversary of Dom Christovão's martyrdom, the Preste had a commemorative feast celebrated for him and his fallen companions. Six hundred monks and clerics took part in it, and more than six thousand poor people were fed. Later, on September 14, the Negus celebrated the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. In the solemn procession for the feast, he showed himself unveiled to the people, carrying a golden cross in his hand. As he marched in the procession he was accompanied by all the aristocracy, also carrying gold and silver crosses. During the night huge fires were kindled all about, and all the people came with lighted candles to the royal tent, first the nobles with their retainers, then the men, and finally the women.

On October 10,<sup>255</sup> when the rainy season had passed, the Preste abandoned his winter camp and moved eastwards towards the sea into the land of the Moors, accompanied by 2,000 cavalymen, 20,000 infantrymen, and 100,000 commoners. Everywhere he established governors, and the natives tendered him their obedience. On their way they came to a mountain where there were twelve large churches,<sup>256</sup> all of which had been hewn out of the hard rock in times

III 86). The accounts of the battle in the Abyssinian chronicles have been collected by Esteves Pereira 101-104, and Littmann 122-124. The victory is praised by the "Song of Galāwdēwos," the oldest monument in the Amharic language (Q 1037).

<sup>251</sup> According to the second draft, the Preste had the Portuguese with 250 Abyssinian cavalymen and 3,500 infantrymen in the first rank, and 250 cavalymen and the rest of the infantry in the second; the Granhe had 200 Turks, 1,200 cavalymen, and 14,000 infantrymen (Castanhoso 60).

<sup>252</sup> According to Bermudez the deadly shot came from Pero de Lião (65-66), according to Castanhoso from João Gallego (Correa IV 390).

<sup>253</sup> In November, 1544, Vasco da Cunha wrote to the king of the powerful impression which the rescue of Abyssinia by the small, heroic force of D. Christovão da Gama had made "in Ethiopia and most of Asia, even among the Moors and Jews" (Q 1305).

<sup>254</sup> According to Almeida the Preste wintered in Gubāi in the province of Godjam south of Lake Tāna (Beccari V 319). Negus Minās also wintered here in 1561 (*ibid.* 391-392); his successor Sarsa Dengel also wintered here in 1573 after his victory over the Gallas near Waynā Dagā in Gubāi, "onde tinha a cadeira do seu imperio," as Paez noted (*ibid.* II 136-141). Paez (*ibid.* II 201-204), who visited the city, gives an actual account of its history and a description of it in contrast to the phantastic sketch in Urreta. Gondar, which Littmann prefers, does not enter into question since it was founded later.

<sup>255</sup> According to the second draft it was on October 8 (Castanhoso 68).

<sup>256</sup> The famous monolithic church of Lalibela, already described by Alvarez. See Vol. I 689. In addition to the bibliography given there, see the magnificent work of

immemorial by order of a Christian king who, according to tradition, had come to this site with many white people and was buried there. They then passed on to Jartafa,<sup>257</sup> which was inhabited by wealthy Moorish merchants. Here many of the people submitted to the Preste, and Christmas was celebrated.

Castanhoso asked the Preste in Jartafa for permission to return to India so that his wound might be cured there. Fifty of the Portuguese, including one of the two Mass-priests,<sup>258</sup> made the same request. The king reluctantly let them depart. He was grieved that he could still not give them a fitting reward. He offered them all the chalices, crosses, and silver in his churches, and all the jewels and bracelets of his mother, sisters, and relatives.<sup>259</sup> But they would accept nothing since they saw the great straits that he was in, for the widow of the fallen king of Zeila had safely carried off the captured royal treasure when she fled away.<sup>260</sup>

In Massaua the departing Portuguese encountered the *fusta* of Diogo de Reinoso, who had sailed into the Red Sea despite the governor's prohibition.<sup>261</sup> The small vessel, however, had only room for Miguel de Castanhoso. The rest were left behind in tears when he sailed from there on February 16, 1544. He reached Goa on April 19,<sup>262</sup> and there gave Gaspar Correa a copy of his report.<sup>263</sup>

Castanhoso, like Alvarez before him, had much to relate about the practices of the Abyssinian Christians. Their fasts were rigorous. During Lent they ate neither fish nor flesh, nor cheese, butter, eggs, or honey, nor did they drink either wine or milk. Bread and vegetables prepared with oil were their only food, and these were taken only after Mass in the evening. Their Mass was always a sung High Mass with deacon and subdeacon and a curtain hung before the altar. For hosts they used a cake made of wheaten flour marked with a cross and some letters of their sacred script. At Communion all the monks, servers, and those who had gone to confession received a piece of it. On Sundays the king, queen, nobles, and people all confessed their sins and received Communion. All entered their churches barefooted, and no one dared to spit in them. Their churches were circular and surrounded by a veranda. Instead of bells they struck stones together to produce a sound. They recited

J. Bidder, *Lalibela, Monolithkirchen in Aethiopien* (Köln, 1959); A. A. Monti della Corte, *Lalibela* (Roma, 1940); L. Findlay, "The Monolithic Churches of Lalibela," *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte* 9 (1943) 1-58; and Beckingham-Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies* (Cambridge, 1961) 202-228 526-542. (See also Georg Gerster, *L'arte etiopica: Chiese nella roccia*, tr. G. Gozzini Calzecchi Onesti [Settimo Milanese, 1970], tr. note.)

<sup>257</sup> Esteves Pereira maintains that this expression should be read backwards as Fatajār, one of the provinces inhabited by Moors southeast of Addis Abeba on the border of the kingdom of Harar (108-109).

<sup>258</sup> According to the first draft in Correa, both priests went with them; as a consequence there was none left with the Portuguese who remained (IV 397), but this is quite unlikely. According to the second draft only one of them left (Castanhoso 73).

<sup>259</sup> According to the second draft (*ibid.* 72-73). The first only has: "He [the Preste] gathered together the jewels of his mother and of some of her followers and gave all to them, but our men would take nothing" (Correa IV 397).

<sup>260</sup> Del Wambarā, the widow of Mahfuz, who had fallen in battle fighting the Christians (see Vol. I 686), who had married Granhe, the king of Zeila. According to the first draft she fled with four hundred cavalymen (Correa IV 389), according to the second with three hundred (Castanhoso 61), and according to the "Short Chronicle" as far as Atbarā, a tributary of the Nile northwest of Lake Tāna (Béguinot 30).

<sup>261</sup> Correa IV 343.

<sup>262</sup> Castanhoso 74.

<sup>263</sup> Correa IV 344-345 397.

their prayers and received the Body of the Lord standing. On Palm Sunday they waved branches of olive trees and palms. The women stuck crosses made of olive twigs in their headdresses, and the men carried the palms to their homes. On Easter Sunday there was a solemn procession, and during the Easter ceremonies on the lake of the Nile, Castanhoso saw more candles than could have been brought together in the whole of Portugal. Five hundred monks took part in it with their native musical instruments. They walked with the Blessed Sacrament, called "Korban" in their language, around the church with the Preste, his mother and her retinue, and the Portuguese. During this procession the latter fired their guns and cannons to the great delight of the king. The lake, which was the source of the Nile and took at least ten days to walk around, was the habitat of mighty hippopotami, which resembled elephants in their shape and color. Abyssinian monks dwelt upon the islands of the lake, where they had their churches and monasteries in the shade of trees.<sup>264</sup>

Castanhoso, however, had nothing good to say about the patriarch Bermudez. With the help of the Preste he had tried to convince the Portuguese to recognize the mulatto Aires Dias as their leader after the death of Dom Christovão.<sup>265</sup> Through his imprudent attempts to force the Negus to adopt Roman usages, he had eventually alienated him. Galāwdēwos had hardly arrived at the Portuguese camp in the Mountain of the Jews when he was presented with a document signed by Bermudez ordering him to make a public, solemn submission to the pope in the presence of his people. The young prince, provoked by this, replied that Bermudez was not his master but only the patriarch of the Portuguese and an Arian with four gods. Bermudez then declared him to be excommunicated as an accursed heretic. He then left the Preste's tent and, as the representative of the pope and of King John III, compelled the Portuguese who were waiting outside to listen only to him in the future and not to the heretical Preste under the penalty of excommunication and the guilt of high treason. The Preste, since the Portuguese were indispensable for his campaign against the king of Zeila, was finally obliged to yield and had a public proclamation made that the pope in Rome was the head of the true Church.<sup>266</sup> When Castanhoso took leave of the Negus, the latter, however, gave him a letter for the Portuguese king in which he bitterly complained about Bermudez' manner of acting, and he asked him for another patriarch.<sup>267</sup>

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.* 391-393; Castanhoso 64-66.

<sup>265</sup> Bermudez writes that Castanhoso was the most opposed of all to the election of Aires Dias since he wanted to become captain himself (56-57). He further maintains that when Manuel da Cunha came with his companions, men who had fled from the battle and had abandoned their captain and deserved to be punished as deserters, Castanhoso stirred them up against Dias until the Preste brought the rebels to silence (66-68). Castanhoso himself simply writes that during the march away from the Mountain of the Jews the Preste told the Portuguese that they should elect a captain. These had replied however that, since they had lost their own good captain, they wanted no other than the Preste and the standard of the Misericórdia (Correa IV 385; Castanhoso 57).

<sup>266</sup> Bermudez 50-56. Castanhoso is silent on this.

<sup>267</sup> Kammerer thinks it probable that the Preste orally instructed Castanhoso to lodge a complaint with the Portuguese king with respect to Bermudez' manner of acting (III 50 158). That he also gave him letters is indicated by the \*letter of John III to the governor of India, D. Joam de Castro, of March 13, 1546. In it he wrote: "I received by way of Jerusalem letters of Preste João, which these friars [Abyssinian monks who were now returning to India] brought from there in 1545, and also from Miguel de Castanhoso, in which he informed me of the death of his [the Preste's] father

What Master Francis learned from Castanhoso about Abyssinia must have given him some thought. Just what was the patriarchal status of Bermudez? Neither in Rome, where he had been given the brief for King David, nor at the Portuguese court, which had obtained this brief from the pope for him, was there any apparent knowledge about this appointment. Otherwise the king would surely have told him about it when he sent him to India as papal nuncio and gave him the brief. But the answer to this riddle could only come from Portugal.

When Xavier was in Almeirim in February, 1541, John III had dispatched the Genoese Duarte Catanho to the Grand Turk, who wanted to send a fleet to drive the Portuguese out of India because of the loss of the pepper trade.<sup>268</sup> Catanho was to attempt to obtain a peace treaty which would oblige the sultan to leave India at peace for ten or, preferably, from fifteen to twenty-nine years. For this the Portuguese king was willing to hand over to him each year from 2,500 to 3,000 hundredweights of pepper at Basra in return for 3,000 to 4,000 bushels of wheat at Salonica, Volos, or Negroponte.<sup>269</sup> In a second, secret instruction he added that Catanho should try to obtain this peace for at least fifteen years and, if necessary, raise the sums up to 5,000 hundredweights of pepper and 5,000 bushels of wheat.<sup>270</sup> In December of this same year Diogo de Mesquita was also sent to help Catanho with the negotiations. If the sultan was unwilling to deliver any wheat, the Portuguese king was ready to hand the pepper over to him at the same price that he paid for it in India.<sup>271</sup> In May, 1542, the Grand Turk made a counterproposal. For 3,000 hundredweights of pepper he was prepared to deliver to the Portuguese king as much wheat as he wished to buy. His ships would not trouble the Portuguese settlements in India if the Portuguese would let Turkish merchants sail without hindrance and did not themselves send any warships to Aden, Jidda, Suakin, Zebid, Shihr, and the Abyssinian coast, which Allah had given to him.<sup>272</sup> The negotiations dragged on, and in the meantime everything that might jeopardize them had to be avoided.<sup>273</sup> John III had therefore written in 1543 to M. A. de Sousa that until

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and of the state of his affairs, and he asked for further help in his regard; and he also asked me to inform him about what I knew about João Bermudez, who had been sent by the king [David], his father, to me as an ambassador, since he was doing things that were much against the faith and the service of our Lord" (Q 2039). The \*letter of the Preste to the pope of January 24, 1542 (Q 666-667), containing the news of the death of King David and the recognition of Bermudez as patriarch was given to a certain Petrus, who however died on his way. Paulus, the prior of the Abyssinian monastery in Jerusalem, as a consequence, brought it to Rome, it seems, only in 1544 (cf. Q 1247), for the first draft of the answer is dated May 23, 1544 (Q 1241). It apparently came with later \*letters of the Preste to the pope and the king in which Galāwdēwos complained about Bermudez' actions and asked for a true patriarch, as the first draft of the papal answer suggests, and as the second draft (Q 1511) and the \*letters of John III to the Preste (Q 2040), to Castro (Q 2039), and to his ambassadors in Rome (Q 2356) clearly state.

<sup>268</sup> Vol. I 706; cf. 699-700.

<sup>269</sup> Q 710.

<sup>270</sup> Q 717.

<sup>271</sup> Q 866.

<sup>272</sup> Q 964.

<sup>273</sup> On July 22, 1544, Pero Carodo \*wrote from Venice to John III that Mesquita had come with Catanho from Constantinople on the eleventh, and that Mesquita would inform the king about the success of the negotiations up to this point (Q 1256). Only on October 29, 1545, did the king send Catanho with Francisco Palha to the sultan in order to conclude the peace (Q 1640), but this was thwarted by the French (Q 1669).

further notice he should proscribe all sailing into the Red Sea. The governor stressed this prohibition of the king when he sent Diogo de Reinoso to the straits in a *fusta* in January, 1544. He made him promise in writing under oath that he would stop there under the penalty of treason. When Reinoso therefore came to Goa in April from Massaua with Castanhoso, Martim Affonso had him arrested for violating the proscription by Pedro Fernandes, the *ouvidor geral*, while he was still sailing up the Mandovi River. He was then confined in jail, weighed down with iron chains and closely watched. In his accusation the king's prosecutor demanded the death penalty for treason, and the judgment was given accordingly. An appeal was made, and the prisoner was finally, after four or five months of grim imprisonment, pardoned and banished to Chale.<sup>274</sup> Nevertheless the governor reminded the citizens and *fidalgos* assembled in the town hall of the possible consequences of such a transgression of the royal command: The Grand Turk in his anger could have cut off the head of the Portuguese ambassador to his court and, instead of continuing the negotiations, could have sent a fleet to India.<sup>275</sup>

As long as these negotiations continued, it was impossible for Xavier to sail into the Red Sea and, thus, to the Preste.

#### 6. THE KINGS OF MACASSAR (JANUARY 26, 1545)<sup>276</sup>

Four ships destined for Portugal were lying at anchor in the harbor of Cochin when Xavier wrote his letter to the king. Two of these, the *Sphera*

<sup>274</sup> Correa IV 337 343-344 404-405; \**Verdadeira enfformação* 2-v.

<sup>275</sup> Correa IV 404-405.

<sup>276</sup> The principal account of the conversion of the two kings of Macassar, which was composed by Paiva in Goa in 1545 and used by Maffei for his *Historiae Indicae* (*Opera* I 315-318), is preserved in a contemporary copy among the collected materials of Maffei (ARSI: Goa 38, 9-17v; Q 1754). As is indicated by the context, the account was written for the bishop of Goa at his request and must approximately conform to the very detailed but now lost account which Paiva sent at this same time to the king, as Beira wrote from Goa on November 20, 1545 (DI I 60). Miguel Vaz, who sailed for Portugal the day after Paiva's arrival in Cochin, obtained an oral report from him. Upon the data furnished by the vicar general is based the account in the *Copia* which was printed at the beginning of 1546, a copy of which was received by Bobadilla from Rome in July of this same year and sent by him to the prince bishop Melchior von Zobel (Q 5055). Ferrão, the secretary of the order, sent other copies at the beginning of August to Bologna and to P. Broët (FN III 735: "las estampadas de las Indias"). Since Vaz sailed off at once, and probably wrote down what he had heard only after setting out, there are a number of contradictions in the *Copia*, which contains much that is new. The vicar general also mentions the conversions in Macassar briefly in the memorial which he composed for the king at the end of 1545 where he asks for missionaries for the new converts (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 246). The official documents which Paiva brought with him recording the baptism of the two kings, and which are mentioned in the *Copia*, are lost. Xavier was probably present when Paiva told Vaz of his experiences. He certainly met him in Cochin and received information from him, as his letters indicate (EX I 276-277 318-319). At the end of 1545 Beira expressly states that Xavier had been well informed about the conversion of the kings and of their desires for missionaries, and that he had learned this from people who had helped baptize many of these natives (DI I 60-61). Further details are contained in an account written also for the bishop by Manuel Pinto at the end of 1548 in Malacca. In 1545 he had visited the baptized kings along with Viegas (*ibid.* II 419-423). The account of Godinho de Eredia, which is full of the grossest anachronisms and contradictions, is to be used only with the greatest care (42-44; map 47v). The chronicles and histories of the Franciscan order, which down into the twentieth century ascribe the baptism



and the *Santo Spirito*, had already sailed away; the other two, the *Santa Cruz* of Garcia de Sá and the *São João*, were still being loaded with pepper<sup>277</sup> when on January 26, a day before their departure for Portugal, a ship arrived from Malacca.<sup>278</sup> Its captain was Affonso Henriques, a *fidalgo* of the royal house.<sup>279</sup> He had had a difficult voyage. Contrary winds, which had threatened him with shipwreck on a chain of islands,<sup>280</sup> and calms had delayed the ship for so long that food and water began to give out. Thought was already being given to killing the slaves and eating them or to abandoning the ship when a passenger, Gil de Castro, hauled out a banner that had allegedly been embroidered by Queen Catherine with the words: "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat," and raised it on the foremast. The desired wind came, saving the voyagers and bringing them to Cochin.<sup>281</sup> Among them was a certain Antonio de Paiva,<sup>282</sup> who was bringing with him four brown boys from the island of Macassar<sup>283</sup> for the College of St. Paul.<sup>284</sup> He was also carrying with him officially certified documents and an extensive account of the conversion of two kings of that

of the two kings to their confreres, are contradicted by all the contemporary sources and lack historical foundation. The best description is that of C. Wessels, S.J., "De Katholieke Missie in Zuid-Celebes 1525-1668," *Het Missiewerk* 28 (1949) 65-83 129-144.

<sup>277</sup> On the ships and their departure, see EX I 261-262. The two first sailed off together, probably on January 20, the date of Xavier's first letter. Manuel de Lima, sick of the governor, had given up his captaincy in Bassein and was sailing with Peres d'Andrade, the captain of the *Sphera*, in order to return to Portugal. He boarded the ship at Cochin when it was ready to sail (Correa IV 412-415; Couto 5, 10, 7). The new ship of Garcia de Sá, which he had built in India (Correa IV 408), was still being loaded (*ibid.* 414). This was the *Santa Cruz* (*ibid.* 598; Figueiredo Falcão 162; Q 2865). Its captain was Bernardo Nassi, who was forced to winter in Mozambique. He sailed from there on September 29, 1545, and only reached Lisbon of February 14, 1546 (Q 2090 2045). The *São João* sailed from Cochin on January 27, the day of the arrival of André de Sousa. It had Cosme Ledo as its pilot (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 202). On October 18 he received his pay in Lisbon (Q 1612).

<sup>278</sup> "Et in el sopraditto anno 1544 [read: 1545] un di avanti che partissa la ultima nave che veniva dal India, arivo a Cochin un altra nave, che veniva dal Maluccho, dove veniva Antonio de Paiva, creato de sua Maesta" (*Copia* 183).

<sup>279</sup> In 1541 Affonso Henriques sailed to Suez with his brother Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda in the fleet of the governor, D. Estevão da Gama (Q 841; Correa IV 163), in 1542 to Bhatkal with M. A. de Sousa (Castanheda 9, 31), and in 1543 to the pagoda (Correa IV 307; Q 4266). He received a voyage to China in compensation for his expenses in the winter of 1543, when he and other *fidalgos* provided a table for the soldiers in Goa. He was a very prominent *fidalgo*, the son of Diogo de Sepúlveda and D. Costança de Távora (*Emmenta* 369), and had sailed to India in 1538.

<sup>280</sup> Near the Nicobar, or Andman, Islands.

<sup>281</sup> Paiva's letter to the queen from Goa on November 30, 1545 (Sá I 463-466).

<sup>282</sup> Antonio de Paiva was the brother of the João de Paiva whom he recommends to the queen in the letter just mentioned (*ibid.* 466, where *Jeronimo* should be read instead of João). Perhaps he is to be identified with the Antonio de Paiva who sailed to Amboina from Malacca with the fleet of Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque. He fell there during a battle with the Javanese (Couto 8, 25, p. 180). He is however to be distinguished from his namesake, the son of Lourenço de Paiva and the brother of Cosme and Gaspar de Paiva, who sailed to India in 1537 (*Emmenta* 339) and fell near Bhatkal (\*Andrade Leitão XVI 723).

<sup>283</sup> Macassar in earlier times was used for the west coast, that is, the south and center of the island of Celebes. Celebes was used for the northern arm from Tontoli (Tolitoli) to Menado. For a long time the two were held to be separate islands, for example, by Sousa in 1710 (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 3, 1, 12). See the history of the cartography of Celebes in E. C. Abendanon, *Midden-Celebes-expeditie* IV (Leiden, 1918); "Sur la signification du nom de l'île Celebes," *La Géographie* 37 (1922) 345-371; and *Pires* 226. In Paiva and Eredia, Macassar indicates the whole island.

<sup>284</sup> DI I 60.

island, and he wished to sail on to Goa to inform the governor about this.<sup>285</sup>

For nineteen years Paiva had served as a soldier in India.<sup>286</sup> He had lived for many years in the Malayan east and had become familiar with its land and speech.<sup>287</sup> From his youth he was known to the old bishop of Goa.<sup>288</sup> In 1542<sup>289</sup> he had sailed for the first time with a *casado* of Malacca in two junks to Macassar, an island about forty-five leagues west of Maluco,<sup>290</sup> stretching for some two hundred leagues from northeast to southwest.<sup>291</sup> Since the wind blew mostly from the northwest, it had taken them ninety days, the months of April, May, and June, to sail along the Sião coast for some 160 leagues to Durate,<sup>292</sup> the land of sandalwood.<sup>293</sup> The *casado* had continued his voyage with the junks, leaving Paiva behind deathly sick with the rajah in Sião,<sup>294</sup> who had hospitably taken him into his home until he regained his health and was able to sail back to Malacca. During his convalescence Paiva had frequently spoken with the prince about the Christian faith.

In February, 1544, Ruy Vaz Pereira, the captain of Malacca, had again sent him with wares in a junk to Macassar in order to obtain sandalwood. With him sailed his old slave, who had borne him a son,<sup>295</sup> and twelve Portuguese. Among these was an old knight of St. James, Jorge de Alvarenga,<sup>296</sup> who had a white beard and venerable aspect. He had been knighted by Pedro Masca-

<sup>285</sup> Sá I 464. For all of the following our source is the \*account of Paiva (Q 1754) unless otherwise noted. This has been published by Jacobs, S.J., in *Studia* 17 (1966) 251-305.

<sup>286</sup> Q 1754, f. 14; Sá 465.

<sup>287</sup> Paiva repeatedly mentions his knowledge of Malay.

<sup>288</sup> Q 1754, f. 11v.

<sup>289</sup> *Copia* 183.

<sup>290</sup> Ternate. Forty-five leagues amount to 185 miles. From Ternate to the northern point of Celebes (Menado) it is 155 miles.

<sup>291</sup> The equivalent of 820 miles. From the southern tip of the island (Bonthain) to Menando it is 808 miles.

<sup>292</sup> Here, as in what follows, the distances are not given precisely. If Paiva came from the south in 1542, as he did in 1544, 160 leagues, the equivalent of 656 miles, must have brought him to the beginning of Minhassa. Where was Durate? Paiva's observation that he had sailed to the south to Sião because of the contrary wind instead of to Durate shows that it lay north of Supa. The atlas of Vaz Dourado of 1571 has "Dumate" on maps 13 and 14. He is followed by later cartographers such as Linschoten, who spells Durate correctly and places the town on the equator between Supa and Tolitoli (I 70). The name suggests the land of the Toradjas located here, "Turajas" in Bickmore (70), and also that of the kingdom of Duri north of Supa.

<sup>293</sup> Timor was "the land of sandalwood," but Celebes was also known for its sandalwood. In 1538, under Galvão, two brothers came to Ternate from Macassar and were baptized. They later came a second time with a cargo of sandalwood, some gold, and other wares (Castanheda 8, 200). In 1548 Manuel Pinto also spoke of the island of Macassar, where sandalwood was to be found (DI II 421). In 1563 Garcia d'Orta wrote that the real land for sandalwood was Timor, but he added: "There was also a forest of sandalwood on Macassar. It has already been used up, or, more precisely, it is so poor that it is not sold. As a consequence no one goes there any more for it" (II 283).

<sup>294</sup> Sião (Manuel Pinto writes "Siam"), is not to be confused with the island of Siau north of Menado or with Siam in Farther India. It corresponds to the modern Pangkadjene between Supa and Gowa. In 1665 the prince of Gowa sold his war horse Dewa to those of Siam, and this occasioned numerous deaths ("Makassarsche Historiën," TBG 4 [1855] 122-12). The atlas of Vaz Dourado has *Ciom* north of Tello. According to Manuel Pinto, Siam lay in Lower Macassar (*Macasar de baixo*), and the king had some forty thousand subjects (DI II 421). In 1515 Pires wrote that the Macassar Islands were said to have more than fifty kings (226).

<sup>295</sup> Paiva declared her "forra e livre como se de legitimo matrimonio nacera" (13).

<sup>296</sup> His name is given by the *Copia* 184.

renhas, the governor of India, and in 1535 had marched with Dom Estêvão da Gama against the sultan of Ujon Tanah.<sup>297</sup>

Paiva anchored in the harbor of the rajah of Supa,<sup>298</sup> one of the most prominent, warlike, and feared kings of Macassar. He learned there, however, that the land of sandalwood was in a state of rebellion. He therefore decided to sail elsewhere with his goods, especially since there was a great drought in the land, as he had noticed on his voyage along the entire coast of Java.<sup>299</sup> Apart from this, the island of Macassar had an abundance of rice and fish. For a half a *cruzado* one could obtain 2 1/2 *kandis* of rice,<sup>300</sup> for two *cruzados* a buffalo, for 1 1/2 *tangas* a pig, for a *cruzado* sixty chickens, for a *tanga*<sup>301</sup> a goat, for half a *cruzado* 3,000 sardines. In the interior there were lofty mountains. Numerous rivers flowed from them, watering the wide plain that stretched along the coast. On this island and other smaller islands in front of it were to be found sandalwood, gold, ivory, pearls, iron, white fabrics, and slaves at a very reasonable price that were better than any others in the world for rowing since they were strong and accustomed to this type of work from their youth. One of these could be purchased with four or five pieces of cloth worth 3 1/2 *pardaus*. And the natives were extremely adept in shooting poisoned arrows with their blowpipes.

As soon as the king of Supa learned that Paiva was lying at anchor in his harbor, he came to the strand to visit him.<sup>302</sup> With him also came his fifteen-year-old son<sup>303</sup> and some thirty young women, all adorned with golden bracelets. During the course of his visit the king, who was in his seventies,<sup>304</sup> asked different questions about the Christian faith and why the Portuguese fought more with the Moors than with any others. Paiva answered this last question in the following fashion: The Portuguese fought the Moors because they were the most deceitful people and the greatest tyrants in the world; they had no other religion except the teachings of a man named Mohammed. He had pretended to be a prophet in order to obtain lands and estates, and on this ac-

<sup>297</sup> On February 15, 1536, his knighting by Pedro Mascarenhas was confirmed in Portugal; it was noted that he was in India and "de boa casta" (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 50, 50v). In 1525-1526 Mascarenhas was captain of Malacca. In 1526-1527 he contended with Lopo Vaz de Sampaio for the governorship of India. When the latter received this through a decision of December 21, 1527, he returned to Portugal in 1528 (Barros 3, 9, 1; 4, 2, 6). On Alvarenga's battles in Malacca, see Correa III 627; Casanheda 8, 85.

<sup>298</sup> Supa is a district of the department of Pará Pará inhabited by Buginese north of Pará Pará Bay. In 1935 it was ruled by a *datu* (prince) and had 9,033 inhabitants (ENI VII 1275-1276). It lies between the two small neighboring kingdoms of Alieta (in Eredia: *Linta*) and Batjukiki (in Eredia: *Machochique*). See D. F. van Braam Morris, "Beschrij ving van de landshappen Maiwa, Doerie, Kassa, Batoelappa, Alietta, Soeppa en Sawietto," TB 36 (1893) 152-212.

<sup>299</sup> Paiva thus sailed along the coast of Java and then north to the west coast of Celebes.

<sup>300</sup> In 1554 a *kandi* of rice in Malacca was the equivalent of 6 1/2 bushels, of 7 on the Moluccas (cf. Ferrand, *Poids* 88; Dalgado I 199-200).

<sup>301</sup> A *tanga* was the equivalent of sixty *reis*.

<sup>302</sup> Paiva probably anchored at Batjukiki, as Viegas did in 1545, to the south of Supa (Eredia 42v).

<sup>303</sup> According to the *Copia* he was fourteen years old (183).

<sup>304</sup> This is the same king with whom Manuel Pinto and Viegas remained for a year and a half in 1545-1546. He was the son-in-law of the emperor of Sidenreng, the most powerful ruler of the land with 300,000 subjects (DI II 420-421). Paiva calls him the old king of Supa (13).

count he had allowed his followers the greatest freedom in their way of life. They had four or more wives and could take and dismiss them at will, whereas Christians could have only one wife until death. And this Mohammed had ordered them to observe many other things that catered to their sensuality, so that a father sinned with his son, a daughter with her brother, and her brother with his mother. Because of these abominations the Portuguese king and many other Christian princes fought against them in a way unlike that which they did against the pagans. And, since the king listened with such interest to the words of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the World, so might it also please Him to save him in His mercy.

Since it was now late, the rajah, greatly satisfied with what he had heard, departed and sent the Portuguese many refreshments. He returned the following day to speak about the Christian faith. Paiva told him that the Lord had sent many disciples into the world to proclaim the holy Gospel; and, as he was explaining, this he mentioned the apostle Santiago. Since the prince had heard from the Moors that the Christians called on Santiago in times of battle, he asked him who he was and why he was so invoked. Paiva then explained that he had been an apostle and knight of Christ, who had entrusted him with the protection of those who were oppressed. They called upon him and visibly saw him come to their help dressed in full armor and riding upon a fire-breathing steed, as the Moors themselves could testify, who also saw him in times of defeat. The saint would also stand by him, the king, if with a pure heart and a firm belief in Christ he asked for his help. At the rajah's request Paiva had an altarpiece brought from the ship which, when opened up, showed a carved and gilded image of the apostle in pilgrim's dress. The king asked him to give him this work when he became a Christian, as he promised he would.

Paiva, however, did not take the prince's words seriously. He therefore sailed on from Supa for fifty more leagues to the harbor of Sião.<sup>305</sup> From his earlier stay, he knew the rajah there,<sup>306</sup> a tall, well-built man of forty-five

<sup>305</sup> Paiva's data with respect to the distance waver: fifty and forty leagues (10v 13v). From Supa to Pangkadjene it is only fifteen leagues, or 62 miles; to the southern tip of the island 112. Forty leagues on the other hand would be 164 miles. From Supa to the island of Siau (Sargihe), northeast of Celebes and south of Mindanao, there would have been 728 miles!

<sup>306</sup> According to native traditions, which are little reliable for our period, the Macassars began to write down the principal events of their history under King Tu-maparisi-kalonna (Kakalonna). He regulated military affairs and was the first to collect fixed taxes. During his reign the first Malay merchants came to Macassar, and twenty years after them the Portuguese. He extended his kingdom to the southeast through successful wars, subjected Balukompa and the Saleyer Islands, concluded peace treaties with Boni, Maros, and Tello, and began to surround his capital of Gowa with a stone wall. He died in 1543. The wall was completed by his son Tu-nipalangga, who placed the first guns upon it. He was a brave warrior and extended his kingdom by the conquest of Mandar and Kajeli as far as Tontoli. In league with Boni, he subjected Luwu and Wadjo; in 1562 and 1565 he campaigned also against Boni. He was, however, driven back and died shortly after in Gowa. His brother and successor, Tu-nibatta, died forty days after him and was succeeded by his son Tu-nidjallo, who was born in 1545 and murdered in 1590. The tradition is preserved in the chronicle of the kings of Gowa and Tello, which was written in the Macassar language about 1795. It covers the years from 1545 to 1721 and is based on sources that are now lost. Extracts from it in the original text and a Dutch translation were published by A. Ligtoet, "Transcriptie van de 'Lōntará Bilang' of het Dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tello, met vertaaling en aantekeningen," BKI 28 (1880) 1-259; see also B. Erkelens, "Geschiedenis van het rijk Gowa," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* 50, 3 (1897) 81-82.

with large black eyes. As soon as the ruler heard of Paiva's arrival, he sailed out a league beyond the bar to meet him and told him in the presence of all the Portuguese how happy he was with his visit, which would certainly bring him a great grace, and he asked him to come to land the next day since he wished to speak with him.

As soon as day dawned, Paiva had a *prau* adorned with flags bearing the cross of Christ and sailed in it with a number of the Portuguese to the city of Sião, where the king, who was already waiting for him, solemnly received him. The rajah began at once to speak of the Christian faith and assured him that he had always wished to receive baptism and to believe in the true God, but he was afraid that his people would rebel and refuse to obey him. He therefore asked his guest to say something about his religion to him in the presence of the leaders of his realm and to explain what one must do in order to be a true Christian. This request caused Paiva a bit of embarrassment since he was more familiar with weapons of war than with theological questions. Nevertheless, he spoke of the Ten Commandments which Christians had to observe. He explained each of them in succession and how all ten were contained in two. The prince was satisfied with his exposition and dismissed him with the promise that he would come to his junk on the following day.

He came as he had promised with a numerous following and declared in the presence of all the Portuguese that he wished to become a Christian, but before doing so he had to hold some council meetings so that his people would not take amiss such a sudden change in the manner of life from that which all his predecessors had maintained. He repeated that all the Ten Commandments appeared to him to be good. Paiva then referred to the need of good works and explained to him the fourteen Works of Mercy.

On the next day the king had Paiva summoned. He sailed to the city, which was surrounded by the sea; and on the way he asked himself why God had not destroyed it with fire from heaven as he once had the three cities of Sodom. For the priests of these kings, known as *bissus*, did not let their beard grow, dressed like women, wore their hair long and braided in knots, and had gold plates on their teeth.<sup>307</sup> They imitated the speech and movements of women

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R. Blok, governor in South Celebes from 1756 to 1760, wrote a "Beknopte Geschiedenis van het Makassaarsche Celebes en Onderhoorigheden," based on old Boni and Macassar manuscripts, which was published in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* 10 (1848) 3-77. See also the information in a manuscript of about 1795 entitled "Beknopt verhaal van den ouden Bataviaaschen Moor te Maros, Intjeh Timor, thans bereikt hebbende het 87e jaar zijns levens; uit eenige oude inlandsche apokryphe historiën," published in TBG 4 (1855) 111-145, and further information in a manuscript of 1750, *ibid.* 7 (1858) 147-171. A list of the kings of Gowa to the last, who died in 1906, is published in BKI 90 (1933) 480-481.—The dates of these native accounts are contradicted by contemporary sources. When Paiva baptized the forty-five-year-old king of Sião in 1544, the latter had gained control of Gowa and his kingdom already embraced Mandar in the north. He was meant when Simon Rodrigues wrote in September, 1545, after receiving the first news of it, that three kings had been converted in India, and one of them was a very great lord and ruled over many lands (DI 1813). When Pinto came to Sião in April, 1547, the king was dead. His pagan brother was ruling in his stead and had 40,000 subjects, among whom were "countless Christians" (*ibid.* II 421). Gowa later replaced Sião as the capital. This was later transferred to Macassar, lying between Gowa and Tello. The kings were pagan until they accepted Islamism, as did the king of Gowa in 1603 and that of Tello in 1607 (Ligtvoet 86-87; Wessels, *Zuid-Celebes* 129).

<sup>307</sup> Among the Toradjas in Central Celebes, the men wore gold ornaments on their upper incisors (Sarasin I 266). Advocates on Timor wore gold plates on their teeth

and lived in sodomy with other men. If they ever had intercourse with a woman, they were cooked to death in boiling tar, for such a sin would destroy their religion.<sup>308</sup>

The king had already gathered the leaders of his people about him in the palace. In their presence he told Paiva that he should tell them if the Christians had any information or knowledge about the creation of the world. To this he replied that they had all this in their books, which had been written by saints and prophets. When the rajah asked what a "saint" was, and Paiva could find no corresponding word for it in Malay, he described one: a saint was one who performed the Works of Mercy and kept the Commandments, which he had already explained to him; and such were the authors of Sacred Scripture, men who could not tell a lie. When he was asked what a "lie" was, Paiva answered that the great errors in which the king and his people were trapped were a lie, since they knew nothing of Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, so that they might serve Him and honor Him. The Christians alone were in possession of the truth since they did the works which followed from it. When the rajah replied that the Moors maintained that they had the truth and the Christians a lie, Paiva replied that he could form a judgment for himself from the works of the two. When the king asked what the Christians regarded as "truth," Paiva replied that almighty God, who is without a beginning and an end, is Truth itself, and that whoever in his works denies it and does not believe that God has taken flesh in the womb of the Virgin to redeem the human race and has suffered and risen again is living a lie. But whoever follows the truth in his works, it is for him a ladder to everlasting happiness. A lie, on the other hand, is a deceit of Satan and thrusts a man forever into the fire of hell.

During his speech it began to thunder, and the long desired rain poured down in torrents upon the parched land. The day of the Last Judgment seemed to have come, and no one could understand another. The water broke through the roof of the palace and a large umbrella was used to protect the king from it. He, however, had it taken away. He then took off his clothes and washed his body in the water. Paiva then told him that this was the work of the true God, and the prince lifted his hands to his head in prayer. When the rain stopped the Portuguese returned to their junk and waited there for the outcome of the deliberations.

These meetings, which prepared the people for the acceptance of Christianity, were held in three different places and were to last for nine days. The first was in Sião, the second in Borneo,<sup>309</sup> and the third in Masugim, which meant in Malay "Place of Truth."<sup>310</sup> At all three sites it rained, thus benefiting the

(Bastian IV 45). In the sixteenth century removable gold and silver teeth were worn in Sumatra and Java (De Jonge II 324 333).

<sup>308</sup> On the remarkable priestly caste of the *bissus*, see B. F. Matthes, "Over de Bissoe's of Heidensche priesters en priesteressen der Boeginezen," *Verhandelingen der K. Akademie van Wetenschappen* 7 (1872) 1-50; A. J. Asselbergs, "De Bissoe's of heidnische Toovenaars van Zuid-Celebes," *Berichten ut Nederlandsch Oost-Indië voor de St. Claverbond* III (1896) 15-30; ENI III 508-509.

<sup>309</sup> According to Valentyn the king of Macassar earlier also ruled over the villages of Pasir and Kuti on the southeastern coast of Borneo, but according to the best informed students of the history of Macassar, this dominion did not last more than one hundred years (III 2, 139; cf. 241). According to the context, Paiva seems to mean a village in the neighborhood of Sião.

<sup>310</sup> Our copy has *Matugym*. We cannot find the site on the maps. *Tojeng* means "true" in the language of Macassar.

parched land. Ten days had already passed instead of the foreseen nine because of the vehement debates with the pagan priests, the *bissus*, who were hostile to Christianity, when on the eleventh day a flotilla of twenty *praus* equipped with sails and seventy or eighty rowers appeared behind a projection of the land, moving quickly towards the Portuguese junk. Since Paiva did not know whether he had to deal with friends or foes, he had the ship's flags raised and the guns made ready; and he ordered his men—there were seventy able to fight—to secretly arm themselves. But his fears were unfounded. It was the old king of Supa with his son,<sup>311</sup> and his first question was whether the rajah of Sião had already become a Christian. When he learned that he and his people were still deliberating about this, he said that so much consultation on so holy a matter was superfluous, and that he himself should be baptized at once.

An altar was quickly erected with silk cloths and altarpieces of the Virgin Mary and of the apostle St. James and furnished with many burning candles and incense and other fragrant substances. The junk was decorated with banners and greenery, for the branches of the coconut palms on the beach reached almost to the edge of the boat. Paiva then had his slave, the mother of his son, come. She was a venerable matron of good appearance. In the presence of all he declared that she was free and that she would be the sponsor for, and the witness of, the king's baptism. The sacrament, at Paiva's request, was administered by his contemporary Jorge de Alvarenga, the knight of St. James. Moved to tears, he poured the water over the head of the kneeling prince in the form of a cross with the usual formula.<sup>312</sup> The neophyte, at his own request, received the name of Dom Luis in honor of the infante.<sup>313</sup> His example was immediately followed by his brother, relatives, and servants.<sup>314</sup> After his baptism the king publicly declared that he wished to live and die confessing the holy Catholic faith and the glorious name of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the World, and the others also did the same. Paiva gave a solemn banquet in honor of the king and had the cannons fired many times to celebrate the day. The king repaid the invitation and sent his guest many slaves, both men and women, and offered his kingdom for the service of the Portuguese king.<sup>315</sup>

Since there was still no news of the rajah of Sião, who had gone to the city

<sup>311</sup> The *Copia* here unites the first and second encounters with the king of Supa. According to it he came accompanied by tall men and many women richly adorned with golden bracelets, and in keeping with their custom, as a token of honor, he had them brought onto Paiva's ship (183-184).

<sup>312</sup> Paiva expressly declares that there was no priest with them and that Alvarenga conferred the baptism "por mamcamento de ministro ecclesiastico" (*Copia* 184). This contradicts the erroneous statements of the Franciscan historians who ascribe the baptism of the two kings to their confreres (cf. Wessels, *Zuid-Celebes* 78-79) and that of the eighty-year-old Malay Johanna de Mello, who declared in 1606 that she had heard from D. Leonor, the daughter of the king of Macassar, that Xavier had baptized them along with her brother D. Francisco and her father and many others (MX II 452).

<sup>313</sup> Fernando da Saledade writes that the Franciscans gave the name of *Luis* to the king of Supa because he was baptized on the feast of the Franciscan bishop Louis of Toulouse on August 19 (III 592; cf. SR V 434). But Paiva expressly states that Alvarenga baptized the king "pedindo ele o nome do infante Dom Luis, que logo lhe foy dado" (13v).

<sup>314</sup> "Muitos parentes" (\*Paiva 13v), "li soi fratelli et parenti et creati" (*Copia* 184).

<sup>315</sup> *Copia* 184. Paiva \*writes that the two kings declared themselves to be vassals of the king of Portugal and named their island "the estate of the king of Portugal, its lord" (17). This is why maps, for example, Linschoten's (I 70), add the name *Purtugal* between Supa and Mandar.

of Lontar,<sup>316</sup> Paiva sailed with the flotilla of the king of Supa seven leagues south to the great city of Gowa,<sup>317</sup> where the ships were better protected against the wind.<sup>318</sup> The city had formerly belonged to a vassal of the prince of Sião, but the latter had taken it from him. When the rajah learned that his neighbor had been baptized before him, he immediately sent two barons of his kingdom to Paiva with a golden bracelet as a token of good faith.<sup>319</sup> They reached him three days after his arrival in Gowa and informed him of their lord's commission. He should come at once since his barons and a portion of his priests were ready to become Christians.

Paiva accepted the invitation without delay and sailed with all that was needed for the ceremony and six Portuguese companions. The rest remained behind in the junk, convinced that it was nothing but empty words. As Paiva was leaving, the king of Supa told him that he should have the king of Sião swear that he would remain his brother in arms after baptism as he had been before, and that the two should help each other if the subjects of one of them should rebel because of this holy work.

Paiva reached Sião as the sun was setting. The rajah had him assigned the governor's house as a residence and fixed the following day for his baptism. The Moorish merchants from Ujong Tanah, Pahang, and Patane who were present did everything they could to prevent the king from taking this step. For more than fifty years their princes had been engaged in a profitable trade with the king of Macassar, and they were afraid that the Christians might snatch this source of income from them. But Paiva succeeded in having the rajah order the Moorish merchants to leave his presence at once and not to bother him any more until after his baptism. After this they could continue with their business.

At the prince's request, Paiva, still on the same evening of his arrival, gave him further information about the mystery of the Incarnation. He spoke to him about the creation of Adam and Eve, of their fall into sin, and of their banishment from Paradise. He also told him how Cain had slain his brother Abel and how from the former were descended the base sect of the Moors, and from the latter the Christians. He then explained to him the increase of the human race and how in the course of five thousand years sins and vices had increased and hell had been filled, and how God decided to bring about the work of redemption. To this end, 1,544 years before, He assumed a human nature from the immaculate virgin Mary, as an angel had foretold, so that, being at once both God and man, He might free the human race from the servitude of the devil through His life, sufferings, and death. During His earthly life, by means of His divinity, He worked great miracles. He raised the dead and healed lepers

<sup>316</sup> "Which means palms" (\*Paiva 13v). We cannot find the site on the maps.

<sup>317</sup> Gowa lies 4 1/3 miles south of the present city of Macassar on the Berang River. The royal tombs in the now greatly reduced city are a reminder of its former greatness. See A. F. Eerdmans, "Het Landschap Gowa," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 50, 3 (1897) 1-79; V. J. van Marle, "Beschrijving van het Rijk Gowa (Celebes)," TAG 18 (1901) 932-953; 19 (1902) 108-143 372-403 535-552, with maps; H. J. Friedericy, "De Gowa'sche vorstengraven," *Kolonial Tijdschrift* 1931 630 ff.; J. C. van Eerde, "Investitursteeenen in Zuid-Celebes," TAG 47 (1930) 813-826, with map. A list of the fourteen kings of Gowa, the last of whom died in 1906, is given in BKI 90 (1933) 480-481. From Pangkadjene to Gowa it is twenty-five miles.

<sup>318</sup> "Por estar a balravemto dos baixos." The Spermonde Archipelago here protects ships from the southwest monsoon.

<sup>319</sup> One of these was the old governor (*regedor*) of the king. He later received the name of D. Affonso in baptism (\*Paiva 13v).



and those who were lame until He was at last arrested, scourged, struck, and insulted through the efforts of the Jews, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, as a deceitful magician; and He died a most holy death upon the cross for our salvation. At the same time Paiva showed the king a book in which all this martyrdom was described. After His death He descended to the lower world and freed the holy patriarchs that were there, and on the third day He arose from His closed tomb, radiant in body and soul. During forty days He revealed Himself to many persons. He then, before the eyes of all, ascended with body and soul from Mount Tabor<sup>320</sup> into heaven. From there He would return with the marks of His holy wounds on the day of judgment to judge the living and the dead, rewarding the good with a place of glory and punishing the evil with the everlasting pains of hell.

The king was astonished at hearing this and ordered everything to be made ready since he wished to become a Christian with all his people. The reception room of his palace was completely decorated with palm branches and draped with silk. The altar was set up as elegantly as possible with the finest gold cloth and the two altarpieces; and all the barons of the realm were present when the rajah received baptism at the seventh hour of the day. Since there was no woman for a sponsor, Paiva first conferred the sacrament on a woman, giving her the name of Mary in honor of the blessed Virgin.<sup>321</sup> He then baptized the king and gave him the name of the king of Portugal: Dom João. For the occasion the prince wore Portuguese clothes: a silk shirt and trousers, a white velvet coat, a red cap, and velvet slippers. All knelt during the ceremony, and the prince declared in a voice that all could hear that he wished to live and die in this holy faith. Twenty-five or thirty of the most powerful individuals of his realm and other leading persons and servants of his house immediately followed his example.<sup>322</sup> It was already four in the afternoon when the king was able to take his noonday meal. After they had finished eating, Paiva spoke with the king about the commission he had received from the rajah of Supa. The prince agreed with the proposal, and the offensive and defensive alliance was later ratified through envoys.

Now that the rajah was a Christian, Paiva suggested a reform in the rites for the dead.<sup>323</sup> When anyone died, the corpse was kept for three months within the house in a kind of wooden sarcophagus. This was covered with rich silks, fine white drapes, and gold according to the wealth and position of the individual. The houses themselves were made of wood and built upon piles. The sarcophagus was connected to the earth by means of a long bamboo pipe so that all the putrescence flowed down through it without the least offensive smell,<sup>324</sup> and

<sup>320</sup> Thus, instead of from the Mount of Olives.

<sup>321</sup> *Copia* 185.

<sup>322</sup> Manuel Pinto encountered "muita infimda gemte christãa" in Sião in 1547 (DI II 421).

<sup>323</sup> On the customs observed with respect to the dead, see Carla van Wylick, *Bestattungsbrauch und Jenseitsglaube in Celebes* ('s Gravenhage, 1941; for example, among the southern Toradjas 81-103); A. Grubauer, *Unter den Kopfgängern in Zentral-Celebes* (Leipzig, 1913) 126 ff. 260; N. Adriani—A. C. Kruyt, *De Barée-sprekende Toradjas van Midden-Celebes*, 3 vols. (Batavia, 1912-1914); A. C. Kruyt, *De West-Toradjas op Midden-Celebes*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1938) 337-562.

<sup>324</sup> While most of the accounts with respect to the burial rites speak of the unbearable stench of the corpse, Sarasin found sarcophagi on an island on Lake Lindu in Central Celebes which were made of a hollowed tree trunk and were so tightly

only the bones remained. After the three months had passed, the sarcophagus was taken down to the ground and carried upon a large wagon to the place of burial, where the remains were interred with great opulence, including the head of a cow with gilded horns,<sup>325</sup> and adorned with numerous silks, to the accompaniment of music and great festivities. A meal like that customary in Portugal on the occasion of a death was also taken. In contrast to all this, Paiva explained to the prince the practice of Christians. The possessions of the deceased were distributed among the poor and orphans, and among his children, widow, and other relatives, a practice which the devil tried to prevent. As a symbol of everlasting light, Christians carried burning candles when they accompanied a body to its grave. To the king and all who were present, this seemed to be a good and holy practice.

Paiva also discussed some of the native customs with his neophyte, and many of these were praiseworthy. The king never took the possessions of one of his subjects without compensating him for them. If anyone sinned with a married woman, he was punished with death, whereas one who had relations with unmarried women or virgins was not punished. The first time that a thief was caught, he had to replace the stolen good eleven times over. The second time he lost his possessions, and the third his life. If a thief had no property and no one was willing to pay his debt for him, he also was killed. If a king wanted to wage war against an adversary, he had to tell him so beforehand and fix the day for it.<sup>326</sup> When the leaders retired from battle and one of the kings went somewhere with his wife or people to refresh himself, his adversary could not break his word and invade his land. If he did so, all the others would march against him, destroy his land and possessions, and slay him.

After the festivities had been completed, the king called his leading men to Maguntor,<sup>327</sup> a city of his father-in-law, so that he might publicly ask pardon of the leaders there for not having invited them to the deliberations since their lands were so far away. He told them that they had good reasons for thanking him for the excellent way which they had all chosen for themselves through their acceptance of Christianity. A nobleman, the tutor of the eldest son of the king, also appeared at this meeting. He was a tall, thin man with curly hair, who had formerly been the lord of Paku.<sup>328</sup> The prince had taken this city away from him by force and brought him under subjection. The man, whose name was Sidomro, had thus lost his wife, children, and possessions. In return for these he had received other properties for a new marriage which he contracted. When a speaker at the meeting, a Christian who had taken the name of Simão Botelho in baptism, referred in a thoughtless manner to Sidomro's city, which the king had destroyed, Sidomro seized the speaker's fan, snatched a creese from his belt and stabbed the fan three times. About a hundred of his

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closed with bands of rattan and strips of bamboo that there was no trace of evil smell (II 46).

<sup>325</sup> Sarasin gives a picture of a sarcophagus adorned with a buffalo head (II 47). According to Grubauer the buffalo horns among the Toradja princes were painted yellow (263).

<sup>326</sup> Among the Buginese a letter was handed over containing the declaration of war (Bastian IV 57).

<sup>327</sup> We could not find the place on the maps. The name recalls the region of Mongondow in northeastern Celebes, but there is no question of this here.

<sup>328</sup> Is Paku on Lake Lindu in Central Celebes meant? (See A. C. Kruyt, *De West-Toradjas* I 140-141.)

relatives gathered about him and he was able to escape. The king, when he was advised of this by Paiva, ordered, without becoming upset, the head of the culprit to be brought to him. This was immediately done, and the prince had it thrown out upon an open field and forbade under the penalty of execution that it be buried or that the culprit should be mourned in death. As soon as the king's son perceived that his tutor was dead, he took advantage of a moment when his father looked away to disappear. When the rajah noticed that he was gone and learned why he had, he banished him to Mandar.<sup>329</sup> The prince then came, with the help of his followers, to a better frame of mind. He returned dressed in mourning clothes and threw himself at the feet of his father and asked for pardon. The latter, however, ordered him to be kept confined in Borneo.<sup>330</sup> It was not until ten days later that he was pardoned.

When Paiva began his return, Simão Botelho, the spokesman, sailed with him as the ambassador of the king of Sião in order to ask for a priest from the captain of Malacca in his lord's name.<sup>331</sup> The king of Supa gave his Portuguese friend a golden bracelet as a gift for the king of Portugal, and he was assured that the governor of India would send him priests and Portuguese to give them further instructions in the Christian faith and to help them.<sup>332</sup>

In Malacca Paiva discovered that the captain, Ruy Vaz Pereira, was no longer alive. He had died suddenly,<sup>333</sup> and Simão Botelho, who had been living in the fortress since 1542 in order to install a customhouse in the city at the request of M. A. de Sousa,<sup>334</sup> had succeeded him. He promised that he would send a galleon with a priest and Portuguese to Macassar at the beginning of 1545 in order to fulfill the wishes of the two kings.<sup>335</sup>

Affonso Henrique's ship was lying at anchor in the harbor. The captain had purchased pepper in India in order to sail with it to China. But when he learned that the Portuguese who had gone there the previous year with the same wares had not been able to unload them and had been forced to winter there, he had given up his plan.<sup>336</sup> During the funeral of Ruy Vaz Pereira, he attempted with the help of his friends to seize the stronghold of Malacca by force. Botelho had therefore arrested him and forbidden him to leave his vessel.<sup>337</sup> When he sailed back to India at the end of 1544, selling his pepper at Tenasserim on the way,<sup>338</sup> Henriques took with him Paiva and his four Macassar boys.<sup>339</sup>

<sup>329</sup> A district north of Supa.

<sup>330</sup> "Mandou-o premder em Borneo" (Paiva 17v).

<sup>331</sup> On January 27, 1545, Xavier wrote that three great lords had become Christians and had sent to the fortress of the king of Portugal for missionaries (EX I 276-277); on April 7, that the king of the island had sent to Malacca for priests (*ibid.* 285). The *Copia* states that both kings sent an envoy to the captain with this request (785; cf. DI I 60 178).

<sup>332</sup> According to Manuel Pinto (DI II 420).

<sup>333</sup> On his death in May, 1545, see Correa IV 416-417.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.* and Botelho, *Tombo* 104-108, and also the regulations established by M. A. de Sousa for the customhouse (Q 1328-1329).

<sup>335</sup> EX I 277 321; \*Paiva 17v.

<sup>336</sup> He purchased pepper in Cannanore (Q 2141) but relinquished his voyage to China in Malacca (Q 1740 1759).

<sup>337</sup> Correa IV 416-418; Botelho's letter to the king of January 30, 1552 (*Cartas* 41), and the latter's answer (Q 2016).

<sup>338</sup> According to Correa, A. Henriques sailed from Malacca to Tenasserim, where he sold his pepper at a great profit. During the monsoon he sailed for India but was driven back by a storm, was shipwrecked on an island, and sailed for the coast of Siam in a sloop, where he and those with him were all killed (IV 418). This is contra-

7. THE PRINCES OF CEYLON (JANUARY 27, 1545)<sup>340</sup>

The two last ships for Portugal lay ready for sailing in the harbor of Cochin when on January 27, the day after Paiva's arrival, a ship came in from Ceylon.<sup>341</sup> It brought<sup>342</sup> with it unexpected visitors for Master Francis<sup>343</sup> and Miguel Vaz in the person of a Portuguese *fidalgo*, André de Sousa, and his companion, Dom Joam, a dark-skinned, almost twenty-year-old Singhalese prince.<sup>344</sup>

André de Sousa, who had been serving in India for more than twenty years,<sup>345</sup> and who was acquainted with Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the king of Ceylon, from an earlier stay there,<sup>346</sup> had been sent back to the island by Martim Affonso de Sousa.<sup>347</sup> He had remained at the court of Kōttē after the departure of the guardian Frey João de Villa de Conde and his fellow religious. With them he had advised Jugo, the elder of Bhuvaneka Bāhu's two sons,<sup>348</sup> to become a Christian; and he had finally, after great efforts, brought the prince, who was cherished by the people,<sup>349</sup> to the point that he wished to embark secretly with

dicted by Paiva's letter of November 30, 1545, which states that they succeeded in reaching Cochin despite all the dangers they had experienced. In thanksgiving for their preservation, the passengers gave a silver chalice worth fifty *cruzados* to the church of the Mother of God in Goa (Sá I 463-466). The *\*Verdadeira enfformação*, from the end of 1545, also states that A. Henriques completed his voyage (Q 1821, 3-v).

<sup>339</sup> They are already mentioned as being in the College of St. Paul in June, 1546 (DI I 120).

<sup>340</sup> The sources for this section have been published in Schurhammer, *Ceylon*: the letters of André de Sousa (202-206 212-215), the letters of the prince written by him and signed by D. Joam (185-187 207-211 216-220), the important letter of Lancilotto written from data furnished by both of these (189-191), Xavier's letter (143-144), the memorial of Miguel Vaz (247-248) and the *Copia* inspired by him (291), the opinion of the *letrados* (264-265), and the letter of John III to D. Joam de Castro (267 309-310 334-339). See also the account in Bourdon 16-20 based on these sources. All earlier works have been surpassed by it (see the critical study on these in Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 15-78).

<sup>341</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 202; cf. 185 212.

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.* 247-248; cf. 264 266-267 308.

<sup>343</sup> "Hablé con este príncipe christiano," Xavier wrote on January 27, 1545 (*ibid.* 143-144).

<sup>344</sup> In December, 1546, Karaliyeddē, the crown prince of Kandy, who also received the name of D. Joam in baptism, was twenty years old (*ibid.* 425). Our D. Joam was the same age when he died on January 14, 1546 (*ibid.* 374).

<sup>345</sup> His father had served many years in Africa and died in the service of his king (*ibid.* 215). On November 16, 1545, Sousa wrote that he had been serving in India for twenty-four years (*ibid.* 205); on June 10, 1546, that he had been serving for twenty-three (*ibid.* 378). He was in Goa in 1527 (Correa III 135) and sailed with the governor to Diu (*ibid.* 393). The *Copia* calls him a "fidalgo virtuoso e honorato." The seal he used for his letters shows a striding bird (Q 1682).

<sup>346</sup> In 1539 he was in Kōttē (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 89).

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.* 203. He was apparently not sent until after the departure of the guardian in order that he might look after the legalities in Kōttē and inform the governor.

<sup>348</sup> He was called Jugo (*ibid.* 165 429); according to the manuscript copy of the *Rājāvaliya*, which was in the possession of the deceased Paul Pieris, *Jugu Bandāra*, "Prince Jugu" (Pieris, *Ceylon* I 468). The younger brother received the name of D. Luis in baptism (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 212). They were the sons of a concubine of Bhuvaneka Bāhu (*ibid.* 85; cf. 111), a sister of the mother of the Karaliyeddē, the crown prince of Kandy (*ibid.* 429-430; cf. 152). The Singhalese "puttā, aiya, malli" is ambiguous (*Ceylon Antiquary* 4 [1918] 116). E. Upham notes that "amongst the Cingalese people uncles are called fathers and cousins brothers and sisters" (*The Mahāvansi*, etc. [London, 1833] 177), a consequence of polyandry. The data furnished by contemporaries is in a constant state of confusion because of these terms, even in André de Sousa, Xavier, and the *Copia*. Lancilotto on the other hand gives the correct relationships according to the information provided by the two princes (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 190).

him in a *catur* for Goa in order to be baptized and through the help of the governor secure the throne of Kōttē instead of the king's grandson Dharmapāla, who had been recognized by the Portuguese as the heir apparent.<sup>350</sup> The king, however, had got wind of the plan and had caused Jugo to be assassinated.<sup>351</sup> In order to conceal his guilt, he had the body burned with all the honors of a royal prince.<sup>352</sup> The earth had, however, quaked; a fiery cross had appeared in heaven as tall as a mast; and the earth had opened up in the form of a cross at the site of the burning.<sup>353</sup> Three times the king had caused it to be filled in, and three times the cross had returned to view.<sup>354</sup> These miraculous events glorifying the martyr<sup>355</sup> had made a great impression, and many had been converted to Christianity. Sousa alone had with his own hand conferred baptism on two hundred of these.<sup>356</sup>

To shield the martyr's younger brother and her own son from the wrath of the tyrant, Bhuvaneka Bāhu's sister had entrusted the two to André de Sousa.<sup>357</sup> When the king sought to have him killed with his two charges, Sousa had taken refuge with them in a church along with some forty or fifty Portuguese and many native Christians. While rumors of war raged outside, the elder of the two princes, despite the king, had been baptized and had received the name of Dom Joam.<sup>358</sup> Sousa had himself acted as his sponsor.<sup>359</sup> The younger prince, hidden by his mother, had remained in Ceylon,<sup>360</sup> but Sousa had succeeded in sailing away secretly from Colombo with Dom Joam and had now arrived in Cochin.<sup>361</sup> The prince spoke Portuguese and wanted to sail with his protector to Goa in order to obtain help from the governor against the king,<sup>362</sup> especially since the throne of Kōttē belonged to him as nephew and not to Dharmapāla, the son of a daughter of Bhuvaneka Bāhu.<sup>363</sup> His mother and a large number of people were only waiting for his return in order to receive baptism. There were great hopes that the whole island would be converted to Christianity if he obtained the

The letter of André de Sousa of November 1, 1545, provides the principal account of the death of Jugo and of the conversion of the two princes (*ibid.* 203-204).

<sup>349</sup> According to the *Copia*, which erroneously states that "il re di Collao [Ceylão] fece che doi suoi nepoti hereditasseno il suo stato" (*ibid.* 291).

<sup>350</sup> On this see Lancilotto (*ibid.* 190) and D. Joam (*ibid.* 219).

<sup>351</sup> According to Queyroz the murderer was Vidiye Bandāra, the father of Dharmapāla (221; cf. Pieris, *Ceylon* I 468). On the legends see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 203, n. 2.

<sup>352</sup> According to André de Sousa and D. Joam (*ibid.* 203 186), whereas Lancilotto wrongly states that Sousa had him buried as a Christian (*ibid.* 190).

<sup>353</sup> Xavier erroneously says that the miracles took place at the site of the martyrdom (*ibid.* 143), as does the *Copia* (*ibid.* 291).

<sup>354</sup> According to Lancilotto (*ibid.* 190).

<sup>355</sup> On this see the critical account in Lancilotto (*ibid.*) and the remarks of the *letrados* (*ibid.* 264).

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.* 203 186 190 216 291.

<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.* 190.

<sup>358</sup> "E ali os fiz crystãos ás lamçadas," wrote André de Sousa (*ibid.* 203). According to Xavier he was baptized by the priests there (*ibid.* 143).

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.* 187 207.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.* 216.

<sup>361</sup> On the Singhalese legends with respect to the flight, see *ibid.* 204, n. 1.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.* 144.

<sup>363</sup> The law of inheritance in Kōttē was disputed. According to the Malabar-Marumakkatayam law of inheritance, the crown prince was the son of the king's sister; Xavier accepted this from the data of André de Sousa and D. Joam. But to Miguel Vaz and the *letrados* in Lisbon it was imperative that a more detailed investigation should be made (*ibid.* 247 264). In Ceylon sons inherited in the abstract, as Christovão Smedo declared at the end of the seventeenth century (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 26).

land of the murdered Prince Jugo and became the king of Ceylon.<sup>364</sup> This was what André de Sousa was able to tell Master Francis.

#### 8. THE POST FOR EUROPE (JANUARY 27, 1545)

After André de Sousa and the prince had departed, Francis had to prepare the mail which Miguel Vaz was to take to Europe as quickly as he could. The great harvest in Travancore, the rescue of Abyssinia, the conversion of the kings of Macassar, the baptism of the hereditary prince of Kōttē and the pending expedition against the ruler of Jaffna for his slaughter of the Christians had filled Master Francis with high hopes for the future when he wrote his letter to his confreres in Rome, which was destined as well for the other companions of the Society of Jesus and all their friends and benefactors.<sup>365</sup>

He would have much preferred, as he wrote in his letter, to speak with them in person if Rome were not so far away. Still, the constant remembrance which he had of his former companions and their earlier comradeship in the love of Christ would have to be a substitute for the joy of their seeing each other again. He had all the members of the Society of Jesus constantly in mind, and he thanked them for their continued prayers and sacrifices for him. He then gave a glowing account of the mission fields, beginning with a lengthy description of the great harvest in Cape Comorin,<sup>366</sup> where in a single month he had conferred the sacrament of rebirth on more than ten thousand pagans. The consolation that he had experienced as he went baptizing from village to village was greater than he could express in words or writing. He then spoke of the martyrs of Manār and of the punitive expedition against the king of Jaffna.

From another land,<sup>367</sup> fifty leagues from where I was,<sup>368</sup> the natives sent me word that they wished to become Christians, and they asked me to come to baptize

<sup>364</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 186 207 (D. Joam), 247 (Mig. Vaz), 144 (Xavier), 291 (*Copia*). But André de Sousa wrote cautiously: "Com isto ser asym, será camynho de se fazed todo Ceilão crystão" (*ibid.* 214). Since the boats sailed on the day of his arrival, André de Sousa could only send with them "una carta muito pequena" (*ibid.* 202) along with some *apontamentos* and a letter of D. Joam (*ibid.* 185), "a very good report," as the king wrote (*ibid.* 310), in which Sousa gave an exact account of events in Ceylon (*ibid.* 212). In it he has the prince ask for the crown of Jaffna and his mother promise that if he obtained the rule, she and all her relatives and servants would become Christians (*ibid.* 309 337). He asked that his protégé be recognized as successor to the throne of Kōttē since as a nephew he had a claim on it (*ibid.* 247 264). They seem, on the contrary, not to have spoken with Xavier about their claims on Jaffna since he is silent on the matter. When he arrived in Goa, André de Sousa only asked M. A. de Sousa that Jugo's territory with a harbor in that of Bhuvaneka Bāhu be given to D. Joam (*ibid.* 212 217). The requests were, however, increased under D. João de Castro, the new governor: the king of Portugal should recognize D. Joam as successor to the throne of Kōttē and king of Jaffna with jurisdiction over all the Christians east of Cape Comorin; Jugo's lands should be given to D. Luis; D. Joam should receive extensive privileges that would make him independent of the governor of India, among which was a day from each Pearl Fishery; André de Sousa should be captain general and governor for life and Mestre Diogo the bishop of his lands (*ibid.* 209-211). Sousa further asked for the captaincy of the Fishery Coast for himself for four years as a compensation for the debts he had incurred in his support of the princes and as a reward for his twenty-four years of service in India and those of his father (*ibid.* 214).

<sup>365</sup> EX I 260-278.

<sup>366</sup> In Travancore.

<sup>367</sup> In Pati, on Manār; see above, pp. 445 447-448 471.

<sup>368</sup> From Cape Comorin to Manār.

them. I could not go, however, since I was busy with other matters that greatly concerned the service of our Lord. I asked a cleric<sup>369</sup> to go and baptize them. But after he had gone there and baptized them, the king of the land<sup>370</sup> acted with great cruelty towards them and slew many of them<sup>371</sup> because they had become Christians. May God our Lord be thanked that martyrs are not lacking in our days; and since heaven is only slowly peopled through pious works, God our Lord in His great providence permits the glorious number of the elect to be increased through the cruelty that is exercised on earth.

The Governor of India—I have written to you many times about his friendship for us and for the whole Society—was so distressed by the death of these Christians that as soon as I spoke to him, he ordered a great fleet to be readied so that it might capture that king and destroy him; and I felt, as a consequence, compelled to soften his holy wrath. The king who slew these Christians has a brother who is the rightful heir to the kingdom, and he lives outside the realm for fear that the king, his brother, might slay him. This brother of the king says that he and his leading men and the rest of the people of the kingdom will become Christians if the governor places him in possession of it. The Governor has therefore ordered his captains to hand over this kingdom to the king's brother if he and his people become Christians, and to slay the king who killed the Christians or to do whatever I shall tell them in the governor's name. I hope in God our Lord and in His boundless mercy and in the earnest prayers of those whom he martyred that he comes to a knowledge of his error, asks God for mercy, and performs salutary penance.<sup>372</sup>

In another kingdom<sup>373</sup> forty leagues from the village where Xavier and Mansilhas were staying,<sup>374</sup> the king had had the crown prince<sup>375</sup> murdered because he wanted to become a Christian. At the site of his death<sup>376</sup> those who were present had seen a fiery cross. The earth had also opened up in the form of a cross, and this had moved many to become Christians. Among these was a brother<sup>377</sup> of the slain prince. At his own request he had been baptized by the Portuguese priests in the area.<sup>378</sup> Xavier had spoken with this prince, who was on his way to the governor in order to obtain help from him against the tyrant, his brother's murderer. Xavier then continued:

It seems to me that this kingdom will be converted to our holy faith before many days have passed, for the people were much impressed by the signs which they saw at the prince's death, and also because the prince who became a Christian is the heir to it.

In another country<sup>379</sup> very far, almost five hundred leagues,<sup>380</sup> from where I was,

<sup>369</sup> Probably Juan de Lizano. See above, p. 460.

<sup>370</sup> Chekarāsa Sēkaran, king of Jaffna.

<sup>371</sup> Around six hundred.

<sup>372</sup> On the legitimacy of the military expedition, see above, p. 484.

<sup>373</sup> Kōttē; see above, p. 533.

<sup>374</sup> Xavier was writing from Cochín, but was speaking of Cape Comorin as his and Mansilhas' mission field: "En un reyno destas partes, que es quarenta leguas, donde andamos Mansilhas y yo." Tursellinus mistranslates this as: "Ceylanus insula, . . . quo ego nuper Francisco Mansilla comite profectus sum" (1, 8). It was about forty leagues from Tuticorin to Colombo.

<sup>375</sup> Jugo.

<sup>376</sup> This must mean: at the place where his body was burned. The haste with which Xavier had to write the letter explains its inaccuracies.

<sup>377</sup> He was his cousin. On the Singhalese manner of speaking, see above, p. 532.

<sup>378</sup> "Los padres de aquellas partes." There were at the time two secular and five Franciscan priests in Ceylon (EX I 319).

<sup>379</sup> Macassar (Celebes).

<sup>380</sup> From Cape Comorin to Celebes is almost 3,100 miles, equal to 727 leagues.

three great lords with many other people became Christians eight months ago.<sup>381</sup> These lords sent envoys to the fortress of the King<sup>382</sup> of Portugal to ask for religious persons who might teach and instruct them in the law of God since up till then they had lived like brute animals, but from then on they wished to live like men, knowing and serving God. The captains of the fortresses<sup>383</sup> of the King provided them with clerics<sup>384</sup> to carry out this holy ministry. From these things which I am writing to you, you can perceive how well prepared this land is to bring forth much fruit. Pray, therefore, to the Lord of the Harvest that he send laborers into His vineyard. I trust in God our Lord that this year I shall make more than 100,000 Christians, so great is the disposition of these regions.<sup>385</sup>

In conclusion, Xavier came to speak of the College of St. Paul:

Micer Paulo is in Goa in the College of the Holy Faith. He is the confessor of the students and is constantly occupied with their maladies, both spiritual and physical. The King of Portugal did so much to enlarge this holy house that the Lord is to be thanked for it.<sup>386</sup> Those who will come here to these parts solely for the love and service of God our Lord to increase the number of faithful and to enlarge the boundaries of the holy Church, our mother—since this land is so well disposed—will find among the Portuguese of these parts all the help and assistance needed in great abundance; and they will be received by them with great charity and affection. The Portuguese nation is so greatly enamored of His law and so desirous of seeing these pagan parts converted to the faith of Christ our Redeemer that, even if it were only to respond to their great charity and affection for our Society, you should send some of the Society to these parts, all the more so in that the people here are so well disposed to becoming Christians. And so I bring this to a close, asking God our Lord that He may grant us to know and sense His most holy will and, once we have sensed it, great strength and grace to fulfill it with charity in this life. From Cochín, the twenty-seventh of January, 1545.

Your least son in Christ,

Francisco.

To this letter he added another for his father Ignatius.<sup>387</sup> Two years before, shortly after his arrival in India, he had asked Ignatius at the request of the governor and friends of the college to obtain from the Holy Father the status of a privileged altar for the high altar of the church and other favors and indulgences.<sup>388</sup> Since no answer had been forthcoming, Xavier now renewed the request. But still closer to his heart was a second request—the great need which

<sup>381</sup> The king of Supa, his son, and the king of Sião. In September, 1545, even before the arrival of the fleet from India, Simon Rodrigues, on the basis of the first report, which was brought from the Azores by a swift sailing vessel that had been sent ahead, spoke of the baptism of three kings (EX I 262; DI I 813). Xavier later wrote more accurately "two kings" (EX I 298).

<sup>382</sup> To Malacca.

<sup>383</sup> Simão Botelho, the captain of Malacca.

<sup>384</sup> He sent the beneficiary Vicente Viegas.

<sup>385</sup> Miguel Ferreira, the captain of the Coromandel Coast, who was familiar with the country, shared Xaviers' high expectations. In 1546 he wrote to D. Alvaro de Castro with respect to the Jaffna expedition: "If Your Grace comes, you will make more than 100,000 Christians." To Castro's father, the governor D. Joam de Castro, he even wrote about the conversion of more than 200,000 if Jaffna were captured (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 352 348).

<sup>386</sup> In the name of the king, Martim Affonso had fixed the revenues of the pagodas seized on the island of Goa upon the College of St. Paul (DI I 801 803).

<sup>387</sup> EX I 255-260.

<sup>388</sup> See above, p. 275.



the fields of India, ripe for the harvest, had for missionaries of the Society of Jesus:

Persons who have no talent for hearing confessions, preaching, or doing the things connected with the Society, after they have completed their Exercises and have served in lowly offices for some months,<sup>389</sup> will do great service in these parts if they have physical strength along with that which is spiritual. For in these parts of the infidels there is no need of learning except that necessary for teaching prayers and visiting the villages, baptizing the infants that are born, since many of them die without baptism for want of one to baptize them, for we cannot reach all the villages. As a consequence, send those who are not for the Society,<sup>390</sup> but who you see are able to go from place to place baptizing and teaching the prayers, since they can do much service for God our Lord. I say that they should be fit for great physical labors because these parts are very difficult on account of the great heat and the lack of good water in many places. There are few provisions for the body, and these are without exception rice, fish, and chickens. There is no bread or wine, nor other things that your lands have in great abundance. They must be healthy young men and not old or infirm so that they can bear the constant fatigue of baptizing, teaching, going from place to place baptizing the infants that are born, and supporting the Christians against the persecutions and insults of the pagans.

Moreover, God our Lord will also give those who come to these parts the grace to see themselves in dangers of death which they cannot avoid without perverting the order of charity; but if they preserve it, they must pass through them, remembering that they were born to die for their Lord and Redeemer; and this is the reason why they must be endowed with spiritual forces. And since I am lacking in these and am in places where I have much need of them, I ask for the love and service of God our Lord that you be particularly mindful of me and recommend me to all the Society. For if God our Lord has preserved me from dangers, I believe most firmly that it has been due to your prayers and those of the Society. I am sending you this account from these parts for those to whom you should send it.

Do not fail to send those who you see have the physical strength to endure the labors which I have mentioned but not for more, for there are also regions where there are no dangers of death where they can do much for the service of God. I have already said that there is no need of learning for one to go among the infidels, and when they will have been in these regions for some years, God our Lord will give them the strength for what remains.

Also send those who have the talent for hearing confessions and giving the Exercises even if they do not have the strength of body to endure greater labors; for these will remain in Goa or in Cochín, where they will do much for the service of God. There is an abundance of all things in these cities as there is in Portugal, for they are inhabited by Portuguese. They will obtain care for their physical ills since there are many physicians and medicines here, though these are lacking in the regions where no Portuguese are living, for example, in the villages to which Francisco Mansilhas and I go. They will do great service to God our Lord by giving the Exercises in either of these cities.

For Master Francis the separation from his distant confreres was a great sacrifice, and he had often felt lonely on Cape Comorin. He therefore continued:

<sup>389</sup> Cf. the decisions of 1539 (Vol. I 459).

<sup>390</sup> It was not until the brief *Exponi nobis* of June 5, 1546, that, in addition to the professed, helpers (*coadjutores*) for the spiritual and temporal works of the Society were admitted into it (MI *Const.* I 170-173). When the question was asked a year later if the nonprofessed in the Society should be called "companions" of the Society of Jesus, a negative answer was given. Formed coadjutors should be called "coadjutors of the Society of Jesus." Further reflection was required with respect to the students and others of the Society (*ibid.* 274).

It is now four years since I left Portugal. In all this time I have received only one letter from you in Rome,<sup>391</sup> and two from Master Simon in Portugal.<sup>392</sup> I would like to receive each year news of you and of all those of the Company in detail. I know well that you write to me each year. I also write to you every year; but I fear that, just as I do not receive your letters, so you do not receive mine. The ship on which two of the Society sailed this year has not yet arrived. I do not know if it returned to Portugal or wintered in Mozambique,<sup>393</sup> an island within the regions of India, where many vessels coming from Portugal are accustomed to spend the winter.

Then there was a sudden flash of humor as Master Francis reflected on the days he had spent in Rome.

I would like to have news of Dr. Ynigo Lopez,<sup>394</sup> if he is riding on a mule. For if he is still going on horseback as he was when I left him, then his weakness and infirmity are great since he has not been cured with the help of so many doctors and medicines and goes on foot.

But the thrust of the letter was the great need for missionaries. He accordingly closed it as follows:

I do not have more to tell you about these parts except to say that you should send all that you can since there is so great a lack of laborers in these parts. And so I conclude, asking God our Lord that, if we do not see each other in this life, we may do so in the next with greater tranquillity than we have in this. From Cochim, the twenty-seventh of January, 1545.

*Vester minimus filius,*

*Magister Franciscus.*

In a letter to John III, Francis recommended the favors and indulgences which he had asked Ignatius to obtain.<sup>395</sup> The king should take the matter up with the pope "as a remedy for the evils and for the many lost souls to be found in these parts." He also suggested another means of assistance:

If it seems good to Your Highness, give orders to all those who are entrusted with the execution of justice in India that no testimony is to be valid if the one giving it has not first gone to confession and submitted a note from his confessor attesting the fact that he has gone to confession. After this the judge should exercise his

<sup>391</sup> Dated January 13, 1542 (EX I 160-161). A second letter of March, 1545 (MI *Epp.* I 267), arrived too late for the boats for India, which sailed on March 25 (Figueiredo Falcão 160). The second, which was begun on July 24, 1543, and finished on January 30, 1544 (MI *Epp.* I 267-271), left Lisbon on April 19 with the *Burgalesa*, but the ship was driven back to Portugal by the winds. The letter did not successfully sail until March 29, 1545 (Schurhammer, "Criminali" 262-264); and it did not reach Xavier in Malacca until October, 1545 (EX I 327).

<sup>392</sup> Rodrigues wrote every year, in 1542, 1543, and 1544. Xavier received his third letter, like that from Ignatius, in Malacca in October, 1545.

<sup>393</sup> This is the way Xavier also wrote the name, following the Arabic pronunciation, in his letter from Mozambique in 1542 (EX I 92).

<sup>394</sup> He was the house physician for the companions in Rome (see Vol. I, index). Xavier, like Ignatius and all the companions, wrote the name *Inigo* without the tilde (see Schurhammer, *Nuevos datos* 286-289).

<sup>395</sup> Only a fragment of the letter is extant. This was formerly in the college of S. Antão in Lisbon, but in 1945 in the possession of the countess of Monteleón, D. Maria del Rosario Pérez de Barradas y Fernandez de Córdoba. At the time of her death she left it to the Jesuit residence of San Sebastián. We published the fragment in "Ein neuer Xaveriusbrief," AHSI 16 (1947) 177-191.

office;<sup>396</sup> and that which the witness affirms should not be valid or accepted as true if he has not received the Lord with regard to it and submitted another note from his confessor attesting to the fact that he has received the Lord. Then only shall the evidence he gives be valid, and not otherwise, so that the infidels of these parts do not state that they speak more truthfully when they swear by their *pagodas* (deities) than the Portuguese do when they swear by their Gospels.<sup>397</sup>

What he had requested for the chapel of the Mother of God on the island of Goa two years before, he now asked for all the chapels of India:

Since God our Lord gave India to the king, your father, and then to Your Highness for its rule and welfare, I ask Your Highness for the love and service of God our Lord that you order petitions to be made to His Holiness for this grace and blessing from the treasures of the Church that is so necessary for these parts of India, namely, that in any place in India where Portuguese are living, on the days when the feast of a chapel or of the respective chapels of the place are celebrated where they are living, all who go to confession and receive Holy Communion on the vigil or on the day of the feast itself may gain a plenary indulgence. For I would have Your Highness know that the number of those going to confession in India is very small. During Lent the soldiers sail with the fleet, and the *casados* and the poor sail out to sea to procure their livelihood, so that they do not, my Lord, go to confession during Lent; and even if they wished to do so, they would not all be able because of their great number.<sup>398</sup>

The last letter was for Simon Rodrigues,<sup>399</sup> who was ever eager to leave the court for India and more than once had thought of secretly embarking for the land of his desires without the knowledge of the king or of his father Ignatius.<sup>400</sup> Xavier began it as follows:

I am sending the letters which I am writing to Rome open so that you can read them and learn the news from here and provide for the sending of many people every year, since, no matter how many come, there is an abundance of work for all in these parts for the service of God our Lord. *I would not advise you to come here if you are not in really good health, for this land is very difficult and requires sound bodies possessed of great strength.* If your physical forces were as great as your spiritual, I would urge you to come. I say this in case Father Ignatius advises it and sends you, for he is our father whom we should obey and we should not stir without his advice and command.

With regard to Dioguo Fernandes, I would have you know that I saw him a month ago in Goa, much at peace and well and full of consolation, in the College of the Holy Faith in the company of Mestre Dioguo and Micer Paulo. He is rendering great service there to God our Lord and is very content to stay in that college. He told me that he would write to you at length. Do not fail to write to him since he has a great affection and esteem for you. He will be greatly consoled by a letter from you in which he sees that you are pleased that he is in the college, as he is at present.<sup>401</sup>

<sup>396</sup> The secretary of the king, Pero de Alcáçova Carneiro, noted as an answer on the margin: "Que ysto nam parece bom polos inconvenientes."

