

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.31951001408278s>

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San Francisco

FRANCIS XAVIER

VOLUME III



St Francis

GEORG SCHURHAMMER, S. J.

FRANCIS XAVIER :
HIS LIFE, HIS TIMES

VOLUME III

INDONESIA AND INDIA
1545-1549

Translated by
M. JOSEPH COSTELLOE, S.J.

1980
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.2, by Georg Schurhammer, S.J. © by Verlag
Herder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1971.

Imprimi potest:

Romae, 26 Decembris 1979

SIMON DECLoux, S. J.
Delegatus Generalis

Imprimatur:

E Vicariatu Urbis, 21 Februarii 1980

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

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The publication of this volume was made possible by a generous
grant of De Rance, Inc.

Printed at the Gregorian University Press, Rome, Italy
Second, corrected printing, May, 1985.

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"St. Francis Xavier," by Sir Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641). This sizeable picture (11 feet, 4 inches \times 7 feet) was painted in Rome by Van Dyck in 1622 or 1623 for the altar of St. Francis Xavier in the Gesù. It is now in the Pinacoteca of the Vatican Museum, with whose kind permission it is here reproduced. See Deoclecio Redig De Campos, "Intorno a Due Quadri d'Altare del Van Dyck per il Gesù in Roma Ritrovati in Vaticano," *Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale* 4 (1936) 150-165. Since the original painting is too tall and narrow to be reproduced on the pages of a book, the three cherubs at the top of it, two of which are holding a garland of flowers over the head of St. Francis, have been suppressed.

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

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FOREWORD

In 1963, when we published the first part of the second volume of our life of Francis Xavier, we believed that it would be completed in a second part of this same volume. The wealth of materials which we had assembled has, however, eventually made it necessary to add a third part to the work.

Two events have had a significant influence upon the continuation of this life of the saint. At the end of 1964, we discovered the long-sought life of Xavier written by his companion Francisco Pérez, S.J. (see Volume II, pp. 636-637). This life contains new and important data, and it confirms our assumption that Xavier sailed from Pulicat to Malacca in 1545 on the Coromandel ship. Between 1962 and 1963, the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome reprinted in the four large volumes of our *Gesammelte Studien* one of the books which we had previously published and all of our historical articles, most of which had been written in German, English, and Portuguese, but also others in Spanish, Italian, French, and Latin, and 166 reviews which we had contributed to various journals. Some of the periodicals in which these items appeared are no longer extant, and others are very difficult to obtain. A brief survey of the more important materials in these *Gesammelte Studien* can indicate their significance for our life of Francis Xavier.

The first volume of this collection is a reproduction of our *Zeitgenössische Quellen*, which was published in 1932 and had long been out of print. It has been equipped with a thirty-four-page supplement, which brings the work down to 1962. The 6,080 registers of the first edition have been increased to 6,546, and the many entries that have been corrected or augmented in the supplement have been marked with asterisks.

The second volume, *Orientalia*, contains articles dealing with the history of the Far East. These are preceded by a bibliography of our publications from 1907 to 1963 compiled by our confrere László Polgár, S.J., of the Jesuit Historical Institute. Among the important articles in this volume, the following may be noted: 1. "Die Schätze der Jesuitenarchive in Makao und Peking" (1-12); 3. "Fernão Mendes Pinto und seine 'Peregrinação'" (23-103); 5. "Desenhos orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier" (111-118); 6. "Doppelgänger in Portugiesisch-Asien" (121-147); 8. "The India Letters of 1533" (153-184); 9. "Cartas de Martim Affonso de Sousa, 1534-1539" (185-205); 11. "Die Bekehrung der Paraver, 1535-1537" (215-254); 13. "Iniquitriberim and Beteperumal, 1544" (263-287); 14. "Leben und Briefe Criminalis" (289-315); 15. "The First Printing in Indic Characters" (317-327); 17. "Three Letters of Mar Jacob, 1503-1550" (333-349); 18. "The Malabar Church and Rome before the Coming of the Portuguese" (351-363); 23. "Die Trinitätspredigt Magister Gasparis in der Synagoge von Ormuz, 1549" (413-535); 27. "Annamitische Xaveriusliteratur" (463-478); 29. "O Descobrimento do Japão, 1543" (485-580); 30. "P. L. Frois, ein Missionshistoriker" (581-604); 31. "P. J. Rodrigues Tçuzzu als Geschichtsschreiber Japans" (605-618); 32. "Das Stadtbild Kyōtos, 1551" (619-682); 33. "Kōbō-Daishi" (683-703); 34. "Die Yamabushis" (705-730); 36. "Uma Obra ra-

ríssima impressa em Goa no ano 1588" (743-753); 38. "Die Jesuitenmissionare des 16-17. Jahrhunderts und ihr Einfluss auf die Japanische Malerei" (769-779); 39. "Der Tempel des Kreuzes" (781-788).

The third volume, *Xaveriana*, is the most important for the life of Xavier, since it discusses in detail the principal problems connected with it, which could only be treated more cursorily in our biography: 43. "Cronologia Xaveriana" (3-9); 47. "Xaveriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert" (57-114); 50. "Zwei ungedruckte Briefe des hl. Franz Xaver" (145-154); 51. "Ein neuer Xaveriusbrief" (155-158); 53. "De scriptis spuriis S. Fr. Xaverii" (167-203); 54. "François de Xavier" (207-216, his spirituality); 57. "Xaveriuslegenden und Wunder kritisch untersucht" (249-270); 58. "Die Taufen des hl. Franz Xaver" (271-303); 59. "Die Königstaufen des hl. Franz Xaver" (305-319); 61. "Die Muttersprache des hl. Franz Xaver" (339-352); 64. "Jugendprobleme des hl. Franz Xaver" (409-448); 66. "Die Reise des hl. Franz Xaver durch die Schweiz" (455-468); 72. "Das Krebswunder Xavers" (537-562); 73. "Der hl. Franz Xaver in Japan" (565-603); 76. "Der hl. Franz Xaver in Miyako" (653-664); 77. "Der Ursprung des Chinaplanes des hl. Franz Xaver" (665-679); 78. "Das Geheimnis der zwei Dschunken" (681-703).

The first part of the fourth volume, *Varia*, contains a series of shorter or more popular articles as a kind of appendix to the two earlier volumes (3-199 203-342). Items of special interest are: 106. "Das wahre Bild des hl. Franz Xaver?" (213-215); 113. "Auf Schloss Xaver" (257-260); 123. "Las Islas de Moro" (295-298); 124. "Kagoshima" (299-307); 125. "Yamaguchi" (309-318); 126. "Die Ryūsas" (319-326); 127. "Ōtomo Yoshishige" (327-334). Another section of this fourth volume deals with Xavier's relics and processes (345-479). Among these are: 130. "Die Xaveriusreliquien und ihre Geschichte" (345-369); 132. "Der Kölner Rosenkranz des hl. Franz Xaver" (375-404); 133. "Die Kruzifixe des hl. Franz Xaver" (405-409); 135. "Die Lisabonner Heiligsprechungsprozesse Franz Xavers" (419-430); 136. "Uma Relação inédita do P.e Manuel Barradas, S.J., sobre São Francisco Xavier" (431-465). Another section of this volume deals with the history of the saint's cult (483-627). Important for the history of art are: 143. "Der Silberschrein des hl. Franz Xaver in Goa" (561-567); 144. "Ein Christlicher Japanischer Prunkschirm des 17. Jahrhunderts" (569-586); 145. "Der Angebliche 'Japanische' Sonnenschirm des hl. Franz Xaver" (587-598); and 146. "Las Fuentes iconográficas de la Serie Xaveriana de Guasp" (599-604). The second part of this fourth volume contains reviews of works pertinent to our studies which we have published since 1916 (783-945). It also contains *addenda* and *corrigenda* to the four volumes (947-950) and a general index to the last three of these (951-1055). For a further account of our *Gesammelte Studien*, see A. da Silva Rego in the *Catholic Historical Review* 54 (1968) 70-79.

Wilhelm Schamoni, author of the excellent *Wahre Gesicht der Heiligen* (Munich, 1967⁴), has recently issued another work, *Auferweckungen vom Tode. Aus Heiligsprechungsakten übersetzt* (privately published, 1968), in which he has taken exception to our exposition of the incidents in which Xavier allegedly raised individuals from the dead (*Francis Xavier* II, pp. 344-346). He maintains that there were at least three occasions when such a miracle actually occurred (*Auferweckungen*, pp. 43-51). But he would hardly have taken such a position if he had been aware of the information provided by Jesuit missionaries at the request of their superiors on the miracles performed by Xavier. On this problem, see *Gesammelte Studien* III, pp. 70-72, 77-82, and 251-254.

In the present volume there are translations of a number of reports on Japan.

These were sent to our confrere, Father Hubert Cieslik, S.J., in Tokyo for review, who, with his customary helpfulness, returned them with valuable suggestions and additions. In recent years names such as Kwannon, Kwanjō, and Kwantō are written as Kannon, Kanjō, and Kantō. We have retained the earlier orthography that was generally used in Europe and in Japan up into the twentieth century. We have followed the same norm in spelling the names of Indian cities, a good number of which have been changed since the gaining of independence. We consequently have written Calicut instead of Kozhikode, Vilingam instead of Vizhinjam, Trichinopoly instead of Tiruchirapalli, and so forth.

Because of the author's illness, Father Joseph Wicki, S.J., generously offered to compile the index for this present volume.

Rome, the Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus
The Feast of the Ascension
May 20, 1971

Georg Schurhammer, S.J.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In his foreword to *Franz Xaver* II.2, which has been translated in a slightly abbreviated form on the preceding pages, Father Georg Schurhammer notes that he had found it necessary to make a further division of his work. This addition to the original plan led to a rather awkward distribution of the text and appendices, which has now been remedied in the English version.¹

In this same foreword Schurhammer refers to his discovery of the life of Francis Xavier by Francisco Pérez and to the publication of his *Gesammelte Studien*. To these events may now be added a third—the appearance in print of a number of sources used by Schurhammer in the composition of the present volume.²

Though Schurhammer did not live to see the publication of his *Franz Xaver* II.2 and II.3, he continued up until a few weeks before his death at the age of eighty-nine with the composition and correction of these two volumes with the same detail and unhurried pace that he had employed in the earlier two. The number and originality of his many books and articles published over the course of some sixty years reminds one of the achievements of a legendary scholar of the past, Marcus Terentius Varro, of whom it was said that he read so much that it is a wonder that he had any time to write, and that he wrote so much that it is almost impossible to believe that anyone could have read it all.³ But in contrast to the polymath Varro, Schurhammer's writings were almost all propaedeutic to his biography of Francis Xavier. It was in his earlier books and articles that hundreds of problems connected with the life and times of the saint were first confronted, investigated, and resolved. Like St. Augustine, he diligently strove to be among those who write as they progress and make progress through their writing.⁴

The complete text, notes, and appendices of the original *Franz Xaver* have been translated in this third volume as they were in the earlier two. Only two minor additions have been made to the notes in the following pages. Further *addenda* and *corrigenda* will be added at the end of the fourth and final volume. As in the earlier translations, the author's practice of retaining the original spellings of proper names in the letters of St. Francis Xavier and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in the translations of other contemporary documents has been retained. The only exception to this has been in letters which are only

¹ Cf. *Francis Xavier* II, p. XIII.

² See Hubert Jacobs, S.J., *Documenta Malucensia* I, 1542-1577 (Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 109: Rome, 1974). The second and third volumes of these documents were published in 1980 and 1984 respectively.

³ St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* VI.2: "Vir doctissimus undecumque Varro, qui tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei scribere vacasse miremur; tam multa scripsit, quam multa vix quemquam legere potuisse credamus."

⁴ St. Augustine, *Epistola* CXLIII.2: "Ego proinde fateor me ex eorum numero esse conari, qui proficiendo scribunt, et scribendo proficiunt."

extant in a Latin version, where modern spellings have been employed. The heterography of these proper names may help explain the difficulty which both Schurhammer and the translator have experienced in retaining an entirely consistent spelling of proper names throughout these many pages. It is hoped, however, that the occasional lapses will present no serious problems to the reader.

Some slight objection has been raised by two reviewers to Schurhammer's anachronistic designation of all Mohammedans with the exception of those who were Turks as "Moors,"⁵ but this was a deliberate choice which he made after "a great deal of hesitation,"⁶ and it would have been presumptuous on the part of the translator to have changed it. Some confusion has been noted with respect to the use of the term "Maluco." In the sixteenth century, as Schurhammer observes in a note, this had three quite distinct meanings, which can only be determined by the particular context.⁷ Unless this word is further qualified, it must of necessity remain somewhat ambiguous. Foreign words which have not been completely domesticated and have no English equivalent have been printed in italics.⁸

In this third volume of *Francis Xavier*, Schurhammer continues with his general plan of relating as clearly as possible what Xavier and those with whom he was concerned actually said and wrote and did. He was convinced that the facts, if properly presented, could best speak for themselves and that there was relatively little need for theoretical speculations and the imputation of motives in a "scientific biography." His insistence on what is factual and specific is in interesting accord with Xavier's own convictions in a somewhat different sphere of endeavor, as may be seen in his letters and in his instructions for his confreres. "In brief," as he wrote in his long instruction for Barzaeus, which is paraphrased at the end of this volume,⁹ "nothing will profit you more to help the souls of the men of that city [Ormuz] than your obtaining a very detailed knowledge of their way of life, and this should be your principal study in the help you give to others. This is the book you must read, which will teach you things not found in dead writings. Nothing will help you more in assisting others than what you have learned from living men who are engaged in the same endeavors. I, at least, have always fared well with this rule."¹⁰

As in the translation and publication of *Francis Xavier* I and II, this third volume has been brought through the press with the continued assistance of a number of individuals to whom I am sincerely grateful. Many thanks are due to Professor Beatrix Klakowicz for her clarification of numerous passages in the original text and for her checking of the translation and of the proofs, to Mrs. William B. Spohn for her proofreading of the text and notes, to Miss Patricia O'Connor for her reading of the translation and her assiduous help with the compilation of the index, and to Miss Katharine Diehl for a number of substantive and stylistic suggestions and corrections. Thanks also are due to the staff of the Gregorian University Press, who have again shown their patience

⁵ See C. R. Boxer, "India Portuguesa," *Times Literary Supplement*, February 3, 1978, p. 138; E. R. Hambye, "Francis Xavier," *Indica* 16 (1979), p. 240.

⁶ *Francis Xavier* II, p. XII.

⁷ *Francis Xavier* II, p. 250, n. 370.

⁸ Cf. Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* VII.5: "Every race has some idiomatic expressions which cannot be translated exactly into another language."

⁹ See below, pp. 619-626

¹⁰ EX II, pp. 97-98.

and competency in the composition, printing, and binding of this long and complicated work.

Financial help towards the publication of this third volume of *Francis Xavier* has come from various quarters. Particular gratitude is due to Mrs. Adrian Powell, Mr. António Vicente Lopes, Mr. and Mrs. Milton J. Eddy, and Mr. and Mrs. J. Kernan Weckbaugh in this regard.

Grateful mention should also be made again of the Gulbenkian Foundation, Inc., of New York for the grants to the Jesuit Historical Institute which made it possible to publish the first two volumes of *Francis Xavier*. Sincere thanks are now also due to De Rance, Inc., of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, for a generous subvention which enabled this third volume to see the light of day despite the prevailing gloom of a world-wide inflation.

M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J.
The Library
Curia Generalizia della Compagnia di Gesù
Rome, Italy
The Feast of St. Francis Xavier, S.J.
December 3, 1979

BOOK I
IN THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO
(1545—1547)

*Ombak putih putih
Ombak banting deri laut
Kipas lenso putih
Tanah Ambon sudah djau.*

"Waves, white waves
Break upon the strand!
Our white cloth waves—
Far now is Amboina land!"

Malay Rowing Song from Amboina
(Tauern 92)

CHAPTER I

MALACCA (SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER, 1545)

1. THE COROMANDEL SHIP (SEPTEMBER, 1545)

The vessel on which Xavier and Eiró sailed to Malacca was the royal Coromandel ship,¹ which went every year in April from Goa to Pulicat² and, at the end of August or the beginning of September, to Malacca, returning from there in January.³ It was a sailboat of four hundred tons⁴ and carried a rich cargo on board. This consisted of some six hundred bales of cotton goods from the Coromandel Coast, which were highly esteemed by the Malays for sarongs. Each of the bales contained 120 pieces of cloth,⁵ and their total worth was some 80,000 *cruzados*. These wares comprised white fabrics from Masulipatam, Kature, and Armogan, and gaily colored or figured fabrics from São Thomé, Negapatam, and Kanyimedu. The six percent charge for freight and a similar charge for taxes provided the king with more than 5,000 *pardaus* in revenues. With the wares of the Coromandel ship, the fortress in Malacca bought rice and other provisions from Java, cloves from the Moluccas, nutmegs from Banda, sandalwood from Timor, and gold from Minangkabau in western Sumatra. The tax on the ship's cargo was the main source of income for the customhouse in Malacca,⁶ which Simão Botelho had erected in 1542 at the request of M. A. de Sousa.⁷

The captain of the Coromandel ship could load his vessel before all the other merchants. He could take with him 150 bales of textiles duty free or transport those of other merchants, who had to pay him the freight and duties on them. Through the voyage to Malacca alone, he thus gained more than 3,000 *cruzados* for himself. In Malacca he loaded his ship with 600 *bahārs* of spices and silks, a sixth of which he retained for himself. An unscrupulous captain, who preferred his own profit to that of his king, could gain almost twice this and thus earn more than his lord. The captaincy of such a vessel

¹ Almeida Calado 40-43 has an account of the Coromandel ship of 1548. Where otherwise not indicated, we take our data from it. Bartoli (*Asia* 2, 2) and others after him such as Brou (I 337) place the conversion of the dice player on this voyage (MX II 469-470; Barradas 62), but the time and place are unknown.

² According to the advice on pepper of Duarte Barreto of November 26, 1545 (Q 1740; cf. 3001).

³ EX II 489-490 511. In 1568 the Coromandel ship was on the point of sailing from Malacca on January 20, 1568 (ARSI: *Goa* 11, 402-v).

⁴ EX I 326-327.

⁵ The account of 1548 distinguishes the following: *tapes* (headgear?), *saragas* (sarongs 5 × 1¼ ells in size), *morins* (white or blue cloths), and *pachavelões* (flowered cloths). Cf. Dalgado II 127-128 293-294 359 506-507.

⁶ Q 1740.

⁷ Botelho, *Tombo* 104-108. Cf. Correa IV 338; Castanheda 9, 31; Couto 5, 9, 3, who, however, does not have Botelho sail to Malacca until 1543 or 1544.

was therefore given as a rule to a *fidalgo* as a reward for services already rendered.⁸

Antonio Pereira,⁹ the captain, was a *fidalgo* of the royal house and a nephew of Diogo Pereira,¹⁰ lord of Vendurutti,¹¹ whose son João Pereira Xavier had come to know in Cranganore. Like João, Antonio carried the lilled cross of his ancestors on his coat of arms.¹² In 1530 he had, as a young *fidalgo*,¹³ accompanied Gonçalo Pereira, the brother of Diogo and newly appointed captain of Ternate, to the Moluccas.¹⁴ When Gonçalo was murdered the following year, he had remained in Ternate and had fought bravely against the rajahs of Batjan and Djailolo as admiral of the sea under Tristão d'Ataide, Pereira's successor; and he had returned with him in 1537 by way of Malacca to India. In Malacca he had distinguished himself during the attack of the Achinese upon the city; and Ataide had warmly recommended him to the king in a letter.¹⁵ In 1538 Antonio Pereira had served in the India fleet as captain of the *Victoria*, a *fusta* with seventeen banks of oars.¹⁶ In 1541 he had sailed with Dom Estevão da Gama to Suez, and on this expedition both he and his two companions had everywhere undertaken the most dangerous commissions.¹⁷ He had now, as the reward for his service, received the captaincy of the Coromandel voyage.¹⁸

The open sea of the Gulf of Bengal was feared for its storms, and those sailing on this voyage experienced their effects.¹⁹ Through fear of Achinese

⁸ Almeida Calado 41-43; Castro, *Cartas* 235; Q 1740; Baião, *Historia* 308.

⁹ Antonio Pereira, who is not to be confused with a dozen namesakes, declared in 1556 that he had known Xavier from the time he landed in Goa with M. A. de Sousa in 1542 until his death (MX II 417). We find him with Xavier in Malacca in 1545 and 1551. In 1546 he obtained two Coromandel voyages after Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos, who sailed in 1547 (Q 1923). He was in Goa in 1554 at the time of the reception of the saint's body (MX II 419). In 1555-1556 he was in China (Ayres, *Subsidios* 80), at the end of 1556 in Malacca, and in 1557 in Goa (MX II 417 265). He declared that wherever Xavier went he quickly learned the language of the country—in Malabar, Maluco, and Japan—and that he himself, Pereira, knew these languages and also Malay (*ibid.* 418). There is here, of course, a question of a rudimentary knowledge of the languages, like that which the Portuguese frequently obtained. With respect to Tamil, for example, H. Henriques wrote in 1548 that when he began to speak it with moods, tenses, and persons, the Paravas were as astonished as if it had been a miracle, since the Portuguese who learned their language knew nothing of such refinements (DI I 286).

¹⁰ Tristão d'Ataide frequently repeats this in his letter of 1537 (Sá I 345 359 365 368).

¹¹ He is the only one who can be meant, not his namesake, Xavier's friend, who did not marry until 1545. In 1537 he was still hardly known to the king of Portugal, to whom Ataide was writing.

¹² The seal with the coat of arms of João Pereira is in Q 3398.

¹³ Sá I 365.

¹⁴ We are of the opinion that our Antonio Pereira, since he was a nephew of Diogo Pereira, was the son of his brother Gonçalo and sailed with him to Ternate. That Gonçalo was the brother of Diogo Pereira is noted by the *Emmentia* of 1505 (238). He was murdered in 1531. In a letter of February 20, 1534, Antonio is already mentioned as one of the chief *fidalgos* of Ternate (Sá I 292 330).

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 292 330 345-346 359 365 368.

¹⁶ TdT: *Col. S. Lour.* 249.

¹⁷ Correa IV 163 168 173-174 176 191 198-199. Couto expressly states that our Antonio Pereira was the brother of Jerónima Pereira, the wife of Simão da Cunha, whose descendants he lists and personally knew (5, 7, 9, pp. 145-146). *Andrade Leitão calls Jerónima the sister of "Antonio Pereira o da India" (XIX 846), and he testified to the same in 1556 (MX II 201).

¹⁸ The long lost *Informação* of Francisco Pérez states that the captain of the voyage was Antonio de Lemos and not Antonio Pereira (55). The ship sailed on September 9 or 10. See Vol. II, p. 637; below, pp. 231 239; Q 598 1115 137 1396 2700. [Translator's note, from Schurhammer's own correction.]

¹⁹ "En muchos peligros me vi en este viage del Cabo de Comorín para Malaca y

pirates, fanatical Moors and mortal enemies of the Portuguese, ships shunned the northern coast of Sumatra, where they lived, and sailed farther north between the Nicobar Islands,²⁰ which Antonio Pereira knew only too well.²¹

At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, Pedir and Pasei were the two main Mohammedan kingdoms on the northern tip of Sumatra.²² Diogo Lopes de Sequeira had concluded a treaty of peace with both in 1509 and had erected heraldic columns in them.²³ Achin was at this time only an insignificant vassal of the sultan of Pedir.²⁴ But already in 1511, when Albuquerque was campaigning against Malacca, a number of Portuguese under the leadership of João de Lima were attacked in Achinese territory as they were taking on water, and they were only able to escape with the greatest difficulty.²⁵ Eight years later, in 1519, the *Espera* became stranded near the island of Gamispola, which pertained to the same kingdom, as it was sailing from Malacca to India. The men were attacked by Achinese rowboats and most of them were slain after they had put up a stout resistance. Antonio Pacheco and six companions, all sorely wounded, were taken prisoner and only released after the captain of Malacca had paid a high ransom for them.²⁶ An unsuccessful campaign against their capital, Achin, in 1521 cost the lives of Jorge de Brito and sixty other Portuguese. The only effect that this had was to increase the boldness of their foes and their thirst for war.²⁷ The Achinese were further aroused by the fact that the Portuguese had built this same year a fortress in Pasei, a neighboring, rival capital. Dom Manuel Henriques, the admiral of the sea and brother of the captain of Pasei, was also enticed this same year, along with his twelve oared boats and eighty men, into an ambush by the sultan of Achin on the pretext of trade, and massacred. Only a few native rowers survived to report the disaster. A short time later forty thousand Achinese besieged Pasei,²⁸ and in 1523 the Portuguese had to abandon the fortress. All of their artillery and that of one of their ships, the *Garça* of Manuel Mendes de Vasconcellos, fell into the hands of the enemy.²⁹ In 1529 the victorious sultan also conquered Pedir, whose two deposed kings had to seek refuge in Malacca as simple laborers.³⁰

Maluco, assí entre tormentas del mar, como entre enemigos" (EX I 326). Witnesses of the voyage of Antonio Henriques also speak of storms on this route (see Vol. II 605).

²⁰ The usual passage was through the Sombrero Strait (*Livro de Marinharia* 239).

²¹ These deeds were only too well known to the Portuguese and also, of course, to Antonio Pereira, who fought against the Achinese in 1537. Tristão d'Ataide, who on this occasion was wounded by a poisoned arrow, gave a list of these deeds in this same year (SA I 358). A second list was given by Pero de Faria in 1539 as captain of Malacca (Q 437); and Manuel Godinho, who served in Malacca under seven captains, gave a third in 1545 (Q 1629). Barros has João de Borba tell them to Jorge de Brito in 1521 (3, 5, 3, pp. 538-539). Mendes Pinto has the king of the Bataks tell them to him in his *Peregrinação* (c. 17); and in addition to these, individual events are described in detail by Castanheda, Correa, Barros, and Couto.

²² Pires 137-138.

²³ Castanheda 2, 111.

²⁴ Barros 3, 8, 1-2. In 1515 the king had only thirty to forty oared boats (Pires 139). Winstedt gives a family tree of the kings of Achin in JMB X 1 (1932) 43. Sultan Ali Mughāyat Shāh, who ruled from 1496 (according to others 1514) until 1530 is meant. In Barros he is called Raja Abraemo.

²⁵ Castanheda 3, 51.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 5, 13; Barros 3, 3, 3, pp. 271-272.

²⁷ Castanheda 5, 65; Correa II 645-646; Barros 3, 5, 3. According to Castanheda there were seventy, according to Pero de Faria sixty, dead (Q 437).

²⁸ Correa II 767-768; Barros 3, 8, 2. According to Correa, all the Portuguese were slain; according to Barros only about thirty-five.

²⁹ Castanheda 6, 50-51; Correa II 790-796; Barros 3, 8, 2-4. The list of the sixty captured

In 1528 the newly appointed captain of Ternate, Simão de Sousa Galvão, sailed from Cochin for the Moluccas. On his way he sought refuge at the bar of Achin for his galley, which had been sorely ravaged by a storm and was being held there by an opposing wind. Because of the recent tempest the artillery was still below deck when, after he had rejected a treacherous invitation of the sultan to sail farther up the river for greater security, his ship was suddenly attacked by fifty oared boats. After they had put up a desperate resistance, the captain and seventy-five of his men were slain; and twenty-five, who had been severely wounded, were captured and cast into prison.³¹ Two of these were treated with special kindness by the king and then sent to Malacca to inform Pero de Faria, the captain of the fortress, that he, the king, wished for the future to live in peace with the Portuguese and to establish trading relations with them. The captain should send an envoy to negotiate the peace since he was ready to release his captives and the artillery and galley which had been seized.

Faria sent a *casado* back with the two Portuguese, but on their way, as they were taking on water,³² they and all their companions were slain by the Moors. When the sultan had it reported in Malacca that he was surprised that the prisoners, galley, and artillery had not been claimed, Garcia de Sá, the new captain of the fortress, sent a second envoy in 1529. He was received with the highest honors in Achin, but on his way back he was attacked with the greatest secrecy at the bar of the river and slain with all of his companions. Thinking that he and his men had perished in a shipwreck, the captain sent a third ambassador, Manuel Pacheco, in the galleon *São Jorge* with ninety picked Portuguese and a rich cargo. But the ship had hardly reached the bar of Achin when the treacherous sultan seized it and slew all of its officers and crew along with their imprisoned countrymen.³³

With the artillery which he had captured in this enterprise, he was now better equipped than the fortress of Malacca. He had become the most powerful lord on Sumatra,³⁴ and he soon took over the neighboring state of Aru.³⁵ His pride now became unbounded, and his great hatred for the Portuguese passed over in 1530 to his successor,³⁶ who in September, 1537, sent a captain with a large fleet and three thousand warriors to secure Malacca for himself by a night attack. The venture failed. Despite their poisoned arrows, the foe was repelled and forced to withdraw; but they were able to carry off a good many native merchants and women. In October the Achinese captain returned with five thousand men, but this time also his fleet had to withdraw with great losses since the Portuguese had in the meantime replaced the palisade around their city with a high, earthen wall.³⁷

guns in Pasei is given in the *Lembranças* of 1525 (16); those of the *Garça* are mentioned by Godinho (Q 1629).

³⁰ Sá I 382. On the kings, see Barros 3, 8, 4; Correa II 796; Godinho (Q 1629); see also the two letters of King Mohammed of Pedir of 1543 (Q 1132-1133).

³¹ Castanheda 7, 67 81-82; Correa III 267-268; Barros 4, 2, 17; Couto 4, 4, 7. According to them, Sousa had seventy soldiers; according to Tristão d'Ataide, he had ninety (Sá I 358); according to Faria a hundred (Q 437).

³² Castanheda 7, 84-85; Correa III 269-271; Barros 4, 2, 17; 4, 6, 18; Couto 4, 4, 7; 4, 5, 8.

³³ Castanheda 7, 99-100.

³⁴ Castanheda 7, 100-101; Correa III 303-306; Barros 4, 6, 18; Couto 4, 5, 9.

³⁵ Castanheda 6, 51.

³⁶ Salāh-ud-dīn (1530 to ca. 1547) was the successor of Alī Mughāyat Shāh. He was murdered in 1547 by his brother Alā-ud-dīn (Q 3102).

³⁷ Sá I 357-369; Castanheda 8, 178-179; Correa III 861-862; Q 437.

From 1509 on, more than eight hundred Portuguese had died in battle with the Achinese. Through the fall of the fortress of Pasei, the Portuguese king had lost an annual income of 60,000 *cruzados*. The Achinese had captured six hundred guns and, in addition to the ships already mentioned, the royal galley, the *São Miguel*. A number of private ships had also fallen into their hands. The Achinese had thus become a constant threat to the fortress of Malacca and were the terror of the Portuguese ships on their voyages to and from this city.³⁸

In order to avoid this dangerous foe, boats therefore sailed from the Nicobar Islands directly southeast until, sixty leagues farther on, they sighted the tip of the bald, white, rocky island of Pulo Perak rising up solitarily from the sea. From there they sailed straight on either between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula or, if the wind was too weak for this, along the coast past Pulo Penang and Pulo Sembilan, to the steep, forested island of Pulo Jara lying in the center of the strait of Malacca, and from there to the group of small, low Aroa Islands, which lay at the entrance of the *Canal Grande*, or central channel, where the most dangerous stretch of the strait began, a narrow passage fifteen leagues long with sandbanks on the right and left, through which a way had to be found until the wooded summit of Parcelar Hill, rising alone like an island from the flat coast, was sighted.³⁹

The strait of Malacca was regarded as one of the most difficult and dangerous routes in the East. When a ship was passing through it, the pilot always had to have his sounding line in hand, at least on the final stretch; and an anchor had always to be on deck ready for dropping, for the wind and current were constantly shifting. Ships had always to be anchored at night, and also when the southwest current set in six hours later. This was often so strong that a second anchor had to be thrown overboard so that the ship would not be carried away by it. Further periods of calm then followed, which often kept ships immobile for hours on end. As long as loose mud was encountered in the channel, a ship was on its course; but if rough gravel was brought up instead, it had gone astray and had to be anchored until its sloop had found a way out of the shallows.⁴⁰

The Coromandel ship on which Xavier was sailing came near to becoming a victim to the perversity of the strait. For more than a league the ship,

³⁸ Q 1629; *Lembraças* 16.

³⁹ In 1530 the *Livro de Marinharia* still gives three routes: (1) in good weather from Sombrero Strait directly to Pulo Perak, Pulo Topaya (Jara), Aroa, Canal do meo; (2) with a weak wind from Pulo Perak to Pulo Penang, where winds were generally encountered, and Pulo Sembilan, and, if there was fear of hostile ships near the coast, from there to Pulo Topaya; (3) Gamispola (Pulo Weh), Pedir, Polvoreira (Pulo Berhala), Aroa (239-241). In 1548 the *roteiro* of Bernardo Fernandes gives the first and third of these routes (93-96). Ferreira Reimão, "according to the *roteiros* of the Malacca pilots," in 1612 (62-71) and the Anonymous of 1641 warn against the third route because of the hostile Achinese (Gabriel Pereira 200-207). In 1610 *Moreira gives only the second route. The ship which at the end of 1553 was sailing with Xavier's body from Malacca to India ran aground on a shallows north of Cape Rachado (probably Bambek Shoal) between Pulo Penang and the coast of Kedah (MX II 419 424). It thus chose the second route. From the end of the seventeenth century, since there was peace between Achin and Portugal, the third route was again used, as is indicated by the *roteiro* of *Fernandez da Fonseca of 1770, the detailed travelogue of Premaré of 1698 (*Welt-Bott*, nn. 39, 14-16 21-22), and Laimbeckhoven's account of 1738 (*ibid.*, n. 590, 103-109). Cf. *Handbuch für Ceylon und die Malakka-Strasse* 75-77.

⁴⁰ *Livro de Marinharia* 240-241 244; Ferreira Reimão 67; also Premaré and Laimbeckhoven, l.c.

driven by a strong north wind, sailed on with its rudder continuously dragging along the floor of the sea. If it had struck a rock, the ship would have sprung a leak and foundered. If it had encountered shallower water on the right or left, it would have become grounded and been similarly lost. Master Francis saw many weeping on the ship, and he later wrote to his confreres in Rome what he then experienced within his own soul at the sight of death:

It pleased God our Lord to try us in these dangers and to let us know what we are when we hope in our own forces or when we place our confidence in created things, and how much we are when we depart from these false hopes, mistrusting them, and hoping in the Creator of all things, upon whose hand it depends to make us strong when dangers are encountered for his love. And those who accept them solely for His love firmly believe that when they are in the midst of them every creature is subject to its Creator, knowing full well that the consolations at such a time are greater than the fears of death since the man has completed his days. And when the toils are ended and the dangers have passed, one cannot tell or write what he experienced when he was in them. But a memory of what happened remains impressed upon him so that he never becomes weary of serving so good a Lord, both in the present and in the future, hoping in the Lord, whose mercies are without end, that He will give him the strength to serve Him.⁴¹

The danger was over. The hill of Parcelar marked the end of the channel. All drew a sigh of relief. From here it was still fourteen leagues to Malacca, a course that could be covered in four days.⁴² The ship sailed towards the southeast at a distance of a league from the flat, densely wooded coast of the Malay Peninsula. Midway, Cape Rachado, resembling a long, low, wooded island, came into view. Here was the narrowest part of the strait of Malacca. To the west was the low, wooded coast of Sumatra, while on the left, in the south, the heights of Malacca could now be seen.⁴³

It was the end of September⁴⁴ when the ship rounded Tanjong Kling, a strip of land running out into the sea. To the left, deep within the interior, could be seen the three, pale blue peaks of the fabled Gunon Ledang. Near at hand were the brown, wooden houses of the Malays with their verandas and palm-leaf roofs. Erected on piles, they stood out from the green of the coconut palms. In front of the coast was the island of Pulo Upeh, overgrown with trees.⁴⁵ Then there appeared on the left a river crossed by a covered, wooden bridge connecting the extensive native quarter on the north with the Portuguese settlement on the south. From beyond the river the voyagers were greeted by a white chapel resting upon a green hill. At the foot of the latter was a fortress

⁴¹ EX I 327. From the context Xavier places the event during his voyage from Pulicat to Malacca, and thus in the Malacca Strait, "en este viage del Cabo de Comorin para Malaca y Maluco." He later continues: "Estando en Malaca." Sousa places it on the voyage from Malacca to Amboina (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 3, 1, 8), and he is followed in this by Nieuwenhoff (215) and Brou (I 372).

⁴² Cf. Laimbeckhoven 106.

⁴³ *Livro de Marinharia* 241 244; Ferreira Reimão 67-68; *Handbuch für Ceylon und die Malakka-Strasse* 439-440.

⁴⁴ On November 10, 1545, Xavier wrote that he had arrived a month and a half earlier in Malacca (EX I 298). Bartoli concluded from this that he had arrived there on September 25, but the words cannot be taken so exactly. From Amboina Xavier wrote that he had waited three and one-half months in Malacca for news from Macassar (EX I 321-322). The voyage from Pulicat to Malacca usually lasted a month.

⁴⁵ Also called Ilha das Pedras and Fisher's Island.

flanked by a tall, four-storied tower.⁴⁶ Adjoining this were a church and the wooden houses of the Portuguese. At their end, not far from the beach on the south, was a small, flat, double island, known as "Ships' Island," where ships came to anchor.⁴⁷ Malacca 1,678 miles, a month away, from São Thomé, had been reached.

2. THE ROYAL CITY OF THE MALAYS (SEPTEMBER, 1545)⁴⁸

In 1511 Albuquerque had taken Malacca, the proud, wealthy, royal city of the Malays from the Moors, and on the site of the earlier main mosque he had built the fortress *A Famosa*; and all the attempts of the dethroned sultan Mahmūd and of his successor Alā-ud-dīn to get possession of their ancestral city by ruse or arms from the island of Bintang or from their new capital of Ujong Tanah on the upper course of the Johore River had been foiled.⁴⁹

Much had changed during the years that had intervened between the capture of the city and Xavier's arrival. The Portuguese city, which surrounded the steep hill on the south side of the river, and which had been enclosed since 1537 by an earthen wall strengthened with bastions,⁵⁰ was small. One could easily walk around it in a quarter of an hour.⁵¹ On the beach, close to the mouth of the river, stood the defiant, square fortress that had been erected by Albuquerque. In time of attack it could be supplied from the sea. The second floor of its high tower comprised the captain's residence,⁵² and over the gate of the fortress,

⁴⁶ "De quatro sobrados" (*Commentarios Dalbuquerque* 3, 31). In 1635 Bocarro spoke of five stories (II 15). Pictures are given in Eredia 7-v and Correa II 250.

⁴⁷ Also known as Pulo Malaka, Pulo Java, and Red Island. The larger ships used to anchor here (*Livro de Marinharia* 241; Bocarro II 23).

⁴⁸ Ferrand, *Malaka* (393-467 147-152), gives a French translation of, and commentary upon, the Chinese, Arabic, Portuguese, and Dutch descriptions of Malacca. Particularly important are those of the Portuguese prisoners of 1510 (CA III 5-12), of Tomé Pires of 1515 (259-278), of Barbosa of 1516 (II 169-179), and of Eredia of 1613 (ed. 1881, English translation in Mills with a valuable commentary, 1930). Plans and views of the city are given in Silveira III 449-458, in *The Town and Fort of Malacca. A Guide Book* (Singapore, 1924), and in *Souvenir and Malacca Information Handbook* (Malacca, 1954). Particularly important for Xavier's time are the sketches in Correa, before 1537 (II 250); in Eredia, of 1604 (46v; cf. 8-9v); in Faria y Sousa, before 1641 (I 148); and in Valentyn, of 1726 (V 1, 308). See also M. Teixeira, "A Diocese Portuguesa de Malacca," *Boletim Eclesiástico de Macau* 54 (1956) 501-551; R. Cardon, "Portuguese Malacca," *JMB* XII 2 (1934) 1-23; I. A. Macgregor, "Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya," *ibid.* XXVIII 2 (1955) 5-47.

⁴⁹ For the history of Malacca, see in addition to Tiele and the Portuguese chronicles: Castanheda, Correa, Barros, Couto, and the classic historical work of the Malays, the *Sejarah Melayu*, composed in Malacca about 1535 and reworked and supplemented in Johore in 1612; the accounts of R. O. Winstedt, "A History of Johore (1335-1895)," *JMB* X 3 (1932); "A History of Malaya," *ibid.* XIII 1 (1935); R. J. Wilkinson, "The Malacca Sultanate," *ibid.* XIII 2 (1935); I. A. Macgregor, "Johore Lama in the Sixteenth Century," *ibid.* XXVIII 2 (1955).

⁵⁰ Correa's sketch (II 250) still shows the old palisade enclosure; that of Eredia (46v) already has the stone wall which was begun in 1577 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 8, 182v). The earthen wall which D. Estevão da Gama built in thirty days in 1537 was the height of a man, though in some places two or three times as high. It enclosed the suburb of Upeh, from the *tranqueira* of the *bendahara*, on the sea to the river and, opposite it, the Portuguese city up to the bulwark of Santiago (Castanheda 8, 179; cf. Sá II 365; Correa III 862; Eredia 9). In 1551 the Portuguese city was still without defenses on the river and the sea (DI II 209; Couto 6, 9, 6, pp. 261-262).

⁵¹ "It is as large as the Capitoline Hill in Rome with the monastery of Ara Coeli," *Valignano wrote in 1577 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 8, 181v).

⁵² Bocarro II 15; Correa IV 417.

on its right, was that of his factor.⁵³ On the sea, a few steps farther on, was the parish church dedicated to the Mother of God,⁵⁴ the *Sé* or *Matriz*. Adjoining it was the rectory, the residence of the *vigario*.⁵⁵ There had been frequent conflagrations in Malacca,⁵⁶ and in one of these, four years before, the tower and the church had been completely destroyed. The ornaments of the church, its silver lamps, chalices, cross, and numerous other objects had fallen victim to the flames;⁵⁷ and the captain at the time, Pero de Faria, had had ample reason to be glad that he had been able to escape even with his shirt. Yet within fifty days, at the expense of great efforts, he had repaired the damages.⁵⁸

When one went south along the sea from the parish church, he came after a few minutes to the church of the Misericórdia.⁵⁹ Opposite it, across the street and along the coast, was the royal hospital.⁶⁰ Near it the Misericórdia had built a second hospital for the native sick, which it supported from its own resources.⁶¹ The confraternity had been founded thirteen years before,⁶² and in 1540 it had taken over the direction also of the royal hospital.⁶³ A few minutes beyond this was the rampart of Santiago, where a gate gave access to the native city of Hilir on the south.⁶⁴ Here was the beginning of the city wall, which then took a sharp turn to the left. The street running along it kept following the foot of the hill on which the city was built, eventually returning to the river and then

⁵³ CA III 119.

⁵⁴ On the church, see Teixeira in the *Boletim de Macau* 56 (1958) 1083-1101. In 1512 Albuquerque had asked the king for a rich altarpiece of the Annunciation for the church, "for in Malacca there is more gold and blue than in the palace of Sintra" (CA I 53). According to the bull erecting the diocese of Malacca of 1557, it was dedicated to the Annunciation (*Bullarium Patronatus* I 196; *Commentarios Dalboquerque* 3, 31; Castanheda 3, 76). In 1613 it bore the name of Nossa Senhora da Assumpção (Eredia 5v). Schouten stated the same in 1641 and added that the painting behind the high altar represented this mystery (*Report* 89; cf. also Cardon 212-217). The church, which was largely destroyed in the capture of the city in 1641, is no longer extant.

⁵⁵ Picture in Eredia 46v. In 1545 the government supported a vicar and three beneficiaries (Botelho, *Tombo* 110).

⁵⁶ DI III 321.

⁵⁷ De Jong 485; Q 1582.

⁵⁸ Pero de Faria in 1545 (Q 1582).

⁵⁹ On the Misericórdia, see Teixeira in *Boletim de Macau* 57 (1959) 31-34. A picture is given by Eredia 46v. In 1641 it had a "small, beautiful church" with three altars, the main altar dedicated to St. Isabel, the two side altars to St. Martin and to Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Schouten, *Report* 90). Its name was Nossa Senhora da Visitação (Eredia 5v). It has since disappeared.

⁶⁰ Adjoining the royal hospital on the north, which had been founded by Albuquerque for the Portuguese in 1511 and was maintained by the king, was the Hospital dos Pobres for the natives, already mentioned in 1554 (DI III 132), which was maintained by the confraternity of the Misericórdia (Teixeira in *Boletim de Macau* 57 [1959] 255-261; picture in Eredia 46v). In 1641 the hospital for the poor was a beautiful wooden building; the royal hospital, which at this time lay between the customhouse and the Dominican monastery, was made of wood and stone (Schouten, *Report* 94). Both hospitals were shot to ruins in 1641 (*ibid.* 112).

⁶¹ Both are mentioned in 1554 (DI III 132), but they were already standing in 1545 (MX II 312).

⁶² SR II 226-227.

⁶³ Botelho, *Tombo* 111.

⁶⁴ The earthen wall of 1537 had gates and bulwarks (Couto 6, 9, 6, p. 261). One of the most important gates was to the left of the bulwark of Santiago, leading to Hilir (DI II 215). It was severely damaged in the siege of 1641 and, since it was "old, poor, insufficient, and blockaded," it was rebuilt in 1669 (Bort in JMB V 1 [1927] 17). The gate bears the date 1670 and is the only remaining portion of the defenses which were blown up in 1807 (Cardon in JMB XII [1934] 2, 21).

back to the fortress. From here a steep path led up in a few minutes to the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte on the top of the green hill. It was the landmark for Malacca and dominated the entire city.⁶⁵ In 1521 Duarte Coelho⁶⁶ and his three junks had been surrounded by sixty-five hostile Chinese ships near Canton, and he had vowed to the Mother of God that he would build a chapel to her if she freed him from the obvious danger of death which he was in. After a successful return to Malacca he had fulfilled his vow by erecting the church.⁶⁷

From the chapel there was a magnificent view of the city and its environs.⁶⁸ From here, between the green of the trees and the crowns of the coconut palms, one could look down upon the fortress with its high tower, the parish church, the Misericórdia, and the palm-leaved roofs of the Portuguese homes,⁶⁹ for the most part built of wood, at the foot of the hill, which fell off steeply towards the south and east. To the north, on the other side of the bridge, appeared the roofs of the extensive native quarter of Upeh⁷⁰ in the midst of the green of the palms and other trees.⁷¹ Here were the homes of the merchants, Tamil-speaking Klings in particular, but also Moors, Chinese, and representatives of other nations.⁷² Beyond these homes was a rolling hill country with tall blue mountains in the distance. It was all covered with a dense, primitive forest like that on the hills to the south of the city. Here in the swampy land was the second, smaller native quarter of Hilir, inhabited for the most part by fishers. To the west two flat islands could be seen rising from the blue sea, Pulo Upeh in the north and Pulo Malacca, the place of anchorage for ships, in the south. Both lay close to the shore and were overgrown with trees and brush. Farther to the south was the higher island of Pulo Besar in the midst of a group of smaller islets. The pathless, endless forest covering the entire peninsula of Malacca, through which the Malacca River found an ever twisting passage to the sea,

⁶⁵ On the chapel, see Schurhammer, "The Church of St. Paul, Malacca," JMB XII 2 (1934) 40-43, cf. 29-33 38-39; Cardon, "The Old Church on the Malacca Hill," *ibid.* XX 1 (1947) 188-234; and Teixeira in *Boletim de Macau* 57 (1959) 34-42. The chapel built in 1521 was very small and was already in ruins in 1566. The rector of the college therefore built a larger one, which was roofed in 1568 and completed in 1590. It was used from 1641 to 1753 by the Dutch for Calvinist services. The roofless ruin is still extant. Since 1922 Mass has been offered in it each year on the feast of St. Francis Xavier. The church had different names: N. Sra. da Graça, N. Sra. do Monte, N. Sra. do Outeiro, N. Sra. da Annunciada, and São Paulo.

⁶⁶ On Duarte Coelho, see the biographical data and sources in Macgregor in JMB XVIII 2 (1955) 36-39 and HCPB III 194-200 (life) 309 321 (text), II 306-308 (family tree). In 1503 he sailed for Brazil, was in India from 1509 to 1529, married Brites de Albuquerque in Portugal in 1529, received as a reward for his services as almoner the captaincy of Pernambuco in 1534, where he founded a flourishing colony between 1535 and 1554. He was a great friend of the Jesuits. Summoned by the king in 1554, he died shortly after his arrival in Lisbon.

⁶⁷ Barros 3, 6, 2; Sousa, *Annaes* 378. On the battles for Canton, see Ferguson 427-430 468; Kammerer, *Le Découverte de la Chine par les Portugais* (Leiden, 1944) 28-32; Barros 3, 6, 1-2; Correa II 678 718.

⁶⁸ See the plan in Eredia 9. Jesuit letters frequently praise its beautiful appearance (ARSI: Goa 13, 270v; DI V 667).

⁶⁹ Mostly made of wood, as noted by *Valignano in 1579 (ARSI: Goa 7, 26v); some out of earth, as he wrote in 1577 (*ibid.* Goa 8, 182).

⁷⁰ In 1551 the Achinese carried 20,000 persons away from here (DI II 208).

⁷¹ In 1551 it had many beautiful palm groves (*ibid.* 218).

⁷² Although the Malays and Javanese were expelled, Malayan auxiliary troops are frequently mentioned from 1519 on (Macgregor 24-25). Eredia's plan divides Upeh into three *kampongs*, of the Klings, of the Javanese, and of the Chinese. In 1562 Klings, Chinese, Javanese, Malays, Siamese, and people of many other nations were living here (DI V 671).

was the haunt of bloodthirsty tigers,⁷³ panthers, and wild elephants.⁷⁴ It came to within almost a league of the city and left room for only a few small fields of rice and coconut groves.⁷⁵ In the midst of the forest at the foot of a hill near the suburb of Hilir, one or two cross-bow's shots away from the city, was a spring with the best drinking water in Malacca, but one had to fetch it with weapons in hand since thieves and wild animals were constantly claiming new victims.⁷⁶

The weather was delightful. An everlasting spring hovered over the land, producing fruit trees of every sort: coconut palms and breadfruit, mangosteen, durian, and numerous other kinds of trees.⁷⁷ A refreshing breeze blew in from the sea, and every second or third day a cooling rain drove off the heat. The clouds would then disappear and the blue sky would gleam again.⁷⁸ But rice, the chief source of food, had to be imported from Java and Pegu.⁷⁹ Malacca was the only city between Pulo Sembilan and Singapore, a stretch of eighty leagues. Otherwise there were only a few, poor fishing villages scattered here and there along the course of the crocodile-infested streams in the midst of primitive forests and mangrove swamps. Only small groups of widely dispersed, savage tribes dwelt in the impenetrable forests. Through fear of tigers their shelters were erected at times upon the highest branches of the trees.⁸⁰ Nevertheless Malacca was located on a hostile site since the surrounding swamps were a constant source of fever.⁸¹

The language of the country was Malay, an idiom that was easy to learn in comparison with Tamil.⁸² The native garb of the Malays and Javanese was the gaily colored sarong wound tightly about the hips. In addition to this, they also wore at times a silk jacket. A white headband about their straight black hair replaced the Indian turban. After reaching the age of twelve, every male, when he left his home, carried his creese in a wooden scabard upon his hip as his inseparable companion. This was a long, twisted dagger with an artistically engraved handle and a poisoned tip.⁸³ In war they also used swords, long lances, heavy javelins, bows and arrows, and long blow-pipes for shooting small, feathered arrows with deadly, poisoned tips.⁸⁴

The complexion of the Malays, who lived on the Malacca Peninsula and the counterlying Sumatra, was olive brown. They were a well-built people with oval faces, living from trade and leaving the more menial tasks to their slaves. They kept their wives jealously secluded. They acted like *fidalgos* of the East and were courteous, ceremonious, obsequious, and given to music and a sensual

⁷³ Barros 2, 6, 1; Eredia 18; DI VI 494.

⁷⁴ DI III 530.

⁷⁵ Thus *Ribera in 1568 (ARSI: *JapSin.* 6, 237v).

⁷⁶ DI III 530. Meant is the Perigi Raja (Rajah spring), the oldest spring in Malacca, at the foot of the Bukit-China hill, a brief quarter of an hour from the fortress. It was called Sam Po's Well by the Chinese to commemorate the Chinese embassy of 1406.

⁷⁷ Eredia 15v-17v.

⁷⁸ Valignano 88.

⁷⁹ Barbosa II 178; Eredia 19; Ferrand, *Malaka* 429; Pires 98; DI III 529.

⁸⁰ Barros 2, 6, 1, p. 23.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23; *Valignano in 1579 (ARSI: *Goa* 7, 26v); Castanheda 2, 112.

⁸² Castanheda 2, 112.

⁸³ Pires 179; Barbosa II 176; Barros 2, 6, 1; Eredia 20v. Pictures: Eredia 21; **Deshnos*, nn. 118-119 130-131; a photograph of the creese of the sultan of Malacca, Muzaffar Shāh (1458), is given in JMB XII 1 (1935) 58.

⁸⁴ Barros 2, 6, 1 and 4; Eredia 20v-21v.

enjoyment of life,⁸⁵ as was intimated in the saying: "Amorous Malays, pugnacious Javanese."⁸⁶ But the Malays were also brave warriors. Running amuck was frequent among both races: men seized with a frenzy for blood would slay in their madness all they encountered until they were themselves slain like mad dogs.⁸⁷ The Javanese were related to the Malays. They were short and sturdy, with powerful breasts and broad, beardless faces since they had the custom of plucking out the hairs of their beards. They were skilled craftsmen—carpenters, smiths, armorers, and much given to magic and necromancy. They were also proud, brave, foolhardy, and, like the Malays, faithless, treacherous, and cunning.⁸⁸ The teeth of both the Malays and Javanese were stained black and blood red from their constant chewing of betel nuts.⁸⁹ They had two types of ships: war *praus*, or *lancharas*, swift boats equipped with sails and oars; and junks, large heavy freighters with masts, plaited sails, and rudders for steering both fore and aft. They were coated with *galagala*, a kind of white tar for ships, and had hulls so thick that not even a ship's artillery could pierce them.⁹⁰

Most of the inhabitants of the native suburb of Upeh were however Klings—portly Hindu merchants from the Coromandel Coast.⁹¹ They wore a *dhoti*, a long, white loincloth reaching down to the ground and leaving the upper part of the body bare. They spoke the Tamil of their native India, and from the outset they sided with the Portuguese. In 1527 they had written a letter in the name of their community to King John III. In it they had noted how often they had, as loyal vassals, helped his governors and officials with loans, and how miserably they had been rewarded for this service, and how poorly their loans had been repaid. An exception, however, was the then governor, Captain Jorge Cabral, who had always been favorable to them. He had recognized their customs and judicial procedures, and he had repaid them their money in as far as he could. He had also, after many years, again attracted Chinese and Peguese merchants and those from Laue on Borneo. They had only one complaint to make: the captains had permitted their slaves to become Christians, which was very hard on them. If they wanted to punish one of their slaves, he became a Christian and ran off the next day to the sultan of Bintang. This made it impossible for them to find crews to man their junks and to make them available for the *lancharas* of His Highness. They also praised Cabral's predecessor, Pedro Mascarenhas, since he had greatly enhanced the city of Malacca and its trade through the capture of Bintang.⁹²

With the exception of its highly prized tin, the peninsula of Malacca had

⁸⁵ Pires 268; Barbosa II 176; Barros 2, 6, 1; Castanheda 2, 112; Eredia 19v-20v.

⁸⁶ "Malayos namorados, Jáos cavalleiros" (Barros 2, 6, 1).

⁸⁷ On the amuck runners, see Pires 176 266; Barbosa II 177-178; Dalgado I 33-36.

⁸⁸ On the Javanese, see Pires 176; Barbosa II 177 191-194; Castanheda 3, 62; CA III 93; DI II 209; picture in **Desenhos*, nn. 134-135.

⁸⁹ De Jonge II 324 333.

⁹⁰ On the ships, see Pires 194-195; Barbosa II 173-174; Castanheda 2, 112; Eredia 26-27v, pictures 30v.

⁹¹ Barbosa calls them Chettis (II 177). They comprised the large majority of foreign merchants in Malacca. The main trade was in their hands (Pires 255-283).

⁹² The letter was written by Manuel Gomes at the request of the *bendahara*, of Nyna Sūryadeva, Nyna Paão, Nyna Gudam, Nyna Sola, Nyna Mudi, and of all the merchants with the Tamil signatures of their chief representatives (Q 109; pl. XXVI 1). In 1537 Upeh was surrounded by an earthen wall with the help of the Kling merchants. In 1532 the *vigario* wrote that the lords were paid for their slaves who had become Christians (SR II 227-228).

hardly anything else to export.⁹³ But the city of Malacca was the great harbor of exchange between the East and West. From the West came the ships of Gujar merchants bringing with them Arabs, Persians, Turks, Armenians, Abyssinians, and East African Moors with wares of their respective lands: cloth materials of all sorts, carpets, attar of roses, opium, and incense. From the Malabar Coast came pepper; from the Coromandel Coast universally desired cottons; from Bengal fine draperies, steel, and candied preserves; from Pegu rice and other foods and lacquer; from Sumatra the precious gold of Minangkabau. In addition to all these there were the wares which the Portuguese brought from Europe: Portuguese wines and fabrics, Venetian glass, elaborate clocks from Germany and Flanders, copper and steel wares, and more besides. These were exchanged for the products of the East: pepper from Sunda (western Java); rice and finely wrought steels: swords, lances, creeses, and shields from Java; fragrant red and white sandalwood from Timor; camphor from Borneo; nutmegs from Banda; cloves from the Moluccas; silks and brocades, blue-and-white and green porcelains artistically painted with landscapes flowers, and dragons, and gilded, lacquered wares, rhubarb, musk, and so forth from China.⁹⁴

Islam had also found an entrance into the Malayan archipelago through Moorish merchants, and it had already supplanted the old Hindu religion in many places. The first messengers of Allah had come two hundred years earlier to Pasei in northern Sumatra and Grisee in the middle of Java, and they had there planted the green banner of the Prophet and opened up schools for the study of the Koran. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, Malacca had become a center of propaganda for the spread of Mohammedanism. Mosques with their several-storied, pyramidal roofs and heavy minarets had been erected everywhere.⁹⁵ When Xavier reached Malacca, Islam was thus already flourishing undisturbed upon the peninsula of Malacca and on the opposite, east coast of Sumatra, where almost all the rajahs had accepted the new religion, and one Mohammedan kingdom stretched out after another: Achin, Pedir, Pasei, Aru, Siak, Kampar, Indragiri, and, further south, Djambi and Palembang, which were subject to Java. In the four last mentioned kingdoms, however, the people were still for the most part pagans.⁹⁶ The entire south and west were also pagan, and especially the interior, where fierce Bataks, who devoured the bodies of their foes slain in war, were living, and the gold country of Minangkabau, where three kings were vying for its control,⁹⁷ one of whom had, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, become a Mohammedan with around a hundred of his people.⁹⁸

At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, Java was still ruled by two pagan kings, one in Sunda in the west, and another, more powerful, in Madjapahit in the east.⁹⁹ But at this time all the harbors of central Java from Djeribon to Surabaja were in the hands of Moorish merchants, who under their governors,

⁹³ Pires (260-261) and CA III 94 describe the tin-producing areas of Malacca. See Dalgado II 375.

⁹⁴ Pires 268-272 describes the wares of all the lands in detail. See Barbosa II 172-176; Castanheda 1, 112.

⁹⁵ Cf. Pires 239-245; R. O. Winstedt, "The Advent of Muhammadanism in the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago," *Journal Straits Branch* 77 (1917) 171-175; G. E. Morrison, "The Coming of Islam to the East Indies," *JMB* XXIV 1 (1951) 8-37.

⁹⁶ Pires 135-156 244-245.

⁹⁷ Barros 3, 5, 1; Eredia 23v.

⁹⁸ Pires 163-165 248.

⁹⁹ CA III 93; Pires 166-179; Barbosa II 189-191; Castanheda 3, 62.

called *patih*s, had freed themselves from the dominion of Madjapahit¹⁰⁰ and shortly after this had captured the capital of the Hindu ruler and had brought the whole of central Java under their own domain.¹⁰¹ The Hindu rajah of Sunda had asked the Portuguese for help. But when these finally came in 1526 to build a fortress in his port of Kalapa, they found that the city also was already under the control of the Moors, who immediately beheaded thirty Portuguese when they landed.¹⁰² As a consequence it was not until 1541 that the first ships from this new Mohammedan kingdom dared to sail again to Malacca.¹⁰³ Only in eastern Java were the Hindu princes able to maintain themselves.¹⁰⁴ In the fifteenth century merchants had spread the religion of the Prophet to the far Moluccas and to Amboina and Banda, where the rajahs and their subjects accepted the new faith.¹⁰⁵ Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, a Moorish king had also been ruling in northwest Borneo. His authority extended to the Jolo Islands and the large island of Luzon, from where he drew his principal export, camphor, from a pagan rajah in its interior.¹⁰⁶

3. FRIENDS IN MALACCA (SEPTEMBER, 1545)

When he arrived in Malacca, Master Francis took up his residence with Eiró as a poor man of Christ in the royal hospital, where he found shelter in a cottage near the sea.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ Pires 182-197 245; Castanheda 3, 62 100.

¹⁰¹ According to Raffles the prince of Demah destroyed Madjapahit in 1475 and converted it into a wilderness; but according to N. J. Krom this did not occur until between 1513 and 1528 (*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* [s Gravenhage, 1926] 458). A copperplate text dated Vilvatikta (Madjapahit), 1541, seems to indicate that the city had been rebuilt by this time (Q 5318).

¹⁰² On August 21, 1522, the Hindu king of Sunda concluded a treaty with the Portuguese in which he gave permission for the building of a fortress in Kalapa (under the Dutch Batavia, today Djakarta) and promised to pay an annual tribute of 1,000 sacks, equivalent to 160 *bahārs*, of pepper (Ramos-Coelho 460-461). But when Duarte Coelho and after him Francisco de Sá came at the end of 1526 to Kalapa to build the fortress, the Moor Faletahan, the brother-in-law of the *patih* of Djapara, who had already seized the city, prevented their landing with his armed forces (Q 1740; Castanheda 7, 26; Barros 4, 1, 13; Correa III 92-93; Couto 4, 3, 1).

¹⁰³ Q 1740.

¹⁰⁴ Pires 196-200.

¹⁰⁵ As Pires noted in 1515 (206), Islam had come to Banda "thirty years before." The first Mohammedan prince in Ternate was Zain al Abidin (1486-1500), in Tidore Jamāl-ud-din (1495-1512) (De Clercq 158; Valentyn III 1, 19-20).

¹⁰⁶ In 1514 the king of Brunei (northwest Borneo) was still a pagan; the merchants were Moors (CA III 92-93). In 1515 Pires stated that he had become a Mohammedan "a short time ago" (132-134). In 1524 pagan kings were ruling in the interior; in the harbor of Burnei there was a Mohammedan king (CA IV 35-37). H. R. Hughes Hallet gives a list of kings according to which the first prince to accept Islam called himself Mohammed. His successor, the Arab Berkat, won the city over to the new faith ("A Sketch of the History of Brunei," JMB XVIII 2 [1940] 23-42).

¹⁰⁷ Xavier writes that he took up his residence in the hospital (EX I 299 321), and the same is said by Antonio Mendes (MX II 420). Sequeira states more precisely that he had lived with the father in "numas casinhas da banda do mar," where he had a shed with palm-leaf walls for himself to which he was accustomed to withdraw for his prayers at night (*ibid.* 201 213). In 1577 the earthen wall, which in Xavier's time began at the bulwark of Santiago, was replaced by a stone wall which stretched along the sea to the fortress. Eredia's plan of 1604 thus shows the hospital over the city wall. In the Malacca process of 1616 João Soares de Alvergaria testified that he was living in a house over the wall near the bulwark of Santiago, and that he held this house in high regard since it brought him good fortune. According to an old and definite

Since May the captain of the fortress, to whom he gave the governor's orders with respect to his journey to Macassar, had been the old Garcia de Sá.¹⁰⁸ Francis had known him in Goa, where he had met him when he arrived in India; and he had sailed back with him and M. A. de Sousa from Cow Island to Cochin after the failure of the expedition to the pagoda. Sá was well versed on conditions in the Malayan East since he had twice before been captain of Malacca, from 1519 to 1521 and from 1529 to 1533.¹⁰⁹ In 1520 he had driven the former Sultan Mahmūd from Pago.¹¹⁰ He had become thoroughly acquainted with the treacherous Achinese, and in 1529 he had had the *pendahara*,¹¹¹ Sanaya Diraja, executed by being thrown from the balcony of the tower for his attempt to turn the fortress over to them.¹¹² His term of office this time, however, was to last only until October, when the new captain would come. Sá turned the execution of the governor's orders with respect to the priest's voyage over to the *vedor*, Simão Botelho,¹¹³ whom Xavier had also come to know after his arrival in Goa as a friend of St. Paul's College.

tradition, it had been first inhabited by a great saint, the blessed Xavier, when he came from India to Malacca. He had always refused to sell it, and he was happy that he could live in it for it was a grace for him. Even though the city wall was at that place still high, those who fell from it incurred no danger and all ascribed this to the blessing of Xavier. Some seven or eight years before a negress had fallen from it without being injured. This was confirmed by a second witness who added that he had seen a boy and a woman fall unharmed, an incident that all ascribed at once to Xavier's blessing (Barradas 72).—Father Antonio Mendes, S.J., who had been born in Malacca and was forty years old this same year, declared in the Cochin process that he had heard from Father Paulo Gomes, S.J., that he had been present for Xavier's instructions in Malacca when the priest first came to that city. The people had come to the harbor and had shouted with great joy: "The holy father is coming!" The women with their children and the wet nurses with their infants also came joyfully to see and greet him. Xavier had called the children by their names and had asked them about the health of their parents. And he, Paul, and many others had regarded this as a miracle since it was only through a supernatural revelation that he could have known the names of so many children, for no one had told him their names nor had he seen them before (*ibid.* 64; MX II 483). We surmise that Gomes, who was from eight to ten years old at the time of Xavier's first arrival, confused the priest's second arrival from India in 1549 with his first (EX II 123; Valignano 121).

¹⁰⁸ On him see Vol. II, p. 361. He was captain of Malacca from May to October, 1545 (Correa IV 423 446; Couto 6, 1, 3; Q 1687).

¹⁰⁹ Castanheda 5, 13 and 66; 7, 99; 8, 63.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* 5, 35-36.

¹¹¹ The *bendahara* was the prime minister in Malacca (Dalgado I 115-116).

¹¹² Castanheda 7, 100-101. The *Sejarah Melayu* calls him Sang Naya (198-199).

¹¹³ On Simão Botelho de Andrade, see the biographical data in Lima Felner, pp. X-XXX; Sousa Viterbo, *O Tesouro* 2-17; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 269; Cacegas 4, 3, 4, 8, pp. 318-319; Couto 7, 1, 3; DI III 158-159; S. G. Perera, S.J., "Simão Botelho," *Ceylon Literary Register*, Third Series, 2 (1932) 97-100 167-169; F. X. Gomes Catão, "Um Vedor da Fazenda Religiosa Dominicano," *Boletim Eclesiástico de Goa* 18 (1959) 408-416. For the sources see Q, index; his signature is given in Q, pl. II 6; his coat of arms, which unites in its four fields the coats of arms of the Andrades (de Alvaro Pires), Gagos, and Botelhos, is noted in Q 4098. His *Tombo*, which was begun in Malacca in 1545 and completed in India in 1554, and four of his letters have been published (Botelho, *Cartas*).—He was regarded as the most experienced man in India (Q 4098), and in 1551 he had to accompany the viceroy Noronha as *vedor da fazenda* to Ceylon and there, much against his feelings, receive and register the money and valuables that had been extorted in Kōttē (his entries have been published by Sousa Viterbo, *O Tesouro*). He chose Xavier and, after him, the Jesuits Barzaeus and Baltasar Dias as his confessors, and wanted to enter the Society of Jesus when he was forty-five. But he was discouraged from this by his confessor because of his age. He then entered the Dominicans in Goa in 1554 and collected 30,000 *cruzados* for building their monastery. He was highly regarded by the viceroys Mascarenhas and Bragança. The latter made a solemn appearance at his

Botelho proved to be extremely helpful.¹¹⁴ He had been born in 1509,¹¹⁵ the son of Ruy Gago and Guiomar Botelho, the daughter of the customs judge of Lisbon.¹¹⁶ In 1532, when he was twenty-three, he had sailed to India,¹¹⁷ and he had there served his king as a loyal, incorruptible official in peace and a brave soldier in war. The thirst for gold, which seized so many of his colleagues after rounding the Cape of Good Hope, had not affected him.¹¹⁸ In 1541 he had sailed with Dom Estevão da Gama to the Red Sea and had on this occasion generously supported numerous *lascars* at his own expense in Massaua.¹¹⁹ At the beginning of 1542 the governor had sent him as factor to Ceylon, where his two predecessors had come into conflict with each other.¹²⁰ At the end of the rainy season, M. A. de Sousa had then sent him to Malacca with the authority of a *vedor da fazenda* in order to erect the customhouse there and to send back to Goa the bones of his brother João Rodrigues de Sousa, who had fallen with Dom Paulo da Gama in 1534 in the war against the Moors.¹²¹ The memory of the heroic battle near Pungor, south of Malacca, was still freshly recorded in the songs of the Malays, one of which began: "*Captain Dom Paulo, baparam de Pungor — Anga dia matu, sita pa tau dor.*" ("Captain Dom Paulo fought at Pungor — Instead of giving ground, he preferred to die.")¹²²

Rodrigues de Sousa had, however, died excommunicated. He had given a preacher a box on the ears. He had therefore been buried in unconsecrated ground in the "Cemetery of the Javanese" across the river, where the bodies of Javanese Mohammedans were buried; and his grave had lost its marker by the time his bones were dug up. As these were being solemnly carried to the ship accompanied by the chanting of the clergy, the captain at the time, Ruy Vaz Pereira, had said in a loud voice: "Sing as much as you want, my good priests; but what you are bearing are the bones of a brave Javanese." In Goa Martim Affonso had the remains placed with all due solemnity in the choir of the cathedral. The slab covering the tomb on the Gospel side of the choir bore an inscription stating that the pope granted numerous indulgences to all who recited an Our Father and Hail Mary for the repose of the soul of João Rodrigues de Sousa.¹²³

Botelho's other commission, the erection of a customhouse in Malacca, encountered greater difficulties. The Portuguese had adopted unchanged the earlier provisions of the kings of Malacca with respect to tolls. Ships coming from the West had to pay six percent of the value of their wares; those coming from the East, from Pegu, Indonesia, Farther India, and China, had to pay a tax known as the *bulibulião*.¹²⁴ The factor purchased a fourth of the wares at a

first Mass, and Botelho had to accompany him on his expedition to Jaffna in 1560. Botelho died as piously as he had lived in his monastery in Goa.

¹¹⁴ EX I 310.

¹¹⁵ In December, 1554, he was more than forty-five (SA V 380).

¹¹⁶ Sousa Viterbo, *O Tesouro* 8.

¹¹⁷ "Simão Botelho de Andrade, fidalgo do Mestre, filho de Ruy Gago" (*Emmen-ta* 333).

¹¹⁸ Lima Felner, pp. XXIX-XXX; Sousa Viterbo, *O Tesouro* 3.

¹¹⁹ Q 841.

¹²⁰ Correa IV 218.

¹²¹ Couto 4, 8, 11.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 281, where we replace *malu* with *matu*. Cardoso gives a better draft in modern idiom: "Capitan Dom Paulo berprang di Pungor. / Hendak dia mati, setia ta tahu undur" (*Boletim de Macau* 57 [1959] 257). But the pronunciation of Malay varied, as Mills has shown, from the writings of Eredia. In Kelantan-Malay, for example, final *t* and *p*, and final *ng* and *m*, are not distinguished (Mills 111).

¹²³ Couto 4, 8, 11.

¹²⁴ Dalgado I 157; SR VI 186.

discount by giving eight instead of ten units, and he paid for these with wares whose units were valued at twelve instead of ten. This had led to serious abuses on the part of the captains, factors, and other officials. It had also embittered the merchants and had frequently diverted them away from Malacca, Botelho now decreed, as he had been ordered by the governor, that all ships, no matter from where they came, should hereafter pay only six percent. Two percent more was added to this on all wares that had to be weighed, but all foodstuffs were duty free. The merchants and residents of Malacca had gladly accepted these new regulations, but they had been badly received by Captain Ruy Vaz Pereira, who was more affected by them than the other officials. He declared that the king had given him his captaincy as a reward for his many services and stubbornly refused to recognize the tax reform. When he was informed of this by Botelho, Martim Affonso sent an instruction to the *vedor* in 1544 stating that the residents and officials of Malacca should regard Pereira as being dismissed for the crime of treason if he persisted in his refusal, and that they were to obey Botelho as captain. The latter was also to seize the goods of the deposed and send him back as a prisoner to India. The governor further decreed that ships from Bengal should in the future pay an eight, instead of six percent, duty, and Portuguese ships coming from China ten percent. By this means he wanted to prevent too many Portuguese from sailing to China, who thus exempted themselves from the service of their king and the control of his officials. At the time there were more than two hundred Portuguese in these waters, and many in Patane and other cities, who were engaged in trade but never stopped in Malacca or paid taxes.

With this Pereira yielded to the demands of the governor. But he had become so upset that he fell ill and died that same year. Botelho had to take over his position until Garcia da Sá came as a temporary replacement. Still the custom-house brought the king 27,530 *cruzados* in 1542, 26,250 in 1543, and 23,600 in 1544. Besides this there was each year an additional revenue of more than 2,000 *cruzados* from the scales.¹²⁵

The chief concern of Father Francis, and the one which had brought him to Malacca, was his voyage to Macassar. From Botelho he learned that in the preceding January the latter had sent Vicente Viegas, one of the beneficiaries of the church and a very zealous man, there in a galleon. He had also sent with him many other Portuguese and all that was needed for the support of the new converts. Only in January, 1546, would there be a wind for sailing to Macassar again. In the meantime definite news would have arrived with respect to conditions on the island.¹²⁶

A third person whom Master Francis visited on his arrival in Malacca, was Affonso Martins, the *vigario* of the fortress. He had been born in Covilham¹²⁷ and was already in his late seventies.¹²⁸ He had aged prematurely because of his long stay in the tropics. In 1514 he had sailed to India with the position of vicar of Malacca and an annual income of thirty-four *milreis*¹²⁹ and three

¹²⁵ Botelho, *Tombo* 105-108; Correa IV 338-339; Castanheda 9, 31; Couto 5, 9, 3; cf. T. Pires 272-274; Q 1322 1327 1328.

¹²⁶ EX I 321 298; DI II 419-421; Sá III 247; Eredia 42-43.

¹²⁷ Seb. Gonçalves 3, 22.

¹²⁸ On November 22, 1540, Pero de Faria *wrote from Malacca that the *vigario* was around seventy (Q 612).

¹²⁹ SR I 245. In 1545 the *vigario* received thirty *milreis* as such, and four *milreis* as treasurer. He also received 900 *reis* a month for his upkeep, for a total of 44,800 *reis*

clerics, his brother and two others, who, as he expressed it, were no Latinists. When he arrived in Goa, the ships had already sailed for Malacca. His consequent, enforced delay of eight months enabled him, however, to see Goa, Cannanore, and Cochin. The impression which he got of Goa, where a Dominican held the office of vicar general and pastor,¹³⁰ was quite unfavorable. The parish church was not kept clean; the statues of the saints were full of cobwebs; the pastor and his four beneficiaries did not recite the Office in choir; and Martins had frequently seen the church full of newly converted natives who had come for instructions but who had been sent away by the vicar general since he was busy trafficking in jewels, rings, and other wares obtained from Moors and pagans. His clerics were no better, and they openly told him that their chief reason for coming to India was to take a great many *cruzados* back home with them. The vicar general added that he would be upset if during his three years of office he did not obtain 5,000 *cruzados* and numerous pearls and rubies.¹³¹ A short time before the three clerics in Cannanore had, at the express desire of the king, begun to recite the Office in choir.¹³² But this was not the situation in Cochin, where Martins found five clerics and a Franciscan as *vigario*. The church was still in a good condition, and the pastor himself undertook the instruction of the new converts.¹³³ Martins had written his impressions of Cochin to the king; and he had earnestly advised him to make a good choice of the clerics for India and to send only those of a good life and peaceful character, for he saw in the land "very disreputable and devilish priests," whose only concern was to obtain more *cruzados*. His admonitions had been ill received by his colleagues, especially since he had told them that he would write to the king about them. "They wanted to crucify me," he had written to his sovereign;¹³⁴ and in 1515, at the first opportunity for sailing, he had gone to Malacca to take up his parish duties. The vicar general, on the other hand, had informed the king that he should have sent a more learned man than the *vigario* for a place like Malacca since it was a new country with many different nations and peoples of subtle intelligence and difficult to convert.¹³⁵

After working for more than ten years in Malacca, Martins had sailed back to Portugal, and he had returned from there to India in 1528 with Nuno da Cunha, and to his parish in 1530; and in November, 1532, he had given an account to the king of his activities. He wrote that he was already feeling old and tired, but he recited the Office in choir with his beneficiaries as in a collegiate church. He complained that the officials paid him and his clerics poorly for their support, and that they allowed the hospital to deteriorate to such an extent that it did not even have the necessary medicines. The city already had forty Portuguese *casados*, among whom there were fourteen *cavalleiros* and men of the upper class who had served His Royal Highness well in all the fortresses of India and who should therefore receive favors from the king and some of the offices of the city. In addition to these there were nine native-born

per year. At the same time each of his three beneficiaries received an annual income of 18 *milreis* and a monthly salary of 700 *reis* (Botelho, *Tombo* 110).

¹³⁰ Frey Domingos de Sousa (SR I 244-253; SRH 289-290).

¹³¹ The spiritual and temporal offices in India usually lasted for three years (SRH 289-290).

¹³² The *vigario* was Affonso Velho (SR I 240-243; SRH 328 339-340).

¹³³ SRH 152; cf. 134-135.

¹³⁴ Schurhammer, "Carta inédita de Afonso Martins, primeiro vigário de Malaca," *Studia* 1 (1958) 111-117.

¹³⁵ SR I 251.

casados married in the Church and twenty-seven unmarried men. Besides these there were many who sought their livelihood outside the city and seventy-five Christian women who came for prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays. Many of the pagan Hindus had been converted and had become good Christians. He praised the women especially for their piety. Converts from Mohammedanism were less zealous, and most of these became Christians because of their needs. Most of the new converts were, however, male and female slaves. In order that these might be properly instructed, there should be a house for catechumens where candidates for baptism would be supported by the king during their period of instruction; and the funds for this could be taken from the money received from the resale of the slaves themselves. King Manuel had granted a monthly alms of eight *cruzados* for the poor of the city. The *vigario* distributed this every Friday, but since the arrival of Pedro Mascarenhas as captain in 1525, this sum had no longer been paid. Every Sunday a man had therefore to go from door to door to make a collection for them, but the contributions were small. The recently founded Misericordia was also making little progress. The people were very poor since they received very little in salary and support. There were forty-two Portuguese children between the ages of seven and fifteen who had lost their fathers. He had taught all, or at least most, of these the Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed, *Salve Regina*, and how to serve at Mass. At this time they each had their own catechism.¹³⁶ But the work was too much for him. The king would therefore have to appoint and maintain a teacher for them.¹³⁷

The requested teacher, however, did not come; the *vigario* was old and sick, and his two beneficiaries were more interested in trade than in the care of souls.¹³⁸ Master Francis informed the *vigario* of the reason for his coming and offered to help him in his care for souls. He told him that he would only use his faculties with his permission and would observe his every wish.¹³⁹ Martins was overjoyed by the priest's coming. He gave him a free hand for his apostolic labors and from the outset became his fast friend, for he relieved him of most of his accountability before the judgment seat of God.¹⁴⁰

Through the captain, Antonio Pereira, with whom he had come from Pulicat, Xavier won a further friend in the person of the wealthy merchant Diogo Pereira,¹⁴¹ who had been in Malacca for some time and was waiting for the mon-

¹³⁶ "Agora andam cada huom com sua cartilha de Callçadilha," Martins wrote (SR II 225). Meant is the *Cathecismo Pequeno* of the bishop of Ceuta, Diogo Ortiz de Vilhegas, from Calçadilla, which appeared in Lisbon in 1504 (Anselmo 160).

¹³⁷ The letter is published in SR II 218-229.

¹³⁸ DI III 532-533, I 378.

¹³⁹ This follows from Xavier's universal practice and especially from his instructions for Francisco Pérez, whom he sent to Malacca in 1548 (EX I 439-441).

¹⁴⁰ Cf. DI I 370.

¹⁴¹ Diogo Pereira, the great friend of Xavier, who was to play such an important role in his life, is not to be confused with his namesake, the lord of Vendurutti (see Vol. II, p. 486). On him see Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger" 214-217. In 1553 he received Xavier's body in Malacca. In 1554 he was in Goa. In 1555-1556 he wintered in China. In 1557 he was a witness in Goa and declared that he had been on familiar terms with the priest in Malacca when the latter came from Coromandel in order to sail on to Banda (MX II 261-264; Sá II 192-193 207 213 217-219 231). He was captain major in Macao from 1562 to 1570. In 1575 he signed as a juror in Goa the peace treaty with Adil Shāh. Married to Maria Toscana de Brito, he lived in Goa on the Rua da Carreira dos Cavallos not far from St. Paul's College (DI III 735). His son Francisco Toscano Pereira married Anna Tostada (MX II 490); his daughter married D. Pedro de Castro, the brother of the archbishop of Lisbon, D. Miguel de Castro (Couto 6, 7, 9, p. 128). Like most of the

soon to continue his voyage. His father, the *fidalgo* Tristão Pereira, had come to India in 1509, where he had served for twenty years as a captain of galleys and galleons.¹⁴² In 1529, while sailing from Cochin to Goa, he had fallen in a battle with the Malabar Moors.¹⁴³ He was survived by two sons whom his wife had borne to him, Diogo and Guilherme Pereira. They were married and living in Goa and were among the most prominent and wealthiest of its citizens.¹⁴⁴ In 1536 Diogo had gone with the *casados* of Goa to Bardez in order to drive out the Moorish captains of Asad Khān who had attacked it, and eighteen of these latter were slain. One of these, torn from his horse, had attempted to drag Diogo Pereira from his horse and had succeeded in tearing off his boot.¹⁴⁵ Diogo Pereira had his own ship and carried on trade with it as far as Malacca, Siam, and China.¹⁴⁶ He had such a respect for the "holy priest" that he always took off his hat when he talked with him, and on such occasions he felt as if he were in God's presence and being inspired to greater zeal.¹⁴⁷

4. THE HOLY PRIEST

The Portuguese presence in Malacca was slight: there were sixty to seventy *casados*¹⁴⁸ and around two hundred soldiers to garrison the fortress.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, the native suburb of Upeh on the other side of the river had a population of about twenty thousand, practically all of whom were pagans or Moors.¹⁵⁰ The city was as famous for its moral degradation¹⁵¹ as for being the great trading center of the East. Here one felt more like being in a Moham-medan or pagan land than in a Christian one.¹⁵² The small number of Christians practically disappeared among the masses of non-Christians, and the latter's moral standards had also infected the Portuguese.¹⁵³ The two reigning divinities in

old *casados* in Goa, Diogo Pereira was probably the son of a Portuguese father and an Indian mother. On him see Q, index.

¹⁴² EX I 412.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* and Correa III 335-336.

¹⁴⁴ "Pessoa muito honrada" (Q 2723), "Dom irmãos, homens muito ricos e abastados" (EX II 305).

¹⁴⁵ Castanheda 8, 137.

¹⁴⁶ His merchant caravel, when its captain fought against the Achinese in 1547, was the largest ship in the fleet that had been equipped in Malacca for this purpose (EX I 412; Couto 6, 5, 1). It was called the *Santa Cruz* (Seb. Gonçalves 4, 18; MX II 467-468; Barradas 59-60; Lucena 9, 17).

¹⁴⁷ In 1616 Amador Rebello, S.J., testified to this from written information received from Miguel de Lacerda, a doctor of theology, who had lived for many years in India and had there collected a great deal of material on Xavier from his companions and confreres (**Lisbon, RProcess* I 103-v).

¹⁴⁸ There were 38 Portuguese *casados* in 1525, 33 in 1528, 40 in 1532, 60 in 1537 (Macgregor 12; Q 208), 70 in 1579 (ARSI: *Goa* 31, 423v), 250 and 2,000 slaves who could bear arms in 1635 (Bocarro II 14).

¹⁴⁹ Malacca had a garrison of 350 men in 1525 (*Lembranças* 7), 450 in 1528 (TdT: CC 1-38-70), 500 in 1535 (Q 194); and in 1540 Pero de Faria, the captain of Malacca, wrote that he had to feed 200 men (Q 613). Gaetano, who came to Malacca in 1546, stated that there were 400 to 500 men there, but he was probably exaggerating (Ramusio 405). In 1579 there were again 200 (ARSI: *Goa* 31, 423v). In 1635 there were 240, 50 to 60 of whom served each year in the fleet (Bocarro II 6 and 24); cf. Macgregor 6 and 27.

¹⁵⁰ In 1551 there were more than 20,000, among whom were also some Christians (DI II 208).

¹⁵¹ DI III 530; Valignano 88-89.

¹⁵² DI V 310; Valignano 89.

¹⁵³ EX I 346; DI V 310.

Malacca were Mammon and lasciviousness.¹⁵⁴ Illicit usury and trade in wares forbidden by the Church or State were the usual thing, and in this the clergy gave a wretched example.¹⁵⁵ Male and female slaves of all colors were to be found everywhere. Many houses had more than a hundred of them,¹⁵⁶ and the dwellings of the Portuguese were often little different from those of the pagans or Moors. Even married men frequently had three or four female slaves as concubines in addition to their native-born wife, and many had half a dozen.¹⁵⁷ It was even known that one of the Portuguese had twenty-four of different races and had relations with them all.¹⁵⁸

The ignorance of the people was great. Preaching was neglected, and the teaching of Christian doctrine had lapsed completely into oblivion.¹⁵⁹ As in the fortresses of India, many of the New Christians who had come from Portugal lived again openly as Jews or Mohammedans.¹⁶⁰ Most of the Malayan wives of the *casados* retained their Mohammedan superstitions or their worship of pagan divinities¹⁶¹ along with their dress.¹⁶² Very rarely did they come to church on Sundays and feast days, and if they confessed and received Communion during Lent, this was more through fear of excommunication and ecclesiastical censures than from zeal for their soul's salvation. Those primarily responsible for this were their husbands, who gave a bad example and stayed away from Mass and sermons.¹⁶³ It thus frequently happened that many of these women and their sons and daughters who had grown up in such a milieu were Christians only in name and said that they were Portuguese in caste and not in religion.¹⁶⁴ Under such circumstances it was no small task to reanimate their faith and reestablish a Christian attitude and way of life, and the zealous priest had to be ready for much opposition.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁴ DI III 132; cf. II 130.

¹⁵⁵ Valignano 89; DI III 532-533, V 310. In 1548 Pérez wrote of Vicente Viegas, who was absent from Malacca in 1545, that he was regarded as the best, most chaste, and least greedy of the six priests then resident in Malacca (DI I 378).

¹⁵⁶ According to Baltasar Dias in 1564 (DI VI 318).

¹⁵⁷ DI I 255.

¹⁵⁸ According to Lancilotto in 1550 (DI II 130); he postdates the event: "se achou."

¹⁵⁹ DI III 531 365; EX I 346.

¹⁶⁰ EX I 346-347.

¹⁶¹ DI IV 310; EX I 408.

¹⁶² In the Cochín process in 1616, the Malay Joana de Mello, who had been born in Malacca and was over eighty years old at the time, declared that she had known Xavier from his five visits to Malacca and had been present in 1545, when she was around nine years old, at his instructions in Nossa Senhora do Monte, and that he had completely abolished the custom of girls of thirteen or fourteen going about the city in men's clothing without any shame (MX II 452). In the Malacca process of this same year, a witness stated that he had heard from different people who had known Xavier that he, in his concern also for the physical needs of others, had sailed from Malacca to Goa in order to obtain cloth materials and mantles for poor women so that they might go about in an honorable way, for mantles of this type had not been worn in Malacca (Barradas 72). In both instances there is a confusion of Xavier with his successor Baltasar Dias. Between 1556 and 1560, as superior of the residence in Malacca, he carried out a reform in women's clothing. He introduced the dress and mantle worn by women in Portugal to replace the earlier Mohammedan garb—wide, white trousers, and, over these, a kind of shirt reaching to the knees and more (DI V 310; Valignano 315).

¹⁶³ DI III 532.

¹⁶⁴ EX I 346; DI III 535.

¹⁶⁵ Valignano wrote that "when he first entered this impenetrable forest, he encountered numerous difficulties" (89). In describing Xavier's labors in Malacca, we must keep his five visits, in 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, and 1552, distinct from each other. For

Master Francis began with the sick in the royal and native hospitals. He offered Mass for,¹⁶⁶ and preached to, them; he visited them from bed to bed, learned about their condition, took care of their physical and spiritual needs, and was ready at any hour of the day or night to visit one who was ill, even if he was not in one of the hospitals, whenever he was called to do so.¹⁶⁷ He begged for the poor from door to door and cared for them as if he were their father.¹⁶⁸ The Misericordia was poor and had no chaplain. He therefore generously assumed this task and offered Mass once a week in its church.¹⁶⁹ He also visited the soldiers of the garrison. Because of his cheerful manner he was readily received by them. When he found them gambling and, because of their embarrassment, they wished to desist, he told them to keep on playing since they were soldiers and were not obliged to live like friars; and if God was not offended, it was better to gamble and to amuse themselves than to grouse about superiors and sin in other ways.¹⁷⁰ Through his affability he became all to all,¹⁷¹ and he frequently established peace between the soldiers and the citizens.¹⁷²

It was of greatest importance to teach those who were ignorant of their faith, especially the half-Portuguese children, mostly orphans, whose fathers had fallen in battle with the Moors or had perished at sea,¹⁷³ and the children of native Christians and their male and female slaves.¹⁷⁴ Every day Master Francis

his labors in 1545 we are dependent upon the following sources: (1) Xavier's own accounts (EX I 299 321-322 408), those of Pérez (DI I 365 367), Quadros (*ibid.* III 333-334), Frois (*ibid.* 530-531), and Jerónimo Fernandes (*ibid.* V 309-310); (2) Xavier's instructions for Pérez and Oliveira, whom he sent to Malacca in 1548 (EX I 439-441); (3) the account about their work "according to the directions of P. M. Francisco" (DI I 370-374; EX II 131-133); (4) Valignano 89-92; (5) the statements of witnesses who were with Xavier in Malacca in 1545 in MX II: Pires d'Araújo, who was living in Malacca (200); Sequeira, Xavier's roommate (212-213); Diogo Pereira, the merchant (261); Diogo d'Abreu, the secretary of the customs (282-283); Lopes d'Almeida (289-292); Bento Gomes (294-297); Soares de Figueiró, who accompanied Xavier to the sick (312-314); Antonio Pereira, captain of the Coromandel ship (415); Antonio Mendes (419-422) and João Fernandes d'Ilher (426-429); Eiró, Xavier's companion (379-381); Ruy Dias Pereira, Xavier's companion at his departure (385); the Malay Joanna de Mello (451-452) and the Chinese Lucia de Villanzam (454-455 513), both of whom attended Xavier's instructions; others who appealed to contemporaries: Diogo Pereira (215-216), Mendes Pinto (286), Paulo Gomes (482-483), and João Monteiro (507-508); and a number of unnamed witnesses in the Malacca process of 1616 (Barradas 71-72). See also the accounts of his confreres who according to Pérez followed Xavier's example in their labors in Malacca (DI III 132-133 315 530-532 536-537, V 309-310).

¹⁶⁶ According to his instruction, Pérez was to offer Mass once a week for the sick in the hospital (EX I 439; DI I 373).

¹⁶⁷ EX I 299 321; DI III 333; MX II 295 312-313.

¹⁶⁸ MX II 313 427.

¹⁶⁹ DI I 370 373.

¹⁷⁰ Valignano 89.

¹⁷¹ "Teve verdadeiramente aquillo de S. Paulo: 'Omnia omnibus factus sum': com os lascarins lascarim, e com todos todo," Quadros writes of Xavier (DI III 336); and Valignano: "como si fuera entre soldados un soldado, y un mercader entre mercaderes" (90).

¹⁷² EX I 322; DI I 365; MX II 283 420 427.

¹⁷³ Pérez brought 180 boys together in Malacca in 1548 (DI I 370); in 1556 there were 120, among whom were 100 full orphans, since many of their fathers had died in the siege of 1551 (*ibid.* III 532); but from the context, there were also slaves among the 180 who came for instructions.

¹⁷⁴ Xavier mentions *niños* (EX I 299), *muchachos* and recent converts (*ibid.* 322), sons and daughters of the Portuguese, male and female slaves of the same, and native Christians (*ibid.* 408). According to Pérez, Xavier devoted two hours and more each day to instructing the children, slaves, and wives of the Portuguese (DI I 365). Pérez himself gave daily instructions to the sons and daughters of the Portuguese, to the slaves, and to the native Christians (*ibid.* 371).

went with his little bell through the narrow streets of the city¹⁷⁵ and called them to instructions in the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte¹⁷⁶ or, when the crowd was too great, to the parish church.¹⁷⁷ And every day he taught them, as he had in Goa, singing¹⁷⁸ the truths of faith and the prayers of the catechism for an hour or more.¹⁷⁹

Paulo Gomes,¹⁸⁰ who was hardly ten years old at the time, had to help him in this, and after the sign of the cross, he had to repeat the priest's words in a loud voice before the rest. This went very well in Nossa Senhora do Monte; but once, when the instructions were given in the parish church and a large crowd of children and adults, both men and women, had assembled for it, the boy did not dare to go out in public but hid instead in the baptistery. As he had on other days, Xavier called out for the small boy to begin with the catechism. When he got no answer, he went straight to the chapel where Paulo was hiding, took him by the hand, and went with him to the choir and told him to begin. The young catechist was convinced for the rest of his life that heaven had revealed his hiding place to the priest.¹⁸¹

But Master Francis was not content with bare instructions. The boys whom he was teaching had to repeat what they had learned to the male and female slaves in their homes at night;¹⁸² and on their way to and from the church they had to sing, repeating the prayers and the truths of the catechism.¹⁸³ He further introduced the practice of erecting small altars at different places in the city about the time of the Angelus and of singing Christian doctrines before them so that passers-by, both pagans and Moors, could also become acquainted with these everlasting truths.¹⁸⁴ When it was dark, he went with his small bell and many of his youthful catechists through the streets and urged the people

¹⁷⁵ MX II 451 454; cf. DI III 333 537, V 309. In 1548 Brother Oliveira went at half past eleven on Sunday and feast-day mornings with a small bell through the entire city and at fixed points cried out: "Christians, send your sons and daughters, your male and female slaves, to the sermon on the faith!" On other days one of the boys went and did the same for the instructions in Christian doctrine (DI I 372).

¹⁷⁶ The daily instructions were "in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae" according to Joanna de Mello and Lucia de Villanzam (MX II 451 454). This was different from the parish church (*ibid.* 482-483). Pérez chose the church of the Misericordia for this in 1548 (EX II 131; DI I 371).

¹⁷⁷ MX II 482-483.

¹⁷⁸ Pérez gives a detailed account of the contents of his instructions. He followed exactly Xavier's small catechism and method (DI I 372-373).

¹⁷⁹ For an hour and more (EX I 299). According to his instruction they should last for an hour and a half (*ibid.* 439). Pérez employed an hour and a half or two upon them (DI I 371).

¹⁸⁰ Paulo Gomes was born in Malacca between 1535 and 1537. He entered the Society there in 1556 and wrote to his confreres in India from there in 1557 (*ibid.* III 684-689). In 1560 he came to Goa (*ibid.* IV 741). He was from 1561 to 1563 in Bassein, in Cochin in 1565, and then again in Bassein as prefect of the small boys (*ibid.* V 268 289 619 625, VI 628). In 1567 he was a teacher of the elementary class in Cochin and was ordained to the priesthood the same year in Goa. In 1569 he was parish priest in Rachol, from 1571 to 1576 on the Moluccas, and from 1577 to his death on May 22, 1610, in Malacca. The catalog of 1576 states that he knew the language of the country (Malay); the catalog of 1594 calls him an *indiano*, which probably means a mixed-blood (from the manuscript catalogs in ARSI: Goa 24).

¹⁸¹ From the testimony of Antonio Mendes, S.J., who had heard about the event many times from Gomes (MX II 482-483).

¹⁸² MX II 451; DI I 373; cf. III 133 536, V 309.

¹⁸³ DI III 531 536, VI 96 318 ("guardando aun en esto el costumbre en que primeramente los puso nuestro benedicto P. Mestre Francisco, que está en gloria").

¹⁸⁴ Valignano 91.

to think of their deceased brethren. He knelt down before the small altars and recited an Our Father and Hail Mary for those who had died,¹⁸⁵ and the children would come up and kiss his hand and ask him for his blessing.¹⁸⁶

Once a week Master Francis offered a Mass in Nossa Senhora do Monte for the confraternity there, and on this occasion he would instruct the native wives of the Portuguese, explaining to them the articles of faith and the commandments of God and of the Church.¹⁸⁷ On Sundays and feast days he celebrated Mass in the parish church. In the morning, after the Mass, he preached to the Portuguese, and in the afternoon to the free native Christians, to the male and female slaves, and to the daughters of the Portuguese.¹⁸⁸ In his morning sermons he spoke out strongly¹⁸⁹ against the immoral lives of so many, their usury, idolatry, lawsuits, sins of injustice, and their other vices. He described God's judgments to them in convincing terms, and he threatened them with the divine punishments that would come upon the city if they did not mend their ways.¹⁹⁰ He frequently complained about the obduracy of so many who closed their minds and hearts to the word of God.¹⁹¹ Though he himself was not satisfied with his preaching, the people were glad to hear him.¹⁹² Despite all their failings, the Portuguese were well disposed and religiously inclined,¹⁹³ and his efforts were not without effect. The number of those who came to confession was so great that Xavier could not satisfy them all, though he gave himself no rest by day or night.¹⁹⁴

Nevertheless the worst sinners, those who gave the most scandal by their way of life, did not come to confession. Francis sought to win their confidence. He invited himself, as a poor man of Christ, to dine with one and then another, as he had already done in Goa and São Thomé.¹⁹⁵ One day he did this with

¹⁸⁵ EX I 322; Valignano 91-92; cf. DI III 315.

¹⁸⁶ DI III 531.

¹⁸⁷ "On Thursday mornings he was accustomed to offer Mass for the married women and to preach to them," according to Pérez (DI I 365). In his instruction for Pérez, Xavier told him that he should preach every Saturday on the articles of the faith and the commandments of God and of the Church in the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte at the Mass of the Sodality of our Lady for the wives of the Portuguese (EX I 439 441). Pérez delivered this half-hour discourse on Thursdays after the Mass of the sodality (DI III 372; EX II 131).

¹⁸⁸ EX I 299 321; DI I 365; cf. EX I 439-441, II 131; DI I 371-372; MX II 295. In 1548 the brother called the people to the noon sermon at half past eleven with his little bell (DI I 372). In 1556 the people were summoned to this about one in the afternoon, and one of the boys used to help with the instructions by explaining in Malay what was said by the priest in Portuguese (*ibid.* III 533-534). Villanzam spoke of Xavier's instructions on Sundays in the parish church and in the Misericórdia (MX II 513).

¹⁸⁹ "Esta foy huma das terras em que com mais vehementia nosso bendito P. M. Francisco, que em gloria está, trabalhou por tirar de grandes honzenas, hidolatrias e carnalidades que nella avia," Frois wrote from Malacca in 1556 (DI III 530-531; cf. MX II 508).

¹⁹⁰ MX II 200 216 292 297 379; Valignano 91. In the siege and plague of 1551, the citizens saw the punishment of God which Xavier had announced to them in his sermons. In his instruction he advised Pérez that he should always treat of the sins of the people in general, and that he should therefore obtain information about them from reliable persons (EX I 441).

¹⁹¹ MX II 292 297.

¹⁹² EX I 299.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 277-278; Valignano 48 183.

¹⁹⁴ EX I 299 321-322; MX II 295.

¹⁹⁵ Abreu and Bento Gomes only state in general that Xavier experienced numerous trials in Malacca when he married many to their concubines and separated others from theirs (MX II 282-283 294-295). On the anecdotes referring to such labors, most of which are not identified as to time or place, and which repeatedly appear in different authors

a rich and prominent man who was living with a concubine. When the host and his guest had sat down to eat, the latter declared that he would not eat without the lady of the house. His host could do nothing but call her, and all three dined together. At the end of the meal the man and woman wished to rise, but they had first to listen to their guest. During the course of his conversation he persuaded his host to marry his partner, which he did at once.¹⁹⁶ Similar events were often the subject of later reports. Another rich merchant, for example, was also living in an illicit union with his slave. Francis learned of this and one day told the merchant on the street that he had been invited to dinner by everyone but him. The following Sunday, after his sermon, he would therefore dine at his house. And he did. Here, too, he contrived that the man's servant should dine with them. After the meal, Francis went for a walk with his host up the hill of the city to the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte.¹⁹⁷ He asked him how he could live with such an ugly person. The man followed his advice, dismissed his concubine, did penance, and from then on lived as a good Christian.¹⁹⁸ The old Diogo de Abreu, who had become acquainted with Xavier in 1545 in Malacca, later testified that he had married many of the men there to their slaves and had separated others from their concubines.¹⁹⁹

Among the erring sheep whom Xavier brought back to God was a certain Rodrigo de Sequeira,²⁰⁰ who had been a servant of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas,

with new variations or elaborations, see Vol. II, pp. 228-229. The two which follow quite probably occurred during Xavier's first stay in Malacca in 1545.

¹⁹⁶ According to the testimony of an unidentified individual in the Malacca process of 1616, who had heard about the incident from his mother and from many other old and trustworthy individuals who had in the meantime died. He further added that he had also heard of other incidents but no longer remembered the details (Barradas 71). It is probably the same incident mentioned by Valignano for 1545 (89-90).

¹⁹⁷ "Simul cum illis pransit et sub vesperum cum mercatore simul deambulatum ad sacellum usque, in qua conversatione illi exprobravit concubinationem habere cum muliere tam deformi illi persuadendo discessum ab ea." Since the context indicates an isolated chapel, Nossa Senhora do Monte is the only one in question.

¹⁹⁸ Fernão de Mendonça, a knight of Santiago, who was for ten years in India and returned twice from there, became acquainted there with Diogo Pereira. In 1615 he declared that he had heard this from reliable persons (*Lisbon, RProcess I 149v-150). Valignano gives an account identical with what we have given, but he adds to it. Francis told his companion that the Portuguese made sport of him and the ugly woman with whom he was living; he mentioned the numerous sins he was guilty of before God because of her; and he suggested that he marry a better looking slave and thus bring his life to order. If he so wished, he would find him a virtuous and beautiful orphan girl whom any king might marry. He would thus help himself and a poor orphan, as others had already done (90). Lucena took the anecdote from him (3, 12), and our witness, Mendonça, states that he had read Lucena.

¹⁹⁹ MX II 283. Diogo de Abreu, a squire of the queen, sailed in 1528 for India. He was with Xavier in 1545 and 1547 in Malacca, where he received his appointment as customs judge. He then married Oriana de Goes, a daughter of Gaspar de Goes, who had been *alcaide-mor*, factor, procurator of the deceased, and *vedor das obras* of the fortress, and had died in Diu in 1547. Through his marriage Abreu obtained these offices in 1550 for three years. In 1557 he was a witness at the Xavier process in Cochín, and in 1560 he was named treasurer of the customhouse in Malacca for six year (Lagôa I 126-128).

²⁰⁰ On Rodrigo de Sequeira, to whom we shall later return, see the sources: Q 1853 2170 2290 4367 4875 6101 6123 and pl. IX 4. See also his testimony at the Goa process in 1556 (MX II 212-213), the letter of Francisco Henriques about his return to Portugal in 1552 (*ibid.* 137-138), and that of Quadros in 1555 (DI III 333-334 337-338); Botelho, *Tombo* 169 192; his *process in Lisbon in 1553-1555 (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III: Perdões* 24, 225; 25, 244) and the *lists of those who wrote to the queen from India under Governor Barreto (1556-1558) (*ibid.* Col. S. Vicente IX 135).

the Portuguese ambassador who traveled with Xavier from Rome to Lisbon in 1540,²⁰¹ and also a valet of the king. In 1539 Sequeira had sailed to India and had served there in the fleet and had wintered in the frontier fortresses. In 1540 he had sailed with the patrol boats to the Red Sea and had then taken part in the war in Bassein. There, in 1541, he had helped to capture the two mountain fortresses of Karnāla and Sāṅkshī from the troops of the Nizām.²⁰² Then, as captain of a *fusta* of the Malabar coastal fleet, he had provided a table for many.²⁰³ During his military career, however, he had gained little honor for his Christian name. He had neglected his religious duties, had fought a duel with one of his comrades, and was now a fugitive in Malacca because of a murder he had committed. Master Francis heard of him, gave him a warm reception, found shelter for him in his cottage near the hospital, and brought him back to a good way of life. Sequeira, who had not received the sacraments for years, made a general confession to him, and upon the advice of his confessor decided to commend himself to God each day in prayer, to go to confession and receive Communion every eight days, and to give up his adventurous way of life. He also promised, after an initial resistance, to return to Portugal to avoid the occasions of sin;²⁰⁴ and the priest assured him of his intercession with the authorities in this regard.²⁰⁵

It was Master Francis' holy life more than anything else that gave him such power over the hearts of others. The Portuguese, even those who were not his particular friends, and even the pagans and Moors called him the "holy father."²⁰⁶ He lived on alms as a poor man of Christ²⁰⁷ and not like the priests who were greedily engaged in trade.²⁰⁸ His pure, angelic life inspired others with awe, for they were convinced that he had preserved his baptismal innocence.²⁰⁹ His radiant cheerfulness attracted the hearts of all,²¹⁰ even of the pagans and Moors; and slaves were happy when he came to visit their master, for he had a good word for each one, and they knew that he loved them.²¹¹ Martins, the *vigario*, told Diogo d'Abreu how the priest often forgot to eat and drink for two and three days because he was so busy hearing confessions and helping others.²¹²

²⁰¹ MX II 137; cf. Polanco II 784-785.

²⁰² On the capture of the two fortresses Sangaça (Sāṅkshī) and Carnalā (Karnāla, or Funnel Hill), whose basalt columns can be seen in the southeast from the harbor of Bombay, see Couto 5, 8, 3-6.

²⁰³ See the accounting of his services in the *letter of the governor Cabral in 1550 (Q 4367).

²⁰⁴ See MX II 137 212 and DI III 337-338 for his own account of his conversion.

²⁰⁵ "Ouve-lhe perdão das partes," Quadros wrote (DI III 338). He was being sued, but was innocent, as Mestre Diogo *wrote from Tanor on January 17, 1546, to the son of the governor, Dom Alvaro de Castro, with the request that he intervene with his father so that the trial might be soon ended (Q 1853).

²⁰⁶ MX II 422 425 427; DI I 367, III 531. Teixeira writes that this title was given to Xavier after the cure of the son of Fernandes de Ilher (862), but before the cure a woman had already suggested that the "Padre santo" be called in. Valignano states that pagans and Moors had even treated the boys who assisted Xavier with his instructions as little saints (92).

²⁰⁷ MX II 427.

²⁰⁸ DI I 378, III 532-533.

²⁰⁹ MX II 312 420 427.

²¹⁰ "Com o rosto muito alegre, e com a boca sempre cheia de riso" (*ibid.* 295; cf. 291; Valignano 89).

²¹¹ Valignano 90.

²¹² MX II 283.

And Lourenço Soares de Figueiró, who at the beginning accompanied the priest for a short time on his visits to the sick, later testified:

His life was more that of an angel than of a man, and words will never be found to describe it as it was. Padre Mestre Francisco endured the greatest difficulties and much displeasure in his service of God, for day and night he was busy with nothing but pious works and with visiting the sick in the hospital and in their homes. I know this because I went many times with him at night and during the day whenever he made such visits. He also consoled many by hearing their confessions; and the more work that he had, so much the greater was the zeal of the said Padre Mestre Francisco in the service of God our Lord so that this whole exterior life was spent in this. During the short time that remained to him he was much given to prayer and contemplation. And he gave numerous alms. All consequently treated him as their father and their only refuge. And with all these hardships and all the annoyance that he encountered in them, if he met with opposition in the service of God, he endured it all with great patience like a man who was filled, as he was, with all the graces of God.²¹³

Francis shared his room in the cottage near the hospital with João d'Eiró and Rodrigo de Sequeira. At night when he thought that they were asleep, he rose quietly and went to a palm-leaf hut near the cottage. Sequeira noticed this and was curious to learn what the priest was doing there. One night he slipped out after him and watched him through the chinks and fissures in the palm-leaf wall. In the hut was a small table with a crucifix made of Thomas wood and another wrapped in a thin cloth, and a breviary. Near the table was a bedframe with a web of coconut fibers, and on the floor was a dark stone the size of a large head but longer. The priest, dressed in his black, sleeveless, cotton cassock, knelt before the crucifix with his hands raised to heaven, praying and meditating. Sequeira watched him on numerous occasions, and he always found him praying until, overcome by sleep, he fell down. Two or three times he saw him sleeping on the bedframe, using the stone as a pillow; and there were other stones lying near the table; and in the morning he would rise before dawn to pray and celebrate Mass.²¹⁴ Two friends of the priest, Antonio Pereira and Diogo Pereira, also came a number of times at night to watch him in secret, and they always found him as Sequeira did kneeling before his crucifix deep in prayer and contemplation; and he passed the greatest portion of the night in this; and when he took his rest, he laid the stone upon the bedframe as a pillow and went to sleep. But he used very little of his time for repose at night.²¹⁵

One event further increased the reputation of the "holy father" in Malacca.²¹⁶

²¹³ The witness, whose name we were unable to discover in any other source, declared in Cochin in 1556 that he had been in Xavier's company for a short time when he, the witness, was staying in Malacca and along its entire coast. But he had not seen the priest work any miracles since he soon left him in order to gain his livelihood. He had consequently not been present for any (MX II 312-314). From this we conclude that he had accompanied Xavier before the cure of the son of Fernandes de Ilher and was no longer in Malacca at the time of his cure.

²¹⁴ MX II 213 201; DI III 333-334.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.* 201.

²¹⁶ For the cure of Antonio de Ilher, we have the accounts of three eyewitnesses in MX II: those of his father (427-428), of Antonio Mendes (420-421), and of João d'Eiró (380-381). We also have the brief data of Ventura (279-280) and Francisco Pérez in 1548 (DI I 367) and the accounts in Teixeira (916) and Seb. Gonçalves (3, 1). We have followed the three eyewitnesses.

João Fernandes de Ilher, a *cavalleiro* of the royal house and married to a Javanese woman, was one of the earliest and richest Portuguese residents in Malacca.²¹⁷ About the time that Xavier came from Pulicat, his son Antonio,²¹⁸ who was between fifteen and eighteen years old, was ill. His malady increased, and his physician despaired of saving his life. The native women who were experienced in the healing arts of their people had also vainly employed their remedies.²¹⁹ In her despair the lad's mother finally called in a woman named Nhiay²²⁰ Maluco, whose origins were in the Moluccas. She was reputed to be a skilled sorceress. Among the rites and remedies she tried was that of tying a silk cord on the left wrist of the patient. But instead of being cured, Antonio began to manifest signs of possession. His eyes and mouth were convulsively distorted.²²¹ He grimaced and spit at the pictures and statues of the saints that were shown to him. He lost his speech, became unconscious, and lay for three days on his bed as if he were dead. When a native woman entered the house by chance, she asked: "What are you doing?" She then said: "Have the holy priest called and your son will be cured at once!" The lad's father, who had a high regard for Xavier, sent one of his friends who was present, Antonio Mendes, the brother of Alvaro Mendes and of Fernão Mendes Pinto,²²² to get him.

When Master Francis arrived, he asked how long the lad had been ill; and he was greatly surprised that he had not been called sooner. Up to this time the young man had been lying motionless upon his bed; but when the priest passed through the door, he became restless, twisted his face in ugly grimaces, and acted so wildly that Mendes had to take him in his arms and hold him fast.

Master Francis knelt down and prayed from a book for some two hours. He then had a stole, missal, crucifix, and holy water brought. The sick lad turned his face away from the crucifix. He later spit at it and made all kinds of faces and loud cries and could hardly be held down. Though the others who were present became terrified, the priest remained calm and told them not to worry. With the grace of God all would turn out well. But when he pronounced the name "Jesus" as he read the Passion, the lad became so wild that he could scarcely be restrained, and he spit at the crucifix and twisted his face.

At the end of the Passion, Master Francis recited the prayer of exorcism with the appropriate ceremonies. He sprinkled the lad with holy water, took

²¹⁷ Couto writes that when the sultan sailed from Bintang in 1551 to recapture Malacca, he sent the son of his admiral ahead to spy out the city under the guise of an ambassador. When he asked for permission to land, the captain of the fortress summoned the *casados* and the leading men of the city for a consultation. Antonio Fernandes de Ilher, the *mais antigo* and wealthiest citizen, warned them of the treachery of the sultan (6, 9, 5, p. 255). Couto here obviously confuses the son with his father, João Fernandes de Ilher.

²¹⁸ Seb. Gonçalves states that Antonio lived for many years after his cure. Among the *casados* of Malacca who assisted the sultan of Johore against the Achinese in 1582 was Antonio Fernandes d'Ilher, the captain of a ship (Couto 10, 3, 3, pp. 284-285). In 1590 he loaded the royal ship with pepper, and he also wrote to the king that after the destruction of Johore by the Portuguese in 1587 (*ibid.* 10, 9, 6-12) the same amount of pepper came to Malacca, and that if the Chinceos were prevented from seeking it in Sunda, Patane, Pahang, Djambi, Indragiri and elsewhere, it would come in huge amounts to the fortress of Malacca (APO III 297-298).

²¹⁹ On the medicines and charms of the Malays, see Eredia 37-38v; Mills 172-175.

²²⁰ Nhiay, similar to "Madam" (Dalgado II 106).

²²¹ "Com ter os olhos he boca fora dos lugares naturaes" (MX II 279).

²²² EX II 304-305.

his reliquary from his neck, and hung it upon him. The young man became tranquil and lay still as death upon his bed. It was Saturday night, and the priest said that all should now go and let the patient sleep. If he woke up during the night, they should give him some almond broth, and they should promise a novena to the most Blessed Virgin.²²³ He also told his father that he should not be concerned, for it was nothing. On the following morning he would offer a Mass in honor of the Mother of God, and he was sure that Antonio would thereupon regain his speech and become well. When morning dawned, Master Francis said that he would now go to offer a Mass in Nossa Senhora do Monte and that the sick lad would be healed.

His words came true. As Francis was reading the Gospel of the Mass²²⁴ and Antonio was being watched by his father and Mendes, the *physicus* who had taken care of him came and took his hand. When he squeezed it, the lad regained his speech and said: "Ay! Ay!" His father then said to the physician: "It was not you who made him say those 'Ays.'" As the Mass was coming to its close, the patient was already speaking well and could take some nourishment. After a few days he was fully recovered. All ascribed his cure to the intercession of Padre Mestre Francisco and regarded it as a great miracle. Nhiay Maluco, on the other hand, the devil's servant, was publicly displayed a few days later at the door of the parish church for her magical practices as a fearful example.

The miracle made a great impression in the city. Many of the pagans had themselves baptized, and a rich Jewess with her three children, two daughters and a son, each of whom expected an inheritance of 1,500 ducats, became Christians.²²⁵

5. THE BANDA SHIP (END OF OCTOBER, 1545)

Despite all his many apostolic labors, Master Francis did not lose sight of the goal of his voyage. From Portuguese who had been in Macassar, he obtained information about the land. It was very far from Goa—more than a thousand leagues. From the reports of those who came from there, the Macassarese were well disposed towards Christianity, and the islands promised to yield an abundant harvest, for their inhabitants had no idolatrous temples or priests to keep them pagans. They prayed to the sun when they saw it, and this was the extent of their paganism. The people were constantly at war with each other. Since Malay was understood on the islands, Master Francis spent all the time left over from his apostolic labors in studying this language.²²⁶ Although it was easier than Tamil, a difficult language with sounds so foreign to European ears,²²⁷ it

²²³ Seb. Gonçalves makes of this: They should promise to bring the son for nine days to Nossa Senhora do Outeiro (3, 1).

²²⁴ The patient regained his speech either at the beginning of the Introit, according to Eiró (MX II 381), or at the Gospel, according to Mendes (*ibid.* 421); the father believed that it was at the middle of the Mass (*ibid.* 428).

²²⁵ "Y neste tiempo se convirtió a nuestra ffee católica, afuera otras muchas gemtes de la tierra, una judía con dos hijas y un hyjo ricos," Pérez wrote in 1548 (DI I 367). In one of the extracts *india* is given for *judía* (*Selectae Indiarum Epistolae* 68).

²²⁶ EX I 298-299.

²²⁷ Castanheda 2, 112. In 1593 L. Masonio *wrote from Amboina that Malay was an easy language. It could be learned on the way there. His fellow worker *Luis Fernandes noted that the language was very easy and that it could be learned in a short time (ARSI: Goa 14, 25 28v).

cost him a great deal of effort. He had no written or printed works to assist him in learning it,²²⁸ and it was written by the Mohammedans in Arabic characters.²²⁹ His main work in Malacca thus consisted in laboriously translating into Malay, with the help of various individuals who knew the language, the Creed and an explanation of its separate articles, the Commandments, and the Our Father, Hail Mary, *Salve Regina*, and other prayers so that the new converts in Macassar could recite them every day. He also translated the *Confiteor* so that they could daily confess their sins to God until the time came when He would send them priests who understood their language.²³⁰

Master Francis was busy with these labors when at the end of October, a month after his arrival, the Banda ship anchored off Malacca.²³¹ It had sailed from Goa at the beginning of September²³² and it had brought with it the new captain of the fortress, Simão de Mello,²³³ to whom Garcia de Sá immediately surrendered his command. The new captain was now getting old. In 1537 he had already served for twenty-six years²³⁴ when he received as a reward for his labors a title to the captaincy of Malacca for three years, after that of Pero Lopes de Sousa, with an annual income of six hundred *milreis*.²³⁵ Simão de Mello was a posthumous son of Pedro de Magalhães. As a *fidalgo* of the royal house he had sailed to India in 1524 with his uncle Lopo Vaz de Sampayo,²³⁶ and he had supported his uncle in 1526 when the latter defeated Pedro de Mascarenhas in the contest for the governorship of India and held it until 1529. During these years he had fought against the Moors as the captain of a ship of the Malabar coastal fleet. He had also held for some time the captaincy of Cannanore and had undertaken a raid on the Maldive Islands.²³⁷ At the beginning of 1530, after the Portuguese court had decided in favor of Mascarenhas in the dispute over the governorship and had ordered his uncle to be arrested and brought back to Portugal,²³⁸ where he died four years later,²³⁹ Mello had also returned to his homeland. In 1532 and 1534 he had there purchased two properties that

²²⁸ EX I 299.

²²⁹ *Ibid.* 333.

²³⁰ *Ibid.* 292 299 333.

²³¹ Couto 6, 1, 13.

²³² The three Jesuits Lancilotto, Criminali, and Beira arrived in Goa on September 2, 1545 (DI I 12 24 27-28 39 58). "In the same week" the ships sailed for Malacca (*ibid.* 135, against Couto 6, 1, 1; cf. Schurhammer, "Criminali" 264-265). The voyage from Goa to Malacca usually lasted for a month (Schütte, *Valignano* I 1, 176).

²³³ Correa IV 446; Couto 6, 1, 3. *Andrade Leitão XIII 893 gives Mello's family tree. Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XI 717 904, pl. 19, gives that of the Eça Sousa. Four *letters (Q 1523 1687 2492 3502) and three *documents for knightings are extant (Q 3463 3475 3576). His coat of arms on his seal has the six balls of the Mellos (Q 1523). At the end of his term of office (1545-1548), he returned to Lisbon, where we encounter him in 1554 as a royal councilor (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Privilegios* 3, 192v) and in 1557 as one of the three Lisbon jurors (Queiroz Velloso, *D. Sebastião* [Lisboa, 1935] 19). He died there at the end of 1570 or in January, 1571 (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 63, 108v). His wife bore him seven children. He was buried in the Chagas chapel, which he had endowed, in the church of the Trindade in Lisbon (*Andrade Leitão XIII 893), which was destroyed in the earthquake of 1755.

²³⁴ Q 1523.

²³⁵ TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 24, 6v.

²³⁶ We assume this from the fact that we later find him with his uncle in India.

²³⁷ Correa III 19 104 207 228 284; Castanheda 7, 30-31 34 36 48 52 89-92; Barros 4, 2, 3-4 and 12-14; Couto 4, 2, 6; 4, 4, 1 and 3-5.

²³⁸ Correa III 339-342.

²³⁹ He founded the chapel of the Three Kings in the church of the Trindade in Lisbon (Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XI 657-658).

would provide him with an income.²⁴⁰ In 1535, as the captain of a caravel, he had taken part in the Tunisian expedition of the emperor Charles V.²⁴¹ In 1537 he had received the right to the captaincy of Malacca, and the following year he had purchased a third source of income.²⁴² In April, 1541, he had married Maria de Eça, the daughter of Dom Garcia de Eça, the *alcaide-mor* of Muge.²⁴³ Three years later, when he sailed for India as captain of the *Graça*²⁴⁴ in order to take over his captaincy of Malacca, he had left her behind in Lisbon. At the time of his departure his mother, Isabel de Sousa, had made over her revenues of two thousand crowns to him.²⁴⁵ The fleet of 1544 had not set sail until April 19,²⁴⁶ which was too late. The *Graça*, like the other four vessels, was pursued by misfortune. Detained for an unusually long time off the coast of Guinea, Mello could not round the Cape of Good Hope until August 18. He had therefore been compelled to sail along the eastern side of St. Lawrence Island and was driven north by the winds to the coast of Mogadishu. He wished to sail south from there to Melinde in order to recruit Mohammedan sailors who could manage the ship and then winter in Mozambique. Seventy-six men had already died on the *Graça* and, with the exception of twenty who could still get around, the others were all ill. But shortly before he reached Melinde, his ship ran onto a reef and sank, though the people on board and the majority of the wares were saved. Mello was consequently not able to reach Goa in a *fusta* until May 4, 1545. There he learned that Ruy Vaz Pereira, the captain of Malacca, had died in 1544 and that Pero Lopes de Sousa, the brother of M.A. de Sousa, had disappeared on his return voyage to Portugal. Since all attempts to trace him had been fruitless, he could enter his office without further delay. But he had not been able to sail for Malacca until the rainy season had passed and the new governor, Dom João de Castro, had arrived.²⁴⁷ When he finally did sail, it was with Diogo Soares de Mello, who had been appointed captain of Patane by M.A. de Sousa with orders to force the ships coming from China to sail on to Malacca to pay the prescribed toll. In the Bay of Bengal, however, a storm had separated the two ships. Only Mello's reached the harbor. No one knew what had happened to Diogo Soares.²⁴⁸

The new governor had reached Goa on September 1, 1545, and the following day, the second ship of his fleet, the *São Matheus* had also arrived, bringing with it three members of the Society of Jesus, two Italians, Nicolao Lancilotto and Antonio Criminali, and a Galician, Juan de Beira.²⁴⁹ The captain of the Banda ship gave Xavier the letters which they had written to him from Goa and those which they had brought with them from their confreres in Rome and

²⁴⁰ TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 16, 10v 110; 19, 248.

²⁴¹ Sousa, *Annaes* 391 394.

²⁴² TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 49, 394.

²⁴³ *Ibid.* 34, 14v. A passage in the *chancellery books of May 8, 1538, refers to a Simão de Mello, resident in Lisbon, who slew Manuel Garcia because of adultery with his wife and accused his wife of adultery with Jorge Vaz (*ibid.* 44, 58). Since he is not here mentioned as a *fidalg*o of the royal house, it may well be that this refers to a namesake.

²⁴⁴ *Emmenta* 425; Correa IV 428; Q 1821.

²⁴⁵ TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 5, 13v; 14, 204.

²⁴⁶ Figueiredo Falcão 160.

²⁴⁷ The main source for the voyage is Mello's letter of September 8, 1545 (Q 1523); cf. Correa IV 428-429. The shipwreck occurred in Bahia Formosa, north of Melinde (Q 1821), not in Mozambique, as Couto maintains (5, 10, 6; 6, 11, 6).

²⁴⁸ Couto 6, 1, 1; 6, 3, 16-17.

²⁴⁹ Correa IV 432; Schurhammer, "Criminali" 264.

Portugal.²⁵⁰ Xavier had received no news from Ignatius since his letter of January 13, 1542, which he had received in Goa in November, 1543. His happiness was thus enhanced by a letter from his beloved master which he found among those which he received in Malacca.

Ignatius had written a letter which described what had happened up to March, 1543;²⁵¹ and four months later he had written a second, more detailed letter, dated July 24, but with a postscript of January 30, 1544. The ship in which his two confreres set sail for India with the letters had, however, been compelled to return. They thus could not bring them to Goa until the following year, 1545. Other letters brought him news of what had occurred down to the beginning of 1545. In his last letter of January, 1542, Ignatius had described in detail the solemn baptism of a Jew whom he had converted in the chapel of Santa Maria della Strada.²⁵² In the meantime his apostolate among the Jews in Rome had been making progress.²⁵³ On March 21, 1542, Paul III had issued a brief enabling Jewish converts to maintain their property after their entrance into the Church.²⁵⁴ Further conversions had followed, and when Laynez went to Venice in September, the Madama²⁵⁵ had chosen Ignatius in his place as confessor for her house; and she had become the protectress of his work among the Jews. And in February, 1543, the pope had founded two catechumenates for Jewish converts.

After this work had been thus firmly established, Ignatius had turned to another.²⁵⁶ Although there was already in Rome a monastery with more than eighty residents for repentant women,²⁵⁷ there was no refuge for those who wished to change their ways but had been married, or wished to become married, or could not as yet decide to bind themselves forever by vows to life in a convent. In February, 1543, Ignatius therefore obtained a bull for the founding of a confraternity of prelates, Roman nobility, and other prominent persons for the support of such an institution.²⁵⁸ In July of this same year a house for fallen women was founded.²⁵⁹ It began with nine residents and in January, 1544, it already had sixteen. Ignatius was consequently now thinking of undertaking a further work.²⁶⁰

When he wrote his letter, July 24, 1543, a brother of Master Salmerón was making the Exercises²⁶¹ and Francisco Zapata, who had joined the order in Rome,²⁶² like Codacio and Doménech, were constantly busy with confessions and preaching. Three months earlier Salmerón had been sent to Modena,²⁶³ Broët

²⁵⁰ EX I 300-301 327, II 546; DI I 137.

²⁵¹ MI *Epp.* I 267. The letter is lost; we have reconstructed its contents from references in the second letter.

²⁵² *Ibid.* 267-271. We give the main contents.

²⁵³ On the mission to the Jews, see Tacchi Venturi II 2, 149-160.

²⁵⁴ The brief *Cupientes Judaeos*.

²⁵⁵ Margaret of Austria.

²⁵⁶ On Ignatius' efforts for fallen women, see Tacchi Venturi II 2, 160-174.

²⁵⁷ Santa Maria Maddalena, founded in 1520.

²⁵⁸ The confraternity Della Grazia.

²⁵⁹ Santa Marta.

²⁶⁰ Santa Caterina de' Funari for endangered girls (*Vergini Miserabili*); cf. Tacchi Venturi II 2, 183-188.

²⁶¹ Diego Salmerón.

²⁶² MI *Epp.* I 252.

²⁶³ April (*ibid.* 259).

to Foligno, and Araoz to the environs of Naples;²⁶⁴ and there were good reports about all the rest of the companions.²⁶⁵

Broët wrote to Xavier from Faenza in northern Italy in November, 1544,²⁶⁶ that at the request of Cardinal Marcello Cervini he had worked until May in Montepulciano. Then, at the request of Cardinal Carpi, he had reformed a convent of nuns in Reggio in Lombardy, where he had been deathly ill for three months and had been given up by his physician. He had hardly regained his health when, at the request of the same cardinal, he had gone to Faenza in October. This city had become infected with Lutheranism through the sermons of certain individuals, especially those of Fra Bernardino Ochino.²⁶⁷ Salmerón had returned from Modena to Rome where he preached on Sundays and feast days.²⁶⁸ Laynez had delivered the Lenten sermons in the cathedral of Brescia; and through his preaching and lectures on Scripture, he had strengthened the wavering citizens in their faith. The books of heretics had been burned, and more than a thousand of his hearers had declared that they were ready to die for the faith of their fathers. Ignatius had recalled him from Brescia to Padua, where, as superior, he had the direction of the recently founded community of the order. He had also been engaged in other labors with great success.²⁶⁹ Jay and Bobadilla were still staying in Germany to help the Church threatened there by heretical teachings.²⁷⁰

Xavier also received a letter from Favre which had been sent from Evora in February, 1545.²⁷¹ In January and May of the previous year he had written two long letters to him from Cologne; but the first had been brought back by his confreres when their ship was forced to return, and the second had arrived too late for the fleet of 1544.²⁷² In July, 1541, Favre had traveled with Dr. Ortiz from Regensburg to Spain, where he was warmly received wherever he went.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 254-256.

²⁶⁵ This much is from the letter of January 30, 1544, with its postscript. The same events are also discussed in the circular letter of the secretary, Doménech, from the beginning of 1544 (*ibid.* 285-291), and the compilation of 1543 and 1544, probably made in Alcalá from Roman letters (*ibid.* 248-253). A letter of Doménech relating further events—the bull of March, 1544, which raised the limit of the professed to sixty, the entrance of G. Postel, the transfer to the new professed house built by Codacio in September, and his appointment as secretary—does not seem to have reached the fleet sailing in 1545, for Araoz wrote from Evora on February 9, 1545, to Ignatius: "Para Maestre Francisco scribimos. Sy nuestro charissimo Maestre Hieronimo [Doménech] ubiera scripto algo más presto (por no dezir con más diligencia), pudieran yr agora las letras." But Ignatius had sent Araoz a blank sheet of paper with his signature so that he could fill it out in his name, and Araoz sent this to Xavier with his own letter from Evora in February, 1545 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 197-198).

²⁶⁶ In his letter to Xavier, which he sent from Faenza on March 1, 1545 (too late for the India fleet), Broët states that he had not written to him for four months (*Ep. Broëti* 548-549). Ignatius also wrote to Xavier in March and July, and Favre in January and May, 1544. Favre's two letters are still extant. Though they did not reach Xavier, they indicate in what detail his companions wrote to him.

²⁶⁷ Cf. *Ep. Broëti* 32-35.

²⁶⁸ *MI Epp.* I 290; Polanco I 149.

²⁶⁹ *Lainii Mon.* I 33-40.

²⁷⁰ Polanco I 132-136.

²⁷¹ On March 12, 1546, Favre wrote to Gerhard Hammont (Kalckbrenner), the prior of the Cologne charterhouse: "Magister Franciscus, qui est apud Indos, anno superiore de hac re [the favors received from the prior] literas ex me habuit et admonitionem, ut tui ac istius conventus memoriam faciat semper" (*Fabri Mon.* 413). The letter, sent with that of Araoz in February, 1545, is lost since Xavier was accustomed only to preserve official documents when he was traveling.

²⁷² *Ibid.* 232-236 262-265; EX II 540-541, nn. 11 and 14.

At the beginning of 1542, he had returned to Germany at the bidding of the pope, and through private conversations, the Exercises, and lectures on the Scriptures in Speyer and Mainz, he had strengthened the bishop, clergy, and people in their old faith. In Mainz, through the Spiritual Exercises, he had also won over a valuable assistant in the person of Peter Canisius. Then, at the earnest request of the Catholics, especially of the prior of the charterhouse, he had come to Cologne in August, 1543, where the faith was imperiled. As the representative of the Catholic citizens of the emperor in Bonn, he had obtained strict orders with respect to the apostate archbishop Hermann von Wied, who the year before had invited Bucer, an apostate Dominican, from Strasbourg in order that he might introduce the new faith into his archdiocese. The immediate danger had been averted when, at the end of September, Favre received an order from Ignatius to go to Portugal to accompany Princess Maria of Lisbon, who was betrothed to Prince Felipe, to Castile and thus obtain an entrance for the Society of Jesus into that land.²⁷³ On the way, however, he was detained by a severe illness in Louvain. There, through his preaching and the fiery sermons of Strada, nine candidates were won for the order. At the insistence of the nuncio Poggio the pope called him back to Cologne in January, 1544, where, through his Latin sermons and Exercises, he strengthened the clergy, students, and citizens in their battle with the Reformers and, through his letters to the imperial court, kept the city in the old faith. In May the religious community which he had founded there already had eighty members. Its principal benefactor was the prior of the Cologne charterhouse, who, along with a number of pious ladies, paid for their support. In this same month he also obtained from the prior of the Grand Chartreuse near Grenoble a document through which the latter, in the name of his whole order, granted to the members of the Society of Jesus a share in all the merits and good works of the Carthusians. When he was again sent by Ignatius to Portugal in the middle of July, Favre took leave of his Cologne friends and went to the royal court in Evora. From there, in February, 1545, he warmly recommended the Cologne prior to Xavier in his letter to him.²⁷⁴

At the beginning of 1544 Strada had left Favre in Louvain²⁷⁵ and had sailed with eleven of his confreres from Antwerp to Portugal. After landing in La Coruña, he had gained another companion, Juan de Beira, a parish priest and canon,²⁷⁶ who had traveled overland with them to Coimbra. They had entered the university city in the middle of February, 1544,²⁷⁷ and had there found forty-five confreres in the college of the Society of Jesus.²⁷⁸ Araoz, who came to Coimbra at the beginning of April,²⁷⁹ was able to report on the remarkable success of the Lenten sermons which Strada had given there immediately after his arrival.

Xavier also received a letter from Araoz which, like Favre's, had been written in Evora in February, 1545.²⁸⁰ At the end of 1543 he had been sent with six

²⁷³ *Ep. Broëti* 529-531; Polanco I 119; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 375-378.

²⁷⁴ Cf. Favre's correspondence of 1541-1545, his *Memoriale* (*Fabri Mon.* 499-680), Polanco I 93 96 101 114-117 119-120 136-139, and Duhr I 6-15.

²⁷⁵ *Fabri Mon.* 234-235.

²⁷⁶ *Ep. Mixtae* I 195; Franco, *Imagem Coimbra* II 381.

²⁷⁷ Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 323.

²⁷⁸ *Ep. Mixtae* I 157.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 162.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 197-198.

companions from Rome to Portugal and had visited Barcelona, Gandía, and Valencia on the way. In Almeirim, the royal winter residence, where there was a community of the Society with eight members near the palace, the king and Rodrigues had received him with great affection. When the court moved from there to Evora at the end of May, Araoz had accompanied it. He had also visited Dom Pedro Mascarenhas in Palma on the way.²⁸¹ Favre had also done the same. At the beginning of December, 1544, he had traveled to Coimbra, and at the end of January he had returned from there to Evora.²⁸² Araoz found in Frey João Soares, the confessor and preacher of the king, and in the count of Castanheira true friends of the Society. He could not praise enough the spirit of piety that prevailed at court and the shining example that the royal family gave to the whole country.²⁸³

Rodrigues, who also wrote to Xavier,²⁸⁴ was held in the highest regard by the king, who did not want him to leave his side.²⁸⁵ Strada had been ordained in April. His arrival and the presence of Araoz and Favre contributed much to making the Society of Jesus known in Coimbra. The college, which was located on a healthy site in the upper city already had more than sixty students from the most prominent families of the land; and their number, even if a careful selection of candidates were made, could be easily brought to a hundred. There was thus no further need to send students of the order to Portugal from outside the country.²⁸⁶ Two communities had already been founded in Spain from Coimbra: one in Alcalá, where Villanueva had gone to study in 1543 because of his poor health²⁸⁷ and had been joined by two companions in 1544;²⁸⁸ and another in Valencia, where Mirón and Rojas had been sent with two others in May, 1544.²⁸⁹ This brought the houses of the Society to nine: in Rome, Paris, Lisbon, Padua, Coimbra, Louvain, Cologne, Alcalá, and Valencia.²⁹⁰

The letters from Europe filled Xavier's heart with joy. He read them over and over and felt as if he were again in the midst of his beloved companions.²⁹¹ He cut the signatures from their letters and wore them with the formula of his vows and the relic of the apostle Thomas in the locket which he carried about his neck as a constant reminder of his distant friends.²⁹²

Along with the letters from Europe, Xavier received others from his confreres in Goa.²⁹³

Father Nicolao Lancilotto,²⁹⁴ a native of Urbino²⁹⁵ in Italy, had entered the Society in Rome in 1541.²⁹⁶ In April, 1542, he had been sent from there together

²⁸¹ *Ibid.* 148-152 155-156 158-171; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 380-383.

²⁸² *Ep. Mixtae* I 193; *Fabri Mon.* 297-300; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 385-388.

²⁸³ *Ep. Mixtae* I 194.

²⁸⁴ Araoz, who was staying at the court with Favre and Rodrigues, wrote from Evora in February, 1545: "We are writing to Maestre Francisco," probably meaning by this his two companions as well. Since Rodrigues also wrote, we regard this as certain.

²⁸⁵ *Ep. Mixtae* I 164-165 167 195-199; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 2, 15.

²⁸⁶ *Fabri Mon.* 298; *Ep. Mixtae* I 167 174-175.

²⁸⁷ *Astrain* I 262.

²⁸⁸ *Polanco* I 147.

²⁸⁹ *Ep. Mixtae* I 174-182; *Polanco* I 141-142; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 400-401.

²⁹⁰ *Polanco* I 147.

²⁹¹ *EX* I 300.

²⁹² *Ibid.* 330; cf. II 577-578.

²⁹³ *Ibid.* I 300-301; *DI* 19 135.

²⁹⁴ This is the way he always writes his name.

²⁹⁵ Valignano 92.

²⁹⁶ His *vow formula is dated Rome, February 22, 1542 (*ARSI: Ital.* 58, 277).

with his countryman Criminali to complete his studies in Coimbra.²⁹⁷ In his clear, regular, tall and narrow hand, which leaned slightly towards the right,²⁹⁸ he wrote in a not always classical Latin interspersed with Portuguese and Italian that Rodrigues had sent him to India to teach Latin to the pupils in St. Paul's College in Goa.²⁹⁹ And, as usual, he signed his letter: "Indignus servus Nicolaus Lancilottus," underlining his name with a stroke that started from the base of the protracted *i* of his signature. He was thus the teacher of grammar whom Master Francis had asked of Ignatius in 1542.³⁰⁰

The similar, but simpler, writing of Lancilotto's companion, Father Antonio Criminali, though not so high, steep, and narrow as that of the former, and his manner of expression betrayed his Italian origins. He signed his name with a cross at its beginning and end.³⁰¹ Like his countryman he had been ordained to the priesthood in Coimbra in 1544.³⁰² Rodrigues had told him and Beira at the time of their departure that they should look up Master Francis in India, and the author of the letter added that he was ready to come to him in Macassar or to wherever he would call him as soon as he received directions from him.³⁰³

Juan de Beira had a strong, simple, perpendicular hand. There was a flourish before and after his sweeping signature, and the *J* of his first name was drawn to the right to underline it.³⁰⁴ He had been a parish priest and canon in the cathedral in La Coruña when Strada won him over for the Society. He wrote in Spanish and likewise declared that he was ready to follow Xavier wherever he was called.³⁰⁵

All three had been blessed with a favorable voyage and had arrived safe and sound in Goa.³⁰⁶ Misser Paulo had shown them Xavier's letter from São Thomé, in which he ordered the new confreres, if they arrived, to accompany the two Ceylonese princes if they returned to their country.³⁰⁷ In a second letter Master Francis had, however, qualified this request: If more than two companions came, two should go to Ceylon; the others should remain in Goa and wait for further instructions from him.³⁰⁸

But, as Misser Paulo wrote, matters had changed in the meantime.³⁰⁹ M. A. de Sousa had given a gracious and honorable reception to the two princes whom André de Sousa had brought from Cochin to Goa at the beginning of 1545. When Dom Joam asked to be placed in possession of the lands of his murdered "brother," and to be given a harbor in the territory of his father Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the governor had agreed to carry out his requests. He had already equipped ships to take the two princes back to Ceylon when news came in April that the Turks were fitting out a fleet to sail against India.³¹⁰ Even though the

²⁹⁷ *MI Epp.* I 207.

²⁹⁸ Signature in Q, pl. VI 2.

²⁹⁹ *DI* I 9 135; *EX* I 309 327-328.

³⁰⁰ *EX* I 136.

³⁰¹ Signature in Q, pl. VI 1.

³⁰² Schurhammer, "Criminali" 262.

³⁰³ *DI* I 24 34-35 45.

³⁰⁴ Signature in Q, pl. VI 4.

³⁰⁵ *DI* I 61; cf. 58.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 11-12 27 47.

³⁰⁷ *EX* I 292-293.

³⁰⁸ *DI* I 43 45 59-60; *EX* I 294.

³⁰⁹ That he wrote to Xavier is obvious and follows also from *EX* I 309 342. For the following see the letters of André de Sousa and of Prince D. João of November 15, 1545 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 202-220).

³¹⁰ *Ibid.* 204 212 217. On the coming of the Turks, see Correa IV 423 427-428.

patrol boats coming from the strait reported that they were laying up their galleys,³¹¹ the rainy season that had set in now made the voyage to Ceylon impossible. The princes were thus detained in Goa. In the middle of the monsoon a native captain accompanied by ten prominent men came by land to Goa. As representatives of the people of Jaffna they asked the governor to free them from the tyranny of their rajah and to give them the Christian prince Dom Joam of Kōttē as their king. They had been given instructions in the faith, and they had declared that all in Jaffna were ready to become Christians.³¹²

M.A. de Sousa was determined to carry out their request after the end of the rainy season, but his successor Dom Joam de Castro arrived on September 1,³¹³ and he wanted first to send an ambassador with two Franciscans to the king of Kōttē in order to attempt a peaceful solution before undertaking any military action.³¹⁴ The return of the two princes was consequently postponed to the indefinite future.³¹⁵ Mestre Diogo and Misser Paulo and the old and new governors were of the opinion that the three priests who had recently arrived should remain in Goa since the Franciscans were in Ceylon and working there. Criminali and Beira were therefore, much against their will, detained in the College of St. Paul.³¹⁶ Mansilhas, on the Fishery Coast, had also asked for the new priests. Mestre Diogo, who during the Lent of 1545 had converted most of the inhabitants of Banasterim, more than a hundred,³¹⁷ refused, however, to relinquish any of the priests since they were greatly needed in Goa.³¹⁸ Misser Paulo complained, as he had already done before, that the directors of the college kept his hands completely tied. He could not make a table or a door nor move anything from one place to another without their permission. He found it very difficult to be compelled to carry out all their directions, especially since he was frequently of an entirely different mind; and he noted that the only solution would be for the Society to take over the direction of the college.³¹⁹

6. TABARIJA AND HAIRUN³²⁰

In 1542 Master Francis had become acquainted in Goa with Dom Manuel Tabarija, the sultan of Ternate, who had become a Christian.³²¹ In April, 1544, the *Taforea*, the royal clove ship had sailed from there under the command of

³¹¹ Correa IV 428.

³¹² According to Prince João (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 217-218), André de Sousa (*ibid.* 205 213), and Beira (DI I 59-60). Beira, probably erroneously, calls their leader a captain of the prince's father, that is, the king of Kōttē.

³¹³ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 205 209 213 217-218.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.* 213-214 218. On September 10, 1545, Duarte Barbudo received 400 *pardaus* from the governor in Goa "because he is going as an ambassador to the king of Ceylon" (Q 1526).

³¹⁵ According to Criminali (DI I 18).

³¹⁶ *Ibid.* 34-35 45.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.* 55-56.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* 18-19; cf. 54 58.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* 32-34; cf. EX I 309 342-343.

³²⁰ For this section, the main sources are the letters of his contemporaries: Freitas in 1545 and 1548 (Sá I 419-433 436-444 525-533 550-568) and Hairun in 1546 (*ibid.* 473-474; Q 2110) and Rebello's account of the Moluccas, which he gives in two drafts: one in the *Historia* of 1561 (Sá III 192-344) and another in a corrected and reworked form in the *Informação* of 1569 (*ibid.* 345-508). Couto, who has some new details, must be partially corrected by him (5, 9, 3; 5, 10, 5; 5, 10, 10).

³²¹ See, Vol. II, p. 249.

Captain Francisco de Azevedo Coutinho. Dom Manuel, filled with the desire of converting his kingdom to Christianity, had embarked on it with his mother Niachile, his stepfather, the royal vizier Patih Seran, and their retinues, and also his baptismal sponsor and protector, Jurdão de Freitas, the coming captain of Ternate.³²² M. A. de Sousa had given the king a letter of recommendation for the captain of Malacca, ordering him to take care of them as best he could and to give them everything they needed for continuing their journey to Ternate; and Simão Botelho, who had taken over the captaincy of the deceased Ruy Vaz Pereira, had given them an excellent reception.³²³ At the end of June, however, one month after their arrival, a ship had come from the Moluccas with the news that the Castilians had again appeared off those islands and had sounded out the foes of the Portuguese, especially the rajah of Djailolo, to whom they had handed over their artillery. The rajah of Tidore, the rival of Ternate, was delighted with their coming. The Moorish governor of Makian had received gifts from them; and Hairun, the sultan of Ternate, was also wavering. At the time of every monsoon he feared that his half brother Tabarija, who had become a Christian, would be returning to regain his kingdom.³²⁴ There was a pervading fear that if Dom Manuel returned, Hairun would stir up the people by saying that his Christian rival would immediately force all to become Christians if he obtained the throne.³²⁵

Freitas had consulted the *fidalgos* on the problem and had left his protégé in Malacca under the care of Gaspar Vaz³²⁶ when he set out in the middle of August with Niachile and Patih Serang for Ternate. He wanted to secure possession of his fortress and to conclude a truce with the Castilians. He would then arrest Hairun and send him to India. When the land was at peace and ready to receive him, Dom Manuel should come and take over the reign. In the meantime his mother and Patih Serang should rule as royal viziers.³²⁷

After learning of the arrival of the Castilians on the Moluccas, M. A. de Sousa had sent Fernão de Sousa de Távora there in April, 1545, with the galleon *Coulão*, on which Xavier had sailed from Mozambique to India in 1542,³²⁸ and two *fastas* under the command of Lionel de Lima and Manuel de Mesquita and 120 men to arrest the intruders or drive them out.³²⁹ When they arrived in Malacca, they found Dom Manuel Tabarija gravely ill.³³⁰ On June 30, 1545, while they were waiting for the monsoon so that they could continue their voyage, the prince died. Before his death he had, however, in his will, on the advice of Antonio de Freitas, the son of the captain of Ternate, named the king of Portugal

³²² Couto 5, 9, 3.

³²³ According to Freitas (Sá I 551).

³²⁴ The letters of the captain D. Jorge de Castro, the factor Jerónimo Pires Cotão, and Hairun, written on February 10, 20, and 18, 1544, from Ternate (*ibid.* 385-408), and Castro's second letter of April, 1544 (Q 1231).

³²⁵ Couto 5, 10, 5; cf. Freitas (Sá I 440).

³²⁶ Freitas (*ibid.* 558).

³²⁷ *Ibid.* 430-431 558.

³²⁸ Rebello 217; see Vol. II, p. 102.

³²⁹ Correa IV 423; Couto 5, 10, 9-10. According to Correa, Távora sailed with 200 men from India to Malacca. On August 10, however, Lionel de Lima wrote from Malacca, that they sailed on from there to Maluco with only 120 men (Q 1508). He probably did not include among these Galvao's 40 men. According to Escalante, Távora arrived in Ternate with 150 men (164).

³³⁰ Gaspar Vaz, who sailed from Malacca at the beginning of January, 1545, had already written to Freitas that D. Manuel was deathly ill (Sá I 558).

as the heir to his kingdom so that it would not fall into the hands of his Mohammedan half brother.³³¹

Within less than a day after Dom Manuel's death,³³² the royal clove ship arrived in Malacca under the command of Captain Francisco de Azevedo Coutinho, whom Xavier had earlier known in Mozambique.³³³ Coutinho had come from Ternate to Malacca with Freitas' predecessor, Dom Jorge de Castro, and two prisoners in chains,³³⁴ Sultan Hairun and his seventy-year-old vizier Samarau.³³⁵ Fifteen or twenty days before the departure of the vessel, Freitas had had both arrested as traitors; and he was now sending them to Goa with pertinent documents so that they might be examined by the governor.³³⁶

Garcia de Sá, who had come with Távora as captain of the fortress of Malacca, however, had the two prisoners immediately released from their chains with profuse apologies; and he had granted them permission to return to their country with the next ships.³³⁷ On August 15 Távora had sailed for Ternate with six vessels—the galleon *Coulão*; the two *fustas* of Lima and Mesquita and another with forty men under the command of João Galvão, which Sá had put at his disposal; the *Santo Spirito*, the royal clove ship under the captaincy of João Criado; and the *Santa Cruz*, a merchantman under Captain Antonio de Freitas, who had to inform his father of Dom Manuel's death.³³⁸ The elderly Samarau had taken the opportunity to return home; Hairun, on the other hand, had decided to go on to Goa to inform the governor of his innocence and to be acquitted through a regular trial.³³⁹ There were, moreover, wicked rumors that Dom Jorge de Castro had drawn the old Garcia de Sá over to his and Hairun's side by promising him that he would marry one of his two half-blooded daughters, for whom he had long been seeking a husband.³⁴⁰

Hairun,³⁴¹ whom Xavier met when he arrived in Malacca, wore Portuguese

³³¹ Cf. Freitas (*ibid.* 531 533 558-559). Couto gives the text of the will without a beginning or conclusion from the *Registo dos Contos* in Goa (5, 10, 10, pp. 448-450). Couto's text is completed by Sá (II 19-26), which exists in an official copy made at the request of the *ouvidor geral* in Goa in 1550. It is dated Malacca, June 30, 1545. According to Freitas, Garcia de Sá and D. Jorge de Castro suppressed the will so that Hairun might be permitted to sail back to Ternate (Rebello 215 434).

³³² Freitas wrote in his letter of January 7, 1548, that Queen Niachile suspected that her son had been poisoned (Sá I 532). In 1561 Rebello wrote that D. Manuel had died the day after the arrival of the king (Hairun) of poison which had been given to him by Fernão Moreno, the friend and factor of Hairun, who was there. This was what was said, but it was not regarded as certain (215). In 1569 he corrected this: "On the same day or evening that the king came to Malacca, D. Manuel Tabarija died" (434). On August 31, 1548, Freitas however wrote from Goa that D. Jorge de Castro and Hairun reached Malacca the day after the death of D. Manuel (Sá I 559).

³³³ See Vol. II, pp. 71-72.

³³⁴ According to Freitas (Sá I 426 556); Rebello 215 533 487.

³³⁵ According to Hairun (Sá I 473-474).

³³⁶ According to Freitas (*ibid.* 442-443); D. João de Castro (*Cartas* 225).

³³⁷ Rebello 215 434.

³³⁸ *Ibid.* 217 435; Couto errs in stating that Hairun arrived after Távora's departure for Malacca (5, 10, 10). The usual time for departure was August 15, and L. de Lima was still writing from Malacca on August 10.

³³⁹ Rebello 215 434; Couto 5, 10, 10.

³⁴⁰ Freitas (Sá I 559-560; cf. 553); Rebello 215 434.

³⁴¹ Hairun (Aeiro), king of Ternate in 1534-1545 and 1546-1570, was married to a daughter of the king of Tidore and to another of the king of Djailolo. He was murdered in 1570. His youth is discussed in detail by Castanheda, Correa, and Barros; his later life by Couto (cf. index 9-10), Tiele, and especially Rebello, who knew him personally. On his youth see also our chapter on Tabarija, Vol. II, pp. 252 255-256.

clothes,³⁴² spoke³⁴³ and wrote fluent Portuguese,³⁴⁴ was well mannered,³⁴⁵ and liked to call himself a vassal of His Highness the king of Portugal.³⁴⁶ He was twenty-four years old and was one of the many sons of Sultan Bayān Sirrullah from a Javanese concubine.³⁴⁷ Like his half brother Dom Manuel, he had had a troubled youth. His father had died in 1521 at about the time of his birth. When Captain Gonçalo Pereira was murdered, Hairun and his three brothers were living as prisoners in the tower of the fortress.³⁴⁸ Pereira's successor, Vicente da Fonseca, had raised Tabarija to the throne in 1532, but two years later the new captain, Tristão de Ataíde, had deposed him and sent him as a prisoner to Goa and had made Hairun king in his stead. When his mother opposed the Portuguese who were keeping him in the fortress, they had her thrown from the window of her house.³⁴⁹ Antonio Galvão, who relieved Ataíde,³⁵⁰ had likewise supported the new sultan;³⁵¹ and the latter had helped him plunder Tidore with his men.³⁵² Under Galvão's successor, Dom Jorge de Castro, Hairun had been able to retain his rule despite all the complaints and accusations of his countrymen.³⁵³ Freitas had, however, imprisoned him and his royal vizier Samarau, and had sent them to India on the grounds of treason.³⁵⁴ The sultan still declared his innocence and was full of confidence that he would be vindicated in Goa and that his kingdom would be restored to him, especially since the death of his recent rival, Dom Manuel.³⁵⁵

There were different opinions about the sultan.³⁵⁶ According to Freitas, he was a traitor hated by the leaders and the people for his immorality. No woman, not even the wives of his princes or his own married sisters were safe from him.³⁵⁷ Others, however, supported him against Freitas and his party.

³⁴² Rebello 297 445 493.

³⁴³ EX I 386; Frois 1556 (DI III 540); Rebello 299.

³⁴⁴ This is shown by his letters, written entirely by his own hand (Sá I 473-474, II 68-69).

³⁴⁵ EX I 386; DI III 540; Rebello 298.

³⁴⁶ EX I 385-386; DI III 540; Q, pl. XXIX 3; Couto 8, 26.

³⁴⁷ He was therefore regarded as of lesser birth (Sá II 22-23) and was labeled as a bastard by the natives and Portuguese (Castanheda 8, 92; Correa III 863; Barros 4, 6, 24; Couto 4, 8, 13).

³⁴⁸ Castanheda 8, 39.

³⁴⁹ Castanheda writes that when the Portuguese took the boy in 1534 to make him king, his mother did not wish to let him go. They then threw her out of the window. He then continues: "E porque logo se rompeo [that is, because he was immediately recognized], como el rey e os outros erão presos, muitos fugirão" (8, 92). Couto makes of this: "E a ella laçaram por huma janella, fazendo-se em baixo em pedaços" (4, 8, 13). According to the same author, Hairun's mother was still living in 1557, when Duarte de Eça imprisoned her and her two sons in the keep of the fortress' tower (7, 4, 7; cf. Rebello 494-495).

³⁵⁰ Captain of Ternate from 1536 to 1539.

³⁵¹ Castanheda 8, 180; Rebello 490; Barros 4, 9, 20 and 22.

³⁵² Castanheda 8, 157; Rebello 490.

³⁵³ Castro had to put Hairun in the fortress since the great men of the kingdom and Samarau wanted to kill him for having seized their wives (Castanheda 9, 23, where *Pero Paes* is a printing mistake for *Aeiro*). He twice wanted to arrest the king as a traitor, but, as Freitas notes, he dared not do so (Sá I 559).

³⁵⁴ Rebello 213-214 432-433; Freitas (Sá I 437, where *Banda* is to be read instead of *Bandeira*).

³⁵⁵ EX I 341; Freitas (Sá I 437).

³⁵⁶ Rebello is the main defender of Hairun (215 433 490-498). Sousa writes against him (*Or. Conq.* 2, 3, 1, 36). His principal accuser was Freitas; see also Frois in 1556 (DI III 540-541).

³⁵⁷ Freitas (Sá I 431; cf. 437 442-443); Castanheda 4, 23.

Azevedo Coutinho had been detained by Freitas on his voyage to Ternate,³⁵⁸ and Dom Jorge de Castro had also fallen out with him in Ternate.³⁵⁹ Hairun himself could rightly complain that at the time of his arrest his house had been plundered and his wives seized.³⁶⁰ Many were of the opinion that under the zealous Antonio Galvão he had been near to becoming a Christian, but the arrival of Galvão's successor, Dom Jorge de Castro, had nullified all this.³⁶¹

7. THE DEPARTURE OF THE CLOVE SHIP (MID-NOVEMBER, 1545)

In mid-November the royal clove ship, the *Taforea*, under the command of Francisco de Azevedo Coutinho, weighed anchor in Malacca in order to sail to India.³⁶² On board the ship were Dom Jorge de Castro, the former captain, and Hairun, the former sultan, of Ternate. Among the other passengers were Garcia de Sá, the former captain of Malacca,³⁶³ and Xavier's penitent Rodrigo de Sequeira, who had promised him that he would go frequently to confession and that he would sail back to Portugal at the next opportunity.³⁶⁴ Two other passengers were sailing with the *Taforea* who had come with it from Ternate and had become acquainted with Master Francis in Malacca. These were Gaspar Nilyo, the former factor and *alcaide-mor* of Ternate,³⁶⁵ and one of four secular

³⁵⁸ Rebello 487.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 214-215 433; Freitas (Sá I 529).

³⁶⁰ Hairun (Sá I 474, where *em Chonyssa* is a mistake for *e homrra*); D. João de Castro (*Cartas* 225); Rebello 214 433.

³⁶¹ The **Tratado* says of Antonio Galvão: "He had already persuaded the king of Ternate to become a Christian, who had nine Masses read in honor of the nine months during which our Lady bore her Son in her womb; and when he was on the point of receiving baptism, D. Jorge [de Castro] came, and this brought it all to nought" (36).

³⁶² Ships were accustomed to sail from Malacca for India in November (EX II 134). "In order to reach the kingdom in good time, ships sail from Malacca on November 15 and arrive at Cochin at the beginning of January," according to Rebello (499).

³⁶³ Since Garcia de Sá's term of office had expired, he had no reason for remaining longer in Malacca. Freitas moreover indicates that he was in league with D. Jorge de Castro, whom he hoped to have as his son-in-law. Freitas has Sá sail with D. Jorge and the will of D. Manuel to Goa, where he handed the will over to the governor and both he and D. Jorge gave him false information on Hairun and Freitas (Sá I 552 559-560). As a consequence the suit was already decided in March, 1546, in favor of the former (Castro, *Cartas* 224-227; Q 2110).

³⁶⁴ MX II 212-213. He had to return to India as soon as passage was available since a suit was being brought against him there. On January 17, 1546, Sequeira set sail from Tanor for Goa with a letter of recommendation of Mestre Diogo, to whom Xavier had apparently commended his penitent. The letter was addressed to D. Alvaro, the son of the governor, so that he might urge his father to hasten the execution of the suit since he was innocent (Q 1853).

³⁶⁵ This is how he wrote his name (Sá I 459). D. Jorge de Castro (*ibid.* 395) and Couto, consequently, as well call him Melio. According to Couto, Villalobos, after the return of the *São Joanilho* from New Guinea, wanted to make another attempt, through Gaspar Melio, to send the news about his expedition to Spain. At his request Melio went to Ternate and pretended that he was entering into service with the Portuguese since he was angry with Villalobos. He then sailed with D. Jorge de Castro to Goa, where he died (5, 10, 5, pp. 413-414). But Castro had already sailed with Nilyo from Ternate in the middle of February (Sá I 436-442), when Villalobos was planning to send the *São Joanilho* to New Spain by way of New Guinea, as Nilyo himself wrote from Malacca on August 10 (*ibid.* 455). The ship did not sail until May 16 and did not return from New Guinea until October 3, 1545 (Escalante 153 161). Nilyo wrote fluent Portuguese, and D. Jorge de Castro declared on February 10, 1544, that Melio had served the previous year (1543) as factor and *alcaide-mor* in the fortress of Ternate, and he names him in the first place among the "pessoas homradas e cavaleiros para emcaregar

priests of the fleet of Ruy López de Villalobos, who had joined the Portuguese with other of his countrymen. This was Frey Hernando de Lasso, Commander of the Knightly Order of Alcantara, to whom Xavier had given letters for his confreres in Goa.³⁶⁶ The ship was also carrying the post for Europe.

In the mail brought from Portugal by the Banda ship at the end of October was the appointment of the old Diogo de Abreu, a former page of the queen, to the position of secretary of the tolls of Malacca. In a letter he thanked the queen for this favor and sent her in return a gift of twenty pounds of the finest benzoin incense³⁶⁷ from Sumatra.³⁶⁸ Simão de Mello, the new captain, wrote to the king about conditions in Malacca. He began his letter as follows:

I came to this fortress of Malacca and discovered that it had had four captains in three years,³⁶⁹ a situation that is very harmful to the service of Your Highness and their peace. These changes and the ease with which Your Highness has allowed people to sail to any country have completely ruined the land. More than two hundred Portuguese are scattered about China, and there are many others in Patane and other regions. All of these sail without fear of God or of Your Highness, and they go in their trading vessels from one place to another without coming to this fortress. This has caused a great loss to your customhouse. Because of this disorder and neglect, we have become so careless of our foes that they have become very strong in ships and properties. The king of Ojamtana,³⁷⁰ the man who has always been the most feared in this fortress, has assembled three hundred *lancharas*, and he is daily expected in this harbor.

When I arrived here and learned of this, I immediately began to equip a fleet that had been greatly neglected here in order to force the issue. When they learned of this, they withdrew and had a visit paid to me here. We are now consequently living as friends of each other. I hope in our Lord that this condition will continue to the service of Your Highness. If they are opposed to this, it will be to their own detriment even though we are in want of everything here, as all the other places were left by Martim Affonso de Sousa. In this and in everything else I hope to use my time in the service of Your Highness as long as I am here, and not in gaining wealth and taking it back with me, for the land is not suited for this, and I was left nothing with which I could do so. And since this was the wish of Your Highness, I must also remind you of what you said to me in Almeirim when I took my departure: I must serve You and must be more concerned with this than with what I might be

em qualquer cousa de sustancia" of that fortress (Sá I 395). He is further missing on Escalante's list of survivors of Villalobos' fleet (205-209). Couto is thus probably in error when he calls him a deserter.

³⁶⁶ On December 16, 1545, Xavier wrote to his confreres in Goa: "Con el Padre Comendador vos excreví largamente" (EX I 308). Meant is the "comendador Lasso," as Escalante calls him (205), Frey Hernando de Lasso, commander of the knightly order of Alcántara, one of the four secular priests with the fleet of Villalobos. We encounter him as a witness in Tidore in October, 1544 (Q 1301), and, for the last time, on February 9, 1545, in Ternate, where he testified under oath on the hardships of Villalobos' voyage (Q 1405). According to Escalante in October, 1545, when the *São Joanelho* returned from New Guinea, more than twenty Spaniards and three clerics from Tidore had already fled to the Portuguese (162).

³⁶⁷ "Beijoim de boninas," in the words of Abreu. This fragrant gum came from Baros in western Sumatra and excelled every other type of benzoin. It came from young trees and was worth ten times that of the best of other types (Orta I 107-109; Dalgado I 112-113).

³⁶⁸ Lagôa I 126-128.

³⁶⁹ Ruy Vaz Pereira 1542-1544, Botelho 1544-1545, Garcia de Sá 1545, Mello 1545-1548.

³⁷⁰ Ujon Tanah.

able to bring back with me. For I base all my hopes on these words and on the great virtue of Your Highness, whose life and position may our Lord increase for many years.

From Malacca, the fifteenth of November, 1545,

Symam de Mello.³⁷¹

The ship also carried Xavier's letters for the king and for his confreres in Goa and Europe. To the king he wrote about two things which he had learned from experience were needed in the different fortresses of the East in order to preserve and protect the faith—preachers and the Holy Inquisition,³⁷² which had already been earnestly requested by Miguel Vaz. He informed his confreres in Goa that he intended to sail to Macassar. On the basis of the information which he had received from them, he ordered Beira and Criminali in virtue of holy obedience to sail to Cape Comorin rather than to Ceylon in order to be with Mansilhas. Lancilotto, on the other hand, should teach Latin in the College of St. Paul.³⁷³ He sent a further letter to his confreres in Europe. It began as follows:

From India I wrote to you at great length about myself before I set out for the Macaçaes,³⁷⁴ where two kings became Christians. I arrived in Malaca a month and a half ago, where I am waiting for the monsoon to go to the Macaçaes. God willing, I shall leave from here in a month and a half. These Macaçaes are very far from Goa, more than a thousand leagues. Those who come from there say that the disposition of this land is such that many would become Christians, for they do not have temples to idols, nor do they have any people who influence them towards paganism.³⁷⁵ They adore the sun when they see it,³⁷⁶ and there is no other pagan religion among them.³⁷⁷ They are people who are constantly at war with one another.

Since my arrival in Malaca, which is a city with a great sea trade, there has been no lack of pious occupations. Every Sunday I preach in the See, and I am not as happy with my sermons as those who have the patience to listen to me. Every day I teach the children their prayers for an hour or more. I am living in the hospital; I hear the confessions of the sick poor; I offer Mass for them; and I give them Holy Communion. I am so besieged by those going to confession that it is impossible for me to satisfy all. My chief occupation is to translate the prayers from Latin into a language which can be understood in the Macaçaes. It is a great hardship not to know their language.

When I left India, it was from the city of Santo Tomae, where the pagans of the land say that the body of Santo Thomae Apóstol is. In Santo Thomae there are more than a hundred married Portuguese. It has a very devout church, and all say that in it is the body of the glorious apostle.

When I was in Santo Thomae waiting for the time to go to Malaca, I met a merchant who had a ship with his wares. I talked to him about the things of God; and God gave him to understand so well that there are other wares in which he had never traded that he left his ship and wares; and the two of us are now going to the Macaçaes, and he is resolved to live all his life in poverty in the service of God our Lord. He is a man of thirty-five years. He was a soldier during all his life in the

³⁷¹ Q 1687.

³⁷² EX I 302 346. The letter is lost.

³⁷³ *Ibid.* 302; cf. 301 308 339. The letter is lost. It reached Goa in February, 1546 (DI 135 137).

³⁷⁴ Celebes.

³⁷⁵ Although there were no Brahmans, Paiva encountered opposition in 1544 from the *bissus*, the pagan priests.

³⁷⁶ A. Bastian also mentions sun worship on western Celebes (IV 53).

³⁷⁷ This was not correct, as the accounts of travelers and missionaries indicate.

world, and now he is a soldier of Christ. He commends himself earnestly to your prayers. He is called Juan de Hierro.

Here in Malaca I was given many letters from Rome and Portugal. They gave me, and give me, so much consolation, and I have read them so many times, that it seems to me that I am there, or that you, dearest brothers, are here where I am; and if not in body, at least in spirit.

The priests who came from there this year with Don Juan de Castro wrote from Goa to me in Malaca. I am now writing to them that two of them should go to Cabo de Comorín to keep company with our dearest brother Francisco de Mansillas, who is staying there with three priests of the same land, teaching the Christians of Cabo de Comorín. The third should remain in the college of Holy Faith to teach grammar.

Since the ship is in such a hurry to sail, I am not writing again what I wrote from India. Next year I shall write to you at great length about the paganism of the Macaçaes. Above all, dearest brothers, I ask you for the love of God to send here each year many of our Company, for there is need of them here—and to go among the pagans there is no need of learning, but only that those who come have been well tried.³⁷⁸ And so I conclude, asking our Lord that he grant us to sense within our souls his most holy will, and the strength to fulfill it and to bring it to fruition.

From Malaca, the tenth of November, 1545.

Your least brother and servant,

Franciscus³⁷⁹

8. BAD NEWS FROM MACASSAR (DECEMBER 16, 1545)

While Hairun, Dom Jorge de Castro, and Garcia de Sá were sailing for India, Master Francis was waiting with anxiety for news from Macassar. The priest whom Botelho had sent there at the beginning of 1545 had still to be heard from. When news finally did come from there, it was not as good as Xavier had hoped. In Goa he had heard from Freitas that the convert king Dom Manuel Tabarija had given him the islands south of Ternate from Amboina and Buru to the Papua Islands as an hereditary fief, and how, at the beginning of June, he had come from Ternate on the clove ship of Francisco de Azevedo Coutinho with the former captain Dom Jorge de Castro and Gaspar Nilyo, who had once been factor and *alcaide-mor* of Ternate, and had sailed with him at the middle of November for India. Xavier was able to obtain from him information about the Spanish fleet of Ruy López de Villalobos, which had appeared off the Molucas, and also about the many Christian villages on the island of Amboina. Nilyo had written in August to King John III that ships coming from Maluco were accustomed to winter on those islands, and that the poor islanders always received them well and gave them everything that they needed. They were nevertheless tyrannized by the Portuguese when the captains of Ternate sent men there, allegedly for the sake of trade, in *korakoras*, oared boats used by the people of that area. He had earnestly advised the king that he should absolutely forbid the captains to send such vessels to Amboina and Banda. The inhabitants of those islands were being robbed, imprisoned, and slain by the Portuguese.³⁸⁰ Xavier had also heard from Miguel Vaz of the conversions made on the Moro Islands under Captain Tristão d'Ataide and of the hopes that had been raised

³⁷⁸ Xavier is here thinking of missionaries for the fishing villages of South India and the islanders of the Macassars.

³⁷⁹ EX I 298-301. The letter is written in Spanish, but the conclusion is in Latin: "Vester minimus frater et servus, Franciscus."

³⁸⁰ Sá I 453-459.

by Tabarija's baptism. Instead of sailing to Macassar, Xavier therefore decided to sail to Amboina to visit the abandoned Christians and to obtain immediate information there and in Maluco on the prospects for the spread of the faith in those regions. It would be possible to sail on the Banda ship, which would be leaving Malacca at the beginning of January, and Botelho did everything he could to provide him with what he needed for the journey.

Botelho's days in Malacca, however, were numbered. At the end of October the Banda ship had brought news that the king had ordered that the office of *vedor da fazenda*, which had been held up to this time by Aleixo de Sousa, should be divided up among three persons. Two of these were being sent from Portugal specifically for this—Bras d'Araujo should accompany the governor and take care of the loading of the ships that sailed each year from Cochín to Portugal, while Dr. Francisco de Mariz Lobo should take over the office of treasurer. Simão Botelho, on the other hand, as *vedor da fazenda das fortalezas*, should visit the fortresses in order to obtain precise information on the royal revenues and expenses and on the treaties made with the native princes and record the latter in a register prepared for this, in other words, compose a *tombo*. He consequently had to return to India in the middle of December in order to assume his new office.³⁸¹

In the whole of India the king had no one of less self interest in his service than Simão Botelho,³⁸² and the latter was greatly annoyed by the new captain, Simão de Mello. At the time of Mello's departure in Almeirim, John III had had reason to warn him that he should, as captain of Malacca, seek to serve him rather than to enrich himself, and in his first letter from the fortress, Mello had put his lord at ease in this regard. But despite his various protests, from the very beginning his main concern had been to fill his pockets as well as he could during his three years of office. Before departing from Goa for Malacca, he had already written to the king:

Malacca has been so treated that I have nothing there to guard except the walls. Everything else has been taken away from it, both honor and gain. Your Highness should reflect on the fact that you have given me this office as a reward for twenty-six years of service and that I have nothing except Your Highness. Do not permit me to suffer the hardships of poverty in my old age!³⁸³

The letter had reference to the customhouse which Botelho had set up at the bidding of M. A. de Sousa. This was a serious blow to the prospects of gain for the captains of Malacca, and the vexation that it had caused had already brought Mello's predecessor, Ruy Vaz Pereira, to his grave. As a staunch defender

³⁸¹ The three writs of appointment are given by Sousa Viterbo, *Thesouro* 54-56. See also the *letter of the king to Aleixo de Sousa (Q 1478), the abstracts from the *Regimento* for Botelho (*Tombo* 5-7), the letter of D. João de Castro on his appointment (*Cartas* 234), Correa IV 535, and Couto, who wrongly states that Botelho was appointed *Vedor da Ribeira das Armadas de Goa* (6, 1, 1). Mariz died on the voyage to India (Castro, *Cartas* 94-95) and was succeeded by Manuel Mergulhão in 1547 (Q 2943).

³⁸² The king recognizes his faithful service in his *writ of appointment. "If I did anything against the service of Your Highness during my term of office, have my head struck off," Botelho wrote at the end of 1548; "but despite every slander, I will not permit anyone to seize your property unjustly" (Botelho, *Cartas* 17-18). On the margin of his request to be permitted to return home to Portugal, the secretary of state wrote for the king: "Your Highness should let him serve there again this year. D. Afonso [the viceroy] has need of him, for he is the most experienced man in India" (Q 4098).

³⁸³ Q 1523.

of the interests of his king, Botelho had to oppose the greed of the captain, who wanted to enrich himself at the expense of his lord.³⁸⁴ It was therefore a relief for the *vedor* that he was able to sail on a ship leaving for Goa in the middle of December, and with him he took a letter he had received from Xavier for his confreres in the College of St. Paul.

Through the Padre Commendador I wrote at length³⁸⁵ to you how I intended to sail for Macasar. But since the news from there were not as good as we had anticipated,³⁸⁶ I did not go there and I am sailing for Ambueno, where there are many Christians and there is a great opportunity to gain more. From there I shall write to you about the prospects in the land and the fruit that can be gained there. And

³⁸⁴ In his two letters to the king of December 24, 1548, Botelho complained bitterly of Simão de Mello. At the beginning of 1548 the king had written to Botelho that he should inform the viceroy about what he had accomplished with Mello in Malacca so that the viceroy might take the necessary measures, and he, the king, would reward Botelho for his services (Botelho, *Cartas* 18-19). He replied that he had nothing to say about this since he was certain that nothing would be done in this regard (*ibid.* 22). In his first letter, speaking about the encroachments of others, he observed: "The governor has ordered them to be brought to trial. I do not know what will happen in this regard. Nothing will be done, just as up to the present nothing has been done against Simão de Mello" (*ibid.* 12). At the beginning of 1552, after the siege of Malacca, he wrote to the king: "I do not know what I should say about Malacca except that matters reached such a pitch that our Lord wished to give them immediately their reward, as Your Highness will come to know where you are. That the viceroy sent a *vedor da fazenda* there was no better than not sending one, since he returned dishonored by the captain there, just as the one who went to Ormuz. Since he returned from there [Malacca], it [the customhouse] has yielded only 12,000 to 15,000 *cruzados*, but when I was there the revenues were between 27,000 and 30,000. The reason for all this is that the captain steals all your goods and revenues, since by so doing he steals the greatest part of the goods which come to this city, even apart from the fact that the captain is the principal merchant" (29-30). That Mello did not return to Portugal empty-handed is shown by the documents of the royal chancellery in Lisbon: In 1552 he purchased 200 *milreis* of rents in Torres Novas (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 61, 46v); in 1555, 100 *milreis* of rents from the king in Setuval (*ibid.* 53, 210). In 1557 he acquired a house on the Rua Nova dos Mercadores, the main street in Lisbon, for 1,520 *milreis* (*ibid.* 71, 348v) and leased houses there (*ibid.* 38, 39; 65, 230v).

³⁸⁵ On November 10.

³⁸⁶ What was the "less good news" from Macassar? At first sight Xavier's data seems to be contradictory. In December, 1545, he wrote: "Since the news from there was not as good as we thought, I did not go there but sailed to Amboina." But in May, 1546, he wrote from Amboina: "No sabiendo ningunas nuevas del Padre, determiné de partir para otra fortaleza del Rey llamada Maluco" (EX I 322). At the beginning of 1545 Botelho had sent a galleon with many Portuguese and Padre Viegas to Macassar in order to assist the new converts, as he informed Xavier; and he had told him that he should wait until news came from there. The galleon does not seem to have returned to Malacca at the end of 1545, as we shall show later. The "less good news" was thus probably brought by people of another ship who had not encountered Viegas and could therefore give no report on him. According to Paiva, the king of Supa was one of the most warlike and most feared rajahs on the island; and he was a comrade in arms of the mighty and no less combative king of Sião, about whom the Malay chronicle of Gowa states that he had continued the conquests of his father and had captured Mandar, Kajeli, and Tontoli on the northwest coast of Celebes. The desire of these two kings for Christianity was not without self-interest. For their conquests they had need of the powerful Portuguese and their firearms. "They are people," Xavier had written about the Macassarese from Malacca, "who are constantly fighting with each other" (EX I 299). Was the "less good news" the fact that the Portuguese of the galleon had to help conquer Tontoli, or that the Christian king of Sião had died and his pagan brother had succeeded him on the throne, as Pinto wrote in 1548 (DI II 421)? In 1549 Xavier asked Beira to inform him from Ternate about the missionary prospects in Macassar, Tontoli, and Celebes (EX II 113).

from the experiences which I have had on Cape Comorin and in Goa and from those which I shall have, please God, in Anbueno and in the environs of Maluquo,³⁸⁷ I shall write to you after I see where God can be better served and where the most holy faith of Christ our Lord can be more widely spread.

Through this letter, dearest fathers and brothers, Joam de Beira and Antonio Criminal,³⁸⁸ I ask you that, as soon as you have received it, you get ready to go to Cabo de Comorín, where you will do more for the service of God than if you stayed in Goa. There you will find Father Francisco Mancilhas, who knows the land and the way you should act in it. And if Father Francisco de Mancillas is in Goa, then all three of you should go there together. And I ask you for the love of God that you do nothing to the contrary and that you do not for any reason fail to go to Cabo de Comorín. And Father Nicolao Lanciloto should remain in the College of St. Paul to teach grammar since he was sent from Portugal for this purpose. And since I have confidence in your affection, that you will not act otherwise than what I have written, I shall say no more.³⁸⁹

He then turned to Misser Paulo who did not find it easy to follow the instructions of the directors in every respect.

Micer Paulo I earnestly ask you for the love of Jesus Christ that you take great care of your house, and I recommend above all that you be obedient to those who have the office of managing this house, and in this you will cause me the greatest pleasure; for if I were there, I would do nothing against the will of those who have charge of that holy house, but I would obey them in all that they ordered me to do, and since I hope in God that he enables you to sense within your soul that you can in no other thing serve him so much as in denying your own will out of love for him. In the ship that is sailing for Maluquo,³⁹⁰ write to me news of all the priests, our brothers, and of Father Francisco de Mancillas, and take care that you write to me at great length since I shall be greatly pleased by your letters. I beg you, dearest brothers, that you always intercede with God for me in your pious prayers and holy sacrifices, for I am traveling through lands where I have great need of your prayers.

And at the end he recommended to his brethren the bearer of his letter, his friend Simão Botelho:

Simón Botello is going to you, a friend of this holy house. He will give you news particularly about myself. I am a great friend of his, for he is a very upright man and a friend of God and of the truth. I ask you to retain his friendship. He was very good towards me and ordered that all that was necessary for my sailing should be given to me with great love and charity. May our Lord reward him for this, for I am much indebted to him.

May God our Lord, dearest brothers in Christ, unite us in His holy glory, since in this life we are so separated from each other.

From Malaqua, the sixteenth of December, 1545.

Your least brother in Christ,

Franciscus.³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ Xavier's plan was thus to investigate the missionary potentialities in Amboina and Maluco, that is, Ternate, and their environs, and to return from there to India (EX I 308 322).

³⁸⁸ Criminali writes his name as *Criminali*, *Criminalle*, and *Criminal*. His vow formula has *Criminali* (Schurhammer, "Criminali" 244).

³⁸⁹ Xavier knew that Mestre Diogo wanted to keep them in St. Paul's College. He had been informed about the status of affairs through letters from Goa. Brou's suggestion that he had obtained information in a supernatural manner or from Ceylon which moved him to send his confreres to the *Fishery Coast* instead of to Ceylon is unfounded (I 340).

³⁹⁰ The clove ship sailed each year in April from Goa.

³⁹¹ The letter is in Spanish, the conclusion in Latin: "Vester minimus Frater in Christo, Franciscus."

9. MYSTERIOUS CHINA (DECEMBER, 1545)

The year was coming to its end. It was the time when the ships from China were accustomed to return to Malacca. Among these was the junk of Luis Rodrigues, which the *vedor* Aleixo de Sousa had sent there from Cochin in April, 1544, with a cargo of pepper.³⁹² Rodrigues had encountered there Jerónimo Gomes, the confidant of M. A. de Sousa. In September he too had sailed from Goa with a cargo of pepper for China and extensive powers as admiral over all other ships, which could sail there only with his permission. But since he was unable to unload his wares at once, he had been forced to winter in Malacca.³⁹³

Xavier secured much information about that mysterious land from the Portuguese merchants who had returned from there.³⁹⁴ It was an immense empire with a rich trade, and there was a prophecy that the land would one day be captured. Its inhabitants consequently kept a strict watch so that no foreigners entered it, and men and women wore their hair very long so that a stranger could be easily recognized. If a foreigner still entered the country, he was cast into prison. There were also in the land individuals who lived like religious and made their profession with glowing incense in their hand.³⁹⁵ But all of the people were pagans and worshiped idols. The Portuguese were engaged in smuggling on the islands not far from the coast.

Among the things which a Portuguese merchant who had returned from China told Xavier was that a very prominent Chinese, who came from the royal court, had asked him about many things, one being whether or not Christians ate pork. He answered in the affirmative and asked the reason for the demand. The Chinese then told him that in his country there were many people living on a mountain separate from others who did not eat pork and observed numerous feasts.³⁹⁶

Xavier became pensive. Who were these people? Were they Christians who observed the Old and New Law like Preste Joam? Or were they survivors of the lost tribes of the Jews? For everyone said, according to his source, that they were not Mohammedans. Every year numerous Portuguese ships sailed

³⁹² Cf. the trial of Aleixo de Sousa because of his trade in pepper in 1546 (**India Portuguesa* II 1-25v) and Q 1759. The junk fell into the hands of the Achinese when it sailed on from Malacca to India at the end of 1545 (Castro, *Cartas* 233).

³⁹³ Cf. Pero Lopes de Sande's *advice on pepper in November, 1545 (Q 1759). Xavier knew Jerónimo Gomes from his voyage to India. Correa wrote of his China voyage: "He sailed there and gained so much money that he only spoke of 100,000 and 150,000 *cruzados*. This made him so proud and vain that he used to say that fate was no longer able to take his 100,000 *cruzados* from him. But, to tame his pride, God permitted him to suffer such a reverse that he sailed back to India from Malacca without a shirt" (IV 307). He was probably one of the China merchants whom Xavier met in Malacca at the end of 1545.

³⁹⁴ Another China merchant whom Xavier met in Malacca at the end of 1545 was probably the Portuguese who made the Spiritual Exercises in St. Paul's College in November, 1546, and gave the following information on China to H. Henriques (DI I 153-154).

³⁹⁵ According to Henriques, his authority told him that they made their profession while they burned a hand or a finger. Probably meant is the oath in one of the numerous secret societies. The solemn oath in China was usually taken before a picture of the gods while holding burning incense in one's hand (H. Doré, S.J., *Manuel des Superstitions Chinoises* [Chang-Hai, 1926] 111-112).

³⁹⁶ Cf. Schurhammer, "Der 'Tempel des Kreuzes,'" *Asia Major* 5 (1928) 247-255, that is, the pagoda of Shih-tzu-ssu, in the mountains forty-three miles from Peking.

to the harbors of China, and Master Francis urged many of his countrymen to obtain information about these people and precise details about their ceremonies and customs in order to determine if they were Christians or Jews. Many said that the apostle Thomas had gone to China and had made many Christians there, and that the Greek church³⁹⁷ had sent bishops there before the Portuguese came to India in order to instruct and baptize the Christians whom St. Thomas and his disciples had converted in those regions. And in India Xavier had heard from Mar Jacob that when he had come to India, after the arrival of the Portuguese, he had heard the bishops whom he found there say that St. Thomas had gone to China and had made Christians there.³⁹⁸

The feast of the Nativity had in the meantime come and gone. The time for the departure of the Banda ship was drawing near. Francis had been able to do much good in the three and one-half months of his stay in Malacca. The Portuguese, pagans, and Mohammedans treated him as their friend, kissing his hand and asking him for his prayers.³⁹⁹ He had baptized many of the pagans⁴⁰⁰ and had reconciled many of the Portuguese with God. And still he was not content with the success of his labors. More than one of his countrymen and also of the *casados* still lived in concubinage with their slaves and remained obdurate in their ways despite all his warnings, even when he threatened them with the judgment of God in his sermons. One day he told his hearers from the pulpit that when Christ our Lord sent His apostles to proclaim His word to the world, He had ordered them, if a city refused to listen to the teaching of God, to shake the dust from their shoes when they left it, for the wrath of God would come upon it. And he promised to do the same since the inhabitants of Malacca refused to give up their vices. He also told them that a great trouble would come over the city.

When the time for his departure came, Master Francis took leave of the captain, the *vigario* and his beneficiaries, of the *provedor* and the brothers of the Misericordia, of Antonio and Diogo Pereira, of Fernandes de Ilher, and of the rest of his friends, who urged him not to abandon them.⁴⁰¹ When he came to the beach, he shook the dust from his shoes and said that God was keeping him from taking the dust of such a wicked city as Malacca with him so that he would not contaminate others with it.⁴⁰² The new year of 1546 had begun

³⁹⁷ Meant is the East Syrian Church.

³⁹⁸ When Mar Jacob came to India in 1503, he met Bishop Mar John there. Nicolaus Trigault, S.J. wrote: "In Breviario Chaldaeo Ecclesiae Malabaricae D. Thomae in officio D. Thomae Apostoli in secundo Nocturno sic habentur ad verbum: *Per D. Thomam Sinæ et Aethiopes conversi sunt ad veritatem*: 'Per D. Thomam regnum coelorum volavit et ascendit ad Sinas'... Quando vero Lusitani Cocinum appulerunt, regebat hanc Ecclesiam Malabaricorum montium D. Iacobus, qui sic scribebat 'Metropolita Indiae et Chinae,' ut constat ex eiusdem manuscripto novi Testamenti codice" (*De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* [Aug. Vind. 1615] 124-126); See also Q 25 and 70.

³⁹⁹ MX II 420 422 425 427; DI I 367, III 531.

⁴⁰⁰ MX II 314 420 427; DI I 367.

⁴⁰¹ Valignano 94.

⁴⁰² A letter from Goa at the end of 1547 or the beginning of 1548 states: "When P. Magister Franciscus sailed from Malacca, a very rich fortress of the king of Portugal, where there are many married Portuguese, it was said that he was never able to produce fruit there, for, although they were married, they had three or four concubines, and many had half a dozen; and that he, when he left, shook the dust from his shoes. And others say that he took off his clothes and buried them and clothed himself in skins. But this does not seem to be true to me, except for what he did with his shoes" (DI I 255). Two witnesses in Cochin in 1557, Francisco Lopes de Almeida and Bento Gomes, mentioned his preaching and threats. Both had known Xavier in Malacca in

when Francis and João d'Eiró, at the beginning of January, left Malacca on the ship sailing for Banda.⁴⁰³

1545, and both said that he had left his shoes behind when he sailed from Malacca for the Moluccas (MX II 292 297). All other authors, for example, M. Nunes Barreto in Malacca in 1554, only state that he shook the dust from his shoes (DI III 133). It is not likely that Xavier did this at the time of his departure for India, that is, in 1547, as Francisco Garcia maintained (*ibid.* 286), or "because he could not produce any fruit there," as he said when he sailed for Japan, that is, in 1549, as Mendes Raposo maintained (*ibid.* 271). Neither of these two witnesses were with the saint in Malacca. A later legend states that Xavier, as he was standing near St. Paul's Church (Nossa Senhora do Monte), shook the dust from his feet and cursed the city and said that Malacca would never again flourish until the tide flowed over a certain rock which could be seen to the right of the causeway (*The Town and Fort of Malacca. A Guide* [Singapore, 1924] 22-23). Meant is the "Rock of St. Francis Xavier," marked with a cross on Eredia's plan not far from the hospital for the poor, where there is today a recently erected, iron city cross in the *Coronation Gardens* which have been claimed from the sea. Our sources however know nothing about his cursing the city.

⁴⁰³ "Ao principio de Janeiro" (EX I 339), "1º día de Enero" (Valignano 95).

CHAPTER II

AMBOINA (JANUARY—JUNE, 1546)

1. THE VOYAGE TO AMBOINA (JANUARY 1—FEBRUARY 14, 1546)¹

The Banda ship was a sturdily built galleon.² Among those sailing on it with Xavier were, in addition to João d'Eiró, a Portuguese merchant, João d'Araújo, who was going to Amboina with his wares,³ and Ruy Dias Pereira, who would continue on to Banda.

Ruy Dias Pereira,⁴ a *fidalgo* of the royal house, was one of the many sons

¹ We have been able to reconstruct Xavier's route from official sailing instructions in the *Libro de Marinharia* (LM), composed in 1530: Malacca-Sunda (244-253), Malacca-Banda (253-267). These contain the data of the Malayan pilots who at the end of December, 1511, showed the Portuguese ships sent from Malacca the way to the Banda Islands (cf. A. Cortesão, *Cartografia* II 122 130, and Pires, pp. LXXVIII-LXXXIV, with maps). These sailing instructions (*roteiros*) were of general value during the whole of the sixteenth century and even later (cf. Fontouro da Costa 292). They have been checked with the help of modern sailing manuals: for the stretch between Malacca and Kundur, the *Handbuch für Ceylon und die Malakka-Strasse* 442-445 367-371; for the stretch between Kundur and Lucipara, the *Segelhandbuch für den Ostindischen Archipel* I 384-434 489-538; for the stretch between Lucipara and Comba Island, the *Eastern Archipelago Pilot* II 85-298; for the further voyage to Amboina, *ibid.* I 462-465 470. In addition to the maps of the British admiralty and the special maps of the Topographical Service (Weltevreden, Java), see also the maps in Valentyn: Sumatra (V 2, 8), Java (IV 1, 2 12 36 51), Sumbawa, Flores, Timor (*ibid.* 36), and Amboina (II 1, 96); in Eredia 25v 45 60v-61 (Malacca-Sabang Strait) and 48v (Flores, Timor); and the maps and panoramic sketches of the pilot Francisco Rodrigues, who sailed to Banda in 1511 with Abreu and Serrão (Pires 521-528 129 208-209, maps; LXXXVIII XCIV, 200 panoramas). The map of Abreu's voyage in 1511-1512 (Pires LXXX) can also serve for Xavier's.

² Couto 6, 1, 3, pp. 16-17.

³ MX II 261; cf. 193-194 199.

⁴ Ruy Dias Pereira had hardly returned from Banda to Goa in March, 1547, when he sailed to the governor in Diu in order to winter there (Q 2867). In 1548 he sailed as the captain of a *fusta* with *lascars* to Aden with D. Alvaro, the son of the governor (Q 3742). He returned to India in 1553 after a voyage to Portugal (*Emmentia* 19), where we encounter him in 1556 in Bassein as a witness in Xavier's process (MX 384-385), and again in 1562 as the captain of the mountain fortress of Asheri (APO V 524-525), a post which he obtained for life in 1571 (*ibid.* 805, where *Asserim* instead of *Bassein* is to be read).—The captain of the Banda ship was probably Francisco de Mendonça, a *fidalgo* of the royal house, son of Antonio de Mendonça and Leonor Furtado, who sailed with his elder brother João de Mendonça to India in 1531 (*Emmentia* 332 620). He and his brother and Ruy Dias Pereira were left behind in Diu in 1537. There Francisco, the captain of the sea rampart, his brother João, the captain of the Villa dos Rumes, and Pereira, the captain of the "Royal House," which resembled a fortress, provided a table for many men (Castanheda 8, 167; Correa III 793). On March 20, 1538, he received from the king three Banda voyages as a reward for his services (Q 303). Fernão de Sousa, who had received the same three voyages before him on March 2, 1538 (Q 288), undertook his first voyage in September, 1539, but was slain by the Moors in Banda in 1540 (Q 837). Mendonça consequently was able to make his first voyage in 1541-1543, his second in 1543-1545, and his third in 1545-1547. In January, 1549, his brother Jorge de Mendonça wrote from Goa that Francisco had died there (Q 4133).

of one of the earliest and best known *casados* of Goa, Duarte Pereira, who, because of the murder of his wife in 1505 had been banished perpetually to India.⁵ In 1510 he had helped capture Goa, and in 1512 Banasterim. In 1518, as the captain of the *Ajuda pequena*, he had sailed against Aden with Albuquerque and had on this account been pardoned by him.⁶ Ruy Dias was the brother-in-law of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, the latter having married his sister.⁷ In 1535-1536 he had defended Bardez with the *casados* of Goa and, as captain of the oared ships, had defended Salsette from the captains of Asad Khān.⁸ In 1537 he spent the winter in Diu, where he provided a table for a hundred soldiers.⁹ He was also present as a witness when the treaty was made with the sultan of Cambay.¹⁰ In the same year he received from Portugal an appointment as *alcaide-mor* of the citadel of Banasterim, near Goa, for a period of three years.¹¹ He was particularly indebted to Master Francis. During the priest's stay in Malacca, one of his brothers had been so seriously ill that his mother had despaired of his life. For three days he had taken no food and was already being mourned as dead when Xavier was summoned to hear his confession. He came and consoled his mother. She had nothing to fear: her son would get well. After the priest had left, the sick man sat up and asked for something to eat; and soon after this he had regained his former good health.¹²

It was around six hundred leagues from Malacca to Amboina, and the voyage required one and one-half months. During this time Pereira kept the "holy priest" constantly before his eyes. He later testified with respect to him:¹³

I never saw anything in him which would have made a faithful Christian regard him for anything but a saintly man. He was always honorable and peaceful, and if he suffered some contradiction, he was very patient, without showing that he had been dishonored. He was most exemplary. . . . I embarked with the said Master Francis in a ship sailing for Banda. And I saw him make many Christians on the ship, and he preached to them in their own language. . . .¹⁴ Before God and my own conscience, I declare that all that I saw Master Francis do seemed to me to be more the work of divine grace than that of a man of this miserable life.

The northeast monsoon had reached its height. The wind blew from the north. The sky was for the most part covered with clouds, and frequent showers followed by a sun shining again in the deep blue of the skies tempered the heat. The white chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte, the landmark of Malacca, disappeared from view. The ship sailed southeast along the flat, thickly wooded

⁵ CA II 117.

⁶ *Ibid.* 15 20 117, IV 188, V 362. He is not to be confused with four namesakes.

⁷ Q 2867.

⁸ Castanheda 8, 137; Couto 4, 10, 5.

⁹ Castanheda 8, 167.

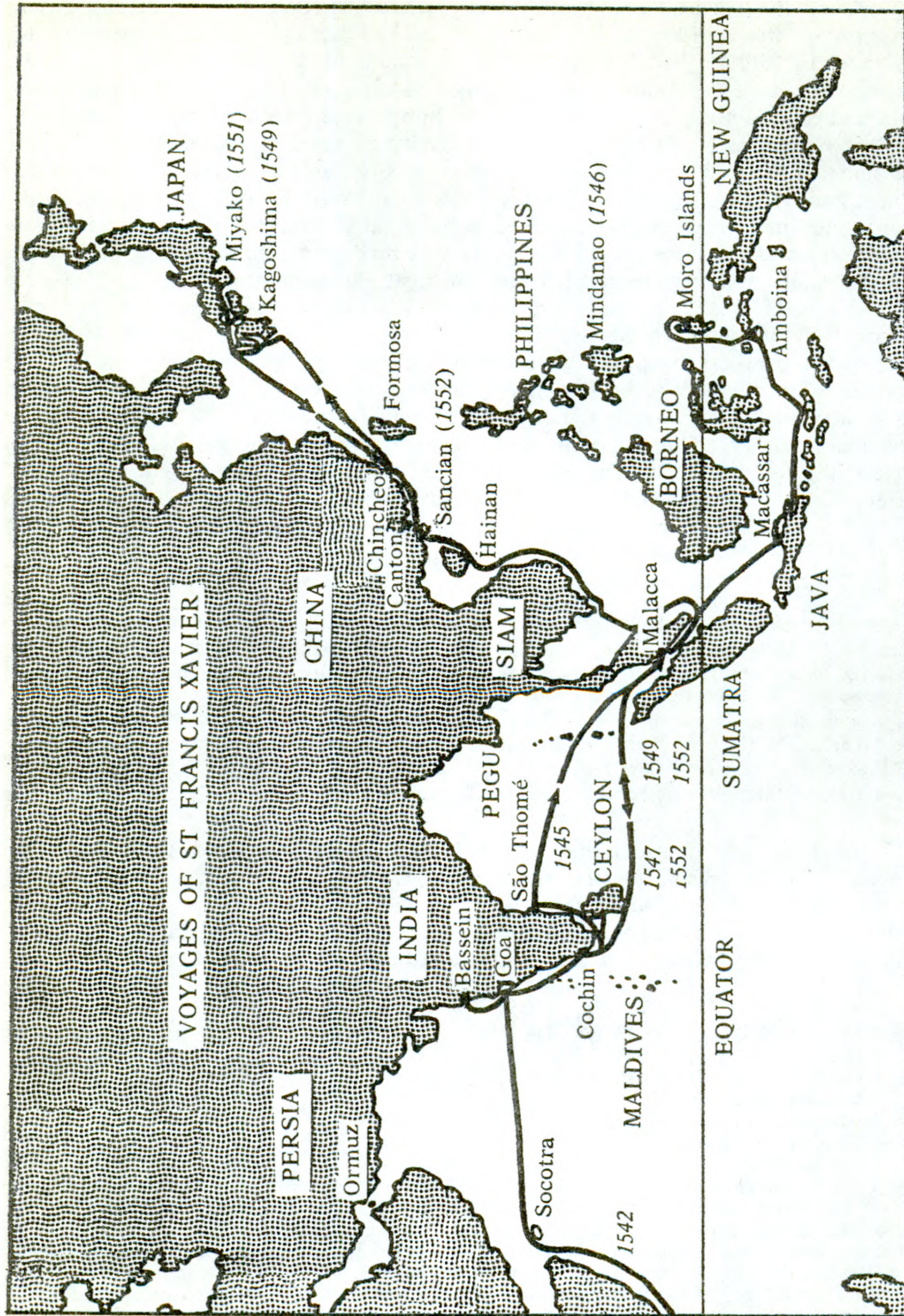
¹⁰ Botelho, *Tombo* 228.

¹¹ *Registo*, nn. 289-290.

¹² MX II 385.

¹³ In the Bassein process of 1556 (*ibid.* 384-385).

¹⁴ The sailors probably spoke Malay or Tamil and some Portuguese as well. Pereira says that Xavier preached to them "por sua lymgoa." Lucena makes of this "na sua propria arauia" and states that God had miraculously given him the gift of tongues for this (4, 1). According to Bartoli the sailors and soldiers were Indians, and they were converted partly by Xavier's arguments, and partly "mossi dallo stupendo miracolo del predicar che lor fece nella lingua propria di ciascuno, a lui del tutto incognita; o in una sola, intesa a un medesimo tempo da tutti, come fosse propria di ciascuno" (*Asia* 2, 6).



coast of Malacca past the small tree-covered Sapata Islands¹⁵ and came to the Muar River and from there to the Formosa River,¹⁶ where Mount Formosa, known to the natives as Gunong Banang, rising to a height of 1,420 feet, and fifteen leagues away from Malacca, served as a landmark.¹⁷ Eight leagues farther on the wooded, projecting coast of the island of Pulo Pisang was reached. Here the pilot left the mainland and steered six leagues to the south to the large and lofty island of Karimon¹⁸ and its smaller, surrounding islands and, from there, to the smaller island of Pulo Ambelas,¹⁹ lying not far from the coast of Sumatra and marking the entrance into the Sabang Strait.²⁰

The ship then sailed south and southeast for fifty leagues close along the flat, swampy, and densely wooded coast of Sumatra with a gay confusion of coastal islands on the left. It was a richly varied voyage through an enchanting earthly paradise. On the right and left ever new islets and islands richly covered with tropical vegetation kept rising from the green waters. Again and again the ship seemed to be on an inland lake or on an endlessly winding river. Every hour brought some new surprise. Now and then the voyagers seemed to be surrounded by islands covered with tall bushes swimming in the sea; and between the shade trees there could everywhere be seen the graceful crowns of slender palms.²¹

From Pulo Ambelas the ship sailed three leagues farther on to the islet of Pulo Lalang²² with its tall covering of trees. This was three leagues from the coast of Sumatra, lying between it and the large island of Sabang,²³ so that both coasts could be seen in the same glance. The islet was kept a *berço's-shot*²⁴ away on the right; and the pilot, with his sounding line always in hand, kept a watchful course through the narrow channel with its dangerous reefs on the right and left. During the night the ship was anchored, as it always was in such areas.²⁵

A second island, Pulo Pandan, was kept to the left. The ship then sailed between the lofty southern peak of Sabang Island and two small islands known as Batu Djanggi.²⁶ The passage here was three crossbow's-shots in width. Here it was opposite the mouth of the Kampar River in Sumatra, whose coast was avoided because of a hidden reef. At the same time the coast on the left was kept half a league away. South within the Sabang Strait appeared a group of rather small islands covered with mangroves. These were known as the Durei Islands. The ship again drew near to the coast of Sumatra until a depth of from six to seven fathoms was reached.²⁷ It then sailed along it, always with the

¹⁵ Pulo Sapat, Water Islands. Picture in *Handbuch* 442-443.

¹⁶ Sungi Batu Pahat, Formosa River.

¹⁷ Picture in *Handbuch* 444.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, picture on pl. IV 18.

¹⁹ Pulo Tambelas.

²⁰ The Portuguese called the strait between Karimun and Kundur on the east and Rangsang and Mendol on the west *Estreito de Sabão* after the village Sabang on the west coast of Kundur (cf. Pires 150, n. 2); map in Eredia 61. All ships sailing from Java, Banda, or the Moluccas had to pass through this strait, as Albuquerque wrote in 1513 (CA III 60-61).

²¹ Cf. Dahlmann I 59.

²² *Pulo Labão, Pulo Ballão* (LM).

²³ Kundur.

²⁴ The *berço* was a short field gun.

²⁵ Escalante 198; Linschoten I 79; LM 246 255.

²⁶ *Bato Yambin* (LM).

²⁷ We give old Portuguese fathoms (*braça*) of seven feet, two inches. The German *Klafter* and English fathom have six feet.

sounding line in the pilot's hand. Near Pulo Burung,²⁸ a small, low, forested island separated from Sumatra by only a narrow waterway, the ship had already traversed the channel.

Here it passed the equator. The sea became more open. Far off in the east lay the two large Lingga Islands. The one on the north had two peaks reaching to a height of more than 3,280 feet;²⁹ the one of the south was lower.³⁰ Like Kampar on Sumatra, these islands were subject to the former sultan of Malacca, who lived on the Johore River in Ujong Tanah, the southern point of the Malacca Peninsula.³¹ Continuing on its way, the ship sighted the three, small, densely wooded Alang-Tiga Islands,³² east of which were numerous reefs. It therefore sailed between them and Cape Bakau³³ on the coast of Sumatra, which now turned towards the west and disappeared from view. The ship then left the delta of the Indragiri River, which was also subject to the sultan of Malacca,³⁴ on the right and sailed southeast straight through the open sea³⁵ to the rocky island of Pulo Varela³⁶ with its tall trees and coconut palms nine leagues away from the Indragiri River and two leagues east of Cape Djabung³⁷ on the coast of Sumatra, which again drew nearer beyond the delta of the large Djambi River. The boat sailed again along this coast with the open sea on the left until fifteen leagues farther on it reached the entrance of the Banka Strait.³⁸

The narrow channel of this strait continued for fifteen or twenty leagues to the southeast. Here the pilot had always to have his sounding line in hand, and the ship had to be anchored at night until the strait had finally been passed.³⁹

To the left of the entrance rose the broad summit of Menumbing.⁴⁰ This easily seen mountain formed the northwest cape of the large, long island of Banka. The boat sailed between it and the coast of Sumatra until it reached the mouth of the large Palembang River some six or seven leagues farther on. The granite coast on the left and the peaks of the lofty island of Banka, usually concealed by clouds, drew ever nearer. But the island itself was shunned because of its numerous, dangerous shallows;⁴¹ and the course was kept from a half to a league away from the flat, swampy coast of Sumatra, where many vessels had already been stranded, including three Portuguese ships, the *Santa Ofemia*, *Bretoia*, and *São Christovão*.⁴² The capital, Palembang, however, lay within the

²⁸ *Pulo Burão* (LM).

²⁹ Lingga.

³⁰ Singkep.

³¹ Pires 150-151 263-264; Macgregor 48-126.

³² *Calamtigua* (LM).

³³ *Tanjaboco* (LM).

³⁴ Pires 263.

³⁵ Past the bay of Amphitrite.

³⁶ Pulo Berhala.

³⁷ *Tamjambun* (LM).

³⁸ Also called Palembang Strait. On it see also *Fernandez da Fonseca 296-304.

³⁹ "Lembrovos ho prumo que ho leveis sempre na mão, porque ao som do prumo se navegua por aquy e nam doutra maneira" (LM 257).

⁴⁰ Menâpim, Monampim, Manampim (LM).

⁴¹ "Por iso abry os olhos, porque sabereis, que da Ilha de Bamqua, que he da terra dalem, que ha mais mal do que vos posso contar, porque os negros ho dizem. Nam vos fallo da costa de Bamqua nada, porque della nam tenho esperiemça; da sua vomdade vos goardey como do fogo!" (LM 259).

⁴² LM 250 258. At the end of 1526 the *Santa Ofemia* sailed under Captain Duarte Coelho from Malacca to Sunda (Q 1629). In 1512 the *São Christovão* fought against the

interior on the bank of the same named river. The country was for the most part inhabited by pagans and was subject, like the neighboring kingdom of Djambi and the island of Banka, to the Moorish *patih* of Demak on Java.⁴³

The voyagers could now admire the majestic splendor of Sumatra from close at hand. Here and there Malayan villages with their brown houses resting on piles and their high, sloped, gabled roofs appeared amidst the brilliant green of the palms and bamboo groves of the flat coast. In the background rose up, one after the other, lofty mountains, all covered with thick, primitive forests until on the horizon could be seen huge, isolated volcanic cones standing out against the distant blue. Rising from seven to ten thousand feet in height, one of these followed the other over the jagged ridges of the mountains that linked them together. Some of these volcanoes had a regular, conelike shape with steeply falling rivulets of water; others were wild, rocky peaks split into fantastic shapes.⁴⁴

The passage became narrower as the ship drew near its exit. The coast of Sumatra suddenly turned sharply to the south. To the left, between it and the south cape of Banka Island, could be seen the tree-covered, 130-foot-high Lucipara Island.⁴⁵ Here the Banda ship left Sumatra and, without sighting the coast of Sunda, that is, western Java, steered southeast straight through the open sea for almost 120 leagues towards central Java until the thickly wooded island of Karimun Djawa and the neighboring Kemudjan were sighted. These were the two principal members of a group of twenty-five coral islands, a voyage of three days and nights with the monsoon wind.⁴⁶

The sounding line indicated a depth of thirty fathoms. At twenty-eight fathoms, Java was sighted in the form of the mighty volcano of Tuban,⁴⁷ rising apparently straight out of the sea. Nine leagues farther on, the wooded, rocky island of Mandalika and then Cape Alang Alang,⁴⁸ the spur of a 5,250-foot-high mountain with numerous, steeply falling streams on the coast of Java were reached. West of this cape lay the harbor city of Demak, the residence of the mortal enemy of the Portuguese and the most powerful of all the Mohammedan *patih*s. He was at constant war with the pagan princes of the interior and dreamed of making himself the master of the whole of Java.

The ship kept a distance of two leagues from the coast, shifting its course towards the east as it followed the coastline for forty leagues. It was a magnificent voyage.⁴⁹ Beyond the flat, fertile, and densely populated plain on the right, ever new volcanic peaks rose seven to ten thousand feet and higher into the clouds. These were crowned with light, white, sulfurous clouds; and their steep

Javanese in Malacca (Castanheda 3, 102). The *Segelhandbuch* also advises prudence in passing the Palembang delta: "The sandbanks from Vierde Punt to six knots west of them consist of hard sand which is covered with a thin layer of soft mud. It is there so steep that the plumb line gives only a brief warning of too close an approach. Numerous ships have been grounded there; at times it happens that a depth sixty-six feet has been plumbed, and before there is time to make a new sounding, the ship is already grounded. . . . Particular care is to be taken if one sails along this coast during the rainy season. At this time large floating islands of trees and plants come down the rivers with the current" (413).

⁴³ Pires 154-157.

⁴⁴ Cf. Dahlmann I 59-60.

⁴⁵ *Nucapare, Nicapare* (LM).

⁴⁶ Pires 157.

⁴⁷ Probably the 10,660-foot-high Gunong Lawu is meant.

⁴⁸ Between Djapara and Tadju.

⁴⁹ For the voyage along the coast of Java, see Bickmore 25-35; Epp 241-242.

slopes were marked with sharply defined, densely wooded watercourses, and were covered far up their heights with luxuriant plantations. Though the volcanoes were deep within the interior, they still seemed to be fairly near to the coast. They presented a wonderful view in the morning, when the first rays of the sun lit up the peaks of the huge mountains with a rose-colored glow. The whole country was an endless garden; and village after village, alive with countless fishing boats, stretched out along the coast. In between them were large, prosperous cities: Rembang, Kanjongan,⁵⁰ and Tuban, which was surrounded by a brick wall. Each of these was ruled by a Mohammedan *patih*, while the pagans in the interior were ruled by pagan lords. Three leagues beyond Tuban⁵¹ was Sidaju.⁵² Beyond Cape Udjung Pankab⁵³ the flat coast veered sharply towards the south and formed with the opposite, flat coast of the large island of Madura a narrow, winding strait. The pilot here left the shallow waters of Java and sighted the island of Panjamukan⁵⁴ off the northwest coast of Madura. He then turned, always with his sounding line in hand, towards the south to the island of Pulo Mango,⁵⁵ lying in the midst of the channel, from where the junks in the harbor of Grisee on Java could already be seen.

Grisee lay on the narrowest part of the passage. From ancient times it had been renowned as the rendezvous for ships from Gujarāt, Calicut, Bengal, Siam, China, and the Liukiu Islands. Its harbor was protected from winds from any direction, and the native merchantmen could anchor so near the city that their bows touched the houses.⁵⁶ The capture of Malacca by the Portuguese and their discovery of the seaway to the Moluccas had been a severe blow to the city's trade. Francisco de Sá had also punished it in 1527 because the Mohammedans there had killed a good many Portuguese and had seized their wares.⁵⁷ It was regarded by the Moors as a holy city, for Sheik Ibn Maulāna, the first apostle of Islam in Java, had died there in 1419.⁵⁸ Two leagues beyond Grisee, near the narrow exit of the channel, was the large city of Surabaja, the last Mohammedan harbor on the island.⁵⁹

The whole of the northern coast of Java as far as Surabaja was in the hands of the Mohammedan *patihs* since their capture of Sunda, the Hindu empire of western Java, in 1527. During the course of seventy years they had gained possession of all the harbors in this part of Java and its hinterland, eight leagues in breadth, to the base of the tall volcanoes; and they had taken all the maritime trade from the pagans. Thomé Pires, the secretary of the factory of Malacca, had given a lengthy description of Java and its people in his *Suma Oriental* in 1515.⁶⁰ A hundred years earlier the pagan overlord of Java, the king of Madja-

⁵⁰ According to Pires, the *guste pate*, the pagan viceroy of Java, destroyed Cajongam. The *patihs* of Rembang and Tuban then divided up the wasted and depopulated land among themselves (189). But the ship in which Escalante sailed from Amboina to Malacca in 1546 again landed at this harbor (Escalante 198).

⁵¹ Pires 189-191.

⁵² *Cudaro* (LM). The present Sidaju lawas (Old Sidaju).

⁵³ *Jubamqua* (LM).

⁵⁴ *Chamaqua* (LM).

⁵⁵ *Ilha pequena* (LM). Meant is Pulo Manko on Valentyn's map.

⁵⁶ *Aguacern*, *Guacern* (LM), *Agraci* (Pires), Gresik. In 1513 it was a twin city with two Moorish *patihs* fighting among themselves (Pires 192-194).

⁵⁷ According to Manuel Godinho, who took part in the expedition (Q 1629).

⁵⁸ Van Niewenhoff mentions an alleged local tradition according to which Xavier landed at Grisee (217), probably a confusion with Ibn Maulāna.

⁵⁹ Pires 196.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 174-182 199-200.

pahit, had extended his rule from Java to the Moluccas and over all the islands of the archipelago; and his ships manned by pagans had sailed to the Coromandel Coast and Bengal, to the rich trading city of Pasei on Sumatra, and even as far as Aden in Arabia. But the flourishing trade had also attracted foreign merchants to Java: Persians, Arabs, Gujars, Bengalis, Malays, and Chinese. Many of these were Mohammedans, who began to conduct trade on Java itself. They acquired harems of native women, built mosques, and brought their Mohammedan preachers, *mollas*, who made converts among the pagans. In many villages the native lords were converted to the religion of the Prophet; in others, the Moorish traders established their own domain by force. Even though these Mohammedans were foreigners and of common stock, descendants of Chinese, Persian, Tamil, and other peoples, many even of former slaves, they became, as lords of the harbor cities, thanks to their wealth and influence, prouder than the proud pagan lords of the interior, with whom they were at constant war in their efforts to secure possession of their lands as well. They acted as if they were the rulers of the world. They lived for hunting and sensual pleasures. The *patih* of Tuban, for example, had in Pires' time a thousand hounds and two hundred concubines.⁶¹ They kept show horses and elephants, traveled on gilded and enameled ceremonial carts drawn by oxen and in elegant boats richly adorned with carved snakes and countless other figures. They lived in palaces with paintings of all kinds of people and hunting scenes, and with expensively furnished women's quarters.⁶² Their followers, attired in gold-worked robes and armed with swords, knives, and sabers, and gold-inlaid creeses, lived in elaborate homes. And because of their artillery, they had been more than a match for the Hindu princes of the interior.

The overlord of pagan Java, the king of Madjapahit, lived in Pires' time in his capital of Daha⁶³ within the interior, a good two days' journey from Tuban, which was nominally subject to him. The *patih* of Tuban, when Pires was there, told him that the king lived secluded in his palace in Daha and that the people who attended his court were numberless, though he only appeared in public once or twice a year. Within the environs of his palace he had, in addition to his many wives and concubines, a thousand eunuchs dressed as women with their hair arranged in the form of a diadem to guard and serve them. He left the ruling of his lands to his *guste patih*, or viceroy, who was obeyed by all the pagan lords of the island, and who was at constant war with the Moorish *patih*s of the coast, especially with their leader, the *patih* of Demak. When he took the field, according to Pires' authority, who was probably exaggerating, he marched with two hundred thousand warriors, among whom were two thousand cavalrymen and four thousand arquebusiers. But a few years after Pires' visit to Java, the united Moorish *patih*s had captured his capital and rased it to the ground.⁶⁴

The pagan Javanese of the interior were also enthusiastic hunters and had numerous hunting dogs with collars of silver and gold. They were a proud

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 191.

⁶² Meant are fabrics with batik designs. Cf. Castanheda 3, 62, where a painting of this type, a gift of the king of Java, is described.

⁶³ Pires 190-191.

⁶⁴ See above, pp. 12-13. Pigafetta, who came to Java in 1522, writes: "Le maggiori ville che sono in Giava sono queste: Magepahor (il suo re quando viveva era maggiore da tutte queste isole e chiamavase raià Pathiunus), Sunda (in questa nasce molto pevere), Daha, Dama, Gaghiamada, Minutarangan, Cipara, Sidaiu, Tuban, Cressi, Cirubaia e Balli" (257). The text in Ramusio 396 is abbreviated and distorted. Patih Unus was the *patih* of Djapara. The king of Madjapahit was called Batara Browijaya (Pires 174).

people, tall, handsome, and warlike. If they wrote a letter and received no answer, they would never write again, even if there was a question of an embassy and important matters. They were foolhardy, fearless of death; and if they were wounded in battle, they gave no sign of pain. When the king or one of his leaders died, his wives and concubines had to let themselves be burned alive with his corpse, or drown themselves, or kill themselves with a creese. Among these pagans there were also men and women who lived like monks or nuns and beguines. Masked and female dancers, who moved to the sound of their musical instruments, and shadow theaters for evening performances were also very numerous. For their trips by land the natives had ox-drawn wagons with cabins artistically carved in wood or ivory, each drawn by two nimble oxen, whose hoofs and horns had been skillfully carved. The wives of the prominent men were zealously protected and sheltered from every gaze. Every man, however, whether rich or poor, had to have his weapons in his house—a creese, lance, and shield; and no male between the ages of twelve and eighty could leave his house without his creese on his right hip. The wives of the leading men were the proudest creatures on earth. When they went out they wore elaborate garments and golden crowns and diadems. If they felt they had been mistreated, they stabbed themselves or their husband with a creese in the heart.⁶⁵ And whereas the inhabitants of Sunda in Pires' time were regarded as being honorable, truthful, and braver than the rest of the inhabitants of Java, the Islamized dwellers on the coast had the reputation of being the most treacherous people in the world.⁶⁶

When the Moorish *patih* of Surabaya wished to conquer eastern Java with its harbors of Kanitam, Pasuruan, Panaruka, and Blambangan, and the Hindu *patih*s of the three first harbors favored him, the *patih* of Blambangan slew them, seized their domains for himself, and brought the advance of the Moors to a decisive halt.⁶⁷ The new pagan *patih* of Panaruka in 1528 sent an ambassador to Malacca in 1528 to make an alliance with the Portuguese,⁶⁸ and from then on he had always remained on friendly terms with them and had given them a warm welcome. The result was that there were always a number staying in his harbor.⁶⁹

The Banda ship as a rule turned away from the island near Surabaya if there was no special reason for sailing to the harbors of eastern Java and steered northeast to the southern coast of the long, hilly, and densely wooded island of Madura, which was under the dominion of a pagan *patih* who could field fifty thousand warriors.⁷⁰ The ship sailed along the coast of Madura, passing between it and the island of Mandegua,⁷¹ with the sounding line always ready, to the

⁶⁵ So much according to Pires, who treats of the coastal cities and their *patih*s at length and notes that he had obtained precise information about everything from many people (199), and that one of his authorities was the *patih* of Tuban (176).

⁶⁶ Pires 173; Barbosa II 193; Escalante 198. The *roteiro* passes the most critical judgment upon them: "Goardarvoseis de toda a gente como do fogo porque sam muito tredos, porque estão comprando e vemdemdo comvosque e nam reinão [espreitão] senão como vos ham de matar; e nam digo somente por Mandeliqua senão por toda a Jaoa camanha he" (LM 253).

⁶⁷ Pires 197-198.

⁶⁸ Castanheda 7, 83.

⁶⁹ According to Urdaneta, who passed through here in 1535 (Navarrete III 245).

⁷⁰ Pires 227-228.

⁷¹ According to the *roteiro* the island of Mandegua lay opposite Labuão on Madura (Valentyn's map places it in the area west of the mouth of the Blega River in the neigh-

east cape of Madura and then between the two islands of Sapudi and Raas that lay before it. The sounding line did not reach the bottom here, where the *Sabaia* of Francisco Serrão had been lost in 1512,⁷² even though one could touch with his hand the trees on the shore. The ship then sailed south to the thickly populated, fertile island of Bali,⁷³ whose giant volcano, Gunong Agung, rose some ten thousand feet up from the deep blue sea and was visible for twenty leagues.⁷⁴

Here began the Small Sunda Islands, separated from each other by narrow passages. These volcanic mountains formed a chain 160 leagues long from Java to Timor, the home of the sandalwood tree, and were all inhabited by pagans and ruled over by pagan kings. They rose steeply from the deep sea and were rich in harbors, fresh water, provisions, and slaves, who were sold here.⁷⁵ The ship sailed along their northern shores towards the east with the open sea to its left.

Following Bali there was a second large volcanic island, Lombok,⁷⁶ whose enormous volcano, Rinjani, rose 12,500 feet into the skies, and whose slopes were covered with a thick forest for nearly 7,000 of these. The voyage from Java to Bali, like that from Bali to Lombok, was dangerous because of the rip tides which drove ships sailing between these islands towards the south. These were even stronger between Lombok and Sumbawa,⁷⁷ the third island. It was here that the ship of Tristão de Paiva and many junks had been lost. If the wind failed as a ship was sailing from one island to another, the only means of escape was to row as hard as possible towards the north and evade the current which drew the ship into the passage and turned it around as often as three hundred times an hour until it smashed it on the reefs.⁷⁸

Ships sailed from Mount Feroso, the west cape of Sumbawa, along the high coast, whose bare mountains showed the same sharp grooves of falling waters as those of the volcanoes of Java. Only on their lower slopes was there tropical vegetation.⁷⁹ After eight leagues, two coastal islands were sighted: Madam,⁸⁰ so flat that, as a ship approached it, only the trees could be seen rising above the water, and the mountainous island of Moyo.⁸¹ Opposite them a large, densely populated bay opened up on the main island to the right. On the other

borhood of the present Sereseh), one league from the coast of Madura, nine from Cape Combaya, the southeast cape of Madura, at $8\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, in front of a tongue of land (Cape Macassar), and nine leagues from Panaruka. It is thus Valentyn's island of *Badiengien*, the present Pulo Kambing. The author of the *roteiro* states that he had already sailed many times between this island and Madura (LM 263).

⁷² The manuscript atlas of Francisco Rodrigues, who accompanied Abreu's voyage of discovery in 1511 as the pilot of one of the three ships, has on ff. 54-55 a drawing of the two islands with the observation: "Pude homde sse perdeo a Ssabaia," and on f. 36 a Java-Sumbawa map with the notice: "Aqui se perdeo a Sabaia e esta Ilha se chama Pude" (Pires 208 and LXXXII-LXXXIII); cf. CA IV 170.

⁷³ *Bamcha* (LM), *Ballaram* (Francisco Rodrigues' map in Pires 208), *Baly* (Pires 200).

⁷⁴ The volcano is called Gunong Agung (Great Mountain). Here, as later, the *roteiro* explains the Malay names (LM 264). See also Bickmore 65; Epp 244.

⁷⁵ Pires 200-202.

⁷⁶ *Anjane* (LM) after the volcano Rinjani; *Bombo* (Pires 200), *Lomboquo* (F. Rodrigues' map in Pires 208).

⁷⁷ *Cimbaua* (LM and Pires 200), *Sumbaua* (F. Rodrigues' map).

⁷⁸ LM 264-265.

⁷⁹ Epp 245.

⁸⁰ *Gerimilladaon* (LM).

⁸¹ See the panorama of Saleh Bay and East Sumbawa by F. Rodrigues (Pires 208, explanation 527-528).

side of it, behind the wooded islet of Arrang Arrang, arose the similarly named, tall, active volcano.⁸² Farther to the east there followed a second, deep bay on the right encompassed by steep rock walls. Here was the residence of the king of Bima,⁸³ from whose dark-skinned subjects native textiles were commonly purchased for sale in Banda and the Moluccas.⁸⁴ Opposite the east end of the island rose up from the deep blue sea to a height of 6,595 feet the volcano of Gunong Api with its twin peaks. It was twelve leagues from Arrang Arrang and ruled by its own pagan lord.⁸⁵

A distance of fifteen leagues separated Sumbawa from the next larger island, the long and relatively narrow Flores.⁸⁶ The ship then sailed past a series of smaller islands until it reached Tandjong Besi, the west end of the island.⁸⁷ It then glided along its bare, wild mountain chain, whose rock wall rose up vertically to a height of nearly a thousand feet out of the sea. Here and there the green mountain world of the interior could be seen, or a bay opened up like an amphitheater before the voyagers. Despite its apparent solitude, the island was densely populated, as was indicated by the columns of smoke that could be seen by day and the numerous fires at night.⁸⁸

Ten miles beyond the cape was the beautiful island of Nusa Raja lying off the coast;⁸⁹ and nine leagues farther east the island of Nusa Linguette,⁹⁰ located farther north, came into view. Because of its shallows it was kept on the left. When Francisco de Mello sailed with Antonio de Miranda to Banda in 1514, he had been here forced to cut down the mast of his ship, the *São Christovão*; and many junks had been lost here.⁹¹ Near Tandjong Bunga, the "Flower Cape," the east end of Flores, ships sailed to the northeast straight through the open sea until, after they had traversed seven leagues, they saw the sparsely covered,

⁸² The small island is today called Satonda. The volcano is the famous Tambora, whose eruption in 1815 diminished its height by two-thirds and caused the death of more than ten thousand people. Later, as a consequence of this eruption, 37,825 died of hunger and sickness and 36,275 were forced into exile (Heynen 11-12).

⁸³ Because of the deep Saleh Bay, Bima was earlier often taken for an island proper (Pires 201-203).

⁸⁴ Pires 203.

⁸⁵ Gunong Api (Fire Mountain), *Gunapim* (LM), *Ilha do fogo* (F. Rodrigues' map), today Sangeang Island (Pires 203, picture 200).

⁸⁶ Also called Samadenga (Pires 526-527).

⁸⁷ *Tamjambis*, Iron Cape (LM).

⁸⁸ Epp 247. F. C. Heynen gives a local tradition according to which Xavier came to Flores but did not land since the inhabitants were not inclined to receive him. He bent, nevertheless, far over the side of the ship and his belt fell into the sea. As a perpetual remembrance of his brief stay, a coral reef was formed on the spot; and from then on it bore the name of *Cordão de S. Francisco*. The author however notes that the name was a remembrance of Francis of Assisi rather than of Xavier (*Schetsen vit der Nederlandsch-Indische Missie. De kerkelijke statien op Flores* [1's Hertogenbosh, 1876] 12). The reef is located to the north of Flores between Sikka ketjil, or Maumere, and the island of Rusa Linguette. At the time of his visit to Larantuka in 1905, A. Kortenhorst, S.J., heard another alleged Xavier tradition from one of the oldest men of the village. According to it the saint also visited Flores on his voyage to Amboina and caused the spring *Ajer heiran* (Miraculous Water) to spring up in Maumere close by the sea (*Berichten vit Nederlandsch Oost-Indië voor de Sint-Claverbond*, 1906, III 62).

⁸⁹ *Nucarraya* (LM), *Rusaraja* (the Homem map), *Lusarraya* (Linschoten I 70), today called Palu or Raja. *Nusa* and *Rusa* mean island. Picture in Pires, p. XCIV.

⁹⁰ *Nucarantete*, *Nucarramgete* (LM), *Nusaramgeti* (F. Rodrigues' map in Pires, p. LXXXVIII), today Sukur or Rusa Linguette, as it is already indicated on Homem's map of 1568.

⁹¹ LM 266-267; Pires 215; CA IV 70.

2,450-foot-high volcanic island of Batutara.⁹² Rich in foodstuffs, it was inhabited by pagans. From here the pilot sailed again northeast to the low, white, tree-covered island of Gilimão,⁹³ then some eight or nine leagues farther on to two small wooded islets,⁹⁴ and then beyond them, ever towards the northeast, to Small Buru and Amboina.

The month and a half that had been estimated as the length of time needed for the voyage had almost run out when the pilot told everyone on the ship that it would hardly be possible to set the priest and his companion and Araújo with his wares on land in Amboina. A strong west wind was driving the vessel on, and the great depth of the sea made it impossible to cast the anchor.⁹⁵ Master Francis, however, went to see him and told him that they had not as yet passed Amboina. The following morning they would reach the mouth of the bay, where they would be able to put him on land. It happened as he had said it would. When morning dawned, the lofty mountains of the island came into view. The wind which had accompanied them thus far died down and a boat was lowered.⁹⁶ When it drew near the coast two *praus* came out to meet it. The men became afraid and rowed back into the open sea until the boats could no longer be seen. When the men accompanying Xavier were reluctant to expose themselves again to the risk of falling into the hands of pirates, Francis told them not to worry about rowing back to the bay since there was nothing to fear; and they followed his advice.⁹⁷

The mountains of Amboina drew nearer.⁹⁸ A deep bay enclosed by green, wooded heights opened up before them. The entrance to the bay, which lay between two steeply falling, white-foaming promontories, was over six miles wide and resembled the mouth of a large river whose distant shores came ever closer together. On the right, beyond the cape, appeared a village consisting of brown, palm-leaf cottages in the shade of slender-coconut palms. It was surrounded by gardens and fruit trees and fishing *praus* on the white strand, against which the waves kept breaking. Beyond this there was a second village. The coast, on this side of the bay, then became deserted. The mountains rose steeply from the rocky shore, leaving no room for a settlement until a half-league farther on, a third village could be seen.⁹⁹ On the left the mountains rose higher to nearly three thousand feet, and three small villages followed one another.¹⁰⁰ The

⁹² Komba Island. Pires writes: "Daly [de Batutara] se toma a rrota abatida para Bandam e para Ambon" (439; cf. 204-205 and pp. LXXXII-LXXXIII).

⁹³ *Gilimão*, *Gemilão*, eight or nine leagues from the two nearest islands (Lucipara) according to the *roteiro*, is Gunong Api, ten to twelve leagues from them, a 1,460-foot-high, widely visible landmark, past which Abreu and Serrão also sailed, and not Lucipara, as Cortesão intends (Pires, p. LXXXII).

⁹⁴ Meant are the two small turtle islands (*Lusopinho*), one lying half a league south and another half a league southwest of the third, or the five Lucipara Islands, almost three leagues southwest of them. From here one sailed, according to the *roteiro*, until Small Buru (Ambelau) was sighted, and then eastwards to Amboina (LM 267).

⁹⁵ Near the southwest cape of Amboina the sea is 328 feet deep and a little farther out it drops to 5,845 feet.

⁹⁶ According to Ruy Dias Pereira (MX II 385).

⁹⁷ According to the testimony of Palha, who heard it from Xavier himself (*ibid.* 199).

⁹⁸ See the descriptions of the entrance into the bay in Martin 1-2; Bickmore 93; Olivier I 27-28; *Eastern Archipelago Pilot* I 462-463; the large panorama of the bay taken from the slope of Mount Kerbau north of Hatiwi besar and the view of the Salahutu mountain range from the heights behind the city of Ambon in Verbeek (10 22) and his large geological map of Amboina.

⁹⁹ Nusaniwi (Silali), Eri-Nusaniwi and Amahusu.

¹⁰⁰ Liliboi and Hatu in the mountains and Tawiri on the beach.

slopes were covered with a dense, primitive forest that reached down to the beach. Up higher could be seen here and there large clearings covered with tall grass and clusters of small trees with a distinctive, brilliantly green foliage. These were groves of clove trees, which reached their southernmost limit here in Amboina.¹⁰¹ The deep blue sheet of water under the deep blue sky, the bright green of the coconut palms on the beach, the wooded mountains with their dark, shady valleys, and the sunlit heights created a rich and colorful scene; and in the background, in the northeast of the bay, which extended for a distance of nineteen miles, the sunken crater of an extinct volcano¹⁰² rising some 3,300 feet into the sky and the pale blue heights of the island of Seran that lay in the distance behind it completed the glorious view.

As the boat sailed into the bay, new scenes kept constantly unfolding. The travelers had already rowed ten and a half miles when on the left, beyond a projection, a native village, Hatiwi,¹⁰³ appeared. Dark brown men and women in colorful Malayan sarongs and jackets were standing on the beach, their long, jet-black hair held together by a headband;¹⁰⁴ and fishing *praus* rocked back and forth along the beach. It was February 14: the goal of their month-and-a-half voyage had been reached.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Although Amboina did not belong to the five Spice Islands, it still had clove trees in many places. Every year three hundred *bahārs* of cloves with their stalks (*cravo de bastão*) were collected there, but in size and taste they did not compare with those from Maluco, probably because they were harvested too soon (Rebello 378-379 395; cf. also Carrión 23). Only at the beginning of the sixteenth century, according to Rumphius, did the inhabitants of Luhu on Hoamoal (Seran) secretly bring cloves from the Moluccas to their village and planted them there and then in West Hitu (5); so also Valentyn II 2, 15.

¹⁰² Salhutu.

¹⁰³ Today Hatiwi besar.

¹⁰⁴ With regard to their dress: The **Desenhos* give only pictures of Javanese, Achinese, and Bandanese, all dressed in bright sarongs with jerkins and headbands, whereas the Ternatense wore Mahmmedan garb: a caftan with a belt and a turban. Valentyn II 1, 182 gives a picture of an Amboinese. On their long hair, see *ibid.* 143-144; Sá IV 194; Riedel 39. According to Riedel men and women in earlier times wore *tjidakos*, customary among the Alfuros, that is, loincloths made of bast; later the women wore sarongs made of woven pandanus leaves (64); but he does not distinguish between Amboina and the Uliaser Islands. In 1516 Barbosa already wrote how much the Amboinese treasured cotton goods from Cambay (II 199). Bocchier wrote the same in 1518, but he added that they wore aprons made of bast, probably meaning by this the people on the Uliaser Islands (247). In 1569 Rebello, writing from the Moluccas, stated that men and women wore Malayan garb, made of cotton, and headbands (362). He says nothing of the dress worn on the Amboina archipelago. In 1570 the women, "richly dressed according to the custom of their country in silk and gold," danced as they received the missionary in Ulate on the Uliaser Islands (ARSI: Goa 12, 18). The author of the *Feitos eroicos* wrote, however, in 1599 that on the island of Itto (Hitu), which he identifies with Amboina, the Ittos (Hituese) were kings and all those cities (of the Amboina archipelago) were subject to them, since they were people who differed from everyone else in dress and politics (*pulitica*), and that the women were also different from all others in their dress and manners (*trato*) and wore their hair reaching down to the ground (194). According to Valentyn, the men in his time still wore a white or red handkerchief wound about their head, the Moors a turban or a narrow, red, blue, or white headband (II 1, 168-169). Marta, on the other hand, wrote in 1588 from Batjan that the dress there was like it was everywhere else on the Moluccas: the men wore a *baju* (a light jerkin resembling a shirt) and trousers, the women a *baju* and a sarong reaching down to the ground (Sá V 105).

¹⁰⁵ EX I 339.

2. THE COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE (1511—1546)¹⁰⁶

The priest and his companions were joyfully received by the natives of Hatiwi¹⁰⁷ and the Portuguese who were living there. They had been anxiously awaiting the arrival of a priest.¹⁰⁸ While Araújo looked for a house for himself and his wares, Master Francis and Eiró had a native cottage placed at their disposal, made with walls of *gaba-gaba*, dried stalks of the leaves of sago palms, and with a roof of *atap*, leaves of the same tree sewn together.¹⁰⁹ In addition to this they were given a chapel of the same materials for the celebration of Mass. At the time that the village had been converted to Christianity, a simple wooden cross, a *cruzadi*, had been erected¹¹⁰ as the Portuguese were accustomed to do.¹¹¹ The two neighboring villages were also Christian—Tawiri, a half an

¹⁰⁶ The sources for the history of the Portuguese on Amboina between 1511 and 1546 are: (1) The contemporary letters published in Sá I and in the *Cartas de Albuquerque* with the important depositions of Thomar of 1523 (CA 147-173). (2) The Portuguese chronicles of Castanheda, Correa, Barros, and Rebello (Sá III 345-508); the **Tratado de las yslas de los Malucos* and two accounts of the activities of Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque and Sancho de Vasconcellos in 1565-1599; a shorter account of their fellow soldier Estevão de Lemos (Sá IV 455-474); and the detailed *Feitos eroicos* (*ibid.* 164-454), used by Couto. They complement each other. After a brief survey of the first friendly relations between the Portuguese and the Hituese, they describe the rupture that occurred about 1523 and then immediately pass over to the year 1565. The Malay chronicle of Amboina composed in 1648 by Ridjali, preserved in extracts in Valentyn (II 2, 1-14), does the same. For our period it is highly legendary and utterly confused. Rumphius gives a brief account of our period, Valentyn a detailed one. The latter was a Calvinist preacher who lived on Amboina from 1686 to 1694 and from 1707 to 1712. Like Lucena, Du Jarric, Maffei, and Ridjali, he also used the native village traditions (I 2, 145-153 and 201; II 1, 99; II 2, 14-16; III 1, 27-30). In addition to these there are the descriptions in Tiele 4, 1 (1877) 355-361 389-394; 3 (1879) 39-57, and Wessels, *Geschiedenis der R. K. Missie in Amboina 1546-1605* (1926) 1-8.

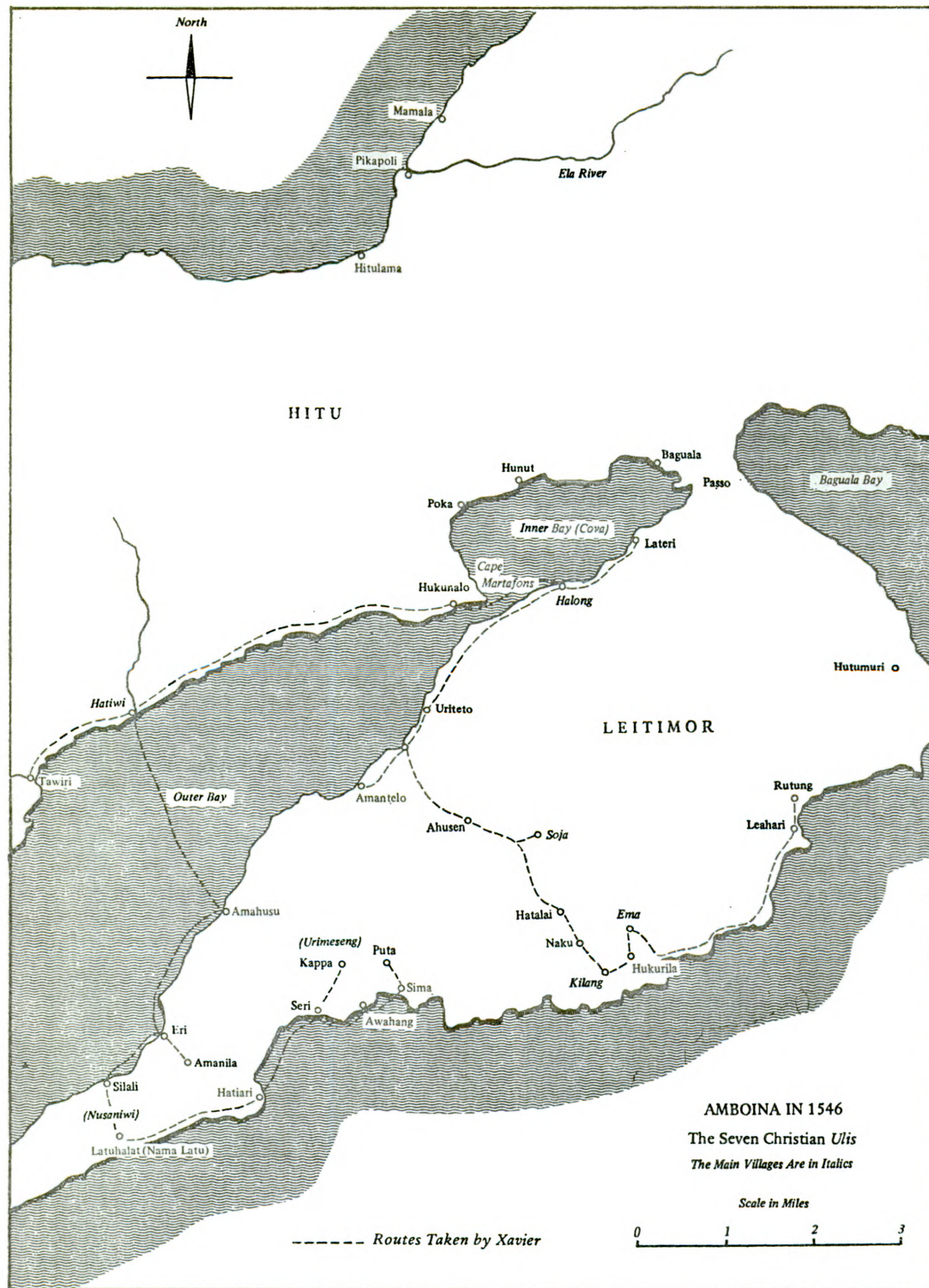
¹⁰⁷ We have concluded that Xavier lived in Hatiwi from the following: (1) It was always the main city of the Christians, and his successors lived there (Sá III 12-13 32-33 89-90). (2) Manuel, who accompanied Xavier on his visit to the villages, was the son of the village administrator of Hatiwi (*ibid.* II 372). (3) The merchant Araújo lived and died there (MX II 381). (4) The village was centrally located and near the wooden fortress of the Portuguese which had been built by Vasco de Freitas.

¹⁰⁸ Xavier told this to Palha in 1546 (MX II 199), and Teixeira, who knew Xavier's companion Eiró, wrote: "Llegaron al puerto seguros, donde fueron muy bien recibidos, en especial de los christianos, que mucho le deseavan, y de los mercaderes que alli havia" (863). "Son stati ricevuti bene dalli habitatori di quel paese, et particolarmente fu ricevuto il Padre con grandissima allegrezza, aspettandolo loro con grandissimo desiderio" (*Teixeira It. 2, 10).

¹⁰⁹ Pero Vaz, who sailed with Xavier from Goa to Malacca in 1552, testified in 1556 that he had heard it said in Amboina that when the priest landed there with his companion Araújo, he had built a hut of wood and straw and lived in it (MX II 193-194). The companion was Eiró; Araújo lived apart with his numerous wares, and if no free hut was placed at the disposal of the priest, the people of the village built one for him.

¹¹⁰ A chapel, that is, a hut which served as one, was probably still extant, namely, that of the secular priest who had earlier lived in the village. Because of the damp climate, wooden churches in Amboina lasted as a rule for ten years (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 362). Xavier's successor, Nuno Ribeiro, built a new church in 1548 with great efforts (DI II 107), and when the priests returned to the village in 1562 after the persecution, "ordenarão huma igreja, a maneira da terra," for celebrating Mass and baptisms (Sá III 12). Two years later they built there a very beautiful church with wooden carvings ("de maedira lavrada a maneira de molduras"). The nave measured 12×8, the choir 4×4, fathoms (*ibid.* 90).

¹¹¹ When a village was baptized, the Portuguese were accustomed to erect upon the



hour south, and Hukunalo an hour and a half north, of Hatiwi along the beach. All the villages on the opposite peninsula of Leitimor were also Christian with the exception of the northernmost village of Hutumuri, which had become Mohammedan.¹¹² Mohammedan also were all the towns on the north and west sides of Hitu. Since they were mortal enemies of the Christians, it was fortunate for the latter that they were separated from Hatiwi and its neighboring villages by lofty mountains with their dense, impenetrable forests.

The island of Amboina, from twenty-five to thirty leagues in circumference,¹¹³ was separated into two mountainous peninsulas by the deep bay. The larger, Hitu, on the west, and the smaller, Leitimor,¹¹⁴ on the east, were connected with each other at the end of the bay by a narrow, flat strip of land, the *passo*. The inhabitants were a mixture of Alfuros, the original inhabitants, Papuan immigrants from the east, and Javanese from the west; and they were light or dark brown according to the mixture of their blood.¹¹⁵ The languages and dialects frequently varied from village to village, but Malay was by far the most common medium of commerce.¹¹⁶ The villages, called *soas*, were grouped together into *ulis*, or village associations, whose leader bore the title of *orangkaja*, though in some places that of *rajah* or *patih*. And they were united into two clans frequently at war with each other. Each of them had its own customs, sacrificial banquets, protecting deities, and finery. The two clans were comprised of nine *ulis*, which were known as Ulisawas, and of another five *ulis*, which were known as the Ulilamas.¹¹⁷ The Ulilamas had to a large extent passed over to Islam before the arrival of the Portuguese. The Ulisiwas on the other hand held fast to their old paganism, primarily because the religion of the Prophet forbade the eating of pork.

Islam had already spread from Java to the Moluccas and the distant Banda Islands and had gained a firm foothold on the west coast of Hitu¹¹⁸ by the

site a wooden cross, which was highly revered by the Christians but hated by their persecutors (cf. DI II 422; Sá II 439-442, III 37 139-140).

¹¹² Hutumuri was not converted until 1570, "a town completely surrounded by Christian villages," as *Pero Mascarenhas wrote without giving its name (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 19v-20).

¹¹³ EX I 322 340.

¹¹⁴ Leitimor is already named by Pigafetta (248-249).

¹¹⁵ For the legends on the migrations and founding of villages on Amboina, see Ridjali 1-5. Valentyn complemented these with oral data which Sulaiman, the *orang kãya* of Hila, and Kila Keli, the chief of Hitulama, furnished to him. For the Leitimor villages see Valentyn II, 1, 116-124; see also Riedel 2 and 39.

¹¹⁶ According to Riedel, in addition to Malay, there were eleven other completely different dialects spoken on Amboina (32). On these, the *Bahasa tanah*, see van Hoëvell 89-114.

¹¹⁷ The author of the *Feitos eroicos* already speaks of these two leagues (194-195). They still exist under the names of Patasiwa and Patalima on Seran, and they have been extensively described by Tauern.

¹¹⁸ According to Ridjali, the first Javanese who migrated to Hitu and founded the royal family of Hutumuri were still pagans. About 1510 one of the four regents of Hitu, Patih Puteh or Patih Tuban, sailed to Java and brought Mohammedanism from there to Amboina (6). Valentyn learned from Hassan Sulaiman that Prince Jamilu came from Djailolo to Batjan about the year 1465. He later went from there to Seran and finally to Hitu (II, 2, 4). He states that it is certain that the prince brought Islam to Amboina in 1480, and that this was further spread and strengthened by Patih Tuban (III 1, 19-20). Xavier is in accord with this since he states that the teachings of the Prophet had been introduced into these regions seventy years before (EX I 328-329). In 1518 Bocchier wrote that in Amboina there were ten or twelve homes of Persian Moors who had come in ancient times to preach the sect of Mohammed, and that they had converted the king, whose twenty-four sons were sun worshipers (247).

time that the first Portuguese appeared on Amboina. Immediately after the capture of Malacca, Albuquerque had sent three ships under the general command of Antonio de Abreu¹¹⁹ to find the way to the Banda Islands and to the Moluccas, the lands of nutmegs and cloves.¹²⁰ On their return voyage from Banda in 1512, the junk of Francisco Serrão became separated from the others by a storm and went aground on a coral reef and sank near the Lusopinho Islands¹²¹ thirty-seven leagues southwest of the Banda Islands and only inhabited by giant turtles. A little later a *prau* landed on the island. The shipwrecked Portuguese¹²² commandeered it and forced its crew to bring them to Amboina, where they were placed on land¹²³ near the village of Nusa Telo on the southwest tip of Hitu. They were the first white men ever to be seen by the inhabitants, who received them well.¹²⁴ With their firearms they helped their hosts against their enemies. Soon their reputation reached the Moluccas,¹²⁵ where four Moham-medan princes were contending for the possession of the clove islands. Bayān Sirullah,¹²⁶ the sultan of Ternate, immediately sent his brothers¹²⁷ the *casises* Cachil Vaidua¹²⁸ and Coliba,¹²⁹ with seven *korakoras* and had the *Farangis*, as the Portuguese were called, brought to Ternate so that they might help him in his wars against his neighbors.

Since then Portuguese ships had sailed every year from Malacca to Banda¹³⁰

¹¹⁹ On Abreu and his voyage of discovery, see Lagõa, *Grandes* I 73-83; Pires, pp. LXXIX-LXXXIV, with a map of the route taken.

¹²⁰ On August 20, 1512, Albuquerque wrote from Cochin that he had sent Abreu to sail to Banda, the island of nutmegs, and to ready the ships "a hum cabo que se chama Ambam, de huma ilha grande, que está quatro dias de caminho das ilhas do cravo" (CA I 68).

¹²¹ Nusa Penju, Turtle Islands, three small wooded islands surrounded by coral reefs, eight miles northeast of the Lucipara Islands. On the shipwreck, see Pires in 1515 (215), the more detailed account of the king of Ternate of 1521 (Sá I 121-123), the deposition of Thomar of 1523 (CA IV 149-151 156-164 167-171), the **Tratado* of 1543 (22), Castanheda (3, 86), Correa (II 280 710; full of mistakes), the reports of Galvão (171-172) and Barros of 1563 (3, 5, 6), Rebello of 1569 (404-407), Couto of 1607 (7, 10, 13), Ridjali of 1648 (7), Valentyn of 1724-1726 (I 2, 145-146; II 2, 14; III 1, 27); Tiele (4, 1, 356-358); Wes-sels (1-2).

¹²² Seven shipwrecked (local tradition in Asilulu in Valentyn II 2, 14), Serrão with six or seven Portuguese (Rebello), Serrão with seven or eight persons (CA IV 167), nine Portuguese (**Tratado*; Correa), Serrão with nine other Portuguese (Galvão), Serrão with fourteen Portuguese (CA IV 156). Rebello gives the names of Serrão's five companions: Diogo Lopes, Diogo Cão, Diogo Afonso, Pero Fernandes, and the Sicilian Antonetto.

¹²³ According to Valentyn, the inhabitants of the Nusa Telo Islands had by this time emigrated to the neighboring Amboina. Their village in Asilulu thus bore the old name of Nusa Telo (I 2, 146).

¹²⁴ According to the local tradition, seven survivors came to Asilulu with seven muskets and very little food. Emaciated and starved, they were very well received in the village (*ibid.* II 2, 14). According to Ridjali they were the first white men to be seen there. They did not understand the language of the country and were brought to Jamilu, who gave them a place in which to stay (7).

¹²⁵ According to the **Tratado*, the Molucca kings heard that there were nine Christians (*franges*) in Nusa Telo.

¹²⁶ He is called Bayān Sirullah in the Malayan letter of Abu Hāyat, his son (Sá I 124). His son Hairun calls him Bayān Nasirullah (*ibid.* III 75). Other names: Cachil Boleife (Castanheda, Barros), Raja Abuleis (Pigafetta). In Tabarija's testament he is given the title: Cachil (Prince) Culano (Leader) Magirá (*Maharaja*).

¹²⁷ According to the letter of Abu Hāyat (Sá I 122). According to Correa he sent two, according to Barros, ten ships with 1,000 men.

¹²⁸ Rebello 406. *Casis*: Mohammedan preacher.

¹²⁹ Cullyba (**Tratado*), Coliba (Barros).

¹³⁰ A list of the ships and captains who according to Abreu sailed each year from

and on the return voyage had stopped on the west coast of Hitu to take on water and provisions.¹³¹ There they were well received by Jamilu,¹³² the chief of the four regents of the land,¹³³ in his village of Hitulama.¹³⁴ And he offered the Portuguese who wished to remain a place to stay in Pikapoli, farther to the north, on the mouth of the Ela River.¹³⁵ Since the west coast of Hitu offered no protection for large ships, the Hituese had shown their visitors the way to the inner bay on the east coast, where they could pass the winter; and they had ordered the inhabitants of the pagan villages of Hatiwi and Tawiri, which were subject to them, to receive the strangers and to help them in fitting out their ships.¹³⁶

The friendly relations of the Mohammedan Hituese with the Portuguese, however, came to a sudden end in 1523.¹³⁷ Threatened by pagan Alfuros, who were notorious as pirates, headhunters, and cannibals, and who lived on the large, neighboring island of Seran, the Hituese had asked the help of Antonio de Brito,¹³⁸ the captain of the fort which had been built on Ternate in 1522. With

Malacca to Banda is given by Diogo Brandão in 1523 (CA IV 170-172), who was sent there in 1520. Jorge Botelho adds that the ships sailed only to Banda and Amboina and that Serrão sent them there the cargo of cloves from Ternate (*ibid.* 157).

¹³¹ *Feitos eroicos* 195-196; Ridjali 7; cf. Sá I 179; Valentyn II 2, 14.

¹³² The data on Jamilu (Lemos: *Gimillo*; *Feitos eroicos*: *Memilio* and *Samilio*) are confused. According to these two authors he was the principal regent of Hitu under Antonio de Brito (captain of Ternate from 1522-1525) and had at the time a young daughter (Sá IV 197-198). According to Lemos he died in 1569 in the Portuguese fortress on Hitu under Captain D. Duarte de Meneses (460). According to Ridjali, who mixes many things up, he died on his return voyage from Djapara between Java and Bali. According to Valentyn, Brito landed in Hitu in 1521 on his voyage to Ternate and on this occasion, because of the help which he had given to Serrão, conferred the title of Captain Hitu upon Tahalille Ela, the Elder, whose son Holukom Abubakir did most of the ruling (II 2, 14). He thus identifies him with Jamilu.

¹³³ The four *perdanas* (regents) traced their origin back to the four founders of the colonies of Hitu, that is, to Seran, Java, Djailolo, and Goram respectively (cf. Ridjali 2-7).

¹³⁴ According to the data of Hassan Sulaimān, Valentyn gives the residence of Jamilu as being in Hitulama (Old Hitu) (II 2, 4-5), "that village which the Portuguese describe as the trading center of Hitu, to which Javanese, Malays, Macassarese, and other peoples from the West sail because of the trade in cloves" (II 1, 97). According to him, the first Captain Hitu moved his residence to Hila, also known as New Hitu, $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles further west, and this village was later moved again $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles further west to Kaitetu near the modern Hila (*ibid.* 99-100).

¹³⁵ According to Valentyn some of the men of Brito's fleet remained in Hitu in 1521 and received Pikapoli on the mouth of the Ela River, between Hitulama and Mamala, as their residence. They remained there for fourteen or fifteen years and after the break with the Portuguese moved overland to Hukunalo (III 1, 28; II 2, 15-16). But this break occurred around 1523. The sources on Brito's voyage from Singapore to Ternate in 1521-1522 say nothing of a visit made by him in Hitu (Sá I 133 160; Barros 3, 5, 7; Castanheda 5, 77; 6, 5 and 11-12; Correa II 713).

¹³⁶ *Feitos eroicos* 195-196.

¹³⁷ The main account is that of the *Feitos eroicos* (196-199), which Couto follows (8, 25). Briefer and vaguer are the accounts in Lemos (458-459), Ridjali (7), and Valentyn (II 2, 15). Ridjali simply states in general that drunken Portuguese openly robbed the merchants of their wares in the market of Hitu and treated them in such a fashion that the merchants reported it to the judge and *obermolla*, who declared that the guilty deserved to be executed. The four *perdanas* changed the death sentence to banishment to the inner bay; but since the Portuguese did not mend their ways, they finally came to open war with them (7; cf. Valentyn II 2, 15).

¹³⁸ The author of the *Feitos eroicos*, who frequently replaces his baptismal name with Foão (N.N.), here also calls the captain of Ternate "hum Foão de Brito," by which only Antonio de Brito (1522-1525) can be meant. His account is thus the only one that contains a definite date, although he erroneously assumes that the Jesuits were already

the help of the eighteen or twenty soldiers whom he sent to them, they had completely destroyed their foes. The victors had then prepared a farewell banquet for their allies before they sailed back to Ternate. In the open community hall, which held from two to three hundred men, the principal leaders of the Hituese were gathered under the presidency of Jamilu. Among the festively clad women watching it was Jamilu's beautiful daughter. The eyes of one of the Portuguese, whose head had obviously been addled by palm wine, fell upon her. He got up to embrace her.¹³⁹ Her father ordered him to leave her in peace, and his fellow countrymen did the same, but to no avail. The man got up a second time to approach the girl. When her father tried to restrain him, he gave him a resounding slap upon the ear. The natives immediately sprang up, intent on cutting down the offensive Portuguese and his companions with their *paranas*. Jamilu was barely able to restrain them. The soldiers were then sent back to Ternate with an accompanying letter that broke forever the alliance that the Hituese had had with them. The pillar with the Portuguese coat of arms was destroyed, and an embassy was sent to Java in order to obtain help from their coreligionists in Djapara.¹⁴⁰ The Portuguese in Pikapoli were also compelled to leave the coast. The chief of Hukunalo, which was subject to Hatiwi, led them over the mountains to the inner bay, where they settled in Poka and, later, nearer Hukunalo, protecting themselves from any eventual attack with a palisade.¹⁴¹ Immediately after this the three pagan villages of Hatiwi, Tawiri, and Hukunalo lived on terms of war with the Mohammedan Hituese; for, despite all the threats of their former overlords, they remained loyal to the Portuguese, many of whom remained two and three years in the land and married native women.¹⁴²

In 1538, when it was reported in Ternate that a large fleet of junks from Java, Banda, Macassar, and Amboina wished to sail from the Hituese coast to the Moluccas in order to exchange cloves for weapons and artillery with their

living in Hatiwi. Like Lemos and Ridjali, he puts the first of the two embassies to Djapara (Java) into the second and skips the destruction of Hatiwi in 1565. Couto gives the name of the captain correctly as Antonio de Brito, but he errs in dating the break in 1526 (8, 25). We attribute it to 1523 since from then on the Hituese were enemies of the Portuguese. According to Valentyn, the Portuguese had to leave the coast of Hitu after they had lived there for fourteen or fifteen years; but they did not come there until 1512. Ridjali further notes that the war of the Hituese with the Portuguese lasted for seventy years and ended with the arrival of André Furtado (10). Since he came in 1602, seventy years would take us back to before the arrival of the fleet of Azevedo in 1538, whom Ridjali confuses with D. Duarte Meneses, who died in Hitu in 1571 (*Feitos eroicos* 173 225).

¹³⁹ Lemos is vague: "While he [Jamilu] was friendly and was approached by everyone, an evil man came to his city and imperiously asked from him, as if he were in the house of his father, for something that was impossible. He also gave him a box on the ear. His [Jamilus'] men wanted to slay him at once, but he would not let them do so, saying that he was not satisfied with the death of a common man: he would obtain retribution through the death of many, and more prominent than he" (458).

¹⁴⁰ Instead of "the queen of Djapara, who was at the time the ruler of Java" (*Feitos eroicos* 199), Ridjali speaks more precisely of the "*pangeran* [prince] of Djapara." In 1515 Djapara was subject to Demak, which lay to the south of it and soon gained control over the whole of central and western Java (Pires 187-189). Ridjali speaks of several embassies to Java, for example, of one to the *pangeran Niaikabawang* before the coming of the Portuguese (6). The *Feitos eroicos* mention one of 1568 (188). Couto refers to one occasioned by the encroachments of the Vasco de Freitas who came to Amboina at the end of 1544 (7, 10, 13).

¹⁴¹ Rumphius 5 (he writes: *Rikapolij*); Valentyn II 2, 15; III 1, 28-29.

¹⁴² *Feitos eroicos* 106.

Mohammedan coreligionists, Galvão, the captain of the fortress, sent a fleet of twenty-five *korakoras* with forty Portuguese, two hundred Tidorese, and two hundred Ternatans under the command of Diogo Lopes de Azevedo against them.¹⁴³ Azevedo encountered the hostile fleet of ten large junks¹⁴⁴ near Mamala in northwest Hitu.¹⁴⁵ The enemy was taken completely by surprise. Five of its ships succeeded in escaping, the other five were captured and large quantities of guns, wares, and money were found in them. After this victory, Azevedo sailed along the entire Hituese coast and brought its villages through kindness and force into submission. The Moorish city of Waranula on Muar,¹⁴⁶ the western peninsula of Seran, which, trusting in its strong position and its four hundred guns, had refused to submit, was also captured and a thousand of its inhabitants were slain or imprisoned.¹⁴⁷ Azevedo found the few Portuguese who had remained on Amboina on the bay without any fixed place of residence. The overthrow of the Javanese and Hituese Moors had enhanced the confidence of the pagan villages on eastern Hitu and Leitimor in the power of Portugal. Three of the main towns on the bay, Hatiwi, Amantelo, and Nusaniwi,¹⁴⁸ earnestly asked for baptism. The ship's chaplain obliged them in this, and a priest remained behind with the new converts and baptized the remaining villages on Leitimor and on the west side of the bay. When Xavier landed in Amboina, there were seven Christian communities there, thirty sites in all when the villages and hamlets subjected to them were included,¹⁴⁹ and all together some eight thousand

¹⁴³ **Tratado* 32; Castanheda 8, 200 (main account); Couto 5, 6, 5; Barros 4, 9, 21. In Ridjali the text skips from 1524 to 1565. In Rumphius the expedition of Azevedo in 1538 is confused with that of Sancho de Vasconcellos and the erection of the fort in Leitimor in 1572 (9). In Valentyn we have the native folklore and its anachronisms in full bloom. Years, persons, and places are mixed together in a colorful confusion and woven into a fantastic tale. From the struggle between Tabarija and Hairun in Ternate, a similar one is made between Alaputilla, alias Permain, and Ajapayl in Hatiwi. The second is brought as a prisoner to Malacca; the first seeks help in Goa and is baptized there as Dom Manuel, but he dies a short time later. His adversary also dies in Malacca. The wife of Ajapayl is derived from Tabarija's mother. She sails to Goa and is there baptized as Dona Jebel. A strong Portuguese fleet brings her back to Hatiwi, where she marries one of the race of Alaputilla and thus reconciles the two parties. The younger brother of Ajapayl, Xavier's companion Manuel, becomes the village overseer in Hatiwi. The Portuguese driven from Pikapoli build a wooden fortress on Red Mountain. Azevedo then comes in 1538 and builds a fortress first in Hitu then on Red Mountain despite the opposition of Soja, which is not baptized until 1540! It is sufficient to gather from this that the Hitu fortress was not built until 1569 and the one on Red Mountain on Leitimor not until 1572.