<sup>397</sup> The secretary noted on the margin: "Tomará [o] Senhor e jurará para isso." On similar efforts of Ignatius, see above, p. 481.

<sup>398</sup> The secretary added: "Que S. A. mandará sopricar e lh'as mandará." On the efforts of the king, see Schurhammer, "Ein neuer Xaveriusbrief" 181 and "Facultates" 131-132.

<sup>399</sup> EX I 278-282.

<sup>400</sup> On this see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 274-280; 2, 43-44; EX II 293-295.

<sup>401</sup> He was related to Rodrigues.

Francisco de Mancilhas and I commend ourselves to your devout prayers and those of all the Society, since we here are the work of the rest of you. Commend us in particular and in general to the devout sacrifices and prayers of all, since we who live here have great need of your spiritual assistance and that of all those who are devoted to you.

I earnestly ask you for the love of God our Lord that you write to me, or that you ask someone of the Society to write to me at length, in particular and in general, about all the brethren in Portugal and Rome, since we have no greater consolation when the ships come from the Kingdom than to read your letters. Read the letter which I am writing to all our companions in Rome to Pedro Carvalho, our great friend,<sup>402</sup> and tell him for me that, since I count him among my Brothers in Rome and Portugal, I am not writing more to him than I am to them. And say the same to all those Brothers who are with you, and that this letter, although it is only one, will become many letters when it is read by many. The other letter which I am writing to Padre Ygnacio read by yourself and give it only to others whom you think proper to read. When they have both been read, seal them and send them off *safely* to Rome.

May our Lord always assist us and give us the grace to sense His most holy will and the strength to fulfill it and to do that which we shall wish to have done at the hour of our death. From Cochim, the twenty-seventh of January, 1545.

In a postscript Xavier asked Rodrigues to remind the king of the favors and indulgences and the privileged altar for the College of St. Paul so that he might obtain them from the pope. He also repeated his request for missionaries:

Send many to India, for they will greatly enlarge the boundaries of Holy Mother Church, for from much experience I know the lack of those who are zealous for the faith of Christ our Redeemer and Lord, and this is why I insist so much upon it.

God knows in truth how much I desire to see you for my own great consolation. Your virtue and the gifts which God has given to you are the reason why I have this great longing to see you; and if these desires of mine could be fulfilled and it was to the greater or equal service of God that you should come here,<sup>403</sup> God knows what pleasure and delight I would have in seeing you and serving you.

But then another image came before his eyes, that of the oppressor of his Parava Christians, Cosme de Paiva, the captain of the Fishery Coast, and that of many other royal officials in India who followed his example.

Do not allow any of your friends to come to India with offices and positions from the king, for of them it can rightly be said: "They must be deleted from the book of life and not reckoned with the just."<sup>404</sup> No matter how much you trust their virtue, if they are not confirmed in grace like the apostles, do not have any hopes that they will do what they should. For here they are so accustomed to do what is not permitted that I see no remedy for it, since all go the way of *rapio*, *rapis* ("I steal, you steal"). And I am astonished at seeing how those who come from there find so many moods, tenses, and participles for this poor word *rapio*, *rapis*. And those who come from there charged with these offices are so caught up with them that they never relinquish anything that they have taken. From this you can see how poorly prepared are the souls of those who come with these offices to pass from this life to the next.<sup>405</sup>

<sup>402</sup> See Vol. I 612-613.

<sup>403</sup> Cf. MI Ex. 372.

<sup>404</sup> "Deleantur de libro viventium et cum iustis non scribantur" (Ps. 68:29).

<sup>405</sup> Cf. the complaints of Correa (IV 728-732) and Couto, *Observações sobre as prin-*

Miguel Vaz should therefore come back to India as soon as possible.

Miguel Vaz, who has been vicar general of these parts of India, a man full of zeal for the service of God, is returning from here. You must see him, and from his holy conversation and the zeal which he has for the honor of Christ, you will recognize the value of his person. He will inform you at great length about conditions here. I am writing to the King about him in order to relieve my own conscience and that of His Highness so that he sends him back soon, for India has urgent need of him, since he is the man who defends the sheep of these parts from the wolves, who are never sated. I assure you that Miguel Vaz is a man that never ceases to bark against those who destroy and persecute those who have been recently converted. And if His Highness sends another before he has obtained the experience of conditions here that Miguel Vaz has obtained during the twelve years that he has been in these parts, and is so greatly esteemed by the good and feared by the wicked, I do not know how it will turn out for His Majesty. Speak to the King so that he orders him to return.

Your dearest true brother in Christ,

Francisco.

Still on this same day the two ships, the *São João* and the *Santa Cruz*, hoisted their sails and set out for Portugal under the command of Martim Affonso de Mello Juzarte, the former captain of Ormuz,<sup>406</sup> who had been summoned by the king.<sup>407</sup> With him sailed Miguel Vaz with the letters of Master Francis. Sailing also at the same time was the young Paulo Vaz, who had accompanied Xavier on the Fishery Coast and in Travancore.<sup>408</sup> The vessels were likewise carrying two letters of the governor for the king.

In the first letter, written from Chaul on December 18, 1544,<sup>409</sup> Martim Affonso complained to the king that he had turned down his two requests, namely, that he should receive his salary from the time of his arrival in Mozambique, and that he might take back to Portugal one thousand hundredweights of indigo for a profit of twenty thousand *cruzados*. The king had refused the first request on the basis of an exhausted royal treasury, the second on the grounds that it was not befitting a governor of India to be engaged in trade. The governor replied to these with the candor of one who had been the king's companion in his youth:

How does Your Highness maintain such great fleets and undertake such great conquests that have made you more known and renowned throughout the world than all the other kings of Christendom, and so greatly envied by all, except by sending your goods on your ships to India and having them return from there laden with wares? If I also ask Your Highness for permission to take a little away with me in order to maintain my house and support my wife and children, that is no great mark of greed and no great dishonor. What is not thought to be even a venial sin for others must therefore be for me an offense and a mortal sin.

John III had further written to him that there were individuals who said that the governor was greedy and that he, the king, hoped that Martim Affonso

*cipaes causas da decadencia dos Portuguezes na Asia* (Lisboa, 1790) 8 41 157. Garcia d'Orta on the other hand defends the Portuguese in India (II 248).

<sup>406</sup> Correa IV 408.

<sup>407</sup> Couto 5, 10, 7, p. 424.

<sup>408</sup> He probably sailed in the same ship with Miguel Vaz. In October, 1545, he was already in Coimbra (*Ep. Mixtae* I 231-232).

<sup>409</sup> Q 1322.

was only greedy to serve him. To this the governor replied that he had no other desire except to serve his lord, for that he always did. But he wanted money because he had none, and without money he could not serve his lord or be respected. And he wanted an income since he had none except that of a prebend<sup>410</sup> like that which anyone in Portugal could have, and he wanted cities, for he did not have even a single one. Instead, the city which had belonged to his father and his grandfather had been given to another along with its title by the king at the request of his relatives.<sup>411</sup>

The king had added that he was sure that Martim Affonso would appreciate the reasons for his refusals. But the governor replied by asking how he could appreciate them when he had served His Highness from childhood, and not simply in caring for his royal wardrobe but in many toils and dangers. He had fought in many battles and had risked his life for His Highness. He had increased the king's revenues from India by nearly sixty millions. He had handed fines to the sum of 150,000 *pardaus* over to him. He had sent His Highness the best cargoes since the discovery of India and 150,000 *pardaus* in pure gold, and he had retained 400,000 more in order to take them to him.

The king had also written to Martim Affonso of his intention to reserve to himself the trade in cowries and commerce with Malacca. But the governor replied that His Highness should not put a check on private enterprise. The art of growing rich consisted in having great amounts of pepper and drugs brought from India and in the good administration of his properties and revenues, and not in appropriating private business to himself, for this was necessary for the factors. They were men, and every man born of a woman is a thief, especially captains and factors.

On the basis of the letters which Miguel Vaz and Xavier had written to John III with respect to the oppressed Christians of Socotra, the king had ordered Martim Affonso to drive the sheik and his Moors from the island at once. To this the governor replied:

Your Highness has written to me with respect to Socotra. You have been badly informed. The sheik does not try to make anyone a Moor except at most an occasional girl, when they take one. No doubt it would be a great service to God to drive him from there. But we are very few for such an undertaking as that which Your Highness wishes. This sheik of Socotra is at the same time the king of Qishn. Along the whole coast of Arabia his is the only friendly harbor that we have into which our ships can retire in times of storm, and it is as safe as that of Goa. The king is earnestly urged by the Turks, and this with many threats, to abandon our friendship; and in the face of this he shows more prudence and constancy than could be expected from a Christian friend, not to mention a Moor. It is not yet the right time to carry out Your Highness' command and what I myself eagerly desire. There is

<sup>410</sup> In 1525 the king gave him the prebend of the Order of Christ of São Tiago de Beja, which was leased for 180 *milreis*. For this he took from him in return an annual income of 80 *milreis* which Martim Affonso de Sousa had from his father (*Autobiographia* 107 171). In 1559 Sousa exchanged the first prebend for that of Santa Maria de Mascarenhas in the district of Mirandella (Traz-os-Montes) with an income of 700 *milreis* (HCPB III 111). In 1589 the first was valued at 574,740 *reis* (Figueiredo Falcão 242).

<sup>411</sup> This refers to the estate of Prado, which Martim Affonso with the permission of his wife and the king sold for 5,400 *cruzados* in 1525 in order to pay a debt of 4,000 *cruzados* to the king. John III gave it to Martim Affonso's cousin D. Pedro de Sousa with the title of a count of Prado. Martim Affonso did not buy it back until 1565, when he got it for the same price (HCPB III 107 111).

on the island a friar, a very good man, whom the sheik does not prevent from gaining all the fruit he can; and I take care of him and have him visited every year. This is all that can be done at present. I would consider anything more at this time to be of little help to the service of God and of very great harm to it. If this sheik should be offended, he would receive the Turks into Qishn the very next day; and that would be the worst thing that could happen to us here. I never have definite news except what he sends me. Even if this were feasible and the time for it favorable, it would have to be carried out in such a way that he does it voluntarily. It would make a very bad impression for us to show ourselves so strong against our friends when we are able to do so little against our foes. It is said here that we killed the king of Cambay only because he was our friend, and this is a fact.<sup>412</sup> Your Highness should never write so decisively to any of your governors, for this places them in a great dilemma. In your letter Your Highness says that I should immediately expel the sheik. If Your Highness had here a total of fifteen or twenty thousand men, you could be so absolute in your commands. But we are even few for an embassy.<sup>413</sup>

On January 19, 1545, he wrote a second short letter from Goa,<sup>414</sup> which still arrived in time for the last ship; and with it he enclosed authentic copies of the correspondence with the "Castilians" who had appeared on the Moluccas that had been sent by Dom Jorge de Castro, the captain of Ternate. After informing the king of these important developments he went on to say:

After I had written to Your Highness, I received these *requerimentos* and *papiere* which Dom Jorge is sending you with respect to matters in the Malucos. Would to God that we got along here without *requerimentos*, which, as I have already written to Your Highness, I do not care for in these affairs, for they will bring complaints against us, and we against none. And would to God that they were in a place where I could go in person and take the blame upon myself, and I would count it a great good fortune to be imprisoned in a fortress for a year for this. In the service of Your Highness I would count this for little.<sup>415</sup>

There are, as I have learned from a letter which Dom Jorge has written to me from there, 120 men who are sick, miserable, and half dead from hunger. He says that they are waiting for help. I cannot wait for a decision from Portugal. I shall do what seems to me to be required by your service. That is, I shall take care that they can no longer set foot there.<sup>416</sup> If former governors had not allowed the Castilians who went to Maluco that other time<sup>417</sup> to go to you,<sup>418</sup> these would not have come here. For those who sailed at that time are now coming in their company;<sup>419</sup> and,

<sup>412</sup> He is referring to the death of the sultan Bahādur on February 14, 1537.

<sup>413</sup> "Mas nos aimda pera embaixadores somos poucos" (Q 1322).

<sup>414</sup> Q 1366.

<sup>415</sup> The meaning is: "I would gladly submit to imprisonment for the measures which I took against the Castilians in the service of my king."

<sup>416</sup> "Que he ordenar como nom fique pee deles."

<sup>417</sup> In 1521 the ships *Victoria* and *Trinidad* of the fleet of Magalhães arrived under the command of Sebastián de Elcano; in 1526 the ship *Victoria* of the fleet of Loaysa under Martin Iñiguez de Carquizano, and after his death under Bernardo de la Torre, who remained on the Moluccas until 1534, although Charles V had sold his claim to the Moluccas in the Treaty of Zaragoza of April 23, 1529, to the Portuguese king in return for a compensation of 350,000 gold ducats. The treaty provided that if the Portuguese in the future encountered subjects of the emperor in their waters, they could imprison and punish them as corsairs and destroyers of the peace (Ramos-Coelho 495-512).

<sup>418</sup> "Que es os governadores passados nom deixarão ir laa [to Portugal] os castelhanos, que vierão a Maluco la otra vez, não pasarão estes caa [to Maluco]."

<sup>419</sup> Thus, for example, the pilot Ginés de Mafra of Magalhães' fleet, Martín de Islares of Loaysa's fleet, and the pilot Antonio Corço, who came with Saavedra.

as far as enemies are concerned—the fewer the better.<sup>420</sup> I shall therefore kiss the hand of Your Highness so that my wife learns nothing about this.<sup>421</sup> May our Lord protect and augment the life and royal state of Your Highness for many years. From Goa, the nineteenth of January, 1545.

He then added to the letter, which he had dictated, the following in his own hand:

I kiss the royal hand of Your Highness,  
Martim Affonso de Sousa.<sup>422</sup>

#### 9. FROM COCHIN TO NEGAPATAM (FEBRUARY—APRIL, 1545)<sup>423</sup>

Eight days after the departure of the last Portuguese vessel<sup>424</sup> a second Singhalese prince came from Ceylon accompanied by many prominent individuals. He was the younger cousin of Dom Joam, the brother of the martyred prince, who had also succeeded in fleeing secretly away. All immediately became Christians. The prince received the name of Dom Luis in baptism, and after the ceremony he sailed with André de Sousa and all his retinue to Goa in order to ask the governor for help against the murderous king Bhuvaneka Bāhu.<sup>425</sup> Even before the arrival of Paiva and the prince, Mansilhas had come from the Fishery Coast<sup>426</sup> and had sailed from Cochin to Goa in order to be ordained to the priesthood by the bishop there. Xavier's chief concern was now the prep-

<sup>420</sup> A play on the Portuguese proverb: "Dos nemigos quanto menos, tanto melhor."

<sup>421</sup> His wife, Ana Pimentel, was a Castilian.

<sup>422</sup> These two letters are the last which M. A. de Sousa wrote to his king as governor of India. They show both the bright and the shady sides of his character: his knightly gallantry and his mania for enriching himself without being overly scrupulous about his choice of means. The charge of greed was not unfounded. Even Xavier, who was grateful to him for his generous help, in his first letter from Goa had already asked Ignatius that he might have him recommended to the whole Society so that God might give him the grace to rule great India well, and "quod sic transeat per temporalia, ut non amittat aeterna" (EX I 133). A *casado* of Goa who had sailed with him to the pagoda in 1543 and to Cannanore in 1544 sent back to the king with the ship which carried Martim Affonso to Portugal at the beginning of 1546 an extremely severe complaint about the governor under the title of *\*Verdadeira enfformação das cousas da India*. This document, which was anonymous "through fear of death," submits Sousa's three-year rule to a merciless criticism, and it also complains about his morals (Q 1821). Documents of this type are to be handled with care. Still, even the king and many others were not in complete agreement with the measures taken by M. A. de Sousa. See Q 1322 1535 1553 1565 1582 1611 1645 1692 1733 1749 1794 1804 1806 1894 1982 2865 2917 2930 2932 2968 3424 (to be dated March, 1547).

<sup>423</sup> The following section is frequently distorted by Xavier's biographers through false chronologies, confusion of individuals, erroneous data, and legends (see, for example, Brou I 318-328). Bartoli already made complaints about the lack of definite data (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 37-38). In Queyroz it becomes a completely impossible fiction (242-254).

<sup>424</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 212.

<sup>425</sup> *Ibid.* 185-186 212 216-217.

<sup>426</sup> On December 18, 1544, Xavier wrote from Cochin to Mansilhas that the bishop would not come to that city but that he was ready to ordain him in Goa, and that he, Xavier, hoped to see him again after a month (EX I 245-246). This reunion took place in Cochin in the middle of January, 1545, after the return of the saint from Goa and before the arrival of Paiva on January 26, since Xavier's letter from Negapatam shows that Mansilhas did not as yet know anything about the baptism of the kings of Macassar (*ibid.* 284).





aration of the punitive expedition against the ruler of Jaffnapatam who had slain the Christians on the island of Manār. Martim Affonso had given him letters for the captains of the south in which he ordered them to assemble the necessary ships and men for the expedition.<sup>427</sup>

Francis sailed from Cochin to Quilon, where he was warmly received by the captain of the fort, his old friend Duarte da Gama.<sup>428</sup> From there he sailed to Colombo, where Belchior Botelho was in charge of the factory.<sup>429</sup> During the voyage Master Francis frequently visited the pilot, who was steering the ship from its afterdeck. He conversed with him until he had won his confidence and esteem. The pilot then spoke about his problems. For many years he had been living in a state of mortal sin and had never confessed during this time since he was still living with the woman who was the occasion of his sins. With some timidity he declared that he was ready to go to confession when they came to land if the priest were willing to hear it. Francis replied that the mercy of God is great and that he would be only too glad to help him.

When they reached Colombo, the pilot's pious resolve had cooled. He avoided Xavier's sight until one evening he unexpectedly encountered him as he was walking along the seacoast, as he frequently did, with his eyes lifted up to heaven in pious meditation. The pilot was unable to turn away. With a beating heart he asked the priest when he could hear his confession. Master Francis did not fail to notice his friend's difficulty, and he encouraged him.

"Jesus, Sir Pilot, confession?" he replied. "Gladly, of course, and if you wish, right now as we are walking here along the beach."

The old sinner took heart at these words and opened up his conscience with increasing trust and confidence. When Master Francis saw this, he invited him to go with him into a neighboring chapel. When they reached it, the pilot wished to kneel; but his companion, to make it easier for him, spread out a mat upon the floor and told him to sit down. After a short time, however, the man was so stricken that he got up on his knees and with great pain and sorrow for his sins and an abundance of tears and loud sobs began to make a general confession of his whole life. He came back to Master Francis several days for this, did penance, dismissed the woman who had been the occasion of his sins, fulfilled all his obligations, and resolved to begin a new life.<sup>430</sup>

During the few days that he stayed in Colombo, Xavier was busy with the

<sup>427</sup> On January 27, 1542, Xavier wrote: "Manda el Governador a sus capitanes" (*ibid.* 275). According to Sousa, Xavier brought *alvarás* for all the captains from Cochin to Negapatam and assembled ships, soldiers, munitions, and provisions in Cochin, Chale, Quilon, Colombo and Mailapur (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 29), but this was hardly possible for Chale. In 1546, when Miguel Ferreira was readying the expedition against Jaffna, he received letters from the governor for the captain of the Fishery Coast. Frey Antonio Padram brought thirty-five men from Cochin. Ferreira enlisted others in Negapatam and São Thomé, and he also asked the governor for a strict order for the Portuguese of the Coromandel Coast, who came from Masulipatam, Orissa, and Bengal, to take part in the expedition (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 346 348-349 371).

<sup>428</sup> See MX II 415.

<sup>429</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 149.

<sup>430</sup> Teixeira reports the conversion "según el mismo piloto nos lo contó," and he adds: "Se confesó de allí adelante muy á menudo hasta la ora de su muerte, hasta la qual fué siempre muy temeroso de Dios y desseoso de su salvación, como muchos después vimos en él. Y esta gracia particular se notó en el P. Mtro. Francisco entre otras, que á las personas que con él confesavan, y conversavan en las cosas tocantes á su alma, les quedava siempre un cierto temor de Dios y deseo de su salvación" (856-857).

preparations for the Jaffna expedition.<sup>431</sup> When a Portuguese by the name of João d'Eiró also asked him to hear his confession, the priest put him off until later. He told him that he would grant his request in São Thomé, where the man was sailing with his trading vessel.<sup>432</sup>

From Colombo Xavier sailed northwards along the palm-covered coast of Ceylon. Later it was told of him that at the sight of it he had cried out with tears in his eyes: "O land, land, how much Christian blood you will cost!"<sup>433</sup> South of Manār the annual Great Pearl Fishery was in progress. The Paravas with their *patangatis*, the Karaiyas, and Cosme de Paiva, the captain of the Fishery Coast, and his men had all assembled for it.<sup>434</sup> The Paravas and Karaiyas were eager to avenge the death of their coreligionists in Manār.<sup>435</sup> They were, however, of the opinion that the best time for an expedition against Jaffna would be during the Small Pearl Fishery in September.<sup>436</sup> No help, however, was to be expected from Paiva, whose only interest was to squeeze as much money out of the people as he could.<sup>437</sup>

From Ceylon they sailed past Manār<sup>438</sup> to Cow Island,<sup>439</sup> from there to the

<sup>431</sup> We conclude this from the fact that he put off Eiró for the time being.

<sup>432</sup> In 1556 Eiró said that he had asked Xavier to hear his confession in Ceylon but that the latter had replied that he should look him up in São Thomé. Only there would he hear his confession "por hocupações que tinha" (MX II 378; cf. EX I 300 320). For the campaign against Jaffna he had also to sail to São Thomé in order to speak with the captain of the Coromandel Coast, who lived there.

<sup>433</sup> In 1616 the forty-eight-year-old Portuguese Damião Ferreira, an *ex-provedor* of the Misericórdia, declared in Manār that Xavier had had the gift of prophecy. When he was sailing past the island of Ceylon, he had said: "Ah, terra, terra, quanto sangue de Christãos há-de custar!" and this prophecy had been fulfilled in the siege and capture of Ceylon (Barradas 70-71; MX II 578). After the massacres at Manār and the murder of Jugo, Xavier could have said this without any special gift of prophecy.

<sup>434</sup> Teixeira is in error when he has Xavier sail from Cochin in April (856). He is followed in this by Valignano, Tursellinus, Lucena, and Bartoli. Sousa places the departure from Cochin at the beginning of March (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 29). He apparently sailed already in February. When Miguel Ferreira wished to undertake the Jaffna expedition with Frey Antonio Padram in 1546, the friar sailed from Cochin on February 18 and Ferreira left immediately after him. Both went to the Pearl Fishery, which took place in March. There Ferreira took up the question of the expedition with the captain of the Fishery Coast and the Paravas (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 346-348 371). On February 4, when the second prince came to Cochin, Xavier was still there, since from then on he constantly speaks of the two princes from Ceylon. On the way he stopped at Quilon, Colombo, and at the Pearl Fishery, and he had already taken up the matter of the Jaffna expedition in Negapatam when he sailed from there for the first time on March 22. On April 17 he mentioned the money which Joam da Cruz received from this Pearl Fishery (EX I 285).

<sup>435</sup> "Os cristãos offemidos estavam determinados, quando lhe faltase outro favor, per si soos irem tomar a vingança," wrote Miguel Vaz (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 248). They told this also to Miguel Ferreira in 1546 and said that they could field ten thousand warriors (*ibid.* 348-349).

<sup>436</sup> The *patangatis* reported this to Miguel Ferreira in 1546 (*ibid.* 348).

<sup>437</sup> This is indicated by Xavier's letter from Negapatam (EX I 287-288).

<sup>438</sup> In 1616 the forty-year-old Indian Manuel de Thaide declared in Manār that he had heard from an eyewitness, João de Mello Sampaio, the captain of the fortress of Manār, that through his prayers Xavier had miraculously stopped the plague in the village of *Pati*, from which two to three hundred were dying every day (Barradas 70; MX II 561-562). On the basis of this declaration, Bartoli has Xavier sail from Ceylon past Cow Island to Manār. There he has him honor the place of the martyrdoms in Patim and stop the plague and then sail from there to Negapatam (*Asia* 1, 48). The biographers followed him in this until 1924 (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 38 56 71-72 77). But Mello Sampaio did not come to India until 1559. He was captain of Manār from 1587 to 1590. The plague was in 1563, when Mello de Castro was captain. Xavier is

island of Karaitivu near the northwestern tip of the Jaffna peninsula,<sup>440</sup> and then north through the open sea to Cape Canhameira,<sup>441</sup> which was recognizable from its dark pagoda, visible from five to six leagues out at sea.<sup>442</sup> This was the beginning of the Coromandel Coast.<sup>443</sup> From here they sailed for seven leagues farther north along the flat coast to Negapatam, whose landmark was a many-storied Chinese pagoda.<sup>444</sup>

here confused with H. Henriques (see *ibid.* 35, n. 3). Two witnesses at the Malacca process in 1616, Joanna Lopes Moreira and Melchior Ribeiro, further declared that they had heard from all the old people in Mailapur that Xavier had raised from the dead on Manār the son of a native woman of that island, who had already been clothed in a shroud (Barradas 56; \*Confalonerius 231v-232). The miracle of the well in Kombuturē is here mistakenly transposed to Manār.—In 1546 the Pearl Fishery was at Mourão (Murungan) off the northwest coast of Ceylon (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 348). It was probably there also in 1545. To reach Negapatam from here, Xavier would have had to sail through the narrow strait between Ceylon and the east tip of Manār to Cow Island. That in the course of this he visited the nearby village of Pati, which had been deserted by its inhabitants, and had thus placed himself in danger of death is quite improbable. Completely without historical foundation is the assertion that at the time of his visit Xavier left Franciscans behind on Manār as missionaries under the direction of Frey Manuel de S. Mathias (*ibid.* 59 77; cf. SR V 421-422). The island was at the time uninhabited (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 279 410).

<sup>439</sup> In 1557 Antonio Mendes, the brother of Fernão Mendes Pinto, said in Malacca that he had heard Xavier's companion Eiró say that the priest had raised either a Moor or a pagan from the dead on Cow Island (MX II 422); but Eiró knew nothing of this (*ibid.* 378-382). In Bartoli this becomes a Moorish boy whom Xavier raised from the dead during his voyage from Ceylon to Negapatam (*Asia* 1, 48). It is again a transfer of the miracle of Kombuturē to this site.

<sup>440</sup> "From Cardiva [Karaitivu] the way is across the open sea to the Coromandel Coast. In good weather Negapatam can be reached in a day" (\*A. Lopes 533). Since the sixteenth century there has been talk about a visit that Xavier made to Jaffna. Two scribal errors are the basis for this mistake. In a letter which he wrote with his own hand from São Thomé on May 8, 1545, Xavier said: "En Negapatam estebe algunos dias" (EX I 292). Two copies, of 1551 and 1567, which erroneously read *Jafanapatan* (*ibid.* 290, n. 5 and 8), confused Polanco (I 166). Guzman has Xavier write to Mansilhas from Jaffna and then go by foot to São Thomé (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 33). Du Jarric throws Kōttē, Kandy, and Jaffna all together and has the saint convert the king of Jaffna in 1548 (*ibid.* 33-34). Coleridge wrongly transfers the alleged miracle of a gift of tongues in Tevanapatan to Jafanapatan (*ibid.* 75). Gnana Prakasar reports three "local traditions" with respect to Xavier's visit to Jaffna (*History* 67-68): (1) Before sailing on from Point Pedro (Paretiture) in the north of the Jaffna peninsula for Cape Canhameira, Xavier preached under one of the still standing, shady tamarind trees. This confuses Xavier with the Calvinist preacher Baldaeus (Baldaeus 394; picture 359). (2) According to the Hindus in Nallur (Jaffna), the Frank Xavier came and captured the fortress for his people. This confuses Xavier with the viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança, who captured Jaffna in 1560. (3) Xavier cursed a puarasu tree on Karaitivu. This is possibly a take-off on Xavier's prophecy about Ceylon or an exchange of Xavier with the yogis who, according to Queyroz, at the insistence of the Portuguese were driven out by the king of Jaffna, Hendermana Cinga Cumara (1591-1615), and cursed the rajah as they were sailing away from Karaitivu (461). Already in 1545 Beira was combining the murderer of the princes of Kōttē with the ruler of Jaffna who had slain the Christians (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 226). Maffei has Prince D. Joam flee from Jaffna; Tursellinus has Jugo die with the six hundred Christians on Manār, while Lucena wavers between Jaffna and Kandy (*ibid.* 22 24 32). In Bartoli Jugo becomes a son of the king of Jaffna (*ibid.* 37).

<sup>441</sup> Calimere Point. The *Livro de Marinharia* gives the route from "Jamanapatão pera Tratora," that is, from Jaffna to Tirutturaippūndi (227), halfway between Calimere Point and Negapatam (F. R. Hemingway, *Tanjore* [Madras, 1906] 283).

<sup>442</sup> \*Fernandez da Fonseca 97.

<sup>443</sup> Yule 256-258; Barbosa II 124-125.

<sup>444</sup> *Livro de Marinharia* 227-228. A boat could sail from Jaffna to Negapatam in ten hours (Baldaeus 148; cf. Gaspar da Cruz, c. 2).

Negapatam was a flourishing commercial city<sup>445</sup> in the territory of the king of Vijayanagar and governed for him by an *adhigāri*.<sup>446</sup> It lay on the northern bank of a large river, which, despite the fact that the bar was partially blocked with sand, enabled the ships to anchor close to the beach not far from its mouth.<sup>447</sup> The harbor was the best along the entire Cormandel Coast,<sup>448</sup> which was otherwise poorly provided with them. More than seven hundred sailing vessels were frequently docked at the same time on the river. Every year these carried more than twenty thousand measures<sup>449</sup> of rice from here to the western coast of India. The land was fruitful and food cheap. One could buy as many chickens as one wanted at from six to eight for a *fanam*, which did not come to thirty *reis*.<sup>450</sup> The trade here attracted merchants from all parts of India as well as from Pegu, Malacca, and Sumatra.<sup>451</sup> The quarters of the Moors and Portuguese<sup>452</sup> adjoined the native city inhabited by Hindus. The houses were built of clay or palm leaves and were covered with the latter, since the lord of the land would not allow private homes to be built of stone.<sup>453</sup> From the harbor could be seen rising up over the low roofs of the small Portuguese settlement the high towers of the ornate old Hindu temple of the native city.<sup>454</sup> The most elaborate structure, however, was the brick, Chinese pagoda lying in the northeastern part of the city.<sup>455</sup> It had been built by the Chinese before they left India for good in the fifteenth century.<sup>456</sup>

<sup>445</sup> According to Valignano, Negapatam at the time of Xavier's arrival was a small Portuguese village but in 1584 a very important and rich place (75). The native city, however, was always a significant center of trade, probably the *Nigama Metropolis* of Ptolemy (Hemingway 253-248). Correa observed in 1534 that there were always many Portuguese and Moorish merchants there (III 554; cf. Heras 175).

<sup>446</sup> Around 1537 Saluva Timma was the prime minister of Vijayanagar, lord of Coromandel, Tanjore, and Negapatam (Sewell 384-385). Correa mentions the *adhigāri* (III 554-555).

<sup>447</sup> *Livro de Marinharia* 228. The city lies at the mouth of the Kaduvaiyār River.

<sup>448</sup> According to Ambrosio Soeiro in 1611 (ARSI: *Goa* 17, 42v).

<sup>449</sup> The Portuguese measure (*moio*) held 752 quarts; 20,000 measures thus corresponded to some 470,000 bushels.

<sup>450</sup> Correa IV 131-132; cf. II 722.

<sup>451</sup> Soeiro 43v.

<sup>452</sup> Soeiro speaks of two very large parts of the city, one of the pagans and one of the Moors. The Portuguese quarter was next to them upstream.

<sup>453</sup> Bocarro wrote that in 1594 the Portuguese city of Negapatam had begun to build stone houses; previous to this they had had only straw houses for the rice which they brought from there to Ceylon. At the time of his writing (1653) it was a city with five hundred homes: 140 of white Portuguese, the rest of mulattoes and native Christians, each with their own slaves, for a total of 2,000 muskets (II 1).

<sup>454</sup> The mosques, as Soeiro observed, were little different from the other houses. Bocarro's map shows five pagodas east of the Portuguese city. The largest of these had a processional car, also known as a pagoda. The second had a chapel with the sacred bull of Shiva located within the temple wall (II 2). The oldest of these is the Kāyārōhanasvāmi temple with inscriptions from the time of King Rājarāja I (985-1013 A.D.) and other Cōla kings (Hemingway 248; J. Ayyar 389-392). Before the portal of this pagoda the Hindus venerated a square column with a cross and instruments of the Passion. According to tradition it had floated to land from the sea in ancient times (Gomes de Brito II 97-98; \*Trindade 971; Couto 7, 10, 5, pp. 472-475).

<sup>455</sup> Soeiro called it in 1611 a "pagode sumptuosissimo e de grande obra dos Chins," who in ancient times conducted business in Negapatam (43v). According to Chinese sources the Chinese here built a many-storied *stūpa* of earth and bricks in 1267 (Yule-Cordier I 81). On the building, see *Indian Antiquary* 7 (1878) 224-227; 12 (1883) 311-312; 15 (1886) 234-236; 22 (1893) 42. Its ruins were demolished in 1869 by order of the governor of Madras (*Handbook of the Madras Presidency* [London, 1879] 206-207).

<sup>456</sup> The Cōla king Rājarāja I sent a commercial delegation to China in 1012, and

There were almost 2,000 Portuguese with their slaves dispersed along the lengthy Coromandel Coast. There were 1,000 on board their ships, 100 in Negapatam, 500 in São Thomé, and 150 in Masulipatam and other harbors. From these they sailed to Orissa and Bengal, to Porto Grande (Satigam) and Porto Pequeno (Chittagong), to the Sundarbans and Arakan.<sup>457</sup> But since they were living in the territories of pagan or Mohammedan princes far from the Portuguese forts, the governor of India had little authority over them. Neither did Miguel Ferreira, the captain of the Coromandel Coast, nor Mendes de Vasconcellos, the captain of Negapatam, have much to say here.<sup>458</sup>

Antonio Mendes de Vasconcellos,<sup>459</sup> who had been captain of Negapatam since the beginning of 1543,<sup>460</sup> was known to Xavier from his stay on Cow Island. As a young *fidalg*o he had accompanied M. A. de Sousa during his first tour in India. He had fought under him in 1536 at Edappalli and in 1538 at Vēdālai. He had sailed in 1541 with Dom Estevão da Gama to the Red Sea and had then kept watch along the Malabar Coast as the captain of six *fustas*.<sup>461</sup> When M. A. de Sousa sailed in 1543 to Cow Island, he sent Mendes de Vasconcellos to the king of Jaffna and compelled him to recognize the Portuguese dominion and to pay an annual tribute.<sup>462</sup> But this forced subjection had made the prince a hardened foe of the Portuguese.

Since 1543 the king of Kandy had been in correspondence with Amaro Mendes and Miguel Ferreira with respect to the founding of a Portuguese factory in Trincomali. In November, 1544, this Singhalese ruler in the interior of Ceylon had sent the Portuguese Francisco Luís with letters to Ferreira and one of his own men with ten thousand *chakras*<sup>463</sup> and two precious stones to defray the cost of the founding of the factory. The rajah of Jaffna had, however, refused to give the man with the money a boat so that he could continue his journey. When the captain of Negapatam sent Francisco Luís and two of his men in a catamaran to fetch him, the king of Jaffna had taken everything away from them and sent them back empty handed to Kandy with the threat that, if the king again sent people to the Portuguese, he would have them all killed.<sup>464</sup> This same hatred for the Portuguese had also been the reason for his mass murder of the new converts on Manār. The captain of Negapatam and Miguel Ferreira consequently had reasons enough to be glad to execute the order of M. A. de Sousa when they received his letters.<sup>465</sup>

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his successors others in 1033 and 1077. From the twelfth to the fifteenth century, Chinese trading vessels frequently sailed to India (N. Sastri, *History* 320-322; bibliography in Grousset 502). On the seven voyages of Admiral Cheng Ho between 1405 and 1433, see above, pp. 416-417. On the departure of the Chinese, see the \*letter of Diogo Pereira of 1539 (Q 358).

<sup>457</sup> According to Miguel Ferreira in 1546 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 382-383 389-391).

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.* 391 409.

<sup>459</sup> In 1546 he went with Miguel Ferreira to the help of Diu; each had his own ship and excellent men (*ibid.* 389; L. Nunes 112-113). The data on his life given in Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 90, n. 2, should be distributed between him and his namesake who fell at Diu in 1538 (cf. Q 514; Sousa Coutino 195 216).

<sup>460</sup> In January, 1546, D. Joam de Castro named Christovão Douria as his successor in the captaincy of Negapatam (Q 1875; cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 181-182 350 381).

<sup>461</sup> Correa III 768 828, IV 191 210; Q 873.

<sup>462</sup> *Ibid.* IV 325; see above, p. 373.

<sup>463</sup> The *chakra* used on the Coromandel Coast was a tiny gold coin, a *fanam* with the image of Vishnu's discus. It was worth 1½ *fanams* (Dalgado I 277-278).

<sup>464</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 181-182.

<sup>465</sup> When Miguel Ferreira was recruiting men in 1546 for the Jaffna expedition,

When Xavier arrived, their hands were, however, tied by an unforeseen event. A royal vessel with a precious cargo had been stranded on the coast of Jaffna as it was sailing from Pegu<sup>466</sup> to India, and the rajah in keeping with Indian coastal law had confiscated the goods.<sup>467</sup> Attempts had to be made to persuade him to surrender the cargo before the punitive expedition was undertaken. This new state of affairs had to be communicated to the captain of the Coromandel Coast in São Thomé and to the governor in Goa,<sup>468</sup> but at least six or seven weeks would pass before an answer could be obtained from the latter.<sup>469</sup>

During the period of waiting Xavier would have preferred to visit his companion Mansilhas, who had in the meantime been ordained to the priesthood in Goa, and his other fellow workers on the Fishery Coast; but the southwest monsoon had already set in, making a voyage to the south impossible.<sup>470</sup> Accordingly, when Diogo Madeira<sup>471</sup> on the afternoon of Passion Sunday, March 22,

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Antonio Mendes was ready to take part in it with his family and friends (*ibid.* 350). Teixeira, who had the habit of freely altering Xavier's letters, has the saint write that the governor ordered a fleet of four to five hundred Portuguese to sail at once from Negapatam (EX I 271). This addition is missing in the better Italian text (\*Teixeira It. 2, 7). Apparently a marginal gloss with respect to four or five hundred Manār martyrs was misinterpreted by Teixeira's translator and put into the text. Queyroz has Xavier collect a fleet of nine ships with five hundred men in Negapatam between November, 1542, and April, 1543; and he gives the names of all the captains (249). It is all pure fiction!

<sup>466</sup> (EX I 291). Pegu, today Lower Burma, in the delta of the Irawadi, was captured by the Burmese king Tabinshwehti (Harvey 153-157) between 1535 and 1542. It and its harbor of Cosmin (near Bassein?) were visited by the Portuguese, whereas Martaban was frequented by Turkish and Gujarāti merchants (Barbosa II 152-159; T. Pires 97-101; Yule 259-260 559; Q 1704 2606).

<sup>467</sup> Cf. Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 31. The captain of the Pegu boat was probably Alvaro de Sousa, who had been in India since 1538. On March 14, 1540, he received for his services and those of his brother, who had fallen at Diu in 1538, three Pegu voyages. In September, 1545, he sailed again from Goa to Pegu, where, at the request of the king there, he accompanied him on his campaign against Arakan. He was, however, driven west by a storm so that he returned to India by sailing around Ceylon (Couto 6, 1, 13). In 1546 he was again in Pegu as a "capitão da carreira" with his own newly built ship. The king wanted to employ him again in his war against the king of Arakan; but since the governor had in the meantime given the latter a letter of protection, Sousa secretly sailed away from Cosmin and, after riding out a severe storm, arrived in Cochin on December 15 very wealthy, as it was said (Q 2643). In December, 1547, he was still in Cochin. It seems that he sailed back to Portugal at the beginning of 1548, where he married Francisca de Távora, the sister of D. Christovão de Moura, the first marquês of Castello Branco, and left behind numerous progeny (Sousa, *Hist. Gen.* XII 347 719-723 339); cf. Q 2588 2606 2643 2749 2812 2824 2843 3525.

<sup>468</sup> Especially since the stranded vessel belonged to the crown.

<sup>469</sup> The letter had to be carried by a *patamar* overland from São Thomé to Goa 112 leagues away. The Jesuit brother Baltasar Lopes covered the distance on foot in 1576 in twenty-five or twenty-six days (ARSI: *Goa* 31, 291v); Valignano did it in 1577 in twenty-seven days (Schütte, *Valignano* I 1, 159); Frey Simão de Coimbra made it in the same number in 1546 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 392 412 427). But the *patamares* went more quickly. According to Barros they went as fast as mounted couriers in Europe (4, 2, 8). On June 18, 1546, a *patamar* left São Thomé with letters for Goa. On July 12 he was back with the governor's answer. Since the latter was urgently asking for help for Diu, the messenger had to hurry (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 383 385 389). A *patamar* needed five days to go from Tranquebar, five leagues north of Negapatam, to São Thomé, a distance of thirty-five leagues (Yule 687), from Negapatam to Goa 2½ weeks.

<sup>470</sup> EX I 292. In Negapatam March witnesses the end of the northeast, and the beginning of the southwest, monsoon. The intervening time is marked by bad weather (*The Bay of Bengal Pilot* [London, 1931] 161).

<sup>471</sup> In 1556 Madeira was married and living in Goa and there testified on what

set sail in a boat of Miguel Ferreira<sup>472</sup> from Negapatam for São Thomé, he joined him in order to speak with the captain of the Coromandel Coast and to perform his devotions at the tomb of the apostle.

The weather was at first favorable. But the next night a strong opposing wind forced them to anchor twelve leagues north of Negapatam.<sup>473</sup> For a whole week, until the evening of the Saturday before Palm Sunday, they were detained by the wind and could not think of sailing further. Francis had to share his cabin with Madeira, the latter's native servant, and an eight-year-old girl. To their astonishment these latter all noticed that the priest ate nothing during the whole week after his departure.<sup>474</sup> Several times Madeira asked him if he did not wish to eat something. He would kill a chicken so that he could at least take some broth. Francis, however, refused this with thanks and asked him instead to prepare some warm onion soup. This was the only thing that he took, even though he had fasted for so many days.

When the wind died down on Saturday night and a decision had to be made with respect to sailing on, Xavier asked Madeira if the boat was sturdy. When he replied that, to the contrary, it was old and frail, Xavier immediately asked him to sail back to the harbor of Negapatam. Still, after holding a consultation, it was decided to continue the voyage to São Thomé. Madeira gave an order for the sails to be hoisted. But hardly had the anchor been lifted and the voyage begun when a violent storm forced the travelers to accept the priest's request and to seek refuge in the harbor of Negapatam, where they arrived on Palm Sunday.<sup>475</sup>

Xavier used Holy Week as a time in which to provide the Portuguese and their slaves with the opportunity of performing their Easter duty and preparing themselves for the feast itself. He was able to give light and peace to many in the sacrament of penance<sup>476</sup> and to win over a young Portuguese by the name of Vasco Fernandes as a candidate for the Society of Jesus.<sup>477</sup>

had happened (MX II 214-215). In 1560 he accompanied the viceroy, D. Constantino de Bragança, as the captain of a *fusta* on his campaign against Jaffna (Couto 7, 9, 1).

<sup>472</sup> It seems that Miguel Ferreira did not sail with the ship since Madeira identifies himself as the captain of the vessel, took care of Xavier, and, after holding a consultation, ordered the voyage to be continued despite the latter's rejection of the proposal.

<sup>473</sup> Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Krishnappa, the Nāyak of Jinji, founded the city of Porto Novo twelve leagues north of Negapatam (Bocarro II 45; Heras 406-407).

<sup>474</sup> Xavier was seasick for two months on the voyage to India. He was thus not a good sailor. This probably explains, despite Madeira's astonishment, his fasting on the stormy sea.

<sup>475</sup> MX II 214.

<sup>476</sup> Valignano 76; MX II 425. The chapel dedicated to Xavier in Karambadi is a short half-hour north of the present rectory. According to the local tradition the Chettis (merchants) of Negapatam did not want to have anything to do with Xavier's preaching but persecuted him instead. He therefore went to Karambadi, where he was well received, as a native priest of Negapatam told me in 1956. According to another tradition, the priest withdrew here into a grove for the last three days of Holy Week. In the shade of a large tree he gave himself over entirely to prayer and meditation. The Christians later built here a modest chapel that was visited by numerous pilgrims. After the suppression of the Society it fell into ruins. When the Jesuits returned in the nineteenth century, they rebuilt the sanctuary. P. Castanier, the rector of the college of Negapatam from 1851 to 1855, took a special interest in it. The feast of the saint was celebrated here each year (*Missions Catholiques* 5 [1873] 305; picture 301; Denis Guchen, *Cinquante ans au Maduré* [Trichinopoly, 1889] 54-55). In 1528 Penteado wrote that there were several clerics on the Coromandel Coast but they were more interested in trade than in the care of souls (SR II 147-148). Apparently there was



Nevertheless, as the negotiations with respect to Jaffna dragged on and the whole expedition came into question, Master Francis must have ever and again thought of the kings of Macassar, about whom he had been informed by Paiva in Cochín. In Malacca they had urgently asked for a priest to instruct them and to baptize their people. Were not the difficulties that had arisen against the Jaffna expedition a sign from God that He was calling him to the East? Two days after Easter he wrote about this to Mansilhas<sup>478</sup> before setting sail for São Thomé, where he intended to pray for light at the tomb of the apostle.

Dearest Father and Brother of mine! God knows how much I would prefer to see you than to be writing to you in order to tell you how you should conduct yourself on this Coast in the service of God our Lord while caring for these Christians. I am telling you this since since I am not yet certain about my own future. May God our Lord grant us in time the gift to perceive His holy will. He wishes that we should be at all times ready to fulfill it whenever He reveals it to us and lets us perceive it within our souls. To fare well in this life we must be pilgrims ready to go to any parts where we can better serve God our Lord.<sup>479</sup>

I have definite knowledge that in the parts of Mallaca<sup>480</sup> the people are much disposed for the service of God, and that, because of the lack of anyone to work in it, many do not become Christians and there is no increase in our holy faith. I do not know what will come of this affair with Jafanapatão.<sup>481</sup> I have therefore not decided whether I should go to Mallaca or remain here. During the whole of the month of May I shall deliberate on whether I should go there. And if God our Lord wishes to be served by my going to the islands of Macaçar, where only recently people have become Christians, and the king of those islands<sup>482</sup> has sent a request to Mallaca for priests—and I do not know the priests who went from there to teach our faith and law—if then during the whole of May I shall decide to go there, I shall send a *patamar*<sup>483</sup> to the Lord Governor in Goa and inform him that I am going to

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also a *vigario* in Negapatam, a position, which the Maldivé king D. Manuel asked for his chaplain, Francisco Lopes de Pina, about 1554 (DI III 51). The claim that the Franciscans also came to Negapatam with the first Portuguese, that they built a monastery there before 1540 along with the churches of Chagas and Nossa Senhora da Saude before 1540, and that they converted three thousand pagans (F. Gonzaga, *De origine seraphicae religionis* [Romae, 1587] 1212; \*Trindade 970-973; Jacinto de Deos 18; Meersman, *Friars* 91-93; Heras 67) is false. When H. Henriques spent four months in Negapatam in 1562, there were still no Franciscans there (DI V 686-687). When Xavier's companion Francisco Pérez died there in 1583, the Franciscans had a convent there, and Frey Francisco do Oriente, whom we encounter there in 1582 (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 405) had already been for some time on the mission in 1577, where he and his companions allegedly baptized three thousand pagans. The destruction of the temple and idols through the friars occasioned a punitive expedition by the Hindu governor against the Portuguese colony of Negapatam (\*Trindade 438 972). The founding of the Franciscan convent is thus to be placed between 1562 and 1577. On this see also Meersman, *Tamilnad* 50-71.

<sup>477</sup> A Vasco Fernandes, servant of the Royal Council and chief chamberlain of D. Francisco Valente, received on June 12, 1543, the title to a position as police officer in Chaul for life when it became free (Q 1095). He was probably different from the Vasco Fernandes who was knighted at Ternate in 1551 (Q 4664). One or the other is probably identical with our young man.

<sup>478</sup> EX I 283-288.

<sup>479</sup> Cf. the third rule of the *Summarium Constitutionum*: "Nostrae vocationis est diversa loca peragraré et vitam agere in quavis mundi plaga, ubi maior Dei obsequium et animarum auxilium speratur" (*Institutum Societatis Jesu* 3 [Florentiae, 1893] 3).

<sup>480</sup> The regions beyond the Malaccas, especially Macassar, are meant.

<sup>481</sup> The affair was thus not yet decided. Negotiations were still in progress.

<sup>482</sup> The king of Sião.

<sup>483</sup> Courier.

those parts so that he can order the captain of Mallaca to help and assist me with what is necessary for the service of God our Lord. If I should go to the islands of Macaçar, I shall write about it to you.

He then gave Mansilhas the instructions he needed for his work on the Fishery Coast.

I earnestly entreat you not to become wearied in your labors for these people, constantly preaching in all the villages, baptizing with great care the infants that are born, and having the prayers taught in all the villages. From João da Cruz<sup>484</sup> you should obtain two thousand *fanoens* which he received during the last Pearl Fishery for the instruction of the children;<sup>485</sup> and you should also get the *fanoens* which you left with P. João de Lizano;<sup>486</sup> and be very diligent in seeing that the prayers are taught throughout the Coast; and do not stay fixed in one place, but go continuously from place to place, visiting all those Christians as I did when I was there, for in this way you will serve God more.

Take an accounting in Manapar of the expenses that have been made on the church there, for I gave to Diogo Rebello<sup>487</sup> two thousand *fanoens* for safekeeping which Iniquitribem gave me for building churches in his land.<sup>488</sup> P. Francisco Coelho knows what has been spent. Use what is left of the two thousand *fanoens* to instruct the children. And visit the Christians who were converted on the coast of Travancor, distributing your Malavar priests<sup>489</sup> throughout all the land as it will seem best to you. See to it that they live a very good and chaste life, laboring in the service

<sup>484</sup> The Parava Joam da Cruz, not the Chetti Dom Joam da Cruz (EX I 285, n. 12, is therefore to be corrected).

<sup>485</sup> The first half of the four thousand *fanams* granted by the governor. The second half would be taken from the Small Pearl Fishery in September.

<sup>486</sup> When Mansilhas sailed to Goa for his ordination to the priesthood.

<sup>487</sup> Diogo Rebello came to India in 1517 (Q 452), sailed to Ormuz with Albuquerque in 1520 (Castanheda 5, 31; Correa II 592), and was captain of the Fishery Coast from 1532 to 1535 (Correa III 649). At the request of Nuno da Cunha, he sailed as a captain with two *fustas* to the harbor of Satgaon in Bengal in 1535 to obtain from King Mahmūd the release of the Portuguese imprisoned there. The king, who was being hard pressed by the Afghan ruler Shēr Khān, sent him back to the governor with a portion of the prisoners and an ambassador in order to obtain assistance. When Rebello arrived with a fleet to help him in 1538, he discovered that Bengal was already in the hands of the Afghans, and he had to sail back without the other prisoners (Castanheda 8, 109-110 127-128 187 198; Correa III 649-621 719-722; Barros 4, 9, 7-8). He was married and, during his twenty-four years of service in India before returning to Portugal in 1541, had already used up most of his effects that he had brought with him (Q 452 456 621 868). He soon sailed back again to India, where we encounter him in Goa in November, 1545 (Q 1761).

<sup>488</sup> Since time immemorial the churches in the villages of the Fishery Coast and South Travancore have received the fins and bladders of sharks. According to tradition Xavier obtained this tribute from the king of Travancore, as I was told in my visit in 1956. The parish priest is accustomed to auction these off. The fins, especially the fleshy tails, are sold at a high price to China as delicacies. The price since the Second World War has risen sharply. In Periyatālai the annual income from these was before the war 1,200 rupees a year, after it 10,000, and in Manappād 8,000. The government wanted to obtain these revenues for itself on the Fishery Coast. It refrained from seizing them, I was told, after a showing of the documents. In order to avoid a dispute, such as we found in Periyatālai, a few years earlier the tribute had been changed to a grant of money in the diocese of Kottār (J. M. Villavarayan, *The Diocese of Kottar* [Nagercoil, 1956] 52-53). We have found nothing about this tribute in our sources.

<sup>489</sup> Xavier left him behind on the Fishery Coast with Juan de Lizano and the three native priests, Francisco Coelho and the two Parava seminarians, Manuel and Gaspar, who had been ordained at the end of 1544 (EX I 301).

of God and giving a good example of themselves. Give to P. João de Liçano the hundred *fanoens* which he lent me for the affairs of the Christians when you were in Punicalé.<sup>490</sup> Pay these from the *fanoens* for the instruction of the children. In no other case should you give the *fanoens* for the instruction of the children except to those teachers who teach the children their prayers with great diligence.

I earnestly commend two things to you: first, that you keep moving continuously from place to place, baptizing the infants that are born, and having the prayers taught with great care; second, that you watch carefully over the Malavar priests so that they are not a cause of ruin either to themselves or to others. And if you should see that they are acting badly, rebuke and punish them, for it is a very great sin not to punish one who deserves it, especially those who cause great scandal by their manner of living.<sup>491</sup>

Francis then added a final admonition for Cosme de Paiva, the captain of the Fishery Coast.

Help Cosme de Paiva to ease his conscience of the many thefts he has committed on this Coast and of the evils and deaths which have occurred in Tutucorim because of his great greed; and, in addition to this, as a friend of his honor, advise him to pay back the money which he received from those who killed the Portuguese,<sup>492</sup> for it is a despicable thing to sell the blood of Portuguese for money; and I am not writing to him since I have no hopes for his improvement. And also tell him for me that I intend to write to the King about his evil deeds, and to the Lord Governor so that he may punish him, and to the infante Dom Henrique so that by means of the Inquisition he may punish those who persecute converts to our holy law and faith; and on this account he should amend his ways.

In case João d'Artiaga should be there, do not permit him to remain longer on that Coast; and tell Cosme de Paiva not to pay him anything, for there is no reason why he should remain in that land.<sup>493</sup> Give a warm welcome to Vasco Fernandes, who is bearing this letter for me, for I hope in God our Lord that he will join our Society.<sup>494</sup> He seems to me to be a very good young man with a great desire to serve God; and it is only right that we should encourage him. Write to me at length about yourself and your Christians and Cosme de Paiva, whether he has changed his ways and whether he has restored what he took from those Christians. May our Lord always assist you as I desire that He assist me. From Negapatam, the seventh of April, 1545.

Your Brother in Christ,

Francisco.

In April the wind was already blowing steadily from the southwest, and a strong current was pushing the ships towards the north.<sup>495</sup> Now that the Easter days were past, Xavier took his departure from Negapatam and sailed northwards towards São Thomé<sup>496</sup> and the tomb of the apostle in order to obtain light from heaven with respect to his future.

<sup>490</sup> In 1544 Mansilhas was almost always in Punnaikāyal.

<sup>491</sup> Xavier's fears were not unfounded, as was later shown.

<sup>492</sup> Xavier is thinking about the horses which Paiva sold to Vettum Perumāl and which he used in his attack on Tuticorin and in his war against the Great King.

<sup>493</sup> Artiaga did not take offense at Xavier's decision, as his testimony at the process for canonization showed in 1556. There he spoke in terms of highest praise for his former master (HX II 374-378).

<sup>494</sup> He did not enter the Society.

<sup>495</sup> \*Fernandez da Fonseca 88; *Bay of Bengal Pilot* (London, 1931) 158.

<sup>496</sup> Tursellinus has Xavier go by foot from Negapatam to São Thomé (2, 14), and he is followed in this by later authors. Brodrick gives a description of him in the

deadly heat of May, often losing his way and begging his food from the natives as he wearily traversed 160 miles of poor roads through an unknown land (220). But Xavier sailed in Miguel Ferreira's boat and, after the first unsuccessful attempt, easily made the voyage in April with the steadily blowing southwest wind. He wrote that the southwest monsoon had made his return to the Fishery Coast impossible, and as a result he had been forced to go to São Thomé (EX I 292). If he had gone on foot, his words would have made no sense. A number of legends have risen up with respect to this journey. A local tradition has Xavier build a chapel at Sirukadambanur near Tranquebar (A. Lunay, *Histoire des Missions de l'Inde* 1 [Paris, 1898], p. IV) and has him preach in Tennūr and Kuvattūr, an hour and a half from there and twenty-five miles southwest of Porto Novo, as a secular priest, Gnanadikam, of that region informed us in 1950. This confuses Xavier with João de Brito. Another local tradition has Xavier celebrate a Mass on his way at Dēvipatnam, sixty-eight miles south of Negapatam. This legend is probably derived from the fact that in the eighteenth century there was a chapel here dedicated to him (Besse 311).—In 1616 the eighty-year-old Parava merchant Manuel Fernandes from Virapāndyanpatnam declared as a witness that he had known Xavier on the Fishery Coast and that some sixty years before he had sailed to the harbor of Tevanapatam on the Coromandel Coast, where he met him and where the leading Christians of that village told him that three days before they had seen the priest raised a span above the earth while saying Mass, so that all regarded him as a saint. He had, moreover, preached to the people of the village in their own language, and all had marveled that he spoke it so well since he had only just come there and had had no time to learn their very difficult idiom. Fernandes had also been present at a sermon during which those of different nations each understood him in their own tongue, and many had been converted by this great miracle (MX II 546-547; Barradas 68). In this same process two other Paravas testified on this miracle from data given by eyewitnesses. They added that at the time of the consecration when the saint was celebrating Mass in the church of Tevanapatam he had had an ecstasy (MX II 555 557). Tevanapatam is Devanāmpatnam, today a suburb of Cuddalore. It was not until after Xavier's death that the harbor was visited by Christian merchants and a Christian community founded there. The viceroy D. Francisco Mascarenhas named Damião Paes captain of the harbor in 1584, which he rebuilt with the approval of the Nāyak (\*Archiv Mascarenhas, n. 453). In 1588 the bishop of Cochín wrote to his king that he had sent a vicar to the harbor of Tevanapão, where a church had already been built. Some *Capuchos* of the order of St. Francis had come and claimed the jurisdiction of the vicar. As a consequence an order was sent from Lisbon to the viceroy in 1589 to remedy the situation (APO III 213). In 1597 Tevanapatam was the only parish between Negapatam and São Thomé. It had three hundred Christians and two churches (ARSI: Goa 32, 654v). The two churches are probably those which Xavier's companion Francisco Pérez visited in 1574 from São Thomé "according to his custom," and which were located on the way to Negapatam (*ibid.* Goa 12, 209 216-217; SR XII 286-287). Xavier, "Padre Mestre Francisco," as he was constantly called in India, is here confused with Francisco Pérez, who in 1557 went from Quilon past Virapāndyanpatnam to Punnaikāyal in order to establish peace among the Paravas (DI IV 41-43). He was a missionary in São Thomé from 1571 to 1574 and from 1580 to 1582. He died in 1583 at Negapatam on his way to Cochín with a reputation for sanctity (\*catalog in ARSI: Goa 24; Teixeira, *Anotações* 48-49; *Annuae Litterae Soc. Iesu anni 1583* [Romae, 1585] 212; Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 405-406). The Latin translation of the process errs in making Fernandes an eyewitness of Xavier's levitation, and it increases its height of a span (8 1/2 inches) to over an ell (more than 23 1/2 inches). Instead of "around sixty" years in Fernandes' deposition, Brou has "more than sixty." In opposition to all the sources he identifies *Tevanapatam* with Devadapatnam, "near São Thomé, on the border of the Telugu-speaking area" (I 203 278-279 328-336). Tevanapatam actually lies a hundred miles south of São Thomé in the center of the Tamil-speaking area.

## CHAPTER II

### FOUR MONTHS IN SÃO THOMÉ (APRIL—AUGUST, 1545)

#### 1. MIGUEL FERREIRA, THE CAPTAIN OF COROMANDEL

São Thomé was a distance of fifty leagues from Negapatam.<sup>1</sup> Sailing there was along the flat, monotonous coast of Coromandel. A league north of Negapatam was Nagore, a river harbor on a sand hill from which arose a few palm trees.<sup>2</sup> A league farther on was Trimanapatão,<sup>3</sup> and north of it were the dangerous shallows of Trimanava.<sup>4</sup> Four or five leagues beyond these could be seen over the trees the four tall gate towers of the famed temple of Chidambaram a league and a half inland.<sup>5</sup> Nine leagues farther on was the harbor of Puduchcheira,<sup>6</sup> and four leagues from it was Conhomeira, recognizable by its large palm grove and dense forest.<sup>7</sup> Twenty leagues north of the mouth of the Palar River a pagoda appeared on the rocky coast,<sup>8</sup> and five leagues farther north a mountain rose up behind the green of a large grove of palmyra palms. It was crowned by a white chapel now falling into ruins, Nossa Senhora do Monte. It had been erected by the Portuguese and was the landmark of São Thomé,<sup>9</sup> the city of the apostle, lying on the coast to the north of the sanded mouth of the Adyar River.

Xavier was kindly received by Gaspar Coelho,<sup>10</sup> the *vigário*, who lived near

<sup>1</sup> The route from Negapatam to São Thomé is described in the *Livro de Marinharia* (228-229) for around 1530. Barros has a list of towns (I, 9, 1, p. 303). See map, p. 545.

<sup>2</sup> Also called Naor (Hemingway 242-243).

<sup>3</sup> Tirumalarājanpatnam, south of Karikal.

<sup>4</sup> Tirumulavāsāl, south of the mouth of the Coleroon River (*ibid.* 259). Baldaeus also mentions the dangerous sandbank near "Trinivelaas" (150); cf. the *Bay of Bengal Pilot* 163.

<sup>5</sup> On the famous pagoda of Chidambaram, see J. Ayyar 204-212; Rangacharya 125-149; Fergusson 350-355; W. Francis, *South Arcot Gazetteer* 1 (Madras, 1906) 265-275. Of the four great *gōpuras*, the north one was built by King Krishna Deva (1508-1530). The others are older (Rangacharya 126, n. 15). All four are plainly visible from the sea (*Bay of Bengal Pilot* 162). The *Livro de Marinharia* gives only three, probably because this *roteiro* was composed before the fourth was completed.

<sup>6</sup> Spelled in this way by Barros for Puduchchēri (New City), today Pondicherry. The *Livro de Marinharia* has *Padueira*, due probably to a scribal error.

<sup>7</sup> Conimere; Indian: *Kanyimedu* (Yule 157).

<sup>8</sup> The fifty-foot-high temple on the beach dates from the eighth century. It was built in the form of a five-storied *vihara* (picture in N. Sastri, *History*, pl. X). It is one of the seven pagodas of the famous rock temples of Mahabalipuram. It is visible from the sea (*Bay of Bengal Pilot* 167). On the temples see *Handbook of Madras Presidency* 153-158; Fergusson 326-334; Rangacharya 327-329.

<sup>9</sup> "Verás estar Nosa Senhora em hum Monte branquo" (*Livro de Marinharia* 229).

<sup>10</sup> In 1538 São Thomé had a vicar and four beneficiaries (Q 351). The position of vicar was in demand (Q 133; SRH 427-429; DI IV 70, V 180). On May 22, 1543, Coelho came as vicar for life (Figueiredo 1, 1; DI III 194). He still held the position in 1561 (Figueiredo 3, 2). He was buried in Nossa Senhora do Monte, and his tombstone, now disappeared (Hosten 143), recorded the fact that the miraculous cross had been found

the church of the apostle. One of the first persons whom he sought out in the small Portuguese colony was Miguel Ferreira,<sup>11</sup> the captain of Coromandel, who, as the highest authority on the coast, was most concerned with the punitive expedition that had been planned against the ruler of Jaffnapatam.

Miguel Ferreira was endowed with an impressive appearance. He was tall, lean, rich, and handsome, a bold *cavalleiro*, experienced in war, familiar with the land and the people of India, and, although he was already in his high seventies, still full of youthful fire,<sup>12</sup> especially when there was a question of fighting against the Moors, the deadly enemies of the Christians.<sup>13</sup> Like others of his countrymen who had grown grey in battle, he had retired to São Thomé in order to spend the rest of his days near the tomb of the apostle.<sup>14</sup>

He had been born about the year 1466 in Alcobaça,<sup>15</sup> not far from the famous sanctuary of Nazareth, and he was ever accustomed to swear by Our Lady of Nazareth.<sup>16</sup> Though he had never married, he had a number of illegitimate children,<sup>17</sup> among whom was a grown son.<sup>18</sup> He had grown up in the service of King Manuel<sup>19</sup> and had fought for two years against the Moors in Arzila under Vasco Coutinho, the count of Borba. He had joined Marshal Dom Francisco Coutinho when he sailed for India in 1509 in the *Santa Maria de Nazaré* as the admiral of a fleet of fifteen vessels.<sup>20</sup> At the end of 1513 he had been sent as an ambassador to Sheik Ismāil, the powerful king of Persia. There he had persuaded the ruler to make an alliance with Portugal against the Turks, their common foe; and in 1514, in the company of one of the leaders of the realm, he had had the opportunity of traveling through the country. On this occasion Ferreira had also gone into Armenia and had there seen in a village a large, ornate church with numerous pictures upon a golden background. At its center, raised up on many steps and surrounded by a silver grill, was a tomb set with gold and precious stones and open on all sides. Through its glass windows could be seen the skeleton of the deceased. According to the information provided by the people of the village, it was the body of a holy man who had

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here under him in 1547 (Gomes de Brito II 100-101). On him see Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 451; EX II 389 391; MX II 270 272 287; DI II 584, III 78 193-195 338; cf. 163.

<sup>11</sup> On Miguel Ferreira see the sources in Q, index. For his letters see Q 438 2097 2098 2254 2291 2341; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 81-93 346-352 389-392; also 142 150-153 176-182 279-281 409-410 417-418 527-528; Castanheda 3, 126 138; 8, 47; 9, 4; Correa II 73 357-359 409-429 443-445, III 419-424 449 882-883, IV 78-84 585; Couto 5, 5, 6 and 8. After Xavier's departure from São Thomé, Ferreira made two attempts to organize the Jaffna expedition. In 1546, however, the second siege of Diu forced him to go to the assistance of that fortress instead. He returned from it mortally ill. At the end of 1548, when he again sailed to Goa to obtain from the governor, Garcia de Sá, the necessary help for the Jaffna expedition, the latter would have nothing to do with it because of the danger from the Turks. He had, therefore, to return to São Thomé empty handed, where he soon died (Couto 5, 5, 8).

<sup>12</sup> Couto gives a description of him (5, 5, 8, p. 477). Queyroz, who is never a sure source, adds: "He had large eyes, a short beard, an aquiline nose, a broad head" (233).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. his letter on his campaign in Ceylon in 1539 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 81-88) and his desire to take part in the expedition to Diu in 1546 either alive or dead (*ibid.* 389).

<sup>14</sup> He had been living in São Thomé since 1530 (\*Diogo Fernandes). Cf. the letter of the people there in 1537 (SR II 252-253) and 1538 (Q 351).

<sup>15</sup> According to Queyroz 209.

<sup>16</sup> Couto 5, 2, 8, p. 474.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 473.

<sup>18</sup> Correa III 448-449.

<sup>19</sup> *Commentarios* 4, 17; Couto 5, 5, 8.

<sup>20</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 91; *Emmenta* 266; Fonseca 232.

built this church and many others throughout Armenia. According to his legends he had performed many miracles during his life. It was, it seemed, the tomb of an apostle.<sup>21</sup> Ferreira had kept a detailed diary of all of this, and he had brought it with him when he returned from Ormuz to Goa in 1515 with "the blind kings."<sup>22</sup>

In 1530 he sailed to São Thomé as captain of the Coromandel Coast, and there he took pains to preserve the relics of the apostle Thomas in a safe and dignified manner. In 1533 he was commissioned by the governor of India to carry out the desires of King John III with respect to the tomb of St. Thomas, taking the testimony of thirteen witnesses on its opening and examination and on the local traditions about the apostle.<sup>23</sup>

In 1538 Nuno da Cunha asked Ferreira to come with the people of the Coromandel Coast to the aid of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the Singhalese king of Kōttē, who was being threatened by his brother Māyāduṇṇē and his allies, the Moors of Calicut. In response to this request he assembled four hundred of his countrymen who were scattered along the coast, among whom were three hundred arquebusiers. At his expense he furnished them with ships, an abundance of provisions, and many also with weapons, and sailed with them to the south. Near the Shallows of Chilaw, however, he received a letter from Dom Garcia de Noronha, who had in the meantime succeeded Nuno da Cunha as viceroy, telling him that he should first go with his men to the assistance of Diu, which was being besieged by the Turks. By the time that Ferreira reached Goa, however, these had already retreated. At the beginning of 1539 at the request of the viceroy he sailed to Ceylon with thirteen *fustas* and *caturs* and new men whom he had recruited in Goa and Cochin. On the way he burned down the village of Viliṇjam in Travancore because the Moors there tried to prevent him from obtaining water. After a brief battle near Negombo, he captured the Calicut fleet and freed the king, who had been pushed back into the confines of his capital city of Kōttē, from his desperate straits. Then, despite all the resistance of their enemies, he went with him up the Kelani River to Sītāvaka, where he forced Māyāduṇṇē to give him the heads of his Moorish captains, those of Pate Marakkār, who had escaped after the defeat of Vēdālai in 1538; of his brother Kunhale Marakkār; of their nephew and brother-in-law; and of six other cap-

<sup>21</sup> Correa is of the opinion that Ferreira was here speaking of the tomb of the apostle Bartholomew, which according to the *abuna* (in the deposition of the witnesses at São Thomé in 1533) was in the land of Sheik Ismāil, in the monastery of Tarão in Armenia on the other side of Tabriz (II 417, III 424; Q 70). Tarão is *Dara*, southwest of Lake Van, eighteen miles northwest of Nisibis. In 1507 the emperor Anastasios I had the relics of the apostle Bartholomew translated there. They were at least in part furtively carried off to Lipari in 570 and to Rome in 983 (LThK II [1958] 10; *Dict. Hist. Géogr. Eccl.* [1957]).

<sup>22</sup> Correa gives a very detailed account of the travels of the embassy (II 327-359 409-417) "from a book about all his experiences until his return to Ormuz, which he carried with him and which I obtained" (*ibid.* 410). Shorter accounts are in *Commentarios* 4, 17-18; Barros 2, 10, 2; Castanheda 3, 126 138; Goes, *Chronica* 3, 67; Carlos Bivar, "O primeiro embaixador português em terras do Xequemale, sua influencia no progresso das ciencias," *Boletim da Soc. Geogr. de Lisboa* (1947) 577-581. On the "blind kings," see above, p. 244.

<sup>23</sup> The account of Diogo Fernandes in its original form (text A) has Ferreira come to São Thomé in 1530. The account of 1601 (text B, ed. Figueiredo I) has him come erroneously in 1525. According to Correa, Ambrosio do Rego came in 1531 as captain of Coromandel with a commission to make an investigation, but he handed it over to Ferreira (III 419-421). In 1531 Ferreira, as captain of the Coromandel Coast, had the rebel Damião Bernaldes seized near Negapatam (*ibid.* 448-449; Castanheda 8, 47).

tains. He also forced him to restore everything that he had captured. In November of this same year Ferreira wrote to King John III from Goa that he should give him the island of Ceylon for the rest of his life in return for his thirteen years of service in India. He had used up all of his possessions on his behalf, and what was still left of them he had lent to the factor. If His Royal Highness refused his request, there were royal hospitals in India where, for the love of God, he would be given something to eat.<sup>24</sup>

Immediately after his arrival in Goa in 1542, Martim Affonso de Sousa, who had known the old warrior from his earlier stay in India, again appointed him captain of the Coromandel Coast.<sup>25</sup> Through trade in the cotton fabrics of the land Ferreira soon recovered his old affluence.<sup>26</sup> He would have gladly undertaken at once the punitive expedition against the king of Jaffna,<sup>27</sup> but as long as negotiations continued for the king's stranded Pegu vessel and the courier who had been sent by land to Goa had not returned with the governor's decision, there could be no thought of it, especially since the southwest monsoon prevented any sailing to the south and put off the expedition under any circumstances until September.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. THE TOMB OF THE APOSTLE<sup>29</sup>

The residence of the *vigário* was separated from the church of the apostle

<sup>24</sup> For the Ceylon expedition in 1538-1539, the principal source is Ferreira's letter of November 26, 1539 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 81-93, where CC 1-66-41 is to be read instead of CC 1-55-41). See also Correa III 882-883, IV 78-84; Castanheda 9, 4; Couto 5, 5, 6 and 8; Zinadim 65; *Rājāvaliya* 78. The account in *Queyroz* is fictionalized, as usual, and therefore worthless (224-233). In the main he is followed by Pieris, *Ceylon* I 76-84 470-471.

<sup>25</sup> Q 1602.

<sup>26</sup> In the \*list of forty-eight wealthy individuals to whom the king had to write for a loan, composed in 1538, is the name of Miguel Ferreira (Q 352). The \**Verdadeira enformação* of 1545 says that M. A. de Sousa immediately made Ferreira captain of Coromandel, and that the service which he there tendered to the king consisted in his stating that the buying and selling of fabrics was a monopoly of his own. The poor people could thus only obtain them by stealth. But it was no surprise that the *fidalgos* were merchants since the governor himself was one. Couto, on the other hand, writes that Ferreira settled in São Thomé, where he was ever wealthy and honored, and where he died (5, 5, 8).

<sup>27</sup> This is indicated by his later efforts in 1546 and 1548 for a campaign against Jaffna.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the reply of the *patangatis* in 1546 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 348).

<sup>29</sup> The main source for São Thomé and its tomb of the apostle before Xavier's arrival is the report of Diogo Fernandes in the deposition of 1533. P. A. Cypriano, who died in São Thomé on July 31, 1559, sent a few months before his death a copy of this report to Goa. At the beginning of it he added the testimony given by the *abuna*, a Syrian bishop of the Thomas Christians, and at the end the alleged text of an inscription which was found on the king's grave in the church of the apostle. Luis Frois sent from Goa a copy of these three documents written by his own hand with a long letter of November 14, 1559, to his confreres in Portugal (DI IV 339). This text is preserved in ARSI: *Goa* 31, 18-25v; we call it text A. It has not been published, but it was used by A. Vāth, whose attention we drew to it, in the second edition of *Der heilige Thomas, der Apostel Indiens* (Aachen, 1925) 43-48.—The second draft of the account of Diogo Fernandes (text B) contains the latter's deposition of June 10, 1543, which is largely verbatim with that of 1533, but with some important variations. Missing in it are the answers of the witness to articles one to seven, the statements of the *abuna*, and the inscription of the grave of the king. This second draft is extant in a copy of the year 1600 together with two accounts of Bishop Frey André de Santa Maria of Cochin on the history of the relics of St. Thomas and of the Pehlevi cross,



by a garden.<sup>30</sup> The church, oriented east and west,<sup>31</sup> with its entrance facing the land,<sup>32</sup> was small. When the Portuguese arrived there in 1517, the nave was only seventeen ells long and eleven broad.<sup>33</sup> The church itself was in such a ruinous state that it had to be torn down in 1523 and a new one erected.<sup>34</sup> In the process of reconstruction, the building was somewhat lengthened, but the old width was maintained. Since this did not provide enough room for the increased population, an open vestibule as long as the church itself was later added to it. The new building, with its buttresses and battlements, its guard room equipped with loopholes over the main entrance, and its strong tower twice as high as the church itself over the newly added baptismal chapel to the left of the choir, resembled a fortress; and it could be used as such in times of need.<sup>35</sup>

which was found in 1547 on the Large Mount. All three texts, written by the same neat hand, with an addition of the bishop of April, 1601, are contained in ARSI: *Goa* 49, 125-128v. Text B is entitled: "Aauto de huma informação que o Padre Vigario Gaspar Coelho chegando a esta terra tomou de Diogo Fernandes, aqui casado e morador, sobre as couzas do Apostolo S. Thomé." It was published by N. de Figueiredo in *Esplendores da Religião* 2 (Nova Goa, 1930) 150-162 with an English translation entitled *St. Thomas, the Apostle in Mylapore* (Madras, 1934), and only in English by Fr. Carmel Iturrioz, C.D., with notes by T.K. Joseph in KSP 2 (1932) 205-224. Correa used text A. Moreover, as an eyewitness, he gives an extensive account of the rebuilding of the church in 1523 and the opening of the grave (II 722-726 778-779, III 419-424). Barros, who received a copy of the testimony of the witnesses in 1548, also made some little use of it (3, 7, 11, pp. 223-233). Another eyewitness, M. Gomes, has given an account of the discovery of the church and its condition. He accompanied Diogo Fernandes on a second pilgrimage to São Thomé and wrote a letter in the church itself in June, 1517 (SR I 296-299). There is also a \*letter of the people of São Thomé of 1538. The original of this, signed by twenty of the principal villagers, is still extant (Q 351, pp. 447 517, and pl. X 1). A sketch of the restored church made by Correa on the site in 1523 to send to the king (SR II 254), and which he added to his *Lendas* (II 789), is unfortunately lost. We have given a plan of it on p. 545.—A wealth of material on São Thomé and the St. Thomas question is contained in the posthumous work of P. H. Hosten, who died in 1935, *Antiquities from San Thomé and Mylapore* (Calcutta, 1936), supplemented by his other publications, especially his series of articles in the *Catholic Herald of India* (Calcutta, 1921-1922), and in the *Catholic Register* (Madras, 1926-1928), and also by the abundant material in B. A. Figredo, *Voices from the Dust. Archaeological Finds in San Thome and Mylapore* (Madras, 1953). San Thomé is the former, walled Portuguese city. Mailapar comprises the greatly extended areas about the former trading station, which was already in a ruined state in 1517.

<sup>30</sup> DI III 194. The rectory lay to the southeast of the choir. See Hosten 164; Medlycott 123, and map, p. 545. During the excavations of 1923, an old tile floor was discovered, probably that of the former rectory (Hosten 161).

<sup>31</sup> "Jas leste oeste," according to Ml. Gomes.

<sup>32</sup> From Barros 3, 7, 11, p. 224; Hosten 163-164. The later reconstructions also had the main entrance on the west. In the East this was the usual orientation (cf. LThK II [1958] 826-827).

<sup>33</sup> An ell is the equivalent of twenty-six inches.

<sup>34</sup> Correa (II 787) describes the new building but wrongly attributes it to 1524. In later descriptions, plans, and illustrations, the following new structures are to be distinguished: (1) in 1517: the ruins of the old church; (2) between 1523 and 1527: the new church (inaccurate plan in Hosten 164); (3) in 1584: the church of 1527 remained intact directly left of the new church of 1584; its choir and tiny tomb chapel served as the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament (\*Trindade 948; cf. ARSI: *Goa* 47, 237); an English print of 1674 in Hosten 80; cf. Hanotaux-Martineau, *Histoire des Colonies françaises* 5 [Paris, 1932] 3. In 1674 São Thomé and its memorial church were destroyed (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 36; H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras* 1 [London, 1913] 321-338); (4) between 1681 and 1686: plan and picture in Hosten 80 165-166; (5) the present church built between 1893 and 1896: plans and pictures in Hosten 112-113 166 304-305.

<sup>35</sup> The vicar at the time, Penteado, protested against this since it only provoked the native princes (SR II 357-358).

As in the old building, there were three doors leading into its interior, the main entrance on the west and side doors on the north and south. Within the church, immediately to the left of the entrance, was the chapel of the Three Kings,<sup>36</sup> where earlier there had been the grave of a disciple of the apostle outside the church. Opposite this, on the right, was the chapel of Our Lady of the Conception,<sup>37</sup>. The nave of the new building was vaulted. The woodwork of the old church, which according to tradition had been fashioned by the apostle Thomas from the trunk of a single tree, had been locked up in a separate building. This was used for making objects of devotion such as crucifixes and rosaries, which were then given away as relics.<sup>38</sup> The doors retained their original wooden paneling, held fast by nails and rivets.<sup>39</sup> On the left, beyond the side entrance, was the baptistery, from which a few steps led up to the choir. The original choir of the old church had been retained, but it had been strengthened on the outside by new walls since the dome had threatened to collapse. It was thirteen spans in length and the same in breadth.<sup>40</sup> The highest part of the renovated dome<sup>41</sup> rose thirty ells above the floor of the church. Its walls were adorned with stuccoed reliefs and paintings which depicted the Syrian cross and five peacocks.<sup>42</sup> The choir's altarpiece, which had

<sup>36</sup> Diogo Fernandes and Correa call it the *Capella dos Reis Magos* (II 787). But Frey André de Santa Maria writes that at the time of his last visit to São Thomé, in October, 1600, he asked the oldest villagers about this and learned that the bones of the first Christian king, which the Portuguese had found on the site where the old sacristy was later built, and those of the other disciples of the apostle were in a small stone tomb on the Gospel side in the wall of a small chapel of the old church known as the *Capella dos Reis*. They also told him that they had always heard that the first king baptized by St. Thomas was buried there, and this was why it was still called the *Capella dos Reis*. There had been no altarpiece of the Three Kings there, nor had their feast been celebrated, and there was no other reason for the name except that the king was buried there. Nunalvares de Faria has the same in his manuscript. That the bones of St. Thomas' disciples were in the grave is also indicated by the testimony of Diogo Fernandes, who states that their bones were in the box together with those of the others. It therefore seems that the Portuguese put them there together with those of the king. Last October he therefore had the grave opened and found in it a white, wooden casket 21½ spans in length and 1 in width, apparently made of spruce. It was full of very clean and well arranged pieces of bone without any admixture of dirt, a clear indication that they had been taken from elsewhere and brought there. Over the larger box was a blue or green cloth stitched together on all sides like a pillow and full of bones, which must have been from another saint, and all these were well covered by the tombstone. In the wooden box there were obviously the bones of more than one person. He therefore believed that the grave contained not only the bones of the king but also those of the disciples of the apostle, which the Portuguese found here in the first place (Figueiredo 2, 2-3).

<sup>37</sup> *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*.

<sup>38</sup> Correa II 723 278, III 425; cf. MX II 213; DI II 584; ARSI: *Goa* 12, 471v; Linschoten I 62.

<sup>39</sup> From Ml. Gomes in 1517 (SR I 296-297); cf. Linschoten I 62; *Begin ende Voortganch* XII 62 (1606).

<sup>40</sup> According to \*Boves in 1599 (ARS I: *Goa* 14, 362). A span equalled 8 2/3 inches.