¹⁴⁴ Couto 5, 6, 5.

¹⁴⁵ Valentyn III 1, 29.

¹⁴⁶ Hoamoal.

¹⁴⁷ **Tratado* 36v.

¹⁴⁸ Atiua, Mantelo, Nunciuel (Castanheda 8, 200); Ativa, Matelo, Mecivel (Couto 5, 6, 5); Ataviá, Matelo, Nucivel (Barros 4, 9, 21). Hatiwi was the main town on the west side of the bay, Nusaniwi on the east side; Amantelo, lying at the center of the east coast, belonged to the *uli* (village union) of Soja, whose main city was in the mountains far from the beach. Since political union with Portugal was consequent to baptism, there is here a question about the conversion of the three *ulis* with their pertinent villages (*soas*). Cf. Schurhammer, "Taufen" 51-56.

¹⁴⁹ When Xavier speaks of seven Christian villages on Amboina in 1546, and his successor Affonso de Castro of thirty in 1555, the seven village unions (*ulis*) are meant in the first instance, and the villages and hamlets (*soas*) pertaining to them in the second. When Pero Mascarenhas wrote in 1569 that there were sixty-six villages on Amboina, the smallest of which had 140 persons in it, and that there were many others that were smaller which were not counted, and that many of the villages had four to five thousand inhabitants (ARSI: *Goa II*, 456v), he is including the pagan and Moorish

individuals.¹⁵⁰ But the priest who had baptized and consoled them had long been dead, and the Christians were like a flock without a shepherd.¹⁵¹

In October, 1537, the young sultan of Ternate, Dom Manuel Tabarija, who had become a Christian, had handed over to his sponsor at baptism and protector, Jurdão de Freitas, in Goa his island of Amboina with its neighboring islands, including the large island of Seran, and with these, the whole area from Buru to the Papuas as an hereditary fief; and in 1543, John III in Lisbon had approved of this gift.¹⁵² When Freitas came to Ternate as captain in November, 1544, he had therefore immediately sent his nephew Vasco de Freitas with two *kora-koras* to Amboina to take possession of the island.¹⁵³ The latter had built a wooden fortress not far from Hukunalo, on the narrowest part of the bay, where ships were accustomed to pass the winter and from where the main path led over the mountains to Hitulama.¹⁵⁴ At the bidding of the captain, the *vigario* of Ternate, Ruy Vaz, had sailed to Amboina in the galiot *San Cristóbal*, which had been purchased from the Spaniards in order to bring munitions for the new fortress. But his ship had run onto a reef and sunk near the island of Buru.¹⁵⁵ After completing his three years of office, Freitas wanted to come with his family in order to take up a permanent residence on Amboina¹⁵⁶ and, as lord of the island, convert all of its inhabitants to Christianity.¹⁵⁷

towns. The Christian villages of the seven *ulis* were: (1) *Nusaniwi*; Amanila, Eri-Nusaniwi, Silali, Latuhalat, Hatiari, Rissacotta (?), Amahusu; (2) *Urimeseng*: Puta, Kappa, Seri, Sima, Awahang; (3) *Kilang*: Kilang, Hatalai, Naku; (4) *Soja*: Soja, Amantelo, Ahusen, Uriteto; (5) *Ema*: Ema Hukurila, Leahari, Rutung; (6) *Halong*: Halong, Latéri; (7) *Hatiwi*: Hatiwi, Tawiri, Hukunalo, Hunut (?). For more details, see Schurhammer, "Taufen" 53-55; EX I 323; and the map above, p. 66.

¹⁵⁰ See the statistics for the individual villages in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Schurhammer, "Taufen" 55-56 73.

¹⁵¹ EX I 375.

¹⁵² See Vol. II, pp. 254 387-388.

¹⁵³ Rebello 432; Couto 7, 10, 13.

¹⁵⁴ "Entre o mar da enseada, em que as náos invernao, e a Villa de Ative" (Couto, l. c.).

¹⁵⁵ Rebello 216 434.

¹⁵⁶ On February 20, 1546, the citizens of Ternate wrote that Jurdão de Freitas wanted to go to Amboina (after completing his term of office in 1547) and that he said that he wanted to build a fortress there (Sá I 486). By this a stone fortress is probably meant instead of the wooden fortress built by Vasco de Freitas. According to Couto the erection of the redoubt confirmed the Hituese in their long standing hatred of the Portuguese and Christians, especially since Vasco de Freitas further provoked them by giving the names of the chief rulers of Hitu to his dogs' puppies. On this account they had sent ambassadors to the queen of Djapara declaring that they were her vassals and asking for help. When Jurdão de Freitas complained about this to Hairun and urged him to take counter measures, the sultan told him that the island of Amboina belonged to Freitas and not to the king of Portugal and that he, Hairun, had therefore no financial obligations in this regard (7, 10, 13). The dating of this anecdote runs into difficulties. It cannot have occurred during Jurdão de Freitas' first term of office, for he arrived in Ternate on November 7, 1544, and arrested Hairun at the end of January, 1545. On October 18, 1546, Hairun returned with the new captain Bernaldim de Sousa, who immediately deposed Freitas. The latter then refused to be reconciled with the sultan. After his acquittal Freitas again came to Ternate in October, 1549, in order to serve his third year as captain "if Hairun agrees," as was noted in a secret instruction of the governor. But Hairun without further ado refused to accept Freitas as captain. Christovão de Sá then obtained the fortress, and Freitas sailed again for India in February, 1550, never to return. We still encounter Vasco de Freitas on Amboina in 1554 (Sá II 143-144), but his uncle Jurdão de Freitas died on December 20, 1555, in Goa (Q 6102).

¹⁵⁷ EX I 340; cf. 322.

3. LIFE IN HATIWI (FEBRUARY, 1546)¹⁵⁸

The village of Hatiwi lay on the mouth of the large Piahi River. Its inhabitants traced their coming from the peninsula of Hoamoal on Seran, and to an extent, also from Java; and their village chief had the title of *hukumu*, or judge.¹⁵⁹ Master Francis found himself here in a completely new world. Through their dealings with the Portuguese many of the inhabitants had become more or less familiar with their language. They could thus serve as interpreters for the priest and Araújo, the merchant, whose countrymen in the neighboring palisade near Hukunalo understood some Malay, which was largely current among the native men.¹⁶⁰

The houses were simple huts erected on the flat ground with *gaba-gaba* walls and four-sided *atap* roofs supported by bamboo poles. At times they were also equipped with a veranda. The interior consisted of a single room or was divided into several by palm-leaf walls, and it was poorly lighted by small openings for windows.¹⁶¹ The furniture was simple: tables and chairs were unknown.

¹⁵⁸ Some few, brief data on Amboina and its archipelago are contained in the following: for 1515 Pires (210-211), for 1516 Barbosa (II 199), for 1518 Bocchier (247), for 1522 Pigafetta (249-250) and Albo (Navarrete II 543), for 1535 Urdaneta (*ibid.* III 248), for 1546 Escalante (197-198); more extensively, for 1546 Xavier (I 328-333), for 1569 Rebello (395-396) and for 1599 *Feitos eroicos* (192-195). The chief accounts are in Valentyn II 1, 138-183, Riedel 29-85, and van Hoëvell: see also Martin 43-65 and Tauern, whose description of Alfuros on Seran would also fit that of the inhabitants of Amboina in Xavier's time.

¹⁵⁹ Over Hatiwis. Valentyn II 1, 123 and the *Feitos eroicos* 196-200. In 1565 the village, which between 1558 and 1561, first alone and then with the help of a number of Portuguese, had defended itself against the Hituese Moors, was captured and burned by these latter under their leader Tahalele and with the help of the neighboring village of Tawiri. The victor thereafter bore the title of "Tuban Besi" and his creese the name of "Luku Luli" ("Bone-Breaker") (Ridjali 8; *Feitos eroicos* 200). Many of the inhabitants were slain or captured; the rest, including the Portuguese, found refuge in the Christian villages of the Uliaser Islands. They followed the Portuguese when the latter returned in 1568 with a fleet and in 1569 erected a wooden fortress on the Senalo River near Hila on West Hitu and in 1572 transferred this to Uriteto on the west coast of Leitomor. When the Portuguese erected a stone fortress further south in 1575-1576, they followed them there as well, and from then on lived near the fortress where still today a quarter of the city of Amboina is named after them. Twenty of their people had been left behind at this last transfer and their town from then on was known as Hatiwi ketjil (Small Hatiwi). The old site of the clan on the opposite side of the bay, which was resettled from the fortress, was called Hatiwi besar (Large Hatiwi) (*Feitos eroicos* 200-201 243-244 288 302 356; on the Hitu fortress, see ARSI: *Goa II*, 456-457v). In 1575 a Manuel Pais was named as the leading person of the town, probably to be identified with Xavier's companion. In 1590 Domingos Castanho was the overseer (*Feitos eroicos* 309 441). In 1605 D. Marcos held this office (Visser 268). In 1593 in addition to the church of the fortress there were two others, one for the Hatiwis and Tawiris and another for the Christians who had moved there from Halong. Together they numbered 2,200 individuals. In 1724 there were 532 Hatiwis living near the fortress, 130 in Hatiwi ketjil. In 1923 Hatiwi besar had 595 Christians.

¹⁶⁰ In 1570 *Pero Mascarenhas wrote that the priest on Saparua heard the confessions of those men especially who understood Malay (ARS: *Goa II*, 19). In 1588 the mission superior stated that *Francisco da Cunha had almost despaired of being able to learn Malay, and yet one could not do anything on Amboina without it (*ibid.* *Goa* 13, 396). Valentyn notes that different villages of Amboina had to use Malay in order to be understood by each other, even though they used their own languages among themselves (II 1, 243). As late as 1875 van Hoëvell wrote that among the Mohammedan women on Amboina there are few who understand Malay (95).

¹⁶¹ On the structure of the houses see Valentyn II 1, 166; Riedel 63 (and pl. VII); Martin 10 (and pl. IX); cf. Tauern 38-39.

Low benches made of bamboo or *gaba-gaba* adjoining the walls served as places on which to sit and sleep and were furnished with a mat and a pillow filled with tree leaves. In addition to these there was a series of baskets and chests woven from palm or pandanus leaves. Some of these were painted and decorated with shells. They were used for the storing of clothing and other items. There were also pans and unadorned jugs made of clay, trunks of bamboo trees used as containers for water, brooms made from the stems of leaves, beautifully decorated boxes for the leaves used in chewing betel, and equipment for hunting and fishing: nets, the most indispensable of all their tools, heavy hacking knives called *parangs*, and other weapons: bamboo spears, bows and arrows, and long, narrow, dark, wooden shields inlaid with white shells—*salawakos*.¹⁶²

Many of the things which Master Francis had come to know in Malacca bore here other names: a banana plant was called *pisang*, an areca palm *pinang*, a banyan tree *waringi*, a betel plant *sirih*, the grass which reached the height of a man and grew luxuriantly at the edges of the forests or in the glades *kusu kusu*, a handdrum *tifa*, a fishing basket *sero*, a community house, where the heads of slain foes were hung up as trophies,¹⁶³ *baileo*, and so forth. The money used here, as in Java and in the rest of Indonesia, was the *sapek*, a copper coin with Chinese inscriptions and a square hole in the center so that it could be kept on a string.¹⁶⁴ Family treasures were, however, not as a rule kept at home but buried in the forest.¹⁶⁵ These included such things as ivory,¹⁶⁶ textiles from Cambay, Chinese porcelains, gongs, gold ornaments, objects which comprised the dowry of a bride, and among these there would be a golden armlet in the form of a snake biting its tail.¹⁶⁷

The center of the village was occupied by the *baileo*, or community house, a large hall open on all sides consisting of carved columns bearing a palm-leaf roof. On festive occasions public meals were held here.¹⁶⁸ At such times the young men, adorned with gay feathers and carrying *parangs* and *salawakos*, performed the *tjakalele*, a war dance that resembled a sham battle,¹⁶⁹ and the young women in festive dress, their head adorned with flowers, danced the *menari* to the sound of gongs and *tifas*. With downcast eyes they hardly moved from their place as they swayed from their hips with graceful movements of their hands. In the meantime the spectators sang the old ballads of their people or chewed betel. These dances were also frequently staged at night, preferably by the light of the moon, and came to an end only when morning began to dawn.¹⁷⁰

Agriculture was unknown. The people lived by hunting and fishing and on what the forest, where they did some planting, afforded them. The simplest of their boats¹⁷¹ was a hollowed log with or without an outrigger. This was rowed by two persons and steered by a third. They also had larger vessels, all with double outriggers. One of these was the *arumbai*, which was from twenty to

¹⁶² On the furniture, see Valentyn II 1, 166-168; Riedel 63 120-121; cf. Tauern 41-42; on the weapons, see Valentyn II 1, 167 181-182 and plate XI; Riedel 64 and plate IV; cf. Tauern 106-108; Martin, pl. XXX.

¹⁶³ *Feitos eroicos* 205 301 361; Rebello 395.

¹⁶⁴ Barbosa II 203; Bocchier 247; Barros 3, 5, 5.

¹⁶⁵ Valentyn II 1, 151 75; Riedel 212.

¹⁶⁶ Bocchier 247; *Feitos eroicos* 391 407.

¹⁶⁷ Barbosa II 199 202-203; Bocchier 247; Valentyn II 1, 73 75; Martin 73.

¹⁶⁸ Valentyn II 1, 162; *Feitos eroicos* 197-198.

¹⁶⁹ Described in Valentyn II 1, 162-163, for the Alfuros 71-72 (with pictures 72 32); Martin 57-58 (in Rutung) 72 (on Seran).

¹⁷⁰ Valentyn II 1, 163-164 (picture 165); Martin 59 72-74; van Hoëvell 161-162 167-169.

twenty-five feet long. When used for sailing along the coast it had a protecting roof in the middle, but none when it was employed for fishing. There were also *korakor*as for longer journeys, even as far as Ternate and Java. These had a mast and sails and benches for the rowers. And, finally, there were warships of the same type of construction which attained a length of eighty to a hundred feet and carried 80, 90, and at times even 130 rowers, and almost as many warriors.¹⁷²

The bay of Amboina contained a great abundance of fish. These were taken with dragnets, thrownets, on lines, with bows and arrows, and above all by large, cleverly contrived traps which stretched far out into the sea, and from which the fish could not find a way out.¹⁷³ Wild boars, which were to be seen everywhere, were hunted in the neighboring forest, as were also deer and the *kuskus*, a marsupial, and large bats, and the *maleo*, a running bird, and other fowl, especially wild doves and small, green cockatoos.¹⁷⁴ Chickens and pigs were also kept as domestic animals.¹⁷⁵

The main source of nourishment was *sago*, obtained from the core of the sago palm which grew in swampy areas. This was baked in the form of gleaming white, stone-hard bricks, or taken as a cold, sticky pap.¹⁷⁶ Fish of all sorts were eaten, either fresh or smoked. At times there was also rice, which was imported from Java, and meat and shellfish, which the women gathered on the beach at low tide. Special delicacies were sea worms, which were gathered and salted in vast quantities after the March and April full moon,¹⁷⁷ and the larvae of the large sago beetles. Banana leaves were used for plates; and since sago pap was tasteless, pepper and other ingredients were used as spices.¹⁷⁸ There was also an abundance of fruit in Amboina—coconuts, the fruit of the *kanari* tree, which resembled almonds, bananas, *durians*, large as melons, with an offensive smell but delicious taste, the roots of yams and many other strange products of the forest, especially different kinds of lemons and citrons.¹⁷⁹ The

¹⁷¹ On the ships, see Valentyn II 1, 182-189 and pl. 42; cf. Tauern 42-44.

¹⁷² The *korakor*as are described by Rebello 317-324 381-386 (picture 344); Nicolau Nunes in 1576 (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 119v-120). Precise statistics for 1709 are given by Valentyn (II 1, 185). In 1562 there is mention of *korakor*as in Hatiwi with 70 to 120 rowers (Sá III 20); in 1569 the village of Sirisore sent one to Saparua with 70 rowers (*ibid.* IV 187); in 1570 the sultan Babu of Ternate sent six *korakor*as, the smallest with 90, the largest with 100 and 130, rowers and 100, 120, and 200 warriors (*ibid.* 210 215 226 461).

¹⁷³ On the fish traps and fishing tackle see Riedel 65-66 and pls. V-VI; cf. Tauern 41 111.

¹⁷⁴ On their hunting, see van Hoëvell 53, Riedel 55-56, and especially Tauern 106-111. On the *kuskus*, known as *kusu* on Amboina, see van Hoëvell 53; Rebello 308-309 372-373 (picture); Valentyn III 1, 272-275 (picture); Wallace II 131-133. On the *maleos*, see Frois (DI III 544); Wallace I 376-380, II 136-137; Martin 37-40; Bickmore 215. On the bats, see Rebello 310 371; Bickmore 195; the cockatoos Valentyn III 1, 318.

¹⁷⁵ On the domestic animals, see Rebello 370; *Feitos eroicos* 193; Marta in 1587 (Wessels 86); von Hoëvell 77; Martin 56.

¹⁷⁶ The preparation of sago is described at length with illustrations by Wallace II 107-112; Tauern 102-105; Martin 207-210; Rebello 311-313 373-375.

¹⁷⁷ Van Hoëvell 77; Riedel 83.

¹⁷⁸ On the food, see Sá IV 193; Valentyn II 1, 157-160; Riedel 82-83; van Hoëvell 56-57; cf. Tauern 40 102-106. The food of the missionaries in 1549 consisted of sago and at times rice (DI II 118); in 1556 of yams, sago, and coconuts (*ibid.* III 561). In 1561 Prancudo wrote that on Amboina one always ate fish and bread which was like ashes mixed with glass because it glittered strongly, and whoever could eat rice was a king (*ibid.* V 321). In 1587 *Marta wrote that the food consisted of sago and palm wine, also fish and the flesh of chickens and pigs that were slaughtered (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 353v).

crystal clear mountain brooks furnished excellent drinking water. The coconuts also afforded a cool, refreshing drink. The *areng* palms were the source of palm sap, called *sagoweer*, which was sweet, refreshing, and harmless; but when it was blended with bitterwood as a fermenting agent, it became a powerful, intoxicating drink.¹⁸⁰

The usual labors of the men consisted in fishing, hunting, tilling their gardens in the forest, pounding sago, or setting out their fish traps and repairing their nets. The women on the other hand carried drinking water in bamboo containers from the neighboring stream, gathered firewood or vegetables in the forest or crustaceans on the beach, or prepared the food and performed other household duties.¹⁸¹

It was the dry season of the year when Xavier, in the middle of February, landed with his companions in Hatiwi. But Amboina was a rainy place, and even during the dry season there was hardly a day without a refreshing shower that tempered the heat.¹⁸² The frequent rains clothed the mountains and valleys with an everlasting green of every shade and gradation, and caused a luxuriant growth of flora on the deep red, volcanic soil.¹⁸³ The village huts lay in the shade of fresh green coconut and areca palms, banana plants, and tall bread-fruit trees. The forest, which reached down close to the homes, was composed of a combination of palm and fern trees and tall giants of the primitive forest. Together with the exposed roots of the kanari trees and the climbing tendrils of the ratan plants, they formed a thicket that was often almost impenetrable, and through which a hunter only with difficulty and the help of his *parang* could find a way.¹⁸⁴ At the mouth of the streams crocodiles sunned themselves on the sand, while marsupials, wild pigs, deer, snakes of all sorts, some even of great length, giant lizards, running birds, wild doves, dark red loris, white cockatoos, small green parrots, and countless other kinds of birds, and large, gay butterflies and beetles filled the dark woods with brilliant colors.¹⁸⁵

The tropical nights on the beach were exquisite. The sun would hardly set in the midst of a play of splendid colors behind the wooded heights of the

In 1546 Escalante had already noted that the food of the natives consisted of sago, fish, and pork (198).

¹⁷⁹ On the fruits, see Rebello 376; *Feitos eroicos* 192-193. Valentyn describes in detail and with many plates the flora of Amboina (III 1, 153-262). Among these were also fruit trees, which were already growing there in Xavier's time, for example, durian, *chempedak*, *lanssa*, and kanari trees; sago, coconut, areng, nipa, and areca palms; different lemon and citron trees; banana plants; and so forth; cf. Martin 10-11. Many fruit trees, for example the mango, were later introduced.

¹⁸⁰ On the making of palm wine, see Valentyn II 1, 160-161; Martin 11; Riedel 64-65; Tauern 112.

¹⁸¹ Riedel 66; cf. Tauern 101-102.

¹⁸² The inhabitants called Amboina Nusa Apon (Cloud Island) because of its heavy rainfall. Statistics for each month are given by Verbeek (19). According to him there were fourteen rainy days in January and February, fifteen in March, nineteen in April, twenty-three in May, and twenty-four in June. On the season see Valentyn II 1, 136-137; Ludeking 17-20.

¹⁸³ Wallace I 422.

¹⁸⁴ On the forests of Amboina, see Rebello 325; Wallace I 422.

¹⁸⁵ On the fauna of Amboina, Valentyn III 1, 263-515, has an extensive account with many plates. He describes for example deer (267), wild boars (267), kuskus (272-275), crocodiles which he saw growing to a length of twenty and thirty feet (280), the many types of snakes (285-292), the many kinds of birds, for example, the red loris (313-314), the white, red, and green cockatoos (316-319), wild doves (323-326), fish (336-515), common and 528 special varieties; and shellfish and mussels (515-586). See also H. O. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings* (London, 1885) 288-297.

village when, almost without transition, the night would set in and hundreds of brilliant flares would be lighted all over the bay. Torches made of sago leaves filled with *dammar* were borne on boats gliding over the watery wastes glowing with the light of the moon. The fishers lured small fish with these lights which they then snatched from the water by the dozens in their nets to be later used as bait for *tjakalang*, a species of tunny that comprised one of their main sources of food. The silvery light of the moon fell between the large polished leaves of the banana plants softly moved by the cool night breeze upon the cottages, while the mighty crowns of the coconut palms rose up like crests against the dark sky. The monotonous music of cicadas, the shrill squeaks of tree toads and the menacing hum of mosquitoes¹⁸⁶ mingled with the soft lapping of the silvery waves against the beach and the hushed rustling of the palm leaves as the village slept and Master Francis prayed to the Creator of all things for his new but long neglected children. When the day dawned over the mountains of Leitimor and the morning mist rose from the valleys, the prayers of the priest for his new flock rose with them to heaven in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

Xavier had begun his apostolate soon after his arrival. He had visited the Portuguese in the town and in the redoubt near Hukunalo, but he had paid special attention to the native Christians in Hatiwi and in the two neighboring villages of Tawiri¹⁸⁷ and Hukunalo. He went from house to house with a boy who carried a cross before him and served as his interpreter and with other youthful companions and asked if there were any who were ill in the house or children to be baptized. If an affirmative answer was given, he entered the house, lifted his hands to heaven, and the boys recited the Creed and the Commandments in Malay. He then read a Gospel over the sick and baptized the children who had been born since the decease of their earlier priest.¹⁸⁸ With the help of his interpreter he assembled children and adults to teach them the prayers and the truths of the faith that he had translated into Malay.¹⁸⁹ He then had to visit the Christian villages on Leitimor on the other side of the bay, for once

¹⁸⁶ Cf. the description of a tropical night in Rumahtiga (Hukunalo) at the end of December in Martin 23-24 and at the beginning of July in Bickmore 101, on Saparua at the end of January in Epp 259, and in the modern city of Amboina in Leendertz 189.

¹⁸⁷ On Tawiri, on the large Wai Lawa River, see Valentyn II 1, 123. In all the wars of migrations we find its inhabitants always united with those of Hatiwi. In Valentyn's time they lived, like the Hatiwis, near the fortress under their own *orangkaja*. The overseer in 1605 was Antonio Gonsalo (Visser 268), called Antonio Hehuwat in 1607 (Valentyn III 1, 36); the village at the time stationed fifty warriors (in the fortress). In 1923 the village on the west side of the bay had 320 Christians.

¹⁸⁸ According to Teixeira in his additions to his life of Xavier (*Anotações* 47). In 1548 Xavier prescribed the same method for the missionaries of the Fishery Coast (EX I 426-427). Tursellinus adds that the sick were often healed in body and soul by this (2, 18). According to Lucena the priest went from house to house singing the catechism (3, 1), and Brou elaborates even more: the people hid themselves or closed their homes securely at Xavier's coming, but when he sang Psalms and hymns, the Alfuros left their hiding places and ventured out (I 376-377). There is nothing of all this in the sources. To the contrary, the Christians received the priest with the greatest joy, as Teixeira takes pains to stress.

¹⁸⁹ He had translated the catechism in Malacca into Malay for this purpose. In the Goa process of 1556 a witness who was in Ternate in Xavier's time, but an unreliable one, exaggerated when he stated that on Amboina and in those parts of Maluco the priest converted a great many people and tribes who were now Christian, that he built churches and had left behind in the villages mentioned many boys versed in Christian doctrine so that they might instruct the people (MX II 206). In 1554 Antonio Fernandes wrote from Amboina that he was now appointing wardens (*homens meirinhos*), in each of the villages so that they could give instructions in the faith (Sá II 24).

the rainy season began in May the mountain villages located on its steep, slippery rocks were cut off from the outside world and no longer attainable.¹⁹⁰

4. THE VISIT TO THE VILLAGES (FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1546)¹⁹¹

Manuel, the small son of the village chief of Hatiwi,¹⁹² was Xavier's companion on his visit to the Christian villages of Amboina, carrying for him his surplice and breviary and serving him as his interpreter.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Valentyn III 1, 116, and especially L. J. van Rhijn, *Reis door den Indischen Archipel* (Rotterdam, 1851): "During the rainy season it is impossible to visit the mountain villages, and difficult to visit the others" (472). In the city of Amboina he was refused porters to the neighboring Soja since the steep, slippery paths were extremely dangerous (503). Bickmore describes his journey at the end of July along the Hitu coast from Wakasihu to Laha (south of Tawiri) over the swollen, raging mountain streams and his futile attempt to sail across the bay in a rowboat from Laha to the city of Amboina (119-122). In 1615 the preacher Wiltens wrote from Amboina that during the six rainy months it was impossible to use the paths, the worst in the world. At this time it rained as if heaven wanted to wash the land away (*Archief* V 54).

¹⁹¹ On May 10, 1546, Xavier wrote: "En esta isla hallé siete lugares de christianos: los niños que hallé por baptizar baptizé, de los quales murieron muchos después de bautizados. Después de aver visitado todos estos lugares, llegaron a esta isla ocho navios de portuguese" (EX I 322-323). By this Xavier meant the seven village communities (*ulis*). His successor, Affonso de Castro, wrote on May 13, 1555, from the same island: "Saranno in essa da 30 terre de christiani" (ARSI: *Goa* 10, 321v). By this he meant the villages and hamlets (*soas*) contained in the seven *ulis* (cf. Schurhammer, "Taufen" 53). We have reconstructed the round of Xavier's visitations with the help of the continuous account of Valentyn, the Calvinist preacher who in 1686-1694 and 1707-1712 twice a year visited the same villages on the same routes, which have not changed even today. He made these in April and October, at first on foot, then on horseback where this was possible, that is along the beach, and finally on a litter carried by eight or ten or more porters and a series of servants who carried his effects, a company in all of some fifty or sixty (III 1, 116-117). Later travelogues supplement his detailed descriptions, especially of the journey to the mountain villages of central Leitimor (II 1, 114-124; III 1, 124-128). In February, 1854, Buddingh visited the Christian villages of Hutumuri and Rutung as far as Amboina (265-274); in 1882 Verkerk Pistorius, those from Amboina to Naku (*De Gids*, Amsterdam 47 II [1883] 75-106); the naturalist Bleeker gives a brief description of his flight from Amboina to Ema (II 107-137), and his colleague Martin a detailed account with good descriptions of natural phenomena of his visit to the mountain villages from Amboina to Hutumuri in December, 1891 (8-15). Here it must be noted that the Portuguese introduced many new types of fruit trees, for example, mangos. The Dutch broke the monopoly on cloves. They forcibly promoted the planting of nutmeg and clove trees and coconut palms and the cultivation of sugar cane, coffee, cocoa, tobacco, maize, rice, and pineapples; and they introduced horses, cows, and sheep. Immediately after the completion of the stone fortress of the city of Amboina in 1576 the inhabitants of Hatiwi and Tawiri settled near it; in 1593 those of Halong; in 1592 those of the *ulis* of Nusaniwi and Urimeseng were forced to settle near it, and freely or under stress others were forced to do the same, especially in the Dutch period. The smaller villages such as Amantelo, Uriteto and Ahusen died out or became subject to the city of Amboina. Wars, sicknesses, and heavy, forced labor brought on a great decline in the population in the seventeenth century. We have given the statistics of the Christian villages for 1607, 1627, 1629, 1634, 1708, and 1724 in "Taufen" 55 and 73. There are further statistics for 1859 (Buddingh), 1891 (Martin 48), 1923 (J. Mooij, *Atlas der Protestantsche Kerk in Nederlandsh Oost-Indië* [Wetevreden, 1925] 90-91 130-132, with plans). There are statistics for school children in the Christian villages for 1631 and 1633 (*Archief* VI 144 150 245) and 1708 (Valentyn III 1, 124-130). Verbeek gives a geological description of Amboina with an atlas of the whole island at a ratio of 1:100,000, Leitimor on five pages at a ratio of 1:20,000. See the Map on p. 66 and those in Valentyn (II 1, 96), and Wessels, *Amboina* (Amboina and Uliaser 1:200,000).

¹⁹² In 1561 Manuel was the village overseer of Hatiwi (DI V 284). Offices on Amboina

Some of the villages could be visited by sea.¹⁹⁴ From Hatiwi one could sail across the bay to the opposite Christian village of Amahusu,¹⁹⁵ which, like all the settlements of southern Leitimor, belonged to the league of the Ulilimas. It lay in the midst of coconut palms¹⁹⁶ at the foot of a steep, densely forested mountain where there was a small flat area free at the mouth of the Wai Ila. From here one sailed south along the coast, where great blocks of granite could be seen on the beach that fell sharply into the sea.¹⁹⁷ The territory of the rajah of Nusaniwi¹⁹⁸ began at the mouth of the small mountain stream of Wai Nener. He was the ruler of the four *soas*, or villages, on the southern tip of Leitimor, but he usually resided somewhat southeast of the small village of Eri, in Amanila, within the interior.¹⁹⁹ He ranked first among the three Christian rajahs of the peninsula and bore the proud title of Latu Sapulalang, "King of the Ten Thousand Swords." His ancestors came from Tuban on the island of Java, and he was thus related to the Mohammedan inhabitants of Hitu. When they passed over to Islam, he had not followed their example but had remained a pagan; and in 1538, like his neighbors, he and his people had been baptized. Before the arrival of the Portuguese he had frequently fought the Ulisiwas in Hatiwi, and these latter had suffered much from him.²⁰⁰ His principal village, Nusaniwi, lay farther south at a distance of an hour from southern cape of Leitimor and consisted of two settlements:²⁰¹ Silali, on the western side of the peninsula on the royal bay of Labuhan Radja, where ships frequently anchored, and where

were inherited (Martin 47). The overseer of Hatiwi had the title of *hukum*, judge Valentyn II 1, 123).

¹⁹³ DI V 284.

¹⁹⁴ In 1562 Pero Mascarenhas wrote from Amboina: "In Amboina there are more than thirty Christian villages, one or two and, at the most, four to five leagues from each other. Most of these are visited by sea, although the majority of them are as a rule on the highest peaks of the mountains for safety's sake. These mountains are very high and steep" (Sá II 444).

¹⁹⁵ In 1621 Amahusu and Urimeseng were subject to Nusaniwi (Valentyn II 2, 47). In 1607 the village had thirty, in 1634 sixty, in 1724 forty-nine warriors from a population of 128. In 1854 there were 433 Christians, in 1923 753. In 1605 the *orangkaja* was named Simon Siloi (Visser 269).

¹⁹⁶ Buddingh 148. In 1853 the island of Amboina had 112,472 fruit-bearing, and 106,521 young, coconut palms (C. M. Visser, "De landbouw in de residentie Amboina in het jaar 1853," TBG 8 [1859] 43).

¹⁹⁷ Verbeek 77.

¹⁹⁸ Nusaniwi was divided up into four *soas*, all of which in Valentyn's time had been moved near the fort. Of these Amanila, Silali, and Hatiari were directly under the rajah. Nama Latu was indirectly under him. Its *orangkaja* ruled also over Papala, which lay on the Portuguese side of the bay. This latter is probably to be identified with Kampon Rissakotta (Valentyn II 1, 121-122). When the rajah complained in 1648 that his two subordinates, the *orangkaja* of Latuhalat and the *patih* of Silali, did not show him enough respect, a provision was made that he should summon them every fourteen days to his *baileo* in order to consult with them about the ruling of his villages (Rumphius I 274; Valentyn II 2, 157). In the persecution of 1558-1561 Nusaniwi passed over to Islam. In 1562 it was largely reconverted to Christianity. Mosques and pagan temples were destroyed, a much revered sacred tree was cut down, and a cross was erected to drive away the feared *swangis* (Sá II 439-443, III 13-16 34-35 90-95). The leaders of the rebellion, Ratiputi and the renegade Bauta, were overthrown and sent back to India, and Ratiputi was baptized under the name of Antonio de Abreu (*ibid.* II 440-442).

¹⁹⁹ According to Valentyn, in whose time Eri had died out (II 1, 122); Amanila is called "Oud Noessanivel" on his map. In 1923 Eri-Nusaniwi had 630 Christians.

²⁰⁰ Valentyn II 1, 121-122.

²⁰¹ "Dentro na enseada está na ponta hum lugar de Ruçanive, que gosa de duas prayas" (*Feitos eroicos* 239).

its chief had the Javanese title of *patih*;²⁰² and Nama Latu, on the eastern side of the bay facing the open sea, whose chief claimed the title of Latu Halat, or "Western King."²⁰³ The limestone mountain that sloped gently towards the south formed a saddle between the two villages reaching to a height of only 190 feet. One could pass over it in less than half an hour from one village to another. Instead of the forests of central Leitimor there were here numerous fields of grass. Even these frequently gave out, leaving the bare, russet surface free.²⁰⁴ The area was however rich in coconut palms, as was already indicated by the name Nusaniwi (Coconut Island).²⁰⁵ Sago, on the other hand, had to be brought in from elsewhere.²⁰⁶ The double village was the largest and most populated spot on the peninsula;²⁰⁷ and the broad plain with its palms stretched for an hour to the north, from Namu Latu to the fourth village, Hatiari, lying to the south of the cape of the same name.²⁰⁸

On the far side of Cape Hatiari, whose rocks, worn through by the breakers, formed two natural arched gates,²⁰⁹ the mountains became higher and also closer to the beach. The rock walls fell steeply into the sea. The small bays, exposed to the crashing of the waves, provided only an occasional area for a settlement, where the small native craft at best could land, while the roughly fissured, hardly accessible hinterland was composed of a densely wooded mountain fastness like that of the granite region from Soja to Kilang. Here were the five villages of the *uli*, or village union, of Urimeseng,²¹⁰ which in time of war provided a place

²⁰² In 1564 Manuel Gomes wrote: "This village is much visited by the Portuguese, for it is near the place where the ships coming from Maluco anchor; for here they take on some things that are necessary for their further voyage (Sá III 92). On Valentyn's map the beach near Nusaniwi-Silali is accordingly called "Portuguese banq." It is also called Portuguese bay on the maps in Schouten of 1676, Nieuhof of 1682, and van Rhijn, *Reis door den Indischen Archipel*. Rotterdam, 1851. The *patih* of Silali in 1695 was Gaspar Lopis (Valentyn III 1, 145).

²⁰³ The same place is today called Latuhalat. In 1588 it was said that the two Nusaniwi towns were a league apart. One was ruled by Fernando, the other by Thomé Raya (*Feitos eroicos* 425-426). Fernando Latuhalat was the head of Nusaniwi in 1630 (Nieuhof II 37). In 1724 Latuhalat together with Rissakotta had 520 Christians, in 1923 it had together with Silali and Ajerlo 1798.

²⁰⁴ Martin 2.

²⁰⁵ According to Valentyn (II 1, 121).

²⁰⁶ *Feitos eroicos* 239.

²⁰⁷ In 1575 Nusaniwi had six hundred warriors and was the largest and most populous village on the island (*ibid.* 295). In 1563 Fernão do Souro wrote that Nusaniwi was one of the largest villages of Amboina. It had around 4,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,000 were warriors (Sá III 14). He probably means the whole *uli*.

²⁰⁸ Hatiari was a small village already extinct in Valentyn's time (II 1, 122). Ajerlo, to the west of it, took its place and is today together with Eri administered by a regent.

²⁰⁹ Verbeek 44. His atlas has a drawing, pl. III, n. 14.

²¹⁰ The five villages of the *uli* Urimeseng were closely allied to Nusaniwi as Ulilimas. In the persecution of 1558-1561, they went with it over to Islam and trusting in their strong position rebelled against the Portuguese. In 1591 Sancho de Vasconcellos captured their main stronghold of Puta and destroyed it. Their head Nikulumua and the other leaders were executed. Others fell in battle. Others fled to other villages and came as prisoners or slaves into the hands of the Portuguese (*Feitos eroicos* 438-445) or moved to Hitu and became Mohammedans (Valentyn III 1, 31). At the end of this long war the *uli* was almost annihilated and remained thereafter the smallest of all. In Valentyn's time the five villages had died out. They had merged into a single unit and then settled near the fort next to Nusaniwi under an *orangkaja*. There were 126 persons in it (*ibid.* II 1, 123). There were still 190 warriors in the *uli* in 1607, 120 in 1634, and more than 42 in 1724. In 1923, of the former five villages, only Seri still survived. It had 307 Christians. In 1634 it had ten men capable of bearing arms (Bokemeyer 294).

of refuge for the neighboring peoples, especially those from Nusaniwi, who were accustomed to bring their riches and treasures there for safekeeping.²¹¹ Three of the villages lay along the beach, each on a small bay closed off by steep mountains. These were Seri,²¹² Awahang, where large granite blocks covered the beach,²¹³ and Sima, located on the slope of the mountain. The two in the interior were Kappa, perched on the steep, 1,767-foot-high Gunung Nona,²¹⁴ and the strongest of these sites, the rocky nest of Puta on the tip of the 1,184-foot-high Eri Hau, from which there was an extensive view of the sea on either side. The inhabitants of these mountain villages were rustic Alfur Ulilimas, related to the Hituese.²¹⁵

A second circuitous route led to the Christian villages of central Leitimor. In an hour and a half one could reach Hukunalo from Hatiwi on foot. The way was along the beach, where coral rocks were ever coming to view from the deep red earth.²¹⁶ Hukunalo, on a flat tongue of land, was rich in sago and *sagoweer* palms.²¹⁷ Here was the narrowest spot on the bay, where the flat, sandy Cape Martafons stretched out far towards the east at the entrance of the inner bay. It had received its name from the fact that Martim Affonso de Mello Juzarte had wintered here in 1524. Instead of making a long detour here around the inner bay by way of the hamlet Hunut and the tongue of land of the *passo* near Baguala, one sailed from Cape Martafons for 1,650 feet straight across the bay to the opposite coast of Leitimor.

This crossing furnished a surprise—the coral gardens near Halong.²¹⁸ In the still, crystal-clear water there appeared a marvelous, fantastic garden apparently just below the surface. As the boat sailed on, one picture after another seemed to sink into the deep before the eyes of the voyagers. The floor of the bay was

Instead of the other villages we encounter new ones: Kusu Kusu Sereh with 445, a Negorei, to which Malaman, Siwang, and Serio also belong (Verbeek 7), and Mahija with 540 Christians who later settled there.

²¹¹ *Feitos eroicos* 438.

²¹² In 1605 Pedro Uriasila was the village overseer in Seri (Visser 269).

²¹³ Verbeek 75; Valentyn II 1, 123. The bay of Awahang recalls the former town.

²¹⁴ The overseer of Cappa in 1605 was Antonio Hehito (Visser 269). In 1634 the town fielded thirty armed men (Bokemeyer 294).

²¹⁵ The site and capture of the village is described at length in *Feitos eroicos* 438-445; cf. Valentyn II 2, 18. In 1605 the overseer was Jorge Tumbes (Tempessi), in 1618-1637 Estevão Teixeira, who was probably baptized under his namesake, who was captain of Amboina from 1598 to 1602 (Visser 269; Rumphius I 36; Valentyn II 2, 22 107). The former villages which were resettled near the fort are still today recalled by the names of the different quarters of Amboina: Halong, Soja, Kilang, Ema, Latuhalat, Nusaniwi, Urime-seng, Silali, and Hatiwi (Verbeek, *Atlas*, pl. V).

²¹⁶ Wallace I 422.

²¹⁷ According to Valentyn Hukunalo was a little village between Cape Martafons (also known as Melis or Kaymans Hoek) and the Lela River. On his map it is called "Drie Huysen," a translation of the modern name of Rumahtiga, south of Poka. In 1605 the overseer was Siouta (Visser 269), in 1637 John, in 1663 Matheus Mendes (Valentyn II 2, 107 219). In 1627 it had 40 warriors, in 1724 it had 130 inhabitants under an *orangkaja* and was one of the poorest villages on the island (*ibid.* II 1, 103 114). In 1923 the place had 353, the neighboring villages of Poka and Hunut 213 and 298, Christians respectively.

²¹⁸ Travelers such as Epp, Ludeking, Leendertz, van Rhijn (on the voyage to Poka), and Forbes (on the voyage to Waë) praise the beauty of the coral gardens of Amboina. Particularly renowned are those between the city of Amboina and Halong (Verbeek 160). Those near Halong are described in very great detail by Wallace (I 421-422). Bickmore describes those off Buru (214-215) and Haraku (134), Martin those of the Elpaputih Bay off Seran, "not lest magnificent than those off Amboina" (90-91).

here from twenty-three to fifty-six feet deep under the watery mirror. It was uneven. Rocks and fissures and small hills and valleys offered a manifold site for the unfolding of this living, fairy world, which covered the floor of the bay without a gap. There were white, grey, light yellow, brown, violette, and vermilion corals, now in thick clusters, now in the form of bundles of rods, now in the shape of irregular antlers, now like fans, or ostrich feathers. In the midst of them were sea anemones of every shape and color in luxurious abundance, dome-shaped brain-corals, sponges, for the most part round, others like inverted giant mushrooms, starfish, either brown or with azure backs, and oysters growing on the corals and unfolding a dark blue or azure dotted leaf in the shape of a longish rosette, and other creatures of the sea, all producing a brilliantly colored, magic forest which one never tired of seeing, and where it was impossible to decide which was the greater wonder—the splendor of the colors or the wealth of forms. Above them, near the surface, hovered the orange or reddish, translucent jellyfish, like large glass domes, with tentacles stretching downwards; and strewn between the corals were dark brown, fat sea cucumbers in great numbers and mussels of every shape and kind. Above and about this marvelous garden swam a glittering throng of blue, red, and yellow fish, dotted, striped, and marked in the most striking manners. Among these were small sea-green, and schools of tiny sky-blue, fish that fled at top speed into the coral wildernesses at the approach of the boat.

The Christian village of Halong²¹⁹ lay a little up above the entrance into the inner bay. Its inhabitants were Ulisiwas, like the people in Hatiwi, and were known as seafarers. They had often been at war with their neighbors in the villages of Hatiwi, Soja, Kilang, Ema, and elsewhere; but they had concluded a peace with their coreligionists after their acceptance of Christianity.²²⁰ Like Hukunalo, their land was rich in sago palms. Their village was subject to a *patih* who also ruled over the tract of Latéri a half an hour farther north. An hour south of Halong was the small village of Uriteto,²²¹ and a half an hour

²¹⁹ According to Valentyn, Halong, together with Kilang and Baguala, belonged to the oldest and most faithful Christian communities of Amboina (III 1, 29). A portion of its inhabitants had, however, already been islamized before the arrival of the Portuguese. They came with their *patih* from East Seran and were married to Mohammedan women from Banda (*ibid.* 22). Another portion apostatized and became Mohammedan in the persecution of 1558-1561 (*ibid.* 31). The *patih* of Halong, who was slain in 1575 in an attack of the Moors, had once been a Mohammedan and had freely become a Christian (*Feitos eroicos* 293 303-304). By 1593 the village had already been resettled near the fortress. In 1605 it had two overseers—Ali for the Mohammedans, Dom Andreas for the Christians (Visser 269). To Halong had also belonged the hamlet of Latéri and Hatiwi ketjil. In 1629 Halong had 120 warriors and Hatiwi ketjil 30; in 1724 the former had 109, the latter 36, which indicates a total population of 364 and 103 individuals respectively. In the former territory of Halong there were in 1923 the following Christians: 750 in Gelala and Hatiwi, 379 in Halong, 250 in Lata, and 491 in Latéri. Gelala, Lata, and Latéri later became cities (Verbeek 8). In Valentyn's time, Latéri was only a farmstead (II 1, 123).

²²⁰ But in 1563 Manuel of Hatiwi declared that when the Christian villages concluded a defensive and offensive alliance during the persecution of 1558-1561, he had never before seen anything of the sort (Sá III 15-16).

²²¹ Uriteto, also called Uruteto, where the Portuguese built a wooden fortress in 1572, lay along the Wai Tuwa between the modern Gelala and Hatiwi ketjil and between two hills (*Feitos eroicos* 243; Lemos 471; Valentyn II 2, 15). In 1630 the overseer was Jerónimo Teholopu, who was also over Amantelo (Nieuhof II 29). In 1634 the little village had ten men who could bear arms (Bokemeyer 294). In Valentyn's time it had died out (II 1, 118).

from it was Amantelo²²² on the other side of the large sago forest of Honipopo.²²³ Both places were subject to the rajah of Soja, as was also Ahusen lying farther inland. The entire *uli* had become Christian in 1538. From Amantelo the way led past the hamlet of Ahusen²²⁴ to the mountain villages of the granite range of central Leitimor. These were natural fortresses of difficult approach which afforded their inhabitants protection against the attacks of pirates²²⁵ and of their hostile Mohammedan neighbors.

The way led first up the steep, dark red, laterite hill that was sparsely covered with grass, moss, and ferns. From it one had a magnificent view of the deep blue bay of Amboina, alive with its fishing barks, and of the tall green mountains of Hitu,²²⁶ whose peaks were often hidden by clouds.²²⁷ To the east one's view fell upon the higher hill country separated from the foothills by broad gorges or small valleys; and above the hills could be seen the densely wooded granite mountains of the interior.²²⁸

Solitary blocks of granite began to appear along the way immediately beyond the first hills. They became more numerous and crowned the peaks of the small, steep knolls over which the path led. The hard stone, which was weathered deep below the surface, was at times as white as dune sand, and dense clouds of dust swirled up as one passed over it. The crumbled remains of granite boulders reached at times a depth of ten feet, and here and there they formed small seas of rock from which large, bowl-shaped sherds were sometimes loosed. The path from the bay to the hamlet of Ahusen was only a half, and to Soja a full, league as a bird flies; but the tropical heat (it was the hottest time of the year) and the constant climbing up and down over the extremely steep and slippery rock slopes, where often only a bare foot could find a hold, and where one had to climb on hands and feet to many villages, made the going extremely difficult.²²⁹

The heights were covered with a dense forest, though here and there moderately large clearings were apparent. The wide-spreading kanari trees,

²²² In 1605 the overseer was Juany (Visser 269). In 1634 the village had twenty men capable of bearing arms (Bokemeyer 294). In 1834 it had 36 persons and in 1854 12 (Bleeker II 84), and it lay directly north of the fortress in the present ward of Halong (Rumphius I 53; Valentyn II 1, 118).

²²³ The stone fortress was built here in 1575-1576 and the present city thus founded (*ibid.*).

²²⁴ Ahusen, which lay a little over a half a league from the fortress on the way to Soja, was later transferred with a portion of this village to the fortress and had already ceased to exist in Valentyn's time. In 1575 the overseer was Antonio (*Feitos eroicos* 287), in 1605 Joan Bouta (Visser 269). In 1629 the town had thirty warriors (Bleeker II 81). For Xavier's visits to the mountain villages we follow the only footpath that existed, the one which Valentyn also followed.

²²⁵ Cf. Rumphius, who, for example, in 1632 and 1658 speaks of the piratical raids of the Papuans on the island of Amboina (*Amboina-Inseln*) (I 87, II 65).

²²⁶ Martin 8; Bleeker II 107.

²²⁷ Martin 1-2; Valentyn II 1, 117.

²²⁸ Leendertz 181.

²²⁹ In 1557 Frois wrote that most of the Christians of Amboina through fear of Moorish robbers at the foot of the mountain lived in caves like animals on very high mountains and very steep rocks so that one could scarcely get to them by climbing on all fours on hands and knees (DI III 716). According to the *annual letter of the Moluccas of May 10, 1602, shoes could not be used on most of the paths in Amboina on visits to the eight Christian towns of the mountain, since one had to go barefooted (London, Br. Museum: *Add. Mss.* 9853, 15). The *annual letter of Malabar of 1603 has a similar observation (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 112). According to Martin the climb from the city of Amboina to Soja, entirely prescind from the weather, was very difficult and laborious (8).

whose fruit tasted like almonds, reached high into the skies. There were also dammar trees, whose resin, used for torches and for the caulking of ships, was frequently found in heavy chunks beneath the earth amidst the tangled roots. Among the trees were also indian figs, here known as *waringis*, with their exposed roots. And fern trees extended their beautifully feathered crowns. In the vicinity of the villages there were tall breadfruit trees, graceful coconut palms, and slim, strait areca and areng palms, and in swampy areas sago palms. In the forest almost every trunk was encumbered by the tendrils of the rattan palm. At times these reached a length of fifty ells and hung down from the crowns of the trees and crept upon the ground and became entangled in intricate skeins. Together with the fallen tree trunks, they composed an almost impenetrable barrier,²³⁰ where enchantingly beautiful orchids flourished on the moulding logs.²³¹ Large, brilliantly colored butterflies fluttered about.²³² Beneath flowering trees settled swarms of deep red lories, and flights of large green parrots assailed the fruit trees and filled the air with their loud, ceaseless shrieks and gabbling. Large white, red, and green cockatoos were also often to be seen, and small green parrots with their shrill numbing cries swooped here and there through the maze of green leaves.²³³ And from afar one could hear the loud, unbroken cooing of cream-colored doves.²³⁴

The first village on the granite mountain was Soja,²³⁵ a site rich in sago palms²³⁶ less than three miles from Amantelo. It was surrounded by a thick forest whose tall trees afforded a grateful shade. The villages in this area were rocky nests with their houses scattered about since there was not enough room for a regular development. With the coming of night the villagers had to make their way from one cottage to another by the light of a dammar torch.²³⁷ In the mountain villages the people had to obtain their water from deep gulleys; and their gardens, where they obtained spanish peppers, yams, and other produce, were, like their sago copses, scattered widely throughout the forest. After the baptism of his people, the rajah had received a Portuguese first and last name and the title of Dom,²³⁸ as had his two peers in Kilang and Nusaniwi. According

²³⁰ On this see Martin 8-11; on the kanari (or canari) tree Wallace II 56, the dammar tree *ibid.*, 55; Valentyn III 1, 211-212; Tauern 11 130; *Seran* (picture 96); the rotan (rattan) palm (Valentyn III 1, 240-242; Wallace I 383 422; Rebello 395).

²³¹ Ludeking 20-22.

²³² On the butterflies of Amboina, see Wallace I 423; Martin 30-31 ("in no land of the world as beautiful as on the Moluccas"); Bickmore 101-102.

²³³ On the parrots, see Valentyn III 1, 313-319; cf. 213-214. Barbosa already mentions lories by this name in his description of Maluco (II 204), as does Rebello 371. See also Wallace I 425; Bickmore 191 194; green parrots *ibid.* 100-101 194; white parrots Epp 257.

²³⁴ On the doves see Valentyn III 1, 323-326; cf. Wallace II 56; Bickmore 201; Martin 132.

²³⁵ Soja, today Soja di atas (Upper Soja) to distinguish it from the Soja transferred to the fort under the Portuguese in 1576 and called Soja di bawah (Lower Soja) (Verbeek 8). Valentyn, who gives a detailed account of the town and its history, saw here an extraordinarily tall and thick kanari tree which, according to tradition, stemmed from pre-Portuguese times and still produced each year an abundance of fruit (II 1, 117-118). Verbeek encountered it in 1898 and 1904 still in full vigor (8). In 1607 Soja had 200 warriors, in 1724 270 out of a population of 914. In 1923 Soja di atas had 347 Christians.

²³⁶ *Feitos eroicos* 239 319.

²³⁷ Martin 9.

²³⁸ In Valentyn's time the tradition about the first Christian king of Soja was confused. According to one of these it was Latu Consina, alias Duarte da Silva, who ruled from 1618 to 1637. According to another it was D. Rodrigo Brancos Tres Annos,

to tradition, his ancestors had come in two *korakor*s from Lessidi on Hoamoal to Amboina and had first settled on the bay south of Hatiwi between Hatu and Laha in a village named Kamuala, but a severe outbreak of smallpox had forced him to move to the sago woods of Honipopo near Amantelo. From there he had gone to Soja, where the people and their *patih* recognized him as their rajah so that he and his men would help them wage war against the Ulilimas of Ema. The residents of Soja were Ulisiwas, like the subjects of the neighboring king of Kilang. They were darker skinned than those of Hitu and had obviously received a strong admixture of Alfur and Papuan blood.²³⁹ Their village lay on a rocky peak 1,700 feet above the sea, but the tall trees which surrounded it blocked the view into the distance. Nevertheless, the luxurious greenery which surrounded this mountain village with its wide variety of lights and shades and forms, the brown palm-leaf huts on the grey, rocky ground, the environs with their striking masses of stone, and the dark brown villagers in their gay, native garb all presented a rich and picturesque sight.²⁴⁰

Beyond Soja the path climbed steeply up the valley of the Wai Sasuu,²⁴¹ which had received its name from *sajor-hutan* trees growing there. It then continued to rise and fall until it had crossed the divide and risen steeply up to the village of Hatalai,²⁴² which lay half a league away above the valley of the Wai Haa.²⁴³ Here began the territory of the rajah of Kilang, who ruled over the two villages of Naku and Kilang as well. The houses in Hatalai were located on narrow plots of land, though some were scattered about among the huge, round, granite boulders. Among them could still be seen the former site for pagan sacrifices, a bowl-shaped, granite hollow that had been naturally formed by three blocks of stone. The village, which was ruled by an *orangkaja*, had a wealth of coconut palms. But there were also sago and areng palms, banana plants, and breadfruit, and especially cajuput trees, whose white bark resembled that of birch, and whose light green and silvery white, lancet-shaped leaves were the source of a precious oil.²⁴⁴

Naku,²⁴⁵ the next Christian village, was ruled by a *patih*. It was only a quarter of a league away from Hatalai as a bird would fly, but the way there was particularly dangerous in four places as it passed along a narrow ridge only a foot wide, with steep slopes on the right and left falling off into deep ravines. In some places steps had been cut into the rock to facilitate the way. At times

so called, because he was baptized three years after the arrival of the Portuguese (II 1, 118; Rumphius I 36); the name refers to Trajano Rodrigo de Castello Branco, who came to Amboina in 1602 and recaptured half of Hitu (Guerreiro I 280), and also to Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco, from 1538 to 1539 *ouvidor geral*, from 1540 to 1541 *vedor da fazenda* of India (Castanheda 8, 121; *Registo*, n. 314; Correa IV 210 217). In 1605 Dom Manuel was rajah of Soja (Visser 269).

²³⁹ Valentyn II 1, 118.

²⁴⁰ Martin 11-12.

²⁴¹ The name of the upper course of the Batu-Gadjah River. Valentyn calls it Susuan.

²⁴² Hatalai (Halfway), so called because it lay halfway between Soja and Kilang, was under an *orangkaja*. In 1605 this was Antonio Lopes (Visser 269). The village had 60 warriors in 1607, 372 in 1708, and 725 inhabitants in 1923. In 1854 it had 6,427 coconut palms (Bleeker II 118). On it see Valentyn, II 1, 118; Buddingh 272-273.

²⁴³ Today Wai Hatalai.

²⁴⁴ On the cajuput tree, see Valentyn III 1, 192-193; Bickmore 211-212; Martin 95 158.

²⁴⁵ On Naku, 1.12 miles from Hatalai, see Valentyn II 1, 118-119; Buddingh 272-273. In 1605 the *patih* was Pedro Mesquita (Visser 269). In 1607 the village had 70 warriors, in 1724 100, out of a population of 328. In 1923 it had 518 Christians.

white clouds could be seen from it in the valleys below while the blue heavens were shining clear above. The high, rocky plateau, covered with yellow sand and compact rubble, offered little room for dwellings. The tree-shaded homes as a consequence hung like birds' nests, one above the other, on the steep slope above the precipice. To get from one to another, one had to pass around steep crags on steps cut into the rock.

Beyond Naku the path went up and down along deep gorges to Kilang,²⁴⁶ only a quarter of a league away in a straight line. This large village was high above the deeply scored valley of the Wai Ila and perched like the preceding villages on a steep, rocky peak, whose sides were covered with yellow sand and broken stones. But there were also shrubs and patches of ground covered with vegetation. Here also the rocky plateau left little room for a village, and the huts of the inhabitants were spread far about. Frequently their only access was by means of steps hewn into the hard stone. The village had received its name from the *cajeput*, or *kilang*, trees that flourished here. But there were also numerous groves of bamboo; and, like the other villages on the mountain, it had a wealth of coconut palms. According to tradition a Papuan king from Lessidi in Hoamoal had founded the village. New immigrants had come from the island of Goram east of Seran, and the ruling rajah, the second in rank among the kings of Leitimor, was the son of the chief of Titawai on the island of Nusa Laut east of Amboina. He had immigrated here because of a quarrel with his brother. His name was Latu Besi, but at the time of his baptism he had taken the name of Coelko and had received the title of Dom.

From Kilang the path turned towards the northeast. One climbed the steep, sandy slope to the Saniri River,²⁴⁷ which comprised the boundary between Kilang and the neighboring town. On the other side of it one had to pass up a steep, tall mountain, then downwards on a wretched path to a small stream, the Wai Suri Kappa,²⁴⁸ and then again up a steep and dangerous rocky slope until in half an hour Hukurila²⁴⁹ was reached. The four villages on this side were Ulilimas, and their *orangkajas* were subject to the main village of Ema. Hukurila was surrounded by a dense forest, and the climb to it was extremely difficult, particularly after a rain. The rocky peak on which it lay offered little freedom for movement. A small path in the village enabled one to reach a rocky prominence that afforded a brilliant view of the broad sea and the distant blue island of Nusa Laut, the "Sea Island."

²⁴⁶ On Kilang, see Valentyn II 1, 119; Buddingh 271-272. When the Moors in the persecution of 1558-1561 ordered the inhabitants to surrender since there were no more Portuguese on Amboina and no Christians who had not apostatized, they answered: "Never as long as Manuel of Hatiwi lives!" as Pero Mascarenhas wrote in 1562 (Sá II 438). In 1564 Brother Manuel Gomes reported that he had baptized many children in Kilang and given instructions and wanted to build a church, but this was not realized (*ibid.* 100). In 1605 the rajah was called Dom João da Silva (Visser 269: Silo), in 1618 D. Manuel da Silva (Rumphius I 36; Nieuhof II 29). In 1607 the village had 200 warriors; in 1724, 106 out of a population of 425. In 1923 there were 501 Christians. In 1854 Kilang had 8,520 coconut palms (Bleeker II 122).

²⁴⁷ Wai Saniri (River of the Assembly), today Wai Hahila, in its upper course I-jang (Verbeek 6).

²⁴⁸ According to Valentyn the river was so named because the people of Kappa in Urimeseng came here to fight (II 1, 120).

²⁴⁹ On Hukurila see *ibid.* and Buddingh 271. One could go from Kilang to Hukurila directly or by way of Ema. The direct route is given by Valentyn (III 1, 126) and Buddingh. In 1605 the village chief was Makatita (Visser 269). The village had 100 warriors in 1607, 91 in 1724. It had 307 inhabitants in 1724, 139 in 1923.

From Hukurila the narrow path led towards the north, first down a steep, and then up a tall, steep, rocky mountain. The path then ran level for some time with a view below of frightening chasms covered with green growth or large boulders and sand, and of bare rocky peaks above. It then descended a steep slope and climbed another until the main village of Ema came into view.

The people of Ema²⁵⁰ were partially descended from Javanese who had once landed near there with a junk and had mingled with the original Alfuros. The village was, like the others, a veritable eagle's nest perched upon a steep, granite mountain top. The narrow summit did not have enough open space for two or three cottages to be built next to each other. They were therefore scattered about, some above others, so that one could pass from the door of one house to the roof of another. The not uncommon earthquakes in Amboina thus caused the houses to collapse upon each other. They were linked together by natural steps, the consequence of the crumbling of the rock, and by others that were deliberately hewn into it. In this area there were many rounded masses of granite as high as a house from which layers of stone kept peeling off as if they were gigantic onions. These scales in turn broke up into smaller blocks of stone, which formed the steps for the narrow path that led along the massive rocks. In order to build cottages on such a site, round holes had to be bored into the stone to receive the supporting poles. Far off in the north, over the tips of the trees, one could see the flat peak of Gunung Horiel reaching to a height of 1,845 feet, the tallest mountain on Leitimor. In the east one could behold the sea, its nearness already indicated by the numerous fishing baskets that lay about the village. In the immediate environs, there were only grass and weeds; but below, in the deep draw, down which a path descended, were tall trees and watering places. The mountaineers could pass straight over the peninsula to Amantelo in 2 ½ hours, and they could come from Hatalai in 1 ½;²⁵¹ but because of the unusual climate and terrain the mountain paths of Leitimor were extremely difficult and tiring for the priest.

From Ema one descended into the valley of the Wai Jhuresi, which emptied into the sea near the small bay of Hukurila. Here the granite ended, and the wooded Mount Horiel fell off sharply to the strand. The path then went along the shore towards the north, with the sea on the right and a view of the sharp silhouettes of the three larger Uliaser Islands in the distance—Haruku, Saparua, and, to their right and beyond them, the smaller island of Nusa Laut. The ocean was here engaged in a constant struggle with the land. Dark reefs with rough profiles, often of great size, were to be seen on the beach or in the sea. Jagged masses of rock stretched out like tongues into the deep, and endless quantities of gravel were mingled with blocks of stone piled one upon the other. A little later eroded reefs could be seen again. These formed small bridges and rocky gates beneath which the breakers crashed only to appear here and there again upon the other side. Trees, whose bases had been eaten away by the waves, stretched their bare, decaying roots like giant spider legs out and down towards the water. Beneath the overhang of giant trees, one went from rock to rock

²⁵⁰ On Ema see Valentyn II 1, 119-120; Buddingh 270; Bleeker 134-135; Martin 9 12, and pl. 4. The *orangkaja*, under whom the three remaining villages of the *uli* were, was Simon Maytimo in 1605 (Visser 269). The village had 300 warriors in 1607, 186 in 1724. In 1724 it had 712 inhabitants, 564 in 1923. In 1854 it had 8,654 coconut palms (Bleeker II 122). It was a little less than a mile from Hukurila.

²⁵¹ Martin 11.

along the beach and then again, at some distance from it, along the sharply cut slopes of the coffee-colored mountain which was covered with irregular rubble. The sparse trees provided a frequent view of the sea at the foot of the slope, where the blue green waters were of such transparency that the coral beds on its floor could still be recognized from the imposing heights.²⁵²

Halfway between the villages Cape Hihar fell abruptly into the sea and travelers had to abandon the coast. Although steps had been hewn into the rock of the foothill, it was still very difficult to cross, and from its heights there was a frightening view 130-feet down into the foaming waves. The path then descended slowly, skirting two gorges, until it reached the flat rim of the coast. Finally, a league beyond Ema, it reached Cape Riki. On the other side, at the foot of this coral-limestone mass, was the small, poor village of Leahari,²⁵³ whose inhabitants claimed that they were descended from the earliest occupants of the island.²⁵⁴ On a broader strip of beach a brief quarter of an hour farther on was the more populous village of Rutung.²⁵⁵

North of Cape Riki the flat beach formed a broad circular bay three miles in length, which was closed off in the north a short hour's distance beyond Rutung by the 325-foot high Gunung Patah that rose sharply from the sea. The plain was traversed by numerous brooks, and near Rutung it became swampy and was covered with trees. From the beach one could see luxurious coral gardens spreading out in magic splendor beneath the clear, tranquil waters. Like Cape Riki, the cape of Gunung Patah was comprised of coral limestone. But the sea had already eaten deep caverns into the grey stone of both capes and had formed promontories and rocky gates extending into the sea. Huge blocks of stones had toppled over after their foundations had been washed away. Still, everything was covered with a luxuriant growth, and masses of creeping plants and the roots of trees hung down over the cliffs into the sea, while brooks brought heaps of sand and rubble to the beach, where gnarled mangimangi trees stretched out into the water and spread their large, asparagus-shaped stolons in a wide circle up from the ground. In the midst of the tangled roots there was a wealth of animal life. Besides the hermit crabs and all the refuse of the waves—mussels, corals, sepia, and the like there was a remarkable little fish around three inches long with a high head and protruding eyes. During low tide it used its extended pectoral fin to leap about on the dry sand and to climb over pools of water and small stones and other obstacles in its pursuit of insects and slugs. But in the water it sped about as swiftly as an arrow.²⁵⁶

Rutung was the last Christian village on this side of Leitimor. Beyond the bay and the height of Gunung Patah, more than an hour away was the village of Hutumuri on a strong and easily defended site on the steep slopes of Gunung Maut. The inhabitants of this large and populous village were known for their pottery, but they were also feared as pirates and as mortal enemies of the

²⁵² *Ibid.* 13.

²⁵³ On Leahari, see Valentyn II 1, 120; Buddingh 268. In the favorable time of the year, one could sail in a *prau* from Hukurila to Leahari. The place had 20 warriors in 1607, 10 in 1634. It had 68 inhabitants in 1708 and 121 in 1923.

²⁵⁴ Riedel 32.

²⁵⁵ On Rutung, see Valentyn II 1, 120; Buddingh 267. In 1605 the village chief was Tale Hattou (Visser 269). The village had 30 warriors in 1607, 40 in 1634; 107 inhabitants in 1708, 382 in 1923.

²⁵⁶ Martin 13-15.

Christians. According to their own tradition they had originated in Java. Though they were Ulisiwas, they had accepted Islam.²⁵⁷

From Rutung the route returned by way of Leahari to Ema. From here, along the slopes of steep ravines, there was a path which passed a small waterfall²⁵⁸ surrounded by sago palms and a wealth of vegetation and eventually reached Hatalai. From there it descended, with a constant, splendid view of the bay of Amboina and the high, wooded mountain of Hitu,²⁵⁹ to Amantelo, from which one sailed in a brief time to Hatiwi on the other side of the bay.

Master Francis had had many new experiences in his visit to the Christian villages. In the forests there could occasionally be seen cleverly constructed clumps from 1½ to 3¼ feet high and from 10 to 13 feet in diameter made of thick leaves, pieces of wood, bark, and sand. These were the nests of *maleos*, running birds that laid their eggs there and left them to hatch from the heat. The plaintive cries of these shy birds could be heard from time to time at night.

Vessels made of bamboo were often fitted to the cut stumps of inflorescent buds near the crowns of areng and coconut palms. These were used to catch the sap for making palm wine.²⁶⁰ Bamboo poles were also often stuck into the ground with the young fronds of a coconut palm or other fruit tree tied to it and with a piece of coconut shell attached to its tip. These were *sasis*, as the priest learned from his companion, warnings that no one should pluck fruit in that area.²⁶¹ Elsewhere there were crude figures made of *gaba-gaba* or sago leaves representing crocodiles, snakes, mice, turtles, birds, and other similar objects impaled on sticks and protected by small roofs. These were *matakaus*, which threatened anyone who stole fruit there with leprosy or some other ill, or death from one of the animals represented.²⁶²

One also frequently encountered in the forests tiny houses—²⁶³ a frame on four sticks covered with a palm-leaf roof, usually open on all four sides. On the floor of the little house or in its loft were placed sacrificial offerings: little

²⁵⁷ On Hutumuri, see Valentyn II 1, 120-121. The Moorish village, against which Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque undertook a punitive expedition in 1569 (Lemos 457), was baptized in 1570 (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 19v). The Dutch resettled its inhabitants near the fort in 1610. They fled from there to their old village on Gunung Maut, but the Dutch captured it in 1618 and forced its people to return to the fort. In 1626 they were resettled on the *passo*, but they gradually returned from there to their former village. In 1642 they were compelled to move from there to the beach (Rumphius I 31 36-37 55 206). Today the village lies farther south and a half hour north of Rutung on the same bay before Cape Hutumuri.

²⁵⁸ The Eguinang waterfall (Martin 9, pl. 3); on the route, see Bleeker II 134.

²⁵⁹ Buddingh 274.

²⁶⁰ Martin 11.

²⁶¹ On the *sasis*, see Martin 53-54 (with a picture).

²⁶² The *matakaus* on Amboina are described by Valentyn III 1, 10-12; Martin 52-53 (with a picture); Riedel 62 (with a picture). Similar figures are also found on the Uliaser Islands and on Seran.

²⁶³ The ghost huts, on Amboina called *ureu*, on Seran and Buru *humakoin*, on Halmahera *taba*, *salabe*, *pilogo*, and *gomanga ma tau*, were described in 1634 by the preacher Herunius (*Archief* VI 290), in 1724 by Valentyn (III 1, 9), more recently by Riedel 56-57; those on Buru by Martin 283-286 326 377-378, on Seran by Tauern 178-179, on Halmahera by Baretta 49 51-52 (with a picture) and Hueting, *De Tobeloreezen* II 186-187. Already in 1548 Xavier's successor Nuno Ribeiro destroyed their "idols" on Amboina (DI I 365). In 1555 his successor, Affonso de Castro, wrote from Amboina that only where he lived did the people have the appearance of being Christians. In the other Christian villages, many had returned to their dregs and were living like pagans (ARSI: *Goa* 10, 321; cf. Polanco VI 817-819). In 1563 Francisco Rodrigues converted three villages on Amboina with a total population of 900. Before their baptism, and with their approval, he had

bowls of *sirih pinang*, sago, a wing of a white cock,²⁶⁴ a piece of red cloth, oil, and other objects as well. These little shelters were the dwellings of the *nitus*, the spirits of the deceased who were offered these propitiatory gifts to thank them for a successful hunt, a catch of fish, a voyage completed, a return from war, or to secure their help in time of need or illness.²⁶⁵ Such spirit houses or altars were also erected in the lofts of native homes. At times these contained a wooden figure in the shape of a man or beast which represented the spirit of the house.²⁶⁶ The people maintained that the spirits of the dead lingered about their graves or former dwellings, where the inalienable possessions of their ancestors were kept: Chinese porcelains decorated with red or blue figures in enamel, small gold snakes, pieces of clothing, and other mementos

caused a countless number of "pagodes" to be destroyed and burned (Sá III 90). In 1570 *Pero Mascarenhas wrote from Amboina that they had baptized 8,000 pagans in this year, and he added: "Even though as pagans they had no temples to gods, they still prayed to real gods like other pagans. In their gardens [in the forests] and at times in their homes, they had special places devoted to the cult of the devil; but after their conversion to Christianity they no longer revered these sites. The fear, however, which they had had of the devil as pagans, to whom they had erected these huts in various places, remained with some of those recently baptized. Although they no longer prayed at these sites, they treated them with a certain respect since they feared that the devil could do some harm to them on their account. When we baptize a village, the first thing we tell the people to do is to destroy all the huts and sites where the devil is invoked, and we urge the children who teach Christian doctrine to look for such huts in the forests and to destroy them" (ARSI: *Goa 12*, 20v-21v). When the catechumens did not have the courage to destroy the "pagodes" in their homes, they summoned the boys who had been baptized and were teaching Christian doctrine and asked them to do it for them (*ibid.* 17). When the Dutch captured Amboina in 1605, the Catholic priests were expelled and replaced by Calvinist preachers. In 1615 the first of these wrote to his mother church in Amsterdam: "During Portuguese times the Jesuits could do as much as they wished to get the people to church. They went everywhere and burned the little huts, which is not done by us" (*Archief V* 53). An energetic campaign against spirit worship was the result. The Dutch governor could report in 1621 that 200 spirit huts had already been burned, and in 1622 that in this year alone from 600 to 800 had been burned and their offerings confiscated (*ibid.* 130 143). In 1634 the preacher Heurnius wrote that he had already destroyed that year more than 100 in the forests of the Uliaser Islands (*ibid.* VI 290). When new huts to the devil continued to be built in the forests, an edict was issued in Amboina in 1657 and renewed in 1674, 1689, and 1693, threatening the death penalty for anyone in whose house or garden images of the devil were found, a reward of twenty-five royal dollars being given to the informant (C. A. L. van Troostenburg de Bruijn, *De Hervormde Kerk in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië onder de Oost-Indische Compagnie (1602-1795)* (Arnhem, 1884) 577. But Valentyn still found devil huts in the forests (III 1, 9), and in 1853 Buddingh still discovered the same in the Christian villages of Liliboi and Alang not far from Hatiwi (154-155). According to Riedel the worship of spirits has not as yet been completely eradicated from among the Christians of Amboina (54-59).

²⁶⁴ In 1634 Heurnius mentions the sacrifice of a white cock (*Archief VI* 290); cf. Martin 326. A white cock was customarily sacrificed on the sacred stone of Soja (Valentyn III 1, 9-10).

²⁶⁵ A number of preachers on Amboina wrote about spirit worship on this island: Wiltens in 1615 (*Archief V* 42-53); Danckaerts in greater detail in 1621 in his *Historisch ende Grondisch Verhael* (s' Graven-Haghe), and Valentyn III 1, 2-19; cf. II 1, 141-149. Among more recent authors to write about the remains of paganism on Amboina and the Uliaser Islands are van Schmid in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (5, 2 [1843] 491-530 583-622); van Hoëvell 114-159; Riedel 54-85; Tauern 175-185 (on Seran), and G. A. Wilken, "Het animisme bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel," *Verspreide Geschriften* III ('s Gravenhage, 1912) 1-287.

²⁶⁶ Riedel mentions human figures as dwellings of spirits (106). In 1655 the inhabitants of Waë on northeast Hitu, who had been converted to Christianity in 1590, still secretly worshiped in the forest a phallic statue in the shape of a man nine feet

of the deceased.²⁶⁷ Here the spirits were given food and drink and the blossoms of fragrant jasmine. At times the *nitus* appeared to their descendants in dreams or, apart from them, in the shape of men, pigs, deer, kites, running birds, screech owls, or other birds and animals to let them know their desires or to warn them of future perils.²⁶⁸ At least this was what they said.

Evil spirits²⁶⁹ also peopled the air and woods and had to be propitiated with sacrifices—precious corals, red cloths, *sapeken*, and other objects—so that they would not cause one any harm. These were the souls of those who had died a violent death, or of strangers who had ended their lives far from their native land. Their usual haunts, tall trees, stones, and caves, were *pamali*,²⁷⁰ which meant that such trees could not be cut down, such stones could not be defiled, such sites could not be walked upon if one did not wish to provoke the revenge of those who dwelled within them. *Pamali* also were the places where a village had once been located, or where an old, sacrificial stone stood, a flat rock about a yard long and half as broad resting on three other stones, like the one in Hatalai,²⁷¹ or like the one on the summit of Sirimau, a short half-hour from Soja, where in former times the village chief alone had the right to bring a sacrificial gift.²⁷² *Pamali*, that is, “forbidden,” were also certain actions and certain foods, for example, the slaying or eating of the animals from which the village had traditionally stemmed. The inhabitants of Hatiwi did not thus dare to kill a snake, those of Nama Latu to kill a crocodile, and those of Alang and Liliboi, south of Hatiwi, to eat an eel. Other villages traced their origins to a turtle, a wild boar, a shark; still others believed that their ancestors had come from a bamboo or a hollow tree.²⁷³

Maladies were ascribed to the influence of the spirits,²⁷⁴ and if there was no other means of help a magician had to be summoned.²⁷⁵ Going into a trance,

high that had been carved in wood. The *patih* of Soja told Valentyn that the inhabitants of his village had earlier, through fear of the Dutch, secretly carried in their war *korakor*as an idol which they, like the people of Waë, called *Butoh Ulisiwa* (Phallus of the Ulisiwa) so that they might obtain victory over their enemies through it. In 1641 an idol in the shape of a pig was worshiped in Ema (Valentyn III 1, 5 52 57; II 1, 163). In 1853 the Christians of Liliboi, who had been converted in 1563, worshiped a wooden idol. Their neighbors of Hatu and Alang, although they were Christians from the time of the Portuguese, secretly clung to their cult of spirits (Buddingh 153-155). According to Riedel the inhabitants of Latuhalat honored a small copper crocodile, and those of Silali their *baileo*, as the dwelling of their protective spirit (56).

²⁶⁷ On these inherited items (*tanei tawawari*), see Riedel 106-107; cf. *Feitos eroicos* 208 288.

²⁶⁸ Riedel 56.

²⁶⁹ On the evil spirits (*nitus*), see Riedel 57-58.

²⁷⁰ On the *pamali* prohibition in Amboina, see van Hoëvell 148-152; Riedel 61-62; for Seran see Tauern 184-185.

²⁷¹ On the sacred altar stone (*batu pamali*), which was in all the villages, see Riedel 55-57; Tauern 142; Seran 78.

²⁷² Riedel 57. On the peak of Sirimau, a short half hour from Soja, was a sacrificial stone with a jug full of water and an ancient little spirit house near a sacred bamboo grove. When rain was wanted, the rajah had to sacrifice a white cock there, and stir the water in the jug with a bamboo stick from the sacred grove. In 1649 the preacher J.J. Brund burned the spirit house, cut down the bamboo grove, and took the jug with him (Valentyn III 1, 55; cf. 9-10 30; II 1, 142). But the jug was replaced by another, and this was not broken again until 1815 or 1820 by the preacher Kam (Buddingh 274); but it too was replaced by another.

²⁷³ Valentyn II 1, 139; Riedel 56; Martin 351-352 (for Buru).

²⁷⁴ On the treatment of illnesses, see Riedel 77-80; Tauern 179-182.

²⁷⁵ When Lourenço da Silva, the old rajah of Soja, fell ill in 1638, he had a famous

he spoke with them, especially with the ghosts of the former kings of Soja, Kilang, and Nusaniwi;²⁷⁶ and he learned from them what must be done to drive away the sickness. Even more feared than the wicked spirits were the *swangis*,²⁷⁷ old men and women who changed themselves into witches, fled from island to island, ate the hearts and entrails of men, and thus brought about their death. The people many times as a consequence kept watch by the corpse of a deceased relative with shields and *parangs* to protect them from *swangis*,²⁷⁸ and anyone accused of being a *swangi* by a magician when he was in a trance was mercilessly slain.²⁷⁹

As in Hatiwi, Master Francis went from door to door in each of the villages with Manuel, his young companion, and asked about those who were ill and about the children who had not as yet been baptized. He prayed over the sick and baptized the children, many of whom soon died after their reception of the sacrament.²⁸⁰ His coming consoled the Christians, who had been so long abandoned, and strengthened them in their new faith against the lures and threats of their Mohammedan neighbors.

More than once the priest could see from the mountains of Leitimor the tall, dark, mountainous forests of Hitu on the other side of the bay of Amboina, beyond which lived the followers of the False Prophet. Mortal enemies of the Christians, they wished to compel the pagans and the Christians of this island by force of arms and with the help of their Javanese allies to adopt their own religion or to become their slaves.²⁸¹ As a sign of their new faith, the Christians at the time of their conversion had erected a cross in their villages, before which they lit lamps and offered their prayers as it began to grow dark.²⁸² Where such a cross was missing, Master Francis had one erected;²⁸³ and he urged all of the people to remain true to their holy faith and to prefer to die rather than ever to deny it. His exhortations fell on no better ground than that of Manuel, his young companion and interpreter. Never during his life was he to forget

magician come from the island of Ambelau in order to reveal the source of his sickness. The magician declared that the *patih* of Soja had caused it (Valentyn II 2, 125; III 1, 51 and 13; Rumphius I 168).

²⁷⁶ According to Danckaerts in 1621 (*Begin ende Voortgangh* XV 152).

²⁷⁷ We first hear of *swangis* in 1559, when Francisco Vieira wrote from Ternate to his confreres in Portugal that Lionel de Lima, if he were still alive, could give them precise information on the *swangis*, or witches (Sá II 325). There is mention of them on Amboina in 1563, where, according to information provided by the natives, they were making a valley near Nusaniwi unsafe. The priest then erected a cross there to drive them away (*ibid.* III 92 93, V 93). According to Rebello a judge with twenty persons was slain on Tidore as a *swangi*, and the old rajah of Djailolo killed 136 people who were declared to be *swangis* (290). On them see Riedel 58; Buddingh 150.

²⁷⁸ According to Danckaerts in 1621 (*Begin ende Voortgangh* XV 152).

²⁷⁹ A case is mentioned in Hatiwi in 1616 (*Bouwstoffen* I 221).

²⁸⁰ EX I 322-323 375-376; cf. Schurhammer, "Taufen" 51-56 73. The number of children baptized on Amboina can have been around one thousand.

²⁸¹ EX I 328.

²⁸² In 1556 Frois wrote that Brother Nicolau Nunes had erected a cross in all the villages on Moro and advised the Christians that when they wished to pray they should, instead of practicing their pagan ceremonies, light an oil lamp before the cross and entreat God for rain (DI III 553). In 1563 Manuel Gomes wrote from Amboina that the Christians had a great reverence for the cross. Every night they lit numerous candles before it, and they sang the Christian doctrines before it on their knees and then asked God for health and the forgiveness of their sins and other graces (Sá III 53).

²⁸³ In 1563 Manuel Gomes also mentions a cross which Xavier erected on the beach of Amboina (*ibid.* 59).

the words and instructions of the holy priest, and two of his sayings had taken deep root within his soul: It is a good thing to die out of love for our Lord Jesus Christ,"²⁸⁴ and "A good Christian must die upon the cross."²⁸⁵

5. WITH THE HEADHUNTERS OF WARANULA AND NUSA LAUT (MARCH, 1546)²⁸⁶

Master Francis had hardly returned to Hatiwi from his visit to the Christian villages when he was afforded an opportunity to visit the neighboring islands, which were occupied by Alfuros, dreaded headhunters, so that he might there too become acquainted with the mission field. A Portuguese merchant by the

²⁸⁴ Manuel later became the village chief of Hatiwi and was the champion and protector of the Christians on Amboina during the persecution of 1558-1561. When the Portuguese, and with them Brother Fernão do Souro, came to help the Christians in 1561, they were received by him and his people in Hatiwi with open arms (DI V 285; cf. Sá II 436). With the next ship he sent two sons with a servant to Goa so that they might be educated in the College of St. Paul. Souro wrote: "The chief of the village, who keeps the Christians in their faith and was born in the village, is called Manuel. The Christian teaching with which he was to a certain extent entrusted was that of Father Master Francis; and as this Christian often told me, he had been accustomed as a boy to accompany him with his surplice and breviary in those wildernesses of Amboina; and the stories and the teaching which the priest committed to him were so deeply imprinted in his heart that if it had not been for them he would have many times become a Moor because of the severe persecution and the hardships in which he saw himself because of them. And he further told me: 'I am an Amboinese of the forest and I am not able to say what a Christian is and what kind of a Being God is; but I know what Father Master Francis told me, that it is good to die for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that alone gave me the courage and the strength to fight to the death'" (DI V 284-285). When a new, severe persecution broke out in 1564, and the priests saw themselves compelled to abandon Amboina in 1565, Manuel sailed with Father Luis de Goes to Goa in order to ask for the help of a fleet (Couto 8, 16). Because of this the viceroy sent one in 1566 under Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque, who recaptured Amboina and reestablished peace.

²⁸⁵ In the persecution of 1558-1561 Manuel's brother-in-law Antonio had conspired with two Portuguese to slay him, and they had already pointed their guns at him when Manuel embraced the village cross and said that he wished to die on the cross, for he had learned this from Father Master Francis, as Pero Mascarenhas wrote from the Moluccas in 1562 (Sá II 438-439).

²⁸⁶ The main source for Xavier's voyage to Seran and Nusa Laut is the testimony of his companion Fausto Rodrigues in the Cebú process of 1608 and 1613, which is contained in the authentic copy which Francisco de Otazo, S.J., the rector of the College of Cebú, had made in 1613 by the episcopal authority of the city and sent to the Spanish assistant of the Society of Jesus in Rome (ARSI: *Phil.* 10, 278-283v). For the following we refer to "Das Krebswunder Xavers—eine buddhistische Legende?" in which we published the primitive text of the Cebú process with a commentary (*Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 46 [1962] 112-120). The learned Bollandist P. Peeters attempted to prove with a series of arguments the lack of credibility in the testimony (*Analecta Bollandiana* 46 [1928] 459-460). But these only revealed his ignorance of the pertinent literature, which we shall examine more closely in the footnotes. Brodrick, influenced by Peeters, makes a further attack on the voyage to Seran by Xavier, claiming that it could hardly be included in the already full timetable of the saint (264). We have drawn up the following chronology: February 14, arrival in Amboina; February to the beginning of March: visit to the Christian villages; before March 9: visit to Seran (March 9, the arrival of Távara's fleet); after the middle of March: Xavier's return to Amboina, where he took up his residence in the camp of Nusaniwi; April 16: death of Villalobos in Nusaniwi; April 23, Good Friday: conversion of his host; April 25, Easter; after Easter Xavier lived somewhere else in the camp; May 10-16: letters; May 17: departure of the fleet. Xavier goes to Hatiwi and is there very ill for a month; middle of June: departure for Ternate.

name of João Raposo²⁸⁷ was sailing with his wares in a *korakora* manned by Amboinese to the large island of Waranula, or Seran,²⁸⁸ which extended from east to west for more than 50 leagues and had a circumference of some 150,²⁸⁹ and whose tall, blue mountains Xavier could see from Amboina. With Raposo was also sailing his young countryman, Fausto Rodrigues, from Viana d'Alvito in the province of Alemtejo, where his father, Bastião Rodrigues, and his mother, Isabel Bella, were living. When he was still a boy unable to read or write, he had left his homeland to sail to India.²⁹⁰ Sixty-two years later, when he was asked about the priest whom he had met in Amboina by the representative of the bishop in Cebú, he still had a clear remembrance of him: "Father Master Francis was about forty-five years old. He had some grey hairs on his temples and a high forehead and a black beard, and he was of a good height and thin."²⁹¹

As soon as the southeast monsoon began in May, the neighboring islands, that is, the Uliaser Islands and Seran would become unattainable because of

²⁸⁷ "A Portuguese, who, as far as I can remember, was called João Raposo," according to Fausto Rodrigues. Different individuals had this name in Portugal and Africa at this time. Our man is probably to be identified with the João Raposo who was in prison in the fort of Palmella in 1533 and was condemned to be banished across the sea for a year, but this penalty was changed to a fine of five *milreis* (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Perdões* 9, 110v).

²⁸⁸ In the texts of the sixteenth century Waranula (Waran Ela) means: (1) Luhu, the main village of Hoamoal, westernmost part of the peninsula of Seran (*Feitos eroicos* 393); (2) the peninsula itself, also called Small Seran (Valentyn II 1, 35); (3) all of Seran west of Haja (*Feitos eroicos* 393); (4) all of Seran (DI III 562; Valentyn II 1, 35). In the early cartographers the name Seran (Ceram) stands for (1) the island of Seran-laut east of Seran; (2) eastern Seran (Sá III 59); (3) central Seran, the area north of Taluti Bay, "Seran proper" (Valentyn II 1, 60-61 63). The east part of the island was also called Binaur (Benaor), the whole island Batachina de Muar and Batachina de Ambo (cf. Pires 209-211).

²⁸⁹ DI III 562.

²⁹⁰ Peeters argues as follows: "Dans sa première déposition Rodriguez déclara être âgé 'd'environ' 74 ans. Le prodige aurait eu lieu durant les premiers mois de 1546. Il s'ensuit que le saint aurait pris pour compagnon, dans une expédition aventureuse jusqu'à témérité, un enfant 'd'environ' douze ans. Et à quel âge ce navigateur précoce avait-il quitté le Portugal?" Our answers to this are: (1) Xavier did not take him but Raposo. (2) There was no question of an adventurous, foolhardy journey. It was one of the common trading voyages to a neighboring island, like those made every year before and after the rainy season. (3) On January 22, 1613, Rodrigues gave his age as "about eighty," according to which he would have been some fourteen years old in 1546. But since self-educated people did not at the time know their precise age, and even among Jesuits birthdays in official catalogs often waver from one to four years, Rodrigues could easily have been fifteen or sixteen, or even older. Brodrick further argues that Portuguese law forbade the emigration of entire families to the East. Rodrigues would therefore have to have been an adult in 1546, specially since he was an artilleryman in the Portuguese fleet (263). But he was an artilleryman in the fortress of Amboina (not in the fleet) in 1605, not in 1546; and it can be shown by numerous examples that boys of twelve and under frequently sailed to India either alone or with relatives in the first half of the sixteenth century. The law only forbade the taking of wives along, and even here there were exceptions. Peeters further maintains that Rodrigues erroneously asserts that he had been for five months with Xavier on Amboina, whereas the saint had not been there for a full three months. Not the witness but his critic is here in error. Rodrigues says that he had been about six months with Xavier on Amboina, and that means: Xavier was on the island from February 14 to the middle of June, 1546, and again from the end of February till the middle of May, 1547.

²⁹¹ The description is in agreement with the other descriptions which we have of Xavier, for example, that of Teixeira (882). See Schurhammer, *Franziskus Xaverius. Ein Leben in Bildern* (Aachen, 1922) 59-61.

the strong wind that blew day and night, the stormy sea, and the heavy surf.²⁹² Raposo therefore wished to take advantage of the favorable northwest monsoon to make a trading expedition to the southern coast of central Seran with Tamilau as his first point of call.²⁹³ This was a village between the Elpaputih and the Taluti bays which could, in good weather, be reached in an oared boat in the course of two days.²⁹⁴ While João d'Eirò, Xavier's companion, remained behind in Hatiwi, the priest joined the voyagers.

The *korakora*²⁹⁵ was a rather long, flat coastal transport with sides that rose only a few fingers in breadth above the water. A low, narrow cabin in the center with benches for seats against its walls and a flat roof of *atap* as protection against the sun and rain provided room for wares and passengers. Here also was the bamboo mast, held fast by two thwarts²⁹⁶ and equipped with a four-cornered matted sail woven from the leaves of the *nipa* palm, which could be unrolled when, what was seldom the case, a favorable wind made possible its use. The outriggers on both sides of the vessel kept the *korakora* on an even keel and prevented it from rolling over. It had a bamboo platform parallel to the length of the ship, on which the rowers sat in front and behind the cabin. There were one to two dozen or more of these.²⁹⁷ Strong, brown figures, with the upper parts of their bodies bare and a cloth around their head, they propelled the boat forward at a rapid rate to the rapping of the *tifa*, an oblong drum made from a hollow wooden trunk over which the skin of a deer had been drawn, and a small copper gong, which two of the men kept endlessly beating,²⁹⁸ and to the accompaniment of new and old rowing songs which the natives had

²⁹² Martin 84; *Berigten* 18 (1877) 152; van Hoëvell 13-15; Sá III 16; ARSI: *Goa* 13, 359v.

²⁹³ During the Hongi expedition of the Dutch fleet to southern Seran in 1705, a number of native merchants presented them with their trading papers for confirmation. For example, Jan Patirane could sail with his *champana* and eight men for forty days to Amahai, Sepa, Tamilau, Touw, Haja, and Taluti in order to exchange sago for trinkets. Simon Pati Paros could sail for a month with thirteen men from Ouw on Saparua to Atiahu on the east side of Taluti Bay in order to exchange sago and rice for cloth goods; the Mohammedan Sehapati could sail with fifteen men for a period of two months from Haruku to Amahai, Sepa, Tamilau, Haja, Taluti and Atiahu in order to exchange sago for linens (Valentyn II 1, 227).

²⁹⁴ In February, 1860, Wallace traveled in a sailboat in two days from Amboina to Amahai and the following day from there to Taimlau (II 79-80). In 1705 the *korakora* fleet sailed in eight hours from Tamilau to Amahai, and the following day from there in twelve, by way of Saparua, to Baguala on Amboina (Valentyn II 1, 236-238). In 1588 a small ship with fifteen to twenty rowers sailed from Tidore to Batjan, nearly the distance between Amboina and Tamilau, in three days (Sá V 107).

²⁹⁵ A detailed description of a *korakora* is given by Rebello, though he was mainly concerned with warships (317-324 381-386, picture 344). Wallace describes a simple voyaging *korakora* (II 63-66). Valentyn distinguishes four types of ships in Amboina: (1) *Praus*, tree trunks with outriggers, ten to twelve feet long and carrying two or three persons. (2) *Orembais*, also called *korakoras* by the Portuguese, for fishing without, and for traveling with, a cabin. These were from twenty to twenty-five feet long and had from ten to forty rowers. (3) *Korakoras* or *champanas* (sampans) with mast and sail. (4) War *korakoras*, eighty to one hundred feet long, with fifty to ninety rowers (II 1, 182-184, with picture).

²⁹⁶ Rebello 321; Wallace II 63.

²⁹⁷ The boats mentioned in 1705 as used to carry merchandise had eight, twelve, and fourteen rowers (Valentyn II 1, 227). Modern travelers mention boats with ten or twelve (Martin 88), eighteen (Bickmore 132), twenty (Olivier II 238; Epp 254), and twenty-four, for a large *orembai* sailing from Amboina to Seran (Tauern 42).

²⁹⁸ Rebello 320; *Feitos eroicos* 419; Valentyn II 1, 164-165 (picture); Bickmore 99 132; Wallace II 64; Martin 86-87.

in endless measure.²⁹⁹ When they were not singing the oarsmen kept busy at chewing betel, and each one had a box with the necessary ingredients near him that also served as a stool.³⁰⁰ Drinking water for the voyage was kept in bamboo containers, and sago cakes without salt, hard as stone, and smoked fish were the food they ate. The men could row for long hours by day and night without a rest³⁰¹ if no wind filled the sail and provided them with a well deserved interlude. The *korakoras* were an extremely swift means of traveling on a calm, but cumbersome in a heavy, sea. Even if they could not capsize and sink, there was still danger of shipwreck if the fragile vessels, built without nails, ran onto a reef and broke into pieces. Sailing on a *korakora* was not particularly pleasant. The cramped quarters of the narrow cabin, the heat, and the noise created by the musicians and the singing of the rowers by day and night precluded any real repose. If, despite the dull monotonous beat of the *tifa*, the booming of the gong, and the melancholy songs, the tired eyes of the voyagers began to droop, the loud cry of one of the rowers would suddenly startle them as a full-voiced chorus of rowers replied in unison. The men would tug at their oars with redoubled energy and cause the water to fly in all directions, keeping the tired voyagers from their rest, until their zeal subsided and they relapsed back into their earlier, slower rhythm.³⁰²

The sea was calm and everything at this time of the year gave reason to hope for a favorable voyage when the *korakora* left Hatiwi, impelled by the bold strokes of the oars as the rowers followed the tempo set by the *tifa* and the gong. Near Cape Nusaniwi it left the bay of Amboina and then directed its course to the northeast along the steep, wooded coast of Leitimor.³⁰³ It then sailed eastwards along the southern coast of the neighboring, large island of Haruku and finally steered between the neighboring islands of Saparua and Nusa Laut towards the northeast off the coast of the large island of Seran.

The voyagers' goal was already near at hand when on the third day one of the not uncommon sudden tempests along the south coast of the island overtook them. The sea rose high. Huge waves rolled ceaselessly from the open sea against the boat and the coast. The men lowered their heads into the waves with their oars pulled in when a mountain of water drew near so that the *korakora* could pass over it. They would then work hard again at their oars.³⁰⁴ But despite all their efforts, they could not advance and at every instant the fragile vessel was in danger of slamming into a reef and breaking up. When there was no longer any hope in human efforts, Master Francis took the crucifix which he had on a cord about his neck—it was carved of wood and a finger in length—³⁰⁵ and dipped it from the side of the ship into the raging sea with

²⁹⁹ In 1561 Rebello speaks of old and new rowing songs that were usually sung (320); Pero Mascarenhas cites a rowing song of the Buru Christians (Sá II 439); Tauern mentions their inexhaustible store and gives a series of texts (43 83-94).

³⁰⁰ Wallace II 64; Bickmore 132; Kückental 101-102.

³⁰¹ According to Tauern the Seranese could easily row twelve hours without a stop (43).

³⁰² Cf. Martin 86-89; Bickmore 134; Wallace II 64; Tauern 44.

³⁰³ Bickmore 125.

³⁰⁴ According to Martin, who on March 13 had such an experience on the southern coast of Seran (180).

³⁰⁵ "Padre Maestro Francisco se quitó del cuello un Cristo crucificado del largor de un dedo," according to Rodrigues. If he intended to say by this that the corpus of the crucifix was a finger in length, this corresponds with the Madrid Xavier crucifix, the corpus of which is 8 cm. in length, while the crucifix itself is 20. According to

a prayer that God through the merits of his crucified Son might free them from this danger. But the string broke and the crucifix slipped from his hand and, to the great sorrow of the priest, disappeared into the sea. The storm continued to rage for a whole day and night until the following day, and in the twenty-four hours that they struggled against the winds and the waves after the loss of the crucifix they had hardly advanced a league when the *korakora* finally ran onto the beach of Seran.³⁰⁶

The travelers immediately sprang onto the land, and while Raposo and his men brought the boat to safety and unloaded its wares, the priest went with his young companion Fausto Rodrigues along the beach to where the wooded hill came close down to the water in order to reach the nearby village of Tamilau. They had not gone for ten minutes³⁰⁷ when they saw a large crab³⁰⁸ coming

the authenticating document, it is the one brought by the crab. A picture with a description, the authentication, and history are in MX II 781-785. Cf. Franco, *Synopsis* 223. In 1616 two Jesuits, João Alvares and Fernão Guerreiro, said "from hearsay" that the crab crucifix was made of metal (*aeneus*) (**Lisbon, RProcess* II, nn. 9 and 19). But this is not to be insisted upon. The Xavier crucifix of the count of Ribeira Grande in Lisbon, which, according to the assurance of its owner, is the one which the crab brought, is made of wood. It is 15.5 cm. long and has a brass corpus 7.3 cm. long. It has a pedestal made of two silver crabs. But since the authenticating document is lacking and there are many other Xavier crucifixes, the alleged "tradition" cannot be controlled.

³⁰⁶ "Encallaron con el dicho navio en tierra," according to Rodrigues. Wallace, who on March 6 sailed eastwards from Taluti along the southern coast of Seran, encountered all along his way a strong surf and a strong west wind (II 82-84). According to Rosenberg during almost the whole year there is heavy surf from Amahai to Haja, and this stretch of coast has not got a single good harbor (TBG 16 [1867] 115-117). The shallows extend out into the sea for hundreds of yards, and even in completely tranquil weather the southern coast produces a high surf (C. Ribbe, "Ein Aufenthalt auf Gross-Seram," 22. *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde*, Dresden [1892] 157).

³⁰⁷ "Después de aver caminado tanto como a la hermita de Nuestra Señora de Guia desta ciudad, que será distancia de la mitad de un quarto de legua," according to Rodrigues.

³⁰⁸ There is scarcely any region in the world so rich in fish and shellfish of all kinds as the sea around Amboina. Rumphius already noted this in his *D'Ambonsche Rariteitkamer* (Amsterdam, 1705), in which he describes also the shrimp and crabs (2-22). Valentyn discusses 528 unusual fish, shrimp, and crabs on the island with 526 drawings (III 1, 336-515). In 1858 Wallace saw in the city of Amboina an almost complete collection of these fish and another of 10,000 mussels (I 430-431). Rodrigues calls the crustacean a *congrejo*, which can mean a crab or crayfish. He perhaps means the *Birgus latro*, the robber crab, which lives in the sea and on land and can reach a length of 45 cm. In 1957 we were able to admire two magnificent specimens of these in the Raffles Museum in Singapore. Rumphius calls it a dog crab, Malay *Ketam anjing*, and says that they have enough strength in their claws to crack a kanari nut. They clamber up the coconut palms, throw down the nuts and open them in order to devour their meat. They further dig subterranean tunnels to the cottages of the natives and drag chickens by their feet to their den (12). Galvão means this crab when he speaks of a variety so strong on Amboina that they can break the iron tip of a spear with their claws (173).

³⁰⁹ P. Peeters, whom Brodrick follows (535-536), gives a very rhetorical description of Rodrigues as a swindler who freely invented the story of the crab in order to obtain material support from the Jesuits on Cebú. He also uses Bartoli as a key witness for this, "qui paraît avoir flairé une odeur d'encre trop fraîche dans le récit de l'expédition de Xavier à Baranula (cf. Wessels, p. 15, n. 2)" and "ne peut, en bonne justice, être accusé d'avoir cédé à une caprice de scepticisme indigne de son excellent esprit." We reply as follows: (1) Bartoli never doubted the account, which he gives in *Asia* 2, 9. The note in Wessels, *Amboina*, does not refer to him but to Tiele. (2) Everything that Peeters asserts about the "insuffisante moralité" of the witness is pure fancy and contradicts all the sources. When the Dutch captured Amboina in 1605, despite the

out of the foaming surf holding the lost crucifix in its claws, bringing it to Master Francis. The priest knelt down and the crab waited until he had taken the cross. It then returned immediately to the sea. Master Francis kissed his recovered treasure, embraced it, and remained with the crucifix in his hands and his arms folded across his breast kneeling on the ground for some half an hour. His companion followed his example, kneeling near him and thanking God for so great a miracle.³⁰⁹ The priest then rose and went with his companion to the village without saying a word about the incident, neither then nor later.

promises they had made of freedom of religion, they broke their word and banished the Portuguese who would not go over to Calvinism along with the two Jesuit priests. One of these was Lorenzo Masonio, who had known Rodrigues since 1590, from the Moluccas. The wind blew their ship to Cebú, where they were hospitably received, as *Masonio wrote (ARSI: *Phil.* 3, 16-22). Three years later Otazo, the rector of the college there, learned that among the refugees was a certain Fausto Rodrigues who had personally known Xavier. He therefore had him summoned by the vicar general of the vacant diocese on November 3, 1608, and had him state on oath what he knew about the priest. His testimony is simple, brief, and deliberate and, despite some lapses in memory, confirmed by other sources. In a second hearing on January 25, 1613, he had nothing to correct and little to add. Four years later the provincial *Ledesma, who knew Rodrigues personally, wrote in the annual letter of May 6, 1617, his necrology: "In this city [Cebú] died that good old Portuguese named Fausto Rodriguez, who was once a spiritual son and penitent of blessed Father Xavier. And the sickness from which he died was a cancerous sore on his gums and mouth which he had contracted because he was accustomed to pray every day for hours with his face on the floor. He came on foot to our house, received the sacraments of the dying, and then returned to his dwelling; and, as he had always trusted, he gave his soul back to the Lord with great peace. And as his last wish he requested that he be buried with a small treasure of blessed Father Francis Xavier, a small bronze dove which represented the Holy Spirit, which the blessed priest had given him with the words: 'Take this dove and keep it as a token that sometime we must see each other in heaven'" (*ibid.* 6, 129v; cf., on the refugees, *ibid.* 230v).—In 1905 the Bollandist H. Delehayé tried to discount the narrative of the so-called "Crab Miracle" as a Buddhist legend (*Légendes hagiographiques* 34). His source is A. B. Mitford, who found it in a poorly printed document of the Yakushi-Nyorai temple in Meguro, a suburb of Tokyo, and published it (*Tales of Old Japan*, London [1871] 40-43). Instead of the forty-year-old Xavier there is here the forty-year-old Jikaku Daishi; instead of the crucifix, the carved portrait of his god Yakushi Nyorai; instead of the headhunting island of Seran, a devil-infested island; instead of a crab, an octopus (*tako*); and so forth. The dependence of this story upon the life of Xavier printed in Japanese and found in the old Jesuit missions is clear, as we have shown in three articles: "Ein christlicher japanischer Prunkschirm des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Artibus Asiae* 2 (1927) 94-123; "Der angebliche 'japanische' Sonnenschirm des heiligen Franz Xaver;" *ibid.* 4 (1930-1934) 64-69 134-140 199-205; and "Das Krebswunder Xavers—eine buddhistische Legende?" *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft* 46 (1962) 109-112 120-121 208-216. In 1957 we visited the temple, whose proper name is Jōju-in, but in popular parlance Takosan, with our confrere H. Dumoulin, professor of Oriental religions at the Catholic University of Tokyo and examined the *temple chronicle which contains the legend. It is dated 1684 and states that the Tokugawa Shogun Iemitsu rebuilt the temple and ordered it to be given the name of the god Tako Yakushi Nyorai, whose image Jikaku had brought from Kyōto and had placed for reverence on the belly of the great statue of Buddha. During the persecutions of the Christians in the time of Tokugawa, an attempt was made to replace all the Christian churches with Buddhist temples and all Christian names with Buddhist names. At this time the street in Kyōto on which the famous Christian church was located was given the name of Tako-Yakushi Street. The diary of Jikaku Daishi, who died in Kyōto in 864, has nothing about the trip mentioned in the legend, as Father Dumoulin informed us. The name Tako Yakushi is usually explained as a popular bowdlerization of Taku-Yakushi (Yakushi in the Fish Pond) (Mochizuki Shinkō, *Bukkyō Daijiten* IV 3468).

The sites, however, where Master Francis lost the crucifix and where he found it again were about a league distant from each other.³¹⁰

Tamilau³¹¹ was a large village with perhaps a thousand inhabitants.³¹² It was situated a league east of the Lata River³¹³ close to the beach on a beautiful and easily defended hill.³¹⁴ Within the town there were coconut palms, and in the surrounding forest sago palms and all kinds of fruit trees, including kanari, chempedak, jambu, and breadfruit trees.³¹⁵ Its chief was an *orangkaja*,³¹⁶ to whom three of the Alfur villages were subject.³¹⁷ The houses in Tamilau, as on Amboina and in the other villages on the beaches of Seran, were built on the ground³¹⁸ and not raised up on poles as they were among the Alfuros.³¹⁹

The inhabitants of Tamilau were lighter skinned than the Alfuros and the residents of the villages higher up along the beach of southern Seran, and they also were of a different type from the others. According to tradition they had immigrated from a land in the west. They spoke Malay very well,³²⁰ as did

³¹⁰ Rodrigues says that Xavier found the crucifix again after he had gone "la mitad de un quarto de legua (half a mile)." The Italian translation of the annual letter, which contains an extract from the first Cebu hearing, makes of this "un miglio in circa di viaggio" (*Lettera Annua della Provincia delle Filippine dell'Anno 1608* [Roma, 1611] 60), where it is to be noted that the Italian league varied between 0.62 and 1.55 miles. In the second hearing of 1613 Rodrigues adds that the distance from the place where Xavier lost the crucifix and that where he found it was about one Spanish league (*legua* = 4.10 miles). In the abstract of the testimony of Nicolau de Almazán, S.J., of October 21, 1613, this becomes "più de 40 miglia" (*Rome, RProcess* II, n. 2: **Summarium* 891v-892), obviously a scribal error for 4 *miglia*, but which was accepted in the widely spread life of Xavier by Sopranis (*Compendio della vita del S. P. Francesco Xaverio* [Roma, 1622] c. 16). Simão de Figueiredo wrote from Goa in 1614 that the distance amounted to "muitas legoas" (MX II 144). Since two witnesses in the second Lisbon process of 1616 declared that the crucifix had been made of metal (see above, p. 97), the three auditors of the Rota in their *Relatio* of 1619 argued that there was here a question of a miracle since a sea crab could not have brought a metal crucifix from such a distance in the sea by its natural strength (60v-61v). Since crabs have the custom of carrying in their claws objects which they encounter on the beach, the incident described in Rodrigues' testimony can probably be explained without a miracle. On the three eminent men of the Jesuit Philippine mission who knew Rodrigues personally and supported his testimony, Gregorio López, 1605-1614, Valerio de Ledesma, 1614-1621, provincials of the Philipines, and Francisco de Otazo, see *Varones ilustres* III 63-68 164-169 and Colin III 360-373.

³¹¹ We already find the name of the village mentioned in 1571 and 1588 (*Feitos eroicos* 228 394-395). Today there are two villages: Old Tamilau (our village) and New Tamilau. A description of Tamilau is given in Valentyn II 1, 64-65.

³¹² The village had 440 inhabitants in 1724 (Valentyn II 1, 64), 453 in 1856 (Bleeker II 210), and 976 in 1922 (*Seran* 206). In 1627 there is reference to around 320 warriors (*Begin ende Voortgangh* XV 135).

³¹³ Cf. the old dancing song of the Wemale Alfuros in Tauern 204.

³¹⁴ Valentyn II 1, 64-66.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.* and 232 234.

³¹⁶ In 1705 he was named Lucas Tamilaubesi (*ibid.* 228 233).

³¹⁷ Lata on the Lata River, Namsata and Alla (*ibid.* 80). Each of the other Moorish villages of the southeast coast of Seran also had some Alfur villages under them (*ibid.* 78-80).

³¹⁸ Riedel 120; Sachse 65; Tauern 38; *Seran* 76. According to Sachse all the houses east of Separ are multiple-family dwellings, which can have a total of as many as a hundred persons. In western Seran the houses are for single families (66-67).

³¹⁹ In contrast to the Christians and Moors of the villages on the beaches of Amboina and the Uliaser Islands, the Alfuros of Seran built their houses on piles (*Seran* 76-79; Tauern 38-39 121-127). In 1633 it was said of Haja that it lay high in the mountains and its houses stood on piles (Bokemeyer, p. XLVII).

³²⁰ Valentyn II 1, 64. The beach dwellers of South Seran are mostly Malayan (*Be-*

their neighbors to the east in the Mohammedan coastal village of Haja³²¹ six hours away, where there was the oldest mosque of Seran and of the Moluccas.³²² But the immigrants had mingled with the Alfuros who were living here and had adopted many of their customs even though they, like the people of the other coastal villages, wore the Malayan sarong with a jerkin and a cloth around their head.³²³ They were Ulisiwas³²⁴ like their neighbors and the Alfuros who lived in the vicinity and were therefore mortal enemies of the Ulilimas. When they captured the head of an enemy, they hung it up in the community house³²⁵ and celebrated the glad event the whole night long with a banquet and the customary *lego-lego* and *tjakalele* dances.³²⁶ When they found a corpse whose head had been cut off by one of the Alfuros, they would not bury it as they would other bodies, but they would leave it on a *dego dego*, a high wooden frame, in the forest to the wind and weather.³²⁷ Since they were Ulisiwas, the people of the village were on friendly terms with the Portuguese and the other Ulisiwa villages along the coast³²⁸ and on Amboina and the Uliaser Islands. But Islam, through Arab and Javanese merchants, had already found an entrance here as it had in the other villages along the beach of southern Seran, even though some of the people held fast to their old paganism.³²⁹ As among the Amboinese and Alfuros, a dowry consisted in gongs, ivory, gold ornaments, cloth goods, and Chinese porcelains,³³⁰ objects which were obtained through barter from Javanese merchants and at times now also from the Portuguese, as were *parangs* and other weapons, in exchange for sago, plumes of birds of paradise, tortoise shells, and the gaily colored chests and boxes of eastern Seran woven

rigten 18 [1877] 146). Even before the conversion of Java to Islam, Hindu colonists came from Java to the Moluccas (Ruinen 336). In the ground near Amahai, a small, gold, four-armed figure of Shiva was found (*Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië. Oudheidkundig Verslag*, 1914, 165).

³²¹ Valentyn II 1, 64.

³²² Buddingh 188-190.

³²³ Tauern 35.

³²⁴ Rumphius I 83-84; Valentyn II 2, 64-66. Thus against Tauern, who designates them in his map as Ulilimas.

³²⁵ This was the practice of the Ulisiwas in contrast to that of the Ulilimas (Seran 56-57).

³²⁶ Valentyn II 1, 234; on the dances see 162-163.

³²⁷ *Ibid.* 82 234. Cf. Tauern 167-168 190-192; Sachse in TAG 23 (1906) 835.

³²⁸ *Feitos eroicos* 395; *Bouwstoffen* II 195-197.

³²⁹ Already in 1588 we hear of marriages between the Moors in Latu on the west side of Elpaputih Bay and the inhabitants of Tamilau (*Feitos eroicos* 394-395). In 1623 the following villages were named as being Moorish: Werinama, Hatumeta, Taluti, and Tamilau (*Bouwstoffen* I 334). In 1627 it was said that all the villages east of Koak (near Amahai) were Moorish—Tamilau, Haja, and Taluti (*Begin ende Voortgangh* XV 135), and in 1649 that the inhabitants of the beach villages from Sepa to Keffing on the east tip of Seran were all, mostly well-educated, Moors, and that there could be no question of the spread of Christianity among them (*Bouwstoffen* III 450). Although there is mention of five pagan villages in 1637—Rumakai, Amahai, Suaoku, Makariki, and Tamilau (Rumphius I 145)—by Tamilau is here meant Tomalehu, which lay between Rumakai and Makariki. In 1724 Valentyn said that the inhabitants of Tamilau were mostly Moors (II 1, 64). The accounts of the nineteenth century always name Tamilua as a Moorish village. In 1922 it had 976 Mohammedans and 38 pagans (Seran 206). Sepa still remained for a long time pagan, but already in Valentyn's time it was partially Mohammedan (II 1, 65).

³³⁰ *Feitos eroicos* 394-395; cf. Valentyn II 1, 73-75 153-154.

from pandanus leaves and adorned with shells. And the objects received in exchange,³³¹ with the exception of weapons, were usually buried in the ground.³³²

The coast between the two populous bays, those of Elpaputih on the west and Taluti on the east, which extended for 113 miles, was deserted. Sepa,³³³ which was still largely pagan, in the west was three hours distant from Tamlau; Mohammedan Haja in the east was six, and the wooded hill country behind the coast was not inhabited.³³⁴ Beyond Haja one village after another was located on Taluti Bay; and in the densely wooded interior, where the mountains rose to a height of 9,840 feet, were living savage, pagan Alfuros³³⁵ as far as the north coast of Seran, which was many days of travel away. Like their neighbors along the coast, they were Ulisiwas, ever ready with shield and *parang*, spear, and bow and arrows to take part in a campaign of the people living along the coast against a Ulilima village and to carry off heads from the latter as trophies.³³⁶

Master Francis was able to meet many of these wild mountaineers during his stay in Tamlau since they usually came there to exchange their products for objects offered for sale by the merchants. They were strong, dark brown, lean, and wore their curly hair rolled together into a bun with a red cloth.³³⁷ Among the men the only other clothing was a loincloth made of bast, the *tjidako*, whose narrow strips were tied about their loins and passed between their legs so that the broader ends fell down in front almost to the knees.³³⁸ Instead of a cloth for their head, the younger people frequently wore a white bamboo strip on their brow which held their hair together.³³⁹ Girls wore a caladium leaf shaped like a hat to cover their heads.³⁴⁰ The only clothing of the women was a narrow *tjidako*, a white strip of bast often little more than four inches wide.³⁴¹ The language of the Alfuros was completely different from that of the Malays, and they were all pagans. In their belief in spirits and in their worship, they were akin to the people on Amboina and the Uliaser Islands.³⁴²

Master Francis stayed for eight days in Tamlau as Raposo went about his business. During this time the priest preached to deaf ears and was unable to win anyone to the faith. With his young friend Fausto Rodrigues, he therefore undertook the return voyage to Amboina in another vessel.³⁴³ The boat sailed westward along the still, wooded coast of Seran to Sepa, and past Sepa as far as the bay of Elpaputih, and from there directly south to the island of

³³¹ On the trade with eastern Seran in 1602, see De Jonghe III 162 and in 1705 Valentyn II 1, 226-227.

³³² Valentyn II 1, 75.

³³³ *Ibid.* 65.

³³⁴ Rosenberg in TBG 16 (1867) 116-117.

³³⁵ Tauern discusses in detail the ethnographical groupings of the Alfur Serans: (1) West of Elpaputih the tattooed Patasiwa hitam (in the north the Makahala who had emigrated from Halmahera, in the south the Melanesian Wemale). (2) In central Seran: in the west the Patalimas between Elpaputih and Sepa, in the east the Patasiwa putih between Sepa and Taluti. (3) In eastern Seran the low standing tribe of Bonfia.

³³⁶ *Bouwstoffen* II 195-197; Rumphius I 83-84; Valentyn II 2, 87.

³³⁷ Bickmore 150-151; Tauern 116-117.

³³⁸ Description in Martin 121-122 245-246, pls. 23 25; Tauern 114-115.

³³⁹ Tauern 117; cf. 35-36, pls. 57 63 90; Martin 119-120.

³⁴⁰ Tauern 119; *Seran*, pl. 72.

³⁴¹ Tauern 114; Martin 246-247; *Seran* 55-56, pl. 30.

³⁴² Tauern 175-184; Riedel 106-117.

³⁴³ Raposo remained behind with his *korakora* in order to visit other villages.

Nusa Laut,³⁴⁴ the nearest of the three Uliaser Islands, where boats usually laid over on the passage from Seran to Amboina.³⁴⁵

The island of Nusa Laut was only four leagues in circumference and was surrounded by a ring of corals. Its hills, which rose to a height of a thousand feet were covered with a forest, and almost everywhere came down close to the sea. At low tide however the water receded for a great distance and left a broad, flat area dry, on which the natives gathered fish and their chickens and pigs also looked for food.³⁴⁶ The beach was overgrown with coconut palms and their crowns were replete with swarms of white cockatoos.³⁴⁷ The villages, seven in number, were posted on easily defended heights,³⁴⁸ and were surrounded by coconut and sago palms, kanari and other fruit trees, banana plants and bamboo thickets.³⁴⁹ There could have been from four to five thousand dwellers on the island,³⁵⁰ ruled over by two rajahs. The three villages in the northeast, Nalahia, Amet, and Akun, were under the prince of Amet, and the four in the southwest, Lenitu, Sila, Titawai, and Abubu, were under that of Titawai. The subjects of the former were Ulilimas,³⁵¹ and thus allied to the Mohammedans; those of the latter were Ulisiwas³⁵² and therefore friends of the Portuguese.³⁵³ Both fought against each other as a matter of life and death.

The inhabitants of Nusa Laut were Alfuros and were considered to be the wildest and most barbaric on the islands about Amboina. They were head-hunters, and their community houses were adorned with the captured heads of their opponents.³⁵⁴ At times they ate the flesh of their foes whom they had slain in battle, as did their clansmen on the neighboring island of Saparua,

³⁴⁴ On Nusa Laut see Valentyn II 1, 82-84; Bickmore 138-147; Martin 31-35; Buddingh 197-206. Van Hoëvell has a good map.

³⁴⁵ In 1635 it was said that the merchant vessels which came from Seran landed first at the Uliaser Islands before sailing on to Amboina (*Bouwstoffen* II 277). When the captain of the fortress of Amboina heard in 1570 that a greatly superior Ternatan fleet had passed Tamilau, he ordered the Portuguese fleet to avoid a battle and to sail to Nusa Laut since this island was friendly to the Portuguese and had a safe beach (*Feitos eroicos* 228).

³⁴⁶ Martin 33-34.

³⁴⁷ Buddingh 199 203; Valentyn II 1, 82-83 (with a picture of Sila-Lenitu). The island is today covered by a forest of cloves, but cloves were first planted there under Hermann van Speult (provincial governor from 1618 to 1625), as is noted by Valentyn.

³⁴⁸ Later moved to the beach (Valentyn II 1, 82).

³⁴⁹ Buddingh 203.

³⁵⁰ In 1724 Valentyn gave the number of warriors on the island as 1,195, the inhabitants as 4,178, but the combined data on the seven villages comes to the respective totals of 1,724 and 4,814 (II 1, 82-84). In 1627 the number of warriors of the rajah of Titawai was around 1,500 (*Begin ende Voortganch* XV 132). In 1634 the whole island furnished about 1,350 (Bokemeyer 298). In 1853 Nusa Laut had 3,583 inhabitants (Buddingh 197); in 1897 it had 5,114 (Coolsma 692).

³⁵¹ According to the *Feitos eroicos* 250, against the otherwise also inaccurate list of inhabitants of Amboina and the Uliaser Islands of 1607, which go back to the data of a resident of Nusaniwi, according to which all the inhabitants of the island were Ulisiwas (*Begin ende Voortganch* XIII 61).

³⁵² *Feitos eroicos* 250.

³⁵³ *Ibid.* 223 228 249-250 263-266 277-283.

³⁵⁴ Rebello 395.

³⁵⁵ Xavier already mentioned this in 1546 (EX I 331). That he meant by this Nusa Laut and Saparua was indicated in 1592 by the Amboina missionary *Antonio Marta (ARSI: Goa 47, 444 446v) and before him by *Pero Nunes (*ibid.* Goa 13, 359-v). See also *Feitos eroicos* 223-224 226.

in token of revenge;³⁵⁵ and the heels and arches of their feet,³⁵⁶ like their cheeks and hands, were deemed to be particular delicacies.³⁵⁷

Men and women on Seran also retained the usual Alfur garb, the *tjidako*;³⁵⁸ and when the warriors danced the *tjakalele*, they appeared in their festive trappings³⁵⁹ with a long, narrow, black shield adorned with white shells, the handle of their *parang* equipped with human hair,³⁶⁰ the *tjidako* painted with brown, blue, and yellow patterns and with concentric circles, each of which indicated a head struck off by the bearer.³⁶¹ The upper arm was adorned with bracelets made of tortoise shell or coconut bands woven together. From these hung down a yellowish green cluster of *kroton* or strips of young coconut leaves down to the middle of the thigh or to the knee. If one had already captured a head, then the cut off end of the cluster was inserted into the ring from below, if not from above it.³⁶² In addition to this the dancers wore a necklace of white cowrie shells³⁶³ and also strings of pearls worn crosswise over the breast,³⁶⁴ and at times large, yellow earrings as well.³⁶⁵ Their long, curly, gleaming black hair, which was wound into a large roll about the shell of a coconut or a piece of wood and held together by a band of white cowrie shells, was surmounted by a tall, decorative headpiece made of rooster or cockatoo feathers and held fast by a wooden comb.³⁶⁶ Boys and young men kept their hair together with a bamboo band. Yet, despite all their savagery, the Alfuros of Nusa Laut were known as excellent shipbuilders, and they sailed from island to island in their *korakoras* and were feared as pirates.³⁶⁷

The inhabitants of the island were pagans who ate pork and therefore would have nothing to do with the religion of the Prophet, which forbade this. Like their neighbors on the surrounding islands, they worshiped good and evil spirits. Like them they had their spirit houses and sacred stones in the woods where they brought their offerings,³⁶⁸ and every village had its own protecting spirit. The people of Titawai worshiped Riama Atu in the form of a snake, those of

³⁵⁶ Rebello 395.

³⁵⁷ In 1687 Latu Lori, the sixty-year-old rajah of Titawai, told Valentyn that in his youth he had slain many enemies and had roasted the heads of many of them over coals, and that he had eaten many delicacies of human flesh. No other flesh was to be compared with it, even if it was primarily eaten for revenge. Most tasty were the cheeks and hands (Valentyn II 1, 84). In 1704 the rajah still killed a man to eat his flesh (*ibid.* 143-144), and the whole island had been Christian since 1574!

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 83.

³⁵⁹ A picture of the *tjakalele* dancers is given in Valentyn II 1, 71-73 and 32. See also *Seran* 54-55 (picture 119); Bickmore 150-151; Martin 119-126; Tauern 119-121 (pls. 50-52); Schurhammer, *Franziskus Xaverius* 77-79, picture 16.

³⁶⁰ Martin 234 (pl. 31, 3).

³⁶¹ Tauern 142-143; *Seran* 54; Martin 122 (pl. 23, 1-2).

³⁶² Martin 72 122-123; Bickmore 151; Tauern 120-121; *Seran* 55 (pls. 39 119 122).

³⁶³ Valentyn II 1, 71-72 (picture); *Seran* 55; Tauern, pl. 119; Martin 123.

³⁶⁴ *Seran* 55 (pl. 39); Tauern, pls. 50-52.

³⁶⁵ Tauern 120; Martin 123-124.

³⁶⁶ For the headdress of the *tjakalele* dancers, see Martin 74 120 (pl. 23, 5); *Seran* 54-55; Valentyn II 1, 71 (picture); Tauern 117.

³⁶⁷ *Feitos eroicos* 249-250 264; Valentyn II 1, 83.

³⁶⁸ In 1865 the Protestant preacher in Amet told Bickmore that some of his Christians still slipped out at times to a secret, lonely place in the mountains in order to offer sacrifices to the *nitus* there (146). In 1896 his successor still wrote the same: "The worship of their ancestors seems to be ineradicable" (Ruinen 265, n. 844).

Sila the god Morie in the shape of a piece of driftwood,³⁶⁹ and magical spells and curses played a great role in their lives.³⁷⁰

The boat on which Xavier and Fausto Rodrigues came from Seran landed on the southwestern coast, where the two small villages of Sila and Lenitu lay near each other on a small bay.³⁷¹ An easy hour south from there, near the mountain stream of Wai Pandila, which was barely ten steps broad, was Titawai, the residence of the rajah, a large, populous village,³⁷² whose brown cottages had been picturesquely erected in the shade of coconut palms and fruit trees on a steep hill, and in part on high rock cliffs.³⁷³ It had a beautiful view of the sea, the neighboring mountains of Saparua, and behind it the blue heights of Haruku, Amboina, and Seran.³⁷⁴

Master Francis remained here for only a few days in order to preach the Gospel to the people.³⁷⁵ Yet, despite their friendliness towards the Portuguese, his words found little hearing among them, partially because they had only a slight understanding of Malay. Only one young man,³⁷⁶ fully grown and powerfully built, a relative of the rajah,³⁷⁷ was ready to become a Christian. The priest baptized him and told him at the time: "I baptize you with the name of Francis, and you will die with the name of Jesus on your lips."³⁷⁸ But before

³⁶⁹ Valentyn III 1, 4 16-19. Still in 1645 the teacher in Amet discovered an idol in the form of an old woman (*ibid.* 52).

³⁷⁰ In 1903 the Protestant missionary on the Tobelo mission on Halmahera discovered that his catechist, who came from Nusa Laut, was teaching the new converts magical sayings and formulae for cursing (*Berigten* 1903, 127).

³⁷¹ Here was the harbor for Titawai, where hostile Moors openly landed in 1574 when they wished to conquer Titawai. The town lay far from the landing place and the way to it was along a narrow path full of sharp stones which could only be traversed in single file. On their way back they were consequently badly defeated (*Feitos eroicos* 263-266).

³⁷² Titawai had 1,600 inhabitants in 1724 (Valentyn II 1, 82), 944 in 1875 (van Hoëvell 8). In 1697 the *patih* was named Joam Cayado, in 1711 the rajah Hermann Telaputi (Valentyn III 1, 143 146).

³⁷³ *Feitos eroicos* 264. Buddingh describes the village, built on a steep cliff, as "one of the most beautiful villages of the Moluccas" (199-200); also Martin 33.

³⁷⁴ The view from Lenitu is described by Martin 32, pl. 6.

³⁷⁵ "Llegaron a otra ysla llamada Rosalao, donde a cavo de algunos pocos dias, que el dicho Padre Maestro Francisco dió noticia a los naturales gentiles de nuestra ley evangelica; tan solamente se conbirtió uno a nuestra santa fe," according to Rodrigues.

³⁷⁶ Seb. Gonçalves writes that he was the only one baptized by Xavier of all the many children (*meninos*) that were brought to him for baptism (3, 3). But Rodrigues says nothing of this, and his testimony shows that the neophyte was no longer a child.

³⁷⁷ According to the author of the *Feitos eroicos*, his companion in arms (283).

³⁷⁸ "Y le batizó y le puso por nombre Francisco, diziéndole: 'Póngote por nombre Francisco y morirás con el nombre de Jesús en la boca.' Y a cavo de seys años más o menos en un pueblo llamado Yamao vió este testigo que le dieron un bersaso al dicho Francisco nuevamente conbirtido y le vió morir diziendo muchas vezes 'Jesús,'" according to Rodrigues. We can here control his testimony. It contains an error: Francisco of Nusa Laut did not die until 1575, as is noted by the author of the *Feitos eroicos*, who was present at his death. He describes in detail the siege of the Moorish fortress of Hiamão (Ihamahu, in northern Saparua) by the Portuguese and the allied warriors of the rajah of Titawai, and how on the twenty-fifth day of the siege the son of the rajah was killed by a shot in the head during the storming of the enemies' redoubt, and he continues: "O que vendo hum seu parente roçalao, mui grande cavaleiro, por nome Francisco, e homem de grande corpo e de muitas forças, foi-se aonde estava o corpo, peguando-lhe por huma perna o tirou fora, e depois de o tirar, o tomou as costas, e vindo com elle trazendo tãobem suas armas, e sendo secenta paços das tranqueiras, lhe tirarão com hum chichorro e vararão o morto e o vivo também, e em lhe dando, tres vezes chamou pelo nome de Jesus tam alto que o ouvirão todos os portu-

he stepped on the boat to continue his voyage, Francis removed his shoes on the beach and shook the dust from them. Fausto and the others who were present asked him why he did so. He replied that he did not wish to carry such evil earth along with him upon his shoes.³⁷⁹

The return to Amboina occurred without further incident. In two or three hours of rowing the feared southeast cape of the island of Saparua was reached,³⁸⁰ which was not far from the Alfur village of Ulate lying to the north of it.³⁸¹ Four hours later they attained the southwestern cape of the island, which had the shape of a St. Andrew's cross. The boat then sailed along the hilly, southern coast of Haruku. From there it passed by way of the narrow strait to Tandjung Tial, the northeast cape of Hitu,³⁸² and then southward along the high steep coast of Leitimor and around Cape Nusaniwi to Hatiwi on the bay of Amboina.

guezes. Cumprio-se a profesia do Padre Mestre Francisco, da Companhia de Jesus, que o fez christão a este Amboino e lhe dise que coando morese, moreria com o nome de Jesus na sua boca. Muito pezou o Sancho de Vasconsellos da morte deste Amboino, porque era muito noso amigo e muy valentissimo homem" (283). Seb. Gonçalves also mentions Xavier's prophecy and its fulfillment. His source was the rector of the College of Goa, Francisco da Cunha, who was on Amboina from 1587 to 1592 and heard of it there from an eyewitness (3, 3). A witness at the Cochin process of 1616, Pedro Martins, who had been for many years on the Moluccas, heard the prophecy from Francisco of Nusa Laut himself (MX II 476). But Martin errs when he says that Xavier baptized his whole village with him. Soares de Carvalho is also wrong when he states that the saint conferred baptism on only two persons on Nusa Laut (**Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 4 73v), and **Leander*, who in 1618 placed the baptism and prophecy in Goa (ARSI: *Phil.* 6, 209v-210). In Couto a *regedor dos Rosalaos* becomes a *regedor das Relações* (9, 30), in **Confalonierius Rosalao* becomes *Rosadas* (342). See also Schurhammer, "Königstausen" 99-100.

³⁷⁹ Soares de Carvalho in 1614 also testified this for Nusa Laut (**Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 4, 73v). Xavier did this also in other places, following the instruction which Christ gave to his disciples when he sent them on their mission. In 1555 **Affonso de Castro* counted the Christians on Amboina and its neighboring islands; he is silent however on Nusa Laut since this was still pagan (ARSI: *Goa* 10, 321). But in November, 1556, when Frois wrote from Malacca of the Christians on Amboina, Liaser (Haruku), and Soresore (Saparua), he noted that his authority, Brother Nicolau Nunes, had baptized around 1,300 in two villages, one large and the other smaller, on Amboina before sailing to Malacca (DI III 560-561). By this is probably meant Titawai and the neighboring twin village of Lenitu-Sila since Fernão do Souro wrote from the Moluccas on February 15, 1563, that in the June of the previous year the Moors of Ternate had burned a Christian village on the island of Nusa Laut (Sá III 13). From then on we always encounter the people of the rajah of Titawai as Christians and allies of the Portuguese. In 1573 the people of the rajah of Amet were still pagan since the Portuguese had to undertake a punitive expedition against them (*Feitos eroicos* 250 263). Only later did they receive baptism. In 1603 the entire island was Christian (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 112).

³⁸⁰ The same voyage was made by Buddingh (197) and Martin (31).

³⁸¹ In 1616 the forty-five-year-old Simão Serrão declared in the Cochin process that when he was on the islands of Ulate Nulliacer (in the village of Ulate on the Uliaser island of Saparua), he had commonly heard the islanders say that when Xavier lived there, the king of Ulate was being besieged by a neighbor and all of his water had been cut off, and that it was during the summer, when it never rains there. The saint erected a cross and, in answer to his prayers, heaven sent rain. Because of this the king and all his people received baptism from his hand (MX II 499-500; Barradas 67); The same testimony was given by Damião Ferreira on Manār in the same process (*ibid.* 578). Here there is a confusion of Xavier with his confrere Diogo de Magalhães, of whom **Pero de Mascarenhas* wrote in 1570 that he had baptized Ulate six years earlier. Before this the inhabitants had been pagans (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 18). Soon after their conversion the Christians were attacked by their Mohammedan neighbors of Sirisori. While the men fought, the women and children prayed before a crucifix. A cloudburst drove off the enemy, as Brother Manuel Gomes wrote from Hatiwi in 1564 (Sá III 98-99). Cf. Schurhammer, "Königstausen" 98-99.

³⁸² At this time of the year it was customary to sail along the southern coasts of

6. THE VOYAGE OF LÓPEZ DE VILLALOBOS (NOVEMBER, 1542—MARCH, 1546)³⁸³

Xavier's return to Amboina brought him a great surprise. The usually peaceful beach of Nusaniwi had been changed into a noisy military camp.³⁸⁴ Cottage followed cottage on the sand; and in the *cova*, the inner bay,³⁸⁵ where ships could be brought directly up to the beach,³⁸⁶ eight vessels lay at anchor.³⁸⁷ This was the fleet of Fernão de Sousa de Távora, which on March 9, during the priest's absence, had arrived in Amboina from Ternate.³⁸⁸ There were 300 men with it,³⁸⁹ among whom were 130 Spaniards of the fleet of the captain general Ruy López de Villalobos.³⁹⁰

the Uliaser Islands to Cape Tial and then along the coast of Leitimor to the bay of Amboina (van Hoëvel 14-15; Bokemeyer, p. LIII; Valentyn II 1, 238). In the documents the three Uliaser Islands have different names. Often a village or a coast must give the name of the entire island: (1) *Nusa Laut*: Rosalao; (2) *Saparua*: Liacer, Ulate, Honimoa (southern coast), Hiamão (northern coast); (3) *Haruku*: Liacer Oma (southern coast), Hatuaha (northern coast). Cf. van Hoëvell 10 13, and map.

³⁸³ The sources for Villalobos' expedition are given in Q, index, under "Villalobos." For the Spanish side there are: (1) the accounts of those who took part in it: Frey Jerónimo de Santisteban, O.E.S.A., of 1547 (Q 2760); Garcia d'Escalante Alvarado of 1548, with a list of survivors (Q 3973); more briefly Juan Gaetan, of around 1548 (Ramusio 403v-405), and Cosme de Torres, S.J., of 1548 (DI I 471-476). (2) Briefer data in the letters of those who took part in it: Villalobos' of 1545 (Q 1415 1439); *Frey Jerónimo's (Q 2761), all edited in Sá I. (3) Texts of instructions, etc., before the voyage from Mexico in 1542 (ed. CU 2, 1-64); the Portuguese protests in Sarangani and the replies (*ibid.* 66-94); (4) the depositions in Tidore of 1544, the **Interrogatorio*, ninety-six questions, nine witnesses (Q 1297 1301). (5) Accounts: Grijalva, O.E.S.A., of 1624 (ed. 1906, 164-188, from the data of the Augustinians who accompanied the expedition); Gaspar de S. Agustín, O.E.S.A., of 1698 (19-38, from Grijalva); Aganduru Moriz, O.E.S.A., of 1626 (t. 78, 430-537; t. 79, 1-115; elaborated); Pastells, S.J., in Torres y Lanzas I (pp. CLXIV-CLXXXVI); Colin, S.J., I 149-151; Retana in Combés, pp. XC-XCIX, and the introduction to CU 2, pp. X-XX. On the Portuguese side there are: (1) The accounts of contemporaries: Rebello, of 1561 and 1569 (106-222 421-444); Galvão of 1563 (ed. 1944, 274-280); Correa IV 283-285 419-420 423. (2) Data in the letters of contemporaries: D. Jorge de Castro (Q 1191 1231), Hairun (Q 1193), and Pires Cotão of 1544 (Q 1195); Nilyo (Q 1505), M.A. de Sousa (Q 1366), and Freitas of 1545 (Q 1378 1420 1438); all except 1231 and 1366 have been published in Sá I; Távora of 1546 and 1547 (Q 2517 3484). (3) Texts, exchange of letters with Villalobos of 1544 (Q 1170 1171 1175 1177 1181 1214-1216 1232-1233 1237 1281). (4) Treaties of 1545 (Q 1355 1660, ed. Biker I 108-115); (5) Accounts: Couto 5, 8, 10; 5, 9, 6; 5, 10, 5 and 10; 6, 1, 4-5 (according to Rebello and oral data of Távora's page, Gaspar de Cáceres); Tiele IV 262-284; briefly Ruge 489-491.

³⁸⁴ We have concluded that the crews of the Spanish and Portuguese fleets were in Nusaniwi from the following: (1) Villalobos died here (Escalante 197). (2) Fausto Rodrigues states that Xavier left Eiró (who was living in Hatiwi) at the beginning of Lent, that he lived in another place on the bay with three or four Portuguese, and that he did not return to Eiró until after Lent. (3) The inner bay, where the ships anchored was rife with fever. (4) Nusaniwi lay in a more open, healthier region and was the village where the Portuguese used to purchase their provisions before sailing further. The beach was therefore called "Portuguese' Bay" (Sá III 92; Valentyn's map of Amboina).

³⁸⁵ The innermost bay, the *cova*, was the most convenient and secure roadstead for larger ships.

³⁸⁶ While the outer bay opposite Tawiri was still 1,300 feet deep at the center, the greatest depth of the inner bay was 150 feet. The Portuguese ships wintered here "cubertas e com prancha em terra" (Rebello 395).

³⁸⁷ Xavier counted eight ships including the Spanish ship (EX I 323), seven ships without it (*ibid.* 376; so also Palha in MX II 198).

³⁸⁸ "Dia de carnestolendas" (Escalante 197).

³⁸⁹ Távora came to Ternate with 150 men (Escalante 163-164). Some of his men, for example, Galvão, fell at the siege of Djailol with those from Ternate, "sixteen or seven-

Xavier was already acquainted with one of the eight ships, Távora's flagship, the galleon *Coulão*, on which he had sailed with Martim Affonso de Sousa in 1542 from Mozambique to Goa.³⁹¹ The second was the royal clove ship, the *Santo Spirito*, under the command of João Criado, a wealthy Goan *cavalleiro*.³⁹² The third, the *Santa Cruz*, belonged to some merchants. Its captain was Antonio de Freitas, an illegitimate son of Jurdão de Freitas, the captain of Ternate, to whom a part of the cargo also belonged.³⁹³ The fourth, a *nau* like the preceding ships, was the property of the former captain of Malacca, Garcia de Sá.³⁹⁴ The fifth, a galleon of one hundred tons, the *San Juan*, but because of its small size also known as *San Juanico* and by the Portuguese as *São Joanilho*, had formerly belonged to Villalobos' fleet.³⁹⁵ In addition to these there were three *fustas* which, under the command of Manuel de Mesquita, Lionel de Lima, and João Galvão, had sailed with Távora from Malacca to Ternate in order to drive the Spaniards from there.³⁹⁶ The ships had been on their way back to India and were forced to winter in Amboina until the middle of May, when the wind would permit their sailing on to Malacca.

Master Francis had known Fernão de Sousa de Távora,³⁹⁷ the commander of the Portuguese fleet, in India. He had met him in Goa in 1542 and in the company of M. A. de Sousa on Cow Island in 1543.³⁹⁸ From Xavier Távora learned that after his departure from India at the beginning of September a new governor had come from Portugal in the person of Dom João de Castro.³⁹⁹ Though he

teen, mostly from the company of João" (Rebello 440). But in addition to Távora's men, those of Garcia de Sá's ship were also sailing from Ternate (*ibid.* 440-441).

³⁹⁰ Aganduru 79, 111.

³⁹¹ Rebello 217.

³⁹² *Ibid.* In 1533 he was factor of Dābhol and assisted the fugitive brother of Sultan Bahādur of Cambay (Correa III 417-419 516). Around 1538 he was on the *list of rich Portuguese Indians who were considered capable of granting a loan to the king, "for he was factor of Dabul and secretary in Ormuz and is very rich" (TdT: *Gavetas 15-12-2*: Q 352). In 1545 he was a witness at the treaty of surrender in Ternate (Q 1660; Biker reads erroneously *Cayado*). In 1546 Freitas gave him goods worth 4,000 *pardaus* to take with him (Sá II 32). In 1550 the governor sent him with a gift worth 1,500 *pardaus* to Adil Khān (Correa IV 712-713).

³⁹³ Rebello 217. He sailed with his father in 1543 from Lisboa to India (*Emmenta* 375), from Goa to Malacca in 1545, where he persuaded the deathly ill Tabarija to make a will and in it to make the king of Portugal the heir to his realm (Sá I 558-560 532-533). In January, 1548, he sailed, very ill, with his father to India, where he died in Goa that same year at the age of thirty (*ibid.* 531 562).

³⁹⁴ Rebello 440.

³⁹⁵ Couto 6, 1, 5; Aganduru 78, 434.

³⁹⁶ Couto 6, 1, 4; cf. Q 1366; Correa IV 423, who exaggerates when he says that Távora had ordered all the Spaniards to be killed and their goods burned.

³⁹⁷ On Sousa de Távora, see the sources in Q, index; his signature, pl. XVI 1. On his return to India from Malacca a storm drove him onto the Maldives. He thus came to Cochin only after the departure of the Portuguese ships. From there he sailed directly to Diu in order to give the governor the documents with respect to the Spaniards (Q 3484; cf. 2812 2766). In April, 1547, he came to Chaul (Q 3026), wintered in Goa (Q 3331), fought in Pondá (L. Nunes 168; Q 3241), then sailed with Castro to Cambay, and wrote to the king from Bassein (Q 3484). At the beginning of 1548 he took up his position as captain in Mozambique (Correa IV 605 665; Q 3272 3657) and personally wrote to the king about the building of the fortress (Q 4225). He then disappears from history. An *alvará* of Governor Barreto of July 20, 1557, speaks of ivory that was lost in the caravel in which Távora came from Sofala (APO V 322), and in the *records of D. Flaminio is the notice: "Fernão de Sousa de Távora died in India, captain of Sofala; heirs: his mother and Lourenço Pires de Távora; around 1556" (II 2, 502).

³⁹⁸ See Vol. II, p. 362.

³⁹⁹ Q 2517

was small in size, he was one of the bravest and most experienced *fidalgos* of India, and at his arrival in Ternate he had answered a letter which he had received from Villalobos that was full of compliments with a short but vigorous note in which he informed him that he was not only short in stature but also short on words and compliments.⁴⁰⁰ The coat of arms of the Távoras had five wavy blue bands upon a golden field.⁴⁰¹ His father was Christovão de Távora, his mother Francisca de Sousa; and Fernão had combined their two names for his own.⁴⁰² Like him, Fernão's brothers had also served their king across the seas. One of these, Alvaro Pires de Távora, had been slain by the Moors in 1526 near Arzila in Africa. A second brother, Lourenço Pires de Távora, who was captured by the Moors, on this same occasion was only sixteen years old at the time; but he was later ransomed.⁴⁰³ A third, Garcia Rodrigues de Távora, had also come to India as a young *fidalgo* in 1545 with the new governor.⁴⁰⁴ M.A. de Sousa had had good reasons for sending Fernão de Sousa de Távora as commander of the fleet to the Moluccas to drive out the Spaniards. He had sailed to India with him in 1534⁴⁰⁵ and had been his inseparable companion on all his voyages and in all his wars—in Diu, where he campaigned with Bahādur against the Moguls,⁴⁰⁶ on the Malabar coast,⁴⁰⁷ at Vēdālai,⁴⁰⁸ then again in 1542 on the campaign against Bhatkal⁴⁰⁹ and in 1543 on the expedition to the pagoda.⁴¹⁰ Already at the end of 1535 M.A. de Sousa had written to his friend the count of Castanheira:

João de Sousa is here developing into an honorable man, and I tell you that he spends much and serves very well, and Your Lordship must take pains to grant him a favor, for he greatly deserves one, and I swear to you on the Gospels that he is one of those who provide most meals for the people, and that he occupies a very honorable position. And Fernam de Sousa does the same, the son of Christovam de Távora, who is a man to rule the world. I gave him the captaincy of a galley and the choice was so fortunate that I wished that everything I did might be so successful; and, truly, I am delighted to see how these young people who came with me have developed into such capable men as they are.⁴¹¹

The two captains of the *fustas* that accompanied Távora on the voyage from India to the Moluccas had volunteered to do so, whereas many others had shown little enthusiasm to gamble their lives on such a dangerous undertaking. On the long voyage in their small, oared vessels, they had greatly distinguished themselves, and they had generously helped the poor *lascars*. After the Spanish soldiers had surrendered, they had furnished them with food and clothing and

⁴⁰⁰ Couto 6, 1, 4, pp. 25-26; Rebello 217.

⁴⁰¹ The heraldic seal of his brother Lourenço is in Q 2766.

⁴⁰² *Emmenta* 334; *Studia* 1 (1958) 245.

⁴⁰³ Bernardo Rodrigues I, p. XXVIII; II 35-38; on him, one of the most famous diplomats of the sixteenth century, see Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* XII 1, 82-83, and Q, Index: Pires de Távora.

⁴⁰⁴ *Emmenta* 426.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 334; **Memoria das pessoas* 41.

⁴⁰⁶ Couto 4, 9, 10.

⁴⁰⁷ Correa III 712 774-776.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 819-828; Castanheda 8, 174.

⁴⁰⁹ Castanheda 9, 31.

⁴¹⁰ Correa IV 307.

⁴¹¹ *Studia* 1 (1958) 245.

had obtained loans from their friends for this.⁴¹² Manuel de Mesquita,⁴¹³ of the royal household, had gone to India in 1540⁴¹⁴ and had already provided a table for the soldiers at Diu in 1544.⁴¹⁵ His brother Ruy Mendes de Mesquita had sailed to India in 1529 as the captain of the *São Roque*, and in 1534 he had sailed to Mina in Africa as the captain in chief of four ships.⁴¹⁶ Lionel de Lima⁴¹⁷ was thirty years old.⁴¹⁸ He had been born in Alcouchete in the archdiocese of Lisbon, the son of Fernão Boto and Dona Joana, and he had spent his youth at court.⁴¹⁹ After the death of his parents,⁴²⁰ at the request of his king, he went to India in 1538 as an *escudeiro fidalgo* with the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha with a monthly income of 1,520 *reis*.⁴²¹ In 1539 Noronha had immediately sent him from Goa to the Moluccas with the new captain of Ternate, Dom Jorge de Castro. He served there for three years and was wounded a number of times in battle with the Moors. In 1541, at the bidding of Dom Jorge de Castro, he sailed with a fleet from Ternate to Banda, where he found that the captain of the Banda ship, Fernão de Sousa, had been treacherously murdered, the land in uproar, and sixty Portuguese, most of whom were sick, besieged by the Banda Moors, who were only waiting for the day when they could decapitate them all. Despite the small number of his men, Lima had immediately attacked and defeated the foe. He had freed the besieged and had readied their ship for sailing with large quantities of nutmegs and cloves belonging to the king, and had then returned to Ternate. Since the captain there had in the meantime concluded a peace with the king of Djailolo, his presence was no longer necessary. He had undertaken the return voyage to India but only a year or so later he had returned with Távora to the Moluccas. He had written to the king from Malacca as follows:

Fernão de Sousa will take from here 120 men along with all those he brought from India since according to the current rumors there are around two hundred Castilians on the Moluccas. They are stationed in a fortress which, though it has weak walls, is located on a site that is very difficult to climb, where I have already been many times. And since I know how strong the site is, I am writing to You, and I am afraid that, because of the lack of men, Your Highness will not be as well served by the few who are going there as we all desire. And as far as I am concerned, the least that I shall do will be to die in the service of Your Highness. That is the only inheritance that remains to me from my parents and ancestors. In order to serve on this voyage I sold a piece of property that had been left to me by my father, and I have already exhausted the sum received and have begun to incur debts. I ask Your Highness, since I belong to You, that You obtain information from individuals sailing to You from these regions of India on how I have ever served you and am still serving

⁴¹² According to Távora in 1547 (Q 3484; cf. EX I 347-348).

⁴¹³ At the end of April, 1547, Mesquita came with Távora to Goa, and we encounter him as captain in Salsette and Bardez already in May (Q 3046 3065). In 1553 he received the right to the captaincy of Chaul, but after this he immediately disappears from history (EX I 347). He is different from Manuel de Mesquita Perestrelo, the author of a *roteiro*, who sailed to India in 1547.

⁴¹⁴ *Emmentia* 332.

⁴¹⁵ Q 1322.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.* and Castanheda 7, 104; Correa III 333; *Emmentia* 336.

⁴¹⁷ We shall again speak of L. de Lima below. On him and his namesakes, see Schurhammer, "Doppelgänger" 218-224. His signature is given in Q, pl. XVI 10.

⁴¹⁸ **Responsa Nadal* 1, 367.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.* and *Emmentia* 369.

⁴²⁰ **Responsa Nadal* l. c.

⁴²¹ Q 1508; **Memoria das pessoas* 63.

You. And when you discover from them, as I believe You will, that I deserve a favor from Your Highness, then give me the fortress of Maluco which I have deserved for my services, and of which I am also not unworthy because of my ancestry.⁴²²

Another *fidalgo* who came from Ternate to Amboina with Távora was Duarte do Soveral da Fonseca⁴²³ of the king's household. He had already served in Africa⁴²⁴ and had come to India fresh out of Portugal in 1544 when a fleet was being readied to drive the Spaniards from the Moluccas. Whereas the *lascars* were reluctant to go, he had immediately volunteered and had sailed with Távora. He had borrowed money in Malacca to continue the journey and had behaved well in Ternate.⁴²⁵

Another of Távora's *fidalgos*, whom Xavier had known in India, where he had met him in Goa in 1542 and on Cow Island in 1543, was Christovão de Castro.⁴²⁶ The son of Antonio de Castro and Joana da Cunha, he had been born in Montemor-o-Novo. In 1538 he had sailed to India as a *moço fidalgo* with a monthly income of 1,000 *reis*.⁴²⁷ There he served with four brothers,⁴²⁸ including Vasco da Cunha⁴²⁹ and Francisco de Castro.⁴³⁰ Immediately after his arrival he had gone to Diu to winter there and to help build the fortress. He had then gone to the help of beleaguered Bassein with Ruy Lourenço de Távora; and in 1541 he had sailed as the captain of a *catur* with the governor to the strait, where he provided meals for many soldiers in Massau. The following year Dom Estevão da Gama had sent him with the patrol ships under Manuel de Vasconcellos again to the

⁴²² Q 1508.

⁴²³ In 1547 *Távora recommended him to the king along with Lima and Mesquita (Q 3484). The recommendation was successful. In January, 1557, he was factor in Bassein. He was also a witness at the Xavier process (MX II 389). In 1560 he took part in the Jaffna expedition as the captain of a galiot (Couto 7, 9, 1).

⁴²⁴ In 1563 the king wrote to India that because of the favorable information which he had received with respect to Duarte do Soveral da Fonseca's service in Africa and India and his loyal administration of the factory of Bassein, and since, as he heard, he was poor, he might be given something from the estates in Bassein or Damão as a reward (APO V 537).

⁴²⁵ Q 3484. In November, 1547, the governor remitted the forty *pardaus* which he had borrowed on the voyage to Ternate in Malacca (Q 3450).

⁴²⁶ On Christovão de Castro, see Q 1309 1975 3144 3811 4637 6127. In February, 1546, he received the right to the position of secretary of the factory in Chale (Q 1975), and in June, 1547, the governor gave him, as scribe of the factory in Chale, permission to send a *fusta* to Bengal (Q 3144). In March, 1548, he received the right to three voyages to Bengal as the reward for his services and because of the death of his brothers Vasco da Cunha and Francisco de Castro (*Registo*, n. 400). In the same year he came to Malacca and there heard of Xavier's vision of the victory over the Achinese in the previous year (MX II 302-303). But in February, 1550, the governor Cabral wrote to the king that he was sending Christovão de Castro and Francisco de Magalhães as prisoners to Portugal in the ship of *São Bento*, with their written accusations. Since the Bengal voyage was now free because of the homicide committed by Christovão de Castro, he wanted to give it to his brother-in-law João Rodrigues. He deserved it, and the king had recommended him for it (SR IV 494-499). The ship had to return, and it did not arrive in Portugal until 1551 (*ibid.* V 24-29). In the meantime, however, Castro had succeeded in clearing himself (Ford I 386-387). In 1557, as a *cavalleiro* of the royal house, he was a witness at the Xavier process in Cochin (MX II 301-304).

⁴²⁷ *Emmenta* 369; **Memoria das pessoas* 61.

⁴²⁸ Q 1309.

⁴²⁹ Q 3811. He was seventeen or eighteen when a gunshot killed him during the siege of Diu in 1546. He was a nephew of the famous Vasco da Cunha who was captain of Chaul from 1548 to 1551 (L. Nunes 47 85).

⁴³⁰ Q 3811.

strait in order to learn about the preparations being made by the Turks and to obtain news about his brother Dom Christovão da Gama. In 1542 he had then taken part in the expedition against Bhatkal and in 1543 in that to the pagoda, where he served with two horses at his own expense. He consequently wrote in November, 1544, to the king that he should grant him permission to sell his entailed estate since he was much in debt. He had actually intended to return to Portugal in 1545,⁴³¹ but he had instead joined up with Távora to fight against the Spaniards.⁴³²

In contrast to the commander of the Portuguese fleet, Ruy López de Villalobos, the captain general of the Spaniards, was tall, thin, and had a well-shaped face framed by a long, black beard that was already turning grey. He had a majestic bearing, even though the many hardships, frustrations, and disappointments of his voyage had left their traces.⁴³³ He came from a prominent and aristocratic family in Málaga and had properties in Mexico,⁴³⁴ where he had left his wife and children.⁴³⁵ He had obtained a licentiate in civil law⁴³⁶ and, as a good mathematician, astronomer, and experienced navigator, he had been chosen by his cousin the viceroy of New Spain, Dom Antonio de Mendoza, to lead the expedition which sailed from Mexico in 1542 for the islands of the West in order to get a foothold there and to establish a trading center. All along his route he had taken astronomical reckonings and had kept an extensive diary on them. For his observations he had climbed the highest mountains, and he was convinced that the Moluccas lay within the area that had been marked for Castile. He was also convinced that he had now discovered the return route to New Spain. If his two earlier attempts had failed, it was due to the fact that the ship sent for this purpose had been too small and the time of the year had not been propitious.⁴³⁷ He was a faithful Christian and kept strict discipline and order among his men.⁴³⁸ A good captain, he had the welfare of his men and of the natives at heart. Only one quality was lacking—the foolhardy daring of a conquistador, which had crowned Cortés and Pizarro with their success.⁴³⁹ When he had doubts as to whether something was licit or not, he followed the advice of his confessor, the prior of the Augustinians,⁴⁴⁰ who accompanied his fleet; and he was frequently persuaded by him to temper his actions when he had been resolved to punish someone with merciless severity.⁴⁴¹ As a prominent *caballero*, he was amiable, pleasant, and courtly in his bearing. But his heart was gnawed with remorse over the failure of his expedition, which had forced him against the prohibitions of the emperor and viceroy to set foot on Portuguese territory and to surrender to them against the advice of most of his officers, something which, in the opinion of many of his subordinates, he lacked the authority to do.⁴⁴²

⁴³¹ Q 1309.

⁴³² MX II 302.

⁴³³ Rebello 222 443; Santisteban 162. His signature is given in Q, pl. XVI 3.

⁴³⁴ Aganduru 78, 434.

⁴³⁵ Santisteban 163.

⁴³⁶ Manuel Buzeta, O.E.S.A., *Diccionario de las Islas Filipinas* 1 (Madrid, 1850) 79.

⁴³⁷ According to what Nilyo wrote on August 10, 1545, from Malacca (Sá I 454-455); Escalante 177 192; CU 2, 3; Aganduru 78, 437.

⁴³⁸ Aganduru 78, 437 455; CU 2, 37-38 57 63-64.

⁴³⁹ Aganduru 79, 72.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 78, 470-471; Couto 5, 10, 5.

⁴⁴¹ Aganduru 78, 447 456.

⁴⁴² Rebello 222 443; Gaspar de S. Agustín 37.

During the expedition Villalobos' officers had always rendered him faithful service. They had endured endless toils and dangers with him, and they had risked their lives a hundred times in fighting with the natives; but they had feared that their leader would prove to be too soft in dealing with the Portuguese.⁴⁴³ They had declared that they must obtain a ship from Távora for their return to New Spain; and if this was denied them, they should fight to the last man rather than to embark for Portugal, since no one knew whether they would get there alive or not.⁴⁴⁴ Távora had refused to give them a ship for New Spain, but he had stated that he was ready to have them brought back to Spain by way of India and Portugal; and Villalobos had indicated that he was ready to accept this offer. This had prompted Jorge Nieto, the paymaster, Onofre de Arévalo, the *vedor*, and García de Escalante, the factor of the emperor,⁴⁴⁵ together with Don Alonso Manrique, the captain of the *San Juan*, Gonzalo de Avalos, the treasurer of the viceroy, Bernardo de la Torre, the former captain of the *San Jorge*, and Pedro Ortiz de Rueda, the former captain of the galiot *San Cristobal*, to give to their captain general in the name of the whole camp, or at least the greater part of it, a written memorial in which they emphatically refused to sail to Portugal and urged him to seek again a return route to New Spain, since the king of Tidore, their friend, had promised to build them a ship for this purpose. In the meantime they should remain and wait for help from New Spain, especially since he knew, and had heard Frey Jerónimo say, that the Portuguese were determined, if a ship came from there to help them, to sink it with mice and men so that nothing would ever be known of it.⁴⁴⁶

Nieto, the paymaster, who was better at handling a sword than a pen, came from a prominent family in Ledesma near Salamanca and, because of his experience in military and financial matters, was highly regarded as a counselor. He was the son of Gómez Nieto and Doña Mayor Rodríguez, and his bravery in battle bordered on foolhardiness.⁴⁴⁷ García de Escalante Alvarado, his colleague, was a *hidalgo* of Montaña, as the region of Santander was called. In contrast to Nieto, he was equally accomplished with pen and sword.⁴⁴⁸ During the expedition he had rendered the greatest services through his bravery and discretion. On the day of the delivery of the memorandum he had gone to Villalobos and had offered to attempt again the return voyage to New Spain with twenty or thirty men. After his departure the captain general could do with his men what seemed good to him or what he had agreed upon with Távora. Although he had found a pilot, sailors, *hidalgos*, and officers ready to accompany him, he was unable to achieve anything with Villalobos.⁴⁴⁹ The Basque Martín de Islares, the factor of the viceroy, had then made a new attempt and had given the captain general a second memorandum in which he asked him to equip the *San Juan* for him for the return voyage to New Spain. He had all that was necessary for it, including provisions of sago and rice, a pilot, and some sailors and officers. The return voyage was possible, and he, Villalobos, had himself often said this. Captain Bernardo de la Torre, who made the last attempt, was also ready to sail with them as a mere

⁴⁴³ Aganduru 78, 433; Escalante 170.

⁴⁴⁴ Escalante 167-168.

⁴⁴⁵ In 1540 he was appointed factor of the western province by the emperor (Q 550).

⁴⁴⁶ Escalante 171-174; cf. 189.

⁴⁴⁷ Aganduru 78, 434 472-473; 79, 72.

⁴⁴⁸ Cf. his account of the voyage; Aganduru 78, 434-435.

⁴⁴⁹ Aganduru 78, 434; Escalante 174-175.

boatsman. He might therefore let them attempt the voyage before he surrendered the artillery and munitions to the Portuguese, even if he were himself going to India. And if money was lacking for equipping the ship, the negro slaves and the other dispensable goods of the viceroy could be sold for this.⁴⁵⁰ Twenty years earlier, under Loaysa, he had made his first voyage to the Moluccas, and he had remained there for seven years, from 1526 to 1534. He had more knowledge of the land than any of the others and had been the mediator between his countrymen and the natives because of his knowledge of Malay. His suggestion therefore had special weight.⁴⁵¹ But before Villalobos could give an answer, a violent scene took place between him and Bernardo de la Torre. Torre, a firebrand from Granada,⁴⁵² whose ship, the *San Jorge*, had sunk near Mindanao,⁴⁵³ and who had been the first to attempt to find the return route with the *San Juan*,⁴⁵⁴ became so enraged that he told Villalobos that he would recognize him as his general until they reached Spain, and he would obey him; but then, he swore by God, he would go after him and do him all the evil that he could, and to do so he would sell his goods and seek those of his friends, and if he did not succeed in this way he would act in his own person.⁴⁵⁵ After this Alonso Manrique, who had sworn with Villalobos to the treaty of surrender with Távora on November 4, 1545, had immediately set himself at the head of the implacable officers who wanted to murder the captain general. The latter thus had to surround himself with a guard of fifty arquebusiers, and only with the greatest difficulty had Távora, during his visit in Tidore, reestablished peace and calmed their tempers.⁴⁵⁶ One of the witnesses of the treaty of surrender was another officer of the Spanish fleet, the chief standard-bearer, Iñigo Ortiz de Retes, a prominent *hidalgo* from Retes in Alava.⁴⁵⁷ After the death of Merino he had received command of the troops and had made a second attempt to find the route back to New Spain.⁴⁵⁸ He was a tireless worker, a brave captain, and a true servant of his emperor.⁴⁵⁹ Three persons who had taken part in earlier expeditions of the Spaniards to the Moluccas were specifically named in the treaty of surrender, and they were assured of the same treatment as the rest of the Spaniards. In addition to Islares there were the two pilots, Ginés de Mafra from Jerez in Andalusia, the pilot of the *San Juan*, who had been a sailor under Magalhães,⁴⁶⁰ and the Scot Antonio Corzo,⁴⁶¹ the subpilot of the flagship *San Tiago*,⁴⁶² who had

⁴⁵⁰ Aganduru 78, 435; Escalante 176-178. He was the son of Juan de Islares and Maria de Ocaína, resident of Laredo, and sailed in 1538 for Mexico (Bermudez Plata II, n. 5368).

⁴⁵¹ Aganduru 78, 448 473 483; Navarrete III 201 246-247.

⁴⁵² Aganduru 78, 434. He was the son of the king's general treasurer, Dr. de la Torre, and Maria de Carvajal. He sailed to America in 1535 (Bermudez Plata II, n. 1256).

⁴⁵³ Aganduru 78, 511.

⁴⁵⁴ Gaeta (Ramusio 404-405); Escalante 143-147; Santisteban 154-155; Aganduru 78, 498-499 512-518 526-532; 79, 13-28 43-56.

⁴⁵⁵ Escalante 179.

⁴⁵⁶ Couto 6, 1, 5.

⁴⁵⁷ Aganduru 78, 435. He was the son of Iñigo Ortiz de Retes and María de Retes of Ayala (Alava) and sailed to Mexico in 1538 (Bermudez Plata II, n. 5447).

⁴⁵⁸ Santisteban 101-102 (as an eyewitness), Escalante 153-161 (from diary of Ortiz); Aganduru 79, 83-93.

⁴⁵⁹ "Alférez mayor y maestro de campo, un honrado hidalgo, leal de corazón y obras, hombre animoso y gran trabajador" (Santisteban 161).

⁴⁶⁰ Koelliker 80 (pl. 8); Navarrete II 644-646.

⁴⁶¹ Pires Cotão calls him in 1544 a Scot (Sá I 406); Rebello a Genoese (424); Grijalva erroneously calls him Conso (166).

⁴⁶² CU 2, p. XV.

sailed to the Moluccas as a pilot with Loaysa and thus knew the route.⁴⁶³ If his advice had been followed, and they had sailed to the eleventh instead of the tenth degree, the expedition would probably have been more successful.⁴⁶⁴

A calming element among the hot-blooded Spanish *hidalgos* and sailors were the chaplains of the fleet, with whom Master Francis immediately struck up a friendship. These were four Augustinian and two secular priests, Cosme de Torres and Juan Delgado.⁴⁶⁵

The prior, Frey Jerónimo de Santisteban, the son of a prominent Portuguese, came from a town near Salamanca and was already fifty-three years old. As a licentiate in both civil and canon law, he had made his profession into the hands of the saintly Frey Tomás de Villanueva in Salamanca in 1519. After a fruitful career as a teacher and preacher, he had left his monastery in Medina del Campo in order to found with six companions in 1533 a mission of his order in New Spain. Twice elected provincial of the Mexican province of his order, he was prior of the convent in the capital of the country when he was appointed superior of his confreres who were to accompany Villalobos on his voyage. He was an exemplary religious, penitential, given to prayer and meditation upon the sufferings of Christ. His bed was a board with a piece of wood for a pillow. He fasted the greater part of the year, chiefly on bread and water. He went frequently to confession and occasionally several times a day. His Mass was unusually long since his reflections during it stirred him up greatly to the love of God, about which he always spoke and which often moved him to tears. When his confreres went to rest after Compline, he remained for a long time rapt in prayer; and in addition to the usual Office, he daily recited that of the Holy Cross, often with his arms outstretched in order to share more completely in the sufferings of Christ. Humble and supernatural in his words and manner, he was full of zeal for the conversion of the pagans.⁴⁶⁶

Frey Nicolás de Perea, sixteen years younger than his prior, came from Segovia. He too had entered the monastery in Salamanca; and, filled with a desire for the pagan mission, he had embarked in 1539, four years after his profession, for New Spain, where he instructed the Indians of Ocuila, twelve leagues from Mexico City, in the faith and was prior of the convent of Atotonilco when he was designated for the fleet of Villalobos. On the way he was afflicted with symptoms of paralysis that kept him in his cell in Tidore for six months. As soon as he could, he visited the others who were ill on his crutches in order to console them.⁴⁶⁷

Frey Sebastián de Trasierra from Trasierra in Estremadura had joined the

⁴⁶³ Rebello 200 270 424; Aganduru 78, 462.

⁴⁶⁴ Grijalva 166 187.

⁴⁶⁵ Escalante names four secular priests: Torres, Delgado, Martín, and the *comendador* Lasso, of whom we have spoken above, p. 43. Martín probably remained in Ternate.

⁴⁶⁶ Frey Jerónimo de Santisteban, also called Jiménez, returned to Mexico by way of India and Spain. He became provincial in Mexico in 1551 and died in Mexico City in 1570. On him, in addition to the accounts of Escalante and Aganduru, see Grijalva 425-429; Herrera 251 264 273 289 345-347; Andrés de S. Nicolás 71-72; Gaspar de S. Agustín 39-45; Castro-Merino 118-120, and the critical study in Santiago Vela VII 401-414. His signature is given in Q, pl. V 5.

⁴⁶⁷ Nicolás de Perea, alias de Salamanca, also returned to Mexico, where he suffered constantly from gout and died a holy death in 1596. On him see Grijalva 654-657; Herrera 269 289 399-401; Andrés de S. Nicolás 93-94; Gaspar de S. Agustín 45-49; González de la Puente 278; Castro-Merino 244.

order in Seville where his uncle was provincial. He had studied scholastic and moral theology with brilliant success in Alcalá and had, already a priest, gone in 1536 to Mexico, where he worked as a confessor, preacher, and missionary among the Indians and, out of humility, consistently refused the office of superior.⁴⁶⁸

Frey Alonso de Alvarado, the last, the son of wealthy and distinguished parents in Badajoz, had received the habit in Salamanca in 1530 and had then gone to Mexico, where his superiors appointed him for the expedition of Villalobos in 1542.⁴⁶⁹

One of the secular priests, Juan Delgado, was thirty-five years old and had been ordained a priest in 1539 in Seville before sailing to New Spain.⁴⁷⁰ His companion, Cosme de Torres, was large and well built and about the same age as Delgado. He had been born in 1510 in Valencia, had become a priest, and had then sailed to Palma on the island of Majorca, where he took up his residence as a Latin teacher in the university. He had had many students and a generous income, but he had not remained there long. In 1536 he had handed his pupils over to a young university student and had moved to his native city of Valencia, where the college of the university was under the direction of Dr. Juan de Celaya, who had taught for a long time in Paris, including seven years in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe. From Valencia Torres had ultimately accepted a call to Uldecona, where he took over the Latin school, and taught there for a year and a half. But a vague impulse kept driving him on. When the Franciscan preacher Frey Juan de Torres, whom he knew, invited him to go to New Spain with him, he had left his parents, brothers and sisters, and country, and had set sail with Torres from Seville in 1538. In Mexico the friars with whom he first lived had sought in vain to win him over to the order of St. Francis so that he might teach Latin to the younger religious and to the Indian students. Instead of this, he became chaplain of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza. He had remained three and one-half years in his service, but the longing for distant places had remained with him. Though he lacked nothing in the palace of the viceroy, he had, to the distress of all his friends and benefactors, embarked on the fleet of Villalobos without knowing where the inner voice was calling, or what it wished of, him.⁴⁷¹

Master Francis learned of the course of Villalobos' unfortunate expedition from his Spanish countrymen.

Alexander VI had divided the newly discovered lands on the other side of the

⁴⁶⁸ Seb. de Trasierra, alias de la Reyna, also returned to Mexico where he still worked zealously though suffering from gout. He died in 1588 in the convent of Xacona in Michoacan. On him see Gonzales de la Puente 276-286 294-311; Grijalva 624-625; Herrera 136 289; Gaspar de S. Agustín 49-51; Castro-Merino 285.

⁴⁶⁹ Alonso de Alvarado sailed again from Spain to Mexico and from there to the Philippines in 1571, where he worked among the Tagalese and Chinese and died a saintly death as provincial in Manila in 1576. On him see Herrera 351-355; Gaspar de S. Agustín 51-58 63 340-343; Castro-Merino 24-25.

⁴⁷⁰ In the Portuguese sources he is always called Joam Diaz. He entered the Society of Jesus in India in 1557, worked in Goa and the neighboring Salsette and finally in Bāndra and Thāna, where he died in 1577. *Teixeira wrote his obituary in Bassein in the same year (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 374). On him, in addition to the *catalogs of the province of Goa (*ibid.* *Goa* 24), see Seb. Gonçalves 5, 4; Valignano 364; EX II 496; DI III 787, IV 288 383 401-402 419 457 471.

⁴⁷¹ Cosme de Torres entered the Society of Jesus in Goa in 1548, went with Xavier to Japan in 1549, worked there very successfully as a missionary and died in 1570. On him see Schurhammer, *Die Disputationen* 11-14, and Frois, *Geschichte Japans*, index. He wrote two letters on his previous life, in 1549 (DI I 470-475) and in 1551 (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 39-42). His signature is given in Q, pl. VI 3.

ocean between Spain and Portugal, and the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 had finally fixed the papal line of demarcation.⁴⁷² But the geographers of both countries were at odds as to the territory in which the profitable Spice Islands, or Moluccas, lay. In 1521 the Spaniards had come from the east to find the route to them after they had discovered the Ladrone Islands⁴⁷³ and the islands north of Mindanao, where they had lost their leader, the Portuguese deserter Fernão de Magalhães, in a battle with the natives.⁴⁷⁴ They had been well received by the rajah of Tidore, the rival of the sultan of Ternate, who was on friendly terms with the Portuguese. The Basque Sebastián de Elcano had sailed back to Spain around the Cape of Good Hope with one of the five ships and a good cargo of cloves. In 1524, at the Junta of Badajos, the representatives of Spain and Portugal had then sought to determine in whose territory the Spice Islands were located. After months of discussion, the conference had ended without reaching a conclusion.⁴⁷⁵ In 1525 a new Spanish fleet had set out from La Coruña under the command of García Jofre de Loaysa,⁴⁷⁶ with Elcano as the chief pilot, in order to take possession of the disputed territory. After the death of the leader and Elcano, their successor, the Basque Martín Iníiguez de Carquisano, succeeded in bringing the flagship from the Ladrone Islands to the harbor of Samafo on the east side of the large island of Batachina⁴⁷⁷ and from there, at the beginning of 1527, to Tidore; and his successor had received reinforcements in 1528 in the form of a ship under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra.⁴⁷⁸ But further help had failed to appear; an attempt to find the return route to Mexico had misfired; and, during the course of the following year, the emperor had surrendered to Portugal his claim on the Moluccas in return for a compensation of 350,000 ducats;⁴⁷⁹ and the last survivors of both Spanish expeditions had been forced to surrender to the Portuguese and had not returned to their native land until 1536.

⁴⁷² Cf. Florentino Pérez Embid, *Los descubrimientos en el Atlántico y la rivalidad castellano-portuguesa hasta el Tratado de Tordesillas* (Sevilla, 1948). The text of the treaty is given by Ramos-Coelho 69-80; cf. also Q 5-9.

⁴⁷³ Mariana Islands.

⁴⁷⁴ On Magalhães, see the bibliography in Sánchez Alonso II 66-72; the sources in Navarrete II 365-597 639-646; the account of Pigafetta and the accounts of Koelliker; Pastells in Torres y Lanzas I, pp. XLVIII-XCVIII; J. M. de Queiroz Velloso, *Fernão de Magalhães* (Lisboa, 1941); Ch. McKnew Parr, *So Noble a Captain. The Life and Times of Ferdinand Magellan* (New York, 1954).

⁴⁷⁵ On the Junta of Badajoz, see the sources in Navarrete II 597-635 and CA IV 73-147 and F. G. Davenport, *European Treaties* (Washington, 1917) I 118 ff. On the demarcation dispute with respect to the Philippines and the Moluccas, see also: P. Pastells, "Competencia entre Castellanos y Portugueses del siglo XVI sobre las regiones del extremo oriente situadas fuera del Empeño," *Razón y Fe* 14-21 (1906-1908), and in Torres y Lanzas I, pp. XCVIII-CIX; G. Latorre, "Los españoles y portugueses en Ultramar. La cuestión del Maluco," *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas* 8-10 (1921-1923); M. Hidalgo Nieto, "La cuestión hispano-portuguesa en torno a las islas Molucas," *Revista de Indias* 3 (1942) 429-462; and F. Montalbán, S.J., *Das spanische Patronat und die Eroberung der Philippinen* (Freiburg i. Br., 1930) 38-57.

⁴⁷⁶ On Loaysa's voyage, see the sources in Navarrete III 1-250 and Sá I 261-283, especially the important letter of Pedro de Montemayor (Q 144), and the accounts of Pastells in Torres y Lanzas I, pp. CXII-CXXVII CXLVII-CLXIII; Aganduru 78, 109-379; Rebello 411-420; Tiele I 404-420, II 1-21; and the Portuguese chronicles of Barros, Castanheda, and Correa.

⁴⁷⁷ In the accounts of Magalhães' voyage, Halmahera is called Gilolo, in those of Loaysa's voyage, Batachina (Navarrete III 29).

⁴⁷⁸ On the voyage of Saavedra, see the sources and accounts of Loaysa's voyage, Navarrete III 251-279, and Pastells in Torres y Lanzas I, pp. CXXIV-CXXV CXXXVIII-CL.

⁴⁷⁹ The treaty is published in Navarrete II 646-657 and Ramos-Coelho 495-512; cf. Rebello 499-506.

This was the state of affairs when in November, 1542, Dom Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy of Mexico, sent out a new fleet with 370 men⁴⁸⁰ under the command of Ruy López de Villalobos with orders to explore the islands to the west of the South Sea, to take possession of them in the name of the emperor, to build a fort on a suitable site, and to establish a settlement and discover the return route to New Spain. In his instructions, Villalobos was strongly urged to treat the natives well, to spread the Gospel among them,⁴⁸¹ and under no circumstances to set foot on Portuguese territory.⁴⁸²

There were six ships in the fleet at the time of its departure—four galleons: the flagship *Santiago* with a capacity of 200 tons, the *San Jorge* with 180, the *San Antonio* and *San Juan*, each with 100, and the galiot *San Cristobal* with twenty banks of oars and the brigantine *San Martín* with twelve.⁴⁸³

On All Saints' Day, 1542, the fleet had weighed anchor in the harbor of Juan Gallego in Mexico. The ships had sailed a hundred and eighty leagues west when, after eight days, a small, lofty, uninhabited island rose out of the sea,⁴⁸⁴ a second on the following day,⁴⁸⁵ and a third two or three days later.⁴⁸⁶ The wide expanse of water had then been solitary and still until, after forty-three days, on the eleventh degree of latitude they reached the first coral islands, overgrown with coconut palms and other fruit trees and inhabited by naked brown islanders who wore a woven apron as their only clothing. Here they had rested,⁴⁸⁷ and had decided to sail to Managua, where Magalhães had landed, to establish a settlement north of the great island of Mindanao, far from the territory of the Portuguese.⁴⁸⁸ Fifty leagues from it they had discovered a second group of islands lying between the ninth and tenth degrees of latitude.⁴⁸⁹ And 150 leagues west of it, they had come to a palm island called *Matalotes* because the natives who came in their *praus* to sell fish and coconuts to the newcomers, made the sign of the cross, to the astonishment of the Spaniards, and greeted them with the words: "Buenos dias, matalotes!"⁴⁹⁰ Finally, on February 2, 1543, they had sighted Mindanao and soon after had anchored in a bay there.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁰ Santisteban 162.

⁴⁸¹ The instruction is published in CU 2, 29-46.

⁴⁸² This was already stipulated in the treaty of the viceroy with Alvarado in 1541 (CU 2, 19), and he also mentions it in the letter he wrote to justify himself to the emperor (CO 3, 506-511). See also Escalante 180-183 190; Aganduru 78, 448; Rebello 213 432; Sá I 435 and the letter of Frey Jerónimo to John III (*ibid.* 510-512).

⁴⁸³ Aganduru 78, 434-438.

⁴⁸⁴ Escalante 118; Santisteban 151; Aganduru 78, 434-438. Today San Alberto. With the two following it comprises the Revilla-Gigedo group. Villalobos christened the island Santo Tomás.

⁴⁸⁵ Santisteban 151-152; Escalante 118; Aganduru 78, 438-439; La Nublada, today Socorro.

⁴⁸⁶ Santisteban 152; Escalante 118; Aganduru 78, 439. Rocapartida, today Santa Rosa.

⁴⁸⁷ Santisteban 152-153; Escalante 118; Gaetan (Ramusio 403v); Torres (DI I 472-473); Aganduru 78, 416 442 446-447. Meant are the Hall Islands of the East Carolines.

⁴⁸⁸ Escalante 120; Aganduru 78, 447-448.

⁴⁸⁹ Escalante 118-119; Gaetan (Ramusio 403v); Torres (DI I 473); Aganduru 78, 448. Meant are the Namonuito Islands.

⁴⁹⁰ Escalante 119; Santisteban 153; Gaetan (Ramusio 403v-404); Aganduru 78, 450; according to Grijalva a canoe came with six men (165). Meant is the island of Ngulu south of Yap. In 1522 the Galician Gonzalo de Vigo and two companions deserted the *Trinidad* at the island of Rota. His companions were murdered by the natives. In 1526 the fleet of Loaysa encountered him and took him to the Moluccas (Navarrete III 25 147 201 230; Koelliker 245 266). This could explain the sign of the cross and the Spanish-Portuguese greeting of the islanders.

⁴⁹¹ According to Escalante 119. According to Santisteban, it was January 29 (153);

But every attempt to found a settlement had misfired. The coast was not healthy; the opposing wind prevented sailing northwards to Managua; the natives were hostile and refused to sell provisions to the strangers.⁴⁹² Finally, compelled by circumstances, they had taken possession by force of the small island of Sarangani near the southeastern tip of Mindanao.⁴⁹³ But the maize which they sowed twice had not risen; their hunger had become unbearable;⁴⁹⁴ beriberi, a sickness similar to scurvy had set in;⁴⁹⁵ and three ships had been lost⁴⁹⁶ in successive attempts to obtain food from the Sangir Talaut Islands in the south,⁴⁹⁷ from the Rio Grande of Mindanao in the west,⁴⁹⁸ and from the fruitful islands of Abuyo and Tendaya⁴⁹⁹ in the north.⁵⁰⁰ Two hundred men, Spaniards and Indian slaves from Mexico, had already been carried away by hunger, sickness, and fighting with the natives⁵⁰¹ when Villalobos, seven months after landing on Sarangani, made a final attempt to reach the islands in the north. But this venture had also failed, and he had been forced against his will to sail southwards to the bay of Samafo,⁵⁰² where in a town of the same name Loaysa had earlier found a friendly reception from the king of Tidore, who was well disposed towards Spain.⁵⁰³ In the second week of January, 1544, his ship, the *San Tiago*, had come to anchor here near Sugala,⁵⁰⁴ a village of the king of Djailolo. Soon after this, at the earnest request of the rajah, he had sailed to his harbor on the west side of the island and, finally, despite all the protests of the Portuguese, to Tidore, where the other ships had also come.⁵⁰⁵ The strife between the Portuguese and Spaniards, who had also established a garrison in Samafo, brought an end to the eight-month-old truce which Jurdão de Freitas, the new captain of Ternate, had concluded with Villalobos on January 8, 1545.⁵⁰⁶ Two attempts of the *San Juan*

according to Aganduru, February 1 (78, 450-452); Torres (DI I 473); Gaetan (Ramusio 404). Meant is the harbor of Baganga.

⁴⁹² Escalante 119-120; Santisteban 153-154; Torres (DI I 473-474); Gaetan (Ramusio 404); Aganduru 78, 450-467.

⁴⁹³ Escalante 120-124; Santisteban 154-157; Torres (DI I 474-475); Gaetan (Ramusio 404); Grijalva 168; Aganduru 78, 467-482. She was baptized *Antonia*.

⁴⁹⁴ Escalante 123-125 128-130; Santisteban 155-156; Grijalva 172; Rebello 199 424; Couto 5, 8, 10, S. 243; **Interrogatorio* 31 36 68v 105v.

⁴⁹⁵ Santisteban 153.

⁴⁹⁶ Escalante 129; Santisteban 155; Aganduru 78, 498 511; Rebello 199-200 424.

⁴⁹⁷ Escalante 126-127; Aganduru 78, 490-500.

⁴⁹⁸ Escalante 125-126 128-130; Santisteban 154-155; Aganduru 78, 488-500 502-511.

⁴⁹⁹ Abuyo (Leyte) and Tendaya (Samar) were christened *Filipinas* by Villalobos (Escalante 127). According to Aganduru he gave this name only to Leyte, but it was later extended by Legazpi to all the islands (79, 3).

⁵⁰⁰ Escalante 127; Santisteban 154-155; Aganduru 78, 498-499.

⁵⁰¹ **Interrogatorio* 37; Torres speaks of 300-400 (DI I 475).

⁵⁰² Escalante 130-132; Santisteban 157-158; Grijalva 173; Aganduru 78, 511-512 518-520; 79, 1-4; Sá I 511. Escalante, Gaetan, and Aganduru call the Bay of Galela the "Bay of Samafo."

⁵⁰³ Navarrete III 29-32 65-70 151-152 189 197-198 231-232; Aganduru 79, 4.

⁵⁰⁴ Escalante 132 (Zagala); Aganduru 79, 4-5 (Zugalai). On January 13, 1544, Gemes Lobo in Tolo learned of their arrival in Sugala (Q 1170). The following day he ordered the Spaniards to leave Portuguese territory (Q 1171). Cf. Villalobos' reply of January 15 (Q 1175), the correspondence with the captain of Ternate (Q 1177 1181), and the letter of Captain D. Jorge de Castro to the king of February 20 (Q 1191).

⁵⁰⁵ Escalante 135-137; Aganduru 79, 35-43.

⁵⁰⁶ On February 1 and 13, 1545, Freitas gave accounts of the treaty of truce (Sá I 419-433 438-440); Rebello 213-216 432-433; Couto 5, 10, 5; Escalante 148; Santisteban 161; Grijalva 184; Aganduru 79, 66-71. The text is given in Sá I 409-412. On the hearing of witnesses (**Interrogatorio*) held on this occasion to prove the innocence of Villalobos,

to discover the return route to Mexico, in the north by Bernardo de la Torre,⁵⁰⁷ and in the south, past the large island of Papua, which they called New Guinea, by Ortiz de Retes had failed.⁵⁰⁸ All hope of help or of a return had thus disappeared when on October 18, 1545, Fernão de Sousa de Távora appeared in Ternate with his fleet and orders to drive the Spaniards from the Moluccas or to take them prisoners.⁵⁰⁹ Resistance would have been useless, and on November 4, Távora, Freitas, and Villalobos had sworn to a treaty of surrender on the missal of the Augustinian prior. In it the captain general of the Spaniards promised to come to Ternate with his men, to hand over designated *cavalleiros* as hostages, and to surrender his bronze artillery and munitions as a pledge to the Portuguese. In return Villalobos received the following assurances: The rajah of Tidore was pardoned for any help which he had given to the Spaniards. Távora assumed the obligation of conducting the Spaniards, their male and female Indian servants, whom they had brought from Mexico, and their possessions without charge to India, and to provide them with free passage from there to Portugal in 1547, where their artillery would be returned to them. Villalobos retained his jurisdiction over his men in so far as they wished to follow him. Because of their poverty, the soldiers received a subvention for food and clothes. Távora and Freitas further promised to search for their countrymen who had been imprisoned by the pagans since 1543 on Filippina Island and to bring them to Ternate.⁵¹⁰

Nineteen days after the treaty of surrender, Távora and Freitas with the Portuguese fleet and three hundred Portuguese and one hundred Spaniards who had joined up with them had sailed against the king of Djailolo, an enemy of the Portuguese and other Christians, in order to bring him to subjection and to punish him for his temerity as a usurper. But his fortress, which was defended by artillery, had proved to be unassailable, and thirteen days later they had been forced to return to Ternate with seventy wounded and their mission unattained. The siege had cost the lives of sixteen or seventeen of the assailants.⁵¹¹ Among these was an old friend of Távora, João Galvão, the captain of one of the three *fustas*, who was struck in the leg and killed by a ball from a field gun.⁵¹²

On February 18, 1546, Távora had then set out from Ternate for Amboina with his soldiers and the Spaniards, who had handed over to him their last ship, the

see Q 1297 1301 1383 1388-1390 1404-1405 1410 1414 1415 (letter of Villalobos to John III) and 1439 (letter of the same to the governor of India).

⁵⁰⁷ Gaetan took part in the voyage and left an account of it (Ramusio 404-405).

⁵⁰⁸ Escalante gives an account of the voyage from the diary of Ortiz de Retes (153-161). Santisteban gives his account as a sharer in it (161-162).

⁵⁰⁹ Rebello 216-217 435; Escalante 163-164; Santisteban 162; Aganduru 79, 93-97; Couto 5, 10, 10; 6, 1, 4.

⁵¹⁰ Rebello 217-218 435-436; Santisteban 162; Grijalva 186-187; Gaetan (Ramusio 405: "Some, and I in particular, were against it"); Aganduru 79, 97-111; Couto 6, 1, 4 (according to information of the eyewitness Cáceres). Escalante treats at length of the dealings of the officers with Villalobos before the conclusion of the treaty (164-191, but since two leaves are missing in the manuscript, his account breaks off suddenly before the treaty). Cf. Q 1635 1652-1654. The text of the treaty is given in Biker I 111-115.

⁵¹¹ On the expedition against Djailolo, see Rebello (218-222 437-440); Palha (Sá II 122: sixteen dead); the *casados* of Ternate (*ibid.* 482-483: ten to twelve dead Portuguese); Couto 6, 1, 5 (erroneously places the expedition in February, 1546); Escalante 191-197; Q 1688-1689. Aganduru by mistake places the campaign after the departure of the Spaniards for Amboina (79, 114-115).

⁵¹² On Galvão's death, see Rebello 221 440; EX I 347; Couto 6, 1, 5. Two witnesses in Xavier's process in Malacca in 1556 confuse João Galvão with João d'Araújo (MX II 423-424 428).

San Juan.⁵¹³ Thirty-seven of Villalobos' men had been left behind on the island, where Freitas took them into his fortress. Twelve more were still languishing in the north in pagan prisons. As a consequence, only 130 of his followers accompanied the captain general on his voyage to Amboina.⁵¹⁴

7. SPANIARDS AND PORTUGUESE (MARCH—MAY, 1546)⁵¹⁵

Master Francis had hardly reached Amboina when, leaving his companion João d'Eiró in Hatiwi, he sailed across the bay to the Portuguese and Spanish camp in Nusaniwi. There, in the hut of three or four Portuguese, he took up his residence and immediately began exercising his apostolate.⁵¹⁶ In this he was assisted by the four Augustinians and the secular priests who had accompanied them. There was no lack of work. Lent had begun,⁵¹⁷ and the soldiers, who had been thrown together in such a motley fashion, were in great need of spiritual and physical assistance. A kind of scurvy, which the Portuguese called "Loanda," or "Banda sickness," and the natives "beriberi," which had already afflicted some of the Spaniards in Ternate,⁵¹⁸ broke out in Amboina also among the Portuguese, and many died from it.⁵¹⁹ Among those who had succumbed were thirteen Spaniards,⁵²⁰ including the captain general López de Villalobos.⁵²¹ He fell victim to a violent fever on the Friday before Palm Sunday⁵²² in the camp of Nusaniwi⁵²³

⁵¹³ According to Escalante 197. But the letter of the *casados* of Ternate of February 20, 1546, shows that at least one of the ships sailed somewhat later (Sá I 475-487).

⁵¹⁴ According to Aganduru, 130 Spaniards sailed from Ternate to Amboina (79, 111); according to Santisteban 117 came to Malacca (162). On the 12 prisoners see also Sá I 512. Távora in 1547 wrote that 37 Spaniards had remained against their will on Ternate since Freitas took them into the fortress (Q 3484).

⁵¹⁵ The main sources for this section, apart from Xavier's own letters (EX I 323-324 333-334 339-340 343 347-348 375-376) and Távora's two letters (Q 2517 3484), are in particular the depositions of Francisco Palha (MX II 198-200), Christovão de Castro (*ibid.* 301-302), Duarte do Soveral da Fonseca (*ibid.* 389-390), and also of *Fausto Rodrigues in the Cebú process (Q 6191 6197).

⁵¹⁶ Fausto Rodrigues states that Xavier came with his confrere (Eiró) and others to a harbor of the island of Amboina called Coba, but at the beginning of Lent he left it and went to three or four Portuguese in order to live with them and to convert them.

⁵¹⁷ On April 10, 1546.

⁵¹⁸ Escalante 197.

⁵¹⁹ "Ho capitão [Villalobos] morreu em Amboyne, asy como morrereão houtros muitos portugueses e castellanos de doença de Loamda que ahi deu em mim, com que tive hasaaz de trabalho," Távora wrote on November 25, 1546 (Q 2517). The passage indicates that he himself was sick with beriberi. See also Palha (MX II 199).

⁵²⁰ This probably has reference only to Spaniards proper and not to their native servants and slaves.

⁵²¹ He died of *calenturas* (Escalante 197; Santisteban 162), *fiebras malignas* (Aganduru 79, 111). Rebello writes: "Morreo muita gente e assy o Geral, e dizião que de paixão de imaginar entregar-se, assim, a Fernão de Souza, por lhe dizerem que não levava poder para fazer paz, senão guerra" (222); and in the second draft: "Morreo alguma gente, antre os quais foi Rui Lopes de Vilha Lobos; e dizião que da imaginação de se ver perdido, e escandalizado dos seus; e assi, por se entregar tão facilmente a Fernão de Souza, avendo que não tinha pera fazer com elle paz, e temia por essa cauza, não lhe guardarem a que fizera" (443).

⁵²² Escalante, who is very precise in his dates, writes: "Murió el viernes de Ramos de 1546 años" (197), that is, on Friday before Palm Sunday; Aganduru: "Murió viernes de Pasión" (79, 111), an expression which indicates the Friday after Passion Sunday, still used today in Latin America for this day, which fell on April 16 in 1546. Pastells erroneously gives his death as on Good Friday, that is, April 23 (Torres y Lanzas I, p. CXCI; Colin I 150), whereas Retana in the index to his edition of Ant. de Morga,

and was buried there. His confessor, Frey Jerónimo,⁵²⁴ later wrote to Don Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy of New Spain:

Our Lord took Ruy López de Villalobos away from this wicked world on the island of Amboina. I ask the Lord to bring him to a better life if he is not already there. He died of a fever and was very pale and wasted away from grief and sorrow. He died in bitter poverty⁵²⁵ after receiving all the sacraments. Some will write to Your Lordship and say: "If he had followed my advice, no mistake would have been made." I always heard that in important matters he heeded the advice of others, not only of those whom Your Lordship gave to him, but also of many others; and after the opinions of the majority had been heard, the action taken was that which at the time and in the place seemed to be best. And to this day I cannot recall that it could be said of any of his decisions: "If this or that advice had been taken, we would be safe or be there without shame where we wished to be." Reflect, Your Lordship, on the fact that you promised Ruy López, according to what he told me, that you would be the father of his children. According to some, Ruy López rendered Your Lordship no services, and as a consequence his children deserve no favors. I am certain, however, that in the judgment of God and of those who ponder over his works without passion, that he did all that he could in the service of Your Lordship, and that he experienced more grief over the fact that he had failed to achieve what you desired than from all the other losses, sorrows, and persecutions which he endured.⁵²⁶

The gums and feet, then the arms and the abdomen, of those afflicted with beriberi swelled up with dark blue spots; and the sickness caused a paralysis that finally reached the heart and caused the suffocation of its victim. Those afflicted with it were often carried off in a few days.⁵²⁷ Master Francis immediately sought out the sick. He nursed and consoled them and begged food, wine, and medicines for them, since everything was lacking, and the people in the camp were extremely poor.⁵²⁸ He was busy with the sick both day and night and allowed himself no rest. He forgot himself on their behalf and hardly left himself time to eat and drink. Those about him were astonished that he did not collapse under his labors.⁵²⁹ Nevertheless he could not by himself take care of them all. Even if he had been in seven places at once, he would have had an abundance to do in all seven of them.⁵³⁰ In his labors he was assisted by two officers, Manuel de Mesquita and Lionel de Lima, who generously shared their possessions with the poor Portuguese and Spanish soldiers,⁵³¹ and by his friend

Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (Madrid, 1909) 547, gives a wrong date of April 4 as the day of his death.

⁵²³ "Fue enterrado en el pueblo de Zozanibe" (Escalante 197). Couto erroneously has his death immediately after the siege of Djailolo on the island of Ternate before the departure of the fleet for Amboina (6, 1, 5).

⁵²⁴ Couto 5, 10, 5, p. 415. Pastells writes that Villalobos died in Xavier's arms (Torres y Lanzas I, p. CXCI), and that Xavier had prophesied his death to him (Colin I 150; Gaspar de S. Agustín 37 says the same). The sources know nothing of this. But it is to be assumed that in addition to Frey Jerónimo, the confessor of the captain general, Xavier also attended the dying man and was present for his death.

⁵²⁵ "Dejó más deudas que hacienda," he wrote earlier (157).

⁵²⁶ Santisteban 162-164.

⁵²⁷ Scurvy comes from a lack of vitamin C, beriberi from a lack of vitamin B₁. The illness is described by Santisteban (153), Vieira (Sá II 315), Rebello (360), Couto (8, 25). See also Dalgado I 118-119; Yule 87-88, and Gerhard Venzmer, *Lebensstoffe unserer Nahrung* (Stuttgart, 1935) (particularly "Die Entlarvung der Beriberi" 21-32).

⁵²⁸ EX I 123-124 340 376.

⁵²⁹ Palha (MX II 199); Castro (*ibid.* 302).

⁵³⁰ EX I 376.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.* 347-348; Távora (Q 3484).

Francisco Palha, the former factor of Ternate, who had come to Amboina with them.⁵³²

Palha was in his forties.⁵³³ His crippled left arm and numerous scars were souvenirs of his battles with the Moors.⁵³⁴ He had been born a year before Master Francis and at the age of eighteen had entered service at court as a squire.⁵³⁵ In 1530 he had set sail for India as an *escudeiro* with a monthly income of 450 *reis* and the title to a post as secretary in Cochin,⁵³⁶ but he had preferred the sword to the pen.⁵³⁷ In the years 1534 to 1538 he had fought so bravely under M. A. de Sousa, the chief admiral of the sea,⁵³⁸ that his name was cited in all the battles of the *lascars*,⁵³⁹ and Sousa had obtained for him from the king the position of a factor, *alcaide-mor*, *provedor* of the deceased, and *vedor das obras* in Maluco for a period of three years.⁵⁴⁰ At the request of the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha, Palha had sailed to Ternate,⁵⁴¹ where he took over his position in 1542 and administered it to the complete satisfaction of the *casados* there⁵⁴² and of the captain Dom Jorge de Castro. The latter wrote to the king at the beginning of 1544 that Palha was a man to whom even the most important labors could be entrusted, and that he gave a good account of the excellent training that he had received at court.⁵⁴³ But in the second year of his term of office Jurdão de Freitas had come as the new captain and conditions had changed.⁵⁴⁴ At the end of January, 1545, Freitas had arrested the sultan Hairun and his faithful minister, the seventy-year-old Samarau; and Palha, as *alcaide-mor*, had, much against his will, been forced to place them both in irons.⁵⁴⁵ In the middle of

⁵³² On Palha, see his letters (Sá I 571-578, II 102-128 and 45-47); also the letters of D. Jorge de Castro and of the *casados* of Ternate (*ibid.* I 395 484) and Hairun (*ibid.* II 42-45), and also Palha's deposition (MX II 198-200). He returned with Távora to Goa and was there acquitted, and confirmed in his office of factor of Ternate, and Freitas was condemned to pay damages. He did not however dare return since the captains there did not allow the royal officials to do their duty, as he wrote to the king in 1548 (Sá I 573). In 1549-1553 we encounter him as secretary of the factory in Goa, and on December 26, 1553, he sent the king, who wanted his former squire to write to him regularly, a long letter on the clove trade, on the sale of cinnamon sticks, ginger, and pepper with suggestions for increasing the royal revenues; a report on his own experiences and on the condition of the Moluccas under Freitas and later; and a recommendation for deserving persons, where he makes a strong plea for Hairun (*ibid.* II 102-128). Married in Goa, he testified at the Xavier process there in 1556 as a *cavalleiro* of the royal house. A letter which Hairun sent him in 1557 (Sá II 42-45, wrongly dated by the editor in 1551), shows his close friendship with Palha. In 1548 he had asked John III for the position of a *tanadar-mor* of Bassein for life (*ibid.* I 577). King Sebastian gave him instead that of *tanadar-mor* of the Goan mainland (TdT: *Chanc. D. Sebastião, Doações* I 50). For his signature, see Q, pl. XVI 5.

⁵³³ In November, 1548, he declared that he was forty-three years old (Sá I 577), in December, 1553, forty-seven (*ibid.* II 112).

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.* I 577-578.

⁵³⁵ In November, 1548, he declared that he had served the king for twenty-five years (*ibid.* 577).

⁵³⁶ **Memoria das pessoas* 37; *Emmentia* 318 (brother of Jorge Palha).

⁵³⁷ Sá II 110-111.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.* 114 119.

⁵³⁹ "Sempre fui adarga dos vossos lascarins, e sempre se nomeu meu nome omde pelejavão" (*ibid.* I 578).

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.* II 119; Q 775.

⁵⁴¹ Sá II 119.

⁵⁴² See his letter of February 20, 1546 (*ibid.* I 484-485).

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.* 395.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.* II 119.

⁵⁴⁵ Rebello 214 432-433.

February the two prisoners, to the great sorrow of the *casados* and natives of Ternate, had sailed for India. When he was leaving, Samarau spoke to his countrymen and told them not to rebel, to remain faithful to their duty, and to keep a watch over their land since the Spaniards were now on the Moluccas, and he and his lord were no longer able to help them.⁵⁴⁶ In this same year Freitas had also deposed Palha and had chained him in a narrow dungeon under the tower of the fortress together with natives and negro slaves. As a loyal official, Palha had defended the interests of his king against the encroachments of the captain. Freitas had made the sharpest accusations against him and had rejected Palha's request for a judicial investigation. The captain had sent his written accusations to Portugal with Távora's fleet; the *casados* of Ternate on the other hand had given Palha a document for the king in which they praised his deserts as factor and asserted his innocence.⁵⁴⁷ The old Samarau had been found innocent in Malacca by Garcia de Sá and had been sent back to Ternate with Távora;⁵⁴⁸ but while the latter's fleet was wintering in Amboina, news had come that the old minister of Hairun had been slain, and it was rumored that this had occurred at Freitas' instigation.⁵⁴⁹

Because of his deposal and imprisonment, Palha had lost his possessions⁵⁵⁰ and could only manifest his good will towards Xavier by placing himself at his disposal. When the fleet arrived, João de Araújo, the merchant who had come with the priest from Malacca to Amboina, had moved to Nusaniwi and had taken his wares with him. Xavier came to him repeatedly and asked him for food, medicines, and wine for his poor patients, goods which the merchant had brought with him for his own use. Since Araújo feared that his supplies would thus be soon exhausted, he gave them with ever greater reluctance. When Francis needed some wine for a sick man, he therefore asked Palha to go to Araújo for him and to ask for it in his own name. Palha returned with the wine he had begged and informed the priest that the merchant had told him that he should not bother him again with such requests. At this Master Francis exclaimed: "What? Does Joam d'Araújo think that he will himself use up his wine? He should know that I shall have to divide up his possessions here, for he must die."⁵⁵¹ In Palha's presence he told Araújo that he should be glad to give what he was asked for the sick since he would die in Amboina. Inflamed with the love of God and of his neighbor, Xavier was grieved by Araújo's attitude, and he frequently chided him at night for his greed and his inordinate attachment to his wares. Soveral da Fonseca and others secretly observed the priest at such times and saw him in tears because the merchant retained his greed and refused to grant his requests.⁵⁵²

But still more than with the physical welfare of the sick, Master Francis was concerned with that of their souls. He took pains to persuade all of them to receive the sacraments and especially to make a good general confession and thus to prepare themselves for a happy death. This was often a difficult task if his

⁵⁴⁶ Sá II 122-123; Rebello 433.

⁵⁴⁷ Sá I 484-485 572-573, II 102 119.

⁵⁴⁸ See above, p. 40.

⁵⁴⁹ Rebello 441-442 224-225; Sá I 571-572.

⁵⁵⁰ "Tais, senhor, estamos, que hum voso feitor, Francisco Palha, que em sua feitoria entrou rico e vay pobre," the *casados* wrote to the king on February 20, 1546 (Sá I 484).

⁵⁵¹ According to Palha (MX II 199).

⁵⁵² *Ibid.* 390. Although the witness does not mention the name of the merchant here, the context shows that Araújo is meant.

patient had had a long and sinful life and was tempted to despair of the mercy of God.⁵⁵³ Whenever one died, the priest prepared his corpse for burial, conducted his funeral, and celebrated a Mass for him.⁵⁵⁴

But his care for the sick did not cause the priest to forget those who were well. He preached to them on Sundays and feast days,⁵⁵⁵ conversed with Spaniards and Portuguese, officers and soldiers, and with their native companions, male and female slaves. He inquired about their experiences and their needs and helped them in their necessities. His cheerful manner soon won their hearts so that he was repeatedly able to bring peace to those who were at odds,⁵⁵⁶ for, despite all his spirituality, Master Francis was perfectly natural. Palha had brought with him from Ternate a remarkable animal that he wanted to send to the king in Portugal. It was a venerable she-goat with an udder that yielded a bucketful of milk every day. It was the sight of the camp, and when Francis was told about it, he thought at first that his friends were trying to play a joke on him. He maintained that this was impossible until one day he sat down behind the goat and milked it with his own hands,⁵⁵⁷ a feat that contributed not a little to his popularity with the soldiers.

After he had won the confidence and affection of the men, it was not difficult for the priest to persuade them to fulfill their Easter duty and receive the sacraments. Soon the crowd for confession was so great that he could not fulfill at once all the requests. He was himself astounded to see the many reconciliations effected among these rough soldiers on Amboina, who usually acted as if it were their profession to refuse to live at peace either with God or with their neighbor.⁵⁵⁸

When Francis wished to convert a hardened sinner, he sought his company, invited himself to dinner, and laid claim to his hospitality. He conversed with him in his cheerful, easy way until he had won him.⁵⁵⁹ This was also the case with the Portuguese from whom he had sought and found a residence at the time of his arrival in Nusaniwi. He had heard that they had not gone to confession for five or six years and had lived sinfully all this time. On Good Friday he had brought them so far that they told him that they were ready to go to confession, but only to him. The priest was of course ready to accommodate them at once. After he had absolved them, to the astonishment of everyone, he distributed Holy Communion to them on Easter Sunday.⁵⁶⁰ One of the priest's penitents was, for example, Christovão de Castro. In his first confession to Master Francis, the latter persuaded him to relinquish a concubine whom he had brought with him; and he achieved the same with many others in the camp.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵³ EX I 324 340; Palha (MX II 199).

⁵⁵⁴ According to Palha (MX II 199) and Castro (*ibid.* 302).

⁵⁵⁵ EX I 324 340 376.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.* and MX II 302.

⁵⁵⁷ EX I 333-334. The marvelous animal is also mentioned by Galvão (374), Rebello (329-330 390) and *Nicolau Nunes, S.J., who on January 4, 1576 wrote from Goa: "He certo que Fernão de Sousa de Távora, quando veio de Maluco, trouxe hum bode, que tinha teto que dava leite natural cada dia, cuidou que huma cana. E ha padre qu'ê ainda oje na Companhia qua na India [Juan Diaz, olim Delgado], que vio o dito bode, que foi causa maravilhoza, he eu falei com muitos portugezes, que me disserão, que era verdade" (ARSI: Goa 47, 118).

⁵⁵⁸ EX I 323-324 340 376.

⁵⁵⁹ According to Castro (MX II 302).

⁵⁶⁰ According to Fausto Rodrigues.

⁵⁶¹ MX II 302. Christovão de Castro may have been one of the three or four Portuguese mentioned by Rodrigues.

Easter fell in 1546 on April 25. During the three weeks that still remained before the departure of the ships, the priest continued his apostolic labors.⁵⁶² He asked for hospitality from the secular priest Juan Delgado, who gladly shared his cottage with him and greatly assisted him in his work.⁵⁶³ The example of the saintly priest made an indelible impression upon him, but still more upon his companion Cosme de Torres, who at his first encounter with Master Francis felt that his secret longing, which had driven him from Spain to Mexico and from there to the unexplored islands of the West, had now found its fulfillment, and that from then on he would find peace of heart only in his company.⁵⁶⁴

Neither could Lionel de Lima ever forget the spiritual exhortation of the holy priest at the time of his confession.⁵⁶⁵ And Soveral da Fonseca later testified:

I came with Fernam de Sousa de Távora from Maluco to the island of Amboyno, where we found Mestre Francisco. And since the Portuguese, like the Castilians, were stricken with the vices of those regions and caught in them, the said Mestre Francisco improved them all through his holy life, his example, his authority, and his preaching so that it seemed to be another camp, very different from what it had been with its vices changed to virtues. At least the people no longer dared to give any scandal because of their love and respect for the said Mestre Francisco. Though I saw many virtuous people or heard about others in Portugal as well as in Castile and in these regions, the said Mestre Francisco was much different from all of them. And nothing could be noted in him that had even the appearance of a venial sin, and I never heard any of the soldiers murmur even in the least about him. On the contrary, all were most pleased with his conversation in both spiritual and temporal matters. And in keeping with his great humility, I never saw or sensed any indication that he wanted to give the impression of righteousness.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶² EX I 340.

⁵⁶³ Fausto Rodrigues says that Xavier had lived with three or four Portuguese during the whole of Lent, and that as soon as they had been converted on Good Friday and had received Communion (on Easter Sunday), he had left them and returned to his companion (Eiró). We believe that he remained in the camp till the departure of the fleet and only then returned to Hatiwi. *Teixeira writes of Delgado that he had come as a secular priest from New Spain to the Moluccas as a companion of Father Torres and that he had there been of great help to Father Master Francis (ARSI: Goa 12, 374). Valignano notes that he had been an "antigo conhecido em Maluco do P. M. Francisco e seu hospedeiro" (364). Christovão de Castro also testified that as soon as the priest had converted a sinner, he left him and went to another (MX II 302).

⁵⁶⁴ Torres wrote to this effect in 1551 (Schurhammer, *Disputation* 42).

⁵⁶⁵ In November, 1550, Luis Gonçalves da Camara wrote to Ignatius from Coimbra: "Father Francisco Viera came here on October 9, and with him came a *cavalleiro* from Lisbon by the name of Lionel de Lima. This latter had been in India for ten years and had there confessed to Father Master Francis, and in Lisbon he went to Father Viera to make his confession. And when the priest by chance spoke a word to him, he [Lima] remembered that Father Master Francis had said the same thing to him, and this struck him so much that he did nothing but cry for several days and he decided to enter the Society. And some things which God permitted to try him could not deter him from his intent. Namely, on the same day the king gave him a favorable answer to one of his requests and gave him great hopes that the others also would soon be granted. He is a man of good judgment and has great knowledge of navigation in India, and he is on this account highly esteemed by the king, but even much more by the emperor, from whom he received news a short time ago that he [the emperor] wished that he would serve him. He is now a cook with great humility and devotion" (MI *Epp.* XII 404-405).

⁵⁶⁶ MX II 389-390.

8. NEW HORIZONS (MAY, 1546)

Frey Jerónimo and the Spanish officers, pilots, and sailors could tell Master Francis much about the islands that they had discovered and visited in the north. There was the fruitful island of Celebes, known for its armorers. According to Juan Gaetan, who had been there, it had a circumference of more than three hundred leagues.⁵⁶⁷ There was the island chain of the Sangir archipelago with its active volcanoes reaching to the skies,⁵⁶⁸ and the large island of Mindanao, which he had circumnavigated with Torre.⁵⁶⁹ It was inhabited by pagans and Moham-medans. The capital of the powerful Moorish king of the Rio Grande, who lived there, attracted trading vessels from many lands and was annually visited by junks from China.⁵⁷⁰ There was also another archipelago on the other side of Mindanao, inhabited by another, light brown race,⁵⁷¹ consisting of eight large, and a countless number of small, islands,⁵⁷² all inhabited by pagans, where the Augustinians and their countrymen had been hospitably received in Abuyo and Tendaya. These islands were rich in food, gold and slaves, which they sold to the Chinese.⁵⁷³ There was also the island of Amuco, a ten-day journey north of Tendaya, and north of it the very large island of Buntala. Escalante had heard from an old native in Abuyo that these were inhabited by white, bearded men who had large ships and some artillery and conducted trade with the neighboring islands and China. It was rich in gold but especially in silver and connected with Abuyo by a chain of islands.⁵⁷⁴ There was also the fire-spewing volcanic island which lay five hundred leagues north of Tendaya on the twenty-fifth degree

⁵⁶⁷ Ramusio 404v-405; Escalante 147.

⁵⁶⁸ Escalante 126-127 137 143; Aganduru 78, 491-497; 79, 57 78-80. Valentyn gives an extensive description of the island (I 2, 41-62, map, p. 37). Kawio (Cabiao) Island was also stormed by the Spaniards in their search for food.

⁵⁶⁹ Escalante 119-120; Ramusio 404-v; Aganduru 79, 49-51; Carrión in CU 2, 208.

⁵⁷⁰ The sources for Mindanao are: Escalante 120 123-125 137-138; Gaetan (Ramusio 404-406); Aganduru 78, 481-489 460 509; 79, 49-51; Grijalva 169-170; Navarrete III 230.

⁵⁷¹ The archipelago of the Bisayas between Mindanao and Luzon, a Malay-Chinese mixed race.

⁵⁷² Carrión in CU 2, 207-209.

⁵⁷³ Santisteban 159-160; Escalante 127 144-146; Gaetan (Ramusio 404-v); Aganduru 78, 515-531; 79, 27-32.

⁵⁷⁴ Escalante 141, where the addition on Buntala is missing. Pastells gives the fuller text from the manuscript in the India Archives in Seville (Torres y Lanzas I, p. CLXXIII; cf. 157, n. 1441). Is Himuka, the old name for Hyūga in Kyūshū (southern Japan) meant by Amuco, or one of the Liu-kiu Islands, for example, Gimako? Pires Cotão wrote from Ternate in February, 1544, that a Portuguese deserter of the Villalobos fleet had told him "que amtre eles se não dezia somente descobrirem a China e os Lequeos [Ryukyū] e que yso se porviquava [publicava] na armada" (Sá I 406; cf. 454). Loaysa had already sought for the gold- and silver-rich Cipangu of Marco Polo (Navarrete III 24); and in 1552 Xavier wrote of the many Spanish fleets which sailed from New Spain in order to find the Ilhas Platareas (the Silver Islands), that is, Japan (EX II 356-357). Escalante also adds what Pero Diez, a Galician "devoted to the service of Your Majesty" of the fortress of Ternate, confided to Villalobos about China and Japan in writing and by word of mouth: In May, 1544, he had sailed on a Chinese junk from Patane to Chincho (Changchow), Lionpu (Ningpo), and Nenquin (Nanking), and from there to the island of Japan, where white, bearded men lived, whose land and inhabitants he described. While he was lying at anchor in the harbor of Japan with five Chinese junks, on which there were also some Portuguese, more than a hundred Chinese junks attacked them, but they were driven off by the artillery and arquebuses of the Portuguese. They also encountered other Portuguese who came from the gold- and silver-rich Lequios Islands (201-204; cf. Schurhammer, "Descobrimiento" 89-91 122-123). Since Xavier was in the service of the Portuguese, Escalante

of latitude,⁵⁷⁵ and another uninhabited island lying on the thirtieth, which Torre had sighted⁵⁷⁶ when he sought to find the northern return route to New Spain in 1543.⁵⁷⁷ There was also the large island of New Guinea inhabited by savage, naked, curly-headed Papuans, along whose northern coast Frey Jerónimo and Ortiz de Retes had sailed towards the east for 230 leagues without coming to its end when they were seeking the return route to New Spain in the south.⁵⁷⁸

But what was of greatest interest to Master Francis were the reports he heard about the Moro Islands.

To the east of the five Spice Islands proper—Ternate, Tidore, Motir, Makian, and Batjan—stretched from north to south the large island of Batachina, or Djailolo, as the Spaniards called it. This was more than two hundred leagues in circumference.⁵⁷⁹ The mountains that ran through it were covered with primitive forests, and the people who inhabited it were pagan Alfuros under the dominion of the three Mohammedan kings of Ternate, Tidore, and Djailolo. The Spaniards of Loaysa's fleet had sailed around the island in 1527 from one end to the other and had been well received in Samafo on its eastern coast. In the northeast of Batachina was the territory of Moro, a bone of contention between Ternate and Djailolo, consisting of the Moro coast, known as Morotia, and the two Moro islands of Morotai and Rau.⁵⁸⁰

In 1529 the rajah of Djailolo, with the help of Spanish arquebusiers from Loaysa's fleet, had snatched the territory of Moro from the Ternatans. But four years later, in the time of Captain Tristão de Ataíde, these latter with the help of the Portuguese had recaptured the land;⁵⁸¹ and in December 1533, two of the leading chiefs of the Moro coast, one of whom was the lord of Mamojo, received baptism in Ternate. A great movement towards Christianity had then set in,⁵⁸² and two clerics with a number of Portuguese went to Moro in order to baptize the people.⁵⁸³ But two years later the great conspiracy of the Moluccan kings against the Portuguese had erupted, and the rajah of Djailolo had sent a fleet of *korakoras* to Moro. These had conquered the land by force of arms and had compelled the Christians to apostatize. The churches had been destroyed. One of the two clerics had been slain. The other, sorely wounded, had succeeded in

probably told him nothing of this. This would explain why he has nothing to say about Japan in his letters from Amboina.

⁵⁷⁵ Sulphur Island, one of the "Volcanic Islands."

⁵⁷⁶ Ponafidin, St. Peter, called Tori shima, 435 miles south of Tokyo.

⁵⁷⁷ On this voyage, see Gaetan, who made it (Ramusio 404-405); Escalante 143-148; Santisteban 154-155 (to the twenty-ninth or thirtieth degree); Grijalva 171-172 (to the fortieth degree); Aganduru 78, 498-499 512-518 526-532; 79, 13-28 43-56.

⁵⁷⁸ The main source for this voyage is the diary of Ortiz de Retes, which Escalante gives in an abstract (153-161). In addition to this there are the shorter data of the two participants, Santisteban (161-162) and Carrión (CU 2, 205-207), also Gaetan, who relies upon the oral communications of the participants (Ramusio 405); and Aganduru (79, 83-93); Rebello (216 434); Couto (5, 10, 5) and Grijalva (184-185). On this see A. Wichman, *Die Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu Guinea* 1 (Leiden, 1909) 23-27. Of the 230 leagues in Escalante (155) the authors make over 250 (Santisteban 161), 380 (Carrión 206), 650 in Gaetan (Ramusio 405), who confuses the length of the voyage from Ternate with that along the coast of New Guinea.

⁵⁷⁹ Carrión in the *Boletín de la Soc. Geogr. Madrid* 4 (1878) 24.

⁵⁸⁰ Rebello 330-331 339 397-398; Sá II 95-96.

⁵⁸¹ "A qual lhe tomou depois o Geilolo favorecido dos castelhanos" (Rebello 398-399 ms.); Castanheda 8, 4; letters of Tristão d'Ataíde of February 20, 1534 (Q 163 164; Sá I 291-299).

⁵⁸² The same letters of Ataíde; Sá I 316-322; Castanheda 8, 91.

⁵⁸³ Castanheda 8, 91; letter of Lionel de Lima senior of November 8, 1536 (Sá I 221).

fleeing to Ternate with his companions, but he had died there.⁵⁸⁴ The energetic, mission-minded successor of Ataíde, Antonio Galvão, shortly after his arrival in December, 1536, had overthrown the allied Moluccan kings on Tidore⁵⁸⁵ and in 1537 had sent a fleet under João Freyre to Moro, where he regained most of the villages that had apostatized for Ternate and Christendom.⁵⁸⁶ In 1538 and 1539 the cleric Fernão Vinagre had returned with ships and soldiers. He had then expelled the fleet of the Moors, slain their leaders, won back many apostates, and baptized many of the pagans.⁵⁸⁷ Under Galvão's successor, Dom Jorge de Castro, the remaining pagan villages on the Moro Coast and Moro Islands were converted.⁵⁸⁸ But there were a number of renegade villages, including Sugala, which the Djailolo Moors had caused to apostatize, which were still in rebellion and helped the Moors in their war against their Christian neighbors.⁵⁸⁹

When Villalobos cast anchor before Sugala in January, 1544, there were no longer any priests living on Moro. The land was sixty leagues away from the fortress of Ternate.⁵⁹⁰ The area was not safe because of the constant warfare. The new converts were still weak in their faith, which they hardly knew, and were persecuted by the Moors. Vascillating and treacherous, they could change from friends to foes over night. They mixed poison in food and drink to get rid of their opponents, and since the murder of the cleric no priest had dared to settle among them in order to instruct them and to baptize their children.⁵⁹¹ The only one who still had a high regard for the faith, as Palha could report, was Dom João, the chief of Mamojo, who had lost many brothers, cousins, and people of his village in his war with the Moors. He had endured numerous hardships and had sacrificed everything to keep the Christians in their faith. Without him all would have already become Mohammedans, especially since the Portuguese, instead of helping them, had frequently offended them by their oppressions and bad example.⁵⁹²

Three months before Villalobos' arrival, in November, 1543, Dom Jorge de Castro, the captain of Ternate, had sent Gemes Lobo with two *fustas* and sixty Portuguese and Ternatan auxiliaries to Moro under the pretext of helping certain Christian villages which were being persecuted and attacked by their pagan and Moorish renegade neighbors. Actually, however, he had been sent so that the Spaniards would find the territory occupied if they came. Lobo had come to anchor before Tolo, the main town in Moro territory. He had left a portion of his men in Mamojo and had marched overland with his native auxiliaries against the hostile village of Galela, which lay on a peninsula in the lake of the same name. He had however been beaten back with heavy losses. When he received

⁵⁸⁴ Letter of Tristão d'Ataíde of November 11, 1537 (Sá I 342-350); L. de Lima of November 8, 1536 (ibid. 220-222); Castanheda 8, 115-116; EX I 325; Rebello 338-339 399.

⁵⁸⁵ **Tratado* 26-29; Castanheda 8, 158-159.

⁵⁸⁶ **Tratado* 32; Castanheda 8, 182.

⁵⁸⁷ **Tratado* 36; Castanheda 8, 200. Galvão says of himself that he had converted many Moros and Morotais (Galvão 256), and the **Tratado* states with exaggeration, where it speaks of the conversion of six kings and queens on Mindanao, and of other pagans on Celebes, Amboina, Morotia, and Morotai, that Galvão was the first one to render this service to God in those regions (35).

⁵⁸⁸ Rebello 399.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.* on the apostasy of Sugala, see Castanheda 8, 115; cf. Rebello 426.

⁵⁹⁰ According to Xavier (EX I 324). From Ternate to Cape Bissoa, the beginning of the Moro Coast, it was some thirty leagues, to Tolo, the main city itself, forty.

⁵⁹¹ EX I 324-325.

⁵⁹² Sá I 574-575.

reinforcements from Ternate, the people of the village had fled, and Lobo had burned it down with its two neighboring villages.⁵⁹³

When Villalobos arrived, Lobo, in accordance with his instructions, had raised a protest against the violation of Portuguese sovereignty and had informed Dom Jorge de Castro of it. The latter also sent a protest and ordered the Spanish general to leave the Moluccas or to come to Ternate.⁵⁹⁴ The Spaniards, as opponents of the Portuguese and friends of the king of Djailolo, were well received by the residents of Sugala, which was subordinate to Djailolo; and they were ready to sell food to the newcomers.⁵⁹⁵ But the village was small⁵⁹⁶ and had hardly enough provisions to maintain their Spanish guests for even fifteen days. Villalobos had therefore sent a *korakora* to the Tidorese village of Samafo in the south, but without success. Under pressure from the Portuguese, the king of Tidore had let it be known that they should sell nothing to the Spaniards if they came. In the meantime a *prau* had brought information to Sugala that Villalobos' second ship, the galiot *San Cristóbal*, had arrived in Djailolo with forty-five men. After a series of negotiations Villalobos had also moved there at the end of February,⁵⁹⁷ 1544; and in March he had moved over to Tidore.

Jurdão de Freitas, the new captain of Ternate, had concluded a truce with the Spaniards on January 8, 1545; and in the fortress the Augustinian priests had received more detailed information about the Christians on Moro and the murder of the cleric. The inhabitants of Sugala, so they were told, had invited the priest one day to go with them to fish in a bark. When they reached the open sea, they had drowned him; and, not content with this, they had apostatized from the faith. In the other villages in the neighborhood a mestizo was all that remained. He had been the servant of the slain priest, and he was instructing the new converts as best he could. That was all. When Frey Jerónimo returned from New Guinea in 1545 and all hope of help from New Spain had vanished, the Augustinians had asked Freitas' permission to go to the abandoned Christians in Moro to instruct them in the faith and to baptize their children; and one of the priests had already compiled a dictionary in Tidorese.⁵⁹⁸ But Freitas refused to give them permission for this to prevent the new converts from losing their dependence upon the Portuguese through their attachment to the Spaniards.⁵⁹⁹ On the other hand, after Lobo's recall, the captain had sent one of his relatives to Tolo to obtain food for the fortress; but the latter had so angered the Christians that of the four thousand people in the fown, one thousand went over to the Moors.⁶⁰⁰ In addition to this there were further difficulties for the propagation of the faith. Many languages were spoken on the large island of Batachina, where the Christians lived, and frequently each village had its own.⁶⁰¹ Then there was the savagery

⁵⁹³ D. Jorge de Castro's letter of February 10, 1544 (Sá I 387-389 393); Pires Cotão's letter of February 20, 1544 (*ibid.* 405); Rebello 200-204 426-430 (the manuscript completes the gaps).

⁵⁹⁴ Q 1170-1171 1175 1177 1181.

⁵⁹⁵ For Villalobo's stay in Sugala, see especially the **Interrogatoria*, also the letters of D. Jorge de Castro (Sá I 391-393) and of Pires Cotão (*ibid.* 404-407).

⁵⁹⁶ *Escalante calls it a *poblezuelo* (Q 1301, f. 71).

⁵⁹⁷ On February 20, Villalobos was still in Sugala (Sá I 393). On the twentieth Pires Cotão wrote that the king of Djailolo had sent *korakor*s to fetch him (*ibid.* 406-407).

⁵⁹⁸ As Nilyo wrote from Malacca on August 10, 1545 (Sá I 456).

⁵⁹⁹ Grijalva 185.

⁶⁰⁰ As Baltasar Veloso wrote in 1547 (Sá I 520).

⁶⁰¹ Rebello 332 397; EX I 333.

of the people. They were dreaded headhunters, who devoured their foes slain in battle. Nothing needed to be said about the unnatural sins against the sixth commandment which they committed. There were even regions, Xavier was told, where the natives, when they held a banquet, offered their old parents to each other in order to slay and eat them. But despite all this, the people on the island longed for missionaries.⁶⁰² According to some, those who had been baptized were more than ten thousand,⁶⁰³ according to others forty thousand,⁶⁰⁴ and they had been without priests and instructions for many years.

Frey Jerónimo and his companions had embarked in New Spain with Villalobos with the hope of being able to preach the Gospel to the inhabitants of the islands in the distant, unknown West. With this in mind, they had gained information wherever they could about the customs and practices of the natives in order to facilitate the evangelization of those lands.⁶⁰⁵ An attempt to preach to the Moors on Tidore had proved to be hopeless. When the Mohammedan *casises* heard of the intention of the friars, they had immediately forbidden anyone to go to the foreign priests under a severe penalty; and a brother of the rajah who had been accustomed to visit them frequently and had treated them with great affection had been prevented by the *casises* from having any further association with them.⁶⁰⁶

The priests had thought for some time of going to Borneo or some other realm to convert the pagans, but Villalobos had refused them permission for this and had earnestly entreated them to continue to accompany him on his voyage. The only fruit of their stay on the Moluccas was the baptism of an Indian by the name of Jorge. He had always been considered a Christian by the Portuguese but, despite his Christian name, he had never received baptism. When he entered into the service of the Augustinians in Ternate, he had asked them to baptize him and had promised that he would follow them to the end of the world; and he had then gone with them to Amboina.⁶⁰⁷ The only baptism on the other islands was that of a five-year-old, dying child, whom the pagans on Sarangani slew along with its mother for having given information to the Spaniards.⁶⁰⁸

What Xavier learned about the abandoned Christians on Moro left him no rest by day or night. A house of the Society of Jesus would have to be founded in Ternate, the farthest Portuguese outpost in the vast island-world of the East so that the light of faith might be carried from there to the pagans. He must go himself to Moro in order to visit the abandoned converts, to baptize their children, and to strengthen them in their faith. This would of course expose him to the obvious danger of death, and it was not easy for him to make such a decision. The clear words of Christ, "Whoever would save his life will lose

⁶⁰² EX I 331.

⁶⁰³ D. Jorge de Castro (Q 1103).

⁶⁰⁴ Baltasar Veloso (Sá I 520).

⁶⁰⁵ According to Frey Jerónimo in his letter to John III (Sá I 510-511, where *mora-dores* is to be read instead of *mercadores*).

⁶⁰⁶ Grijalva 185.

⁶⁰⁷ Gaspar de S. Agustín 35-36.

⁶⁰⁸ Grijalva says that this was the only fruit of the missionary activity of his confreres in those seven years (168-169); Gaspar de S. Agustín (25) and Castro-Meriono (118) make of this "the first fruit" of their apostolate on those islands. Santiago Vela (VII 404-406 409-410) argues against Retana, who follows Grijalva (Combés, p. XCVII) without convincing the reader. What Aganduru says about the missionary activity of the four Augustinian priests in Tendaya and Sugala (79, 7 58) is romantic embellishment.

it, but whoever loses his life for my sake will find it," became at once obscure to him. He wrestled with God in prayer and finally obtained the light he was seeking. The souls for whom Christ had died upon the Cross were calling him; and, placing all his trust in God, he decided to risk his life for them.

When his friends and acquaintances heard of his intention, they did everything to deter him from sailing to such a perilous land. They let him see the great danger to which he was exposing himself. The people of those islands were notorious poisoners.⁶⁰⁹ When they wished to get rid of someone whom they did not like, they put poison in his food; or they took a gulp of palm wine in the presence of their guest and gave the cup to him. But at the same time, as they were handing it over to him, they surreptitiously dipped their thumb into the drink, under the nail of which they had concealed a deadly poison. Or they rubbed their hands with poison and, as a token of friendship customary in the land, they rubbed the hands of their visitor. But they then immediately took an antidote at home to prevent its working on themselves. They had poisons that killed immediately, and others that produced their effects only after one, two, or more years; and they chose the one that best suited their purpose.⁶¹⁰ When Xavier's friends saw that all their protests were in vain, they offered him a good many remedies⁶¹¹ and tearfully implored him to take them with him. The priest however thanked them for their affection and good will, but he would take nothing. He did not wish to weigh himself down with useless fears which he did not feel himself. He had moreover placed all his hopes in God and did not wish to lose them. He asked his friends, however, to have a constant remembrance of him in their prayers, for there is no better antidote than this.⁶¹²

9. LETTERS FROM AMBOINA (MAY 10—16, 1546)

Meanwhile the time was approaching for Fernão de Sousa de Távora to sail with his men and Villalobos' fleet for Malacca. Xavier used the opportunity to compose his letters for India and Europe.

The main letter, dated from Amboina on May 10, was directed to his confreres in Europe.⁶¹³ In it he recalled the one that he had sent to them from Cochin in January, 1545, and gave a brief review of his work during the last year and a half. The Christians of India were being cared for in the fortresses by the *vigarios*; on Cape Comorin by Mansilhas, Lizano, and three native priests; and in Ceylon by five Franciscans⁶¹⁴ and two secular priests.⁶¹⁵ He had therefore decided to

⁶⁰⁹ EX I 325.

⁶¹⁰ Rebello 332 400; Hueting 355-357.

⁶¹¹ Antidotes are found, for example, in Escalante (143). Lemons (*limões galegos*) were used on Amboina as antidotes (Sá IV 193). For plants used as antidotes on the Philippines, see *El Arcipiélago Filipino* 1 (Washington, 1900) 622. Orta names a series of antidotes: "pedra bezar [bezoar stone], triaga [theriak], páo da cobra, páo de Malaca de contra erva, esmeraldas, terra segillata" (I 241), "corno de rinocerote" (II 75), and, with some reservation, Maldive coconuts (I 240-241). *Francisco Pasio in Goa in 1578 mentioned "alicornio, coco, pedra bezar" as antidotes (ARSI: Goa I2, 471). More are named in **Colecção de varias receitas* of 1766, a *summa* of the pharmaceutical knowledge of the Jesuits in the East (*ibid.*, *Opera Nostrorum* 17, 524 564-565 567).

⁶¹² EX I 308 326.

⁶¹³ EX I 310-335. The original is lost.

⁶¹⁴ In 1543 Frey João de Villa de Conde sailed from Lisbon with six Franciscans. Of these five are named on Ceylon in 1543-1551: the guardian Frey João de Villa de Conde, Antonio Padram, Francesco da Montepandone, Simão de Coimbra, and Gonçalves (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 125).

⁶¹⁵ One of these was the *vigario* of Colombo, João Vaz Monteiro from Setúbal.

sail to Macassar where two kings had received baptism. He had won a companion in São Thomé. In Malacca he had learned that a cleric had already gone to Macassar. Since no news had come from him, he had decided to sail instead to Maluco,⁶¹⁶ the last Portuguese fortress in the Far East. Sixty leagues from this fortress were two islands.⁶¹⁷ One of these was thirty leagues in circumference and densely populated. It was called Amboina. Its king had given it to an excellent man who was a good Christian⁶¹⁸ and intended to go there with his wife and family after a year and a half. He continued:

On this island I found seven Christian villages. The children whom I found were to be baptized, I baptized, and many of them died after being baptized. It seems that God our Lord kept them alive until they were on the way of salvation. After I had visited all of these villages, there came to this island eight ships of the Portuguese. During the three months that they were here, I was greatly occupied in preaching, hearing confessions, visiting the sick, and helping them to die well, which is very difficult to do with individuals who have lived in little conformity with the law of God. These, when they are dying, despair all the more about the mercy of God the more boldly they have lived in a state of sin without trying to rid themselves of them. With the help of God I brought about numerous reconciliations among the soldiers, who never live in peace on this island of Ambueno.

The letter made no mention of the expedition of Ruy López de Villalobos. It would not have been prudent to mention the strife of the two nations over the Moluccas in a letter for Europe. Xavier therefore only added that after the departure of the ships in May he wished to sail with his companion João d'Eiró to Maluco, sixty leagues away. He then passed on to the second island.

On the opposite side of Maluco is a land which is called Omoro,⁶¹⁹ sixty leagues from Maluco. On this island of Omoro many years ago a great number became Christians, but because of the death of the clerics who baptized them, they have remained abandoned and without instruction; and since the land of Omoro is very dangerous in that the people there are extremely treacherous and mix much poison in what they give to eat or drink, people who might take care of the Christians have refused to go to that land of Omoro. Because of the need which these Christians of the island of Moro have for spiritual instruction and for someone to baptize them for the salvation of their souls, and also because of the duty I have to lose my temporal life to assist the spiritual life of my neighbor, I have resolved to go to Moro to assist the Christians in spiritual matters, exposing myself to every danger of death, since all my hope and confidence are in God our Lord, being desirous to conform myself according to my slight and feeble forces to the saying of Christ our Redeemer and Lord, who says: "Qui enim voluerit animam suam salvam facere, perdet eam; qui autem perdidit animam suam propter me, inveniet eam."⁶²⁰ And, although it is easy to understand the Latin and the general meaning of this saying of the Lord, when a man comes in a particular instance to dispose himself to decide⁶²¹ to lose his life for God in order to find it in Him, exposing himself to dangerous circumstances in which he may quite likely lose his life for that which he seeks to decide, the sense becomes so obscure that the Latin, clear as it is, becomes obscured; and in such a case it seems

⁶¹⁶ Ternate.

⁶¹⁷ Amboina is ninety leagues from Ternate, as Manuel Gomes noted correctly in 1563 (Sá III 52).

⁶¹⁸ Jurdão de Freitas.

⁶¹⁹ Palha, Xavier's authority, also wrote *Omoro* (Sá I 574).

⁶²⁰ "Whoever will save his soul will lose it; but whoever loses his soul for my name's sake will find it" (Matt. 16:25).

⁶²¹ Xavier uses here an expression of the Exercises: "Para disponerse a determinar" (MI Ex. 224 346 388).

to me that only one to whom God in His infinite mercy wills in particular instances to declare it is going to understand it, no matter how learned he may be. In such cases the condition of our flesh is known, how weak and feeble it is. Many of my friends and others devoted to me sought to prevent me from going to such a dangerous land, and since they saw that they could not dissuade me from going, they gave me many things against poisons. I, though I thanked them much for their love and good will, in order not to burden myself with a fear that I did not have, and more still because I had placed all my hope in God, so as not to lose any of it, refused to accept the antidotes which they tried to give me with so much love and tears, asking them that they should keep a continuous memory of me in their prayers, which are the surest remedies against the poisons that could be given.

Xavier then came to speak about his voyage from India to Malacca,⁶²² about the letters which he had himself received from the three confreres who had come from Portugal to Goa, and how one of these had remained as a teacher of grammar in St. Paul's College while the other two had gone as he had ordered to Cape Comorin to help Mansilhas.⁶²³ But he was now writing to them that they should come to Maluco, where there were greater prospects for the preaching of the Gospel. He continued:

These parts of Maluco all are islands without firm land being discovered up to the present. These islands are so many that they have no number and almost all of them are peopled. For want of one to induce them to be Christians they fail to be such. If there was a house of our Company in Maluco there would be a large number of people who would become Christian. I am determined that a house should be erected in this extremity of the world in Maluco, for the great service which will be done for God our Lord.

The pagans in these parts of Maluco are more numerous than the Moors. The pagans and the Moors are hostile to each other. The Moors want the pagans to become Moors or to be their slaves; and the pagans do not wish either to be Moors or, even less, their slaves. If they had someone to preach to them the truth, all would become Christians, since the pagans would rather be Christians than Moors. They have been Moors in this area for seventy years,⁶²⁴ but previous to this they were all pagans. Two or three *cacizes*⁶²⁵ who came from Meca, which is a house where the Moors say the body of Mahomet is, converted a large number of pagans to the sect of Mahomet. The best thing that these Moors have is that they know nothing of their perverse sect. For lack of one to preach to them the truth, these Moors fail to become Christians.

I am giving you such a detailed account as this so that you may have a special sorrow and regard for so great a loss of souls as are lost for the lack of spiritual help. Those who do not have the learning and talent to belong to the Company⁶²⁶ have an abundance of knowledge and talent for these parts if they have the will to come to live

⁶²² EX I 326-327; see above, p. 8.

⁶²³ *Ibid.* 300-303 308-309.

⁶²⁴ This about agrees with Valentyn's statement that it is certain that Jamilu brought Islam to Amboina in 1480 (III 1, 19), and with that of the author of the **Tratado*, who wrote around 1543 that Tidore Vongue, as first king of Ternate, accepted Islam about 1470 (7-v); see above, pp. 14-15.

⁶²⁵ The **Tratado* further states that according to the tradition of the Ternatans ships with Malays, Javanese, Persians, and Arabs had come eighty or ninety years before and had converted them to Islam (7-v). According to Rebello, a native *casís* who had been in Mecca informed the king of Ternate about the Portuguese in 1513 (406). In 1540 a very famous Arab *casts* of the family of Mohammed became a Christian in Ternate (Castanheda 9, 9).

⁶²⁶ The brief *Exponi nobis* of June 5, 1546, allowed spiritual or temporal coadjutors to enter the Society of Jesus along with the professed (MI *Const.* I 170). Before this the nonprofessed were only permanent helpers outside the order proper.

and die with these people; and if every year a dozen of these would come, in a short time this evil sect of Mahoma would be destroyed, and all would become Christians; and thus God our Lord would not be so offended as he is offended because there is no one to reprove their vices and sins of unbelief.

For the love of Christ our Lord and of His most holy Mother and of all the saints who are in the glory of paradise, I ask you, my dearest Brothers and Fathers, that you be particularly mindful of me so that you recommend me continuously to God, since I live in such great need of His favor and assistance. I, because of the great need which I have of your constant spiritual help, have learned through many experiences how God our Lord through your intercession is helping and assisting me in many spiritual and temporal labors. And so that I may never forget you, I would have you know, my dearest Brothers, that as a continuous and special reminder, for my own great consolation, I have cut your names from the letters which you have written to me with your own hands, and I carry them constantly ⁶²⁷ with me together with the vow of profession which I have taken because of the consolation that I receive from them. To God our Lord I give thanks first of all, and then to you most cherished Brothers and Fathers, ⁶²⁸ since God has made you such that I receive so much consolation from you by carrying your names. And since we shall soon see each other in the next life with greater peace than in this, I say no more.

From Ambueno, the tenth of May in the year 1546.

Your least Brother and son, ⁶²⁹

Franciscus.

As a supplement to this letter, Master Francis added a detailed account of the land and its people on a separate sheet of paper. It began as follows:

The people of these islands are very barbaric and full of treachery. They are more brown than black, an extremely unpleasant people. There are islands in these parts in which they eat each other; this happens when they are making war against each other and kill each other in battle, and not in another manner. ⁶³⁰ When they die of an illness, they give as a great banquet their hands and heels to eat. ⁶³¹ These people are so barbaric that there are islands where one neighbor asks another (when he wishes to have a great feast) for the loan of his father if he is very old so that he may be eaten, promising him that he will give him his own father when he is old and he wishes to have a banquet. ⁶³² Within a month I hope to go to an island ⁶³³

⁶²⁷ After Xavier's death there was only found in the copper reliquary which he had worn about his neck the signature of Ignatius, the small relic of St. Thomas, and his formula of profession (EX II 577-578).

⁶²⁸ *Hermanos y Padres suavísimos.*

⁶²⁹ *Vester minimus Frater et filius.*

⁶³⁰ On the cannibalism of those regions, see Rebello 395; Riedel 52 267 279 371 349 445.

⁶³¹ See above, p. 130.

⁶³² This was one of the horror stories which the Moors, sailors and merchants, were accustomed to repeat, and whose scene of action varied according to time and teller. Around 1324 Fra Odorico da Pordenone laid the scene on the island of Dondin, by which one of the Andaman Islands is probably meant (Schurhammer, "Descobrimiento" 44-46); in 1510 Varthema placed it in Java (293-294); in 1555 Affonso de Castro placed it in Saparua (ARSI: *Ep. Nostr.* 78, 176; Polanco VI 817. That Saparua is meant is indicated by Frois' letter in DI III 560); in 1561 Rebello, with the qualification "it is generally said," placed it on "islands near the Ceirão [Seran] Islands" (327); in 1569 he indicated islands near the Amboina archipelago, "it is said on other islands" (395); in 1586 Balbi placed it in the land of the Bataks on Sumatra (Yule 74). In 1572 and 1583 Ribadeneyra ascribed this practice to the inhabitants of the Moro Islands in his life of Ignatius (4, 7). This brought a sharp protest from the missionaries of Molucca, who denied this barbaric custom for Moro and all the other islands, as Teixeira noted in 1584 (MX II 802), *Pero Nunes in 1587 (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 359), and *A. Marta in 1592 (*ibid.* *Goa* 47, 444 446v).

on which they eat one another when they kill one another in battle; and on this island they also lend each other their fathers when they are old in order to have banquets.⁶³⁴ Those on this island wish to become Christians, and this is the reason why I am going there.⁶³⁵ There are abominable sins of the flesh among them which you would not believe and which I do not dare to write.

These islands have a temperate climate and large, dense forests. It frequently rains. These islands of Maluco are so high and so difficult to traverse that in time of war they climb up them to defend themselves, so that they are their fortresses. There are no horses, nor could one go on horseback through them. The earth frequently trembles,⁶³⁶ and also the sea, so that those who are sailing on ships when the sea trembles have the impression that they are touching on some rocks. It is a frightful thing to feel the earth tremble, and especially the sea.⁶³⁷ Many of these islands throw fire out of themselves with such a loud noise that there is no firing of artillery, however great it may be, that makes so much noise; and from those parts from which that fire leaps out, it draws very large rocks with it because of the great violence with which it comes. Because of the lack of one to preach the torments of hell in these islands, God lets the lower regions open up for the confusion of these infidels and of their abominable sins.⁶³⁸

Each of these islands has a language of its own, and there is an island on which almost every village on it has a different one.⁶³⁹ The Malayan language, which is spoken in Malacca, is very common in these parts. With much labor (at the time when I was in Malacca), I translated into this Malayan language the *Credo* with an Explanation of the articles, the general confession, *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, *Salve Regina*, and the commandments of the law so that they might understand me when I spoke to them of matters of importance. A great deficiency in all these islands is that they do not

⁶³³ Moro.

⁶³⁴ Probably meant are the Tabarus, the dreaded enemies of the Christians, of whom Xavier wrote after his return from the Moluccas that they placed all their happiness in killing as many as possible, and that it was said that they often killed their children and wives if they had nobody else to kill (EX I 380); cf. Lucena 4, 7.

⁶³⁵ Perhaps these Tabarus are specifically meant. In the hinterland of Gamkonora, where they lived, many pagans had been baptized in 1535, but they had fallen away from the faith (Castanheda 8, 113). In 1553 the Tabarus wished to become Christians (Sá II 98-99).

⁶³⁶ Rebello (324) and Valentyn (II 1, 137) mention the frequent earthquakes in Amboina. Valentyn describes those of 1671-1674 in detail. One in 1674 alone cost the lives of 2,243 (II 2, 230-237). Wallace gives a brief description of one in 1705 (I 419), Bickmore of one on July 23, 1865 (122-123). Verbeek gives a list of all the known earth- and seaquakes in and around Amboina from 1629 to 1903 with a description of those that were more severe (278-323). His list shows that the island has one or more earthquakes almost every year. We do not know if Xavier encountered one.

⁶³⁷ The Portuguese experienced their first seaquake near Dābhol in 1524 (Correa II 816-817; Barros 3, 9, 1). Escalante probably told Xavier of the one that he experienced in 1544 between Mindanao and Managua (Aganduru 79, 50). The earth- and seaquakes in 1555, when D. Jorge de Eça wintered on Amboina, are described in Rebello. Within six hours the tide changed from high to low from sixteen to twenty-six times with a violence that had never before been experienced in the inner bay. Fish were thrown onto the land and the boats and *korakoras* hurled into the sea or broken up (325-395-396).

⁶³⁸ Gogarten gives a map of the volcanoes and a list and description of the earthquakes and volcanic eruptions on Halmahera and Ternate from 1534 to 1911 (96-298). There are no active volcanoes on the southern Moluccas.

⁶³⁹ By this Halmahera is probably meant. Hueting gives a map of its languages (BKI 60 [1908] 369). Rebello writes: "Except for Ternate and Tidore, whose languages are as different as Castilian and Portuguese, each of the islands has its own language. Makian has three, and most of the towns of Batachina [Halmahera] have their own language. These are so different from each other that they cannot understand each other except with the help of Ternatese or Tidorese" (362). For the Amboina archipelago, see Valentyn III 1, 36 and Riedel 32. For Seran, see Tauern 25 29.

have letters and cannot write except for a very few; and the language which they write is Malay, and the letters are Arabic, which the Moorish *cacizes* taught them to write and still teach them.⁶⁴⁰ Before they became Moors they could not write.

Xavier then came to speak again of Palha's goat and closed with an account of the mysterious people in Inner China who ate no pork and celebrated many feasts, as he had been told by a merchant in Malacca. He had asked many of the Portuguese merchants who sailed to China to find out if they were Christians, descendants perhaps of those who, according to tradition, had been baptized there by the Apostle Thomas, or Jews. If he could learn anything definite about this, he would write to them about it the following year.

Master Francis gave a second letter⁶⁴¹ to Frey Jerónimo, the prior of the Augustinians, for his confreres in India.⁶⁴² The address, which was written in his own hand, read as follows: "To my dearest Brothers Micer Paulo and Joham de Veira and the other brothers in Guoa." The first part of the letter was to Beira and Criminali. He reminded them of how he had sent them orders from Malacca by two different ways to go to Cape Comorin to help Mansilhas. But the need for laborers was greater on the Moluccas. He continued:

I left Mallaqua for Maluquo at the beginning of January and arrived at this island of Amboyne on the fourteenth day of the month of February; and after my arrival I immediately visited those places of Christians which are on this island, baptizing many infants which were to be baptized. And after I had baptized them, there came to this island the armada of Fernão de Sousa with the Castilians who came from Nova Espanha to Maluquo. There were eight ships, and the spiritual labors with this armada, such as continuous confessions, and preaching to them on Sundays, and the settling of enmities, and visiting the sick and hearing their confessions and assisting them to die well, were so great that I lacked time to satisfy them all, so that I was busy both during Lent and outside of it. I have seen the disposition of this land; I hope in God that when the *senhor* of this island comes to live in it, that is, Jordão de Freytas, who is at present captain of Maluquo, a very good man and zealous for the increase of our holy faith, that all this island will become Christian; and he will come to dwell in it one year from this coming November of 546, which will be in the year 547.⁶⁴³ This island of Amboyne is from twenty-five to thirty leagues in circumference and is very populated and has seven Christian places. There is another land which is a hundred and thirty leagues from Amboyne which is called the Costa do Moro, where there are many Christians without any instruction according to what they tell me. I am leaving for it as soon as I can.

I am giving you this account so that you may know the need there is for your persons in these parts. Although I know very well that you are needed there, but since you are more needed in these parts, I earnestly ask you, for the love of Christ our Lord, that you Padre Francisco de Mamsylhas, and you, João de Beyraa, come to these parts. And that you may have more merit in this your coming, I order you in virtue of holy obedience to come.⁶⁴⁴ And if one of you has died, the other priest

⁶⁴⁰ See the samples of writing in Q, pls. XXVIII-XXIX.

⁶⁴¹ EX I 336-344. The letter was dictated and probably written by one of the ship's secretaries and signed by Xavier.

⁶⁴² We conclude this from the contents. It is a recommendation of the four Augustinians.

⁶⁴³ As soon as his term of office as captain of Ternate expired.

⁶⁴⁴ On the order "in virtue of obedience" see the *Determinations* of 1544-1549 (MI Const. I 216) and *Constitutiones* P. 6, c. 5 (*ibid.* II 558-559; III 195). Estouville's reform statutes for the University of Paris of the year 1452 repeatedly give orders "in holy obedience" (see Vol. I, pp. 80-96). Xavier also often gave orders "in virtue of holy

should come with Father Amtonio Creminal, so that one of the three should remain with the Christians of Cabo de Comorym and with the native priests of the land. And if in this year some of our Company come, I ask them earnestly for the love of God our Lord that they all go to Cabo de Comorym to teach and assist those Christians. And write to me in Malluqu[o] at length the news about those who are coming from Portugal this year, and send me the letters with the priests who are to come to Malluquo. And so that those who are coming this year from the kingdom may have greater merit, they should in virtue of holy obedience go to Cabo de Comorym.

It seems to me that this letter of mine cannot be given to you earlier than after the end of February, 1547;⁶⁴⁵ and in the same year, at the beginning of the month of April, a ship of the King is sailing from Guoa to Maluquo; and you should come with this embarkment. And as soon as you have seen this letter of mine, you should leave Cabo de Comorym for Guoa; and make yourselves ready to come to Maluquo as I have told you; and these people of Maluquo hope that in the same ship there will come the king of Maluquo who was arrested and carried away;⁶⁴⁶ the Portuguese of Maluquo also hope for another new captain to take over the fortress of Malluquo. If the king becomes a Christian there, I hope in God our Lord that in these parts of Malluquo many will become Christians; but even if he does not become a Christian, believe that with your coming God our Lord will be greatly served in these parts.

Those two of you who are to come to these parts should each of you bring all the things necessary for saying Mass; and the chalices should be of copper, for this metal is safer than silver for those who go among a nation that is not holy. Since I trust you others as I trust persons of the Company, who will do what I ask you so earnestly to do for the love of God our Lord, and for a greater reward, I order it to you in holy obedience; I say no more except that I am waiting for you with great pleasure; and may it please God that this may be to His great service and to the consolation of our souls.

The second part of the letter was for Misser Paulo, the superior in Goa, who could not rid himself of his scruples with respect to the direction of St. Paul's College by the *mordomos* of the Confraternity of the Holy Faith.

Myser Paullo, Brother, that which I have asked you many times for the love of God our Lord both in person and through letters,⁶⁴⁷ I am again asking you as much as I can, that you strive in everything to do the will of those who have charge of the government of that holy college; for if I found myself in your place, I would labor at nothing so much as in obeying those who rule this holy house. And believe me, Brother of mine, Myser Paullo, that a very safe way to be continuously successful is to always desire to be commanded without contradicting that which is commanded; and, on the contrary, it is very dangerous for a man to turn his own will against that which is commanded; and even if you should be successful doing the contrary to that which they command you, believe me, my Brother Miser Paullo, that the error is greater than the success.

Obey Padre Mestre Diogo in everything and do his will, for it will always be conformed to the will of God our Lord. Believe that in nothing else will you do so great a favor for me than in doing that which I am so earnestly asking you.

obedience," for if his commands were not immediately observed, the great distances and poor postal connections would have precluded an effective rule; and a single disobedient subject could have caused a mission post to remain unoccupied for a whole year.

⁶⁴⁵ Ships usually sailed from Amboina on May 15, arrived at Malacca towards the end of June, sailed from there on November 15, and reached Cochin at the beginning of January of the following year (Rebello 499).

⁶⁴⁶ Hairun.

⁶⁴⁷ EX I 309.

Xavier then recommended to his confreres the bearers of his letter, Frey Jerónimo and his three companions, who had been such good company for him in Amboina.

The Castilian friars of the order of St. Augustin who are going to Guoa will give you news of me. I ask you earnestly to give them all the help you can and that you show them much love and affection since they are such religious and saintly persons that they deserve every kind of hospitality.

He then added:

Send this letter immediately to our Brothers on Cabo de Comorym so that they may come to Guoa in order to go to Maluquo in the month of April on the ship of the King.

And at the end he returned again to his confreres on Cape Comorin:

I earnestly ask you for the service of God our Lord, my Brothers, that you strive to attract some persons of good life into your company who can help us to teach Christian doctrine in the places of these islands; at least each one of you strive earnestly to attract one companion; and if there is no Mass priest, then let him be a layman who feels and is convinced that he has been injured by the world, the devil, and the flesh because he was kept in disgrace before God and His saints and wishes to take revenge on them.⁶⁴⁸

May our Lord through His infinite mercy unite us in His holy kingdom, where we shall have more delight and peace than we have in this life.

From Amboino, the tenth of May of the year 1546.

He then added his signature to the letter which he had dictated:

Your least brother,⁶⁴⁹

[Franciscus.]

One week later, on May 16, the priest also dictated a letter to his friend and benefactor the king of Portugal,⁶⁵⁰ in which he earnestly requested two things for the Indian mission—preachers and the Holy Inquisition. In his letter he also recommended his two friends in Amboina, Manuel de Mesquita and Lionel de Lima:

Senhor! By another way I have written to Your Highness⁶⁵¹ of the great need that Yndia has for preachers,⁶⁵² since, for lack of them, our holy faith is being greatly lost among our Portuguese. I am saying this on the basis of much experience which I have had in the fortresses to which I have gone. The constant intercourse which we have with the pagans and our very little piety are such that there is more concern

⁶⁴⁸ Cf. the meditation in the Exercises on the Kingdom of Christ (MI Ex. 318-320) and also the second addition of the first week (*ibid.* 300).

⁶⁴⁹ *Vester minimus frater.*

⁶⁵⁰ EX I 344-348. The letter was dictated. It was probably written by one of the ship's secretaries, but not the one who wrote to the confreres in Goa. It was signed by Xavier.

⁶⁵¹ On November 10, 1545. The letter is lost (cf. EX I 302).

⁶⁵² Xavier was also later eager to obtain preachers (EX I 408 418-422). Others made the same request, for example, the cathedral chapter of Goa in 1547, Cosme Anes in 1548, Frey Vicente de Lagos, O.F.M., and the vicar general Pero Fernandes Sardinha in 1549 (Q 3440 4105a 4123 4327), and Frey Vicente de Laguna, O.P., already in 1530 (Q 128).

for temporal gains than for the mysteries of Christ our Redeemer and Savior. The wives of the *casados*, who have been born in this land, and their sons and daughters of mixed blood content themselves with saying that they are Portuguese by birth and not by law; and the reason for this is the lack of preachers here to teach the law of Christ.

The second need that Ymdia has for those who live here to be good Christians is that Your Highness send the Holy Inquisition,⁶⁵³ since there are many here who live according to the Mosaic law and the Moorish sect without any fear of God or shame of the world.⁶⁵⁴ And since there are many of these, and they are spread throughout all the fortresses, there is need of the Holy Inquisition and of many preachers. May Your Highness provide your faithful and devoted vassals in India with such necessary things!

Three loyal captains and devoted vassals of Your Highness came with Fernão de Sousa, *capitão-mor* of an armada which came from Yndia to Maluco to assist the fortress because of the Castilians who came from Nova Espanha. One of these, whose name was Yoam Gualvão,⁶⁵⁵ was slain by a cannon shot of the Moors of Yeilolo; the two others, Manuel de Mesquita and Lionel de Lima by name, served Your Highness much in helping to free the fortress of Your Highness in Maluco from the hardship in which it was by using their own resources and those of their friends to feed the poor *lascarins*; and they entertained the Castilians who had come from New Spain and provided them with food and clothing more like neighbors than enemies. These captains of Your Highness are more like *cavaleiros* than *chatis*;⁶⁵⁶ and not being merchants, they do not know how to make use of the cloves which God gives in this land to recover their expenses⁶⁵⁷ and wait for the reward for their services in the first place from God and then from Your Highness, since they have rendered such faithful service on this difficult voyage to Maluco with such great dangers to their lives and souls. May Your Highness be mindful of Manuel de Mesquita, who is sailing in a ship⁶⁵⁸ with many Castilians and Portuguese whom he is feeding at his own expense; and he is also taking his *fusta* with which he came, and he is feeding its crew. Lionel de Lima has also incurred many expenses. May Your Highness be mindful of them and grant each of them a reward which they have so well deserved. May God our Lord increase the state and life of Your Highness for many years for the great service of God and the increase of our holy faith.

⁶⁵³ "A segunda necesydade, que a Ymdia tem pera serem bons christãos os [christãos] que nela vivem, hé que mande Vosa Alteza a samta Ynquizisção, porque há muitos [christãos novos] que vivem a ley mozaica e seita mourisca." Xavier did not want the Inquisition in order to convert the Jews, Moors, and pagans by force, as many of its adversaries maintain, but in order to keep the baptized Christians, especially the New Christians, in the faith.

⁶⁵⁴ This has reference to New Christians, whose ancestors became Christians under King Manuel through their own free will or because they were forced to do so (cf. Vol. I, pp. 622-654).

⁶⁵⁵ João Galvão, son of Pedro Galvão and Isabel Lopes Andorinha, sailed to India in 1531 as an *escudeiro* (*Emmentia* 332). There he fought as a brave and distinguished *cavalleiro*. When Távora came to Malacca in 1545, the captain of the fortress, Garcia de Sá, gave him for his voyage to the Moluccas the *Nossa Senhora da Victoria*, a large *fusta*, with forty men under the command of Galvão (Couto 5, 10, 10; Q 1660; Rebello 435). On October 18 the fleet landed in Ternate. On November 23 Galvão sailed with Távora and Freitas against Djailolo, where he was slain by a cannon ball during the siege (Escalante 195-196; Rebello 221 440; Couto 6, 1, 4-5). According to Escalante the siege lasted thirteen days, according to Rebello fourteen or fifteen, according to Couto forty.

⁶⁵⁶ *Chetti*, the equivalent of merchant (Dalgado I 265-267).

⁶⁵⁷ Távora wrote in a similar fashion to the king (Q 3484).

⁶⁵⁸ The *nau* was probably the *San Juan*, the only ship of Villalobos' fleet in Amboina.

From Amboino, the sixteenth of May, in the year 1546.