<sup>41</sup> Correa describes the cupola as follows: "A capella mór d'aboboda redonda, postoque a capella era quadrada; e sobre esta aboboda feito hum curucheo redondo, feita da mesma argamassa, que do chão ao cyma d'elle avia trinta covodos, com lavores da mesma argamassa de troços enlaçados, e per elle cruces e figuras de pavões, e em cyma no cume do curucheo huma cimalha quadrada, e outra em cyma redonda, onde devia d'estar grimpas ou cruz, que lhe acharão o buraco, mas nom tinha nada, que cayra do muyto tempo" (II 723). According to text B the choir was like a very high canopy (*esparadel*).

<sup>42</sup> M. Gomes (SR I 297); Diogo Fernandes (text A); Correa II 723; cf. a similar com-

been sent by King John III, contained scenes from the life of the apostle.<sup>43</sup> A window over the main entrance allowed light to enter.<sup>44</sup> In 1517 there was on the Epistle side of the church a small open chapel with the tomb of a king. In the rebuilding of 1523 the sacristy was transferred here.<sup>45</sup> On the Gospel side behind a wooden grating was a small chapel<sup>46</sup> thirteen spans long and six broad.<sup>47</sup> The altar extended across the entire breadth of the back wall of this chapel and there was scarcely enough room for a Mass to be offered within it.<sup>48</sup> This was the tomb-chapel of the apostle, which, according to tradition, he had built himself with the same wood as that used for the rest of the church.<sup>49</sup> Here under the altar lay the relics of the saint.<sup>50</sup> A lamp was kept constantly burning before his tomb.<sup>51</sup> When the sacristy was built, a large stone slab had been moved from its original site to the chapel of the apostle.<sup>52</sup> This bore a long Indian inscription recording a gift of the king who was named in it. On the left was a jar buried up to its mouth in the floor and filled with red earth that was used as a remedy in times of sickness.<sup>53</sup>

The area around about the church was surrounded by a wall, and within it were two small chapels which allegedly went back to the time of the apostle.<sup>54</sup> One of these, ten large steps north of the main entrance of the church, contained the grave of an Abyssinian said to be a disciple of the saint.<sup>55</sup> The other, the distance of one or two crossbow's-shots south of the church, contained the grave of a second disciple.<sup>56</sup> Before the arrival of the Portuguese, pilgrims who died here were usually laid to rest in the atrium of this little chapel.<sup>57</sup>

bination: cross and peacocks on the garden gate of the church of the Mother of God in Mailapur (Hosten 455).

<sup>43</sup> A request was made for it in December, 1527, for the now completed church (SR II 143); already set up in 1537 and admired by the natives (*ibid.* 253).

<sup>44</sup> Correa II 787.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* 723 726.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 723.

<sup>47</sup> According to \*Boves in 1599 (ARSI: *Goa* 14, 382); 5 2/3 ells according to Ml. Gomes (SR I 297).

<sup>48</sup> In 1589 Frey André de Santa Maria had the altar demolished because it was too small and a new one erected on the longer side of the chapel (Figueiredo 2, 3-4).

<sup>49</sup> Ml. Gomes (SR I 297); M. Nunes Barreto in 1567 (*ibid.* X 194).

<sup>50</sup> Diogo and Frey André de Santa Maria have given an account of the history of the relics (see below). After 1535 they were in the sepulchral chapel (Figueiredo 1, 5-6; 1-4; Correa II 424-425). In 1589 they were on the east side of the church under the *mensa* of the altar of the sepulchral chapel. When the altar was moved, they were placed in the same location in the new altar (*ibid.* 2, 3-4).

<sup>51</sup> Thus already in 1517 at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese.

<sup>52</sup> In 1523 (text A).

<sup>53</sup> Frey André de Santa Maria put the earth in a large chest and placed this under the new altar (Figueiredo 2, 3-4). Marco Polo had already spoken of the red earth which pilgrims used to take from the apostle's tomb as a remedy (c. 177). According to Barbosa, Thomas Christians made pilgrimages here and took the earth with them (II 129).

<sup>54</sup> Ml. Gomes (SR I 297); Correa II 787.

<sup>55</sup> Text A and Correa II 724. Text B: "where there is now a chapel of St. Anthony." In 1600 Frey André added: "where the large new church has been later built" (Figueiredo 1, 2). In 1517 Ml. Gomes called him an Abyssinian (SR I 297). Penteado also called him the same in this same year from information received from the Thomas Christians in Cranganore who visited his tomb (*ibid.* III 551).

<sup>56</sup> According to Correa the little chapel was south of the church (II 274). According to Diogo Fernandes, it was the distance of 1 (text A) or 1 1/2 crossbow's-shots away (text B). In 1530 the chapel of São João was already here (Correa III 420). In 1590 this lay within the courtyard of the Jesuit college (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 348).

<sup>57</sup> Diogo Fernandes and Correa II 724.

A path led west from the church of the apostle to a sacred pool, then past two old pagan temples,<sup>58</sup> and then, after a crossing had been made of the Adyar River on a ferry,<sup>59</sup> in a little over an hour to an eighty-foot-high outcropping near the bank of the river. This was a reddish brown, granite crest, known to the natives as Sinna Malai,<sup>60</sup> the only one rising here from the wild forest.<sup>61</sup> Three sides of it rose steeply; the fourth, on the southwest, fell off gradually to the surrounding level. It was here on a site that seemed as if it had been made for a pious hermit that tradition placed the martyrdom of the apostle.<sup>62</sup> Halfway up the rock was a narrow crevice, five feet high and one and one-half wide, just big enough for a person, by stooping, to pass through it. This was the entrance to a cave with a rough, sloping roof and an irregular stone floor some fourteen feet long, fifteen feet broad, and seven feet high at its maximum, where some twenty persons could stand upright.<sup>63</sup> Here, according to tradition,

<sup>58</sup> The temple of Kapālēsvara and its pond, an old Shiva sanctuary, and the nearby shrine of Tiruvalluvar, the author of the famous *Kural*, who died in Mailapur, lay south of the road (see J. Ayyar 40-42).

<sup>59</sup> The Marmalong bridge was only built in 1726 (Hosten 119-120).

<sup>60</sup> The Monte Pequeno, "Small Mount," also known since 1580 as Monte Calvario (ARSI: Goa 47, 215). On it see *Souvenir Brochure of the Great Festival of Little Mount* (Madras, 1950); Hosten 120-126 and D'Cruz 119.

<sup>61</sup> In 1533 Diogo Fernandes called the mount a rock without trees and soil. In the \*document through which Nunalvares de Faria gave the Small Mount to the Society of Jesus on September 23, 1579, the donor states that he had been in peaceful possession of it for thirty-four years with the approval of the native authorities. When he came there and built the chapel and the other structures by himself, the site had been a no man's land, a woodland wilderness (*mato bravo*) without buildings or inhabitants (ARSI: Goa 13, 35). P. Guy Tachard, who visited the Small Mount in 1710, wrote that an inscription on a large stone at the end of the steps on the north side of the mount stated that around 1551 the rock had been tidied up and made accessible to pilgrims. The stone has since disappeared (Hosten 155).

<sup>62</sup> According to a tradition of the Thomas Christians still held today, the Small Mount was the site of the martyrdom of the apostle Thomas. All the reports before 1547 give the same place. According to his Syriac acts (from around 200 A.D.) the apostle was martyred on a mountain half a league, according to the Greek translation a league, from the city. In 1349 Marignolli gave the distance as three Italian, that is, one Portuguese, league (Medlycott 122 126). Diogo Fernandes and the *abuna* in 1533 also have a league, which expressly differentiates the Small from the Large Mount 1 1/2 leagues away. Correa writes similarly (III 421-422). In 1581 \*Leitão wrote in the annual letter from Malabar that the natives placed the death of the martyr here (ARSI: Goa 47, 215). Xavier has the same (EX I 320), as does the song of Thoma Ramban composed in 1601 (*Orientalia Christiana* 32 [1933] 177-178). Cf. P. J. Thomas, "The South Indian Tradition of the Apostle Thomas," *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society, Centenary Supplement* (1924) 222.—Only in 1547, when the Pehlevi cross was found on the Large Mount and some red spots on it were taken for blood, did the opinion arise that the apostle or his disciples had died on this cross on the Large Mount (Barros 1, 9, 1, pp. 304-305). After an old Brahman "deciphered" the Pehlevi inscription in 1561 and declared that it said that the apostle, pierced by the lance of a Brahman, had died on this rock and had left traces of blood on it as an eternal remembrance (Hier. Osorius, *De rebus Emmanuelis regis libri duodecim* [Olysippone, 1571] 1. 3; Figueiredo 3, 2-3), this became a commonly accepted opinion. In 1599 \*André Boves combined this new thesis with the old one by saying that the apostle had been mortally wounded on the Small Mount but had dragged himself over to the Large Mount, where he died (ARSI: Goa 14, 381).

<sup>63</sup> In 1599 Boves \*wrote from São Thomé that the cave had its original opening, through which the apostle had usually entered, and a second through which he had usually gone out (*ibid.* 381v). In 1603, however, Couto wrote that the Brahmans had seen Thomas through a fissure in the cave which he had made for light, and that they had wounded him with a lance through this opening (7, 10, 5). Later authors have the mortally wounded apostle escape through it—and for a nimble acrobat this would

the saint used to retire. To the left of the entrance he had carved a Syrian cross that was greatly revered by pilgrims. It was like that of the knights of Aviz. Its upright and cross members formed a kind of fleur-de-lis, four fingers high and two wide; and before it he used to pray.<sup>64</sup> On the right, outside the cave, there was a fissure in the bare rock about five or six feet deep that always had fresh water at its bottom. According to tradition it had been made by the apostle with his staff.<sup>65</sup> Pregnant women took earth from this sacred site and moistened themselves with the water and spread it over their bellies in order to obtain a favorable birth. When individuals living in the area suffered from a headache or other pain, they employed the same remedy and were healed.<sup>66</sup> Here also, on the left, low down upon the rock, could be seen a small Syrian cross.<sup>67</sup>

A half hour farther on, still on the south side of the river, lay the Large Mount, called *Periya Malai* by the natives.<sup>68</sup> This rose up over three hundred feet above the surrounding area. Its slopes were overgrown with fragrant plants and trees and strewn with boulders upon which a Syrian cross had here and there been found. From its tip there was a brilliant panorama to be seen: a broad green plain, traversed by the Adyar River, with meadows quickened by herds of cows, sheep, and goats; fields of rice and palmyra palms; shady fruit trees; a silvery sea in the east; and close-lying hills and distant, blue mountains in the west. When the Portuguese came here, they found the foundations of an earlier chapel<sup>69</sup> where, still according to tradition, the apostle had also been accustomed to remain at times.<sup>70</sup> In 1523 Diogo Fernandes, one of the

be no mean feat—to the Large Mount. Barradas, however, who visited the cave in 1614, writes: "The cave now has a fissure which ours have made in order to obtain light. It would perhaps be more devotional without it" (Gomes de Brito II 102).

<sup>64</sup> Barradas (*ibid.* 101-102); \*Leitão in 1581 (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 215); \*Boves in 1599 (*ibid.* *Goa* 14, 382); Hosten 31 120 123.

<sup>65</sup> Diogo Fernandes has the apostle open the well with his staff after he had been wounded. In 1710 Tachard heard that the saint had caused it to be formed in order to refresh the thirsty people to whom he was preaching (Hosten 154). A *cruzadi* today marks the spot where according to tradition St. Thomas used to preach. In 1921 Hosten found four feet of water in the well and heard that at times it rose to six (122-123).

<sup>66</sup> Correa III 421-423; \*Boves (ARSI: *Goa* 14, 382).

<sup>67</sup> Barradas makes an express distinction between the large cross left of the entrance to the cave and a second, smaller cross near the well before which the apostle used to pray (picture in Hosten 518).

<sup>68</sup> On Monte Grande, also known as "Big Mount," "Nossa Senhora do Monte," "Nossa Senhora da Conceição," "St. Thomas Mount," "Holy Mount," "Farangi Malai," see Louis M. Shouriah, *Blood on the Mount* (Madras, 1950) 6-32; Hosten 34-49 134-149; picture in Medlycott 122. The large staircase leading up to it was not built until 1726 (Hosten 34). The Pehlevi cross from the seventh, or at latest eighth, century A. D. was discovered in 1547 when the foundations of the new chapel were being dug (*ibid.* 38-41; picture 470; Barros 1, 9, 1; Figueiredo 3, 1-3; Correa III 421; Couto 7, 10, 5; DI II 584). The picture of the Madonna that is venerated there today is two by three spans in size and painted on wood. A later tradition ascribes it to the evangelist Luke and has it found under the earth, where it was probably buried during one of the many wars (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 38). Still later authors have Thomas bring it to India (H. Desideri, *Relazione* [1728], ed. L. Petech, *I Missionari Italiani nel Tibet* 7 [Roma, 1956] 79). It is first mentioned in 1559 at the time of the invasion of the king of Vijayanagar, when it was already much revered (Figueiredo 2, 1-2; \*Trindade 956). It was probably set up in the newly built chapel in 1547 (on this see Hosten 45-46 143-144; Shouriah 25-30; a colored print in Herman D'Souza, *In the Steps of St. Thomas* [San Thomé, 1952] 88).

<sup>69</sup> M. Nunes Barreto in 1567 (SR X 195).

<sup>70</sup> According to Diogo Fernandes. Correa writes that the apostle had a little chapel on the mountain where he was accustomed to pray, and where Nossa Senhora do Monte

first Portuguese in São Thomé, had built a white chapel in honor of the Mother of God upon the old foundations. It was known as Nossa Senhora do Monte. Though a landmark for voyagers, it was so small that it could not hold even eight people.<sup>71</sup> Though it had collapsed several times, it had always been rebuilt. At the time of Xavier's arrival it was again in ruins.<sup>72</sup>

### 3. THE HISTORY OF THE TOMB (1517-1543)<sup>73</sup>

Like the captain, Miguel Ferreira, Xavier's host, Gaspar Coelho, also had a particular interest in the tomb of St. Thomas and its history. A copy of the hearings of the witnesses in 1533 had been sent to the governor Nuno da Cunha in order that he might have it taken to the king. A second had been kept in São Thomé. Twenty days after his arrival on June 10, 1543, the new *vigario*, not satisfied with the earlier testimonies that had been taken, had the elderly Diogo Fernandes once again heard before the local notary. The evidence which

was built in 1546. At night, for a long time, a fire was always burning, so high that ships sailing past saw it, and when they did, they lowered their sails as a sign of reverence (III 421). The chapel obviously served the Portuguese in earlier and later times as a landmark for voyagers, for whom there was a beacon of fire at night. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese the foundations were still an ell over the earth and had an east-west orientation (Figueiredo 3, 1).

<sup>71</sup> From Frey André de Santa Maria "according to the writing of Nunalvares de Faria" (*ibid.*).

<sup>72</sup> It had already collapsed six or seven times; in 1547 it had again been in ruins for many years (Couto 7, 10, 5, pp. 468-471).

<sup>73</sup> The main sources for this section have been indicated above on p. 560. We are following the account of Diogo Fernandes (text A, complemented and at times corrected by text B), which we expand in the footnotes by means of the other sources: the letter of Ml. Gomes of 1517, that of the inhabitants of São Thomé of 1538, Barbosa, Barros, Correa, Hosten, Figueiredo, and the letters of Penteado. Text A has not been published, and text B has a series of errors in Figueiredo's edition and its English translation and that of Iturriotz. We must approach the matter more exactly, especially since these errors are the foundation of serious mistakes which T. K. Joseph has propagated in numerous pamphlets: *St. Thomas' Tombs, Skeletons and Bodies*, reprinted from *M. M. Potdar Commemoration Volume* (Poona, 1950) 253-277; *South India's St. Thomas, Non-Martyr Made Martyr, Versus Muslims' Saint Tawwamma, 1288-93 A.D.* (Chengannur, 1952); *Six St. Thomases of South India. A Muslim Non-Martyr (Thawwama) Made Martyrs after 1517 A.D.* (*ibid.*, 1955); prospectuses of this work, printed in the same place, list seven (1955), sixteen (1956), twenty-eight (1957), and thirty-two *addenda* (1957); *Not St. Thomas, but a Muslim Thomas in South India* (*ibid.*, 1959) has fifteen, and (in 1960) thirty-two additional items. One of the prime witnesses for T. K. Joseph is H. Heras, S.J., who in a valuable book, *The Aravidu Dynasty* (1927) 64, n. 4, stated that the account of the discovery of the relics of St. Thomas in the tomb of the apostle of Mailapur by the Portuguese was a "most barefaced imposture" with "all elements of a forgery." This is certainly the most unfortunate footnote that he ever wrote in his life, and one which betrays his ignorance of the rich source materials of the sixteenth century. He cites for it only three sources: the brief extract in Faria y Sousa of 1666, the still shorter account in Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* of 1710, and the absolutely worthless notice of the *Gabinete Literario das Fontainhas* of 1846! The basic, detailed accounts of the eyewitnesses such as Diogo Fernandes and Correa, whom Vâth had used in the second edition of his work, *Die heilige Thomas* (1925), were unknown to Heras even in 1929 when, in a review of D'Cruz's book, he gives, among others, a new reason for denying the reality of St. Thomas' grave in Mailapur: Marco Polo places the grave on the west coast of India, since he states that the earth of the grave is red, which is not the case on the east coast (*Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* 2 [1929] 284-289)! A walk from the Madre de Deus to the church in Mailapur could have convinced him of the opposite. [For recent excavations of the area, see E. R. Hambye, cited in the Bibliography.]

he gave was for the most part verbatim with that which he had already given ten years earlier.<sup>74</sup> Master Francis was able to examine both documents in the rectory.<sup>75</sup>

In March, 1517,<sup>76</sup> Diogo Fernandes,<sup>77</sup> Bastião Fernandes,<sup>78</sup> an Armenian<sup>79</sup> Khoja Eskandel,<sup>80</sup> and many other Armenian merchants came from Malacca to Pulicat<sup>81</sup> on the Coromandel Coast. One day Diogo's Armenian friends took him with them to Mailapur,<sup>82</sup> on the seacoast seven leagues south of Pulicat, in order to show him the church of the apostle Thomas. When they came to the site, they found the church surrounded by a wild growth of trees.<sup>83</sup> Although the nave of the church, seventeen ells in length and eleven in breadth, had collapsed,<sup>84</sup> the choir with its high, pointed, domed roof<sup>85</sup> was still standing.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Text B.

<sup>75</sup> In 1538 the inhabitants of São Thomé wrote to King John III, who had complained that he had not received that year a letter from them with respect to their city and the church of the apostle, that they had written to him that year and would do so also in the future. Through Miguel Ferreira they had sent to the governor a copy for him of the judicial hearings of 1533 (on the tomb of St. Thomas and its traditions), and they had prepared a second copy in case a new one was desired. Xavier's companion Cypriano had this text in 1559 when he sent a copy of it (text A) to Goa. The *vigário* Coelho had in addition to this exemplar a copy of the testimonials given in 1543. Bishop Frey André de Santa Maria found it there during his visits between 1589 and 1600 and had it transcribed (text B). Since Xavier was very devoted to St. Thomas, the apostle of India, he must certainly have seen this account and have secured further information by word of mouth about the grave and its traditions.

<sup>76</sup> Text B. Ml. Gomes gives an account of a second pilgrimage which he and Diogo Fernandes, João Ferraz, Alvaro Rodrigues, Antonio Neto, and Gil Fernandes made on June 15, 1517 (SR I 296).

<sup>77</sup> Diogo Fernandes, whom we frequently encounter in India at the time of Albuquerque, is probably to be identified with the latter's attendant who was with him in Goa in 1514 (CA VI 61) and was the *provedor* of the hospital in Cannanore in 1510 and 1511 (SR I 107 138-139) and that of Goa in 1519 (*ibid.* 384). In 1517 he went twice to São Thomé. In 1522 the governor sent him there again from Goa. In 1523 he was present at the opening of the grave and retired near it. In 1538 he signed the letter of the people there that had been written to the king, and he testified there in 1533 and 1543. We do not know if Xavier found him still alive.

<sup>78</sup> He is probably identical with the Seb. Fernandes who was engaged in building a caravel in Chaul in 1513-1514 (CA VI 77). In 1545 we find a Seb. Fernandes together with a Diogo Fernandes in Goa (Q 1549, ff. 43 and 47), and another married in Ternate (Sá II 28).

<sup>79</sup> The Portuguese of this period used the term *Armenios* for Armenians, Arameans or Chaldeans, and Thomas Christians. The latter are probably meant here. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we also find true Armenians. See Mesrov Jacob Seth, *Armenians in India* (Calcutta, 1937). He holds however that Diogo Fernandes' companion and Thomas Cana were Armenians. [But see below, p. 579, n. 154.]

<sup>80</sup> "Khoja" was a Persian title for wealthy merchants. Eskandel (Iskandar) stands for "Alexander."

<sup>81</sup> Portuguese: Paleacate (Palaya Verkādu). It was much frequented because of its good harbor.

<sup>82</sup> In Ptolemy it is called Maliarpha; in the Tamil texts of the seventeenth century, Tirumayilappur (Holy City of Peacocks) because of its renowned temple of Shiva (Figredo 4-7; Hosten 73 319 322-326).

<sup>83</sup> "Sercado de mato muito alto." For *mato* Figueiredo was the first to read *muro* (Iturriotz: *wall*). According to Ml. Gomes the church was "toda cerquada derredor que [a cerca] he muito grande a danificada feita em brenha." Cf. Barbosa (II 129).

<sup>84</sup> "O corpo da igreja jazia no chão" is translated by Iturriotz: "was razed to the ground," whereas the inhabitants wrote in 1538 that when Frias came in 1522, the church had been "com ho corpo da ygreja e cerqua a maior parte derribada." In 1517 Ml. Gomes gave a precise description of the nave: "The church had three doors, one on the façade, one in the center, and one near the choir. These were made of wood and were all

The chapel adjoining the choir on the Gospel side of the church<sup>87</sup> containing the tomb of the apostle was still there, and also a second chapel on the Epistle side within the choir. Within it was the tomb of an Indian king who had become a Christian.<sup>88</sup> This second chapel and the whole nave of the church had been ransacked by natives in search of treasure.

Here they found a Moor who had been blind, but who, a few days before through the intercession of the apostle, had recovered his sight and health.<sup>89</sup> He told them that he had been a Mohammedan for ten years<sup>90</sup> and that before that he had been a pagan.<sup>91</sup> He may have been seventy years old.<sup>92</sup> His father and his grandparents had also been pagans.<sup>93</sup> He further said that he kept

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fastened with iron and nails and were decorated with carvings. The interior was divided into three naves by two rows of five [wooden] columns each to the right and left with ornamented stone socles." Correa is more detailed: "The church was extremely old, being from a very early time, and oriented from east to west. The nave was eleven, the choir five ells, long. The church itself was divided into three naves by carved wooden columns. The roof was made of large, carved wooden beams fitted over each other without nails. Over the wood was a layer of bricks and over this a layer of plaster made of sand and lime, hard as rock, without any cracks or fissures. Outside the doors were holy water fonts. The nave was very old and seemed to be from a very early time, and it was partially ruined. The columns, woodwork, and doors were all, as it seemed, made of one and the same wood, and on the doors there were many crosses" (II 722-723; with a picture of a cross).

<sup>85</sup> Text B: "o curicheo que he a capella que S. Thomé fez, que he como esparadel [esparavel, a canopy, or baldachin, that comes to a point] muito alto." In Figueiredo *esparadel* becomes *paredes*, "walls," as it does in Iturriotz, and the dome was "as high as the walls."

<sup>86</sup> In the choir there was an altar with crosses on it (Barbosa; cf. Correa II 723).

<sup>87</sup> Text B adds that the sepulchral chapel was "da parte de fora," which is translated by Figueiredo as "outside" and by Iturriotz as "on the outer border." He corrects this, however, on p. 270, where he notes that the Portuguese text can only mean: "the farthest corner of the sanctuary on that side," but never "the outer side of the wall encircling it." Correa expressly states that the sepulchral chapel did not have an altar but a wooden screen facing the choir and a second facing the nave, both without doors. The plans in Hosten 164-165 are accordingly to be corrected.

<sup>88</sup> Text B has: "Esta capella, onde o rey jazia, estava cavada de dentro." Text A omits the word *cavada*. According to Ml. Gomes the two little chapels were no larger than the bodies of the saints buried in them. According to him a companion of the apostle, allegedly St. Matthias, was buried in the chapel on the Epistle side.

<sup>89</sup> Text A has erroneously *chegara* instead of *cegara*. Varthema, who visited Negapatam in 1504, heard there that the body of the apostle Thomas was twelve leagues from there and was guarded by a few Christians; but the Christians could no longer live there after the arrival of the Portuguese because the latter had killed many Moors of that land. The Christians were therefore driven out and secretly killed so that the king of Narsinga would not learn of it, since he was a very great friend of the Christians and especially of the Portuguese (*Itinerario* [Milano, 1929] 248-250).

<sup>90</sup> *Dez* (text A), *dous* (text B and Barros).

<sup>91</sup> Correa writes that the Moor told the Armenian companions of the Portuguese that his father and his grandparents had been pagans and had died at a great age. He was himself more than seventy, and all had been accustomed to sweep the church and light its lamps. Because he became a Mohammedan they had never been willing to allow him to set foot in the holy house, and he had become blind. At this he had recommended himself to the apostle and had regained his sight. He had moved into the church and had been there for more than twenty years (II 724).

<sup>92</sup> *Sesenta* (texts A and B, and Barros), a scribal error for *setenta*, found in Correa, for at the end of 1538 the people of São Thomé wrote that he was now around ninety and still came to reverence the apostle (Q 351).

<sup>93</sup> Gomes said that his father had been a secret Christian, but that the latter's forebearers had been open Christians.



the lamp in the church of the apostle burning,<sup>94</sup> and he let it be understood that he was descended from Thomas Christians.<sup>95</sup>

This Moor showed the visitors the spot where the apostle was buried and noted that his body had been brought the distance of a league<sup>96</sup> to the church. He also showed them a footprint upon a stone within the church as fresh and true to life as if he had just stepped on a bit of clay. It consequently did not seem to have been made by human hands.<sup>97</sup> Near it he showed them also another stone with the impress of a knee which the saint had left behind when he fell down and was slain. Two years later Antonio Lobo, João Moreno, and Manuel Falcão<sup>98</sup> came to the church of the apostle. They removed the two imprints with a pickax, took them back to India,<sup>99</sup> and gave them to whom they wished.<sup>100</sup> Although native looters, as the Moor assured them,<sup>101</sup> had ransacked everything else, because of their fear of, and respect for, the apostle, they had never dared touch his place of burial.

<sup>94</sup> Ml. Gomes states that he was devoted to the church and swept and cleaned it, "e quando ahy vai ter alguém, acende huma candea." Barbosa writes that a poor Moor had care of the church and begged alms for it; with these he burned a lamp at night and lived upon what was left (II 129). The natives however said in 1538 that in 1517 a Moor had care of the chapel which he used to illuminate "com huma camdea d'azeyte." According to Ml. Gomes there were two wooden crosses in the sepulchral chapel and the lamps of the church were hung on these.

<sup>95</sup> At the beginning of 1517 Penteado wrote that, according to the information furnished by Thomas Christians who had made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the apostle, there were no Christians there but only pagans and two houses occupied by Moors who called themselves "negros de Tomé." All wore crosses and all gave alms to the church so that a person could be well supported by them (SR III 551).

<sup>96</sup> That is, from the Small Mount, which was a league away, and not the Large Mount, which was a league and a half away.

<sup>97</sup> In 1515 Corsali wrote from Cochín that in the preceding year [1514] his fellow countryman Piero d'Andrea Strozzi had gone to Coromandel and had there seen the grave of the apostle Thomas. He said that he had also seen there "una forma d'un piede incavato, in una pietra di mirabil grandezza, e fuori della natural moderna, che dicono esser stata fatta per san Thomaso miracolosamente" (Ramusio 194v). Ml. Gomes noted that on the mountain where the apostle died there was a footprint of the saint with fresh blood, as the natives said, and an impression of his right foot on a stone in the church. According to Barbosa, two footprints of the apostle were found impressed in the rock after his death. He made these when he got up after being wounded. His body was brought into the city and buried in the church, and the stone with the imprints of his feet was placed near his grave.

<sup>98</sup> A. Lobo (text B), A. Lobo Falcão (text A and Barros). Two Antonio Lobos sailed to India in 1505 (*Emmentia* 237-238), and a third in 1508 (*\*Memoria das pessoas* 46). João Moreno was *provedor* for the deceased in Malacca in 1512; in 1520 he was conducting trade with Pegu from Pulicat (CA VII 5 20 182). Ml. Falcão sailed in 1505 to India (*Emmentia* 237), from Malacca to Banda in 1517 (CA IV 171), and was living in Goa, old and lame, in 1532 after many years of service (Q 173).

<sup>99</sup> To the west coast of India.

<sup>100</sup> In text B Fernandes adds that these three and other persons who were with them took the imprints with them to India, but he did not know who received them. Iturriotz translates this as: "He does not know which of the things mentioned was carried." Correa, on the other hand, writes that the Moors gave the Portuguese an imprint of a foot and on the same stone an imprint of a knee which the saint had left when he was praying, and he adds: "Ours later broke up this stone and took it with them as a relic; and I saw a piece of this stone on which the large toe and the two next to it were to be seen" (II 724). The stones with the alleged foot and knee imprints of the apostle which are today found at the base of the Small Mount have nothing to do with those of 1517 and are probably nothing but a natural formation (Hosten 260).

<sup>101</sup> Iturriotz errs in stating: "as they themselves [that is, the gravediggers] told them."

The man further showed them the grave of a disciple of the apostle that was outside the church to the left of the main entrance.<sup>102</sup> He also showed them another chapel with the tomb of another one of his disciples ten steps north of the church,<sup>103</sup> and still a third chapel the distance of one and one-half to two crossbow's-shots<sup>104</sup> south of the church. This contained the tomb of a third disciple<sup>105</sup> and was later known as the chapel of São João. The Moor further declared that the Christians who died here while on a pilgrimage were always buried there.<sup>106</sup> Six months before Diogo Fernandes visited the site, a Hungarian by the name of Dom Jorge<sup>107</sup> had died here. He had come as a pilgrim, and

<sup>102</sup> It lay "da banda de fora" (Correa II 724). Only in 1523, when the church was rebuilt, was it incorporated into it as the *Capella dos Reis Magos*.

<sup>103</sup> Text B has two additions, one probably of 1543: "where there is now the little chapel of S. Antonio," and one of 1600: "It was where the new, large church was later built." This latter was constructed in 1589, as \*Trindade notes, citing text B: "The new church was built in 1589 as it is today [1638]. The old church remains intact to the left of it. Its choir serves today as the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, and at its side is the small chapel which the apostle built, in which he prayed, and in which are the relics of the apostle; and it has an iron grill towards the nave of the old church" (948).

<sup>104</sup> Instead of *tiro e meio de besta*, Figueiredo has: "*tris e meio de besta* (three and a half shots of an arrow)".

<sup>105</sup> Corsali wrote in 1515 that St. Thomas was buried in the church and near it was another grave of an Ethiopian Christian from the land of Prete Gianni who had traveled in his company (Ramusio 194v). In 1517 Penteado similarly said that the church was in ruins. Only the place containing the grave of the apostle and the grave of an Abyssinian were still extant, and these were later covered over. Pilgrims, in speaking of these graves, said that St. Thomas' was flat and that the Abyssinian's had a tombstone (SR III 551). Ml. Gomes also spoke of the grave of an Abyssinian who had been the servant and companion of the apostle. This was outside the church but within the surrounding wall. In his reply to the first question of the deposition of 1533 as to when the church of the apostle was built, Fernandes replied that he had heard all the natives whom he had asked, elderly people, Brahmans, and other respectable individuals, say definitely that according to their old writings the church had been built 1,460 or 1,470 years earlier. He had further heard the natives say that the apostle had had an oratory where he was accustomed to pray before he built the church. This was a small chapel about a crossbow's-shot from the church. It was on the site where the São João chapel had since been built, and where a disciple of the apostle was buried (text A). Correa wrote to the same effect, namely, that Miguel Ferreira had sought out and taken the evidence of the oldest people whom he could find, Moors and pagans, natives and foreigners, that he questioned them under the oath that they commonly used, and that they were unanimous in affirming the same thing. They knew only one account, that which they had heard from their grandfathers and great-grandfathers, who had also heard the same from their grandfathers and great-grandfathers. They therefore held that it was a definite tradition handed down from generation to generation, known to all and regarded by all as true, that the holy house had been built more than fourteen hundred years before by a holy man who had lived in it; and that a short distance away from it he had had another little house in which he had been accustomed to pray, where the São João chapel had since been built, and in which a servant of this holy man was buried (III 420). In 1566 the Jesuits obtained the chapel (SR X 199). In 1590 it lay within the court of the college (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 348). In 1605 the relics of the apostle's disciple were preserved in the newly built chapel of St. Thomas in the college church (*ibid.* *Goa* 55, 122). In 1674 the church and college were completely destroyed by the king of Golconda (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 36).

<sup>106</sup> According to Correa the pilgrims were buried in the atrium of the chapel or around about it (III 420).

<sup>107</sup> He is called a Hungarian (*umgro*) by Fernandes (texts A and B) and "a nobleman, a Hungarian by nationality," by Barros (3, 7, 11). When Penteado came to Cranganore in 1516, the Syrian pastor of the village was the same Joseph who had gone

when he was dying, he had asked to be interred in the burial spot of the pilgrims. Diogo Fernandes returned with his companions to Pulicat and, after making a second pilgrimage to the tomb of the apostle in June of this same year, sailed with them from there to India.<sup>108</sup>

In 1522 Manuel de Frias,<sup>109</sup> who was then the factor and captain of the coast, visited the tomb with Father Penteado.<sup>110</sup> The priest later had a falling out with the factor over the money which the latter should give for the reconstruction of the church<sup>111</sup> and sailed back to Portugal, leaving as chaplain the old Pedro

to Portugal and Rome in 1501, had returned from there, and had made a pilgrimage with Dom Jorge to the tomb of the apostle in Mailapur and returned from there three or four months later (SR III 546). Correa is mistaken when he has the Moorish custodian of the church say in 1517 that twelve or fifteen years earlier a count by the name of Dom Jorge, an Englishman (*ingrês*), came to Mailapur in pilgrim garb and died there and was buried with the other pilgrims. Figueiredo makes *Domyngo* out of *Dom Jorge*. Here, much earlier, in the cemetery of the pilgrims, and not in the grave of the apostle, Frey Nicolaus of Pistoia, O.P., was also certainly buried. He died as he was passing through here in 1292 or 1293 (according to Hosten in opposition to Zaleski and Vâth in the *Catholic Register, Supplement*, Madras, February, 1928, p. 3).

<sup>108</sup> The southwest monsoon made the voyage to the west coast of India impossible from May to October. It consequently kept them in Pulicat. On June 15, Diogo Fernandes went a second time with some other Portuguese to the church of the apostle, in which one of them, Ml. Gomes, wrote his letter (SR I 296-299). When he writes that they made a journey of six days (*jornadas*) from Pulicat to Mailapur, it is a scribal error for six leagues (*legoas*), and when he adds that according to the data of the natives the apostle was killed upon a mountain six leagues from the church, this indicates that he did not go there himself and that he misunderstood his informants, who spoke Tamil.

<sup>109</sup> According to text A, the letter of the inhabitants of 1538, Barros, and Correa. Text B has erroneously *Faria*. The Portuguese, according to Correa, took notes of all these matters, sailed from Pulicat to Malacca, and from there back to India, where they gave a complete report to the governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. When the latter sailed from Cochín to Portugal in January, 1522, he gave the account to his successor, D. Duarte de Meneses. At the beginning of 1522 the latter sent his servant Ml. de Frias to Pulicat as captain and factor with a caravel and three *fustas* and orders to purchase provisions and iron for him and to obtain precise information with respect to the long sought tomb of the apostle. In compliance with this request, Frias wrote to him that the account of the Portuguese was accurate. Meneses then sent a cleric, Alvaro Penteado, and ordered the factor to take the priest to the holy house and to restore it as far as possible so that it would not fall into complete ruin. He also earnestly asked the priest to be very careful to gather all the information he could with respect to the church and to take the necessary measures with respect to the same (II 721-722 725).

<sup>110</sup> On Alvaro Penteado, see the following sources: Q 69 99 114 121 128 130 4349; his letters in SR: January, 1517 (III 543-553), in 1528 (II 147-148), in 1529 (*ibid.* 357-361), in 1533 (*ibid.* 370-372); see also CA V 457, VI 74; Barros 3, 7, 11; Correa II 725 778-779 789, III 419; and the accounts in SRH 229 394-397 417-418 426-429. He was born in Elvas, sailed in 1510 to India, was in Goa from 1511 to 1514, and after 1516 in Cranganore, where, without any understanding of the Syrian rite, his vehemence and intransigency made him impossible for the Thomas Christians. In 1523 he sailed back to Portugal and returned to São Thomé in 1524 as vicar with the king's approval. But here he so antagonized the Portuguese that they threw him out and threatened to kill him if he returned "because of his bad example," as Frey Vicente de Laguna, O.P., wrote to the king in 1530, accusing him of great ignorance and immorality (SR II 197). When he was returning from Cochín to São Thomé in 1528, his boat was attacked by eighty hostile *praus*. In the battle he was wounded in a leg (*ibid.* 358 372). In 1531 he returned to Portugal (Barros 3, 7, 11).

<sup>111</sup> Penteado wanted to let the friars undertake large works and build a monastery, but Frias refused to give his permission for these since an order from the governor was necessary for them. At this the priest lost his patience, traveled to Goa by land,

Fernandes with a single companion, a Portuguese by the name of Diogo Lourenço.<sup>112</sup>

Frias, who had also gone to Goa, returned the following year,<sup>113</sup> bringing with him a master mason, Vicente Fernandes, to rebuild the church and Father Antonio Gil to direct the work. The first thing they did was to reinforce the choir and cupola with an external retaining wall and to dig the foundations for a sacristy on the Epistle side of the church. While doing this they discovered the bones of the first king converted by St. Thomas. According to information supplied by the natives, his name was Tomé Modeliar, which in their language meant "Thomas, Servant of God."<sup>114</sup> Over the grave of this king was a slab which they later transferred to the sepulchral chapel of the apostle. It contained an inscription in the language and script of the country which stated that the king gave a tenth of all the goods which were carried by land or sea to the church, that all of his successors should continue to give this alms or be subject to the severe imprecation which he had made, and that they should observe this as long as the sun, moon, and stars endured.<sup>115</sup> These bones were placed in a lacquered Chinese box with three compartments.<sup>116</sup>

and, since the governor also did not agree with his plan, sailed back to Portugal (Correa II 725).

<sup>112</sup> This Diogo Lourenço is probably the same as the captain of a *lanchara* (a boat with oars), which sailed from Malacca in 1524 with a fleet against the hostile Malays on the Muar River (Castanheda 6, 52), and who, in 1548, when he was living in Lisbon, received the confirmation of a document for knighthood which M. A. de Sousa had drawn up for him. Lourenço had earlier accompanied de Sousa on many military expeditions (Q 3996). Here and later Figueiredo errs in giving his name as *Francisco* instead of *Diogo*.

<sup>113</sup> Correa, who took part in the voyage, describes in detail how the governor immediately sent a ship with Pedro Lopes de Sampaio, Vicente Fernandes, and A. Gil, who were to be helped by Padre Pedro Fernandes, Diogo Lourenço, and Diogo Fernandes, with instructions on what should be done for the church of the apostle. Sampaio left the ship in Pulicat and went on foot with twelve or fifteen companions the seven leagues to Mailapur. After their arrival, they knelt down, shed an abundance of tears of devotion, and went to confession. During the Mass which the priest celebrated they all received Communion. It was the feast of Corpus Christi (II 725-726), June 4, 1523 (Correa errs in giving the year as 1521).

<sup>114</sup> *Tomē*, later *Tane* (text A), *Tane* (text B), *Tani* (Correa II 726). *Mudaliyar* is the head of a community or group, for example, of Moors. Neither is a royal title (cf. KSP II 215).

<sup>115</sup> Cypriano adds a translation of the inscription to the copy of text A that was sent to Goa. It reads as follows: "Senhor Jesus Christo, Senhor dos senhores, todalas cousas, que neste mundo prometi, todas compri em os meus tres reinos em a era, que se chama 'Calex verute varsão' [Kaliyuga, the year of Jupiter Virodhi (1349-1350 A.D.)] em mes que se chama 'n [two letters are lacking because of a small hole in the paper] te' em sua limgoa, que he Março [Panguini]—neste tempo se chamava esta tera 'Xerão Comdalão' [Chōra Mandalam, the land of the Chōra, or Chola: Coromandel]—em a sidade de Tremiliapor [Tirumayilappur: Holy Peacock City: Mailapur]; eu dou ao christão, que he Samto Tomé, nesta sidade de todalas naos, que vierem ter a este porto, e así de todallas outras merquadorias e cousas da tera de dez hum d'esmola pera fazer a casa. E esta esmola, que eu faso aesta casa, fasão os outros reis, que apos mim sosederem; e os que o comtrairo fizerem reseberão tamanha pena como de matarem hum brame [Brahman] acabado de se lavar; e esta esmola que dou durará emquanto durar o soll e a llua." "Este rey chamava-se Ari Ara Lai." This sentence was added by Cypriano, but it was apparently in the inscription and may refer to Harihara I, the founder of the Yādava dynasty in Vijayanagar. His rule, from 1336 to 1357, would embrace the Jupiter year of Virodhi (1349-1350). The data provided by Marignolli, who visited Mailapur in 1349, would correspond with this: "Dedit etiam Rex ille stateram ponderis piperis beato Thomae et omnium aromatum in eternum, quam nullus potest

During the following month,<sup>117</sup> on July 2, 1523,<sup>118</sup> it became necessary to invade the apostle's grave since the foundation for the dome, which was in danger of collapsing, was over a portion of it. Father Gil and the master mason went to Pulicat to inform Frias about this, and he gave them a free hand to do what was needed. When they returned, Gil called Father Pedro Fernandes, a man of good life, who may have been seventy years old at the time,<sup>119</sup> Diogo Fernandes, Braz Fernandes,<sup>120</sup> and Diogo Lourenço and asked them in the name of the apostle and of the king and of the governor, Dom Duarte de Meneses,<sup>121</sup> to help them excavate the grave of the apostle.

When Diogo Fernandes refused to do so, the priest told him that he would then do it with the help of the natives, and that he would begin the work at once. Fernandes then yielded to his request but asked him, as did the other Portuguese, to hear his confession. When the priest had finished with this—it was one o'clock in the afternoon of a Saturday in the month of July—they began to open the tomb.

They first found three spans<sup>122</sup> of loose earth within four brick walls<sup>123</sup> that

eis auferre sine periculo mortis" (545). We are therefore of the opinion that the text, despite all the fantastic additions, gives an accurate account of the principle contents of the inscription. There cannot of course be any question of an inscription from the time of the apostle.—Maffei errs in giving the name of the king mentioned in the inscription as Sagamus (*Opera* I 210-211). The name is a freely invented translation of the Pehlevi inscription on the cross found on the Large Mount. The Brahman who gave this "decipherment" in 1561 probably took the name from Sangama, the father of Harihara I (cf. Osorius, *De rebus Emmanuelis Regis* l. 3). Also freely invented is the text of the sheet-copper document which a Brahman sold to P. Cypriano in 1553 (Lucena 3, 5), according to which 347 years earlier (that is, 1253 A.D.) Bukka Raja, king of Narsinga, gave a piece of land and revenues to the apostle's church. Couto gives the text and dates the gift to the time of the apostle (7, 10, 5). The forger of the text probably took the name of the king from Bukka I, a son of Sangama, who ruled from 1354 to 1379 in Vijayanagar. \*Trindade later mentions real gifts of the kings of Vijayanagar to the church of St. Thomas (948-949). The stone which Hosten excavated near the cathedral in 1921 and thought to be the one under discussion has nothing to do with it (Hosten 54-55; Figueiredo 6-7). It contains a long inscription in Tamil referring to a gift of land for the maintenance of a lamp before the picture of Nataraja in a Shiva temple. It is from the twelfth century.

<sup>116</sup> "Cofre terno da China" (text A), probably a lacquered Chinese box.

<sup>117</sup> Correa now describes in detail the rebuilding of the nave of the church, which apparently required the whole of June. He dates it in 1524, but the subsequent data require instead 1523.

<sup>118</sup> Correctly given in text B. Text A has June 11, 1523, by mistake. They did not arrive at the site until June 4 and did not begin working until after the feast of Corpus Christi. Further, according to text A and B and Correa, it was only in the following month, that is, in July, after the nave had been reconstructed that they undertook the excavation of the apostle's tomb. Figueiredo has "152 [1523?]."

<sup>119</sup> *Sesenta* (text A), *setenta* (text B and Correa).

<sup>120</sup> Braz Fernandes is probably to be identified with the mason who was married in Goa in 1512 (CA V 294), and probably also with the captain of the brigantine *S. Antonio*, a ship with fifteen banks of oars, which sailed with the governor from Goa to Diu in 1538 (TdT: *S. Lour.* 4, 249). Barros errs in calling him Bras Dias (3, 7, 11).

<sup>121</sup> Governor from 1522 to 1524.

<sup>122</sup> *Tres* (text A), *dez* (text B). Text A, which is confirmed by the letter of the residents of 1538, is to be preferred to text B with respect to the data given on the various layers of the grave. Text B omits several lines from *outra* to *outra*. As a consequence the sketches of the grave in later authors such as Perumalil and D'Sousa, which were taken from Figueiredo, who based his design on text B, are not correct.

<sup>123</sup> The brick lining of the grave on the east side is still extant. The bricks are around 15 1/2 inches long, 8 wide, and 3 thick. According to Longhurst they prove the great antiquity of the grave (Figredo 21-22). The bricks which were dug up from

had been whitewashed. After they had removed this earth they encountered a layer of bricks and mortar two spans thick and then another stratum of loose earth three spans in depth resting upon a second course of brick and mortar like the first.<sup>124</sup> Here they ceased their labors, since they were of the opinion that they had reached the bottom of the grave. But Fernandes urged his companions to continue. They therefore broke through the layer of bricks and found under it another three spans of earth, and under this a two-span layer of mortar so hard that they could not break it up with their pickaxes. After they had removed this cement, they found two stone slabs bound together without any inscriptions that took up the entire space.<sup>125</sup> These were removed,<sup>126</sup> and another layer of loose earth was found below them. By this time it was almost midnight, and they still had not found the remains of any bones. At the suggestion of Diogo Fernandes they all retired to take their rest. The next morning, a Sunday,<sup>127</sup> they all immediately set to work again. The brick lining of the walls gave out.<sup>128</sup> Three or four more spans of earth were removed, and they had already reached a depth of from fifteen to sixteen spans<sup>129</sup> when they encountered sand and lime that had crumbled to dust. Here they immediately found some bones of the head and then of the ribs and of the whole body.<sup>130</sup> They also found a clay jar

the Roman trading station of Arikamedu south of Mailapur in 1945 have the same dimensions. They are from the second half of the first century A.D. (Wheeler, "Arikamedu," *Ancient India* 2 [1946] 32-34).

<sup>124</sup> Text B here skips two layers through an error of the copyist (*outra—outra*).

<sup>125</sup> Text B adds: "which are today in the chapel of the apostle."

<sup>126</sup> Correa observes: "They had much trouble in removing them since they had no tools for this purpose" (II 788).

<sup>127</sup> Since Sunday fell on July 5, the opening of the grave began on Saturday. We thus have the following chronology: June 4, Corpus Christi and the first Mass. They then rebuilt the nave. On July 2 they received permission in Pulicat for the opening of the tomb. They began digging on July 4 and found the bones of the apostle on the fifth. Text A also gives the days of the week. These are at variance with those given by Correa, who leaves no time for rebuilding the nave. Correa also contradicts texts A and B. He gives the year as 1524 and different days of the week. The fact that they worked on Sunday is justified by Correa: "They worked day and night with great haste through fear that the natives might make an uproar, thinking that they were making the excavation because they had found money" (III 788).

<sup>128</sup> "Sem ser guarnesida a cova como era asima," according to text A, which is confirmed by Correa (II 788). Text B errs in having *com* instead of *sem*.

<sup>129</sup> "Loguo pela manhã tornamos outra vez a cavar na dita cova obra de tres ou quatro pallmos de tera e até este passo era a cova da alltura de XV pallmos," according to text A (16 *pallmos*, according to text B). Instead of *de alltura*, Figueiredo has erroneously *da louça*, which Iturriotz translates: "At this point the cave was of flat stone (*louza*) of sixteen palms." The letter of the residents of 1538 clearly states: "Começando a quavar, alltura de tres pallmos derão com a sepolltura que estava por d'arredor muy bem guoarnecyda de tygollo e muy forte arguamasa, a quall era d'alltura de vimte pallmos, e de tres en tres pallmos se achava huma arguamasa; e na deradeira se acharão duas lageaes do comprimento e llargura da quova e debaixo dellas se achou a osada." Barros writes in a similar fashion (3, 7, 11).

<sup>130</sup> "Allguns osos da cabeça e depois das costas e de todo o corpo" (texts A and B); "ossos de caveira, e de pernas e braços, e d'outras partes do corpo" (Correa II 788). Figueiredo wrongly translates this: "some bones of the skull, then those of the spine and of the whole body," which would mean that they had found all the bones of the spinal column and of the whole body. Barzaeus, who was never in São Thomé, wrote from Goa in 1553 that the apostle Thomas had suffered martyrdom in Coromandel, and, if it was also said that his body had been translated to Edessa, the majority of those in India held the opposite for true because of a "corpo grande" which was found in his grave and which emitted a very great fragrance (DI II 584). Both are contradicted by the evidence of the eyewitness Diogo Fernandes and by the

at the base of the excavations that could have contained an *almude*<sup>131</sup> and was full of earth.<sup>132</sup> A thighbone was sticking out from it,<sup>133</sup> and within it was an iron Malabar spearhead shaped like an olive leaf.<sup>134</sup> This was completely preserved and had a bit of wood in its socket.

All of the bones, which were in a very poor condition,<sup>135</sup> were removed. They

account of F. de Andrada, which falsifies Correa's text by giving *caveira* instead of *ossos de caveira*, which would indicate that the whole skull had been found (l. 1, c. 49). Since 1950 T. K. Joseph has tirelessly maintained that the grave in Mailapur is that of a Mohammedan saint and not that of the apostle, and that two bodies were found there, among which was a complete skeleton, which was sent to Goa with a report in 1522 and was there honored as the relics of the apostle (*Six St. Thomases* 32)!

<sup>131</sup> An *almude* is the equivalent of 17 1/2 quarts. The jar according to Correa contained six *canadas* (II 788), which would come to half an *almude*. Barros gives it as an *alqueire*, the equivalent of 13 3/4 quarts (3, 7, 11).

<sup>132</sup> M. Nunes Barreto wrote in 1567 (SR X 194) that according to the residents of São Thomé the earth was mixed with the blood of the apostle. Around 1349 Marignolli discovered a tradition in Mailapur that after his death the priests had gathered up the earth which was soaked with his blood and had buried it with him (544-545).

<sup>133</sup> "Achamos tamto avamte como as coixas das pernas" (text A); "acharão mais tanto avante como huma das coixas das pernas" (text B). The statements have been badly misunderstood. Iturriotz gives the following translation: "A little further on they found one of the thighs of the legs." Figueiredo writes: "A spearhead was also found in the tomb at the place corresponding to the thigh." According to T. K. Joseph, some bones of the head, a few ribs, some other bones of the body, and a thighbone were found (KSP II 215)!

<sup>134</sup> Text A is here probably corrupt: "hum fero da lamsa de fusão de fero d'oliveyra." Text B is better: "hum ferro de lança de feição da folha d'oliveira, todo inteiro, malavar," which Iturriotz mistranslates: "one iron of lance of the shape of Malabar palm leaf," and which T. K. Joseph explains more exactly: "coconut-palm leaf, like a feather" (KSP II 208). Figueiredo translates it as: "A spearhead entirely of Malabar iron having the shape of an olive leaf." Correa follows text B (II 788). Barros states that in addition to it a piece of wood was found with an iron tip that seems to have once been used as a staff, and he adds: "Because of the universal conviction of the people and the spearhead, it seemed to be the body of the apostle. For in addition to the fact that these bones were white, while those of the king and of a disciple which were later found were the color of earth, they [the Portuguese] believed that they were remains of St. Thomas, since the people had told them that he had been killed with a spear" (3, 7, 11). In 1538 the residents wrote: "All, the oldest residents of the land, Brahmans as well as pagans and Moors, said and affirmed that these were the bones of the blessed apostle. When they [the people of Edessa] came here to remove his body, as is written in the *legenda* of the holy apostle, they refused to show them his real grave and showed them another of one of his disciples; and they took the latter's body from where it lay thinking that they were taking away the body of the blessed Thomas." A few lines further on they declared: "It seems to all of us, because of the testimonies of the witnesses that were taken here, that this is the real body of the blessed apostle, and also because his grave is different from all the others that were found here, namely, five [graves] of his disciples and one of a king who became a Christian and during his lifetime gave a tenth of all the goods of the sea and of the land in order to build the holy house." Among the bones of the five disciples, those of the two children are also included. These were found in the grave to the left of the main entrance of the church. With respect to the testimony of the Moors, in 1358 Mufazzal ibn Abil-Fazail wrote in his Arabic history of the Mameluke sultans that the Muslim pilgrims from Ceylon were accustomed to visit the monastery of Mar Tuma, one of the disciples of our Lord, the Messias, so that the complete pilgrimage consisted of a visit to four places: "One visits the grave of Mo'ammār as-Sahebi [a disciple of Mohammed in Ratnapur], the footprint of our father Adam [Adam's Peak in Ceylon], the monastery of Mar Tuma, who was an apostle, and that of Sultan Mahmūd, who captured the land of Hindustan [in Afghanistan]. This is the last goal of the journey of those fakirs who undertake this pilgrimage" (*Patrologia Orientalis* 20 [1929] 192-193).

<sup>135</sup> "Tiramos toda a osada fora, que era muito gastada" (texts A and B). The same

were placed by Father Gil in a small box, which they did not fill.<sup>136</sup> The main portion of these bones and of the grave itself lay under the foundations of the dome.<sup>137</sup> The priest therefore had Frias summoned from Pulicat. The latter came at once, bringing with him a Chinese coffer divided into compartments and with two silver locks.<sup>138</sup> The priest placed the bones of the apostle in the smallest of these compartments with due formalities, and it was then locked with a key. In the larger compartment<sup>139</sup> he placed the remains of the first king,<sup>140</sup> already mentioned, and those of the other disciple of the apostle, which had been near the main entrance of the church. He also placed in it the other bones that had been found in the disciple's grave, that is, those of the two children who had later been interred in it.<sup>141</sup> All were thus locked up, and Frias took the key with him to give it to the governor, Dom Duarte de Meneses.

Two years later Father Penteado returned from Portugal<sup>142</sup> and said that the bones of the apostle were not in a good condition in the Chinese casket. He therefore broke the locks and took the bones of the apostle and of the others and put them in an old wooden chest and hid this in a place known only to himself and a man named Rodrigo Alvares.<sup>143</sup>

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is said in the letter of the residents of 1538: "a osada, que estava polo tempo muy gastada." Correa is more detailed: "e os ossos tão gastados que bolindo com elles se quebrauão, os quaes com muyto acatamento e lagrimas de muyta deuação que todos chorauão, o padre com hum panno de seda nas mãos os buscou todos, e os meteo em huma boêta grande, por nam ter outra cousa em que os metesse" (II 788).

<sup>136</sup> "E ainda a não encherão" (text B); "com ho mesmo ferro da lamça, que na quova foy achado" (Q 351). A portion of the relics thus came to Edessa, another part remained behind.

<sup>137</sup> "E o mais desta osada e cova jazia por debaixo do allisese do coricheo" (texts A and B). In Iturriotz this becomes: "And the rest of the bones and of the cave lay under the foundation of the Sanctuary"; in Figueiredo: "The remaining bones and the grave were underneath the foundations of the chapel"; and in T. K. Joseph: "The bones below the thigh were under the foundations of the sanctuary and were not taken out" (SKP II 215). If T. K. Joseph further concludes from the description of the grave that it had never been opened before 1523, and that the grave in India from which the bones of the apostle according to the ancient authors were translated to Edessa could not have been the grave in Mailapur (*ibid.* 217), we reply as follows: How does he know that it was never opened? Is there not the possibility that in the second century a portion of the relics were taken from it for Edessa and that the grave was again closed up as the Portuguese found it in 1523? One thing is certain from the description: Since the main portion of the tomb and of the bones were found under the foundations of the dome, the latter could not have been built by the apostle.

<sup>138</sup> Correa mentions two boxes, one new, gilded Chinese box with a silver clasp for the relics of the apostle and a second for the bones of the king, which according to him were found near the main entrance (II 789; also Barros 3, 7, 11). But Fernandes mentions only one box with three partitions.

<sup>139</sup> According to text A the priest put the relics of the apostle in the smallest of the compartments, according to text B he placed them in the smallest compartment, of the chest; according to both he placed the remaining bones in the larger compartment.

<sup>140</sup> According to text A.

<sup>141</sup> "Outras duas osadas, que paresiam ser de minimos" (text A), "outras ossadas" (text B).

<sup>142</sup> At the end of 1524.

<sup>143</sup> Rodrigo Alvares (Figueiredo errs in naming him Rodrigo a Luis, and Iturriotz by calling him Rodrigo Luis) is probably to be identified with the married notary in the factory of Goa who is mentioned between 1505 and 1514 (CA I 149, II 377, V 347 456, VI 100, VII 17), and perhaps also with the one who helped at Diu in 1538 (Sousa Coutinho 215) and 1546 (Q 3063). Correa wrote with respect to Penteado: "When Padre Penteado returned from the kingdom, he brought with him his appointment as vicar of the holy house; and he broke the clasps and took out the holy relics and put them



In 1530 Miguel Ferreira came to San Thomé as captain of the coast<sup>144</sup> under the governor Nuno da Cunha.<sup>145</sup> The *vigario* at the time was a Franciscan priest by the name of Ugo Nicolay.<sup>146</sup> Diogo Fernandes told him that he should tell Ferreira to look for the bones since the casket in which Penteado had placed them must already be decayed. Rodrigo Alvares was questioned under oath in the presence of Diogo Fernandes, and he declared that they were under the main altar. The casket was found there half rotted away. The bones of the apostle were taken from it and placed in a small chest half a span high and a span in length.<sup>147</sup> The other bones were placed in a large chest, and the small chest with the relics of the apostle was also inserted into it. Miguel Ferreira took the key, and the chest with the relics was carried to the chapel of the apostle. The captain then gave the key of the chapel to the *vigario*. The relics were still in the chapel when Diogo Fernandes was heard as a witness on October 15, 1533.<sup>148</sup>

With respect to the inscription which Diogo Fernandes found in the church, he declared in this same hearing in 1533 that the slab with the inscription referring to the king's donation, which was found near his grave, was very large and of great importance to the church for collecting the revenues which he gave to it. In addition to this stone there was another smaller one near the same grave with the short inscription: "Here rests Tomé Modeliar," which means: "Thomas Modeliar, servant of God, helped build this church." Penteado had hidden this stone and no one knew where it was.<sup>149</sup> When the king made the donation of the revenues, he was not as yet a Christian. As for other documents drawn up by the king after his baptism, it was believed that the Brahmans and other natives of the land had them and were unwilling to show them.<sup>150</sup>

in a small box hardly big enough to contain them, which had been made from the same wood as the church. All alone he secretly placed them in a recess within the high altar which he had made with his own hands so that no one knew where he had placed them. He only revealed it to a good man by the name of Rodrigo Alvares, whom he had swear on the holy relics and on the Most Blessed Sacrament that he would only reveal it to his confessor at the hour of his death" (II 789).

<sup>144</sup> According to text A. Correa writes that Ambrosio do Rego, as captain of the coast, came to conduct a formal hearing about the church of the apostle on the basis of the questions that had been put together by the king for this purpose from the data he had received from Penteado. It was a matter that John III had earnestly recommended to the governor; but Rego, who was only interested in his own gain, did little about it and handed the matter over to Miguel Ferreira (III 419-421).

<sup>145</sup> Governor from 1529 to 1538.

<sup>146</sup> "Ugo Nicolao, Padre framses" (text A); "padre fransês Ugo Nycolay" (Correa III 424); "P. Francisco Nicolao" (text B).

<sup>147</sup> Text B gives the measurements. The small size of the little box (4 5/16 inches × 8 11/16 inches) in which the remains of the apostle and the spearhead were placed indicates how few fragments of the body of the apostle were found.

<sup>148</sup> "E neste lugar está a osada até oje que são XV de Outubro de 1533 anos" (text A). Text B, which includes the testimony of 1543, concludes as follows: "E a ossada esteve ali até oje, que são 15 d'Outubro, que elle, dito Diogo Fernandes, fora tirado por testemunha pro mandado del Rey. E este he o proprio testemunho, que elle, dito Diogo Fernandes, deu naquelle tempo, e o primeiro artigo que lhe foi perguntado." Only text A has the answer to the question of the articles. On the later history of the relics of St. Thomas, see Figueiredo 2, 1-4; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 36-37; APO VI 552-553; Hosten 13 90-91. The cathedral in Mailapur still has a fragment of the spearhead and a small piece of a rib. Another fragment of a bone which was sent by Frey André de Santa Maria to the church of St. Thomas in Goa is now in the church of Ribandar near Goa.

<sup>149</sup> Both stones have disappeared.

<sup>150</sup> According to Correa a number of the thirteen witnesses who were heard in São Thomé in 1533 said that all that concerned the holy house was written in the

With respect to the inscriptions on the church door, Diogo Fernandes said that at the time of his first visit he had seen Khoja Eskandel make one. He asked him at the time: "What are you writing there?" Eskandel replied that he was writing his name. Other Armenians who had made pilgrimages to this church in early times had also written their names there, and the inscriptions on the door had no further significance.

Other letters were written on a beam of red wood near a small cross in the church. They contained the following petition: "Receive, Lord, this alms from John, Thy servant; and at some future time take me up into Thy glory!" The natives said that the beam had been broken and that a Christian Malabar who had come here on a pilgrimage had replaced it with another. According to Fernandes<sup>151</sup> no inscriptions written by the apostle had been discovered. The wood which he had used for building the church had come from a single log; but the people of the place said that whenever any part of the woodwork of the church became broken or worn out, it was replaced by another of red wood. At the main entrance of the church there was a board hanging from a chain. According to tradition this was the piece that had been left over when the apostle built the church, and which he himself had ordered to be hung there. In 1533, however, it had already disappeared, and Diogo Fernandes did not know who had taken it.<sup>152</sup>

#### 4. TRADITIONS AND LEGENDS

On the basis of the information which he had received on the grave of St. Thomas in India, King John III had ordered the ruined church to be rebuilt and witnesses be heard under oath on the spot so that the local traditions with respect to the apostle could be recorded with the help of the oldest residents of the locality. He had therefore sent a questionnaire comprising eight articles and a life of the saint according to the traditions of the West.<sup>153</sup> In 1533 Miguel Ferreira took the testimony of thirteen persons. These included a Syrian *abuna*

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temple of Kānchīpuram, twenty leagues from Mailapur. Miguel Ferreira promised a great reward to anyone who would obtain this document (*lenda*) about the apostle from the scribes of the temple, but his offer proved fruitless. The Brahmans slew the scribe who asked about it (III 424). Later attempts in 1598 and 1740 were also without effect (cf. Hosten in the *Catholic Herald of India* [1922] 278). In 1517 Ml. Gomes had already written: "This house of the apostle had large properties within the interior and on the coast, which brought it large revenues; and it had large stone monuments that served as boundary stones, which we ourselves saw; but since the coming of the Christians, the king of the land has taken everything for himself" (SR I 298).

<sup>151</sup> In 1517 Ml. Gomes wrote: "On the door of this house I saw cut into the stone the following inscription made by the apostle's own hand" (SR I 299). The letter is only extant in a copy, and the inscription is missing in it. Probably there is here reference to the Syrian inscripton whose roughly sketched \*copy is found in TdT: *Gavetas 15-1-54* with the title: "Estas letras abaixo escriptas estan na porta principall da Igreja do bemaventurado apostolo Sam Thomé." We have published it in Q, pl. XVIII, 1.

<sup>152</sup> Correa writes: "Over the main door was a large board of red wood, like brazil wood or red sandalwood, fastened by a single nail at the center. Three crosses within a circle (*em compasso*) were carved on it, the center cross being higher than the others" (II 723-724). The woodwork of the old church had the color of a dried date and was universally the same. It was well preserved, without holes and not eaten by worms. The wood itself was hard to cut (*ibid.* 726).

<sup>153</sup> Barros 3, 7, 11, p. 223; cf. Correa III 419.

(bishop),<sup>154</sup> the Portuguese Diogo Fernandes, and the eldest residents of the site—Brahmans, Hindus of different castes, and Mohammedans—all from eighty to ninety years old.<sup>155</sup>

The *abuna*<sup>156</sup> said that he had been born in Babylonia<sup>157</sup> and had lived for fifteen years in this part of India.<sup>158</sup> According to the tradition of his homeland,<sup>159</sup> the apostle Thomas had been sent by Christ to these regions of the East together with St. Bartholomew and St. Judas Thaddaeus.<sup>160</sup> Thomas and Judas came to Babylonia and from there by way of Basra<sup>161</sup> to a place in the north called Kaleskadaka.<sup>162</sup> Judas Thaddaeus remained there and converted many to Christianity. He also built a house of prayer. But there was no longer a church there nor any Christians, but only Moors and Arabs. St. Bartholomew, on the other hand, went to Persia and lay buried in a place called Taran.<sup>163</sup> His tomb was in a monastery on the other side of Tabriz in the land of Sheik Ismāil,<sup>164</sup> where there were many Christians and a house of prayer.

The apostle Thomas, however, left Judas Thaddaeus and came to the island of Socotra.<sup>165</sup> There he made many Christians and built a church. He then came here to the city of Mailapur<sup>166</sup> in the kingdom of Narsinga<sup>167</sup> and made

<sup>154</sup> Barros and Couto call him an Armenian, which here, as elsewhere, means a Chaldean. [For arguments to the contrary, see R. Gulbenkian, cited in Vol. I, p. 680.]

<sup>155</sup> Correa III 419-423.

<sup>156</sup> Correa III 424. The \*copy which Frois sent to Rome in 1559 (text A), in ARSI: *Goa 31*, 18-19, gives the full text of his testimony. Extracts of it are given by Correa III 423-424; Barros 3, 7, 11, pp. 232-233, and Couto 4, 10, 11, pp. 390-391. We follow text A.

<sup>157</sup> Correa errs: "Hum bispo das terras do Preste, chamado Abuna."

<sup>158</sup> "Que avia qimze anos que nestas partes abitava" (text A). According to Couto he was interrogated at the hearing at Mailapur in 1533, and the other texts agree on this. According to Correa he went among the Thomas Christians of Malabar. According to Barros he said "que havia vinte annos que era vindo áquella terra, e que andava visitando per dentro da terra firme alguma gente da Christã[dade] do Apostolo, a qual habitava nas terras abaixo de Coulam." Couto alters text A: "Que havia quinze annos que estava naquella Cidade de Meliapor." According to the testimony of a Thomas Christian who studied Latin in Portugal, as Barros observes, two of the four bishops whom the Armenian (Chaldean) patriarch sent (1504) died immediately after their arrival. The other two divided up the land between themselves. The younger bishop received the territory below Quilon; the other (Mar Jacob) lived in Cranganore (3, 7, 11, pp. 234-236). Who was this younger bishop, who is also mentioned along with Mar Jacob in 1529 and 1536 (SR II 358-359 243-244)? Bishops Jaballaha, Thomas, Jacob, and Denha came to India in 1504. The title in text A: "t. as o bispo" (testemunhas. O bispo) was earlier, and wrongly, taken by us as "Thomas obispo" (Q 70); and we concluded from this that the two bishops who had died immediately after their arrival were Jaballaha and Denha. But an inscription in Muttuchira in north Travancore states that in 1528 Mar Tanā (Denha) and Mar Avu erected a cross there along with Frey Jorge. The latter then went with his nephew, the priest Matheus, to Portugal (KSP I 233 253-254; Hosten 341-361). Of Mar Avu nothing else is known. Can he be our *abuna*?

<sup>159</sup> "Que elle ouvira dizer así em sua tera como qua aos gentios" (text A). According to Correa this was in their *lendas*, according to Barros in their *escrituras*.

<sup>160</sup> According to Correa all three went together from Jerusalem to Basra, where they separated.

<sup>161</sup> According to Barros the three separated in Babylon.

<sup>162</sup> "Qualexquadqua" (text A), "Calacadaca" (Couto), "Cabeçada despone" (Barros). Is by this meant the village or the area of Chalis northeast of Baghdad?

<sup>163</sup> On Tarão (Dara) see above, p. 559.

<sup>164</sup> In 1533 Dara was a part of Persia in the land of Sheik Ismāil, who ruled from 1502 to 1524.

<sup>165</sup> On St. Thomas and Socotra, see above, pp. 125-126.

<sup>166</sup> On the name see pp. 567-587.

<sup>167</sup> Vijayanagar.

a number of Christians. Some time after this he went to a city called Kam-balia<sup>168</sup> in China,<sup>169</sup> where the king lived, and made many Christians there and built a church. From there he returned to the city of Mailapur in this country and went to a mountain a league and a half from the church of the apostle. There was now on the mountain a chapel of our Lady,<sup>170</sup> and from this mountain he used to come to this city and he made a number of Christians.

From some of the old residents of Mailapur he heard that the apostle had built the church in which he was later buried from a single piece of wood. He did not know, however, from where it came or who gave it to him, only that he had dragged it with his belt to a place where there was a house of a *yogi*, a bishop of the king. In his wrath the *yogi* killed his son and complained to the king that the apostle had killed his son and the other members of his household. The king was very angry at this and had him summoned and asked him how he could have done such a thing. The apostle replied that he knew nothing about it and that he had done nothing of the kind. The boy would have to come, and he would tell the truth. The dead boy was immediately brought, and the apostle bade him in the name of Jesus to arise and tell the truth. The boy came back to life and told what had happened to him in the presence of the king and the others, namely, that his father had slain him out of hatred for the holy man. When the king asked the apostle what he desired, the latter replied that he would like to have that house so that he could build another in it for the honor of God, and his wish was granted.<sup>171</sup>

The witness had further heard that the king became a Christian with a large part of his people and that the apostle had suffered death on a mountain a league distant from the holy house.<sup>172</sup> Before his martyrdom he had asked our Lord that he might let him die with Him. And he also heard it said that base people had killed him by thrusting a lance into his side, whereupon he died. His four disciples then came and took his body to this holy house and buried it in a little chapel which they had made for it on the Gospel side of the choir.

The *abuna* further stated that he had never heard that the body had been carried from there to some other place.<sup>173</sup> But in the course of time this place became abandoned, and the Christians therefore withdrew from there to India.<sup>174</sup> A Christian merchant came on a pilgrimage from the land of Canane<sup>175</sup> to this city of Mailapur, where the body of the apostle lay buried. He found everything abandoned and could do nothing here. He therefore then went to Cranganore and bought from the king of that country a piece of land and built on it the church

<sup>168</sup> The capital of China, known at the time of the apostle as Yen, under the Mongols as Khanbalik, then Peking or Peiping.

<sup>169</sup> "Many say that the apostle St. Thomas went to China and made many Christians there" (EX I 335). Correa here combines the account of the *abuna* with the *Passio Thomae*. According to Barros he sailed to China in Chinese vessels. According to Couto he sailed some years after his arrival in Mailapur.

<sup>170</sup> The Large Mount.

<sup>171</sup> On this see below, pp. 582-584.

<sup>172</sup> The Small Mount.

<sup>173</sup> The Syrian acts of the apostle (around 200 A.D.) already refer to a translation of the relics to the West. Ephraem mentions a translation to Edessa (373 A.D.). But Edessa was destroyed in 1146 and 1158 by the Turks. Before the city was captured, the relics of the apostle were taken to Chios and from there in 1258 to Ortona in Italy. This and the constant persecutions launched by the Mohammedans against the Chaldean Christians explains why the *abuna* knew nothing of a translation of the relics to Edessa.

<sup>174</sup> On this see below, p. 585.

<sup>175</sup> Thus, instead of *Kana*.

which was still standing. He was called Thomas of Canane, and he died from an illness and lay buried there.<sup>176</sup>

He further said that some seven hundred years earlier<sup>177</sup> two brothers had come to the church of Quilon. They were holy men and had gone to Cranganore and from there to Ceylon.<sup>178</sup> They were natives of Armenia,<sup>179</sup> one being called Shaor and the other Aproito.<sup>180</sup> They went to a pagan pagoda on the island and dragged two large wooden beams from it. The idol that was in the pagoda asked them: "Why are you taking my beams of wood?" But the holy men ordered him in the name of God to come with the beams and bring them to the place where the church of Quilon now is. The god did what he was told, and the holy men went to the king of that land and asked him for the property on which the church now stands.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Thomas Kana (Kinai, Knaye) was already mentioned without a name in 1517 by Penteado, who appealed to the data furnished by the Thomas Christians of Cranganore (SR III 547). The tradition of the Thomas Christians places his arrival in Cranganore in 345 (Bernard of St. Thomas, T.O.C.D., *A Brief Sketch of the History of the St. Thomas Christians* [Trichinopoly, 1924] 9-10). In 1604 \*Campori wrote that, according to the old history of the Thomas Christians, Quinai Thome had come from Babylon more than 1,260 years before under King Chērumān Perumāl (ARSI: *Goa* 48, 92). \*Roz stated in the same year that Chērumān Perumāl, who had lived in Parūr, and who had died 1,258 years before (thus in 346 A.D.), had given Thomé Cananeo land in Cranganore (86v-88). In December, 1524, Mar Jacob wrote that the Christians of Quilon had in early times purchased a large piece of land with full jurisdiction over life and death and everything else. They had sheet-copper documents bearing the royal seal that indicated this, but the land had been confiscated by many lords (SR II 355). Others set the arrival in the ninth century. Couto, for example, placed it in 811 "according to the Chaldean books of the Thomas Christians" (12, 3, 5, p. 285). See also Germann 81-86 91-96; KSP I 169-202; *Indian Antiquary* 56 (1927) 161-166; 57 (1928) 103-106 117-124 160-165 209-214; Tisserant 8-10.

<sup>177</sup> According to the common tradition they came to Quilon in 823 A.D. The introduction of the Kollam era in 824/825 A.D. is brought into connection with this. In 1578 \*Dionisio wrote that according to the tradition of the Thomas Christians the two brothers had come 800, 900, or 1,000 years earlier (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 439v). In 1604 \*Roz stated that they had built the church of Quilon 100 years after the founding of the city, which had occurred 679 years before (thus in 925 A.D.), as was indicated by a sheet-copper document in possession of the church of Tēvalakara which he had caused to be deciphered in 1601 (89-v). The sheet-copper document is still extant and has been published with a critical commentary in TAS II 60-85 (on this see KSP I 320-323). It contains privileges given by King Sthānu Ravi to Maruvān Sapīr Isō (the Sapor of the Portuguese sources), "the founder of the city," for his church; and it is signed by their representatives in Pehlevi, Kufi, and Hebrew. The document was issued in the fifth year of the king; the script is that of the second half of the ninth century (*ibid.* 77).

<sup>178</sup> In 525 A.D. Cosmas Indicopleustes had already found a Persian Christian community on Ceylon with a priest that had been sent there from Persia. In 1913, within the inner city of Anurādhapura, that is, the palatial quarters, a pillar was found with a Syrian cross similar to that found in 1547 on the Large Mount near Mailapur. We are convinced that it is pre-Portuguese. A second was found in the seventeenth century in the Thomas church in Mutwal at the mouth of the Kelani River north of Colombo (Queyroz 715; Hosten 473-495; *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the R. As. Society* 5 [1957] 85-96).

<sup>179</sup> Mesopotamia is meant.

<sup>180</sup> Sapor and Aprot (Mar Sabrisho and Mar Peroz). On them see Germann 246-249; Mingana 45 50 66; *Indian Antiquary* 57 (1957) 85-96.

<sup>181</sup> The church lay within the later Portuguese fortress (see above, p. 561). Barbosa gives the legends with respect to the founding of the church "according to the information of the Thomas Christians as they found it in their book, which they kept with the greatest reverence" (II 97-100).

Diogo Fernandes' testimony was more detailed.

He was first asked if he had heard when the church of the apostle was built. To this he replied that all the residents of the place whom he had asked, namely, the oldest people, whether Brahmans or other respected persons, had assured him that they knew from their ancient writings that the church had been built some 1,460 or 1,470 years earlier.<sup>182</sup>

He had further heard that the residents of Mailapur said that the apostle had had an oratory in a small chapel about a crossbow's-shot away, where the chapel of St. John now stood and a disciple of the apostle had been buried, and where pilgrims who died when they were visiting his church were usually interred. At a time when the apostle was praying in this oratory, so ran the tradition, a very large log came floating to a place twelve leagues away from where the church of the apostle now stood. The king assembled all his people to drag it from the sea, but they were unable to do so. The apostle then asked the king for it. The latter replied that he should drag it out and that he would give him whatever he asked. The apostle then told him that he wanted nothing more of him than that he be given this log so that he might build a church on the site in the city where it would come to land. The king honored his request and gave him a document which said: "This holy man may build a house with this log wherever he brings it, even if it should be in my own palace or in any of the pagodas or in any other place whatsoever." Thomas then went to the place where the log was and saw written upon it: "With this log St. Thomas will build a house." At this the apostle made the sign of the cross and the log came a distance of twelve leagues and stopped at the house of a pagan bishop, one of the great confidants of the king; and the holy man began to build the church there.<sup>183</sup>

<sup>182</sup> At the time of the apostle Thomas, the Romans conducted a brisk trade not only with the southwest coast of India, the source of pepper, but also with the Coromandel Coast, as the excavations of 1945 at Arikamedu, south of Pondicherry, have shown. A Roman trading station of the first and second centuries A.D. was discovered there. Among the very many finds were the oldest known Tamil inscription and several examples of Arezzo ware from 20 to 50 A.D. still bearing the names of Italian manufacturers of Vibii, Camuri, and Itta, already known from other sites (see R. E. M. Wheeler, "Arikamedu," *Ancient India* 2 [1946] 17-124). Among the many gold and silver coins found were those of early Roman emperors. There were more than five hundred of Augustus, more than a thousand of Tiberius, and others of Claudius and Nero. One of Augustus was found in 1930 at Mambalam (*ibid.* 119, n. 27), a brief half-hour north of the Small Mount, the site of the apostle's martyrdom.

<sup>183</sup> The miracle of the block of wood is already found in Marignolli in 1349 (544). It is also found in Barbosa (II 97-99), Castanheda (I, 61), Barzaeus (DI II 584), Barros (3, 2, 1; cf. 3, 7, 11), Correa (III 420-423), \*Pasio (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 471v), \*Monserrate (*ibid.* *Goa* 33, 150v), Linschoten (I 60-61), \*Roz (89), and others. According to Marignolli, Thomas had the tree trunk dropped by two slaves on Adam's Peak in Ceylon. He drew it with his belt to the beach and ordered it to swim to Mirapolis (Mailapuro) and to wait for him there. Barbosa, Correa, and Castanheda place the miracle in Quilon; Roz, "according to the tradition of the Thomas Christians," places it in Maliankara near Cranganore and ascribes it to the brothers Sabrisho and Peroz. Hosten makes reference to parallel tales among Christians, pagans, and Mohammedans, for example, in the life of the Hindu saint Tiruvalluvar, the author of the famous *Kural*, who was born in Mailapur and died there around the fifth century; and among the Moors of Kovalong, 18 1/2 miles south of Mailapur, who ascribe the miracle to the Mohammedan saint Tamim, though their account is probably derived from the Thomas Christians. According to Hosten the Christian and non-Christian legends are here mutually dependent on each other (235-248). Lucena had already suggested Christian influences on the *Kural*, whose author he mistakenly held to be a contemporary of the apostle (2, 11).

But the said bishop was greatly offended by this, and in his wrath he slew a son that he had and went to the king to complain and said to him: "Hast thou, my Lord, lost thy understanding, or what manner of thing is it that thou art doing? How is it that thou didst order my son to be slain and my house be taken from me?" The king then had the apostle summoned and said to him: "I did not give you permission to kill anyone." But Thomas replied: "I killed no one." The king then asked him if he had any witnesses. The apostle replied that he had none apart from God and the dead son. The king asked him if he had any further witnesses, and the apostle replied that he wished for no more. The king and Thomas therefore had the dead son brought, and the apostle made the sign of the cross over him and ordered him to arise and tell who had slain him. The dead son immediately stood up and said that his father had slain him in anger because the apostle had taken his house. The king then asked him: "Did not the servant of God slay you?" and the boy replied that it was not he but his father who had slain him. At this Thomas asked him if he wished to live in this world or in the other; and the boy replied that he did not wish to live in this world but in the other. The apostle then baptized him and after his baptism the boy died again.<sup>184</sup> The king then gave Thomas permission to complete his work.<sup>185</sup>

According to Fernandes the people further said that the apostle paid the officials and workmen with the sawdust from the wood. The people went to the beach to exchange it and received as much gold for it as their daily wages were worth.<sup>186</sup> They further said that he completed the whole building with this block of wood and let a piece that was left over hang from a chain at the main entrance; and it was not known who took it from there.

<sup>184</sup> The legend of the raising from the dead is also found in Barros (3, 7, 11) and Correa (III 420-421). Hosten gives parallel accounts and later Indian reports. In the temple of Kapālēsvara, not far from the church of the apostle, there is, near a shrine of Tiruvalluvar, also another of Tiruñāna Sambandar, the famous Shivaite saint and poet of the second century after Christ. In one of his hymns he praises Shiva and his no longer extant temple in Mayilai (Mailapur). A modern sculpture shows how he raised Pumbavai, the deceased daughter of a merchant in Mailapur, from her ashes. Sambandar, who converted the king of Madura from Jainism to the worship of Shiva, an event which allegedly led to eight thousand Jains being impaled alive, is one of the most famous saints of South India. There must be few Shiva temples in Tamil territory where he is not revered. In 1921 Hosten found a fragment of an inscription of the thirteenth century not far from the sepulchral church that mentioned a gift for the shrine of the saintly Pumbavai in Tirumayilappu (Mailapur) (Hosten 248-260 269-270 290; Figredo 5 7-8; J. Ayyar 41-42; N. Sastro, *History* 407).

<sup>185</sup> In Maliankara, Quilon, and Mailapur tradition speaks of a church which Thomas built with one piece of wood. The monolithic temple of the Seven Pagodas south of Mailapur built in the seventh century still imitates the architecture of a wooden structure in all its details. It was not until the eighth century that stone temples began to be erected there, and these are among the oldest in South India (N. Sastri, *History* 440-441).

<sup>186</sup> The sawdust miracle is also found in Marignolli (544), Ml. Gomes (SR I 298), Barbosa (II 99-100), Castanheda (1, 61), Correa (III 421), and \*Roz (89). Barbosa, Castanheda, and Roz place it in Quilon, and Roz attributes it to Sabrisho and Peroz. In Gomes, Thomas asked the workmen if they wanted their pay in rice or in money. If they wanted rice, he filled his cloak with sand, which changed into rice. If they wanted money, he gave them shavings, which turned into *tangas*. According to Barbosa he filled their container with sand at noon, which changed into rice; in the evening he gave them shavings, which turned into *fanams*. Correa has the same. A parallel is also found in the life of Tiruvalluvar. Before his marriage he wished to test the faith of his future wife. He gave her a basket full of sand and asked her to cook it for his meal. She did and it became rice (Hosten 234-236 247).

In this holy house, they said, the apostle lived for a long time—how long was not known—with three disciples he had brought with him from other parts. One of these disciples lay in the chapel of St. John, the other in a chapel which now stood within the surrounding wall some ten ells from the church; the third lay within the chapel of the Three Holy Kings in the church. And during the time that the apostle lived in this holy house of his, he converted many people to the faith of Christ.

The apostle, moreover, had an oratory on a high mountain a league and a half distant from the church,<sup>187</sup> where there was now standing a chapel of our Lady, known as *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*.<sup>188</sup> And they said that whenever he was accustomed to go to this mountain, they found him also at the same time in the church. And in addition to this chapel, around about in the neighborhood, there had been, and still were, many ruined pagodas; and some were still standing where the apostle used to preach on many occasions.

And half a league from this chapel, in the direction of the church, was a rocky peak<sup>189</sup> without trees or soil, where he had a cave and an opening with a cross in the form of a St. James' cross.<sup>190</sup> And they said that when the apostle came out of this cave and was six or seven steps away from it, they killed him. And before he died he struck this rock with his staff and opened up a small spring, which rarely dried up. And he knelt down near this spring and left behind on the stone the imprints of a knee and of a foot as clear as if they had been made in the ground. And the witness saw this footprint in the church of the apostle, and they took it away. And the dying apostle called to his murderers, who lay thrown on the ground; and the people added that he told them that they should have no fear but should go to his house and summon his treasurer and his disciples so that they might fetch him and bury him in the chapel which he had made. And they did this, and they buried him in the chapel in his house. And the residents were certain that his relics had never been taken from there or had been touched before we opened up the grave.<sup>191</sup>

With respect to the seventh question of the deposition, Fernandes replied that when he first came to this holy house, the natives of the village were overjoyed with the arrival of the Portuguese because they were being severely persecuted by bandits; and they said: "It seems that a prophecy is now being fulfilled about which our ancestors spoke: There will come a time when white men dressed in clothes will come, who will give food and clothing to the dark men; and when the sea comes to the house of the apostle, it will be the end of the world."<sup>192</sup>

<sup>187</sup> The Large Mount.

<sup>188</sup> Also called *Nossa Senhora do Monte*.

<sup>189</sup> The Small Mount.

<sup>190</sup> The copy seems to have skipped a few words. We expand it as follows: "huma laga e hum buraquo [com uma cruz] ao geyto do [read: da] de Santiago."

<sup>191</sup> The natives of Mailapur, like the Thomas Christians of Malabar, knew nothing about a translation of the relics of the apostle to Edessa. When the Portuguese told them about it, they explained how the envoys had been deceived when they wanted to take his body away. As the natives wrote in 1538, they had given them the body of one of the saint's disciples instead of his own. M. Nunes Barreto also wrote the same in 1567 and added that the disciple had also been called Thomas (SR X 194).

<sup>192</sup> Barros has a similar account (3, 7, 11). In 1578 \*Pasio wrote that Thomas had prophesied that the sea would come up to his church but no further (ARSI: *Goa 12*, 471v). In 1579 \*Monserrate wrote that he had erected a column and had prophesied that, when the sea reached it, white Christians would come and bring them back to



With respect to the eighth question, Fernandes observed that the twelve leagues that the apostle had brought the log corresponded to five of their own; and that the church, which now lay near the sea, had at the time of the apostle been twelve leagues from it.<sup>193</sup> And he had always heard the natives say that the blessed man had known that the city of Mailapur, whose name meant "City of the Birds,"<sup>194</sup> because of the peacocks which were painted in the dome of the church, would at some time be converted. And they said that this city formerly had 12,400 pagodas,<sup>195</sup> but of these only ten at the most were still standing.<sup>196</sup>

The witness further said that he had always heard the leading people of the village say that the Christians of the village who had been converted by St. Thomas were sorely persecuted by the pagans. They had therefore all come together and had then withdrawn to the mountain already mentioned, which was a league and a half from the city.<sup>197</sup> And the natives of the village united against them and drove them from there, and it was thus that the Christians went to Quilon and Cranganore and to other places in India.<sup>198</sup> And they told them that if they wished to come as pilgrims, they could do so; but that they might not remain in the country since it was feared that they would rise up against them.

This was the testimony of Diogo Fernandes in 1533.

That there once stood near the apostle's church a large and flourishing city was also indicated by the extensive ruins, overgrown with trees and shrubs, that lay around about, and whose bricks and artistically carved stones were used by the natives for their homes and temples. Everywhere old buildings could still be seen, mostly in ruins, with pyramids, towers, columns, and ingenious

the faith he had preached (*ibid.* Goa 33, 149). On this column, which Marignolli erected in Quilon in 1348, see above, p. 291.

<sup>193</sup> The *Stala Purāna*, the local temple chronicle, has Shiva say that the city of Kāñchīpuram was five *yōjanas*, the equivalent of twelve Portuguese leagues, or fifty miles, in length and breadth (C. S. Crole, *Chingleput Gazetteer* [Madras, 1879] 111).

<sup>194</sup> More precisely: Peacock City.

<sup>195</sup> According to Barros the natives stated that Mailapur had had 3,300 temples (3, 7, 11). There was a common saying that Kāñchīpuram had 10,000 *lingams* and 1,000 temples (Crole 111).

<sup>196</sup> Not far from the tomb of St. Thomas was the temple of Kapālēsvara. A half-hour north of it in the Triplicane quarter of the city was the temple of Parthasarathi. In addition to these Rangacharya gives the inscriptions of thirteen more temples in the area of Saidapet, to which Mailapur belongs. All of these were built before the sixteenth century in the time of the Pāndya, Pallava, and Cōla kings.

<sup>197</sup> The Large Mount.

<sup>198</sup> Other accounts of the persecution and emigration of the Christians of Mailapur and of the Coromandel Coast are given by Correa (III 422-423); Ant. de Gouvea, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa* (Coimbra, 1606) 3v-4 77v; \*J. M. Campori in 1604 (ARSI: Goa 48, 92); the \*depositions at Vaipicotta in 1607 (*ibid.* Goa 65, 3v-9v); \*F. Roz (*ibid.* Goa 15, 30v; 65, 43-v; \**Relação da Serra* 86 88); Sousa (*Or. Conqu.* 2, 1, 2, 13-15; 2, 2, 2, 12); the Syrian account of the Jacobite Matthaeus of about 1730 (ed. S. Giamil, *Genuinae Relationes* [Roma, 1902] 552-564); and two Malayālam manuscripts, one from 1770 (given in English in W. Richards, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* [London, 1908] 72-77), and the other in a copy made in 1806 of a different manuscript, *Keralattil Marga-valiute Avastha* (Affairs of the Christians in Malabar), owned by the Thomas Christian family of Karuthedathu in Mavelikkara (KSP I 254-255; Hosten 414 561 573). \*Roz wrote in 1601 that an accurate reckoning indicated that the Christians had left Mailapur fifteen hundred years earlier because of wars and famine and had gone to Malabar, where they made Cranganore their capital (ARSI: Goa 15, 30v). In these accounts the legendary Shivaite zealot, Mānikkavāsagar, the minister of a Pāndya king, is named several times as the principal persecutor; but he probably did not live until the ninth century (Hosten 231-232 561-563; Germann 107-111; N. Sastri, *History* 407).

carvings with leafy ornamentation and figures of men, birds, and animals so skillfully and gracefully carved that they could not have been surpassed by a silver filigree. Most of these sculptures were made of a hard, black stone that was very difficult to work. There were other stones of white, brown, and other colors, which indicated how elaborately the city had been built.<sup>199</sup> By the time that the Portuguese came, the natives had dug up their foundations and washed the rubble for gold and silver, and great holes and heaps of rubbish overgrown by the wilderness could everywhere still be seen.<sup>200</sup> When the new church was completed in 1524, a good many Portuguese settled here. They too built their homes with bricks from the ruined city, and as they were removing these they found under the soil wells and the remains of houses.<sup>201</sup>

The greater part of the city, however, had been, according to tradition devoured by the sea, which kept continuously encroaching on the land and was at this time only a stone's-throw from the church of the apostle.<sup>202</sup> For specific areas in the sea the fishermen still used names that recalled the sunken city, for example, "the House of the King," "the King's Corridor," and so forth.<sup>203</sup> On calm days the ruins of buildings could still be identified on the floor of the sea.<sup>204</sup> When Manuel Gomes, Diogo Fernandes, and other Portuguese came to Mailapur in 1517, they were told that four cities had been threatened and emptied of their people by the sea.<sup>205</sup> Some of the temples had been moved farther into the interior when the sea covered the earlier ones.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Barros 3, 7, 11, pp. 224-230. See in addition to these the written and illustrated monuments from antiquity in Figredo, the oldest of which is an edict of the Cōla king Rājārāja I (985-1016). These include sculpture from Hindu and Jaina temples, Persian medallions, stone lions, a frieze with crosses and peacocks, an archaic relief of the apostle and one of his companions, and so forth.—Mailapur was repeatedly destroyed before the arrival of the Portuguese. The Christians who later settled there were again driven out, for the last time, by the Mohammedans after the coming of the Portuguese, as Varthema reported in 1504 (248-250). On this see Correa II 725; Germann 279; on the attacks of the Mohammedans in 1311, 1463, and 1479, see N. Sastri, *History* 219-247-261-265; Ayyangar 5-6.

<sup>200</sup> Correa II 724-725.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.* 789.

<sup>202</sup> A stone's-throw (Barros 3, 7, 11, p. 230), a musket's-shot (Ml. Gomes).

<sup>203</sup> So M. Nunes Barreto was told in São Thomé in 1566 (SR X 194).

<sup>204</sup> They are still visible today (Medlycott 123). In 1928 A. M. Teixeira, the suffragan bishop in São Thomé, wrote: "This tradition [that the greater part of Mailapur was swallowed up by the sea] still exists among the local Brahmins who know something of their own past. In fact, under the violence of a fearful storm years ago (1872?)—eye-witnesses, are still living—the sea raked up the shore east of San Thomé to such an extent, that the tops of temple towers could be seen projecting out of the surf whenever the huge waves receded" (*The Catholic Register*, Madras, March, 1928, 13).

<sup>205</sup> SR I 297.

<sup>206</sup> There is a tradition which says that the Kapālēsvara temple in Mailapur was moved farther inland three hundred years ago because the sea advanced and swallowed the old one. The same tradition was also held with respect to the former Jaina temple of Nēminātha, consecrated to the twenty-second Tirthankara. Gunavīra Pandita, a contemporary of King Kulottunga III (1178-1216) sang of it (N. Sastri, *History* 364; see also TAS VI 153-156). A Tamil manuscript in the state library in Madras has the following legend: Mailapur was once inhabited by Jains. One of these was warned in a dream that the city would be devoured by the sea in a few days. At this they fled with their idols to Mailamanagara in the interior, where they built a temple; and three days after the dream the city was buried by the sea. After some time there was a second warning that within three days Mailamanagara would also sink into the sea. They again fled farther into the interior. According to the tradition the sea swallowed up the whole coast as far as the Seven Pagodas (William Taylor, *A Catalogue Raisonné*

When the Portuguese came, the pagan residents were still showing great reverence for the apostle. When they carried their idols in procession and came to the portal of the church, they lowered them three times to the ground to show their respect; and they said that their ancestors had always done the same. When their wives were pregnant or their children ill, they came to the church and carried away with them oil from the lamp or earth from the grave in order to obtain a successful delivery or health for the sick.<sup>207</sup>

There was also another tradition current with respect to the apostle's death: A hunter once went with a bow and arrows to the Small Mount and found there a large number of peacocks, and among them was a particularly large and beautiful one that had settled down upon a flat rock. He shot it with an arrow, and the wounded bird flew off with the others. But as it was flying, it took on a human form and fell dead to the earth. Terrified, the hunter reported the marvel to the governor of the city, who came with some companions and determined that the body was that of the apostle. They also found two clear footprints impressed upon the flat rock which he had left behind when he flew away mortally wounded. They carried the body of the saint to the city and buried it in his church, and they also brought the stone with the footprints upon it and placed it near his tomb.<sup>208</sup> They could not, however, bury his right arm, which

of *Oriental Manuscripts in the Government Library* [Madras, 1862] 372; Yule-Cordier III 251). The residence of the high priest of the Jains was transferred to Mel Settatur in the district of South Arcot south of Madras. In the court of the temple there is a large statue of Nēminātha which, according to tradition, was brought there from Mailapur (Figredo 14-18).

<sup>207</sup> According to the letter of the residence of 1538 (Q 351); Correa II 724, III 422-423. In 1293 Marco Polo had already ascertained that Mohammedans also came on pilgrimages to the tomb of the apostle. They called him Avarian, that is, a holy man, and said that he had been a Saracen and a great prophet (c. 177). In 1517 Barbosa wrote that Moors and pagans were accustomed to burn lamps in his sepulchral church, and both claimed him as their own (II 129). According to Castanheda the apostle was called Mar Tama (I, 61). In 1358 Mufazzal described the Moorish pilgrimage to the monastery of Mar Tuma, that is, to Mailapur (see above, p. 575).

<sup>208</sup> The peacock legend is first found in Marco Polo in 1293: The apostle was deep in prayer in his hermitage in the woods and round about him were many peacocks. A man from the unclean caste of the Gavi by accident killed the apostle with an arrow instead of one of the peacocks (c. 177). Marignolli gave a similar account in 1349. He places the death of the apostle at a site three Italian leagues from Mailapur, and thus on the Small Mount (544). Ml. Gomes heard in Mailapur that the apostle had had the form of a peacock when a hunter slew him with an arrow (SR I 298). A similar account is in Barbosa (II 128), Castanheda (I, 61), and Correa, according to whom he was killed in the form of a peacock by a spear (III 421-422). Here Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian legends are mingled together. The sacred mount of the god Subrahmanya, the son of Shiva, is the peacock, and his statue with the sacred bird was found some 650 feet away from the grave of the apostle (Figredo 4). The legend further states that Pāravati, the wife of Shiva, had formerly been reborn as a peacock and had revered the *lingam*, the phallus symbol of her husband, in order to be freed from this incarnation, and that she had asked Shiva to name the city Tirumayilai (Holy Peacock City) after her. This scene is represented in sculpture in the north corridor of the temple of Capālēsvara in Mailapur (J. Ayyar 40-41; Figredo 5). But still more noteworthy is what the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who came on a pilgrimage from Kashmir to Kāñchipuram in 640 A.D., narrates with respect to an Indian legend which he heard in Kashmir: Tathāgata (One Who Has Gone There, that is, Buddha), the king of the peacocks, took the form of a peacock and opened up a spring in the rock for his thirsty companions. All the sick who tasted the water or washed themselves with it were cured, and on the rock there is still to be seen the impress of the feet of the peacock (Samuel Beal, *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World* 1 [London, 1906] 126). There is a magnificent picture of the six-armed,

constantly rose up out of the earth. Whenever they buried it, it would again appear the following morning. They thus left it as it was. The pagans revered it with great awe, and pilgrims came from many lands. One day the Chinese also came and wanted to hack off the arm in order to take it back with them to their own country as a relic. But the apostle drew it back into the grave and never let it be seen again.<sup>209</sup>

##### 5. SEARCHING FOR LIGHT (APRIL—MAY, 1545)<sup>210</sup>

At the tomb of the apostle, Master Francis sought for light in the painful darkness. Where was God calling him? To Abyssinia and Preste Joam; to Ceylon, the land of the Singhalese lord of Kōttē; to Jaffna, whose punitive expedition had been put off to an indefinite future, especially since M. A. de Sousa was expecting in September a successor in his office; to the Moluccas, where the Christian king Dom Manuel had sailed in order to win his kingdom over for the Christian faith; or to Macassar to help the kings who had asked so earnestly for missionaries and to reconnoiter the field of battle for his companions?

Gaspar Coelho, the *vigario*, had offered Francis both food and lodgings in his rectory, and the latter had accepted the invitation<sup>211</sup> in order to be near

Indian peacock-king riding upon a peacock in a painted scroll of the eleventh century in the Ninnaji temple in Kyoto. It has been beautifully reproduced in J. Cahill, *Die Kunstschätze Asiens. Chinesische Malerei* (Genf, 1960) 50.

<sup>209</sup> Barbosa II 129; Castanheda 1, 61. In Correa a relative of the yogi who slew his own son wants to cut off the arm of the corpse of the apostle out of revenge, but he becomes blind. He calls on him for help, becomes a Christian, and remains as sacristan of the church until his death (III 422). \*Dionisio wrote in 1578 that the Christians had covered the arm with a silk cloth out of reverence and went up to kiss the hand. However, when a pagan king persecuted the Christians, the apostle drew back his arm and the Christians fled to Malabar (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 439v). In \*Monserrate, who wrote in 1579, the Muguil (king of the Moguls) takes the place of the Chinese pilgrim. He comes with a great host to cut off the arm, which bore the wounds of Christ, but it withdrew. Because of this the king persecuted the Christians (*ibid.* *Goa* 33, 51). In 1358 Mufazzal had already spoken of the hand of the apostle Mar Tuma which Muslim pilgrims in India were accustomed to reverence. On the miracle-working arm of the apostle in his sepulchral church in India, about which an alleged Indian prelate John informed Pope Callistus II in Rome in 1122, see Paul Devos, S.J., "Le Miracle posthume de Saint Thomas l'apôtre," *Analecta Bollandiana* 66 (1948) 231-275.

<sup>210</sup> The main source for this section is the testimony of Gaspar Coelho, a copy of which is contained in the letter of Aires Brandão of December 24, 1554 (DI III 194-195). It is also found somewhat abbreviated and with some variations in Teixeira (859-860), who adds that the vicar had confirmed his testimony with an oath and had also imparted it to him and to many others by word of mouth.

<sup>211</sup> Coelho states expressly: "O Padre Mestre Francisco esteve na povoação do apostolo S. Thomé por espaço de tres ou quatro meses. E todo este tempo pousou comigo de portas adentro, así no comer como cama, como o demais, polla quoaal rezão tive-mos grande amizade e muita conversação." At the process in Cochín in 1616, the twenty-four-year-old Jesuit priest Thomé de Gamba, who had been born in Mailapur, said that the natives of São Thomé had built a chapel with Xavier's picture in his honor, and that according to tradition it stood on the site of the former hospital where Xavier lived when he was in the city (MX II 486). The tradition was mistaken. There is no question of a hospital or of a confraternity of the Misericórdia in São Thomé in Xavier's time. An opinion which did not arise until the end of the nineteenth century, namely, that Xavier had lived in the rector's room in the high school in San Thomé, is also false (Hosten 22; Pereira de Andrade 8-9), as is Medlycott's assertion that the sea had swallowed up the former parish house (123). Pinto's plan shows

the tomb of the apostle. There was, moreover, no convent or monastery of religious in São Thomé.<sup>212</sup> Their daily intercourse soon created a bond of close confidence and sincere friendship between the host and his guest.

Francis chose the *vigário* as his confessor and made his confession to him frequently,<sup>213</sup> even daily,<sup>214</sup> as had been prescribed for the priests in the castle of Xavier.<sup>215</sup> From the beginning the vicar had a high regard for his new friend. His guest was much given to prayer and meditation, his conversation was always about spiritual things, and his life was that of a true apostle. Humble and unassuming, he completely adapted himself to the wishes of his host,<sup>216</sup> and Coelho could not find even once a venial sin in his confessions.<sup>217</sup> In his confessions and intimate conversations with him, Master Francis told him of his whole past life from the day of his birth till the hour of his arrival in São Thomé, of his home in Navarre and of the castle of Xavier, of his father, Dr. Juan de Jassu, and his mother, Doña María de Azpilcueta, and how he had gone off to the University of Paris at the age of nineteen, and of his life as a student and that of his companions. He told him of the immoral conduct of his fellow students and of his first teacher who had abandoned themselves to the inordinate desires of their flesh, and how many times at night the students secretly climbed over the garden wall of the college and took him with them, since their

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the location of the rectory in Xavier's time. According to it, the house was partially within the area of the southern transept of the present cathedral (Hosten 166). In 1953 the archbishop of Madras planned to build a chapel on the south side of the church to recall the work of the *padroado* missionaries on the spot where the rectory stood in Xavier's time (*The Catholic Herald of India*, Calcutta, November 27, 1953). See above, p. 561.

<sup>212</sup> According to Teixeira. The claims that there was a Franciscan settlement in São Thomé before Xavier's arrival there are false, as is also the inscription on the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz in Mailapur: "Frey Pedro de Atouguia, Religioso Observante de S. Francisco edificou esta Igreja de Nossa Senhora de Luz em 1516" (Hosten 104). In 1587 Gonzaga wrote that Frey Antonio Padrão had come with some companions to São Thomé in 1540. Some distance from the city walls [which were not yet existing at that time], he built a small house near a pagan village and within a very short time converted thirteen hundred pagans. The small house was later enlarged for the Franciscan monastery of St. Thomas (1209). Both claims have been repeated by the historians of his order, and \*Trindade added in 1638 that Frey Antonio was the first Franciscan in São Thomé. The inscription of the Luz church is of a later date and is contradicted by the facts (Hosten 19-20 24-25 103-104). When the first Portuguese came to Mailapur in 1517, they found no trace of the alleged Luz church. Frey Antonio Padrão, it is true, came past Colombo "on his way to São Thomé" in 1539, as Miguel Ferreira wrote this same year (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 89). But Xavier's contemporaries know nothing of a Franciscan settlement in São Thomé during his lifetime. In 1546 Miguel Vaz proposed to the king that the apostle's church should be given to the Jesuits, and if this was not possible, to the Franciscans of the Piedade province (*ibid.* 245). In 1559, however, the Franciscans already had a monastery there (DI IV 286-287). About this time they had taken in hand the whole coast from Nega-patam to São Thomé and had destroyed numerous temples. The consequence of this was the attack on the city of the apostle by the king of Vijayanagar (Couto 7, 7, 1; Figueiredo 2, 2; \*Trindade 956-957; DI IV 491; Meersman in *Studia* 6 [1960] 153-156). Meersman has made an extensive and critical study of the history of the Franciscans in Mylapore-Madras (*Tamilnad* 1-49).

<sup>213</sup> According to Francisco Garcia, from the data of trustworthy individuals who heard it from Coelho (MX II 287).

<sup>214</sup> Xavier's confessor in São Thomé told this to Galeote Pereira (*ibid.* 272).

<sup>215</sup> See Vol. I 33.

<sup>216</sup> According to Coelho. Xavier asked the same also of his confreres working in São Thomé (EX II 388-391).

<sup>217</sup> MX II 272 287.

master also went along. He mentioned the ugly sores on the face of his teacher and his fellow students, the consequence of their excesses, and how the fear of becoming infected seized him so strongly that he did not dare join them,<sup>218</sup> and how this fear kept him straight until his wicked master died of his illness and another chaste and virtuous master came whom he took as his model, so that never up to the present hour, as he observed, had he sinned with a woman.<sup>219</sup>

Francis had a great reverence for the apostle Thomas, the patron of India,<sup>220</sup> whose name he even added to the *Confiteor*.<sup>221</sup> The tomb of the apostle and the devotional church<sup>222</sup> attracted him with irresistible force, and when the vicar and his beneficiaries<sup>223</sup> recited Matins together in the choir,<sup>224</sup> Xavier used to kneel before the altar of St. Thomas and pray his breviary. At night, however, when he noticed that the vicar was asleep, he rose noiselessly from his couch<sup>225</sup> and went through the parish garden<sup>226</sup> to the neighboring church and thus to a little shed in which the wax for the altar of the Mother of God was kept<sup>227</sup>

<sup>218</sup> "Daquy lhe naceo a não ousar a ter aquela conversação" (DI III 195).

<sup>219</sup> On this testimony of Coelho, see also Vol. I 106. In Paris Ignatius converted a religious priest by making a general confession to him with great contrition and many tears. The result was that his confessor recognized his own errors and was converted (*ibid.* 225-226). Xavier probably pursued a similar goal in his description of the dangers of his student life. In 1547 the bishop sent a visitor to São Thomé with orders to arrest the vicar and bring him to Goa (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 451). Xavier's letter to Cypriano in 1552 also gives evidence that Coelho was not all pure gold (EX II 389-391). That there can be no question of immoral actions on Xavier's part in Paris is evidenced not only by his own assertions and those of his contemporaries but also by the account of Coelho himself (cf. Teixeira 859).

<sup>220</sup> EX I 139. Xavier's confreres testified the same (DI III 332, V 180).

<sup>221</sup> EX I 451.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.* 299.

<sup>223</sup> In 1538 the vicar had four beneficiaries, as the residents wrote.

<sup>224</sup> Coelho speaks of recited, whereas Seb. Gonçalves of sung, Matins (2, 16).

<sup>225</sup> Coelho says that many times he had not noticed Xavier's departure. From this Teixeira and others concluded that he had shared the same room with the vicar. That Xavier slept in another room is indicated by the fact that the pastor did not notice that Xavier failed to get up for Matins after the first nightly experience. In 1538 many of the inhabitants of São Thomé already had good stone houses with more than one story. The vicar must also have had several rooms at his disposal. But Xavier probably had to pass through, or by, the vicar's room to get to the garden.

<sup>226</sup> The garden was probably occupied by coconut palms, as is the garden of the cathedral today.

<sup>227</sup> "Se hia por dentro de huma minha orta a casa do Bemaventurado Apostolo a huma casinha, em que estava a sera de Nossa Senhora," according to Coelho. The parish house lay on the southeast, the chapel of Our Lady of the Conception at the southwest, end of the church. The shed in which the wax for the chapel was kept probably adjoined it. According to the Spanish text of Teixeira, Xavier was accustomed to pray at night in the church before an altar of our Lady or in a small cell (*celdica*) which he had requested from the vicar (860). According to the Italian text he usually prayed before the altar of Mary, but he sometimes went also to a nearby shed (*casetta*) which he had obtained for this purpose from the vicar (2, 9). Lucena already has Xavier passing entire nights before the altar of Mary (3, 7). Seb. Gonçalves adds that he scourged himself in a shed near the altar of the Virgin which he saw through a tribune (*tribuna*) (2, 16). Barradas, who visited São Thomé in 1615, wrote that the choir in the old church of the apostle (*Sé Velha*) where Xavier was accustomed to pray and the passageway (*passadiço*) where he encountered the devil were still extant, and that in the Jesuit college there could still be seen the statue of the Blessed Virgin before which Xavier had been accustomed to pray and where he had called upon her for help when he was attacked by the evil spirits (Gomes de Brito II 99). In 1616 Thomé de Gamboa testified that there was a statue of the Blessed Virgin in the church of St. Thomas before which Xavier was accustomed to spend the night in prayer and

to pray and scourge himself<sup>228</sup> in order to obtain light on God's will for the immediate future. When Coelho noticed this, he told him:

"Padre Mestre Francisco, do not go alone into that garden lest the devils who prowl around it cause you some harm!"

The priest laughed, but after this he took with him his Malabar servant, Antonio, a simple soul; and while the *swāmi* was praying in the cell, his companion would sleep upon the ground before its door.<sup>229</sup> One night, however, he was suddenly awakened by an unusual racket. He heard the priest cry out in a loud voice and repeat again and again:

"Senhora, non me ás-de valer?" ("My Lady, will you not help me?")

At the same time Antonio heard heavy blows without knowing for whom they were meant, and this lasted for a considerable time. Then it became still again, and Master Francis returned to the rectory and quietly sought his couch without the vicar noticing it.

The next morning, however, Francis, who was at other times most punctual, was missing for Matins in the church. When the prayers in choir were finished, Coelho went to look for him and found him lying on his bed. He asked him:

"Is Your Reverence ill?"

"*Padre mio*," was the answer, "I am not well."

At these words the Malabar servant entered the room; and when the *vigario* went out, he followed him and told him of his experience the preceding night. Coelho returned to the priest and asked him:

"Didn't I warn you not to go to the church of St. Thomas at night?"

Two days later the priest was still ill<sup>230</sup> and had not yet revealed the reason to his host. The latter, however, asked him repeatedly after dinner:

"Pois, Senhora, non me ás-de valer?" ("Now, my Lady, will you not help me?")

As he continued to repeat these words, Master Francis smiled, but his blushing betrayed him; and it was soon bruited about the whole village that the devil had appeared to the priest and had beaten him.<sup>231</sup>

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the devils struck him, and that the statue was on this account highly esteemed by all the people (MX II 488). A statue of the Mother of God before which, according to tradition, he was accustomed to pray, but different from the one that is in the former Jesuit church of Madre de Deus, is still preserved in the cathedral. On it see Pereira de Andrade, *Our Lady of Mylapore and St. Thomas the Apostle* (Madras, 1956).

<sup>228</sup> According to Coelho.

<sup>229</sup> "Levava consigo hum malavar simplex que tinha, o qual moço ficava à porta de fora, deitado," according to Coelho. Eiró states that he was called Antonio (Sá II 215; MX II 380, where instead of "Amtonio Agrão, presa" the reading should be: "Amtonio, a grão presa," as the Latin text, p. 402, has correctly). According to Teixeira, Xavier did not take the servant with him. He happened to be sleeping nearby. Lucena follows him in this. Antonio was probably one of Xavier's companions on the Fishery Coast, for example, an interpreter (EX I 221).

<sup>230</sup> According to the Spanish text of Teixeira, Xavier was sick for two or three days; according to the Italian text it was three.

<sup>231</sup> In 1554 Coelho was still not clear in his expression: "o ouvia dar panquadas e nom sabia em quem," that is, the servant heard Xavier giving blows, but he did not know whether to himself or to others. In December, 1555, however, Quadros wrote from Goa that the devil had on one occasion appeared to Xavier in São Thomé and given him many blows (DI III 333). Teixeira has Coelho say that the servant heard the devil strike Xavier with hard blows while he was praying, and that at this the priest cried to the Blessed Virgin for help (860 917). In 1583 Valignano noted that the inhabitants of São Thomé were still not tired of speaking of the work done by Xavier in their city and of his nightly battles with the devil while he was praying, and of the blows which he received from him in that holy house (83). Tursellinus

Later, one evening<sup>232</sup> after supper, Master Francis asked Coelho:

"Does Your Reverence know what happened to me last night? I went to the garden of the apostle;<sup>233</sup> and, as I was entering it, I heard Matins being recited in choir; and I heard certain priests praying in a loud voice." He next gave the names of the different beneficiaries<sup>234</sup> and then continued: "I was astonished that I had not heard the bell ring for Matins. I went to the side door of the church of the apostle and found that it had been locked on the outside with the key. I then went to the other doors and found that they were locked on the inside so that they could not be opened. Puzzled and afraid, I returned to the house."

He then changed the subject of conversation and never again returned to the experiences of that night.<sup>235</sup>

Nevertheless the light which he was seeking at the tomb of the apostle came. Abyssinia was precluded since King John III forbade the entrance of Portuguese ships into the Red Sea during his negotiations with the Grand Turk. The Jaffna expedition had been postponed to the uncertain future. The Fishery Coast and Travancore were being cared for by Mansilhas, Lizano, Coelho, and the two newly ordained Parava priests; Ceylon by the Franciscans and the two secular priests who were there; and the fortresses in India by the vicar with his beneficiaries and the Franciscans in Goa, Cochin, Cannanore, and Cranganore.<sup>236</sup> But a great harvest was beckoning from Macassar and reapers were wanting. God's call was clear. After the first week of May had passed, a *patamar* set out from São Thomé to go by land to Goa. He took with him letters that Francis had written to M.A. de Sousa and his friends in the College of St. Paul in Goa informing them of his decision: God was calling him to the island of Macassar,<sup>237</sup>

(2, 15), Lucena (3, 7), and Seb. Gonçalves (2, 16) give a rhetorical coloring to these battles. M. A. Ricci, S.J., in 1610 said that he had been shown a place in São Thomé which was honored because it was here that the demons struck Xavier (Rome, RProcess I, n. 3, in *\*Summarium* 796v 913v). In 1613 Hieronymus Gomes, S.J., also said that he had seen the place where the devil had frequently scourged Xavier during his nightly prayers (Rome, RProcess II, n. 6, *ibid.* 798 913v). In 1616 Gamboa spoke of the statue of Mary before which the demons "horrendo fremitu adorti verberibus atrocissimis [eum] caeciderunt" (MX II 488). The same is repeated by later biographers, for example, Bartoli (*Asia* 1, 51), Sousa (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 40), Brou (I 332). With Bellesort (156) and Brodrick (226), we believe that the devils are a later invention. The saint scourged himself and called upon the Blessed Virgin for help to obtain light with respect to what he should do.

<sup>232</sup> "Isto passado así, creo que foi huma noite de sabado, me dise o Padre Mestre Francisco, acabado nós do comer," according to Coelho. From this, Teixeira's Spanish text becomes "otra noche," and the Italian, "la notte seguente."

<sup>233</sup> The parish garden is probably meant by this.

<sup>234</sup> The "certos Padres, que me elle nomeou" in Coelho becomes "certas partes, que me elle nominou" in *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, and these "parts of the Office," return in Cros (I 310), Brou (I 331), and Brodrick (227).

<sup>235</sup> Brodrick assumes that Xavier freely invented this last experience as a practical joke on his credulous host without the latter realizing it (225-227).

<sup>236</sup> EX I 319.

<sup>237</sup> Bellesort describes Xavier, with his "humeur nomade et aventureuse" (338), as being very anxious to leave India after his "défaite personnelle" in the Jaffna question: "On lui avait parlé de Malacca, où les âmes languissaient, faute de secours spirituels, et, plus loin, d'un nouvel Orient qui se lèverait à la parole du Christ. Sur la foi de ces on-dit, les hommes le mèneraient au bout du monde. Il y sera bientôt. Mais Lisbonne lui a annoncé des missionnaires. Ne devrait-il pas retourner à Goa pour les recevoir?" (151-152). The force of illusion drove him from ocean to ocean, now to the islands of the Malay Archipelago, and four years later to Japan (225 338-339).—The picture



where there were kings and peoples who were being courted by Islam but were longing for Christ. He must get to know the field of battle and the work that needed to be done in order to appoint the missionaries for it who would be sent from Europe. He could be back again in India within a year in order to make a proper distribution of his men.<sup>238</sup>

#### 6. THE CALL OF GOD (MAY 8, 1545)

In his letter to the governor Xavier informed him of his decision to sail to Macassar, and he asked him for an order for the captain of Malacca so that he would find a ship for him and give him all that he needed for his voyage. The letter to his friends in Goa bore an inscription in Italian: "To my dearest brothers in Christ, Mestre Diogo and Misser Paulo in Goa, my most dearly beloved." It was written entirely in Xavier's own hand in a Portuguese tinted with Spanish and interspersed with Indian and Latin words and with a Latin ending.<sup>239</sup>

Dearest and most beloved Brothers in Christ Jesus! May the grace and love of Christ our Lord always help and favor us. Amen!

Jafanapatan was not taken, and that king who was to have become a Christian was not established in his possessions. The expedition was suspended because a ship of the King coming from Pegu became stranded and the king of Jafanapatan seized the cargo; and as long as that which the king of Jafanapatan had taken was not returned, the order of the governor was not executed. May it please God that it still take place if it is to His service!<sup>240</sup>

I remained for some days in Negapatan, and the winds did not give me any opportunity to return to Cape Cumurin.<sup>241</sup> I was therefore compelled to come to Sant Thomé. In this holy house<sup>242</sup> I have taken it as a duty to busy myself in asking God our Lord that He grant me to perceive within the interior of my soul His most holy will, with the firm resolve to fulfill it, and with the sure hope that "He who has given the desire will also grant its execution."<sup>243</sup>

It has pleased God in His accustomed mercy to be mindful of me, and with great interior consolation I have felt and known that it is His will that I go to those parts of Malaqua where Christians have recently been made<sup>244</sup> in order to give them the motives and teachings of our true and holy faith by translating the Articles and Commandments of our law and faith into their language along with an explanation. And since they have of their own free will become Christians, it is reasonable, dearest Brothers, that they should be much favored by us. And in order that they may know how to pray to God to grant them an increase in faith and the grace to keep His law, I shall translate the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* and other prayers, for example, the *Confiteor*, into their language so that they may confess to God their sins each day. This will serve them instead of sacramental confession until God provides them with priests who know their language.

is badly drawn. As we have seen, Xavier's knowledge of conditions in Macassar were not based on mere rumor. He had been very well informed by Paiva, and he wrestled with God in prayer to learn His will before leaving India; and before he sailed for Japan, about which he was excellently informed, he wrestled with himself for a whole year before setting sail.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Valignano 83-84.

<sup>239</sup> EX I 288-294.

<sup>240</sup> The punitive expedition against Jaffna did not take place until 1560.

<sup>241</sup> Tamil: *Kumari*.

<sup>242</sup> The church of the apostle.

<sup>243</sup> "Dabit perficere, qui dederit velle" (Phil. 1:6; 2:13).

<sup>244</sup> To Macassar.

Pater Francisco de Mansilhas and the Malabar priests<sup>245</sup> are staying with the Christians of Cape Cumurin, and I shall not be missed where they are. The priests who spent the winter in Moçambique<sup>246</sup> and the others who I hope will come this year<sup>247</sup> will accompany the princes<sup>248</sup> of Celon<sup>249</sup> when they return to their lands.

I hope in God our Lord that He will grant me much grace upon this voyage, for He has given me the favor of making me perceive with so much satisfaction of my soul and spiritual consolation that it is His most holy will that I go to those parts of Maquaça<sup>250</sup> which have recently become Christian. I am so determined to carry out that which God gives me to feel within my soul that it seems to me that if I did not do it I would be going against the will of God, and that He would no longer give me His grace either in this life or in the next. And if there are no Portuguese boats sailing this year for Malaqua, I shall go in any boat of the Moors or of the pagans. I have such faith in God our Lord, dearest Brothers, for whose love alone I undertake this voyage that even if there were not a single ship sailing from this coast this year but only a catamaran, I would confidently sail in it, placing all my hope in God.<sup>251</sup>

For the love and service of God our Lord I ask you, dearest Brothers in Christ, that you be mindful of me a sinner in your sacrifices and constant prayers, commending me to God. I hope to sail to Malaqua towards the end of August, for the ships sailing there are waiting for that monsoon. I am writing to the Lord Governor asking him to send me a writ for the captain of Malaqua so that he gives me passage and all that is necessary for sailing to the islands of Maquaça. For the love of our Lord, take care to obtain this from His Lordship and send it through this *patamar*. Send me with this *patamar* a small Roman breviary.<sup>252</sup> Give my heartfelt greetings to our great and true friend Cosmianes. I am not writing to him since this letter is for all three.

<sup>245</sup> Coelho, Manuel, and Gaspar.

<sup>246</sup> Pedro Lopes and Criminali. Their ship, however, had to return to Portugal in 1544.

<sup>247</sup> Criminali, Lancilotto, and Beira came to Goa in September, 1545.

<sup>248</sup> D. João and D. Luis of Kōttē.

<sup>249</sup> Ceylon; Arabic: *Sīlān*; Malayan: *Selan*.

<sup>250</sup> Macassar, Arabic: *Makāsar*. In 1545 Criminali wrote "Al Maquazà" (DI I 24).

<sup>251</sup> One could not of course sail across the Bay of Bengal in a catamaran. With this Xavier means to say that he would seek every means.

<sup>252</sup> The "small Roman breviary" used by Xavier is probably the one that was owned by a private person for a long time after his death. In 1596 it was in the possession of the Japanese mission of the Society. Because of the persecution, it was taken to Macao. In 1780, after the suppression of the order, it was brought to Nantes, the place of his birth, by the ex-Jesuit and Chinese missionary J.-L. Lefèvre and given to the convent of the Sisters of the Visitation in that city, where he died. In 1938 the Jesuit residence in Nantes obtained it from the sisters, but both the residence and the breviary were destroyed in an air attack on September 5, 1943. It was a Roman breviary in a single volume measuring 10 × 7.2 cm. and printed in Gothic type with the colophon: "Impressa autem prodit ex alma Parisiorum Lutecia discipli-/narum omnium alumna, impensis spectabilis viri Ambrosii Girault / In vico sancti Jacobi ad signum Pellicani commorantis. Anno 1545." The breviary had three appendices: (1) the *proprium* of the Franciscans, printed by the same press and probably in the same year of 1543; (2) the *Suffragia Apostolorum* with some other offices printed by Luis Rodrigues on April 5, 1541, in Lisbon; (3) the *Officia quatuor beate Marie, sabbatis totius anni dicenda*, etc., printed by the same individual on October 20, 1546, and, if this is the breviary used by Xavier in 1545, later bound together with it. All four parts of the breviary were the sole extant copies. They are not mentioned by Hans Bohatta, *Bibliographie der Breviere 1501-1850* (Leipzig, 1937), Anselmo, or any of the other bibliographers. On it see the series of articles by C. Durville, "Le Bréviaire de Saint François-Xavier conservé à Nantes," *Express de l'Ouest* (Nantes, March, 1916, nn. 5-10), and Schurhammer, "Duas impressões portuguesas desconhecidas (século XVI)," *Brotéria* 9 (1929) 243-246.

If any foreigners of our Society come who do not know how to speak Portuguese, they must learn how to speak it, for otherwise they will not find a *topaz*<sup>253</sup> who understands them. I shall write to you in great detail from Malaqua and give you an account of those who became Christians and of the disposition to become such so that you may provide persons from there who will spread our holy faith. Since your house is called "of the Holy Faith," its works must correspond to its name. I shall write to you at greater length<sup>254</sup> through the *patamares* who are leaving in July.<sup>255</sup> May our Lord unite us in His holy glory since I do not know if we shall see each other again in this life. From Sant Thomé, the eighth of May, in the year 1545.

Your dearest Brother in Christ,<sup>256</sup>

[Franciscus.]<sup>257</sup>

## 7. A COMPANION FOR MACASSAR<sup>258</sup>

Francis had also to find a companion in São Thomé for his journey to Macassar. One day when he was reading a book in the rectory where he was staying, a Portuguese merchant whom he had already met in Colombo called upon him. It was the thirty-five-year-old João d'Eiró.<sup>259</sup> Francis offered him a chair, and when his visitor had sat down, he explained his reason for coming:

"Father, I asked you in Ceylon to hear my confession, and you told me that since you had to go to São Thomé, you would hear my confession there."

The merchant then told him who he was, when he had come to India, how he had been a soldier his whole life long,<sup>260</sup> and how he had wished for a long time to serve God. But since he was poor and had no one to assist him, he had given up his design, having no means to realize it. He had then turned to trading and had already acquired enough to live on. Since His Reverence was a person who could provide him with the necessary means for saving his soul, he asked him to be allowed to accompany him as a companion, for he was ready to follow him wherever he went.

Francis, however, raised a good many difficulties. When Eiró saw that he wanted to reject his request, he told him that he should take his possessions and give them to the poor. After discussing the matter for a long time with his visitor, Francis finally told him that he should first go to confession and after that he, Francis, would decide the question about his future.

In order to prepare himself for a general confession of his whole life, Eiró withdrew to the Small Mount, where the apostle Thomas had suffered martyrdom.<sup>261</sup> In the isolation of this holy spot Francis gave him the meditations

<sup>253</sup> Interpreter.

<sup>254</sup> The letter is lost.

<sup>255</sup> They were obviously waiting for the return of the *patamar* who went to Goa by land in May and returned in June.

<sup>256</sup> "Vester minimus frater."

<sup>257</sup> The signature was cut out as a relic and later replaced by another.

<sup>258</sup> The main source for this section is the deposition of Eiró at the process in Bassein in 1556. It is extant in three drafts: (1) in the original Portuguese text of the authentic copy, of which the *prima et tertia viae* are found in the archives of the postulation of the Society in Rome (MX II 378-380); (2) in the Latin translation made for the process of canonization in Rome (*ibid.* 401-403); (3) in the Portuguese summary made from the process about 1559 (Sá II 214-216). Xavier rounds these out in his letters (EX I 300 319-321).

<sup>259</sup> EX I 300.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>261</sup> "En el mismo lugar donde mataron a S. Thomé apóstol" (*ibid.* 320). That

of the first week<sup>262</sup> of the Exercises—on the end of man, the gravity of sin, the turning away from God, death, judgment, and hell, on the generous submission of a repentant sinner to his crucified Redeemer, on a new military service and new wares<sup>263</sup> which brought a hundredfold reward in heaven. The battle was not easy. Many questions created great difficulties,<sup>264</sup> but grace finally won out. During the course of three days Eiró made a general confession of his whole past life;<sup>265</sup> and on the following day, despite all the resistance of nature, he made his election with heroic self-conquest: He would sell his ship and all his possessions and give all to the poor without retaining anything for himself in order to follow Francis in apostolic poverty as a soldier of Christ.<sup>266</sup>

After returning to São Thomé, Eiró immediately sold his ship. But soon his good resolutions began to weaken. The devil, who saw his prey slipping from his hand, regained his mastery over him. He seduced him into committing a grave sin of the flesh and of disobedience to his spiritual director. The merchant bought another boat and a Moorish slave,<sup>267</sup> to whom he gave orders to get everything ready for a secret departure<sup>268</sup> and to have his trunks brought aboard without saying a word to Master Francis. Everything was ready and he expected to sail secretly away within an hour when Antonio,<sup>269</sup> Francis' servant, suddenly came up at top speed and told him:

"O Padre Mestre Francisco vos manda chamar." ("Father Master Francis is calling for you.")

Frightened by this, Eiró feigned ignorance and replied:

"Filho, eu não são a quem manda chamar." ("Son, I am not the one he is calling.")

But the servant was not to be led astray.

"Não vos chamão João d'Eiró?" ("Are you not called João d'Eiró?") he asked.

Xavier here means the Small Mount is clear from the fact that no one pointed out the Large Mount as the place of the martyrdom before the discovery of the Pehlevi cross there in 1547. It is also excluded by the fact that it was an hour and a half away from the church and had no spring or protection against the sun.

<sup>262</sup> That Xavier gave the meditations of the first week of the Exercises to Eiró is not expressly stated, but it follows from his remarks about the latter's general confession and from his usual practice (cf., for example, EX II 89 97 218 319 432).

<sup>263</sup> "Dióle Dios a sentir que avía otras mercaderias, en las quales él nunca trató... ahora es soldado de Christo" (*ibid.* I 300).

<sup>264</sup> "Sobre certos negocios pasamos grandes cousas," according to Eiró. This probably means that there were problems connected with his business affairs, the question of restitutions and the like.

<sup>265</sup> The MX makes a wrong division of words: "Fiquou detremynado que me confesase prymeiro e per espaço de tres dias que amdara em comfysã. Sobre certos." The Latin translation does the same: "Franciscum statuisse ut ad confessionem faciendam tridui spatium acciperet." The text in Sá is better: "Ficou determinado que me confessasse, primeiro, e por espaço de tres dias que andey en me confessar, sobre certos."

<sup>266</sup> EX I 300 320-321.

<sup>267</sup> "Et mahumetanum mancipium emissee, cuius opera, quae erant ad navigandum necessaria, iam paraverat, et deferri ad navem iusserat." The only authority for this is the Latin translation. It is also lacking in Sá. Brou makes of this a female Mohammedan slave (I 335).

<sup>268</sup> "Com grande astucia," according to Eiró.

<sup>269</sup> Instead of "mandou hum moço per nome Amtonio Agrão presa" (MX II 380), read: "Amtonio a grão presa."

"Yes," he had to reply. Antonio then said:

"Pois, a vós chama." ("Well, he is calling you.")

For a second the merchant was undecided what to do, puzzled by this unexpected order. Finally, however, he obeyed the summons, and he had hardly passed through Francis' door when the latter told him two or three times:

"Pecastes, pecastes!" ("You have sinned, you have sinned!")

A lie would have been useless; the priest knew it all. The culprit lowered his head:

"He verdade que pequei." ("It's true that I've sinned.")

The priest continued:

"Comfissão, comfissão!" ("Confess, confess!")

Eiró obeyed, made his confession, and then returned immediately to his dwelling, sold his newly purchased boat that very same day, and gave all of his possessions to the poor in order to follow Master Francis from then on as an obedient disciple.<sup>270</sup>

#### 8. APOSTOLATE AND DEPARTURE (APRIL—AUGUST, 1545)<sup>271</sup>

When the ruined church of the apostle was rebuilt in 1524, a number of Portuguese settled near it.<sup>272</sup> Most of these were veterans who had served for many years in the India fleet and wished to spend the evening of their lives near the apostle's tomb.<sup>273</sup> They built homes for themselves from the bricks of the ruins in the fields about Mailapur. They married their slaves in order to found Christian families,<sup>274</sup> and they sailed with their boats to the harbors of the Coromandel Coast, to Bengal, Pegu, and Malacca in order to earn their

<sup>270</sup> Eiró accompanied Xavier to Molucca. On his return he was released by Xavier from his service at Malacca for disobedience. He returned to India, where he entered the Franciscans. He always retained, however, a great reverence for his former master, as is indicated by the many tears which he shed when the body of Xavier was returned to Goa in 1554 and by the information which he supplied at the hearing in 1556 (MX II 378-382 401-403; Sá II 201-202 207-208 214-216). See also the statements of others based on information that he had supplied (*ibid.* 182-183 192 422; DI III 333-334). MX II 1019 mentions a "libellus de Xaveri vita, auctore fratre Joanne d'Eyró, Franciscani ordinis alumno." This has reference to an anonymous \*summary made about 1559 of the processes of Goa, Bassein, and Malacca. It is extant in two drafts (Q 6150a, 1-2), of which the first was published by Sá (II 183-232). It has, however, nothing to do with Eiró. The name Eiró, a common Portuguese place-name, is frequently changed in the texts: *Hierro* (EX I 300 324), *Ferro* (Polanco I 167), *Duro* (\*Teixeira It. 2, 9), *Durus* (Tursellinus 2, 16).

<sup>271</sup> The main sources for Xavier's work in São Thomé are, in addition to the testimony of the vicar Coelho (DI III 194-195), the following witnesses of 1556: João d'Eiró (MX II 378-379), Manuel Mendes Raposo, a *cavalleiro fidalgo* of the royal house living in São Thomé (*ibid.* 270), Galeote Pereira, a *fidalg*o of the royal house (*ibid.* 272), Estevão Ventura (*ibid.* 278), Francisco Garcia, a *cavalleiro fidalgo* of the royal house (*ibid.* 287), and a number of witnesses of 1616. Tursellinus places the cure of the possessed rich man in Manappād (2, 16); Lucena the shipwreck of Mendoza at Cape Comorin (MX II 538), the conversion of a *fidalg*o in Malacca (Teixeira 875-876), and the miserable end of the one who resisted Xavier (MX II 310-311), erroneously, in São Thomé (3, 8). The two letters of the inhabitants of São Thomé of 1537 (SR II 249-255) and of 1538 (Q 351) give, together with Correa, an account of the development of São Thomé before Xavier's arrival.

<sup>272</sup> Correa II 789; Q 351.

<sup>273</sup> Q 351; Valignano 76; Barros 1, 9, 1, p. 303.

<sup>274</sup> Q 351.

living through trade.<sup>275</sup> The small Portuguese settlement, which received the name of São Thomé, grew through further additions. In 1530 it was already an imposing village with a number of *casados*.<sup>276</sup> By 1537 the number of these had risen to fifty, twenty of whom had grown to manhood in Portugal in the service of the royal house. In four years São Thomé had doubled its circumference.<sup>277</sup> In 1538 there were already sixty married Portuguese there, among whom were many from prominent families. Some of these had daughters of Portuguese as their wives. Many also had well-built stone houses of more than one story.<sup>278</sup> The city, with its streets and rows of houses, had a pleasant appearance. It was not, however, surrounded by walls since it lay within the territory of the Hindu king of Vijayanagar.<sup>279</sup> Some families of Thomas Christians, Armenians, as they were called, had also settled with their families in the village. They were excellent Christians. Some eighteen hundred natives in the environs had received baptism, and the *vigario* kept a list of their names.<sup>280</sup>

When Master Francis came to São Thomé, the number of *casados* there had already risen to more than a hundred.<sup>281</sup> Since they were living outside the Portuguese domain, they received no pay or support from the king. But when he needed their services, they were ready to serve him with their lives and their possessions, as they had done in 1538, when the Turks were besieging Diu. Miguel Ferreira and four hundred of his countrymen had heeded the summons of the governor and had sailed to India from the Coromandel Coast. The old and sick, who had been left behind in São Thomé, had held numerous processions in order to obtain a victory for the Portuguese arms through the intercession of St. Thomas.<sup>282</sup> The following year an unprecedented famine had broken out along the Coromandel Coast and within the interior as the result of a long drought. The famine had lasted for a full year, until 1540. Two-thirds of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Vijayanagar were said to have died of hunger. Whole villages in their despair had sought death in the rivers and sea. In many places mothers

<sup>275</sup> They obtained gold and varnish from Pegu, provisions, especially sugar, and great quantities of fine cotton goods from Bengal, and exported the many-colored fabrics of the Coromandel Coast from São Thomé (Valignano 76-77). In 1545 Pero de Faria, who was captain of Malacca from 1539 to 1542, wrote: "The Portuguese who sailed from Paleacate [Pulicat] to Malacca brought each year from 80,000 to 90,000 *cruzados* to Malacca from the time of Ruy de Brito Patalim, the first captain, to that of D. Estevão da Gama [that is, from 1512 to 1539]" (Q 1709).

<sup>276</sup> Correa III 424.

<sup>277</sup> SR II 252-254.

<sup>278</sup> The letter of 1537 was signed by the following: Duarte Ferreira, Bastião Rodrigues, Afonso Toscano, Jorge de Gois, Diogo Mendes, and Anrique de Vasconcelos; that of 1538 by Jorge Dias Paçanha, Diogo Goterrez, Duarte Ferreira, Bras Alvarez, Joham Lobo, Anrique de Vasconcelos, Baltasar Rodrigues, Gaspar Rodryguez, Antonio Vaz, Jorfie de Gois, Rodrigo de Sela, Pedro Anes Palha, Tristam Martinez, Joam Gonçalvez de Gouvea, Bastiam Rodriguez, Rui Vaz, Diogo Fernandez, João Afonso, Jeronymo Vaz, and Gonçalo Teyxeira (cf. reproduction in Q, pl. X 1). These names are found to a large extent among the soldiers and *fidalgos* of Affonso de Albuquerque.

<sup>279</sup> In 1555 Cypriano wrote that the city was "lugar (según la tierra) en magestad de casas demasiada fermoso por el assiento, pero está sin amparo alguno humano" (DI III 298; cf. 677). São Thomé received walls between 1619 and 1624 (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 36; *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa* 11 [1959] 46 140).

<sup>280</sup> Q 351.

<sup>281</sup> EX I 299. In 1546 Miguel Ferreira wrote that there were five hundred men in São Thomé (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 390), by this he meant those who could bear arms, *casados* and single men, and their slaves.

<sup>282</sup> Q 351.

had eaten the flesh of their own children, and the whole country had been desolated by the outbreak of epidemics and the great number of deaths. During these trials the Portuguese in São Thomé had shown themselves to be true Christians. With great charity they had taken in and assisted the hungry people for an entire year. They imported rice, millet, coconuts, and palm sugar in their ships and sold them all at less than cost. Some of the wealthy residents of the city had great quantities of rice cooked in their homes. This was then dissolved in water and given to the hungry to drink. But the constant influx of starving people became so great that, despite the assistance that was given them, from fifteen to twenty corpses were found in the streets each day. The Portuguese had their slaves bury the dead, who had been reduced to skeletons, in a common grave. When he learned what the Portuguese were doing, Achyuta, the king of Vijayanagar sent the Portuguese in São Thomé a personal, palm-leaf letter in which he thanked them for their magnanimous assistance.<sup>283</sup>

The residents of São Thomé were also generous in their contributions to the Church. For the support of the church of St. Thomas they founded a confraternity in his honor. The vicar general gave his approval to this, and its funds were administered by *mordomos* elected for this purpose. The most distinguished residents of the village belonged to it. Two more confraternities were later founded: that of Our Lady of the Rosary and that of the Fieis de Deus, a confraternity for the Poor Souls, both of which had Masses celebrated every week. The members of the Confraternity of the Apostle paid for the rebuilding of his church, and in 1538 they had already spent between five and six thousand *cruzados* for this purpose. The *vigario* and his four beneficiaries took care of divine services, and the ceremonies were celebrated in as solemn and dignified a manner as in any other church. At all the Masses on Sundays and feast days prayers were offered for the king, as the people wrote in 1538. The church, moreover, had rich vestments and antependia. Some were used for feast, others for ordinary, days. The singing during Mass was accompanied by an organ. In short, the church was as well equipped with all that it needed as if it had a rich income. And all of this came from the alms of the members of the confraternity and other benefactors. The former also defrayed all extraordinary expenses and gave numerous alms for the poor.<sup>284</sup>

The Portuguese of São Thomé had had a difficult time with their first *vigario*, Alvaro Penteado. He raged against the usury and immorality of the people,<sup>285</sup> criticized the rebuilding of the church, misappropriated the relics of the apostle, irritated everyone with his intolerance, and led a scandalous life. In 1530 he had already been replaced by the French priest Ugo Nicolay.<sup>286</sup> In 1534, however, Miguel Vaz, the vicar general, wrote to the king that he had removed the vicar of São Thomé because of his evil life and had appointed another in his stead.<sup>287</sup> There was no lack of candidates for the position,<sup>288</sup> but most were more attracted by the profitable trade they could conduct than by the tomb of the apostle and their zeal for souls.<sup>289</sup>

<sup>283</sup> Correa IV 131-132; Castro, *Cartas* 49-50.

<sup>284</sup> Q 351.

<sup>285</sup> SR II 357-358.

<sup>286</sup> See above, p. 577.

<sup>287</sup> Q 161, 21v.

<sup>288</sup> SRH 426-429; Q 133.

<sup>289</sup> SR II 147-148; DI I 81.

The residents of São Thomé were also not too happy with the captains of the Coromandel Coast appointed by the governor, who usually lived in São Thomé. They were as a rule young *fidalgos* whose only thought was to get rich as quickly as possible during their three-year term of office. They often took advantage of the natives, and the merchants of the city suffered in their trade as a consequence. An exception to this was Miguel Ferreira, whose administration was praised by the Portuguese in their letter to the king in 1537. They therefore asked that in the future only a resident of the city should be appointed as captain.<sup>290</sup>

In São Thomé Master Francis found a grateful field of labor. Through his instructions and example, as the *vigario* later testified, he gained much fruit. He freed many from mortal sins; he witnessed the marriages of many others; and he brought peace and the fear of God into the community. Almost all the residents of the city listened to him. They saw his virtuous life; his conduct was in everything that of an apostle.<sup>291</sup> Like the *vigario*, the common people looked upon him as a saint. His cheerful, unaffected manner won their hearts. He persuaded many to marry their slaves, and others to dismiss them and place them within a Christian family, where efforts would be made to find them husbands.<sup>292</sup> And he induced many pagans to accept baptism.<sup>293</sup>

Among the conversions, that of João Barbudo made a particularly great impression. He was a distinguished citizen, but many said that he had not received Holy Communion for fifteen years.<sup>294</sup> Master Francis persuaded him to make a general confession. It lasted for a long time. Barbudo had had good reasons for settling in São Thomé, far from the control of the Portuguese authorities. He had a heavy burden upon his conscience. In 1523 he had joined up with fifty other adventurers under the command of Captain Diogo Gago, the illegitimate son of a Portuguese and his Moorish concubine. Most of these men were the sons of good families, and among them were Baltasar Veloso, who later settled in Ternate, João Barbudo, Simão de Brito (an illegitimate son of João Patalim<sup>295</sup>), João Carregueiro, João Botelho, and Antão da Frago. They had provided themselves with everything they needed on the Coromandel Coast, and had then sailed off in their ship in open rebellion against the Portuguese authorities to Chittagong in order to attack and plunder the vessels of Moorish traders. When they sailed on to Tenasserim, a violent dispute arose between Veloso and Gago. With Barbudo's help, Veloso killed the captain with

<sup>290</sup> SR II 249-255.

<sup>291</sup> DI III 194.

<sup>292</sup> MX II 270 278 287. In 1616 the Parava Nareguerigue (Naragari) testified that twenty years earlier Antonio Henriques had told him in Mailapur that he had seen with his own eyes Xavier raised more than an ell above the floor while he was celebrating Mass over the grave of the apostle, and that there were many persons present who saw this miracle (*ibid.* 556; Barradas 68). But Coelho and the other contemporaries know nothing about this.

<sup>293</sup> According to Gomes Freire, *cavalleiro* of the royal house, assessor in Malacca (*ibid.* 425).

<sup>294</sup> For twenty years according to Lucena (3, 8).

<sup>295</sup> Like Veloso, he sought a refuge in the Moluccas and also sailed from there to the Papua Islands near New Guinea, where a watering place got its name from him, *Agoada de Simão de Brito* (\**Tratado* 38). When the Spaniard Saavedar came to Tidore in 1528, Brito deserted to him; but he was quartered by the latter when he tried to return secretly to his Portuguese countrymen in Ternate (Rebello 416-417). Another Simão de Brito, a nephew of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, was murdered in a brawl in São Thomé in 1546 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 384).



a dagger while he was sleeping with his female slave. The freebooters then chose Brito as their leader to replace the murdered Gago. They next sacked a ship loaded with wares in the harbor of Tenasserim. In reprisal the governor of the city imprisoned the Portuguese Domingos de Seixas, who was purchasing provisions there for the fortress of Pasei on Sumatra, and his seventeen companions. Those who had not died were still being held in a Siamese prison because of the crime of Barbudo and his companions.<sup>296</sup> For fourteen or fifteen days Barbudo unburdened himself in the church to Master Francis as he made a general confession of his past life; and, to the surprise of all, the priest brought his penitent back to the reception of the sacraments.<sup>297</sup>

A sudden cure also enhanced the reputation of "the holy priest."<sup>298</sup> Maria Toscana, the four-year-old daughter<sup>299</sup> of Manuel Rodrigues, a well-known *casado* of the town,<sup>300</sup> was deathly ill. She had not been able to speak for four days

<sup>296</sup> According to Barros (3, 8, 2, pp. 254-259). He learned all of this from Seixas, who had been detained twenty-five years in Siam and had then returned to Lisbon, where he died as a poor man in the hospital.

<sup>297</sup> According to Eiró (MX II 379).

<sup>298</sup> There is a great deal of confusion among the authors with respect to this cure. Antonio de Sá Pereira, *fidalgo* of the royal house, testified in Bassein in 1556 that Mestre Diogo had told him that Pater Magister Franciscus was so holy that he performed miracles. From documents which he had received in Malacca he had seen that it was true that the priest had raised a girl from the dead, the daughter of a woman devoted to him whom he had converted. The girl had died in a house, and Mestre Diogo had added that he had sent the documents he had received that same year to the queen (MX II 382-383). Since Mestre Diogo died in Goa on January 26, 1547, he received the documents from Malacca at the latest towards the end of 1546. There can thus only be a question of a miracle which Xavier allegedly worked in Malacca or São Thomé in 1545. In 1614 Seb. Gonçalves wrote that the two-year-old daughter of Manuel Rodrigues had been deathly sick in São Thomé. Her father called Xavier in order that he might read a Gospel over her. The priest replied that it would be better to let the child go to heaven than to expose her to the moral dangers of later life. He yielded, however, to her father's entreaties and prayed for half an hour over the child. She was healed and was still living in 1605 (2, 17). Four witnesses spoke of the case in 1616. The twenty-four-year-old Thomé de Gamboa, S.J., who had been born in Mailapur, said that he had heard about the miracle from trustworthy residents of that city and from the woman who had been healed, who was living there. She was dying when her mother called to the priest, who happened to be passing by. He said that the girl would not die of that illness, and he healed her by reading a Gospel and making the sign of the cross over her (MX II 486-487). Barradas gives the testimony of two witnesses at the lost Malacca process of 1616. According to the first, a *casado* of that city, the sick child was the four-year-old Maria Toscana, who had died two years earlier (thus in 1614). She had been speechless for four days and had already been given up when her mother, through the window, saw Xavier approaching. She called him, and he cured the child immediately by reading a Gospel (56-57). The second deposition is already fantastic: The daughter of a native woman died in Manār. She had already been sewn up within a shroud when Xavier was called. He prayed; the child stirred; the bystanders ripped off the shroud; and the child got up (56). Still more fantastic is the testimony of the one-hundred-and-twenty-year-old Chinese woman, Lucia de Villanzam, in the process at Cochin in 1616: Two merchants in Malacca, a Portuguese and a Malayan, allegedly eyewitnesses, told her in Cochin how Xavier had raised a girl from the dead who had been buried for three days in Malacca. The Gospel account of the raising of Lazarus is woven step by step into her story (MX II 455; Barradas 53). Cross makes two miracles wrought in Malacca in 1547 out of this incident (II 409-410). Brou has doubts about the account of Villanzam (I 362), but he also accepts two miracles, one in São Thomé in 1545 and another in 1547 in Malacca (*ibid.* 336 420).

<sup>299</sup> Barradas 56.

<sup>300</sup> Seb. Gonçalves 2, 17. This Manuel Rodrigues is probably the same as the sailor

and had already been given up by her family when her mother through a window saw Francis coming down the street. Full of confidence in the power of his intercession with God, she called out to him. He came and consoled those who were present—the child would not die of this illness. He then read a Gospel over her, made the sign of the cross over her head, and the girl was cured that same moment.<sup>301</sup>

In June the *patamar* returned from Goa with the commission for the captain of Malacca that Xavier had requested from M. A. de Sousa and the desired breviary.<sup>302</sup> From a letter which he brought with him, Xavier learned that the old Garcia de Sá had been sent to Malacca at the middle of April to take over the captaincy that had been vacated by the sudden death of Ruy Vaz Pereira in 1544. It had in the meantime been administered by the factor Sião Botelho. Pereira had sailed with Fernão de Sousa de Távora, who had gone with three ships and two hundred men to Maluco in order to drive out the Spaniards who had invaded the island.<sup>303</sup> Francis sent a farewell letter to his benefactor M. A. de Sousa with the courier who went by land in July from São Thomé to Goa. He had much to be grateful for from the governor,<sup>304</sup> whom he would never see again. He also sent a letter to his friends in the College of St. Paul, Mestre Diogo, Misser Paulo, and Cosme Anes. In it he changed his instructions with respect to the new confreres that were expected. Two of these should accompany the two princes to Ceylon if the governor sent them back there. The others should remain in Goa until he made further provisions for them from Malacca.<sup>305</sup> He also wrote to Mansilhas on the Fishery Coast and informed him and his fellow workers of his impending voyage to Macassar.<sup>306</sup>

In the meantime the southwest monsoon came to an end and the time for departure was growing nearer. At the end of August the royal Coromandel boat should sail for Malacca. The priest's heart was overflowing with gratitude for all the graces that he had received from God at the grave of the apostle. He later told Eiró that he had never found a place where he had met such good people as there, and where he was able to do so much good, and that God would bless the city for this and allow it to flourish.<sup>307</sup>

who was among the Portuguese imprisoned in Malacca in 1510 and wrote from there to Albuquerque (CA III 5-12); but he is probably not the same as the one who was in Diu when it was being besieged in 1538 (Sousa Coutinho 215), and who was in the Moorish city of Diu during the second siege in 1546 (Baião, *Historia* 33).

<sup>301</sup> Barradas 56-57; MX II 486-487.

<sup>302</sup> We conclude this from EX I 293, where he makes a request for both, and from EX I 308-310, where he no longer refers to them, apparently because his wishes had been granted. Xavier's letter of May 8 shows that in any case the Jaffna expedition could no longer take place during M. A. de Sousa's term of office.

<sup>303</sup> Correa IV 423; Couto 5, 10, 9. We suspect that Martim Affonso or Xavier's friends in Goa sent him this news, which was so important for him, when they sent the *patamar* back in June.

<sup>304</sup> Since M. A. de Sousa's term of office ran out in September and he sailed back to Portugal at the beginning of 1546, Xavier must have taken his leave from him in this letter. It is lost.

<sup>305</sup> This letter is also lost, but on November 20, 1545, Beira wrote from Goa about it and its instructions (DI I 59-61; EX I 294).

<sup>306</sup> Cf. EX I 285 319. This letter is also lost.

<sup>307</sup> According to Eiró. Cypriano, a sharp critic, wrote more pessimistically about São Thomé after 1549. In 1555 and 1557 he found little good among the Christians, whose greed and immorality turned the pagans away from being converted; and he added that Xavier had, not without reason, fled far away from India (DI III 298-300 677-681). His companion, Brother João Lopes, wrote that there was nothing good in

São Thomé had been renewed. The residents had all, thanks to the efforts of Master Francis, made their peace with God. All were grieved that he now had to leave them,<sup>308</sup> and many wept at his departure.<sup>309</sup>

Coelho, the *vigario*, was also sorely moved by the departure of his amiable guest. He gave him a crucifix<sup>310</sup> and a rosary that had both been made from the wood of St. Thomas, the same that had been used by him, according to tradition, for the building of his church.<sup>311</sup> He also gave him a small piece of bone of the apostle. From then on until his death Master Francis wore this in a copper reliquary about his neck along with his vow formula and the signatures of his father Ignatius and his other distant companions which he had cut from their letters.<sup>312</sup>

Miguel Ferreira promised him that when the new governor came in September, he would obtain the necessary authorization from him, and with the help of the Paravas and his Portuguese countrymen he would undertake in person the punitive expedition against the king of Jaffna in 1546.<sup>313</sup>

At the end of August or the beginning of September,<sup>314</sup> Xavier left São Thomé together with Eiró and went seven leagues farther north to the harbor of Pulicat, where the royal Coromandel ship lay at anchor, and set sail with it for Malacca.<sup>315</sup>

São Thomé except the body of the apostle (Polanco II 765). But Xavier had reasons for sharply rebuking Cypriano (EX II 388-391).

<sup>308</sup> MX II 270.

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.* 278.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.* 213. It is probably the one that is today in the royal treasury in Madrid. For its history and a picture, see *ibid.* 780-785 1063; Franco, *Synopsis* 223; Schurhammer, "Die Kruzifixe des heiligen Franz Xaver," *Xaverius-Missions-Kalender* 1923 (Aachen) 30-33. The crucifix, artistically carved out of light brown wood, measures 7 25/32 × 4 inches. Fourteen more so-called Xavier crucifixes are mentioned. At the beginning of 1553 Barzaeus sent the General another crucifix made of St. Thomas' wood that he had received from Coelho (DI II 584).

<sup>311</sup> According to Barradas the rosary which Xavier sent to Antonio Henriques was made of St. Thomas' wood (Gomes de Brito II 99). In 1578 F. Pasio sent a rosary made of the same wood to Rome (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 471v), and Linschoten obtained another from a Fleming who had been living for thirty years in São Thomé (I 62). In addition to these, reference is made to rosaries made from the fragrant Indian calambac wood (Dalgado I 180-182; ARSI: *Goa* 47, 390). Three of Xavier's rosaries are preserved: (1) The Cologne rosary made of calambac wood, originally with six decades. At the request of the General, one of these was separated from the others in 1741 and given to the king of Poland. Through Father-Georg von Sachsen, S.J., who died in Berlin in 1943, this came into the possession of the retreat house of Hoheneichen near Dresden. (2) The rosary of the college of Brünn, mentioned in 1747 (ARSI: *Bohemia* 164, 34), and since 1899 in the professed house in Vienna. (3) The rosary of the novitiate of Starawies in Galicia. See Schurhammer, "Der hl. Franz Xaver und das heilige Köln," KM 46 (1917) 52-54; "Die romantische Irrfahrt des Kölner Rosenkranzes," *Xaverius-Jubiläums-Kalender* (Aachen, 1922) 45-50; L. van Miert, "De rozenkrans van den h. Franciscus Xaverius door Vondel bezongen," *Studiën* 92 (1919) 57-66. The rosaries which Xavier left behind in Japan, for example, in Ichiku (ARSI: *JapSin.* 55, 218 401v), one of which is mentioned in Avite (Philippines) in 1630 (*ibid.* *Phil.* 6, 596), and another in the church of the Carmo in Lisbon in 1727 (Manuel de Sá, O.C., *Memorias Historicas da Ordem de N. Senhora do Carmo da Provincia de Portugal*. I [Lisboa, 1727] 160) are lost.

<sup>312</sup> DI IV 407-408; MX II 263; EX I 330.

<sup>313</sup> We conclude this from his efforts with respect to the Jaffna expedition in 1546 and 1548. Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 346-352 382 392 430 526-527.

<sup>314</sup> He hoped to sail at the end of August (EX I 293). According to Valignano, a ship set sail each year in September for Malacca, and Xavier sailed with it (77 83; also Teixeira 861).

<sup>315</sup> Only the smaller vessels could anchor in the Adyar River near São Thomé. The

Antonio Henriques,<sup>316</sup> an Indian merchant who was particularly attached to Francis, had also equipped his ship in order to sail with it to Malacca. He had come to take his departure from Xavier and had asked him for a token so that he might have God's blessing and protection on his voyage. At his insistence, Francis took his rosary from about his neck and gave it to him, urging him to hold it always in honor; and he consoled him by saying that he would never die at sea.<sup>317</sup>

Henriques had already reached the high seas when he was caught by a severe storm that sank his boat.<sup>318</sup> With his companions he spent five or six days on a raft that had been quickly fashioned from wooden beams. Worn out by his efforts and fear, he lost consciousness. In a dream it seemed to him<sup>319</sup> that he was with Master Francis in the harbor where he had taken his departure from him. When he came to, he found himself shipwrecked alone on the beach of Negapatam, where he had been carried by the waves. The raft and his companions had disappeared. The rosary which the saintly priest had given him was the only thing which he had saved from the wreck, and from then on he held it in highest honor as a precious relic.<sup>320</sup>

larger vessels, for example, the Coromandel ship, wintered in the protected harbor of Pulicat (Almeida Calado 42). Antonio Mendes, who was present in Malacca at the time of Xavier's arrival, said in 1556 that he had come from Pulicat (MX II 420).

<sup>316</sup> His name is given by the Parava João Nareguerigue (Naragari), who encountered Henriques in 1596 in Mailapur (MX II 555-556). Further witnesses in 1616 were: Thomé de Gamboa, who appealed to his father Ignacio de Gamboa and his grandmother (*ibid.* 487-488; Barrada 66), the eighty-year-old Indian Luis Correa, who heard about it from eyewitnesses (MX II 567), and the Portuguese Antonio Rodrigues Barachio, who was fifty-one-years old and had been born in Negapatam. His father was present at the arrival of the shipwrecked voyager in Negapatam and related the incident along with many others (*ibid.* 564).

<sup>317</sup> Nareguerigue, Barachio, and Gamboa add to the Latin text: "as long as he had the rosary with him." But in the Portuguese text of Barradas, Xavier only says: "Sede seguro e confiado, que não morrereis no mar" (66).

<sup>318</sup> According to the not very reliable Nareguerigue, the storm was on the open sea, far from the harbor it had left. According to the Latin text of Gamboa, it was far away from Mailapur and near Malacca. According to the reliable Portuguese text of Barradas, it was shortly after their departure.

<sup>319</sup> All speak of a fainting, as does Nareguerigue, who however continues "expectatus a somno seu emersus ab illa animi extasi, repente se vidit in ora Negapatani."

<sup>320</sup> With respect to the later history of the rosary, which is not to be confused with the Cologne rosary, Thomé de Gamboa testified in 1616 that the rosary which Xavier gave to Henriques had been given to his father, Ignacio de Gamboa, by his mother-in-law. More detailed information was given by Barradas in 1614 in his account of the relics which he saw that year in São Thomé: "Pois fiz menção do Santo [Xaver], quero-a também fazer de uma reliquia sua, qui aqui em S. Thomé deo um secular [Ignacio de Gamboa] ao Provincial [Pero Francisco 1611-1615] em muita estima, como elle a tinha havia quarenta annos, a qual lha dera sua sogra em dote de casamento [her daughter Theodosia de Goes], por dote de grande preço, dizendo-lhe que não tinha outra de maior valia que lhe dar. A peça eram umas contas de páo-milagroso de S. Thomé, por que o Beato Padre rezava, e havendo-se de partir desta cidade, as deo a esta mulher, que era sua devota e confessada, dizendo-lhe que lh'as dava naquella ultima despedida, por não ter outra couza. Ella as guardou com muita veneração, como reliquia de um Santo, e as deo a seo genro, que é um dos principaes cidadãos de S. Thomé, e se chama Ignacio de Gamboa, que sempre as estimou tanto, que arriscando muitas vezes o fato, e a pessoa no mar, nunca quiz levar comsigo as contas, pelas não pôr a perigo. Não tinha elle agora mais que vinte e duas contas destas, tres estremos e a cruz, que deo ao Padre Provincial, tendo dado algumas por via de um filho seo, que agora está na Companhia [Thomé de Gamboa], a um Irmão italiano por nome Marco Aurelio [Ricci], que de cá tornou para Italia com o padre Theolao [read: Nicolau] Espinola

Coelho, the *vigario*, continued to proclaim the praises of Master Francis to his parishoners and to all he met.<sup>321</sup> His former guest was a holy and pious man of outstanding virtue. In all of his confessions he had not been able to discover even once a venial sin. He was sure that the priest had preserved his baptismal innocence,<sup>322</sup> and blessed was the mother who had borne him.<sup>323</sup>

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[who sailed in 1608]. E as mais que faltam se deviam tambem repartir pelo mesmo modo; nem agora ficamos fóra de esperança de cedo mandar uma relação de serem com obras maravilhosas apoiadas de ceo por suas" (Gomes de Brito II 99-100). Thomé de Gamboa in 1616 and Barradas in 1617 state that Xavier gave the rosary to the woman. She was apparently the wife of Antonio Henriques.

<sup>321</sup> DI III 78 194-195; MX II 270 272 287; Teixeira 860.

<sup>322</sup> In 1554 M. Nunes Barreto wrote that Coelho had told him and all who would listen to him in Goa "que el sabía de cierta certeza que Maestro Francisco era virgen, y que él se lo descobrira como a amigo y Padre spiritual suio" (DI III 78). Teixeira also heard about it at the time from the vicar, and he wrote about it later. From Xavier's account of his life Coelho had concluded, and he later testified to it under oath, "ser el P. Maestro Francisco puro, casto y virgen desde el vientre de su madre" (859). In 1556 Galeote Pereira declared that he had heard Xavier's confessor (Coelho) say in São Thomé, "allém de não ter pecado venyall, que lhe afirmava sem nenhuma duvida ser elle virgem" (MX II 272). And Francisco Garcia testified that he had heard trustworthy individuals say that they had heard from the vicar of São Thomé that he had not found a venial sin in the confessions of P. M. Francisco, and he added, "que todos a huma voz lhe pubricavão, primcypallmente ho dito vigario, que era virgem" (*ibid.* 287).

<sup>323</sup> According to Mendes Raposo (*ibid.* 270).

## APPENDIX I

### INDIA HISTORIANS

[Franz Xaver II. 2, pp. 439-514]

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##### IN GENERAL:

1. Leonardo Nunes, *Crónica de Dom João de Castro*, ed. J. D. M. Ford (Cambridge, Mass., 1936). The autograph, completed in 1550, is today owned by Harvard University. It covers the years 1545-1548. The author, who was an eyewitness and companion in arms, gives an impartial description of the years of Castro's rule. It is extremely valuable, as is also his account of the second siege of Diu in 1546. This has been edited with an extensive introduction (pp. V-LXIII) and appended documentation (106-339) by Antonio Baião under the title of *História Quinhentista (inédita) do Segundo Cêrco de Diu* (Coimbra, 1925). Cf. Q 2404a 2436 2548 2677 3432a 4397 4825 5136.

2. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do Descobrimento e Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* (Coimbra, 1551-1561), Books 1-8. We discovered Book 9 in the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome among the literary remains of Maffei (cc. 1-31). It was printed in the new edition of Coimbra, 1924-1933. Book 10, which describes the siege of Diu in 1546, was withdrawn at the request of some *fidalgos* "porque fallava nelle verdades" (Couto 4, 5, 1, p. 330). The work contains much material which the author gathered in India, where he stayed for ten years to collect it, and in Portugal. He had a good knowledge of the country and of its people and wrote with great impartiality. It embraces, in as far as it is extant, the years 1497 to 1542. Castanheda sailed in 1528 to the Indies, where he visited sites from the Maldives to Maluco (Couto 4, 5, 1). After his return he obtained the office of a beadle in the Arts College in Coimbra, where he died in 1559. See Q 124-125 4850 5109 5125-5126, p. 475, and pl. II 1. See also the introductions to Q I and IV, new edition, Kömmerling-Fitzler 116-117, Silva II 283-285, and GS II 450-452.

3. João de Barros, *Asia, dos fectos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente* [Década Primeira] (Lisboa, 1552), Segunda (1553), Terceira (1563), Quarta, reformada, accrescentada e illustrada por João Baptista Lavanha (1615). The best known edition is that of Coimbra of 1777-1778. The index volume contains the life of its author by Manoel Severim de Faria (pp. III-LXIV). The work embraces the years 1497-1538. Barros, who was born in 1496, early entered into court service. In 1528 he was made treasurer of the India House, and held the office of factor in it from 1532 to 1567. He died at his estate near Pombal in 1570. He is regarded as the Portuguese Livy, the greatest historian of Portugal. Although he was never in India, he was very well informed about it through the documents in the archives of the India House, which were destroyed in the earthquake of 1755, through information provided by Portuguese returning from India, and through documents which he had requested from there. In 1548, for example, he obtained an account of the grave of St. Thomas in Mailapur as well as a Chinese and a Persian book for Paolo Jovio (Barros 1, 9, 1, pp. 305-306). Among his native sources were

the Arabic chronicle of Kilwa in East Africa (1, 8, 6), the Persian royal chronicle of Ormuz (2, 2, 2), a similar one of the Persian kings (2, 10, 5; 2, 5, 2), the Persian life of Tamerlane (2, 4, 4), two Arabic and three Persian works giving a description of the towns on the Persian Gulf (3, 6, 4), a Persian chronicle on the origin of the Moguls (4, 6, 1), a chronicle of the kings of Gujarāt (4, 5, 2), another of the kings of the Deccan (2, 5, 2), an extensive abstract from the Hindu chronicle of Vijayanagar (Q 215), a palm-leaf manuscript on the religions of Malabar (1, 9, 3), a work printed in China on its geography with an appendix of maps. Barros had a literate Chinese come to Portugal to translate it (1, 9, 1; 3, 2, 7). See Q 215 370 996 2234 2244 2248 2959 4978 4980 5059 5129, p. 475, and pl. II, 2; Silva III 318-323; X 187-189; A. Baião, "Documentos inéditos sobre João de Barros," *Boletim da Segunda Classe* [da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa] XI (1917) 202-355, and *João de Barros, Décadas* (Lisboa, 1945) IX-LXXV; M. Gonçalves Viana, *J. de Barros, Décadas* (Porto, 1944) 5-96; Sousa Viterbo, "O Orientalismo em Portugal no século XVI," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* (1893) 317-330. On his *Geographia* see the letter of Cipriano Soares of February 22, 1569 (GS II 557), and Luciano Ribeiro, "Uma Geografia Quinhentista," *Studia* 7 (1961) 151-318.