Xavier then signed the letter with his own hand:

Your Highness' useless servant,

Francisco.⁶⁵⁹

On the following day, May 17, the fleet weighed anchor.⁶⁶⁰ Xavier gave his Spanish friends a letter of recommendation for his friends in Malacca, asking them to welcome the voyagers and to help them in their needs.⁶⁶¹ All felt their departure keenly, for they all regarded Master Francis as a saint⁶⁶² and had learned to love and esteem him during their stay in Amboina. Cosme de Torres also took leave of him. He would have much preferred to have remained with him, but he had finally decided to first go and see the bishop of Goa before making a definite decision; and he did not reveal his secret to Francis at the time of his departure.⁶⁶³

When the last sail of the eight ships had disappeared at the exit of the bay, Xavier returned to Hatiwi.⁶⁶⁴ The formerly noisy beach of Nusaniwi and the inner bay were now lonely and abandoned. The priest was again with Eiró, his companion, Araújo, the merchant, and his Portuguese and native friends. The rainy season had begun.⁶⁶⁵ Day and night a strong wind blew from the southeast. The sky was overhung with heavy, black clouds, which only rarely let the sun shine through. There were constant rains, often in the form of cloudbursts, which were only rarely interrupted by brief respites. The many mountain streams swelled into large, dirty brown rivers and with a roaring rage rushed to the valley, sweeping everything with them. The former deep blue sea, now grey and gloomy, was tossed by storms and lashed by the south wind and covered with whitecaps. A heavy surf thundered and boomed, spewing white foam high against the rock walls on the other side of the bay. Even the short voyage across the bay was now often impossible. The air was charged with sheet lightning. Strokes of fire

⁶⁵⁹ Brodrick, who repeatedly speaks of the alleged inability or carelessness of Xavier in the proper spelling of names, gives a passage from this letter and states with respect to it: "The variations in the spelling of the place-names in this extract are typical of St. Francis" (262). Brodrick overlooks the fact that the letter was dictated and all that was written by him are the words missing from his extract: "Servo inutil de Vossa Alteza, Francisco." The only place names in the dictated text are: Malluco, Maluco, Yeilolo, and Amboino, in Brodrick's extract: Mulluco, Moluco, and Gilolo! (See our review in *AHSI* 29 [1961] 410).

⁶⁶⁰ Escalante 197. Xavier's friends in Goa received the first news of his work in Amboina through these ships, which arrived in Goa in 1547. On October 15, 1547, the cathedral chapter of Goa wrote to the king: "Mestre Francisco is on the island of Amboino near Maluco. We have news that he is converting many people to our holy faith" (SR III 517).

⁶⁶¹ Valignano 97-98.

⁶⁶² According to Fausto Rodrigues.

⁶⁶³ As Torres wrote in 1549 (DI I 475) and 1551 (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 42).

⁶⁶⁴ According to Fausto Rodrigues, Xavier returned to Eiró immediately after the conversion of his host; but he certainly remained in the camp until the departure of the ships since he assures his confreres in India that he had no lack of work among the soldiers both during and outside of Lent (EX I 340).

⁶⁶⁵ Ludeking gives a detailed description of the rainy season on Amboina (19). See also Valentyn II 1, 135-137, and Bickmore 119-122. "It was the rainy season during my stay on Amboina," writes L. J. van Rhijn. "It poured down in an indescribable fashion. It is said that nowhere in the whole of the Dutch East Indies does it rain so hard as on Amboina. It is as if all the mists and clouds brought by the southeast wind discharged themselves here" (*Reis door den Indischen Archipel* [Rotterdam, 1851] 471-472).

zigzagged through the heavy, dark clouds lighting the landscape with a mysterious afterglow that was followed by long rolls of thunder. The bamboo poles of the cottages bent back and forth under the driving pressure of the wind. Everything in them was damp and moist, and the *atap* roofs gave only poor protection from the streaming, tropical rains. A visit to the Christian villages in the mountains was no longer thinkable.

Now, when Master Francis was again living with Eiró in his cottage in Hatiwi, a severe illness that lasted for more than a month confined him to his bed, and there was grave fear for his life. His body, which had been exhausted by his enormous efforts of the past weeks, was now taking its toll. Fausto Rodrigues and his Portuguese companions ascribed the illness to the penances which he had undertaken during Lent in order to convert the sinners in whose cottage in the camp of Nusaniwi he had found shelter.⁶⁶⁶

When at the end of June⁶⁶⁷ a *korakora*⁶⁶⁸ was sailing for Ternate, he had again regained his health. At first he wished to take Eiró with him, but he then left him in Hatiwi.⁶⁶⁹ Araújo, the merchant, who wanted to sail along, also had to remain behind since there was no room for him and his wares on the small vessel.⁶⁷⁰ When the priest took leave of Fausto Rodrigues, who had accompanied him on his voyage to Seran and Nusa Laut, he gave him as a remembrance a small bronze dove that represented the Holy Spirit and said to him: "Take and keep this dove as a token that the two of us must see each other hereafter in heaven."⁶⁷¹

He then set sail. He hoped to return to Amboina with the ships which would be sailing from Ternate the following February and to take Eiró with him to India.⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁶ "A cavo de algunas dias" after his return to Eiró, Xavier, according to Fausto Rodrigues, became ill. He was sick for more than a month and there was fear for his life.

⁶⁶⁷ On May 10 Xavier had written "I hope to sail before a month has passed." But since he was sick for more than a month, he postponed his departure. In 1587 Marta sailed from Amboina for Ternate on June 20 (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 354). In July Xavier arrived in Ternate (Valignano 98). Rebello's data also indicate the end of June: ships usually sailed from Ternate for Amboina on February 15, a voyage of six or seven days (499), as does the data furnished by Marta: the mission superior usually had to wait four months in Amboina for the return voyage to Ternate (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 363).

⁶⁶⁸ In 1557 Affonso Teixeira said that Xavier sailed in a *korakora* (MX II 423). He had met Xavier in Ternate, but he confused Araújo's death with that of João Galvão. He therefore has the latter sail from Amboina to Ternate in a second *korakora* at the same time as the saint and has him die on the way (*ibid.* 423-433).

⁶⁶⁹ According to Eiró in 1556 (*ibid.* 381).

⁶⁷⁰ According to Diogo Pereira in 1557 (*ibid.* 261-262).

⁶⁷¹ According to his necrology, see above, p. 98.

⁶⁷² Cf. EX I 308 340.

CHAPTER III

TERNATE AND MORO (JUNE, 1546—JUNE, 1547)

1. FROM AMBOINA TO TERNATE (END OF JUNE—BEGINNING OF JULY, 1546)¹

Ternate was ninety leagues from Amboina. During the southwest monsoon a *korakora* with twenty rowers could usually cover the distance in one or two weeks; but if the wind died down or an opposing wind set in, the voyage could take twice as long.² The trip was difficult and dangerous. The wind and the weather were constantly changing. Sudden thunderstorms were frequent. Strong currents between the numerous islands threatened to drive the boat on one of the countless coral reefs; and if the boat sailed as close as possible to the protecting coast, it still had here and there to cross the open sea, where a protecting beach was nowhere to be seen in case of storm. The drinking water which was carried in bamboo containers lasted for two or three days. The voyagers then had to land in order to obtain more and to purchase food.

From the southwest cape of Amboina the course was directed towards the northwest to the large, tall island of Buru,³ which was inhabited by pagans. The boat then continued northwards across the open sea for 175 miles until it passed the large island of Obi, more than 3,280 feet high, which, with its smaller satellites, was left on the right until the tall, wooded mountains of Alabua came into view, the first and largest of the sparsely inhabited Batchan group of islands. Alabua, which was some 250 miles from Amboina, was ruled by a *sengadji*, or governor, who represented the Mohammedan rajah of Batjan.⁴ To the west of

¹ For a *korakora*, which had to avoid the open sea as best it could, there was a question of only two routes—the east route through the strait of Patientia, and the west route, the usual one in Xavier's time, through the strait of Sambaki, both identical from Kajoa to Ternate. Accounts of voyages are given by the following: Bickmore (TBG 14 [1864] 149-150); Brumund (*ibid.* 5 [1856] 323-396); Bleeker I 225-231; Wallace II 59-66 352-357; Buddingh 43-104; Bernstein 434-439 (see also his diary in BKI 4, 7 [1883] 24-25); *Berigten* (1879) 17-18. Descriptions are given by the following: Pires 216-221; De Clercq 67-102; Gogarten 40-58; *Eastern Archipelago Pilot* I 432-439 450-452.

² *Affonso de Castro wrote from Amboina in 1555 that the voyage to Ternate took fifteen days during the south monsoon and was dangerous (ARSI: *Goa 10*, 321v); in 1587 A. Marta wrote that Ternate was a voyage of eight or ten days from Amboina (*ibid.* *Goa 13*, 354), and in 1588 that the voyage from Batjan to Ternate in a boat with fifteen to twenty rowers and a favorable monsoon wind took three days. Otherwise it was seven, ten, or twenty (Sá V 107).

³ The Portuguese usually lay over on this voyage in the harbor of Kajeli on Buru. In 1545 Feitas sent a galiot from Ternate to Amboina, but it sank near Buru (Rebello 434; cf. 216).

⁴ Alabua (Labuha) is today called Batjan; the Batjan of Xavier's time is today called Great Tawali or Kasiruta. On the two islands see Coolhaas, "Mededeelingen betreffende de Onderafdeeling Batjan," BKI 82 (1926) 403-484; C. Wessels, S.J., "De Katholieke Missie in het Sultanat Batjan 1557 bis 1609," *Historisch Tijdschrift* 8 (1929) 115-148 222-247; also the account of Marta of 1588 (Sá V 103-107).

Alabua there were a number of larger or smaller islands. Between them and Alabua there was a channel leading northwest to the large island of Batjan proper, on the southeastern coast of which was the mouth of the Kasiruta River. Here was the capital⁵ of Rajah Alā-ud-dīn,⁶ who ruled over the ten or twelve Batjan Islands, all of which were almost exclusively inhabited by pagans. The island on which the rajah lived was the southernmost and largest of the five Spice Islands proper, yet in comparison with its size its yield of cloves was slight.⁷ The prince, nonetheless, had many subjects and numerous ships, and his harbor was much frequented by merchants of other lands, who exchanged textiles, weapons, cloves, tar, parrots, mats, and other wares for provisions.⁸ The Portuguese had burned the rajah's city in 1534 and had destroyed the royal tombs, but they had then made peace with him⁹ and the city had risen from its ruins. It was here that ships sailing to Ternate, or from there to Amboina and Banda, usually anchored.¹⁰

In the north the two islands of Batjan and Alabua drew close together. The narrow, picturesque Sambaki Strait lay between steep, densely wooded coasts that showed no signs of human settlement. The strait itself, which was feared for its rapid current, was twelve and one-half miles in length. After slipping through its tangle of islands, the ship reached the island of Tawali and, crossing the open sea, sailed past a second, larger island to the long, volcanic island of Kajoa, whose steep rock coast rose on the left to a height of 330 feet. From here there could be seen on the horizon to the right the large, tall island of Batachina¹¹ some nineteen miles away, which stretched from north to south for a distance of 250 miles, shutting off as if by a wall the Moluccan Sea on the east. Its slopes, which were covered with primitive forests, fell sharply into the sea, and there was no cottage, or column of smoke, or sign of human life to be seen on its solitary blue coast, which now continuously accompanied the voyagers on their right. Here they were in the true homeland of the clove tree, a luxuriantly

⁵ In 1855 Brumund still saw the brick foundations of the royal palace near the Kasiruta River (355-356). In 1610 the Dutch encountered a half league upstream an old, ruined castle, where the king of Batjan had lived for a number of years (*Begin ende Voortgangh* XV 60). In 1608 the king had already transferred his residence to the village of Amassing, also called Batjan, which was separated from the village of Labuhan the seat of the *sengadji*, by the Inggoi River (Wessels, "Batjan" 227; cf. 121 139).

⁶ In 1515 the ruler was Rajah Yūsuf (Pires 218), who was around seventy in 1521 (Pigafetta 231). He was succeeded by Cachil Laudim, who is mentioned in 1520 by Barros (3, 5, 6), in 1535 by Castanheda (8, 117), and in 1536 by the **Tratado* (28), our Alā-ud-dīn, who in 1534 was thirty to thirty-five (Q 163), or thirty-five to forty years old (Q 164; Sá I 322).

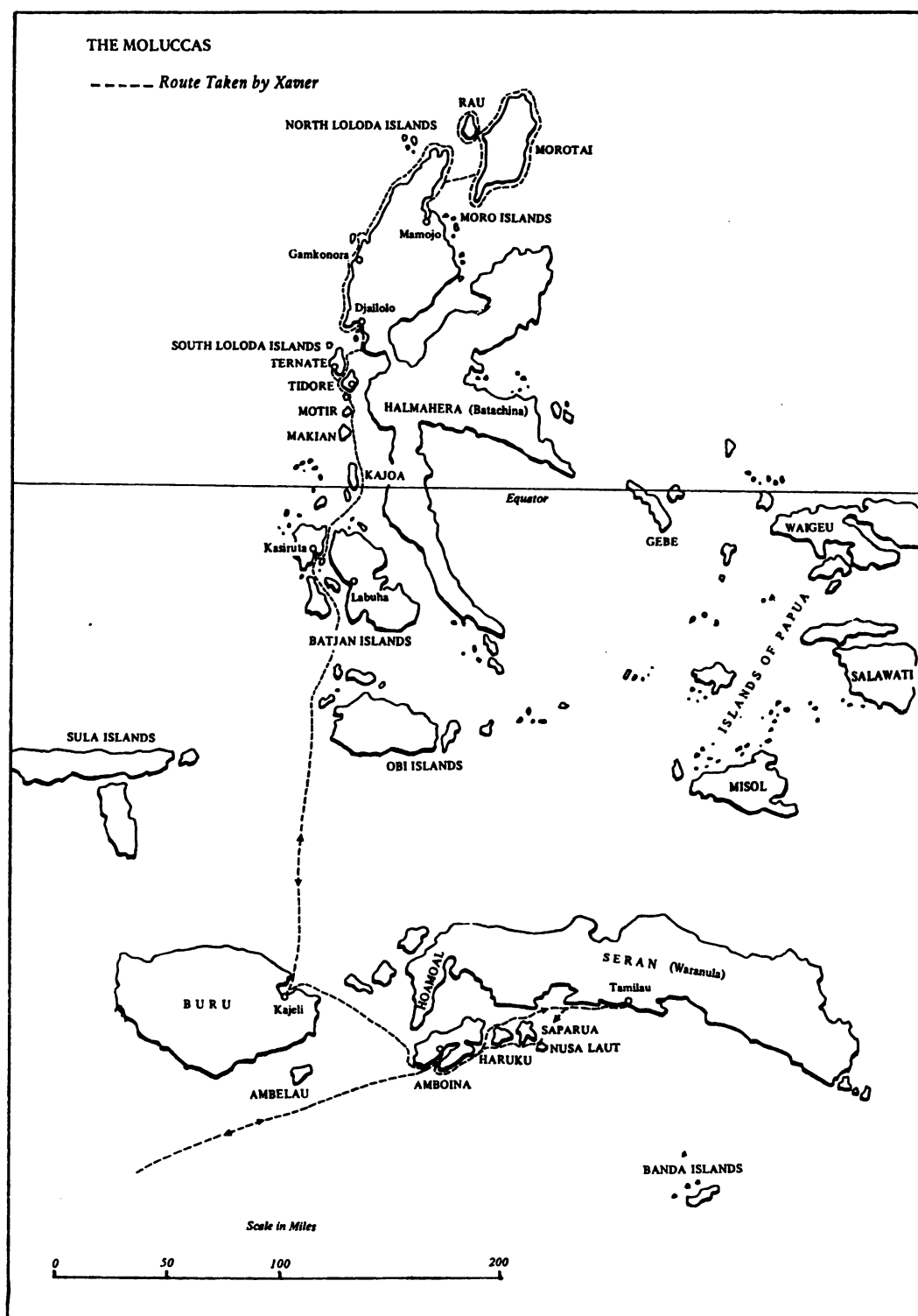
⁷ In 1515 Pires wrote that the wild clove trees on Batjan had only been cultivated for a short time and that in the last ten years their number had greatly increased. This is also indicated by the statistics: In 1515 Ternate and Tidore each produced 1,400 *bahārs* of cloves, Motir 1,200, Makian 1,500, and Batjan 500 (213-218). According to Carrión, who was in Ternate from 1546 to around 1557, in Xavier's time there was an annual harvest of 1,100 to 1,200 *bahārs* on Ternate, 900 to 1,000 on Tidore, 350 to 500 on Motir, 700 to 800 on Makian, and 1,000 to 1,200 on Batjan (24).

⁸ Pires 218-219.

⁹ Castanheda 8, 93.

¹⁰ "Aqui vem aver vista desta terra os que ham de carregar em Maluquo, e daquy vam a outras ylhas" (Pires 447). In 1523 Ruy Gago wrote that the first land where ships laid over on their voyage from Banda to Ternate was Batjan (Sá I 169). When Gomes de Azevedo brought help from Banda to the fortress of Ternate in 1528, he visited the king of Batjan on the way and sailed back to Banda by way of Batjan (Castanheda 7, 74 and 98).

¹¹ Halmahera, known as Batachina in the sixteenth century.



beautiful island world. One volcanic peak after the other rose like sunken giants immediately out of the deep blue waters, the first being the split crater of Makian,¹² which could be reached in six hours of rowing from Kajoa. Some hours further on was the truncated cone of the small, neighboring island of Motir with its steep coast. Then there appeared on the far side of a small island the tall, sharp peak of Tidore, where the rival of the sultan of Ternate lived, and behind it to the left a majestic dome some 5,500 feet high and covered from the beach to its summit with a thick forest, over which there rose a white column of smoke.¹³ This was Ternate, the center of the clove trade and the last fortress of Portugal in the East. It was the beginning of July when Master Francis set foot upon the island.¹⁴

2. HOPES IN TERNATE (JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1546)

The four Mohammedan kings of Ternate, Tidore, Djailolo, and Batjan shared the rule over the Moluccas among themselves. The most powerful of these was the king of Ternate, who on this account added the title of sultan to his name, whereas the others had to content themselves with that of rajah.¹⁵ The island of Ternate was only five leagues in circumference. On it there was a series of villages, most of which were close to the beach, for the volcano which formed the island rose steeply from the sea and was covered with a dense forest. Nevertheless the sultan's sphere of influence extended to the Celebes, Amboina, and the Moro Coast, and his swift war *praus* were universally feared. The capital of Ternate, which bore the same name as the island, but was called by the natives Gam Lamo (Large City), lay in the southwest of the island and was protected from hostile attacks by a coral reef that afforded only a narrow passage. Close to the shore was the Portuguese fortress dedicated to St. John the Baptist, which had been built between 1522 and 1524 by Antonio de Brito, the first captain, and which had been restored in 1538 by his sixth successor, Antonio Galvão, and provided with new additions—a walled square with two corner towers and a two-storied keep in the center, where the residence of the captain was located.¹⁶

Adjoining the fortress was the Portuguese city. When Galvão assumed his office in 1536, he had a census taken, which revealed that there was a total of 123 Portuguese in the city, among whom were only eighteen *casados*, but with their wives, children, and male and female slaves the number came to 1,600 individuals. Thanks to his efforts, the number of married men rose to fifty;¹⁷ and when

¹² "The peak of Tidore is very pointed. It is said that the peak of Makian was also; but it spewed forth fire and erupted, and a large part of its peak fell off and caused the sea to overflow and filled a part of the bay. It can still be seen there. The gap in the peak can also be seen, though it has not issued smoke or fire since then" (Rebello 380).

¹³ It was already at the time a constantly active volcano (Rebello 305-306 386-388; Galvão 172-173; Castanheda 6, 11; 9, 9; DI III 541).

¹⁴ Valignano 98.

¹⁵ Pires 214.

¹⁶ The fortress is described by Brito in 1525 (Sá I 194); the **Tratado* in 1543 (34-35); Rebello 304-305 386; Castanheda 8, 199; Correa II 714-715, III 801. In 1575 it was captured by the Ternatans and in 1606 by the Spaniards. It was given up and destroyed by the latter in 1663 (Colin III 811). It was further destroyed by the Dutch in 1664 (van de Wall 258-260). Excavations were made of it in 1923-1924 (cf. *Boletim Soc. Geogr. Lisboa* 42 [1924] 3-6). Pictures in Valentyn I 2, 4 (reconstruction); for around 1600, Visser 160; for 1720, van de Wall 84.

¹⁷ **Tratado* 34-35; Castanheda 9, 21.

Master Francis landed in Ternate in the beginning of July there were already sixty *casados* with their native wives and sixty unmarried soldiers.¹⁸ Galvão had made great efforts to improve the town. He had had the rocks in the bar blown up by the cleric Fernão Vinagre so that at flood tide empty caravels could pass by the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Barra. He had raised the coral reef in front of the city so that ships could lie peacefully at anchor behind it even during stormy weather. But large ships had to winter on the southeast coast in the harbor of Talangame a good league away. Through a conduit composed of bamboo pipes extending for a distance of three leagues, Galvão had further provided the city with good drinking water. He had also induced the Portuguese to replace their bamboo huts with sturdy stone houses, to dig wells, and to plant fruit trees near them. And he had persuaded King Hairun to turn over to them the property adjoining their village, where they had cleared the forest and planted rice, wheat, vegetables and other crops and raised chickens, pigs, goats, and sheep. He had fortified the Portuguese city itself with an earthen wall strengthened by bulwarks and a surrounding ditch; and when his successor arrived, he had already begun to replace the old parish church with a solid stone building.

Next to the fortress and the Portuguese town on the north, though separated from them by the moat, was the native city. Following Malay custom, the bamboo houses, which were covered with palm leaves, rested on piles. These had been erected along the beach in the midst of green coconut and areca palms, bamboos, and breadfruit trees. Towering over them were the newly built palace of the king and the pyramidal, three-storied roof of the elaborate mosque with its ornamental wooden carvings and its gong that called the faithful to prayer five times a day, and where there was a *casīs*¹⁹ who conducted a school for the study of the Koran.²⁰

The Ternatans, a mixture of Alfuros and immigrant Malays, were Mohammedans.²¹ But they knew little about the teachings of the Prophet, and their few, uneducated preachers, the *casises*, were mostly foreigners.²² Although they avoided pork, they were much given to palm wine. There was a universal belief in *swangis* or sorcerers, and their whole life was still strongly ruled by old pagan superstitions. The men wore the gaily colored Malayan sarong, which was wound two or three times around their body and reached down to the knees, though a corner of it extended down to the ground in front. In addition to this there was the *badju*, a light jacket with sleeves reaching to the elbows, and a white or red cloth wound about the head which held the long, black hair, which fell to their shoulders, in place. On their right hip they constantly carried a creese, the Malayan poisoned dagger, frequently twisted like a snake, in a wooden sheath with a precious, artistically carved handle. The dress of the women was similar, though their clothes reached to the ground, and those who were prominent, each according to her wealth, were richly adorned, even more than the men, with necklaces, earrings, gold or gilded bands on arms and legs, and fragrant jasmine

¹⁸ According to Veloso in 1547 (Sá I 521).

¹⁹ Mohammedan preacher.

²⁰ **Tratado* 10v 12v 34-35v; Castanheda 8, 199; Rebello 380.

²¹ Descriptions of the land and the people are given by Pires 214-216; Barbosa I 199-204; **Tratado* 1-20v; Castanheda 6, 11; Rebello 284-330 351-392; *Nic. Nunes (ARSI: Goa 47, 117-121v); Frois (DI III 540-545); Marta (Sá V 90-95); Valentyn I 2, 1-24; De Clercq 1-39; Kükenthal 31-74. See also the *Schetskaart van de eilanden Ternate en Hiri*. 1:20,000 (Top. Inrichting, Batavia, 1916).

²² EX I 386.

blossoms in their hair. The men were accustomed to pull the hairs of their beard out with tweezers, retaining only a moustache.²³ In addition to the creese, they had as weapons *parangs*, that is, heavy, hacking swords; spears equipped with barbed tips; bows and arrows; and *salawakos*, long narrow, black wooden shields adorned with white shell inlays that were used by the Alfuros; and, with the coming of the Portuguese and Spaniards, they had begun to use firearms as well. The brilliant plumage of birds of paradise adorned the red caps of the warriors when they performed the *tjakalele*, or war dance, as an entertainment at the frequent public meals. The Ternatans were dreaded pirates. Their large war *praus*, whose tall, carved bows ran off into menacing dragons' heads, were adorned with flags, banners, and pennants and equipped with twin outriggers and manned by 50 to 120 seated rowers, while some twenty or thirty warriors stood on the battle-deck erected on the center of the vessel, where the small cannons were located. The swift, light boats would suddenly appear and then vanish with their captured slaves; and when they returned home from war, they dangled the heads of their smitten foes next to their pennants as trophies.²⁴

According to the tradition of the people of Ternate, Islam had not come to the island until 1470.²⁵ They had no chronicles, and the data contained in their songs were confused. The first junk that landed on their island belonged, according to most, to Chinese merchants that came from Borneo. The second foreign ship came from Java by way of Buton and Banggai on Celebes, and in it there were in addition to Malay and Javanese merchants, Persians and Arabs. These latter had brought the teaching of the Prophet of Mecca to the Moluccas. The first king of Ternate, however, to accept the new faith had been Tidore Vongue, who from then on had used the name of Zain-al-Abidin. He had had a Javanese princess as his wife, and it was through her that the culture of Java had found a place on the island—the creese, gongs, Malayan garb, Javanese court ceremonial, Javanese titles, pierced Chinese *sapeken*, known as *kash*, and Arabic script. The king had from then on been called *sultan*; a prince had the title of *cachil*, a princess that of *nachil*, a great mandarin, the chief of a village or region, that of *sengadji*, and so forth.²⁶ When the old sultan died, he had been succeeded in 1500 by his son Bayan Sirrullah, who replaced the *tjidako*, the bast loincloth that had been in previous use, with the cotton sarong and introduced the Muslim marriage code.²⁷

The climate of Ternate was mild and not as hot as that of Amboina. There was a perpetual spring with frequent showers of rain, after which the sun would immediately shine again. July, the month in which Master Francis landed on the island, was in the middle of the dry season of the year, that of the southwest monsoon, which here extended from May to October. The sea was rich in all kinds of fish, which were caught with a throw net. The volcano which formed the island was covered with a thick, primitive forest.

²³ On their dress, see **Tratado* 10v-11; Rebello 362; Valentyn I 2, 17-20; Colin I 106-107.

²⁴ Rebello 317-324 381-386 (picture 344).

²⁵ EX I 328-329; **Tratado* 7-7v; Valentyn I 2, 140. Pires wrote between 1512 and 1515 that according to the natives Islam had been introduced fifty years earlier into the Moluccas. At his time more than three-fourths of the inhabitants were still pagans. In Batjan and Makian almost all were pagans; all were in Motir, in Ternate two hundred out of two thousand men were pagans; it was the same on Tidore (213-218).

²⁶ **Tratado* 6v-7v 10.

²⁷ Valentyn I 2, 143.

On it, in addition to the precious clove trees that grew halfway up the mountain, were fruit trees of every sort, which provided the people with their daily food—banana plants; coconut, sago, and areca palms; breadfruit, almond, lemon, and orange trees. And Master Francis, who had seen many lands, assured his friends in Ternate that the sweet oranges of the Moluccas were the best in the world.²⁸ Red lories and white cockatoos were to be found in the forests along with wild boars, marsupials, giant snakes that devoured live pigs and dogs, and large crocodiles in the streams. Here and there were traces of running birds, and on the beach were hills of sand thrown up by giant turtles that contained their large, tasty eggs, five hundred and more in a single clutch.²⁹ The volcano was Ternate's landmark. Light and dark clouds constantly rose up from its crater; and at times, especially during the changes of the monsoons, from April to May, and from September to October, it sent forth sheaves of fire and glowing ashes, which the wind carried as far as the Portuguese fortress. And frequently the fire-mountain hurled forth little and big stones, many as large as millstones, with a roar that resembled a cannonade. There were also frequent earthquakes. Galvão had been the first to dare to climb to the peak of the volcano. It had been a tiring ascent of two leagues, made by clambering at times on hands and feet; and one of his companions had even descended into the smoking crater.³⁰

The four Moluccan kings were constantly at odds with each other, and the Portuguese saw themselves completely surrounded by treacherous Moors, who on one day claimed to be friends but on the next were bitter enemies, and who slandered each other with mutual recriminations.³¹ In 1512 Bayān Sirrullah, the sultan of Ternate, had asked the first Portuguese for help. In 1521 the first Spanish ships had anchored off Tidore, the main harbor of his arch rival. The following year Antonio de Brito had come and built the fortress.³² Under his successors Henriques and Meneses, the war against the Spaniards and their allies, the kings of Tidore and Djailolo, was continued. Under Meneses it caused serious unrest on Ternate itself, where the ambitious Taruwēs, as royal vizier, was ruling for Dayāl, who was still a minor and detained in the fortress. Dayāl's uncle, the high priest Cachil Vaidua, had been arrested because he had had the captain's pet pig killed. When Taruwēs succeeded in freeing him, a soldier smeared Vaidua's beard and mouth with lard as he was leaving the fortress, a mortal insult for a Mohammedan. The royal vizier therefore cut off provisions for the fort. When some of the soldiers, driven by hunger, tried to obtain food in the neighboring village of Tabona, they were maltreated by the people and driven off by force. To punish them, the captain had the hands, noses, and ears of two of the elders in the village cut off. To punish the village chief, the captain had his hands tied behind his back and had his two large dogs set against him. The luckless man sought safety in the sea, but he was followed by the dogs. He defended himself with his teeth until in view of all the people who had gathered on the beach he

²⁸ Rebello 315.

²⁹ On the fauna, see *ibid.* 307-311 330 369-373 392; DI III 542.

³⁰ Castanheda 1, 9; cf. Rebello 388; DI III 541-542.

³¹ The best history of Ternate after the coming of the Portuguese, with precise references on the sources, is that of Tieie.

³² On the coming of the Spaniards, see Pigafetta 203-238; Koelliker 186-209; Navarrete II 454-457; and, on the Portuguese side, the letters of Abu Hayat, A. de Brito, and Ruy Gago (Sá I 121-127 132-158 159-174), and also Castanheda 6, 9-10; cf. Tieie I 378-381.

drowned in the waves along with one of his tormentors.³³ When Meneses finally had the head of Taruwēs struck off as a traitor, the limit had been reached. Gonçalo Pereira, his successor, had him sent as a prisoner to India, but when, contrary to what he had promised, he did not release Dayāl, he was himself slain by the natives. Fonseca, who was elected captain to replace him, deposed Dayāl and called the barely fifteen-year-old Tabarija to the throne. His successor, Tristão de Ataíde, made Tabarija's half-brother Hairun king and Samarau regent. He then campaigned against the king of Batjan and destroyed his capital.

The consequence of these various measures was a universal conspiracy on the part of the Moluccan kings under the leadership of Dayāl, who had fled from Ternate. The war was fought on both sides with great cruelty, and it brought the Portuguese enclosed in their fortress to a desperate state of starvation,³⁴ from which they were only freed by the arrival of the new captain, Antonio Galvão. In December, 1536, shortly after his entrance into office, he captured Tidore, which had been occupied by the four allied kings and four Papuan kings who had come to their assistance.³⁵ Since Dayāl had fallen in battle, he induced them to make peace. Through his upright, prudent, and disinterested rule, the new captain made friends of his former enemies and also persuaded them to recognize his protégé Hairun, despite his low birth, as king of Ternate.³⁶

In 1539 Dom Jorge de Castro succeeded him as captain. He had to confine the young king in the fortress since Samarau and the Ternatan leaders wanted to kill him because of his claims upon their wives.³⁷ He was kept there until 1544, when Jurdão de Freitas arrived and sent the sultan to India as a prisoner. In his place the new captain handed the rule over to Niachile Pokaraga, the mother of Tabarija, who had remained in Malacca, and her husband, Patih Serang. But when Freitas' son Antonio, who came with Távora's fleet in October, 1545, brought news of Tabarija's death and a copy of his will in which he named the king of Portugal as the heir to his kingdom, Freitas had in this same month solemnly taken possession of the kingdom in the name of the king of Portugal in the presence of the members of the royal family and the other leaders of the land. And soon after this he took the rule into his own hands.³⁸

Master Francis was excellently received by the Portuguese when he arrived in Ternate.³⁹ Jurdão Freitas, whom Xavier had met in Goa in 1543, came from the city of Santa Cruz on the island of Madeira. He was the third son of the royal *fidalgos* João de Freitas, who possessed an estate there, the Quinta da Torre, and had built the parish church of São Salvador. His wife, Maria da Silva, had borne him two children, Gonçalo and Beatrix,⁴⁰ who were both still quite young.

³³ Castanheda 8, 18-20; **Tratado* 19.

³⁴ The **Tratado* gives a detailed description of the famine in the fortress and the capture of Tidore (26-30); cf. Castanheda 8, 156-160.

³⁵ The territories inhabited by Papuans from Halmahera to New Guinea were subject to Tidore. Cf. F. C. Kamma, "De Verhouding tussen Tidore en de Papoeze eilanden in legende en historie," *Indonesië* 1 (1947-48) 361-370 536-559; 2 (1948-49) 177-188 256-275.

³⁶ **Tratado* 36v; Castanheda 8, 180.

³⁷ Castanheda 9, 23.

³⁸ Cf. the letters of Freitas (Sá I 419-432 436-444 558-562) and Veloso (*ibid.* 517-520) with the *auto* of the seizure of occupancy (*ibid.* II 26-30); Rebello 435-437.

³⁹ Valignano 98.

⁴⁰ *Andrade Leitão IX 413 447. On Freitas, see also the sources in Q, index. His letters and other important documents have been published by Sá I-II. He is treated in detail by contemporary chroniclers—Rebello, Castanheda, Correa, Barros, Escalante, and Couto. He died on December 20, 1555, in Goa and was buried in São Francisco, as is indicated by his tombstone (Q 6102).

Accompanying Freitas were his two illegitimate sons, both grown men approaching their thirties, and his brother Diogo, who had left his wife and small children in Portugal but had brought with him his four grown sons. Among these was Vasco de Freitas, whom Jurdão, his uncle, had immediately sent after his arrival to Amboina in order to take possession of it for him.⁴¹ Freitas could already look back upon many years of service. He had accompanied the governor Nuno da Cunha on his voyage to India in 1528, and he had been entrusted by him with the care of 150 sick Portuguese who were left behind in Melinde. From there he had helped capture Mombasa, and it was not until 1529 that he reached Goa.⁴² In 1531 he had sailed with Cunha against Diu, and in the following year he had been warmly recommended to the king by him.⁴³ At the beginning of 1533 Freitas had helped to capture Bassein.⁴⁴ In April of that same year he had, as captain of the clove ship, come to Ternate with the new captain of Molucca, Tristão de Ataíde; and he had brought the latter's predecessor as a prisoner back from there to India in 1534.⁴⁵ In 1535 he had been wounded in the battle against Sulaimān Agha, who had invaded the mainland.⁴⁶ He had taken care of Tabarija, who had come to Goa as a prisoner in 1536, and had persuaded him to receive baptism. After his arrival in Goa in 1542, Master Francis had come to know the young king, his mother Niachile Pokaraga, and his stepfather Patih Serang. He consequently did not come to Ternate as an entire stranger.

The Portuguese colony on the island was small and did not have a very good reputation. In 1543 the author of the **Tratado*, a comrade in arms of Galvão, wrote: "The strangers who are here show themselves to be what they are through their deeds and manner of acting, for they were driven from their homelands on their own account. From all the four quarters of the winds murderers come to India, and from there they are banished to Malacca, and for serious incidents they are transferred to Maluco, which is a breeding place of all the evils of the world."⁴⁷ Only adultery was regarded as a serious sin. Nothing was thought of illegal contracts or gains, and many lived in concubinage with native women.⁴⁸ But not everyone deserved the harsh judgment of Galvão's companion. There were also many excellent men, such as Gabriel Rebello, the judicial scribe, Baltasar Veloso, one of the oldest *casados*, and Henrique de Lima; and Francis found them to be sincere friends and helpers from the very outset.

Rebello, who was still young, had hardly reached Ternate when in December, 1543, he took part in the expedition to Moro, where he was severely wounded in the storming of Galela.⁴⁹ Baltasar Veloso⁵⁰ was probably the most influential

⁴¹ Sá I 526 531-532 562; *Emmentia* 373; Rebello 214 217 260 432 437 473; Escalante 200.

⁴² Correa III 326; Barros 4, 3, 4-9.

⁴³ Q 319; Castanheda 8, 29 und 32; Correa III 391-393 413; Barros 4, 4, 12 and 15.

⁴⁴ Correa III 465-468.

⁴⁵ Castanheda 8, 63 and 71; Correa III 476 568; Barros 4, 6, 23.

⁴⁶ Castanheda 8, 123; Correa III 640; Couto 4, 10, 5; Barros 4, 7, 10-12 17.

⁴⁷ **Tratado* 5v.

⁴⁸ Valignano 98.

⁴⁹ Rebello lived for thirteen years in Ternate and acquired a basic knowledge of its land and the people, as is shown by his two accounts of 1561 and 1569. We encounter him already at the end of 1543 as judge for the deceased and court clerk of the fortress. Around 1554 he returned to India, where we find him in 1561 in Chaul. In 1566 he sailed again to the Moluccas with Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque as factor of the fleet and of Ternate. He returned to India after the murder of Hairun (1570), whom he had always defended. In India he provided Couto with valuable information on

and prominent citizen of Ternate. He had been born around 1480 and had sailed to India in 1520. There he had immediately taken part in the wars against the Moors in Cambay and on the Goan mainland. In 1523, however, he had embarked with fifty companions on Diogo Gago's pirate ship and had sailed from the Coromandel Coast to Chittagong in order to prey on Moorish ships. On the further voyage to Tenasserim he had come into conflict with Captain Gago. He and his comrade João Barbudo murdered the captain in his sleep.⁵¹ Fifteen years later, in São Thomé, Xavier had persuaded this same Barbudo to become reconciled with God and to receive the sacraments.⁵² After the murder it had been impossible for Veloso to return to India or Portugal if he did not wish to run the risk of being brought to court. Although he had sailed on to Malacca and had taken part in the expedition to Bintang in 1524, he had the following year, after hearing of the coming of the Spaniards, sailed to Ternate, where he settled down and became one of the leading men of the Portuguese colony. No one knew the language, the land, its inhabitants or their customs better than he. He had served and fought under all the captains. In 1535, during the siege of the village of Djiko on the north of the island, a gunshot had smashed his arm,⁵³ but this did not prevent him from going the following year with Galvão as the captain of a ship against Tidore. In 1538 he had married the sister of Cachil Taruwēs, who, he was convinced, had been unjustly executed.⁵⁴ She was the favorite daughter of Sultan Bayān Sirrullah and a half-sister of Hairun. At the time of her baptism she received the name of Dona Catarina. In 1544, before setting out with her and his children for Malacca in order to leave the Moluccas for good, Veloso had his union with Dona Catarina sanctioned by a church wedding. But in Malacca Freitas had persuaded him to sail back with him to Ternate since he was an invaluable assistant to the captains of the fortress. Because of his great authority with the natives, he succeeded in calming them when Freitas, soon after his arrival, arrested Hairun and sent him to India. He was able to do the same when the old Samarau, Hairun's regent, was murdered after he had returned from a visit to Niachile Pokaraga and Patih Serang⁵⁵ and when Freitas took the rule from them for himself. When Master Francis arrived in Ternate, Veloso had taken Tabarija's mother into his house and paid for her support. Henrique de Lima was⁵⁶ one

the Moluccas (Couto 8, 16 25-26); Rebello 428 492 495; Q 1190. In 1572 he was the secretary of the Mesa da Consciencia in Goa (APO V 846). His signature is in Q, pl. II 3.

⁵⁰ Baltasar Veloso is often mentioned by Rebello and Castanheda (cf. indices). In 1547 he gave an account of his earlier life and services (Sá I 513-522). In 1550 he took part in the expedition against Djailolo, and in 1551 against Tidore (Rebello 242-244 248 262 272-277 457-458 474 480-485). In 1552 he was captain of the fortress of Ternate (*ibid.* 486-487; cf. 299 491). In 1553 he sailed with the captain and Hairun to Moro and Samafo (*ibid.* 292 493; Couto 6, 10, 11). Under D. Duarte de Eça (captain from 1556 to 1559), the Tidorese during the war boarded a junk in which Veloso was with forty or fifty men (Rebello 322 367). At the end of 1557 he again sailed with ships to Moro, where he obtained food for the fortress and fought with the enemy fleet of the Ternatans. He later went with the Jesuit missionaries of Tolo to Sakita and returned to Ternate in February, 1558 (Sá II 304-306).

⁵¹ Barros 3, 8, 2.

⁵² See Vol. II, pp. 600-601.

⁵³ Sá I 515; Castanheda 8, 118.

⁵⁴ Rebello 294-295.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 223-226 441-442.

⁵⁶ On Henrique de Lima, see Rebello 428 458 460-461 466-467 474 496; Sá IV 176 236 365-368; Couto 6, 9, 10; 7, 5, 3; 8, 25. In 1550 he was at the siege of Tolo, in 1550-1551

of Veloso's bravest retainers, an excellent gunner,⁵⁷ and from a prominent family.⁵⁸ When he was still young he had come to Ternate. In 1543, together with Rebello, he had been wounded in the capture of Galela.⁵⁹ He had generously supported Hairun and his family during his imprisonment and had provided him with everything he needed for the journey to India.⁶⁰ And when Francis came, he invited him to take up his residence in his house.⁶¹

As captain of Ternate, Antonio Galvão had striven not only to raise the material level of the Portuguese settlement, but he had also made efforts to raise its moral tone as well. He had had women brought from India and had persuaded many to have an ecclesiastical wedding. He had founded a confraternity of the Misericórdia and had built a chapel for it in honor of the Mother of God.⁶² He had appointed one to teach reading, writing, the catechism, and a moral life to the mestizo children of the Portuguese and to those of the native Christians.⁶³ But when Master Francis arrived in Ternate, the school had ceased to exist, and the *vigário*, Ruy Vaz, who had charge of the community with the assistance of a beneficiary,⁶⁴ was more interested in trading in cloves than in preaching and teaching;⁶⁵ and the ignorance, especially among the native

at that of Djailolo. In 1558 he was the leader of the conspirators who arrested the tyrannical captain D. Duarte de Eça and freed Sultan Hairun who had been imprisoned by him (Couto 7, 5, 3). In 1559 he sailed as the captain of a ship with the Christian *sengadij* of Mamajo and the rest of the fleet to Moro in order to fight against the Ternatans. When Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque came to Ternate in 1567 with a supporting fleet, he warned Sultan Hairun, who was a great friend of his. In 1570-1571, after the murder of Hairun, as captain of the Portuguese on Moro, he defended the Christians against the Ternatans and brought their most prominent families to safety in Ternate. In 1577 he and other Portuguese were held as hostages in Ternate by Hairun's son Babu after the fall of the fortress (in December, 1575). But he was secretly freed because he had supported Hairun during his imprisonment in 1557-1559 and had mediated his peace with the Portuguese. In 1578 Sancho de Vasconcellos married a daughter of Lima in Tidore and took them both with him to Amboina. In 1558 a negro slave of Lima died steadfastly as a martyr on Ternate (Seb. Gonçalves 8, 5). In 1583 Lima's son Francisco de Lima, a *fidalg*o of the royal house living in Maluco, received a voyage there as the reward for his services (*Registo*, n. 984).

⁵⁷ Rebello 474 496.

⁵⁸ Couto 9, 17, p. 127.

⁵⁹ Rebello 428.

⁶⁰ Sá IV 367.

⁶¹ Rodrigo Vaz Pinto, who was in India from 1588 to 1612, served in Amboina and there married a daughter of Henrique de Lima. In 1615 he testified that he had heard from his father-in-law "quia recepit illum dictum Patrem Xaverium hospitio in sua domo, nec non perhumane illum tractavit in navigatione, quam dictus P. M. Franciscus Xaverius fecit in insulam Mouro nuncupatam" (**Lisbon, RProcess* I, n. 6, 80v).

⁶² **Tratado* 35; Castanheda 9, 21; 8, 125.

⁶³ **Tratado* 35v-36.

⁶⁴ Named as vicars of Ternate were: Fernão Lopes in 1532 (Castanheda 8, 40), Simão Vaz in 1534-1535 (*ibid.* 8, 91), Ruy Vaz in 1544-1545 (Rebello 213 433-434); as chaplains or Mass priests: João Mexia in 1531 (Sá I 240), Francisco Alvares in 1534-1535 (Castanheda 8, 91), Fernão Vinagre in 1538 (*ibid.* 8, 200). Botelho's *Tombo* has a vicar and two beneficiaries for Ternate (115). In 1539 there is mention of two or three beneficiaries (**Tratado* 40), though generally there was only one. The vicar died in 1555, and since there was no secular priest in Ternate to succeed him, a Jesuit had to take over the office for two or three years (DI III 363-364, IV 506).

⁶⁵ In 1539 Ruy Vaz and his beneficiaries were caught illicitly trading in cloves, and their cloves were confiscated by Galvão (**Tratado* 40). Vaz supported Freitas with his advice, help, and generous financial support. He helped him in his negotiations with the Spaniards. In 1545 he purchased Villalobos' flagship, the *Santiago*, which later sank in Talangame. He bought the galiot *San Cristobal* for him and helped him with many

wives of the Christians, their male and female slaves, and the native Christians themselves was great.

The priest therefore gave instructions in the faith for an hour twice each day to the children and adults. The result was that soon in the open squares and in their homes the boys, girls, and women sang the Creed, Our Father, Hail Mary, *Confiteor*, and other prayers, and the Commandments and the Works of Mercy by day and night. And the farmers in the fields and the fishers on the sea sang the same instead of their usual worldly songs. And these were all sung in the language of the people and were thus understood by all, by the new converts as well as by others who were not Christians. The priest soon won the good will not only of the Portuguese and native Christians but also of the Mohammedans,⁶⁶ and he was called by all the "saintly priest."⁶⁷

In addition to these labors, Master Francis composed on Ternate a rather long Portuguese explanation of the Creed, which began with the words: "Folgai cristãos de ouvir e saber como Deus criando fez todolas cousas pera serviço dos homens (Rejoice, Christians, to hear and learn how the Creator made all things for the service of men)!"⁶⁸ These were written in verse for singing and learning by heart, and they were frequently rhymed. Francis had borrowed the thoughts for the most part from the Spiritual Exercises and had adapted them to the situation in Ternate, where his hearers, both Portuguese and new converts, lived in a pagan and Mohammedan environment and were frequently influenced by their surroundings. Many of the Portuguese were living with one or several slaves in unlawful wedlock like their Mohammedan neighbors. He therefore referred to this in his description of the creation of man:

Since God gave Adam Eve to be his wife,
One woman and no more, this shows that Moors
And pagans, evil Christians, too, who have
A second wife or more, live not as God
Would have them live. And this is also true
Of those who live with concubines, since God
Gave Eve to Adam as his wife before He told
Them both to multiply and to increase
By having children as a gift from Him.
Idolaters and infidels and those
Who trust in fortunetellers, lots,⁶⁹ and charms
Sin grievously against the God who made
Them like unto Himself and gave them life,
Body and soul, and all that they possess.
They honor evil spirits rather than
The Lord and lose their everlasting souls
And all the happiness of Paradise.

slaves when Hairun was arrested (Rebello 214 424 432-433). In 1545 Freitas, as a consequence, recommended him to the king so that he would appoint him a court chaplain (Sá I 432). But Bishop Albuquerque ordered that the vicar of Ternate should, along with others, be brought in irons to Goa (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 451).

⁶⁶ EX I 377-378. He taught the catechism "en language," which can here mean Malay and Portuguese, but probably only Portuguese.

⁶⁷ Rebello 400.

⁶⁸ Cf. EX I 348-369, where the text is edited and explained. It was written in Portuguese and not in Malay, as some authors maintain.

⁶⁹ On the belief in *sortes* on Moro, Frois wrote: "A cousa em que mais crem hé em sortes" (DI III 552), and Rebello in general: "Costumão sortes em principio de suas cousas" (364).

True Christians, on the other hand, believe
 In God and worship Him with all their heart
 As the Creator of the heavens and
 The earth. They fall upon their knees in church
 To worship Him and lift their hands to Him
 On High, to Him who is their Lord and God,
 Their consolation here on earth, and pray,
 Confessing as St. Peter did: "In God,
 Almighty Father and Creator of
 The heavens and the earth, I do believe."

Following closely the meditations of the Spiritual Exercises, Master Francis then continued to describe in verse the fall of the angels, that of the first man and woman, the Incarnation, and then, more briefly, the birth of Christ, the flight into Egypt, the return to Nazareth, the beginning of the public life of the Redeemer, His bitter sufferings and death, and His descent into limbo. He next gave a vivid description of the everlasting punishments in hell. This was followed by an account of the Resurrection and Ascension and of the return of Christ at the Last Judgment, when those who believed in Him will enter into the glory of Paradise:

And those refusing to believe in Christ,
 The Moors, the Jews, and Gentiles too, will go
 To hell, unsaved by His redeeming grace.
 Bad Christians who refuse to keep the Ten
 Commandments of the Lord will also be
 Condemned to everlasting punishment.

At the end of this résumé of the Christian faith, Francis used the sign of the cross to expound the mystery of the Trinity. He encouraged those for whom he had composed this instruction to follow the inspirations of the Holy Spirit and to believe firmly in all that the Church, inspired by Him, teaches through her popes, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and priests; and he ascribed each one of the articles of faith to one of the apostles.

On Sundays and feast days Master Francis preached in the morning to the Portuguese and in the afternoon to the new converts, especially to the women and the slaves; and at all of these sermons he explained an article of the Creed. An effect of his preaching was that many came to confession, and many returned goods that they had unjustly obtained. Because of these restitutions, the Misericordia and the Confraternity of the Sacrament, which had been poor in the past, now became rich.⁷⁰ At night he went with a small bell to the squares, as had been the custom in Paris, and urged all to pray for the souls in purgatory and for those who were living in mortal sin and refused to be converted. The good were thus strengthened in their resolves, and sinners were stricken in conscience and filled with a salutary fear.⁷¹

Soon after the arrival of the saintly priest in Ternate there occurred an incident that further enhanced the esteem of his hearers. One day he was celebrating Mass in the chapel of our Lady. After his sermon and the offertory, when he turned to the people at the *Orate fratres*, he said to them: "*Senhores!*

⁷⁰ Valignano 98-99.

⁷¹ EX I 385.

João de Araújo, who was in Amboina, has died. I have therefore offered a Mass for the repose of his soul, and this Mass is also for him. Commend him to God, and say for the repose of his soul an Our Father and Hail Mary in honor of the passion of Christ!" His hearers were astounded. Amboina was ninety leagues from Ternate and no boat or messenger had come from there to bring the news. Ten or twelve days later, while the people were waiting for a confirmation of the report on his death, a *korakora* arrived with Rafael Carvalho,⁷² who brought Francis a letter from his companion João d'Eiró giving a detailed account of Araújo's death in Hatiwi. When the people saw the letter and the hour when he had died, they were still more astonished and gave credence to the priest. God had given him knowledge of the death of his friend in a miraculous manner.⁷³

Despite all the respect which the priest enjoyed, there was nothing gloomy or inaccessible about him. He was always a cheerful friend of everyone. His natural, winning manners attracted them all. At Freitas' invitation, thirty-seven soldiers and sailors of Villalobos' fleet remained upon the island,⁷⁴ and Xavier's Portuguese friends had much to say about the sojourn of the Castilians on Tidore, where Rajah Amīr, the king, who had been born around 1511, and his leading men had acquired some knowledge of their languages from their years of intercourse with Castilians, Basques, and Portuguese⁷⁵ and had heard much about

⁷² In February, 1552, the captain of Ternate sent Rafael Carvalho with two *korakoras* to Amboina to obtain news about India, Malacca, and Banda. He returned with good news. The captain then sailed with the same *korakoras* to Amboina (Rebello 486-487).

⁷³ The first notice about this event is given at second hand by Francisco Pérez, S.J., from Malacca in December, 1548 (DI I 366-367), the second by Quadros in December, 1555, from Goa (*ibid.* III 337). These are followed in 1556-1557 by twenty-five depositions in the processes in Goa, Cochin, Bassein, and Malacca (MX II 176 178 183 193-194 200 216 262 271 274 280 284 288 292 297 303 307 314-315 320 372 374 381 415 423-424 428), and by five in the later processes in Cebú in 1609 and in Goa and Lisbon in 1615-1616. Of these, Eiró was present at Araújo's death (MX II 381), and probably Fausto Rodrigues as well (Cebú process). Four witnesses heard of the incident in 1546 from people who had been present at Xavier's Mass. These were Lopes, Gonçalves, Miranda, and Teixeira, who came to Ternate at the end of October in the *Bufara* (MX II 176 193 372 423-424). Seven witnesses, Gonçalo Fernandes, Vaz, Gonçalo Pereira, Abreu, Lopes de Almeida, Gomes, and Fernandes d'Ilher, who were among the Portuguese who came from Amboina to Malacca with Xavier in 1547 heard it (*ibid.* 178 183 274 284 292 297 428). The principal account is that of Eiró. Some particulars are added by Pérez ("Pray an Our Father and Hail Mary in honor of the Passion of Christ!"), Diogo Pereira (Xavier offered the Mass in the chapel of Our Lady, *ibid.* 262), Abreu (a few days after the departure from Amboina), Miranda (at the end of his sermon), Fausto Rodrigues (at the "Orate, fratres"). Five witnesses confuse Araújo with Villalobos (*ibid.* 178 183 193 194 and João da Fonseca, the second witness in the second Lisbon process), two with João Calvão (MX II 423-424 428), one with Diogo Gil (*ibid.* 200), one with a Jesuit brother (*ibid.* 415). Palha, Gama, and Fausto Rodrigues erroneously place the site of the announcement of the death in Amboina (*ibid.* 200 415, and Cebú process); Abreu wavers between Ternate and Amboina (*ibid.* 284). Eiró says that Araújo died "no lugar de Tybi [Hatiwi], que são sesemta leguoas de Maluquo" (*ibid.* 381). This becomes "in loco Tibiquisanis" in the Latin translation (*ibid.* 404), and "Tibichisama" in Bartoli (2, 8).—Different witnesses make of Xavier's vision of Araújo's death a vision of the deaths of certain Portuguese slain on Moro (Palha MX II 200, and the thirty-second witness in the second Goa process, Anna Tostada, in **Relatio* 87v), in Malacca (MX II 558), or Amboina (Teixeira 868), or a vision of the death of a sailor who had died on the islands of Chincheo (**Confalonarius* 335).

⁷⁴ Q 3484.

⁷⁵ "Os principaes daquela ilha [Tidore] sabem falar portugues, castelhano e amtre-metem biscainho" (**Tratado* 29v; Castanheda 8, 37).

their respective histories. One day a mandarin by the name of Kekuba, from Makian, was on the beach of Tidore. Don Alonso Manrique and other soldiers described to him the tremendous size of Spain and the wretched limitations of Portugal, and they traced upon the sand the relative boundaries of Castile and Portugal, the former huge, the latter extremely small. When the Spaniards had finished with their swollen rhetoric, the mandarin simply asked: "If this is so, what's all that about Aljubarrota?" He then leaped into a *prau* and rowed off, followed by stones hurled at him by the enraged Castilians. When he heard the story from his friends, Master Francis was also much amused by Kekuba's ready wit.⁷⁶ Aljubarrota was the battlefield where the Portuguese under their national hero, Nunalvarez Pereira, had destroyed the Spaniards in 1385; and the Portuguese had not failed to tell the natives of the glorious deeds of their ancestors. Even their slaves were proud to be Portuguese and looked with disdain upon the poor Castilians. Master Francis experienced himself an incidence of this. His compassion for the men exposed to so many dangers on Ternate had made him something of a marriage agent. Among the Spanish soldiers who had remained in the fortress was a good-natured fellow by the name of Alonso García. Xavier convinced him that he should get married at once, and he even offered to find him a suitable mate. Luis de Paiva,⁷⁷ one of his Portuguese friends, had a slave of marriageable age. When García learned from the priest the good qualities of this potential spouse, he was all for marrying her. But the slave was of a different mind. Master Francis used all the rhetoric he could muster to represent the many good qualities of her future husband. But it was useless. All he received in answer was a decided no. A Castilian, never! When the priest kept insisting and the girl had no answer to give to his arguments, she finally swore by the holy Cross that even if he were the king of the Castilians, she would not have him. Laughing heartily, Master Francis told his Portuguese friends the rebuff he had received, and praised the patriotism of his adversary.⁷⁸

The priest also took care of the native Christians. Antonio Galvão had used the great credit which he enjoyed among the Moluccan kings to spread the faith. They had allowed him to make converts among their pagan subjects on the condition that he left the Mohammedans in their beliefs. He had undertaken the spreading of the Gospel with the zeal of an apostle.⁷⁹ On Amboina a series of villages had passed over to Christianity. In northern Mindanao, Francisco de Castro, who had been sent there by him, had baptized six kings with a portion of their people and had brought many of their children to Ternate to receive a Christian education;⁸⁰ and many Portuguese had married women from that

⁷⁶ "Da resposta do negro gostava muito o mesmo Mestre Francisco" (Rebello 211-212 497).

⁷⁷ In 1545 Paiva was present at the occupancy of the kingdom of Ternate (Sá IV 38), in 1550 at the capture of Tolo. He had been born in Santarém (Rebello 336 402).

⁷⁸ "De que o Padre [Mestre Francisco], depois, ria muito, gavando-a" (Rebello 496-497 211-212).

⁷⁹ **Tratado* 35v-36. See in addition the protest of D. Jorge de Castro of July 20, 1543, in CU 2, 71-78.

⁸⁰ **Tratado* 35; Galvão 256 275-276; CU 2, 73; Castanheda 8, 200 (the main account). Castro baptized the chief of the "Celebes Island of Chedigao on the 12 $\frac{2}{3}$ degree" (probably the *Gatigan* of Pigafetta, "twenty leagues [*leghe*] from Limasau," an island between Cebú and Leyte; cf. Pigafetta 138; Koelliker 141-142, and pl. 20); then, the northeast of Mindanao, the islands of Soligão (Surigao), Butuão (Butúan) and Pimilara (later called Singolo and Sinolo, probably the present Buenavista, west of Butúan; cf.

island.⁸¹ Two prominent brothers had come to the fortress from the Macassar Islands and had received the names of Antonio and Miguel Galvão at their baptism since the captain of the fortress was their patron. A number of prominent young men had followed their example and had also come to Ternate to be baptized.⁸² On the coast of Celebes many others had also accepted Christianity, and some of its prominent men had settled in Ternate with their families.⁸³

A number of Mohammedans had also, despite all the efforts of their kings and *casises*, heeded the call of grace. One of these was a cousin of the rajah of Djailolo, who received the name of Antonio de Sá. Soon after this one of the most eminent men of Ternate became a Christian. This was Culano Sabia, one of the three royal councilors, and his conversion made a great stir in the land. Hairun had come to the gate of the fortress with his Portuguese friends and had asked that the catechumen be handed over to him. Galvão had replied with sword in hand that he would defend his protégé and would not refuse to let him be baptized. He added that from then on he would make as many Christians as he could. If he died on this account, he would die as a martyr. The Mohammedan became a Christian under the name of Manuel Galvão along with his wife and children and his whole household. His baptism was celebrated with the greatest solemnity, and the captain built a house for him near the fortress and provided him with means to live upon. Many other prominent individuals and some of the common people throughout the land followed Sabia's example, even though the Mohammedan preachers obtained a provision from the sultan that any prominent individual who passed over to Christianity should lose his property and income.⁸⁴ An even greater sensation was created by the conversion of a *casís*, an Arab of the family of Mohammed whom his coreligionists held in highest honor because of his origins and virtue.⁸⁵ Even the king was so moved by this that he nearly became a Christian. He had nine Masses offered in honor of the nine months during which Mary carried her Son in her womb. There were hopes of the conversion of the entire people, but these were destroyed by the arrival of the new captain, D. Jorge de Castro, in 1539.⁸⁶

They were raised again when Tabarija, who had become a Christian, sailed from Goa in 1544 with Freitas in order to take over the sultanate of Ternate and to lead his people to Christ. Although his sudden death in Malacca brought an end to his plan, he had appointed the king of Portugal in his will as his heir; and Freitas, the new captain, had brought great hopes and plans with him. Soon after his arrival he had arrested Hairun and sent him with a letter for the king to India. In it he wrote that he hoped through the mercy of God that the whole land would be converted to the faith of Christ. There had already been some conversions, and with the arrival of the Christian king the fire of the Holy Spirit would be fully kindled. When this happened, he would gladly die. He had also added that he had summoned the oldest and most

Combés 83; Miguel Selga, S.J., *Los mapas de Filipinas por el P. Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J.* [Manila, 1934] 38 92, n. 334; and one of the island of Camiguy (Camiguín).

⁸¹ CU 2, 73.

⁸² Castanheda 8, 200.

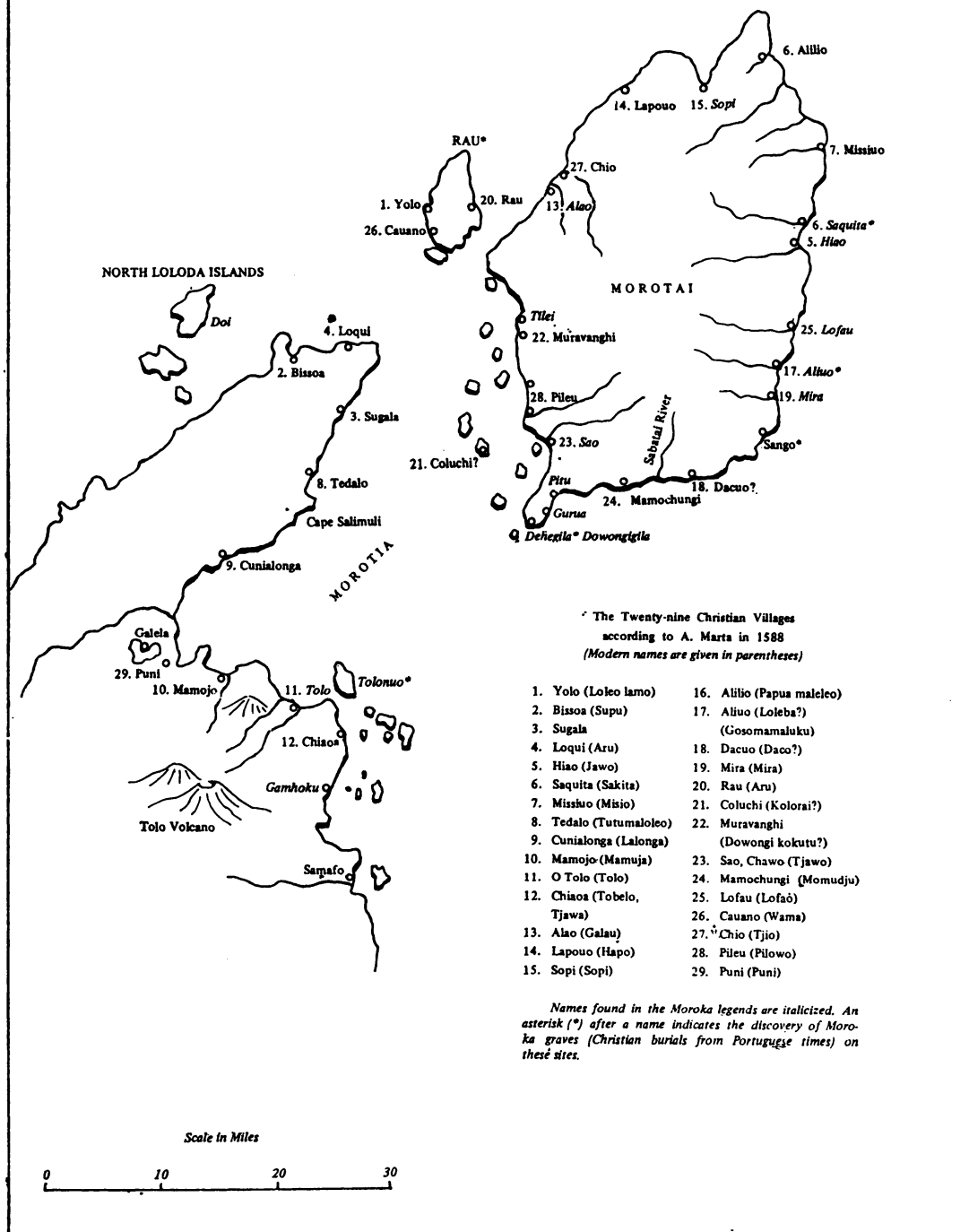
⁸³ CU 2, 73. The expression Celebes vaguely meant at the time North Celebes and the surrounding islands. See also **Tratado* 35v; Rebello 393-394.

⁸⁴ **Tratado* 35v; Castanheda 9, 8.

⁸⁵ Castanheda 9, 9.

⁸⁶ **Tratado* 36.

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prominent Moors and *casises* to the gate of the fortress and had calmed their fears over the arrest of Hairun and the baptism of Tabarija. No one would be forced to become a Christian as Hairun and his dependents had noised about. This was forbidden by the Christian law, and they could see that Patih Serang and the king's mother had been many years in India and had never become Christians. He had thus calmed them, and on a copy of the Koran they had sworn allegiance to the fortress and to him as the representative of the king of Portugal.⁸⁷ Freitas' plan for the conversion of the Moluccas was to drive out the native kings after making peace with the Spaniards and to rule the land without them. The queen mother, Patih Serang, and some of the leading mandarins with whom he had spoken about the project were in accord with it, and some of them were inclined to become Christians. A half dozen *catur*s manned by Indian *canarins* from Goa and a caravel with eighty men and the help of the garrison would be sufficient, as he later wrote to the king,⁸⁸ to achieve the plan in two or three years, or a bit more.

One event, the conversion of the queen mother, Niachile Pokaraga, seemed to justify these high hopes. Since Freitas had taken over the rule from her and her husband, the princess had been living with Baltasar Veloso, who provided for her at his own expense.⁸⁹ Veloso had from the beginning struck up a friendship with Master Francis, who was a warmly welcomed guest in his house and was fully supported by him in all his apostolic labors.⁹⁰ As the daughter of King Al-Mansūr of Tidore,⁹¹ Pokaraga had received a good education; and no one on the Moluccas was more proficient in the Koran and the religion of the Prophet on the Moluccas than she.⁹² But the Christian environment in which she had lived so long in India and in which she was now living in the house of her host, his urgings,⁹³ and the words of the saintly priest who often argued about the true faith with her, were not to be without effect. She became convinced of the errors of Mohammed and was baptized under the name of Dona Isabel. Her conversion made a great impression upon the people in Ternate, and there were grounds for hoping that the whole island would soon

⁸⁷ Sá I 438-441.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 558 560 564-565. Tristão de Ataíde had already written to the same effect, that the kings of the Moluccas should be deposed (*ibid.* 319).

⁸⁹ On March 20, 1547, Veloso wrote: "Esta mãe de Dom Manoel faz aguora hum ano que está em minha casa e a sustenho, o melhor que posso omradamente, com minha molher" (Sá I 519).

⁹⁰ In 1549 Xavier described him as "homem muito amigo de nossa Companhia, e que muito ajuda aos Padres que lá andão a fazer christãos" (EX II 128).

⁹¹ Veloso wrote: "When he [Freitas] took over the regime and gave orders that the people should no longer obey her but him, they almost rebelled and the whole country with them. When I saw this, I took her hand, brought her to my house, and gave her what she needed for her support. And when the king of Tidore [Amīr-ud-dīn], her brother, saw this, he was very angry about it and sent seven or eight *korakor*s and one of his brothers and prominent mandarines to get her. But I succeeded in preventing them from taking her with them; for if she had gone to Tidore, the whole land would have risen up against this fortress [Ternate]" (Sá I 515). In 1521 her father, Al-Mansūr, had two hundred wives, eight sons, and eighteen daughters (Pigafetta 210-211) and was a "grandissimo astrologo" (*ibid.* 205).

⁹² "Foy esta a mais emtendida na ceyta que todos quantos mouros há em Maluquo," Frois wrote in 1556 from oral information received from the Moluccan missionaries Beira and Nunes (DI III 540).

⁹³ "Aguora a tenho feita cristão, sempre favorecida, por se fazer cristã," Veloso wrote on March 20, 1547 (Sá I 519).

follow her example,⁹⁴ and that the trend towards Christianity would spread to the other islands and reach as far as the Macassars, Tontoli, and the islands of Celebes.⁹⁵

3. WITH THE CHRISTIANS OF MORO (SEPTEMBER, 1546—JANUARY, 1547)

Not far from the fortress of Ternate could be seen the green, forested, volcanic peak of the small island of Maitara and the dark blue, tall volcano of Tidore behind it and, on the distant horizon, the pale blue heights of the large island of Batachina, where the hostile Mohammedan rajah of Djailolo lived. On the other side of the island beyond those pale blue mountains were the coast and the islands of Moro with their abandoned Christians. Francis had never forgotten them. His eyes often wandered in their direction, and his friends in Ternate, especially Veloso, had given him an account of their history.

The pagan region of Moro was of great importance for the three Moluccan kings of Ternate, Tidore, and Djailolo. From time immemorial they had obtained their main food supplies from there: rice, sago, and meat.⁹⁶ After their conversion to Islam, they had subjected these lands to themselves and had practically enslaved their inhabitants; and in this conquest Ternate had obtained the lion's share. With the help of the Spaniards, however, the rajahs of Djailolo and Tidore had seized the Ternatan villages⁹⁷ and had held them until Tristão de Ataíde, the new captain of Ternate, captured Djailolo in December, 1533, and brought the few surviving Spaniards of Loaysa's fleet into his fortress.⁹⁸

Among the Ternatan auxiliary forces that took part in this campaign were two *sengadjis*, or chiefs, of Moro who had together under their command more than five or six thousand subjects. These were the neighboring chiefs of Mamojo and Tolo,⁹⁹ and they had been impressed by the success of the Portu-

⁹⁴ In 1548 Pérez wrote from Malacca: "There are many Christians in Maluco and on many other islands around it. Some of these were baptized a while ago, others by Father Master Francis. Among these latter was a queen, the mother of the present king of Ternate" (DI I 364). The context makes it probable that she was baptized by Xavier, but Hairun was not her son. In 1556 Frois wrote from data furnished by Beira and Nunes: "Comverteo-a o Senhor pelo nosso bemaventurado Padre M. Francisco, e foy com pura disputa. Não fora muito com ella todo Maluquo ser christão, mas socedeo,—por morte de seu filho Dom Manoel, rey de Maluquo que na India se fez christão e morreo neste Malaca,—hum seu emteado que agora hé rey" (DI III 540). From this passage we conclude that the conversion took place before Hairun's arrival, and thus between July and September, 1546. The same is assumed by Freitas' letter of August 31, 1548 (Sá I 564). Xavier simply writes that she had become a Christian at the time when he was in Ternate (EX II 126-127). Her husband Patih Serang later also became a Christian (Rebello 489). Her conversion was sincere. From then on she was an exemplary Christian. In 1556 Frois wrote of her: "Mulher prudente, que se confessa e comunga quasi sempre com os da Companhia," and he added with respect to Hairun: "o qual a tem muito perseguida e suas terras usurpadas; ajuntando-sse com isto tambem ser ella pouquo favorecida dos capitães, sendo ella, alem de sua virtude e onestidade, do mais alto sangue de Maluquo, porque hé rainha he mãy d'el-rey, e irmãa d'el-rey de Tidore; e assi christã, quando vay fora hé muy temida e venerada dos seus. Tem ella consigo alguns filhos seus, christãos, muyto amigos dos portugueses" (DI III 540-541).

⁹⁵ Cf. EX II 113.

⁹⁶ Sá I 220.

⁹⁷ Rebello 398-399.

⁹⁸ Letter of Ataíde of February 20, 1534 (Sá I 292-299).

⁹⁹ Ataíde speaks of two governors of a town on the Moro Islands (*ibid.* 316). One of these was D. João de Mamojo, who, according to him, was the first to receive

guese arms. Soon after this a Portuguese merchant, Gonçalo Veloso, came to Mamojo. Its chief complained to him about the encroachments of the Ternatan Moors, who had regained dominion over his village. When the Moorish fleet came to get provisions, they took the property of the Moros for themselves and treated them like slaves. Only recently two of their *korakoras* had attacked and sacked his village, and he had himself only escaped falling into their hands by fleeing into the woods. The merchant advised him to become a Christian. In this way he would obtain help and protection from the Portuguese. When the merchant sailed back for Ternate, the *sengadji* sent along with him an ambassador with some companions and had him tell the captain that if he freed them from the tyranny of the Moors, they would all become Christians. Ataide gladly acceded to the request. The ambassador and his companions were baptized and returned to their country richly dressed in Portuguese garb. At the captain's invitation the two chiefs came to the fortress, where with seven or eight companions they received the sacrament of baptism with great solemnity. The first received the name of Dom João de Mamojo; and the second, the chief of Tolo, received that of his patron, Dom Tristão de Ataide.¹⁰⁰

They were joyfully received on their return, and their two villages were immediately ready to accept Christendom. At the beginning of 1534 two more influential *sengadjis*, who had six or seven thousand subjects under them, came to Ternate and had themselves baptized. One of these, the chief of Sugala, received the name of Dom Luis Correa.¹⁰¹ The other, his neighbor on Morotai, was the chief of Chiaoa.¹⁰² Ataide then sent the *vigario* Simão Vaz¹⁰³ and ten or twelve Portuguese arquebusiers with two field guns to erect a redoubt in Mamojo to protect the Christians from their Mohammedan neighbors. The baptisms were so numerous that a cleric, Francisco Alvares, was soon sent to help the vicar. The pagan temples were destroyed or adapted for Christian services. Two churches were built, and soon the subjects of the four *sengadjis* were baptized. When ships from the Ternatan Moors now came to Moro territory, the new converts, trusting in the protection of the Portuguese, refused to sell them provisions and forced them to sail back to Ternate empty-handed.

The Mohammedan kings saw that they had been robbed of their main source of imports through the rebellion of the Moro Christians. And Ataide had been active in other areas as well. He had sent the young sultan Tabarija with his mother and the regent as prisoners to Goa and called Hairun to be king, while

baptism (*ibid.* 347). That the second was the chief of Tolo we conclude from the fact that this town lay near Mamojo and its chief received the name of D. Tristão de Ataide in baptism. On these first conversions, see the letter of Ataide already cited (*ibid.* 316-318); Castanheda 8, 91; Rebello 399 (ms.-text); the letter of Lionel de Lima senior of November 8, 1536 (Sá I 220-222). Correa (III 632-633) and Couto (4, 8, 13) have nothing new.

¹⁰⁰ *Jerónimo Dolmedo, S.J., in 1571, gave the name of the chief of Tolo as Tristão de Ataide, and said of him that he was a very old and early (*antigo*) Christian, and he praised his loyalty towards God and the king of Portugal (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac.: *Fundo Geral* 4532, 124v).

¹⁰¹ His name is given by Castanheda 8, 115, and Ataide (Sá I 343).

¹⁰² In 1534 Ataide speaks of two main governors of another area (*povoçam*) with six to seven thousand subjects (Sá I 317-318). One of these was the governor of Sugala, a small village on the northeast coast of Halmahera. We conclude that the other was the governor of Chiaoa from the fact that we find the vicar stationed there in 1535 and his chaplain Alvares in Sugala, opposite to it.

¹⁰³ Correa, erroneously: João Dias.

Dayāl, the former ruler, was living in exile in Tidore. He had campaigned against Batjan and had destroyed its capital and defiled the royal tombs. The Moluccan kings of Djailolo, Tidore, and Batjan therefore concluded a secret alliance under the leadership of Dayāl with the intent of driving out the Portuguese and nipping the movement towards Christianity in Moro in the bud.¹⁰⁴ The north monsoon blew from November until April, making it impossible to sail from Ternate to Moro. The conspirators used this time to persuade the Christians to abandon the fortress and their Christian faith and to join Dayāl and his allies and to accept Mohammedanism. They sought to split and divert the weak forces of the Portuguese in the fortress of Ternate by reporting the discovery of gold in Mindanao and Celebes. The rajah of Djailolo secretly incited the feared headhunters of the Tabarus against the new converts in Gamkonora on the northwest, and against the Moro Christians on the northeast, coast of Batachina. These then slipped through the forests in search of victims, and no village was secure from their sudden attacks. Messengers of the conspirators passed from village to village to persuade by gifts, threats, or promises the new converts, who were still weak in their faith, to apostatize and to submit to their former Mohammedan rulers.

As soon as the weather permitted, Ataide sent a *prau* from his fortress, which had been under siege since May, to warn the two missionaries and the Portuguese redoubt of Mamojo to be on their guard and to purchase as much food as possible before the Ternatans and their allies brought the land into revolt. He then sent Diogo Sardinha, the admiral of the sea, with a brigantine to help the Christians and to carry provisions to the fortress. But he found that most of the land was in an uproar. The Ternatans had anticipated him and had stirred up the new converts in many places by spreading the report that their lawful king Dayāl was at war with the Portuguese, who would all be slain, and that no provisions should thus be sold to them. Some of the villages had reverted to paganism and had recognized Dayāl as their king along with their pagan and Mohammedan neighbors; and they refused to sell provisions to the Portuguese or demanded exorbitant prices for them, asking, for example, a *cruzado* or four hundred *reis* and more for an *alqueire* (thirteen quarts) of rice, which earlier had cost two *vintens* or forty *reis*. Sardinha complained about this to Luis Correa, the *sengadji* of Sugala. When the latter refused to make any concessions, he called him a wretched, renegade dog,¹⁰⁵ and added that he was about ready to cut off his head with his two-handed sword, and if he came back to the fortress, he would tell Ataide that he should hang him. As a consequence, the chief became a mortal foe of the Portuguese and forbade them to be given or sold anything within his territory. Sardinha had therefore to

¹⁰⁴ The two principal accounts on this persecution are Castanheda 8, 112-116, and Ataide's letter of November 15, 1537, from Malacca (Sá I 342-350), but they contradict each other in their data on D. João and D. Luis. According to Ataide, the king of Djailolo first attacked Sugala, where he slew D. Luis, his wife, and children, and attacked Mamojo last, where D. João was imprisoned. We follow Castanheda with all the other authors (Correa, Couto, Sousa). His account is longer and more complete and is in greater agreement with the other accounts about Sugala and its *sengadji*, whereas Ataide strives to present his new converts in the best light. He was never himself on Moro; the first captain of Ternate to go there was Francisco Lopes de Sousa, in 1553 (Sá II 134); and Ataide wrote from Malacca. Cf. Lionel de Lima (*ibid.* I 221-222) and Rebello 338-339 399 404-405.

¹⁰⁵ "Cão perro arrenegado" (Castanheda 8, 115).

obtain provisions elsewhere. He then sailed back with them to the fortress and told the captain how things were going. Ataide did not take the matter too seriously. He sent an armed *champana* with some Portuguese to get more provisions in Moro territory. But the people of Bissoa, the first village on the Moro coast, killed the entire crew and seized the ship with all its artillery; and the same befell a second ship which was sailing back with Portuguese from Moro to Ternate.

Around this same time Simão Vaz, the vicar, was staying with a few Portuguese in Sao, a large village on the southwestern part of Morotai, opposite Sugala, whose inhabitants he had baptized. He also with his fellow countrymen was murdered by the people of the village, as Master Francis had already learned in Amboina.¹⁰⁶

In 1530 Yūsuf, the old rajah of Djailolo, had died. Three years later the regent, Cachil Katarabūmi, had poisoned Yūsuf's barely ten-year-old son, Firūz Allāh-ud-dīn, and had made himself king.¹⁰⁷ At the time of the conspiracy of the Moluccan kings, he had feigned friendship with the Portuguese to inspire Ataide with a false security. But he had secretly promised to help Dayāl in his war against the fortress if he would be given the Moro villages. Dayāl had agreed to this and had placed a captain at his disposal, and at the beginning of 1536 Katarabūmi had set sail with a large fleet in order to occupy the Moro villages and to induce the Christians to apostatize. As soon as the first village in the north had fallen, the renegades of Sugala had called him in order to turn over to him the priest Alvares, who had baptized many there, and a number of Portuguese who were building a junk there for carrying cloves. Warned in time, Alvares and his companions fled in a *korakora*, taking with them the altar stone, chalice, and vestments of the church. On the way, however, they ran into some *korakoras* of Djailolo's fleet. A dubious battle ensued, during the course of which Alvares received seventeen wounds. He still, however, retained enough presence of mind to throw the vestments into the sea. This confused and detained their greedy foes, and they were thus able to escape with the advance of night and to reach the fortress of Ternate.

Katarabūmi sailed on from Sugala and subdued the villages lying south of it until he came to Mamojo, which Dom João, the *sengadji*, defended with his people and two Portuguese. Since the *sengadji* refused to be bribed, the king attacked him for five to seven days by land and sea. When the besiegers threatened to burn the rice fields and palm groves of the village, the people surrendered. Dom João and his wounded warriors, however, withdrew into the redoubt. The two Portuguese fled into the woods and were there slain. The *sengadji* and his men fought for a whole day against the superior forces of the Mohammedans. When further resistance was impossible, he slew his wife and his small children during the night so that they would not fall into the hands of his foes. He burned his treasures and wanted to hang himself but was restrained from doing so by his friends and relatives. The besieged surrendered the next day. When Dom João was brought before the rajah of Djailolo, he defended his course of action and refused, despite all the threats made against him, to deny his faith and become a Mohammedan. The victor then, at the request of his relatives, spared his life.

¹⁰⁶ See above, p. 129. Where Sugala is held responsible for the murder. Rebello is mistaken: "I believe that he was called Francisco Alvares" (405).

¹⁰⁷ Navarrete III 70; Castanheda 8, 20 and 71; Q 136, and pl. XXIX 1.

At the news of the fall of Mamojo, the other villages surrendered. The larger towns held out for some days, but they were still weak in their faith and could not help each other since they were widely dispersed and separated from each other by Mohammedan villages. Djailolo was thus able to gain them all by force or gifts.¹⁰⁸ In Chiaoa, near Tolo, the renegades burned the church, and one of the leaders of the village broke up an altarpiece with a picture of the Blessed Virgin on it in order to make the handle of a sword from it. But he did not escape the wrath of God. His hands became crippled, and within a year he and all of his family died. The last of these was pierced in the eye and run through by a swordfish as he was fishing.¹⁰⁹

Ataide did not learn of the defections of the Moro Christians until March 20, 1536, at a time when he was being besieged in the fortress and in the greatest need,¹¹⁰ a situation from which he was only freed by the arrival of his successor Antonio Galvão in October. Under Galvão the fleets of Freyre and Vinagre had regained most of the lost villages and new conversions had been made.¹¹¹ Under his successor, Dom Jorge de Castro, the remaining villages in the Moro territory were baptized, but some, including Sugala, were still in revolt¹¹² and continued to support Djailolo, whose king had been at war with the Portuguese since 1539. Assisted by the Spaniards of Villalobos' fleet and equipped with artillery, he had strongly fortified his main city. In 1539 Castro, and in 1545 Freitas, with the help of Távora, had sought in vain to take it.¹¹³ In 1543, but only with the heaviest casualties, the Portuguese had succeeded in capturing and burning the Moorish town of Galela near Mamojo and its two neighboring villages.¹¹⁴ In August, 1545, the king of Djailolo had still sent a fleet to Moro and had captured a *prau* of the Tolo Christians with its crew.¹¹⁵ The Christian villages, moreover, especially Tolo and Mamojo, were never at peace because of the attacks of the savage Tabarus.¹¹⁶ Since the murder of the vicar Simão Vaz, no priest had dared to reside among the Christians of Moro. They had thus been left to themselves and in the greatest danger, without anyone to instruct them in the faith and to baptize their children.

Such was the condition of the Moro Christians as it was described to Xavier in Ternate. The clove harvest began at the end of August. This required the help of everyone, and both the Portuguese, who lived primarily on the clove

¹⁰⁸ Castanheda 8, 116.

¹⁰⁹ Rebello expressly states in his second draft that the *sengadji* of Chiaoa (Tjawa) near Tolo, Dom Fernando, had told him that the incident occurred during the first rebellion in favor of Djailolo (404-405); and he corrects his first draft, in which he had written that it had taken place in a town between Tolo and Chiaoa (338-339). The first rebellion for Djailolo was in 1535, the second in 1548-1549. In 1556 Frois wrote that some Portuguese and Christians of Chiaoa had told his authority, Nicolau Nunes, that the incident had occurred in their village (DI III 550). Beira was the first to mention the divine judgment, on February 7, 1553 (Sá II 88 90-91). Rebello distinguishes between Chiaoa (Tjawa) near Tolo and Chão (Tjawo) on Morotai (404-405).

¹¹⁰ Sá I 343.

¹¹¹ Galvão writes that under his rule the Moros and Morotais were converted (256), and the **Tratado* states that Galvão had been the first to convert Morotai and Morotia (35v).

¹¹² Rebello 399 429.

¹¹³ Castanheda 9, 22-23; Rebello 435-441; DI III 548.

¹¹⁴ Rebello 426-429.

¹¹⁵ Escalante 150.

¹¹⁶ DI III 548.

trade,¹¹⁷ and the natives went out among the clove forests of Ternate and the neighboring islands until November.¹¹⁸ The southern monsoon was, moreover, coming to an end. At the beginning of October the south wind ceased to blow. When the northern monsoon came in November, it would no longer be possible to sail to Moro until the following April.¹¹⁹ The time had therefore come for Master Francis to carry out his plan of visiting the abandoned Christians in order to strengthen them in their faith and to become acquainted with this mission field. When he told his friends of his decision, they tried to dissuade him with a thousand reasons. Ternate was in a state of war with the rajah of Djailolo, whose *korakoras* were making the area unsafe. His spies, the blood-thirsty Tabarus, were lurking in the forests. The Christians themselves were notorious poisoners. They were fickle and insecure and could change over night from friends to foes and either kill him or hand him over to the Mohammedans. It was foolhardy; it was tempting God to place his life in jeopardy in such circumstances and to run the risk of almost certain death.¹²⁰ When the captain and the people urged the priest to stay away from Moro because of the savagery of the people, who would immediately attack him and tear him to pieces, he raised his eyes to heaven and replied with a smile: "*Senhor!* because of my many sins my merits with God are not so great that he would chose to allow me to suffer such a martyrdom and tortures and death for the salvation of my soul."¹²¹ When his friends saw that all their protests were in vain, they decided to prevent his departure by force and succeeded in persuading Freitas, the captain of the fortress, to deny him a ship for the voyage.

But this brought the priest's blood to a boil. In his next sermon he gave vent to his feelings. He did not fear the dangers, nor the cruelty of his foes, nor the death with which he was threatened. None of these would dissuade him from sailing to the Moro Islands. He did not have any enemies except those who wished to keep him from this good work. They should know that he intended to go there at all costs in order to do what he believed would be to the service of God his Lord. If they would not give him a ship, he would dive into the sea and swim over to Moro.¹²² The people then saw that they would have to yield to his wishes. Henrique de Lima decided to accompany him with a few others on his voyage to the Moro villages in order to assist him, to serve

¹¹⁷ Carrión wrote around 1558 that there were between 120 and 150 Portuguese married to native women in Ternate and living on the trade in cloves (26).

¹¹⁸ Rebello 304 380.

¹¹⁹ Escalante 161. From December to May the northwest coast of Halmahera is practicably impassable for small *praus*; from November to March a visit to Morotai from Halmahera is quite impossible (*Berichten* 1904, 65; 1908, 67).

¹²⁰ Valignano 99.

¹²¹ According to João Lopes Rebello, the eleventh witness in the second process in Goa in 1615 (**Summarium* 810v-811), from data of his father, who sailed with Xavier from Lisbon to India.

¹²² Valignano 99. The vicar general Pedro Fernandes wrote in a similar fashion to the king from Goa in 1545. If the bishop could not sail to baptize the kings of Kandy and Tanor, he offered to swim to them (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 273); and in 1546 the captain of Bassein *wrote to the governor that all the *fidalgos* who had been driven back to his fortress on their voyage to Diu, which was being besieged by the Turks, wanted to dive into the sea in order to swim to Diu (Q 2220). De Clercq notes that from Ternate one can see the west coast of Halmahera with its bay and numerous heights so clearly that it is thought to be much nearer than it actually is. It took him six hours to make the passage in a rowboat from Dodinga, near Ternate, and on other occasions a whole day (53). The distance amounts to twenty-eight miles.

him as an interpreter, and to protect him in case of need.¹²³ The captain placed at his disposal a *korakora* with a number of rowers,¹²⁴ and in the middle of September the well-armed voyagers set off from Ternate.¹²⁵

Departures were usually in the evening so that voyagers could take advantage of the prevailing wind that blew from the land at night. The boat sailed as closely to the coast as it could so that it could seek refuge in a harbor if a storm broke out, since the awkward, flimsy *korakora* was helpless on an open, stormy sea. When there was a favorable wind, the matted sail was partially or completely unrolled. But if there was no wind, attempts were made to entice one through shouts, prayers, and supplications.¹²⁶ If these proved to be of no avail, the rowers had to ply their oars, and this was repeatedly the case. The strong, brown forms could row for days and even nights on end without tiring to the unbroken beat of the gong and *tifa* and their own songs. When the wind and weather were favorable, the voyage from Ternate to Mamojo could be made in from four to six days; but if there were calms or opposing winds, a boat could be detained for two or three days at a time, and the voyage could take ten, thirteen, or even more days.¹²⁷ The south wind blew throughout the day and sometimes at night when the moon was shining; and when it became stronger, white-capped waves and heavy surf revealed the restlessness of the sea and frequently made it impossible to land along the way.¹²⁸

From Gam Lamo, where the fortress was located, the boat was steered through the narrow strait between Ternate and Maitara, known for its strong current, around the southern tip of the island and then north along its eastern coast to its northeast cape and from there twelve and a half miles eastwards across the sea to Sidangoli on the west coast of the large island of Batachina,

¹²³ According to Rodrigo Vaz Pinto from the data of Henrique de Lima (**Lisbon, RProcess* I 80v) and Valignano 99-100.

¹²⁴ In 1562 Hairun gave the priests Prancudo, Nunes, and Gomes a *korakora* with forty rowers for the voyage from Ternate to Moro (Sá III 46).

¹²⁵ According to Valignano, Xavier arrived in Ternate in July, remained there for some two months, and then sailed to Moro (98-99). Xavier writes that he remained three months in Ternate (EX I 376-378), but his statement is not to be pressed. For the description of Xavier's voyage to Moro, we have used the following: (1) General descriptions: The best is that of Campen, "Beschrijving van de Westkust van het Noorder-Schiereiland van Halemahera," BKI 3 (1888) 154-162 (with map); briefer in De Jongh, "De Oostkust van Noord-Halmahera," TAG 26 (1909) 747-772 (with good maps); R. D. M. Verbeek, "Molukken-Verslag," *Jaarboek van het Mijnwezen in Ned. Oost-Indië* 37, *Wetenschaplijk Gedeelte* (Batavia, 1908) 155-181; Gogarten 2-43 (with map and sketches of the volcano); Baretta 18-25 (with good maps); De Clercq 39-52 106-113.—(2) The travelogues of Kükenthal 206-212; Bernstein 399-413, and especially the account of the trips of the Dutch missionaries: Sidangoli—Ibu in September (*Berichten* 17 [1904] 65-67; *Mededeelingen* 49 [1905] 1-53, in December (*ibid.* 48 [1904] 1-56); Galela—Ibu and back in August (*Berichten* 20 [1879] 33 46); Ternate—Galela in January-February (*ibid.* 18 [1877] 125-139). In 1961, in the Tropical Institute in Amsterdam, we were able to examine only five leaves, comprising northern Halmahera and southwest Morotai, of the excellent maps *Halmahera en Morotai* 1:100,000 (Top. Dienst, Waltevreden, 1926-1934).

¹²⁶ Baretta 11 90-91.

¹²⁷ "I needed nine days for the voyage, which only takes six with a favorable wind" (Bernstein 406). In 1614 the Moro missionary *Simi wrote that when they had to return from Moro to Ternate, it took them a whole month to make the voyage, which could usually be made in four days (ARSI: Goa 33, 482).

¹²⁸ On his voyage from Sidangoli to Ibu, from September 17 to 21, 1904, Forgens had a rough sea (*Mededeelingen* 1905 1-5), on the one from September 22 to 23, 1903, a calm sea (*Berichten* 1904, 65-67).

a voyage of around four hours.¹²⁹ It next sailed northwards along the northern arm of Batachina, which stretched for a hundred miles from there to the north cape.

Twelve and a half miles farther on, on the far side of a foothill, the large bay of Djailolo¹³⁰ opened up with an island at its entrance. Here there was a beautiful panorama. Looking back, one could see the small, wooded island of Hiri reaching to a height of 2,130 feet. Near it, to the south, was the tall, smoking volcano of Ternate with its cracked crater. Then there was the lesser peak of Maitara, and towering behind it, the magnificent pyramid of Tidore, which together with the crest of Sidangoli and the southern cape of the bay of Djailolo shut off the sea as if it were an enclosed lake. In front of the voyagers there arose in majestic splendor out of the deep blue sea the volcano of Djailolo, more than 3,300 feet high and covered with a primitive forest which was here and there broken by bright green clearings of *alang-alang* grass or plantations with an extremely narrow bright yellow strip of sand at the foot of the almost perpendicular rock walls in the west. There on the right, behind fresh green coconut palms and dark green mangroves near the mouth of the Djailolo River, lay the residence¹³¹ of the rajah Katarabūmi, a cruel persecutor of the Moro Christians; and in the hinterland, on the other side of the bay, lived his accomplices, the headhunting Tabarus.

On the west the foothills of the volcano of Djailolo fell off steeply into the sea, and above their basalt walls there appeared in the north two more volcanic peaks, one behind the other, Duon and Toduku, which were also more than 3,300 feet high. Before they were reached, there opened up beyond the cape a second, shallower bay, Sahu, hazardous because of its numerous sandbanks. The plain behind it was well watered and cultivated and slowly yielded to the hills in its rear. But the coast was steep near the shore, and the strong surf made it difficult to land.

On the other side of Sahu began the wild, rocky, volcanic coast with its tiny fjords and fishing villages. The safest of these bays was that of Todahé at the foot of Mount Duon at the very beginning of this coast. It was a common anchoring place for vessels sailing from Ternate to Moro.¹³² Immediately following it was Cape Rorai, notorious for its heavy surf. It was feared by voyagers, whether they were sailing with a north or south wind; and they much preferred not to sail around it at night.¹³³ Following Mount Duon was the still higher Toduku, and then Onu, only 2,850 feet high. It had a split peak and like the preceding mountains was an extinct volcano. The landscape was then dominated by the steep, isolated volcano of Gamkonora rising to a height of some 5,300 feet. From its bald, ruptured crater, rose a light cloud of smoke which could be seen from Ternate.¹³⁴ It was the only active volcano on this coast.¹³⁵ It fell off slowly towards the west to the sea; and here, on its north-

¹²⁹ De Clercq 42-43.

¹³⁰ A *prau* needed at least eight hours to go from Ternate to Djailolo in good weather, but the voyage could also take two days (*Berichten* 1913, 186).

¹³¹ Campen, *Westkust* 160-161; *Mededeelingen* 1904, 11; Baretta 20; picture, *ibid.* 21; Roelfsema 41; Gogarten 14 17-19.

¹³² *Mededeelingen* 1904, 13; 1905, 3.

¹³³ *Ibid.* 1905, 3-4.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 1904, 13.

¹³⁵ Gogarten 13; Rebello 388; *Mededeelingen* 1904, 13; Kükenthal 4. A voyage from Galela to Gamkonora was calculated at three days, from Djailolo to Gamkonora at six hours (Van Dam II 1, 57).

ern side, hidden behind the brush on the beach, on a grassy hill surrounded by streams, lay the village of the same name. This was the seat of the *sengadji* Leliato, a brother-in-law of the former sultan Hairun and a vassal of Ternate,¹³⁶ who claimed dominion over Galela in Moro territory. In 1535 he had become a Christian with a portion of his people, but he had soon relapsed; and in 1543 the Portuguese had helped him recapture Galela despite his apostasy from the faith.¹³⁷

The rocky coast was now replaced by the plain of the Ibu Valley, which was only interrupted by a small, isolated, dome-shaped hill with the 4,900-foot-high volcanic peak of Ibu in the background. Here, on the upper and lower courses of the large Ibu River, was the true home of the dreaded Tabarus.¹³⁸

There then followed two rocky capes with the small bay of Tollofua, which was inhabited by pagan Alfuros.¹³⁹ From here one could see in the north the Southern Loloda Islands, known for their edible bird nests, giant turtles, and wealth of fish. These were six volcanic islands which rose from the sea to a height of 100 or 130 feet and were covered with brush, coconut palms, and bamboos. Passing between them, one reached a large, opposing bay,¹⁴⁰ as the volcano of Ternate, which had hitherto remained in sight, disappeared from view in the south.¹⁴¹ Behind the bay, over the wooded, rolling hills, rose the cone of a volcano, Loloda, rising to a height of 2,660 feet. The village in which the lord of the land lived lay a half-hour by rowboat upstream from the coast. According to tradition, Loloda had once been the oldest of the five Moluccan kingdoms, and its rajah had been the first of the five Moluccan kings; but he had lost most of his once mighty kingdom through wars and had become a vassal of Ternate with the title of a *sengadji*.¹⁴² His few subjects lived from the yield of their coconut and sago palms and, especially, from the fish and turtles which they caught on the neighboring islands.

The route led towards the north, between the two northern islands of the Southern Lolodas, past a natural rock gate that stood near the principal island.¹⁴³ The coast became wild and unhospitable. Brown rocks sprang far out into

¹³⁶ Rebello 444; cf. 227-228.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 427; Castanheda 6, 68; 8, 113; Couto 5, 9, 6.

¹³⁸ On the Tabarus, see Rebello 456; Castanheda 6, 68; 8, 113; *Berichten*, 1869, 147; 1877, 133; 1879, 39 42-43; 1890, 166; 1891, 56; 1901, 56; J. Fortgens, "Onder de Tabaru van het landschap Ibu," *Berichten*, 1904, 65-76; *idem*, "Van Sidangoli naar Ibu," *Mededeelingen*, 1904, 1-56; *idem*, "Vier wekenoonder de Tabaru," *Mededeelingen*, 1905, 1-53; *idem*, "Het adat-huwelijk onder de Tabaroe-stam," *BKI* 71 [1916] 425-446; *idem*, "Grammatikale aantekeningen van het Tabaroesch, Tabaroesche volksverhalen en raadsels," *BKI* 84 [1928] 300-542; C. F. H. Campen, "Beschrijving van het landschap Toebaroe," *BKI* 4, 10 [1885] 43-55, with map.

¹³⁹ The voyage from Gamkonora to Tollofua was reckoned at three hours, from there to Loloda at four (Van Dam II 1, 57).

¹⁴⁰ In the map of De Graaf, the canal between the island of Nonassi and Sidua is called *Zuydergad* (South Passage), that between Nonassi and the main island of Kahatollalamo *Prawengad* (Prau Street).

¹⁴¹ Roelfsema 20.

¹⁴² Rebello 291 354; *DI* III 543.

¹⁴³ The strait is called *Ngara mabenno* (Molucca Gate), a name already given to it by Valentyn (*I* 2, 95); in De Graaf *Nordergad* (North Passage). The Rock Gate, one of the two Tollamaudi reefs, in De Graaf *Poorten Eyland*, lies to the left of the exit, as does the pointed rock Marriprotjo, which he calls *Toorn van Babel*. The passage lies between Kahatollalamo and Duwa Setan, since the strait between the latter and Halmahera is strewn with coral reefs (cf. Campen, *Westkust* 156-157; *idem*, *Het eiland Halemahera* 260).

the sea, and the reefs and shallows that lay in front of them made sailing dangerous. Near the small bay of Bakun the rock walls rose almost perpendicularly out of the deep blue waters to a height of several hundred feet. On the cliffs could be found edible swallow nests, and above them was a small village of difficult access. Somewhat farther on was the bay of Bartoko, the only safe refuge on this rough coast with its battering waves. A picturesque boulder resting upon a reef was the object of superstitious fear on the part of the natives, who deemed it to be *pamali*, that is, sacred and untouchable.¹⁴⁴ Three leagues farther on, opposite the beach, was the small island of Diti covered with dense green foliage. Near it was a rocky cape that had been so worn by the surf that it now formed a stone gate.

The coast became more barren as it stretched from here for thirty miles to the northern cape, a densely overgrown wall of coral chalk reaching to a height of 165 feet. At its base was a narrow beach of sand and rocks, dangerous because of the shallows in front of it and the strong waves and current. Near the small village of Doitia, the Northern Loloda Islands came into view. Rich in fish and other creatures of the sea, the two southern islands of this group were low, reaching a height of 65 feet; the larger island on the north, Doitai, was taller, attaining a height of 230. These islands, like the coast on the right, were enclosed by dangerous shallows. The mountains on Batachina, which separated its eastern and western coasts, gradually diminished in height as the boat sailed past the island of Doitai with its numerous turtles and then around the northern cape of Bissoa, which marked the boundary of Moro territory.

Beyond the cape the land receded, forming a small sandy bay with coconut palms on the beach, in the shade of which were native cottages. This was Bissoa, the first Christian village on the island. The next village, Loqui, was an hour farther on. Behind it the hills rose, at first sharply, then more gradually until they reached a height of 820 feet. When the weather and current were favorable, a boat could be rowed in five hours from Cape Bissoa to Cape Djodjefa in the northeast.¹⁴⁵ From here, still farther north and east, could be seen the rocky island of Rau reaching a height of 820 feet. With its edible bird nests, it also pertained to Moro territory. To the east of Cape Djodjefa was the large island of Morotai, whose mountains, rising to a height of 3,280 feet, fell off towards the south. Both Rau and Morotai were inhabited by Christians; and with Morotia, the northeastern coast of Batachina, they comprised the region of Moro.

The boat now shifted its course sharply to the southwest as it followed the coast of Morotia. The voyagers were now ten miles from their goal. They were accompanied on their left for the first half of their way by the blue heights of Morotai and the numerous, flat, coral islands covered with coconut palms that lay between. On the right the coast was at first bare and bouldery. Its few trees were ruffled by the north wind, and its steep, brown, volcanic cliffs were ravaged by the surf. Here was Sugala,¹⁴⁶ the renegade village of Luis Correa

¹⁴⁴ Campen, *Westkust* 156.

¹⁴⁵ *Berichten* 1906, 54.

¹⁴⁶ Today the town has disappeared. According to Rebello it lay three to four leagues (*legoas*) from Tolo (205), which would bring us only to Aru, south of Cape Salimuli, but the point cannot be pressed. According to Castenheda the town seems to have been one of the first on the Morotia coast when one came from Ternate (8, 116). In 1544 Lobo wrote from Tolo to Villalobos, whose ship was between Sugala and Loqui (Q 1170), and Loqui is the modern Aru near Cape Luga. Sugala probably lay near Cape

and ally of Djailolo. In the south, near Cape Saluta, appeared the distant, blue heights of the Tobelo range; and beyond Cape Salimuli, as the boat sailed along the craggy coast and drew near the bay of Galela, there unfolded a splendid view.

Near Cape Djodjefa the coast had risen to a height of 65 feet, near Cape Saluta to 164, near Cape Salimuli to 492, while in the interior the mountains rose to more than 1,300. Towering over the flat coast on the right were two strangely shaped, thickly wooded volcanoes with sunken cones. The one on the north was Gunung Itji reaching a height of 623 feet. The one on the south was Tarakan rising to 984.¹⁴⁷ South of it was the steep, black, sandy beach of Galela. Beyond it, though not visible from the ship, was the large lake of Galela, where three years before Henrique de Lima had fought the Moors and renegades and had been severely wounded. On the other side of the lake the land continued to rise. Here was a hardened stream of lava known as the *Batu angus*, or "Burned Stone." Above it, much farther on and to the right, towered two pale blue pyramids, the volcanoes of Loloda and Ibu on the western side of the island. To the left, closer at hand, was a tall, pointed, wooded peak rising above the dark brown volcanic coast with its tumbling blocks of stone. Beyond this peak was a broader, mightier volcano with a sunken crater reaching to a height of 3,300 feet. This was Tolo, but also known as Kuko. To its left could be seen the pale blue heights of the Tobelo range. Still farther to the left, but closer, the splendid view was terminated by a majestic volcano rising to a height of 2,625 feet above the blue sea. This was Mamojo. On the right, at its foot, was the large Christian village of the same name,¹⁴⁸ the goal of their voyage, the residence of the great champion of the Moro Christians, the *sengadji* Dom João de Mamojo. Beyond the mountain, to the southeast, were the two large villages of Tolo and Chiaoa and the southern boundary of Moro.¹⁴⁹ Two leagues south

Gogilopu, which De Graaf calls *Sukkelaars Hoek* with the observation: "There is good fishing here." But the cape is six leagues from Tolo.

¹⁴⁷ A sketch in Gogarten 10-11.

¹⁴⁸ Gogarten gives a sketch of the panorama (from Verbeek) with an explanation (8-9). Cf. *idem*, "Der Vulkan 'Tolo' auf Halmahera," *Petermanns Mitteilungen* 63 (1917) 242-246 273-277 (with a good map); Campen, *Het eiland Halmahera* 245, n. 1; Kükenthal 147; Verbeek, *Molukken-Verslag* 166-172.

¹⁴⁹ In the Goa process of 1556, Palha, who had taken his departure from Xavier in Amboina in May, 1546, declared that he had received letters from Ternate according to which the priest in Amboina announced the death of Diogo Gil in Ternate. He thus substituted Gil for Araújo and Ternate for Amboina. He then added: "When the priest sailed to Moro, islands of native Christians, and all in the ship were cheerful and content, he suddenly stood up in great agitation, tore his clothes in anguish, and said: 'Jesus! Those people whom they killed! Those people!' Later, when he reached land, he discovered that at the very time when Xavier was speaking, robbers had killed certain (*certos*) Portuguese" (MX II 200). His testimony is repeated by Teixeira, Valignano, Tursellinus, Lucena, Guzman, Du Jarric, and Seb. Gonçalves, who all transfer the murder to Amboina, and Xavier's vision on his voyage from Ternate to Amboina. In the Goa process of 1615, Anna Tostada, the wife of Francisco Toscano, said that she had heard from her mother-in-law, Maria Toscano de Brito, the wife of Diogo Pereira, and from others who, like him, had personally known Xavier that the priest had buried the Portuguese murdered on Moro under a cross he erected on landing (*Relatio* 1619, 87v). This is repeated by Bartoli and Sousa (*Or. Cong.*). In 1615, in the process of Tuticorin, the third witness, the Indian vicar of the city, Francisco dos Anjos, declared that he had heard the following many years earlier in Negapatam from the Franciscan guardian Frey Francisco do Oriente, who died in 1611 in Bassein: When his father as captain of the *Santa Maria dos Anjos* was sailing with Xavier from the Moluccas to Malacca, the latter, when he seemed to be taking some rest, suddenly sprang up and cried out in great alarm and anguish: "Good Jesus! Good Jesus!"

of Chiaoa was Samafo in Tidorese territory, where Spaniards had been living for a long time, and where they had converted a number of the natives to Christianity.

Master Francis and his companions, in keeping with the custom of the land, were given a hearty welcome in Mamojo by Dom João, the *sengadji*, and his people. Two years earlier Henrique de Lima had helped them in their war with their mortal enemies, the Moors and the renegades of Galela; and they had been without a priest since then. The children were brought to Francis so that they might be baptized, and the sick so that he might pray over them. With the help of his Portuguese companions he was able to explain the truths of the faith to both the children and the adults. Only a few of the people here understood Malay, and still fewer Portuguese. Ternatese, a related language, was better known.¹⁵⁰

The coconut palms were in bloom when Xavier arrived, and swarms of bright red lorries and noisy white cockatoos kept busy in their crowns.¹⁵¹ Beyond the palms and banana plants of the village¹⁵² the tree-covered mountain rose steeply, leaving only a little room for undergrowth. The deeply cut bed of the mountain brook at its base was clogged with brownish black blocks of lava.¹⁵³ The hot springs in the vicinity also testified to the volcanic character of the region.¹⁵⁴ Behind Mount Mamojo rose the high, active volcano of Tolo. From the village could be seen white clouds of smoke ascending from its crater. These were frequently mingled with sheaves of fire, and at times the mountain hurled glowing red stones as large as the tallest trees into the air. The natives explained this by saying that the great fire within the mountain's interior was burning stones there.

The people also told the priest that when a storm blew from the volcano of Tolo in the south, it carried so many ashes with it that men and women returning from work in their fields were so covered with it that only their eyes,

Come, defend him! Defend him!" When his father and some Portuguese rushed up and asked him why he was so excited, he replied: "Alas! At this hour the man (whose name he gave) was slain." The guardian no longer remembered the man's name since he had heard of the incident many years before. Those who were present, however, took notice of it. When they landed in Malacca, they asked about it and learned that the man had been killed in Malacca at the very time that Xavier had seen it (MX II 558). The father of the guardian was not the Garcia de Sousa who sailed with Xavier in 1547 from Amboina to Malacca as the captain of the Banda ship (*ibid.* 191 and Q 3576). He was not with Xavier in Ternate and Moro, and he died childless. Bartoli (2, 12) and Sousa (*Or. Cong.* 1, 3, 1, 34) repeat the account and say that when they landed they found the bodies of eight Portuguese who had been murdered in Moro before they set out on their further voyage to the harbor (Mamojo). Here Xavier's vision of the death of Araújo is mixed up with other events with which the saint had nothing to do. None of the witnesses who were with him in Ternate or Moro knew anything about this second vision. Rebello gives an account of how the king of Djailolo captured a brigantine with eight Portuguese in 1535 and slew all of them (268 478). Castanheda for the same occasion mentions a *champana* with certain (*certos*) Portuguese whom the natives killed in 1535 in the village of Bissoa (8, 115).

¹⁵⁰ Cf. A. Huetting, "Iets over de 'Ternataansche-Halmahèrasche' taalgroep," BKI 60 (1908) 370-411 (with a language map). The songs, fables, riddles, and magical formulae in Galela are all in the language of Ternate (*Berichten* 1895, 120; *Mededeelingen* 56 [1912] 194-213; BKI 45 [1895] 193).

¹⁵¹ Buddingh 125.

¹⁵² God punished the apostasy of Tolo with an unheard of scarcity "so that they never again had bananas to eat" (Sá II 87).

¹⁵³ Kükenthal 147.

¹⁵⁴ Rebello 337 403.

nose, and mouth were to be seen, and they looked more like demons than men. They further said that when these winds blew, the hot ashes blinded many wild pigs and killed them; and these were later found dead in the forests. And many dead fish were to be found on the beach in water that had been contaminated by the ashes. When the people asked the priest the meaning of all this, he told them it was a hell to which all those who worship idols go.¹⁵⁵

Earthquakes were frequent and the pagans at such times would beat the earth with sticks to frighten the spirits who lived there and caused the earth to tremble,¹⁵⁶ or through their magicians they tried to seize the spirit responsible for it.¹⁵⁷ According to others, however, the cause of the earthquakes was Naga-Drache, a spirit who stayed between Tarakan and Gunung Itji. He was also the cause of the death of children and of the eclipses of the sun and moon, when he wished to swallow these heavenly bodies.¹⁵⁸ When Francis was offering Mass in the church of the village on September 29, the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, the earth shook so violently that he was afraid that the altar would topple over. Was St. Michael struggling with demons who were trying to prevent this service of God and were being ordered back to hell?¹⁵⁹

The flora and fauna¹⁶⁰ of the island bore a great resemblance to those of Ternate and Amboina. Pinang, sago, and coconut palms, banana plants, and fruit trees of all kinds surrounded the villages; and in the surrounding forests the people had plantations which provided them with their daily food—rice, sago, and *sagoweer*. The mountains were covered with endless, alpine forests. Most of the trees were very tall and straight, like the huge dammars that yielded a precious resin. Their crowns formed a green, leafy roof through which the sun could not penetrate. Only the mouldy, fallen trunks of giant trees and the tangled masses of prickly tendrils of rattan palms, which climbed up into the trees or spread out upon the ground, provided an occasional obstacle to one passing through the forests. North of Lake Galela, however, there was a wide plain stretching up to Mount Tarakan. This was covered with *alang-alang* grass that was taller than a man and crowded out every other kind of plant. In the rivers large crocodiles lay lurking for their prey. Deer, wild pigs, marsupials, and swarms of giant bats were eagerly hunted in the forests; and

¹⁵⁵ EX I 380-382.

¹⁵⁶ DI III 552.

¹⁵⁷ *Berichten* 1890, 40.

¹⁵⁸ Campen, *Nalezingen* 1; cf. *Berichten* 1878, 27; 1895, 38; Hueting 1921, 267-268.

¹⁵⁹ EX I 382-383, where we show that Xavier was in Mamojo on the feast of St. Michael and not in Ternate (*ibid.* 380-383); cf. also Repetti, "Saint Francis Xavier in Maluco," *AHSI* 5 (1936) 43-49.

¹⁶⁰ For the following description of the area of Moro, which the modern territories of Galela, Morotai, and northeastern Tobelo now embrace, our main sources are the following: (1) *descriptions of contemporaries*: Xavier in 1548 (EX I 378-383); Beira in 1553 (Sá II 85-91; Q 6002 6004 6007); Castro in 1553 (Sá II 95-99); Frois in 1556 according to the oral information given to him by Beira and N. Nunes (DI III 543-559); Rebello in 1561 and 1569 (330-339 397-405); *N. Nunes in 1576 (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 117-121); A. Marta in 1588 (Sá V 100-103); (2) *accounts of the missionaries* of the Utrecht Mission Society who founded the first station in Galela in 1866, in *Berichten* and *Mededeelingen*; (3) *more recent descriptions*: the articles of Campen on the Alfuros of Halmahera: "Godsdienst" 1882, "Nalezingen" 1883, "Alfoeren" 1883, "Eenige mededeelingen" 1884; also De Jongh, "Oostkust van Noord-Halmahera" and the important essay of A. Hueting on the relationship of Tobelorese with Galelarese in 1921-1922; also the accounts of the voyages of Kükenthal in 1896 and Roelfesema in 1916 and the monograph of Beretta, *Halmahera en Morotai*, 1917.

occasionally huge snakes were encountered, though these were comparatively rare. A rich variety of birds enlivened the lonely, monotonous wilderness—lories and cockatoos, and yellow, green, and orange parrots in variegated colors, birds of paradise and doves, and small, shy, running fowl. The sea was rich in fish of every sort. Giant turtles, which buried their round, tasty eggs, often up to five hundred in number, under hills of sand on the beach for the sun to hatch, were also caught. The flesh of sea cows was also a treasured delicacy.¹⁶¹ There were no domesticated animals except occasionally some chickens or a pig.¹⁶² The mosquitoes in the coastal villages were a noisome plague.¹⁶³

The residents of the villages were Alfuros, like those of the Amboina Islands, and they spoke a language completely different from Malay. They were light brown in color like their neighboring clansmen¹⁶⁴ and completely different from the black, curly-haired Papuans who lived on the south of the large island, and who were occasionally found as slaves of the more wealthy.¹⁶⁵ The men were tall, lean, strongly built and had fair, regular features; and they not infrequently had beards, even large full beards. Both men and women wore their brown-to-black hair long. The men tied it together in a knot and rubbed their bodies with coconut oil. The women were as a rule shorter.¹⁶⁶ Girls laced themselves with a ratan girdle until they were married in order to obtain as slim a waist as possible.¹⁶⁷ When they married, they frequently stained their teeth black and had their upper teeth filed down to the gums.¹⁶⁸

The people were still at a low cultural level. Reading and writing, money, gold and silver, weights, measures and marketing, metallurgy, the making of pottery, and weaving were all unknown to them.¹⁶⁹ Apart from necklaces made from shells and arm and leg bands fashioned from the same or from the fibers of the areng palm and adorned with shells,¹⁷⁰ the only clothing generally worn by both men and women was the *tjidako*, a white or brown bast apron, which on solemn occasions was painted with gay arabesques.¹⁷¹ At such times the men and women often adorned their hair or ears with a flower.¹⁷²

Before marriage the young people were very free in their dealings with each other, and the nightly dances and the very popular nightly game of *wela-*

¹⁶¹ DI III 544-545.

¹⁶² EX I 379; Baretta 16; Kükenthal 165.

¹⁶³ Kükenthal 91.

¹⁶⁴ Sá V 101.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* I 605; *Berichten* 1871, 60.

¹⁶⁶ Buddingh 132; *Berichten* 1871, 55; 1911, 37; Kükenthal 155-158; Rebello 331.

¹⁶⁷ Rebello 333-401.

¹⁶⁸ Rebello wrote in his first draft that they filed their lower teeth down to the gums (333), in his second the upper teeth (401), a custom that is still common today, cf. Campen, "Eenige" 177-178; Kükenthal 167; Hueting 1921, 308-310.

¹⁶⁹ EX I 379; Rebello 398; Kükenthal 164 169.

¹⁷⁰ Rebello 333-334 400-401; Campen, "Eenige" 176-177; Kükenthal 166-167; Hueting 1921, 247-248; Baretta 68.

¹⁷¹ In recent times men and women still wore bast clothing, the former a *tjidako*, the latter a short sarong reaching to the knees (Hueting 1921, 247; 1922, 274-275; Campen, "Eenige" 172-173, with picture). According to Kükenthal the women earlier wore only a *tjidako* instead of the bast sarong (166). Their clothing was thus an absolute minimum, as it still is to some extent in Seran (cf. *Seran*, pl. 30). The same is also indicated by *N. Nunes, who wrote that when Xavier came to Moro and began to instruct the Christians, "erão tão barbaros que era cousa de pasmo ver [a] deshonestidade que avia nas mulheres" (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 120v); and Rebello notes: "Ha entre elles mulheres mui alvas, e são menos honestas, por razão do trajo, e mais castas que as Malucas" (331).

¹⁷² Campen, "Eenige" 176-177; Kükenthal 166; Hueting 1921, 247-248.

wela,¹⁷³ a tug-of-war accompanied by singing, provided opportunities for a good deal of dissipation. Among the married, however, adultery was rare and was punished by tribal law, even though divorce was easy and polygamy had not been unknown before their conversion to Christianity.¹⁷⁴ But the character of the Alfuros was considerably better than that of the Moors. The Alfuros were open, truthful, cheerful, civil in their dealings with others, dependable, kind, and hospitable,¹⁷⁵ and anyone who was passing by was invited to take part in their festive meals.¹⁷⁶

They had the same weapons as the people of Ternate and Amboina—*parangs*, lances, some bows and arrows, and narrow, black wooden shields adorned with white mussel shells. They obtained the iron they needed for their weapons from the Tidorese or the Ternatans.¹⁷⁷

Their eight-cornered houses were erected on the ground and not raised on poles as those of the Malays. They were made of beams of white wood with walls and roofs of *atap*. About the square, central building, which also served as a warehouse or banquet hall, were grouped four low annexes with trimmed corners and projecting roofs. Light came through the opening of the door and at times also through a window under the gable. The front room with its long bench served also as a dining room; and from this, on the right and left, there was a door leading to the interior where there were located in the three remaining annexes the dormitories with their mat-covered, bamboo benches and the kitchen.¹⁷⁸ The household furnishings consisted of equipment for hunting and fishing, bamboo containers for keeping water, chests and baskets artistically woven from palm leaves, the ever present, graceful *sirih* box, and weapons.¹⁷⁹ Like the Alfuros on Seran and the Amboinese, they kept gaily colored Chinese porcelains hidden underground as precious family heirlooms, which played a leading role in marriage dowries.¹⁸⁰ In the center of the village was the *sabua*, the community house. It was an open hall like those on Amboina and Seran. Its lengthy *atap* roof was borne by wooden poles with rough carvings in arabesques or in the shape of snakes, turtles, birds, crocodiles, and even humans such as hunters and warriors. The hall was decorated with trophies of former

¹⁷³ Hueting 1921, 289-291; Campen, "Eenige" 187-197 (with texts of the songs); Baretta 70 (with picture).

¹⁷⁴ Rebello 333 401; *Berichten* 1879, 149; Hueting 1921, 310-339; Campen, "De Alfoeren" 284-291; Sá II 97.

¹⁷⁵ Buddingh 132; Kükenthal 190; *Berichten* 1866, 173; 1871, 55 59.

¹⁷⁶ Rebello 331 400; Schut 58. The Molucca missionaries defended the land and its people against Ribadeneyra, who had described the territory of Moro as a godforsaken wilderness and its inhabitants as devils in human form (*Vida* 4, 7). They noted that this territory provided much food for the Moluccas. *Pero Nunes wrote in 1587 that they were the most civilized (*el más pulido*) and best characterized people in the region (ARSI: Goa 13, 359v); and in 1588 A. Marta observed that the people were naturally inclined to good, were the best and most gifted of all the Moluccans, and were the best formed and fairest; and that their island, with a superabundance of rice, sago, and fish, was the most fruitful of all the lands in that area (Sá V 96).

¹⁷⁷ On their weapons, see Campen, "Eenige" 178-179 (picture, pl. 5); Baretta 68 (picture) 69, Kükenthal 164.

¹⁷⁸ On the houses in Galela, see Campen, "Eenige" 162-164 (with pl. 1); Kükenthal 159-162; pictures in Baretta 40; Roelfsema 9. Another type of building is given with plans by Schut 54-57. On the houses of Tobelo, also eight-cornered, see Hueting 1922, 236-242 (with plans).

¹⁷⁹ Hueting 1922, 242-245; Campen, "Eenige" 168-170 (with pictures).

¹⁸⁰ Still to be found today on Morotai and Rau as an inviolable relic in the graves of the Morokas, the earlier Christians of Portuguese times.

wars,¹⁸¹ and the space in front of it with the heads, arms, and legs of their enemies.¹⁸² Here in the community house the people held their numerous feasts with their common, public banquets, during which the women and girls sang and danced to the beat of the gong and *tifa* and the men, colorfully adorned with feathers, performed their war dances.¹⁸³ Behind the dwellings, supported on poles and protected by a kind of roof, were the coffins of the deceased. Those of warriors were adorned with the heads of the foes they had slain and other tokens of their bravery.¹⁸⁴ When a member of a family died, the period of mourning lasted for forty days, and one festival for the dead, with eating, drinking, and dancing, followed after the other.¹⁸⁵

Their chief source of food was sago, taken either in the form of hard cakes or pap, and rice. In addition to this there were also bananas, coconuts, sweet potatoes, and different fruits. There were also dried and smoked fish, crabs, especially giant robber crabs, eggs of running fowls and giant turtles, venison, wild pigs, marsupials, bats, and sea cows. Sour *sagoweer*, that is, palm wine, was the usual drink.¹⁸⁶

For the greatest part of the year the villages were almost abandoned, for men and women, if the former were not off hunting or fishing, were busy working their plantations in the forest. These were frequently a good distance away, and the people would live near them in poor huts. But they all returned to the village for the frequent festivals occasioned by marriages, funerals, rice harvests, or the building of a house.¹⁸⁷ At other times also, if it was necessary, they could be summoned to the community house by a large drum.¹⁸⁸ When the rice harvest came to a close in the fall, it was celebrated for days on end with eating, drinking, singing, and dancing throughout the night and into the

¹⁸¹ See the description of the Sabuas in Campen, "Eenige" 165-168 (with picture); *Berichten* 1876, 9; DI III 552.

¹⁸² Rebello 400.

¹⁸³ On the feasts in general see Hueting 1921, 285-291; Campen, "Eenige" 511-516. On the marriage festivities, see *Berichten* 1884, 49-61, 190-192; 1880, 155; Hueting 1921, 310-329; the feast of the rice harvest: *Berichten* 1894, 12-13 50; 1902, 3; at the building of a community house: Campen, "Eenige" 167-168; *Berichten* 1876, 9; of a temple *Berichten* 1881, 157-162; on the return of the warriors: Campen, "Eenige" 185-186; Hueting 1922, 210-212. On the war dance, "without which the Alfuros cannot think of having a feast" (*Berichten* 1880, 49-50). See Campen, "Eenige" 511-513. Other dances, *ibid.* 513-516; the *wela-wela* game, *ibid.* 194-197.

¹⁸⁴ Rebello 334 401; Campen, "De Alfoeren" 293; Kükenthal 180-181; Schut 111 114-115 (picture); *Berichten* 1882, 162; 1885, 57-58; M. J. van Baarda, "Een Apologie voor de Dooden" BKI 69 (1914) 62-63. In Galela territory the bodies of children were placed in the chest for the dead; those of adults were first buried. Their bones were later dug up and placed in it. Pictures in Roelfsema 33, Schut 111.

¹⁸⁵ On the feasts for the dead, see DI III 552 (excessive drinking); Rebello 334 401; van Baarda, in detail, in BKI 69 (1914) 52-89; *Berichten* 1885, 33-60; 1882, 162-169; in Tobelo, Hueting 1922, 137-182.

¹⁸⁶ EX I 379; DI III 544-545; Campen, "Eenige" 170-172; Kükenthal 167-168; *Berichten* 1871, 60; 1911, 37.

¹⁸⁷ *Mededeelingen* 1906, 398. The people living near Lake Galela are in the villages from December to April, but at other times on the plantations. During their feasts they are always in their villages (*Berichten* 1871, 59). During the day the villages are empty (Kükenthal 190). Cf. Campen, "De Visherij op Halemahera," *Tijdschrift voor Nijverheide en Landbouw* 28 (1884) 251-273 (illustrated); *idem*, "De landbouw op Hlémahéra," *ibid.* 29 (1885) 1-17 (illustrated); Hueting 1922, 214-236 246-274; *Mededeelingen* 1906, 387-404; Baretta 81-88 (illustrated).

¹⁸⁸ Campen, "Eenige" 166.

early morning to the rhythmic beating of the gongs and *tifas*. And, needless to say, the *sagoweer* flowed in abundance.¹⁸⁹

In pagan villages the community house was frequently the dwelling of the tribal ancestor and protecting spirit of the site.¹⁹⁰ It was worshiped in human form, especially that of a war god,¹⁹¹ or in the form of a snake, bird, fish, stone, or some unusual object;¹⁹² and it was offered sacrificial gifts: rice, fruit, textiles, and flowers.¹⁹³ Every village had as a rule its own temple in the form of a columned hall open on all sides.¹⁹⁴ In addition to this, spirit houses, like those on Amboina and its neighboring islands, but here known as *salabé*,¹⁹⁵ were to be encountered in the woods. The lofts of the houses also served as abodes for the protecting deity of the family,¹⁹⁶ which was honored with gifts. The idols, roughly carved from wood in the form of beasts or men, were almost all as ugly as the devil in person.¹⁹⁷ The pagans also knew a supreme God, Gikimoi, but no sacrifices were offered to Him.¹⁹⁸ Their entire worship was centered about the spirits of the deceased ancestors, the protecting spirits of the family or of the village, the evil spirits of the forest, which caused ills or the failure of a harvest and had to be won over or appeased by sacrificial offerings. In every house there was a bowl with a fetish in which the spirit lived. But trees, also, especially the sacred *waringi* tree, and stones and rocks were all worshiped as the dwellings of spirits; and *matakaus* were erected in the plantations to threaten thieves with the vengeance of the spirits.¹⁹⁹ There were no medicines.

¹⁸⁹ Near Lake Galela the rice harvest was usually in November (*Berichten* 1871, 62), but occasionally at the beginning of August (*ibid.* 1894, 12), at the end of September (*ibid.* 1902, 3), and after the middle of October (*ibid.* 1895, 50). In northern Halmahera there were ten different harvests of rice since the princes wished to have new rice to eat many times during the year (*ibid.* 1878, 26).

¹⁹⁰ Campen, "Eenige" 166.

¹⁹¹ *Berichten* 1874, 141; 1885, 52. On the *wongemi*, the family spirit, see Hueting 1921, 261-265.

¹⁹² Rebello 335 398; DI III 551-552; *Berichten* 1874, 141; 1875, 126; 1881, 159; Hueting 1922, 182-197; Kükenthal 178.

¹⁹³ *Berichten* 1874, 38 50; DI III 552; Sá II 97; Kükenthal 176.

¹⁹⁴ *Berichten* 1871 62; 1874, 137 140-141; 1881, 159; Campen, "Eenige" 166. Picture of the village temple of Kië-itji near Djailolo in Baretta 45. On the village temple (*halu*) of the Tobelorese, see Hueting 1921, 256-258.

¹⁹⁵ On the *salabés*, see DI III 551-552; Campen, "Eenige" 166-167 (illustrated); *Berichten* 1874, 50; 1885, 51-56 (magicians banish the souls of the deceased to the spirit houses); Baretta 50-52 (picture).

¹⁹⁶ Baretta 51-52; *Berichten* 1871, 62.

¹⁹⁷ Rebello 335 398 402. Beira speaks of idols in Tolo (Sá II 88), among which was a very large one imitating the Trinity (Q 6007). Frois mentions idols carved in wood that resembled human beings (DI III 552). Cf. *Berichten* 1874, 141; 1880, 58-59; Kükenthal 105.

¹⁹⁸ On the *Gikimoi*, see *Berichten* 1874, 140; 1878, 18; 1889, 36; 1895, 38; 1913, 19-22; called by the Tobelorese *Gikirimo* or *Djou Latala* (Hueting 1921, 258-261).