4. Afonso [Braz] de Albuquerque, *Commentarios de Afonso Dalboquerque capitão geral e governador da India, collegidos por seu filho Afonso Dalboquerque das proprias cartas que elle escreveu ao muyto poderoso Rey dom Manuel* (Lisboa, 1557). Braz de Albuquerque, illegitimate son of Affonso de Albuquerque, whose baptismal name he later assumed, was born in 1500 in Alhandra and died in Lisbon in 1580. His work embraces the years 1509 to 1515. The accuracy of his account has been proved by the later published *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* (Lisboa, 1884-1935). See Silva 17, Figueiredo 243-245, and Q 772a.

5. Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India* (Lisboa, 1858-1864). Three accounts have been written on Correa's life and works: (1) The introduction to the edition of the *Lendas* by R. J. de Lima Felner, Vol. I (Lisboa, 1858) V-XXX; (2) the monograph of Aubrey F. G. Bell, *Gaspar Corrêa* (London, 1924); (3) Donald W. Ferguson, "The Portuguese in Ceylon. Gaspar Correa's Account," *Ceylon Literary Register*, Third Series, IV (1935) 141-161 189-211 265-273 320-326 359-366. In this he gives the text of the *Lendas* dealing with Ceylon in an English translation with notes and an introduction on the author and his work (141-144). Correa was born about 1496 and sailed to India in 1512, where he accompanied Albuquerque as his secretary until the latter's death in 1515. He served as a brave soldier under his successor. In 1527 he was made a *cavalleiro* of the royal house. He returned to Lisbon in 1529, but sailed back to Goa in 1530, where he remained until his death around 1563, busy with the composition of his *Lendas*, for which he had already made sketches under Albuquerque. He completed his first draft in 1550 and continually improved and expanded it until 1563. He is not to be confused with the ship's captain, for whose murder we encounter Gonçalo Moreira in prison in Lisbon in 1533,<sup>1</sup> nor with the knight of St. James, Gaspar Correa, who was murdered in Malacca by Henrique Mendes under Captain D. Estevão da Gama (1534-1539), as Pero de Faria wrote from there to the king in 1540.<sup>2</sup> D. Mi-

<sup>1</sup> Ford I 100-101.

<sup>2</sup> Barbosa Machado wrote in 1747 that Correa had died in Goa (*Biblioteca Lusitana* II 317). But in 1891 A. M. de Freitas published a petition from the Torre do Tombo of Anna Vaz, the widow of Gaspar Correa, Knight of St. James, in which she declared that Henrique Mendes had attacked and slain her husband one night in Malacca and



guel da Gama acquired the manuscript of the *Lendas* after the death of its author. He brought it to Portugal in 1583 and gave it to his nephew D. Fco. da Gama, whose successors still owned it in 1747 (Barbosa Machado II 317). The work, mentioned only by Fco. d'Andrade and Frey Luis de Sousa as a source, was first published in a critical edition between 1858 and 1864 in four large tomes. The first volume was published from two copies, one in the Torre do Tombo and the other in the library of the Ajuda. A third, described by Ferguson, in the possession of the duke of Gor, but formerly owned by the duke of Torrepalma, was not known to the editor. The three other volumes were published from the autograph in the Torre do Tombo. They treat of the years 1497 to 1551. In the opinion of Lima Felner, they are of highest value since Correa wrote for the most part as an eyewitness with great objectivity, marvelous perspicuity, and serious efforts to secure reliable information on events which he had not experienced himself. Felner adds that the speeches are of course invented, that Correa is at times inclined towards what is marvelous and romantic; and, since these creep in along with chronological errors, the text should be controlled by contemporary documents. Bell agrees with his judgment on the *Lendas*.<sup>3</sup> The count of Ficalho states that the *Lendas* are the most precious document that we have on the intimate history of India, even if the author repeats matters that are hardly credible and has certain prejudices, for example, against M.A. de Sousa and in favor of D. Estevão da Gama.<sup>4</sup> But Correa warns his readers when he reports something from hearsay, and he leaves the responsibility for the same to his authority.<sup>5</sup> He was dependent upon such evidence for the period before his arrival in India. He has been criticized on this score also in more recent times. Strandes in 1899 noted the adornment and exaggerations of the *Lendas* in their account of the voyage of Vasco da Gama in 1497-1499 to India and in that of Cabral in 1500.<sup>6</sup> Welch has attempted to defend Correa in this regard.<sup>7</sup> After a minute investigation, Hümmerich came to the conclusion that Correa's account of the voyage of Vasco da Gama is, even though he gives as his source the notes of João Figueira, who sailed with da Gama, a marvelous mixture of truth and poetry, and that his *Lendas* for these, and the immediately following, years should be used only with the greatest caution.<sup>8</sup> Lobato repeats the same

that the murderer and his assistants had gone unpunished in the company of Captain D. Estevão, and that on this account she was appealing to the governor for help. The petition was undated. The assassinated man was identified with the well-known chronicler; and since the last date which he gives in his *Lendas* is the year 1563 (III 356 438 475), it has been concluded since then that the chronicler died a violent death in Malacca in 1563 (Bell, *Corrêa* 18 22-25 74-75; Welch, *S. Africa under John III* 435). But there is a question here of a doublet. On November 22, 1540, Pero de Faria, who on November 25, 1539, had succeeded D. Estevam da Gama as captain of Malacca, wrote to the king that he had received various petitions with respect to the failure of justice on the part of his predecessor, among which was one with respect to a Gaspar Correa who had been murdered one night in Malacca; the petition indicated what had happened, and His Highness could thus take care of the matter (Q 612, ed. *Gavetas* V 27). This petition is obviously the one submitted by Anna Vaz.

<sup>3</sup> *Corrêa* 30-63.

<sup>4</sup> *Garcia da Orta* 73.

<sup>5</sup> He writes, for example, of news from the kingdom: "Ysto escreui d'ouvidas, que contaão os que vinhão do Reyno, que póde ser que tudo serão mentiras, comosão todolas cousas d'este mundo, senão amar ao Senhor Deos" (II 857; cf. IV 19).

<sup>6</sup> *Die Portugiesenzeit* 33 42 50.

<sup>7</sup> *S. Africa under John III* 434-439.

<sup>8</sup> *Studien* 138-152 224-283.

with the observation that Correa was more of a novelist than historian.<sup>9</sup> This is certainly exaggerated. In any case it is not valid for the period after 1512, although errors, for example, changes in times and persons, are also to be found for this later period in the *Lendas*, especially when events took place at a distance.<sup>10</sup> MX II 149-153 has made some corrections in the text of the fourth volume by comparing them with the original. See also Q 53 4203 4723, p. VI, 475 478, pls. II 4, and XI 4; Silva III 126-127; Lopes, *Chronica*, pp. LXVIII-LXIX; CA IV, pp. XII-XIII, V, pp. XXIV-XXVI; Baião, *Albuquerque* 139-140.

6. Damião de Goes, *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (Lisboa, 1566-1567). The author, one of the most famous humanists of his time, was born at Alemquer in 1502. From 1548 to 1571 he was the archivist of the Torre do Tombo. He died on January 30, 1574. He wrote a number of minor works on the history of India and Abyssinia and, at the request of the cardinal infante Dom Henrique, between 1558 and 1566 composed the chronicle of King Manuel in four parts. Through the efforts of some *fidalgos*, the first of these was reworked and appeared in a second edition in 1567. The critical edition, which appeared in Coimbra in 1926 and was again issued between 1949 and 1955, contains a lengthy introduction. The chronicle is largely dependent upon Barros for India (IV 488) and offers little that is new for our period. See Q, index; Silva II 123-125; IX 102-104; M. da Fonseca, *Aditamentos* (Coimbra, 1927) 104-105; Forjaz de Sampaio III 18-41; E. Feist Hirsch, *Damião de Gois. The Life and Thought of a Portuguese Humanist, 1502-1574* (The Hague, 1967); the more recent bibliography in the *Dicionário Histórico de Portugal* II (1965) 347-349, and the opinions in Baião, *Albuquerque* 140; Figueiredo 239-242; and Kömmerling-Fitzler 110-112.

7. D. Duarte de Eça, *\*Relação dos governadores da Índia* (1571). D. Duarte de Eça was the son of D. João de Eça, captain of Goa from 1539 to 1542. He sailed to India in 1538 with his brother D. Fernando de Eça and a namesake, D. Duarte de Eça, son of D. Vasco de Eça (*Emmentia* 369-370). Here he campaigned with M. A. de Sousa at Bhatkal in 1542 (Castanheda 9, 31) and went with him on the expedition to the pagoda. In 1546 he married a daughter of Pero de Faria in Goa and set off a month later with D. Alvaro for Diu (Q 2622, cf. p. 496). He returned to Portugal in 1549 but went back to India in 1551, where he was captain in chief in Colombo from 1552 to 1553, captain of Ternate from 1556 to 1559, of Goa from 1568 to 1571, and as such wrote his *Relação*, which we found among the literary remains of Maffei in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus. The manuscript embraces the years 1541-1571, more in detail for the rule of M. A. de Sousa and D. João de Castro, more briefly for their successors. It is found in three drafts in Goa 38: A, the original; B, a copy of João Rebello, Maffei's assistant, with numerous additions of a foreign hand; and C. João Rebello's fair copy with the additions already incorporated into the text. They are divided as follows: 1541-1550 (A, ff. 35-41v, and C 211-216v 229-v), 1550-1568 (B 105-112v, C 230-238), 1568-1571 (B 238-242v). In the original (A), Eça speaks of himself in the first person. The additions are partly those of Martim da Silva, S.J., who sailed to Rome as a procurator in 1576 and brought Maffei's manuscript with him. The *Relação* is a valuable complement to the printed chronicles. Six different D. Duarte de Eças sailed to India between 1538 and 1578, and Sousa in his *Historia Genealogica* at times confuses our author with others, as does Couto. See pp. 99 148 360-361 397; Q 2305 2622 2684 3341 4053 4362; Schurhammer,

<sup>9</sup> A *Expansão* I 186-187.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 18-19.

*Ceylon*, pp. XXVIII 2 21-22 31 48 51 645 653; APO V 536-537 621 625; Couto 6, 2, 7; 6, 9, 18; 6, 10, 6-7 12 18; 7, 4, 7; 7, 5, 2-3.

8. Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação de Fernam Mendez Pinto* (Lisboa, 1614). The author, born around 1514 of poor parents in Montemor-o-Velho, sailed to India in 1537, where we encounter him in the service of the captain of Malacca, Pero de Faria, in Sumatra in 1539. He was in Siam in 1540, and from 1541 to 1543 he was forced to serve the king of Burma, Tabinshwehti, in Pegu. He then sailed as a merchant on a trading vessel to China and Siam, and in 1544, 1546, and 1551 to Japan. On this last voyage he was with Xavier. In 1554 he was in Goa at the time of the arrival of the body of the saint. He joined the Society of Jesus and sailed as an ambassador of the Indian viceroy to Bungo with the India provincial, Melchior Nunes. Here he asked, and received, permission to leave the order. In 1558 he returned to India with Nunes Barreto. He sailed for Portugal, where he bought a house in Almada across from Lisbon, wrote his *Peregrinação*, and died in 1583 (cf. GS II 99-102 551-557). His *Peregrinação*, whose manuscript was used by Tursellinus in 1596 and Lucena in 1600, was not printed until 1614. Since then it has been repeatedly reissued, most recently by A. J. Saraiva in Lisbon in 1961 (review in *Brotéria* 74 [1962] 637-650), and translated. The most famous travelogue of Portugal, frequently attacked but still more frequently defended, it has had a sustained effect upon writings about Xavier down into the twentieth century. In 1926 we published a study entitled "Fernão Mendez Pinto and his 'Peregrinação'," *Asia Major* III 71-103 194-267. In this we showed that the famous book is not a history but an autobiographical adventure story in which his own experiences and those of others and freely invented incidents are woven together in a tangled skein. Entire trips into the interior of Abyssinia, Farther India, China, Tibet, and Sumatra are pure fiction. Even the actual experiences of the author are romantically portrayed and, as the occasion demands, transposed in time. As a consequence, contemporary accounts must be used to distinguish what is true from what is false in the *Peregrinação*, which can never be used alone as an historical source. We republished this study in GS II 23-103 along with other works on its author (*ibid.* 105-109 118 570-577). In these studies we have given a critical survey of works on Pinto up to 1926 and have added more recent works up to 1960 (*ibid.* 23 and 551; IV 805-806; and Q, p. 514). We shall discuss his journey to Japan in the final volume of *Francis Xavier*. See also Q V-VI XLIV 4684 4689 4761 4861 6051-6052 6059-6060 6062 6063 (letter) 6067 6097 (letter) 6186-6187 6208 6211.

9. Hieronymus Osorius, *De rebus Emmanuelis regis Lusitaniae libri duodecim* (Olyssipone, 1571). The author, born in Lisbon in 1506, and known as the "Portuguese Cicero," studied in Salamanca, Paris, and Bologna. He was the secretary of the infante Dom Luis and died in 1580 in Tavira as bishop of Silves. His chronicle, for which he assembled a great deal of material, depends principally upon Goes and Barros for India and has, as a consequence, little to say about Xavier's time. Cf. Aubrey F. G. Bell, *O Humanista Dom Jerónimo Osório*, trad. de Ant. Alvaro Dória, com uma introdução de Luis de Almeida Braga (Coimbra, 1934); Silva III 272-273; Kömmerling-Fitzler 112; Q 268; GS II 55 229, III 85.

10. Johannes Petrus Maffeijs, S.J. *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI* (Florentiae, 1588). Gianpietro Maffei, born in Bergamo in 1533, entered the Society of Jesus in 1565, and died in Tivoli in 1603. Known as a brilliant Latinist, he had already published in 1571 a Latin translation of Manuel da Costa's work on the origins of the Jesuit missions in India and letters from Japan when he was

commissioned, at the request of the cardinal infante Dom Henrique, to write the history of the Portuguese in India. For this he examined the archives in Rome and Portugal between 1579 and 1584 and had all the available materials sent to him by his confreres in India and Japan. On the basis of this rich collection (today in the Jesuit archives in Rome in *Goa* 38), he was able to publish his history of India. In a concise yet elegant manner he describes *latinissime* the deeds of the Portuguese in India. His work found ready acceptance and was republished again and again. It embraces the years 1497 to 1556 and makes use not only of numerous primary sources, such as the chronicle of Eça, but also the printed works of Barros, Goes, Osorius, and others. Cf. Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert" (GS II 64-84; see also the general index to IV 1009) and the introduction to the edition of Maffei's *Opera omnia* I (Bergamo, 1747) I-XLVIII.

11. Diogo de Couto, *Da Asia Decada* 4-12, 15 vols. (Lisboa, 1778-1788). The author was born in Lisbon in 1542. When he was ten years old he entered the service of the infante D. Luis. He studied in the college of the Jesuits in Lisbon and in 1559, two years after the death of his patron, sailed to India, where he took part in all the wars as a soldier and in 1567 distinguished himself in the capture of Mangalore. He sailed to Portugal in 1569, and back again to India in 1571, where he settled in Goa and married Luisa de Mello, the sister of Frey Adeodato da Trindade, O.E.S.A. While attempts were being made in Portugal to ready the fourth, still unfinished, decade of Barros for the press, Couto wrote a decade on the first years of the rule of Philip II as king of Portugal (the later tenth decade, for 1580 to 1588) and informed the king of this in a letter of December 15, 1593. In 1595 the king accordingly asked him to continue the decades of Barros and appointed him as director of the India archives. Despite all the opposition that he encountered, he continued indefatigably with the decades until his death (at Goa on December 10, 1616). These embraced the years 1526 to 1600 and had a varied fate, as the following table indicates:

Decade	Years	Completed	Sent	Approved	First Impression	Ed. 1778-88
IV	1526-1536	1596	1597	1602	1602	1778
V	1537-1544	1596 <sup>11</sup>	1597	1602	1612	1779-80
VI	1545-1554	1596 <sup>12</sup>	1599	missing	1612	1781
VII	1554-1564	1603 <sup>13</sup>	1603	1613	1616	1782-83
VIII	1564-1571	1615 <sup>14</sup>	1616	1673	1673	1786
IX	1571-1579	1615	1616	1736	1736	1786
X	1580-1588	1599 <sup>15</sup>	1600	1778	1788	1788
XI	1588-1597	1610 <sup>16</sup>	1611	1778	1788	1788
XII	1596-1600	1610 <sup>17</sup>	1611	1628	1645	1788

<sup>11</sup> Antonio Baião gives the history of Couto's decades in the introduction to his *Diogo do Couto, Décadas. Seleção* (Lisboa, 1947), CI-CXXII, completed and in part corrected by Boxer, *Three Historians* 26-29 41-43, and in most detail by Antonio Coimbra Martins, "Sobre as Décadas que Diogo do Couto deixou inéditas," *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português* III (Paris, 1971) 272-355. Marcus de Jong discovered a second, greatly reworked draft of the fifth decade with 938, at times important, variants in a copy of the seventeenth century in the library of the University of Leiden and published it under the title of *Diogo do Couto, Década Quinta da "Asia." Texte inédit* (Coimbra, 1937).

<sup>12</sup> Most of the copies perished in a fire in the typography. All the title pages were apparently burned at the time since all the extant exemplars have title pages printed at a later date, some with the year 1612, others with 1614. A complete, late copy is

Couto made use of the chronicles of Barros and Castanheda and numerous other printed and unprinted accounts. He also drew upon the India archives in Goa, which he put in order. He felt obliged, despite all the enmities this

in the Royal Library in The Hague, and an incomplete copy in the Torre do Tombo: *Livraria* 538 and in the National Library in Lisbon; *Fundo Geral* 457 (Coimbra Martins 337).

<sup>13</sup> Couto sent the first draft of his seventh decade to Portugal with the *Santiago* at the end of 1601. It was lost since the Dutch captured the ship in March, 1602, near St. Helena. He wrote it over in 1603 and sent it again to Portugal at the end of 1603, where it did not receive permission to be printed until 1613. It appeared in 1616. The dedication is dated November 6, 1603, as is that of a somewhat different, original manuscript printed in TdT: *Livraria* 536, which was partially written by Couto himself and bears his signature. Another with the same date of dedication and signed twice by Couto was offered for sale in London in 1929 by Maggas Bros., antiquarians. It was probably another *via* of the same text. The National Library in Lisbon has an incomplete copy of the seventeenth century: *Fundo Geral* 458.

<sup>14</sup> Decades 8 and 9 were completed in 1613, but they were stolen while their author was gravely ill in Goa. He wrote the two again in a shorter form from his notes and sent them together at the beginning of 1616 to Portugal. The original manuscript of these was once in the Graça monastery of the Augustinians in Lisbon, but it is today in TdT: *Livraria* 613, with the dedication written in Couto's own hand, dated January 25, 1616. Both of the decades bear his signature. The National Library in Lisbon has two copies of the seventeenth century: *Fundo Geral* 459 and 845, with both decades. The Cadaval Library has one. Further copies of the two decades are to be found in the National Library in Madrid: *Ms.* 3037, in that of Paris: *Réserve Oy* 72 (8-9), and in the private library of Mr. Alfonso Cassuto, Municipal Library of Rouen: *Montbret* 276. There is moreover a copy of decade 8 in the National Library in Lisbon: *Fundo Geral* 665, and one of decade 9 in that of Madrid: *Ms.* 2958, and also in the Ajuda Library in Lisbon: 51-8-36. All of these manuscripts contain the second, shorter draft. The Municipal Library in Porto in *Codex* 839 has a copy of decade 8 of the seventeenth century with seventy-two chapters, of which twenty-eight are completely new or very different from the shorter, printed text, and another of the second draft of decade 9, probably from the beginning of the eighteenth century, described in the *Catálogo dos Manuscritos Ultramarinos da Biblioteca Pública do Porto* (Lisboa, 1938), pp. 50-53, by A. Magalhães Basto, who in 1953 read a paper in the Academia Portuguesa da História entitled *Breve estudo de uma versão inédita da "Década VIII" de Diogo do Couto, pertencente à Bibl. Pública Municipal do Porto*. A similar copy is in the National Library in Madrid: *Ms.* 2980. Bell and Boxer regard this text of decade 8 as being apocryphal (cf. Coimbra Martins 275-278 on this). Though decade 8 was printed in 1673, decade 9 was not published until 1736, both in the shorter draft.

<sup>15</sup> In 1736 an attempt was made to print decade 10 together with 9, but the printing was suspended at page 120 (Silva IX 122-123). They did not appear until 1788. In the Torre do Tombo is the incomplete autograph of decade 10: *Livraria* 443. Seventeenth-century copies are to be found in the National Library in Lisbon: *Fundo Geral* 460 and 926 and *Pombal* 145, in that of Paris: *Réserve Oy* 72 (10) and of Madrid: *Ms.* 3038, in the Academia das Ciências in Lisbon: *azul* 67, and the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome: *Ms.* 1248 (S. 8.6) (H. Narducci, *Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum in Biblioteca Angelica I* [Romae, 1893] 527-528).

<sup>16</sup> The manuscript of decade 11 disappeared before it was printed in Lisbon. In the edition of 1788 it was replaced by a short compilation. A part of the lost decade is preserved in the *Vida de D. Paulo de Lima Pereira*, which Couto composed in 1611, a copy of which, of 1636, is in the British Museum: *Add. Hss.* 28 487. This goes back to an original signed by Couto (Tovar 229-230). The *Vida* was first printed in 1765 and 1903 in Lisbon.

<sup>17</sup> Couto probably only wrote the first five books of decade 12 and sent them in 1611 to Lisbon. They received permission to be printed in 1628 but were not published until 1645, in Paris, with a dedication to the count of Vidigueira, Dom Vasco Luis da Gama. The text was reworked to please him, as is indicated by a comparison with the original manuscript written by Couto's secretary. This was formerly in the library of the Graça monastery in Lisbon, but today in TdT: *Livraria* 537. A second copy is also there: *Livraria* 854; a third, of the seventeenth century, is in the National Library

aroused, to state the truth publicly. But he frequently wrote with great haste. He did not, it seems, know Correa's work. For the years before his arrival in India, of which he had no personal experience, he was completely dependent on the accounts of others. As a consequence, as with Correa, his data must be controlled by the contemporary documents since at times he here also confuses persons and years (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 28-31; Bell, *Couto* 43-60). But he also has valuable information from eyewitnesses for the period before his arrival in India. In 1563 he visited Chingiz Khān, the captain of Broach, a renegade Slavonian, and read Ariosto, Petrarch, Dante, Bembo, and other Italian authors with him. The captain, as an eyewitness, was able to give him a detailed account of the siege of Diu in 1538 and of the murder of Sultan Bahādur in 1539 (5, 1, 11, pp. 115-116). He obtained oral and written information on the history of the Moluccas from Gabriel Rebello (8, 16 25-26). He found, in the possession of a private individual, the original of a firman of Akbar of March 18, 1573, confirming the Portuguese possession of Damaun (9, 13, p. 84). He also found in the possession of the ambassador of the Great Mogul in Goa a Persian chronicle containing a history of its people (4, 10, 1), and in that of the ambassadors of the sultan of Bijāpur, with whom he dealt for many years, a chronicle on the history of the Mohammedan kings of the Deccan (4, 10, 4). From Belchior da Silva, who worked in Abyssinia from 1598 to 1603, he obtained an abstract of the Abyssinian royal chronicles (7, 1, 8, pp. 68-69). From Frey Agostinho de Azevedo, O.E.S.A., he obtained others of the *Shāhnāma*, the Persian royal chronicle of Ormuz; the *Rājāvaliya*, the Singhalese royal history; and "Beliefs, Rites, and Ceremonies of all the Pagans," a Hindu treatise (see p. 243) which he employed without naming it as a source, as we shall show below. Couto sent the manuscripts of his decades to his brother-in-law, Frey Adeodato da Trindade, O.E.S.A., in the Graça monastery in Lisbon, who put the text into shape and saw it through the press. He asked his benefactor, the count of Vidigueira, in a letter of December 23, 1605, not to make any essential changes unless it was shown through an authentic document in Portugal that an error had been made (Baião, pp. LXIII-LXIV).—On Couto and his work, see the account of his life written by his friend Manuel Severim da Faria in the edition of the fourth decade of 1778; Silva II 153-156, IX 122-124; David Lopes, pp. LVI-LXXII; Ferguson 3-15; Aubrey F.G. Bell, *Diogo do Couto* (London, 1924, with the bibliography up to 1918); Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 28-31; Kömmerling-Fitzler 120-122; Baião, *Diogo do Couto Seleção* I. (Lisboa, 1947), pp. IX-CXXIV (important); Boxer, *Three Historians* 24-34 42-44 (important).

12. Frey Agostinho de Azevedo, O.E.S.A., *Estado da Índia e aonde tem o seu principio* (1603). The first notice that we have on the author is from the eighteenth century. In 1741 Barbosa Machado wrote: "Agostinho de Azevedo, professed of the Augustinian Hermits of the India congregation and very well versed in the historical data on the deeds of the Portuguese in the entire East, about which he wrote *Appontamentos sobre as couzas da Índia e Reyno de Monomotapa*, the Portuguese original of which is preserved in a manuscript of the library of the Catholic King, as its modern editor [Andrés González de Barcia] notes

in Lisbon: *Fundo Geral* 461. Coimbra Martins advises caution with respect to the original that was formerly in the Graça monastery, since, for example, Couto's signature was at times imitated, as in the copies of decades 8 and 9 in Paris and in the possession of Mr. A. Cassuto (Coimbra Martins 309); but the signatures on the texts from the Graça monastery should be genuine: Couto usually sent his originals to this monastery and in places the text is also from Couto's own hand.

in the new and enlarged edition of the *Bibliotheca Oriental* of Antonio de León [Pinelo] I 3, col. 77 [Madrid, 1737]" (I 54). The document mentioned as being dedicated to the king of Spain is only a couple of pages long. It is preserved in a copy in a volume of miscellaneous materials in the British Museum in London: *Add. Mss.* 28 461, ff. 7-9; and in another of the same type in the national library in Madrid: *Ms.* 3015, ff. 149-151 with the title: *Apontamentos pera Vossa Magestade ver sobre as cosas do Estado da India e Reyno de Monomotapa por Frey Agostinho d'Azevedo da Ordem de Santo Agostinho, que veyo por terra da India*. The first was published in Lisbon in 1960 in *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa* I 5-8, the second in 1962 in the same series II 161-164, both signed by the author. But in both volumes there is a longer anonymous account entitled *Estado da India a aomde tem o seu principio*. In the London copy this comprises ff. 210-275; in the Madrid copy ff. 33-36v and 71-129 (with a treatise of P. Nic. Spinola on India inserted on ff. 37-69v). In his *Catálogo dos Manuscritos Portugueses no Museu Británico*, Tovar observes: "Uma interessântissima descrição do estado da India, sua produção, comércio, etc. Inclui cópia de vários documentos históricos" (225). The London text was edited in 1960 in *Doc. Ultr. Port.* I 197-263, the Madrid text in II 40-44 and 79-147. In both texts the oriental names are frequently bowdlerized, more at times in one than in the other and vice versa. The author is not named, but from the autobiographical details of both documents he can be determined without difficulty. It is the same for these two documents as for the first two: Frey Agostinho de Azevedo, O.E.S.A., for he states in both that he was an Augustinian and that he had traveled by land from India to Europe.

His life can be reconstructed as follows, the citations being given for the London text: The author writes that he had twice sailed to India (204 216) and had been there for nineteen years (251), [of which?] eleven in Ormuz (201 211), and three in Maskat (216). On one of his voyages to India he had to winter in Mozambique (6).<sup>18</sup> In 1572 the first Augustinian hermits came to Goa and our author there took his habit under their first provincial vicar, Frey Antonio da Paixão (1572-1579).<sup>19</sup> It seems that he was soon after this sent to Portugal to study there and to be ordained, since he writes that a few years after Mathias de Albuquerque began to rule as captain of Ormuz (1584-1587) he sailed the second time to India (216). This was probably in 1586, since in the second year of the rule of the viceroy D. Duarte de Meneses (1584-1588), he sailed to Chaul (257-258) and met Couto in Goa, who had been married in the meantime (205). He also became acquainted with Singhalese princes, who introduced him to their royal chronicle (235 242-243).<sup>20</sup> In 1588, as its only priest, he accompanied

<sup>18</sup> According to Queyroz, a soldier by the name of Agostinho de Azevedo distinguished himself in the siege of Kōttē in 1558 (341). This may have been the later Augustinian, if we can here give credence to Queyroz. He is not mentioned in the *Emmentas*, and the fact that he wintered in Mozambique on an India voyage is of no help since ships wintered there in 1552, 1553, 1556, and 1557.

<sup>19</sup> Frey Manuel da Ave Maria, O.E.S.A., wrote in 1817 in his *Manual Eremitico* that Agostinho de Azevedo entered the order during the term of office of Frey Antonio da Paixão, but that the date could not be given more precisely since the first pages in the first volume of entries were missing down to that of Frey Rodrigo da Conceição in January, 1579 (SR XI 339-340).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 25, and Ferguson, 1909, 62 and 389, who shows that it is probably a question of Dom Filipe of Kandy and his nephew Dom Filipe of Sītāvaka, whom we encounter in Goa in 1585-1587. The king wrote to the viceroy on January 28, 1588, that Dom Filipe, the prince of Kandy, had, through the ships of the

the fleet which the governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho sent against Cunhale to Malabar under the command of his son Jerónimo de Sousa (6; cf. APO III 284-285). In 1589 we encounter him in Ormuz (211), from where he later sent Couto material for his fifth decade, which was completed in 1596 (205). In 1600 he traveled overland from India to Europe by way of Ormuz, Basra, and Alexandria (6-7), where he completed his *Estado da India* in Lisbon in 1603.<sup>21</sup>—The work does not give a running account, but a survey of Portuguese Asia and its neighboring lands from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan. He describes their rule and riches, giving by far the greatest part of his work to three themes: Ormuz and the history of its kings, Ceylon and the history of its kings, and a section on Hindu religion, all on the bases of native sources. We find these three sections, at times word for word, in Couto and never with any reference to his source. The following passages, in which the first person is retained, will mislead the reader to ascribe to Couto what Frey Agostinho actually says about himself:

## FREY AGOSTINHO

## COUTO

Ormuz, royal chronicle 201-210

5, 10, 1, pp. 378-385

Customhouse texts 204-206

5, 9, 5, pp. 327-332

"Blind kings" 211-212

5, 10, 1, pp. 385-386

Ceylon, royal chronicle 235-254

5, 1, 5, pp. 45-59

Sun-caste 242-243

5, 2, 10, pp. 208-211

Geography 243-249

5, 1, 7, pp. 66-81

Hindu religion 249-261

5, 6, 2-4, pp. 23-48

The following is a comparison of the texts of the two authors. With respect to the *History of the Kings of Ormuz*, Frey Agostinho writes:

Em once annos que estive em Ormuz por vezes tratando sempre com el rey, guasil e mouros graves e letrados principaes, vi todas as caronicas e antiguades [!] de Ormuz e em todas ellas não achei memoria destes reys cegos que João de Barros aponta em suas Decadas... e inquirindo eu isto con muita curiosidade e devagar pera muitas vezes a letrados e mouros curiosos e antiguos e principalmente a hum por nome Coje Sadim, cego de cento e vinte e tres annos, que no tempo, que alí fora Afonso de Albuquerque, era já homem e depois morreo estando eu em Ormuz o anno de 589... e eu conheci

past year, asked him for permission to go to Europe. But he had already written with the ships of the preceding year that this was not to be granted (APO III 126). In February, 1588, Dom Filipe accompanied Manuel de Sousa Coutinho on his campaign to Ceylon.

<sup>21</sup> We conclude that he completed his work in 1603 from the fact that he says that Farrukh Shāh, the king of Ormuz, had ruled during the last thirty-nine years (204). But he began to rule in 1565; he died in 1601. Frey Agostinho had thus not as yet received the news of his death, but likely the news that Dom Jerónimo Joete had taken the habit in the monastery of the Augustinians in Goa in 1601 (204). Further, the author states that the synod of Diamper took place in 1599 and that the Thomas Christians now had a Jesuit as bishop (224). In 1600 the *cedula real* which named the Jesuit Francisco Roz bishop of Serra reached India, and he was consecrated in Goa in 1601 (Nazareth II 36-37). He wrote that Akbar was ruling at the time (220). He died in 1605. Further, the former captain of Ormuz, D. João Pereira, was now count of Feira (211). He died in 1608 on the voyage to India (Braamcamp Freire, *Brasões* I. 314), and he made Amboina one of the lands from which the Portuguese obtained wares. He thus still did not know of the capture of the island by the Dutch in 1605 (234).



em Goa que se lembravão ainda de dous destes cegos... e afirmava me hum cidadão antiguo de Goa que vira hum delles naquelle terreiro da Misericordia de Goa debaixo de um arvore grande... o qual como outro Belisario pedia esmola, dizendo: "Dai esmola a este a quem cegarão por lhe tomarem o reyno" (211-212; Madrid Ms. 89-90).

Over this history, he places the title: "Do principio do reyno de Ormuz e reys que até hoje teve, como temos alcansado de suas escripturas, e mouros antiguos e sabios, com que alí por espacio de once annos comunicámos." He notes with respect to this: "e pois estamos em Ormuz tratemos de seu principio de que até hoje ninguem tem escrito" (201; Madrid Ms. 44 79).

In his extracts from the books of the factory at Ormuz he states:

Que eu tambem vi nos mesmos livros, donde tirei estes capitulos, quando com as mais informações e doações, origem e fundação do reyno de Ormuz mandei huma relação a Diogo do Couto casado em Goa, as quaes me mandou pedir pera a continuação das suas Decadas (205; Madrid Ms. 83).

A few pages later on he mentions briefly the heroic deeds of the Portuguese when attacked by the king of Shīrāz in 1544, and he adds:

Alí fizerão feitos heroicos e dignos de sempre estarem em lembrança, o que deixo pera os coronistas, a quem a historia da India está encomendada continuando as Décadas de João de Barros, pera o que muitas vezes me pedirão relação das cousas de Ormuz, e eu lha dei bem larga das cousas daquellas partes, que até hoje estiverão ocultas a todos aquelles que as escreverão (211; Madrid Ms. 89).

Couto copies the text of Frey Agostinho on Ormuz almost word for word and places the following title over it: "Do principio do Reyno de Ormuz, e Reys que até hoje teve." He omits however the second part of the title and also what Frey Agostinho says of himself in what follows. He changes a date, adds here and there an anecdote, and gives as his source for the section on the "blind kings" the "Catalogo que trouxemos de todos os Reys de Ormuz" instead of the chronicles and oral communications cited by Frey Agostinho. He further states:

E inquirindo nós isto bem, achamos que nenhum dos cegos foi Rey... E nós achámos homens em Goa, que se lembravam... e affirmava-nos hum Cidadão antigo, nobre, e Fidalgo, que vira hum delles naquelle terreiro da Misericordia, etc. (5, 10, 1, pp. 385-386). (The conclusion on Goa is missing in the second draft. See De Jong 605.)

Frey Agostinho writes with respect to the *History of the Kings of Ceylon*:

Da antiguidade da povoação da ilha de Ceilão, do principio e origem de seus reys e de todos os que teve até Boonega bao pandar [Bhuvaneka Bahu Pandar] que reynava o anno de [15] 37... E porque he ilha tão nomeada, me pareceo dar rezão do principio da sua povoação e da origem de sus reys, cousa de que ategora não achámos escriptura... não prendendo porem aos nossos coronistas portugueses, a quem a origem desta ilha esteve ategora escondida. E a mi me custou bem de trabalho ver e inquirir as proprias escripturas com homens curiosos que sabião bem a lingua pera de tudo dar luz a Diogo de Couto, coronista das cousas da India, de quem por vezes pera isto e pera as cousas de Ormuz foi solicitado (235; Madrid Ms. 118).

In his section on the origins of the kings of the sun-caste, he notes:

Dizem as caronicas dos reys de Ceillão, e eu ouvi muitas vezes cantar [London Ms.

contar] a alguns naturaes em verso ao seu modo, que hum interprete me hia declarando (242; Madrid Ms. 124).

In his learned research to clarify the name Taprobana and the word cinnamon for geographers, he says in conclusion that he had written it:

pera desfazer a confusão e variedade que nesta materia anda escrita por trezentos mil livros compostos mais por emformações mentirosas que por verdades claras, como aqui tenho mostrado a custa de meu trabalho e experiencia de muitos annos da India, aonde sempre por fugir de historiadores mentirosos procurei quanto pude inquirir a origem e verdade das cousas (249; Madrid Ms. 132).

Couto copies Frey Agostinho's account of the kings of Ceylon, giving it the same title and introduction, according to which he attributes it all to himself by stating:

Será bem darmos razão do principio de sua povoação, e da origem dos seus Reys, cousa de que até agora ninguém escreveo senão nós, o que nos custou muito averiguar por suas proprias escrituras; que achámos em mãos de alguns Principes daquela Ilha, que vieram a esta Cidade de Goa (5, 1, 5, p. 45).

In his section on Adam's Peak (241; Madrid Ms. 124), Couto is independent and names his sources. According to these Buddha lived for many years upon it (5, 6, 1, p. 7). He then describes the famous pilgrimage to his footprint and notes that Marco Polo and Nicolò de Conti and other Venetians had given widely different accounts of it. He then continues:

E porque nós averiguámos a verdade disto com Chingalás muito antigos, e práticos nas cousas daquela Ilha, e em seus ritos e costumes, e nos disseram o que tem suas escrituras; será bem que tiremos a confusão, que até agora houve... E nós fallámos com pessoas, que foram a este romagem em companhia de mais de quinhentos (5, 6, 2, pp. 10-12).

In his section on the origins of the kings of the sun-caste, he again follows Frey Agostinho, noting however:

Diremos o que elles disto fabulão, por darem hum honroso principio a seus Reys. Dizem suas Chronicas (e nós ouvimos cantar a hum Principe de Ceilão em versos a seu modo, que hum interprete nos hia declarando, porque todas suas antiguidades andam postas em verso, e se cantam em suas festas) (5, 2, 10, p. 208).

In the section on the "Religion of the Pagan Indians," extensive descriptions are found of the four *Vedas*, the *Purānas*, and the *Agamas* of the Shiva sect, all written in Sanskrit; the *Kurral* of Tiruvalluvar, written in Tamil in 1,330 verses; the gods, principle shrines, and ceremonies; opinions on the transmigration of souls, heaven, and hell; the penances of the *sanyassis*, the worship of sacred cows, animal hospitals, and so forth. The following texts will indicate the dependence of Couto on Frey Agostinho. Many others could be cited.

## FREY AGOSTINHO

Das opiniões, ritos e ceremonias de todos os gentios da India que jazem entre o rio Indo e Gange, e do que contem o original de sus escripturas que os seus letrados emsinão em suas escolas.

Como tenho tratado de algumas curiosidades da India, *que até hoje se não escreverão pellos nossos coronistas nem por outros curiosos*... pareceu-me que convinha tratar da gentilidade da India do Gange pera dentro... novidade nunca por outro até hoja tratada neste nosso lingoajem...

*Em dezanove annos que andei na India por ambas as vezes que lá fui*, nunca acabei de entender esta veneração que tem ás vacas... Muitas vezes vi e ouvi na India em algumas terras, aonde estive de assento e de passagem, mormente em Cambaya (249-251; Madrid Ms. 137)...

hospitais pera passaros. Hum hospital está na cidade de Cambaiete... *Eu vi* hum baneane na cidade de Chaul (253; Madrid Ms. 137)...

Das outras tres partes de seus originaes e de todos os mais ritos e costume destes gentios e de seus tres regentes e do engano que alguns tiverão em averem que tiverão conhecimento da Santissima Trindade e da differença das castas de todos os gentios. (255; Madrid Ms. 139)...

Os pintão juntos hum corpo com tres rostros *como vimos* no pagode do Elefante... *vimos*... em hum esteo do corpo do templo que será tamanho como *Nossa Senhora da Graça* de Lisboa vimos o gigante Briazco... assim se enganarão o nosso João de Barros e Damião de Goes porque não tiverão a practica dos theologos gentiso com eu (256; Madrid Ms. 139-140).

*A mi me* aconteceu sendo visorrey da India Dom Duarte de Meneses no seu segundo anno [1586] indo eu pera Chaul em hum almadia desembarcar as vezes... e quando chegava a lugares de bramenes, agasalhavam-me nelles... em verandas (257-258; Madrid Ms. 141).

## COUTO

Das opiniões, ritos, e ceremonias de odos os Gentios, que jazem entre o Indo, e Ganges, e do que contém o original de suas escripturas, que os seu Theologos ensinam em suas escolas.

Já que fallámos nos Capitulos atrás da Gentilidade do Gange pera fóra, parece que cabe aqui bem darmos rezão de toda a outra do Gange pera dentro... até agora não trazidas ao Mundo nesta linguagem... (5, 6, 3, p. 23).

Este negocio das vacas nunca acabámos de entender a veneração que lhes tem...

Muitas vezes *vimos* no Reyno de Cambaya (*ibid.*, p. 27)...

hospitais pera passaros. *Nós vimos* hum na Cidade de Cambayete... *Nós conhecemos* na Cidade de Chaul hum Baneane (*ibid.*, p. 32).

Das outras tres partes de seus originaes: e de todos os mais ritos, e costume destes Gentios: e dos seus tres Regentes: e do engano que alguns tiveram em haverem, que tiveram conhecimento da Santissima Trindade: e das differenças das castas dos Gentios (5, 6, 4, p. 35)...

Os pintão juntos, hum corpo com tres rostos, *como vimos* no pagode do Alifante... *vimos*... E em hum esteio do corpo do templo, que será tamanho como S. Roque de Lisboa, vimos o Gigante Briareo... assim se enganaram João de Barros, e Damião de Goes, porque não tiveram a prática dos Theologos Gentios como nós (*ibid.*, pp. 37-38; the second draft shortened).

*A mim me* aconteceu (sendo Viso-Rey da India D. Antão de Noronha [1564-1568] ir de Goa pera Chaul por terra na força do inverno com dous, ou tres companheiros, e quando achavamos lugares de bramanes... nos agasalhavam em verandas (*ibid.*, p. 41).

After all that has been said, it is more than noteworthy that Couto, when he sent his seventh decade to Portugal along with an accompanying letter dated from Goa on November 6, 1603, mentions a certain author (meaning Lucena 3, 5) who, on the basis of erroneous information, interpreted the inscription of the miraculous cross in Mailapur differently than he did. He then continues:

E pois que fallamos nesta materia, não podemos deixar de alguns delles, por tomar da nossa V. Decada, que ha sete, ou oito annos temos no Reyno, o onzeno, e dozeno Capitulo [meant is Lucena 2, 11-12], que toca na Religião do Gentio da India, enganos, e superstições dos Bragmanes, *que nos custou infinito trabalho, e despeza da fazenda mandar trazer de suas mesmas escolas do Reyno Badagá [Vijayanagar], e de irmos em pessoa ver o hospital dos passaros de Cambaya, e notar cousas, que os homens, que lá passam de diferente profissão, não sabem, ou não querem notar: negando-nos a benevolencia que se deve no citar dos escriptores, e mais quando nós neste Estado estamos escrevendo por authoridade da Magestade Real de El Rey D. Filippe. E quem quizer ver, se me queixo com razão, lêa os Capitulos atrás allegados [Lucena 2, 11-12], e o II., III., e IV Cap. do VI. Livro da minha V. Decada, que já deve de estar impressa, ou muito perto de se imprimir, e verá, se mór parte dos outros não vai pelas minhas proprias palavras, e particularidades, que eu só na India notei: e deixando esta materia, em que eu não hei de ficar em obrigação de restituição a ninguem, porque em todas as minhas Decadas dou o seu a seu dono, como pelo decurso dellas se poderá mui bem ver (7, 10, 5, pp. 481-482).*

How are all these contradictions to be explained? The original of the fifth decade is not extant. Barbosa Machado wrote as follows of Couto's brother-in-law Frey Adeodato da Trindade, O.E.S.A., who from 1603 to 1605, when he died, was living in the Graça monastery in Lisbon with Frey Agostinho de Azevedo, from whom the other decades of Couto, now in the Torre do Tombo, derive:

Por ordem de Felipe II. [in Spain III] emmendou e reformou a sexta Decada da India composta por Diogo do Couto, que era cazado com sua irmã Luiza de Mello. Não somente reformou a Decada 6., mas assistio à impressão das que lhe precederão, para que sahisses correctas como escreve o Chantre de Evora Manuel Severim de Faria nos *Discurs. Var. Polit.* [Evora, 1624] p. 150 (I 10).

The fifth decade had been in Lisbon since 1597. It received the *imprimatur* in 1602, but it was not printed until 1612. What changes did Frey Adeodato make in it? <sup>22</sup>

13. Manuel Godinho de Eredia, *Declaração de Malaca e India Meridional com o Cathay* (1613), from the autograph in the Royal Library in Brussels, edited with all fifty-six drawings by Léon Janssen under the title: *Malaca, L'Inde Orientale et le Cathai. Fac-simile* [of the pictures, title, chapter headings, and dedication] (Bruxelles, 1881).—Da Eredia, who claimed for himself the title of being a discoverer of the Southland (Australia), has been, along with his works, the object of study of numerous scholars. A survey of the bibliography on him is given by Sousa Viterbo in *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portugezes* I 153-159 (until 1882); the *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* XII 480-481 (until 1941); the *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* IV 39-60 (until 1960); and, with new documentation, J. F. Schütte, "Manoel Godinho de Eredia, 'Entdecker' der Terra Australis," *AHSI* 38 (1969) 292-302.—*Life*: He was born in Malacca, the son of

<sup>22</sup> This complete silence of Couto about his source is all the more enigmatic in that he expressly appeals to the information supplied by the Augustinian priest Frey Simão de Moraes for his extensive account of the wars in Persia in his ninth and tenth decades. Moraes, who had a perfect command of Persian, was sent from Ormuz to the king of Persia in 1584 and came to Goa in 1585 with an ambassador of the latter. Couto visited him a number of times in Goa and learned from him "many things about Persia." On this occasion he also said that he had given an account of the arrival of the Augustinians in India in the eighth decade (10, 5, 6, pp. 517-520). They came, however, in 1572 and the eighth decade ends with the close of 1571.

João de Eredia Aquaviva and a daughter of the rajah of Supa in the Celebes. He studied in Malacca and later in Goa with the Jesuits. He entered the Society of Jesus there in 1575 but left the order as a scholastic ten years later in order to enter governmental service and to devote himself as a cosmographer and *descobridor* to geographical and cartographical studies, and especially to the discovery of the mysterious land south of Java. He was, however, prevented from going there by the encroachments of the Dutch. The Indian viceroys considered the "scientific" researches of the extravagant cosmographer of little moment. The king nevertheless advised them to let him carry on until he was informed of his death on March 12, 1623, by the viceroy D. Francisco da Gama.—*Works*: In 1955 Jorge Faro revealed the existence of a hitherto unknown manuscript atlas in the possession of Dr. C.M.C. Machado Figueira in Lisbon which contained along with many other sketches ninety-seven maps and plans of thirty-eight Portuguese fortresses and cities in the East from the hand of Manuel Godinho de Eredia (*Manuel Godinho de Erédia, Cosmógrafo* [Lisboa, 1955]). There are in all 211 maps and plans from the years 1601 to 1622 preserved from his hand, 75 of which have been published in *Portug. Mon. Cart.* IV, pls. 412-422. In addition to these, the following works by him are also known: (1) "Informação de Aurea Chersoneso, ou Peninsula, e das Ilhas Auríferas, Carbunculas, e Aromaticas" (c. 1600), ed. Antonio Lourenço Caminha in *Ordenações da Índia do Senhor Rei D. Manoel, Informação verdadeira da Aurea Chersoneso, feita pelo antigo Cosmographo Indiano, Manoel Godinho de Eredia, e Cartas em linguagem Portuguesa de D. Jeronimo Osorio* (Lisboa, 1897) 65-151, from an old manuscript in the possession of the editor; English in Mills 227-255. (2) "Lista das principais Minas auríferas alcançadas pela curiosidade de Manuel Godinho Heredia Cosmógrafo Indiano" (c. 1600), published by the same editor in *Leis que existem no fim do Manuscrito Original das Ordenações da Índia* (Lisboa, 1807) 81-86.—(3) \**Plantas de Praças das Conquistas de Portugal. Feitas por ordem de Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, Vizo rey da Índia. Por Manuel Godinho de Eredia, Cosmographo em 1610*, a manuscript with twenty plans in the National Library of Rio de Janeiro: CAM 3. 5.—(4) *Discurso sobre a Provincia de Indostan, chamada Mogul, e corruptamente Mogor. Anno 1611*. The autograph is in the British Museum: Add. Mss. 9854, ff. 77-81v, ed., with an English translation and notes by H. Hosten, S.J., in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* [Calcutta]. Third Series (Letters), IV (1938) 533-566.—(5) *Declaração de Malaca (1613)*, ed. 1881.—(6) \**História de Serviços com Martyrio de Luis Monteiro Coutinho, Ordenada por Manoel Godinho de Eredia Mathematico. Anno 1615*. Autograph in the National Library in Lisbon: *Fundo Geral* 414.—*Tratado Ophirico. Ordenado por Manoel Godinho de Eredia, Mathematico. Anno 1616*. Autograph in the National Library in Paris: *Fonds Portugais* 44 (54). The manuscript has at the end the "Informação da Índia Meridional descoberta por M.G. de Heredia anno 1610" (ff. 54-61), ed. in English by Mills 259-264, and the "Sumario da vida de M.G. de Heredia" (ff. 62-65), ed. in English by Mills 265-268.—For our purposes, the most important is the *Declaração de Malaca*. The original was given to the Bollandists in 1732 by Canon De Haze. After the suppression of the Society of Jesus, their library was incorporated into the royal library in Brussels, where the manuscript now bears the signature 7264. Janssen published the Portuguese text, which we always cite, in 1881. This was followed in 1882 by a French edition with a foreword by Janssen and another by C. Ruelens (both in English in Mills 270-287). An English translation was published by J.V. Mills in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch*

of the *Royal Asiatic Society* 8, 1 (Singapore, 1930) 1-288, with extremely valuable notes and reproductions of six maps: introduction (1-7), text (9-84), notes (55-203), Eredia's maps and plans with notes (204-227), Eredia's lesser works (227-270), translations of the foreword by Janssen and Ruelens (270-287), and Eredia's spelling of names (288). The *Declaração* is divided into three parts: "Malaca e seu Destricto" (3), "India Meridional" (including the Southland, understood to be below Java) (49), and "Catay Atay" (63).—*Critique*: The maps and city plans as well as the descriptions of the lands and of their people which Eredia knew from personal observation (for example, Goa and Malaya) are most valuable. The lesser works at times also contain new, reliable information. But the historical data with respect to Xavier and his ancestors, for example, the flight of his mother, and with respect to his own life in the *Declaração* (cf. above, p. 520) and autobiography, which contain gross anachronisms and contradictions, can only be used with the greatest prudence. On p. 47 of his *Declaração*, Eredia gives a sketch of Xavier with the legend: "Retrato de Micer Francisco Xavier da Ordem da Comp.<sup>a</sup> de Iesu. Anno 1542." The picture, an unintended caricature with the date of Xavier's arrival in India, has led many astray, causing them to believe that it is the oldest representation of the saint, a picture, for example, allegedly sketched on his voyage to India (see GS IV 213-215, pls. V-X). On his life, his works, and especially his cartography, see *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* IV 39-60, and pls. 412-422.

14. Francisco de Andrade, *Chronica do muito alto e muito poderoso rei d'estes reinos de Portugal D. João o III d'este nome* (Lisboa, 1613). The author, archivist of the Torre do Tombo and court chronicler, was born in Lisbon about 1540 and died there in 1614. His chronicle, which appeared in two editions in Coimbra in 1796, is principally based on Correa's *Lendas*, as he notes expressly in part two, chapters 66 and 68. An additional source was Couto (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 34). He thus seldom has anything new. He treats the years 1521 to 1557 but with gaps for 1522-1534 1545 and 1547-1549. Cf. Silva II 332-334 and Kömmerling-Fitzler 112-113.

15. Frey Luis de Sousa, O.P., *Annaes de Elrei Dom João Terceiro* (1632), published by A. Herculano (Lisboa, 1844). The work was begun at the request of King Philip IV, who found the chronicle of Andrade too short. It contains some new material, especially for events in North Africa. It was brought down to 1542, when it was interrupted by the death of its author. Herculano discovered and published its autograph and the notes for its continuation. A new edition with notes by M. Rodrigues Lapa appeared in Lisbon in 1938. The author, Manuel de Sousa Coutinho before he entered the Dominicans, was born in Santarém in 1555. He joined the Knights of Malta, was imprisoned by the Moors in Algiers in 1575, returned to Portugal around 1579, where he was married between 1584 and 1586. In 1613 his wife entered a convent and he entered the monastery of the Dominicans in Bemfica near Lisbon, where he wrote the history of his order along with other works and died in 1632. In his chronicle of John III, he follows Barros especially for Asia, but he also uses the *Lendas* of Correa. He thus has here little that is new. His work covers the years from 1521 to 1557. See Silva V 327-331; XVI 72-73; XXI 588-594; the preface of Herculano to his edition of the *Annaes*; and the *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* 29 (1954) 814-816.

16. Jacinto Freire de Andrade, *Vida de Dom João de Castro, quarto visor-rei da India* (Lisboa, 1651). This work, which was written at the repeated urgings

of a grandson of the viceroy, Bishop D. Francisco de Castro, enjoyed the greatest success and went through many editions. The most important of these is the one which the bishop of Coimbra, Dr. Francisco de S. Luiz, published in Lisbon in 1835 with an index (321-354), notes (355-396), and an appendix of sixty-five contemporary documents (397-514). The author, born in Beja in 1597, studied at the University of Coimbra, became a secular priest, and died in Lisbon in 1657. Silva gives some judgments on his biography of Castro. While some praise his clear, distinguished, energetic, classical style, and his accurate descriptions of events and persons, others find him affected, monotonous, and full of antitheses.

17. Manuel de Faria Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, 3 vols. (Lisboa, 1666-1675). The author, born in Caravella (Minho) in 1590, died in Madrid in 1649. He was a polyhistorian, one of the most learned men of his time. His *Asia Portuguesa*, written in Spanish like most of his works, is a compilation. For the sixteenth century he uses Barros and Couto in particular but adds other material from books and manuscripts, a long list of which he gives in the introduction to his first volume. Among them he includes Mendes Pinto, whom he considers to be very reliable "despite the doubts of many," and an original letter of Xavier which is now only extant in copies (II 243-244; cf. EX I 400). The work embraces the years 1412 to 1640. His son, who edited it, states in his foreword to the second volume that his father had written more than one hundred volumes with his own hand, and many of these two, three, and more times over, and that the smallest was a hundred sheets in length, and that he had himself burned about ten of them. The first volume has an index and an appendix (369-396) on what he added to Barros. The second, which covers the years 1538 to 1581, adds a fourth part on the religion and customs of India and China, on the Thomas Christians, on Xavier and St. Thomas (651-883), and a concise summary of the individual chapters (885-969). The third volume has a list of all the India fleets from 1512 to 1640 (523-560). His tight, meaty accounts are at times interrupted by short, sarcastic judgments of a sharply critical nature, for example, on Martim Affonso de Sousa (I 106-108). The work presents hardly anything new on Xavier's time. See Silva V 513-418; XVI 185-187.

18. Fernão de Queyroz, S.J., *Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceylão* (1687), ed. Colombo, 1916. The author was born in 1617 at Canavezes near Amarante. In 1631 he entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra. In 1635 he sailed with the future martyr Mastrilli for India and was superior there in Diu, Thāna, Bassein, and Goa, parish priest in 1677 in Salsette, and provincial from 1677 to 1680. In 1671 he was nominated by the king as patriarch of Abyssinia. He died in Goa in 1688 (cf. Schurhammer, "Unpublished Manuscripts of Fr. Fernão de Queyroz, S.J.," GS II 796-809). He wrote three important works for Indian history, which were only published after his death. The first of these to appear was his *Historia da Vida do Veneravel Irmão Pedro de Basto, Coadjutor temporal da Companhia de Iesus e da variedade de sucessos que Deos lhe manifestou* (Lisboa, 1689). Completed in 1684, it is important for the history of Portuguese India in the seventeenth century. In it he speaks of his plan to write an account of the *Conquista temporal e espiritual do Oriente* (261-262). The work was thought to have been lost, but it was preserved without the name of the author in a codex in the British Museum of the seventeenth century (*Egerton 1646*, 24-246)<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The work is preceded in the same codex (ff. 1-23) by a *Catalogo dos Governadores e Viso-Reys que governarão o Estado da India*. This apparently was also composed by Queyroz as an introduction to his *Conquista*. In both works he gives the

and was described by Tovar in 1932 as follows: "*Conquista da India por humas e outras armas Reaes e evangelicas. Em breves memorias de varões Illustres e Feitos marauilhosos em huma e outra conquista. É uma crónica aparentemente inédita e de grande interesse. Parece ter sido escrita por um jesuita*" (11). It was published anonymously in *Doc Ultra. Port. I* (Lisboa, 1960) 267-632. The work embraces the years 1497 to 1555 and was still incomplete at the time of its author's death. In it Queyroz gives in chronological order an exact description of the annual India fleets with the names of the ships and their captains, the dates of their departure, arrival, and return, and brief notices on some of the principal events and main personalities of the individual reigns, making use of Barros, Couto, and other sources. His principal work, however, is his *Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceylão*. The government of Ceylon had the text printed by P. E. Pieris from a copy which was made in 1844 from the original kept in Rio de Janeiro. Written by different hands, it contained the *imprimatur* of the provincial of Goa of January 6, 1688. This edition was without index and notes. This lack was supplied by S. G. Perera, S.J., in an English translation printed in three volumes with continuous pagination, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1930). It has an introduction on the life and work of its author (5\*-28\*). The original manuscript, signed by Queyroz, came with the royal library to Rio de Janeiro in 1807, and it is there today in the National Library. A frequently corrected first draft is in the library of the Ajuda in Lisbon: 51-9-9. It lacks the chapters on Buddhism in China. The *Conquista de Ceylão* covers the years from 1505 to 1686 and is indisputably the most important work on the Portuguese in Ceylon, an inexhaustible mine of valuable information which we search for in vain elsewhere. It is, however, less important for Xavier's time, being here an uncritical compilation of all available printed and unprinted works, accounts of eyewitnesses and later authors, native chronicles written on palm leaves, popular traditions and legends, all expanded with fictitious letters, speeches, and documents, and dramatically tied together into a logically coherent whole in which it is impossible to distinguish truth from falsehood (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 40-49, and above, pp. 421 423 460 471-472 544 551 560). The two publications of P. Courtenay (pseudonym for Mgr. L. Zaleski), *Le Christianisme a Ceylan* (Lille, 1900), and P.-E. Pieris, *Ceylon. The Portuguese Era* (Colombo, 1913-1914), are for the most part adaptations of this work.

There are two works on the history of the Moluccas during Xavier's time that must be considered:

19. The "Tratado de las yslas de los Malucos y de los costumbres de los Indos y de todo lo demás." The title of the Portuguese manuscript in the India archives of Seville: *AI 1-2-1/13.29* (today *Patronato* 46) has been added by a later hand. The author, who corrects and expands the data of his fellow workers, is probably no other than Antonio Galvão, captain of Ternate from 1536 to 1539. The work and original concept, uncompleted and extensively corrected, comprise ninety-four pages and has two parts: (1) a detailed description of the land, people, fauna, flora, religion, mythology, morals, customs, court life, weapons, and so

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governors down to 1655, and in his *Conquista* (576) in 1653, while he was superior in Thāna (GS II 799), and he breaks off his *Catalogo* in the middle of a sentence with a notice on how the viceroy had arrested the captain of the fortress of Bassein and also the captain of Saibana (Bassein Island) in 1655 (23v). Further, the *Catalogo* is written by six different hands, the last of which (ff. 20v-23v) seems to be the same as that which continues with f. 24.



forth; (2) the history of the Moluccas from 1512 to 1536 with some valuable particulars and an extensive account of the years of Galvão's rule (1536-1539) (cf. Q 1158 and GS II 449-450). The long desired publication of this extremely valuable treatise, which describes the Moluccas as Xavier saw them at the time of his arrival, was effected in June, 1971, by the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus under the title: *A Treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544). Probably the Preliminary Version of Antonio Galvão's Lost História das Moluccas*, ed., ann., and tr. into English from the Portuguese manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, by Hubert Th. M. Jacobs, S.J.

20. Gabriel Rebello, *Historia das Ilhas de Maluco* (1561), ed. Sá III (1955) 192-344. The author lived for thirteen years in Ternate and there obtained, as his writings show, a solid knowledge of its land and people. We encounter him there from 1543 to 1554 as a court secretary and, after a ten-year stay in Italy, in Ternate as factor from 1566 to 1570. After returning to Goa he was secretary there in 1572 of the newly founded Mesa da Consciencia and gave Couto valuable oral and written data on the Moluccas, as the latter gratefully acknowledges (7, 9, 15, p. 418; 8, 16, pp. 98-99, 25, pp. 174-175, and 26, p. 207). In 1561 he completed in Chaul the first draft of his *Historia*, which he dedicated to the departing viceroy, D. Constantino de Bragança, as he later did the second, and illustrated it with five drawings. He wrote the work in great haste because of the anticipated departure of the viceroy. Since he made some mistakes in it, he wrote in 1569 a second, corrected draft with a new arrangement and title: *Informação das Cousas de Maluco*. The National Library in Lisbon possesses two copies: *Fundo Geral* 923, with pictures, and 924, without them. They were first published in 1955 by Sá. The original of the *Informação* was in the library of Manuel Severim de Faria in 1747, and a copy of it was at the same time in the library of the marquês de Valença (Barbosa Machado II 295). The National Library in Lisbon has a later copy, full of gaps and errors, in *Fundo Geral, Caixa 199, doc. 41*. The text from which it was copied had obviously been damaged by bookworms. The copy was published in the *Collecção de Noticias para a historia e geografia das Nações Ultramarinas* VI (Lisboa, 1856) 143-312 and in Sá III (1955) 345-508, but some of the gaps have been erroneously completed as we perceived when we were making a comparison of passages in it with the copy in the Cadaval library in Lisbon, an exceptionally well-preserved copy without gaps or errors. Watermarks on the paper indicated that this copy came from the sixteenth century. It had the signature 834 and was numbered 1687 in the manuscript inventory of 1898. It was bound in brown leather like many other manuscripts coming from India and was beautifully written in brownish ink. The title and index were in black. Under the former, in the brownish ink of the text, was written: "composto por Gabriel Rebello." We had made a transcript of the signature but were not able to find it again when we published our *Zeitgenössischen Quellen* in 1932. On plate II 3 of this work, we gave an original signature of Rebello taken from Q 1190 and noted erroneously in the description of the manuscript (Q 6152) that it bore Rebello's original signature, being led astray by a lapse of memory, and a note at the end in a modern hand which stated: "I regard this manuscript as the original. It is unique and extremely valuable. Barros and Couto did not know of it since it has details on the capture of Gilolo missing in them. It is natural that the governor Dom Constantino brought it with him and that it passed from the duke of Bragança to His Excellency [the duke of Cadaval] and that the name of the author Gabriel was then added. Couto knew of it but did

not use it in his work, though he refers to it in his *Soldado Pratico*." In 1927 we made 143 corrections and additions for our own use from the Cadaval manuscript in the text published in 1856. Sá sought for it in vain. When a new inventory of the manuscripts of the library was made between 1934 and 1944, it had disappeared. But in 1934 Professor Boxer obtained from a Lisbon antiquarian a copy giving the same readings that were in the extracts we had made from the manuscript of the Cadaval library, as we were able to determine in our last visit to England in 1961. An edition of this text is greatly to be desired. The *Informação* and the *Tratado* are the most important works on the Moluccas. In the first part of the *Informação* Rebello describes the land and its people, in the second the history of the Moluccas from 1511 to 1549, and in the third a detailed, eyewitness account of the second administration of Bernaldim de Sousa (1550-1552) and at the end a brief survey of the kings of Ternate from the arrival of the Portuguese until 1569. Along with numerous important data on the history of the missions, he includes two precious anecdotes concerning Francis Xavier, whom he personally knew (211-212 496-497). On his life see Sá III 428 559-560 565 567 476-477 482 492; Q 1190 1192 1388 6152, and p. 512. On his work see also GS II 448-449 and Boxer, *Some Portuguese Sources* 222-223.

For the history of Abyssinia in Xavier's time there are three particularly important works:

21. Francisco Alvarez, *Ho Preste Joam das Indias. Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam, segundo vio e excreueo ho padre Francisco Alvarez capellã del Rey nosso senhor* (Lisboa, 1540). According to the author's own account, he was born in the castle Franchosa (Villa Verde dos Francos near Sintra?). He was a beneficiary in Coimbra and a chaplain of the king when the latter sent Duarte Galvão in 1515 as ambassador to Preste Joam in Abyssinia. Alvarez was sent with him as a member of the embassy. When Galvão died on the Red Sea while on his way, Alvarez returned to India and accompanied the new ambassador, D. Rodrigo de Lima, to the court of the Negus. He stayed for five years in Abyssinia and obtained a good knowledge of the land and its people. In 1526 he began the voyage back to Lisbon with Lima and arrived there in 1527. It was not until 1532 that John III sent the bishop of Funchal, Dom Martinho de Portugal, as ambassador to the papal court with Alvarez to inform the Holy Father about Preste Joam so that Alvarez could be sent back to Abyssinia during the coming year with a papal document expressing the pope's gratitude. But the pope died in 1534 and Alvarez waited in vain in Rome until his own death (around 1536) in order to persuade his successor, Paul III, to take a decisive step in favor of the Abyssinian king. When the *Verdadera Informaçam* was finally published in Lisbon in 1540, Alvarez was no longer alive. The book, printed in Gothic type, is the most valuable work that we have on the land of the Preste before its destruction by the Moors and Gallas; and it is also of great importance for the history of the country. In it Alvarez gives detailed descriptions of the land and its people, their religion and customs, and especially of the embassy of D. Rodrigo de Lima (1520-1527). The book was published in Lisbon in a modernized orthography in 1889 and again in 1943, and it has been translated into a number of languages. In 1966 an Amharic version was published in Lisbon. The original manuscript with five books on Abyssinia and the author's travelog is lost. In 1550 Ramusio published in Venice the first volume of his *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, an Italian translation of the printed text of 1540 and one frequently divergent from it prepared for him by Damião de Goes. It has, for example,

drawings of the rock temples of Lalibela that are missing in the Lisbon edition (204-280r). The Vatican Library has in the section *Ottoboni latini* three Italian manuscripts, in which all of the nine chapters of the appendix (on the return trip and the answers to the questions of the archbishop of Braga) are missing. Ms. 1104 has the most complete text. It is the only one that has the foreword of the author with the data on the place of his birth and the five introductory chapters on the voyage of the ambassador from India to Massaua. Ms. 2202 is the first, Ms. 2789 the second, draft of an abbreviated reworking of Ms. 1104, to which Ms. 2789 adds some notes of the Abyssinian monk Tasfā Seion to 2789. Professor R. Almagià published the text of the Vatican manuscripts that are missing in the printed edition of 1540 in *Contributi alla storia della conoscenza dell'Etiopia* (Padova, 1941). An English translation of the *Verdadera Informaçam* has been published by C. F. Beckingham and G. W. Huntingford with the variant readings and additions of the various texts, an historical introduction, an extremely valuable commentary, several appendices, and an index under the title of *The Prester John of the Indies* as volumes 114 and 115, second series, of the Hakluyt Society (Cambridge, 1961). On Alvarez see Vol. I 679-684; Q 80 138 166 635 1014 2356 4979-4980 5059-5060 5100 5114-5116 6054 6059; and CDP II 350-355 392-394, III 216 242 280. On his route of travel, see above, p. 507; editions and further bibliography in Streit XV, n. 1035.

22. Miguel de Castanhoso, *Tratado das cousas que o muito esforçado capitão Dom Christovão da Gama fes nos reynos do Preste João com quatrocentos Portugueses, que em sua companhia levou, feito por Miguel de Castanhoso, que a tudo foi presente. 1541*, ed. in F. M. Esteves Pereira, *Dos Feitos de D. Christovam da Gama em Ethiopia*. Tratado composto por Miguel de Castanhoso (Lisboa, 1898) 1-74. Castanhoso's account, the most important for D. Christovam da Gama's expedition, which saved the Abyssinians before his own defeat, was first published in Lisbon in 1564 in an abbreviated and reworked form under the title of *Historia das cousas que o muy esforçado capitão Dom Christouão da Gama fez nos Reynos do Preste João, com quatrocentos Portugueses que consigo leuou* (republished in Lisbon in 1855). The account is preserved in two drafts. The first, written in Abyssinia, was used by Correa for his *Lendas* from a copy that was given to him by Castanhoso in Goa in 1544 (IV 343-397). A second copy, from which he had removed some of the harshness and added or changed some details, he submitted to John III in Portugal in 1545 with a letter of the Preste. This second draft was published in 1898 by E. Pereira from an eighteenth-century copy of the lost original that is now in the library of the Ajuda, filling in the gaps with data enclosed in square brackets taken from the edition of 1564, and adding a detailed introduction and valuable commentary. Castanhoso was born in Santarém, went to India as an *escudeiro fidalgo*, sailed with D. Christovam da Gama for Abyssinia, returned from there to India in 1544, and from there to Portugal in 1545, where he received from the king the Robe of Christ and a commendam in 1548. In 1554 he accompanied the viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas to India as captain of the *Conceição*. Returning to Portugal, he died at the end of 1564 or beginning of 1565. See E. Pereira, who adds an appendix of documents to his edition; above, pp. 506-518, and p. 507 for the map indicating his route; and Q 1163 1305 1330-1331 2039 4573.

23. João Bermudez, *Esta he huma breue relação da embaixada que o Patriarcha dom João Bermudez trouxe do Emperador da Ethiopia, chamado vulgarmente Preste João, ao christianissimo e zelador da fee de Christo, Rey de Portu-*

gal, dom João o terceiro deste nome: dirigida ao muy alto e poderoso, de felicissima esperança, Rey também de Portugal, dom Sebastião o primeiro deste nome. Em a qual também conta a morte de dom Christouão da gama: e dos sucessos que acontecerão aos Portugueses que forão em sua companhia (Lisboa, 1565). A new edition was published in Lisbon in 1875 under the title: *Breve Relação da Embaixada que o Patriarcha D. João Bermudez trouxe do Imperador da Ethiopia chamado vulgarmente Preste João, dirigida a el-rei D. Sebastião*. The account partially completes that of Castanhoso, but it must be used with great prudence, since the pseudopatriarch in this *oratio pro domo sua* is full of contradictions and freely invents and changes many things. Like Alvarez, Bermudez sailed with Duarte Galvão in 1515 to India as a surgeon, and in 1520 with the latter's successor, D. Rodrigo de Lima, to Abyssinia, where he remained after the departure of the ambassador until the Negus, threatened by the Moors, sent him in 1535 to the pope and King John III to ask for help. In 1541 he returned with D. Christovão to Abyssinia, where he declared that he had been confirmed as patriarch by the pope. Through his imprudent dealings with Galāwdēwos, the successor of King David, he ruined himself. In 1544 Galāwdēwos asked the Portuguese king through Castanhoso for a real patriarch. Bermudez returned to India from Abyssinia in 1556 and claimed that his papal bulls had been lost at the time of the death of D. Christovão da Gama; but the deceit had long since been detected in Lisbon and Rome. He sailed from India in 1557, remained for a year as a hermit on the island of St. Helena, and arrived in Lisbon in 1559, where he published his work in 1565 and died in 1570. Cf. Vol. I 695-696; above, pp. 88-89 91-92 365 506 508-509 513-516 518-519; Q 195 367 666-667 1163 1241 1511 2039-2040 2064 2356 2459 6001; the bibliographies in Vols. I 695, II 508-509; Streit XV, nn. 1796 1155; Beccari V, pp. LII-LX; C. Conti Rossini, "João Bermudez e la sua relazione su l'Etiopia," *Congrès du Monde portugais de Lisbonne 1940* IV 283 ff.; F. Rodrigues, S.J., *Historia* I 2, 566-570; Kammerer, *La Mer Rouge* III (1947-1949), index, especially 33-62 141-143 243-244 249 363-372; Beccari X 232 352-353. In 1919 F. Rodrigues showed how the book of Bermudez led almost all earlier authors astray, including Jesuit historians of the country who were well acquainted with Abyssinia such as Pedro Paes (Beccari II 345), Manuel Barradas (*ibid.* IV 121), Affonso Mendes (*ibid.* VIII 87), and Manuel de Almeida (*ibid.* V 327), even if the latter found insoluble difficulties in his data (*ibid.*, pp. LIII-LX). The two large Jesuit chronicles which were composed by order of their general, the *Historia de Ethiopia* of Pedro Paes, completed in 1622 (Beccari II-III), and the *Historia de Ethiopia e Alta ou Abassia* of Manuel de Almeida, completed in 1646 (*ibid.* V-VII), pass quickly over the embassy of D. Rodrigo de Lima. Paes describes the expedition of D. Christovão indirectly from Castanhoso (Beccari II 293-343), and is followed in this by Almeida (V 271-332), filling in his data with statements of a companion in arms and of Ethiopian chronicles.

## B. EUROPEAN AUTHORS: HISTORY OF THE MISSIONS

### I. FRANCISCANS

The Franciscans, whom we encounter on the first voyages of the Portuguese, belonged to the province of Portugal (from 1517 to the province of the Observance, from 1518 to the custody of S. Thomé, which was subordinate to the Portuguese

province, and from 1612 to the province of S. Thomé). From 1538 on, Recollects ("Capuchos," not to be confused with Capuchins) of the province of Santa Maria da Piedade also came to India and founded, subject to the Observants, some missions in Cranganore and in the territory of Bassein. In 1612 they were incorporated into the custody, and in 1622 into the province, of Madre de Deus. Pertinent to our period are the general chronicle of Gonzaga and the chronicles of the provinces of Portugal by Fernando da Soledade, of S. Thomé by Paulo da Trindade, of Madre de Deus by Jacinto de Deus, and of Piedade by Manuel de Monforte.

1. Franciscus Gonzaga, O.F.M., *De origine seraphicae religionis Franciscanae eiusque progressibus* (Romae, 1587). A second edition of the work appeared in Venice in 1603. The author, born in Mantua, became minister general of his order in 1579, when he was only thirty-three. He ruled it until 1587, when he became bishop of Cefalù in Sicily. In 1593 he became bishop of Pavia, and in the same year that of Mantua, where he died in 1620. His work, though it contains numerous errors, has many valuable details, for example, on the origins of the Franciscan mission in Ceylon (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 125-134).

2. Fernando da Soledade, O.F.M., *Historia seraphica chronologica de S. Francisco da provincia de Portugal* III-V (Lisboa, 1705-1721). In 1737 the author published a second, corrected edition of III and IV with omissions and additions. Volume III embraces the years 1448-1500, IV 1501-1568, V 1569-1715. The work is a continuation of the chronicle of Frey Manuel da Esperança. The author was born in Porto in 1663, entered the order in 1682, was provincial from 1734 to 1736, and died in the latter year in Lisbon. Volumes I and II of Frey Manuel de Esperança, who died in 1670, were published in Lisbon in 1656 and 1666. They come up to 1447 but contain also later information, for example, on Martim Affonso de Sousa and Manuel de Lima, Xavier's contemporaries.

3. Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M., *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* (1636). In 1679 the original of the chronicle was in Madrid, but it is now lost. A copy which was made at this time at the request of the minister general of the order for the archives of the order in Rome was discovered in 1924 by Father Leonhard Lemmens, O.F.M., in the Vatican library: *Vat. lat.* 7746. This copy was published in three volumes with notes and indices in Lisbon between 1962 and 1967 by Father Félix Lopes, O.F.M. The author was born in Macao in 1570, entered the order in Goa, where he made his studies, taught theology, and wrote his chronicle from 1630 to 1636. As commissary general of India he visited all the residences of the Franciscan provinces of Madre de Deus and S. Thomé between 1634 and 1636. He died in Goa in 1651. His work, for which he made use of Barros, Couto, Castanheda, Mendes Pinto, and Lucena, is based upon the archives and traditions of his order in India and was used by Frey Jacinto de Deus, Fernando da Soledade, Queyroz, and Faria e Sousa. This chronicle is particularly important for Xavier's time.

4. Jacinto de Deus, O.F.M., *Vergel de plantas e flores da provincia da Madre de Deus dos Capuchos reformados da India Oriental* (Lisboa, 1690). The author was born in Macao. In 1630, at the age of eighteen, he entered the order in Goa, where he taught theology. In 1646 he became guardian, in 1658 provincial, and finally commissary general. He died in Goa in 1681. His work appeared after his death "revised and falsified," as Fernando da Soledade declares, "through ignorance and malice. We encounter so many errors, one after the other, in this *Vergel de plantas*, ... some having their origins in ignorance, others in

perversity, that they show that the author of the additions was no religious of our order but one or more externs" (III 615-616). See Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 49-50.

5. Manuel de Monforte, O.F.M., *Chronica da provincia da Piedade, primeira capucha de toda a ordem e regular observancia do nosso seraphico padre S. Francisco* (Lisboa, 1696). A second edition appeared in Lisbon in 1751. The author was born in Monforte (Alemtejo). In 1655 he entered the order, becoming guardian, provincial, and chronicler of his province, dying in 1711 when he was past seventy. In addition to other matters, chapters 35-39 of the chronicle contain the lives of three of Xavier's contemporaries: Frey Juan de Albuquerque, Frey Vicente de Lagos, and Frey Antonio do Porto.

For Xavier's time this chronicle must be used with caution. In recent years Father Achilles Meersman, O.F.M., has cleared a path through it with four publications: (1) *The Friars Minor or Franciscans in India 1291-1942* (Karachi, 1943); (2) *The Franciscans in Bombay* [the present archdiocese of Bombay] (Bangalore, 1957); (3) *The Franciscans in Tamilnad* (Schöneck-Beckenried, 1962); (4) *The Franciscans in the Indonesian Archipelago 1300-1775* (Louvain, 1967). These studies have been taken fully into account in the brief survey of the *Historia Missionum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum I: Asia Centro-Orientalis et Oceania* (Romae, 1967, published by the missionary secretariate of the Franciscans). The chapters on India (9-58) and Indonesia (263-281) were written by Father Meersman, and that on Ceylon (59-69) by Father Fernando Félix Lopes. Not pertinent for our period are the later compilations such as those of Frey Clemente de Santa Eyria, *Noticia do que obravão os Frades de S. Francisco, Filhos da Provincia do Apostolo S. Thome no serviço de Deos e de S. Magestade, que Deos guarde, depois que paçavão a esta India Ocidental*, completed in Goa in 1724 (SR V 395-513), and of Marcellino da Civezza, *Storia Universale delle Missioni Francescane* (Roma-Prato-Firenze, 1857-1895). On errors in the early chronicles of the order, see above, pp. 241 (Goa), 257 (Chaul), 290-291 (Quilon), 553 (Negapatam), 589 (S. Thomé), 527 (Celebes), 254 548 (Moluccas), 256 262-263 267 548 (Fishery Coast), and GS II 240-241. For contemporary documents see Q, index: "Franziskaner."

## II. DOMINICANS

1. João dos Santos, O.P., *Ethiopia Oriental, e varia historia de cousas notaveis do Oriente* (Evora, 1609). A new edition appeared in Lisbon in 1891. The author, who was born in Evora, entered the order there in 1584 and sailed in 1586 with the Fugger-Welser spice fleet for India. He was, however, detained in Mozambique and worked as a missionary for eleven years in Sofala and the area of the Zambezi. From there he sailed to India and returned to Portugal in 1600, where he completed his work and printed it in two volumes in 1609. In the first he gives a valuable description of the lands and peoples of East Africa from Sofala to Abyssinia and of the wars of the Portuguese; in the second, a survey of the history of the Dominican mission in the East before and after the arrival of the Portuguese, his voyage for India in 1586, and his missionary journeys in southeast Africa, then some chapters on Goa, Chaul, and Cochin, on temples, Brahmans, and yogis, a list of governors until 1608, the victories of the viceroy D. Francisco da Gama, and his own return to Portugal, where he died in 1622. On him and on the value of his work, see Silva IV 33-34; Barbosa

Machado II 687; Kömmerling-Fitzler (1942) 117; and Victor Santos, *O missionário quinhentista Fr. João dos Santos e o seu livro Etiópia Oriental* (Lisboa, 1951).

2. Luis de Sousa, O.P., *Primeira parte da Historia de S. Domingos, particular do reino e conquistas de Portugal, por Fr. Luis Cacegas, da mesma ordem e provincia, e chronista della. Reformada em estylo e ordem, e ampliada em succesos e particularidades por Frey Luis de Sousa, filho do Convento de Bemfica* (Bemfica, 1623); *Segunda* (Lisboa, 1662); *Terceira* (*ibid.*, 1678), *Quarta Parte por Fr. Lucas de Santa Catharina* (*ibid.*, 1733). A second edition was published in Lisbon in 1767, and a third in six volumes in 1866. Cacegas, who died in Bemfica in 1616, had during the course of twenty years collected an enormous amount of material for the history of his order in the archives of Portugal; and Luis de Sousa, who was commissioned to process it, declared that without the work of his predecessor he could never have written his own (Parte II, l. 4, c. 7; in the third edition, which we always cite, Vol. III 317-318). The work, written in a classical style, is the most valuable history of the Portuguese Dominicans.

3. Jacinto da Encarnação, O.P., *Summaria Relaçam do que obrarão os Religiozos da Ordem dos Pregadores na conversão das almas e pregação do Sancto Evangelho em todo o Estado da India e mais terras descubertas pellos Portugueses na Azia, Ethiopia Oriental, e das Missões, em que actualmente se exercitão, como todos os conventos, cazas e numero das Religiões, que de prezente tem esta sua Congregação da India Oriental* (Goa, 1679), ed. SR VII (1952 367-546), from a copy of the eighteenth century in the National Library in Lisbon: *Fundo Geral 177*, ff. 322-360. The relation was composed at the request of the governor Antonio Paes de Sande, as is noted in its beginning. In 1722 the viceroy Francisco José de Sampaio e Castro also wanted an account. The vicar general of the Dominicans in Goa, Frey Amaro de Santo Thomas, gave him a copy of the earlier text with some necessary alterations. This was published in 1958 by Sá (V 347-535) from the exemplar signed by Frey Amaro in the Biblioteca Pública of Evora: 105-2-6. The author gives a brief history of all the residences of his order from Sofala to Macao, but notes that many of these places had disappeared, and with them their archives (SR VII 368).

For the contemporary documents see Q, index: "Dominikaner." Because of the inadequacy of the chronicles for our period, a return to the original sources has been stressed in recent times. Father Benno Biermann, O.P., for example, in "Die ersten Dominikaner in Ostindien (1503-1548)," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 26 (1936) 171-192, notes with respect to the first mission of the Dominicans in 1503 that "ein unglaubliches Durcheinander herrscht hier bei den Ordenschronisten." He continued his work with two further studies: "Documenta quaedam initia Missionum Ordinis Praedicatorum in India Orientali illustrantia," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 10 (1940) 132-157, and "Der erste Bischof in Ost-Indien, Fray Duarte Nunes, O.P.," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 9 (1953) 81-90. Ch. M. de Witte, O.S.B., also went back to the original sources for his "Aux origines de la 'Congrégation' indienne de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs (1546-1580)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 36 (1966) 457-492.

## III. AUGUSTINIAN HERMITS

a) *Spanish Augustinian Hermits*

The Spanish Augustinian Hermits are pertinent to us for the history of the Moluccas, especially for the expedition of Ruy López de Villalobos (1542-1546). The contemporary sources on this are given in Q, index, p. 591. The two most important of these are the detailed accounts of the fellow voyagers Frey Jerónimo de Santisteban, O.E.S.A. (Q 2761), and Garcia d'Escalante Alvarado (Q 3973). Shorter reports are given by their fellow voyagers Torres (Q 4154 4691), Nilyo (Q 1505), and Gaetano (Q 4110). In addition to these there are five Augustinian chronicles which give in part a general history of the Spaniards in the Moluccas and in part the biographies of the four Augustinians who accompanied Villalobos. The Augustinians came to Mexico in 1533, to the Philippines in 1543, to China in 1575, and to Japan in 1601. In 1575 the Augustinians in the Philippines, who had been hitherto dependent upon the province of Castile, were grouped into an independent province. The monasteries of the Recollects, which during the sixteenth century were under the provincials of the Observants, were placed directly under the general of their order in 1601 as a province of their own. In 1605 the Recollects came to the Philippines and erected there the province of San Nicolás de Tolentino.

1. Juan de Grijalva, O.E.S.A., *Cronica de la Orden de N.P.S. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España en quatro edades desde el año de 1533 hasta el de 1592* (Mexico, 1624), a new edition of which was also published there in 1924. The author, who was born in Colima (Mexico), entered the order in Morelia in 1594. He became a famous preacher and died in Mexico City in 1638. At the request of his superiors he wrote his chronicle with the help of the materials that had been collected by the chronicler of the order Francisco Muñoz, who died in 1616. For this he had the original account of his confreres who accompanied Villalobos. See Santiago Vela III 301-307.

2. Rodrigo Aganduru Moriz, O.E.S.A., "Historia General de las Islas Occidentales, llamadas Philipinas," *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la historia de España* 78-79 (Madrid, 1882). The author, also called Rodrigo de S. Miguel, was born in Aguilar de Campos, "my dear, beloved homeland," as he wrote (78, p. 524), ten leagues northwest of Valladolid, not in Valladolid or Orio (Guipuzcoa), the place of his family's origin, as others maintain. He entered the order at Portillo in 1600, sailed in 1605 for the Philippines, arriving there in 1606, and was ordained this same year to the priesthood. Here he founded a number of missions and then returned to Spain as procurator in 1614. He sailed again to the Philippines and was provincial there until 1622, when he undertook an adventurous journey by way of the Moluccas, Malacca, Ceylon, Goa, Ormuz, Basra (where in 1625 he persuaded "a large throng" of Johannine Christians to unite with Rome), Baghdad, and Aleppo to Rome, where he was received by the pope in an audience in 1626 and offered him his completed work, the *Conversion de Philipinas y Japon de los Agustinos Descalços, por el P. F. Rodrigo Moriz de la misma Orden y Obediencia, queda a la Santa Sede Apostolica el mismo Padre en nombre de los christianos Chaldeos Scismaticos, que redujo a la Iglesia anno de 1625*. This has been published in the *Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Agustinos Recoletos de San Nicolas de Tolentino de las Indias Filipinas* 7-8 (1916-1917). He died at the age of forty-two in December, 1626, at his ancestors' place of origin as he was continuing his journey in Spain. See Santiago Vela I 26-33, and \*Caro-



lus Euba, O.E.S.A., *El P. Rodrigo de San Miguel (Aganduru-Moriz). Su labor misionario y su labor histórico (1584-1626)* (doctoral dissertation of the Gregorian University, in typescript). His *Historia General* describes the history of the Moluccas from Magellan (1519) to 1578. It is particularly detailed on the expedition of Villalobos. The author had a good knowledge of the land and people and cites such works as those of Argensola, Couto, and Lucena along with manuscript sources from the archives of the Philippines. He adorns his facts, however, and is not always accurate in his data, which must be checked with those of his contemporaries.

3. Tomás de Herrera, O.E.S.A., *Historia del Convento de S. Agustín de Salamanca* (Madrid, 1652). The author, born at Medina del Campo in 1585, entered the order in Madrid in 1600, taught theology for twelve years in Alcalá (1611-1623), was theologian and confessor of the cardinal archbishop of Seville from 1623 to 1634, became prior in Salamanca in 1635, provincial of the province of Castile in 1639, of Andalusia in 1645, assistant of the general of his order for the Spanish provinces in 1652, and died in 1654 in Vinaroz, on a journey with his penitent Don Juan of Austria. His *Historia*, based on archival studies and chronicles of the order, contains many valuable biographies, including those of the four Augustinians who accompanied Villalobos. See Santiago Vela III 590-631.

4. Andrés de San Nicolás, O.E.S.A., *Historia General de los Religiosos Descalços del Orden de los Ermitanos del Gran Padre y Doctor de la Iglesia San Agustín de la Congregacion de España y de las Indias I* (Madrid, 1664). Volumes II-IV were later written by others. The *Historia*, less valuable than the earlier ones, covers the years from 1588 to 1620 and contains among other biographies those of two companions of Villalobos, Frey Jerónimo de Santisteban and Frey Nicolás de Perea, O.E.S.A. The author, who was born in Tunja or Bogotá, entered the order in Colombia and came from there to Spain, where he worked as a preacher and prolific writer. He died in Madrid in 1666. See Santiago Vela VII 221-227.

5. Gaspar de San Agustín, O.E.S.A., *Conquistas de las Islas Philipinas, la temporal por las armas del Señor Don Phelipe Segundo, el Prudente, y la espiritual por los Religiosos del Orden de Nuestro Padre San Agustín. Parte Primera* (Madrid, 1698). The second part, composed by Casimiro Diaz, did not appear until 1890, in Valladolid. The author was born in 1650 in Madrid and entered the order there when he was seventeen. He came to Manila in 1668, where he finished his studies, and then went to Panay. In 1677 he was in Manila as general procurator of the mission. He was visitor for many years and also engaged in writing. Becoming blind in his old age, he died in Manila in 1724. His chronicle covers the period up to 1660. He names as his sources for our period Grijalva and Herrera in particular. His chronicle was highly esteemed and was called the most interesting chronicle of the Philippines, an indispensable work. See Santiago Vela VII 94-118.

#### b) Portuguese Augustinian Hermits

The Portuguese Augustinian Hermits did not come to India until 1572. There they founded the Indian congregation, which received constant replacements from the province of Portugal. Their chronicles only concern us indirectly, for example, for the influence of Frey Agostinho de Azevedo, Couto's unnamed collaborator, and for the history of the kings of Ormuz, the Christians of Socotra,

and the Thomas Christians. The congregation of Portuguese Recollects was not founded until 1675. We therefore treat them briefly. Biographical data are to be found in SR XI in the work of Frey Manuel da Ave Maria.

1. Félix de Jesus, O.E.S.A., *Primeira Parte da Chronica e Relação do Principio que teve a Congregação da Ordem de S. Agostinho nas Indias Orientais e da honra e gloria que seus primeiros Fundadores naquellas partes com continuos trabalhos ganharão para Deos nosso Senhor na conversão das almas* (Goa, 1606), ed. A. Hartmann, O.S.A., in *Analecta Augustiniana* 3 (1967) 5-147; SR XI 267.

2. Antonio de Gouvea, O.E.S.A., *Jornada do Arcbispo de Goa, Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes, Primaz da India Oriental, Religioso da Ordem de S. Agostinho. Quando foy as Serras do Malauar e lugares, em que morão os antigos Christãos de S. Thome* (Coimbra, 1606). Important for the Thomas Christians and Socotra (SR XI 254-256; Streit V, n. 69).

3. Antonio de Moraes, O.E.S.A., *Memorial das missões dos Religiozos que mandou a nossa provincia de nosso P. Sancto Augustinho de Portugal a esta Congregação da India, e das couzas, em que se occupão* (Goa, 1630), ed. SR XII 99-233 (SR XI 264-265).

4. João de Brito, O.E.S.A., *\*Lembranças tocantes a sagrada Religião de meu glorioso Padre S. Augustinho, recopiladas por Frei João de Brito, Religioso da mesma Ordem*. Biblioteca Cadaval: 914. A parchment volume of 1,036 pages. It gives a list of the provincials of the Portuguese province from 1566 to 1638 (with a supplement in another hand to 1688) and of those professed from 1542 to 1631.

5. Antonio da Purificação, O.E.S.A., *Chronica da antiquissima provincia de Portugal da Ordem dos Eremitas de S. Agostinho, Bispo de Hiponia e principal Doutor da Igreja* (Lisboa, 1642-1656). To be used with caution (Silva I 242-245).

6. Simão da Graça, O.E.S.A., *\*Da Origem, Extensão e Propagação da Religião dos Eremitas de N.P.S. Augustinho allas terras destas partes orientaes* (Goa, 1669-1673), Ms. in the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon: *Livraria* 731 f. 93-203: *Livro* I; and 1740: *Livro* II (SR XI 420-421).

7. Faustino da Graça, O.E.S.A., *\*Brevilogio das noticias das couzas e dos sujeitos da Congregação da India dos Eremitas de S. Agostinho*. Original manuscript signed by the author: Goa, 1718; in the Ajuda library in Lisbon: 49-1-51. See SR XI 572-573.

8. Francisco da Purificação, O.E.S.A., *Memorias da Congregação Agostiniana na India Oriental* (Goa, ca. 1723), ed. SR XII 3-98 from the two manuscripts in the National Library in Lisbon: *Fundo Geral* 177, ff. 262-289 (the original) and 290-321 (a practically identical copy, probably sent with the original). It is a valuable history based on the archives. Pp. 71-93 also contain a list of tombs in the Graça church in Goa with their inscriptions and coats of arms. The work is signed "P. Fr. Manuel da Purificação, Provincial da Congregação da India." It must mean however: Fr. Francisco, who was provincial in 1723, as Hartmann has already suggested (*Analecta Augustiniana* 30, 6, n. 3). He was provincial from 1720 to 1723 according to Manuel da Ave Maria. According to Barbosa Machado he wrote a work on the deeds of the Augustinian Hermits of India and on the 118 graves in the Graça church in Goa "por assim ser pedido do Reino" (IV 128; SR XI 607).

9. Manuel da Ave Maria, O.E.S.A., *Manuel Eremitico da Congregação da India Oriental dos Eremitas de N.P.S. Agostinho ou Historia da Fundação da dita Congregação, e de todos os Religiozos della, assim dos que vierão da Provincia de Portugal, como dos que nella professarão* (1817), ed. SR XI 95-833.

The work was continued by other hands down to the suppression of 1833. Extremely valuable, it contains along with the history and lists of provincials and superiors the biographies of all those who worked in India, including that of the author, along with their names in the world and religion (SR XI 803-804).

#### IV. JESUITS

For the bibliography on the Society of Jesus in general, see L. Polgár, S.J., *Bibliography of the History of the Society of Jesus* (Rome, 1967), and the annual bibliographies by the same author in AHSI; C. Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Nouvelle édition (Louvain, 1960; cf. Polgár, nn. 660-661; an offset reproduction in twelve volumes with corrections and additions in vols. 8-12); R. Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum* (Freiburg im Br., 1916 ff.; cf. Polgár, n. 653 [up to 1973 there had appeared twenty-nine volumes with bibliographical data and contents]; for India, vols. 4-8); *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (Matriti-Roma, 1944 ff.; cf. Polgár, pp. 88-90; on it see Leturia, "Geschichte und Inhalt der Quellensammlung *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* [MHSI]," *Historischen Jahrbuch* 72 (1953) 585-604. [F. Zubillaga, S.J.—W. Hanisch, S.J., *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, Guía Manual de los Documentos Históricos de la Compañía de Jesús de los Cien Primeros Volúmenes* (Romae, Institutum Historicum S.I., 1971). By the spring of 1977 there had appeared 114 volumes.] For a critical judgment on the following historians see: Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert" (GS III 57-89); *idem*, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii I* (Romae, 1944) 66\*-109\*; *idem*, *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bāhu und Franz Xavers 1539-1552* (Leipzig, 1928) 15-78; J. Wicki, "Die Zensuren des P. Seb. Gonçalves, S.J. (1609-1612)," *Studia Missionalia* 7 (1952) 77-107.

1. Johannes Alphonsus de Polanco, S.J., *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Iesu historia* (1574), usually called *Chronicon*, 6 vols. (Matriti, 1894-1898) (MHSI, cf. Polgár, n. 412). Juan Alonso de Polanco, born in Burgos around 1517, obtained a master's degree at the University of Paris and then became an apostolic scribe in Rome. In 1541 he entered the Society of Jesus there and afterwards studied four years of theology in Padua. From 1547 to 1573 he held the important office of a secretary of his order in Rome. He died there on December 20, 1576. In order to make the extremely rich treasure of the general's archives, which he arranged and knew as no one else, accessible to his confreres, and in order to be able to provide them with the necessary materials for histories of the entire order, individual houses, or persons, he had already begun to write his *Chronicon* under Ignatius. This embraces the years 1537 to 1556 and was completed at the beginning of 1575. The work, which was composed entirely from documents in the archives, was also a veritable mine for the history of the East India mission, the correspondence of which is only now being fully and critically published in *Documenta Indica* [thus far: I-XIII (1948-1975)]. Polanco's *Chronicon* merits the opinion of Sacchini, the chronicler of the order: "Quibus Commentariis si quicquam est inter homines incorruptum ac fide dignum, haud equidem scio quid firmitus ac sincerius esse possit." The documents for a series of texts in the *Chronicon* are no longer extant. The life of Ignatius which Polanco placed at the head of his *Chronicon* in 1574 (*Chronicon* I 9-74) was republished in a critical edition in *Fontes Narrativi* II 506-597; his letters and other writings have been published in MHSI in *Polanci Complementa* I-II (1916-1917) (Polgár, n. 407). On Polanco's life and work see *Polanci Comple-*

menta I, pp. VI-XXXVIII; *Fontes Narrativi* II 23\*-39\* 506 511; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 20-21; "Xaveriusforschung" (GS III 68 69); "Die Anfänge des römischen Archivs der Gesellschaft Jesu" (*ibid.* 477-488); Sommervogel VI 939-947.

2. Francisco Pérez, S.J., *Informação acerca do principio da Companhia na India* (São Thomé, December 7, 1579), ed. J. Wicki, S.J., "Das neuentdeckte Xaveriusleben des P. Francisco Pérez, S.I. (1579)," *AHSI* 34 (1965) 36-78. When we were tracing the *Historia* of Seb. Gonçalves back to its original sources, we frequently came across events, especially those in which Xavier's companion Francisco Pérez played a part, for which we found no earlier sources, though on a number of occasions Gonçalves expressly cites a work of Pérez as his authority for them. In November, 1964, we received a letter from our confrere F. A. Roulea in the United States in which he asked us to look in the Roman archives of the order for a letter of the Chinese missionary N. Longobardi of the first half of the seventeenth century, whose signature in the *Fondo Gesuitico* he had forgotten to note down. We looked through a series of thick bundles of manuscripts without success but then opened up number 724, which proved to be extraordinarily rich. It bore the title: "De Missionibus Soc. Je. 5. De ritibus Sinenfibus Pars II." The individual sections were marked with numbers in pencil: a manuscript in quarto (1), two packets in octavo (3-4), thick fascicles in folio (5-7). All of these dealt with the controversy over the rites. Section 4 and the legend "Opere storiche e filologiche sulla Cina, pp. XVII-XVIII," however, contained, contrary to all expectations, three other pieces: a fragment of twenty leaves of thin Japanese paper from the original manuscript of the catechism of Luis Frois, S.J., the thirty concluding pages of the manuscript of Afonso de Lucena, S.J., giving his recollections on the Christianity of Ōmura, the first half of which is found in *JapSin.* 22, 103-104, and the long-sought source of Seb. Gonçalves, a contemporary copy made in Goa of the lost original with the title: "Informação do Padre Francisco Perez acerca do principio da Companhia da India," twenty closely written leaves, the first life of Xavier, which, apart from Seb. Gonçalves, seems only to have been known to Bartoli. Pérez, who was born about 1515 in Barcarrota (Badajoz), entered the Society of Jesus as a priest in Coimbra and came to Goa in 1546. On April, 1548, Xavier sent him as superior to Malacca. He remained there until the beginning of 1553. He then worked as superior in Cochin and Quilon, where he assisted Lancilotto when he was dying, and in Goa, where he lectured on moral theology. He then, with Teixeira, accompanied Diogo Pereira on his embassy to China. Later, he was superior again in Cochin, Quilon, Manār, and São Thomé. He died a saintly death in Negapatam on January 22, 1583, as he was going from São Thomé to the Fishery Coast. In his *Informação*, Pérez describes the life of Francis Xavier from the evidence of eyewitnesses and, for the most part, from what he had himself seen. Particularly detailed is the account of his stay in Malacca before his departure for Japan in 1549 and for China in 1552,, giving an abundance of new data which we look for in vain elsewhere. The royal Coromandel ship was accustomed to sail each year from Pulicat to Malacca, for example, and the lucrative and highly desired position of captain of the ship was given to a person as a great favor by the king. Antonio Pereira declared that he had known Xavier from the time of his arrival in India until his death, and that he had sailed with him as captain of the royal Coromandel ship (*em huma nao d'El-rey nosso senhor, em que elle, testemunha, viera por captião da viagem de Choromandel* [MX II 417]). According to the official Latin translation, Pereira states that he had sailed with

Xavier "*in quadam regia nave, cuius in reditu ex Coromandelo dux fuerat*" (*ibid.* 435). Since no captain of a Coromandel ship was mentioned elsewhere for 1545, and Xavier was with Antonio Pereira in Malacca this same year, we concluded that he had been the captain of the Coromandel ship that year [*Franz Xaver* II, 1, p. 600]. But Pérez states that Antonio de Lemos was the captain of São Thomé in 1545 and that Xavier sailed in his boat for Malacca on September 9 or 10, 1545 (55). Miguel Ferreira, on the other hand, wrote from São Thomé to the governor on March 28, 1546, that Antonio de Lemos had died there. Before his death he had received permission from M.A. de Sousa to buy a ship and send it to Malacca [from S. Thomé], since no royal vessel was sailing there. With help which he obtained in the city, he had purchased a *champana* and had sent it with some cargo from São Thomé, since he lacked means for doing more. Merchants had also sailed with it and had paid him the usual fees for this. The captain of Malacca, however, had taken from him all of the cargo that should have come there [to India]; and Lemos had been forced to return without any merchandise (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 350). Our earlier account must therefore be corrected [as it will be in Vol. III, English translation]. It was only at the end of 1551 that Antonio Pereira sailed with Xavier in the Coromandel ship from Malacca for India (MX II 265 417). On Pérez and his letter see Wicki in AHSI 34 (1965) 36-46.

3. Manuel Teixeira, S.J., *Vida del bienaventurado Padre Francisco Xavier, Religioso de la Compañía de Jesús* (1580), ed. MX II 815-918. Teixeira, born in Bragança in 1536, was received into the Society of Jesus for India in Lisbon in February, 1551, and arrived in September that same year in Goa, where in 1552 he met Xavier, Pérez, and the Chinese student Antonio of the Holy Faith. He studied philosophy and theology in Goa from 1553 to 1559 and, after completing his studies, was ordained a priest in 1560. In 1561 he worked in Bassein. In 1563 he and Pérez accompanied the Portuguese ambassador to Macao, from where he returned to Goa in 1567. Here he made his vows of profession in 1568 (ARSI: *Rom.* 53, 7). From 1569 to 1572 he was rector in Cochin, from 1573 to 1574 vice-provincial, and from 1577 to 1578 superior of the northern mission in Bassein. Several times a wish had been expressed in Rome that a life of Francis Xavier be written in India, and Teixeira was entrusted with this task. At the beginning of 1580 he sent his *Vida* to the general, and at the end of 1581 he added two concluding chapters and two appendices: "Anotações e Correções." At the request of the provincial Teixeira and Father Crasso assembled materials for Maffei's history of India. He helped Valignano with the first part of his history of the India mission, which was completed in 1583. At the end of 1584 he sent Ribadeneyra a long letter with corrections to the latter's Spanish edition of his life of Ignatius, which contained a series of mistakes with respect to Xavier and the Indian mission. Teixeira was by this time old and ill, but he still made himself useful as a preacher and father of the Christians. He died in Goa on March 18, 1590. He was an exemplary religious, a "grandissimo santo e de extraordinaria virtude," as the later Japanese missionary F. Pasio wrote to the general in 1579, and a "padre de muita santidade que entende muito as cousas que V.R. faz," as the later Chinese missionary Matteo Ricci informed Maffei in 1581 (Tacchi Venturi, S.J., *Opere storiche del Matteo Ricci* II [Macerata, 1913] 22). On his life, in addition to the manuscript catalog in *Goa* 24 and his necrology in *Goa* 47, 338, in the archives of the order, see Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert" (GS III 7-80); Wicki, "As 'Anotações' do P. Manuel

Teixeira, S.J., à sua 'Vida do B. P. Francisco Xavier' (1581)," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 69 (1952) 39-63. His letters are to be found in DI II-XIII; *Boletim Eclesiastico da Diocese de Macau* 62 (1964) 729-802; MX II 798-808; and GS III 73-74.—The Portuguese original of the *Vida* is lost. We can only reconstruct it with the help of the Italian and Spanish translations, the *Anotações*, and the text of the letters in Tursellinus and the *Codex Macaensis*. At the end of 1584 Teixeira wrote to Ribadeneyra that four or five years earlier he had sent his life of Xavier to General Mercurian and that his successor (Aquaviva) had written to him the previous year that he had read it, was pleased with it, and had ordered it to be translated, reviewed, and printed (MX II 799). This has reference to the *Italian* translation, which accurately followed the text sent in 1580, and also the two concluding chapters that had been received in Rome in 1582 and part of the *Anotações*; but it did not take into account their corrections, which had arrived at the same time. The translation was finished, it seems in 1583, but it was not printed since the visitor Valignano wrote to the general from Cochin on January 16, 1585, that, for the love of God, Teixeira's life of Xavier should not be printed with such precipitous haste (GS III 80). In 1594 Tursellinus' life of Xavier, which for the most part goes back to Teixeira, was printed in its stead. The Italian text seemed to have been lost when a London antiquarian, Raphael King, visited us in Rome in 1954 and showed us the presumably lost manuscript, which he had purchased at the end of the Second World War, or shortly after it, from the former holdings of Lord Guildford's library for fifty-five pounds. After King's death the manuscript was obtained by another London antiquarian, W. Dawson, where we saw it again in 1961. The subtitle of the Italian translation reads as follows: "Itinerario o Memorial d'alcune cose/ della vita et morte del Benedetto/Padre Maestro Francesco Xavier della Compagnia/del Gesù, et il primo che di essa passò all'Indie et fu primo prouinciale/ della Compagnia in quelle parte primo predicatore della nostra santa fede nelle/ isole et terre del Giappone/il qual morse poi nella China/l'anno del 1552." In the ledger of expenditures for copies that Rodolfo Gonzaga had made for his brother Luigi (the later St. Aloysius), who was studying in Rome, is an entry: "Feb. 9, 1588: 30 *bajochi* to the rector Fil. Bruni for a copy of the life of Father Xavier" (\*Andrea Budrioli, *Analecta del B. Aloysio*, in the archives of the general postulation of the order in Rome: n. 91, fasc. 4), by which was meant the Italian translation of Teixeira. In April, 1598, General Aquaviva wrote to the provincial of Castile, Cristobal de Ribera, that a Spanish translation of Xavier's life would be useful (ARSI: *Castilla* 6, 281). The request was effected, and in the archives of the province of Toledo there are still preserved two copies that differ little from each other and were formerly in the archives of the novitiate (since 1602, the college) in Villarejo de Fuentes: *Codices Villarejensis I* and *II*, described in MX I, pp. XXVII-XXX and EX I 175\*-178\*. The text of *I* with a few slight variations of *II* was edited in MX II 815-918, but without Xavier's letters, which had already been published with Xavier's other letters in MX I. A new edition of the Spanish text of Teixeira's life was published in Bilbao in 1951 by Ramón Gaviña, S.J. In it he replaced the letters of Xavier given by Teixeira with those of our critical edition of the same. The Spanish translation is much abbreviated, often differs from the Italian text, changes chapter 2 of the second part on the founding of the College of St. Paul in Goa, and omits chapters 20 and 21 on the colleges and residences and the two concluding chapters on Xavier's virtues.—*The value of the Vida*. For Europe, Teixeira follows Ribadeneyra's life of Igna-

tius, as he himself declares; but he also had oral information on Xavier's trip to Portugal from Mascarenhas' secretary. For Japan he refers to the edition of the *Cartas* published in Alcalá in 1575, Xavier's letters, and an *Itinerario*, now lost, which Juan Fernández sent him in 1563. In addition to oral data on Xavier's voyage to China and his death, in 1557 he obtained a detailed account that he had requested from Antonio of the Holy Faith (cf. DI III 651-675), his great friend, as he is called by J.F. Stephanoni (ARSI: *JapSin.* 7, 241). He received further oral information about Xavier from Pérez, from the Japanese Bernardo, from Xavier's pilot on his voyage to Ceylon, whom he converted, from missionaries on the Fishery Coast, and from others. The processes for Xavier's canonization held in 1556 and 1557 and his letters were also important sources. He frequently added these latter, reworked and mutilated, to his text (cf. EX I 79\*-83\*).

4. Alessandro Valignano, S.J., *Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales (1542-64)* (1583), ed. J. Wicki, S.J. (Roma, 1944). Valignano was born in 1539 in Chieti (Abruzzi). He entered the Society of Jesus in Rome in 1566 as a *doctor juris* and *uditor* of the cardinal-nephew Mark Sittich von Hohenems. In 1570, after completing his theological studies, he was ordained to the priesthood and sailed in 1574 with extensive faculties and forty-one companions of his order to India, where he visited the houses and missions of the province until 1577. This same year he sailed to Malacca, from there to Macao in 1578, and to Japan in 1579, where we encounter him as visitor in 1579-1582, 1590-1592, and 1598-1603. In between these years, he lived in Goa in 1583-1587 and 1595-1597, in Macao in 1588-1590 and after 1603, where he died on Feb. 10, 1606.—He was, after Xavier, the most important organizer of the Jesuit Asiatic missions. He encouraged, especially in Japan, making extensive adaptations to its high culture, the study of the language of a country, the education of a native clergy in and out of the Society, schools, printing presses, and the production of books and pamphlets. He sent the first Japanese ambassadors to Europe and the first missionaries in the interior of the previously closed China. In addition to his many letters and instructions (an incomplete list of his extant works in Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I 1, pp. XXIX-LVI, has 428 items), he wrote a series of other works: the India *summarius* of 1580 (n. 79, ed. SR XII 470-638), a Japanese catechism in 1581 (nn. 87-88, ed. 1586), a *ceremoniale* for the Japanese missionaries in 1581 (n. 91, ed. Schütte, 1946), a *Historia* of the Society of Jesus in East India (n. 110, ed. Wicki, 1944; cf. GS IV 909-910), the Japanese *summarius* of 1583 (n. 113, ed. Alvarez-Taladriz, 1954), rules for the Japanese mission in 1592 (nn. 243-259), the *Adiciones* to the Japanese *summarius* of 1592 (n. 264), an apology in 1598 (nn. 345-347), and the *Libro primero del principio y progreso de la religión en Jappón* (n. 378). On his life and works see Wicki, *Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales* 42\*-43\*; Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan* I 1, 36-46; Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung" 69-82.—Valignano's *Historia* consists of two parts. The first, in Spanish, is practically a life of Xavier. It goes to 1554 and was finished at the end of 1583. The second, in Portuguese, was to have brought the history of the mission up to 1574. It also was for the most part completed in 1583, but it ended in 1564 since the type necessary for it had not come from Europe. The first part, since he had himself advised against printing it too soon (Wicki, *Historia*, pp. 100\*-101\*), did not appear until 1900, when it was published in MX I 2-199. The two parts did not appear until 1944, when they were published by Wicki with an extensive introduction, commentary,

and appendices. In the first part Valignano closely follows Teixeira's life of Xavier, but he abbreviates its extensive accounts of miracles and conversions and omits most of Xavier's letters. He adds, however, a long chapter giving descriptions of the pertinent lands and their peoples. Teixeira had partially assembled the material for the second part (on his Xavier letters, see EX I 83\*-84\*). On his rounds of visitation, Valignano saw all the places that Xavier had visited with the exception of the Moluccas, and in the course of these he got to know all of the fellow workers of the saint who were still living: Bravo, Teixeira, Gago, the former Molucca missionary Nic. Nunes, the Brahman Pero Luis, and Brother Alcáçova, all in Goa; Pérez in Cochín; André Fernandes in Quilon; H. Henriques and Durão on the Fishery Coast; Chaves in Malacca; the Chinese Antonio of the Holy Faith in Macao; and Frois, Figueiredo, Brother Lourenço, and Xavier's host Hibiya Ryōkei, in Sakai in Japan. The *Historia* betrays a critical judgment (cf. Wicki 96\*-99\*). In his introduction Valignano declares that he had composed it at the request of the deceased and present general, and that he had taken particular care not to write anything which was not absolutely certain and true (*ibid.* 2). In December, 1575, the provincial congregation, in which H. Henriques, Gago, and Teixeira took part, decided that the life and miracles of Francis Xavier should be investigated more accurately. At the beginning of 1576 Valignano wrote to the general that the facts which were recounted in the life of the saint should be more carefully verified, for he had not as yet found that he had worked any miracles with the exception of some predictions which seemed to be prophecies (Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung" 70-72). At the beginning of 1585 he stated that there were many false statements about Xavier in Ribadeneyra's life of Ignatius. In the *Historia* which he, Valignano, had sent to Rome the previous year, these were not mentioned. He had made a careful investigation and had found that nothing more could be written about Xavier's miracles and manner of life than what he had given in this work. The truth was what he had set down in his history, and nothing more had been discovered that could be certainly, or even probably, written about him. After pointing out a series of errors in Ribadeneyra, he added that what he wrote about Xavier's miracles was grossly exaggerated. Even though many things were reported, he had not proved to his own satisfaction the existence of a single miracle, either in India or in Japan, apart from what was given in the first part of his history of India (*ibid.* 80-81).—If Valignano's *Historia* is, accordingly, a new and valuable source for historians, a further fact must still be taken into account in its use, namely, the *bias* of the visitor. As a *Grand Seigneur* with precious gifts, he was received in solemn audience by rulers in Japan such as Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. This led him to favor the Japanese and Chinese missions and their people and to prejudice him against the Indian mission (see Wicki, *Historia* 76\*-77\*, and Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I 1, 170-176). From the outset he notes in the east two sharply distinguished groups of men—the "whites" (*brancos*, that is, Japanese and Chinese) and "blacks" (he always uses the term *negros* in his reports, that is, Kaffirs, Indians, and Indonesians). He praises the former to the skies (cf. his Japanese *summarius*, pp. 5 and 24). After Valignano's return from Japan at the end of 1584, Teixeira asked the general to write to him that as long as he was in India he should show more interest and affection (*afeição e inclinação*) for its Christianity and its conversion. Since he had seen the difference and progress of Christianity in Japan in contrast to that of India, he was showing less interest and apprecia-



tion for the latter (Wicki, *Historia* 76\*). He painted the "blacks" in the darkest colors, for example, the Kaffirs and Negro slaves in 1574, whom he knew (*ibid.* 479-480), and the Moro islanders in 1583, whom he did not (*Historia* 101). Even if he places the Indians on a slightly higher level, still they were, according to him, so far different from the Japanese that they could not be compared with each other at all (Japanese *summarium* 133). While the Japanese let themselves be led by reason, the understanding of the pagan Indians had been so darkened by an immoral life and their filthy and ridiculous legends about the gods that they were practically impervious to rational arguments and had hitherto (he was writing in 1575) only let themselves be baptized under direct or indirect compulsion—either because they would be freed from prison, be forbidden to sail or fish, be given a present, or would receive some other temporal consideration (DI IX 169-170). Valignano betrays this same attitude in his *India summarium* of 1580 (SR XII 474-478 591). In 1574 he was still writing that Xavier, for whom he had the highest esteem (*Historia* 262-264), had never used human favors and means to convert the pagans (DI IX 527); but in 1583 he declared in his *Historia* that at the conversion of the Macua fishers in Travancore, Xavier had seen that force worked better than reason with these lowly "blacks." With his approval the captain of Quilon, who controlled the seas, had forbidden them to fish so that they might be persuaded or punished into receiving baptism. Francis had thus, partly through promises and partly through threats and the fear of punishment from the captain, convinced a great number of them to become Christians (*Historia* 69-71).<sup>24</sup> On the basis of this passage Schütte wrote in 1958 that Xavier had used pressure through the captain of Quilon on the fishers of Travancore "as far as he legitimately could in order to bring about their conversion" (*Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I 2, 439). In 1967 Boxer cites this text of Valignano as a proof that even the saintly Xavier employed force in the conversion of the pagans of India: "Valignano added,—and who should know it better than he,—that the spectacular success of Xavier's missionary methods near the Fishery Coast was largely due to his mixture of promises and threats" ("A Note on Portuguese Missionary Methods in the East, 16th-18th Centuries," *Ceylon Historical Journal* X (88-89). In a later work, *The Portuguese Seaborn Empire 1415 to 1825* (London, 1969) 76-77, the same author says of the Fishery Coast: "Valignano added that the spectacular success of Xavier's missionary methods on the Fishery Coast was largely due to his judicious mixture of threats and blandishments... [which] influenced a great multitude of them to become Christians." He prudently adds, however, that "even if Valignano exaggerated

<sup>24</sup> "Procuró el Padre poner todas sus fuerzas en hazer christiana la gente de aquella costa; y assí, ayudándose de algunos intérpretes y del favor del capitán de Coulón, començó a persuadir aquella gente que se hiziessen christianos, pues fuera de salvar sus almas les era esto cómodo para su vida y sustentación temporal, diziéndoles que, siendo christianos, ternían el favor de los portugueses, y vivirían seguros, y serían favorecidos de sus armadas, teniendo mucho favor y libertad en la mar para hazer su trato y pesca, la qual, assí para moverlos como para castigarlos de sus insultos, les impedía muchas vezes el capitán de Coulón, con parescer del mesmo Padre. Y aunque, como acontese entre gente tan ruda y bárbara, tuvo mucha dificultad y contradicción para los convertir, todavía trabajó tanto con ellos, ora con obras de charidad, que les hazía, ora con el exemplo de los christianos de la Pesquería, y ora con los favores que les prometía, y a vezes añadiendo algunas amenazas y temores del mal que les vernía com quitar el capitán la pesca y trato de la mar, que finalmente 'compellendo eos intrare ad nuptias,' como diz o Señor, movió grande multitud dellos a se hazer christianos."

Xavier's advocacy of what was later known as the 'gunboat policy,' the fact remains that such views were widespread among Portuguese missionaries in the East."—But the otherwise reliable Valignano, even if he occasionally exaggerates in his letters, has in this instance led these two critical authors into error. At no time or place did Xavier use threats or force in making converts, not even with the fishers in Travancore. This statement of the visitor, who never learned one of the native languages or had any direct care of souls on the pagan missions, is contradicted by all the other contemporary sources, including Xavier himself, who expressly writes that the Travancore fishers had invited him to come and that those in Manakkudi had frequently asked him for baptism (EX I 246 273). The only truth in the matter is that the captain of Quilon was able to punish some of the lapsed Christians by not permitting them to fish *after* the whole caste, with the permission of the rajah, had been freely converted. This was one of the factors which justified Xavier's hasty mass baptisms.

5. Horatius Tursellinus, S.J., *De Vita Francisci Xaverii* (Romae, 1596). Orazio Torsellini was born in Rome in 1544 and entered the Society of Jesus there. As he wrote in the book of novices, "Veni in domum 15. Augusti 1562... et tuli mecum pallium nigrum. Horatius Romanus de Torsellinis" (ARSI: *Rom.* 170, 110). In 1588 he signed his name: "Oratio Torsellini" (*ibid.* *Rom.* 126, 54v). He was a brilliant Latinist and taught humanities in the Roman College for twenty years. He was for two years rector of the Roman seminary, a year in the college in Florence, and two or three years in that of Loreto, where he wrote the history of the Holy House. He died in Rome on April 6, 1599, when he was only fifty-four.—The best known of his many writings is his Latin life of Francis Xavier. In the following three centuries it was constantly reprinted and translated, influencing all the later writings on Xavier. In May, 1588, he wrote to Father Valtrini that he hoped, despite his poor health, to send the manuscript to him in Palermo for review within seven or eight months. On June 21, 1592, he informed the general of the order from Loreto that he was glad that his life of Xavier, which was earnestly expected by so many of his religious brethren, could appear in time for the meeting of the procurators in 1593. But two months later, on August 20, he had to write to him in a trembling hand of a new illness, from which he was, thanks to the intercession of Xavier, slowly recovering (*ibid.*, *Rom.* 126, 54v; 161, 21 52). Meanwhile in Rome the three censors of the order, among whom was the professor of theology Juan Azor, had given their approval to the manuscript. The general then gave his *imprimatur* on August 8 and the Magister Sacri Palatii his on September 22. Giovanni Stefano Scortia and his colleagues then asked the pope for the right to print the works of three professors of the Roman College for ten years: the third part of Benito Pereira's commentary on Genesis, the three volumes of the *Institutiones morales* of Juan Azor, and the life of Xavier by Horatius Tursellinus, a permission which was granted to them by Clement VIII on November 16, 1592. The *Vita* was printed while Tursellinus was still living at Loreto. It appeared in 1594 with so many typographical errors that the author, to whom no proofs had been sent, could hardly, as he declared himself, recognize his own work. In addition to this, he had in the meantime received a mass of new information on Xavier's life from Portugal, especially on his work in Japan and China, and this "from individuals who had lived with him at the time in those lands." He therefore completely reworked his manuscript and, despite all the privileges that had been granted for its printing, published it again in 1596 through another printer, in six books instead of four, with

the title: *Horatii Tursellini e Societate Iesu De Vita Francisci Xaverii, Qui primus e Societate IESU in Indiam et Iaponiam Evangelium invexit. Libri Sex. Denuo ab ipso Authore recogniti, et pluribus locis vehementer aucti. Quibus accesserunt eiusdem Xaverii Epistolarum Libri Quatuor*. This new work provided the text for all subsequent editions and translations, two of which added further material—the Spanish translation of Pedro de Guzmán, S.J., the third edition of which, printed in Pamplona in 1620, indicates the additions, some going back to the family archives of the castle of Xavier; and the German translation of the canon Martin Hueber, which appeared in Munich in 1674 and added after each chapter additions from Lucena, Bartoli, and other authors.—The *Vita* of Tursellinus was the first life of Xavier to be printed and, consequently, the most widely diffused. It provided an abundance of new data on the saint. In addition to the use which he made of Polanco's chronicle, the accounts of Teixeira and Valignano, the processes for canonization of 1556-1557, and Xavier's letters, he obtained data on Xavier's youth and other details from his cousin Dr. Martín de Azpilcueta, who died in Rome in 1586. For his second edition he also had two manuscript accounts of eyewitnesses of Xavier's labors in India and Japan. One of these was that of Dr. Miguel de Lacerda, the other, which provided the main source for the additions to his new edition, was that of a companion of the saint in Japan and China; but it did not deserve the confidence that Tursellinus placed in it, namely, the *Peregrinação* of Fernão Mendes Pinto. Tursellinus translated Xavier's letters partly from the reworked text of Teixeira and partly from the originals and copies in the archives of the order (EX I 84\*-86\*). Nevertheless, apart from its turbid sources in the *Peregrinação*, the uncritical evaluation of the process of 1556-1557, and the speeches invented in the manner of Livy, the *Vita* of Tursellinus, clear, and closely written, was a masterpiece. In comparison with it most later works marked a step backwards. In 1610 Seb. Gonçalves sent some corrections for it from India to Rome (Wicki, "Die Zensuren," 89-90).

6. Dr. Miguel de Lacerda, *\*Articuli de vita et gestis P. M. Francisci Xaverii* (before 1596). This historian of India, whom we look for in vain in Barbosa Machado, Silva, and all the later printed works, was born in 1543. In 1557, when he was fourteen, he entered the Society of Jesus in Goa. After completing his studies, for which he had a liking and talent, as he did for preaching, he taught theology for some time. He was, however, unsteady in his vocation. He left the order but was then readmitted. Taken with his own abilities, he let himself be persuaded by the imprudent Father J. B. Ribera that he would be able to do more with his talents in Europe than in India. In 1556 he asked permission of the general to go to Europe, but he received a negative reply. In 1569, "por justas e sobejas rezões," he was released from the order, and in 1570 he sailed to Portugal (DI III 786; IV 462; V 373 610 625; VII 76 339 411; VIII 118 413). In Coimbra he obtained a doctorate in theology and then devoted himself to preaching, without obtaining a professorship in the university.—*His work*: Father Amador Rebello, S.J., who entered the Society of Jesus in 1552, was a tutor of the later king Sebastian, whose life he wrote. As procurator for Brazil and India for many years, he edited the India letters in 1588, 1598, and 1608. In the first process for Xavier's canonization in Lisbon, he declared that he had, as a great devotee of the saint, sought information about his life. He had learned that a certain Miguel de Lacerda, a doctor of theology of the University of Coimbra, "virum ex primariis et praedicatorum," must have had definite knowledge

about the deeds, life, and miracles of Xavier since he had been for many years in India and had been on intimate terms with the priests there. Rebello therefore sought him out and asked him for the love of God to write down all that he knew about Xavier's life and activities. Lacerda had then given him in writing what he, Rebello, was now stating as a witness. On pages 102-109v of the Latin translation of the process, Rebello then gives a summary of Lacerda's now lost document. In it the author declared that he had arrived in India some years after Xavier's death. He then gave numerous particulars about the latter's life which he had heard from the provincial Antonio de Quadros and many others, both laymen and priests of the Society of Jesus, such as Gonçalo Fernandes, Diogo Pereira, the Indian priest Andreas, Francisco Durão, João Lopes, Melchior de Figueiredo, João Bravo, Melchior Nunes Barreto, the Chinese Antonio of the Holy Faith, and others. At the end Rebello noted that Lacerda had assured him that he held as certain and true what he had written in his account as if he had seen it with his own eyes. He had been precise in his questions; and those from whom he had learned all this were truthful and credible men, who left no room for doubt. Lacerda's evidence was the most important of the whole process, and among the many new pieces of information he gave was that of the Chinese Antonio, the only one present with Xavier when he died, who declared that his last words had been: "In te Domine speravi, non confundar in aeternum." Lacerda's document was already in Rebello's possession in 1596, for Lucena, who was with him in Lisbon and who, in 1600, cited the manuscript of Lacerda in his life of Xavier without naming the author (for example, pp. 198 306 311 392), had probably already sent Tursellinus extracts from it for the second edition of his *Vita* (for example, the account of Andreas 3, 14). On the testimony of Amador Rebello and his source, see GS IV 423 and III 121. The only Portuguese historian who mentions Lacerda is Faria y Sousa, who in 1675, in *Asia Portuguesa* III 558, cites Lacerda along with Barros, Castanheda, Couto, and Braz de Albuquerque as his principal sources: "Miguel de Lacerda escribió la vida de Matias de Albuquerque que abraça mucha historia de la India, y le ay manuscrito." Mathias de Albuquerque was viceroy of India from 1591 to 1596 and died in Portugal in 1609. The National Library in Lisbon, *Fundo Geral* 481, has a copy of the manuscript cited by Faria made in 1749 with the title: "Vida e acções de Mathias de Albuquerque, cappitão e visRey do Estado da India. Primeyra e segunda parte. Em que se contão todas suas acções, e as dos insignes feitos, que se obrarão na memoravel tomada do Morro de Chaul."

7. João de Lucena, S.J., *Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier e do que fizeram na India os mais Religiosos da Companhia de Iesu* (Lisboa, 1600).—João de Lucena was born December 27, 1549, in Trancoso (diocese of Vizeu), entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra on March 19, 1565, taught a course of philosophy in Evora, came to Rome in 1577, where he studied theology and was ordained to the priesthood, returned to Portugal in 1581, where he was active as a highly esteemed preacher for twenty years. In 1595 he was asked to write the life of Xavier. He completed it in 1599, and it was printed in 1600. He died this same year in Lisbon on October 2. See the catalog of manuscripts in the archives of the order; Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 784-787; and Rodrigues, *Historia* II 1, 480-484.—*His Work*: The famous critic José Agostinho de Macedo wrote in 1830 of the *Historia* of Lucena: "É um dos nossos melhores classicos.... Se os francezes tivessem feito aquelle livro, teria mais edições do que tem uma folhinha, ou de porta ou de algibeira; e ha quasi trezentos annos tem tido duas

em Portugal!" (Silva III 400). The second edition was not published until 1788. In 1952 a facsimile edition in two volumes was issued in Lisbon with a valuable introduction by Alvaro J. da Costa Pimpão on the life and work of Lucena (I, pp. I-LXXXIX). Another edition, also in two volumes but without the name of the editor, was published in 1959-1960 by União Gráfica with modernized spelling, an unfortunately very short index, and a series of purely philological notes from the anthology of Agostinho de Campos, *Lucena* (Lisboa, 1921). The correct spellings of oriental words are repeatedly banished to the notes and replaced in the text by others. Maluco, Tutucurim, Ative, and Dairi, for example, in the notes are given as "Moluco," "Tutocorim," "Ativá," and "Dairo" in the text (I, 50 76 210; II 20); or they are erroneously explained, for example, Tramanancor = "Travancor?" (I 101), Batechina de Moro = "Morotai" (249), Angero = "Hiagi-ro" (321). A Spanish edition by Alonso de Sandoval appeared in Seville in 1619, an Italian edition (with an addition on the crab miracle) by Luigi Manson in Rome in 1613. The Italian translation of Tursellinus' life by Serguglielmi and the Hungarian by Lestyan are at times wrongly cited as translations of Lucena's life.—The *Historia* of Lucena was an important source for Xavier's life. He used the printed and unprinted works of his predecessors such as Barros, Castanheda, Couto, Maffei, Teixeira, Tursellinus, Valignano, and Lacerdo; Xavier's letters and those of his contemporaries and fellow workers; the processes of 1556-1557; and the archives of Lisbon, Coimbra, and Evora. He also drew upon oral communications of Xavier's contemporaries, for example, Antonio de Andrade, who served his Mass in India (5, 5); Nicolau Pereira, who told him the prophesy about the *Santa Cruz* (9, 17); and F. de Gouvea, who had been told of Xavier's cure of a boy in Malacca by the latter's father (10, 4). Lucena frequently shows a critical judgment, for example, with respect to the miracle of Tolo, to which three Portuguese testified in 1556. On the evidence of two eyewitnesses, Beira and Castro, he shows that the chastisement of the town occurred only after the departure of the saint (4, 10). In other instances Lucena obviously lacks the necessary critical attitude, for example, with respect to the miracle at Achin (5, 6-18). Further, he has a style that is on occasion moralizing and extravagantly rhetorical, with long quotations from Scripture and lengthy digressions. He makes, for example, a complete apologetic manual out of Xavier's disputation with Torres, freely inventing whole chapters for it (Book 8; cf. Schurhammer, *Die Disputationen* 30-33). See the introduction to the facsimile edition of 1952; Agostinho de Campos, *Lucena* I 9-48, II 9-63; the censures of Seb. Gonçalves (Wicki, "Die Zensuren" 91-99 102-107); Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 31-33 and "Xaveriusforschung" 85-86; on his dependence upon Valignano, Wicki, *Historia* 102\*, on his text of Xavier's letters, EX I 86\*; see also GS II 56.

8. Luis de Guzmán, S.J., *Historia de las Misiones que han hecho los Religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús, para predicar el sancto Evangelio en la India Oriental, y en los Reynos de la China y Japón* (Alcalá, 1601).—Guzmán, born in Osorno in the diocese of Palencia in 1544, entered the Society of Jesus in Alcalá on May 3, 1563, where he studied philosophy (for three months the *Summulae* under Fernando de La Cerda; FN III 415) and theology. On December 13, 1571, he was professed of the four vows and was *socius* of the provincial of the Toledo province for a year. In 1573 he became novice master in Villarejo de Fuentes. He was then rector of the college of Belmonte until 1587; as such, on December 12, 1584, he received the Japanese ambassadors on their way to Rome (*Historia* 429 457). In 1587 and 1588 he was provincial of the Andalusia province but had

to return to Belmonte because of sickness and then to Alcalá. He was commissioned to write the history of the Portuguese missions. On July 1, 1593, he wrote to Aquaviva that he had ten books in mind and that five of these were already written in a fair copy, but that he had, in accordance with his desire, asked the Portuguese provincial for further materials on Japan (ARSI: *Hispania* 135, 342). He was rector in Alcalá in 1594 and 1595, and from December 8, 1595, to 1599, and from 1602 to 1605, provincial of the Toledo province. He died in this office in Madrid on January 10, 1605, "as a perfect example of all holiness," as the annual letter stated in his obituary (ARSI: *Tolet.* 37a, 398-v). Four years before this his *Historia* had appeared in two printed volumes. See in addition to the manuscript catalogs of the archives of the orders, especially the *trienales* of 1565 1584 1587 and 1590 (*Tolet.* 12a and 21), Nieremberg, *Firmamento Religioso de luzidos astros* (Madrid, 1644) 385-406 (in *Varones Ilustres*, 1891, VIII 379-408), and the foreword of the editor of the second edition of Bilbao in 1891. He is not to be confused with his namesake Luis de Guzmán, who was born in Alcarón in 1527 and entered the order in Alcalá in 1553. For thirty-five years he was active as a famous preacher. He was at the general congregations in Rome in 1573 and, as vice-provincial, in 1580-1581. He was *praepositus* of the professed house in Madrid for three years and rector of the college in Talavera from 1582 to 1587. He died at Alcalá on August 7, 1581.—Astrain sought to rescue the *Historia* from an undeserved oblivion. He praised its "criterio sensato, la imparcialidad severa con que refiere los hechos, guardándose de toda exageración, su estilo clásico, limpio, correcto y sosegado" (*Historia de la Compañía* III 94-95). The first volume gives the life of Francis Xavier and the history of the missions in Brazil, South Africa, Abyssinia, India, the Moluccas, and Japan until 1565; the second, the more important, that of Japan from 1565 to 1600. With respect to his sources, Guzmán wrote that he had not been content to write what he had read in the printed works of learned and weighty individuals about the East Indies and what the missionaries of the Society of Jesus had written in India and Japan. He had obtained further information from important priests who had worked for years in those regions and were eyewitnesses of what they had to tell. From all this he had taken what was certain and confirmed, leaving aside what was less reliable. His main sources for India were Polanco, Maffei, Teixeira, Valignano, and Tursellinus. He thus has hardly anything new here on Xavier, whereas he had at his disposal for Japan important, new sources that are now lost. See EX I 86\*-88\*; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 33; Wicki, *Valignano* 103\*; Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I 1, 19-20; and the censures of Seb. Gonçalves in Wicki, "Zensuren" 82-89. Guzmán strangely took the account of Antonio of the Holy Faith on the death of St. Francis Xavier as a forgery and sought to prove that he was not present at it (*Historia* 50-51).

9. Sebastião Gonçalves, S.J., *Primeira Parte da Historia da Companhia de Jesus nos reynos e provincias da India Oriental* (Goa, 1614), ed. José Wicki, S.J., 3 vols. (Coimbra, 1957-1962).—P. Seb. Gonçalves, *senior* (on his many namesakes see Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger," GS II 127-131), was born in 1555 in Ponte de Lima (Braga), entered the Society of Jesus in Evora in 1574, was employed after completing his philosophical studies in 1583-1584 in the secretariate of the Roman curia of his order, and was ordained to the priesthood at the end of his theological studies in 1588. From 1589 to 1592 he was prefect of studies and professor of moral theology in Angra (the Azores) with a seven-month interruption as a replacement for the novice master in Evora. In 1593 he sailed for India, taught

moral theology in Goa in 1594, was rector of the college in Damão for a year in 1596-1597, and from 1597 to 1602 *socius* to the provincial of the province of Goa. In 1604 he was asked to write the history of the India province. From 1609 to 1614 he was again *socius* to the provincial. In the latter year the first part of his projected three-volume history was completed. From 1616 to 1618 he was busy with his historical labors as *praepositus* of the professed house in Goa. He then moved to the novitiate of the old College of St. Paul, where he died on March 23, 1619. His obituary praises his gracious, unpretentious manner, his fidelity to the rules, and his tireless industry, thanks to which he had been able to complete his history before his death ("gesta historiae tradenda indefatigato animo incubuit, quo tomos tres, qui pene nostrorum temporum facta attingunt, typis mandandos illucubavit"). The three volumes contain the history of the Jesuit missions from Africa to Japan: I, to 1570; II, to 1597; III, to 1605. But only the first volume, the first half of which contains the life of Xavier, and a list of chapter headings of the second and third volumes are still extant. Both have been published by Wicki with Gonçalves' necrology, notes, and an extensive introduction.—The first part of the *Historia* is preserved in three copies. The best of these, corrected by the author himself and sent to Portugal for printing, is in the National Library in Lisbon: *Fundo Geral* 915; the second best is in the Jesuit archives in Rome: *Goa* 37; and the third (I 1-5), made in Macao for the mission procurator in Lisbon, is in the Ajuda library in Lisbon: 40-4-51. The Roman copy in *Goa* 37 (described in EX I 158\*-159\*), ff. 1-284v, with the chapter headings of II and III on ff. 285-292v, has on f. 293 an original letter of Gonçalves of January 25, 1616, to Jorge de Gouvea, the procurator in Lisbon, containing two corrections in the Roman text and the legend: "Pera mandar a Roma." The two corrections were not made in the Roman text or that of the *Fundo Geral*. From this it has been concluded that these copies were sent to Portugal in 1615. But in the *Fondo Gesuitico* of the Jesuit archives in Rome, n. 1443, 9, there is, among the sixty-three documents of the college in Goa, a fascicle of fifteen folios with the legend: "Goana. Rationes accepti et expensi a 28 Maii 1613 usque ad 24 Maii 1626. Accepta a P. Georgio de Gouvea et redita a P. Stephano de Castro" [both were at the time in the college of S. Antão in Lisbon], in which there is an entry among the bills of May 24, 1617-1618: "For a copy of the book of P. Seb. Gonçalves for Rome: 15,900 *reis*. For carrying the letters to Rome 4,000 *reis*." From this it appears that the Roman copy was not sent from India until 1616.—On his *History*, Gonçalves wrote in his prologue: "In order to write this history, I had to read through historical works, old and new accounts, and countless letters, and to ask those who could inform me of events of their time." He mentions in particular among his principal sources Teixeira, Valignano, Maffei, Tursellinus, Lucena, and Guzmán. For the life of Xavier he follows Lucena and the *Informação* of Pérez. But he also cites very frequently other secular and ecclesiastical authors from both books and manuscripts. He obtained oral information, for example, from a nephew of Casalini on Xavier's stay in Bologna (I 37), from a nephew of Filipppe de Aguiar about the latter's conversion on his way to Lisbon (51), from a missionary to Amboina, Francisco da Cunha, on the conversion of Francisco de Rosalao (207), from Francisco Cabral and Gaspar de Araujo on the cure of Francisco de Chaves (245), from Ch. Leitão on Xavier's departure from Caterina de Chaves in 1552 (390), from four survivors about the voyage and shipwreck of the *São Paulo* near Sumatra in 1561 (III 117-119), and on the remarkable sect of Johannine Chris-

tians in Basra from the ambassador of the Mombareca, the king of the Euphrates delta (*ibid.* 326). The *Historia* with its abundance of new data, especially on the history of the mission in Xavier's time, is one of the most valuable chronicles of the missions in the East in the sixteenth century, and the author repeatedly shows his critical spirit. Thus, for example, he denies, against Lucena, the raising of Chaves from the dead (I 245); at the end of the fifth book, in chapter 22, he gives the errors of earlier authors on Xavier; and between 1606 and 1612 he sent detailed lists of *errata* in Guzmán, Tursellinus, Ribadeneyra, Guerreiro, and Lucena to Rome for Sacchini (Wicki, « Die Zensuren » 82-107).—But in his chapters on Xavier, Gonçalves copies largely from Lucena, including his fictitious speeches, his descriptions taken from the fanciful Mendes Pinto, and his uncritical accounts of miracles. His nine chapters on Barzaeus are based almost entirely on Lucena and Trigault, those on Japan on the printed *Cartas do Japão*, and his twenty-five letters of Xavier are for the most part the worthless texts inserted by Lucena and Teixeira (cf. EX I 88\*-89\*). His many citations from Scripture and the Fathers and his long digressions dragged the work out to such a length that, according to Francisco de Sousa, this was the reason why it was never printed ("Prefacio isagogica," *Oriente Conquistado*). See Wicki, *Primeira Parte I*, pp. VI-XXXII, and "P. Seb. Gonçalves 'Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus nos reynos e provincias da India Oriental' (1614)," *NZM* 8 (1952) 261-169; and GS IV 910.

10. Nicolaus Orlandinus, S.J., *Historiae Societatis Iesu prima pars* (Romae, 1615).—The author of this first official history of the Society of Jesus was born in Florence on April 10, 1553. He entered the Society of Jesus in Rome on November 7, 1572, taught humanities, was then rector of the college in Nola, then novice master in Naples for five years, and was then called to Rome, where he was ordered to write the history of the Society of Jesus. He had completed it down to the death of its founder in 1556 when he died on May 27, 1606. The *Historia* is written in annalistic form. As his principal sources he used the *Chronicon* of Polanco, and also Tursellinus, Lucena, Ribadeneyra, and the basic history of Simon (Simão) Rodrigues. He offers hardly anything new on Xavier (cf. the critique in GS II 58-59).

11. Daniello Bartoli, S.J., *Historia della Compagnia di Gesù* (Roma, 1653-1673). The author, born in Ferrara on February 12, 1608, entered the Society of Jesus in Novellara in 1623. After the conclusion of his studies, during which he taught rhetoric for four years, he was appointed to the office of preaching and for ten years worked in the capitals of Italy from Turin to Naples as a fiery orator until, on a voyage from Naples to Messina, he lost the manuscript of his sermons in a shipwreck near Capri in 1646. Although a part of them were fished out of the water by the Carthusians of Capri, the general, to whom he had communicated his misfortune in a letter with the offer of doing any other kind of work, summoned him to Rome, where he assumed the office of writer in the professed house of the Gesù and was commissioned to write the history of the order in Italian. In the following years he published thirteen larger or smaller works on history, natural science, literature, and morality, and six heavy folios of his history. The introduction, a life of the founder of the order appeared in 1650, *Asia* in 1653, *Japan* in 1660, *China* in 1663, *England* in 1667, and *Italy* in 1673. When he saw, however, that he could no longer complete his original, too large plan, he changed it and wrote under the title *Degli uomini e de' fatti della Compagnia*



*di Gesù* a kind of brief annals. He had completed five books of these in manuscript, bringing his history down to 1590, before he died in Rome on January 13, 1685, renowned as one of the most productive and best classic authors of Italian (on his life see [G. Boero, S.J.], *Lettere edite ed inedite del Padre Daniello Bartoli D.C.D.G. e di uomini illustri* [Bologna, 1865], pp. I-LXXVII, and Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze* I 1, 23-27).—*His works*: Since the first edition of his history of the order appeared in folio volumes without divisions into chapters, and the *Uomini e fatti* were not printed until the nineteenth century, the more recently published collections of his entire works, such as the Turin edition of 1825-1856 in thirty-eight volumes and their second, corrected edition of Naples of 1853-1861 in eighty small, duodecimo volumes, are to be preferred for practical use. The Neapolitan edition contains *Della vita e dell'istituto di S. Ignatio* (18-23), *L'Asia* (27-34), *Il Giappone* (35-43), *La Cina* (47-64), *L'Inghilterra* (12-17), *L'Italia* (67-71), and *Degli uomini e de' fatti della Compagnia di Gesù* (76-80). *L'Asia* is the most pertinent for Xavier. Its original manuscript is preserved in the Roman archives of the order: *Hist. Soc.* 123 (cf. Sommervogel I 965-985).—In his *Asia* Bartoli wrote that the authors before 1615, such as Tursellinus, Lucena, and Orlandinus, had only known the process of 1556 for Xavier's canonization and that their descriptions of his life were factually poor in comparison with his own because they had not known the much richer process of 1615. From both of these processes and the writings of others who had known Xavier personally, he had obtained all that was new in his work (4, 28, pp. 143-144). Bartoli was an industrious student of the printed and manuscript sources, especially those in the Jesuit Roman archives, as his still extant collection of materials, his *Selva*, indicate (ARSI: *Hist. Soc.* 115-116). On July 6, 1669, Bartoli wrote to Giov. Batt. Orsucci, who had become interested in his ancestral city of Lucca: "Father Paolo Ottolini wrote to you correctly that while I was reading through histories and manuscripts I occasionally came across materials pertinent to the work with which you are engaged to your own honor and that of your city; and I remember that when I was writing the history of Japan, I several times ran across the saintly martyr Father Fra Orsucci, who was burned alive for the faith, and I believe that I mentioned him on one occasion. I handed over to his religious brethren a rather intimate description of him, as it was proper for me to do. But it would be very difficult for me today to find where it is after so many years.... The pages of the history of Japan alone in which he is mentioned are a large mass, some palms taller than I am and without order" (copy of the original in the city archives of Lucca in ARSI: *Ep. Nostr.* 95, 1-v). But the testimonials of the remissorial process of 1613-1616, today partly lost, were never a safe historical source, as Bartoli believed. Most of the 140 miracles which they record would be difficult to prove. His accounts are also marred by generalizations and exaggerations, for example: "He had such a power over nature that it was justly said of him that it was a miracle when Padre Francesco worked no miracle" (*Asia* 4, 50, p. 275), his prophecies were always and everywhere fulfilled (*ibid.* 4, 18, p. 95); miraculous cures of every kind were daily occurrences and thus no longer counted (*Uomini* 1, 15, p. 141). Bartoli's excessive credulity with respect to miracles, his lack of a critical attitude in other matters as well (cf. Schurhammer, Ceylon 37-39), and his exaggerations, for example, with respect to the number of Xavier's baptisms in general (700,000) and of royal baptisms in particular (cf. GS III 271-319), are compounded by his

refusal on principal to give any sources for his assertions.<sup>25</sup> We were able to trace most of his data back to their origins; but some obviously go back to lost sources, for example, lost hearings. He expressly admits that he had never been able to see the Japanese chronicle of Frois (*Giappone* 2, 64, p. 483). Still, his brilliantly written volumes with an abundance of new data provided a main source for all subsequent biographers of Xavier, as for example, for the numerous reprints of his life by Bouhours and Garcia, which did not employ any further sources.

12. Francisco de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa* I-II (Lisboa, 1710).—The author, who was born on the island of Itaparica near Bahia (Brazil), came to Lisbon in 1664, where he entered the Society of Jesus on January 17, 1665, and sailed on April 20 of the same year for India. He had to winter in Socotra and did not reach Goa until 1666, where he studied rhetoric, philosophy, theology, and three years of humanities after his novitiate. He then taught philosophy for two years and theology for several more. He became prefect of studies in the new college of St. Paul in Goa and then superior in the old college. In 1683 he was professed of the four vows. In 1689 we encounter him as parish priest in Salsette, in 1694 as chronicler of the Goa province in the professed house in Goa, in 1695-1697 in the college of Rachol busy with his chronicle, the first part of which received the *imprimatur* of his provincial at the end of 1697. He was a parish priest in Margão in 1698 and 1699, writing the second part of his work. From 1700 to 1705 he was a parish priest in Sancoale (in Salsette, like the other villages), where he obtained the *imprimatur* for it at the end of 1701 and was writing the third part of his chronicle. In 1705 he was the *praepositus* of the professed house in Goa, where he died on June 17, 1712. On his life see the catalog of manuscripts in ARSI: Goa 25 and 27, complemented by occasional data in his *Oriente Conquistado* and by Barbosa Machado II 244-245). See also A. P. C. Fernandes, S.J., *Missionários Jesuitas no Brasil no tempo de Pombal* [Pôrto Alegre, 1941?] 10-17 267-270. The date of his death is given in the official list of deceased in ARSI: *Hist. Soc.* 51, 108.—*His work*: In the second part of his chronicle Sousa wrote: "The [Japanese] ambassadors arrived back in the harbor of Nagasaki on July 21, 1590. If God gives me life to write the third part of this history, we shall describe in detail their journey abroad and back and all that they experienced in Europe" (2, 4, 2, 74). Parts I and II appeared in Lisbon in 1710 and in a second edition in Bombay in 1881-1886. The manuscript of part three was still extant in the college of S. Antão in Lisbon in the time of Barbosa Machado (1747) (II 245). It was lost in the suppression of the Society.

Sousa, the last great India historian of the Society of Jesus, divided his work into three parts: I: 1542-1563, II: 1564-1585, III: 1586-1610. Each part was subdivided into five *conquistas*: (1) from the mouth of Indus to Quilon, (2) from

<sup>25</sup> The names of persons and places are repeatedly bowdlerized by Bartoli, even in the third edition of his *Asia* of 1667, which he thoroughly revised. These errors have also passed over into the later editions of his work, for example, that of Naples. He has Manapassir (1, 22, p. 84) instead of Mandapeshvar, Unicheterviri (1, 41, p. 163) instead of Unike Tiruvadi, Ciriapatan and Alicali (4, 34, p. 172) instead of Kadiapattanam and Polikarai, Pasim (1, 45, p. 180) instead of Pati, Almaino (1, 46, p. 187) instead of Almeirim, "re Monogia" (2, 7, p. 36) instead of "re di Mamuja," Tibichisama (2, 8, p. 43) instead of Hatiwi (according to the Portuguese text of the Xavier process, Araujo died "no luguar de Tybi, que são sesemta leguoas de Maluquo," whereas the Latin version has "in loco Tibiquesanis"), Cratambi (4, 34, p. 167) instead of Chiatambi, and so forth.

Quilon to the mouth of the Ganges, (3) from the mouth of the Ganges to China, (4) China and Japan, (5) from the mouth of the Indus to the Cape of Good Hope; and each *conquista* was divided into two sections (*divisões*). In contrast to Bartoli, Sousa usually names his sources; and in the foreword to part one, he notes that Valignano, at the request of General Aquaviva, had carefully collected all the material for a history of the India mission, including information from Xavier's companions H. Henriques and Pérez, and that he had given all of this to Teixeira, who composed two treatises from it, the first of which came down to 1552 and the second to 1564 (by this he meant Valignano's *Historia*), and he adds: "On these two treatises and some private letters and the processes for the canonization of St. Francis Xavier has been based all that has hitherto been printed in Europe about this matter." Many things had eluded his predecessors such as Lucena, Seb. Gonçalves, and Bartoli. He could thus produce much that was new. But elsewhere he notes the difficulties under which he had to work because of the decline of Portuguese India. If he omits the accounts of certain miracles, he does this not because he is unaware of them but because of the great care he has to determine the truth and to bring the books printed in Europe into agreement with the manuscripts in India.<sup>26</sup> If in the course of years some lack of truth is discovered in his history, the blame should not be credited to his negligence but to the unfavorable times in which he is writing, when Portuguese vessels were no longer sailing to many parts of the East from where more precise information would have to be obtained, especially from those places where the events had occurred. There was also a further difficulty even with regions to which Portuguese vessels still sailed: life was too short to get an answer to a letter that might resolve a doubt because of the lack of personnel, poverty of trade, and paucity of vessels (1, 4, 2, 5). But his history was a valuable complement to that of his predecessors. Even though the two extant parts come down only to 1585, we still find in them frequent, interesting information on the status of former Portuguese possessions, their local traditions,

<sup>26</sup> He thus uses, for example, four authors in order to establish the date in his section on the fall of Ternate on December 28, 1575, with the observation: "Varião alguns Autores estrangeiros no anno em que succedo esta desgraça, dizendo huns, que em cincoenta e tres, e outros em cincoenta e seis, e alguns em cincoenta e sete; mas não obstante esta variedade, ninguém duvide da certeza do nosso computo, em que seguimos a Faria [e Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* II 589-592], Argensola [*Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, Madrid, 1609, 77; ed. Zaragoza, 1891, 93-95], e Sebastião Gonçalves [*Historia* P. 2, l. 1, c. 20, now lost], e principalmente ao Padre Alexandre Valignano, Visitador da India, em hum tratado manuscripto, dirigido ao muito Reverendo Padre Everardo Mercuriano, Geral da Companhia no anno de mil quinhentos setenta e nove [*Summario de las cosas que pertenecen a la Provincia de la India Oriental y al govierno della, compuesta por el Padre Alexandro Valignano, Visitador della, y dirigido a Nuestro Padre General Everardo Mercuriano en el año 1579*: ARSI: Goa 7, 28]" (*Oriente Conquistado* 2, 2, 3, 2). With respect to Ceylon, "where two autores gravissimos" [Lucena and Bartoli] wrote "com alguma confusão" about the converted princes, he corrects them on the basis of an account which he obtained from P. Semedo in South India (1, 2, 1, 26). He accepts Xavier's journey to Kandy because the chroniclers of the order in Rome, Lisbon, and Goa [Bartoli, Lucena, and Seb. Gonçalves] were agreed upon it. He corrects, however, the account of the expedition of A. Moniz Barreto given by a "certain author" [Couto] "from contemporary reports" (1, 2, 1, 48). With respect to the baptism of the king of Trincomali, he writes that a "certain author [Frey Jacinto de Deus] had confused him "com manifesto engano" with the brother of the king of Jaffna (1, 2, 1, 73). With respect to the voyage of P. Moraes to Ceylon he notes that he sailed with Duarte Deça, and that Faria y Sousa on this occasion confuses him with Xavier (1, 2, 2, 6). Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 50-51.

and the fate of many individuals. Sousa made use of practically all the printed and unprinted material available at the time, including the treasure of manuscripts in the Goa archives of the Society of Jesus that were burned under Pombal: catalogs and necrologies of his province, lists of India voyagers, letters of missionaries, the India and Japan *summarias* of Valignano, the *Conquista da India* of Queyroz, the *Malaca* of Godinho de Eredia, the *Relação da Serra* of Roz, the account of the Moluccas by Marta, and the now lost parts of Seb. Gonçalves (2, 1, 2, 32; 2, 3, 2, 2; and 2, 4, 2, 8), from which he took his detailed accounts of Akbar's embassy in Goa in 1578 (2, 1, 2, 43-47) and of the Thomas Christians (2, 1, 2, 12-24). For Sousa, as for Bartoli, the testimonies given at the processes for Xavier's canonization and the bull of canonization based upon them were safe historical fonts, as was Mendes Pinto. He therefore tries to explain the difficulties, for example, in the miracle of Tolo either through bilocation or through an error in the mission letters (1, 3, 1, 52-53; 1, 3, 2, 9). But elsewhere the problems were critically investigated. In his judgment on Hairun, for example, he follows the mission letter against Rebello, Couto, and Argensola (2, 3, 1, 36); with respect to Niachile he opposes Barros (1, 3, 1, 21); in the surprise attack of the Achinese fleet in Malacca in 1547, he takes a stand against Couto on the basis of his "better sources" (1, 3, 1, 38-44); and he explains the "cross crab" as a natural event without a miraculous intervention (1, 3, 1, 30). As Teixeira had done earlier, Sousa treats Xavier's letters, sixteen of which he gives in full and thirty-seven in part, with great freedom, abbreviating them and changing their style at will, even though he states that he is faithfully reproducing them. He had the original of many of these in the professed house, but he translated others from the Latin of the Cologne edition of 1692 since he did not have the originals at his disposal in Salsette (EX I 107\*-109\*). Sousa is also free, like Lucena, with Fernandez' letter containing the protocol of Torres' disputation in Yamaguchi. He makes a treatise of it with the title "Disputation in Yamaguchi Divided up into Seven Dialogues," completely different from its prototype in order and contents (1, 4, 1, 51-60; cf. Schurhammer, "Die Disputationen" 33-36).

13. Léonard Joseph Marie Cros, S.J., *Saint François de Xavier. Sa Vie et ses lettres*, 2 vols. (Toulouse-Paris, 1900).—Cros,<sup>27</sup> the pioneer of modern scientific Xaverian research, was born on October 31, 1831, in Vabres-en-Rouergue (Aveyron). The son of a notary, he studied law in Toulouse and in 1853 entered the Society of Jesus. After the completion of his studies, he was spiritual director of the students in the college of Bordeaux from 1864 to 1867. Later he was a writer, popular missionary, and director of retreats from 1868 to 1878 in Toulouse, from 1879 to 1882 in Pau, from 1885 to 1889, with weakened health, in the villa of Montblanc near Croix-Daurade, 2 1/2 miles from Toulouse. He was an ubiquitous champion of early Communion for children and of frequent and daily Communion until his provincial forbade him in 1887 to recommend daily Communion for children. After this he restricted himself more and more to writing. Between 1890 and 1899 he was in Toulouse and Pau, in 1900 and 1901

<sup>27</sup> On his life see J. E. Laborde, S.J., *Un Apôtre de l'Eucharistie. Le Père Léonard Cros de la Compagnie de Jésus. Souvenirs* (Toulouse, 1921); Paul Dudon, S.J., "L'apostolat eucharistique du P. Léonard Cros," *Études* 137 (1913) 5-36; E. Lamalle, S.J., "Léonard Cros," *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 4 (1950) 1021; the annual printed catalog of the Toulouse province; and eight fascicles of his literary remains in the archives of the Toulouse (now Atlantic) province of his order in Toulouse, especially the eight hundred pages of his extensive *\*Journal de voyages*.

in the college of Castres, and, after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1901, in Victoria in Spain, where he died on January 17, 1913, leaving behind at the time of his death 348 pounds of manuscripts.<sup>28</sup> *His researches.* Cros had inherited from his father a passion for old manuscripts and archival studies.<sup>29</sup> During the time that he was conducting missions in southern France he searched everywhere in municipal archives for documents on the history of the earlier colleges of the Society, and in 1894 he published a volume, *Documents Nouveaux*, on Francis Regis. He had also visited Spain from 1866 on,<sup>30</sup> where he collected materials particularly on Ignatius, the founder of his order, and Francis Xavier, and where the archives of the duke of Granada de Ega in Madrid contained a large mass of important documents on the family history of the Apostle of the Indies.<sup>31</sup> In 1883 he examined the notarial archives of Azpeitia for the history of the youth of St. Ignatius and the royal archives of Simancas for that of Xavier.<sup>32</sup> In 1886 he again visited Spain,<sup>33</sup> and in 1887 he submitted a volume for censoring, *Documents Nouveaux*,<sup>34</sup> on the stay of the founder of the order in Azpeitia in 1535. His revolutionary ideas with regard to the accepted traditions on Ignatius, however, offended his confreres in Spain and France. In 1891 he had begun to collect materials in the archives of Navarre for a book on Xavier<sup>35</sup> when his provincial suddenly called him back to Toulouse. The provincials of Aragon and Castile had asked for his departure from Spain "because of his peculiar ideas with respect to the Ignatian traditions." The life of Xavier offered less difficulties.<sup>36</sup> In the middle of 1892 he therefore began to collect a volume of new documents on him.<sup>37</sup> This was passed by the censors of his order in 1893 and was printed in Toulouse in 1894<sup>38</sup> while he was in Navarre gathering more material for a second volume.<sup>39</sup> The book bore the title: *Saint François de Xavier de la Compagnie de Jésus. Son Pays, sa famille, sa vie. Documents Nouveaux (Ire Série)*. This richly illustrated volume of 554 pages, with its abundance of new documentation, marked the beginning

<sup>28</sup> Laborde 395.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. "L'archiviste ou le chroniqueur" in Laborde 303-320.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 318.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. his extracts from the *Cahier rouge*, pp. 89-96 115 150 and 319-402 in fasc. 6, 2 6, 3-10 of his literary remains with his list of sources for the second volume of his *Documents Nouveaux*, the manuscript of which is contained in fasc. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Laborde 313; *Vie* I, p. XVI; *Documents Nouveaux* I 156. The catalogs from the beginning of 1883 and 1884 give his residence as Loyola.

<sup>33</sup> \**Journal* 647.

<sup>34</sup> Cros to Wilhelm Kreiten, S.J., who was working at the time on a life of Ignatius that was never published. The letter is dated Toulouse January 27, 1894 (in the archives of the Lower German province in Cologne, among the literary remains of Kreiten: V 72).

<sup>35</sup> \**Journal* 669-690; Laborde 309-314.

<sup>36</sup> Cros to Kreiten, January 27, 1894. Cros wrote "Chassé d'Espagne" on the margin of this section of his journal, p. 687, where he gives an abstract of the letters of the three provincials (687-69). On February 3, 1894, Cros also wrote to Kreiten about his "strange ideas" with respect to the traditions about Ignatius. On January 8, 1894, Moritz Meschler, the well-known biographer of St. Aloysius, had written to Kreiten "P. Cros has not printed anything. He has constantly collected documents and sources, but he has not brought anything through the censors. He is very talented but unique, and seems to be eccentric and hypercritical. He has doubts about everything. He consequently made himself unbearable in France and Spain. But he must have every sort of thing. P. Ehrle says that he would indicate this to you if you write to him" (Archives of the Lower German Province, l.c.).

<sup>37</sup> Cros, literary remains, fasc. 5, 7.

<sup>38</sup> \**Journal* 699.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.* 699-746 and Cros to Kreiten January 27, 1894.

of a new epoch in Xaverian research. But Cros treated little more than the history of his family and relatives, his cult in Navarre, and the period of his studies in Paris. In two chapters he gave a brief account of the work of the saint in India, the Moluccas, and Japan. For these he inserted passages from Xavier's letters, following the original text published by L. Delplace, S.J., *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae* (Florentiae, 1887), but one swarming with errors. From November, 1894, to January, 1895, he spent two months in Portugal collecting, almost exclusively in Lisbon, material on Xavier's work in the East.<sup>40</sup> The Bollandists had given a favorable review to his first volume and had noted: "It would be rash to write on the great Apostle of India without having studied the *Documents Nouveaux*."<sup>41</sup> But when Cros finished the second volume on Xavier, his publisher refused to print the costly work.<sup>42</sup> He therefore published his materials in a more popular form: *Saint François Xavier. Sa vie et ses lettres*, 2 vols. (Toulouse-Paris, 1900). The manuscript of the second volume of *Documents Nouveaux*, on the history of Xavier's family in Spain, remained unprinted. To compensate for this, Cros gave the chapter headings of this second volume in the foreword to his *Vie* for the few who had subscribed to it.<sup>43</sup> Dudon, in his biography *Saint Ignace de Loyola* (Paris, 1934), was the first to make a partial use of the materials that Cros had collected on Ignatius. Those on Peter Favre and Alfonso Rodriguez remained unpublished.—After the first ten chapters, the *Vie et lettres* expressly deal with Xavier's work in India, Indonesia, and Japan with an abundance of new documentation. Cros stresses the fact that he is only providing a collection of materials for future biographers of Xavier. In each chapter he gives in chronological order the pertinent new texts translated from the original into French and connected to each other by a short explanation. These two volumes and the *Documents Nouveaux*, the fruit of years of tedious archival research, placed Xaverian studies on a completely new level, as was immediately recognized by critics.<sup>44</sup> Xavier's letters are given in translations from the originals or from contemporary copies in Lisbon and the text of the *Codex Macaensis*,<sup>45</sup> those of his companions and contemporaries from the originals of the Torre do Tombo and the Ajuda library in Lisbon.—*The Sources*: In the Ajuda library Cros found copies of Xavier's letters and those of his confreres in the *Codex Ulyssiponensis* 1-2 and the *Macaensis*; the original correspondence on the conversion of the king of Tanor among the remains left by the viceroy D. João de Castro (51-845); Barradas' abstract of Xavier's remissorial process; the important manuscript chronicles of Seb. Gonçalves, Frois, and

<sup>40</sup> \**Journal* 747-755 and Cros, literary remains, fasc. 6, 5, pp. 787-984.

<sup>41</sup> *Analecta Bollandiana* 15 (1896) 108-109.

<sup>42</sup> A reprint (the second thousand) appeared in Paris in 1903, but it had little success.

<sup>43</sup> See the foreword to *Vie* I, pp. XI-XIII.

<sup>44</sup> According to the *Analecta Bollandiana* 19 (1900) 465-466, it contained truth instead of "lyrisme de panégyristes peu éclairés." As the only example of this they cite the text which, instead of the hitherto accepted date of his death, gives November 27 as the true date. *The Month* entitled its review "The Real Francis Xavier" (37 [1900] 652-656). The *Stimmen von Maria-Laach* described the two volumes as "ein grundlegendes Werk" (58 [1900] 578; 59 [1900] 358). The *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 36 (1900) 267-270 mentioned the wealth of new data and the mature judgment of the author, who had left no public or private archive in Portugal, Spain, France, or Italy unused. *Etudes* called his history of Xavier's youth "absolument nouveau." It praised his translation of Xavier's letters from the original text and declared: "Son livre, c'est vraiment saint François de Xavier, raconté par lui-même et ses contemporains" (83 [1900] 270-272).

<sup>45</sup> On his texts of Xavier's letters, see EX I 134\*-135\*.