¹⁹⁹ In 1553 Affonso de Castro wrote that the Moro Christians worshiped the devil before their conversion (Sá II 97). But Nicolau Nunes, better informed, declared that they did not know the devil, but honored all kinds of gods: those of their father, mother, and children, those of rice, fish, wine, a large and a small god, hostile spirits of the forest, and the spirits of their deceased relatives (DI III 551-553). According to Rebello they were great devil worshipers (331 335 398 402). A very extensive account of the Alfuros' belief in spirits is given in Hueting 1921, 258-285 (Supreme Being, genius of the family, hostile spirits, shamanism); 1922, 157-197 (spirits of the dead, fetishism). See also Campen, "De godsdienstbegrippen der Halmaherasche Alfoeren" TBG 27 (1882) 438-451; *idem*, "Nalezingen" 337-348; Kükenthal 175-181; Baretta 43-57; *Mededeelingen* 1906, 189-210; *Berichten* 1871, 62-63; 1873, 200; 1874, 50 136-142; 1875, 126-129 201; 1878, 24 27;

When someone fell ill, a magician had to be summoned. He would sit down on the bench along the wall of the house in a state of trance. The spirits would then tell him the cause of the illness and what was to be done in order to obtain the desired cure.²⁰⁰ If the magician designated a specific person as a *swangi*, who preyed upon men like a vampire, the culprit was slain without mercy, for magic and soothsaying played a great role in the lives of the Alfuros, and the word of the magician had to be blindly obeyed.²⁰¹ But in Mamojo and the neighboring Christian villages, the attacks of the pagan Tabarus were feared even more than *swangis*. These lived in the mountains of the interior between the east and west coasts. As auxiliaries of the rajah of Djailolo, they lay in wait for their victims in the forests with bows and arrows, or they lurked at night near the cottages in order to cut off the heads of defenseless men, women, and children and to bring them as trophies to their villages.²⁰² No one, as a consequence, dared to go from one village to another at night.²⁰³

From the peak of Mount Mamojo, which could be reached from the village in three hours, one could obtain a view of all the Moro territory. On the left was the blue mountain chain behind the coast of Morotia, fifteen leagues in length. In the north were the mountains of Morotai reaching to a height of 3,300 feet. And on the right, to the south, were the Tobelo Islands lying in front of the Moro Coast. But these islands were for the most part in Tidore territory.²⁰⁴ In the whole of Moro there were twenty-nine Christian villages: eight in Morotia; eighteen, large populous towns²⁰⁵ on Morotai; and three on Rau.²⁰⁶ Eight of these villages were under a *sengadji*: Chiaoa, Tolo, Mamojo,

1879, 143; 1880, 58-59 69 158; 1885, 54; 1887, 123; 1890, 146; 1891, 145. Cf. van Baarda, "Over het geloof der Galela's," *Mededeelingen* 1927, 250-279 305-331.

²⁰⁰ On the magicians, see DI III 553-554; Rebello 331 398; Campen, "De godsdienstbegrippen" 3-4 6-10; Baretta 50-54; Hueting 1921, 270-285; *Berichten* 1872, 66-67; 1876, 5-7; 1880, 159; 1892, 131; 1903, 118-119; 1911, 66-71 (in detail).

²⁰¹ On the *swangis*, see Campen, "De godsdienstbegrippen" 2-3; *idem*, "Nalezingen" 2-5; *Berichten* 1893, 169 (even children at times helped kill their parents as alleged *swangis*). Their belief in soothsaying is mentioned by Castro (Sá II 97), Rebello 398, and Frois (DI III 552).

²⁰² "The king of Geilolo began to persecute the Portuguese and Moro Christians, many of whom he slew and imprisoned; and he conducted his persecution through people living in the forest, great archers, in such a way that they slew Christians almost daily in Tolo. This persecution had already begun when our Father Master Francis went to visit the place," Frois wrote in 1556 (DI III 548); and A. de Castro wrote in 1553: "In the interior of Morotia is a village with around a hundred warriors, very militant and treacherous people, who never slay except from the rear. They never come to an open battle and are thus greatly feared by all other peoples. No one can stop them since they live in very dense forests, and the Christians were always greatly persecuted by them" (Sá II 98). Fear of the headhunting Tabarus was still as great among the Alfuros on Lake Galela in 1874 as it was in Xavier's time (*Berichten* 1874, 182; 1891, 166). In 1914 the Moors of Djailolo stirred up the Tabarus so much against the Dutch rule that they cruelly murdered a supervisor with three policeman and a servant (*ibid.* 1915, 118).

²⁰³ Beira, Xavier's successor on Moro, had to go from one village to the other during the day, when it was extremely hot, to visit the Christians since no one dared travel at night because of mountaineers (the Tabarus), who often came to kill the Christians in their homes (Q 6004).

²⁰⁴ Bernstein 410-411.

²⁰⁵ *Annual letter of Malabar of 1608 (ARSI: Goa 33, 56).

²⁰⁶ According to Castro in 1553 (Sá II 95). When a higher number of Christian villages is given, for example, 36 (*ibid.* III 47), 40 (*N. Nunes in ARSI: Goa 47, 120v), 46-47 (*idem*, DI III 716 547-548), the hamlets (*soas*) are also included, of which Tolo alone had thirteen (Q 6117). In 1588 Marta gave a list of twenty-eight Christian villages of the

and Sugala in Morotia; Sao, Mira, Saquita, and Sopi on Morotai.²⁰⁷ One league west of Mamojo, on the other side of the mountain, was Tolo, located on a safe, easily defended site on the rocky bed of a stream of lava between two mountain brooks and protected from the north wind by the islands lying before their mouths.²⁰⁸ With its three thousand Christians, Tolo was the largest and most

Moro mission when it was lost in 1572 (Sá V 101). Sousa gives another, *Pune (Or. Conq.* 2, 3, 1, 31). For their *identification* (cf. Schurhammer, "Taufen," 59; above, p. 158), the following *aggravating factors* are to be noted: (1) In 1588 the Moro mission had been abandoned and inaccessible for sixteen years. Marta was never himself on Moro and names as his authority Brother Antonio Gonçalves, who was stationed on Rau in 1569 (Sá V 98 102; ARSI: *Goa* 11, 433v). His list of towns contains some scribal errors, and these were augmented in the printed editions of Sá and Sousa. (2) The Christians were abandoned from 1572 to 1606 and, after the short restoration of 1606-1613, were again abandoned for ever and left by the Dutch to their mortal enemies, the Moors of Ternate. Through constant wars and persecutions they were decimated, systematically exterminated or enslaved, and their wives sold as slaves in distant regions (*A. Pereira in 1594, ARSI: *Goa* 14, 194-195v). Marta estimated the number of Moro Christians at the outbreak of the persecution in 1568 as sixty to eighty thousand (Sá V 101). During the short period of the Spanish restoration (1606-1613), fourteen of the twenty villages with a total population reduced to 1,700 were fused into three. Through fear six of the twenty villages stayed with Ternate and Holland (*ibid.* *Goa* 55, 297). After the withdrawal of the Spaniards, the Christians of Sao, Sopi, Mira, and Saquita were carried off by Sultan Muzaffar (ruler of Ternate from 1610 to 1627) to Dodinga and Djailolo. Others before this had already been forcibly carried off to Tidore (Colin III 66). In 1628 Muzaffar's successor brought the rest, eight hundred in all, to Ternate with the help of the Dutch, where they were settled as slaves and forced to become Mohammedans (Van Dam II 1, 108 111; *Bouwstoffen* II 92 137; Wessels, *De Katholieke Missie in de Molukken 1606-1677* [Tilburg, 1935] 62). Morotai and Rau became practically deserted. Only a small remnant remained and preserved a remembrance of their past (Schut 100-102; Schurhammer, "Las Islas de Moro," *Cristianidad* 12 [1955] 317-318). (3) In more recent times Morotai was again visited and settled by Galelarese and Tobelorese, who retained the names of some of the old villages but gave new names to others. Many now as a consequence have two names, one Galelarese and the other Tobelorese.—The following *mitigating factors* should also be noted: (1) According to Marta all the villages in Morotai lay on the beach, and Morotai and Rau were entirely Christian (Sá V 100-101). (2) The villages lay near the mouths of the rivers, which provided them with drinking water, a refuge for their *praus*, and the only means to reach their plantations in the interior. They were also as a rule sheltered by a cape. Rivers and capes, however, bore and still today generally bear, the names of the respective villages, and new arrivals usually settled near earlier villages. (3) Spanish names, remains of dwellings and furniture (Chinese porcelains), and Moroka graves, that is, graves of former Christians, sporadically recall earlier Christian villages. Many villages still survive in the Moroka legends. (5) Marta's list is in a certain sense geographically compiled and probably gives the districts of the eight *sengadjis*: 1. Sugala (1-4), 2. Saquita (5-7), 3. Mamojo (8-10), 4. Tolo (11), 5. Chiaoa (12), 6. Sopi (13-16), 7. Mira (17-19), 8. Sao (20-23 26-28), where only 24 and 25 seem to be out of order (see Map, p. 158). [In his description of Xavier's visit to Moro, Schurhammer usually follows the names of the villages as given by Marta, but he occasionally substitutes more recent terms. For the sake of greater consistency, we have given the older names in the text and indicated in the notes the modern designations. For Marta, see now the critical presentation in Hubert Jacobs, S.J., *Documenta Malucensia* II, (Rome, 1980) 254.—Translator's note.]

²⁰⁷ Van Dam II 1, 111.

²⁰⁸ The site is described by Rebello 336-337 403 (where *expugnavel* is a misprint for *inexpugnavel*). When the Spanish commander withdrew the garrison and missionaries from Moro, the natives fled from Tolo to Bitjoli. They were, however, captured by the Ternatans and carried off as slaves to different regions, and Tolo was burned down (ARSI: *Goa* 55, 482; Wessels, *De katholieke Missie in de Molukken* [Tilburg, 1935] 53-54). In 1617 the village had again become a forest without any trace of its former habitations (ARSI: *Goa* 17, 186). According to the local tradition, it lay between Ruku and Mede (Huetting in TAG 22 [1905] 609-610; Gogarten, "Der Vulkan 'Tolo.'" *Petermanns*

important town in Moro territory. Its *sengadij* had been baptized in 1534 along with that of Mamojo. A league from it, towards the southeast, was Chiaoa;²⁰⁹ and two leagues further south of this village, on the narrow strait between the island of Meti and Batachina, and already in Tidore territory, was Samafo.²¹⁰

One league west of Mamojo, not far from the bay of Galela and the path that led from the coast to Lake Galela, was the Christian village of Puni,²¹¹ which was at constant war with the Moors and renegades who had occupied a peninsula on the northern part of the lake in 1543. At this time Gemes Lobo had come to the help of the Christians with fifty men, including Henrique de Lima and Gabriel Rebello, in two *fustas* from Ternate. They had left their boats behind with some of their men in Tolo and Mamojo and had sailed up in small *praus* with native auxiliaries of these towns to the beach of Galela. Here the natives had carried their boats on their shoulders for a good half an hour to Lake Galela. They had then rowed another half hour to the peninsula and attacked the foe, but they were driven back with heavy losses. Lobo had to send twenty-seven casualties back to Ternate at the time, including Lima and Rebello. The enemy did not flee until reinforcements had come. Their town and two neighboring villages were then burned without resistance.²¹² The lake, which was two hours in length and a half-hour in breadth, was replete with crocodiles and numerous waterfowl and had a number of small wooded islands. The beautiful, partially wooded banks surrounding the lake were mirrored in the tranquil waters. All about the lake were pagan Alfur villages in the midst of coconut palms, banana plants, and other fruit trees. Alternating with these

Mitteilungen 63 [1917] 244-245, and map). Cf. the legends about Kibo, last Christian king of Tolo, whose grave is revered at the site of the former village, opposite the island of Tolonuo (cf. Hueting 1921, 290; 1922, 284-285; *Berichten* 1904, 114-115). On his descendants in Tollofua, see *Berichten*, 1877, 127. On refugees from Tolo on Seran, see Gogarten, "Der Vulkan 'Tolo'" 244. The inhabitants of Ruku are also, according to tradition, descendants of refugees from Tolo (Campen, "Het eiland Halemahera" 247).

²⁰⁹ Chiaoa (also erroneously written as Chiala, Chiauay, Chiamo) lay a league east of Tolo (Rebello 403). In 1526 the Spaniards bought many goats, chickens and other provisions there. In 1528 they burned the village, which belonged to Ternate and had around five hundred citizens. It lay two leagues north of Samafo opposite the Tobelo Islands (Aganduru 78, 272; Navarrete III 151-152 180). In 1606 the people of Samafo and Chiaoa moved to Tolo in order to be able to defend themselves better from Galela and Tobelo. At this time the latter lay eight leagues within the interior (Colin III 63). The village opposite the island of Kumu is today called Tobelo or Gamsungi (New City) since it was settled in the eighteenth century by Tobelorese who had lived near Lake Lima in the interior thirty-one miles south of Tolo (Hueting 1921, 231 234 and TAG 22 [1905] 613). The two villages of Gurua and Gamhoku south of Chiaoa (today: *Tjawa*) still play a role in the Moroka legends (Schut 101-102).

²¹⁰ Samafo lay at the south end of the ten or twelve Tobelo Islands on 1° 20' N. In 1526 its chief was Bubacar (Abu Bakr), a vassal of Tidore (Navarrete III 151-152 231). It is the modern *Mawea*, opposite the island of Meti, almost three leagues south of Tjawa. In 1553 the two hundred Christians of the village were separated from the Moors and brought to Tolo (Rebello 296 492, where *Çamafo* is to be read instead of *Çama, filho*; Q 6044).

²¹¹ In 1569 the fleet of Ternate attacked Puni, where the Moors seized or killed three hundred Christians and with unheard of cruelty cut infants from the wombs of pregnant women and hacked them to pieces before their eyes because they refused to apostatize (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 9 24-v). In 1917 the present pagan village had 202 inhabitants. The temple of the village had an image of its protecting spirit in the form of an owl (*Berichten* 1874, 140-141).

²¹² Sá I 393-394; Rebello 201-203 426-429 (ms.). In 1606 Galela still lay on a peninsula in the sea (Colin III 63), probably where maps today give Duma Bobane.

were bosks, dry fields of rice, sago thickets, and plains covered with tall *alang-alang* grass. And all was dominated by the tall, blue mountains of the interior.²¹³

Master Francis visited the Christian villages near Mamojo, where he was received with great delight by the people. He baptized the children and strengthened the new converts in their faith, using those who had accompanied him as his interpreters. But soon after his arrival he began looking towards the north. The northeastern monsoon was on its way. The longer he waited to visit the villages on Morotai and Rau, the more inclement the weather would be. Already in September the north wind began to blow there. In October the surf along the coast of those islands would be stronger and the rain storms more severe, and the waves would already be crashing high against the north cape of Morotai. And from November till March the island could not be reached at all by any ships.

Even with a tranquil sea a visit to those villages would take at least a month if one stayed only for a day in each.²¹⁴ In a fragile and narrow vessel that afforded little protection from the wind and rain, the heat and cold, and which was so greatly dependent on the constantly changing winds and currents, it was both difficult and dangerous. No year passed without one or other *prau* breaking up upon the coral reefs.²¹⁵ In many places the drinking water was brackish. Almost the only food consisted in hard sago cakes or sago pap, dried or smoked fish, and bananas. And the Alfuros usually ate their food cold and unsalted, or at best mixed with some sea water or pepper.²¹⁶ In order to take advantage of the winds from the land, boats usually sailed at night. The gong, *tifa*, and songs of the rowers impeded sleep. At times voyagers had to remain in a place for a day or two until a contrary wind died down before they dared to continue on their voyage or to pass from one island to another. Though the dreaded Tabarus on Morotia were a hazard to the Christian villages and forced the priest to travel on land during the heat of the day, the fate of the first two missionaries also advised caution. The new converts, who casually mixed poison into the food of their adversaries and readily joined forces with those who were stronger to save their own lives, could overnight, if stirred up by the Mohammedan merchants or their emissaries, be changed into foes and would kill their guests or hand them over to the Moors. And who could be sure that during the voyage a heavily armed *korakora* from Djailolo would not suddenly appear from behind some promontory and engage them in mortal combat?²¹⁷ If one fell sick in the

²¹³ The sea is described by Kükenthal 90 147-153; Buddingh 108; *Berichten* 1867, 179-182; 1869, 34-41 53-55; 1881, 43; picture in Roelfsema 29.

²¹⁴ De Jongh, "Morotai" 395; *Berichten* 1903, 204; 1908, 67; 1916, 130.

²¹⁵ De Jongh, "Morotai" 387.

²¹⁶ An Alfur meal on Morotai is described by Schut 58.

²¹⁷ The two companions, Beira and Nunes, whom Xavier sent on the Moro mission were able to give an account of the difficulties and dangers of the missionary journey to the Moro Islands, during the course of which they suffered thirst, heat, and persecution. Beira called it a prolonged martyrdom (Sá II 85). He came back from Morotai very ill. On this voyage he had suffered shipwreck three times, losing his books, breviary, and cassock. Once he was shipwrecked and carried around on a plank for two days in the sea without food. Cast up naked on a hostile beach, he had to keep hidden from the Moors by day and night and thus contracted a burning fever. Once he was within a hairsbreadth of martyrdom when a plank of his boat broke on the open sea. While he was repairing it the king of Djailolo, his mortal enemy, sailed close by, fortunately without recognizing him. Once his new converts wanted to slay him while he was sleeping after a meal, as the king of Ternate had asked them to do. They had already surrounded him with their weapons in hand

unhealthy, feverish climate, all that one could do was to hope in God, for the natives had no medicines for those who were ill.²¹⁸

Francis therefore sailed as soon as he could from Mamojo with his Portuguese and native companions²¹⁹ in order to visit the Christian villages in the north. They kept close to the coast since *korakor*s were helpless in the open sea when a storm arose.²²⁰ They sailed past Galela, Tarakan and Gunung Itji, and the mouth of the Chiabo River to Cunialonga, the first Christian village north of Puni, lying on a sandy beach amidst coconut palms.²²¹ Nine and a half miles farther on was Cape Salimuli with the harbor of Tutumaloleo lying opposite it.²²² Farther to the north was the renegade village of Sugala, and between the two northern capes of Batachina were the two Christian villages of Loqui²²³ and

when he was awakened by the noise and asked them the reason for it. They then told him what their plan had been. Twice they sold him to his enemies. On one occasion Brother Nunes also suffered shipwreck at night when he was visiting the Christians by the sea. During a beating rain the tumultuous waves hurled him on a coral reef that was as sharp as a knife. After swallowing a great deal of water he was able to escape with his bare life by swimming away. At other times they had to pass the night in tall trees or on wild, frigid mountains through fear of their persecutors (Sá II 48-50 81 86; DI III 556-558; Q 6002 6004 6007). Quadros mentions Beira's three shipwrecks and how he spent two or three days on a plank (DI III 344). When Ribadeneyra erroneously attributed these doubtful passages to Xavier (*Vida* 7, 4), Teixeira wrote to him that there was no knowledge of Xavier having experienced adventures of this kind (MX II 805). When Quadros states that Xavier had once passed the night in a tree and had thus escaped from his enemies (DI III 333), he is probably confusing him with Beira or Nunes. In the so-called Tolo miracle, which we shall discuss later, Xavier is confused with Beira by three witnesses in 1556. In the same process Francisco Lopes de Almeida declared that people who had come from Maluco in 1547 told him that when Xavier preached on the bank of a broad river in Moro and the natives had attacked him with stones and arrows, he had easily snatched up a large, thick pole which many men could not have moved and passed over it to the other bank, a feat which those who were there took to be a miracle (MX II 292). This incident, which is not found in any other source, is perhaps also a confusion with one experienced by, for example, Francisco Alvares. The fact that Xavier was accompanied by his armed Portuguese friends and that Rebello, himself, a friend of Henrique de Lima, knew nothing of the miracle makes it seem improbable.

²¹⁸ EX I 380.

²¹⁹ If Dom João, the *sengadji*, did not personally accompany Xavier on this voyage, he certainly provided him with a Christian of the village who knew the land and the language.

²²⁰ For the voyage to Morotai and Rau we have used: (1) the geographical descriptions of De Jongh, "Oostkust van Noord-Halmahera" and "Morotai," TAG 26 (1909) 747-772 381-397, both with good maps; (2) the travelogue of the missionary Schut (his first journey in June, his second in September, described in TAG 23 [1906] 44-118, and *Berichten* 1903, 199-204); more briefly van Dijken (*Berichten* 1896, 17-35), van Baarda (*ibid.* 1898, 161-171), and Ellen (*ibid.* 1915, 186-188; 1916, 130-134); also Bernstein 413-418 423-426 428-430 and Roelfsema 15-16 46-48; (3) the following maps: Admiralty Map, n. 386: "Noord-Halmahera en Morotai," 1:200,000 ('s Gravenhage, 1926); "Halmahera en Morotai," 1:600,000, in Baretta: "Nord-Halmahera" in Campen, *Westkust*; De Jongh, "Oostkust" and "Morotai" in TAG 26 (1909); and p. 162 of the map mentioned above, "Halmahera en Morotai," 1:100,000; also Survey Map: "Morotai," 1:100,000 (1934).

²²¹ From time immemorial Cape Lalonga (formerly: *Cunialonga*) has been called *Koza* (Fortress) from a row of scattered stones, which are pointed out as the remains of a fortress of a vanished race (*Berichten*, 1897, 140). In 1917 the village had 131 residents, pagan Alfuros.

²²² Tutumaloleo (Tutuma Harbor), a Mohammedan village that had 223 inhabitants in 1917 (De Jongh, "Oostkust" 759).

²²³ Loqui, today *Aru* (*Grotto*). Cape Luga recalls the old name. In 1544 Villalobos anchored between Sugala and Loqui (Q 1170).

Bissoa.²²⁴ This was the narrowest spot between Morotia and Morotai, but the strong current that prevailed here made the passage so difficult that it could hardly be accomplished by small vessels. Boats therefore sailed as a rule directly from Cape Salimuli to the northeast to the islands lying off the southwest coast of Morotai.²²⁵ This archipelago consisted of some twenty flat coral islands covered with coconut palms and other trees. Some of these islands were uninhabited. Most of them had no drinking water. The passage through them was not without danger since they were surrounded by coral reefs and shallows and at low tide were partially connected to each other. But the sea here was calm, and on its floor, through the clear transparent waters, could be seen coral gardens with their varied wealth of forms and colors, where tiny dark blue and green fish darted over red and blue starfish and the haunts of shellfish. Despite the great heat, the brackish water, and the plagues of mosquitoes on these islands, they attracted many people who settled there temporarily, or even permanently, and occupied themselves primarily with catching the fish, crabs, turtles, and trepangs that comprised the wealth of this island world.²²⁶ A native rowboat could usually reach Morotai from Mamojo on this route in ten hours.²²⁷

On the other side of these islands, and protected by them from the wind and waves, was the mouth of the large Sao River on the southwest coast of Morotai. It was located on a broad plain that took an hour and a half to cross and was covered with mangrove swamps and sago woods. Here lay the once large and flourishing Christian village of Sao, whose inhabitants had been instructed and baptized with their *sengadji* in 1534 by Simão Vaz, the *vigario* of Ternate. But the following year during the conspiracy of the Moluccan kings, they had risen up against the Portuguese in favor of Djailolo and had murdered the priest and his Portuguese companions. But the punishment of God had followed on the heels of this. The town had become so depopulated through subsequent wars, famines, and other torments that it was on the point of extinction.²²⁸ An hour north of Sao was a second Christian village, Pileu, on the mouth

²²⁴ Today *Supu*. The ancient name is still recalled by Cape Bissoa.

²²⁵ *Berichten* 1896, 21; 1898, 165. Bernstein sailed from Galela to Tutumaloleo in a rowboat in a single day even though there were no winds (413).

²²⁶ On this archipelago, see De Jongh, "Morotai," 387-389; Schut 44-53 117-118; *Berichten* 1896, 22-24 35; 1898, 165-166 170; 1916, 134; Bernstein 423; Roelfsema 15-17. Marta's *Coluchi* is probably to be found in Kolorai, one of these islands.

²²⁷ Roelfsema 46-48.

²²⁸ Sao (also written as Chao, Chaao, Chau, Chabi, Siau) is the more recent *Tjawo*. Located on a strategically and geographically favorable site, it was one of the main villages of the Morotais. Rebello consequently refers to the island itself simply as *Chaao* (331 339 405). The villagers were baptized in 1534 but apostatized in 1535 and slew their priest, Simão Vaz. On this Rebello observed: "Dali a poucos annos foi todo despovoado a deserto, como agora [1569] está, por guerras, fomes, desastres, trabalhos, e outros casos, a que não sabem dar razão" (405), "sem ficar viva creatura, e agora [1561] he matto igualmente como todo o outro" (339). But we find Brother N. Nunes stationed there in 1553 (Sá II 134); and in Marta's time the village was a Christian community with a *sengadji*. When the Spaniards recaptured Moro in 1606, Sao was the main village of Morotai with seven hundred inhabitants under a *sengadji*. In 1607 a "very good" fortress with a garrison of ten men was built there, but it was captured in 1608 by the Dutch and Ternatans (ARSI: *Goa* 16, 151; 48, 157v; De Jonge III 265-266 268). The Sao River reflects the old name. The island of Comandandi in front of the former village and Mount Bandera behind it recall the presence of the Spaniards. Under Sultan Muzaffar (1610-1627), the people were carried off to Dodinga (Van Dam II 1, 111). In 1903 an old woman near Sakita told Schut the legends about the last battles and decline of the Christians of Sao and Morotai. The present inhabitants

of a river of the same name, whose upper course was also rich in sago woods.²²⁹ Three hours farther on, south of Cape Tilei²³⁰ on the mangrove-covered coast, was the Christian village of Muravanghi. Here the archipelago of flat coral islands came to an end.²³¹

Three hours farther north Cape Wajabula,²³² covered with coconut palms, stretched far out into the sea. To its left appeared the heights of the island of Rau, separated from Morotai by a strait a half a league in width. The former of these was only six or seven leagues in circumference, whereas the latter was thirty-five. At the center of the steep east coast was Rau, the principal town on the island, which owed its fame to three grottoes in its vicinity. These could only be entered at low tide because of the foaming billows which beat continuously against the rocks. The two eastern caves were inhabited solely by bats, whereas the one on the west contained the famed edible bird nests, like those of small swallows, which were sold dearly as rare delicacies to Chinese merchants.²³³ Two more Christian villages were located on the gently falling west coast of the island. One of these was Cauano²³⁴ and the other, on a bay farther to the north, was Yolo.²³⁵ Both were at the mouths of streams that provided fresh drinking water. The people lived from fishing and also had plantations of bananas and yams.

From Rau they sailed to the northwest coast of Morotai, which stretched in a northeasterly direction on the other side of Cape Wajabula. The first Christian village here was Alao, or "Bamboo" in Galelarese.²³⁶ It was on the mouth of a river, like its neighboring village of Chio a short distance farther

still look upon the sago forests near Tjawo as being the property of the vanished Moroka Christians (De Jongh, "Morotai" 382-383 386). According to the Moroka legend, a daughter of the Christian king of Tolo once lived south of Sao in Dehegila, and her grave is still to be seen there. She had also ruled over Gurua, Pitu, and Dowongigila (Schut 100-102).

²²⁹ More recently: *Pilowo*. The Pilowo River lies 2.5 miles north of the Tjawo River and is separated from it by Mount Bandera. In 1909 the few inhabitants on the south bank had moved to Kolorai. Thirty-two immigrants had built six huts on the north bank (De Jongh, "Morotai" 386).

²³⁰ In 1909 Tilei was a Moorish village with twenty-six cottages and numerous coconut palms. According to the Moroka legend a son of the Christian king of Tolo once ruled there (Schut 101).

²³¹ Marta's list names Muravanghi between Coluchi (Kolora?) and Sao (Tjawo). Since Tilei was a Christian village, we can look for it in the village of Dowongi kokutu (Black Sand), nearly two miles south of Tilei.

²³² The present village of Wajabula is more recent (Schut 74).

²³³ The village is now known as *Aru (Grotto)*, "on the east side of the island in this time of the year [August] the only place that can be used to anchor" (Bernstein 413). On Rau, see DI III 543; Bernstein 413 417; De Jongh, "Morotai" 389-390; *Berichten* 1879, 137-138; 1896, 25-26 34. On the island are still to be found numerous graves of Moroka Christians, some containing crosses or crockery (*Berichten* 1879, 137).

²³⁴ Since Marta names the village *Cauano* in connection with Rau and its strait, we may identify it with Wama on the southwest coast of Rau. It is also known as Wawumaloleo (Wawuma Harbor). Van Dijken anchored there in 1896 and found twenty empty fishing huts near a brook with good drinking water (*Berichten* 1896, 25). Map 1:100,000 has a village of Wawama on the southwest tip of Morotai.

²³⁵ Yolo (erroneously *Tolo* in Sá, *Hiolo* in Sousa) is named by Marta as the first village on the strait of Morotai between Rau and Halmahera. It is now *Loleolamo* (*Large Harbor*), on the northwest coast of Rau, and is today only occasionally inhabited (De Jongh, "Morotai" 389).

²³⁶ More recently: *Galau*. Schut, who gives the Moroka legend, according to which a son of the Christian king of Tolo once lived here, has *Lao* (101). In 1909 there were here only a few plantings (De Jongh, "Morotai" 390).

on. In favorable weather a rowboat could reach these villages from Cape Wajabula in four hours. As in the other villages of Morotai, only a portion of the inhabitants lived on the beach in the midst of the coconut palms. The others stayed upstream on their plantations in the forests, which were frequently hours away from the coast. When the men were not fishing on the sea or hunting for deer or wild boars in the mountains, they were busy pounding sago or collecting resin from dammar trees, which were plentiful in the forests. The women in their turn cultivated rice, yams, bananas, and spanish peppers in their gardens. Chio, with its steep banks, was the largest river in northwest Morotai, and its fairly deep outlet provided a rendezvous for crocodiles, which rendered the other rivers of the island unsafe as well. Rivers were the only means of access into the mountainous, uninhabited and trackless interior that was covered with a virgin forest where the only obstacles to travel were the tangled masses of thorny rattan. The rivers were usually navigable for several hours in small *praus* that could hold three men, and, during the rainy season, for some hours further upstream on bamboo rafts, which brought the sago and the resin that had been collected to the coast. But already in October, the huge waves and violent surf made navigating on the Chio River impossible. The tropical heat of the day cooled off at night when the wind blew from the mountains. The native rowers then trembled with the cold and warmed themselves by a fire when they slept upon the beach.²³⁷

Immediately beyond Chio the mountain formed a rock wall near Cape Gerongu that fell a distance of a hundred feet into the sea. The coast then took on a more volcanic appearance as it rose sharply from the blue water.²³⁸ It took four hours for a rowboat to pass from Chio to the next Christian village of Lapouo.²³⁹ It had the usual appearance of the coastal villages of the island—russet *atap* roofs amidst palms, huts for the dead raised up on poles, and small grey *praus* drawn far up on the white, sandy beach.²⁴⁰ The coast north of Lapouo was unapproachable from November to May because of the stormy waters. Even now the sea was already troubled, and only with effort could the men row around the reefs of Cape Padangi.²⁴¹ Beyond it, on the north side of the island, was a broad bay and at the mouth of a small stream the village of Sopi, to which two stations belonged. For five or six months of the year, the lonesome village was shut off from all commerce with the outside world, and even in the other months it was seldom visited by boats. The waves rippled over the feet of the tall trees that bordered on the strand, where the cottages of the villagers had been built.²⁴² The flagship of Loaysa's fleet had landed here in 1526, when the place was still pagan, and had obtained food and water in order to continue its voyage towards the south.²⁴³ Near Sopi the rocky coast

²³⁷ More recently: *Tjio*. In 1917 it had 314 inhabitants; see De Jongh, "Morotai" 390; Schut 73-74 78-79; *Berichten* 1896, 34-35; 1916, 131; Bernstein 414-415.

²³⁸ De Jongh, "Morotai" 382.

²³⁹ *Berichten* 1916, 132.

²⁴⁰ More recently: *Hapo*. In 1917 it had 141 inhabitants, including 110 Mohammedans, see De Jongh, "Morotai"; Schut 70-71 79-81.

²⁴¹ De Jongh, "Morotai" 390-391; Schut 70 81-84.

²⁴² On the two villages of Sopi and Sopi ketjil (Small Sopi), see De Jongh, "Morotai" 391; Schut 84-85; *Berichten* 1908, 67; 1916, 132. In 1611 Father Simi, S.J., united Sopi with Saquita (ARSI: Goa 17, 76v). According to the Moroka legend the last *sengadji* of the Christians of Sopi was a son of the king of Tolo (Schut 101). Under Sultan Muzaffar (1610-1627), the people were carried off to Dodinga (Van Dam II 1, 111).

²⁴³ Rebello 414-415.

with its numerous reefs turned and went straight north for six miles and then, near the north cape of Morotai, turned again just as abruptly towards the south. The east coast of the island was rocky and covered with a thick growth of trees.²⁴⁴ Three miles from Cape Sopi, on the mouth of a small river, was the Christian village of Alilio.²⁴⁵ Three miles farther on was the mouth of the large Pangeo River. During the rainy season small *praus* could sail inland up this for half a day once they had passed the barrier created by the surf. Six miles from here was the mouth of the Gorango River in front of a steep cape of the same name, where there was a grotto with edible bird nests and thousands of bats.²⁴⁶ The boat then sailed along the coast for four and a half miles to Cape Missino, behind which the Christian village of the same name was hidden from the north wind.²⁴⁷

South of this the mountains receded somewhat, and the coast was covered with mangroves as far as Cape Selepia. A coral bank near this promontory stretched out for half an hour into the sea, and the boat here passed over coral gardens. On the other side of the cape could be seen the small island of Tobailengi a mile and a half from the coast and surrounded by coral reefs. South of it lay Saquita, the largest and most prominent city of Morotai, protected from the wind and waves by this island and its reef, and separated from the mountains of the interior by a fruitful plain where the people had their plantings. From here one could go on foot to the village of Hiao an hour farther south, but halfway there one had to wade across the broad Saquita River if there was no *prau* at hand for the crossing. Because of the crocodiles that lived there, it was not a harmless venture. The inhabitants of Saquita had plantations along the fertile banks of the river deep into the interior, and the sea here was abundant in fish.²⁴⁸ Shortly before Hiao the mountains again drew near the beach, as they also did south of the river on which the village was located, where Cape Boboro reached far out into the sea. All the subsequent capes to the southern tip of the island were foothills of Mount Sabatai, which reached a height of more than three thousand feet, and between them the rivers ran down through steep ravines and formed small plains at their mouths. The coast from Hiao to Lofau, more than six miles away, was protected by a great coral reef, where the people fished from April to August. During the other months Hiao²⁴⁹ was unattainable because of the heavy surf. The opening in this

²⁴⁴ Schut 65; De Jongh, "Morotai" 391.

²⁴⁵ Today: *Papua maleleo*. The village had a cross in 1555 but no church. Frois writes *Aliliuo*, Marta *Alilio* (DI III 552-553).

²⁴⁶ De Jongh, "Morotai" 391; Schut 70 87-88.

²⁴⁷ Marta erroneously writes *Nissino*, as he also writes *Nira* instead of *Mira*. De Jongh, "Morotai" mentions Cape Misio and explains *sio* as meaning "new." He further states that there were plantations here (392). The *Berichten* give the village as *Misijo* (1903, 202).

²⁴⁸ According to the Moroka legend the last Christian *sengadji* of the village, whose grave is still shown, was a son of the king of Tolo (Schut 101). The site is rich in Moroka graves (*ibid.* 94). A well thirty fathoms deep is also a reminder of the old mission (*Berichte* 1879, 138). A missionary was stationed here in 1554 and 1569 (Sá II 134; ARSI: *Goa* II, 433v). In 1611 Simi moved the Christians of Sopi here. It was a large village, which could provide 150 warriors, the best on the island, and the priest had a church and a house built here (ARSI: *Goa* II, 76v). On Sakita, which had 266 inhabitants in 1917, see D. Jongh, "Morotai" 392-393; Schut 67-69 108; *Berichten* 1908, 67; 1916, 133.

²⁴⁹ Today: *Jawo*. In 1917 it had 290 inhabitants. According to the Moroka legend, there was a bamboo palisade there during the Christian period. On a plateau near

reef and a narrow, small, white coastal strip marked the mouth of the Lofau River, on which the Christian village of the same name was located, while darker sand and heavier blocks of stone surrounded the cape lying to the south of it. Five hundred yards within the interior the mountain rose to a height of 930 feet. The plantations of the village stretched back up along both sides of the river.²⁵⁰ Three miles farther south, on another river mouth, could be seen the cottages of Aliuo,²⁵¹ a good hour from the large Christian village of Mira, which could be reached at low tide by going on foot along the coast, and at high tide by means of a path that crossed over the hills. Mira, whose houses stretched far along the beach was, after Saquita, the most important village of this coast. The mountains here yielded to a plain that was two hours in length and three in breadth, and thousands of coconut palms lifted their crowns to the heavens near the shore and deep within the interior. The river divided the town into two halves, and on both sides of it the villagers tended gardens that reached far inland. Every year in December great schools of a special kind of fish came here. These were caught and dried by the thousands and provided a valuable article of trade.²⁵²

South of Mira was Cape Sango and a short distance from it Cape Dena, where the coast turned sharply towards the west. Here, where the southern foothills of Mount Sabatai ran off into the sea, lay the last two Christian villages on the island—Mamochungi, to which two outer stations belonged,²⁵³ and Dacuo.²⁵⁴ The southern coast of Morotai, which stretched from here for fifteen miles to the flat, elongated Cape Gila was solitary and abandoned, and accompanied by a coral reef 20 feet wide. The boat sailed around the cape and returned, passing along the coral islands that lay along the southwest coast and Cape Salimuli, to Mamojo. The difficult and dangerous visitation of the villages had

Cape Jawo, which is considered to be a holy place, traces of an earlier Moroka settlement are still to be found: the remains of ironwood pilings and beams and fragments of pottery. The remains of an earlier, similar settlement are also found on a plateau south of the river. On Jawo, see De Jongh, "Morotai" 392-393; Schut 65-67 91-93.

²⁵⁰ According to the Moroka legend, a sister of the *sengadji* of Mira lived during the Christian period in Lofau, alias Lefau (Schut 101). On the village see De Jongh, "Morotai" 393-394; Schut 65.

²⁵¹ Marta has the Christian village of Aliuo immediately before Dacuo and Mira. We suspect that *Loleba* (in Galelarese a species of bamboo) is meant by this. Today it is usually called *Wewemo*, south of the river of Gosoma ma luku (in Tobelorese: Crocodile Village), near which are the ruins of an old stone fortress which the Spaniards built here in 1608 and abandoned in 1613 (ARSI: *Goa* 48, 159av and dv). Schut visited it and gave a description of it and its Moroka traditions (94-95 100-104). On *Loleba*, see Schut 111 and De Jongh, "Morotai" 394. The stone fortress was under Mira (Schut 101).

²⁵² In Mira, according to the Moroka legend, a son of the Christian king ruled as *sengadji* (Schut 101). On the village, which had 609 inhabitants in 1917, see De Jongh, "Morotai" 392-394; Schut 111-112; *Berichten* 1882, 170; 1898, 167.

²⁵³ Marta's list gives Mamochungi immediately after Sao, the last village on the southwest coast. We identify it with *Momudju*, a village which the Admiralty Map places south of Cape Dena, the southeast cape of Morotai (Malay: *Tandjung Penang*; Tobelorese: *Cape Moku ma doto*). North of Momudju, between Cape Dena and Cape Sangowo, lies the large village of Sango. Within the interior of the land many graves and wells are found, the remains of an earlier, large settlement (*Berichte* 1879, 138). Map 1:100,000 places Momudju west of the Sabatai River.

²⁵⁴ *Dacuo*, named by Marta between Aliuo and Mira, is probably the village of Daco which, according to De Jongh's map and the Survey Map, lies between Cape Dena and Cape Kobong, where old areas for planting are still found ("Morotai" 394-395). Instead of Daco the Admiralty Map has *Doéwo*, an error for *Docwo*?

thus come to an end. Master Francis later wrote his impressions of it to his confreres in Rome:

At the end of the three months [of my stay in Ternate] I sailed from this city of Maluco for some islands which are sixty leagues from Maluco and are called the Islands of Moro, since there were many villages of Christians on them and much time had passed since they had been visited since they are very far from India and the natives had killed a priest who had gone there. On these islands I baptized many children who were to be baptized,²⁵⁵ and I stayed on them for three months, and during this time I visited all the Christian villages. I was greatly consoled by them, and they by me.

These islands are very dangerous because of the many wars [they make upon each other]. The people are barbaric; they have no script; and they can neither read nor write. They are a people who give poison to those whom they wish to harm, and many are killed in this way. The land is very broken up: it is all mountainous and very difficult to traverse. There is a lack of food for the body. They have no knowledge of wheat and wine made from grapes. They have no meat nor livestock except for a few pigs, which are a cause of great admiration. There are many wild pigs. Many of the villages lack good water to drink. They have an abundance of rice and numerous trees which they call *çagueros* which give them bread and wine and other trees from the bark of which they make the clothes with which they all are dressed.

I am giving this account to you so that you may know how rich these islands are in spiritual consolations, for all these dangers and labors voluntarily undertaken for the sole love and service of God our Lord are treasures abounding in great spiritual consolations of such a kind that these islands are greatly disposed and adapted for a man to lose the sight of his bodily eyes within a few years from the abundance of consoling tears. I can never remember having had such great and such continuous spiritual consolations as on these islands with such little notice of physical labors, going continuously on islands surrounded by enemies and inhabited by friends who are not very firm, and in lands that are lacking all the medicines for physical infirmities and almost all the earthly means for keeping alive. It would be better to call them "Islands of Hope in God" than "Islands of Moro."

²⁵⁵ How many did Xavier baptize in the Christian villages of the Moro mission? We have examined the problem in our "Taufen des hl. Franz Xaver" 57-61 74-75. In 1917 Morotai had 10,612 inhabitants (6,136 in the district of Galela, 4,476 in Morotai and Rau). The number of Christians on the old Moro mission is variously given: in 1543, more than 10,000 (Q 1103); in 1547, more than 40,000 (Sá I 520), both rough estimates of no value; in 1553, around 35,000, "according to the information which we have obtained from different individuals" (Sá II 95-96); in 1588, 60,000 to 80,000, a great exaggeration (*ibid.* V 101). In 1556 N. Nunes, who had been a missionary in Moro from 1547 and knew more about the land than anybody else, estimated the number as over 20,000 (DI III 547 716). From the beginning of 1558 till June, 1562, the mission was abandoned. When three missionaries returned after an absence of four and a half years, they were brought 115 children to be baptized in the first village (Tolo). Prancudo spent a month and a half visiting the remaining Christian villages with a *korakora*, staying only a day in each. During this period he baptized 900 children that had been born since the beginning of 1558. Since many were absent on the plantations, he baptized the rest, from 200 to 300 more, on a second visit, for a total of 1,300. In a Christian population of 20,000, it would have been normal to expect 3,200 children under five since their number was reduced by the high infant mortality. When Xavier came, the Christians had been abandoned for seven years, that is, from the time of Vinagre's visit in 1539, and this would indicate a total of 4,600 children under the age of seven. If the people in the renegade towns are subtracted and the many absent on the plantations are taken into account, the number baptized by Xavier on Moro can hardly have surpassed 2,000 or 3,000 and would more likely have been much fewer.

To these hardships he then added another:

On these islands there is a race called Tavaros. They are pagans who place all their happiness in killing those whom they can, and it is said that many times they kill their sons or wives when they have no others to kill. They kill many Christians.... After I had visited all the villages of the Christians of these islands, I returned again to Maluco.²⁵⁶

Three months had flown past since Xavier's arrival on the Moro Islands, and the northern monsoon had set in when, in the middle of December, he had to think about his return to Ternate if he did not wish to run the risk of being unable to pass the north cape of Batachina and thus lose the opportunity of sailing on the annual voyage to Malacca. He had become acquainted with the mission field, its hopes, needs, and requirements. He had strengthened the Christians in their faith and had promised to send confreres to them as soon as possible. These would give them further instructions in the faith, baptize their children, intercede for them with the captain of Ternate, and obtain help for them in their war against the Mohammedans. He took with him a number of boys for the College of St. Paul in Goa. There they would be solidly educated in the faith and become equipped to work as apostles among their tribesmen.²⁵⁷ With his Portuguese companions he then took his leave from Dom João and the Christians of Mamojo and began the voyage back to Ternate. They sailed past the village of Sugala. He had not had the consolation of winning back its apostates.²⁵⁸ The pride of its *sengadji*, who had been gravely offended, and the people's fear of the vengeance of the Moors of Djailolo were too great. Katarabūmi, the enemy of the Christians, had been ruling there in triumph since the failure of the Portuguese and Spaniards to take his principal city in their siege of the preceding year.

Heavy, dark clouds burdened with rain covered the sky, and huge white-foaming waves crashed against the forbidding coast as the priest's *korakora* rounded the north cape of Bissoa²⁵⁹ and was driven southwards by a strong wind. It was the beginning of January when he reached Ternate with his companions.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ EX I 379-380 383.

²⁵⁷ Cf. MX II 178.

²⁵⁸ Cf. EX II 112.

²⁵⁹ Cf. the description of Bernstein, who sailed around the cape on January 22 (428); cf. *Berichten* 1906, 54-58.

²⁶⁰ Was Xavier on Mindanao? Among *those who hold that he was* are: Garcia Serrano in 1623; Mastrilli in 1637; Sanvitores in 1661; Colin in 1663 (I 253); Combés in 1667 (83-84); Garcia in 1673; Massei in 1681; Sousa in 1710 (*Or. Cong.* 1, 4, 1, 97); Alcazar in 1710 (I 1, 9); Murillo Velarde in 1749 (74v); Delgado in 1754 (139-140); Retana in 1894 and 1906; Pastells in 1897, 1923, and 1925; Rávago in 1909; Apalátegui in 1920; Feeney in 1931; Cannon in 1934 (*Jesuit Missions* 144-145 166); Ubillos in 1945 (*Principe de Viana* 6, 160-164); Eguren in 1953 (*Siglo de las Misiones* 40, 462-466). *Those who deny that he was there* include: Chirino in 1604; Juan de la Concepción, O.E.S.A., in 1788; Pio Pi in 1909 ("Disertación Histórica sobre la venida de S. F. Javier á Filipinas," *Certamen Artistico Literario* [Manila] 59-89); Brou in 1912 (I 404); Santiago Vela (VII 408-413); Repetti in 1936 (AHSI 5, 35-56); Brodrick in 1952 (280). *Those who have wavered*: Astrain in 1902; Pérez Goyena in 1922.—*Arguments used to prove that Xavier was in Mindanao*: The chief defender of this thesis is the missionary and historian of the Philippines, P. Pastells, who had an eminent knowledge of the India archives in Seville and the Philippines, but knew little about Moro territory and the Portuguese and Dutch sources on this mission. During the course of his studies, he changed his position three times.

4. BACK IN TERNATE (JANUARY—APRIL, 1547)

A great surprise attended Xavier and his companions when they landed near

In 1897 he held that Xavier left Amboina in May, 1546, worked for three months in Celebes, visited the Christians baptized in 1538 by Castro in Moro, that is, in northeast Mindanao, and then returned in November to Ternate (Combés 743). In 1900 he gave the following as Xavier's apparent route in September—November, 1546: Ternate, Morotai, Morotia, Talaut, Davao, Surigao, Davao, Talaut, Siau (where he founded a mission), Menado, Ternate (Colin I 253-248). Because of Father Pi's article, Pastells abandoned Xavier's trip to Davao and Surigao, and in 1923 he declared that the only convincing proof for Xavier's voyage to Mindanao was the decree of Archbishop Garcia Serrano of October 14, 1623 (*Siglo de las Misiones* 107-110). In 1925 he proposed a new route: In 1546 Xavier sailed from Amboina to Ternate and Moro. During his return voyage from Ternate he visited Seran (the miracle of the crab), Nusa Laut and Amboina. In July, 1547, he sailed to Mindanao, stayed there for eighteen days in Illana Bay with three Portuguese ships and came at the end of the month to Malacca (Torres y Lanzas I, pp. CC-CCXL). This would have been a completely impossible route, and it is contradicted by all the contemporary documents.—Other authors give additional sites allegedly visited by Xavier: Joló (1653), Buhayen (1667), Mindoro (1721), Paragua (1754), Davao (1891), Caraga (1900), Butúan (1908), Lanao Lake (1916), Manila (1922). Most have Xavier come from the south in 1546-1547, others from the north: on the return from Japan in 1551 before going to Sancian (Greff), after Sancian (Garcia, Sousa, Alcazar), or in 1549 on the voyage to Japan (Retana in 1906). Combés and Delgado place the visit before the return of Villalobos. The arguments for this are: A. The bull of canonization, "of greatest authority even in historical questions, prepared and published with the greatest care while his contemporaries were still alive, none of whom spoke against it" (Eguren). Reply: (1) The bull is full of historical errors. (2) The text of the bull: "primus paravis, malais, iais, acenis, mindanais, malacensibus et japonibus evangelium Christi annuntiaverat" (MX II 709), is at best true for the Japanese, and it does not say that Xavier was in all their respective lands. He could have preached to imprisoned Achinese, whose country he certainly never visited, in Malacca; and to women from Mindanao married to Portuguese in Ternate (Q 1103). (3) A source of error for different portions of the bull was the *Peregrinaçam* of Fernam Mendes Pinto, printed in Lisbon in 1614. In the first Lisbon process seven witnesses and the three auditors of the Rota entrusted with the publication of the bull call it a safe source, a "most reliable work approved by the Inquisition and ecclesiastical and secular authorities" (**Minutes* 270). It is described as a safe source for the miracle of the sloop, to cite but one example, where Pinto in his novel states that on his return voyage from Japan a typhoon that lasted for five days had driven Xavier's ship in the direction of Papua, Celebes, and Mindanao. The wind had then died down and brought the vessel to Sancian (c. 214). (4) When the bull was published in 1623, there were no more contemporaries living to protest against it.—B. The local traditions, "which have always existed." Reply: (1) We find no trace of such a tradition before 1623 either among the Moro missionaries or among the Spanish Jesuits who in 1596 founded a mission in Butúan on northeastern Mindanao, where Castro had conferred baptisms in 1538. On the other hand, one of these Spanish Jesuits, Chirino, expressly wrote in 1604 that the Augustinian Martín de Rada, who came to the Philippines in 1565, had been the first to baptize people on these islands (*Relación de las Islas Filipinas* [Roma, 1604], c. 1). (2) On receiving news of the canonization of Ignatius and Xavier, the archbishop of Manila, Garcia Serrano, declared through a decree of October 14, 1623, that their feasts were holy days of obligation, Xavier's "because he came to Mindanao" (*Siglo de las Misiones* 1923, 109). The source for this assertion was probably Mendes Pinto, whose Spanish edition of the *Peregrinaçam* appeared in 1620, since the bull of canonization did not reach Manila until 1625. (3) The tradition in the bay of Davao: In the middle of the eighteenth century Christian Bisayas from Cantilan and Bislig in northeastern Mindanao near Cape San Agustín founded the village of Linas on the southeastern tip of the island. This had a church dedicated to Xavier under the care of Augustinian Hermits. In 1849 the village was moved farther north to Sigaboy and Puntaguitan, and in 1868 these villages were taken over by Jesuit missionaries. In 1891 people living on Cape San Agustín showed them a grotto with a stone where, according to the tradition, Xavier celebrated Mass, disputed with the Moors, and through a trick of magic reduced them to silence by causing eggs

the fortress after their three months' absence—Freitas was no longer captain and Niachile Pokaraga no longer queen of Ternate. What had happened?²⁶¹

On October 18, when Master Francis was already on Moro, Freitas was informed that a ship had been sighted. He went to the beach to receive the newcomers. It was the galleon *Bufara*,²⁶² the annual, royal clove ship, under the command of Duarte de Miranda, and it was carrying a prominent *fidalgo*, Bernaldim de Sousa, with a commission of the governor of India, Dom João de Castro. No one could guess what this was since Freitas had only served two years of his captaincy and no successor was expected at this time. After the usual formal greetings, the two went in silence with their retinues to the neighboring fortress, where Sousa, contrary to the usual custom, did not sit down near the gate of entrance. As they were mounting the steps together, Freitas asked if the ship was bringing a large supply of provisions. Without answering the question, Sousa went to the assembly room and in the presence of all gave the reason for his coming: He was to place Hairun again in possession of his kingdom, to take over the captaincy of the fortress himself, and to depose Freitas and send him back as a prisoner to India so that he might there give an accounting of his arrest of the sultan. To ratify all this, he showed his predecessor his written credentials and the *alvará* of the governor.

The disclosure struck Freitas like a bolt from the blue. He nevertheless controlled himself and expressed his submission, but he asked that Hairun should not be placed in possession of the kingdom. Dom Manuel Tabarija had appointed the king of Portugal as his heir in his will, and he, Freitas, in virtue of this had solemnly taken possession of it for Portugal. Sousa replied that he had no knowledge of such a will. He had to carry out the governor's commission and the court's decision. Freitas would have to present any protests he had to make in India. The latter then sent word to his wife, who was staying for a rest on his estate, that she should not return home since some guests had come. He then handed the fortress over at once to his successor.

The news of the unexpected return of the sultan created a great stir on the island, especially since many had appropriated his wives and possessions

to be suspended in the air. Probably the Augustinians of Villalobos' fleet, who were on the neighboring island of Sarangani for more than a year in 1543-1544, once offered a Mass here, if the legend has any historical foundation at all (Colin I 258; *Cartas de Filipinas* 9 [1891] 338-339 343-344). (4) The tradition near Lake Lanao: In 1639 D. Francisco de Atienza captured the area, and his companion, the "Father Captain" Fray Agustín de San Pedro, O.E.S.A., prior of Cagayan, founded a mission here which was soon after taken over by the Jesuits who took care of the villages near the fortress in Iligan dedicated to Xavier. In 1916 Father Andueza found a legend here among the Moros with respect to an alleged disputation between Xavier and Mohammed, who forbade his followers to eat pork because the priest had changed his three daughters into pigs (*Siglo de las Misiones* 1917, 50; *Jesuit Missions* 1929, 139). That Xavier came as far as Lake Lanao is something that not even the most ardent supporters of his voyage to Mindanao have maintained.—C. "The astonishing agreement of the old Jesuit historians of the Philippine mission" (Eguren). Reply: This proves nothing, and it did not exist. Chirino, its first historian, denies Xavier's visit; Combés places it before that of Villalobos, which is entirely impossible. The rest contradict each other in details and name the bull as their only source.—On the alleged stay of Xavier on the Talaut island of Kabrang, unhistorical, of course, see Colin I 257 and Visser I 78.

²⁶¹ For the arrival of Bernaldim de Sousa and his controversy with Freitas, the two main sources are the account of the eyewitness Rebello (226-230 444-446) and the protests and letters of Freitas (Sá II 31-38, I 525-568).

²⁶² The *Bufara*, alias *Sam Sebastian*, mentioned in 1538, was a galleon of 250 tons (TdT: Col. S. Lour. 4, 247; Couto 5, 5, 6; cf. also Q 2893).

for themselves. The next morning Hairun, whose presence had been kept secret until then, came on land accompanied by many of his followers. He was wearing Portuguese garb; and when he reached the gate of the fortress, before which there was a large almond tree, he showed deference to the Portuguese coat of arms over its entrance by touching the stone doorpost under it with his hand and then bringing this to his mouth and head. He next sat down and spoke with the Portuguese, showing them great affection; and he stated that all the hardships he had experienced had been richly rewarded since they had brought him such great honor. The Portuguese accompanied him for several days as a token of courtesy but also to protect him from any foes and from Freitas and to show him that they wished to atone for their guilt. At the request of Bernaldim de Sousa, Hairun pardoned all his subjects for what they had done against him; and he immediately visited Queen Dona Isabel and her husband Patih Serang and reconciled them with the sons of the murdered Samarau, whose death was a source of great grief to him.

The court in Goa had freed the sultan and had declared his deposal invalid, and the governor had ordered him to be reestablished in his kingdom: Freitas should be removed from office and sent as a prisoner to India to answer for his deeds; his property should be confiscated and the king compensated from it for the damages suffered through his arrest and the plundering of his palace. Against this decision Freitas had a rebuttal submitted by the secretary of the fortress, Manuel Dias da Maya.

In it he declared that the sentence was null and void. Neither he nor anyone who favored him had been cited in its regard even though he had his procurators in Goa. The sentence declared that he had arrested Hairun in order to gain possession of his property. This was not true. At the time of the latter's arrest he had immediately sent the judge, Gaspar Pereira, and the factor, Francisco Palha, to take an inventory of his goods. They had remained in his palace and had slept there until this was completed. Many of the prisoner's relatives had been with them, for example, his brother-in-law Baltasar Veloso; Gonçalo Fernandes Bravo, Antonio Ribeiro, and Lope de Ribalda, who were also related to him; his brothers Cachil Gapo and Cachil Guzarate; and many other honorable men. All the properties contained in this inventory had been handed over to his parents, who had caused them to be auctioned off near the gate of the fortress. Anything that was lacking, he, Freitas, had recovered and had handed over to the prisoner—gold and silver objects and silk and cotton textiles, and he had a receipt for the same written in Hairun's own hand. He therefore protested against this calumny and demanded a penalty of ten thousand *cruzados* for it. The sentence could therefore not be executed by the captain in virtue of the governor's order of March 29, 1546. Rather, it must be sent to a court of higher instance, to which he, Freitas, was appealing.

In Malacca his properties, valued at four thousand *pardaus*, had been confiscated and handed over to João Criado because of this judgment. Hairun could be compensated from these if he won his suit against him. Since the matter was in doubt, the sentence should be sent back to the judge for an explanation of the error and decision. But even apart from such considerations, everyone should shrink from executing such a sentence since it was most derogatory to the service of the king to put Cachil Hairun in possession of the realm. He therefore made the following protest: The sentence would always remain invalid since the people had of their own free will recognized His High-

ness the King of Portugal as their king and had taken an oath to this effect. And the same, in virtue of Dom Manuel's testament, was the legitimate lord of the land. He therefore asked the captain to send this sentence back to the governor and judges. He asked the notary Manuel Dias to make two copies of this document so that one of them could be sent to the governor and the other to the king in Portugal. If the captain did not accept this protest and maintained that he did not have the requisite authority for it, he then appealed from the judgment to a higher instance.

Freitas further declared that the captain was partial and suspect: He was a friend of the sultan and the latter had helped him build a ship. He consequently could not intervene in any affair that concerned him; and he, Freitas, would never again ask anything of him or of a judge appointed by him. Whatever orders that would be given against him would be null and void, and he would reply to nothing more.

Sousa rejected the protest. The occupancy of a kingdom in virtue of a will that was allegedly made by Dom Manuel before his death in Malacca was invalid, and the governor could not have had any cognizance of it since it occurred without the knowledge and command of His Highness the King of Portugal, which was necessary in so important a matter. The governor had feared, it seems, that Freitas would not execute the judgment. He had therefore sent him, Sousa, to do so. He therefore deemed it to the service of His Highness that the kingdom should be given back to Hairun and to no one else: He had always acted in the service of His Highness, as was patent and known to all the inhabitants of the fortress. If Hairun had helped him build his ship, it was to his own advantage. If he, Sousa, was suspect, then anyone who brought the sultan back would also be so. The secretary went to Freitas' dwelling with this reply and gave it to him. The latter then declared that he had been unjustly treated since his appeal to a higher court and to His Highness had been rejected. He would therefore not deign to reply again to the captain in Hairun's affairs, and the secretary should make two copies of this reply, one for the governor and another for the king.²⁶³

But the captain did not give in. Freitas' property was auctioned off, and the sultan was compensated from the proceeds.²⁶⁴ Through his removal Freitas also lost his entire gains from the clove harvest. His ruin and Hairun's return were, moreover, a severe blow for Master Francis as well. Humanly speaking, his pious hopes for the missions in Amboina and Ternate were now destroyed. Despite all his early manifestations of friendship, Hairun soon showed his true face. Dona Isabel and her husband lost their incomes and possessions, and their followers were robbed of what they had and banished from the island.²⁶⁵

Bernaldim de Sousa,²⁶⁶ the new captain, was not entirely unknown to Xavier.

²⁶³ Rebello 226-230 444-446; Sá II 31-38.

²⁶⁴ Rebello 230 446; Sá I 529 552-554.

²⁶⁵ Sá I 531-532 564.

²⁶⁶ On Bernaldim de Sousa, the main sources for his family are *Andrade Leitão VII 829-830 and Feo Cardoso 185; for his life in general, in addition to the documents in Q (see index), the chroniclers Correa and Couto; for the Moluccas Rebello, whose two works had as their principal object the recording of his deeds for posterity. He was captain of Ternate from 1546 to 1552, acted as a mediator between Xavier and Ataíde on his return voyage in Malacca, was condemned in 1553 by the king for deposing Hairun, but was declared innocent by the court in Goa in 1554. From 1554 to 1557 he was captain of Ormuz, where he died (Couto 6, 10, 7-8 14-15 18 20; 7, 3, 4 and 12).

In 1543 he had met him in the company of M. A. de Sousa on Cow Island during the expedition to the pagoda, and he had sailed back with the fleet to Cochin by way of Quilon. Sousa was the second son of Henrique de Sousa, the lord of Oliveira do Bairro, a royal councilor, and supreme commander of the Royal Arquebusiers.²⁶⁷ As a young *fidalgo* of the royal house,²⁶⁸ Bernaldim de Sousa had sailed to India in 1537.²⁶⁹ There, as the captain of a ship, he had accompanied the governor, Nuno da Cunha, to Diu in 1538;²⁷⁰ his successor, Dom Garcia de Noronha, to Malabar in 1539;²⁷¹ and Dom Estevão da Gama with a *fusta* to the Red Sea in 1541.²⁷² He had spent the winter of 1542 in Cochin with sixty men,²⁷³ had then gone with M. A. de Sousa against Bhatkal,²⁷⁴ and had sailed the following year to Cow Island.²⁷⁵ Having grown up at court, he had an engaging manner, was a good mixer, and was popular with the *casados* of Goa. Since he had a marked stutter, he had been nicknamed "Gago" ("Stutterer"). He used to argue jokingly with M. A. de Sousa over which was the main branch of the two de Sousa families, his, of Arronches, or Martim Affonso's, of Prado. But he could act decisively as a soldier and insisted firmly upon his authority.²⁷⁶

At the beginning of 1544 Martim Affonso had sent him to Cannanore to see if he could obtain more money for the governor from Khoja Shams-ud-din.²⁷⁷ As a rich *fidalgo* he had provided a table for the soldiers in Goa during the winter.²⁷⁸ At the beginning of 1545 he had been sent with his brother Jorge and a hundred men to Ormuz to spend the winter there since it had been reported that the Turks were coming from Suez.²⁷⁹ During this time he had recaptured Kātif with Raïs Nur-ud-din, which the sheik Mana, the king of el-Ahsā, had torn away from the king of Ormuz nine years before, and he had then sailed back to Goa.²⁸⁰ Dom João de Castro, the successor of M. A. de Sousa, who had come in the meantime, had commissioned him to take Hairun back to Ternate and to assume the captaincy of the fortress there. He had sailed from Goa with the *Bufara* in April, 1546, and had obtained from Castro three hundred *pardaus* and the privilege of buying a junk in Malacca and of sending it with wares to China. From Malacca²⁸¹ Dom Alvaro, the son of the governor, had written:²⁸²

Since the Castilians were so favored by fortune that Fernão de Sousa²⁸³ brought them with him instead of killing all of them as he used to swear by his beard he would do, I have nothing else to tell Your Grace except how happy and eager I am to be sailing to Maluco because of the cloves which are waiting for me there, as I hear

²⁶⁷ *Andrade Leitão VII 829.

²⁶⁸ In 1548 Freitas still calls him "muito mancebo" (Sá I 552).

²⁶⁹ *Emmentia* 338.

²⁷⁰ Couto 5, 5, 6.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.* 5, 6, 7.

²⁷² Correa IV 163.

²⁷³ *Ibid.* 218-219.

²⁷⁴ Couto 5, 9, 1.

²⁷⁵ Correa IV 297 307.

²⁷⁶ Couto 5, 8, 1; 6, 10, 8.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 5, 10, 1.

²⁷⁸ Q 1322.

²⁷⁹ Correa IV 424; Q 1718.

²⁸⁰ Q 1718 1512 1548 1550.

²⁸¹ Q 1650 2104 2149.

²⁸² Q 2299.

²⁸³ Fernão de Sousa de Távora.

but did not anticipate, since this is not the year for harvesting them. I am told that in two years I shall be the richest man in the world, and I am going with such eagerness that I have no greater joy from anything else. For if this will be the case, then Your Grace will surely rejoice as well since it is all the work of your hands. And I shall not expand on this any more so that Ruy Gonçalves²⁸⁴ does not make any remarks about me as he does about all those upon whom he so generously lavishes his words.

About the things there [in Maluco], I can say nothing to Your Grace, since I learn them only through those who are sailing to you; and one can only learn from them very poorly, since each one tells them as it suits him. Still, it seems to me that there is a universal agreement on the condemnation of Jurdão de Freitas. But I have no hope of learning the truth before I arrive there, when I shall see everything for myself. Only one thing troubles me, namely, that the royal vizier²⁸⁵ whom Fernão de Sousa took back with him²⁸⁶ has died. All maintain that he was a very extraordinary man for that land. But things that are ill begun come at once to such an end. For if he had been permitted to go from here with the king [to India], and if he had then returned from the hand of the governor, as the king is now doing, matters would not have then turned out for him as they did.

Even if Freitas won his case in India and the sentence against him was nullified and he regained his captaincy of Ternate, Xavier should urge the governor, as Bernaldim de Sousa told him, not to send him back to the Moluccas. If this happened, Hairun would rebel and Freitas' return would cause an uproar; and the *casados* themselves would urge the sultan not to surrender the fortress to him. The governor should therefore in such a case, compensate his predecessor with something of greater import.²⁸⁷

Freitas, abandoned by his Portuguese and native friends, robbed of his possessions, and injured in his reputation, regarded Bernaldim de Sousa simply as an enemy who wished to ruin him still further with all his advice. He was deeply embittered by the injustice to which he believed he had been subjected.²⁸⁸ King Manuel's will had been suppressed in Malacca, he maintained, so that the governor in India would know nothing about it and the Mohammedan Hairun would thus regain his throne.²⁸⁹ His own possessions had been auctioned off for less than they were worth in order to compensate one who had no right to the throne and who had been the object of bitter complaints by his predecessor, Dom Jorge de Castro, in his letters to the king. He had been deprived of his third year of office, the year of the clove harvest, which by itself meant a personal loss of more than forty thousand *pardaus*.²⁹⁰

Master Francis tried to calm him and to reconcile him with his successor, but without effect. Freitas' soul was too filled with animosity towards Bernaldim de Sousa, and he was convinced that the latter had persuaded the priest to speak against him to the governor in India. When Francis told him that if the governor asked him about his removal when he returned to India he would have to tell him how unpopular he was in Ternate and that he should give him a favor somewhere else, the hatred of the former captain was turned also against him.²⁹¹

²⁸⁴ Ruy Gonçalves da Camara, known for his angry tongue (see Vol. II, pp. 174-175).

²⁸⁵ Samarau.

²⁸⁶ From Malacca to Ternate in 1545.

²⁸⁷ Sá I 566.

²⁸⁸ Rebello 446; Sá I 565.

²⁸⁹ Sá I 532-533 550-552 558-560.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 529.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.* 566; Rebello 230 446.

Yet Francis saw the matter as it was. Baltasar Veloso, Xavier's great friend, did not speak well of Freitas. He was married to Hairun's sister and he accused him of having arrested the sultan and Samarau without asking the advice of anyone in Ternate. Through his imprudence he had frustrated the peace which he, Veloso, had negotiated with Djailolo. The excesses of his nephew, Vasco de Freitas, had driven a thousand of the four thousand Christians in Tolo back into the hands of the Moors; and his own arbitrary actions against Hairun and Dona Isabel had aroused and endangered the country when two hostile kings with fortresses in Tidore and Djailolo were still close at hand. Other *casados*, for example, Bras Gil, Pedro Jorge, Manuel Pays, Pedro Affonso Teixeira, Antonio Teixeira, Jorge Martins, Pedro Fernandes, Duarte Godinho, and Antonio Fernandes were of the same opinion as Veloso, and the preceding year they had joined him in writing a complaint to the king about Freitas.²⁹²

Master Francis edified the people on the *Bufara* through his saintly life and apostolic zeal, and he had already become a friend of the officers of the ship on his return from Moro.²⁹³ His report of the death of his friend Araújo, which in the opinion of those who had heard him could only have been known through a divine revelation, was a common object of conversation.²⁹⁴ After his return from Moro, Francis had taken up his residence near the small church of Nossa Senhora da Barra. Gaspar Lopes, the ship's secretary, asked the *casados* about him and learned that he heard confessions every day in the little church after Mass and taught Christian doctrine to children and adults, both men and women; and Lopes saw how many came to these instructions. All the alms which the priest collected, money, clothes, or anything else, he divided among the poor without keeping anything for himself. He could converse with the natives in Malay, which was a great surprise to many. When the natives brought wares from the ship, they sang the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* and other prayers of the catechism instead of their former worldly songs. The lessons in Christian doctrine were sung at night in all the homes in the fortress and were the source of great devotion. If Father Francis heard that there was one who was living an immoral life in the town, he invited himself to the man's noonday meal and continued to do so until he had converted him, and Lopes had himself known a person of this sort in Ternate.²⁹⁵ The pilot Gonçalo Garcia had heard that the priest had freed many from their sinful lives by having them sell or marry the slaves with whom they had been living.²⁹⁶ Duarte de Miranda, the captain of the *Bufara*, who had been Xavier's penitent already in Mozambique, saw him constantly occupied with preaching, administering the sacraments, and converting the pagans.²⁹⁷ Affonso Teixeira, who also saw the priest in Ternate, later testified:

²⁹² Cf. the letters of Veloso and of the *casados* (Sá I 517-521 475-478; we give the signatures according to the original documents).

²⁹³ Gaspar Lopes testified that "he was a great friend of all the officials of the ship" (MX II 176).

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 176 372; cf. 193 423.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 175-176. Gaspar Lopes sailed with Diogo Pereira in 1548 to China. He was placed in a Chinese prison and wrote from there to Pereira in 1551. In 1554 he was back in India (TdT: CC 1-94-74). In 1556 he was in Goa, married and resident as *contador* of the general register, an office which he still had in 1565 (APO 5, 589). He is to be distinguished from five namesakes.

²⁹⁶ MX II 192.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 372.

Father Master Francis lived virtuously as a man of exemplary life. He lived on alms, and what he had left over, he gave to the poor, and he himself lived as a poor man. I saw him sleeping in Maluco on a bed frame made of coconut fibres with a pillow of black cottons, and in Maluco I saw him constantly occupied with teaching Christian doctrine to the women and children and with hearing confessions and converting all the infidels that he could win to the faith in Christ. And he was highly regarded by all because of his words and works and because of his whole manner and the respectability of his person. And he had a special gift in this that he won the affection of everyone. And he constantly sought to banish sins from among the people and to reestablish mutual affection among all; and in this he spent his time; and all regarded him as a saint, and even the pagans called him the *Padre santo*.²⁹⁸

Letters from Goa had also come for Xavier with the *Bufara*.²⁹⁹ From these he learned that Beira and Criminali had gone immediately after receiving his letter from Malacca to the Fishery Coast in order to help Mansilhas.³⁰⁰ The governor, Dom João de Castro, did not want to take up the cause of the Ceylon princes without first making himself sure about the attitude of Bhuvaneka Bāhu. He had therefore sent an envoy shortly after his arrival with two Franciscans, one of whom was the guardian Frey João de Villa de Conde, to Kōttē with a letter of John III, in which he ordered him to receive baptism in compliance with his promise. But all the efforts to persuade the Singhalese ruler to accept Christianity had proved to be fruitless. From fear of the coming of the princes, he had allied himself with his brother Māyādunnē in order to obtain the neighboring kingdom of Kandy within the interior as a place of refuge in case of a Portuguese attack. He had further sent an envoy to Goa with a letter in which he declared that he had not promised to receive baptism in Lisbon and that he did not persecute the Christians. But in the meantime, in the middle of December, a letter had also come from Kandy in which the king there declared that he was ready to be baptized and earnestly asked for Portuguese help. It had therefore been decided that André de Sousa should go to the help of the threatened prince with fifty men in January, and that he should negotiate the marriage of Prince Dom Joam with his daughter. But while André de Sousa was busy making preparations for his journey, small-pox had carried away the two princes on January 14, 1546, in Goa. Sousa had nevertheless set sail, and Miguel Ferreira had been commissioned to seize Jaffna for the Brahman, the "brother" of the slayer of the Christians.³⁰¹

About the same time that the letter came from Kandy, another reached Goa from a rajah of Tanor, one of the greatest friends of the Portuguese in Malabar. He also asked to be baptized, and he wrote that the governor and the bishop should come for this. Castro had then consulted his council, and at the beginning of January he had sent Mestre Diogo to investigate the matter since there were some doubts about it and to instruct the candidate in the faith. Twenty days later a letter had come from Mestre Diogo in which he praised the catechumen's good will, but he also noted that the king wanted the governor to help him in his war against the Zamorin, the king of Calicut, and wished to keep his baptism secret from his people as long as his brother lived so that the latter would not rise up against him. The governor then summoned his

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 423.

²⁹⁹ In 1545 Xavier ordered him to send a letter with this ship (EX I 309-310).

³⁰⁰ DI I 137.

³⁰¹ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 6-7 273.

council to consider this letter. On the basis of the opinions he received, he decided to wait until September for the project to clarify, especially since Adil Khān was now hostile and a potential source of danger because of the fact that Mialī had not been banished from India or delivered to him as he had been promised by M. A. de Sousa. And, since in the meantime war had broken out between Tanor and Calicut, Mestre Diogo had gone to Cochin to help during Lent and to wait there for the end of the rainy season and of the war.³⁰²

On February 16 the *Bufara* set sail with Freitas in order to winter in Amboina, and in the middle of May, as usual, to continue the voyage to Malacca and India.³⁰³ Master Francis wished to sail on the *Bufara*: he had made his survey of the mission field in the Far East and the time had come for him to return to India. Bernaldim de Sousa, members of the Misericórdia, and his other Portuguese friends, however, asked him to remain with them during Lent. They promised him that they would have him brought to Amboina after Easter in a *korakora*, and he yielded to their entreaties.³⁰⁴

Freitas left his household, his wife, and his two small children in Ternate. Xavier had advised him to take them with him since it was not certain that he would return. But, embittered as he was, he would have nothing to do with this well-intended advice. He wanted to show everyone that he was sure of his position and that he would soon return as captain. Neither would he accept Bernaldim de Sousa's advice to become reconciled with Hairun. He was convinced that his successor was representing the party of the Moor and therefore wished him ill. He was thus filled with an enduring hatred for them both.³⁰⁵ He also left one of his two, grown, illegitimate sons behind and only took the second, the ailing Antonio, with him.³⁰⁶

Duarte de Miranda, as captain of the clove ship, had received a number of privileges from Dom João de Castro. Instead of the usual 50 *bahārs* of cloves, he was carrying 110 for himself. He had received his salary of a hundred *milreis* in advance with the privilege of paying his men their wages from funds of the state, and he had obtained boxes full of clothing—trousers, hats, and shoes, in order to divide them up among his soldiers as wages.³⁰⁷ But even before his arrival in Ternate he had been at odds with Bernaldim de Sousa. The wind had driven the galleon to Gamkonora, where Leliato, the village chief and a vassal and brother-in-law of Hairun, was visiting his overlord. He took the *Bufara* in tow with his *korakoras* and had it brought twelve leagues to the island of Ternate, where a favorable wind set in. The tired rowers had then fastened their *korakoras* to the rear deck of the galleon with a rope so that they could be towed to the fortress. Miranda ordered Garcia, the pilot, to lop off the rope. Bernaldim de Sousa objected to this since the men had brought them this far with so much effort, and the *korakoras* would probably be needed again for landing. When Miranda, in spite of this repeated his command, Sousa told him that if the rope were cut, he would tie him up with the rest of it. The captain then had to yield. This was the beginning of the quarrel between

³⁰² SR III 284-314; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 273; Q 3804 1984 (for the opinions, whose contents are only briefly indicated in SR, see Q 1940-1951).

³⁰³ Rebello 230 (the manuscript has February 16; Sá has, erroneously, February 15).

³⁰⁴ Valignano 102-103.

³⁰⁵ Rebello 230 446.

³⁰⁶ Sá I 531.

³⁰⁷ Q 1990; Couto 6, 6, 6.

the two.³⁰⁸ A second dispute occurred at the time of sailing. Freitas had given Miranda a series of important documents to take with him. Among these were the testimonies of witnesses opposed to Hairun. But Sousa seized these and forbade the secretary to make new copies of them.³⁰⁹ When he ordered Miranda to take a number of broken cannons with him to India, the latter refused to do so. De Sousa then had him imprisoned until he gave in and took them.³¹⁰

Dona Isabel, who had been an example of Christian virtue for all after her conversion,³¹¹ wanted to sail with Freitas in order to lodge complaints in India and Portugal over the treatment she had received from Hairun, especially since she suspected, as did others, that her son, Dom Manuel, had been poisoned in Malacca on his account. She also wished to tell the governor and the king that the most prominent people in the realm had been ready to become Christians because of the hope they had had in the return of her son. But she was not allowed to sail and saw herself constrained to remain in the house of Baltasar Veloso.³¹²

After his return Hairun had moved back into the ornate palace which Galvão had built for him,³¹³ and he had reestablished his ample harem within it. The leading men of his realm were forced to provide the personnel to manage it.³¹⁴ Master Francis had already met Hairun in Malacca in 1545 when he was sailing for India. Whenever Xavier now visited him in Ternate, he was cordially welcomed; and the sultan, who spoke of the king of Portugal only as "the King our Lord," acted so friendly towards the priest that the most prominent Mohammedans of his kingdom were scandalized. The only claim that Hairun had on Islam was the fact that he had been circumcized as a child and had later married many times. His harem consisted of a hundred wives and numerous concubines. The other Mohammedans in those regions also knew little of the teaching of their Prophet. There were few spiritual leaders and these were untrained and almost entirely foreigners. The sultan had little regard for Mohammed and could even speak of him with contempt.³¹⁵ But the Sixth Commandment and his many wives kept him from becoming a Christian. Nevertheless he told Xavier that he wished to be his friend, and he gave him hopes that he might some day become a Christian. He should therefore love him even though he was burdened with this stain of Mohammedanism. Christians and Moors had indeed the same God, and one day all would be one in faith. He always showed himself much pleased when Xavier visited him. But despite all the latter's exhortations, he was not to be persuaded to become a Christian. Nevertheless he promised to let one of his sons be baptized on the condition that he would become the king of the Christians on the Moro Islands, and the priest promised him that he would make efforts in this regard with the governor of India.³¹⁶

February 23, seven days after the departure of the *Bufara*, was Ash Wednesday. During Lent Master Francis continued his apostolic labors with redoubled

³⁰⁸ Rebello 227-228 444.

³⁰⁹ Sá I 530.

³¹⁰ Rebello 487.

³¹¹ DI III 540-541.

³¹² Sá I 531-532.

³¹³ Castanheda 8, 199.

³¹⁴ **Tratado* 11v.

³¹⁵ DI III 540.

³¹⁶ EX I 385-387; Sá I 603.

zeal. He preached twice on Sundays and feast days, in the morning to the Portuguese and in the afternoon to the natives; and he was constantly hearing confessions in the morning, midday, and afternoon. He gave instructions in Christian doctrine every day for two hours or more, during the course of which he taught them to sing his rhymed catechism; and on Sundays and feast days he explained to the natives an article of the faith from it. On such occasions he spoke against their earlier idolatrous customs. During Lent he also preached every Wednesday and Friday to the native wives of the Portuguese on the articles of the faith, the Commandments, and the sacraments of confession and Communion. During the course of these sermons he also employed Malay words in the explanations which he gave in Portuguese so that he would be better understood, and he also asked his hearers questions to see if he had been understood or not. At night he went with his small bell through the city and recommended the poor souls in purgatory and those living in mortal sin to the prayers of the faithful.³¹⁷

Master Francis' edifying life was in itself a sermon for all; and more than once he was found in the fastness of the forest, where he had withdrawn to scourge himself or to pray.³¹⁸ His example and words were effective. Many Portuguese began to receive Holy Communion every week, and one of them declared that he was ready to give a part of his possessions to found a college where children would learn to read and write and would receive instructions in the faith.³¹⁹ Francis promised the brothers of the Misericordia that he would found a community in Ternate and send confreres to continue his work,³²⁰ and he was offered a piece of ground near the fortress for this.³²¹ A pious priest who was a friend of Francis told him that he was ready, after his departure, to give instructions every day in the church and to have his rhymed catechism learned by heart by the new converts instead of the prayers, and that he would spend two hours each day in this until the arrival of the confreres. If twenty words of it were memorized each day, the whole text could be learned by heart in a year.³²² The priest further promised to preach once a week to the wives of the Portuguese on the articles of the faith and the sacraments of confession and Communion. Francis asked him to continue with the call to prayer at night after his departure. The people chose for this a man who would go every night to the squares of the city in the blue mantle of the Misericordia with a lantern in one hand and a little bell in the other and who would stop from time to time and recommend in a loud voice to the people in their prayers the souls of those in purgatory and those who were living obstinately in a state of sin and of whom it is written in Scripture: "May they be erased from the book of the living, and not be recorded with the just!"³²³

God had crowned the tireless labors of the apostle with rich results.³²⁴ When the feast of Easter was close at hand, all had followed the call of grace with but two exceptions, who did not wish to give up their lives of sin and to

³¹⁷ Sá I 383-385; Valignano 103.

³¹⁸ Teixeira 875.

³¹⁹ Sá I 604-605.

³²⁰ DI I 364.

³²¹ Lucena 4, 14.

³²² EX I 388-389.

³²³ Ps. 68:29.

³²⁴ *Ibid.* 384-385.

marry their concubines.³²⁵ Many of the native wives of the Portuguese, after they had been well prepared, received Holy Communion for the first time.³²⁶ Shortly after Easter, which fell this year on April 10, a *korakora* was ready for the voyage to Amboina.

Dona Isabel gave Francis two blank sheets of paper with her signature upon them for Freitas so that he could write in her name to the king and to the governor of India on her behalf. And Freitas' wife, Dona Maria da Silva, added a letter in which she told her husband what the queen wished to have written on them. Francis promised Dona Isabel that he would recommend her to the king of Portugal and ask him to grant her an income for life to free her from all worry about her daily needs. Veloso also gave the priest a letter for the king in which he described his past services, the many sacrifices and perils he had endured in defending the fortress against the Castilians and the Moors, the pains he had repeatedly taken to calm the natives when they were being imposed upon by the captains so that they would not rebel, the care he had taken of Dona Isabel by bringing her into his home and persuading her to be baptized, and the fact that he had never received a reward for his troubles. He therefore asked the king as a compensation for his twenty-seven years in His Highness' service for the position of admiral of the Moluccas with its income for life. And Master Francis promised him that he would earnestly recommend his petition to the king.³²⁷

Christians, pagans, and Moors had become fond of the saintly priest and were sad to see him leave. In order to avoid the tears and lamentations of his admirers and friends, he wished to board ship about midnight when all would be quiet. But it was of no avail! A large throng accompanied him to the beach as he left his house with the boys destined for the College of St. Paul. All were in tears as he went to the ship. He embraced each one of them, consoling and encouraging them; and he told them that he had already summoned confreres from Amboina who would take care of them in his stead. Even the children and slaves wept bitterly as they saw their saintly priest sail away.

The lights of Ternate slowly disappeared as the *korakora* driven by the powerful strokes of the rowers sailed southwards in the silent night. Master Francis' heart was also heavy with the thought that his beloved spiritual sons and daughters, whom he had left behind, had lost through his departure a great help towards the salvation of their immortal souls. Ternate spoke for many days of the saintly priest, and when he was mentioned the sweet remembrance of him moved both men and women to tears.³²⁸

5. THE RETURN VOYAGE TO MALACCA (APRIL—JUNE, 1547)

The northwest monsoon was coming to its close when Xavier with his native boys returned from Ternate to Amboina along the same route that he had come. The voyage usually took from one to two weeks,³²⁹ depending upon the con-

³²⁵ Valignano 103-104.

³²⁶ EX I 383.

³²⁷ Sá I 531-532; EX II 126-128.

³²⁸ Valignano 105-106; EX I 384.

³²⁹ See above, p. 142. Rebello writes: "Ships usually sail from Maluco [Ternate] on February 15 and arrive in Amboina within six or seven days" (499). This was true for the northwest monsoon, when the wind in February blew constantly from the north. But April was already a transitional period when the weather was very changeable (*Eastern Archipelago Pilot* I 433).

stantly shifting winds during the transitional period. They sailed without incident, and at the end of April³³⁰ the *korakora* entered into the bay of Amboina. After an absence of ten months, Francis could again greet his friends in Hatiwi, his companion Joam d'Eiró, Fausto Rodrigues, and the young Manuel, his faithful guide on his visits to the Christian villages, and he could also pray at the grave of his friend Araújo for the repose of his soul.³³¹

Four ships were lying at anchor in the *cova*,³³² the inner bay north of Hatiwi: ³³³ the *Bufara* and three other vessels, including the royal Banda ship under Captain Garcia de Sousa,³³⁴ which brought the annual harvest of nutmegs to India. They were docked for the winter close to the shore and with the gangway resting on the beach³³⁵ so that in the middle of May they could sail on to Malacca with the southeast monsoon. Francis delivered to Freitas the letter of his wife and the two leaves with the signature of Dona Isabel,³³⁶ and he sent with the *korakora* that had brought him to Amboina a letter to one of his friends in Ternate in which he asked him, among other things, to greet for him his two countrymen who had shown themselves to be so stubborn in his regard. He should tell them that, if he could have hopes of being in any way of assistance to their souls' salvation, he would immediately return to Maluco, and he would not cease to recommend them to God.³³⁷

Garcia de Sousa, the captain of the Banda ship was an old acquaintance of Xavier from Mozambique. He and his brother Francisco had sailed to India with the fleet of M. A. de Sousa in 1541.³³⁸ Like his brother, he was an illegitimate son of Thomé de Sousa, a cousin of M. A. de Sousa and a nephew of the count of Castanheira, who had served in Africa and had married in 1538.³³⁹ He had sailed with the Banda ship from Goa in September, 1546,³⁴⁰ and Francis learned from him the latest news about India. War had broken out in Cambay: Diu had been besieged since June, the beginning of the rainy season, and was in greatest need!³⁴¹

³³⁰ Xavier speaks of a stay in Amboina of fifteen to twenty days (EX I 384). Since the ship was accustomed to sail from there to Malacca on May 15 (Rebello 499), he arrived at the end of April.

³³¹ Since the *korakora* had to sail close by Hatiwi before it reached the *cova*, where the four ships were anchored, it is obvious that he first landed there.

³³² EX I 384.

³³³ The *cova* meant in a narrow sense the innermost bay north of Cape Martafons, in a broad sense, the whole bay (Rebello 395; *Feitos eroicos* 184 195-196 239; Couto 9, 10; 8, 25).

³³⁴ Q 3576.

³³⁵ "Nesta ilha ha huma grande enseada, a qual faz outra pera a banda do norte, em que envernão as naos cubertas, e com a prancha em terra" (Rebello 395).

³³⁶ Sá I 531-532.

³³⁷ Valignano 103-104.

³³⁸ **Rol das pessoas* (see Vol. II, pp. 686-689).

³³⁹ Thomé de Sousa, who was born around 1503, recommended his two sons in India to Governor Castro in March, 1546 (Q 2102). He was governor of Brasil from 1549 to 1553 and then *vedor* of John III, Queen Catherine, and King Sebastian. He died in 1579 and is buried with his wife in the monastery of S. Antonio in Castanheira (HCPB III 328-333). In 1558 the king gave Garcia de Sousa the right to a captaincy of Maluco for his services in India (*Registo*, n. 519), but he never took over the position, probably because he died before he could do so. He died unmarried and childless like his brother (HCPB III 328) and had four namesakes in India.

³⁴⁰ The usual time for sailing from Goa was, according to Valignano, between September 10 and 20 (Schütte I 1, 125).

³⁴¹ The sources for the second siege of Diu have been collected in Q, index. The two extensive accounts of L. Nunes, who took part in it, have been edited by Baião

The *Bufara* had left Goa on April 8, 1546.³⁴² Five days later, during the night of April 13-14,³⁴³ a *catur* came with the *vigario* from Diu.³⁴⁴ He brought the news that the fortress was faced with a siege from the Gujars, and was in need of urgent assistance before the rainy season set in, when the sea would be un-navigable. The captain, Dom João Mascarenhas, had sent him with letters for the governor, Dom Joam de Castro, and his son, Dom Alvaro, in which he described the impending danger; and he had also asked help from the captains of Bassein and Chaul. Khoja Safar, the Italian renegade, who was only too well acquainted with the European art of war, and who had already played a leading role in the first siege of Diu in 1538, had sent on April 4 a *tanadar* with three to four hundred men, all Turks and Abyssinians; and on the eighth, when Mascarenhas wrote his last letter, artillery had already been brought into the city and more was on the way. The sultan of Cambay had sent, in addition to Khoja Safar, four of his chief captains with troops for the siege and their preparations were all in full course, whereas there were less than two hundred men in the fortress, and only a hundred of these were fit for fighting. There were, moreover, only twelve artillerymen, and the troops were all disaffected since they had not received any pay for six months.³⁴⁵

The governor put his help together within three days. On April 16 he sent his son Dom Fernando with nine *fustas* and two hundred picked arquebusiers, food, and munitions along with orders for the captains of Chaul and Bassein to provide fifty men each for the threatened fortress.³⁴⁶

Bassein and Chaul were also being threatened and in need of help at this time,³⁴⁷ and at the end of May the governor learned that the sultan of Cambay had sent an ambassador to the Zamorin, to Adil Khān, and to Nizām Maluk, making great promises so that they would help him drive the Portuguese out of India.³⁴⁸ Although the war that soon broke out between the last two of these freed Goa and Chaul for the present from the danger of an attack,³⁴⁹ a *patamar* arrived by land on July 19 from Chaul with letters from Diu. They contained urgent, new requests for immediate help. The situation had become extremely critical. For two months the enemy, under the direction of the experienced Khoja Safar had constructed a maze of trenches from the city to the fortress following the norms used by Europeans in besieging a city. And in a letter of July 2, the captain wrote that for twenty-nine days they had been bombarded by the heaviest kinds of guns. A cannon ball had torn the head off of Khoja

(*História Quinhentista*, with an appendix of documents, pp. 107-339) and Ford (L. Nunes, *Crónica*), and the letters of D. Joam de Castro (*Cartas*). In addition to these there are the chronicles of Correa (IV 452-592) and Couto (6, 1, 1-6 4, 6) and the biographies of D. Joam de Castro by Freire de Andrade (ed. 1835, with appendix of documents, pp. 355-514) and by E. Sanceau of 1946, and the shorter, contemporary, printed accounts of von Teive (Q 5076) and Goes (Q 5085). The library of Cadaval has a manuscript (1104) of the epic of Cortereal on the second siege of Diu with valuable, colored drawings of the battle scenes.

³⁴² Castro, *Cartas* 236; Q 2110.

³⁴³ Castro, *Cartas* 237; Correa IV 452 461.

³⁴⁴ João Coelho (L. Nunes 56).

³⁴⁵ Cf. the submitted letters: Q 2113-2114 2119-2120, partially edited in Baião, *Hist.* 141-144.

³⁴⁶ Castro, *Cartas* 237-239 130-136; Baião *Hist.* 182; Correa IV 461-462; Q 2125-2128 2131-2134.

³⁴⁷ Castro, *Cartas* 239-240 242-243; Q 2142-2145 2215 2221-2222 2291.

³⁴⁸ Castro, *Cartas* 242.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 242-243.

Safar and had thus freed the Portuguese from a most dangerous opponent; but the sultan had appeared personally in the camp and had left Jhūjhār Khān, the captain of the Abyssinians, there with fresh troops, so that the number of opposing troops now amounted to five thousand natives and five hundred Turks. Despite the help that had been brought by Dom Fernando, there were only a hundred men in condition to fight against them. All the others were either ill or dead.³⁵⁰

From June till August, the time of the southwest monsoon, the raging sea was considered to be unnavigable. But the need was desperate. On July 25, the governor's firstborn son, the twenty-one-year-old Dom Alvaro,³⁵¹ sailed with five hundred picked arquebusiers and thirty-two *fustas* and *caturs* out into the stormy sea in order to push their way, despite the unleashed forces of nature, to Diu. It was an unheard of venture, unique in all the previous history of Indian sea-faring.³⁵² At the same time the governor had the war against Cambay solemnly proclaimed in all the fortresses of the south and appeals made for help.³⁵³ He had already sent a *patamar* in June to São Thomé to ask the Portuguese of the Coromandel Coast to come to the west coast to the help of Diu.³⁵⁴

More than a month had passed since the departure of Dom Alvaro, and no news had as yet been received from him. The sultan of Cambay was in the meantime letting it be known all over India and beyond, as far as Malacca and Sumatra, and even in Goa, that the fortress of Diu had fallen, that all of its defenders had been slain, and that the captain Dom João Mascarenhas and Dom Alvaro had been imprisoned.³⁵⁵ Then, on September 4, a *catur* came from there with Duarte Pereira and delivered a series of letters to the governor.³⁵⁶ They were dated from August 27 to 29, and contained the news that Dom Alvaro had safely arrived there on August 27 and had rescued the fortress at the last moment: at the time of his arrival there were only eighty still able to fight. The ditch had been filled in, and the bulwarks had been shot up or had already partially fallen into the hands of the attackers. Dom Alvaro had learned that his brother Dom Fernando was no longer alive. With many others of the flower of the nobility, he had been killed in the bulwark of São João when an enemy mine blew it up.³⁵⁷

The governor concealed his grief over the death of his son and had the glad news that Diu had not fallen solemnly celebrated in order to raise the spirits of the people. He gave the bearer of the letters his finest cloak and kissed him

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 245-246; L. Nunes 57; Correa IV 480 491-492. The letters which they submitted are: Q 2268 (Baião, *Hist.* 187-193), 2269 (*ibid.* 140), 2270 (Castro, *Cartas* 245), 2273 (Baião, *Hist.* 155-160).

³⁵¹ According to Sanceau, he was certainly born in Almada in 1525 (*D. João de Castro* 41), whereas Freire de Andrade says that he sailed to India in 1535 when he was thirteen (9). His brother died in Diu on August 10, 1546, when he was, according to L. Nunes, sixteen or seventeen (Baião, *Hist.* 62), but according to Freire de Andrade nineteen (143).

³⁵² Castro, *Cartas* 246-248; L. Nunes 79-80; Q 2300-2311, partially edited in Castro, *Cartas* 146-154 349 354 and Freire de Andrade 457-459.

³⁵³ Q 2316 (Cochin), 2331 (Cranganore), 2337 (Chale), 2339 2347 (Cannanore), 2341 (São Thomé). Correa IV 493.

³⁵⁴ Q 2254 2291.

³⁵⁵ L. Nunes 104-105.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 105; Correa IV 526; Q 2375 (the date is September 6, not September 2).

³⁵⁷ Castro, *Cartas* 252-255. The letters from Diu were: Q 2355 (Baião, *Hist.* 131-133), 2359 (*ibid.* 160-162), 2360 2362 (*ibid.* 213-214); cf. 2371-2372 2377.

and had the bells rung and a solemn procession held. The next day he assisted at a Mass of thanksgiving in Nossa Senhora da Luz. After the Mass, accompanied by many *fidalgos*, he rode off to the field in order to hold there the usual tourneys; and, with his standardbearer leading the way,³⁵⁸ he returned from there in solemn procession through the streets of the city. Three hours later, however, a second *catur* arrived with a letter from Dom Alvaro, in which he wrote that he had been wounded in a sortie and that his companion Dom Francisco de Meneses and seven others had been killed and thirty wounded.³⁵⁹ On September 7 the governor sent Duarte Pereira with Vasco da Cunha, the apothecary Simão Alvares, and the guardian of the Franciscans, Frey Paulo de Santarem back to Diu with a letter for his son;³⁶⁰ and on the tenth he sent a second letter to Dom Alvaro, promising him that he would soon come to free Diu with the whole fleet and the entire military might of India.³⁶¹

The siege of Diu had kept the whole of India in suspense since April and had forced the postponement of every other project, including the punitive expedition against Jaffna, which had been planned for September.³⁶² But on August 10 two *fustas* had arrived in Goa from Cochin and had reported that thirty more would come after them with men. The citizens of Cochin had fitted these out for the help of Diu. And from Ceylon news had come that the king of Kandy had become a Christian through the instructions of Padre Francisco,³⁶³ who had gone to preach there, and that many of his people had received baptism, and that the king was sending an envoy to the governor in order to conclude an alliance with him. And on September 10 a Franciscan priest arrived in Goa who had come straight overland through India from São Thomé bringing letters of the king of Kandy, of his crown prince, and of André de Sousa, who had discovered that the king had already been baptized when he and his soldiers reached Kandy, and that there was the prospect of the entire island being converted if the governor or his son Dom Alvaro came in person to help the rajah.³⁶⁴ But, for the present, Diu required all his attention and resources: Portugal's entire rule beyond the Cape of Good Hope was at stake with this fortress. If it fell all was doomed since the Mohammedan princes of India were only waiting for an opportunity to drive the hated foreigners from their land.³⁶⁵

³⁵⁸ Correa IV 526-527; L. Nunes 105-109; Q 2375.

³⁵⁹ Q 2375; Correa IV 527; L. Nunes 107-109.

³⁶⁰ Castro, *Cartas* 259 161-162; cf. Q 2375 2390-2391 2394-2395.

³⁶¹ Castro, *Cartas* 163-164. He did not sail until September 25, after the departure of the Banda ship for Diu (*ibid.* 262).

³⁶² On the projected punitive expedition against Jaffna, see the letters of Miguel Ferreira (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 346-352 382-384). On July 12 a *patamar* came from Goa to São Thomé with news of the siege of Diu, which forced the Jaffna expedition to be postponed to a more propitious time (*ibid.* 389-392).

³⁶³ Correa IV 525. Correa here confuses the Franciscan Frey Francesco de Monteprandone with Xavier.

³⁶⁴ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 412-414; cf. 392. On the letters delivered, see *ibid.* 355-378 391-392. Correa has Xavier visit the king of Kandy and convert him (a confusion with Frey Francesco de Monteprandone, O.F.M.) and travel from Kandy to Goa on his account (a confusion with Frey Simão de Coimbra, O.F.M.) with a pagan envoy who was baptized in Goa in 1547 (a confusion with the envoy of Mâyādunnē in 1547 and the baptism of the *pandita* in 1552) (IV 619-621; cf. *Ceylon* 8-10 and the sources named there).

³⁶⁵ Cf. the letter of the sultan of Cambay to the Zamorin of April 4, 1546 (Q 211), that of Antonio de Sousa with respect to the ambiguous attitude of the Nizām (Q 2297), and Castro, *Cartas* 303.

When Master Francis reached Amboina, a cottage was built for him and his companions near the anchorage of the four ships. A chapel was also built of *gaba-gaba* and *atap* so that he could offer Mass in it and administer the sacraments.³⁶⁶ During the fifteen or twenty days that he stayed there with the Portuguese, he preached three times and heard many confessions; and he reconciled many who had been living at enmity with each other.³⁶⁷ The result was that the crews of the four ships all made their Easter duty.³⁶⁸ He married one of Miranda's servants to a Mohammedan woman whom he had baptized,³⁶⁹ and he cared for the sick with great solicitude and remained with them, and especially with one who had particular need of his assistance and who died in his arms. Gaspar Lopes, the secretary of the *Bufara*, heard the priest say almost in tears after his death: "Blessed be our Lord. I came here just at the right time for the soul of this man."³⁷⁰

One of the four ships had a Moorish pilot, and in Xavier's presence some of the Portuguese urged him to become a Christian. The priest saw their importunity and advised them to discontinue their efforts. "Leave him alone," he said, "for he will not die as a Mohammedan but as a Christian."³⁷¹

In addition to the Portuguese, Xavier turned his attention also to the native Christians in as far as the short time of his stay would allow. With the beginning of May the rainy season had begun. A visit to the mountain villages of Leitimor was no longer possible, but he was able to visit the neighboring villages on the bay near Hatiwi and console the people with the prospect of the early coming of his confreres. They would soon be there and would stay and take care of them.³⁷² The pious hope for the conversion of the entire island

³⁶⁶ Teixeira 868 and the testimony of G. Lopes and Miranda (MX II 176 372).

³⁶⁷ EX I 384. The three sermons were probably on the three Sundays, May 1, 8, and 15.

³⁶⁸ MX II 176 (Lopes).

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 372 (Miranda).

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 176.

³⁷¹ In the Cochin process of 1616 the forty-six-year-old *cavalleiro* Simão Serrão testified to this incident. He added that he had been present on the Amboina islands at the death of this Moor, who formerly, in Xavier's time, had been a pilot of the royal galleons. After Xavier's departure, he had been frequently urged by Portuguese and natives to become a Christian. He had always replied that they should not worry about this since he would not die as a Moor but as a Christian, for this had been prophesied by the saintly Father Xavier. The witness had seen with his own eyes how this Moorish pilot, now very old, had received baptism and had died three days later with great consolation (Barradas 67; MX II 500). The Latin translation of the process makes of the pilot a captain of the royal ships.

³⁷² In the Goa process in December, 1556, Christovão de Couros testified that he had been five or six years in Maluco when Master Francis was in those regions. He knew that he had converted a great number of people and villages on the Amboina islands and in the regions of Maluco. He had built churches and had left behind in villages many young people (*moços*) whom he had taught to instruct the natives in Christian doctrine (MX II 206). On the same day Manuel de Figueiredo testified that Xavier had converted many villages and a great number of pagans on the Amboina islands and that he had built many churches. He, the witness, knew this because he had passed through there (*ibid.* 205-206). Manuel Alvares declared that he had been some years in Maluco and had heard of the great fruit which Father Master Francis had worked there and on the islands of Amboina; and he had seen great crowds whom he had converted on many of those islands (*ibid.* 207). All three witnesses also report the so-called Tolo miracle, that is, the recapture of the apostate Tolo in the summer of 1550 with the help of a volcanic eruption obtained through Xavier's presence. In this they confuse Xavier with Beira. Figueiredo further errs in stating that the village of

had indeed received a heavy blow through the removal and arrest of Freitas. Hairun did not acknowledge the gift of the islands to the king of Portugal that had been made by his predecessor Tabarija, and it was uncertain whether Freitas would be vindicated in India and be able to return from there as lord of the island.³⁷³

On May 15, a Sunday, the time for the departure of the four ships for Malacca had come.³⁷⁴ The officers of the *Bufara*, with Captain Miranda at their head, all great friends of the priest, would gladly have had him as a fellow voyager. But he refused their earnest invitation. "I shall not sail on this ship," he told Antonio Gonçalves, the skipper, and others, "for I greatly fear that you will encounter a great misfortune."³⁷⁵ The priest may also not have wished to sail with the arrested Freitas, who regarded him as his adversary. Instead of this,

Tolo alone had 25,000 Christians, not counting those of the many other Christian villages of the province [of Morol], and that Tolo had been converted by Xavier, who had been the first to visit the area for this purpose. Their testimonies with respect to Xavier's labors are consequently to be accepted with some reserve, especially since none of them was with the saint in Tolo or Amboina, and they ascribe to Xavier the Christians who were baptized and the churches that were built before and after him and the catechists who were appointed after him.—In 1563 Brother Manuel Gomes wrote from Amboina of a cross that Xavier had erected in the neighborhood of a recently baptized village, on the beach near the mouth of a river and not far from a village where Portuguese were living (Sá III 54). The site may well be the village of Liliboi, converted in 1563, south of Tawiri on the Sekawiri River. Later authors exaggerate. According to Lucena, Xavier restored the churches, had new ones built, erected numerous crosses, and appointed catechists everywhere (4, 5). According to Bartoli he converted a no small portion of Amboina (2, 8). According to Brou he taught children to be catechists and built churches and large crosses in the seven Christian villages (I 414). Wessels states that every village probably had a chapel and a large cross erected by Xavier. The only authorities he cites for this are MX II 224 251 372, where there are no references to any crosses (*Amboina* 19-20). On his visit to the Christians on this occasion, see Teixeira 869; Valignano 106.

³⁷³ In the Malacca process of 1616, the captain of Malacca, João Cayado de Gamboa, testified that when he was captain of Amboina, he had heard Pedro of Halong, who had known Xavier, say that when the priest was in that fortress, he had heard him state that three of the adjoining villages would not persevere in the faith and would never be good Christians. He had seen him shake off his shoes when he left there and he had heard him say that he did not want to take away with him the dust of that wicked land. The villages had always, in fact, been rebellious towards God and the Portuguese as long as they were there, and the other villages in the environs (*a roda*) used to maintain that they were wicked so that the saint's prophecy might be fulfilled (Barradas 73-74). Cross has the people say: "Les gens de Aroda sont mauvais, pour accomplir la prophétie du Saint-Père François" (II 409). This is repeated by Brou (I 415). Gamboa was captain of Amboina in 1597. The fortress mentioned was not built until 1575-1576 on the site of an uninhabited sago grove. The first to move to the fortress, which they had helped to build, were the inhabitants of Hatiwi and Tawiri, and they were always the most faithful Christians of Amboina. In 1591 the villages of Latuhalat, Nusaniwi (Silali), and Urimeseng were also transferred to this site. These had never been very steadfast in their faith and were brought here to preserve it. Nothing can consequently be obtained from the anachronistic data of Pedro of Halong. He apparently confuses Xavier with a later missionary.

³⁷⁴ According to Rebello the ships were accustomed to sail from Amboina to Malacca "a 15 de May ou seguro á lua chea do mesmo mes" (499). In 1547 there was a full moon on May 4 and June 3 (Swamikannu Pillai V 296). In Amboina the moon appears three hours earlier. The full moon consequently had nothing to do with the departure in 1547. In 1546 it was precisely on May 15.

³⁷⁵ MX II 176-177 (Lopes), 193 (A. Gonçalves).

he boarded the royal Banda ship of Garcia de Sousa³⁷⁶ with Eiró and the native boys that had been chosen for St. Paul's College.³⁷⁷

The ships sailed together southwest through the open sea until the islands of the Timor group were sighted,³⁷⁸ and then along the route on which Xavier had come, along the northern coasts of Flores, Sumbawa, Lombok, Bali, and Java, and then along the eastern coast of Sumatra. At the beginning of July they all docked safely in Malacca.³⁷⁹ The voyage had been made without any particular incident except that which was encountered by the *Bufara*. In the strait of Sabang it ran upon a rocky reef with such force that all of the iron of the rudder was broken and the vessel was only saved as if by a miracle. The sentiments of the saintly priest had been fulfilled.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁶ Xavier sailed from Malacca to India in the Banda ship of Garcia de Sousa (MX II 191). We assume therefore that he had already sailed from Amboina on this ship, also because of the fact that he knew its captain personally and the latter was a near relative of his two friends and benefactors, the count of Castanheira and M. A. de Sousa, and was the captain of a royal ship, on which he, as a missionary of the royal *padroado*, had free passage. In the depositions in Tuticorin in 1616 Francisco dos Anjos declared that the guardian there, Frey Francisco do Oriente, O.F.M., as vicar of Negapatam had told him that he had heard from his father that Xavier had sailed in his ship, the *Santa Maria dos Anjos*, from the Moluccas to Malacca and that during the course of the voyage he had had the vision of the murder of a man whom we mentioned above on p. 155. The priest had saved the ship through his prayers and had prophesied that he would make many successful voyages and that he would never sink in the sea, and the prophecies had been fulfilled (MX II 557-558; cf. 478 and Barrados 59). The data are highly legendary. The ship *Santa Maria dos Anjos* is never mentioned before 1558. In 1558 it sailed from Goa to Ternate under Captain Antonio Pereira Brandão. The return voyage was made under another captain since Pereira Brandão remained behind as administrator of the fortress after the arrest of the captain of Ternate (Couto 7, 4, 3, who erroneously places the return voyage in 1557, and 7, 5, 3). Frey Francisco do Oriente, born in Goa, was guardian in Negapatam in 1577.

³⁷⁷ In the Goa process in 1556, Gonçalo Fernandes said that Xavier had asked him in Malacca in 1547 to take back to Goa for him some luggage in his ship and more than twenty (*vinte e tantas*) boys whom he had brought with him (MX II 178). Instead of this, Teixeira has in his Spanish text "diez niños y mancebos de Maluco, los quales traya para ser instruydos en Goa" (871). The Italian text has "certi putti di Malluco" (28), and Tursellinus, following it, has "pueros quosdam" (3, 13). The boys were partly from the Moro mission and others apparently also from Amboina. On February 7, 1553, Beira, who had come from Ternate to India in 1552, wrote from Cochin that he had officiated at the marriage of a daughter of the *sengadji* of Moro, by which Tolo was meant, to a young man who had been born in Tolo, had been taught in the College of St. Paul in Goa, and whom he had brought with him (Sá II 84).

³⁷⁸ This was the usual route according to *N. Nunes (ARSI: *Goa* 47, 117). One of the islands north of Timor that was usually sighted was Wettar.

³⁷⁹ Rebello 499; DI I 364.

³⁸⁰ MX II 177 193.

BOOK II
TWO YEARS IN INDIA
(1547—1549)

Caritas Christi urget nos.
"The love of Christ impels us."
2 Cor. 5:14

CHAPTER I

SIX MONTHS IN MALACCA (JULY—DECEMBER, 1547)¹

1. NEW HELPERS (JULY—AUGUST, 1547)

Master Francis and Eiró were jubilantly received in Malacca, where they landed with the Banda ship in July, 1547. A large crowd had assembled on the beach after the news spread that "the holy father" was coming. Among those present were Simão de Mello, the captain; Affonso Martins, the old pastor, and his beneficiaries; the brothers of the Misericórdia; and Diego Pereira and other friends and acquaintances of the returning priest. The women of the city had also come with their children and the nurses with the infants in their care. All were tense with a joyful expectancy. When Xavier arrived, he saw in the crowd the eleven-year-old Paulo Gomes, who had helped him with his instructions during his first stay in Malacca. Francis addressed him and the other boys by name and asked them about their fathers and mothers.² But he also saw in the crowd individuals whom he had not encountered during his first stay in Malacca two years before. Among these was Doctor Cosme Saraiva, who had sailed with him from Portugal to India in 1541, and who had assiduously tended him during his grievous illness in Mozambique. Saraiva was the new *physicus* of the hospital, where Xavier again found shelter in a small wooden house opposite the side door of the Misericórdia,³ which he shared with three confreres whom he had not seen before. These were the priests Juan de Beira and Nuno Ribeiro, and a lay brother Nicolau Nunes,⁴ who had come with the clove ship from Goa in May in order to sail on, as they had been ordered, to the Moluccas.

¹ The *sources* for Xavier's stay in Malacca in 1547 are as follows: (1) Xavier's letters (EX I 387-392 399 408 411-413 437-441). (2) Those of his confreres (DI I 175-179 363-367; III 78 554). (3) The testimonies given at his processes (MX II 177-179 182-183 169 191-192 381-382 483 503; Barradas: GS IV 463-464). (4) *Cartas* 1598, 402.—*Accounts*: Teixeira 869-871 (*It. 2, 12); Valignano 106-112; Lucena 5, 1-20; Seb. Gonçalves 3, 10-16; *idem*, *Studia Missionalia* 7 (1952) 99. See also the sources on the Achin miracle and Anjirō.

² On the time of his arrival, see Rebello 499; Schütte, *Valignano* I 1, 130; DI I 364. The clove ship usually sailed from Malacca on August 15 for Ternate. Xavier writes that he had remained for a month with his confreres (EX I 387). According to Pérez, he met them in Malacca in July, 1547, and two or two and a half months after their arrival in May they sailed on to Ternate (DI I 364). On his reception, see Valignano 106 and the reception of Pérez in 1548 (DI I 370). In 1616 the forty-year-old Antonio Mendes, S.J., who had been born in Malacca, testified that he had frequently heard the details of Xavier's arrival from Paulo Gomes, who had been present when the priest first landed in Malacca, and that he, Paulo, and many others had regarded it as a miracle since the saint could only have known the names of the children through a supernatural revelation. We regard it as more probable that Gomes confused Xavier's first visit with his second. Other acquaintances from Xavier's first visit were there: Fernandes de Ilher, Diogo de Abreu, Lopes de Almeida, and Bento Gomes.

³ Cf. Saraiva's testimony in the Goa process of 1556 in MX II 189. Pérez wrote of Xavier: "Chegou a Malacca em Julho de 1547, e ahí pousou numas casinhas que chamão

Xavier had written to his companions in India from Amboina in May, 1546, and had summoned two of them, Mansilhas and Beira, to the Moluccas. He had further ordered that if one of these had died, Criminali should take his place. He had then written that, if new confreres came from Portugal, they should all go to Cape Comorin. He had given these orders under holy obedience and had urged each of those coming to bring at least one lay helper along with him.⁵ When his letter reached the Fishery Coast, Mansilhas had been unwilling to heed the summons,⁶ and Criminali had been too far away to reach the ship before its departure. Beira had thus been the only one left;⁷ and in keeping with the recommendation of the priests, Ribeiro and Nunes had been given him as his companions.⁸

Beira,⁹ who was six years younger than Xavier,¹⁰ had been born in Pontevedra in Galicia. He had been a parish priest and canon in La Coruña when Strada disembarked there with eleven companions in 1544 in order to go from there by land to Coimbra. Strada's fiery eloquence had been crowned with success. When he left the city with his companions on the following day, he was accompanied by the thirty-two-year-old canon, who, after reaching the university city, entered the Society of Jesus on February 16, 1544. A year later Simon Rodrigues called him to Evora, where he went as a companion of Master Favre.¹¹ In Evora he met Araoz and on February 1, 1545, the feast of the martyr St. Ignatius, was designated by Rodrigues for India.¹² On March 28 he, Criminali, and Lancilotto set sail from Lisbon in the company of the new governor Dom João de Castro. They had been generously provided by the king with all that they needed, including books.¹³ After a successful voyage,¹⁴ with only a three-day delay off the dread coast of Guinea, they reached Mozambique on July 28. There they received good news about Father Master Francis and heard a rumor that three

serame, que são de madeira, fronteiro da porta da travesa da Misericórdia" (Informação 57).

⁴ EX I 387.

⁵ *Ibid.* 340-343.

⁶ DI I 364 456.

⁷ *Ibid.* 177 364 456.

⁸ *Ibid.* 255 ("forão pelo parecer dos Padres") 364. In 1546 and 1547 Simon Rodrigues wrote that Lancilotto should be the superior of his confreres in India and especially in the college in Goa (*ibid.* 184; cf. 19).

⁹ On Juan de Beira, see the *sources* in Q, index; also the *accounts* in Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 381-386; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 3, 2, 6-10; Mateos, *Missionalia Hispanica* 9 (1952) 284-303; and Teixeira, *Anotações* 46-47. We shall later discuss his work in the Moluccas. In 1556 he returned to India broken in health and (probably as the result of a heatstroke) mentally weakened. He lived in Bassein and Thāna and, from 1562 on, on the island of Chorão near Goa, surrounded by the respect of his confreres. He died piously in the College of St. Paul in Goa on April 25, 1564 (Valignano 471-472). We give his signature in Q, pl. VI, 4.

¹⁰ In his imaginative but not too historical article, "El Misionero pontevedrés Juan de Beira de la Compañía de Jesús," *Ya*, Madrid, Oct. 24, 1943, p. 8, Eugenio Fernandez Almuzara, S.J., wrote that Beira was born in Pontevedra in 1512. Pérez also indicated Pontevedra as his birthplace (*Informação*, 54).

¹¹ *Fabri Monumenta* 305.

¹² On February 9, 1545, Araoz wrote to Ignatius: "Este gallego, que va á las Indias, se llama Juan de Veyra. Llamándole aquí el P. Mtre. Simon, sin saber para qué, con mucha quietud e hilaridad, *genuflexus*, resçiuíu con mucha gracia la mission. Es un bendito hombre; su mutación fué dya del glorioso Sant Ignatio, y asy por sus muchos respectos él es muy en gran manera afectatissimo á V.R., lo qual me haze scribir (svn ser nesçesidad) su bondad y solicitud, que me lo pide lo scriba" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 199-200).

¹³ On the voyage to India, see DI I 11-12 24 27-28 39 58 62 265 276.

¹⁴ *Ep. Mixtae* I 195.

kings of the Macassars had been converted. Six women who had sailed as stowaways on the ship had been discovered and had been kept locked up in a cabin by the captain until they reached Mozambique.

During their brief stay on the island, the three missionaries tended the sick in the hospital, where there was a lack of almost everything. Thanks, however, to the care with which they nursed them, only one of their patients died. They set out again on August 6 and landed safe and sound in Goa on September 8. Master Diogo wished to detain them all there in the college.¹⁵ Lancilotto took over the Latin class and Criminali the offices of infirmarian and sacristan.¹⁶ Beira was appointed porter and received the care of the newly converted fishers in Banasterim and other spiritual tasks from the ailing Master Diogo. He offered Mass for the new converts and preached to them on Sundays with the help of an interpreter until they all fled when they were ordered to pay the taxes which had been remitted by Martim Affonso de Sousa.¹⁷ In the meantime Misser Paulo had charge of the pupils in the college and Lancilotto acted as superior of his confreres in Goa, as had been ordained by Simon Rodrigues.¹⁸

Beira remained for six months in the College of St. Paul. Then, in compliance with Xavier's instruction, he went with Criminali to Cape Comorin to visit Mansilhas and to help him with the instruction of the native Christians. There he was edified by the boys who came twice a day for instructions in the faith and by the women who came on Saturdays and the men on Sundays in order to recite for two hours the Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed, *Salve Regina*, *Confiteor*, Commandments, and other parts of the catechism in their own language. He also saw how sad they were at the absence of Father Master Francis, who had gone to the distant Moluccas,¹⁹ for they were being oppressed by both the pagans and the Portuguese captain. When Beira went one day to a pagan *pula* to speak on behalf of his new Christians, he was badly treated by him. The latter died soon after this, and his sudden death was taken as a divine punishment.²⁰ Aires de Figueiredo, the new captain of the Fishery Coast, was as rapacious as his predecessor, Cosme de Paiva. He exacted the annual tribute from the Paravas even when there was no Pearl Fishery. He claimed a monopoly on the shank mussels and paid less for them than the going price. And he did all this in opposition to the provisions of the king which Miguel Vaz had brought back from Portugal. He even refused to provide the priests with their subsistence and to pay the salary of an interpreter, though he had been ordered to do so by the governor.²¹ After he had worked for nine or ten months on the mission of Cape Comorin, Beira was called to the Moluccas by a new letter received from Xavier, and he set sail from Goa for them with his companions on April 18, 1547.²²

Beira was a humble, pious, zealous priest, filled with respect for his order's founder, even though he had never known Ignatius personally. He also had a high esteem for the Society which he had joined. He had abandoned his honors and possessions to follow the will of God and he had a great devotion to the

¹⁵ DI I 58.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 53 61.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 13 53-56.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 19 61.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 177 235.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 233.

²¹ *Ibid.* 158-169.

²² Q 3001.

most Blessed Sacrament.²³ Though he was still on earth, his soul seemed to be united with God.²⁴ He was a man after Xavier's own heart, and his two companions were worthy of him.

Nuno Ribeiro²⁵ was a young student of theology²⁶ when he entered the Society in Coimbra on August 1, 1543. During his novitiate there he had acted as an infirmarian, and he had been ordained a priest before setting out for India. The six ships of the fleet with which he sailed weighed anchor in Lisbon on April 8, 1546. The nine Jesuit missionaries had been divided up among three of them. Fathers Henrique Henriques and Ribeiro and Brother Manuel de Morais sailed on the *Victoria*, Fathers Francisco Pérez and Francisco Henriques and Brother Adam Francisco on the *Flor de la Mar*, and Father Alonso Cipriano and Brothers Nicolau Nunes and Baltasar Nunes on the *Santo Espiritu*. The former vicar general, Miguel Vaz, and six Franciscans, with Frey João de Villa de Conde as their superior, sailed on the flagship *Sphera*. Henrique Henriques was sick almost the whole time and once so seriously that all hopes of his ever reaching India had been given up. His two confreres nursed him during the voyage, even though Ribeiro was also occasionally ill. Morais, on the other hand, except for a light attack of fever, enjoyed continuous good health. The ship's poor and sick suffered greatly from want. Henriques pleaded their cause with the captain, and he and his companions shared their few provisions with them and gave them food, wine, and water. Two women who had secretly boarded the ship were discovered in time and, at the insistence of the priests, were immediately returned to the land. Two others, however, were only later discovered.

Though the other ships chose the outer route around the island of St. Lawrence, the *Victoria* chose the inner course through the strait. A day or two before it should have arrived at Mozambique it ran onto a shallows and was within a hairsbreadth of being sunk. The companions were given an excellent reception by the vicar on the island, and on September 17 they arrived in good state in Goa. There they were received by Lancilotto and Misser Paulo with open arms. The three companions who had sailed on the *Flor de la Mar* had already arrived in the city on the twelfth of the month.²⁷ In Goa Ribeiro made a general confession to Father Pérez and celebrated his first Mass.²⁸ Eight months later he joyfully set out on his voyage to the distant Moluccas, eager to help the abandoned souls on those islands.

Nicolau Nunes,²⁹ the third of the new helpers, was in his twenties.³⁰ He had

²³ Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 381-386.

²⁴ "Cuja alma já nesta vida parecia estar com Deos" (Rebello 477). "Grande santo" one of his confreres wrote next to his name on the list of those of the Society who sailed to India (Wicki, "Liste" 335, n. 7).

²⁵ On Ribeiro see Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 155-156; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 3, 1, 48; F. Rodrigues, *História* I 1, 468; DI I 364-365, II 107-108 117-118. He died soon, on April 22, 1549, on Amboina, poisoned, as it was rumored, by the Moors (Teixeira, *Anotações* 48).

²⁶ The natives on Amboina were astounded that such a young man (*tan mancebo*) could endure so many hardships (DI II 108).

²⁷ See the accounts of the India voyage by H. Henriques (DI I 149-152 155-156), Morais (*ibid.* 456), and Pérez (*ibid.* 360-363; cf. *Ep. Mixtae* I 264-265). Christovão Ribeiro was to have sailed with them, but he remained behind. In 1579 Pérez wrote erroneously that he had reached Goa on September 7 (*Informação* 54); but in 1548 he noted correctly that his ship had sighted the coast of Goa on September 11, and that they had landed in Goa on the twelfth, a Sunday (DI I 363).

²⁸ DI II 117.

²⁹ On Nicolau Nunes, see Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 456-458; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.*

already studied Latin and philosophy for seven years, but with slight success,³¹ when he entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra on October 25, 1545. The following year he sailed to India with the other companions. Alvaro Barradas, the captain of the *Santo Espiritu*, half of whose cargo belonged to Lucas Giraldes in Lisbon, was forced to take the outer route. Forty of his people died on the voyage and his ship was filled with sick³² when it reached Cochin on October 20 together with the flagship *Sphera*.³³ Scurvy had broken out among the poorly nourished and badly sheltered voyagers; and three hundred had to be taken ill into the hospital and different homes, where they were cared for by the brothers of the Misericordia with such good effect that only seven or eight of them died.³⁴ When they arrived in India, the siege of Diu was at its height. Only at the end of November did the remaining three Jesuits, the six Franciscans, and Miguel Vaz reach Goa;³⁵ and it was from there that Nunes, Beira, and Ribeiro set out in April, 1547, on their voyage to Malacca in order to spread the Gospel to the poor islanders of the Moluccas.

Xavier asked Beira and his companions if there were any preachers or scholars (*letrados*) among the nine confreres who had come in 1546. Since such men were needed in the fortresses, he was grieved to hear that there were none among them.³⁶ He learned, however, that five of the nine had sailed at the beginning of 1547 to the Fishery Coast as he had ordered.³⁷ The only one who had remained

2, 3, 2, 8, and Q 4650 6002-6006 6044 6117 6138. His letters are given in Sá II 48-50 131-132 304-306; ARSI: *Goa II*, 433-435; 12, 8-9v. Nunes worked on the Moro mission under the greatest difficulties from 1547 to 1556, where he learned Malay and the language of the Moro Christians. In 1556 he accompanied the ailing Beira to Goa. After being ordained to the priesthood, he returned to his beloved mission, where he worked from 1557 to 1572. In 1572 he sailed with Father Prancudo to Goa to obtain help, but he was detained there because of his failing health. He was the confessor in the College of St. Paul, where he died on May 31, 1576.

³⁰ The manuscript catalogs give his birth as between 1525 and 1528.

³¹ ARSI: *Goa* 24, 85.

³² On the India voyage see Q 2051; Correa IV 550; SR III 443-444; Couto 6, 3, 9.

³³ Couto 6, 3, 9, p. 244.

³⁴ Letter of the Misericordia from Cochin of January 12, 1547 (SR III 443-444).

³⁵ H. Henriques in his letter of November 12, 1546, still does not mention the arrival of the three confreres on the *Santo Espiritu* (DI I 148-156). On November 20, 1546, the vicar general Pedro Fernandes wrote from Goa that he had heard that Miguel Vaz had arrived in Pangim (SR III 388).

³⁶ EX I 398.

³⁷ DI I 178 248 457-458. In August, 1547, Beira wrote from Malacca that of the nine confreres who had come in 1546, five had gone to Cape Comorin; and he continued: "We are going to Malucco with two companions who have offered themselves for the service of God" (DI I 178). If "we" in the Italian translation (*noi altri*) is the plural of majesty, the "two companions" (*doi compagni*) can be understood as Ribeiro and Nunes. If not, two lay helpers would be meant by the words. Xavier had expressed the desire that each of his confreres should bring at least one such person. By *noi altri* the two priests Beira and Ribeiro could also be understood since the author of the letter only says that the superior had summoned him, Beira, and Ribeiro and sent them to Molucca, without mentioning Nunes. In this case the two others would be Nicolau and Baltasar Nunes. Of this last Xavier says nothing in 1548 (EX I 387) nor Lancilotto in 1547 (DI I 182). He is not the Baltasar Nunes who sailed to India in 1546. At the end of 1547 or the beginning of 1548, Adam Francisco wrote from Cochin that Ribeiro, Nicolau (Nunes), Beira, "e otro leigo" had sailed to Maluco (DI I 258). And in December, 1548, Pérez reported from Malacca that four had been sent to the Moluccas from India in 1547: "Yoan da Vera y el Padre Nuno Ribeiro con nuestro Hermano Nicolao Núñez, y otro Hermano que acá tomó impresa, que se llama Baltesar, para Maluco." He added that Beira and Ribeiro had sailed on from Malacca with their companions,

in Goa was Pérez, and he had stayed there in order to assist the ailing Lancilotto with his Latin classes and to help in the ministry.³⁸

From Beira and his companions Xavier also learned about recent events in India and that in Ceylon the king of Kandy had been baptized in March, 1546.³⁹ On November 10 of this same year, through his brilliant victory over the Moors besieging Diu,⁴⁰ the governor Dom João de Castro had brought to a close the siege of Diu, which had held the whole of India in breathless suspense for seven long months. Miguel Vaz, on whose return Master Francis and the India mission had placed such great hopes, had reached Goa from Cochin at the end of December with strict injunctions against the foes of the faith and extensive faculties for promoting conversions. As he was continuing on his voyage to Diu, where the governor was supervising the reconstruction of the ruined fortress, he had suddenly died in Chaul on January 11, 1547, poisoned, as it was rumored,⁴¹ by the Brahmans; and Master Diogo died in Goa on January 26, fifteen days after he had learned of his death. It was a double blow for the Church in India.⁴²

The three confreres whom Xavier met in Malacca were the first new companions of the Society of Jesus whom he had met since his departure from Portugal in 1541. They could give him their own impressions of Rodrigues, Favre, Araoz, Strada, and of the college in Coimbra.

Strada, who had arrived in the university city with Beira and the rest of his companions at the beginning of 1544, had, despite his youth, taken over the preaching of the Lenten sermons, first in the college but later, since the attendant throngs kept constantly increasing, in the royal palace, where the university had been transferred. He was the first Jesuit to preach there, and his fervent eloquence made a strong impression on his young hearers and moved many of them to join the new order. Among those who did so was a doctor in theology, Antonio Gomes, who entered at the end of May.⁴³

Xavier's letter of January 15, 1544, in which he wrote of his work on the Fishery Coast and of the great harvest in distant India and in which he invited the universities of Europe to share in these labors, had arrived in Coimbra in November of this same year and had aroused much enthusiasm for the pagan mission.⁴⁴ Father Peter Favre's visit had made a still deeper impression. He

that Beira had gone from Ternate with Nicolau Nunes and Baltasar to Moro and Ribeiro had gone to Amboina (*ibid.* 364). Lancilotto gave a similar report from Goa on December 26, 1548: "Nella costa del Moro, cioè in Malucco, stanno quatro, cioè el Padre Jan de Bera e el Padre Nuno Ribero, et doi laici, cioè Nicolao Nunez e Belchior [read: Baltasar] Nunez. Forno là farà questo Aprile que vene doi anni" (*ibid.* 441). On January 8, 1549, Morais also wrote from Goa that Beira, Ribeiro, "y nuestro Hermano Nicolao Núñez, y otro Hermano que acá entró, llamado Baltezar," had been sent from Goa to Maluco and that they had encountered Xavier in Malacca on the way (*ibid.* 456-457). On January 27, 1550, Lancilotto still names Baltasar Nunes among the Molucca missionaries along with Beira, Ribeiro, and Nicolao Nunes (*ibid.* II 17). But Xavier addresses his letter from Malacca of June 20, 1549, to Beira, Ribeiro, and Nicolau; and he completely ignores Baltasar Nunes in the text (EX II 111 115). In his letters of 1549 and 1550, Beira also knows nothing about him (Sá I 602-605, II 12-16).

³⁸ DI I 145 258 457; Valignano 110.

³⁹ DI I 177.

⁴⁰ Castro, *Cartas* 272; L. Nunes, *Crónica* 122.

⁴¹ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 137.

⁴² SR III 454 490-491.

⁴³ Araoz from Almeirim on April 26, 1544 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 162; F. Rodrigues, *História* I 1, 326-327 648).

⁴⁴ EX I 153-155; Schurhammer, "Nuevos datos" (GS III 371-373).

had come at the beginning of December to visit the college and had remained in Coimbra for two months, till the end of January, 1545. All opened up their hearts to him as to their father, and his saintly, gracious manner charmed them and left an indelible impression upon them.⁴⁵ He spoke to the young students of the order of the works of the Society and of his own great love for Germany, where the faith was imperiled, and of his benefactors in Cologne, especially his great friend, the prior of the charterhouse, and he earnestly recommended them all to the prayers of his young confreres.⁴⁶ After his arrival in Evora, Favre had sent Strada from there to them with a head of one of the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Cologne and other relics so that they would not forget them.⁴⁷

Soon after Favre's visit Simon Rodrigues made another. He stayed at the college from the beginning of May to the end of July, 1545, and took pains to direct the effervescent zeal of his young confreres along the right path. But he still stressed the fact that they should all become fools for God and that they should therefore even desire to be regarded as fools by men.⁴⁸ His words were not without effect.