Valignano (of 1601); and those of "the Annalist of Macao" (João Rodrigues Tçuzu). In the Bibliotheca Nacional he found original letters of both Ignatius and Xavier (Pombal 745); in the Torre do Tombo, the national archives, original letters of Xavier's contemporaries in India—on the mission in Ceylon, for example, in the *Corpo Chronologico*; and an abstract of the first Xavier processes of 1556-1557 in the Academia das Ciências (Q 6150a).—*Evaluation*: In his foreword to *Documents Nouveaux*, Cros refers to some defects in his work: he was presenting the documents in a French translation, incomplete, and often without sufficient information on the sources; but he also notes that he had translated Xavier's letters from their original text with scrupulous accuracy and not from the garbled Latin version (pp. XLV-XLVII). In the foreword to the second volume of his *Vie*, he prudently warns his reader about using the letters printed in the first volume of the *Monumenta Xaveriana* in Madrid since it contained a mottled mixture of good and bad texts (pp. XXX-XXXVI). But caution is often needed with respect to Cros's texts as well, as is already indicated by the *Corrections et compléments* in the same volume (pp. 501-523). He worked quickly. In two months, from November 27, 1894, to January 23, 1895, he finished his gigantic labors in the archives of Portugal. In the course of these he had to make his copies in longhand without the assistance of a secretary, and the brother whom the Portuguese provincial put at his disposal for taking pictures could photograph only a few "select pieces" for the illustrations.<sup>46</sup> The result is that his French excerpts, made in all too great a haste, are frequently inaccurate and the names are distorted. Thus, for example, he constantly refers to the Azpilcuetas in "Lecaun" (*Vie* I 21), where this family never lived, whereas the manuscript of the second volume of the *Documents Nouveaux* has the correct *Leçaun* (cf. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier* I 22). He makes of the village *Quilão* (Kilang) on Amboina, as given by Seb. Gonçalves, the non-existent "Luilão" (*Vie* I 351). He has Xavier sail two months after his arrival in Kagoshima for Hirado since he read *dous* (two) instead of *des* (ten) in Frois, an error that distorts his whole chronology and leads to insoluble contradictions (*Vie* II 55-56 89-91). He has Diego de Montero write of Xavier from Goa in 1614: "It is said that blood flowed when his arm was cut off" (*Documents Nouveaux* I 514), whereas it should read: Figueiredo wrote to P. Diogo Monteiro from Goa in 1614: "Seven days before our arrival his grave had been opened in order that an arm might be sent to Father General, as he had asked. His saintly body was found so fair and incorrupt that some of the priests said to the provincial: 'Se lança sangue, não avemos de deixar cortar d'elle cousa alguma'" (MX II 143). Even worse is the fact that Cros at times inserts his own false hypotheses into the text of his documents without brackets or explanations. He has Lancilotto write, for example, that Xavier appointed Paul del Valle as superior of his confreres outside of Goa (*Documents Nouveaux* I 424). But the Latin original of the letter in *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae* 135, his source, and the critical edition in DI II 171 have instead of this "Domino Paulo," by which Micer Paulo, Xavier's first companion, and not Paulo do Valle, is meant. In the same volume Cros gives on pp. 433-434 (and also in *Vie* II 206-207) the translation of a passage of a "letter of the priests in Goa" of December 1, 1552, in which mention is made of Xavier's departure for China, where no foreigners were allowed. Cros then has the writer of the letter continue without any indication of a gap: "P. Maitre

<sup>46</sup> \*Journal 753-754.

François edifies more than ever all those who see him. His great and constant burdens have so ruined him that eating becomes a torture for him. His stomach is so weak that it refuses all nourishment, without speaking of the pains in his breast and other grievous ills; and still, if he complains or sighs, it is because too much is spent on him [the expenses were only for some candied eggs]. Thus weakened he still preaches five or six times a day, even if more moderately than usual. To this is added his constant presence in the confessional, his care for the concerns of the house, and the spiritual assistance of those outside. He therefore cannot decide what he will do when he has once again regained his health. I say nothing about his prayers, his vigils, his humility, his kindness, his brotherly love for us and for externs. He is severe only towards himself," and so forth. Cros's source for this description is the anonymous Latin fragment of a letter in *Selecta Indiarum Epistolae* 151, where, after mentioning Xavier's voyage to China, the sentence breaks off in the middle with the word *nondum*. Then, after a break in the text it continues without giving a name: "longe magis solito aedificat" (151). There is here a case of two fragments of a Latin translation from a long Portuguese letter of Father Luis Frois of February 1, 1552, from Goa, the first about Xavier at its beginning, the second about Father M. Gaspar Barzaeus (and not Xavier) at the end of the letter, both fragments being in ARSI Goa 10, 300r (n. 122) and 351r-352r (n. 215). The original of the letter, signed by Frois's own hand, is *ibid.* 202r-230v, ed. DI II 445-491; and the two fragments in question are on pp. 453 and 484-485, where instead of "P. Maitre François" there is "P. Mestre Guaspar."—Cros, contrary to all prior traditions, places the day of Xavier's death on November 27 instead of December 2. He gives as conclusive proof for this a French translation of the text of the original letter of the only eyewitness for it, the Chinese Antonio of the Holy Faith. This is in the *Codex Macaensis*, which he discovered, and in which the witness three times expressly states that the saint died two hours after midnight on November 27 (*Vie* II 349-351). Cros adds that the only author who knew this letter, Seb. Gonçalves, whose unpublished chronicle he had also discovered, states: "Antonio of the Holy Faith writes three times in his letter, which I read, that Xavier died on Sunday, November 27." He goes on to say, however, that the merchant Gonçalves, who was at the time on Sancian, had noted in his diary that he had died on December 2, a Friday, the usual date accepted by the Society, which he also (Seb. Gonçalves) regarded as the definite date of his death (*Vie* II 355-356). According to Cros more credence was given to the merchant than to Antonio, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century the date in Antonio's letter, November 27, was changed to December 2 (*ibid.* 357).—The proof from Antonio's "original letter" seemed convincing, and most authors, along with the Bollandists,<sup>47</sup> accepted the new date of his death. But in 1903 Astrain, the historian of the Spanish assistancy of the order, showed that the text of the letter was not original but a defective copy of the eighteenth century and did not give November 27 but December 2 as the date of Xavier's death, which Cros had replaced with November 27 without adverting the reader to the fact that he wished to give him a reconstruction of the lost original and not the lost text of the *Codex Macaensis*.<sup>48</sup> In 1912 the *Monumenta Xave-*

<sup>47</sup> Van Ortroty in *Analecta Bollandiana* 19 (1900) 465-466.

<sup>48</sup> *Razón y Fe* 5 (1903) 465-466. We shall discuss at length the heated controversy that broke out over the date in our chapter on the death of Xavier in Vol. IV. A survey of it is given by F. Escalada in *La tumba de San Francisco Javier en San-Cian (China) y la fecha cierta de su muerte (Obra de controversia)*, Pamplona, 1944.



*riana* II published the actual Portuguese text of Antonio's letter in the *Codex Macaensis*, in which the copyist had skipped six days from *sabbado* to *sabbado* (787-798), together with the Spanish translation of Xavier's life by Teixeira, which contains the complete text of the letter with the date of the death as December 3 (815-918). It also has Teixeira's original letter to Ribadeneyra, which is of decisive import for the question of the date of Xavier's death (798-808). [See, now, J. Wicki, "Starb Xaver am 2. oder 3. Dezember 1552?" *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 32.3 (1976) 222-223.]

14. Alexandre Brou, S.J., *Saint François Xavier*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1912).—Brou was born in Chartres on April 26, 1862, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1880. After his studies, most of which he made in England, he taught humanities in Canterbury from 1894 to 1897, in Laval from 1899 to 1901, in Jersey from 1902 to 1906, in Canterbury again from 1907 to 1911, in Jersey again from 1911 to 1919, in Canterbury a third time from 1920 to 1923, and again in Laval in 1924. From 1901 he was an associate, and from 1927 to 1943 a member, of the editorial staff of *Etudes*. As such he contributed many articles to the review, mostly on the history of the Society of Jesus, its missions, and the spirituality of St. Ignatius. He died in Laval on March 12, 1947. His principal work was a two-volume life of Xavier that appeared in 1912, which he followed with further works on the saint: a short version of his life under the title of *Vie populaire de Saint François Xavier* (Paris, 1913); a work on his missionary methods (against the widely read life of Xavier by André Bellessort) entitled *Saint François Xavier. Conditions et Methodes de son Apostolat* (Bruges, 1925); and *Saint François Xavier de la Compagnie de Jésus. Lettres Spirituelles* (Paris, 1937; see our review in GS IV 917 922-924). On his life and work see the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 2 (1967) 823; for his obituary, ARSI 16 (1947) 223-225.—*His work*: Xavier's future biographer, for whom Cros prayed to heaven, and for whom he had published the materials in his three volumes, appeared in the person of P. Brou. His two-volume life of Xavier, crowned by the French Academy, was a pioneer achievement of the first rank, a basic, epoch-making, brilliantly written study that cast all previous biographies into the shade, but which also had the defects of such a work. In the foreword to his first volume, signed at Canterbury on July 31, 1911, Brou noted that his main source had been the three volumes of Cros, to which, as far as Xavier was concerned, he had practically nothing new to add; and, as a matter of fact, several chapters of his work are little more than an abstract from them. But Brou strove to give a somewhat better description of the political, geographical, and moral milieu of the saint's time than his predecessors had done, using the wealth of materials that had been published on it. Against this background, the physiognomy of the saint was probably less hieratic, less epic, and less rhetorical than in Bouhours and his emulators; but it was also somewhat truer to life. Apart from four short and completely peripheral citations from manuscripts in Rome (2, 406-407) and London (1, 151), Brou refers only to printed materials. His own work was written in the solitude of Canterbury, far from the archives, though he visited the British Museum in London with its rich treasury of books. We once wrote to him asking if he could tell us where the manuscripts of Cros were to be found. He replied in a letter from Jersey that he did not know where they were at the time but that they would hardly be of much help to me in my work on Xavier. Cros had had no peers, and if he, Brou, could converse with me directly, he could tell me much in this regard. As far as he was himself concerned, he would not

have been able to write his biography of Xavier without the British Museum. This had provided him with an abundance of material for a description of the milieu in which he had lived. For India Brou had also obtained information in letters from his confreres working on the Madura mission and copies of the Latin processes for Xavier's canonization from the editors of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* in Madrid, who were preparing to publish them. But Brou's ignorance of the rich archives of Lisbon and of the general archives of the order in Rome forced him to leave numerous questions about Xavier's life unresolved, and the errors in Cros's text and his printed, secondary sources (for example, the *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*) also caused him to make frequent mistakes. For the number of baptisms he refers to the later exaggerations in an appendix, and he notes that a precise number cannot be determined (2, 428-429). In a second appendix opposing the attacks of Dickson-White, he takes a middle stance on the miracles (2, 430-441). In particular instances he usually gives the testimonies of the witnesses at the processes, repeatedly placing a question mark at the end without deciding for or against them, for example, with respect to the miracle of the well at Kombuturē (1, 222) and other, similar accounts (1, 275-276), the raising of a girl from the dead in Malacca (1, 362), the raising of a girl in Kagoshima (2, 176-177), the stopping of the plague on Manār (1, 322: "if the trip is historic"), and the saint's gift of tongues (1, 276-280). He defended the so-called "miracle of the crab" against the Bollandist Delehaye (1, 379). He also accepted the miraculous fall of rain on Ulate (1, 380) and the seawater miracle during Xavier's return from Japan, where the latter is confused with a later Jesuit (2, 338). For a number of miracles his chief source is the "eyewitness" Caldeira, who confuses Xavier with a later Jesuit, and Xavier's ship, the *Santa Cruz*, with a later ship of the same name (1, 436-437; 2, 229-230 236 404). Moreover, because of his ignorance of the contemporary sources he believed in the rapidity of Xavier's voyage to Cambay (1, 298), and that Xavier's knowledge of Favre's death on his return voyage to India from Malacca could not be explained without a miracle (1, 438).—Brou was unable to find his way through the maze of events that occurred during Xavier's time in Ceylon despite the documents that had been published by Cros (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 71-72), nor was he entirely at home in the geography of the Moluccas. On his maps (1, 392) Ternate, Tolo, and his Volcan and Tamano (read: *Tamilau*) are wrongly positioned; and instead of Mozotia, Mozotai, Sapazoea, and Hitoé, the readings should be *Morotia*, *Morotai*, *Saparuua*, and *Hitu*. He has the saint sail to Moro in October instead of September (2, 456) and sail back to India after a three-and-a-half-year, instead of a two-and-a-half year, absence (2, 3).—He rightly doubts the historical reliability of Mendes Pinto (1, 422; 2, 87 119 168 171 223 227-229 243-247 361). For the date of Xavier's death, which Brou discussed in 1912 in his text and again in a separate appendix (2, 442-450), he followed Cros and settled for November 27. However, when the *Monumenta Xaveriana* II published this same year the actual text of Antonio's letter with the date of December 3, he adopted December 3 in an article "Quel jour mourut Saint François Xavier? 27 Novembre? 2 Décembre? 3 Décembre?" *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 6 (1916) 325-330. He did the same in the second edition of his life of Xavier that appeared in 1922. As he wrote to us, he had not found time to continue his studies on Xavier. The new edition was therefore practically an unaltered reprint, as the four-line foreword, dated from Jersey, July 31, 1919, indicated. In it Brou simply states that new texts of Antonio's letter had in the meantime appeared in the *Monumenta Xaveriana* II, which

he cites for a number of corrections. There were a few other changes in the new edition. The maps were omitted. In some twenty instances MX II was cited at the end of the footnotes (instead of Cros). Some new evidence in our article on Kagoshima in 1919 is cited (2, 133). In a review of his sources, he notes that the processes for Xavier's canonization had been published in MX II in 1913-1914 [read: 1912], but he does not cite their pages in his note (I, p. VIII). At times he alters individual words in the text (1, 104-105 107). Only the chapter on Xavier's death is more extensively changed. Cros's translation of Antonio's letter is replaced by one from the *Codex Macaensis* and the gap from the first to the second Saturday in Teixeira is filled out so that Xavier dies as a consequence on Saturday, December 3 (2, 363-366). The long appendix C is replaced by a short notice in which the new date is justified (2, 442). Through oversight, however, he left the date November 27 standing in three places (2, 353 369 452).—If we encounter errors and inaccuracies as we work our way through the first and second editions of Brou's *Saint François Xavier*, these were almost unavoidable in a pioneer work and in the unfavorable circumstances in which he had to labor. It is to his credit, however, that, along with Cros, he opened up the way to new scientific researches on Francis Xavier.<sup>49</sup>

### C. ASIATIC AUTHORS

#### A. GENERAL WORKS

We have given a brief survey of the native chroniclers pertinent to the time of Francis Xavier in "A New Life of Saint Francis Xavier," GS III 135-136. In addition to these there are now three more works containing articles by specialists on India, southeast Asia, and Indonesia:

1. *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, ed. C. H. Philips (London, 1961, reprinted 1962).
2. *Historians of South East Asia*, ed. D. G. E. Hall (London, 1961, reprinted 1962).
3. *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, ed. Soedjatmoko (Ithaca, New York, 1965).
4. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-bibliographical Survey I* (London, 1927-1953): Qur'ānic Literature (1-58); General History: Prophets and early Islam (61-215); Special Histories: Persia, Central Asia and the other countries except India (216-432); History of India (433-780), Biography, Additions, Corrections, Indexes (781-1443).
5. Sibadas Chaudhuri, *Index to the Publications of the Asiatic Society 1788*

<sup>49</sup> The brilliantly written life of Xavier by James Brodrick, S.J., *Saint Francis Xavier* (1506-1552) (London, 1952), is today probably the most extensively spread English biography of the saint. It was immediately translated into German, Dutch, French, Spanish, and Italian; and a Polish version appeared in 1969. He employs no new documents but frequently makes use of materials which we had recently published and sent to him at his request. His biography is however to be used with caution. At times it distorts the picture of the saint and it contains a series of false data which have also passed over into the translations (see our review in GS IV 924-932). Some of the errors were corrected in the reprint of 1958. Others were corrected or omitted in the shortened paperback edition made by the author and published in New York in 1957. See our review in GS IV 912-945 on works appearing on Xavier after Brou.

to 1953 I, 1-2 (Calcutta, 1956-1959). It contains a list of the *Bibliotheca Indica* with precise data on titles, authors, editors, translators, serial numbers, dates of editions, translations, and reprints, a sure guide in contrast to the generally contradictory datings, for example, of the Persian chronicles on India in previous authors (pp. 337-356). Since these appeared earlier in fascicle form and the printing of this series was frequently dragged on for many years before a volume was completed, the authors at one time cite the year of the first fascicle, at another that of the last, or of one in between, all of which has led to great confusion.

## B. INDIVIDUAL LANDS

### I. Abyssinia

On the chronicles in general, see Enrico Cerulli, *Storia della Letteratura Etiopica* (Milano, 1956).

#### a) Ethiopian Chronicles:

1. Lebna Dengel, David II (1508-1540): *Storia de Lebna Dengel, re d'Etiopia, sino alle prime lotte contro Ahmad ben Ibrahim*. Text and translation by C. Conti Rossini: *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* 5, 3 (Roma, 1894) 617-640. Composed in 1559, it goes down to 1537.

2. Asnaf Sagad I, Galāwdēwos (1540-1559): *Chronique de Galāwdēwos (Claudius), Roi d'Éthiopie*. Texte éthiopien, traduit, annoté et précédé d'une introduction historique par William El. Conzelmann (Paris, 1895). Composed in 1559-1560. Cf. Cerulli 162-163 166-168. Composed around 1562.

3. Ademās Sagad I, Minās (1559-1563): *Historia de Minās, Ademās Sagad, Rei de Ethiopia*. Texto ethiopico publicado, traduzido e anotado por Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira (Lisboa, 1888). Composed about 1563.

4. Sarsa Dengel, Malak Sagad I (1563-1597): *Historia Regis Sarsa Dengel (Malac Sagad)*. Text and translation by Conti Rossini: *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* XX-XXI (1907). Cf. Cerulli 209-215. Composed between 1579 and 1593.

5. Susenyos, Malak Sagad III (1607-1632): *Chronica de Susenyos, Rei de Ethiopia*. Text and translation with extensive commentary by Esteves Pereira (Lisboa, 1892 and 1900). Cf. Cerulli 216-218. Composed around 1632-1640.

6. 'Amda Seyon I—Bakāffā (1314-1729): *La Cronaca Abbreviata d'Abissinia, nuova versione dall'etiopico e commento*, per F. Béguinot (Roma, 1901). The other chronicles are official documents written by order of the king by court chroniclers. The so-called "Short Chronicle" is not official. It was put together in its present form around 1750 at the request of Hāyle Māryām with the help of earlier annals but with new data from sources no longer extant. It is very brief on the earlier kings, more detailed after 1682. Its core is an account of the Granhe War (1527—) composed by an eyewitness that is found, for example, in Oxford *Codex* 29, ff. 40-42, written about 1600. The royal lists were prefixed to this account and the subsequent reigns were gradually added, first up to Yohannes I (1667), then to 1729. Cf. Cerulli 161-164. The text of Béguinot is better than the one which R. Basset published in *Journal Asiatique* 1881, pp. 109-115.

#### b) Arabic Chronicles

7. Shihāb-ud-dīn, *Futūh al-Habasha* (Conquest of Abyssinia). Text and translation by René Basset: *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle), par Chihab eddīn Ahmend ben 'Abd el Qādar, surnommé Arab-Faqih*. Arab text published

with a French translation and notes, 2 vols. (Paris, 1897-1901). The unfinished account was written shortly after 1559 by one who took part in the war and deals with the attacks of Granhe in 1527-1537. Cf. Cerulli 162-163 165-166.

## II. East Africa

Texts from the Arabic chronicles of the east coast of Africa have been assembled in G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast. Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1962); see also above, p. 51. For Xavier's time the following are pertinent:

1. The *Arabic Chronicle of Kilwa*, composed about 1520, gives the history of the founding of the city in the eleventh century up to the arrival of the Portuguese in 1505. The text with a partial translation was published by S. A. Strong in the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society* 1895, 385-430. Barros had already given an extract from it (1, 8, 4 and 6); and G. Ferrand has given another in "Les sultans de Kilwa," *Mémorial René Basset* (Paris, 1928) 239-260. A translation of the chronicle and of the text in Barros is to be found in Freeman-Grenville 34-49 and 80-104. The Arabic text of the chronicle is only extant in a defective copy of 1867 (British Museum, *Or. Ms.* 2666). Barros presents a more complete text.

2. The *Chronicle of Pate*, written in Swahili, extended from 1204 to 1885. It was destroyed by a bomb in 1890. The most complete text of the various translations is that in English by C. H. Stigand, *The Land of Zinj* (1913) 29-102, and after this the one in Freeman-Grenville 241-296.

## III. Turkey

Three articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* show with some examples the value of the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian sources compared with the Portuguese for the history of Arabia and India: M. Longworth Dames, "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century," 1921, 1-28; Sir E. D. Ross, "The Portuguese in India and Arabia Between 1507 and 1517," 1921, 545-562; and "The Portuguese in India and Arabia 1517-38," 1922, 1-18. A further article is a compilation of the two preceding ones: "Do valor dos historiadores portugueses do Oriente à luz dos anais mussulmanos," *Biblos* 8 (1932) 579-606. Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1927), gives detailed information on Turkish historical sources. Two general works should here be mentioned:

1. Hāji Khalīfā, *Tuhfet al-kibār bi asfār al-bihār* (The History of Turkish Sea Power) (1656). The author, Mustafā bin ʿAbdullāh, known as Hāji khalīfā, the greatest general historian of the Turks, wrote his work in Turkish. Born in Istanbul in 1609, he took part in three military campaigns in Anatolia between 1624 and 1635. He died in his native city in 1657. An English translation by James Mitchell of the first four sections of his history was published in *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks*, Oriental Translation Funds XVII (London, 1831). Pp. 65 ff. treat of the sailing of the Turkish fleet to Diu in 1538. On Hāji Khalīfā see Babinger 195-203 and 398.

2. Munajjim Bāshī, *Universal History* (1672). The author, Ahmad bin Lutfullāh, alias Munajjim Bāshī, came from Salonica. Under Mehmed IV he held the office of court astronomer for a long time. He spent the last years of his

life in exile in Medina and finally in Mecca, where he died in 1702. He wrote his *Universal History* in Arabic, drawing on seventy Arabic, Persian, and Turkish sources from Adam to 1672. This distinguished work became known through a Turkish translation completed in 1730 and published in three volumes in Istanbul in 1868. See Babinger 234-235.

#### IV. Yemen (Southwest Arabia)

1. Qutb-ud-dīn, *al Barq al-Yamāni fī 'l-fath al-'Othmāni* (History of the Capture of Yemen by the Osmanis) (1573). The author, whose full name was Qutb-ud-dīn al-Makki an-Nahrawālī, was born in Mecca in 1514. In 1536 and 1557 he traveled to Cairo and Istanbul to pursue his studies. He also taught law in his native city, where he died in 1582. In his history he describes as an eye-witness the capture of Yemen by the grand vizier Sinān Pāshā in 1569-1570. Before this he gives an account of its capture under Sulaimān Pāshā in 1538, but his data for this are not as secure as they are for the second capture. He treats these same events more briefly in his book on the history of the Kaaba, which he finished in 1577/78. See Babinger 89-90, and David Lopes, *Extractos da Historia da Conquista do Yaman pelos Othmanos* (Lisboa, 1892).

2. Wajīh ad-Dayba', *Bughayat ul-Mustafid fī Akhbār Zabīd*. The author, the most important chronicler for the history of Yemen in the beginning of the sixteenth century, lived in Zebid. He was born in 1461 and died in 1537. He wrote five works on the history of his country, none of which go beyond 1517. The most important is the one here cited. See E.D. Ross, "The Portuguese in India and Arabia Between 1507 and 1517," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1921, 546.

#### V. Hadramaut (South Arabia)

The Arabic chronicles of Hadramaut are discussed in R.B. Serjeant in *The Portuguese of the South-Arabian Coast. Hadramī Chronicles* (Oxford, 1963) and, with more precision, in "Materials for South-Arabian History," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1950) 289-296; "Historians and Historiography of Hadramawt," *ibid.* 25 (1962) 239-261. In his book Serjeant gives the texts of two authors:

1. Bā Fakīh al-Shirī, *Tārīkh Bā Fakīh al-Shihri* (after 1603). The full name of the author is Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Taiyib Bā Fakīh Bā 'Alawī al-Shihri. His chronicle, the most important for South Arabia in the sixteenth century, begins with the year 1495. Serjeant, who uses it as a primary source, could not find anything about his life. His chronicle reaches to 1592. For earlier events he cites in addition to Shanbal two works by eyewitnesses, Bā Makhramah, who died in 1564/65, and Bā Sandjalah (Fakīh 'Abdullāh b. Muhammad Bā Sandjalah), who died around 1586/87 ("Materials" 292-295, "Historians" 244-246, *The Portuguese* 37-39).

2. Shanbal, *Tārīkh Shanbal* (1514). The author, Al-Saiyid Ahmad b. 'Abdullāh b. 'Alawī, alias Shanbal, was born in 1467/68 and died in Tarīm in 1514. His chronicle, written in annalistic form, reaches from 1107/08 to 1514 ("Materials" 291-292, "Historians" 242-246, *The Portuguese* 38).

3. Abū Makhramah, *Kilādat al-Nahr*. The chronicle was published with a translation and notes by Lein Oebele Schuman in *Political History of the Yemen*

at the Beginning of the 16th Century: Abū Makhramah's Account of the Years 906-927 H. (1500-1521 A.D.) (Groningen, 1960). It describes the deeds of the Mamelukes, Turks, and Portuguese in southwest Arabia. The author died in 1540/41 (*The Portuguese* 38-39, and the review in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25 [1962] 350-351).

## VI. Persia and Ormuz

### a) Persia

In the second volume of the outline of Iranian philology edited by W. Geiger and E. Kuhn (Strassburg, 1896-1904), H. Ethé, in "Neupersische Literature," p. 587, has gathered the bibliography on the history of the Safavids, who ruled in Persia from 1502 to 1736. We are particularly interested in Shāh Tahmāsp, who ruled from 1524 to 1576. The sources on him are discussed by Edward G. Browne in *A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times (1500-1924)* IV (Cambridge, 1924) 84-98. Two works are especially pertinent for our period:

1. Shāh Tahmāsp's autobiography (1524-1562), published in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1890, 563-649.

2. Hasan-i-Rūmlū, *Ahsan-u't-Tawārikh*. The text and a translation of the twelfth volume were published by C.N. Seddon in the Gaekwad Oriental Series 57 (1932) and 69 (1934) with a valuable historical commentary. The author wrote, to a large extent as an eyewitness, the history of Shāh Ismā'il (1502-1524) and Shāh Tahmāsp (1524-1576) "in the name of the mighty prince Ismā'il Mirzā." The twelfth volume of his chronicle, the most valuable for this period, extends from 1494 to 1578. See Storey 306-308 1279.

### b) Ormuz

The extremely rich Persian chronicle of the kings of Ormuz, the *Shāhnāma*, composed by King Turān Shāh, who died in 1378, is no longer extant; but abstracts of it are given by a number of Portuguese authors. The first of these is that of Barros in 1553, who had it translated "from the Persian" (*Asia* 2, 2, 2). In 1570 Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., added it as an appendix to his *Tractado da China* with the title *Relaçam da Cronica dos Reys Dormuz, e da fundaçam da cidade Dormuz, tirada de hua Cronica que compos hum Rey do mesmo Reyno, chamado Pachaturunxa, scripta em Arabigo, e sumariamente traduzida em linguagem Portugues por hum religioso da ordem de sam Domingos, que na ilha Dormuz fundou hua casa de sua ordem*. In 1603 Frey Agostinho de Azevedo, O.E.S.A., included it in his *Estado da India*, which he composed in Lisbon after his journey by land from India to Europe (see above, p. 243). In 1604 Pedro Teixeira also returned by land from India to Europe and in 1610 published an abstract from the chronicle in his *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira d'el origen, descendencia y succession de los Reyes de Persia, y de Harmuz, y de un viage hecho por el mismo autor dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por tierra*. He first gives a history of the Persian kings "segun Mirkond, Coronista general Persiano" and then that of the kings of Ormuz under the title: *Breve Relacion del principio del Reyno Harmuz y de sus Reyes hasta el tiempo, en que los Portugueses lo ocuparon. Siguiendo la historia de Torunxa, Rey del mismo Reyno*. An English translation of Teixeira with the original text and an English translation and commentary was published by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, 9 (1901). In 1612 Azevedo's abstract, which Couto had used for his fifth decade, completed in 1596, was printed in his *Asia* 5, 10, 1, pp. 378-386.

## VII. North India (in the time of the Moguls, 1526-1707)

## a) General Works:

1. J. Michael Mahar, *India. A Critical Bibliography* (Tucson, 1966) 20-28.
2. D.N. Marshall, *Mughals in India. A Bibliographical Survey I* (Bombay, 1967).
3. Sri Ram Sharma, *A Bibliography of Mughal India (1526-1707 A.D.)* (Bombay [1942]).
4. H. M. Elliot—John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its own Historians. The Muhammadan Period*, 8 vols. (London, 1867-187). A new edition in thirty-one volumes appeared in Calcutta between 1952 and 1959. Mahar 23-24 gives their contents. The work gives selections from the most important chronicles in an English translation.
5. Abdur Rashid, "The Treatment of History by Muslim Historians in Mughal Official and Biographical Works," in Philips, *Historians* 139-151.
6. C. A. Storey, "Persian Literature," *History of India* 433-780.
7. The bibliographies of the *Cambridge History of India* 3 (1928), 4 (1937), and 5 (1929).
8. The bibliographies of the *History and Culture of the Indian People* 6: "The Delhi Sultanate," ed. R. C. Majumdar (Bombay, 1960) 740-764.

The Mohammedan chronicles of the time of the Moguls (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) are with but two exceptions all in Persian.

## b) Individual Works

1. Abu'l-Fazl, *Akbar-nāma*, edited in *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1873-1886), in English by H. Beveridge (*ibid.*, 1897-1939). Abu'l-Fazl 'Allāmī, who was born about 1551 in Agra, was the private secretary of Akbar. At the latter's request he wrote his life and was murdered by his opponents in 1602. His influence is said to have been the main reason why his high benefactor became estranged from Islam. His *Akbar-nāma*, the first official chronicle of the Mogul emperor, is the classical work on Akbar and his time. Divided into three volumes, the first embraces the rule of his predecessors Bābūr, Humāyūn, and Sher Shāh, whose chronicles he used, and the years of Akbar's reign from 1556 to 1572; the second covers his reign from 1573 to 1602; the third was the *Āin-i-Akbarī*, which gives a detailed description of the court, administration, land and people along with precise statistics, foreign conquerors, tourists, and Mohammedan saints. It also contains the sayings of Akbar. The text appeared in *Bibliotheca Indica* (1867-1877); in an English translation by H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett (1868-1894); in a second, corrected edition (Calcutta, 1939-1949); and in a third, illustrated edition (Delhi, 1965). On the author, see the biography prefixed to the last edition (pp. XXV-LIX); Storey 541-551; *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* I (1960) 120-121; Philips, *Historians* 143-147; Sharma 27-31; Marshall, n. 99.

2. 'Abdul-Qādir Badāūnī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* (1596), edited in *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1864-1869), in English by G. S. A. Ranking (I), W. H. Lowe (II), and T. W. Haig (III) (*ibid.*, 1884-1925).—The author, born in 1540, was a fellow student of Abu'l-Fazl but, as a strictly orthodox Mohammedan, did not share his liberal tendencies and excessive praise of Akbar. His *Selections from Historical Works*, a history of India from 997 to 1596, in which he frequently appears as an eyewitness is, as a consequence, a valuable counterbalance to the *Akbar-nāma*. He apparently died in 1615. See H. Blochmann, "Badāonī and His Works," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 38 (1869) 105-144; Storey 435-440



1309; *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* I (1960) 880-881; Philips, *Historians* 147-148; *Cambridge History of India* IV 579; Marshall, n. 53.

3. Nizām-ud-dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (1594), edited in *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1913-1941), in English by B. De, *ibid.*, 1913-1940.—The author, who occupied a high position as paymaster of Gujarāt and finally of the whole empire, died at the age of forty-five in 1594 in Lahore. His history of the Moham-medan empire of India from 1178 to 1593 gives twenty-nine authors as sources, which included the best works of his time, today partially lost, and provided the foundation for the chronicles of Badāūnī and Firishta. All of his contemporaries praised his history as a standard work, and Firishta calls it the most complete that he used. In his foreword Bakhshī states that he had not found any history embracing the whole of India and that he therefore wishes to fill in this gap. Despite its occasionally defective chronology and other errors, his work is a valuable source, especially for Gujarāt, where he took a leading part in its battles. See Baini Prasad, "Life and Work of Khawājah Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshī," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Letters) 4 (1938) 769-794; Storey 433-435 1309; Philips, *Historians* 147-149; Sharma 37-38; *Cambridge History of India* IV 579; *The History and Culture of the Indian Empire* VI 757; Marshall, n. 1413.

### VIII. Gujarāt

#### a) General Works

1. Storey 727-733.
2. A. A. Sayyid Tirmizi, "The Contemporary Persian Chronicles of the Sultans of Gujarat, a Study (A. H. 810-980 = A. D. 1407-1573)," *Islamic Culture* 32 (1958) 121-134.
3. Edward Clive Bayley, *Gujarāt* (London, 1886) in the series entitled *History of India, as Told by its own Historians. The Local Muhammadan Dynasties*. It gives a translation from chapters 3-5 of the *Mir'āt-i-Ahmadī* as an introduction to the chapters of the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, which go down to 1553.
4. E. Denison Ross, *An Arabic History of Gujarat* II (London, 1921), introduction (pp. V-XXXIV), compares the Arabic and Persian chronicles of Gujarāt.
5. A. R. Pereira Nunes, *Diu: Historia* (Nova Goa, 1907), gives translations of different native chronicles on the history of Gujarāt until 1537.
6. M. Sorabshah Commissariat, "A Brief History of the Gujarat Saltanat," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 71 (1918) 82-133; 72 (1920) 246-321, gives the history of Gujarāt from 1298 to 1552 according to Firishta, the *Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī*, and the *Mir'āt-i-Ahmadī*. He treats the history of Gujarāt from 1297 to 1758 in greater detail, chiefly from the native chronicles, in his *History of Gujarat*, 3 vols. (Bombay, 1938-1957).
7. Sharma 68-69.

#### b) Individual Works

1. Mir Abū Turāb Walī, *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt*, ed. E. Denison Ross (Calcutta, 1908). The author's grandfather had emigrated from Shirāz in Persia to Champanēr in Gujarāt. In 1566/67 Abū Turāb was in the service of the Genghis Khān who was murdered in 1569. In 1572 he was sent by I'timād Khān to Akbar to suggest his taking Gujarāt, and he accompanied him when he carried out the suggestion. In 1583 I'timād became viceroy of Gujarāt and Abū Turāb received the position of an *amīn* (civil servant) and a number of villages from Akbar.

He died in Ahmadābād and was buried in the still standing, elaborate mausoleum that he had erected for himself. His chronicle gives the history of Gujarāt from the reign of Bahādur Shāh (1526-1536) to the capture of the country by Akbar in 1584. See Storey 727-728; Commissariat, *History* II 12-18 36; Marshall, n. 125.

2. Sikandar bin Muhammad Manjhū, *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* (Mirror of Sikandar), ed. Bombay, 1831-1890, in English by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi (Dharampur, Bombay, 1899). This principal source for the history of Gujarāt was completed in 1611 or 1613 and embraces the rule of Muzaffar Shāh I (1396-1411) to the death of Muzaffar Shāh III in 1592. The author was born in Mahmūdābād in 1553 as the son of the librarian of the emperor Humāyūn. He took an active part in the battles of 1592. In 1618 he was visited by Jhangir in Ahmadābād, who praises him in his memoirs for his fine knowledge of the history of Gujarāt, having served the emperor for eight or ten years. Sikandar writes very objectively and complains about the partiality shown by earlier royal chroniclers, for example, that of Sultan Bahādur. See Bayley 59-66; Storey 728-729; Commissariat, *History* II 23 26 33 64; Marshall, n. 1725.

3. 'Alī Muhammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i-Ahmadī* (Ahmad's Mirror), ed. in *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* 33-34 (Baroda, 1927-1930), incompletely translated into English by J. Bird, *The Political and Statistical History of Gujarat* (London, 1835). As an appendix to his political history, he wrote a supplement that is a veritable mine of information on the land and people of Gujarāt, translated into English by G. N. Seddon and Syed Nawab Ali, *ibid.* 43 (Baroda, 1928, corrected edition). The author, whose proper name was Mirza Muhammad Husain, came when he was eight years old with his father to Ahmadābād. In 1744, after the latter's death, he received his title of 'Alī Muhammad Khān and the position of a market judge in Ahmadābād, and in 1746 that of a *dīwān* (finance minister) of the province of Gujarāt, which he lost when the Marathas caused the fall of the Mogul rule in the land. He began his history in 1748 and brought it to an end with the battle of Panipat in 1761, shortly before his death. He wrote his history with a sure hand and great impartiality, beginning with the earliest times; but he treats in particular that of Bahādur (1526-1537). For 1573 to 1719 he mostly follows the official chronicles of the Mogul emperors and is the most valuable primary source for 1719-1758. See Commissariat, *History* II 561-564; Storey 729-731; Marshall, n. 213.

4. Sayyid Mahmūd bin Munawwir ul-Mulk Bukkāri, *Tārīkh-i-Salātin-i Gujarāt*. This unofficial short chronicle, of which Sir Denison Ross lent us his English abstract, gives the history of Gujarāt from 1410 to 1554. It differs from all the others in its account of the death of Bahādur in 1537. On this see Ross, *An Arabic History* II, p. VI; Storey 733; Marshall, n. 1003.

5. Ranchhodji Amarji, *Tārīkh-i-Sōrath*, translated into English by E. Rehatsek (Bombay, 1882). The author, a son of the famous *dīwān* (minister) Amar-jī of Junāgarh in Kāthiāwār, was born in 1767 and took part in the constant wars of the *nawab* of Junāgarh with his neighboring states. His history of Sorath in Kāthiāwār treats of his own time but it also contains a summary of the earlier period. He completed his work in 1830. Cf. Storey 731-732; Marshall, n. 1556.

6. 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin 'Omar al-Makki, al-Āsafi, Ulughkhānī, *Zafar ul-Wāli bin Muzaffar wa Ālih*, ed. Sir E. Dennison Ross, 3 vols. (London, 1910-1928). The promised English translation did not appear since the editor died in Istanbul in 1940. Ross, however, in the second volume of his text edition

of 1921 provided a long introduction on the author and his work for those not versed in Arabic (pp. V-XXXVIII). He also included in volume three a ninety-seven-page, comprehensive index, which also appeared separately as *An Index to the Arabic History of Gujarat*, a small but valuable biographical and geographical encyclopedia on the history of the Mohammedans in India up to the beginning of the seventeenth century. This important chronicle is only extant in a single exemplar, the autograph of the author, which lacks the beginning and breaks off abruptly. It is divided into two parts. The first gives the history of the kings of Gujarāt from 1396 to 1572 (with digressions to 1605), the second that of the Mohammedan rulers of north India to 1558. The author, whose full name was ‘Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Sirāj-ud-dīn ‘Omar an-Nahrawālī bin Kamāl-ud-dīn Muḥammad bin Ferīd-ud-dīn Muḥammad bin Hassan bin Qāsim, was also called Hājji ad-Dabīr. He was born in Mecca in 1540 and came to India in 1554/55, where he was a secretary for various leaders, first for Muḥammad Ulugh Khān in Gujarāt from 1557/58 to 1572/73, then, after a voyage to Mecca, in the Deccan from 1575/76 to 1605/06 for Sayf ul-Mulūk, and finally for Fulad Khān until the latter's death. Since he cites the chronicle *Mir‘āt-i-Sikandari*, finished in 1611 or 1613, he must have died after this. See the introduction to Ross II, pp. XVIII-XXXI; his *Index* 12-13 and his "Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507 and 1517," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1921, 545-562, where he shows that his work is also of interest for the history of Yemen in the beginning of the sixteenth century. See also Marshall, n. 44.

#### IX. *The Deccan*

##### a) Ahmadnagar (Nizām Shāhī)

1. ‘Alī bin ‘Aziz Allāh Tabātabā, *Burhān-i-Ma‘āsir*, ed. Hyderābād, 1936. An abbreviated translation of the first part up to 1518 is given in J. B. King, "The History of the Bahmany Dynasty, founded on the Burhan-i-Ma‘āsir of Ali bin Aziz Ullāh Tabātabā," *Indian Antiquary* 28-29 (reprint, London, 1900). A translation of the second part is given in Sir Wolseley Haig, "The History of the Nizām Shāhī Kings of Ahmadnagar," *ibid.* 49-52 (reprint, Bombay, 1923).—The author came from Iraq to India in 1580 and entered the service of the sultan of Golconda, Muḥammad Qulī Qutb Shāh, and was with him at the siege of Naldrug (H. 989-990 = 1581/83 A.D.). In 1591 he passed over to the service of Burhān Nizām Shāh II, who commissioned him to write his history, which he began in 1592 and continued until 1596. His work gives the history of the Bahmanī kings and of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty. It is more reliable than that of his contemporary Firishta. On him see Storey 739-740; Marshall, n. 195; *The History and Culture of the Indian People* VI 7 270 324; King's introduction; and above, pp. 390-391.

##### b) Bijāpur (‘Ādil Shāhī)

2. Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū-Shāh Astarābādī, *Firishta*, *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, ed. Bombay, 1831-1832, translated into English by John Briggs (4 vols. London, 1829; new edition Calcutta, 1908-1910, entitled *History of the Rise of the Mohammedan Power in India till the Year A.D. 1612, translated from the original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*). Born around 1570, the author came as a youth to the court of Sultan Murtazā Shāh I in Ahmadnagar, where, it seems, he became a captain of the palace guard. When the sultan was overthrown by his son

Mirān Husain in 1588, and the latter was murdered after ruling for ten months in 1589, foreigners had to leave the capital. Firishta then entered the service of Sultan Ibrāhīm of Bijāpur, who encouraged him to write a history of India. If the account in it of the death of Bahādur Khān Farūqī in 1623/24 is not a later interpolation, the author was still living at this time. His chronicle, usually known as *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, embraced the history of the Mohammedan kingdom of India (from Kashmir and Sind to Malabar) to the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is preserved in two nearly identical drafts, the first, dated 1606/07, is entitled *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*; the second, dated 1609/10, *Tārīkh-i-Nauras nāma*; and both have later additions of the author. Briggs has some errors in his data on the life of Firishta in the introduction to his translation. He followed a manuscript which did not have the author's later additions, omitted the twelfth, and final chapter on Mohammedan saints, and has occasional false reckonings for the dates. As sources for his work, Firishta used local traditions, personal experiences, and thirty-five authors, some no longer extant; and in the course of his narrative he cites twenty more. The work is an uncritical compilation, but it has much new data, especially for the history of the Deccan. Formerly it was universally esteemed as the best and most famous general account, and it was frequently copied. More recently the history has lost much of its earlier repute (cf. *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* II [1965] 943-945; Mahar 23; Marshall, n. 471; Elliot-Dowson VI 207-216; and above, p. 390). The first critical account of Firishta's life was given by Storey in 1939 (442-45). The new edition of the *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* follows him.

3. Rafī-ud-dīn Ibrāhīm, Shīrāzī, *Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk*. The author came as a merchant to India and served there for twenty years as chamberlain and secretary of Sultan 'Alī 'Adil Shāh of Bijāpur (1558-1580). Under the latter's successor, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh (1580-1626), he was governor of Bijāpur, royal chamberlain, and master of the mint. He began his chronicle in 1608, "thirty-five years after he had entered into the service of the kings of Bijāpur," and completed it in 1611/12. He treats in it the history of the Bahmanī kings from 1347, then that of the 'Adil Shāh in Bijāpur from 1490. Particularly detailed is his account, as an eyewitness, of the reigns of sultans 'Alī I and Ibrāhīm II, and also, though shorter, of the kings of Gujarāt and of the Moguls from Bābur to Akbar. See Storey 742-743; Marshall, n. 1500; and V.R. Natu, "A History of Bijapur by Raffiuddin Shiraji," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 22 (1908) 17-29. Natu still saw the Persian manuscript of the chronicle and had it translated into Marathi, which is now the sole text: the Persian original has in the meantime been destroyed by termites. An abbreviated translation of an extract is given in J.S. King, "The History of the Bahmanī Dynasty," *Indian Antiquary* 28-29 (1899-1900; reprinted, London, 1900).

#### X. Malabar

Shaikh Zain-ud-dīn, *Tuhfat-al-Mujāhidin*. The Arabic text with a Portuguese translation and notes was edited by David Lopes under the title *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadim. Manuscripto arabo do seculo XVI* (Lisboa, 1898). The inaccurate English translation of M.J. Rowlandson (London, 1833), with its distorted names has been supplanted by the newer translation of Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Madras, 1942). The author, Zain-ud-dīn bin 'Alī bin Ahmad, dedicated his work to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, sultan of Bijāpur, who was murdered in

1580. The conclusion of the history, which goes down to 1586, is thus a later addition, obviously by another hand, since the death of the sultan is not mentioned. The chronicle, written by a good observer and in a critical manner, but by a fanatical Moplah, is not fair to the Portuguese; but it is a valuable complement to their chronicles. It describes the battles with the Portuguese from the time of the arrival of Vasco da Gama to 1586. Nothing is known of the life of the author, whose work shows a good knowledge of Malabar. Firishta only learned of this work after he had completed his own chronicle, and he copies from it without giving its name. Cf. Marshall, n. 1918.

#### XI. Vijayanagar

*The Hindu Chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagar* is no longer extant. It was probably destroyed in 1565 when the Mohammedans captured the city and destroyed it forever. In 1537, however, Barros' copy of two reports on the capital and its kings was sent from Goa. These had been composed by two horse traders, Fernão Nunes and Domingos Paes. Their editor, David Lopes, writes of them: "In no language, as far as I know, is there anything that can be compared with them, both in the historical parts proper and in the descriptions of the land and, particularly, of the capital" (*Chronica*, p. LXXXVI). While Paes describes the city and its festivals as an eyewitness of about 1520, at the time of its highest bloom, Nunes, who was in Vijayanagar for three years, gives the more recent history of the kingdom from his own viewpoint of about 1536, and, as an introduction to this, the earlier history in an "Extract from a Chronicle of the Kings of Bisnaga from the Year 1230 [read: 1330] till Today." His account, used by Barros 3, 4, 4-5, was published by David Lopes together with that of Paes and a long historical introduction under the title: *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga. Manuscripto inedito do seculo XVI* (Lisboa, 1897); and, in an English translation with an introduction and notes, by Robert Sewell under the title: *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga. A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar). A Contribution to the History of India* (London, 1900, reprinted, 1924). The history of the kings before Krishnadeva Rāya is contained in Lopes, pp. 1-19; in Sewell, pp. 291-315; the more detailed history of Krishnadeva Rāya, 1508-1530, is in Lopes, pp. 19-57; in Sewell, pp. 315-367. We encounter Nunes at the beginning of 1512 in Goa (CA V 414) and in December as a scribe in the factory in Calicut (*ibid.* 119). He probably went with Christovão de Figueiredo to Vijayanagar in 1517 and was with Krishnadeva Rāya at the siege of Raichur in 1520 (Sewell 153-154). From 1526 to 1528 he was in Cochin and Goa as scribe of the *fazenda* (*Studia XIII-XIV* 515; Castanheda 7, 12). In 1533 he was *provedor-mor dos defuntos* in Cochin (GS II 157). In 1538 he was on the list of wealthy individuals who could make a loan to the king of Portugal (*Gavetas* IV 378). In 1547 he was married in Goa and purchased from Diogo Gentil as a *cavalleiro* of the royal house for life the position of an *almoxarife* of the city (Q 2902). He still had it in 1565 (APO V, pp. 195 591). Nunes describes the times of Krishnadeva and Achyuta, for the most part as an eyewitness. Sewell compares his data with that of the unreliable Firishta (cf. Q 215).

#### XII. Ceylon

1. The *Mahāvamsa*, the Pāli chronicle of Ceylon, is the classical history of the island. It was written in Pāli verses, half poetry and half history, by Bud-

dhist monks in praise of their kings and religion. Divided up into 101 chapters, it extends from the fifth century before, to 1815 after, Christ. The oldest part, the *Mahāvamsa* proper (1-37), was composed in the sixth century by Mahāhāma, and goes down to 362 A.D. The more recent part, the *Chūlavamsa*, consists of three continuations of the chronicle. In the beginning it is comprehensive and takes political history into account, but it later becomes more and more concerned with religious history. The first addition (37-39), written by Dhammakitti, goes down to 1186; the second (90-100), written by Tibbotuvāve at the request of Kīrti Srī, the king of Kandy, goes down to the latter's death in 1782. The last chapter (101), which ends with the capture of Kandy by the English, was added in 1877 by the editor of the chronicle, Hikkaduve Sirisumangala. William Geiger edited the text in the Pāli Text Society Series in London: *Mahāvamsa*, 1908; *Cūlavamsa*, 1925-1927; in English: *Mahāvamsa*, 1912; *Cūlavamsa*, 1929-1930. A new edition appeared in Colombo: *Mahāvamsa*, 1950 (with corrections and editions by G.C. Mendis, pp. 301-323); *Cūlavamsa*, 1953. For Xavier's time only chapters 92-93 are of any significance. They are almost exclusively concerned with the pious works of Viravikkama, the Buddhist king of Kandy, and the wicked works of the apostate from Buddhism, the Shiva worshiper Rājasīha, the son of Māyādunnē, king of Sītāvaka. These are discussed briefly without any mention of the Portuguese and of the Christian king of Kōttē, Dharmapāla (1550-1597). See Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 51-53; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa* II 219-226; L. S. Perera, "The Pali Chronicle of Ceylon," in Philips, *Historians* 29-43; H. C. Ray, *History of Ceylon* I 1 (Colombo, 1959) 29-43; and Geiger's introduction to *Mahāvamsa*, pp. IX-LXIII.

2. The *Rājāvaliya* (List of Kings). There are different drafts extant of this Singhalese royal chronicle. Composed by an unknown author, it originally came down to the arrival of the Portuguese; but it was continued by at least three authors to the capture of Colombo by the Dutch in January, 1656, that is, down to the rule of the king of Kandy Vimala Dharma Sūrya II (1687-1707). Its first part is largely based on the older *Mahāvamsa* and *Rājāratnākaraya*. Put together by poorly educated, untrained historians from local accounts and folklore, it provides a colorful mixture of truth and poetry with its contradictory, confused chronology and mistaken identifications; but for the time after King Parākrama Bāhu V (1348-1360), where the *Chūlavamsa* falters, there is much that is new in its stress on political history. The chronicle was used by Couto and Valentyn. The Singhalese text of the chronicle was published by B. Gunasekara (Colombo, 1911; reprinted, 1953), who had already published an English translation in 1900 (reprinted, 1954). See Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 25-31 51 53; G. E. Godakumbura, "Historical Writing in Singhalese," in Philips, *Historians* 72-86; Ray I 1, pp. 53-54; and above, pp. 243 415.

3. The *Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai*, the Tamil chronicle of the kings of Jaffna, ed. Colombo, 1953, in English by C. Brito, Colombo, 1897. The chronicle, which was composed in 1736 by a certain Mayilvākanam Pulavar at the bidding of the Dutch governor, passes quickly over the time before the attack of Māgha (1214) and then gives the later history, for which it cites earlier works as sources. Although this is the best known Tamil chronicle of Ceylon, it is historically very unreliable and must be controlled by the contemporary sources. See S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., *The Kings of Jaffna during the Portuguese Period of Ceylon History* (Jaffna, 1920) 1-3 81, and his "Sources of the Yālpāna-vaipava-mālai," *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* VI 135-141; Ray I 1, 62; 2, 690-702.

XIII. *Burma*

## a) In General

Surveys on the chronicles of Arakan, and Upper and Lower Burma (Pegu) are given by U Tet Htoot, "The Nature of the Burmese Chronicles," *Historians of South East Asia*, ed. D. G. E. Hall (London, 1961, reprinted 1962) 50-62; G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma* (London, 1925) XVI-XX; and Pe Maung Tin, *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma* (London, 1923) XIII-XXIII. Harvey notes that the standard chronicles of Burma are very little more than the history of the dynasties of Upper Burma. They are the best historical writings of Farther India and in the main give precise data on the last nine hundred years. They describe, however, in the best possible light very little more than the history of the ruling minority of Burmese. They refer only in passing to the history of the true culture, that of the Talaing (Peguese) and of the Shan. In addition to this, they are full of anachronisms and romantically elaborated. Mildew, termites, fires, and wars have destroyed almost all of the old manuscripts (apart from those of a purely religious character), and it is extremely rare to find in Burma a manuscript that is two hundred years old, even if this is only in the imagination of the owner. Two works are named:

## b) Upper Burma

1. *Hmannan Yazawin*, the "Glass Palace Chronicle." This is the principal chronicle of Burma and has been used as a source by Sangermano, Phayre, and Harvey. Its history is given (in addition to the account by U Tet Htoot, already mentioned) by Tin Ohn in "Modern Historical Writing in Burmese, 1724-1942," in Hall 85-93. In 1829 King Bagyidaw ordered a committee of learned monks, Brahmans, and ministers to be established to write a reliable, official chronicle of the kingdom on the basis of the earlier histories and inscriptions of the land. The chronicle took four years to complete and brought the events down to 1821. It was submitted to the king in 1832 and received its name of "Glass Palace Chronicle" from the hall in which the meetings of the committee had been held. The principal author followed in the composition of the work was U Kala, who had written three chronicles between 1714 and 1733: the "Great Chronicle" (*Mahā Yazawin Gyi*) in twenty-one volumes, "Medium Chronicle" (*Yazawin Lat*) in ten, and "Short Chronicle" (*Yazawin Choke*) in one. For these he had collected many royal, monastic, and municipal chronicles and local traditions. The compilers of the "Glass Palace Chronicle" corrected the dates given by U Kala with the help of the inscriptions, but since poor copies and interpretations were used for this, their dates are no better than the earlier ones. In other regards the work manifests the critical spirit with which it was composed. The English translation of Pe Maung Tin, from the edition of Mandalay of 1907, gives only the third, fourth, and fifth parts, that is, the history from 850 B.C. to the fourteenth century A.D. This chronicle is the main source for Harvey's book (p. 380).

## c) Lower Burma

2. *Slapat rājāwan datow smim ron*. The text and a translation have been published by S. Schmidt with the title: *Slapat rājāwan datow smim ron. Buch der Königsgeschichte. Die Geschichte der Mon-Könige in Hinterindien nach einem Palmblatt-Manuskript, aus dem Mon übersetzt mit einer Einführung und Noten versehen*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil. hist Klasse* 151, 3 (1906). This chronicle, the first printed in Mon,

contains a history of the kingdom of Pegu, more precisely of the old capital of Hanthawaddy, and especially of the royal beneficence towards the Shwe Dagon pagoda up to 1763, the year of its composition. It differs in details from the Burmese translation used by Phayre and is more comprehensive. Harvey has translated a text from this chronicle (8-9). On this see H.L. Shorto, "A Mon Genealogy of Kings, Observations on the 'Nidāna Arambhakathā,'" in Hall 63-72.

#### XIV. Siam

In his *History of Siam (from the Earliest Times to 1781)* (London, 1926), W.A.R. Wood states that the chief difficulty for historians is the almost complete lack of reliable native chronicles. In 1767 the archives of the capital of Ayuthia were destroyed by the Burmese, and the official reports and annals were thus lost. Under kings P<sup>ya</sup> Taksin (1762-1782) and Rama I (1782-1800), an attempt was made to reconstruct the annals in the *Pongsawadan*. In the historical part of his *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam* (Paris, 1854), J.B. Pellegoix gives an abstract of this reconstruction. The newer editions revert back to that of 1840, and this in turn gives the drafts of 1783 and 1795. None of these gave any of their sources, and it was therefore difficult to discover and correct the errors. Further, the annals composed after 1767 differed from the Burmese chronicles in their dates with respect to the decades. The date of Maha Chakrap<sup>at</sup>'s coming to power, for example, was given as 1529 instead of 1547. In 1907, however, Luang Prasöt discovered a *pongsawadan* (chronicle) composed in 1680 by order of King Narai which gave a short account of the kings of Ayuthia (1350-1605) with dates that agreed on the whole with those of the chronicles of Burma and other lands. O. Frankfurter published a translation of this chronicle under the title of "Events in Ayuddhya 686-966 (1304-1604)" in the *Journal of the Siam Society* 7.3 (1909). Wood has followed it as far as possible in his *History of Siam*, as he notes on p. 25. On this see also Harvey 343 and GS II 86-89.

#### XV. Malaya

The following general works are pertinent to the area in which Malay is spoken (Malaya and Indonesia):

1. Soedjatmoko, ed., *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography* (Ithaca, 1965).
2. D.G.E. Hall, ed., *Historians of South East Asia* (London, 1961, reprinted 1962).
3. Richard Winstedt, "A History of Classical Malay Literature," JMB XXX, 3; (1958).
4. Hans Overbeck, *Malaiische Weisheit und Geschichte. Einführung in die malaiische Literatur. Die Krone aller Fürsten. Die Chronik der Malaien, aus dem Malaiischen übertragen* (Jena, 1927).

The *Sejarah Melayu*, the Malay annals, ed. in Latin characters by K.O. Winstedt in JMB XVI, 3 (1938) (with a table of contents for all the chapters of the first and second drafts and *Corrigenda*, *ibid.* XVIII [1940] 154-155), translated into English by C.C. Brown, *ibid.* XXV, 2-3 (1952<sup>1</sup>; 1969<sup>2</sup>). First draft of 1536 (Raffles Ms. 18), ed. in Malay characters by W.G. Shellabear in Singapore in 1896<sup>1</sup> and 1913<sup>3</sup>, in Latin characters in 1899<sup>1</sup> 1909<sup>2</sup> and 1948<sup>3</sup>, and by T.D. Situmorang and A. Teeuw in Jakarta and Amsterdam in 1952: the second draft of 1612. Index for first and second drafts by P.E. de Josselin de Jong in "Who's Who in the



Malay Annals," JMB XXXIV, 2 (1961) 1-89. A partial translation of the thirty-four chapters of the second draft into German is given by Overbeck, pp. 113-273.—The chronicle was written by an unknown but well-educated person, probably a mixed-blood of Tamil and Malay descent living at the court of Sultan Mahmūd in Malacca and an eyewitness of the capture of the city by Albuquerque in 1511. He had a knowledge of Sanskrit, Tamil, and Persian words and was equally conversant with Javanese and Arabic literature. He also had some knowledge of Chinese, Siamese, and Portuguese and of the teachings of the Sufi mystics. The chronicle is extant in three drafts and describes, with the help of legends and romantic elaborations, the history of the Malay kingdom on the peninsula and on Sumatra from its fabled origins in the twelfth century to the assault of the Portuguese on Pekan Tua, the residence of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn Riāyat II on the upper course of the Johore River in 1535. After giving a short anecdote about the sultan, who had withdrawn to Sayong, higher up on the same river, it suddenly breaks off without a set conclusion, perhaps because the author had fallen in battle or had died a little later, for the second attack of the Portuguese in 1536 is not mentioned. The life at court during the flowering of the kingdom and the colorful mixture of peoples on Malacca is described with wonderful perspicuity. The *Sejarah Melayu* has rightly been called the most famous, most typical, and best historical work on Malay. At the end of the copy of the first draft there is written: "The scribe of the Book is Raja Bongsu," which only means that the copy was made at the request of Sultan 'Abdullah Ma'ayat Shāh, alias Bongsu, who ruled from 1613 to 1623.—In the second draft, the author, Tun Mahmūd of Batu Sawar on the Johore River, alias Tun Sri Lanang, who had the title of Bendahara Paduka Raja, declares that on May 13, 1612, at a meeting of the barons of the realm during the reign of Sultan 'Alā-ud-dīn Riāy Shāh (later captured by the Achinese and brought to Achin, where he died), the most prominent of these had told him that he had heard that a nobleman (*orang kaya*) Sogo had brought a history of Malay from Goa and he suggested that it be corrected for the use of their descendants. Tun Mahmūd also states that the new sultan, 'Abdullah Ma'ayat Shāh (1613-1623), who was residing in Pasir Raja (on the upper course of the Johore River) ordered Bendahara through Tun Bambang to write a history, which the author called *Sulālat as-Salātīn*, (Chronicle of the Kings). The manuscript of the first draft was probably seized by a Portuguese in 1536 at the time of the second attack of D. Estevão da Gama and brought to Goa, where it was apparently used by the archivist Couto, and sent back from there in 1611 when the Portuguese, threatened by the Dutch, were trying to re-establish friendly relations with the sultan of Johore.—The author of the second draft was very free with the original. He changed the order of sections and chapters, distorting the text in many instances to favor his royal patron and his prime minister, Bendahara. With the same intent he replaced the last six chapters with a conclusion that brought the history from 1536 down to his own time.—A third draft is contained in a manuscript from Palembang that is markedly different from the two others. It represents a reworking of the Shellabear text. On this, see R. Roolvink, "The Answer of Pasai," JMB XXXVIII (1965) 129-139, where a passage from it is given and translated. On the two other drafts see in particular Winstedt's introduction to his edition in JMB XVI, 3 (1938) 1-41; his "History of Classical Malay Literature," in JMB XXXI, 3 (1958) 129-132; and his "Malay Chronicles from Sumatra and Malaya," in Hall (1961) 24-28. See also C. O. Blagden, "An Unpublished Variant of the

'Malay Annals,' JMB III, 1 (1925) 10-52; C. C. Brown JMB XXV, 2-3 (1952) 7-11; C. A. Gibson-Hill, "The Malay Annals: the History Brought from Goa," JMB XXIX, 1 (1956) 185-188; Overbeck (1927) 113-273, and J. C. Bottoms, "Some Malay Historical Sources. A Biographical Note" (Soedjatmoko 166-171).

#### XVI. Sumatra (Achin)

Nur-ud-din al Ranīrī, *Bustān as-Salātīn* (Garden of the Kings) Books I and II ed. by R. J. Wilkinson (Singapore, 1899-1900). The author, a *pandit* from Rānder in Gujarāt, studied in Hadramaut (South Arabia) and came to Achin in 1637, where he was commissioned by the sultan to compose his work. His "*Garden of the Kings*," a leading piece of Malay literature, comprises seven books, only the second of which is here pertinent. It contains a history of the kings of Egypt, Arabia, and India, the family trees of those of Malacca and Pahang, and an accurate chronicle of the sultans of Achin and its Islamic missionaries. He used for his work also the second draft of the *Sejarah Melayu*. On his work, see R. O. Winstedt, "The Genealogy of Malacca's Kings from a Copy of the *Bustanu's-Salatin*," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 81 (1920) 39-47; *idem*, "*Bustanu's-Salatin*. Its Date and Author," *ibid.* 82 (1920) 151-152; and "A History of Classical Malay Literature," JMB XXXI, 3 (1958) 112-113 132. See also A. Johns, "Muslim Mystics and Historical Writing" (Hall 43-45), and J. C. Bottoms, "Some Malay Historical Sources" (Soedjatmoko 178). For the family trees of the kings of Achin, Malacca-Johore, and Pahang, see R. O. Winstedt, "The Early Rulers of Perak, Pahang and Acheh," JMB X, 1 (1932) 32-44; *idem*, "A History of Johore," JMB X, 3 (1932) 1-170 (with family trees on pp. 132-134 and photographs of all the tombstones and their decipherment); R. J. Wilkinson, "The Early Sultans of Pahang," JMB X, 1, 45-54; C. A. Gibson-Hill, "Johore Lama and Other Ancient Sites," JMB XXVIII, 2 (1955) 145 (family tree).

#### XVII. Celebes (Macassar)

*Lōntará Bilang*, partially edited with a translation by A. Ligtoet, "Transcriptie van de 'Lōntará Bilan' of het Dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tello, met vertaling en aantekeningen," BKI 28 (1880) 1-259. The chronicle, written in Macassarese, was begun when the two kingdoms went over to Islam (1605 A.D.), intermittently continued until 1751, and concluded in 1795. It is dependent in part upon public and private diaries and the accounts of eyewitnesses. For the period before 1500 it gives the mythical and legendary history of the kings. The historical period begins with King Tu-maparisi-kalona (1511-1548), who captured Grisee on Java "when the Portuguese took Malacca" (1511) and with his minister invented the Macassar script. The chronicle gives the kings in their temporal order, but their individual reigns are not arranged according to time and dates are shunned. On this see above, pp. 516-517; J. Nordduyn, "Some Aspects of Macassar-Buginese Historiography" (Hall 29-36); "Origins of South-Celebes Historical Writing" (Soedjatmoko 137-155).

#### XVIII. Borneo

##### a) Kutai (Southeast Borneo)

*Salasilah Kutai* (Chronicle of Kutai), partially edited by C. A. Mees, *De kroniek van Koetai*. Tekstuitgave met toelichting (Santport, 1935). A philological

and textual commentary has been composed by W. Kern: *Commentaar op de Salasilah van Koetai: Verhandelingen van het K. Instituut vor taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 19 ('s-Gravenhage, 1956). This Malay chronicle is a genealogy of the kings with a few historical notices, more important for its data on the life of the people and the court ceremonial, which the prince, according to the imaginative editor, obtained from the king of Majapahit, who allegedly had four wives: Paramesvari, Mahadevi, Matuh, and Paduka Liku. On this see S.W. Tromp, "Uit de Salasila van Koetai," *BKI* 37 (1888) 1-108; C. Snouk Hurgronje, "Nog iets over de Salasila van Koetai," *ibid.* 109-120; C. Hooykaas, "A Critical Stage in the Study of Indonesian Past" (Hall, 323-324); J.C. Bottoms, "Some Malay Historical Sources" (Soedjatmoko 179).

#### b) Brunei (Northwest Borneo)

The *Selasilah*, the short Malay royal chronicle of the sultans of Brunei, is extant in several manuscripts which differ considerably among themselves. The most complete text begins with the legendary history of the first king, Alak ber Tata, who accepted Islam in the fifteenth century as Mohamed I. It ends with King Omar Ali Saifudin II, the twenty-third sultan, under whose rule the text was written. He died in 1852. The oldest draft of the chronicle goes back to Muhidin, the fourteenth king, who had it put together towards the end of the seventeenth century. Hugh Low has published an English translation of a manuscript which treats of the first twenty-three kings: "Selesila (Book of the Descent) of the Rajas of Bruni," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 5 (1880) 1-5, with notes, pp. 6-8 24-31, an inscription of 1804 containing brief data on the first nineteen kings, pp. 32-35, and a text of the chronicle entitled "History of the Sultans of Bruni and Their Descent from Sultan Abdul Kahar to Sultan Abdul Jalil-ul-Jebar," that is, from the eighth to the eleventh king (1577 to ca. 1650), pp. 9-23. A further text has been translated by W.H. Treacher under the title of "Genealogy of the Royal Family of Brunei," *ibid.* 15 (1-85) 79-80. It contains the dates from the murder of Sultan Mohamed Ali in 1662 to the death of Sultan Omar Ali Saifudin I in 1795, from the twelfth to the eighteenth king. H.R. Hughes-Hallet has given valuable data on the chronicle in "A Sketch of the History of Brunei," *JMB XVIII*, 2 (1940) 28-42. At the end of this he gives a list of the twenty-seven sultans with their names and aliases.

#### XIX. Amboina

Ridjali, *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (History of the Land of Hitu). An abstract of the twenty-six chapters of this lost Malay chronicle is given by Valentyn in his monumental *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (II, 2 [1724] 1-14). The life of the author can be reconstructed from the data given here, which was to a large extent copied from Rumphius. The author, Imān Ridjali, who was born in Hitu in West Amboina, was a Mohammedan spiritual guide. He also calls himself Savardjali in his work (14). He was a nephew of Tepil, the chief ruler of Hitu (37), and a cousin of Kakiali, who succeeded his father as captain in 1633 (92). Like the latter, he was one of the leading Hituese in their war against the Dutch; and, as Valentyn notes (130), he was better with the sword than with the Koran. When the Hitu captain Mihirdjiguna died on his return voyage from India in Bantam, West Java in 1619, and his embalmed body was brought to Amboina with a letter he had written, Ridjali gave the letter to the captain's successor, Tepil, his uncle, who was at the time in Laha in eastern Hitu to con-

sult with the provincial governor Coens about the alliance of the English and Japanese against the Dutch (13). When the Hituese subsequently revolted from the Dutch, their leader Kakiali sent his cousin to Macassar in 1639 in order to obtain help (127-128). After his return, he and his people burned three hostile villages on Hitu in 1641 (130), and he gave his sister to one of the rebel leaders as his wife (129-130). In 1643, in the battle with the Dutch in defense of Wawani, he was wounded in the face (139). Kakiali died there this same year at the hand of an assassin who had been hired by the Dutch, and the fortress fell after the defenders refused to hand over their chief leaders, among whom was Ridjali (13 141). With his friends he continued the war (149-150). But in 1646 when, despite the help of the Macassarese, the last Veste Kapaha and his wife fell into the hands of the Dutch, he wandered about in the forests for some months until he succeeded in reaching Seran. From there he passed to the island of Kelang and then, after many hardships, to Macassar by way of Buru and Buton. In Macassar he was received by the king and his royal vizier Patingaloe with open arms, and the latter persuaded him to write his history of Hitu (13-14 152). In 1653 the Macassarese sent a fleet of one hundred junks and six thousand men to the help of the Hituese. Ridjali accompanied the expedition as a follower of the new rebel leader, Madjira. But the fortunes of war did not favor them. Ridjali's junk was burned by the Dutch, who asked that he be surrendered, but this was refused (177 188; Rumphius, *Historie* II 27 36 49-50 57-58). The king of Macassar and Patingaloe died in 1654 and the Macassarese concluded a peace with the Dutch. From then on there is no more mention of Ridjali in the sources.—*His work*: When Ridjali returned to Hitu in 1653, he brought his history with him. Rumphius, who wrote his *Ambonse Historie* in the city of Amboina in 1678, was able to obtain a copy, even though defective, of the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (*Historie* I 258).—He died in Amboina in 1702 and his manuscript remains passed over for the most part into the possession of the Calvinist preacher Valentyn, who lived from 1686 to 1694 and from 1707 to 1712 as a missionary on the island. Among these remains was probably the copy of Ridjali's history. Valentyn wrote that the work was very difficult to locate and still more difficult to obtain. He had a copy that was indispensable. It had come into his possession in a very poor condition. It was written in Malay in a very beautiful Arabic script (II 1, 175; 2, 152). The chronicle, which was even for the sixteenth century highly legendary, short, and utterly confused, nevertheless contained much data that could not be found elsewhere. Chapters 1 to 7 gave the local traditions with respect to the foundings of the separate villages; chapter 8 their passage over to Islam around 1510; chapters 9 to 11 the political development of Hitu; chapter 12 the arrival of the Portuguese; chapters 13 to 21 their further history and then that of the Dutch period up to the fall of Kapha in 1646 and the arrival of the author in Macassar. In his list of Malay works in his *Maleische Spraakkunst* (Amsterdam, 1736), G. H. Werndly gives two histories of Amboina differing from each other, the *Hikajat Ambon* (according to him probably one of the outstanding works of Malay literature) and Ridjali's *Hikajat Tanah Hituw*. As far as we know, there is no longer any exemplar of either of these works in existence. On this see G. E. Rumphius, *De Ambonse Historie* (BKI LXIV [1910]) I 254 257-258; II 27 36 49-50 56-58 99; Valentyn II 1, 175; II 1-14 37 127-130 139 141 149-150 152 177 188; H. Bokemeyer, *Die Molukken. Geschichte und quellenmässige Darstellung der Eroberung und Verwaltung der Ostindischen Gewürzinseln durch die Niederländer* (Leipzig, 1888) 177 XCII-XCIII CIV CIX CXVI.

XX. *Ternate*

Naidah, *History of Ternate*. This was composed in Ternatese by Naidah, the overseer of Soasio on Ternate, after 1861. It was published in 1878 by P. van der Crab in BKI II, 4 Ser., pp. 381-493, with a Ternatan and Malayan text (382-436), translation (436-461), notes (462-490), and appendix (491-493). The chronicle is of little historical value. It is without punctuation, chronological order, or logical orthography. It confuses persons and events, beginning with the creation of the world. It gives the fabled origins of the kings and their history from the thirteenth century, the forty-nine villages on Ternate, the names of the seventeen children of Sultan Bajanul Sierullah (Bayān SIRRullah). In his *Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek* (Leiden, 1899). H. H. Juynboll describes a chronicle, *Hikāyat Ternate*, that is related to, but not identical with, that of Naidah (253). Written in Ternatan with a Malayan translation, it gives only two dates: the introduction of Islam in Hegira 874 (1496/97) and the fortification of the Dutch in Hegira 1108 (1696/97). On this see above, pp. 249-250; Ruinen I 155-156 602, and De Clerq 193.

APPENDIX II  
[*Franz Xaver* II. 2, pp. 437-438]

THE XAVIER PROCESSES

Some brief observations on the processes, which constitute an important source for Xavier's biography, can clarify some of our citations.

1. THE INFORMATIVE PROCESSES

In 1556 and 1557 depositions were taken from witnesses in India on the virtues and miracles of Francis Xavier by order of King John III in order to obtain motives for his canonization. Authentic copies of these processes were immediately sent to Rome, and they are now found today in the archives of the postulator of the Society of Jesus in Rome (n. 34, 7) along with the Latin translation made in Rome in 1612 (n. 28). They are published in *Monumenta Xaveriana* II 173-447. They contain the following processes: *Goa*, in 1556-1557, thirty-six witnesses, of which only six are preserved in the Latin text; *Cochin*, in 1557, thirteen witness; *Bassein*, in 1556-1557, eight witnesses; *Malacca*, in 1556-1557, six witnesses.

These processes are important since the witnesses for the most part knew Xavier personally, and his memory was still fresh in the minds of his contemporaries. In 1583 Valignano, the visitor, in his *Historia* found fault with the miracles and prophecies of the processes of 1556-1557 (269-270). In 1575 he had noted the recurring errors in them and the need of greater criticism. In 1585 he further observed that anyone who wrote more about the miracles and manner of life of P.M. Franciscus than was contained in his *Historia* repeated what was said by the common people, who speak with little reflection about such matters and, because of their affection or credulity, exaggerate or generalize everything of this sort that they hear in the market place. The truth was what was written in the said *Historia*, and beyond this there was nothing more that could be written with certainty or even probability. And in his accompanying censure of Ribadeneyra's life of Ignatius, he declared that instead of what the author had written at the end of his seven chapters on the processes, it was enough to say what was at the end of his history of India, where such reports were mentioned in general without praise or blame or entering into their particulars (Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung," GS II, pp. 71-72 81-82).

In addition to the informative processes already mentioned, there was another in Cebù in the Philippines, where ecclesiastical authorities took the testimony of Fausto Rodrigues in 1608 and 1613, who had known Xavier on Amboina in 1546. An authentic copy was sent by the rector of the college of Cebù to the general of the order and is in the archives of the order (*Philipp.* 10, 278-282v). We have published it in GS III 539-544.

## 2. THE REMISSORIAL PROCESSES

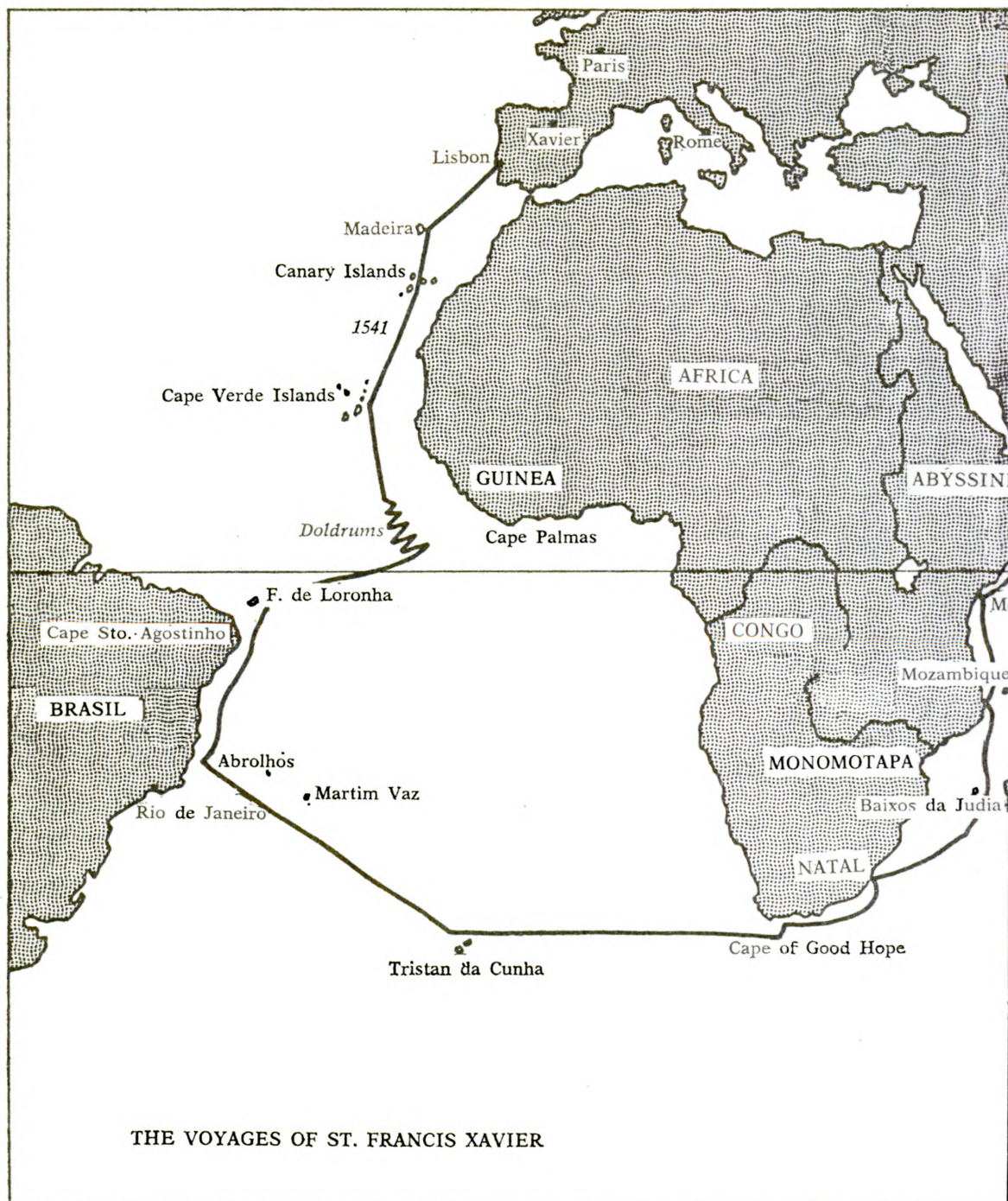
In 1610 the process of Xavier's canonization was taken up in Rome and twelve witnesses were heard for it (*Processus Romanus in genere*). *Litterae Remissoriales* were sent in 1613 ordering the taking of depositions. Accompanying them were the *Rotuli Remissoriales* with the list of questions which should be posed at these hearings. Examples of both are preserved in the British Museum, *Add. Mss.* 6879, nn. 1-3, along with a Portuguese extract from a *rotulus*, *ibid.* 9855, ff. 112-118 (Q 6200). On the basis of this order, witnesses were heard in the following cities: *Rome* (*Processus Romanus in specie*), in 1613, seven witnesses (Q 6201); *Pamplona* (*P. Pampilonensis*), in 1614, fifteen witnesses (Q 6204); *Lisbon* (*P. Ulyssiponensis primus*), in 1614-1615, twenty-three witnesses (Q 6202); *Goa, Damão, and Thana* (*P. Goanus*), in 1615, fifty-six witnesses (Q 6209); *Malacca* (*P. Malacensis*), in 1616, twenty-seven witnesses (Q 6217); *Cochin, Fishery Coast, Manār, Travancore, and Quilon* (*P. Cocinensis*), in 1616, 138 witnesses, including twenty heard in 1614 (Q 6205 6213-6214 6216); *Lisbon* (*P. Ulyssiponensis secundus*), in 1616, twenty-two witnesses (Q 6203, where 1616 should be read instead of 1614).

Of these processes, a part of the original process of *Pamplona* is extant and has been edited in MX II 643-679. Of three other processes we still have the Latin translations made in Rome in 1616-1617. That of the *Cochin* process is found in the archives of the postulator of the Society of Jesus (n. 28) and is edited in MX II 448-638 with the omission of a part of the *personalia* of the witnesses. Those of the two *Lisbon* processes are in the Biblioteca Innocenziana in Rome (cf. GS IV 419-430). All the other processes are lost. They can, however, for the most part be reconstructed with the help of extracts and citations in the following works:

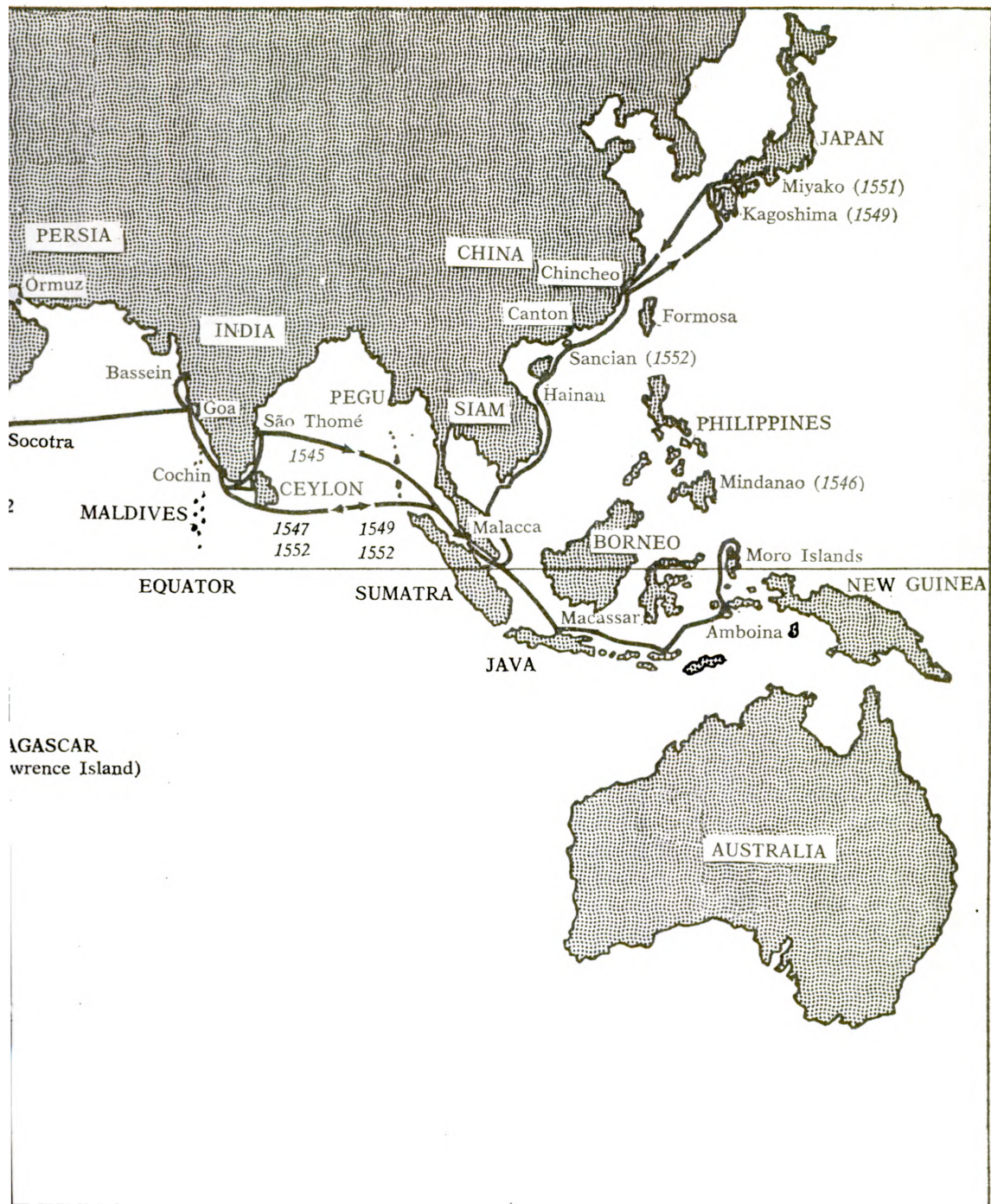
1. The minutes of the three auditors of the Rota (SP), from 1610 to 1618, who conducted the process. They are in the Biblioteca Innocenziana in Rome.
2. The *Summarium* of 1618 in the Vatican Library: *Ottob. lat.* 467 (another exemplar is in the Biblioteca della Fraternità dei Laici in Arezzo, *Ms.* 427).
3. The *Relatio* of the three auditors of the Rota of July 6, 1619, in the Vatican Library: *Barb. lat.* 2774.
4. J. B. Confalonierius, *De Sancti Francisci Xaverii Societatis Jesu in India, atque Japonia Apostolatu libri octo*, composed in 1624. The manuscript, whose author was the archivist of the secret papal archives of the Castel Sant'Angelo, was in the possession of the antiquarian Hiersemann in Leipzig in 1918. It was later in the library of the University of Louvain, where it was destroyed by fire in 1940 (cf. Q 6236).
5. Ml. Barradas, S.J., *Relaçam de algumas cousas notaveis de N. Santo Padre Francisco Xavier tiradas dos processos autenticos, que por ordem da Santidade do Papa Paulo quinto se tirarão nesta Cidade de Cochim, e na de Malaca, nas fortalezas de Coulão e Manar, e nas Costas da Pescaria e Travancor*, composed in 1617. The manuscript is in the Ajuda library in Lisbon: 49-6-9, ff. 2-19 (cf. Q 6218) and was published by us in GS IV 431-465.

In his *Asia*, Bartoli also used a part of the lost processes but without giving his sources. In his five other works, the processes, witnesses, and, in nn. 14, the pages of the processes are noted. These remissorial processes have much new material, but it is frequently of an already legendary character since hardly any of Xavier's contemporaries were still to be found.









AGASCAR  
(Agassiz Island)

### APPENDIX III

[*Franz Xaver II.* 1, pp. 805-807 810]

#### SAILING MANUALS AND TRAVELOGUES

An excellent bibliography on Portuguese sailing manuals (*roteiros*) is given by Fontoura da Costa in *A Marinharia dos Descobrimentos* (Lisboa, 1933) 273-333 401-511.<sup>1</sup> The pilots of the voyages to India made use of the experiences of their predecessors. They copied out their sailing instructions or made abstracts from, and compilations of, the same. In the latter it is frequently no longer possible to determine the individual author and the time of composition. In such instances we give only the final date, the year of compilation. The three following works contain a series of such *roteiros*:

1. Gabriel Pereira, *Roteiros Portuguezes da viagem de Lisboa á India nos seculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa, 1898). It contains the *roteiros* of Vicente Rodrigues of 1591 (15-40), of Gaspar Manuel from around 1605 (40-89), Aleixo da Motta from around 1621 (93-117), and anonymous texts from around 1641 (117-210).

2. Jacinto Ignacio de Brito Rebello, *Livro de Marinharia* (Lisboa, 1903). It contains nautical writings of João de Lisboa (5-207), especially his India *roteiro* of 1514 (123-194), and another of an unknown author of around 1530 (209-271).

3. A. Fontoura da Costa, *Roteiros Portuguezes inéditos da Carreira da India do século XVI* (Lisboa, 1940). Along with other *roteiros*, it contains the *roteiros* of Diogo Affonso of about 1535 (31-46), of Manuel Alvares of about 1545 (46-85), of Vicente Rodrigues of about 1575 (87-116), and of Manuel Monteiro and Gaspar Ferreira Reimão of 1600 (133-181).

We have used the following *roteiros*, given here in their order of composition:

Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, 1508 (Lisboa, 1905); João de Lisboa, 1514 (Brito Rebello 123-194); Anonymous, 1530 (*ibid.* 209-271); Diogo Affonso, the prototype of the later *roteiros*, 1535 (Fontoura da Costa 31-46); Manuel Alvares, 1545 (*ibid.* 46-85); Bernardo Fernandes, *Livro de Marinharia*, 1548 (Lisboa, 1940) 55-107; Vicente Rodrigues, 1575 (Fontoura da Costa 87-116); Manuel Mesquita Perestrelo, *Roteiro da Africa do Sul e Sueste desde o Cabo da Boa Esperança, até ao das Correntes*, 1576 (Lisboa, 1939); Manuel Monteiro e Gaspar Ferreira Reimão, 1600 (Fontoura da Costa 133-181); Gaspar Manuel, 1605 (G. Pereira 40-89); Gaspar Ferreira Reimão, *Roteiro da Navegação e Carreira da India, tirado do que escreveu Vicente Rodrigues e Diogo Afonso, pilotos antigos. Agora novamente acrescentado*, 1612 (Lisboa, 1940); Aleixo da Motta, 1621 (G. Pereira 93-117); \*Antonio de Ataíde, *Roteiros*, about 1638; Anonymous, 1641 (G. Pereira 117-210); \*Nicolau Fernandes da Fonseca, *Roteiro Geral de Portugal para as costas das Indias Orientais e da China, traduzido, emendado e acrescentado*, 1770 (Lisbon, Bibl. Nacional: *Fundo Geral* 4520).

<sup>1</sup> The work appeared with the omission of numerous facsimiles in a third edition in 1960 containing an index and bibliography.

In addition to these there are the logs of the ships (*diarios*), travelogues, and briefer data in the letters of passengers and in the chronicles of Barros, Castanheda, Correa, and Couto, and also, for 1585-1650, in A. Botelho de Sousa, *Subsidios para a história militar marítima da Índia* (Lisboa, 1930-1957). General works which contain a number of such texts are: Ramusio (Venetia, 1550); Bernardo Fernandes (Lisboa, 1940) 109-237; Quirino da Fonseca, *Diarios da Navegação da Carreira da Índia nos annos de 1595, 1596, 1597, 1600 e 1603* (Lisboa, 1938); [Ataide] *Viagens do Reino para a Índia e da Índia para o Reino (1608-1612). Diários de navegação coligidos por D. António de Ataíde no século XVII* (Lisboa, 1957-1958); Bernardo Gomes de Brito, *Historia Tragico-Maritima* (Lisboa, 1904-1909); José Ramos-Coelho, *Alguns Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das Navegações e Conquistas Portuguezas* (Lisboa, 1892); *Welkbott* (Augsburg, Grätz, Wien, 1726-1761); *Documenta Indica*, ed. I. Wicki (Romae, 1948-1975); António da Silva Rêgo, *Documentação* (Lisboa, 1947-1958).

We give below a list of voyages for which longer or shorter accounts or data are still extant and which can be of use for a reconstruction of Xavier's voyage. No claim is made for completeness. The year indicates the time of departure from Portugal.

- 1497 *São Gabriel*, Vasco da Gama: A. Velho, *Diario* (Pôrto, 1945; new edition by Fontoura da Costa, Lisboa, 1960); Franz Hümmerich, "Studien zum 'Roteiro' der Entdeckungsfahrt Vasco da Gamas 1497-1499," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra* 10 (1927) 53-502.
- 1500 Cabral: Report of his pilot (Ramusio 132-138); Jaime Cortesão, *A Expedição de Pedro Alvares Cabral* (Lisboa, 1922).
- 1502 *Diario* of the ship's secretary, Thomé Lopes (Ramusio 143v-156); Report of Matteo de Begnino, ed. by F. Hümmerich, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Fahrt der ersten Deutschen nach dem portugiesischen Indien 1505/6* (München, 1898); Christine v. Rohr, *Neue Quellen zur Zweiten Indienfahrt Vasco da Gamas* (Leipzig, 1939).
- 1503 A. de Albuquerque: Account of the factor Giovanni da Empoli (Ramusio 156-158).
- 1505 D. Francisco de Almeida: Letter of Pero Fernandes Tinoco (CA II 335-341); *São Rafael*: Alleged account of Hans Mayr (*O Manuscrito "Valentim Fernandes,"* ed. A. Baião [Lisboa, 1940], 13-24); *Lionarda*: Franz Schulze, *Balthasar Springers Indienfahrt 1505/06* (Strassburg, 1902); on both: F. Hümmerich, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Fahrt der ersten Deutschen nach dem portugiesischen Indien 1505/06* (München, 1918); *idem*, *Die erste deutsche Handelsfahrt nach Indien 1505/06* (München, 1922).—November, 1505: Pedro Quaresma (Ramos-Coelho 147-149).
- 1507 Fernão Soares: *Regimento* for the voyage (Ramos-Coelho 160-183).
- 1508 *Santa Cruz*, Duarte de Lemos: Report (Ramos-Coelho 197-206); Diogo Lopes de Sequeira: *Regimento* for the voyage (*ibid.* 184-197).
- 1514 Andrea Corsali (Ramusio 192-195v).
- 1522 *São Leão*: *Diario* (B. Fernandes 109).
- 1526 *Conceição*: *Diario* (*ibid.* 110-112); *Santa Maria do Espinheiro*, Antonio Galvão (Castanheda 7, 10).
- 1529 *São Roque*: *Diario* (B. Fernandes 112-113).
- 1532 *Graça*: *Diario* (*ibid.* 113-119); Dom Fernando (SR II 235-236).
- 1534 *Graça*: *Diario* (B. Fernandes 121-129); *Rainha*, M.A. de Sousa (Ford I 255-256; \*TdT: S. Lour. 1, 305 352).

- 1537 *Espera: Diario* (B. Fernandes 137-147).—1537 December: André Vaz, *Diario* (*ibid.* 152-175).
- 1538 *Gripho*: D. Joam de Castro, *Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa* (Lisboa, 1882); Letter (Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos* I 66-69).
- 1541 *São Tiago*, M. A. de Sousa: Xavier (EX I 80 91-93 119-127, II 24 30 39-41 72); MX II 184 187; Q 984; Correa IV 211-215 223-229 241 249.
- 1542 Correa IV 264-265.
- 1543 Correa IV 305-306 309-311; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 107-126.
- 1544 Correa IV 412-413; Q 1322 1349 1523 1821.
- 1545 *São Tomé*: D. Joam de Castro (Q 1519); *São Mateus (Urca)*: Criminali (DI I 11-12); Lancillotto (*ibid.* 27 39 135); Beira (*ibid.* 58); MHSI *Ep. Mixtae* I 265 276.
- 1546 *Flor de la Mar*: Pérez (DI I 360-363); *Victoria*: Henriques (*ibid.* 149-152 155-156), Moraes (*ibid.* 456); Q 2733 3514.
- 1547 *São Tomé*: Q 2977 3219 3939 4087. — October-December *Boquiua a Velha: Diario* (B. Fernandes 176-203); *Sphera* (Q 4026); *Salvador (Burgaleza)*: Barreto (Q 4063).
- 1548 *São Pedro*: Barzaeus (DI I 382-389 394); Melchior Gonçalves (*ibid.* 306-311); Luis Mendes (*ibid.* 447); *Gallega*: Paulo do Valle (ib. 428-431; cf. 394-395 552; II 248; *Sicião*: Jorge de Mendonça (Q 4133).
- 1549 *São Bento* (Q 4672 and \*CC 1-94-55).
- 1550 *São Pedro*: D. Affonso de Noronha (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 547-548; cf. Q 4674).
- 1551 *Sphera*: Teixeira (DI II 198-203; Heredia (*ibid.* 292-293 409-410); M. Nunes Barreto (*ibid.* 230-238); *Espadarte*: Moraes (*ibid.* 221-229).
- 1552 *Zambuco*: Frois (*ibid.* 489).
- 1553 Dias (*ibid.* II 206-207).
- 1554 Soveral (*ibid.* 107-113).
- 1555 *N. Sra. da Barca*: Quadros (*ibid.* 331 385-402; 292 326 438 444); *São Felipe*: Manuel Fernandes (*ibid.* 273-278 323-324); Carneiro (*ibid.* 280-283 355-356; cf. 291 372-373 386-387 389 401 441-443); *Asunção (Algaravia Velha)*: Cuenca (*ibid.* 291-292; cf. 324 373 386-387 401); M. Nunes (*ibid.* 437-444); *Conceição (Algaravia Nova)*: Account of shipwreck (*ibid.* 293-294 326-327 602-606; cf. 278 356 373-376 381 386 403 429-430 442-443 514).
- 1556 *São Vicente (Galeão)*: Oviedo (*ibid.* 512 518-520); Galdames (*ibid.* 478-482 503-509; cf. 476 492 497); *Mesquita* (*ibid.* IV 119-120); *Flor de la Mar*: F. Rodrigues (*ibid.* III 490-501); *São Gião*: D. G. da Silveira (*ibid.* 613-614 622-624).
- 1558 *Rainha: Diario* of Lizuarte de Abreu (cf. Lagóa, *Grandes* I 210-214).
- 1560 *Castello*: Arboleda (DI V 35-59); *São Paulo*: Manuel Alvares (DI IV 547-551 605-631; Sá II 381-429 365); H. Dias, *Relação da viagem e naufragio da nao S. Paulo* (Gomes de Brito III 5-113).
- 1561 *São Felipe*: Pina (DI V 213-225); João Baptista (*ibid.* 323-333); *N. Sra. da Graça*: G. Rodrigues (*ibid.* 487-508).
- 1562 *São Vicente*: Seb. Gonçalves (*ibid.* 525-534); *São Martinho*: Ant. Fernandes (*ibid.* 534-547); *Rainha*: Fernão da Cunha (*ibid.* 568-580).
- 1563 *Castello*: Dionisio (DI VI 23-27); Pero da Cruz (*ibid.* 32-44); *São Felipe*: Jacome da Braga (*ibid.* 44-62); Cabreira (*ibid.* 379-385; Maech (*ibid.* 97-101).
- 1564 *S. Antonio*: Pero Fernandes (*ibid.* 262-278 290-304); *São Vicente*: Parra (*ibid.* 304-311); Egusquiça (*ibid.* 222-250).
- 1565 *Esperança*: Ribera (*ibid.* 463-476 530-546); Riera (*ibid.* 454-461); *Chagas*: Alcaraz (*ibid.* 763-791).

- 1567 *São Rafael*: Gaspar Dias (SR X 218-251); Jerónimo Rodrigues (*ibid.* XI 17-18); *Reis Magos*: Domingos Alvares (*ibid.* X: 262-271).
- 1569 *Rainha*: Monclaro (*Bol. Soc. Geogr. Lisboa*, 1883, 492-502).
- 1574 *Chagas*: \*Valignano (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 195-199v).
- 1578 \*Spinola (ARSI: *Goa* 31, 383-390v); \*Ruggieri (*ibid.* *JapSin.* 101, 2-11v).
- 1579 *São Lourenço*: Stephens (H. Foley, *Records* IV 706-710).
- 1581 \*Porcari (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 88-93v).
- 1583 *São Salvador*: Linschoten (*Itinerario* I 8-28); *São Tiago*: \*João Rodrigues (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 176-179v); \*Gregorio (*ibid.* 180-181v).
- 1585 *São Tiago*: Pero Martins (*Raguaglio d'un notabilissimo naufragio*, Roma, 1588; Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 281-297); Godinho Cardoso (Gomes de Brito IV 5-133); Santos (*Ethiopia Oriental* II 180-183).
- 1586 *São Tomé*: Santos (*Ethiopia Oriental* II 173-186).
- 1595 *São Pantaleão*: Gaspar Ferreira Reimão (*Diários* 163-222 285-296); \*Antonio da Veiga (ARSI: *Goa* 32, 592-599v); *São Francisco*: Gaspar Affonso (Gomes de Brito VI 5-105).
- 1597 *São Martinho*: Gaspar Ferreira Reimão (*Diários* 1-71 302-310).
- 1601 *Le Corbin*: Pyrard (*Voyage* 1, 3-16).
- 1602 *São Roque*: Francisco Coutinho, *Diario* and Instruction (Simancas: \**Libros Inconnexos* 2773); *Conceição*: Instruction (*ibid.* 2774).
- 1603 *São Matheus*: Simão Castanho (*Diários* 141-161).
- 1607 *N. Sra. da Penha de França*: Trigault (*Copie de la lettre*, Paris, 1609).
- 1608 *S. Antonio*: Seb. Prestes (Ataíde I 9-101).
- 1609 *N. Sra. da Piedade*: Simão Castanho (*ibid.* 191-300).
- 1611 *N. Sra. de Guadalupe*: Simão Castanho (*ibid.* II 97-177).
- 1618 Trigault (*Epistola de felici sua in Indiam navigatione*, Col. Agrip., 1620).
- 1623 Bruni (Beccari XII 24-28); Mendes (*ibid.* 82-85 126-133).
- 1629 *N. Sra. do Bom Despacho*: Frey Nuno da Conceição (Gomes de Brito IX 97-107); *São Tiago*: \*Agostino Todesquini (ARSI: *JapSin* 115, 436-444v); \*Grasseti (*ibid.* *Goa* 34, 34-37v).
- 1633 \**Navegação de Lisboa a India* (*ibid.* *Goa* 34, 47d-47gv).
- 1635 Mastrilli, *Iter in Indiam* (Antverpiae, 1637).
- 1645 \*Ant. Ceschi (Rome, *Fondo Gesù*; *Missiones* 271 II 1 D).
- 1650 João da Costa (*Relação*, in *Ethnos* 1 [1935] 275-283).
- 1660 \*Filippucci (letter in the archives of the Università Gregoriana, Rome: *Codex* 895, 179-v; 292, 311-332).
- 1668 \*Libertazzi (Report, *ibid.*: *Codex* 560, 82 ff.); \*Seb. de Almeida (ARSI: *Goa*, 35, 61-66).
- 1673 Diary of Fathers Amrhym and Aigenler, in an excerpt in A. Houlder, "Eine Todesfahrt," KM 47 (1919) 77-79.
- 1681 \*Sarmento (ARSI: *Goa* 35, 210-212).
- 1698 Diary of P. F. Ramponi, translated into Portuguese by C. de Azevedo in *Garcia de Orta*, Número Especial (Lisboa, 1956) 292-317.
- 1701 Weiss (*Weltbott*, n. 746).
- 1704 Fridelli (*ibid.*, n. 116).
- 1709 Matter (*ibid.*, 506).
- 1716 Slawiczek (*ibid.*, n. 155).
- 1717 Miller (*ibid.*, n. 160).
- 1736 Strobel (*ibid.*, n. 642); Hallerstein (*ibid.*, n. 586).
- 1737 Laimbeckhoven (*ibid.*, n. 555); Neugebauer (*ibid.*, n. 701).

- 1752 Jakob Müller; cf. A. Hounder, "Jakob Müllers Erlebnisse," KM 19 (1891) 139-142.  
 1753 Moritz Thomas, *Reise- und Lebensbeschreibung* (Augsburg, 1788) 40-60.

## APPENDIX IV

[Franz Xaver II. I, pp. 811-813]

## VOYAGERS TO INDIA IN 1541

There are four lists still extant of the individuals who sailed to India in 1541. None of these are complete since the books and archives of the India House in Lisbon were destroyed in the earthquake of 1755. The first was prepared in the royal chancellery and was destined for the count of Castanheira. It contains the names of sixty persons who at the beginning of 1541 received permission from the king to sail to India that same year. The \*original of this is still preserved (TdT: S. Lour. 1, 60). The second is preserved in the \**Memoria das pessoas que passarão á Índia*. This was drawn up from the books of the India House, the compiler giving the names of the most important voyagers from 1505 to 1628: "Vizorreis, Governadores, Capitães, e pessoas de calidade conhecida, e nobres." Like the first manuscript, this one, which was written in the seventeenth century (Lisbon, Bibl. Nacional: *Pombal* 123), has not been published. We therefore give the two texts below. Two other lists have been printed: (1) A compilation similar to those already cited which Braamcamp Freire acquired from an antiquarian and published in the *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, 1907-1908, under the title of "Emmentia da Casa da India." A shorter work than the *Memoria*, it was composed in the eighteenth century before 1755 and breaks off in 1561. (2) A short list for 1541 in the *Annaes* of Fr. Luis de Sousa (Lisboa, 1844) 320-321. We give the two first texts, numbering the individuals for the sake of clarity.

## First List (S. Lour. 1, 60)

Rol das pessoas despachadas e que tem licença d'El-Rey noso senhor pera irem aa India este anno de 1541.

1. Garcia de Sousa. 2. Francisco de Sousa. 3. Manuel de Vasconcellos.
4. Francisco Pereira de Miranda. 5. Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho. 6. Luis de Callatayud. 7. Francisco d'Ayora. 8. Duarte de Miranda. 9. Diogo de Saa. 10. Francisco d'Azevedo. 11. Cide de Sousa. 12. Tristão Gomez de Graam. 13. Tristam de Mello. 14. Lopo Pinto. 15. Diogo Cabral. 16. Jorge de Sousa. 17. Joane Mendez de Vasconcellos. 18. Gaspar d'Azevedo. 19. Manuel de Lemos. 20. Joam Pereira. 21. Lançarote Pereira. 22. Joane Mendez de Matos. 23-25. Tres filhos do Conde da Feira [Dom João, Manuel, and Duarte Pereira]. 26-27. Dous filhos de Dom Garcia de Eça [Dom Jorge and Francisco de Eça]. 28-30. Tres filhos d'Anrrique Nunez [Jorge Nunes de Lyão, Martim Gonçalves de Lyão and Nuno Gonçalves de Lyão]. 31-32. Dous filhos d'Antonio Pacheco da Moeda [Antonio and Joam Pacheco]. 33. Pero da Mizquita. 34. Gomez Martynz de Lemos. 35. Jorge de Mendoza. 36. Fernam de Sousa. 37. Duarte d'Azevedo de Castelbranco.



38. Diogo Ortyz de Távora. 39. Francisco Teixeira. 40. Joam Fernandez de Vasconcellos. 41. Luis Cabral. 42. Gregorio d'Abreu. 43. Pero Lopez de Sande. 44. Eytor Velho. 45. Denys de Paiva. 46. Miguel d'Ayalla. 47. Joam Coelho. 48. Antonio Alvarez Ferreira. 49. Alvaro Lopez. 50. Antonio Çallema. 51. Antonio da Costa Homem. 52. Mestre Diogo, solorgião. 53. Gomez de Quadros. 54. Pero Cardoso do Conde. 55. Gonçalo Nunez d'Araújo, irmão de Frey Tomé de Guimarães. 56. Anrrique d'Enueres, bombardeiro. 57. Jacome Grego. 58-60. Os dous clérigos da ordem de São Pedro [Xavier and Misser Paulo] com hum reposteiro de Sua Alteza que vay com elles [Pedro Maldonado].

Second List (*Pombal 123*, pp. 71-74) [f. = *filho*]

1. Libro do anno de 1541, em que foi por Capitão mor Martim Afonso de Sousa, que partio a 7 de Abril embarcado na nao Sanctiago. Erão em sua companhia a nao Sto. Spirito, a nao Flor de la Mar, a nao S. Pedro, e a nao Santa Cruz.
2. Francisco de Sousa, vay por Capitão da nao Santa Cruz.
3. D. Alvaro de Tayde, vay por Capitão da nao S. Pedro.  
Titulo dos criados del Rey, que nestas naos forão á India f. 61 ss. do mesmo libro.
4. Estevam de Brito, moço fidalgo, filho de Estevão de Brito, por mês 1000 reis.
5. Cid de Sousa, f. de João Lopez de Almeida, de cavaleiro por mês 1250 reis.
6. Gomes Martins de Lemos, fidalgo, f. de Duárte de Lemos; de escudeiro por mês 2050 reis.
7. Francisco Teixeira, fidalgo escudeiro; por mês 1360 reis.
8. D. Jorge Deça, fidalgo escudeiro, f. de Dom Garcia Deça; por mês 3040 reis.
9. D. Francisco Deça, seu irmão; o mesmo.
10. Cosmo de Payva, escudeiro fidalgo; por mês 1000 reis.
11. Luis da Silveira, fidalgo escudeiro, f. de Manoel da Silveira; por mês 2400 reis.
12. Jorge de Mendoça, fidalgo escudeiro; por mês 2080 reis.<sup>1</sup>
13. Jorge de Sousa, moço fidalgo, f. de Francisco Manoja<sup>2</sup> e de D. Maria de Sousa; por mês 1000 reis.
14. Pantaleão de Sá, fidalgo escudeiro, f. de João Rodrigues de Sá; por mês 2400 reis.
15. Francisco Maldonado, escudeiro; por mês 400 reis.<sup>3</sup>
16. Pero Maldonado, f. de Henrique Fernandes Maldonado.<sup>4</sup>
17. Manoel de Vasconcellos, fidalgo cavaleiro, vay por Capitão de Cananor; por mês 1520 reis.
18. D. Manoel Deça, que El Rey tomou por moço fidalgo, f. bastardo de D. João Deça; *anda na India*; por mês 1000 reis.
19. Fernam de Sousa, moço fidalgo, f. de Jorge de Sousa; por mês [sum lacking].
20. Antonio de Sotomayor, moço fidalgo, f. de Antonio de Sotomayor; por mês 1000 reis.
21. Luis Cayado, moço fidalgo, f. de Thomé Lopez; por mês 1000 reis.

<sup>1</sup> Sousa erroneously makes Jorge de Mendoça the son of the following Jorge de Sousa.

<sup>2</sup> The *Emmenta* has "Anojo."

<sup>3</sup> The *Emmenta* adds "filho de Henrique Fernandez Maldonado."

<sup>4</sup> Missing in the *Emmenta*.

22. Antonio de Sousa, fidalgo cavaleiro; vay por Capitão de Chaul; por mês 2250 reis.
23. Duarte de Miranda de Azevedo, fidalgo; por mês 2000 reis.
24. Gil de Castro, f. de Diogo Borges de Castro, fidalgo cavaleiro; por mês 1800 reis.
25. Joane Mendez de Vasconcellos, f. de Gonçalo Mendez de Vasconcellos, moço fidalgo; por mês 1000 reis.
26. Lopo Pinto, f. do Baylio.
27. D. Fernando de Noronha; por mês 3500 reis.
28. Lançarote Pereira, fidalgo; vay por Capitão da Caravella de Sofala.
29. Martim Gonçalves de Leam, fidalgo cavaleiro; por mes 1600 reis.
30. Jorge Nunez de Leam, seu irmão, fidalgo escudeiro; por mês 1280 reis.
31. Nuno Gonçalves de Leão, irmão dos sobreditos filhos de Henrique Nunez de Leão, fidalgo escudeiro; por mês 1280 reis.
32. Diogo Cabral, fidalgo, vay para descobrir a ilha do ouro.
33. D. Joam Pereira, f. de D. Fernando Pereira; de escudeiro por mês 3900 reis.
34. D. Duarte Pereira, seu irmão; o mesmo.<sup>5</sup>
35. D. Jorge Pereira, f. bastardo do Conde da Feyra; de escudeiro por mês 2600 reis.
36. Lopo Vaz de Castelbranco, f. de Joam Rodriguez de Castelbranco de Caparica; o tomou agora El Rey por escudeiro fidalgo; por mês 1500 reis.
37. Henrique de Sousa, moço fidalgo, f. de João de Sousa; por mês 1000 reis.
38. Diogo Ortiz de Tavora de escudeiro por mês 1600 reis.
39. Antonio de Atayde, f. de Antonio de Atayde, fidalgo escudeiro; por mês 1100 reis.
40. Gregorio de Vasconcellos, f. de Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos; por mês 800 reis.
41. Manoel da Cunha, f. de Artur de Sá, *que anda na India*; <sup>6</sup> de escudeiro por mês 2320 reis.
42. Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho, por Alcaide mor de Coulão.
43. Lopo Vaz Coutinho, f. de Vasco Rodriguez de Castelbranco, fidalgo cavaleiro, por mês 1400 reis.
44. Lopo Rodriguez <sup>7</sup> de Sousa, f. do Capitão mor Martim Affonso de Sousa; de moço fidalgo por mês 1000 reis.

Fim do livro do anno de 1541.

Sousa adds nothing new to the two first lists. The *Emmenta* gives only the names of two more captains. The following additional passengers are known from other sources: 1. Christovão de Aguiar, f. de Francisco de Sequeira e Maria de Aguiar, da quinta do Balandeiro, termo da Feira (Figuerôa Rêgo 11). 2. Mestre Ambrosio, surgeon (Q 746). 3. Alvaro Barradas, capitão da nao Sto. Spirito (*Emmenta* 372; Q 793). 4. Guterre de Boim (Q 726a). 5. Antonio Cardoso, India secretary (Q 679-680). 6. Luis Cayado, capitão da nao Flor de la Mar (*Emmenta* 372; Q 709 792), whom the *Emmenta* distinguish from his namesake. 7. Francisco Correa, f. de Diogo de Albuquerque e Margarida Correa (\*Flaminio 2, 616v). 8. Gabriel Feroso, chaplain (Correa IV 227). 9. Diogo Fernandes

<sup>5</sup> Sousa: "Dom João Pereyra, Dom Manoel, Dom Duarte, todos tres hirmãos, filhos do Conde da Feira."

<sup>6</sup> The addition "que anda na India" is missing in the *Emmenta*.

<sup>7</sup> The *Emmenta* erroneously has: "Pires."



(Q 1622). 10. Vicente Fernandes (Q 758). 11. Alvaro Freire (\*Flaminio 2, 489v). 12. Jerónimo Gomes (Correa IV 227). 13. João Gonçalves, Mestre des São Tiago (Q 1114). 14. Mestre Joam, surgeon (Q 670; MX II 211). 15. Gaspar Leite do Porto, f. de Diogo Leite e Brites Mendes (\*Flaminio 2, 342v). 16. Francisco Mansilhas (MX II 317). 17. Alvaro Martins (Q 704). 18. Antonio de Pinharanda Sintra, f. de Pinharanda e Tareja de Barbuda (Figueirôa Rêgo 8). 19. Gaspar do Rego (Q 772). 20. Mestre Cosme Saraiva, physician (Q 746; MX II 187). 21. Antonio de Sousa f. do lic. Henrique Pereira (Q 751). 22. Antonio Teixeira (Q 752). 23. Joam Teixeira, apothecary (Q 746). 23. Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa (SR II 329). 24. Henrique Solis, ship's secretary (Silva Carvalho 33).

## APPENDIX V

[Franz Xaver II. 2, pp. 539-543]

### GOVERNORS <sup>1</sup>

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>D. Francisco de Almeida, viceroy: Oct. 24, 1505—Sept. 4, 1509.</p> <p>Affonso de Albuquerque: Sept. 4, 1509—Dec., 1515.</p> <p>Lopo Soares de Albergaria: Sept. 8, 1515—Dec. 20, 1518.</p> <p>Diogo Lopes de Sequeira: Dec. 20, 1518—Jan. 22, 1522.</p> <p>D. Duarte de Meneses: Jan. 22, 1522—Dec. 4, 1524.</p> <p>D. Vasco da Gama, Conde da Vidigueira, viceroy: Dec. 4, 1524—Dec. 24, 1524.</p> <p>D. Henrique de Meneses: Dec. 25, 1524—Feb. 21, 1526.</p> <p>Lop Vaz de Sampaio: Feb. 22, 1526—Nov. 18, 1529.</p> <p>Nuno da Cunha: Nov. 18, 1529—Sept. 14, 1538.</p> | <p>D. Garcia de Noronha, viceroy: Sept. 14, 1538—April 3, 1540.</p> <p>D. Estevão da Gama: April 4, 1540—May 7, 1542.</p> <p>Martim Affonso de Sousa: May 7, 1542—Sept. 21, 1545.</p> <p>D. João de Castro, governor, then viceroy: Sept. 12, 1545—June 6, 1548.</p> <p>Garcia de Sá: June 7, 1548—June 13, 1549.</p> <p>Jorge Cabral: June 13, 1549—Nov., 1550.</p> <p>D. Affonso de Noronha, viceroy: Nov., 1550—Sept. 16, 1554.</p> <p>D. Pedro Mascarenhas, viceroy: Sept. 16, 1554—June 23, 1555.</p> <p>Francisco Barreto: June 23, 1555—Sept. 8, 1558.</p> <p>D. Costantino de Bragança, viceroy: Sept. 8, 1558—Sept. 7, 1561.</p> |
|--|---|

### CAPTAINS <sup>2</sup>

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Goa <sup>3</sup></p> <p><i>Pedro Rebello, D. Medeiros de Vasconcellos, vagante.</i> <sup>4</sup></p> <p>Manuel de Lacerda.</p> <p><i>Pedro de Mascarenhas, vagante.</i></p> <p>D. João de Eça.</p> | <p>D. Guterre de Moura, <i>primeiro provido por el Rey.</i></p> <p>Ruy de Mello: 1519.</p> <p>Francisco Pereira Pestana: 1522.</p> <p>D. Henrique: 1524.</p> <p>Francisco de Sá: Jan. 13, 1525.</p> |
|--|---|

<sup>1</sup> We follow P. Ernesto Sales, who has given a list with precise dates and a commentary in "Vice-Reis e Governadores da Índia Portuguesa desde 1505 a 1910," *Revista de Historia* 10 (Lisboa, 1921) 209-216. J. F. Ferreira Martins gives another list of all the governors and viceroys with brief data on their lives and facsimiles of their signatures from 1505 to 1917 in his *Crónica dos Vice-Reis e Governadores da Índia* (Nova-Goa, 1919) 268-448. We have limited ourselves in the following to Xavier's time.

<sup>2</sup> A list of most of the captains of the fortresses, composed in Goa in 1600, without dates and often erroneous, is given in the *\*Confirmação da Historia da Índia. Fundação das fortalezas da Índia* (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac. Fundo Geral 1987) 54-63v. Interim rulers are here given in *italics*.

<sup>3</sup> A good list of the captains of Goa until 1599 is given by the *\*Confirmação*, based on the books of the city archives, with the dates of their oath of office.

Antonio da Silveira de Meneses:

March 22, 1526.

Pero de Faria: 1527.

Antonio de Miranda: Oct. 13, 1528.

D. João de Eça: Dec. 15, 1528.

D. Fernando de Lima: Nov. 17, 1529.

D. João Pereira: Jan. 1, 1534.

D. Gonçalo Coutinho: Nov. 4, 1536.

D. João de Eça: Nov. 10, 1539.

D. Garcia de Castro: Nov. 8, 1542.

D. Diogo de Almeida: Nov. 7, 1545.

D. Francisco de Lima: Nov. 3, 1548.

D. João Lobo: April 4, 1551.

Gaspar de Mello de Sampaio: May 29, 1555.

Pedro Lopes de Sampaio: 1521.

## 2. Sofala<sup>5</sup>

Vicente Pegado: 1538.

Aleixo de Sousa Chichorro: 1538.

João de Sepúlveda: 1541.

D. Jorge Tello de Meneses: 1544.

Fernão de Sousa de Távora: 1548.

Diogo de Misquitta: 1551.

## 3. Ormuz<sup>6</sup>

Antonio de Silveira: 1533—1536.

D. Pedro de Castellobranco: 1536.<sup>7</sup>

D. Fernando de Lima: 1538.

Martim Afonso de Mello Juzarte: 1539.<sup>8</sup>

D. Pedro de Castellobranco: 1540.<sup>9</sup>

Fernandalvarez Sernache: 1541.<sup>10</sup>

Martim Afonso de Mello Juzarte: 1541.<sup>11</sup>

Luis Falção: 1544.<sup>12</sup>

D. Manuel de Lima: 1547.<sup>13</sup>

D. Alvaro de Noronha: 1550—1553.<sup>14</sup>

## 4. Diu<sup>15</sup>

D. Gonçalo de Sousa: 1535.

Manuel de Sousa: 1536.

D. Antonio da Silveira: 1537.

Diogo Lopes de Sousa: 1539.

Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda: 1542.

D. João Mascarenhas: 1545.

Luis Falção: 1547.

D. Arturo de Castro: 1548.<sup>16</sup>

Martim Correa da Silva: 1548.

Pedro Lopes de Sousa: 1550.<sup>17</sup>

## 5. Bassein

Garcia de Sá: 1535.<sup>18</sup>

Antonio da Silveira: 1536.<sup>19</sup>

Garcia de Sá: 1537.<sup>20</sup>

Manuel de Macedo: 1537.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>4</sup> During a vacancy in the office.

<sup>5</sup> F. M. Bordalo gives a list of the captains of Sofala, who were also over Mozambique, in *Ensayo sobre a Estatística de Moçambique* (Lisboa, 1859) 103-135 for 1505-1585. A similar list is given by Sousa Ribeiro for 1505-1906 in *Anuario de Moçambique* (Lourenço Marques, 1908) 22-29. A list is also given in the *\*Confirmação*. We have corrected the occasional errors. Cf. Correa IV 210 407 605 and Q 859 4592.

<sup>6</sup> Q 609-610; for Silveira see Correa IV 696.

<sup>7</sup> Correa III 696 839; IV 76. After two years he was accused and summoned to Goa.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* IV 76.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 414 143 160 210; Q 831 847 (for ten missing months).

<sup>10</sup> Correa IV 210; Q 836.

<sup>11</sup> Correa IV 210 336 407.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 337 586 622.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 622 703; Q 3149.

<sup>14</sup> Q 4539 4541 4592.

<sup>15</sup> A list of the captains of Diu from 1535 to 1896, with gaps at the beginning, is given by Jeronymo Quadros in *Diu: Apontamentos para sua Historia e Chorographia* (Nova Goa, 1899) 30-43, with sources; supplemented by the *\*Confirmação* to 1600; Correa III 687 (cf. Q 1700) 783 793; IV 77 266 424 588 622-623 668.

<sup>16</sup> Q 4033.

<sup>17</sup> Correa IV 424 683; Q 4592.

<sup>18</sup> Correa III 689 743 (accused, sailed to Goa).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 742.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 779 783 (as captain to Diu).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 783 785.

Garcia de Sá: 1537.<sup>22</sup>  
 Ruy Lourenço de Távora: 1538.<sup>23</sup>  
 Antonio de Lemos: 1540.<sup>24</sup>  
 D. Francisco de Meneses: 1541.<sup>25</sup>  
 D. Manuel de Lima: 1543.<sup>26</sup>  
 D. Francisco de Meneses: 1544.<sup>27</sup>  
 D. Jerónimo de Noronha: 1545.<sup>28</sup>  
 Jorge Cabral: 1548.<sup>29</sup>  
 Gaspar Fialho: 1549.<sup>30</sup>  
 Francisco Barreto: 1549.<sup>31</sup>  
 Francisco de Sá de Meneses "dos óculos": 1552.<sup>32</sup>

#### 6. Chaul

Simão Guedes: 1535.  
 Jorge de Lima: 1539.  
 Francisco da Cunha: 1542.  
 Antonio de Sousa Coutinho: 1545.<sup>33</sup>  
 Vasco da Cunha: 1548.  
 João de Mendonça: 1551.<sup>34</sup>

#### 7. Cannanore

Fernão Eanes de Soutomaior: 1536.  
 D. Henrique Deça: 1539.  
 Diogo Alvarez Telles: 1542.<sup>35</sup>

Manuel de Vasconcellos: 1545.<sup>36</sup>  
 Balthasar Lobo de Sousa: 1548.<sup>37</sup>  
 Antonio de Sá: 1551.<sup>38</sup>

#### 8. Chale

Manuel de Britto: 1538.<sup>39</sup>  
 Nuno Vaz de Castellobranco: 1541.<sup>40</sup>  
 Antonio Coelho de Sousa: 1544.<sup>41</sup>  
 D. Bernardo da Silva e Meneses: 1548.<sup>42</sup>  
 Luis Xiralobo: 1549.<sup>43</sup>  
 D. Bernardo da Silva e Meneses: 1551.<sup>44</sup>

#### 9. Cranganore

Diogo Pereira: 1536.  
 João Pereira: 1545 appointed *alcalde-mor* until recalled; captain 1547-1561.  
 D. Diogo Rolim: 1561.<sup>45</sup>

#### 10. Cochim

Antonio de Britto: 1536.  
 D. Fernão Deça: 1538.<sup>46</sup>  
 Dr. Pedro Fernandes: 1541.  
 Manuel Sodré: 1542.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* 793 837.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* IV 71 106 148 (removed after a year).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 148 (until D. Francisco de Meneses came from the Diu voyage).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 148 210; Q 833 995a 1079.

<sup>26</sup> Correa IV 414-415; Couto 5, 9, 3, p. 319; 8, 10, 7, pp. 429-430 (he departed earlier because he had been offended).

<sup>27</sup> Correa IV 415.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 632.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 681; Q 4103a.

<sup>30</sup> Correa IV 681.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 688; Q 4318 4592 4734.

<sup>32</sup> Couto 6, 10, 6, p. 440.

<sup>33</sup> Correa IV 71 447; Castanheda 8, 99.

<sup>34</sup> Q 4592 4709.

<sup>35</sup> Correa III 706; IV 218.

<sup>36</sup> Q 1749 3602.

<sup>37</sup> Correa IV 619; Q 4155.

<sup>38</sup> Q 4592.

<sup>39</sup> Correa III 881; IV 102 164.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* IV 164; Q 1514.

<sup>41</sup> Q 1360.

<sup>42</sup> Q 4142. "Na vagante de Luis Xiralobo" (TdT: Col. S. Vicente IX 274).

<sup>43</sup> Correa IV 689; Q 4142 4189 4592.

<sup>44</sup> Q 4592.

<sup>45</sup> Correa III 772; Q 1401 3593 4123 (son of the Diogo Pereira who built the fortress). Viceroy D. Francisco Coutinho to the king on December 20, 1561 (TdT: CC 1-105-79).

<sup>46</sup> Correa III 744; IV 103 215.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* IV 217 (Dr. Pedro Fernandes until Sodré comes from Malacca) 211.

Payo Rodrigues d'Araujo: 1542.<sup>48</sup>  
 Fernão da Silva: 1545.<sup>49</sup>  
 Henrique de Sousa Chichorro: 1545.<sup>50</sup>  
 Antonio Correa: 1547.  
 Francisco da Silva de Meneses: 1547.<sup>51</sup>  
 Henrique de Sousa Chichorro: 1550.<sup>52</sup>  
 D. Tristão de Monroy: 1551.<sup>53</sup>

#### 11. Quilon

Diogo da Silva: 1538.<sup>54</sup>  
 Francisco Correa: 1541.<sup>55</sup>  
 Duarte da Gama: 1544.<sup>56</sup>  
 Bernardo da Fonseca: 1547.<sup>57</sup>

#### 12. Fishery Coast

Cosme de Paiva: 1537.  
 João Fernandes Correa: 1540.<sup>58</sup>  
 Cosme de Paiva: 1542.<sup>59</sup>  
 Aires de Figueiredo: 1545.<sup>60</sup>  
 João Fernandes Correa: 1547.<sup>61</sup>  
 Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho: 1550-1561.<sup>62</sup>

#### 13. Coromandel Coast

Gallaz Viegas, captain of Paleacate: 1542.<sup>63</sup>  
 Gabriel d'Ataide: 1542.<sup>64</sup>  
 Miguel Ferreira: 1543.<sup>65</sup>  
 Gabriel d'Ataide: 1548.<sup>66</sup>

#### 14. Negapatam

Antonio Mendes de Vasconcellos until Christovão Douria: 1546.<sup>67</sup>

#### 15. Malacca<sup>68</sup>

Ruy de Britto Patalim: 1511—1514.  
 Jorge de Albuquerque: 1514—1515.  
 Jorge de Britto: 1515—1517.  
 Nuno Vaz Pereira: 1517—1518.  
 Afonso Lopes da Costa: 1518—1519.<sup>69</sup>  
 Garcia de Sá: 1519—1520.<sup>70</sup>  
 Jorge de Albuquerque: 1521—1525.<sup>71</sup>  
 Pedro Mascarenhas: 1525-1526.<sup>72</sup>  
 Jorge Cabral: 1526—1528.  
 Pero de Faria: 1528—1529.  
 Garcia de Sá: 1529—1533.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 230 (from Goa to Cochin May 20, 1542).

<sup>49</sup> Q 1665 (until Martim Affonso de Sousa embarked).

<sup>50</sup> Correa IV 605 (imprisoned before the completion of his term of office).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 605 709.

<sup>52</sup> Correa IV 710; Q 4530 4592 (elected when Silva fell in battle).

<sup>53</sup> Q 4732.

<sup>54</sup> Correa III 836; IV 184.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* IV 164; Botelho, *Tombo* 38; Q 1176.

<sup>56</sup> Q 1650 2768 3089.

<sup>57</sup> Q 3089 2768.

<sup>58</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 347.

<sup>59</sup> EX I 287.

<sup>60</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 347.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* 154 579. The viceroy D. F. Coutinho to the king on December 20, 1561 (TdT: CC 1-105-79).

<sup>63</sup> Correa IV 218.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* and Q 1602 (only twenty days).

<sup>65</sup> Q 1602 2097.

<sup>66</sup> Correa IV 451; Q 2194 2254.

<sup>67</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 60 347 381.

<sup>68</sup> Manuel Teixeira gives a list of the captains of Malacca from 1511 to 1641 (the year they were taken over by the Dutch) in *The Portuguese Missions in Malacca and Singapore* (1511-1958) II (Lisboa, 1961) 409-411; the *\*Confirmação* gives a list from 1511 to 1579. At times we correct their data.

<sup>69</sup> Castanheda 5, 3. He went sick to India in December.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 5, 12, 66 (Lopes da Costa relinquishes his post to Garcia de Sá).

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* 5, 66.

<sup>72</sup> Became governor of India in 1526.

<sup>73</sup> Castanheda 7, 99; 8, 63.

D. Paulo da Gama: 1533—1534.<sup>74</sup>  
 D. Estevão da Gama: 1534—1539.<sup>75</sup>  
 Pero de Faria: 1539—1542.<sup>76</sup>  
 Ruy Vaz Pereira: 1542—1544.<sup>77</sup>  
*Simão Botelho*: 1544—1545.<sup>78</sup>  
 Garcia de Sá: 1545.<sup>79</sup>  
 Simão de Mello: 1545—1548.<sup>80</sup>  
 D. Pedro da Silva da Gama: 1548—  
 1552.<sup>81</sup>  
*Francisco Alvares* 1552.<sup>82</sup>  
 D. Alvaro de Ataíde da Gama: 1552—  
 1554.<sup>83</sup>  
 D. Antonio de Noronha: 1554—1556.<sup>84</sup>  
 D. João Pereira: 1556—1557.<sup>85</sup>

#### 16. Ternate<sup>86</sup>

Antonio de Britto: May 13, 1522—Aug.,  
 1525.<sup>87</sup>  
 D. Garcia Henriques: Aug., 1525—May,  
 1527.<sup>88</sup>

D. Jorge de Meneses: May, 1527—Nov.  
 3, 1530.<sup>89</sup>  
 Gonçalo Pereira: Nov. 3, 1530—May 27,  
 1531.<sup>90</sup>  
*Vicente da Fonseca*: May 28, 1531—  
 Oct., 1533.<sup>91</sup>  
 Tristão d'Ataíde: Oct. 1533—Oct. 25,  
 1536.<sup>92</sup>  
 Antonio Galvão: Oct. 25, 1536—Oct. 25,  
 1539.<sup>93</sup>  
 D. Jorge de Castro: Oct. 25, 1539—Nov.  
 7, 1544.<sup>94</sup>  
 Jurdão de Freitas: Nov. 7, 1544—Oct.  
 18, 1546.<sup>95</sup>  
 Bernaldim de Sousa: Oct. 18, 1546—  
 Oct. 18, 1549.<sup>96</sup>  
 Christovão de Sá: Oct. 18, 1549—Oct.,  
 1550.<sup>97</sup>  
 Bernaldim de Sousa: Oct., 1550—April,  
 1552.<sup>98</sup>  
*Balthasar Veloso*: April-Dec., 1552.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 8, 63 78.

<sup>75</sup> Q 437; Brito Rebello IV 139 (where 1539 is to be read for 1537).

<sup>76</sup> Brito Rebello IV 139; Correa IV 266.

<sup>77</sup> Correa IV 266 417.

<sup>78</sup> Brito Rebello IV 139; Correa IV 266.

<sup>79</sup> Correa IV 266 417.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* 417 423.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* 423.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* 446; Couto 6, 1, 3, p. 17.

<sup>81</sup> Couto 6, 6, 6, p. 39.

<sup>82</sup> EX II 121 163.

<sup>83</sup> Couto 6, 10, 18, p. 523.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* and 7, 3, 1, p. 191.

<sup>85</sup> Couto 7, 3, 1, p. 191.

<sup>86</sup> A list of the captains of Ternate up to the surrender of the fortress in December, 1575, is given in the *\*Confirmação*.

<sup>87</sup> *\*Tratado de las yslas de los Malucos* 23v.

<sup>88</sup> Castanheda 6, 103.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* 7, 40 53.

<sup>90</sup> According to the *\*Tratado* (24v), he arrived December 22; according to Castanheda 8, 21, at the beginning of October, the usual time of arrival on the Borneo route, which he was the first to sail. According to Castanheda 8, 39 he was murdered on May 17, 1531, the vigil of Pentecost, apparently a printing mistake for May 27, 1531, the date of the vigil.

<sup>91</sup> He entered office the day after the murder (Castanheda 8, 40) and governed for two and one-half years (Q 184).

<sup>92</sup> Castanheda 8, 70.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* 8, 156.

<sup>94</sup> Q, p. 544.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* p. 565.

<sup>96</sup> Rebello 446.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 447.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.* 452.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* 486-487.

Francisco Lopes de Sousa: Dec., 1552—1554.<sup>100</sup>

Christovão de Sá: 1554—Nov., 1556.<sup>101</sup>

D. Duarte de Eça: Oct., 1556—Dec., 1559.<sup>102</sup>

Antonio Pereira Brandão: Dec., 1559—Oct., 1560.<sup>103</sup>

Manuel de Vasconcellos: Dec., 1560—1561.<sup>104</sup>

Bastião Machado: 1561—March, 1562.<sup>105</sup>

Henrique de Sá: March, 1526—Oct., 1564.<sup>106</sup>

Alvaro de Mendonça: Oct. 1564—Oct., 1567.<sup>107</sup>

Diogo Lopes de Mesquita de Lima: Oct., 1567—Nov., 1570.<sup>108</sup>

D. Alvaro de Ateide: Nov., 1570—Dec., 1574.<sup>109</sup>

Nuno Pereira de Lacerda: Dec., 1574—Dec., 1575.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* 486.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* 493-494; Couto 6, 10, 11, p. 475.

<sup>102</sup> Couto 7, 4, 7, pp. 327-368; Rebello 494.

<sup>103</sup> Couto 7, 5, 3, pp. 366-367.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* 7, 9, 15, p. 417; Rebello 495.

<sup>105</sup> Rebello 499.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* and Couto 7, 10, 19, p. 580.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* and Couto 8, 16, p. 101.

<sup>109</sup> Sá IV 463-464.

<sup>110</sup> Couto 9, 19, p. 149, and 31, p. 289. The news of the surrender of the fortress arrived late and confused in India, causing numerous errors in the authors. It was in December, 1575 (Sá IV 317).

APPENDIX VI  
[*Franz Xaver* II. 2, pp. 544-551]

LIST OF NATIVE KINGS AND PRINCES <sup>1</sup>  
EUROPE: TURKEY

Sulaimān I: 1520—1566.

Salīm II: 1566—1574.

AFRICA

*Zeila* <sup>2</sup>

Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm, Granhe: 1526—1543. <sup>3</sup>

Nūr-ud-dīn: 1543—1559.

Helena: 1508—1520 (regent for David II).

*Abyssinia*

David II (Lebna Dengel, Wanāg Sagad, Atani Tinghil): 1520—1540.

Claudius (Galāwdēwos, Asnaf Sagad): 1540—1559.

ASIA

*Arabia*

*Mecca*

Sherīf: Abū Numaly Muhammed II b. Barakāt: 1525—1566. <sup>4</sup>

*Yemen*: Zebīd. Turkish governors: <sup>5</sup>

Bahrām Beg: 1536.

Mustafā Beg: 1540.

Mustafā an-Nashshār, *beglerbeg*: 1541.

Uwais Pasha: 1545. <sup>6</sup>

Farhād: 1547.

Uzdemir: 1549—1555. <sup>7</sup>

*Yemen*: Sanā. Imām of the Zaidites:

<sup>1</sup> King lists are given by C. H. Philips in his *Handbook of Oriental History* (London, 1951); for Islamic rulers by E. de Zambaur in *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam* (Hanovre, 1927); and by Stanley Lane-Poole in *The Mohammedan Dynasties* (Paris, 1925). For further data see the indices of the present volume and of our *Zeitgenössischen Quellen*; see also our "Orientalische Briefe aus der Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver," *Euntes Docete* 21 (1968) 255-301. We give the lists only in so far as they concern our life of Xavier. Where we do not have complete dates for the rule of a prince, they are given in parentheses. The abbreviation *b* stands for *bin*, *ben* *ibn*; EI for *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (Leyde, 1913-1938).

<sup>2</sup> EI I 122; II 280.

<sup>3</sup> He was the emir of Harār; the Portuguese as a rule call him the king of Zeila after the principal harbor of his kingdom. He fell in battle with the Portuguese on February 22, 1543 (see above, p. 515).

<sup>4</sup> EI I 104.

<sup>5</sup> Zambaur 122.

<sup>6</sup> He was murdered in May, 1547 (*ibid.*).

<sup>7</sup> He left his office on November 16, 1555 (*ibid.*).

<sup>8</sup> Q, p. 605.



Mutahhar (1545—1572).<sup>8</sup>

1548.<sup>11</sup> Followed by Turkish governors from 1548 to 1568.

*Yemen: Aden:*

*Qishn and Socotra*

Amīr b. Dā'ūd: 1538, murdered by Khādim Sulaimān Pasha. Turkish governors then ruled until 1547.<sup>9</sup>

Sayyid b. Isā b. Afram (1548).<sup>12</sup>

*al-Ahsa*

Alī b. Sulaimān, king of the mountains of Darzīra and Khanfar: 1547.<sup>10</sup>

Shaikh Maneng b. Rashid (1539—1546)<sup>13</sup>

Muhammad b. Alī b. Sulaimān: 1547—

‘Abd Allāh: 1547, installed by the Turks.<sup>14</sup>

### *Iraq*

*Bagdad.* Turkish Pashas: <sup>15</sup>

*Basra*

Sulaimān Pasha b. Kubād: 1534.

Ayās Pasha: 1546.<sup>16</sup>

‘Alī Tamarrud: 1549.

Muhammad: 1552.

Murād: 1566.

Shaikh Maneng b. Rashid (king of al-Ahsa) before 1543; soon expelled by Shaikh “Yla-Yla”; died as king in 1543; succeeded by a young son.<sup>18</sup>

Shaikh Hayat (1546)—1547.<sup>19</sup> Then Turkish governors:

*Jaza’ir (Gizaira: Shatt al-‘Arab)*

Bilāl Muhammad Pasha: 1547.<sup>20</sup>

Sayyid ‘Alī b. ‘Alī (1546).<sup>17</sup>

### *Ormuz*<sup>21</sup>

*Kings:*

*Viziers:*

Saif-ud-dīn: (1507)—1514.<sup>22</sup>

Turān Shāh I: 1514—1522.<sup>23</sup>

Muhammad Shāh: 1522—1534.<sup>24</sup>

Salghar Shāh: 1535—1541 (1541—1544 imprisoned in Goa).<sup>25</sup>

Turān Shāh II: 1541—1553.<sup>26</sup>

Khoja ‘Attār: (1507)—1515.

Ra’is Nūr-ud-dīn: 1515—1521.

Ra’is Sharaf Nūr-ud-dīn: 1521—1528.<sup>27</sup>

Ra’is Ahmad: 1528.<sup>28</sup>

Ra’is Sharaf Nūr-ud-dīn: 1528—1529 (then, until 1545, as a hostage in Portugal).<sup>29</sup>

<sup>9</sup> EI I 134; Zambaur 121, n. 3; Couto 6, 6, 1, p. 1; Kutb-ud-dīn (Lopes, *Hist. do Yaman* 53-54).

<sup>10</sup> Nunes, *Crónica* 224-226; Correa IV 624 629; Couto 6, 6, 2, pp. 15-16; Q 3856.

<sup>11</sup> Q 3713 (treaty of February 12, 1548). The Turks retook Aden on February 24, 1548 (Serjeant 107-108).

<sup>12</sup> Q \*922; Nunes, *Crónica* 234-235; Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 273.

<sup>13</sup> Q 1151.

<sup>14</sup> Q 3282.

<sup>15</sup> Zambaur 170.

<sup>16</sup> Q 2553.

<sup>17</sup> Q 4332; Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 274.

<sup>18</sup> Q 1151 and p. 533.

<sup>19</sup> Q 2596 and p. 629; Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 274.

<sup>21</sup> Q, p. 609; Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 264-271.

<sup>22</sup> Correa I 836; II 405.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* II 419; Q 94 169.

<sup>24</sup> Q 94; Correa II 694 699; Castanheda 5, 88 and 8, 76; Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 264.

<sup>25</sup> He was poisoned to death immediately after his return in 1544. On him see Q, p. 625; Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 265-266; above, pp. 243-249 387 496.

<sup>26</sup> Q, p. 641-642; Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 266.

<sup>27</sup> Q, p. 609; Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 266-268. During his two-month absence in Goa his office was held by Ahmad.

<sup>28</sup> Q 117-118.

<sup>29</sup> Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 266-269. In 1547 he returned to Ormuz.

Shaikh Rashid: 1529—1534.<sup>30</sup>  
 Khoja Jamāl-ud-dīn: 1535.<sup>31</sup>  
 Shaikh Ahmad: 1535—1539.<sup>32</sup>

Ra'īs Rukn-ud-dīn: 1539—1547.<sup>33</sup>  
 Ra'īs Sharaf Nūr-ud-dīn: 1547—1550.<sup>34</sup>  
 Nūr-ud-dīn: 1550—1571.<sup>35</sup>

### *Persia*

Ismā'īl I: 1502—1524.

Tahmāsp: 1524—1576.

### *North India*<sup>36</sup>

#### *Delhi*

Muhammad Humāyūn (Mogulem-  
 peror): 1530—1539.  
 Shēr Shāh (Afghan): 1539—1545.  
 Islām Shāh: 1545—1553.

Khizr Khān: 1540—1545.  
 Muhammad Khān Sūr: 1545—1555.

#### *Gujarāt (Cambay)*

Bahādur Shāh: 1526—1537.  
 Mīrān Muhammad Shāh: 1537.  
 Mahmūd Shāh III: 1537—1554.  
 Ahmad Shāh II: 1554—1562.

#### *Bengal*

Shēr Shāh: 1539—1540.

### *The Deccan*<sup>37</sup>

Nizām Shāh (Ahmadnagar)  
 Burān: 1509—1553.  
 Husain: 1553—1565.  
 'Ādil Shāh [Adil Khān] (Bijāpur)  
 Ismā'īl: 1510—Aug. 27, 1534.  
 Mallū: Aug. 27, 1534—Feb., 1535.<sup>38</sup>  
 Ibrāhīm: Feb., 1535—1557.

Daryā: 1529—1562.  
 Barīd Shāh (Bīdar)  
 Amīr 'Alī: 1504—1542.  
 'Alī I: 1542—1579.  
 Kutb Shāh (Golconda).  
 Kulī Shāh: 1512—1543.  
 Jamshīd: 1543—1550.  
 Subhān Kulī: 1550.  
 Ibrāhīm: 1550—1580.

Imād Shāh (Berār)

### *South India*

#### *Vijayanagar*<sup>39</sup>

Krishna Dēva Rāya: 1509—1530.  
 Achyuta Rāya: 1530—1542.  
 Venkata I: 1542.

Sadāshiva: (1542—1576), shadow-king;  
 ruled in his stead:  
 Rāmā Rāya: 1542—1565.  
 Tirumala: 1565—1571.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* 269.

<sup>31</sup> Q, p. 585.

<sup>32</sup> Q, p. 629; Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 269-270.

<sup>33</sup> Q, p. 609; Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 270-271.

<sup>34</sup> Q, p. 619. Ruled together with his nephew.

<sup>35</sup> Q, p. 619; Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 271.

<sup>36</sup> For North India, see Philips 89-91.

<sup>37</sup> For the Deccan *ibid.* 92 and, and in some cases with a more exact date for day and month, Sewell, *Forgotten Empire* 408-410.

<sup>38</sup> Sewell 408.

<sup>39</sup> Heras, *Aravīdu Dynasty* 1-12, who supposes that Achyuta died at the end of 1541; Q, p. 523; Philips 85; Index: names of the respective kings.

- Madura*. Viceroy:  
 Visvanātha Nāyaka: 1542—1564.<sup>40</sup>  
*Ramnād and Northeast-Tinnevelly*  
 Tumbichchi Nāyaka Kumaralinga  
 (1538)—1564.<sup>41</sup>  
*Kayattār* (Pāndya kings)<sup>42</sup>  
 Māravarman Sundara Perumāḷ (Vet-  
 tum Perumāḷ): 1531—(1555).  
*Tenkāsi* (Pāndya kings)  
 Jatilavarman Kulasēkhara Srīvalla-  
 bha: 1534—1545.<sup>43</sup>  
 Kulasēkhara Parākrama: 1543—1560.<sup>44</sup>
- Kulasēkhara Pāndya (as Prince Tiru-  
 nelvēli Perumāḷ): 1552—1564.<sup>45</sup>  
 Ativīrarāma Srīvalla-bha: 1563—1605.<sup>46</sup>
- Quilon-Cape Comorin* (Cēra kings)  
 Udaiya Mārtānda Varma: 1494—1535.<sup>47</sup>  
 Ravi Varma: 1535—1541?<sup>48</sup>  
 Rāma Varma (Unnikē Tiruvadi): 1541  
 —1559.<sup>49</sup>
- Travancore* (Cēra kings)  
 Āditya Varma II: (1542)—Jan. 6, 1544.<sup>50</sup>  
 Mārtānda Varma: Jan. 6, 1544—March  
 9, 1544.<sup>51</sup>

### Malabar

- Cannanore*. Names unknown, title: Ko-  
 lattiri: <sup>52</sup>  
 King: 1507—1527.  
 King: 1527—1547.  
 King: 1545 ff.
- Calicut*. Names unknown, title: Zamo-  
 rin: <sup>53</sup>  
 85. Zamorin: 1500—1513.<sup>54</sup>  
 86. Zamorin: 1513—1522.<sup>55</sup>  
 87. Zamorin: 1522—1529.  
 88. Zamorin: 1529—1531.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>40</sup> The initial year is disputed. According to Heras it was in the last year of the reign of Achyuta (131-132); R. Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, sets the beginning earlier and gives 1564 as the date of his death (48-67).

<sup>41</sup> His territory lay between Tuticorin and Ramnād. He was from the Telugu-speaking Kammava caste. On him see Q, p. 641; Heras 114 169; Sathyanatha Aiyar 68-70 371.

<sup>42</sup> GS II 283; above, p. 437; Q, p. 646.

<sup>43</sup> GS II 280-281; above, pp. 368 432-433; Q, p. 580.

<sup>44</sup> GS II 281-282; above, pp. 368 433; Q, p. 587.

<sup>45</sup> GS II 282.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 282-283.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.* 276; above, pp. 331 333 368 430-432.

<sup>48</sup> GS II 277.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* 277; above, pp. 431-432; Q, p. 620.

<sup>50</sup> Q 5488; GS II 279.

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 432; GS II 279; Q, p. 597.

<sup>52</sup> Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 283-284; Q, p. 541.

<sup>53</sup> We give the list according to Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut* (Calicut, 1938) 336; cf. Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 287. On the names, see Krishna Ayyar 334.

<sup>54</sup> Barros 2, 8, 6, p. 314.

<sup>55</sup> Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 387.

<sup>56</sup> According to Zinadim the fortress in Chale was begun with the permission of this Zamorin around December 10, 1531, and the Zamorin died before its completion (57-60). According to Krishna Ayyar he died in 1531 (203). According to Barros the Zamorin had already regretted his permission when the governor Nuno da Cuna sailed on December 20, 1531, from Goa to Chale; and, "between his promise and his regret," the fortress was built in twenty-six days (4, 4, 18). According to Correa the fortress was begun at the end of October, 1531, and completed at the end of March, 1532 (III 438). On December 23, 1533, Mulapuli Nambudiri wrote to the Portuguese king: "I was minister under the former Zamorin, and I persuaded him to permit the fortress of Chale. For this he was poisoned, and since then I have been in exile" (Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 287). According to Couto the governor came to Chale in the middle of November, 1531, and on December 15 the walls were already the height of a man (4, 7, 12, pp. 196 201). But he is mistaken when he places the death of the Zamorin in 1537, since at this time the new Zamorin wanted to be crowned in Repelim (5, 1, 1, p. 4).

89. Zamorin: 1531—1540.<sup>57</sup>  
 90. Zamorin: 1540—1548.<sup>58</sup>  
 91. Zamorin: 1548—1560.

*Vadakkumkur* ("Pepper King")

King: (1546)—1550.<sup>66</sup>

### *Chale*

- Unirama (1531).<sup>59</sup>  
 Successor (1549).<sup>60</sup>

### *Maldives*<sup>67</sup>

- ‘Alī (1511)—1520.<sup>68</sup>  
 Muhammad Rasquiin (1520).<sup>69</sup>  
 Hasan b. Muhammad b. ‘Umar  
 (1528).<sup>70</sup>  
 Muhammad: (1548).<sup>71</sup>  
 Hasan: (1550)—1551 (from 1551 in Co-  
 chin; Dom Manuel, after Jan 1, 1552;  
 died in 1583).<sup>72</sup>  
 Abūbakr: (1551).<sup>73</sup>  
 ‘Alī: (1555)—1556.<sup>74</sup>  
 Andiri Andiri: 1556—1573.<sup>75</sup>

### *Tanor*

- King (from 1549, D. João) (1531—  
 1557).<sup>61</sup>

### *Cochin*<sup>62</sup>

- Goda Varma I: (1502)—1504.<sup>63</sup>  
 Rāma Varma: 1504—1545.<sup>64</sup>  
 Goda Varma II: 1545—1566.<sup>65</sup>

### *Ceylon*

#### *Kōttē*

- Bhuvaneka Bāhu VII: 1521—1551.<sup>76</sup>  
 Dharmapāla (after 1557, D. João):  
 1551—1597.<sup>77</sup>

#### *Sītāvaka*

- Māyāduṇṇē Pandar: 1521—1581.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>57</sup> He concluded a peace with the Portuguese on January 1, 1540 (Q 448).

<sup>58</sup> Correa IV 155.

<sup>59</sup> Barros 4, 4, 18, p. 473.

<sup>60</sup> Q 4143; Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 287.

<sup>61</sup> In 1531 he helped in the erection of the fortress of Chale, "the same one who later became a Christian" (Krishna Ayyar 203). On him see Q, p. 637; Schurhammer "Or. Briefe" 287-388. When Gonzaga wrote his chronicle of his order, the king had already died in the presence of a Franciscan priest (Paulo da Trindade II 315; cf. 310).

<sup>62</sup> Achyuta Menon, *The Cochin State Manual* (Ernakulam, 1911) 79, gives wrong dates: Rama Varma: 1505; Vira Kerala Varma: 1537; Goda Varma: 1561; Cf. Q, p. 551.

<sup>63</sup> He did not die until 1510; cf. Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 281.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 281-282.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 282.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* 289; Q, p. 615. He fell in battle against the king of Cochin in 1550. Achyuta Menon erroneously calls him the king of Tekkumkur (81-83).

<sup>67</sup> The data on the king lists of the Maldives are very confused, and the list in Zambaur 306-307 is of little help. Cf. M. A. Fitzler, "Die Maldiven im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 10 (1936) 215-256; Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 250 271-272, according to which the data in Q, p. 595, should be corrected.

<sup>68</sup> Q 78. The ‘Alī b. ‘Alī in Q 76 is the king of Melinde, not of the Maldives (cf. Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 59).

<sup>69</sup> Q 78. He was a creature of the Mamale in Cannanore.

<sup>70</sup> Zambaur 307.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Q, p. 574; DI II 277-278; APO III 41-42; Fitzler 235-239.

<sup>73</sup> Zambaur 307. He expelled Hasan.

<sup>74</sup> Fitzler 232-233; APO V 455-457.

<sup>75</sup> Fitzler 233-234.

<sup>76</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 674-676; "Or. Briefe" 291-292; Q, p. 536; Index: "Bhuvaneka Bāhu."

<sup>77</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 682; Q, p. 555; "Or. Briefe" 291-292; Index: "Dharmapāla."

<sup>78</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 698 699; Q, p. 598; "Or. Briefe" 292; Index: "Māyāduṇṇē."

*Kandy*

Jayavīra Vikkama (after 1546, Dom  
Manuel): (1542—1551).<sup>79</sup>

*Jaffna*

Chekarāsa Sēkaran (Sankily): (1519)—  
1561.<sup>80</sup>

*Malay**Bintang-Johore*

‘Alā-ud-dīn: 1528—1564.<sup>82</sup>

Mahmūd: 1488—1528.<sup>81</sup>

*Indonesia**Achin*

‘Alī Mughāyat Shāh: 1496—Aug. 7,  
1530.<sup>83</sup>

Salāh-ud-dīn: 1530—1547.<sup>84</sup>

‘Alā-ud-dīn Riāyat, Shāh al-Kahār:  
1547—1571.<sup>85</sup>

*Ternate*<sup>86</sup>

Tidore Vongue (Zain al-‘Abidīn):  
1486—1500.<sup>87</sup>

Bayān Sirrullah: 1500—1521.<sup>88</sup>

Abu Hāyat: 1521—1529.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 691-692; Q, pp. 647-648; above, pp. 373-374 388-389 413 424 “Or. Briefe” 292; Index: “Jayavīra.”

<sup>80</sup> S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., *The Kings of Jaffna* (Jaffna, 1920) 6-33; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 686-687.

<sup>81</sup> On this see the critical study of I. A. Macgregor, “Johore Lama in the Sixteenth Century,” JMB XXVIII, 2 (1955) 48-125. After the fall of Malacca in 1511, the king was in Bintang from 1513 to 1526. Driven from there, he went to Ujong Tanah and finally to Kampar, where he died between November, 1527, and July, 1528 (73-75).

<sup>82</sup> Around 1540 he founded the new capital of Johore Lama on the lower course of the Johore River. The Achinese captured the city around 1564, took the king prisoner to Achin, and murdered him there (*ibid.* 84-85).

<sup>83</sup> The list of kings is given in EI I 516, but is surpassed by that given in the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië* (1917) I 88 (following H. Djajadiningrat and J. F. Moquette, who discovered the tombstones of the princes), and by Philips 138. The list has been further corrected by R. O. Winstedt, “The Early Rulers of Perak, Pahang and Achen,” JMB X, 1 (1932) 32-44, whose genealogy gives more exact dates (43). According to him ‘Alī Mughāyat Shāh died on August 7, 1530.

<sup>84</sup> While Philips still has Salāh-ud-dīn rule from 1528 to 1537, Winstedt had already noted in his regard “dispossessed by his brother, died in 1548” (43). All of these authors were ignorant of a letter which we cited with errors in 1932 in Q 3102, and with greater accuracy in the second edition of 1962, p. 497. On May 25, 1547, Antonio de Sousa wrote to the governor D. João de Castro from Chaul: “Two Achinese ships or junks have arrived in Surat with numerous wares. . . . They say that they took all of these except the pepper from the junk of Aleixo de Sousa [which they captured at the end of 1545]. They further state that they were going to attack Malacca and that the queen was ruling the land; that a younger son of her took her captive; that she is still in prison; and, further, that he killed his elder brother [Salāh-ud-dīn] and all the eunuchs that the queen had. This is the news which they gave.”

<sup>85</sup> Winstedt gives ‘Alā-ud-dīn Riāyat as the successor, who died, according to him, in 1571 (43). Philips has him rule from 1537-1568 and, after him, Husein from 1568 to 1575 (138); in this he follows EI I 516.

<sup>86</sup> On the kings of Ternate, see Q, p. 638; Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 295-299; Index: “Ternate.” The list in F. S. A. de Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate* (Leiden, 1890) 150-187, frequently gives erroneous dates.

<sup>87</sup> He was the first to introduce Islam; already in 1470 according to the \**Tratado* (Q 1158).

<sup>88</sup> Schurhammer, “Or. Briefe” 296-298; Q, p. 535; above, pp. 251-252 493. He was poisoned to death (Q 82).

<sup>89</sup> C. O. Blagden, “Two Malay Letters from Ternate in the Moluccas, written in

Dayāl: 1529—1532.<sup>90</sup>

Tabarija (Tabaridja): 1532—1534 (sent as a prisoner to India in 1535; after 1537, Dom Manuel; died in 1545).<sup>91</sup>

Hairun 1534—1545.<sup>92</sup>

Niachile Pokaraga, regent: 1545—1546 (1546 Dona Isabel).<sup>93</sup>

Hairun: 1546—1570.<sup>94</sup>

*Djailolo* (Gilolo)

Yūsuf (1514—1521).<sup>95</sup>

Firūz °Alā-ud-dīn: 1532—around 1536.<sup>96</sup>

Cachil Katarabūmi: 1536—1552 (after 1551 only Sengadji).<sup>97</sup>

Cachil Gujarāti: 1552 (regained royal title in 1555).<sup>98</sup>

#### FARTHER INDIA

*Ganges Delta*

Sundar (1546—1548).<sup>99</sup>

*Arakan*<sup>100</sup>

Minbin: 1531.

Dikha: 1553.

*Pegu* (Lower Burma)<sup>101</sup>

Takayutpi (Talaing King): 1526—1539.

*Burma and Pegu* (Burmese kings)

Tabinshwehti: 1531—1550 (after 1539 also king of Pegu).<sup>102</sup>

Bayinnaung: 1551—1581.<sup>103</sup>

*Siam*<sup>104</sup>

Ratsada (Raxa-Kuman): 1534.<sup>105</sup>

P'rajai (Xaja-Raxa-Thirā): 1534.<sup>106</sup>

Keo Fa (Phra-Jot-Fa): 1546.<sup>107</sup>

K'un Worawongsa: 1548.<sup>108</sup>

1521 and 1522," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution* 6 (1930) 87-101; Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 298-299; Q, p. 523; above, pp. 251-252. He was poisoned to death.

<sup>90</sup> He fled to Tidore in 1533 and died in 1536. See above, pp. 250-252 256, and Q 1158.

<sup>91</sup> He died in 1545 on his return voyage to Ternate in Malacca. On him see Q, p. 636; "Or. Briefe" 299; Index: "Tabarija."

<sup>92</sup> Q, p. 573; "Or. Briefe" 299; Index: "Hairun."

<sup>93</sup> Q 1619. They were won over to Christianity by Xavier in 1546; cf. 835; Q, p. 606.

<sup>94</sup> He was murdered in 1570.

<sup>95</sup> Q, p. 651; "Or. Briefe" 299.

<sup>96</sup> Q, p. 563; "Or. Briefe" 299-300.

<sup>97</sup> Q, p. 482. He lost his royal title (Q 4663); took poison (Q 6117).

<sup>98</sup> Son of the Katarabūmi. He regained his royal title (Rebello 479).

<sup>99</sup> Q 2341 2714 3431 (fought against the Pathans) 3917 ("king of the Chaamos");

Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 391.

<sup>100</sup> Harvey 372; Philips 134.

<sup>101</sup> Harvey 367-369.

<sup>102</sup> In 1550 he fought against the Talaing Smin Sawhtut. On him see Harvey 153-162.

<sup>103</sup> From 1551 to 1553 he fought against the Talaing Smim Htaw. On him see Harvey 162-179.

<sup>104</sup> Philips 135 gives the dates from W.A.R. Wood, *A History of Siam* (London, 1926) 101, who followed a Siamese chronicle, and gives in parentheses the names according to Pallegoix, *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam* (Paris, 1854) 77-79. The latter followed the Siamese annals of 1840, but their dates are confused and usually twenty to twenty-one years too early. We have followed Philips and have also used for the notes G. Coedès, "Une recension palie des Annales d'Ayuthya," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* 14.3 (1914), who published a Pali chronicle composed in 1789.

<sup>105</sup> Vara Ratthādhirāja-kumāra. He ruled five months and was murdered by his sister's brother, who succeeded him (Coedès).

<sup>106</sup> Jayarājāsī, who ruled for thirteen years (*ibid.*).

<sup>107</sup> Bayatta, his ten-year-old son, ruled for three years and was murdered by Yotta-Si-Sutācandā, the first wife of Jayarājāsī (*ibid.*).

<sup>108</sup> After Bayatta's death the murderess had her paramour Nāyaka Jinarāja proclaimed king with the title of Nāyaka Vara-Vansādhijāja. He ruled for forty days and was then murdered (*ibid.*).

Maha Chakrap'at (Maha-Chakraphat-Raxa-Thirāt): 1548.<sup>109</sup>

Mahin (Mahinthara-Thirāt): 1569.<sup>110</sup>

## FAR EAST

### *China*<sup>111</sup>

Wu-tsung (Chēng Tē): 1505—1521.

Shih Tsung (Chia Ching): 1521—1566.

### *Japan*

*Kyōto* (emperor)

*Hirado*

Go-Nara-tennō 1527—1557.

Matsura Takanobu (Doka) (1550)—1568.<sup>115</sup>

*Kyōto* (Ashikaga shoguns)<sup>112</sup>

*Yamaguchi*<sup>116</sup>

Yoshinori 1428—1441.

Ōuchi Yoshitaka 1528—1551.

Yoshikatsu 1441—1443.

Ōuchi Yoshinaga 1551—1557.

Yoshinmasa 1443—1474.

Yoshihisa 1474—1489.

*Funai* (Bungo)

Yoshitane 1490—1493.

Ōtomo Yoshiaki (1544)—1550.<sup>117</sup>

Yoshizumil 1493—1508.

Ōtomo Yoshishige 1550—1576 (from 1578 Dom Francisco).<sup>118</sup>

Yoshitane 1508—1520.

Ōtomo Yoshimune 1576—1593 (from 1587 Dom Constantino) 1587—1593 1600.<sup>119</sup>

Yoshiharu 1521—1545.

Yoshiteru 1545—1565.

*Kagoshima*<sup>113</sup>

Shimazu Takahisa 1527—1566.<sup>114</sup>

<sup>109</sup> In 1548 Vara-Dirarāju, the son of a sister of Jayarājāsī, succeeded to the throne and took the title of Mahāchakkraphat. He ruled for sixteen years and then abdicated in favor of his son Mahāmahinda (*ibid.*).

<sup>110</sup> He ruled for seven years. In 1569 the king of Pegu captured his capital and took him away as prisoner; he later returned (*ibid.*).

<sup>111</sup> Couling 372. We give the names in a Wade transcription: first the dynasty and then in parentheses the name of the reign.

<sup>112</sup> We shall give the family tree in Vol. IV.

<sup>113</sup> Asakawa gives the family tree (420).

<sup>114</sup> He was born in 1514; during his minority his adoptive father Tadayoshi conducted the reign. In 1566 he surrendered his rule to his son. He died in 1571 (\*Schwade 28\*).

<sup>115</sup> He withdrew from ruling in 1568 and died in 1599 (Anesaki, *Concordance* 135-136).

<sup>116</sup> Papinot 505.

<sup>117</sup> He was murdered in a palace revolution.

<sup>118</sup> Papinot 501; Schütte, *Introductio* 484.

<sup>119</sup> Papinot 501-502; Schütte, *Introductio* 984-985.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AHSI:	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i>	KSP:	<i>Kerala Society Papers</i>
APO:	<i>Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental</i>	LM:	<i>Livro de Marinharia</i>
ARE:	<i>Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy</i>	LTK:	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i>
ARSI:	<i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu</i>	Mercês:	D. João de Castro, <i>Livro das Mercês</i>
BKI:	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië</i>	MHSI:	<i>Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu</i>
BNL:	<i>Biblioteca Nacional Lisboa</i>	MI:	<i>Monumenta Ignatiana</i>
CA:	<i>Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque</i>	MX:	<i>Monumenta Xaveriana</i>
CC:	<i>Corpo Chronologico (Torre do Tombo, Lisbon)</i>	NZM:	<i>Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft</i>
CDP:	<i>Corpo Diplomatico Portuguez</i>	OOP:	<i>O Oriente Português</i>
CO(CAO):	<i>Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía</i>	Q:	Schurhammer, <i>Die zeitgenössischen Quellen</i>
CU:	<i>Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento de las antiguas posesiones españolas de Ultramar</i>	RProzeß:	<i>Remissorialprozeß</i>
DI:	<i>Documenta Indica</i>	SIE:	<i>Selectae Indiarum Epistolae</i>
EI:	<i>Encyclopédie de l'Islam</i>	SR:	Silva Rego, <i>Documentação para a história das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Índia</i>
ENI:	<i>Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië</i>	SRH:	Silva Rego, <i>História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Índia</i>
EX:	<i>Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii, Romae, 1944-45</i>	TAG:	<i>Tijdschrift voor het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap</i>
FN:	<i>Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola</i>	TAS:	<i>Travancore Archaeological Series</i>
GS:	Schurhammer, <i>Gesammelte Studien</i>	TBG:	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitg. door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i>
HCPB:	<i>História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil</i>	TdT:	Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
IA:	<i>Indian Antiquary</i>	Torres:	Torres' Letter in Schurhammer, <i>Disputationen</i>
JCB:	<i>Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>	ZMR:	<i>Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft</i>
JMB:	<i>Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>	*	Manuscript
KM:	<i>Die Katholischen Missionen</i>	PMC:	<i>Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica</i>

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I	<i>Zeitgenössischen Quellen</i>	III	57-89 "Xaveriusforschung"
II	23-102 "Fernão Mendes Pinto"		129-142 "New Life"
	111-118 "Desenhos orientais"		155-158 "Neuer Xaveriusbrief"
	121-147 "Doppelgänger"		249-260 "Xaveriuslegenden"
	153-184 "India-Letters"		271-303 "Taufen"
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	215-242 "Bekehrung"		339-346 "Muttersprache"
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	485-579 "Descobrimento"	IV	31-45 "Tesoiro"
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