Antonio Cardoso, an old acquaintance of Xavier, had a skull which he kept in his room. One day one of the young students of the order, Antonio de Figueiredo, took this to school with him in order to mortify himself. To the astonishment of his fellow students, he placed it on the bench in front of him during the course of a two-hour lecture which he attended. Since he had done this without the knowledge or permission of his superior, Rodrigues ordered him, when he returned, to go with the *corpus delicti* to his mother's house to ask her pardon for the embarrassment he had thus caused her. When he and his companion returned to the college, the doors were only opened up to them after a plea had been made for them by the rector of the university; and for some days none of their confreres were permitted to speak with them. During this period the culprit came barefooted to the refectory without his biretta, with his hands tied, and with a rope about his neck and tongue. When he saw him, Rodrigues ordered him to leave since he had undertaken this penance as well without the knowledge and permission of his superior. He gave the same command to his companion, who had come barefooted into the refectory with his shoulders bare, a discipline in his hand, and a rope about his neck.

About this same time a squire of the king, Ambrosio Ferreira, who had earlier been the organist of the bishop of Coimbra, came from the court and asked to be received into the order. To test his resolve, Rodrigues agreed to receive him provided he came from the old Dominican monastery outside the city to the college with a skull in his hand. Ferreira did what he was asked despite the ridicule he received from the youths of the city and the fact that other orders had sought to obtain him because of his great musical talents. The

⁴⁵ *Fabri Monumenta* 297-300; *Ep. Mixtae* I 193; F. Rodrigues, *História* I, 1, 385-390.

⁴⁶ *Fabri Monumenta* 413.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 306 309 666; F. Rodrigues, *História* I 1, 396.

⁴⁸ F. Rodrigues, *História* I 1 364-374. The main source for the penances in the second half of July, 1545, is the letter of the rector Martín de Santa Cruz to Peter Favre from the beginning of August, 1545 (*Fabri Monumenta* 342-350). The **Historia de la fundación del collegio de Coimbra, hecha en febrero de 1574* (ARSI: *Lus.* 84, 17-19), depends for the most part upon this. For the attitude of Simon Rodrigues, see the apology in this regard which he sent to Ignatius at the beginning of August, 1547, and in which he asks for his opinion (*Ep. Broëti* 547-553). Cf. F. Rodrigues, *História* I 1, 549-555, and Brandão II 1 (1969) 55-56.

following day Rodrigues sent three students of the Society to their lectures ludicrously attired in clothes that were far too short and old. The next day he sent Antonio Gomes, a doctor in theology, in a black, sleeveless frock and Isidoro Belini, who was known to Xavier, in a brown coat and two other students with jugs to fetch water from a well on the way to the Cellas monastery and to attend class in the same costumes with cloaks that were too short. He told the minister to go in a similar garb with a large basket to the market to buy fruit and vegetables and to bring them back to the house.

Manuel Godinho, who was also known to Xavier, was similarly sent with six companions in shabby clothes to get water; and another resident in the house, Melchior Carneiro, had to attend class two or three times without the required student cloak. Rodrigues sent others similarly garbed to the shoemaker and apothecary; and on the evening of the same day he told Manuel Fernandes, another of Xavier's acquaintances, to go through the streets of the city with Antonio Gomes and four others and a small bell. One of the group had to cry out in a loud voice: "Hell for all in mortal sin!" The next day two had to go begging. They returned with two baskets full of bread and three *tostões* in alms. This caused such a sensation that the city council sent a representative to the college to obtain information on the needs of the house and to offer it support.

On another day, a Sunday, ten or twelve of the residents of the house went through the streets in their usual garb as night was setting in. In each of the streets one of them cried out: "Sinner, abandon your sins, for you must die!" At the same time he rang a small bell. A secular priest who was well acquainted with the city showed them the places where most sins were committed and said: "Fathers, shout here! Shout here!" Two others were sent to the hospital to serve the poor sick.

On the following two days some had to go begging again, and others were sent to school in old, torn clothes and cloaks that were too short. On the eve of the feast of Mary Magdalene, when it was growing dark, ten or twelve were sent through the streets to invite the people to the sermon with the words: "Land! Land! Land! Come to the market to hear the word of God!" And Antonio Gomes, on orders from Rodrigues, had to mount the pulpit and deliver a sermon on death to the people that had assembled there. On the feast of the saint itself, Strada preached a moving sermon by the light of the moon on the same spot on the words of the Gospel: "She began to wash his feet with her tears." The result of this was that four or five students came to the college and asked for admittance.

On July 25, the feast of St. James, Strada also preached in the church of Santa Clara and the next day in that of São João. On August 1, when Rodrigues had already departed, a novice, Affonso Barreto, who was only fifteen years old and had entered in June, went barewaisted to the market intent on mortifying himself like the others. He tied himself with a rope to the Pelourinho and cried out five times in a loud voice: "Lord Jesus Christ, who were bound to a post in the house of Pilate for our sins, forgive the sins of Thy people!"

The city was divided in its opinion about these extraordinary, public penances. The priests Santa Cruz and Strada and even Favre were opposed to them. At a meeting of the cathedral chapter, which was held while the see was still vacant, some of the canons thought that a stop should be put to these escapades by throwing some of the people of the college into jail. Others tried to show that these public exhibitions were against the teaching of St. Thomas. Others held

that they were not in keeping with the times, and still others believed that such things might have been introduced into Nineveh but not into Coimbra. But these penitential exercises caused many to go to confession. The modesty with which the students of the college went through the city edified the people.⁴⁹ The Exercises brought a thorough change in the confreres, and many of them went through the narrow streets so absorbed in meditation that they bumped into both men and beasts. And many became so pale that it was said in the city that the students had smoked their faces with burning straw in order to obtain a faded appearance.⁵⁰ Even the brother in charge of the refectory, João de São Miguel, was carried away by his thoughts. During a meal one day, he went to the cellar for wine and poured it out for his brethren as they were listening intently to the reading at table. But he then woke up as if from a dream and realized that he had distributed honey instead of wine.⁵¹ When the report went around the city that the students had visions during the Exercises, the Grand Inquisitor, the infante Dom Henrique, had the matter secretly investigated by the rector of the university, Frey Diogo de Murcia. Dom Rodrigo de Meneses was summoned and asked if he had had any visions when he was making them. "Yes," he answered, "terrible ones." When he was further asked what he had seen at the time, he replied: "I saw myself, and it was the most frightful vision that I ever had." This was enough, and the investigation was suspended.⁵²

Xavier's lengthy letter of January 27, 1545, in which he gave an account of the ten thousand baptisms in Travancore, the martyrs of Manār, the baptisms of the three kings in Macassar, and the great hopes for India, made a powerful impression in the College of Coimbra. The letter, which the king ordered to be read from the pulpits, arrived in Coimbra on October 19 together with a document from Simon Rodrigues which stated that the king had asked that the number of students of the order in the college should be raised to eighty, and that he wished to send twelve of the Society to India in 1546. All were in the best of spirits and it would not have been difficult to transfer the whole college there. Their enthusiasm had been still further enhanced by the reports of Paolo Vaz, a son of the licentiate João Vaz, one of the principal citizens of Lisbon, who had accompanied Xavier for six months along the Fishery Coast at the time of the mass baptisms in Travancore, and who had now returned to his own country. The rector of the college, Martín de Santa Cruz, who had entered the Society in Rome in 1541, immediately had copies made of Xavier's letter and a Latin translation so that it could be sent out for general reading.⁵³ Among the students who entered the Society in Coimbra after the arrival of the letter but still in the same year, were Nicolau Nunes and a cousin of Xavier, Juan de Azpilcueta from Barasoáin, a nephew of Doctor Navarrus, who had studied under his uncle.⁵⁴ Another one who entered was already known to the priest. This was the former *moço fidalgo* Miguel de Sousa, who was fourteen years old when Rodrigues and Xavier came to Lisbon in 1540 and there took over the spiritual care of the royal pages. From the very beginning he had been closely attached

⁴⁹ F. Rodrigues, *História* I 1, 327.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 331-332; **Historia* 19.

⁵¹ **Historia* 18v.

⁵² F. Rodrigues, *História* I 1, 332-333.

⁵³ EX I 262-264; *Ep. Mixtae* I 231-234.

⁵⁴ **Historia* 18v. He was the son of Juan de Azpilcueta and Maria Sebastián. He sailed in 1549 for Brazil and died in Bahia in 1557. On him see Armando Cardoso, S.J., "IV. Centenario do P. João do Azpilcueta Navarro," *Verbum* 15 (Rio de Janeiro, 1958) 15-48.

to the two priests.⁵⁵ Another person whom Xavier had known from Paris, Luís Gonçalves da Camara, whom Favre had there won over to the practice of weekly confession and Communion at the Carthusians in 1535, had already entered the Society in Coimbra in April, 1545.⁵⁶

The confreres whom Xavier met in Malacca also gave him letters from India and others from Europe.⁵⁷

Ignatius sent him a copy from Rome of the brief *Cum inter cunctos*, of June 3, 1545, which had been printed in their own house. In this Paul III renewed the authorization he had granted to the first ten companions with respect to preaching, hearing confessions (the absolution of all reserved cases with the exception of those contained in the bull *Coena Domini*), and Masses (from dawn to one o'clock in the afternoon); and he added new ones: the power to commute vows into other pious works (with the exception of pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to Compostela, and to Rome, of entrance into a religious order, and of perpetual chastity); permission to recite the new, short breviary of Quiñones; and the concession, earlier granted by word of mouth, to give these faculties to other confreres as well, had now been committed to writing.⁵⁸ Ignatius communicated these faculties to Xavier in a separate document and restricted them in another in which he stated that they should only be used with the approval of his ecclesiastical superior, that is, of his bishop.⁵⁹ On December 18 he added that the brief had been printed not for the sake of show but as a measure of economy, since the hundred copies thus cost only a fifth of a ducat. The press had then been suspended. The number of copies printed had been limited so as not to create envy among other religious orders. The restriction, however, should not be taken too literally, since it seemed to him, Ignatius, that it was usually more to the service of God to show the faculties to the bishop or *vigario*, but to add that they wished to use them only with their consent.⁶⁰

At Ignatius' request, the new general secretary, Ferrão, who had returned to Rome in September, gave an extensive account of the works of the Society in a letter written on December 20, 1545. He mentioned the baptism of Jews, Turks, and Moors in the Eternal City, the progress of the house of St. Martha for repentant women, the comrades who were working outside of Rome, the colleges, blessed rosaries, and the rehabilitation of the decree of Pope Innocent III with respect to physicians.⁶¹ Along with the letter he sent also the formula for the

⁵⁵ F. Rodrigues, *História* I 1, 446; cf. Vol. I, pp. 633 638 645.

⁵⁶ F. Rodrigues, *História* I 1, 517-518; cf. Vol. I, p. 253.

⁵⁷ "Los que aora van lleuarán las cartas que mandastes para nuestro hermano Mtro. Francisco," Simon Rodrigues wrote to Ignatius from Almeirim on March 18, 1546 (*Ep. Broëti* 540); cf. EX II 546-547. In May, 1546, Xavier had ordered his confreres in India from Amboina to write to him in detail about the newly arrived confreres from Portugal and to have the letters brought to him by the priests sailing to Maluco (EX I 341).

⁵⁸ *Const.* I 166-169; cf. pp. CCXIV-CCXV. Ignatius also sent a copy to Favre (MI *Epp.* I 334-338), Cologne (*ibid.* 395-396), and Paris (*ibid.* 396-398).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 350-352.

⁶⁰ DI III 815-816.

⁶¹ Ferrão's diary summarizes the main points in this letter to Xavier (FN III 731). See also the detailed account for his confreres in Spain written in the summer of 1545 (MI *Epp.* I 304-307), his letter to Simon Rodrigues of November 21, 1545 (*ibid.* 326-332), and his letter to Favre (*ibid.* 334-338). In his *Diarium* Ferrão wrote for 1546: "A 20 de deciembre passado escrivimos a la India a M^o. Francisco Xavier de los dispersos, de los colegios, las gratias de la Compañia y rosarios benditos scilicet etc., la forma de fundar colegios y el bando de los médicos etc." (FN III 731).

founding of colleges for students of the order who intended to enter the Society.⁶² The favors which Xavier had requested from Goa in 1542 had, unfortunately, not been obtained.⁶³ There were between thirty and forty confreres in the house in Rome, and all were fully employed.⁶⁴ Among them were Ferrão, Codacio, Doménech, the two Eguias, Salmerón, Laynez, and Francisco Zapata. There were also three acquaintances from Paris who had entered the Society in Rome after Xavier's departure. These were the Orientalist Guillaume Postel, who had entered in March, 1544;⁶⁵ Inigo's former confessor Miona,⁶⁶ who had come at the end of 1544; and Nadal, who had been moved by Xavier's letter to ask Ignatius for admittance at the end of 1545.⁶⁷

Cardinal Carpi had become the protector of Santa Marta, and Diego de Eguia collected alms from the cardinals and other pious and prominent individuals in the city. He also made purchases for the women living there and brought them their food.⁶⁸ Laynez and Salmerón were lecturing on Scripture, the former in San Lorenzo in Damaso and the latter in the house. Laynez was also preaching every Sunday to the Spanish colony in Rome at the request of the royal ambassador, and Salmerón, at the insistence of Vittoria Colonna, the marchesa of Pescara, had also to preach in Santa Anna, where she was living.⁶⁹

With respect to the other early companions, Broët was still living in Faenza,⁷⁰ while Bobadilla was busy at the Diet in Worms and later in Cologne. Since the end of December, Jay had been living in Trent as the procurator of Otto Truchsess, the cardinal of Augsburg. The Council of Trent had finally been opened and Ignatius, at the request of the pope, wanted to send Laynez, Salmerón, and Favre there.⁷¹

In 1545, through the efforts of Favre and Araoz, three new foundations of the Society had been added to the nine already formed. These were in Valladolid, Gandía, and Barcelona.⁷² In Padua, where Polanco and Elpidio Ugoletti were studying, the great friend of the Society Andrea Lippomani had obtained from the pope the confirmation of the gift of his priory to the order. He was also thinking of founding a house of the Society in Venice with the income from it.⁷³ In Cologne Peter Canisius and his confreres and friends were fighting for the preservation of the faith against the heretical archbishop, even though the city council would not let them live together.⁷⁴ In Louvain the community had shrunk to only a few members. In Paris they had again increased after the war under the direction of Paolo Achille, and they were living in the College of the Lom-

⁶² *Const.* I 48-65; cf. pp. LXVIII-LXXVI.

⁶³ EX I 399; Schurhammer, "Facultates" (GS III 499-501).

⁶⁴ MI *Epp.* I 328-329 338.

⁶⁵ Cf. H. Bernard-Maitre, "Le passage de Guillaume Postel chez les premiers Jésuites de Rome (Mars 1544-Déc. 1548)," *Mélanges Henri Chamard* (Paris, 1951) 227-243; cf. FN III 753-756 (with a bibliography); MI *Scripta* I 708-712). He was dismissed in December, 1545, because of his illusions, but the dismissal was only communicated to Jay. It was kept secret from the others. See also Vol. I, pp. 163-164 252.

⁶⁶ *Ep. Mixta* I 243; V 634-638; F. Rodrigues, *História* I 1, 197-200.

⁶⁷ EX I 155, n. 39; *Ep. Nadal* I 11-19.

⁶⁸ MI *Epp.* I 327-328.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 307 332.

⁷⁰ His letter of March 1, 1545, arrived too late for the India ships. The original has thus been preserved; *Ep. Broëti* 34-35.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 350, n. 2; MI *Epp.* I 366; Duhr I 20 26-27.

⁷² *Astrain* I 263 267 273 276.

⁷³ MI *Epp.* I 330 358.

⁷⁴ Polanco I 155; *Fabri Monumenta* 403-416; Duhr I 26-27 35-37.

bards.⁷⁵ The number of members had also increased in Alcalá.⁷⁶ Valencia, where Mirón and Rojas were living,⁷⁷ had, thanks to the generosity of the duke of Gandía, received a neighboring community in the latter's city.⁷⁸

Francis also received letters from Favre and Araoz.⁷⁹ The two had left Evora in March, 1545, with letters of recommendation from the king of Portugal and had been working since then at the court of Spain, first in Valladolid, and then in Madrid, where Prince Felipe had moved in the fall after the death of his young wife. Araoz had been engaged in his fiery preaching, and he praised the excellent results which his saintly confrere was obtaining with the people⁸⁰ at court through his conversation, spiritual direction, and giving of the Exercises.⁸¹ Favre had been alone since August, for Araoz had gone to visit the Spanish houses of the Society.⁸² He had read Xavier's letters with enthusiasm, and after the first of these he was already of the opinion that his confrere had gained no less fruit through it in Spain and Portugal than he had through his teaching in India.⁸³ In his letter, as he had already done before, he recommended Germany and especially the prior of the charterhouse in Cologne and his whole community and all his other friends in that city, where his pupil Canisius was working so effectively, to the prayers of his distant confrere so that he might help him, Favre, to pay the great debt of gratitude which he owed to them.⁸⁴ He never became tired of telling the great fruit which Xavier's letters had worked in so many places. He had shown them to his friends and acquaintances, and he had sent off numerous copies and translations of the same. Favre had taken a copy of the first letter with him to Coimbra. It was in this letter that his confrere at the beginning of 1544 had given an account of his apostolate on the Fishery Coast and of the great harvest in India. And he had given it to many in the Spanish court to read. He had also sent it to Dr. Ortiz in Galapagar, and the latter had been delighted with it.⁸⁵ In Coimbra the letter had been translated into Latin, and copies and translations of it had been sent to the houses of the Society.

⁷⁵ Polanco I 156.

⁷⁶ Astrain I 263-265.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 267-269.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 273-276.

⁷⁹ *Fabri Monumenta* 413; *Ep. Mixtae* I 271.

⁸⁰ *Ep. Mixtae* I 225.

⁸¹ Astrain I 247.

⁸² Astrain I 251.

⁸³ On June 29, 1545, Araoz wrote to Ignatius from Valladolid: "Estando Mtre. Fabro en Madrid, fué el Cardinal de Toledo á las Infantas, y quiso que Mtre. Fabro le fuese á ablar, y despues vino con su S^{ria} asta Galapagar, donde posó en casa del Doctor Hortiz, e hizo que le leyesen toda la letra de nuestro charísimo Mtre. Francisco Xavier, de que fué muy contento, y así lo an sido muchos en estos Reynos, de manera que no ménos fructo a echo en España y Portugal con su letra, que en las Indias con su doctrina" (*Ep. Mixtae* I 225).

⁸⁴ On March 12, 1546, Favre wrote to the prior of the Cologne charterhouse: "Magister Franciscus, qui est apud Indos, anno superiore de hac re [that the prior had established "ut nostra Societas particeps esset omnium benefactorum Ordinis vestri"] literas ex me habuit et admonitionem, ut tui se istius conventus memoriam faciat semper. Ad ipsum nunc mittuntur decem ex nostris lusitanis, qui et ipsi norunt hoc beneficium tuum, et meum amorem erga fratres tuos ac universam Germaniam: per eos recipiet Magister Franciscus alteras literas meas, in quibus leget uestri mentionem, et eorum, qui nobis bene uolunt Coloniae, ut sciat se esse debitorem, et me adiuuet, ne sim ingratus ego cui tam gratis omnes bene uolunt et benefaciunt" (*Fabri Monumenta* 413).

⁸⁵ *Ep. Mixtae* I 225.

In Paris in 1545 a French translation of it had been printed with the approbation of the master Dr. Gouvea, the old principal of the Collège de Sainte-Barbe. In this same year a second edition was printed with the addition of Xavier's letter of September 20, 1542, from Goa and another of October 28 of the same year from Tuticorin.⁸⁶ Xavier's second long letter of January 27, 1545, on the baptism of ten thousand Macua fishers in Travancore, on the six hundred martyrs of Manār, the martyred prince of Ceylon, the baptism of the three kings of Macassar, and the great hopes for the Church in India aroused even greater enthusiasm. Millán, Inigo's nephew, had sent a copy of it to his confreres in Alcalá, and Favre had sent a Latin translation of it to his friends in Cologne, where Bobadilla was at the time.⁸⁷ From Madrid he also sent copies to Toledo and Valladolid and to many friends of the Society, for example, to the bishops of Calahorra and Pamplona and to the prior of Roncesvalles. He had spoken of it to the eighteen-year-old prince Don Felipe who had expressed a desire to see the letter. Don Antonio de Royas, the lord high chamberlain, thereupon read the letter to His Royal Highness in the presence of Favre, the bishop of Cartagena, and the steward Don Juan de Zúñiga. The licentiate Aguirre, the leading person in the council of the Inquisition, was so pleased with the circular letter that he had his chaplain make a copy of it to show to many others. The nuncio Poggio had already given it to many to read, and Frei Vicente, Salmerón's uncle, kept it for a number of days in order to show it to the cardinal of Seville. The chief quartermaster, Don Miguel Velasco, was also greatly delighted with it.⁸⁸

Along with this letter there were others for Xavier from the king,⁸⁹ from Simon Rodrigues,⁹⁰ who was still longing to go to India,⁹¹ and from his confreres in Coimbra.

Francis remained for an entire month with his three companions, and he frequently asked them about his confreres in India and Europe. He informed them about his own missionary labors and gave them extensive accounts of his experiences on the Moluccas, Amboina, and the Moro Islands, and how they should act there.⁹² He appointed Beira superior, to the great satisfaction of his two companions;⁹³ and he designated Ribeiro for Amboina and Beira and Nunes for Ternate and the Moro mission. He also gave them a written instruction with precise descriptions on what to do, for example, when there was a funeral. The priest or brother who was present in the village should accompany the corpse with all the children who were taking instructions. Preceded by a cross, they should go from the home of the deceased to the church. On their way they should sing the doctrines of the faith and recite the Litanies so that the Christians might be edified by the zeal of the priests and their care for the dead and be strengthened in their faith.⁹⁴ He ordered Beira to preach one day a week to the women in Ternate on some point of the faith and to speak with the man who had promised him a plot of land for the erection of a house where instructions

⁸⁶ EX I 153-155; Schurhammer, "Nuevos datos" (GS III 371-373).

⁸⁷ *Fabri Monumenta* 408; Bobadilla 75.

⁸⁸ EX I 264-266.

⁸⁹ Cf. Xavier's reply (EX I 404).

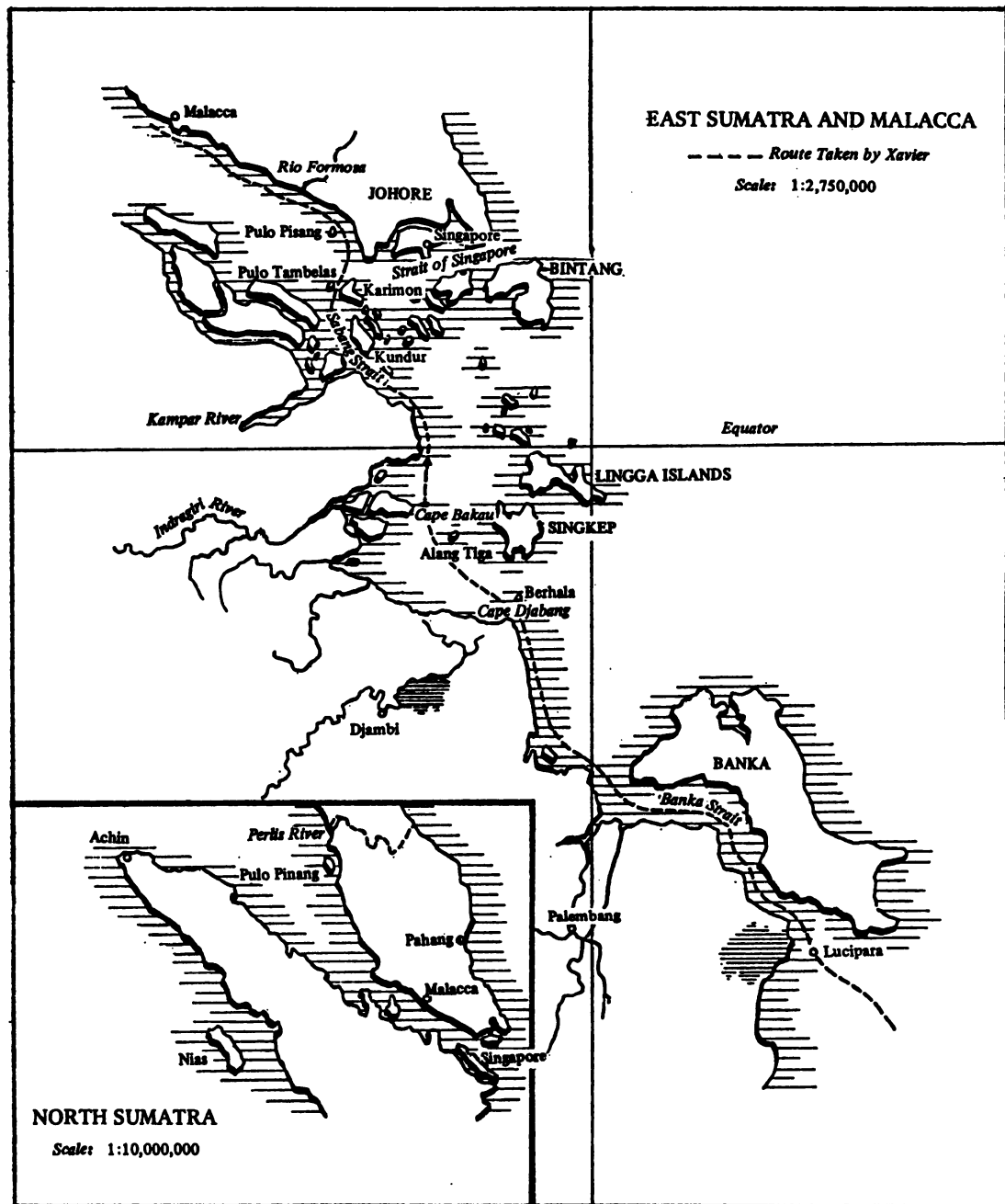
⁹⁰ It is obvious that Rodrigues wrote to Xavier even though his letters, like all the others, are lost, since Xavier did not preserve his private correspondence.

⁹¹ *Ep. Broëti* 563.

⁹² EX I 387-388; DI I 364.

⁹³ EX I 399.

⁹⁴ DI III 554.



could be given.⁹⁵ He reminded them all to write at length each year to Rome and to give him a detailed account of all that they did in those regions of the Moluccas for the service of God and about the readiness of the people there to accept the faith, and they all promised to do so.⁹⁶ Beira gave Xavier a letter for Ignatius in which he briefly described his labors on the Fishery Coast; and he referred to his coming voyage to the Moluccas, where he was going with his companions filled with the desire to help the abandoned souls in that great vineyard.⁹⁷

On August 15, the anniversary of the vows of the first companions on Montmartre, the clove ship with Beira, Ribeiro, and Nunes sailed from Malacca.⁹⁸ Xavier was again alone. "They afforded me great consolation during the month that we were together, since I saw that they were servants of God and persons who would generously serve God our Lord in those regions of the Malucos," he later wrote to his confreres in Rome.⁹⁹

2. THE ACHIN MIRACLE (AUGUST—NOVEMBER, 1547)¹

The capture of Aleixo de Sousa's junk at the end of 1545² had made the Achinese arrogant. On May 28 the captain of Chaul wrote that two of their ships had come to Surat with valuable wares: 250 *bahārs* of pepper, 300 *bahārs* of sandalwood, 30 *kandis*³ of silk, 100 *bahārs* of cloves, and 4 *mans*⁴ of camphor from Borneo and many other goods. And, as they declared, all of these with the exception of the pepper were booty taken from the captured junk. They further let it be known that they were about to attack Malacca, and that the queen was the ruler of their country and that she had been imprisoned by a young son who had slain his older brothers and all the eunuchs of the queen.⁵

⁹⁵ EX I 370; Sá I 604.

⁹⁶ EX I 388.

⁹⁷ DI I 175-179.

⁹⁸ The captain of the clove ship is unknown. Franco erroneously states that Beira sailed in the ship of D. Jorge Deça, who went to Maluco as the captain of Ternate, and that they were twice on the way near being shipwrecked (*Imagem de Coimbra* II 382). But there was never any D. Jorge d'Eça captain of Ternate. On February 9, 1548, D. Jorge, as a reward for his services in India, obtained in Lisbon the position of a captain of the clove ship from Goa to Maluco (*Registo*, n. 417). He was the son of D. Francisco d'Eça. He sailed to India in 1538 (*Emmentia* 371) and, as the captain of the clove ship, to Ternate in 1549 (Couto 6, 7, 6). Three Jesuits, Affonso de Castro, Manuel de Moraes, and Francisco Gonçalves sailed with him (EX II 111-115).

⁹⁹ EX I 387.

¹ There are two relatively old, extant accounts of the expedition against the Achinese. The first of these is that of the contemporary Fernam Mendes Pinto, who died in 1583. This is contained in his *Peregrinação*, published in Lisbon in 1614, which was allegedly composed from an account of Captain Simão de Mello to the governor D. João de Castro (cc. 203-207). The other is that of Couto, which he sent from India to Lisbon in 1599 and which was printed there in his *Decadas* in 1612 (6, 5, 1-2). Pinto places the attack on Malacca on October 9, the victory of the Portuguese and Xavier's sermon on December 6. His account is pure fiction with freely invented sources, dates, days, and events. Since the printing of the second edition of Tursellinus (1596) and the edition of Lucena (1600), who made use of Pinto's manuscript, it has had a dominating influence on all later hagiographical and historical works. Couto's text constantly stresses the deserts of Diogo Soares de Mello on this expedition. His account is based on the information supplied by Fernão Rodrigues, who accompanied Soares until his violent death in Pegu in 1553. In 1603, when Couto was writing his seventh decade in Goa, Rodrigues was in the same city as superintendent of the horse trade (*mocadão dos farazes*) (*Decadas* 7, 2, 5, p. 145). Some concurrences in his text with what Lucena borrowed from Pinto

Already in 1545 Simão de Mello, the captain of Malacca, had daily anticipated an attack of Sultan Alā-ud-dīn of Ujong Tanah,⁶ and rumors of war were swirling in the air when Master Francis returned to the fortress at the beginning of July, 1547. The sultan and his coreligionists in Perak and Pahang were said to have sailed with three hundred ships from Johore against the sultan of Patane on the northern coast of the Malacca peninsula, and since the beginning of July a fleet of twenty Achinese ships had been lurking for prey in the strait of Sabang.⁷

Seven days after the departure of Beira and his companions, at midnight of August 22-23,⁸ the warning bell rang out in Malacca waking the people from

are perhaps to be explained by the fact Couto had obtained abstracts from the manuscript of the *Peregrinação* in Goa, as Barros (GS II 557), and Tursellinus had already done, the latter for his second edition, or by the fact that the editor in Lisbon amplified Couto's account with data from Lucena. Shorter reports are given in Teixeira (869-870), Valignano (106-107), and Seb. Gonçalves (3, 12-14), the last of whom, however, follows Lucena for the most part.—More important are the contemporary sources, which give us sure and definite data for the first time: (1) the three documents on the dubbing of knights by Captain Simão de Mello at the end of 1547 in Malacca. These were for Antonio Correa (Q 3576), the most extensive, Diogo Gonçalves (Q 3463), and Pedro Fernandes (Q 3475). (2) Xavier's letter to the king of January 20, 1548, which was not discovered until 1927 (EX I 411-413; cf. II 305). (3) The letter of Francisco Pérez from Malacca dated December 4, 1548 (DI I 365-366). (4) His *Informação* 60-61, composed in 1579. (5) Four more contemporary documents (Q 3102 3609 3677 4010). (6) The statements of the thirty-two witnesses at the informative process of 1556-1557, published in MX II, of whom at least ten were present for Xavier's sermon and four at the battle near the Perlis River. The seventy-seven witnesses at the remissorial process of 1610-1616 afford little that is new and are to a certain extent already influenced by Pinto's *Peregrinação*. Among these was only one eyewitness. This was Joana de Mello, who had been born in Malay and was living in Malacca in 1616, when she was over eighty years old (MX II 451-453). Martim Darvellos appealed to four eyewitnesses (*ibid.* 461). In the first Lisbon process, Fernão de Mendonça named as sources the eyewitnesses D. Francisco d'Eça and Diogo Pereira, Lucena, and the *Peregrinação* of Mendes Pinto (148v-151; cf. GS IV 424). Pedro de Mendonça Furtado also appealed to Diogo Pereira in the same process (154-v; GS IV 424-425). A third, Antonio d'Abreu de Sousa, heard a report of the affair in Malacca in 1552 when he arrived there with Xavier (*ibid.* 184-v; GS IV 425). A witness at the second Lisbon process, João da Fonseca, named one who had heard Xavier's sermon as his authority (25; GS IV 426). Another, João Alvares, S.J., also heard of the incident from an eyewitness (34; GS IV 427).

² See above, pp. 43.

³ In 1554 a *kandil* in Chaul was the equivalent of twenty *mans* of twenty-five pounds each (Ferrand, *Poids* 73; Dalgado I 199).

⁴ A *man* weighed around twenty-five pounds (Ferrand, l.c., and Dalgado II 34-35).

⁵ Q 3102. Alī Mughāyat Shāh, sultan of Achin (died on August 7, 1530), had two sons who succeeded him in the rule: Salāh-ud-dīn from 1530 to 1547 and, after his murder, his brother Alā-ud-dīn al-Kahhār from 1547 to 1571 (cf. R. O. Winstedt, "The Early Rulers of Perak, Pahan, and Achen," JMB X 1 [1932] 32-44). The dates in the *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* and in Phillips' *Handbook* are to be corrected from this. Q 3102, as corrected in the supplement, p. 497, is decisive for the year.

⁶ Q 1687; cf. above, p. 43. The sultan was also called the king of Johore from his capital on the Johore River.

⁷ Couto 6, 5, 1. According to him this same fleet of twenty ships, including four very beautiful galleys, attacked Malacca a month and a half later. The one who copied Pérez' *Informação* obviously skipped a line from *Malaca* to *Malaca*. We have completed it as follows: "Aconteceo mais, quando o Padre, vindo de Maluquo, estando em Malaca, dos Dachens, que esperavam as naos portuguesas que andavam de Malaca] pera o sul, tendo guerra com Malaca, passarão sete fustas, que cuidou que eram mais de vinte e cinco" (60).

⁸ The moment was favorably chosen. There were prospects of a rich and easy prey after the departures of the China ships (in July) and the Molucca ships (on August 15) and before the arrivals of the Coromandel ship (at the end of September)

their sleep. The Achinese had come! They had landed near the Kling quarter in the north of the city in order to set the houses in the suburb on fire.⁹ At the same time they were attempting to capture¹⁰ or to put to flames the Portuguese ships near the island¹¹ where the *Bufara* of Duarte de Miranda, the Banda ship of Garcia de Sousa and its two accompanying vessels, and the two merchant caravels of Diogo Pereira and Affonso Gentil were anchored.¹² They had already shot numerous flaming arrows at the Banda ship with its cargo of nutmegs and mace, and they were on the point of boarding it despite the stout resistance of the captain and his men,¹³ but the artillery of the *nau* and of the fortress drove them back,¹⁴ and Dom Francisco de Eça, the brother-in-law of the captain

and of the Banda ship (in the middle of October), when the richly laden Banda and clove ships had come from the Moluccas to the harbor. The basic text for the following is the document on the dubbing of Antonio Correa (Q 3576), composed in Malacca at the end of 1547, immediately after the return of the victors. It reads as follows: "Antonio Correa, resident in the city of Santa Cruz on Madeira, presents an *alvará* of Simão de Mello, *fidalgo* of my house, who is now my captain of the fortress and city of Malacca in India, with the following contents: 'On the twenty-second day of the month of August of last year, 1547, around midnight forty Moorish ships sailed into the harbor of the city of Malacca, consisting of thirty ships equipped with rams (*fustas d'espôrão*) and *lancharas* and ten or twelve other swift rowboats with fifteen hundred men of the kingdom of Achem in order to burn the *naus* that were in the said harbor since they immediately assailed a ship belonging to me that had come there from Banda laden with nutmegs and mace, as they shot many flaming arrows (*rocas de fogo*) at it. But since Garcia de Sousa, a *fidalgo* of my house as captain, withstood them with a number of men and prevented them from boarding it, they could not capture it. They only wounded some of his men and because of the resistance which they encountered and because they perceived the bustle of the people on the land who had hastened there at the sound of the alarm, they abandoned the said ship and ceased trying to set it on fire and retreated. And as soon as it was morning and the said captain [of the fortress] saw the damage which the said fleet could do along the coast, he readied another fleet of nine *fustas* which were in the said fortress and equipped them with the greatest possible care and appointed D. Francisco d'Eça as the chief captain of the said fleet and other *fidaigos* and *cavalleiros* as captains of the other *fustas* and sent them with two hundred men after the Achinese. And as they were sailing along the coast, they obtained news that they were on the Perlis River and were getting ready to prey on the ships which had to sail to India after they had defeated the king of that place. The said D. Francisco [d'Eça] sailed into this river with the whole of the said fleet with much trouble since its bar was shallow, with his *fusta* in the van. And as he was sailing with great vigilance up the river, they heard the sound of oars, and when they sailed around a tongue of land, they saw another fleet and realized that it was the fleet of the Achinese. And they went straight for them with great violence and boarded them and there ensued such a merciless and raging battle that within an hour the foe was smitten and defeated and eight hundred of them were slain, including a hundred prominent men. And they captured fifteen *fustas* equipped with rams and twelve large *lancharas* and much artillery from them; and they destroyed other ships of theirs and sank them; and of the Portuguese only three men were killed and many wounded. And since Antonio Correa was at the said battle and so distinguished himself that he deserved the honor of knighthood, I therefore dubbed him a knight.'" The dubbing was confirmed in Portugal on November 8, 1548. Couto also places the attack in August since the Achinese fleet according to him sailed in July to the strait of Sabang and a month and a half later to Malacca.

⁹ Q 3463 and Pérez (DI I 365).

¹⁰ Q 3576 3463; Dr. Saraiva (MX II 189).

¹¹ Mendes Pinto speaks of six or seven ships near the ships' island (*Peregrinação*, c. 203), where the larger transports usually anchored.

¹² Mention will later be made of him.

¹³ "They had almost captured the Banda ship," according to Gaspar Lopes (*ibid.* 177); and according to Bento Gomes, "they had already boarded the ships of the Banda contract" (*ibid.* 296).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 296.

of the fortress,¹⁵ whom Simão de Mello had sent to the Kling quarter to discover the reason for the excitement in the suburb, found the people there forewarned and under arms. When he reached the strand, the Achinese, warned by the bell had already fled to their ships and sailed away.

When morning dawned, the foe had disappeared. It was learned that they had sailed to the north in the direction of Tenasserim.¹⁶ The only booty they obtained was a drake¹⁷ from the garden of a rich Kling merchant whom they knew, since they had not succeeded in climbing over the well-guarded wall of the Tranqueira.¹⁸ But in their attack on the Banda ship, they had wounded Garcia de Sousa and some of his men.¹⁹

The night attack had been so sudden and unexpected that the Portuguese were not equipped to make an immediate pursuit of the fleeing foe. But Master Francis urged a quick pursuit, and the captain at once took the necessary measures. He sent a brigantine to the north in order to obtain news about the strength of his adversary and his movements.²⁰ It was then learned that the foe consisted of thirty vessels, *fustas* equipped with rams and *lancharas*, and ten or twelve swift rowboats with a complement of some fifteen hundred men.²¹ A fleet was quickly readied and, thanks to the authority of the priest, a number of ships were brought together within a few days. As a consequence, Mello later used to say that Master Francis sent the fleet since he as captain would never have been able to do it by himself.²²

As preparations were being made for sailing, there arrived some unexpected help. Diogo Soares de Mello, who had sailed with Xavier from Melinde to India in 1542, anchored in the harbor of Malacca with two galiots. He was the chief captain of the coast of Patane when the captain of Malacca summoned him from there in June so that he would not become involved in the war of the sultan of Ujong Tanah with the sultan of Patane. His two ships together had a complement of seventy Portuguese, among whom were Ruy de Mello²³ and Belchior de

¹⁵ Pérez rightly calls him a brother-in-law (*cunhado*) (*Informação* 60), as does Couto. Teixeira erroneously calls him a nephew (869). M. A. de Mello o Punho wavers with "sobrino ou cunhado" (MX II 384). He was the brother-in-law of Simão de Mello since this latter married Maria de Eça, the sister of D. Francisco de Eça, in Lisbon on April 12, 1541 (see above, p. 31).

¹⁶ Bento Gomes (MX II 296).

¹⁷ Pérez (DI I 365 and *Informação* 60).

¹⁸ Couto. The former Kling quarter is still called today Tranqueira.

¹⁹ Q 3576.

²⁰ Pérez (DI I 365-366); Couto.

²¹ Q 3576 3463 3475. The documents for knighting speak only of ramming vessels (*fustas d'espórão*) and *lancharas* (light, shallow rowboats) and ten or twelve more swift rowboats. Bento Gomes exaggerates in giving fifty or sixty *lancharas* (MX II 296), and Couto by giving twenty sailboats (*velas*), including four very beautiful galleys.

²² Pérez writes: "Aparelharan-se dez ou doze fustas praestamente, e não sei se erão tantas. O. P. M. Francisco ajudou muito a se negociar esta armada praestamente, em tanto que Simão de Mello que era o capitão da fortaleza, disse ao P. Francisco Pérez que aquella armada ordenara o P. M. Francisco" (*Informação* 60); cf. Valignano 106; MX II 407 499; Lisbon, *RProcess* II 34.

²³ Ruy de Mello Pereira, son of João de Mello of Serpa and brother of Francisco de Mello (Q 841), sailed to India in 1530 as a *fidalgo escudeiro* (*Emmentia* 318) and to the straits in 1541 with his brother in the fleet of D. Estevão da Gama (Q 841). At the end of 1545 he received permission from the governor to purchase a ship in Malacca, to load it with pepper in Patane, and to sail with it to China (Q 1563a). In India he purchased for more than 6,000 *pardaus* a ship with equipment for a year, provisions, and artillery for fifty men. On May 3, 1546, he sailed with it from Cochin, but he lost most of his wares and his artillery in a storm and was forced on this account to return

Sequeira.²⁴ Soares de Mello immediately offered himself for the campaign against the Achinese. He equipped both of his ships with sailors, soldiers, and the necessary provisions for the expedition, since he could never once obtain rice for the men of his ships from Duarte Barreto, the miserly factor;²⁵ and he borrowed the money that he and his brother Manuel, who was in command of the second ship,²⁶ needed.

In scarcely two weeks, at the beginning of September, the fleet was ready to sail. Its largest ship was the caravel of Diogo Pereira, the great friend of the saintly priest. It was equipped with heavy artillery and numerous arquebusiers. Affonso Gentil, another of Xavier's friends, the brother of the former chief physician of John III, also joined the fleet with his ship and many men. He maintained these at his own expense even though he had lost the greatest share of his possessions in China.²⁷ Dom Francisco de Eça, who was also an old acquaintance of Xavier, was named the commander of the fleet. He and his brother Dom Jorge had spent six months with the priest on the island of Mozambique in 1541-1542 when they were sailing to India.²⁸ He received instructions

to the harbor. From here he wrote to the governor and his son and asked for two falcons and six *berços* for the voyage in September and permission to purchase pepper in Sunda (western Java) for his China voyage (Q 2189). In 1572 he obtained a Banda voyage for the future husband of his widowed daughter (*Registo*, n. 793).

²⁴ Couto also mentions Baltasar Soares de Mello, the son of Diogo Soares de Mello, who escaped from Pegu after the death of his father (7, 2, 5), and a certain Sampaio. A Belchior de Sequeira, son of Aires and Catarina de Sequeira, *escudeiro fidalgo*, sailed in 1538, when he was eighteen, in the *Graça* to India (Figueirôa Rêgo 11). In 1543 he was with James Lobo on Moro (Q 1170-1171).

²⁵ EX I 412. Duarte Barreto, *cavalleiro fidalgo* of the royal house, received in 1531 the right to the position of a factor in Malacca with an annual income of two hundred *milreis* (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 9, 23), sailed as the captain of a ship to India in 1536 (Correa III 743; Ford I 249 256), was factor of Malacca from 1541 to 1545 (Q 1740), then in Goa, a friend of Miguel Vaz and Mestre Diogo (Q 1692), and again factor in Malacca from 1547 to 1549, where as a true servant of his king he came into conflict with the greedy captain Simão de Mello (Q 3599 3660; EX II 157-158).

²⁶ According to Couto. Manuel de Mello, who was married to Isabel de Eça, sailed in 1538 to India (*Emmentia* 369) as an *escudeiro fidalgo* with a monthly income of 1,520 *reis* (**Memoria das pessoas* 62). In 1539 he sailed with the viceroy as the captain of a caravel to Diu (Couto 5, 5, 6) and at the end of September, 1545, from Goa to Malacca with his brother who had been appointed captain of Patane. They were however driven by a storm to Pegu, and he did not reach Malacca until March, 1546, from where he sailed to Patane (*ibid.* 6, 1, 1 and 3). From the end of 1547 we encounter him and his brother in Pegu in the service of the Burmese king Tabinshwehti († 1550) and his successor Bayin Naung and, after the violent death of his brother (1553), from 1556 on in India, where he served in the fleet and came to the help of Damão in 1582 (*ibid.* 6, 5, 2; 6, 7, 8; 7, 3, 8-9; 10, 2, 5).

²⁷ EX I 412-413; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 502.

²⁸ Q 3576; Diogo Pereira (MX II 263). D. Francisco de Eça was the son of the *alcaide-mor* of Muge, D. Garcia de Eça, and of D. Antonia de Cunha (Sousa, *Historia Genealogica* XI 716-717 with family tree of the Eça, p. 904) and sailed the first time to India in 1528 as the captain of a ship with the obligation of serving there in the fleet (*Registo*, n. 180; Manuel Xavier 17-18; Couto 10, 1, 16, and in particular Castanheda 7, 86, who carefully distinguishes between D. Francisco de Eça and D. Fernando de Eça, against *Emmentia* 316, **India Oriental* 216v, and Correa III 283 and 308, who confuse the two). He had to winter in Mozambique and reached Goa in 1529 by way of Ormuz with the new governor, Nuno da Cunha (Castanheda 7, 102-103; 8, 1), and sailed with him together with Francisco de Sá in 1531 to Diu (Correa III 393 395 402). In 1541 he sailed a second time to India with his older brother D. Jorge, both as *escudeiros fidalgos* with a monthly income of 3,040 *reis* (Vol. II, pp. 686-687). In India he obtained a Bengal voyage from the governor, D. João de Castro, on December 4, 1545 (Q 1775). When his ship was forced to return, he was given a voyage to the "Small Harbor" (Sātḡāon), a ship to

not to undertake anything without the approval of Diogo Soares; and if he did not encounter the foe within ten days, he was to return with the fleet since the provisions allotted would not suffice for a longer search.²⁹ Master Francis encouraged the soldiers who were undertaking a holy war against the foes of the Christian faith in a fiery address, and he promised them the victory.³⁰

The small fleet set out in the first week of September.³¹ It consisted of around two hundred men³² on nine fairly large ships³³ under the captains Dom Francisco de Eça, Diogo Soares de Mello and Manuel de Mello with their two galiots, Diogo Pereira, Affonso Gentil, Gomes Barreto,³⁴ João Soares,³⁵ Belchior de Sequeira, and Manuel d'Eça.³⁶ A number of smaller ships also accompanied

Bengal and Malacca, another from Malacca to Ormuz, and another from Bengal to Goa and Ormuz, in a royal vessel with all the proceeds on the voyage to and return (*Mercês* 29). On May 10, 1546, D. Francisco had already sailed from Cochin for Bengal (Q 2177), and in 1547 he passed from there to Malacca. In 1560 he undertook his third voyage to India as a *cavalleiro fidalgo* with a monthly income of 3,800 *reis* (**Memoria das pessoas* 158 and *Emmentia* 30, where his mother, a daughter of Jorge de Mello and Isabel Pereira, is called Antonia Pereira), and from 1561 to 1564 he was captain of Malacca (Couto 7, 9, 5 and 11; 7, 10, 9), where he died (Sousa, *Historia Genealogica* XI 716).

²⁹ Couto and MX II 279.

³⁰ Pérez (DI I 365). Many witnesses at the process affirmed that Xavier prophesied the victory, for example, MX II 455-456 and 470.

³¹ Before the arrival of the Coromandel ship at the end of September, for Gaspar Vaz states that he had come to Malacca after the departure of the fleet. But he came, as it seems, in the Coromandel ship, and thus at the end of September, and not on the Banda ship in the middle of October since, according to his testimony, he does not seem to have been in the Moluccas. He was the secretary of the register, resident in Goa, and married (MX II 181-184). Further, according to Couto, Diogo Soares de Mello sailed from Pahang to Malacca at the end of August, and the northeast monsoon sets in here at times in the last week of August (*Handbuch für das südchinesische Meer* [Berlin, 1928] 25). In the south of the Malacca Strait, the southwest monsoon is, however, from April to October (*Handbuch für Ceylon und die Malakka-Strasse* [Berlin, 1927] 29). The voyage from Singapore to Malacca lasted from five to eight days; that from Pahang to Malacca consequently lasted at most two weeks. Soares thus probably arrived at the beginning of September.

³² Q 3576. Pérez: "180 men, ten more or less" (DI I 366).

³³ "Nine *fustas*" (Q 3576 3475); less exactly "*fustas* and *caturis*" (Q 3609), "four to five *fustas*" (according to the also otherwise inexact Bento Gomes in MX II 496), "*fustas*" (Q 3463), "seven or eight *fustas*" (Duarte da Gama in MX II 415). Couto has ten rather large ships: two galiots, two large merchant caravels and six *fustas*, and in addition to these some *bantings*, that is, smaller vessels. The term *fusta* is very flexible and frequently means all kinds of oared ships, for example, even galiots, and also ships with lateen sails (Lopez de Mendonça, *Estudos sobre Navios Portuguezes nos sec. XV e XVI* [Lisboa, 1892, 35-37] Pieris-Fitzler 345). Xavier thus, for example, describes the ships of Soares as "very beautiful *fustas*" (EX I 412), which Couto calls galiots. Xavier calls the ship of Affonso Gentil a *navio*. Couto describes it as a *fusta*. In 1548 Pérez wrote: "*ciertas fustas*" and in 1579: "*dez ou doze fustas*" (*Informação*).

³⁴ In 1551 Gomes Barreto (in Couto: Gemes Barreto) came to Malacca with the clove ship. He there fought bravely against the Moors who besieged it (Couto 6, 9, 7-9 and 20; Rebello 486). In 1558 he received as a reward for his services two Maluco voyages (*Registo*, n. 647, where 1588 is a scribal error for 1558). In 1581 he was with his wife in Macao, and Fernão de Sousa sailed instead of him from there to Japan (Frois 155).

³⁵ A João Soares, son of Francisco Coelho, *moço fidalgo* with an income of one *milreis* a month, sailed with his brother Antonio Coelho to India in 1537 (*Emmentia* 399; **Memoria das pessoas* 53), but since a João Soares sailed with the governor D. João de Castro from Goa to Cambay in October, 1547 (Couto 6, 5, 6), there were at least two with this name at the same time in India.

³⁶ D. Manuel de Eça was the brother of D. Francisco de Eça and sailed with Simão de Mello to India in 1544, where he died (*Emmentia* 425; Sousa, *Hist. Genealogica* XI 716-717).

the fleet: two *bantings*³⁷ under Antonio de Lemos³⁸ and Fernandalvares, and two others under Kling captains.³⁹ Among the soldiers there were also some *casados* of Malacca⁴⁰ and the *cavalleiro fidalgo* Francisco Lopes de Almeida, whom Xavier had already met in Malacca in 1545,⁴¹ and Francisco Pereira, a brother of Ruy Dias Pereira, who had sailed with the priest in the Banda ship in 1546 to the Moluccas.⁴² Spanish soldiers from Ruy López de Villalobos' fleet also sailed with them.⁴³ Among these was a poor soldier whom Xavier had brought with him from Amboina and had persuaded to sail against the Achinese by telling him that God was granting him a grace if he were killed since He had freed him from his sins and he was now in a good state of soul. A deserving mulatto by the name of Antonio de Bobadilha also sailed with the fleet.⁴⁴

On Sundays and feast days Master Francis usually preached in the morning to the Portuguese during the Mass and in the afternoon to the native Christians, during the course of which he explained an article of the Creed to them; and on Fridays he preached to the women. At all his sermons he asked his hearers to recommend the fleet to the Lord God so that He might grant it victory over the infidels.⁴⁵ But week after week passed without its return or any indication of what might have happened. Even though the captain sent many boats out for information, he could obtain no news about the whereabouts or fate of the fleet.⁴⁶

³⁷ A *banting* is a small merchant vessel with two masts, a kind of brigantine (Dalgado I 97).

³⁸ Antonio de Lemos is probably the *casado* of Malacca whom we still find bravely fighting in 1587 (Couto 10, 8, 15, p. 369).

³⁹ Couto.

⁴⁰ "Many joined the expedition, including some *casados*," according to Francisco Garcia, who obtained his information from his cousin Fernão Mendes and other residents of Malacca (MX II 287), "many *casados*," according to Bento Gomes (*ibid.* 296).

⁴¹ See above, p. 23.

⁴² Francisco Pereira was one of the many sons of the Duarte Pereira who helped capture Goa in 1510. In 1541 he and his two brothers sailed in his *fusta* with D. Estevão da Gama to the straits (Q 841). He was a witness at the Goa process of 1556 as juror of the city of Goa. In 1547 he sailed with Xavier from Malacca to India (MX II 190-191). In 1562 the city of Goa recommended him to the king. He had served him for many years. He had with him two nieces, the daughters of a deceased sister who had been married to Gonçalo Pereira de Berredo. The latter had returned to Portugal and had there remarried and had obtained for his marriage the position of a toll judge of Goa, an office, however, which he did not assume because of illness. The daughters were poor and already grown. The king might therefore allow him to renounce this in favor of Francisco Pereira so that he might thus obtain husbands for them (TdT: CC 1-106-41; *Registo*, n. 571).

⁴³ EX I 412.

⁴⁴ In 1579 Pérez wrote about the soldier: "I believe that they killed him," and about Bobadilha, that his leg was shattered on this occasion and that the Javanese later killed him at the siege of Malacca in 1551 (*Informação* 60-61), which is confirmed by Xavier (EX II 495). Others who took part in the campaign were Affonso Fernandes, a resident of Goa, where he took part as a witness in the Xavier process of 1556 (MX II 179-180). On August 20, 1551, during the expedition to Djailolo, he was dubbed a knight by the captain of Ternate (Q 4680). He is probably the last survivor of the eighteen sons of the famous Isabel the Old, who distinguished herself at the first siege of Diu in 1538 and on November 1, 1559, made a request that he be given the position of a toll judge in Diu or of a factor of Bhatkal for three years (TdT: CC 3-18-39). Three others, who after the return from the Perlis River were dubbed knights in Ternate, also took part in the battle: Antonio Correa, Pero Fernandes, and Diogo Gonçalves (Q 3576, 3475 3463).

⁴⁵ Galeote Pereira, who was present at the sermons (MX II 275) and Pérez.

⁴⁶ Bento Gomes (MX II 296).

In the meantime, at the end of September, the Coromandel ship had come from Pulicat⁴⁷ under the command of Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos, who had sailed to Mozambique in 1542 by order of the governor Dom Estevão da Gama. He had there been arrested by Martim Affonso de Sousa and had returned to Goa as a prisoner with him and Xavier in the ship *Coulão*. He had fought bravely at Diu during its siege and had taken part in the final, decisive battle of November 10, 1546. Dom João de Castro had on this account granted him many privileges for his voyage as captain of the Coromandel ship. He had paid him a year's salary in advance. He had granted him permission to lay claim to twelve houses of weavers in Pulicat for the preparation of his wares. He could also load his ship before all the others and have as many *bahārs* of wares and as many tax-free cabins as his predecessor, Jorge Pimentel, had had. He could load a third of the ballast of rice for himself toll free. He could take four merchants with their wares with him, and they were to pay their freight to him; and the captain of Malacca should let the merchants who wished to sail to Coromandel go with him on his return voyage.⁴⁸ Through his voyage to Malacca he had already gained 12,000 *cruzados* in freight and taxes, and this had been paid to him in gold from Minangkabau and silver from China.⁴⁹

Two weeks later, in the middle of October, the Banda ship, which had left Goa in September,⁵⁰ also arrived, bringing the mail for Xavier which had come that same month with the ships from Portugal along with other letters from India.⁵¹ Good news had reached Goa from Ceylon. On March 29, 1546, the king of Kandy had been baptized by a Franciscan, and many hoped that the other kings of the island would follow his example.⁵² Lancilotto had received letters from Rodrigues, who had been appointed provincial of Portugal by Ignatius in October, 1546,⁵³ and who had in turn appointed him superior in Goa. Letters had also come from Coimbra and Trent,⁵⁴ and Xavier had received from Rome the list of impediments for those entering the order⁵⁵ and the brief *Exponi nobis nuper*, of June 5, 1546, which granted permission to the Society of Jesus to accept assistants to the professed as spiritual and temporal coadjutors. These were to have all the merits of the professed, but the general could only give the faculties of the professed to twenty of these coadjutors.⁵⁶

⁴⁷ EX I 106; Schütte, *Valignano* I 1, 125-126.

⁴⁸ Baião, *História* 308; cf. Q 1922 2731 2864 3755.

⁴⁹ Q 3755.

⁵⁰ EX I 106; Schütte, *Valignano* I 1, 125-126. Moreover, at the sailing of the Banda ship in September, 1547, Gomes Carvalho (Q 3050) and Simão da Rocha (Q 3154) could each send a ship to Malacca, and Francisco Fernandes could sail from Cochin with four *casados* to the same city (Q 3185).

⁵¹ On March 28, 1547, the *São Felipe* sailed from Lisbon under the command of D. Francisco de Lima (Q 2889 2976; Figueiredo Falcão 162). It arrived with the mail in Goa on September 3 (Correa IV 598). The *São Boaventura* and *São Salvador* reached Goa on September 10 (Couto 6, 5, 3). The Banda ship usually raised anchor there between September 10 and 20, taking the mail with it. That Xavier received his letters in this way in Malacca is indicated by his letter of January 21, 1548, where he writes that he had appealed to the soul of the deceased Father Favre on his voyage from Malacca to Cochin (EX I 393; cf. II 547). On October 10, 1547, Lancilotto replied to the letters received from Europe (DI I 180-188), and he makes express reference to the news of Favre's death.

⁵² Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 355 379.

⁵³ MI *Epp.* I 449.

⁵⁴ DI I 184 180-181.

⁵⁵ *Const.* I 178-180, and pp. CXXXIV-CXXXV.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 170-173, and pp. CCXV-CCXVII.

At the request of Simon Rodrigues, the confreres in Coimbra had written a lengthy letter.⁵⁷ The number of residents in its house already surpassed a hundred,⁵⁸ and the king had granted two thousand *cruzados* for their upkeep and had handed over to the college two monasteries for this purpose.⁵⁹ A new rector in the person of Luis Gonçalves da Camara had taken the place of Martín de Santa Cruz.⁶⁰ Strada had preached with remarkable success not only in Coimbra but also in Porto and Braga when the provincial sent him on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.⁶¹ Millán, the nephew of Ignatius had returned to his native land sick with consumption.⁶² Araoz, who had labored with great success in the court in Madrid, had been living since September in Vergara in the healthy mountain air of Guipuzcoa to regain his strength.⁶³ In Bologna, where Dona Violante Gozzadina and the other penitents of Xavier had not forgotten their former spiritual director, Doménech had opened up a residence of the Society in Santa Lucia.⁶⁴

There was also a letter from Rodrigues⁶⁵ with the inscription: "To my dearest brother in Christ our Lord, P. M. Francisco Xebier of the Society of Jesus. *2a via.*" It read as follows:

Jesus.

The grace and love of our Lord Jesus Christ be always in our souls! The labors of this land are so little edifying that one cannot write to you what one might wish. All that remains from them is the longing to be in the regions where you are in order to see the fruit of your labors, for our labors here are not to be compared with them; and one of the consolations which I have is that I can be of some help to you in the holy work in which you are engaged by sending you some confreres. But since the Society is spread throughout so many regions here, they also must be helped. Our Father Master Inácio has just now asked me for some students to send to Paris and to other universities of Italy where our Lord has moved people to do something for the Society. And because of this I cannot send you any confreres this year, and also because I am waiting for a letter from you so that I may know the greater need which is there for men. And if I could carry out my desire, I would gladly send you all whom he is sending to Castile and Italy and other regions. But I see that it is necessary to consolidate the Society here in order to later assist from all these regions the fruit which you are working there.

Through the grace of our Lord the affairs of the Society are in every region greatly increasing "with God and men,"⁶⁶ and here in this kingdom it is increasing in greater number than elsewhere, and I attribute all of this to your prayers and the great need which the Indies have for these men.

⁵⁷ *Ep. Broëti* 560-561. The letter is lost.

⁵⁸ At the end of June, 1546, there were already ninety-five (*ibid.* 545). By the end of the year another thirteen had entered.

⁵⁹ *Ep. Mixtae* I 267; *MI Epp.* I 393.

⁶⁰ *Ep. Broëti* 552.

⁶¹ *Litt. Quadrimestres* I 17-27; *Ep. Mixtae* I 266; *Polanco* I 192-197.

⁶² *Ep. Mixtae* I 198 204 230-231 263 274-275 292 310-311 329.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 286-292 307-308.

⁶⁴ *Litt. Quadrimestres* I 8-16; *Polanco* I 174-175.

⁶⁵ *Ep. Broëti* 559-561. Brou erroneously suspects that Xavier could not have received this letter before his departure from Malacca at the end of 1547 and that the saint therefore received news of Favre's death through a supernatural enlightenment. From Lancilotto's reply of October 10, 1547, he concluded that Lancilotto had not received the mail from Europe until October, and thus after the departure of the Banda ship. The letters therefore had to wait for the next monsoon, that is, till April, 1548, before they could be forwarded (I 438).

⁶⁶ "Apud Deum et homines" (Lk 2:52).

The king and queen are always doing many favors for the Society in this kingdom, and spend much on its behalf from their own resources; but up to the present my sins have prevented the college having any income, and it is not yet built. All depends upon the generosity and holy zeal of Their Highnesses. If they were to live for ever, there would be no need of greater security.

No letters came from Rome this year for you. Master Laynez, Salmerón, and Jayo are at the council which is being held in Trent. Araoz is in Castile and is beginning to obtain men. It has pleased our Lord to take Master Fabro to himself in order to free him from the labors which he had taken upon himself. He came to Rome: he was well for eight days and then fell sick; and within another eight days he yielded up his soul to the Lord on the first of August, the feast of St. Peter in Chains; and he was thus freed from the prison of this life on the day mentioned in the year 1546. And Master Joam,⁶⁷ his companion, about whom I have already written to you, also died on the day of St. John, and both lie and are at rest in the church of our house in Rome, in Sancta Marya da Estrada; and the life they lived, as you know, can bear witness to the place where they now are.⁶⁸

The king Preste Joam⁶⁹ sent an ambassador here to the king last year and asked him to send a patriarch and some people in order to teach him the faith. His Highness, being inclined towards every kind of pious work, decided to send one of the Society for this service of our Lord, and he wrote to our Father Master Inácio and to His Holiness to appoint one of the Society as patriarch and to send him,⁷⁰ as you can perceive more in detail from the newsletter which I had written by the students in Coimbra, to which I refer in all its particulars. And I believe that Master Paschasio⁷¹ will be the patriarch, and that he will go in the coming year, 1548; and I shall send him some priests and you will then be informed more in detail about everything; and some confreres will also go to help you in your labors in accordance with your letters which I hope to receive this year.

In His kindness our Lord orders all things so that He is better served and our wills are mortified; for I believe that all of us who are here would rather be there with you than here. May it please our Lord in His infinite goodness to do through you alone all that we would do together. And you also will share in the little that we do here, for your labors make ours here appear to be small; and may He, who unites us all from such distant places in one spirit, unite us in His glory for ever and ever!

From Almeyrim, the twenty-fourth of March, 1547.

Poor in virtue,

Mestre Simam.

Master Francis was deeply affected by the news of the early and sudden death of his former companion in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe in Paris, whose saintly example had enlightened his soul in the darkness of the turbulent years of his student life, and with whom, after Ignatius, he was bound interiorly more closely than with any of his other first companions. He was accustomed to destroy the letters which he received since he could not be burdened with any excess baggage on his many journeys. But he made an exception with this letter: he kept it as a last memorial of his former friend and as a precious relic.⁷²

⁶⁷ Codure.

⁶⁸ He died on August 29, 1541, the feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist (cf. Vol. I, p. 551).

⁶⁹ Claudius (Galāwdēwos).

⁷⁰ *Ep. Broëti* 543-544; *MI Epp.* I 428-430 434-435.

⁷¹ Broët.

⁷² The letter was preserved in the professed house in Goa together with Xavier's original letters and those of Ignatius up to the expulsion of the Jesuits under Pombal, who had the codex which contained them seized in 1762 and brought to Portugal. In

In the meantime the concern in Malacca for the fate of the fleet had greatly increased. Neither the Coromandel ship nor the Banda ship had encountered the least trace of it on their voyages, and from the men themselves there had come no signs of life. The people were troubled. They feared the worst and even interpreted the constant exhortation of the saintly priest to pray for victory as a sign that he was himself concerned about their fate.⁷³ The captain was also sad.⁷⁴ Even though he sent many boats to obtain information, he had received no news about the whereabouts or fate of his fleet. Master Francis visited the people in order to encourage them, and he urged them not to be remiss in their prayers for he hoped that God would bring the warriors back to Malacca victorious and in good health.⁷⁵ Rumors, however, were going around among the natives that the Portuguese fleet had been destroyed by the Achinese and that all the Portuguese had been slain.⁷⁶ The same was said by the sorcerers whom the women asked about the fate of their men, and many were already at home secretly mourning their husband, who had allegedly fallen in battle.⁷⁷

This was the state of affairs when the priest at the end of October, more than forty days after the departure of the fleet, was offering the Sunday Mass as usual in the parish church.⁷⁸ Many of Xavier's friends and acquaintances were present for it.⁷⁹ Among these was the captain of the *Bufara*, Duarte de Miranda; its skipper, Antonio Gonçalves; and its secretary, Gaspar Lopes. In addition to these there was the captain of a ship, Gonçalo Fernandes, who owed his conversion to the saintly priest; João Fernandes d'Ilher, whose son he had freed from an evil spirit in 1545; the secretary of the tolls, Diogo de Abreu, who knew the priest from his earlier stay; the rich merchant Christovão Carvalho;⁸⁰ the twenty-eight-year-old Martim Affonso de Mello o Punho;⁸¹ and his penitents,

1888 it was incorporated as *Codex 745* of the National Library in Lisbon with the entire manuscript collection of Pombal (EX I 180*-182*).

⁷³ MX II 274-275 (Galeote Pereira).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 189 (Dr. Saraiva).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 296 Bento Gomes, 320 (Mansilhas), 307 (Christovão Carvalho), 291 (Lopes de Almeida).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 274-275 (Galeote Pereira), 291 (Lopes de Almeida), 302-303 (Christovão Carvalho).

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 177 (Gaspar Lopes), 182 (Gaspar Vaz), 274-275 (Galeote Pereira), 291 (Lopes de Almeida), 287 (Francisco Garcia), 279 (E. Ventura), 306-307 (Christovão Carvalho), 296 (Bento Gomes), 264 (Diogo de Abreu), 303 (Christovão de Castro), 456 (Lucia de Villanzam), 320 (Mansilhas) and Pérez (DI I 366; *Informação* 61).

⁷⁸ MX II 189 (Dr. Saraiva: "one month after the departure of the fleet"), 279 (E. Ventura: "one month after the instruction"), 284 (Diogo de Abreu: "after forty days"), 178 (Gonçalo Fernandes: "after some forty days"), 302 (Christovão de Castro: "more than forty days after the ships sailed"). Many witnesses who were present for the sermon declared that it was on Sunday (*ibid.* 177 178 275), and others also said the same (*ibid.* 279 382 470 489). Cf. Pérez (DI I 365); at the sermon in the morning (MX II 284), in the parish church (Teixeira 870).

⁷⁹ See the testimony of the attendants at the sermon in MX II 177 (Gaspar Lopes), 178 (Gonçalo Fernandes), 181-182 (Gaspar Vaz), 193 (Ant. Gonçalves), 274-275 (Galeote Pereira), 284 (Diogo de Abreu), 306-307 (Christovão Carvalho), 372-373 (Duarte de Miranda), 384 (M. A. de Mello o Punho), 428 (J. Fernandes d'Ilher), 452 (João de Mello).

⁸⁰ Christovão Carvalho, a *fidalgo* of the royal house, was rich, prominent, and unmarried. In 1557 he declared in the Cochin process that he had known Xavier in India, Malacca, and all the other regions where he had stayed, and he had always regarded him as a saintly man (MX II 304-309). We shall return to him later.

⁸¹ M. A. de Mello o Punho was an illegitimate son of the city captain of Goa, Ruy de Mello o Punho. He had been born in 1519 of a Portuguese mother whom his father had, against her will, taken to his house and immediately after she had given birth to her child had married her to an honorable man. His mother raised him until he was

Galeote Pereira⁸² and Gaspar Vaz,⁸³ the latter having come with the Coromandel ship at the end of September;⁸⁴ and others.⁸⁵

After the Gospel Xavier mounted the pulpit as he usually did. At the end of his sermon⁸⁶ he reproached his hearers for their little faith and told them with his usually cheerful countenance:

What poor Christians you are! ⁸⁷ There are women and other persons here who cast lots and confer with sorcerers who say that our fleet has been captured, and who are already mourning for their husbands.⁸⁸ Brethren, thank all of you our Lord and say an Our Father and Hail Mary for the great victory which our fleet has won over our foes, the Achinese.⁸⁹ The news will soon come,⁹⁰ and the fleet will return sound and bring with it the enemy together with their ships.⁹¹

twelve and after this he served in the fleets of the king in India under captains related to his father. From the age of fourteen he also served under arms. He had always refused to follow the urgings of his relatives, who wanted him to go to Lisbon to beg a favor from the king. He first wished to earn one. In 1535 he was wounded in the knee by an arrow during the capture of the fortress of Varivene in Sind. In 1536-1538 he fought under M. Affonso de Sousa at Edapalli, Vēdālai, and Cannanore. In 1538 he helped at the siege of Diu together with his half-brother Jorge, each of them with a *fusta*. In 1541 he sailed with the governor to the straits, and in November of this year he wrote to the king about his services and only asked for the revenues (*moradia*) of his deceased father since he first wished to earn other favors by greater deeds (Q 850). As a consequence of this, he became an *escudeiro fidalgo* with a monthly income of 1,600 *reis* (**Memoria das pessoas* 76; *Emmentia* 374). In 1556 he was a witness at Xavier's process in Bassein (MX II 383-384). He is not to be confused with his namesakes M. A. de Mello de Castro and M. A. de Mello Pombeiro and others.

⁸² Galeote Pereira came from the Pereiras of Gege, the lords of Castro Daire, and was the third son of Henrique Pereira, the *alcaide-mor* of Arrayolos, and of Mayor Pacheco. He sailed to India in 1534 (**Andrade Leitão* XV 110-111) as a *fidalgos escudeiro* with an income of 2,400 *reis* a month (**Memoria das pessoas* 44; *Emmentia* 336) and served in Malacca in 1539 under Captain Pero de Faria (Q 437). In 1548 he sailed with Diogo Pereira by way of Siam to China, where he was imprisoned in 1549 and was able to flee from there to Sancian in 1552 or the beginning of 1553 and to return to India. In 1557 he was a witness at Xavier's process in Cochin (MX II 272-277). In 1561 Frois sent his valuable account about China from Goa to Portugal (DI V 354-355), which Boxer has published in the original text (AHSI 22 [1953] 57-92) and in an English translation in *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1953) 1-43. After returning to Portugal he married Filipa Pacheco, the daughter of Diogo Borges Pacheco, the secretary of the archbishop of Braga, who bore him three sons (**Andrade Leitão* XV 110-111). We shall return to him later.

⁸³ Gaspar Vaz was born in Cannanore and was known as an excellent Christian (MX II 607). He came in September to Malacca with the Coromandel ship. In 1549 he was the secretary of the registry (Q 4327), in 1565 the paymaster (*contador*) of the registry in Goa (APO V 590; cf. 589), where he was married and testified at Xavier's process in 1556 (MX II 181-184).

⁸⁴ See above, p. 232.

⁸⁵ The following were apparently present, though it is not clear from their testimony: Dr. Saraiva (MX II 189-190), Bento Gomes (*ibid.* 296), João de Eiró (*ibid.* 382), and Affonso Teixeira (*ibid.* 424), while others appealed to persons who had heard the sermon (*ibid.* 279 376 461 473).

⁸⁶ After the sermon (MX II 182 275 373 384 452, who were present at the sermon; also 191 374 385 392).

⁸⁷ Pérez (DI I 366); also Abreu (MX II 284) and Gonçalo Fernandes (*ibid.* 178), who were present.

⁸⁸ Gaspar Lopes, who was also present (MX II 177).

⁸⁹ According to those who were present, *ibid.* 178 182 275 372-373 384 452. Other witnesses: "today" (*ibid.* 177), "We have now conquered" (*ibid.* 193 306). According to Pérez he said: "Não se intristeça ninguém, mas digão hum Pater Noster e huma Ave Maria polla victoria que ouverão os nossos contra os Dachens, e não creão em feitiçeyros" (*Informação* 61).

He also asked his hearers to say an Our Father and Hail Mary for those who had fallen in battle.⁹² In the evening he preached to the women in Nossa Senhora do Monte and told them that they should not lose courage but rather that they should have a firm trust in the Lord, and that they would soon obtain news of the victory and of their men.⁹³

These words were a source of great astonishment and all were delighted because of their great esteem for the saintly priest.⁹⁴ His hearers regarded it as a miracle since he could not have received a report of the victory by any natural means. It was not a season for sailing, and the news could not have reached Malacca that day by either land or sea.⁹⁵

A few days after the sermon⁹⁶ a merchant vessel arrived and reported the victory of the Portuguese fleet over that of the Achinese on the Perlis River, ninety leagues north of Malacca.⁹⁷ Soon after this⁹⁸ the victors returned with the captured ships of their enemy: fifteen *fustas* equipped with rams, twelve large *lancharas* and their artillery, prisoners, and rich booty.⁹⁹ They also brought back the drake and restored it to its former owner. They were welcomed by the people with jubilation.¹⁰⁰ Simão de Mello, the captain of Malacca, and

⁹⁰ Of those who heard the sermon, Abreu stated that in the morning Xavier had said that the news would soon come (MX II 284). Gaspar Vaz declared: "As far as I remember, the priest said: 'Tomorrow the news will come'" (*ibid.* 182). Christovão Carvalho said that the news would come after so and so many days (*ibid.* 307), whereas Lopes de Almeida, a fellow warrior, has the saint say that the news would come that week, naming the day (*ibid.* 291). The old Joana de Mello testified in 1615 that the priest had said that the fleet would return in less than five days (*ibid.* 452), while others, who were at the sermon, declared that he had said that the fleet was already on its way back (*ibid.* 382).

⁹¹ Gonçalo Fernandes (*ibid.* 178) and Diogo de Abreu (*ibid.* 284), who were present at the sermon.

⁹² *Ibid.* 263 (Diogo Pereira) and 216, based on his testimony (Jerónimo Ferreira).

⁹³ *Ibid.* 284 (Abreu).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 428 (Fernandes d'Ilher), 291 (Lopes de Almeida), 275 (Galeote Pereira), 279 (E. Ventura), 288 (Francisco Garcia), 320 (Mansilhas).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 384 (M. A. de Mello), 307 (Christovão Carvalho), 263 (Diogo Pereira), 279 (Ventura), 291 (Lopes de Almeida), and also other witnesses (*ibid.* 373 376 385 392 422 425) and Pérez (DI I 365).

⁹⁶ The witnesses give different data: MX II 288 (on the following day), 177 (1-2 days later), 275 (2-3 days later), 190 (Saraiva: "I believe three days later"), 216 (6 days later), 279 385 (some days later), 384 (M. A. de Mello: "about 10-12 days later, for the news could not come earlier either by land or sea since it was not the time of the monsoon"). The information came by ship (*ibid.* 177), through the lord of the land (*ibid.* 279).

⁹⁷ The distance of the Perlis River from Malacca is variously given in MX II 424 426 (sixty leagues), 422 428 (seventy), 415 (Duarte da Gama: eighty), 275 and Q 3463 (one hundred), MX II 307 (over a hundred), 263 (Diogo Pereira: 105), 296 (Bento Gomes: 200 and more). The actual distance comes to ninety Portuguese leagues or some 375 miles. At an average of ten leagues a day, a ship could have brought the news of the victory in eight or nine days at the earliest; at an average of fifteen leagues per day it could have brought it in four or five days. A courier traveling by land in India could usually cover eight leagues a day, but it would have taken longer for one on the Malay Peninsula to cover a similar distance because of the numerous broad rivers that had to be passed. Further the southwest monsoon blew until October and the northwest monsoon only came in November, and during the transitional period in October and November the winds were as a rule very changeable (*Handbuch für Ceylon und die Malacca-Strasse* 29). Xavier therefore as the witnesses unanimously agree could not have obtained any news of the victory by natural means when he announced it from the pulpit.

⁹⁸ "A few days after the sermon," Pérez wrote in 1548 (DI I 366; cf. MX II 193 296 307), two days after it in 1579 (*Informação* 61; cf. MX II 182).

⁹⁹ Q 3576 3463 3475; MX II 189-190 297 422.

¹⁰⁰ "Y allí lhe tomaron muchos [!] navíos los nuestros y el mesmo pato... Y day

Master Francis, with his crucifix in his hand, were on the beach. The priest embraced his friend Diogo Pereira and all the captains and their *cavalleiros* and soldiers, and Mello told them at once that the priest had announced the victory from the pulpit.¹⁰¹

The details about the voyage and the battle on the Perlis River were learned from the survivors.¹⁰² The coasts with their many rivers and mangrove swamps afforded countless hiding places for the enemy. They had thus sought in vain for their fleet for five long weeks. Finally, when they were between Pulo Penang and the mainland, they learned that the Achinese were in Kedah, twelve leagues away.¹⁰³ Since the period of time granted them in the instruction was long surpassed, most of the captains did not wish to sail beyond Kedah, and some wished to return again at once to Malacca. The forceful intervention of Soares de Mello, however, changed their minds. In Kedah they were told that their opponents were eight leagues farther north on the Perlis River, where they had besieged

a pocos días [after the sermon] entraron por la barra con grande alegria, y Maestro Francisco con los de la ciudad los recibió con maior," Pérez wrote in 1548 (DI I 366). But in 1579 he declared: "E dahi a dous días chegou a armada. E porque virão muytas vellas de longe, cuidavão que erão os Dachens que tornavão com a victoria dos nossos a fazer algum mal. Senão quando chegarão perto, conhecerão que erão os nossos que trazião as fustas dos Dachens e mais o pato" (*Informação* 61).

¹⁰¹ Francisco Pereira describes how Xavier received the ship in which he returned, probably that of Diogo Pereira, and he adds: "And Captain Simão de Mello at once, on the ship itself, told the captain and all, and he, the witness, heard it from the said captain and later in the city from all of the people in general that Father Master Francis, at the close of his sermon, spoke from the pulpit of the victory gained over the Achinese at the time of the battle and in the way it occurred" (MX II 190-191). Saraiva testified in a similar manner: "The victory was at the time and in the way that the priest had said" (*ibid.* 189-190). Affonso Fernandes, who had taken part in the expedition, declared that on his return to Malacca some individuals had asked him the day on which the victory had been gained. When he told them the day and the hour, they informed him that it was at this very hour that Father Master Francis had reported the victory in his sermon (*ibid.* 179-180). That the sermon and victory were at the same time was also affirmed by the following who had heard the sermon: Christovão Carvalho, Fernandes d'Ilher, Bento Gomes, and Affonso Teixeira (*ibid.* 307 428 297 424), and others (*ibid.* 303 415 422 426 473 489; in the first Lisbon process, ff. 87v 154-v 184v, and in the second, f. 25). Diogo Pereira, who had taken part in the battle, declared however that the sermon was two days after the victory (MX II 263); and Galeote Pereira, who had heard the sermon, declared that the victory had been on the Thursday or Friday before the sermon (*ibid.* 274).—In the process none of the so-called Xavier miracles had more witnesses than that of his announcement of the victory over the Achinese fleet, and none was more renowned in the whole of the Portuguese East. In the first Lisbon process in 1614, the licentiate Affonso de Barbuda could therefore say that he heard about this miracle in Cochín, in the fortress of Manār, in Jaffnapatam, and Negapatam and Mailāpur from rich and trustworthy merchants who had been in Malacca when the miracle took place and who declared that the prophecy was true (Lisbon, *RProcess* I 64-v).—Even if the witnesses contradict themselves in details, we are still of the opinion that there is here a well testified incident of second sight, to which Thomé Lobo already refers in his letter to the king of October 13, 1548, when he wrote of the death of the viceroy D. João de Castro: "Sua allma estará no paraíso, e asy o afirma o padre Mestre Francisco, homem samto que em pulpito diz cousas que vemos serem revelações" (SR IV 66).

¹⁰² The main account of the expedition and victory is that in Couto, complemented by the document for the knighting of A. Correa (Q 3576), and Xavier's letter of January 20, 1548 (EX I 411-413).

¹⁰³ According to Couto the fleet sailed along the coast of Perak and came to the island of Pulo Botum (Butong), twelve leagues from Kedah. Pulo Penang, which is twelve leagues from the mouth of the Kedah River, should be read here instead of Pulo Butong.

the king of the land¹⁰⁴ and destroyed his city.¹⁰⁵ They were now lying in wait for the ships which had to sail from Malacca to India. After the Portuguese had taken on water at the Kedah River, they set sail again on the next day and in the evening anchored before the mouth of the Perlis River. Here they encountered a boat and learned from its owner that the Achinese were three leagues upstream near the captured capital of the king.¹⁰⁶

A council of war was held, and it was decided that they should seek out the foe at all cost and engage it in battle. At the bidding of the admiral, Soares de Mello went with a pilot in a light rowboat to see if the ships could sail through the bar. He discovered that there was a passage through which even the caravels, if they were unloaded, could be drawn into the river; and he marked this with branches from trees that he stuck into the floor of the sea. After their cargoes had been divided up among the other vessels, Soares de Mello took them in tow and, with a great deal of effort, succeeded in bringing the empty ships through the sanded entrance near the shore.¹⁰⁷

After the entire fleet had successfully passed the bar, João Soares was sent ahead in a light rowboat with five companions to obtain information on the location of the foe and the condition of their ships. He came in sight of a village where some natives were fishing from a boat with casting nets. To avoid being observed, they immediately rowed back to their ships; and the following night the Portuguese kept a sharp lookout with their weapons in hand. The next morning they cautiously sailed with their fleet up the river to find their enemy.

Soares de Mello led the way with his two galiots, while Belchior de Sequeira and João Soares took the caravels of Diogo Pereira and Gomes Barreto in tow. The admiral, Francisco de Eça, sailed in his *fusta* with Soares de Mello and the others.

They soon heard the beat of the oars of the hostile ships. Eça sent four *bantings* on ahead under the command of Lemos and Fernandalvares in order to induce the Moors to fire their first *salvo* and then to attack them with their remaining ships before they had a chance to reload. The ruse proved to be successful, and all the shots of the enemy passed over the heads of the Portuguese without causing any damage.

The Portuguese fleet that was following the *bantings* then sailed immediately around the tongue of land¹⁰⁸ and found itself opposite its foe. This consisted of two galleys and twelve *lancharas*, which the admiral of the Achinese, who had been warned by the fishers the previous evening, and who thought that merchantmen had entered the bar, had sent to capture the welcome prey and bring it to him. The *salvo* of the Portuguese landed in the center of its target. The well-aimed stone ball of a *camelo* from the ship of Diogo Pereira hit one of the galleys on its bow and immediately sank it. Soares de Mello boarded the second galley and Eça one of the *lancharas*, and the others did the same. A raging, hand-to-hand combat ensued, and no mercy was granted. Soares de Mello and his

¹⁰⁴ Q 3576.

¹⁰⁵ Q 3463.

¹⁰⁶ Q 3576 3463. The old capital Perlis was some ten knots up the river (*Handbuch für Ceylon und die Malakka-Strasse* 393). This would correspond to some three Portuguese leagues.

¹⁰⁷ Q 3576; Couto. In the channel of the bar in front of the mouth of the Perlis the water reaches a depth of twelve feet during high tide. Junks with a draft of less than six feet could sail four knots up the river (*Handbuch* 303).

¹⁰⁸ In addition to Couto, Q 3576 and 3463 make reference to the tongue of land.

fifty men slew all the Moors on the galleon. The ship thus passed soon into their hands and was taken into tow. The remaining vessels of the Moors were similarly captured and five were sunk, and the river was reddened with their blood. Diogo Pereira and his men also fought with great courage. His heavy artillery destroyed and sank a good many ships, and his soldiers slew many of their adversaries with their arquebuses. A Spaniard who sailed on Pereira's ship later told Xavier that he was delighted to see the Portuguese of India fighting so well.¹⁰⁹

At nine in the morning, an hour after the onslaught of the battle, it was over.¹¹⁰ Eight hundred Moors had lost their lives, including a hundred prominent men. Only three of the Portuguese forces were killed.¹¹¹ One of these was the Spanish soldier who had gone on board at the suggestion of the priest in order to do penance for his sins. Many, however, were wounded, and among these was Antonio de Bobadilha, whose leg was smashed by a shot.¹¹²

As a reward for the bravery they had shown in the battle, Simão de Mello, the captain of the fortress, dubbed a number of the warriors knights after the return of the fleet. Among these was Antonio Correa¹¹³ and, on November 20, Diogo Gonçalves,¹¹⁴ and two days later Pedro Fernandes.¹¹⁵ Diogo Soares de

¹⁰⁹ Xavier also praises the deserts of Soares de Mello in this battle (EX I 411-412).

¹¹⁰ According to Couto it was only a part of the enemy fleet. A consultation was therefore held after the victory. The admiral suggested seeking out the rest of the enemy's fleet and destroying it as well. But the *casados* of Malacca were opposed to fighting with the Achinese fleet in the sight of the king of Perlis, a friend of Portugal, but a Moor like the others. He would take it as insult and injury, and the Portuguese ships were accustomed to sail there every year to trade. The admiral had then decided to set out immediately on the return voyage to Malacca. The data in the document of knightings contradicts all this. According to it the Achinese had defeated the sultan of Perlis and had destroyed his city. It also furnishes other data on the captured ships: fifteen vessels with rams and twelve large *lancharas* and many merchant vessels were destroyed and sunk by the Portuguese.

¹¹¹ "Our men seized many ships there and also the drake. They sent many of them in their obstinacy to hell. Two or three of ours flew, as we believe, to heaven," according to Pérez (DI I 366). According to Ant. Correa's document of knighthood, eight hundred Moors, including one hundred leaders, were slain and three Portuguese (Q 3576); three or four Portuguese according to Diogo Pereira (MX II 263), four according to Seb. Gonçalves (3, 13).

¹¹² Pérez, *Informação* 61. We suggest the following chronology: August 28, the attack, then the approximate dates: September 5, departure of the Portuguese fleet; October 21, victory (Friday); October 23, Xavier's sermon (Sunday); November 2, first news of the victory; November 4, return of the fleet; November 20-21, the knightings. On January 16, 1548, the people on the clove ship *Bufara* reached Goa from Bhatkal and reported the victory (Q 3609). On February 1, the governor rewarded João Gonçalves in Bassein, who had been the first to bring him news of the victory from Cochin (Q 3677).

¹¹³ Q 3576. Our Antonio Correa (with numerous namesakes) is probably the *lascar* Antonio Correa, who on September 11, 1545, "as a good and brave soldier," received as a reward in Goa from the governor the position of secretary on the first ship sailing from the Coromandel coast to Malacca (Q 1527), and who was given a Bengal voyage by the governor in Bassein on January 30, 1548 (Q 3664).

¹¹⁴ Q 3463. Our Diogo Gonçalves is probably the same as the Diogo Gonçalves, a ship's captain, from whom Martim Darvellos, a witness at the Cochin process in 1616, heard of the Achinese miracle (MX II 461), and probably also the same as the Jacome Gonçalves who sailed in September, 1546, from India to Malacca (Q 2189).

¹¹⁵ Of the many in India with the name of Pedro Fernandes, ours is perhaps the one who received a favor in Bassein on March 10, 1548 (Q 3850). He was in Lisbon on September 11, 1552, and had the document of his knightings confirmed (Q 3475).

Mello had, on the other hand, already parted from his countrymen at the Perlis River in order to sail with his two galiots and the captured galley to Pegu.¹¹⁶

3. APOSTOLIC LABORS (JULY—DECEMBER, 1547)¹

Almost immediately after his return to Malacca, Master Francis had taken up again his usual labors in the hospital, and he did this with so much zeal that he was occupied with them day and night, especially after the departure of his confreres. He performed these tasks "with very poor food and drink,"² frequently forgetting both and many times going for two or three days without taking any food at all, as the pastor, Affonso Martins, observed.³

He preached twice every Sunday and feast day, in the morning after the Mass to the Portuguese and in the afternoon to the native Christians, to the slaves, and to the daughters of the Portuguese. On all of these occasions he explained an article of the faith. The attendance became so large that he had to transfer his preaching from the church of the Misericordia to the parish church, the Sé.⁴ On Thursdays he offered his Mass and preached particularly to the married and native women and those of mixed blood, instructing them in the articles of the faith and the sacraments of penance and Communion.⁵ He was greatly occupied with hearing confessions. There were so many of these that he could not satisfy the demands of all, and many lamented the fact that he had no time for them. On Sundays and feast days many received Holy Communion.⁶

Every afternoon he explained the teachings of the faith for two hours and more in the Misericordia. Many came together for these instructions—the sons and daughters of the Portuguese, male and female slaves, and newly converted natives, both men and women. Each time he explained to them a part of the Creed; and, following the Small Catechism, he taught his hearers the "Explanation of the Faith," which he had composed on Ternate in order to lay a firm foundation for them and to separate them from their idols and magical practices. If they learned twenty words a day of his rhymed catechism, they could have the whole text memorized in a year.⁷

He also visited the sick in the hospital and in their homes;⁸ and he was

¹¹⁶ Couto 6, 5, 2, p. 357. From 1548 on we find him as a captain of the Portuguese mercenaries in the service of the Burmese king in Pegu. In this same year he campaigned with him against Siam (*ibid.* 6, 7, 8-9).

¹ On Xavier's apostolate in Malacca in 1547 we have his own account (EX I 388-389 408) and that of Pérez of 1548 (DI I 365-367). Further data are contained in the depositions of 1556-1557.

² MX II 302.

³ *Ibid.* 283.

⁴ *Ibid.* 177; EX I 388.

⁵ EX I 408. Pérez wrote on December 4, 1548, from Malacca: "Después de nuestro Padre aver estado en Malaca seis meses con trabajo, sin ninguna ficción hablando, mas realmente la verdade, mais sobrenatural que natural, porque tódolos días gastava dos horas y más en enseñar los niños, hijos de portugueses, esclavos y mugeres; y tódolos domingos y fiestas predicando a los portugueses, y a la tarde a los christianos de la tierra, esclavos y esclavas y hijas de portugueses; y los jueves por la mañana diziendo missa y praedicando a las mugeres casadas; confesiones no lo dexavan; visitando dolientes y el hospital, haziendo pazes, y aun animando a los nuestros en las batalhas" (DI I 365).

⁶ EX I 388.

⁷ *Ibid.* 389 408; DI I 365.

⁸ DI I 365; MX II 295.

often engaged in settling feuds, for the tropical heat caused the blood of the soldiers on active duty to boil over more easily in India than in their native Portugal.⁹ Friends and foes, Christians, pagans, and Moors, all called Xavier "the holy priest."¹⁰ Always cheerful and smiling, he won the hearts of all.¹¹ "He was so full of the love of God and zeal for His service that if there was ever anyone who led a spiritual life, it was he," Galeote Pereira observed of him, "and the conversion of the pagan world and the increase of our holy faith never allowed him any rest."¹²

He persuaded the Portuguese who were living with their female slaves either to sell them or to marry them.¹³ He baptized many of the pagans,¹⁴ and even the black and white Jews in Malacca¹⁵ were unable to resist his charm. Rabbi Salomo, the most learned of them, frequently disputed with him, but he was at times so effectively pressed by him that he was unable to answer.¹⁶ Another Jew, who was learned in the law of Moses, came to Xavier's preaching; but he made fun of it and of the Christian faith and remained obstinately in his errors and kept others of the same belief from being converted. Master Francis, nevertheless, frequently conversed with him and went to dine with him until the man was finally converted and remained a good Christian until his death, to the astonishment of everyone in Malacca, who had known his obstinacy.¹⁷

The Portuguese who came from Amboina with Xavier were able to give an account of his apostolic labors and preaching in Ternate. During the course of a sermon he had announced the death of his friend Araújo, which he could not have known by any natural means.¹⁸ Everyone regarded the priest as a saint. Dr. Saraiva, the *physicus* of the hospital, who was a constant attendant at his Mass, once had the impression that the priest, after the words of consecration, was raised up from where he was standing; but was unable to decide if he should attribute this to a miracle or to an illusion because of the great reverence which he had for the priest.¹⁹ It was also noticed that the sick upon whom the priest laid his hands became well.²⁰ One such instance made a particular impression upon the people.²¹

⁹ EX I 388-389; DI I 295.

¹⁰ DI I 367; III 531; MX II 304 422.

¹¹ MX II 282-283 (Diogo de Abreu), 291 (F. Lopes de Almeida), 295-296 (Bento Gomes).

¹² *Ibid.* 272.

¹³ *Ibid.* 192.

¹⁴ DI I 367.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 375.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 626-627 681.

¹⁷ MX II 189 (Dr. Saraiva). On January 30, 1548, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha wrote from Cochín that Affonso de Rojas, the newly appointed toll judge, had informed him from Malacca that a Jew had died there who had left eight or nine thousand *pardaus* and two sons, who had inherited the property and had become Christians, and that the *provedor-mor* had permitted these boys to come to India with their possessions (Q 3665). Was the deceased the Jew converted by Xavier?

¹⁸ MX II 178 183 193.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 189: "E tendo ele, testemunha, deuação muita no dito Padre, lhe ouuia continuamente sua missa; e hum dia, dizendo missa o dito Padre no hospital, sendo ele, testemunha, presente por curar de fisico n'ele, ouuindo a missa do dito Padre, em hum paso d'ela depois das palauras da consagração, dise ele, testemunha, que lhe parece que uira ao dito Padre com os pés aleuantados do chão; e que era tamanha e deuasão que ele, testemunha, tinha ao Padre, pelo ter e conhecer por hum varão sancto; que se não afirma se isto fôra imaginação."

²⁰ *Ibid.* 291 (F. Lopes de Almeida); Barradas cites the lost Malacca process of 1616: "Outra testemunha depoem, ouvio por vezes a hum João Francisco, Portuguez, que no

One day Master Francis was called to the house of a Portuguese who was married to a Javanese woman so that he might read a Gospel over his small

tempo que o padre esteve em Mallaca servia de hospitaleiro, que tinha o Santo tanta virtude em suas mãos, que todos os doentes, em que com ellas tocava, saravão, e por isso tinham elles nellas muita fé" (451).

²¹ There are several extant accounts of the cure of Francisco de Chaves. According to the catalog of St. Paul's College in Goa of December 2, 1566, he was at the time twenty years old (DI VII 81); according to the letter of Amador da Costa of November 23, 1577, he was thirty (*Cartas*, 1598, 402); according to the catalog of December, 1584, he was forty (*Goa* 24, 146). When Baltasar Dias came to Malacca as superior in 1556, he took the boy into the college there and brought him in 1560 to the College of St. Paul in Goa, where he entered the Society in June, 1563, and continued his studies. In 1566 he was serving as sacristan; in 1571 and 1572 we encounter him as a teacher in the college in Bassein; in 1575 he was back in Goa as a student of philosophy; from 1576 to 1579 he was in the college in Malacca and then again in Goa, where he was ordained to the priesthood after three years of theology. In 1584, already a priest, he was in Macao under his superior Francisco Cabral, who dismissed him from the order. He then entered the Capuchos and died a pious death as their guardian in Macao (cf. the manuscript catalogs in *Goa* 24; Sebastião Gonçalves, *Historia* 3, 11, and in *Studia Missionalia* 7 [1952] 99, and Barradas 446-447). In 1578 N. Spinola wrote from Goa that the priests of St. Paul's College had told him that there was a confrere in Malacca whom Xavier had raised from the dead (ARSI: *Goa* 24, 146). Two of Chaves' letters, from 1578 and 1579, are extant (ARSI: *Goa* 12, 418 and 516).—The accounts of the Chaves miracle are frequently contradictory. The processes of 1556-1557 and that of Malacca know nothing about it. On November 23, 1577, Amador da Costa wrote from China to his confreres in Portugal: "I shall now tell you some things which I saw from Malacca to China which I think will console you. First, I saw [in Malacca] a priest of our Society, thirty years old, who as a child (*minimo*) was already being mourned and was wrapped in a shroud for burial. Our Father Master Francis of blessed memory took him by the hand and said to him: 'Rise up in the name of Jesus!' and he thus raised him from the dead; and the same from that hour decided to serve God in our Society, as he did with that virtue and holiness which he acquired in holy converse with such a holy priest" (*Cartas*, 1598, 402). In 1600 Lucena erroneously concluded from this text that Chaves had, as a child, taken a vow to enter the Society at a time when he was already at least five years old, and that his return from death took place in 1552 on Sancian (10, 26). In 1610 Seb. Gonçalves replied to this in his *Historia* 3, 11, and in greater detail in his censure on Lucena (*Studia Missionalia* 7 [1952] 99): Lucena erred with respect to the site, the year, the age, and the vow of the child; and he defended his own position on data provided by Francisco Cabral and Brother Gaspar de Araujo, who had both known Chaves well in person.—In 1616 there were five witnesses, two in the Cochin process, and three in that of Malacca. Father Antonio Mendes, S.J., who was forty and had been born in Malacca stated that he had heard from trustworthy persons and relatives of Francisco de Chaves that when he was a child he had been given up by the physicians and was half dead when he was cured by Xavier's prayer (MX II 483; Barradas 446); Jerónimo Viera, however, an ex-Jesuit who was at the time vicar of Cranganore, who had entered the order in Goa in 1574 and had left it in 1594 and was at the time sixty-three years old, testified that Chaves had told him with many tears in the College of St. Paul in Goa how Father Master Francis had raised him from the dead by the imposition of his hands (MX II 503; Barradas 446). The *first witness* in the Malacca process declared that he had himself heard from Chaves that he had had an attack that had deprived him of his speech. His father called Xavier, who was in the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte. The latter prayed and made the sign of the cross over him, and he was immediately cured. He had heard the same from many other trustworthy individuals who had taken the child for dead and the cure as a raising from the dead. The *second witness* had had Chaves as his Latin teacher and had heard that when he was a child a poisoned arrow had been stuck in his mouth. He had licked it and had died from the poison. His mother had been a devoted admirer of Xavier, and he had come and spoken as Christ did to Lazarus: "Francisco arise!" He took the dead child by the hand and the latter rose up alive. When the witness asked Chaves about this, he had said that this was the way that his mother had told it to him. And the *third witness*, also a former student of Chaves, swore that he had heard this account of the incident many times (Barradas 446-447).

son, Francisco de Chaves, who was ill.²² A poisoned arrow had got into the child's mouth.²³ He had licked it²⁴ and now lay speechless as if he were dead. He had been given up by the physicians and many thought that he had already died.²⁵ His mother had turned to all the sorcerers of Malacca, but without avail. The saint lay a Gospel over the sick child, took him by the hand, made the sign of the cross over him, and offered a Mass for his recovery; and the child immediately regained his health.²⁶

4. THE PSEUDOPATRIARCH BERMUDEZ (1545-1547)¹

From Coimbra Master Francis received a detailed account of the most recent events and especially about the negotiations with respect to Preste Joam.² Miguel de Castanhoso had come to Portugal in 1545 with his report on the rescue of Abyssinia from the tyranny of the Moors by Dom Christovão da Gama and his heroic troops, and he had brought with him a letter of King Galāwdēwos (Claudius) for John III.³ In addition to this, "Bishop" Paulus, an Ethiopian monk and administrator⁴ of the Abyssinian monastery in Jerusalem, who had gone with his companions from the Holy Land to Paul III in Rome and from there to Portugal, had brought a second letter of the king.⁵ In both letters the Preste bitterly complained about João Bermudez, who had come forward as a patriarch and was causing a great deal of distress. He therefore asked the Portuguese king for a true patriarch. The old patriarch had died, and his father, David, had told him, Galāwdēwos, on his deathbed that when the then Patriarch Marcus⁶ died, he should not ask for a successor from Alexandria as had been done before, but he should request one from the pope in Rome through the king of Portugal.⁷

Paulus had likewise delivered to the Holy Father a letter of his king with the same request and had obtained a brief from him in which he promised the Preste that he would accede to his request and send him a legate and learned men by sea.⁸ In March, 1546, the monk and his companions had sailed on the

²² Seb. Gonçalves 3, 11.

²³ According to the sources mentioned above, Chaves was born in 1544, 1546, or 1547. The cure was according to Seb. Gonçalves in 1547 and the child was "de pouca idade" at the time (3, 11).

²⁴ Barradas 447.

²⁵ The witnesses who appealed to the data furnished by Chaves himself contradict each other at this point. According to Amador da Costa he was already dead and wound in a shroud for burial. According to Vieira also he was already dead, as was also maintained by second and third witnesses of the Malacca process. According to Seb. Gonçalves they thought he was dead but he was only very ill. He appealed to Cabral and Araujo for this. According to the first witness of the Malacca process, he had only lost his speech, and according to A. Mendes, who had Chaves' relatives as his authorities, he was only "meyo morto" (Barradas 446).

²⁶ Seb. Gonçalves 3, 11.

¹ On him see the bibliography in Vol. I, p. 695, n. 30, and Kammerer, *Mer Rouge* III 37-62 243-244 263-272.

² The letter, mentioned in Rodrigues' letter of March 24, 1547 (see above, p. 234), is no longer extant.

³ Q 1163 2039; see above, p. 234.

⁴ Cf. Q 1241 1511. John III erroneously calls him a "bishop."

⁵ Q 2536. Paulus came in 1544 and handed over to the pope the letter of the *negus* Claudius of 1542 (Q 666-667).

⁶ John of Aksum? (cf. Kammerer, *Mer Rouge* III 1, 44).

⁷ Q 2356.

⁸ Q 1241 1511. The brief has been published by Duensing in its first draft and less accurately, without attention to the cancellations and corrections and with the false

Portuguese fleet from Lisbon for India⁹ with a letter of John III for the *negus*, in which he declared that Bermudez was only a simple cleric and that he had no knowledge of his alleged papal faculties. He deserved to be severely punished for having appropriated to himself the patriarchal rank; and he, the king, wished to send the desired patriarch the following year.¹⁰ In a second letter the king advised the Portuguese in Abyssinia to continue to serve the Preste and with the help of the Abyssinians to find a way to Melinde, to Manicongo, or to the rivers of the Cape of Good Hope since the approach to the land of the Preste from the Red Sea had become unfeasible because of the Turks.¹¹ And in a third letter he had recommended the bearer of the letters to the governor of India.¹²

John III had also spoken with Simon Rodrigues of his intent to send a patriarch to the Preste, and the latter had written to Ignatius on March 18, 1547, with respect to Bermudez. Some years before a stupid and ignorant priest had gone to Abyssinia and had himself made patriarch. But since his unsuitableness for the office was obvious, a letter had been written from there to the king asking if he really had this dignity, and if not, to send a true patriarch; and the king had expressed his desire that Favre should obtain this dignity.¹³

Despite all the difficulties which Rodrigues made in this regard, namely, that the Society of Jesus rejected all ecclesiastical dignities, the king had sent a letter on August 27 to his ambassador in Rome in which he informed him of the relations that Portugal had had with Abyssinia and of the Preste's most recent letter. He had further told him that he should have the pope send Favre there as patriarch.¹⁴ He had also written to Paul III¹⁵ and Ignatius¹⁶ in the same vein. But Favre had died in Rome on August 1 and the king, on hearing of his death, had earnestly asked for another priest of the Society of Jesus.¹⁷ The wish of a prince so deserving of the order caused Ignatius no little perplexity. Laynez, Salmerón, and Jay were at the Council of Trent; and since Bermudez had declared in Abyssinia that he had lost the papal documents through which he had been appointed and consecrated patriarch in the battle in which Dom Christovão da Gama had been slain,¹⁸ Ignatius had written to his confreres in Trent in the middle of October that they should obtain information there in this regard.¹⁹ In his answer Salmerón had explained how matters stood. The day that he

date of 1545 instead of 1544, by E. Cerulli, *Etiopi in Palestina I* (Roma, 1943) 433-435; and in its second draft, in which all the cancelled passages are missing, by O. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici* 14 (Lucae, 1755) 123 (ed. 1545, n. 61). We give the cancelled parts of the minutes in italics: *Hic enim, quod dolentes referimus... Quod vero pertinet ad electionem Patriarchae... duxerimus. Sed proxime, Deo concedente, ad requisitionem ch[arissimi]. f[ilii]. n[ostri]. Johannis... regis illustris[simi] missuri sumus... Interea... Paulum priorem cum his et alis nostris literis supradictis ad tuam Ser[enitatem]. remittimus, qui omnia ore tenus... referet. Et quoniam thesaurus... infructuosa... Sere[nitatis, quam Deus... dignetur. Datum die 23 [Maii cancelled and written over it:] Augusti 1545 [corrected to 1544] Anno Decimo [corrected to: Undecimo].*

⁹ Q 2039.

¹⁰ Q 2040.

¹¹ Q 2046.

¹² Q 2039.

¹³ Q 2064.

¹⁴ Q 2356.

¹⁵ Q 2357.

¹⁶ Q 2358.

¹⁷ Q 2447.

¹⁸ Bermudez, *Breve Relação* 127.

¹⁹ FN III 738, n. 84; Q 2458.

received the letter he had gone to Cardinal Santa Cruz, Marcello Cervini, and the latter had told him that the case had passed through his hands shortly before he left Rome for Trent.²⁰ The facts were: A Portuguese (Bermudez) had come from the land of Preste Joam with two Abyssinian ambassadors²¹ who were bringing letters of their lord for the pope. One of them, it seems, had died on the way, and the second in Venice. The Portuguese had thus brought the letters by himself to Rome,²² and they had been given to Frei Pedro, an Abyssinian monk in Rome,²³ and to a priest who was with Cardinal Carafa to read.²⁴ They stated, it seems, that the pope might let the Abyssinians elect a patriarch, as they had been accustomed to do, without being obliged to ask the patriarch of Alexandria for his confirmation. That of Rome should be sufficient, and the pope should give them a patriarch.

The Portuguese, without waiting for a decision or an answer, had left Rome²⁵ and had told Preste Joam that His Holiness the Pope had made him patriarch. He had thus unlawfully assumed this dignity and been placed in its possession.²⁶ The provincial of the Abyssinians in Jerusalem (Frei Paulus) had then gone to Rome and at the request of Preste Joam had asked the pope if this Portuguese was a true patriarch and if he had been consecrated in Rome and had taken letters with him pertaining to his election. The pope had given the affair to a number of cardinals to investigate. Among them had been Cervini, and he said that it had been discovered that Bermudez had not been elected or consecrated or given any letters in this regard. A great consultation was then held on what to do with him. An intruder who was not the true shepherd could not be tolerated in conscience. But it would be a source of great vexation to depose him. He had been the first to go there with this title in the name of the Apostolic See. It was therefore decided that a bishop should go to Preste Joam as an ambassador in the name of the Apostolic See in order to see if the patriarch was leading a good life and was fulfilling his office of pastor. If this was so, he should confirm him in it so as not to cause alarm and animosity. But if he was leading a bad life and giving bad example in his office or in his life, the bishop should either dismiss him or make him mend his ways and confirm him, or appoint another.²⁷

On October 24 Ignatius had written again to Trent and had asked an opinion of the three priests there on who should be considered for the dignity of patriarch in Abyssinia if a choice had to be made.²⁸ Four days later a papal chamberlain, Stefano del Bufalo, had set out from Rome in order to bring the cardinal's hat to the cardinal infante Dom Henrique. Ignatius had given him a number of

²⁰ Cervini left Rome on February 23, 1545, and arrived in Trent on March 13 (Pastor V [1909] 513-514).

²¹ One of the two was Peter (Q 666-667 1241).

²² Bermudez came to Rome in 1536 (Vol. I, p. 695).

²³ Tasfā Seion, the superior of the Abyssinian monastery in Rome, wrote on January 17, 1549, to Ignatius that he had come to Rome from the land of the Preste some eight years before (MI *Epp.* II 304). According to the inscription on his tomb, he died on August 28, 1550, after being twelve years in Rome.

²⁴ Pietro Paolo Gualtieri is probably meant. He studied Ethiopic under Tasfā Seion. On him see Mauro da Leonessa, O.Cap., *Sto. Stefano Maggiore degli Abissini* (Città del Vaticano, 1929) 199.

²⁵ Bermudez went from Rome to Portugal in the spring of 1537 (Vol. I, p. 695).

²⁶ Cf. Claudius' letter of January 24, 1542 (Q 666-667).

²⁷ Q 2459.

²⁸ On October 6 Ignatius had already asked Laynez for his opinion on who should go to Abyssinia as patriarch (FN III 738, n. 95). He asked all three companions the same

letters for Portugal.²⁹ Three of these were directed to Rodrigues. In the first he raised Portugal with its overseas missions to the rank of a province proper of the order, and he appointed Rodrigues its provincial.³⁰ In the second he expressed his fear that his companions would refuse the office of patriarch since they had already refused a number of episcopal sees. But since ecclesiastical dignities in Europe gave prospects of pomp and ease, and the office of patriarch in Abyssinia toils and troubles, it was perhaps still compatible with the statutes of the order; and if the pope gave a command in this regard, it would be obeyed.³¹ In a third letter Ignatius had suggested that if one of the Society had to go to Abyssinia as patriarch, Broët was the most suited for this. He had the three necessary qualities for the office: (1) an exemplary life: he was regarded as an angel in the Society; (2) the necessary knowledge and experience in the visitation and reform of dioceses and monasteries; and (3) a suitable age and exterior: he was now in his forties and endowed with a strong constitution. Of the others, Jay was too old; Laynez lacked the necessary health and imposing appearance; Salmerón was too young and beardless; and Bobadilla was ill and little suited for the office in other respects as well.³² Ignatius wrote to the king that he had informed Rodrigues in detail about the matter.³³ He, Ignatius, and his confreres were always at the service of His Highness and ready for the service of God in all things. In a second letter he added that if his confreres permitted it, he was himself ready to go to the Preste.³⁴ There were thus hopes at the beginning of 1547 that Broët would sail to India this year with the India fleet as patriarch.³⁵ But the negotiations had been prolonged, and the affair had to be postponed for the following year.

5. THE HARVEST IN THE EAST (1545)

While another of the first ten companions, Paschase Broët, was being destined for the kingdom of Preste Joam, new fields of labor were opening up to Xavier in the Far East.

Now, after his return from the Moluccas, he had obtained detailed information on Macassar. In Malacca he met the beneficiary Vicente Viegas,¹ who had

again on October 24 (*ibid.* 739, n. 95). On October 19 they sent their votes in favor of Broët (Q 2455-2458).

²⁹ FN III 739-740.

³⁰ Q 2465.

³¹ Q 2466.

³² Q 2467.

³³ Q 2468.

³⁴ Q 2469.

³⁵ Q 2985.

¹ Little is known about the life of Vicente Viegas. According to Botelho, Malacca had a vicar and three beneficiaries in 1545 (*Tombo* 110). In January 1545 he sent him to Macassar (Q 1754; DI II 420), "un clérigo, persona muy religiosa," as Xavier calls him (EX I 321). He is meant when Pérez wrote from Malacca in December, 1548: "Hum Padre desta ciudad, beneficiado de buena fama, en tanto que es tenido por el mejor y más casto y menos avariento entre seis que agora ay en esta ciudad, desseó ansi mismo ser de la Compañía y hizo los Exercicios de la primera semana y confiesóse general. Dize también que espera al Padre maestro Francisco, y estáse en su casa aún, y sirve su beneficio" (DI I 378). He is also meant when Xavier wrote in January, 1548, that he had earnestly entreated a priest in Malacca to teach his Large Catechism every day in Malacca, and that he had promised to do this (EX I 389). Eredia calls him the administrator of the church of Malacca (43); then, when the vicar Affonso Martins died in 1549, he had been administrator in his place until the arrival of his successor in 1551.

returned from there with the galleon in 1546. He gave Xavier a lengthy account of his experiences and introduced him to Dona Elena Vesiva, the daughter of the king of Supa, whom he had baptized, and who was married in Malacca to João de Eredia, a Portuguese.²

At the beginning of January, 1545, Simão Botelho, the captain of Malacca at the time, had sent the ship with the ambassador of the king of Sião, who had been given the captain's name at the time of his baptism, with Viegas and a number of Portuguese, including Manuel Pinto³ and João de Eredia,⁴ to Macassar, whose Christian kings, Dom Luis and Dom João, had asked for priests and Portuguese. After a successful voyage, the galleon had come to anchor on February 1, near the village of Batjukiki,⁵ the harbor of Supa, which lay inland among the mountains. They were joyfully received⁶ by Lapituo, the village chief, and by his wife Tamalina⁷ and by the neighboring kings of Supa and Alieta.⁸

As such he officiated at the first Mass of Affonso de Castro in 1549 (EX II 124) and baptized the Japanese whom Xavier had sent from Kagoshima (DI II 109-110). In 1552 Xavier asked him from Sancian to administer the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte and the property of the Society of Jesus in Malacca until a brother of the order was sent from Goa (EX II 496), and to send his letters on to India; and he sent him his special greetings (*ibid.* 511-512). In 1559 he was still living in Malacca (Sá II 347), and in 1567 he took part in the first provincial council of Goa as the representative and procurator of the bishop of Malacca (APO IV 3).

² We have two sources for Viegas' stay in Macassar in 1545-1546: the account of his companion Manuel Pinto composed for Bishop Albuquerque in Malacca after his return from there on December 7, 1548 (DI II 419-423); and three that are to be used only with the greatest caution, the accounts, swarming with errors, given by Manuel Godinho de Eredia in his three following works: (1) *Informação da Aurea Chersoneso* of 1600 (Lisboa, 1807) 120-125: Mills 246; (2) *Declaração de Malaca* of 1613 (Bruxelles, 1881) 42-44 (cited simply as Eredia), in which he reproduces a copy of the lost original account of his brother, the Rev. Domingos Godinho de Eredia, *mestre-schola* of the cathedral of Malacca, which he obtained from his other brother Francisco Luis, the archdeacon, *provisor*, and vicar general of the vacant diocese of Malacca, in 1605: Mills 54-57; (3) the **Tratado Ophirico* of 1616, the original manuscript of which is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: *Fonds portugais* 44 (earlier 54). Ff. 62-64v give a summary of his life, which Mills has published in an English translation (265-268).

³ Manuel Pinto.

⁴ Eredia gives his family tree: Elena Vesiva, daughter of João Tubinanga, king of Supa, married to João de Eredia Aquaviva. She died in Malacca on May 20, 1575, at the age of forty-five after having borne him four children: (1) Domingos Godinho de Eredia, *mestre-schola* of the diocese of Malacca; (2) Francisco Luis Godinho Aquaviva, canon, archdeacon, *provisor* and vicar general of the same diocese; (3) Manuel Godinho de Eredia Aquaviva, born on July 16, 1563; and (4) Anna Godinha de Eredia (*Trat. Oph.* 62-v: Mills 265; *Declaração* 43-44: Mills 55-56).

⁵ Machoquique (Eredia).

⁶ According to Eredia, Xavier heard in Malacca of the desire of the kings of the Malay archipelago for baptism. He then embarked and baptized the kings of Maluco and Ternate and the neighboring princes. Because he could not, as apostolic nuncio, help them all, he sent Vicente Viegas, the administrator of Malacca, to visit and baptize the remaining kings and princes of that spice archipelago since he was preparing to sail to China and Japan, where he died a saintly death. Viegas therefore sailed in the junk of Antonio de Paiva, made his visits along the way, and conferred baptisms until he reached the harbor of Machoquique in Macassar (*Declaração* 42-v: Mills 54). The account of his brother Domingos is more sober: The licentiate Vicente Viegas set sail in a junk with some Portuguese from Malacca during the January monsoon at the request of the kings of the Buginese province of Macassar and after a favorable voyage reached the harbor of Machoquique on February 1, 1545. There he and the other Portuguese were well received and given a warm welcome by the king of Machoquique, Lapituo, and Pasapio and the other kings of the interior of Supa and Linta, who had come to the harbor for baptism (43: Mills 55).

⁷ Eredia has them received by Lapituo and Pasapio, and in his sketch of his family

Viegas and Pinto, his companion, were hospitably received by Dom Luis, the old king of Supa,⁹ who had sent a golden armband through Paiva and the ambassador Botelho for the king of Portugal,¹⁰ and by his wife, a daughter of the powerful king of Sidenreng.¹¹ And on the beach of Batjukiki a chapel dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel was erected for the people of the ship and for native Christians and catechumens.¹²

When the galleon sailed on to Sião in Lower Macassar in order to return the ambassador of Dom João, the king there, Viegas had accompanied his countrymen; and during his stay there he had had the happiness of baptizing the neighboring king, an uncle of the Christian prince.¹³ He had then returned to Supa. While the prince of Sião and the Portuguese who had been sent to help him were engaged in war,¹⁴ he had instructed Lapituo and Tamalina in the faith. He had also done the same for the king of Alieta and his relatives and those of the king of Supa. At the request of Dom Luis¹⁵ he had solemnly baptized

tree, he calls Pasapio "king of Machoquique," the father of D. João Tubinanga, the king of Supa; and he describes Elena Vesiva and Tamalina as daughters of D. João (44), while shortly before this he calls Tamalina the cousin of Elena (43v: Mills 56).

⁸ Alieta (in Eredia: *Linta*) is bordered on the south by Supa, on the east by Sidenreng (cf. the sketches in TAG 33 [1916] 437). In 1893 the small kingdom had a population of about 1,800 (D. F. van Braam Morris, "Geschiedenis" van het bontgenootschap 'Massenrem-poeloe' of 'Masenre-Boeloe,' met Nota's van toelichting op de in 1890 gesloten contracten met Maiwa, Doerie, Kassa, Batoelappa, Alietta, Soeppa en Sawietto," TBG 36 [1893] 149-230; on Alieta, pp. 193-201). At the same time Supa had a population of around three thousand. Half of the Pará Pará Bay with its ever safe harbor belonged to Supa, and before 1824 it also had the beach of Batjukiki (*ibid.* 202-212; cf. "Mededeelingen betr. de landschappen Soreang, Batjoe Kiki, Bodjo, Palanro en Napo [Malloese Tasiel]," BKI 61 [1909] 668-672).

⁹ According to Eredia he was around seventy years old in 1544.

¹⁰ Eredia always calls the king of Supa D. Juan Tubinanga, where Tubinanga recalls similar names of Macassar kings such as Tu-ni palangga, Tu-nibatta, and so forth. But he confuses D. João of Sião with D. Luis of Supa, for Paiva expressly states that D. Luis was the king of Supa (Vol. II, p. 527); and Pinto, his companion, clearly states that this king of Supa provided Viegas with a home for a year and a half in his house: "Eu estive llá com hum rei christão, que se chama rey de Supaa, qu'ê o primeiro que se llá fez christão com sua molher e filhos e muita gente sua. Este rei hé o que mandou huma manilha d'ouro a El-Rei nosso senhor, que levou Antonio de Paiva, e com este rei estive hum ano e meio" (DI II 420).

¹¹ According to Manuel Pinto.

¹² Eredia 42-43.

¹³ Manuel Pinto.

¹⁴ That Viegas sailed from Supa to Sião follows from Pinto's statement that he baptized the uncle of the king there. But we regard it as self-evident that he sailed there with the galleon in order to bring back the envoy of Dom João and to pay his respects to the king, and that this latter employed the Portuguese for his war since these had been requested and sent "para favorecer a los que se hizieron christianos" (EX I 321).

¹⁵ We can here follow the developments in Eredia. In 1600 he distinguished four large provinces on Celebes, or Macassar, which are also given on his map of 1613: (1) Macaçar in the southwest; (2) Buguis, the land of the Buginese, in the center; (3) Celebes, the northwest; and (4) Lubo (Luwu) in the east. The principal kingdom, Macaçar, had been, according to him, ruled by the same family since 1112 A.D., from which the current prince, Laujanribot, was also descended (his name is reflected by that of La-Odang-riju, who, according to the list of kings published by Ligtoet, ruled in Tello in 1845), a son of King D. João of Macaçar. This emperor D. João de Macaçar was baptized by Vicente Viegas in 1555 (read: 1545) at the time of Pope Paul I (read: Paul III). His patron was João de Eredia, the father of the author. But "because of our neglect" the king grew cool in the faith with the result that his successor now confesses Mohammedanism (*Inf. do Aureo Chersoneso* 120 122: Mills 146). In 1613 Eredia

the latter's sixteen-year-old son¹⁶ and his fifteen-year-old sister in the little church of Batjukiki, the former taking the name Francisco and the latter Elena. The queen of Supa had received at her baptism the name of Arcangela and the king of Alieta that of Dom Manuel.¹⁷

Viegas and Pinto had remained for a year and a half in the hospitable home of the king of Supa,¹⁸ and Dom Luis had frequently expressed his surprise that no more priests and Portuguese had come. Viegas and Pinto had replied that their request had probably been sent to the king of Portugal and they were waiting for his answer in India. When it came, they would certainly send more.¹⁹

Lapituo and his wife Tamalina were still catechumens²⁰ when in the middle

followed the account of his deceased brother Domingos. According to this Viegas solemnly conferred baptism in Batjukiki on D. Juan Tubinanga, the king of Supa, his wife, D. Archangela of Linta, and their children. At the same time he also baptized D. Elena Vesiva, and also D. Manuel of Linta, the king of Linta, and his children, cousins of Lapituo, the king of Machoquique (*Declaração* 44v-45: Mills 55). In 1616 we are given a new and final draft: Elena Vesiva, his mother, was the daughter of D. João, the king of Supa on Macaçar, the ally of John III of Portugal. They were baptized in the chapel of St. Raphael in Machoquique by Viegas at the request of those kings of Macaçar and upon the advice of Juan de Heredia. After Elena, who owned Machoquique, sailed away with Heredia, her relatives took over its rule, as a letter of the king of Macaçar, Carraem Talot, indicates (*Tratado Ophirico* 62: Mills 265; *karaëng* = prince). There is thus no further mention of a baptism of D. João of Supa by Viegas, and the evolution of the account clearly shows that Eredia confused D. João of Sião with D. Luis of Supa.—In December, 1559, Baltasar Dias, the superior of the Jesuit residence of Malacca, wrote from Macassar that he had personally known Viegas, Eredia, and Elena from Macassar: "Aqui se faz, agora, huma embarcação prestes para huma terra que se chama Amaquaca [Macaçar], terra muito grossa, tudo gentios e gente de bons entendimentos. Foi ahi ter hum padre que aqui mora, por nome Vicente Viegas, e fez quatro reis christãos, com outra gente, e todos se querião fazer christãos; veo-se o padre, e nunca la mais tornou ninguem" (Sá II 347). Here all of the royal baptisms are obviously ascribed to Viegas, that of the neighboring king of Sião, that of the king of Alieta, and those of the kings of Sião and Supa, who had received baptism in 1542, before his arrival.

¹⁶ In 1616 Joana de Mello, a Malayan who had been born more than eighty years before in Malacca, testified in Cochín that she had personally known Xavier and that it had been generally known in Malacca that he went to the kingdom of Macassar and there baptized its king with his son and daughter. She had often spoken and conversed intimately with this king's daughter, who was called D. Leonor (read: *Elena*) and her brother D. Francisco. And the said princess had told her how P. M. Francisco Xavier had baptized her father and her brother and herself along with many people of that kingdom (MX II 452). Here Xavier is obviously confused with Viegas, and the baptisms of 1542 are combined with those of 1545. Already in 1584 Manuel Teixeira wrote to Ribadeneyra that nothing was known in India of a voyage of Xavier to Macassar. The kings and residents of Macassar who according to his life of Ignatius had received the faith from Xavier had received it from a secular priest and Portuguese who sailed to those islands (*ibid.* 801-802).

¹⁷ When Paiva arrived in Supa in 1542, the seventy-year-old king with his fifteen-year-old son greeted him. At his baptism in Paiva's ship, which was anchored before Sião, there is no reference to the baptism of his wife and children, nor to that of the neighboring king Alieta. These were probably baptized by Viegas in 1545.

¹⁸ Pinto writes that he had gone with Viegas to Macassar and had remained there three years, and that he had remained a year and a half with the king of Supa after his association with Viegas. EX I 321, n. 11, and Wessels, *De katholieke Missie in Zuid-Celebes 1525-1668* 74, where he has Pinto write that he had remained three years on the island with Viegas, should therefore be corrected.

¹⁹ Botelho states that Xavier had sent a galleon with many Portuguese to Macassar (EX I 321). According to Eredia there were only some (*alguns*).

²⁰ Eredia calls them catechumens, but he continues, stating that the kings Lapituo and Pasapio had been greatly irritated by the departure of the galleon with Elena,

of 1546 the galleon was being readied for its return to Malacca. All was set, and Viegas had boarded the ship to depart when an uproar occurred on the beach. Dona Elena Vesiva, the daughter of the king of Supa, who had come to his cousin Lapituo on this occasion, was missing. It had been discovered that she had secretly gone on board with her fiancé João de Eredia against the will of her parents; and, as the dawn was breaking, her relatives had assembled on the beach to bring her back by force of arms. To avoid bloodshed, Viegas ordered the anchor to be weighed and the ship to sail away while Pinto was still in Supa. In Malacca Eredia and Elena were married in the church. Since then, however, relations between Malacca and Supa had been broken off. Under the circumstances there could be no thought at the time of taking up again the mission in Macassar.²¹

and that they had broken with the Portuguese and lost their friendship. But they had not relinquished the Catholic faith. Rather, they had remained Christians until their death and had always defended the chapel of St. Raphael with its statues of saints and cross as long as they lived. After their death, however, strangers had captured their kingdoms by force of arms and had destroyed the fortresses and chapel (*Declaração* 42v-43v: Mills 56).

²¹ For the account of Elena's flight with João de Eredia in the galleon on which Viegas also returned, our only direct source is the account of Domingos de Eredia in Eredia's *Declaração de Malaca* of 1613. The account closes with the description of the effects of this flight. It meant the rupture between Malacca and Macassar and the breaking off of all relations. "Twelve years later," Eredia continues, "Dona Elena Vesiva attempted to heal the rupture and to reestablish the old relations of friendship and trade. She therefore wrote a letter to the kings of Machoquique, Supa, and Linta, the successors of D. Juan Tubinanga and King Lapituo, and especially to her cousin Tamalina, queen of Machoquique, and through this letter the gate for trade between the Portuguese and the Macassarese was again opened. A *fidalgo* by the name of Fernão Peres d'Andrade, whom the people and the city elected as ambassador to sail with this letter and with another of the commandant of the fortress and of the council of the city of Malacca to the harbor of Machoquique in Macaçar, arrived there and was well received and respected by all those kings and princes in 1558. And since then trade in spices and condiments of Machoquique continued with Malacca. Numerous provisions in the form of rice and grain and gifts and presents were also sent by those kings for D. Elena Vesiva until she died of her illness at the age of forty-five on the feast of the queen St. Helena on May 20, 1575. Her body was given a solemn burial in the *matriz* of Malacca and a wooden marker with an inscription with the date of her death and the year 1575." So much for the account, which begins with an authentication of Eredia's second brother: "I, P. Francisco Luis, archdeacon, *provisor*, and vicar general of the diocese of Malacca, testify for the most reverend chapter during the vacancy of the see that among the papers which I obtained from the archives of the diocese of Malacca there was an authentic report on the beginnings of Christianity on Macazar, written by the Rev. P. Domingos Godinos de Eredia, *mestre-schola* of the said diocese; but this authentic document has been lost. There remains a true copy of it which I gave to my brother Manuel Godinho, accurately copied word for word, which follows below. And since he asked for a testimony to this so that this Christianity might be assisted to the greater service of God, I swore with my consecrated hands that everything thus happened in all truthfulness. Bertholomeu de Martinho, ecclesiastical secretary had it written in Malacca, the sixteenth of August, 1605" (*Declaração* 42v-43v: Mills 55-56).—The account places the flight and, with it, the rupture of relations, twelve years before 1558, that is, in 1546. Pinto indirectly does the same when he states that he and Viegas had been with the king of Supa for a year and a half, that is, until the middle of 1546. Pérez simply states in 1579: "Vicente Viegas avia ydo ao Macaçar e avia baptizado alguma gente, e así se ficarão aquelles bautizados e não ouve quem mais os doutrinasse" (*Informação* 57-58).—The year 1545 for the return of the galleon seems to us to be excluded by the fact that Xavier, in his letter from Malacca of December, 1545, says nothing of this return; and he expressly notes that he had received no news of Viegas. According to Eredia, Viegas sailed back with the galleon. This is also indicated by Pinto's account. He left the king of

But even if Macassar was for the moment closed, there were other fields in the Far East ripe for the harvest which were regularly visited by Portuguese merchants from Malacca and into which Islam had made no entrance or no significant one. These were pagan countries ruled over by pagan kings such as Pegu and Siam.

Xavier had already heard of Pegu²² more than once. The punitive expedition against Jaffna had been postponed because a royal ship on the voyage from Pegu to India had suffered shipwreck;²³ and after the victory over the Achinese on the Perlis River, Diogo Soares de Mello had sailed from there to the king of Pegu in order to offer him his services.²⁴

Supa after a year and a half, and we find him during the remaining year and a half with the emperor of Sidenreng and in Lower Macassar. The sudden, unforeseen departure of the galleon explains why he was left behind alone. An illness or some other reason may have detained him that day in Supa and he would not thus have taken part in the solemn baptism. The rupture of all relations between Macassar and Malacca is confirmed by other sources. In December, 1556, Frois complained in Malacca that the three Christian kings of the Macassars had, spiritually, been completely abandoned (DI III 559). And on December 3, 1559, Baltasar Dias wrote from the same place: "For some time they have been fitting out a ship here for a land by the name *a Maquaca*, a very great land, all pagan and intelligent people. A priest who lives here, Vicente Viegas by name, went there and baptized four kings with other people and all wished to become Christians. But the priest returned and since then no one has ever again gone to them." And he added in a postscript: "After finishing the letter I obtained important information about Macassar and learned that Mohammed has not yet made an entrance there because of pork, since they eat nothing else. . . . A number of kings who became Christians are still living there, and I induced the captain of Malacca to write to them with this ship that was sailing there" (Sá II 347-348). The ship which sailed at the end of 1559 from Malacca to Macassar was obviously the one on which the ambassador Fernão Peres de Andrade sailed. Couto mentions him at the siege of Malacca in 1568 as captain of the bastion Madre de Deus (8, 22, p. 142), and at the siege of 1574 (9, 27, pp. 213-233). He praises him as an "old *fidalgo*, a great *cavalleiro*," who displayed his bravery during all the sieges and sea battles with the Achinese and Javanese (9, 17, p. 127). Elena's flight with Viegas also explains why this zealous priest never again returned to Macassar, even though we still encounter him in 1567 in Malacca, and why he did not return even after trade relations had been reestablished. Antonio de Heredia, S.J., who sailed from India at the beginning of 1561, reported in Portugal that a cleric had been for some time on Macassar and had baptized three kings there, and that no one went there after his departure to instruct them despite their earnest entreaties and tears (DI V 190-191). And on December 3, 1564, Balthasar Dias wrote again from Malacca that there were still in Macassar one or two Christian kings and Christian lords, and that the bishop of Malacca asked the Jesuit provincial for men to send to them (*ibid.* VI 318-319 324). This was a desire that was never fulfilled. The princes at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as a consequence, finally accepted Islam.

²² On Pegu, the present Lower Burma, see Pires 97-103; Barbosa II 148-162; Castanheda 5, 11; Adam Francisco in 1548 (DI I 260); Barros 3, 3, 4; Couto 5, 5, 9 and 5, 6, 1. In 1554 Mendes Pinto (DI III 147-148) wrote in detail about Pegu, which he knew from long experience. Xavier, who knew his brothers Antonio and Alvaro, probably encountered him in Malacca at the end of 1547. According to his *Peregrinação*, Pinto, at the beginning of 1546, sailed in a ship of Simão de Mello under Captain Jorge Alvares from Malacca to Japan and returned that same year from there with Anjirō. When Anjirō returned again to Malacca at the end of 1547 on the ship of Alvaro Vaz, they both encountered Mendes Pinto and Jorge Alvares in the house of their friend Cosme Rodrigues, where they were living (cc. 200 203). Pinto thus here combines Anjirō's two voyages. But Anjirō himself writes that he met Jorge Alvares in Malacca at the end of 1547 (DI I 338). M. Nunes Barreto, who sailed with Cosme Rodrigues as captain of the royal caravel from Malacca in 1554, states that Rodrigues was a great friend of Mendes Pinto (*ibid.* III 319 322).

²³ EX I 291; cf. Vol. II, p. 560.

²⁴ See above, pp. 240-241.

When Albuquerque conquered Malacca in 1511, he had spared the merchants from Pegu; and these had helped him in his war against the Mohammedan Malays and in the building of the fortress.²⁵ Since the time of Jorge Cabral, who was captain of Malacca from 1526 to 1528, the four-masted junks and merchant vessels of Pegu had regularly come each year²⁶ in April to the fortress and had brought with them rice, musk, rubies, lacquer, and lacquered wares, which they exchanged for pepper and Indian cottons.²⁷ They were a sturdy race of medium size and brown in color. They dressed in white or gaily colored sarongs and jackets, and kept their black, partially shorn hair in place with a white cloth about their head. Their teeth were stained black by their constant chewing of betel. They were a peaceful, intelligent race and well behaved.²⁸

Their land was flat and traversed by numerous rivers with many branches, and it was extremely fruitful.²⁹ It lay a thirty-five-day voyage north of Malacca on the way to Bengal.³⁰ In the north it was bounded by Arakan; on the east by the high, wooded mountains of Burma; and in the south and southeast by the large kingdom of Siam. Three of its harbors in particular were visited by the Portuguese: ³¹ Cosmin³² in the north, near Cape Negrals, not far from the boundary of the land; Martaban in the southeast, famed for its pottery,³³ which was favored by the Moorish ships of the Turks and Gujars;³⁴ and Dagon in the middle of the lower course of the river,³⁵ from where a voyage of a day and a night led to the capital Pegu on its upper course. The Portuguese who came from China often sailed to these harbors in order to exchange silks and porcelains from the Middle Kingdom for the native products of Pegu.³⁶

The land was rich in fish, and the forests still contained wild elephants, buffalo, boars, and deer. Hunting, especially for elephants, was a favorite pastime of the king. The elephants were tamed. At times they were sold to India; at times they were used for war and work;³⁷ and in the entire kingdom they were estimated as being between six and seven thousand.³⁸ The men used broad swords sheathed in leathern scabbards and lances as weapons. They had shields made of elephant skins as tall as a man. These were lacquered and painted. They fought their battles on foot, on horseback, and also from elephants. Many were equipped with arquebuses, and the king had some small guns of bronze

²⁵ Correa II 243; Castanheda 3, 60 and 75.

²⁶ Q 109.

²⁷ CA III 10; Pires 98; Barbosa II 153.

²⁸ According to Pires they wore a white loincloth and a white cloth about their head like a miter (102-103). Mendes Pinto states the same. The *Desenhos*, on the other hand, show a Peguese with a red and white chequered sarong, a bright blue jacket, a green and yellow striped shawl or cloak, and a white headband, with a sword in a wooden sheath on his hip. It also depicts a woman in a yellow chequered sarong with a red spot in each square, a red jacket, a yellow neck ring. Both of the individuals are barefooted (nn. 126 127). Both are represented in a garb similar to that of the Malays of Malacca, the Achinese, Javanese, and Bandanese (nn. 128-132 134-137).

²⁹ Pires 97; Castanheda 5, 11.

³⁰ CA III 10. But Manuel Godinho says that the Gujar ships brought pepper from Barus to Pegu by way of western Sumatra in fifteen days (Q 1746).

³¹ Pires 97-98.

³² Today Bassein (Yule 259-260).

³³ Barbosa II 157-159.

³⁴ Q 1704.

³⁵ Today Rangoon (Yule 291-292).

³⁶ Pires 98 101.

³⁷ Castanheda 5, 11.

³⁸ Pires 102.

or iron marked with Chinese characters that betrayed their origin. They also used leathern helmets and armor.³⁹

The people were pagans. They honored one God as the creator of the earth⁴⁰ and many other gods as saints. The statues of their divinities were covered with gold, and that of their main god was giant in size. He was represented in a reclining position, with his head resting on his right arm, and this in turn upon a pillow, as if he were sleeping. The statue was fifteen or more fathoms in length and had a head as large as a room.⁴¹ The temples built in his honor were, like the Tooth Temple in Kōttē in Ceylon, steep pyramids that soared upwards to a peak. These were solidly built of brick and lime covered with a stratum of glazed tiles. The tips of the temples were gilded and had a ball upon them and a metal screen of little bells around them that tinkled melodiously to the movements of the wind and was adorned with gold and precious stones. The smallest of these pyramids was four fathoms high, the largest were as tall as the tallest towers. The temple in Dagon was so tall that most of the kingdom could be seen from its peak.⁴² The temple of Pegu was still more renowned,⁴³ and when the ruler of Burma dethroned the king of Pegu⁴⁴ in 1539 and captured his capital, he robbed the temple of its precious tip. Around these temple pyramids there were numerous, smaller sanctuaries with their idols; and in the capital there was also a giant bell fifty-four spans in circumference. There was also in this kingdom a temple of the One Hundred and Ten Thousand Gods,⁴⁵ so-called from the fact that it contained this number of wood and metal statues, either gilded or gaily painted. When the natives were asked why they made their idols and their temples so large, they replied that it was because their god was so great.⁴⁶

Their priests were called *rolins*. They wore saffron-colored garments like the bonzes in Ceylon and went barefooted and had their heads shorn smooth. They ate no meat, had no intercourse with women, and lived in monasteries which had from three- to four-hundred residents and the right of asylum. Every day they went out with a begging bowl to ask for their food, and they were more honored by the people than the king himself.⁴⁷ They pulled out the hairs of their beard with tweezers like the rest of the inhabitants of the land.⁴⁸ They preached from gilded pulpits;⁴⁹ and, according to their teaching, there was a

³⁹ Castanheda 5, 11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* The natives were Buddhists. In 1556 Bonifer was the first to give a more accurate account of their religion. He also mentions Buddha under the name of Gautama (DI III 818-819). Couto is the first to give the name of Buddha (5, 5, 9). While Castanheda still confuses Buddha with the Creator (5, 11), Barros already makes a clear distinction between them. The huge reclining figure, called "Father of Men," was, he says, sent by God from heaven to the natives and was not created on the earth; and from him some men were born who were martyred for God (3, 2, 5).

⁴¹ Mendes Pinto describes the statue in Martaban. A counterpart is found in the capital Pegu. Called Shwethalyaung, it is 181 feet long and 46 feet high at the shoulder (Murray, *India* 705).

⁴² Castanheda 5, 11. Meant is the Shwedagon pagoda, 370 feet high. It is described by Dahlmann I 135-141 and Murray, *India* 698-700.

⁴³ The Shwehmawdaw pagoda, described by Murray, *India* 704-705, and J. Fergusson 620-622. It is 288 feet high, but was badly damaged by the earthquake of 1931.

⁴⁴ Tabinshwehti, 1531-1550 (Harvey 153-162), was king of the Burmese; Takayupti, 1526-1539) (*ibid.* 120) was the king of Pegu.

⁴⁵ According to Castanheda 120,000 (5, 11).

⁴⁶ Mendes Pinto (DI III 147-148); Castanheda 5, 11.

⁴⁷ According to Adam Francisco in 1548 (DI I 260); Castanheda 5, 11.

⁴⁸ Mendes Pinto (DI III 147).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 147.

survival after death in that the soul of one who had died had to pass into another body in order to obtain the reward for the good, or the punishment for the evil, he had done.⁵⁰ The teachings of their religion were written upon palm leaves, and their letters consisted simply of *O*s distinguished from each other by all kinds of little hooks.⁵¹

The king lived in an elaborate wooden palace adorned with gold and paintings, which was roofed with tiles and enclosed a large court. When the king went out, he was carried, like the barons of his realm, in a gilded and colorfully painted litter that was borne by ten or twelve men. They loved to hunt and to race in gilded and painted boats, each of which was impelled by a hundred oarsmen.

The people of the land were skilled craftsmen, gold- and silversmiths, painters, and chamberlains. They had as a rule only one wife. They had no prohibitions on what they could eat like the Brahmans in India, and in their manner of life they were more like the Portuguese than these latter.⁵² Many were of the opinion that the people would be easily converted to Christianity if missionaries were sent to their land.⁵³

When the king of Burma attacked the land in 1538, the Portuguese merchants under the guidance of Fernão de Morais had helped the king of Pegu, but they were finally defeated by the superior forces of their foes.⁵⁴ The conqueror, who now ruled the land, had created a great many difficulties for the foreign merchants; but he tolerated their activities because of the great profit he accrued from them, especially since he needed the Portuguese with their firearms in his wars against his neighboring kings.⁵⁵ In 1545, when Diogo Soares de Mello was driven by a storm to Pegu, he and other Portuguese merchants had accompanied the Burmese king with their ships in his expedition against the king of Arakan. The king himself went by land, clearing a way through the mountain forests with a million soldiers, three thousand elephants, and four hundred thousand workmen. A storm dispersed the ships and the king, who was compelled to give up his campaign because of the insurmountable difficulties of the route, granted Mellos' request to sail in March, 1546, to Malacca and Patane in order to carry on his office as captain in chief of the ships there.⁵⁶ About this same time the king of Arakan, who was being threatened by his ambitious neighbor, had sent an ambassador to the governor of India in Goa with gifts and a document in which he proposed a treaty of friendship and asked him not to lend assistance to the king of Pegu in his campaign against him.⁵⁷ The governor Dom

⁵⁰ On the transmigration of souls, see Castanheda 5, 11; DI III 819.

⁵¹ Castanheda 5, 12.

⁵² *Ibid.* 5, 11.

⁵³ *Ibid.* Cosme Anes (DI I 217-218) and the authority of Adam Francisco (*ibid.* 260) were similarly optimistic.

⁵⁴ Correa III 851-852; Couto 5, 5, 9.

⁵⁵ Cf. Q 2606 2701 2824.

⁵⁶ Couto 6, 1, 1-3 and the letter of Soares de Mello of November 16, 1545, from Cosmin (Q 1696). Couto has Alvaro de Sousa sail with Mello in 1545 for Arakan and driven to India by a storm. But in the middle of December, 1546, Alvaro wrote from Cochin that he had sailed on November 4, 1546, from Cosmin to India without the permission of the king of Pegu (Tabinshwehti) since the latter wanted to take him with sixty men on his expedition against Arakan. Battered by a storm, they reached Cochin on December 13, 1546 (Q 2606; cf. 2824). Couto is perhaps speaking of a second attempt of the king of Pegu to capture Arakan and places this India voyage of Alvaro erroneously in 1545. On the expedition, see Harvey 158.

⁵⁷ On March 10 the ambassador and his companion arrived in Goa (Castro, *Cartas*

João de Castro had given the ambassador a favorable reception and had sent him back with a letter to his lord which concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with him.⁵⁸ The residents of Arakan, however, whose kingdom stretched from Pegu to Bengal, were pagans like the people of Pegu and differed little from their neighbors in their religion, manners, and customs.⁵⁹

South of Pegu lay another large kingdom, Siam,⁶⁰ which the Portuguese merchants frequently visited on their voyages to and from China, and where they were accustomed to spend the winter.⁶¹ The whole of the Malacca peninsula, from Tenasserim to the strait of Singapore, had formerly been under the control of this kingdom. When the Portuguese appeared before Malacca in 1511, its sultan and his relative, the sultan of Pahang, on the east side of the peninsula, had been at war for many years with the king of Siam. They refused to recognize his sovereignty because of the tin mines in Malaccan territory. Two attempts to overthrow the rebels, first with a fleet of two hundred ships and six thousand men, then with an army of four hundred elephants and thirty thousand men, had been without success.⁶² And even their coreligionist, the sultan of Patane, although a vassal of Siam, was showing signs of independence.⁶³ Accordingly, when Albuquerque sent an embassy to the king of Siam after the capture of Malacca, it was given a solemn reception; and a treaty of peace and trade was concluded with the Portuguese.⁶⁴ Duarte Coelho renewed this in 1518, and a cross with the Portuguese coat of arms was erected in the chief city of the land so that one of his deceased companions might be buried there.⁶⁵ In the same year the Portuguese captured a son of the king of Siam in a battle with the sultan of Bintang in Muar. They sent him back to his father, and in gratitude for this the latter sent a ship filled with provisions to Malacca.⁶⁶

The Portuguese merchants could tell Master Francis much about Siam. It was a large, fruitful land through which the Menang, a large river, flowed. It had many cities and lords. The southern boundary of the kingdom was composed of the two states of Kedah and Patane. It was bounded on the east by Cambodia and, through its subject territory of Laos, by Cochinchina. On the west it was bordered by Pegu, and in the north, through the province of Chieng-mai on the upper course of the Menang River, by the mountainous territory of the Burmese.⁶⁷

238) and delivered the letter of the king and his gifts on March 23 (Q 2078). The king of Arakan was Minbin (1531-1553) (Harvey 372).

⁵⁸ Castro's letter is dated March 25, 1546 (*Cartas* 128-129). The treaty of friendship was the reason why Alvaro de Sousa did not campaign with the king of Pegu against Arakan at the end of 1546, as he expressly states (Q 2606).

⁵⁹ On Arakan see Pires 95-97; Barbosa II 150-152.

⁶⁰ On Siam (called Thailand since 1939), see Pires 103-110; Barbosa II 162-199; Mendes Pinto (DI III 149-152); Castanheda 3, 62; Barros 1, 9, 1; 3, 2, 5 (according to the data of Domingos de Seixas, who was detained in Siam from 1523 to 1548; cf. 3, 8, 2); Couto 6, 7, 9; also W. A. R. Wood, *History of Siam* (Bangkok, 1933).

⁶¹ Cf. Correa II 524; Castanheda 4, 28; Couto 6, 7, 9.

⁶² In 1515 Pires wrote that no ship had come from Siam to Malacca for twenty-two years (108). Ruy de Britto on the other hand wrote in January, 1514, that it had been some fifteen years that no ships had come from Siam to Malacca (Q 38); cf. Barros 2, 6, 1, pp. 15-20.

⁶³ Pires 104; Castanheda 6, 6, 1 and 102; Barros 3, 2, 5, p. 157; Q 4694.

⁶⁴ Castanheda 3, 62; Correa II 262-264 381.

⁶⁵ Barros 3, 2, 4.

⁶⁶ Castanheda 4, 47.

⁶⁷ Pires 103-110; Barros 3, 2, 5.

Ayuthia, the capital of the country, was within the interior,⁶⁸ thirty leagues upstream on the Menang River.⁶⁹ This was a second Venice run through by numerous canals crowded with boats, the number of which was variously estimated at around two hundred thousand. The king lived here with his harem of five hundred wives in the palace precinct with its buildings shimmering with gold and its pools and gardens. He was surrounded by an elaborate ceremonial and was unapproachable by ordinary mortals. The prince bore the title of "Lord of the White Elephant," since he alone of all the rulers of the east possessed one. When the sacred beast was led to bathe in the river, it was accompanied with numerous ceremonies by more than forty of the most prominent men of the kingdom on elephants and a bodyguard of three thousand armed men in festive attire. The prince showed himself twice a year to his people, when he passed through the streets in a solemn procession with his concubines and the barons of his reign seated in gilded chairs on the backs of elaborately decorated elephants. As he passed through the streets accompanied by his bodyguard of five to six thousand men, he threw money to the crowds that had come for the occasion. The prince also enjoyed an occasional voyage on the river in his elaborate ship of state, which had the shape of a mermaid. On such occasions he was accompanied by the wives of his barons, and the rowers were dressed in the livery of their lords.⁷⁰

Regattas were also held on the river, and for these three thousand ships would be assembled. There were also sham battles fought on the water and on land with swords and shields on the backs of horses or elephants in order to maintain the troops in trim for war. The army also had numerous arquebusiers and small cannons,⁷¹ for the king was constantly at war with the tattooed Gueos, the wild mountaineers of the north, who fought on horseback,⁷² devoured the bodies of their dead,⁷³ and repeatedly attacked the fruitful plains and valleys. On one occasion he campaigned against them with twenty thousand mounted, and two hundred and fifty thousand foot, soldiers, and ten thousand draft and military elephants. In addition to these he had countless oxen and buffaloes which he used as beasts of burden to provide for the needs of his troops.⁷⁴ The king of Siam recognized the king of China, whose subjects came frequently to trade in Ayuthia, as his overlord and sent an annual embassy to Peking, the capital of China,⁷⁵ as a token of his obedience.

The people living in Siam were quite similar to those of Pegu in their dress,

⁶⁸ The city is described by Castanheda 3, 62; Mendes Pinto in 1554 (DI III 149-152); Couto 6, 7, 9.

⁶⁹ According to Castanheda 3, 62; according to Couto it was even forty leagues (6, 7, 10). Actually it is a distance of sixty-two miles.

⁷⁰ Phra Chao Chang Pheuak (W. A. Graham, *Siam* I [London, 1924] 196). Cf. Mendes Pinto (DI III 150). Jayarājāsī (P^rajai = Xaja-Raxa-Thirāt) ruled in Siam from 1534 to 1546, Phra Jōt Fa (Bayatta=Keo Fa) in 1546, the usurper Nāyaka Vara-Vansādhirāja (K^un Worawongsa) in 1547, Vara-Dirarāja Mahāchakkraphat (Maha Chakraphat-Raxa-Thirāt) from 1547 to 1563. According to Philipps (134) Chakkraphat died in 1569; according to Maspero, *L'Indochine* I 116, he died in 1566. Cf. Schurhammer, "Mendes Pinto" (GS II 86-87). On the regattas, see Mendes Pinto (DI III 149-152); Couto 6, 7, 9, pp. 127-128.

⁷¹ Barros 3, 2, 5.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159 and 2, 6, 1, p. 15.

⁷³ On their cannibalism, see Barbosa II 167-169; Castanheda 3, 62; Barros 3, 2, 5, p. 159.

⁷⁴ Barros 3, 2, 5, p. 159-160.

⁷⁵ Mendes Pinto (DI III 152); EX II 496-497.

hairdo, customs, and religion.⁷⁶ In both countries cowrie shells were used as a medium of exchange.⁷⁷ In both there were numerous monasteries with libraries filled with palm-leaf manuscripts and bald-shaven bonzes dressed in saffron garb with their left shoulder bare and their fan that protected them from the sun and the curious glance of the outer world.⁷⁸ Here also could be seen pyramid temples that rose steeply to a point and giant statues of the sleeping god.⁷⁹ Individuals such as Cosme Anes were convinced that it would be easy to convert these people to Christianity.⁸⁰ The Mohammedans had, however, already come here before the Christians. They lived in the harbor cities but also had mosques in the capital, where their preachers were making converts to the teachings of Mohammed.⁸¹

The Siamese merchants, intelligent and experienced businessmen, were polite, restrained, and discreet in their speech.⁸² They brought salt, dried fish, lacquer, benzoin, elephant tusks, silver, gold, ruby and diamond rings, and rough textiles and exchanged them for slaves, pepper, sandalwood, cloves, nutmegs, and Indian cottons. The country itself lived primarily on agriculture. The various crafts were in a poor condition, and silver, gems, and musk were imported from Chieng-mai, though silver was also imported from Laos. Siam's main source of trade, however, was in the east, especially with China; and they had chronicles about their own history that were read to the king.⁸³

The first land encountered on the journey from Siam to China was Cambodia,⁸⁴ a large pagan kingdom, through which the Mekong River flowed until it eventually split up into numerous branches before it reached the sea. Its king, who was at one time at war with Siam and at another with his neighbor to the north, was little visited by the Portuguese.

Beyond Cambodia was the smaller country of Champa,⁸⁵ which was also inhabited by pagans. Its principal export was fragrant calambac wood,⁸⁶ which grew upon its mountains. But the area's trade was almost exclusively limited to Siam. Its king was often at war with his northern neighbor, the king of

⁷⁶ Pires 103-104; Barros 3, 2, 5.

⁷⁷ Pires 100 104.

⁷⁸ Barros 3, 2, 5, pp. 165-169.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 164-165.

⁸⁰ Cosme Anes in 1547 (DI I 217-218).

⁸¹ In 1515 Pires wrote that there were few Moors in Siam and that these were in the harbors and not liked by the Siamese (104). In 1554 Mendes Pinto, however, stated that in the capital of Ayuthia alone they already had seven mosques with Arabic and Turkish *casises* and thirty thousand hearths, and that they preached their sect without restraint since the king said that he was lord only over their bodies (DI III 152).

⁸² Pires 103-104.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 107-109; Barbosa II 164-166; Castanheda 3, 62; Barros 3, 2, 5.

⁸⁴ On Cambodia see Pires 112; Mendes Pinto (DI III 152-153); Barros 1, 9, 1; Yule 150-151; and B. P. Groslier, *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVI^e siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles* (Paris, 1958). More bibliography is given in G. Maspero, *L'Indochine I* (1929) 323-324.—From 1516 to 1566 the king was An Chān (Philipps 151). In 1690 it lost the delta of the Mekong and the capital of Saigon to Annam, the later French Cochinchina (1862-1949), today the southernmost part of Vietnam.

⁸⁵ Champa, an old, once powerful Hindu kingdom, was captured by Annam in 1471. From then on, shrunk to the area south of Cape Varella, it had a shadowy existence. On this kingdom see Pires 112-114; Barbosa II 208-210; Mendes Pinto (DI III 153); Barros 1, 9, 1; Yule 183-184 and Georges Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa* (Paris, 1928). Further bibliography is given in Maspero, *L'Indochine I* 324.

⁸⁶ The best aloeswood, *Aquilaria agallocha* Roxb. (Yule 144; Orta II 47-65).

Cochinchina,⁸⁷ whose empire stretched to the borders of China. Here also the people were pagans; and their king,⁸⁸ who was related by marriage to the king of China, had become the latter's vassal. He was himself a militant figure and possessed countless arquebuses and small cannons. His ships sailed to Canton, but the natives were poor seamen and their land was the least known of Farther India to the Portuguese since its coasts were notorious for their storms and shallows. The Siamese and Malays who sailed there were accustomed to lose two or three out of every four ships. But a single ship gained a greater profit than if all four had sailed to China.

In 1533 Dom Paulo da Gama, the new captain of Malacca, had sent the experienced Manuel Godinho to conclude peace with the sultans of Pahang and Patane after fifteen years of war with them. Since then the way to China had been free, and the Portuguese, who previously had only known Canton, now explored the whole coast of China and discovered more than fifty harbors better than the first.⁸⁹

6. CLOSED CHINA (1547)¹

When Albuquerque appeared before Malacca in 1511, he encountered there five junks pertaining to Chinese merchants who immediately offered to assist

⁸⁷ On Cochinchina see Pires 114-115; Mendes Pinto (DI III 153); Barros 1, 9, 1; Yule 226-227; further bibliography in Maspero, *L'Indochine* I 323. In Xavier's time the name indicated the later Annam and Tongking, between Cape Varella and China, called Vietnam since 1945, since 1954 divided into North Vietnam with the capital at Hanoi (since 1946 the Communist People's Republic), and South Vietnam with the capital at Saigon (since 1955, after the fall of the emperor, a republic). [After the resignation of the South Vietnamese Cabinet on April 23, 1975, and the occupation of Saigon by North Vietnamese troops on April 30, the Republic of Vietnam was reunified under the Communist rule of the North.—Translator's note.]

⁸⁸ From 1527 Cochinchina (Annam) was divided into two kingdoms. In the north (Tongking), the Mac were ruling from 1540 under the overlordship of China: 1527-1529: Mac Dang-Dung (Mo Teng-yong); 1530-1540: Mac Dang-Doanh (Mo Teng-ing); 1540-1546: Mac Phuc-Hai (Mo Fu-hai); 1546-1561: Mac Phuc-Nguyễn (Mo Fu-yuen). In the south (Annam, between Tongking and Cape Varella) were ruling the shadow kings of the Lê: 1533-1548: Lê Trang-Tôn (Lê-ninh=Dù Hoan-Dê); 1548-1556: Lê Trung-Tôn (Tchong tsong=Vô Hoang-Dê); the real rulers were the viziers: 1533-1545: Nguyễn Kim; 1545-1569: Trinh Kiêm (Ming k'ang wang); see also Philipps 150-151.

⁸⁹ Castanheda 8, 66. In October, 1545, Godinho wrote: "As ambassador, after fifteen years, I concluded peace with Patane and Pahang [1533], so that for fifteen years, the Portuguese, who previously knew only Canton, explored the whole coast of China" (Q 1629; cf. 1746). Already in January, 1548, after his return to Cochin, Xavier wrote of possible missionary expeditions to Maluco, China, Japan, and Pegu (EX I 420).

¹ The first relations of the Portuguese with China are discussed by the following: (1) D. Ferguson, "Letters from Portuguese Captives in Canton," *Indian Antiquary* 30 (1901) 421-451 467-491; 31 (1902) 10-32 53-65. (2) H. Cordier, *L'arrivée des Portugais en Chine* (Leide, 1911). (3) H. Bernard [Maitre], S.J., *Aux portes de la Chine. Les Missionnaires du Seizième Siècle 1514-1588* (Tientsin, 1933). (4) T. T. Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644. A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources* (Leiden, 1934). (5) A. Kammerer, *La Découverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVIe siècle* (ibid., 1944). Also, in shorter form, the introduction of A. Cortesão to his edition of the *Tomé* of Pires: I, pp. XVIII-LXIII; and Boxer, *South China*, pp. XIX-XXXI. They are based primarily upon the Portuguese chronicles of Castanheda, Correa, and Barros, and the documents mentioned in our *Zeitgenössischen Quellen*, especially the two letters of the Portuguese imprisoned in the jail of Canton, Christovão Vieira, dated in 1534, and another which he began but which was completed by Vasco Calvo, dated November 10, 1536 (Q 174 189). The Portuguese text of these with an English translation, valuable commentary, and historical introduction was published by Ferguson in 1901-1902. In

him in storming the city. When they returned to their native country, one of them, at Albuquerque's request, took back with him an ambassador with a letter and a precious sword for the mighty king of Siam. Thanks to the recommendation of the Chinese merchants, the ambassador was honorably received in Ayutthia; and he returned to Malacca with his companions and an ambassador of the king of Siam, a return gift, and the offer of a treaty of trade and friendship. Two years later four junks came again from China in order to ascertain the current state of affairs since the earlier vessels had sailed away in 1511 before the capture of the city. They were delighted with the overthrow of the tyrannical Moorish sultan;² and in 1513 Jorge Alvares³ sailed with them as the factor of a junk to the harbor of Canton, where he was well received on the island of Tamão,⁴ which had been designated as a trading place. He exchanged his wares for the precious products of China and erected upon the island a memorial stone with the Portuguese coat of arms. On receiving news of the great prospects of trade with China, King Manuel sent Fernão Peres d'Andrade⁵ there in 1515

1923 we discovered in a bundle of the *Fragmentos* of the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon (*maço* 24) the original of a large part of the first of these two letters, written with a sharpened piece of bamboo and Chinese ink on thin China paper and wound into a ball. This original text and the missing parts taken from the Paris copy, which often deviates from the original, has been published by E. A. Voretzsch in "Relações entre Portugueses e Japoneses," *Boletim da Sociedade Luso-Japonesa* 1 (Toquio, 1929) 50-69.

² *Commentarios Dalbuquerque* 3, 21; Castanheda 3, 57 and 62; CA III 216 220; Ferguson 422.

³ Three namesakes must be distinguished from each other. The first was the secretary of the ship *S. João Rumessa* in Cannanore in 1511 (CA VI 418-419). In 1513 he sailed as the first Portuguese to Canton, where he erected a column with a coat of arms and his son died. After his return in 1514, he was secretary of the factory in Malacca (CA I 81; cf. 48-49; Ferguson 427-428). In 1517 he sailed again to Canton (Castanheda 4, 41), and also in 1519 (Barros 3, 6, 1) and 1521. He died on July 8 of this year on the island of Tamão (= Lin-Tin, in front of Canton), and was buried there (*ibid.* 3, 6, 2).—The second namesake came to Canton in 1534 and took letters of the Portuguese prisoners with him for the captain of Malacca, D. Estevão da Gama, but he had to return. There he was imprisoned and died in the jail of Canton from blows received from the drunken jailer, as Vieira wrote in 1534 and Calvo in 1536 (Ferguson 473 487; Voretzsch 61). He is probably to be identified with the *homem d'armas*, who in October, 1518, translated in Malacca the three Malay letters of the Moluccan kings (Sá I 112-113; Schurhammer, "Orientalische Briefe" 297) and in July, 1520, fought against the Moors at Muar (Correa II 596; Castanheda 5, 35).—The third namesake was the ship's captain who in 1547 gave Xavier in Malacca the first description of Japan and sheltered him on Sancian in 1552 (DI III 654 658-659; Teixeira 890-891 894; EX I 390-392; Calado 99). Cf. Luis Keil, *Jorge Alvares, o primeiro Português que foi á China* (1513) (Lisboa, 1933); A. B. de Sá, *Jorge Alvares* (Lisboa, 1956); see also Ferguson 422-423 427 430.

⁴ Lin-Tin, also called Tai Mong, Tuen Men, and Ilha da veniaga. It lies before the entrance into the delta of the Canton River (cf. Kammerer, *Découverte* 48-54, and map, p. 9).

⁵ This Fernão Peres de Andrade is to be distinguished from the old *fidalgo* whom we encountered above on p. 251, who went as ambassador of the city of Malacca to Macassar in 1560 and was still fighting against the Moors in 1575, and also from other namesakes. He was born in 1489, the son of Juzarte de Andrade. In 1505, when he was sailing to India, he was dubbed a knight in Kilwa at the age of sixteen. In 1552, as Castanheda notes in his chronicle, he was *armador-mor* of Portugal (Castanheda 2, 2; CA III 63), an expression which probably means the same office in Castanheda as that which his son Lizuarte held in 1575: *provedor dos almagens e armadas do reino* (*Registo*, n. 823), and which had been held by his father, who in 1480 was *vedor-mor das artelharias e almagens do reino* (Fonseca 134, n. 2). He took part in the capture of Goa in 1510 and of Malacca in 1511. He was then admiral of the sea of Malacca and sailed back to Portugal in 1514. He sailed to India again in his ship *Espera* as chief captain in 1515, 1535, and 1544. From 1545 on, we encounter him in Lisbon, where his son Fernão

as chief captain of three ships to explore Bengal and China, to send an ambassador to the king of China, and to conclude a treaty of trade with him. After an unsuccessful attempt to reach Canton in 1516, Andrade arrived there in 1517 with seven ships, bringing along with him Thomé Pires as ambassador. After a number of misunderstandings caused by his ignorance of Chinese customs, he was well received. He left the ambassador with his retinue in the city and returned to Malacca the following year with rich profits, and from there he sailed to India.⁶

But the good impression which he had left behind was completely ruined by the stupid behavior of his brother Simão de Andrade, who arrived in Canton in 1519 as the captain major of four ships. He built a fortress on the island of Tamão, allegedly as a protection against pirates; near it he erected a gallows, and a sailor was hanged on it for a misdemeanor. He asked that his ships might sell their wares before those of the other merchants from Siam, Cambodia, Patane, and other countries; and he refused to pay the customary harbor tolls. A mandarin who came to collect the duties was mistreated; and after the ships had sailed away, a series of distinguished citizens were missing sons and daughters, whom the Portuguese had purchased as slaves and taken with them.⁷

In 1521 Portuguese ships had again come to Canton under the command of Diogo Calvo. In May of this same year, while they were there, the king of China⁸ died. In keeping with the custom of the land, the foreign merchants were told to leave the country at once because of the grief at court. The Portuguese, however, delayed sailing in order to finish loading their ships. Because of this, the Chinese authorities arrested their countrymen who were staying in the city, including Vasco Calvo, Diogo's brother. They confiscated four Portuguese vessels with their goods. They also attacked two merchantmen that had come later from Siam and Patane with Portuguese upon them, and many on these ships were either slain or captured. The Chinese admiral also assembled a fleet of armed junks in order to capture the three remaining Portuguese ships that were lying at anchor near Tamão.

The battle was in full course when Duarte Coelho⁹ came up with two ships from Malacca just in time to be present at the death of his friend Jorge Alvares. The Chinese held their adversaries encircled for forty days and left them no peace by day or night until, at the end of this time, two more ships arrived from Malacca. The Portuguese in the meantime had fallen in number. They

Peres de Andrade sailed off for India this same year with another namesake, the son of Thomas Peres de Andrade (*Emmentia* 272 336 424 426; **Memoria das pessoas* 87; Figueiredo Falcão 160; Correa IV 412-415).

⁶ On the voyage of Peres de Andrade, see Ferguson 425-427 and, for details, the sources cited by him, especially Castanheda 3, 152; 4, 4 27-31 40-41 45 54; Correa II 523-530; and Barros 3, 2, 6-8, who cites as his sources the two letters of the prisoners and oral communications of Peres de Andrade and his companions.—On Pires and his later fate, see A. Coresão in Pires, *Suma Oriental*, pp. XVIII-LV; Kammerer, *Découverte* 14-19; Chang 38-45.

⁷ On the voyage of Simão de Andrade, see Ferguson 427-429 and his sources: Vieira's letter (*ibid.* 468); Barros 3, 6, 1-2; Pires, pp. XXXVI-XXXVII; Kammerer, *Découverte* 28-29; Chang 47-48.

⁸ Ch'eng-t'ê (name as ruler). His dynastic name was Wu-tsung. He reigned from 1505 to 1521. According to Chinese sources he died in February, 1521 (Cordier, *L'arrivée* 37: "on the fourteenth day of the third moon"); according to Vieira he died in May, 1521 (Ferguson 467-468: "He entered Peking in February, was sick for three months, and died. The next day we were told to depart. . . . We left Peking on May 22").

⁹ On Duarte Coelho, see above, p. 11.

therefore withdrew to three of their merchant vessels since they lacked the men to maneuver the rest. Drawn up against them were sixty-five hostile junks. When the three ships attempted on September 8, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, to break through the blockade at night, a raging duel of artillery ensued. In this desperate situation Coelho promised to build a chapel to the Mother of God in Malacca if they were freed from their peril through her intercession. His prayer was heard. A sudden gale dispersed the hostile fleet, and the trapped vessels were able to sail away. At the end of October, 1521, the Portuguese returned safely to Malacca with their three ships, and Coelho had the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte built as a votive offering on the hill of the city.¹⁰

The following year, in August, 1522, when, despite this experience, a new Portuguese fleet consisting of five ships under the command of Martim Affonso de Mello Coutinho appeared before Canton, it was immediately attacked by Chinese junks. A direct hit from one of the enemy blew up a ship. A second was captured and its entire crew was slain or imprisoned; and fourteen days after their arrival, the remaining three ships were fortunate enough to be able to escape from the enemy by a swift flight and to return to Malacca. Since then China had remained closed to the Portuguese under the penalty of death, and all trading with Malacca had been suspended.¹¹

Under the new king,¹² the Chinese authorities showed themselves even more hostile than they had been under his predecessor. In 1524 twenty-four Portuguese prisoners in Canton were cruelly executed;¹³ and this same year Pires, the ambassador, died in prison.¹⁴ Only under Jorge Cabral, who was captain of Malacca from 1526 to 1528, did the first junks come again from China to Malacca.¹⁵ Every year up to 1528 the Chinese had fitted out their war fleet in order to counter any eventual attack of the Portuguese.¹⁶ Pero de Faria, Cabral's successor as captain from 1528 to 1529, again attracted Chinese merchants to Malacca.¹⁷ And Garcia de Sá, who took over the command of the fortress from him, concluded peace with Pahang and Patane in 1533. The Portuguese could thus sail again unhindered to China. In 1535 he also sent a junk to Canton in an attempt to reestablish regular trading conditions with China.¹⁸ Although the attempt failed, Portuguese ships had regularly sailed from 1533 on to the Middle Kingdom where, despite all the prohibitions, they secretly engaged in smuggling on the coastal islands.¹⁹ They were also able to establish contacts with their countrymen

¹⁰ On Calvo's voyage and his experiences during his stay in China in 1521, see Ferguson 429-430 and his sources: Vieira's letter (*ibid.* 468-471 478; Voretzsch 54-55); Barros 3, 6, 2; Castanheda 5, 80; Correa II 678; Kammerer, *Découverte* 31-32; Chang 53-55, and Pires, pp. XL-XLIII.

¹¹ On the voyage of Mello Coutinho, see Ferguson 431-432 and his sources: Vieira's letter (*ibid.* 470-471 478 480) and Calvo's (*ibid.* 490); Castanheda 6, 13-15; Correa II 718-720; Barros 3, 8, 5; Kammerer, *Découverte* 33-37; Chang 56-60.

¹² The new king, Chia-ching (dynastic name: Shi-tsung), was a boy of fourteen.

¹³ Vieira (Voretzsch 58; Ferguson 471).

¹⁴ "He died from a sickness in jail in May, 1524," as Vieira wrote (Voretzsch 61; Ferguson 473). A. Cortesão, led astray by Mendes Pinto, apparently tries to make Pires live longer (Pires, pp. XLVIII-LV; cf. Boxer, *South China*, p. XXI, n. 2).

¹⁵ Q 109, letter of the Kling merchants of Malacca of September 10, 1527.

¹⁶ Vieira (Ferguson 478).

¹⁷ Q 1582.

¹⁸ Through Manuel Godinho; cf. his letter of October 25, 1545 (Q 1629), and Castanheda 8, 66.

¹⁹ In 1533 the author of the China report was the first Portuguese to sail again to Canton, as he himself observes (Calado 114-115).

imprisoned in China; and two letters of these, one of Christovão Vieira of 1534 and another of Vasco Calvo of November 20, 1536, provided them with detailed accounts of what had happened since the sending of the ambassador Thomé Pires and about the land and its people and the means by which they might be freed.²⁰

When they were driven off of the islands near Canton, the Portuguese wintered on other coastal islands, for example, those of Chinceo in the bay of Kemoi, those near Ningpo, and those near Nanking.²¹ In 1545 there were around two hundred Portuguese in China, and every year many Portuguese ships sailed

²⁰ A. Cortesão, in his introduction to the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires, tries to prove, pp. XLV-XLVIII, that both letters are to be dated in 1524. His main reasons for this are: (1) Barros cites our letters with the words: "According to the two letters that we received *two or three years later* (after the return of Pires to Canton and his imprisonment) from these two men, Vasco Calvo and Christovão Vieira, who were in prison in Canton." (2) Calvo writes that if Jorge Alvares had sent the letters to D. Estevão, they would have been free these past two years. Jorge Alvares died in 1521. D. Estevão cannot thus be D. Estevão da Gama, since he did not come to India until 1524. It must thus be an error of the copyist for D. Aleixo [de Meneses]. Since Calvo was imprisoned in 1521, the letter must have been delivered to Dom Aleixo in India in 1522; and it must consequently, since it left at the same time as Vieira's, also be dated in 1524. On the basis of this, Cortesão explains all the places in the two letters that contradict his opinion as errors of the copyist.—We cannot agree with him in this for the following reasons: (1) In 1524 there was apparently a state of war, and there were no Portuguese in China to whom the letters could have been sent.—(2) The text of both letters makes the date 1524 impossible. Vieira's is dated: "Written in 1534." He gives in chronological order the fleets which the Chinese equipped against the Portuguese: 1521, 1522, 1523, 1524-1528, and he adds that in this same year [1528] their zeal flagged and at this time there were only seven or eight junks left (Ferguson 478).—(3) Moreover, two different individuals with the name of Jorge Alvares must be distinguished in Vieira: the first had his junk plundered and, according to Barros, died on the island of Tamão on July 8, 1521, and was buried under the stone with the coat of arms which he had erected in 1513. The second Jorge Alvares was with Vieira in prison and was beaten to death by the drunken jailer. The original fragment of Vieira's letter states that Alvares' ship had been driven back to Canton and he was consequently put in prison (Ferguson 470 473; Voretzsch 61).—(4) Calvo's letter is addressed to a Portuguese whose ship was lying at anchor in the neighborhood of Hainan (Ferguson 483 488), and is dated from the jail as of November 10, 1536. It states that the Portuguese had been imprisoned in this land for twenty years (since Vieira came in 1517, this already confirms the date of 1536) (*ibid.* 491), "for many years" (*ibid.* 488). Calvo further wrote that if Heitor da Silveira and the fleet that sailed every year to the Red Sea were sent with three thousand men to China, half of the land could be captured. But Silveira sailed to the Red sea in 1524, 1526, and 1530 (*ibid.* 483). He was also of the opinion that if Jorge Alvares (intending by this the second one, who was driven back by the storm and killed in prison), had delivered the letters which he was taking for D. Estevão (da Gama, captain of Malacca from 1534 to 1539), the governor of India or the captain of Malacca would have sent ships before the lapse of two years to free them from jail (*ibid.* 487).—(5) He adds that the letters had been written in duplicate so that if one copy was lost, the other would be preserved (*ibid.* 491). This explains the slight and insignificant differences in the original and the Paris copy of Vieira's letter. Calvo further states that he was writing with a Chinese pen, but Vieira with a Portuguese. Vieira's original fragment, however, is written with a Chinese bamboo pen, and thus different from the one mentioned by Calvo.—(6) Barros obviously misunderstood the passage where Calvo speaks of two years, as Cortesão has, when he writes: "duas cartas que os nossos dahi a dous ou tres annos houveram destes dous homens" (3, 6, 2). Vieira's letter of 1534 could probably not have been forwarded immediately and was as a consequence not sent until 1536 together with Calvo's letter of 1536.

²¹ Boxer, *South China*, who also draws on Chinese sources, pp. XX-XXIV, with good maps; Chang 69-71.

there from Malacca.²² Manuel de Britto sailed to China in 1542 and returned rich from there,²³ and others followed his example. Among these was Jerónimo Gomes, known to Xavier from his voyage to India. He had sailed there in 1544 and made a profit of from 100,000 to 250,000 *cruzados*, but then lost it all.²⁴ Another was Luis Rodrigues, who sailed there in this same year as the captain of a junk of Aleixo de Sousa; but, on his return voyage at the end of 1545, he fell into the hands of the Achinese and likewise lost everything.²⁵

During this same year of 1544 Pero Diez, whom Xavier met on Ternate, also sailed on a Chinese junk from Patane to Chincheo, Ningpo, and Nanking. On the coast of Chincheo he encountered many small villages with stone houses and peaceful inhabitants, who had a wealth of provisions—wheat, cows, pigs, goats, chickens and other fowls, pears, apples, peaches, cherries, chestnuts, walnuts, melons, and so forth, which they sold cheaply from their boats to foreigners. Chincheo had a good harbor and numerous fishing boats. Ningpo was a large and populous city with many gardens. Nanking was also a very large city with a wealth of silken wares. Not far from the Ningpo Islands, where the Portuguese were accustomed to spend the winter,²⁶ was a small island with a monastery of pagan monks, around thirty in number. They had their heads shorn bald and wore long black robes and lived solely on fruit and vegetables. They were not permitted to have wives, and on their altar was the statue of a beautiful goddess with ugly demons at her feet.²⁷

East of Canton, a day and a night away by boat, were the Liukiu Islands. Their inhabitants traded with the Chinese and sailed with them to Siam and Malacca. Their king was a vassal of China. Like the Chinese they were light complexioned, wore beards, and worshiped idols.²⁸ Diogo de Freitas, the brother of the captain of Ternate, had encountered them in Siam. When he was in the harbor there, a junk of his countrymen had sailed from Siam to China and had been driven by a storm onto the Liukiu Islands. Through the intercession of their friends with whom they had dealt in Siam, they were well received and furnished with provisions before they sailed away. When other Portuguese heard about this, they sailed to these same islands in Chinese junks. They were not, however, allowed to disembark. They were asked to submit a list of their wares and their prices. When they did this, they were paid for them in silver, given provisions, and ordered to sail away.²⁹

From the Liukiu Islands it was a voyage of seven or eight days to Japan,

²² Q 1687; EX I 335.

²³ Q 1759; cf. 1740.

²⁴ Correa IV 307.

²⁵ See above, p. 49; Castro, *Cartas* 233.

²⁶ The name Chincheo of the Portuguese texts usually designates the city of Chang-chou or the bay of Amoy, or Kemoy, which lies before the city, but seldom the city of Ch'üan-chou, which lies to the north of it (Boxer, *South China* 313-326, with a good map on p. XX). Ningpo, for the Portuguese Liampo. The Portuguese were accustomed to winter in the Chusan Archipelago, more precisely at "the Anchorage of the Double Island," lying to the north of Ningpo (Shuan-hsü-chiang) (*ibid.*, outline map, p. XXII).

²⁷ Account of Pero Diez in Escalante 201-204 (GS II 528-529). Meant is the "Holy Island" of Putu (P'u T'o), a famous place of pilgrimage, where Kuan-Yin, the Buddhist goddess of mercy, is primarily revered. The island was devastated by Japanese pirates in the fifteenth century. As a consequence only a hermit remained on it near the ruined temple buildings. In 1515 a small monastery and temple were rebuilt (Couling 468).

²⁸ Pires 128-131.

²⁹ Escalante 200-201 (GS II 526-527).

a large kingdom with a powerful ruler, but one that had no trade with Malacca. In Ternate Pero Diez had given an account of how he and his companions had sailed in 1544 from Ningpo to the island of Japan lying 155 leagues to the east on the thirty-second degree of latitude. It was a very cold country, consisting of a group of islands, each of which had its own ruler with a king over them all. The people were white and bearded. They were pagans like the Chinese and employed the latter's script. Their land was rich in silver, and the Portuguese sold them ten hundredweights of pepper for six thousand ducats. While the five junks of Chinese from Patane with the said Portuguese were in the harbor, they were attacked by more than a hundred Chinese junks chained together. The Portuguese sailed against them in four barks with three field guns and sixteen arquebuses. After they had routed them and slain many of their men, they were joined by other Portuguese who came from the Liukiu Islands.³⁰

In 1547, when the Portuguese ships wintered off the islands near Ningpo with their pagan companions, there were such great thefts and robberies and even murders that the Chinese became aware of them and had to intervene.³¹ Among those whom Xavier met in Malacca in 1547 were two merchants who had returned from China—Affonso Gentil and João Rodrigues Carvalho, and these gave him an account of their experiences.

Affonso Gentil³² was the brother of the former chief physician of John III, Dr. Antonio Gentil,³³ and had lived for more than twenty years in India. In 1525 he had sailed with Dom Garcia Henriques, the new captain of Ternate, to the Moluccas and had fought under him against the Moors in Banda and Tidore. When a new captain in the person of Dom Jorge de Meneses came to Ternate in 1527 and quarreled with his predecessor, Gentil had vigorously supported Henriques and, during a play in the tower of the fortress, had helped him arrest Meneses and throw him into the dungeon, from which he was only freed after a boat had been placed at the disposal of himself and his followers for their return voyage to India. But Meneses then had a legal document with regard to the affair drawn up and sent to India after their departure. In it Affonso Gentil was accused of being one of the principal offenders. When he arrived in Cochin, Henriques had lost his junk with all his possessions, valued at fifty thousand *cruzados*. The governor, Nuno da Cunha, arrested him on the basis of the complaint received and had him sent back as a prisoner to Portugal in 1530.³⁴ Gentil on the other hand, had preferred to disappear from the scene for a number of years and to betake himself to lands where the arm of the Portuguese court could not reach him.³⁵ But in 1534, when Dom Paulo da Gama

³⁰ *Ibid.* 202-204 (GS II 528); Pires 131.

³¹ Gaspar da Cruz (Boxer, *South China* 192-193; cfr. pp. XXVI-XXVII); Chang 75-82.

³² We shall later return to Affonso Gentil. In 1552 Xavier called him his "dearest friend," and sought to persuade him to marry in the church the woman who had borne him children (EX II 464). In 1555 the viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas sent him to Malacca as *vedor da fazenda*, where he died a few days after his arrival and the priest gave him absolution on his deathbed on the condition that he return what he had unjustly gained in his office (SR VI 185).

³³ EX I 412. On November 13, 1531, his brother Dr. Antonio Gentil, the king's physician, received an income of forty *milreis* (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 9, 91v).

³⁴ Castanheda 6, 5 130; 7, 38-40 53-63 72 99; Barros 3, 10, 4-5.

³⁵ He disappears from view during the years 1529-1533. He probably was engaged in trade in Siam and China, and he is probably the Portuguese who was the first to sail again to Canton in 1533, as the author of the China account in the codex of Garcia de Sá reports of himself (Dalgado 114-115).

fell in battle with the fleet of the ex-sultan of Malacca, Gentil was again in Malacca as *provedor-mor* of the deceased. In this sea battle a certain Fernão Gomes, a valet of the king, was seriously wounded and soon after died from his wounds. In his will he had declared that all of his possessions should be given to his cousin Pedro Correa and to the executor of his will, and that no *provedor* should touch them. In 1531 the king of Portugal had issued an order that the possessions of a Portuguese who died in India should be given to his heirs or to the executors of his will if any were at hand. Gentil had nevertheless taken the matter of the inheritance into his own hands, and the heirs now submitted a written complaint in which they declared that he had taken the testator's estate from the executor of the will and had sold it at his own discretion and had dissipated it, that he had taken 1,230 *cruzados* from it to pay the officials, that he had intercepted some very important documents and suppressed them, and that he had not collected some debts. The process had gone to the king in Portugal, and the latter had written to the governor of India at the beginning of 1545 that he should expedite the affair and help the plaintiffs to obtain their due.³⁶ In the meantime Gentil had imitated the example of his countrymen who gained their livelihood by smuggling in China. The excesses of the Portuguese who wintered on the islands of Ningpo in 1547 had produced, however, disastrous effects on the merchants, and Gentil had lost seven or eight thousand *pardaus* and all his remaining possessions in China and had returned empty-handed with his ship and men to Malacca.³⁷

Another Portuguese merchant who returned from China with him, João Rodrigues Carvalho, a brother-in-law of the Jorge Cabral whom Xavier met in Malacca,³⁸ had suffered a similar fate. He had lost all of his possessions in a shipwreck in China and had returned beggarly poor, especially since he was still owed his salary for the past three years, during which he had served his king well.³⁹

Before his voyage to the Moluccas, Xavier had heard much about this closed land of China from Portuguese merchants who had returned from there. One of these had told him that a very prominent Chinese who came from the royal court in Peking had said that there were many people living on a mountain in his country apart from the rest of its inhabitants. These did not eat pork and they celebrated many feasts, but they were not Moors. Francis had then asked many of his Portuguese friends who wanted to sail to China in 1546 to get information on these people and to discover if they were Chinese or Jews.⁴⁰ He now obtained from one of the returning merchants⁴¹ the account he had requested about the land and its inhabitants. In this report the merchant told him what he knew from his own experience and what he had heard from his Chinese authorities. The account contained a good deal of interesting information about the unknown Middle Kingdom, but the author of the report could give no news with respect to the mysterious mountaineers who were the chief objects of the priest's concern.

³⁶ Q 1451.

³⁷ Q 3558 3599.

³⁸ SR IV 498-499.

³⁹ *Ibid.* and EX I 413; Q 3824 3849.

⁴⁰ EX I 334-335.

⁴¹ Calado 113. We suspect that Affonso Gentil wrote the account since Xavier calls him his truest friend in 1552 and recommended him so warmly to the king (EX I 412-413). The account is only preserved in an abstract which Xavier made for the governor Garcia de Sá in 1548, which we give below.

7. EIRÓ'S DISMISSAL (NOVEMBER, 1547)¹

The harvest was great but the laborers were few, and Master Francis was therefore all the more grieved that he now saw himself compelled to dismiss the only companion that he had in Malacca.

João d'Eiró had accepted a small sum of money² as an alms for his master, entirely in contrast to the custom of the priest, who in his love for holy poverty constantly refused gifts of a personal character. When Xavier learned this, he decided to inflict upon his pupil an exemplary punishment. He sent him to the uninhabited ship island³ that lay close before the city so that he might, through fasting and penance, atone for his fault, prepare himself for a good confession, and remain there until he was called.⁴ Eiró readily accepted the penance, built himself a straw hut⁵ as a hermitage on the island, and withdrew to it. While he was spending the night there, he had a dream (or was it an apparition?).⁶ The Mother of God appeared to him⁷ on her throne in the choir of the church, whose entrance was on its southern side. A boy was standing near her. He took him by the hand in order to lead him to the Blessed Virgin.⁸ But she would not let him come nearer and spoke to him about certain things in his past life.⁹ She then rose and went to the nave of the church and disappeared.

When the time for his confession had arrived, Eiró returned to Malacca;¹⁰ but he told the priest nothing about the vision he had had in his sleep and what the Mother of God had told him. When his confessor asked him what he had seen in the church, he replied: "Nothing," and he persisted in this even when the priest asked the same question a second time. Master Francis then told him all that had happened. Eiró full of fear and astonishment confessed everything, for he realized that the spirit of God was dwelling in the holy priest.

The experience had shown Xavier that his companion did not have a vocation to the Society of Jesus. He therefore dismissed him, telling him that he would become a Franciscan¹¹ and that he would die in the order of St. Francis.¹²

At the end of November the *Bufara* sailed from Malacca¹³ under Captain

¹ The sources for Eiró's dismissal are: (1) His testimony in the process in Bassein in 1556 (MX II 381-382) and the testimony derived from him given by Gaspar Vaz in the Goa process of the same year (*ibid.* 182-183); (2) the letter of M. Nunes Barreto of April, 1554 (DI III 78); (3) Teixeira (870-871; cf. 915 917; *It. 2, 41); (4) Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado* 1, 3, 1, 37, who already gives a somewhat garbled account of the report.

² "Un poco de dinero" (Teixeira), "alcuni quattrini" (*It. Teixeira), "uma grossa quantia de dinero" (Sousa).

³ Ilha das Naos (Teixeira), Pulo Java, Pulo Malaka; Sousa erroneously: Upe.

⁴ Sousa.

⁵ *Ibid.* According to Gonçalo Vaz he built an "ermida na dita Malaca."

⁶ "Não sey se dormindo, se esperto, não me acordo como estava," Eiró declared.

⁷ Gonçalo Vaz, who is unreliable elsewhere as well, makes of this a "tentação do demonyo."

⁸ In Sousa the boy becomes the Christ Child, who passed from the arms of its mother to Eiró. According to Teixeira the child led him "alla madre."

⁹ Sousa has her reproach him for faults which he had not recognized.

¹⁰ According to Vaz, he went to confession the morning after the vision.

¹¹ According to Eiró.

¹² Teixeira, who adds: "And we later saw him live and die like a saint in that order."

¹³ The clove ship usually sailed from Malacca for India on November 15. This time it was somewhat later, as is indicated by the letter of Captain Mello dated November 25. On January 7, 1548, the ship was already in Cochin (Q 3596 3600), and its people gave an account of the victory over the Achinese (Q 3609).

Duarte de Miranda with the imprisoned, former captain of Ternate, Jurdão de Freitas. Eiró embarked on it.¹⁴ With them also sailed Gonçalo Fernandes,¹⁵ who had already served as a pilot under Affonso de Albuquerque¹⁶ and had steered many ships through the Indian Ocean. He was married in Goa, where he had been converted by Xavier; and since that time he and his family were close and devoted friends of the saintly priest.¹⁷ At Francis' request, who wished to visit his confreres and the Christians on the Fishery Coast from Cochin before passing on to Goa, Fernandes took the priest's traveling bag with him and the ten boys who had come with Xavier from the Moluccas to Malacca and were destined for the College of St. Paul. When Fernandes was on the point of sailing, Francis told him with great seriousness: "Gonçalo Fernandes, I am afraid that you will encounter a great danger on this voyage,"¹⁸ and he said the same to Eiró when he was taking his leave from him.¹⁹

The *Bufara* also took with it letters from Malacca for India. Among these was one of the captain of the fortress, Simão de Mello, for the king, in which he informed him that he was sending him fragrant benzoin but expressed the fear that the ship would probably not reach Cochin in time for the departure of the fleet for Europe, as had happened the year before.²⁰ Another letter was that of the factor, Duarte Barreto, filled with complaints about the captain, who in his greed was unscrupulously striving to enrich himself at the expense of his king.²¹ The quarrel between the captain and the factor, who defended the rights of his king, had already created such a stir in Malacca that those sailing from there were convinced that Simão de Mello would send him as a prisoner to India,²² as had happened to Xavier's friend Affonso Gentil, who, despite his heavy losses in China, had, at great personal expense, helped with the expedition against the Achinese fleet. The reason for his arrest, which made everyone furious, was that a ship of the king had been burned in the harbor of Malacca, though he was himself not to blame for this. The priest grieved to see his friend depart in such a condition.²³

8. THE JAPANESE ANJIRŌ (BEGINNING OF DECEMBER, 1547)¹

Francis was soon to receive another, better helper to take the place of Eiró. About a week had passed since the departure of the *Bufara*, and Master Francis,

¹⁴ So testified by the pilot of the *Bufara*, Gonçalo Garcia (MX II 192).

¹⁵ On him see EX II 76 308.

¹⁶ CA II 26.

¹⁷ *Lisbon, *RProcess* I 103.

¹⁸ "Diez niños y mancebas" (Teixeira), "certi putti" (It. Teixeira), "vinte e tantos meninos" (Gonçalo Fernandes in MX II 178).

¹⁹ Xavier had prophesied a peril for the voyage already in Amboina (see above, p. 206). On the prophecies in Malacca, see the statements of the pilot Gonçalo Garcia (MX II 192) and of Gaspar Vaz, who obtained his information from him (*ibid.* 182), and also that of Gonçalo Fernandes (*ibid.* 178-179). The danger in the "Shallow of Ceylon" is also mentioned by Gaspar Lopes (*ibid.* 177) and Teixeira (869). The captain of the ship, Duarte de Miranda, makes no reference to it in his testimony (MX II 371-373). Seb. Gonçalves erroneously places the prophecy on the island of Amboina (3, 9).

²⁰ Q 3502.

²¹ Q 3660; EX II 157. Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha received letters from Duarte Barreto that came on this boat, as he observed (Q 3599).

²² Q 3599.

²³ *Ibid.* and EX II 412-413.

¹ The sources for this section are: (1) Xavier's letter of January 20, 1548 (EX I 390-

towards the end of the first week of December,² was engaged with a wedding³ in the chapel of Our Lady of the Mount when a friend of his, Jorge Alvares,⁴ the captain of a ship,⁵ entered the chapel with a stranger and presented him to the priest. The person whom he introduced to Xavier was named Anjirō.⁶

392); (2) Anjiro's letter of November 29, 1548 (DI I 335-339); (3) Frois, *Geschichte Japans* 1-4; and (4) Teixeira 802-803. — *Accounts*: Valignano 111-113; Seb. Gonçalves 3, 15-16; Rodrigues Tçuzu (15v-16v; Ajuda 195-196v; Cros, *Vie* II 49-50); Haas I 51-71; A. Salazar, "Un Japonés digno de mención," *Razón y Fe* 19 (1907) 212-214; Brou I 429-432; Schurhammer, "Sprachproblem" 13-15, and especially "Der hl. Franz Xaver in Japan" (GS III 567-569); *Japanese reports*: Arimichi Ebisawa, "Yarirō-kō (Observations on Yajirō)" in his *Kirishitan-shi no kenkyū* (*Studies on the History of the Kirishitan*), Tokyo, 1942, 322-355; and Shigeno 36-49 102-115. On Mendes Pinto's romantic portrayal of the flight and the voyage to Malacca in his *Peregrinaçam*, cc. 202-203, see Schurhammer, "Mendes Pinto und seine Peregrinaçam" (GS II 35 90-91); it is not to be considered an historical source.

² *Chronology*: Xavier remained eight days with Anjirō and then sailed to India (EX I 391); he arrived in Cochín on January 13 (*ibid.* 393 409). The voyage from Malacca to Cochín lasted at an average of a month (cf. Xavier's voyages: twenty-five, thirty-six, and thirty-seven days). Xavier wrote from Cochín on January 20, 1548; "I have been waiting for the arrival of Angero in ten days" (391). He thus sailed about ten days after Xavier from Malacca, that is, about December 25. Xavier sailed on December 15, and Anjirō therefore met him in Malacca around December 7, 1547.

³ DI I 338.

⁴ On Jorge Alvares, see above, p. 260. According to Mendes Pinto, he came from Freixo de Espada à Cinta (*Peregrinaçam*, c. 200), where a recently erected monument perpetuates his memory. In 1536 we encounter him in Ormuz (Q 834 836), in 1546 in Japan, in 1547 in Malacca, from where he sailed to Goa (DI I 339). In 1552 he sheltered Xavier on Sancian (DI III 654 658-659). On his namesakes, see above.

⁵ EX I 392; DI I 336-337.

⁶ Xavier (nine times) and Lancilotto both write *Angero*, Mendes Pinto *Angiroo*, Frois *Anjirō*, which corresponds to the Japanese *Anjirō*. At baptism he received the name of Paul of the Holy Faith. Rodrigues Tçuzu states, without naming his sources, that Orlandinus and Lucena had changed the *Angiroo* in Mendes Pinto for the worse into *Angero*, that Paul's name had been *Yajirō*, and that after he had cut his hair he was called *Anxei*. He has this in his censure of Orlandinus (ARSI: *JapSin.* 47, 141v) and in his *Historia* (Cros, *Vie* I 49). But since all of the four authors mentioned above knew the bearer of the name very well in person, and Frois had a good mastery of Japanese, the spellings of later authors such as *Anger* (Teixeira), *Hachirō* (Haas), *Hashirō* (Brou), *Hanshirō* (Schurhammer in Frois, *Geschichte Japans*, pp. XXIII and 1, corrected on p. 517, and *Kansirō* (in the Japanese translation of Xavier's letters, *Xaverio Shokan Kō*) are to be rejected. Later Japanese authors have stories about a *Ryōsai Kanshirō Satomi*, a physician in Yamato, who sailed in 1543 on a Portuguese ship from Kagoshima to Goa, became a Christian there, and returned to Japan in 1549 (cf. Haas I 54-57; *The Japan Yearbook* 1910, 246; Shūjirō Watanabe, "The Japanese and the Outer World," *The Japan Magazine* 18 [1927-1928] 55 and 88; 19 [1928-1929] 208-209; Maraji Nagatomi, "St. Francis Xavier and Yamaguchi," in F. da Silva e Sousa, *Souvenir Book Relating to the Past and Present Associations between Japan and Portugal* [Kobe, 1940] 167-170). — When we were in Kagoshima in January, 1957, a man by the name of Ietaka Ichiki from the village of Omura on the south side of the bay presented us with a lithographed book of six pages entitled *Pauro Yajirō no shodai* (*The Life of Paul Yajirō*), in which he attempts to show that our Anjirō is identical with Ikebata Yajirō Shigonae, who was slain in the battle between the Chinese (Tojin) and Portuguese on June 3, 1550, in the village of Ko-Neto on the southeast side of the bay of Kagoshima opposite Yamagawa. For this he cites four Japanese works: (1) *Sangoku meisho zue* (*Pictures of Important Sights of Three Lands*), (2) *Satasugu Chiri Sankō* (*Account of the Geography of Satsuma-Osumi*), (3) *Ko-Neto kyōdo shi* (*History of the Village of Ko-Neto*), (4) *Ikebata kakei fu* (*Account of the Genealogy of the Ikebata Family*). He might further identify Paul's companion Joane with Ikebata's brother Seiai and Antonio with a cousin of the same, and also make Xavier's converts in Kagoshima, Bernardo and Maria, his relatives. But his reasons are not convincing and contradict the clear data in Frois that Anjirō, as Wako, met his death in the battle with the Chinese in China. —

He was around thirty-five years old⁷ and already spoke broken Portuguese.⁸ He had the appearance of a Chinese, but he came from a land east of China that was composed of a group of very large islands⁹ which the Portuguese had discovered only five years earlier,¹⁰ the country of Japan. Francis was overjoyed with the visit. He warmly embraced Anjirō and inquired about the reason for his coming, and from Alvares he learned the history of his friend.¹¹

Anjirō was of a prominent family, a member of the warrior caste,¹² and came from the province of Satsuma¹³ in southern Japan, where the Portuguese were engaged in trade since the discovery of the islands. Because of a homicide he had become a fugitive and had found asylum in a bonze monastery. From there he had fled to the ship of a Portuguese merchant named Alvaro Vaz, whose captain he had known earlier.¹⁴ When the latter learned what had happened to his visitor, he asked him if he wished to sail with him to his own country. Anjirō indicated that he would. When Vaz was compelled to remain for a longer period in Japan, he gave his friend a letter of recommendation to his countryman, the *cavalleiro* Dom Fernando,¹⁵ who was staying on a neighboring harbor and was on the point of sailing. In order not to fall into the hands of his pursuers, the fugitive went at night to the town, where he met a Portuguese captain who he thought was the one he was seeking and gave him the letter. The man who took it, however, was not Dom Fernando but Jorge Alvares,¹⁶ who received his visitor with great charity and sailed with him from Japan.

During their voyage Anjirō disclosed his past to his Portuguese friends. Grievous sins of his youth were a burden upon his soul,¹⁷ and he asked his traveling companions to tell him of some remedy so that he could obtain God's forgive-

The name Anjirō is comprised of two parts: *An* and *jirō* (a name for the second born). Since Xavier always writes Yamaguchi instead of Amanguchy, and Yajirō was at the time a very common name, we may not exclude this form of Yajirō, which was the one also adopted by Bartoli and Ebisawa.

⁷ Frois, *Geschichte* 3.

⁸ EX I 391; DI I 337.

⁹ EX I 390.

¹⁰ Schurhammer, "Descobrimento do Japão pelos Portugueses no ano de 1543" (GS II 485-580); EX II 254.

¹¹ "Jorge Alvarez me llevó luego al P. Maestro Francisco . . . y me entregó a él e dió larga cuenta de mim," Anjirō wrote (DI I 338).

¹² He was a *samurai*, a member of the lower class of knights, for the Portuguese draft of Lancilotto's account on Japan (ARSI: *JapSin* 4 18) and Frois, *Geschichte* 1 call him "nobre," against Valignano, who simply describes him as "persona honrada" (111).

¹³ From Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma (EX II 199) 228). Anjirō's letter of 1548 is the main source for his flight up to his encounter with Xavier.

¹⁴ There was an Alvaro Vaz in Goa in 1545, where on October 9 he obtained from the governor the position of an *ouvidor* and *provedor mor dos defuntos* in Ternate (Q 1592), and on the twenty-fourth of the month was a witness (Q 1626) and wrote his opinion on pepper on November 18 (Q 1725). He is apparently different from his namesake whom Anjirō met in Japan at the end of 1546 and knew even earlier.

¹⁵ D. Fernando de Meneses is meant, who is not to be confused with seven namesakes. We meet him as the captain of a *catur* in 1541 on the Suez voyage of the governor D. Estevão da Gama (Correa IV 176), in October, 1544, in Ormuz (Q 1294), as chief captain of the Japanese voyage in 1550 (Q 4057, GS I 518). He is different from the son of the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha, who is named in India in 1550-1554, and also from the son of João de Meneses, who did not sail there until 1553.

¹⁶ Alvares remained in the harbor of Yamagawa at the entrance of the bay of Kagoshima, as he writes in his account of Japan.

¹⁷ According to EX I 390 and the Portuguese draft of Lancilotto's account (Q 4101, 9) and against Valignano's censure of Ribadeneyra's life of Ignatius (MI *Scripta* I 742).

ness for them. They advised him to go with them to Father Master Francis. What Alvares told his protégé about the "holy priest" made him long to sail with him from China to Malacca in order to make a general confession to the priest and thus obtain peace of conscience, for the captain had spoken to him on the way of Christianity and had explained to him what it means to be a Christian.¹⁸

In Malacca, however, Anjirō learned that Xavier had gone to the distant Moluccas, and the *vigario*¹⁹ refused to baptize him when he told him that he wished to return to his pagan wife in Japan. Saddened by this, he sailed back in a ship to China and from there for his native islands. When he was only twenty leagues from them and their coasts were already in sight, a violent storm fell upon the vessel in which he was sailing, and it became as dark as night. The storm raged for four long days, and the travelers saw themselves compelled to return to China. Here Anjirō met Alvaro Vaz, whom he had known in Japan. He explained his sorrow to him and was advised to return again to Malacca, for this time he would certainly meet the saintly priest. From there he could take a ship to Goa in order to be better instructed in the Christian faith in St. Paul's College. He could then return with a priest to Japan. He also received the same advice from another Portuguese by the name of Lourenço Botelho.²⁰ He followed their suggestion, and this time with success. When he reached Malacca, he found there his friend Jorge Alvares, who immediately brought him to Father Master Francis.²¹

A second Japanese, Anjirō's servant,²² had also come with him, and a third was given to the priest by Portuguese merchants coming from Japan.²³ These latter were able to tell Xavier much about the islands of Japan, and it was their conviction that there was no other land in the East more suited than it for the successful propagation of the faith since their inhabitants showed a great thirst for knowledge, more than that of the pagans of India.

Master Francis still had eight days in which to become better acquainted with his new friends. They opened up to him a view of an entirely new world—a large, populous land, a highly educated and cultured people thirsting for knowledge, receptive to the truths of Christianity, open to the arguments of reason,

¹⁸ DI I 337-338, EX I 390.

¹⁹ Affonso Martins, whose knowledge of theology does not seem to have been very great.

²⁰ A Lourenço Botelho is mentioned by Castanheda as being in India in 1529 as the captain of a *fusta* in the battle with the Diu fleet and in the expedition against Mangalore (7, 94-95; 8, 12). In 1538 he was the captain of the *catur Sampaio*, a vessel with fifteen banks of oars (Q 334a, pp. 488 and 517).

²¹ The *Peregrinação*, blending truth and falsehood, has Anjirō meet Mendes Pinto and Jorge Alvares in the harbor of Hiamangó (Yamagawa) in the bay of Kagoshima and sail with them to Malacca at the beginning of 1547. There Xavier visited the two Portuguese in the house of his friend Cosme Rodrigues. Alvares then brought Anjirō and his companions from the ship and Xavier provided a place for them to stay in the hospital. All this was before the attack of the Achinese. The only truth about this is that Cosme Rodrigues was a great friend of Mendes Pinto, as Frois wrote from Malacca on December 1, 1555 (DI III 322).

²² Anjirō calls him his servant (*criado*), whom he brought from Japan (DI I 339). He too was born in Kagoshima (EX II 254). He received the name of Joanne in baptism (DI I 348).

²³ "Outro moço, por nome Antonio, que derão ao P.M. Francisco," Micer Paulo wrote in 1548 (DI I 348). He also came from Kagoshima (EX II 254), and all three came together from Malacca to Goa in 1548 (*ibid.* 10). On the three Japanese see Schurhammer, "Xaver in Japan" (GS III 568).

entirely different from the rude fishers of South India, let alone the headhunters of the Moluccas.

Anjirō showed a great longing to obtain knowledge of the truths of Christianity, more so than all the other pagans whom Master Francis had hitherto known. He already spoke Portuguese reasonably well and understood everything that was told him. When he went to the instructions in Christian doctrine, he wrote down the articles of the faith in his Japanese script. He came frequently to the church to pray, and he asked the priest many questions. Xavier asked him if the Japanese would become Christians if he went with him to his country. Anjirō replied that the people of his land would not become Christians at once. They would first ask many questions to discover what the priest would reply and what he knew; and they would above all wait and see if he lived up to what he said. If these two were in harmony with each other, that is, if he spoke well and answered their questions in a satisfactory manner and they found nothing with which to reproach him in his manner of life, they would then, when the king and nobles and other influential people had come to know him, become Christians, since they were people who let themselves be guided only by reason. All the Portuguese merchants who had come from Japan spoke in a similar fashion to the priest, namely, that if he went there, he would serve God the Lord to great advantage—more so than among the pagan Indians—since the Japanese were such a reasonable people.

Xavier therefore fixed his plan: Within two years he or another priest, despite all the dangers of the voyage, would sail to Japan, where there were such good prospects for the preaching of the Gospel. Anjirō could in the meantime perfect his Portuguese in the College of St. Paul. He could come to know the land and the Portuguese and their way of life and become better instructed in the truths of the faith. He could also translate the Christian doctrines and a detailed explanation of the articles of the Creed and of the history of the Incarnation into Japanese since he knew how to write this language so well.

In the middle of December Francis had to leave Malacca in order reach the ships in time for the mail for Europe. He would have greatly liked to have taken Anjirō with him to India. The latter, however, felt indebted to Jorge Alvares and his other Portuguese friends, who had been so generous in his regard. He therefore wished to sail with them in their ship to India after Xavier. Nevertheless, before Master Francis left Malacca, Alvares, at his request, wrote for him a detailed account about Japan and its inhabitants from his own observations and from those that he had learned from other, trustworthy individuals.²⁴

²⁴ EX I 390-392.

1. JORGE ALVARES' REPORT ON JAPAN (BEGINNING OF DECEMBER, 1547)¹

This is what I have come to know about Japan. The harbor where I was² is located on the 32 3/4° north latitude.³ It is a tongue of land projecting from an island.⁴ The circumference of this island according to the data which the Japanese gave to us could be nearly two hundred leagues. On the northwest and west sides it has the following main harbors: Fakata,⁵ Angune,⁶ Schende Mari,⁷ Akime,⁸ Boo,⁹ Yamangon,¹⁰ and the harbor where I was, Kangaschuma.¹¹ On the east side it has the other following harbors: Neschime,¹² Minato,¹³ Tanora,¹⁴ Doschima,¹⁵ Fiunga,¹⁶

¹ Q 3567. The original report is lost. Ten texts are still extant: three Portuguese: (1) the Elvas codex (Biblioteca Municipal de Elvas 5/181, ff. 69r-82v), which was put together in 1548 for the governor Garcia de Sá, edited by A. Thomaz Pires in *O Instituto* 54 (1907) 34-63, and by Almeida Calado, *Livro que trata das cousas da India e do Japão* (Coimbra, 1957) 99-112; (2) Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome, *Fondo Gesuitico* 1482, n. 30 (ff. 13-15v) written about 1549 (omits what is offensive and leaves three places free for Asian names); cf. MI *Ep.* II 293; (3) ARSI: *Goa* 10, ff. 38-42r (copied in 1551 in Coimbra for Rome; contains almost all the offensive passages, does not understand Asiatic words). The Spanish translations intended for reading in refectories go back to a lost Portuguese copy: (4) *Codex Ulyssiponensis* I ff. 28-30v (1553); (5) *Codex Ebo-rensensis* I, ff. 60-67v (made about 1566, gives the corrected text of n. 4); (6) *Codex Conimbricensis* I ff. 73v-77 (from around 1567, copied from n. 5), ed. by Camara Monoel, *Missões dos Jesuitas no Oriente* (Lisboa, 1894) 113-125, given in English by Coleridge, *Life of St. Francis Xavier* II (London, 1882) 216-222, and afterwards in German with a valuable commentary by Haas, *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan* I (Tokyo, 1902) 269-279; (7) a later Spanish text in the India Archives of Seville going back to another lost Portuguese copy which contains only the first six sections, ed. by Blázquez y Delgado Aguilera, *Descripción de los reinos*, etc. (Madrid, 1920) 217-219; the second part is to a large extent in a manuscript in Madrid in the Ac. Real de la Historia: *Jesuitas*, *Tomo* 115 ff. 654-655v; the Italian translations made in Rome about 1549 go back to text 2: (8) Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome, *Fondo Gesuitico* 3513, n. 1 ff. 16-19v (abbreviated); (9) Biblioteca Vaticana, *Ottobon. lat.* 797 ff. 90-93v (follows text 8); (10) a fragment in ARSI: *JapSin.* 4 f. 3, which has only the beginning. — We give the second text, completed and corrected by texts 1 and 3.

² Yamagawa, lying to the left on the entrance to the bay of Kagoshima.

³ Actually on 31° 12'.

⁴ Kyūshū, the most southern of the main islands of Japan.

⁵ Hakata. Alvares gives the harbors from the northwest of Kyūshū to the northeast. For Alvares' list of harbors, see the important study by Y. Okamoto: *Sengoku-jidai no Bungo Funai-kō* (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 228-231-237.

⁶ Akune in northwest Satsuma; other readings: Angune (texts 2 6 7 10), Amgune (1), Angutie (3).

⁷ Sendai, inland on the Sendai River, and Kyōdomari, on the northern bank of the mouth of the river in western Satsuma. The texts give the two names sometimes separately, sometimes as a single word: Chende mari (2-3), Quemde Mavym (1), Cendemarim (10) Chende, Maioz (6), Quebdemarin (7).

⁸ Akimi-ura (Bay of Akimi) in southwestern Satsuma. Other readings: Achime (2 3 6), Aguyne (1), Aquime (7), Acime (10), Açbime corrected to Açhime (4).

⁹ Bōnotsu on the southwest tip of Satsuma. The texts have Boo (1-3 6-7 10).

¹⁰ Yamagawa (local pronunciation: *Yamangawa*) on the southeastern tip of Satsuma. The texts have: Jamāgon (2), Yamamgom (3), Yamangon (6), Yamango (7), Amamgoão (1), Giamangon (10).

¹¹ Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma (local pronunciation: *Kangoshima*). The texts have Changaxuma (2), Changa, Xuma (3 4 6), Cumguasuma (1), Ciangafama (10).

¹² Neshime on the east side of the bay of Kagoshima in the province of Ōsumi. The texts have Nexime (6), Neguyne (1), Negume (7), Niguime (2-3).

¹³ Minato, as it is found in all the texts, means "the Harbor." Meant is Chino-nominato (Sakita-no-ura), one of the harbors of the great Ariakewan (Shibushiwan) Bay on the southeastern coast of Ōsumi, today incorporated into the city limits of Kushima.

¹⁴ To-no-ura (Tanora) north of the bay of Ariakewan in the province of Hyūga. The texts have Tanora, text 7 Otanora.

¹⁵ Probably Hososhima in northern Hyūga, also mentioned a number of times in

Bungo,¹⁷ and Schakanou.¹⁸ I could not learn the names of those that lie on the side towards the continent, the names, that is, of the harbors. The Japanese only said that there were many of them there, very prominent places, and that they are a league or a league and half distant¹⁹ from the mainland of Meako.²⁰ Portuguese, moreover, have already been in this strait,²¹ who say that this is so.

The land is high²² along the sea, but they say that in the interior the land is flat. I went three leagues inland but did not see it. But I did see that mountains were tilled and sown. The land is fair and charming to behold and has many firs and cedars, and plum, cherry, peach, laurel, chestnut, and walnut trees, and stone oaks that produce many acorns. There are also red oak, elder, and cork trees, and wild grapes with berries that taste very well. They were not accustomed to eat them, but they now eat them since they have seen us do so. There are many other kinds of fruit which are not found in our country. The vegetables that are found in Portugal are also found there, though I did not see any lettuce, cabbage, dill, or coriander there, or any mint. There is everything else in the country—rose bushes, cloves, and many other highly fragrant flowers, and oranges, sweet and sour, and many lemons (I saw no limes), and many pomegranate and pear trees.

The country of Japan is intensively cultivated. Every year there are three harvests of the following kinds: In November they sow wheat, barley, turnips, and other crops such as silver beets, which they eat. In March they sow peas, buckwheat, mungo, legumes, beans, *patekas*,²³ cucumbers, and melons. In July they sow rice, yams, garlic, and onions. Each time they fertilize the soil with horse manure, and they dig it all up with a hoe and let the land lie fallow for a year. The land is worked with small but very strong horses, for there are only a very few cows in the land and in some places some work oxen. There are no pigs, goats, or sheep, and only a very few chickens, and the flesh of these chickens is very distasteful. There are also deer, rabbits, pheasants and many quail, turtledoves, winterlarks, and sea ducks in the land. They hunt and eat all of these. They kill deer with arrows, and also rabbits. They catch birds with nets. The kings do this with sparrowhawks, which are excellent there, and also with hawks and falcons. I was told that they also hunt with royal eagles,²⁴ but only great lords can keep these birds for their amusement.

This land is very rich in brooks, springs, and wells. I was also told that there are very large rivers with many fish. The sea also has many kinds of fish that are the same as in our country—sardines, mayfish, eels, and numerous mussels. There are warm baths of the following type: There is a large stream which at its source is unbelievably cold; and a little further down, where the water is deep, it is as hot as it is cold [above]. And I also saw there where I was another stream that flows into the sea where there are many rocks and a little sand. In the morning, when the sea is ebbing and a hole is dug a span deep, lukewarm water is encountered. Most of the poor and elderly people make holes there and get into them and bathe for around two hours when the sun rises and sets, when there is the ebb tide. I also saw that

Chinese sources, is today within the boundaries of the city of Hyūga. The texts have: Doxima (1), Dorozima (3), Dozorima (6), Dozarimo (2), Dozosima (7), Circa (10).

¹⁶ Hyūga is the name of the province. Nobeoka, the northernmost harbor in Hyūga, is perhaps meant. The texts have: Funga (2-3), Fungamon (6), Firynga (1), Firinga (7).

¹⁷ Bungo is the name of the province. Usuki is probably meant. The texts have: Bumguo (1), Bunono (2 3 6), Yungo (7).

¹⁸ Saganoseki (bar of Sagano), north of Usuki. The texts have: Xaquenou (1), Xachanou (2), Saqueno (7), Yhenou (3 6).

¹⁹ Ōsaka and Sakai are probably meant.

²⁰ The mainland of Miyako is the principal island of Japan, known as Nippon, Honshū, and Hondo. The texts have Meacho (2-3), Meaquo (1), Meazo (7).

²¹ The Japanese inland lake, called Naikai or Seto naikai (Sea within the Straits).

²² Text 1 has *terra alta*, the other texts have *terra culta*.

²³ Watermelons.

²⁴ Text 1 has *aquilas*, text 2 *aveis*.

most of the women of the place, in winter and in summer, go naked²⁵ into the water in the morning before or during the rising of the sun. They there dip their head three times into the water, each time for a second, even when it snows. They then dress themselves immediately, fill a wooden bucket with water and sprinkle it with their fingers on the streets, reciting at the same time certain words which I did not understand, until they came to their dwelling; and they also sprinkle the water in their dwelling. This seemed to me to be a private devotion since it is not done by all.

The earth quakes at times, and it is a land rich in sulphur. It has many volcanoes that pour forth smoke all year long and at times fire. Some of these are inhabited, others not. Most of these islands are small. The country of Japan is very windy and full of storms. The weather changes with each new and full moon. Each year, especially in the month of September, there comes a wind so strong that all flee before it. For it hurls the ships three or four fathoms inland up on the dry land, and if they are lying on the land, it hurls them at times into the sea. During the time that I was there, within a space of thirty leagues,²⁶ sixty-two²⁷ Chinese ships and one Portuguese ship were sunk by it. It lasts for twenty-four hours, beginning in the south and ending in the northwest, as the wind blows in all directions. The wind is recognized by a light rain which always precedes it; and when they perceive this, the people all take themselves to a safe place.²⁸

The houses of this land are low because of the winds. They are well built and made entirely of boards, and they have straw roofs and many stone blocks upon them which are not made fast²⁹ because of the wind. These houses are an ell high above the ground. They are divided into a room and a vestibule and a room where they have their gods and where no one sleeps. The floors are all covered with straw mats, very clean and well made, and no one walks on them with his shoes. These houses are in no way equipped with locks and bolts. They have large gardens, all surrounded by stone walls constructed without mortar half a fathom high and the same in breadth and filled with earth. On this filled ground they have many fruit trees and many laurel trees and many bushes sown in between, and on the inner and outer sides it is equipped with very beautiful bamboo mats. In these gardens they sow many plants and vegetables which they use for food. Each house has a well, and each of these houses has a cock and a hen and not more than these as a rule. In the same gardens they sow hemp, which they use for clothes, and each house has a loom and its oven and its wooden mill for the rough grinding of rice and its stone mill for the fine grinding of cereals.

Most of the people of Japan are of middling height, thick-set, and very strong for work. They are a white race and of good appearance. The leading men wear their beard trimmed like that of the Mohammedans; those of the lower class let the beard grow. They all pluck out their hair to the back part of their head and to their ears, and they wear the hair that remains on the back of their head long and bound together. They always leave their head uncovered. Only those who are old cover it with a silk cap³⁰ when it is cold. Their dress consists of a short undergarment which reaches down to the knees with sleeves reaching to the elbows made in the shape of a pipe. They leave their arms uncovered from their elbows to their hands. Over their lower garment they wear a jacket made of fine,³¹ unbleached linen, which resembles crepe and is white or black or brown or blue; and on its front and shoulders there is embroidered a rose or else a beautiful, pleasant, and very natural looking picture.³² In addition to this they wear trousers of the same kind as the jacket, very wide and long, open at the sides, with laces for holding them together. In the front and back

²⁵ The word *nuas* (in texts 2-3 7) is missing in texts 1 and 6.

²⁶ Thirty (texts 1-4 6-7); seventy, corrected to thirty (4).

²⁷ Sixty (text 1), sixty-two (2-3 7), seventy-two (6).

²⁸ Typhoons are meant.

²⁹ Texts 1-3 and 7 have *não são pregadas*; text 6 erroneously has *son clavadas*.

³⁰ *Gorra* (3 and 6), *borra* (2), *borla* (1), *barretta* (8).

³¹ *Ralo* (1 3 6), *raro* (2).

of the trousers are rings of horse leather four or five fingers in width and length lined with the same cloth. These trousers are fitted closely over the undergarment and jacket. They also wear straw sandals that leave half of the foot exposed, and this is regarded as a kind of ornamentation.

They are a very proud and easily offended people. They all, as a rule, both young and old, carry a sword. They are already used to wearing it when they are eight years old. They have many lances and halberds and other weapons of this type. On the whole they are all very good archers with large bows like those of Englishmen. They have coats of mail and iron cuirasses, very elegant and painted. They are a people that are little affected by greed and are very courteous. When one comes into their country, the most prominent people invite him to eat and sleep in their homes. They seem to wish to embrace one in their heart. They are very eager to know something about our countries and about other matters when they have the courage to ask about them. They are not a jealous people. They have the custom of sitting in the house with their legs crossed. They are a people that want their hospitality to be reciprocated. Consequently, when they come upon our ships, they expect to be given something to eat and drink and to be shown what they want to see, and to be hospitably received. They have a special hatred for theft, so much so that they will immediately kill a thief for something worth five or six *tangas*. Consequently, when they hear that a robber is lurking on the paths or in the woods, the most prominent men come immediately together in order to kill him. Whoever is the first to kill him is the most honored. For they all attack him with their swords, and whoever slays him gains the honor for this and is held to be a brave knight.

They are a people who eat three times a day, and each time they eat very little. They eat only a very little meat; and they eat, as I have already said, no chickens. The reason for this seems to me to be that they raise these in their homes and what they raise they do not eat. Their food consists of rice and legumes, mungo, millet, buckwheat, yams, and wheat.³² It seems to me that they eat it cooked as a gruel. I did not see them making any bread. They drink arrack, which they prepare from rice, and another drink that all, both young and old, take without exception.³⁴ I never saw one there who had been drinking and had lost his reason. As soon as they notice that they are full, they lie down to sleep. There are many taverns and inns in the country, where one finds food and drink and quarters for the nights. They eat cheese made from beans that resembles fresh cheese. I do not know how it tastes since I did not try it. They eat on the floor like the Mohammedans and with wooden sticks like the Chinese. Everyone eats out of his painted bowl and out of porcelain and wooden vessels that are black on the outside and red within, and in which they have their food. In the summer they drink hot barley water and in the winter something made of certain plants which I did not come to know what kind of plants they were.³⁵ Never, neither in winter nor in summer, do they drink cold water.

They are a people who do not have more than one wife. The rich and prominent have some female slaves at their disposal. They are married by *padres*.³⁶ They are severely punished if they are not married by the *padres* of the land. If their wives are lazy or evil before they have children from their husbands, their husbands send them back to their parents. But if they have already had children, their husbands can kill them with impunity for any kind of fault.³⁷ They are consequently very careful with respect to their husband's honor, and they are very good wives. There are no prisons whatever in the country. Each one can exercise justice in his own home. There are a few slaves in the land who were taken in war. There are also debtors who because of the high rate of interest, have been condemned to servitude.

³² The coat of arms (*mon*) is meant.

³³ *Inhames*, *tribo* (1 3 6), *entremetem trigo* (2).

³⁴ Tea.

³⁵ Tea plant.

³⁶ Shinto priests are meant.

³⁷ *Tacha* (1 3), *tanha* (2).

The slaves have so much freedom that if they do not wish to remain with a master, they tell him that he should sell them. He is then obliged to look for a buyer. For if he runs away, he cannot punish him on this account. Others, however, who do not observe this rule, can be killed. They are a people who are very glad to see blacks, especially Kaffirs, so that³⁸ they came fifteen and twenty leagues to see them. They show them great honor for three or four days.

These people are very devoted to their king. He is held in high honor by them. He lets himself be served by the sons of the most prominent people that are in his kingdom, and they are well maintained. They serve him on their knees with both hands on the floor when they receive or give something. They like to speak very softly. They look upon us as being passionate³⁹ because we speak loudly. Visitors of equal dignity are received by their host kneeling down with both hands on the floor until they are seated. This is their manner of greeting. If the king goes out, he takes his bodyguard with him. When they meet the king on the street, they all remain in a squatting position with their shoes in their hands⁴⁰ until he has passed. The same is done by people of low station in the presence of those of rank; and if some prominent people meet each other on the street, they take their shoes off and greet each other with their bodies bent low, their hands between their thighs; and when they have finished speaking, they cross their arms and leave. They are people that even in the house and when they are eating always have their sword in their belt. They love music and have pipers and drummers. They also have plays. They have an abhorrence of gambling. They are good riders and have many horses, but these are small. They have saddles like our bastard saddles.⁴¹ Their reins are like shoelaces.⁴² The kings and lords have good horses, which they breed. They fight on horseback.

The houses of the kings are about two leagues from the sea. Their fortresses are as follows: They look for a hill that is separated from other hills. It must be of earth and it must have springs and wells. It is so cut with hoes that each hill has its own house, and they make as many hills as they want to have houses. The areas between them form the streets. These hills are seven or eight fathoms high. They make the surrounding wall of this a fortress from the earth which they remove from these streets. This surrounding wall is so high that the houses are located far below it. This is because of the strong winds which prevail in that land. The house of the king lies in the center and is higher than all the others. I went to the fortress of the king in the harbor where I was. It had nineteen houses with that of the king and forty-seven gates and the same number of streets. This fortress is entirely surrounded by a stone wall made without mortar. The wall could be two fathoms high and four thick. It is filled with a great amount of earth and on its outer and inner sides has a large amount of woven bamboo, which gives it a very fine appearance. In the environs of this fortress there are no bushes⁴³ or stones, but all is cleared. The entrance and ascent are very difficult. It is so narrow that only one horse after the other can go up it, and it is of such a kind that I have never seen a fortress made of stone and mortar as strong as this.

They are people who are greatly devoted to their idols. All stand in the morning with their rosary⁴⁴ in their hand and pray. And when they have finished with their prayer, they take their rosary between their fingers and let it pass through them

³⁸ *De maneira* (2 3 6), *de Moçambique* (1).

³⁹ Texts 1 3 and 6 have *destemperados* (passionate), text 2 *desemtoados* (screamers).

⁴⁰ Texts 2 3 and 6 have *o çapato na mão*; text 1 *os çapatos nas mãos*.

⁴¹ *Sellas que aremedão as nosas da bryda* (1-2), *sellas que se querem parecer com as nosas bastardas* (3). Bluteau distinguishes: *sella de brida*, on which the horseman sits with his legs spread apart, in contrast to *sella gineta*, where the feet of the horseman are pressed close against the horse (*Vocabulario portuguez e latino* X [Lisboa, 1728] 491).

⁴² *Legamos* (1-3), *leguames* (6); text 2 leaves the place empty.

⁴³ *Mouta* (1), *moute* (2), *monte* (6). Text 3 has *Daredor deste monte mão ha pedra*.

⁴⁴ The Buddhist rosary.

three times. They say that they pray to God to give them health and temporal goods and to free them from their enemies. They do this in their houses before the idols which they have in their house. They are people who because of any kind of trouble when they are old become *padres*,⁴⁵ especially if their wife or children or anyone else whom they particularly love dies. They then make a promise of chastity; and if they have wives, they separate themselves from them and see them no more. All this when they are very old. These give many alms to their idols and to the poor. They wash themselves twice a day. They are very shameless; they think nothing of it that one sees their nakedness.⁴⁶

The women are very well formed and of a very light complexion, and they use cosmetics and white lead. They are very kind and gentle.⁴⁷ Prominent women are very chaste and very concerned about the honor of their husband. But there are also many other evil women and procuresses,⁴⁸ and it seems to me that there are also both male and female magicians. The women are very clean, and they perform all the tasks in the home such as weaving, spinning, and sewing. Good women are held in high honor by their husbands, and they dominate over their men.⁴⁹ They are women who go where they please without asking their husbands about it. They are women who, when their monthly purification comes, do not touch anything and do not move from one place except to take care of their needs. And if the woman is a slave or serving maid, she remains the whole time, as long as it lasts, alone in the house by herself until it has passed. They also told me that when a woman is confined, she does not go for thirty days outside of a house.⁵⁰ No one speaks with her and she is only given rice, water, and wood through an opening; and she prepares her food for herself without anyone ever speaking to her during this period.⁵¹ Their clothing is long, their robes reaching down to their ankles. They wear a girdle about their waist. Beneath it they have clothes⁵² like women here. They wash themselves very shamelessly in the presence of others in that they only cover their nakedness with their hands.⁵³ They are proud of long hair and wear it tied up like Malayan women. They pluck the hair of their head out for a space of about three fingers broad. They wear straw shoes.⁵⁴ These women are very pious, and they go to their prayer houses to pray, and they also pray with rosaries.

These Japanese have two kinds of pious houses,⁵⁵ and these houses have *padres* who live in them. Each one has his own cell where he sleeps and has his own books. They are called bonzes. They read in the manner of the Chinese⁵⁶ and have many writings of the Chinese. They ring a bell about midnight, at Matins, Vespers, and Compline, and when it becomes night. They have bells shaped like leathern bags⁵⁷

⁴⁵ *Padres* (1), *pobres* (2 3 6).

⁴⁶ The following section on women is most complete in text 3, abbreviated in text 6, more so in text 1, and most of all in text 2. *Vejaõ* (1 3 6), *venhão* (2).

⁴⁷ According to texts 1 3 6; the place is missing in text 2.

⁴⁸ *Muytas más molheres e celestrynas* (1 3 6), *muyto más molheres* (2).

⁴⁹ Texts 1-3 and 6.

⁵⁰ In the birth sheds (*ubu-ya*).

⁵¹ The passage on the ritual prescriptions for menstruation and childbirth are given in texts 1 3 6. It is missing in text 2.

⁵² Text 2 omits the word *panos*.

⁵³ Text 1 has only *lavão-se*; text 6 *lavão-sse muy desonestamente por ante la gente*. Text 4 corrects, text 6 suppresses the passages, also text 2.

⁵⁴ Texts 1 3 6. The passage is missing in text 2. According to text 1, they wore their hair *atado*, like Malayan women; according to text 3 *deitado*, according to text 6 *tendidos en madexas*. They pluck out the hair of their head the width of three fingers (1 3 6) from their brows (6). They wear shoes of *palha* (1-2), of *palma* (3 6).

⁵⁵ Buddhist temples (*teras*) and Shintō temples (*miyas*).

⁵⁶ *Lem à chara da China* (1). The other copyists did not understand the Malay expression *à chara* (cf. Dalgado I 201) and wrote *o araca* (2), *a raça* (3), *la ragua* (4), *un libro que se llama larraquda la China* (6).

⁵⁷ *Da feyção de chegueys* (1), *chageis* (3). Text 2 omits the passage, while the copyist

made of copper and iron, which they beat, and drums like the Chinese. I believe that this type of order came from China, for I saw the same in China. When they ring the bells, all who are in the house come together to pray. The eldest begins and the others answer, having their books in their hands; and they also pray with rosaries like the laity. They are forbidden to have wives, and they are put to death if it is found out. They engage in sodomy with boys whom they instruct. As a rule they are not reproached for this. They do not eat any meat but only watercress and other plants and vegetables, nor do they eat fish. They are so much esteemed by high and low that they rule over the kings. They have in these houses old women who prepare their food, and some who are sick or crippled go begging from door to door and through the villages. They also work in their houses and make rosaries.⁵⁸ These bonzes are their physicians.⁵⁹ Their houses of prayer are very well built. Their idols are gilded, and the head of their god is like that of a Kaffir.⁶⁰ Its ears are pierced like those of Malabar idols,⁶¹ and they have diadems. These houses have large gardens, and they have many cedars and many fruit trees, all well arranged, and many climbing roses and other fragrant plants, all very well laid out and clean. These houses have great freedom. They can offer asylum for all crimes excepting robberies. But this holds only for a fixed number of days, for they cannot remain for long in them. They also have other idols that are like our confessors, and some martyrs, like St. Lawrence and St. Stephen,⁶² with their diadems but all are shorn bald. The temples are empty in the center and round about on the sides they have cushions, as do the houses, for the bonzes sit in rows upon them to pray. The center is empty, for the people, men and women, kneel there especially on Tuesdays in order to pray with raised hands, as we do.

The bonzes all go shaved with a razor. They have bathrooms. Every day they go there in the afternoon and heat the water and bathe in them. They are given the wood for the love of God. These are not in the monasteries but outside of them at the other end of the village. They wear longer clothes than the laity. They are white and must not be gaily colored. Over these they wear other clothes made of black linen, so long that they reach down to their ankles and cover the white garment beneath.⁶³ They wear a stole over their breast with a small wooden ring sewed fast to the stole (many have one of ivory),⁶⁴ and they wear shoes like the women. They do not wear trousers.⁶⁵ They are a people very eager to learn what we worship, and they are delighted with our pictures and place them upon their heads.⁶⁶ They are also anxious to see our country. Of this order there are whites and greys.⁶⁷ All believe the same.⁶⁸ They

of text 6, who also could not catch the meaning of the word, wrote *a modo de llaves*. *Chagueis* is the plural of *chaguer* (Persian *sāghrī*), which means a leathern bag for water (Dalgado I 251).

⁵⁸ *E fazem contas* (1), *e fazem de comer* (2 3 6).

⁵⁹ *Fisicos* (1-2), *filhos* (3).

⁶⁰ This can refer to the black color or to the features. See for example the full lips of the statue of Buddha in the Hōryūji temple near Nara, the oldest Buddha temple in Japan (picture in F. Challaye, *Le Japon illustré* [Paris, 1915] 108).

⁶¹ That is, the earlobes drawn down to the shoulders by the heavy ornaments like those of Malabars. See, for example, the statue of Buddha just mentioned in the temple of Hōryūji or the Daibutsu of Kamakura (Challaye 112). Instead of Malabars, Coleridge, and after him Haas, erroneously have Malays.

⁶² São Estevam (1 and 3). The name is missing in text 2.

⁶³ This was the garb of the Hokke-shū bonzes (cf. Vilela's letter of October 6, 1571, in GS II 654).

⁶⁴ Text 1. Texts 2-3 and 6 have: "and they have another of ivory."

⁶⁵ Instead of *ceroulas* (trousers) in texts 2 3 6, text 1 has *molheres*.

⁶⁶ An indication of reverence according to Oriental custom.

⁶⁷ The Zen and Hokke bonzes wore black clothes. The Hokke bonzes hated the grey bonzes, who worshiped Dainichi, that is, the followers of the Shingo sect (Frois, February 20, 1565, in *Cartas de Iapão* 1598, 173).

⁶⁸ *Teem hua couse* (2 3 6), *tem hua casa* (1).

read and write Chinese, but they cannot speak it. They correspond with the Chinese by writing, for the Chinese cannot speak Japanese either.⁶⁹ They celebrate funeral rites for the dead and pray for the sick in the following manner: All the brothers of those orders assemble in the house of their gods where the feast for the dead is to be celebrated. They all sit here one after the other, the eldest near the altar of their gods, the others behind them, and the young in the middle; and near them is a great gong.⁷⁰ Then one of the oldest *padres* prays; and when he has finished that prayer, they strike the gong and all answer in the same tone.⁷¹ They spend the time from dawn to noon in this feast for the dead. During this time they eat and drink what those who have requested this intercession give them, and who are there with their sons and serve them until they have finished.⁷²

They also have women of this same order, and these have houses for themselves. They have no sexual relations with men; and if they fail in this respect, they also are punished. They go dressed and shaved like the *grades*, and the daughters and wives of the most prominent men enter into this order.⁷³

I saw there another kind of order of *padres* who worship other idols. This is the order that is proper to the land.⁷⁴ They have their small idols locked up in tabernacles so that they never see them except on a feast day. They have them in large groves outside the village, and they are greatly honored. These go dressed like the laity and carry weapons like them. They wear a four-cornered cap on their head, which is as small as a fist, with a band⁷⁵ under their beard. These make use of a mussel⁷⁶ when they wish to assemble the people. They are great magicians and always carry a rosary about their neck, by which they are recognized.⁷⁷ These have women who help them pray. I do not know if they have further relations with them.⁷⁸ They have no writing except that of the land.⁷⁹ These do not have dealings with the others. These have bells of copper and iron like ours without a clapper. They strike the hours like the others.

I saw that these have another intercession for the dead and sick. It takes place as follows: Four or five of their *padres* assemble with an old woman of their order in the house of the god where they hold this ceremony along with those who have commissioned this intercession.⁸⁰ Here they offer them rice and roasted rice and wine⁸¹

⁶⁹ Both languages are completely different. Japanese and Korean form an isolated language group. Educated Japanese, however, could understand Chinese ideograms.

⁷⁰ Gong.

⁷¹ *Entoadado* (2), *emtoados* (1 3), *entonados y desentonados* (6).

⁷² Texts 3 and 6; in text 9 *servindo-os* is missing; text 2 omits *com seus filhos*.

⁷³ *As filhas e filhos dos mais omrados* (3), *los hijas y hijos y mugeres de los grandes* (6). Text 1 has *filhas e molheres* in an unfinished phrase, and text 2 *filhos e molheres dos*.

⁷⁴ Shintō priests (*kannushi*), in contrast to the Buddhist bonzes introduced from China. The following is the first account of a European on a Shintō ceremony. Cf. Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 161-164. Aoyama sees in it the description of a Yamabushi ceremony (36-37).

⁷⁵ *Barbicacho* (halter), in text 1-3; text 4 corrects the word to *reboço*; text 6 follows the corrected text.

⁷⁶ Trumpet made from a conch shell.

⁷⁷ What Alvares mistakenly here calls a rosary are not the Buddhist prayer beads (*juzu*) but the Shinto and old Japanese necklace *kubikake no maya-tama*, made of strung "horned jewels" (*maga-tama*) and "pipe jewels" (*kuda-tama*), which Shinto priests wear on great feasts (Schurhammer, *Shin-tō* 162, see the picture of a Shintō priest, *ibid.* 160, pl. XII).

⁷⁸ Texts 1 3 6. Text 1 is corrupt. The Shinto priests were usually married. Coleridge and Haas after him add: "They are nonetheless obliged to observe strict chastity. There is nothing of this in our texts."

⁷⁹ The Japanese syllabaries: *hiragana* and *katakana*.

⁸⁰ Texts 1 and 6. Text 2 has: "In the house of the god where they wish to hold this rogation." Text 3 has: "In the house of the god where they wish to hold these

and *sapeken*. They then eat all of the roasted rice and drink a cup of wine; and the one who has the care of the respective idol opens the tabernacle and draws out a drum, a *sistrum*, and a woman's skirt made of damask with a red veil six or seven ells long and two broad; and he further takes out a rod with twenty or thirty⁸² little bells on it, and the handle of the rod may be a span in length. He then closes the tabernacle at once and the woman puts on the skirt and places the veil upon her head, which reaches down to the ground. She then takes the bells in her right hand, and the others beat the drum and *sistrum*; and she dances and sings, and they respond for half an hour. Then they return again to eating and drinking, and what is left over they take with them. Then they put everything back in the tabernacle and close it. I saw one of these idols and they are very ugly and badly proportioned. These *padres* are called Schō.⁸³

In this whole land, from Meako on, as far as we have explored it, there is only one language.

10. THE DEPARTURE FROM MALACCA (MID-DECEMBER, 1547)

The time for Master Francis' departure from Malacca had in the meanwhile arrived. The city was poorly equipped for instructing the young and for preaching. Since schoolbooks were lacking, the children had to learn to read and write with the help of written protocols, materials which were not at all suitable for the students.¹ The brothers of the Misericordia and the other leaders of the town therefore begged the departing priest to send them two of his confreres so that they might preach the word of God to them, to their wives, and to the native Christians, and that they might give lessons in Christian doctrine to their sons and daughters and all their slaves as he had done. Because of their insistence and their great love for the Society of Jesus, the priest promised to do his best to send them the desired companions with the first ship, which would be coming in April, 1548. One of the beneficiaries, Xavier's friend Vicente Viegas, promised that he would, following his example, conduct classes in Christian doctrine every day until they came. If the children learned by heart each day twenty words of the rhymed catechism which he had composed in Ternate, and if this explanation of the Creed was constantly repeated, it could be memorized within a single year. A foundation would thus be laid that would keep them firmly in their faith in Jesus Christ and in the mysteries of His Incarnation, and it would make them detest the foolish fables of the pagans about their idols and their magical practices.²

In the middle of December the Banda ship under captain Garcia de Sousa, with which Xavier had come from Amboina, sailed away from Malacca³ taking

there is a banquet prepared by those who ordered such a rogation, and there is also further eating."

⁸¹ Rice wine (sake).

⁸² Twenty or thirty (1-2), ten or twelve (3-6).

⁸³ *Sishō*. The texts have: *choo* (2), *choo* corrected so that it appears as *ehoo* (3), *eho* (1), *coo* (6).

¹ EX I 437.

² *Ibid.* 389-390. Pérez wrote of Xavier: "Quando se partio pera a India deixou o Padre Vicente Viegas que prosegue com a doutrina dos meninos até que elle mandasse Padres da India. Este Vicente Viegas avia ydo ao Macaçar e avia baptizado alguma gente, e asi se ficarão aquelles bautizados e não ouve quem os doutrinasse. Era muito amigo do Padre este Vicente Viegas" (*Informação* 57-58).

³ Xavier came to Cochin on January 13, 1548 (EX I 409). The voyage from Cochin to Malacca, and from Malacca to Cochin, lasted from three and a half to six and a half weeks, for example, Cochin to Malacca twenty-three (Q 633) and thirty-seven days

the priest again with it.⁴ It was carrying a cargo of more than a thousand hundredweights of nutmegs and two hundred hundredweights of mace. Among the passengers was Francisco Pereira, a married merchant resident in Goa, who had taken part in the expedition against the Achinese fleet,⁵ and whose brother Xavier had healed in 1545 before his departure for Amboina.⁶ Another companion of the voyage was João Rodrigues Carvalho, who had lost all his possessions in a shipwreck in China and was now returning destitute to India; and Xavier felt great compassion for his plight.⁷

About this same time Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos also sailed away with another ship from Malacca for India. He had left the royal Coromandel ship, with which he had come from Pulicat at the end of September, behind him as a wreck. It had keeled over on its side; water had poured into it; and it had fallen to pieces. According to him this had happened because it was poorly nailed together. His adversaries, however, declared that the reason was that it had not been secured at night with two anchors. The ship had earned twelve thousand *cruzados* in freight and duties before it sank, and Mendes was bringing these with him in Minangkabauan gold and Chinese silver.⁸

Anjirō remained behind in Malacca with his two companions. He would not sail for India with his Portuguese friends until the end of December, seventeen days after the departure of the Banda ship.⁹

(EX II 123 147), Malacca to Cochin, twenty-five to forty-five days. Xavier sailed, for example, on December 30, 1551, from Malacca and arrived on January 24, 1552, in Cochin (EX II 274; Q 4744). Rebello, on the other hand, has the Molucca ship sail from Malacca on November 15 and arrive in Cochin at the beginning of January (499). Alvares left Malacca seventeen days after Xavier (EX I 391). According to Frois, a ship had to leave Malacca for India on December 25 at the latest; otherwise it had to wait for the monsoon of the following year (DI III 529).

⁴ Q 3783.

⁵ MX II 190-191.

⁶ See above, p. 53; cf. Vol. II, p. 178.

⁷ EX I 413; Q 4290.

⁸ Q 3755. In addition to the Banda ship, they were waiting in Cochin also for the ships of António Pereira and Gomes Farinha (Q 3599). On March 12, 1546, the governor, D. João de Castro, received news of the capture of the junk of Aleixo de Sousa by the Achinese in November, 1545. He gave immediate orders that from then on all ships must sail together from India for Malacca under the command of the captain of the clove ship, and the captain of Malacca could not permit any ship to sail alone to India. All would have to sail together under the command of the captain of the royal ship (Castro, *Cartas* 233). The ships on this voyage were, moreover, equipped with the necessary artillery in case there was an attack from the Achinese (Q 2189).

⁹ EX I 391.

CHAPTER II

CROSS AND MAMMON (DECEMBER, 1547—FEBRUARY, 1548)

1. A STORMY VOYAGE (MID-DECEMBER—JANUARY 13, 1548)¹

The voyage through the island maze of the strait of Malacca and through the open sea had been a favorable one, and Ceylon was already near when a storm suddenly arose that was more terrifying than Xavier had ever experienced. The tempest raged for three days and nights, and at each instant the frail craft seemed about to go down. The driving waves swept thundering over the deck. The yards and masts creaked and broke. The ship was tossed helplessly from one side to the other. At one time it seemed to be buried between black, foaming waves reaching like mountains into the sky. At another time it was tossed upwards, but only to sink again. The crew threw everything that was not absolutely necessary overboard in the hope of escaping with their lives. Cries were raised to heaven for mercy. Vows were taken. Many believed that their last hour had come. They prayed and wept and swore that they would never again make trial of the sea if God would save them. They worked themselves to exhaustion in their battle with the raging elements.

Master Francis remained calm in the midst of these imminent dangers of death. He heard the confessions of the voyagers. He helped, consoled, and encouraged them, and then sought his cabin in order to commend himself and his companions to God.

It was a black, stormy night, the wind was howling, the sea was wild, and all were engaged in a battle for life and death with the unleashed forces of nature when Francisco Pereira, Xavier's friend, went to the priest's cabin in order to obtain courage and consolation from him. But when he found Francis kneeling before his crucifix deep in prayer, he quietly withdrew so as not to disturb his devotion.

A month later the priest wrote to his confreres in Europe what was passing through his soul at the time:

On this voyage from Malaca to India we experienced many dangers because of a severe storm that lasted for three days and three nights, the worst that I have ever experienced upon the sea. There were many who, though still alive, were bewailing their death and piously and truthfully vowing never again to sail if God our Lord would rescue them in their plight. We threw everything we could overboard into the sea in order to save our lives.

When the storm was raging at its worst, I recommended myself to God our Lord, and I first chose as my intercessors on earth all of the blessed Society of Jesus with all their friends; and with so much favor and help I surrendered myself entirely to

¹ The sources for this section are (1) Xavier's letter of January 20, 1548 (EX I 393-394); (2) the testimony of Francisco Pereira in 1556 (MX II 191); (3) Pérez' letter of December 4, 1548 (DI I 367).

the faithful, pious prayers of the bride of Jesus Christ, our holy Mother the Church, for as long as she tarries on earth she always finds a hearing from her spouse Jesus Christ in heaven. I did not forget either to take as intercessors all the saints in the glory of paradise, and here I began with those who in this life belonged to the holy Society of Jesus. In the first place I took as intercessor the blessed soul of Father Fabro with all the rest who belonged in life to the Society. I would never come to an end if I wished to describe all the consolations which I received when I recommended myself to God our Lord through those of the Society, those who are still living and those who are reigning in heaven. Then, in the midst of this great danger, I gave myself over to all the angels as I followed their nine orders, and next to all the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all the other saints in heaven. To obtain sure pardon for my completely endless sins, I took for my intercessor the glorious Virgin, our Lady, for in heaven, where she is, God our Lord grants all that she asks of Him. And, finally, I set all my hope on the completely endless merits of the passion and death of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer and Lord. With all this favor and help I found myself so consoled during this storm, and I believe still more than afterwards when I was freed from it.

That so great a sinner in so great an affliction shed tears of joy and consolation is for me, when I think back on it, a source of great confusion. And so I asked God our Lord during that storm that, if He freed me from it, He might do so only in order that I might endure other and still greater afflictions which would be even more to His service.

The next morning Pereira spoke with the priest of the labors of the previous, terrible night; and he added that they had come to the end of their strength. But Master Francis replied that he should not worry since he trusted that the Lord God would free them from this danger.

The saintly priest was right. After three days the storm had passed,² and the high blue mountain peaks of Ceylon rose out of the blue sea. The foothills of Galle became visible. Going along the green palm strand of the island they successfully reached Colombo, and on January 13 the ship came to anchor at Cochin.³

Three years earlier Xavier, full of hope and joy, had sailed from here in order to accompany the punitive expedition of the governor Martim Affonso de Sousa against the ruler of Jaffna who had slain the Christians. Up to the present the political condition of India had prevented its execution. But a new hope for the conversion of the pearl island had been kindled after the sudden death of the two Ceylonese princes. In Malacca Xavier had heard of the baptism of the king of Kandy. In Cochin he was to learn the truth about Ceylon.

2. THE DISMISSAL OF MANSILHAS (MID-JANUARY, 1548)

In Cochin Master Francis was greeted with deep respect by the people of the city;⁴ and he was given a cordial reception by his old friend Pedro Gonçalves, the *vigario*, whose rectory was the inn for all the members of the Society of Jesus who passed through the city.⁵ Xavier found two of his confreres there—Francisco Mansilhas, his former companion on his voyage to India and on the

² According to Pérez, the storm lasted seven or eight days (according to a copy of this letter, edited in SIE 68, six or seven days).

³ EX I 409.

⁴ DI I 367.

⁵ DI I 410.

Fishery Coast, and Adam Francisco,⁶ who was not as yet ordained a priest. In the neighboring Franciscan monastery, he was able to greet the bishop, Frey Juan de Albuquerque, with whom he had been on close terms of friendship from the time of his first arrival in India. Frey Juan had come to visit his own flock, but also the Thomas Christians.⁷ In Cochin Xavier also met Frey João de Villa de Conde, the superior of the Ceylon mission,⁸ and three friars of the Bassein mission who wished to return to Portugal.⁹

The last ship of the Portugal fleet, the *Nao Nova*, had arrived from Ceylon on January 9, and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, the *vedor da fazenda*,¹⁰ and Antonio Correa, the factor, were busy loading it. A number of Francis' old acquaintances had come to Cochin to take this ship for Lisbon: the former India secretary Antonio Cardoso; the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa, a great benefactor of St. Paul's College; and Manuel Lobo, the son of Antonio Lobo.¹¹

Xavier also met Diogo Pereira, his great friend, with his brother Guilherme when he arrived in Cochin. Pereira had come to ready his merchantman for China and to obtain the needed authorization for this from the governor. Antonio Cardoso had already warmly recommended him to Dom João de Castro in a letter of January 8. It was also his departing letter to the governor. At its end, after he had recommended to him his grateful servant Dom João Mascarenhas, the former captain of Diu, and Francisco da Silva, the captain of Cochin, he added the following:

Guilherme Pereira and a brother of his named Diogo Pereira, a very deserving person,¹² are here with me. And since I can tell Your Lordship in all truthfulness that you should be served with love, respect, and great affection, I shall kiss the hand of Your Lordship if, after the many favors you have shown me, you will still grant me these three things: to be mindful of them [the persons mentioned in the letter], and to be pleased to honor and favor them during their stay here and at the time of their departure for the kingdom, which will be when Your Lordship orders it and finds convenient.

⁶ EX I 419; DI I 368 457.

⁷ EX I 409.

⁸ *Ibid.* 405.

⁹ *Ibid.* 404.

¹⁰ Also called *São Boaventura* (Q 3599; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 499).

¹¹ EX I 414-415.

¹² Q 2723 (to be dated in 1548!). Antonio Cordeiro, S.J., wrote of the two brothers in his *Historia Insulana* 1 (Lisboa, 1866) 285-286, where he speaks of famous persons of the island of Fayal: "Thomé Pereira, cleric, and his sister Isabel Pereira. She was the sister of Diogo Pereira, 'o da India,' the father-in-law of D. Pedro de Castro (the brother of the count of Basto, D. Fernando de Castro, and of the archbishop of Lisbon, D. Miguel de Castro); and a daughter of Diogo Pereira married Manuel de Saldanha. The same Diogo Pereira of India was also a brother of Guilherme Pereira, who sailed twice as captain to China and had the largest house in India after that of the viceroy; for he had in it three hundred persons with a choirmaster, music, and shawms; and all of his service was of silver and gold. And when he wished to sail to Lisbon in order to be married, he died in the house of his brother Diogo Pereira in Goa and left more than 200,000 *cruzados*. And when his said brother [Diogo] earlier went as ambassador of the king of Portugal to the king of Persia, and the gift that he was taking to the king seemed to him to be too small, he added to it such precious things from his own possessions that their mere worth amounted to more than six thousand *cruzados*. This received the approval of the king of Portugal and his great thanks. In short, this Diogo Pereira was so generous that when his brother Guilherme sent him when he was absent sixty thousand *cruzados* with the request that he should keep them until his return, and when he came after four months and found that his brother had already spent all of them on things to the honor and service of God and of the king, Guilherme never once said a word against him because of it."

The other ships of the annual pepper fleet had already weighed anchor. The *Burgaleza*,¹³ on which the courageous defender of Diu, Dom João Mascarenhas was sailing home, had left on December 22, 1547;¹⁴ and the *São Felipe* with the Spaniards of Villalobos' fleet, including the four Augustinian priests, had sailed on January 7.¹⁵ The *Santa Cruz* had departed on this same day but had been forced to return since its new rudder was not working properly, and it had set out again on the tenth.¹⁶ The *vedor* had sent the clove ship of Duarte de Miranda on to Goa the same day that it arrived, and with it had also sailed Jurdão de Freitas in order to register his complaint with the governor about his own deposal.¹⁷

With a heavy heart Xavier was forced to dismiss Mansilhas.¹⁸ Two years before from Amboina he had urged him for the love of Christ, and had ordered him in virtue of holy obedience, to sail with the next ship for the Moluccas,¹⁹ the home of bloodthirsty headhunters who devoured the bodies of their foes who had fallen in battle, and who mixed poison in the food and drink of their visitors.²⁰

But the sacrifice had been too difficult for the one called, and he had not found the strength to heed it.²¹ He was not the kind of soldier that the Society

¹³ Also called *São Salvador*.

¹⁴ Q 3589.

¹⁵ Q 3596 3599 ("three days before"); cf. 3973.

¹⁶ Also called *Zambuco*. Q 3589 3599.

¹⁷ Q 3599.

¹⁸ Xavier probably plays on this when he writes to Rodrigues: "I am not writing to you of the affairs of India, for I only came here eight days ago from Malacca and have no knowledge of them; and the few things that I do know, I am pained to know." (EX I 419). Noteworthy at least is the fact that Xavier passes over in silence his former companion in his letters to Rodrigues and to his confreres in Rome. To the latter he wrote: "I came eight days ago to India and until today I have not yet seen the priests of the Society, and I therefore do not write of them and of the fruit which they have gained in these parts since their arrival" (*ibid.* 393); and to Rodrigues: "Of all those whom you sent, I saw only Beira, Ribeiro, and Nicolao [Nunes], who are in Maluco, and Adam Francisco, whom I met in Cochin" (*ibid.* 419). The name of Mansilhas from then on disappears completely from his letters to his confreres, and even the visitor Valignano never mentions him by name in his history of the Indian mission (cf. Valignano 100*).

¹⁹ EX I 340-342.

²⁰ Xavier also sent with this letter the description of the Moluccas and their inhabitants (*ibid.* 324-326 331-333).

²¹ Pérez wrote of Mansilhas in 1548: "no se halló dispuesto" (DI I 364), and Morais in 1549: "se halló indispueto" (*ibid.* 456) when Xavier summoned him to Molucca. The expression is ambiguous. It can mean that he could not go or that he did not want to go. That Xavier dismissed Mansilhas for his disobedience is stated by all of Xavier's historians and biographers who do not pass over the event in silence (such as Polanco, Teixeira, Valignano, and Lucena): Seb. Gonçalves 3, 10; Orlandinus I. 5, n. 94; Bartoli, *Asia* 7, 38; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 2, 1, 46; and F. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 264-265. In October 1549, Ignatius wrote to Xavier "que haze bien de despedir los admitidos en la Compañía, que no hazen buena prueba" (DI I 515). Xavier had up to this time only dismissed one—Mansilhas, and he had probably informed the general about this in an accompanying, no longer extant, note. Even after his dismissal Mansilhas always maintained a great affection for Xavier, and he preserved the letters which the latter had written to him on the Fishery Coast as precious relics his whole life long. As a witness in the process of 1557, he gave a touching acknowledgement of his reverence for the saint (MX II 316-321). When he was dying in Cochin in 1565, he asked Xavier's confreres to be with him during his last hours; and he consoled them with his pious death, as Father Jerónimo Rodrigues wrote on January 20, 1566 (DI VI 738).—*Brodrick*, who erroneously assumes that Sousa, in his *Oriente Conquistado*, published in 1710, was the first author

of Jesus needed in the contests of the mission field. His example could become contagious. Without prompt obedience, it would be impossible to rule in the vast distances and slow communications of the Portuguese East. A single disobedient priest could deprive the new converts, who were still weak and imperiled in their faith, for years of their shepherd. Further, Mansilhas, as a missionary assistant, only belonged to the Society of Jesus in a broad sense of the term. Hitherto its only members were, properly speaking, the professed. Only through the brief *Exponi nobis nuper* of June 5, 1546, which Xavier did not receive in Malacca until 1547, had the pope permitted the order to assume spiritual and temporal coadjutors in addition to the professed.²² Francis therefore dismissed his former companion in peace and gave him as a secular priest to the bishop for his diocese that was so poor in spiritual assistants.

The second confrere whom Master Francis met in Cochin was Adam Francisco, whom he had never seen before. Francisco had entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra as a young student on November 8, 1542;²³ and on April 8, 1546, he had, not yet a priest, sailed with eight companions from Lisbon for India. They had been divided up among three ships. Adam Francisco sailed with the priests Francisco Pérez and Francisco Henriques on the *Flor de la Mar* under Captain Manuel de Lima. There were six boats in the fleet, with which the king was sending sixteen hundred men to India because of the threatening danger from the Turks.²⁴ Miguel Vaz, the vicar general, was also returning to the mission with it; and in addition to the Jesuits the fleet was carrying six Franciscans²⁵ and some Abyssinian monks with letters for Preste João and the Portuguese who were serving under him.²⁶ Xavier's appeal for missionaries and the personal efforts of the vicar general at court had not been without effect.²⁷

The voyage had gone smoothly and without a delay off the dread coast of Guinea until the ships had passed the Cape of Good Hope, where contrary winds detained the *Flor de la Mar* for eight long days. It was therefore decided that the outer route around the southern tip of the island of St. Lawrence should be taken directly for India, and the ship reached Goa on September 11. During the voyage Adam Francisco and his superior, Francisco Henriques, had taken generous care of the ailing Father Pérez, who for forty-five days, until the ship had passed the Cape of Good Hope, suffered from seasickness. They had also tended the other sick on the vessel, nursing and consoling them, and encouraging them to go to confession; and they had taught the children their prayers. South

to affirm, and this without "a shred of proof," that Xavier dismissed his friend for disobedience, gives some reasons to show that Mansilhas left the Society for reasons of health (250-253 256-257). But his arguments are not convincing; his thesis does not explain the attitude of Xavier and his confreres, who from then on are completely silent about the priest; and it contradicts the unanimous tradition of the Indian mission.—This note was written thus far when we discovered in 1965 the *Informação* composed by Pérez in 1579. As superior in Cochin from 1553 to 1558, he personally knew Mansilhas, who was living there. In this document he clearly states: "1547, quando chegaram os navios de Malaca a Goa,—qu'ê em Fevereiro ou em Março—vierão cartas do P. M. Francisco [que Francisco] de Mansilhas [e] o P. João de Beyra fossem a Maluco; e Francisco de Mancilhas não se atreveo e não foi e por isso foi excluído da Companhia" (54-55).

²² For the brief *Exponi nobis nuper*, see above, p. 232.

²³ ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 1.

²⁴ Q 2016.

²⁵ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 295, n. 2; EX II 33.

²⁶ Q 2039-2040 2046 3374 3516.

²⁷ *Ep. Mixtae* I 231; Q 2001 2016.

of the Cape of Good Hope they had suffered much from the cold since they had not brought enough warm clothing with them and had there encountered huge mountain waves and violent storms. On the other side of the cape some of the people had become sick. Adam Francisco and Francisco Henriques had been afflicted with a violent fever until they reached India. Their ship was the first of the fleet to reach Goa, and the whole city celebrated its arrival with the ringing of all the bells. Diu was being besieged at the time by the superior forces of the king of Cambay, and the people had been waiting with great concern for the arrival of the fleet. On reaching Goa the new companions were given a hearty welcome by their confreres in the College of St. Paul.²⁸

They remained in Goa until March, 1547. Then, following the instructions which Xavier had sent in his letter from Amboina, Adam Francisco and Francisco Henriques, Fathers Henrique Henriques and Cipriano, and Brothers Manuel de Morais and Baltasar Nunes, who had arrived with the same fleet, went to the Fishery Coast.²⁹ After the rainy season Adam Francisco returned with Baltasar Nunes to Goa;³⁰ and before the end of the year he went to Mansilhas in Cochin and there converted to Christianity a very prominent pagan Malabar with his wife, children and entire household, to the great edification of the city.³¹ Adam Francisco could inform Xavier about the condition of the Society in India.³² There were three priests in the College of St. Paul—Misser Paulo, the ailing Nicolò Lancilotto, and Francisco Pérez. There were also three brothers—Roque de Oliveira, who had entered in India, and two who had come from Lisbon to join the order in India: Affonso de Castro and Gaspar Rodrigues, one of whom was acting as porter and giving instructions in Christian doctrine while the other was explaining the Psalms. Pérez was in the meantime continuously occupied with hearing confessions and other labors. On the Fishery Coast were Antonio Criminali, Henrique Henriques, and Alonso Cipriano, and a brother, Manuel de Morais.³³

Francisco Henriques had been sent to Travancore, where he had remained for three months. But when the king, incited by the Moors, had forbidden further baptisms and had sought to compel the Christians to fish also on Sundays, he had gone to Quilon to make a complaint to the captain of the fortress. From there, on the advice of the captain and the priests, he had gone to the governor in Goa to ask his help. But since the governor was busy with the Cambayan war, he could achieve nothing.³⁴ He therefore went to Chale,³⁵ which lay half-

²⁸ According to the travelogue of Francisco Pérez (DI I 360-362).

²⁹ EX I 341; DI I 157 178.

³⁰ The two were both in Goa on October 10, 1547 (DI I 188).

³¹ In January, 1549, Morais wrote: "El P. Francisco de Mansillas y Adán Francisco fueron después para Cochín, adonde por industria del Hermano adán se convirtió un hombre gentil, malavar, muy homrrado, con su muger y hijos y casa, lo que no fué de poca edificación" (DI I 457); and Pérez declared in December, 1548, that the brother had converted him through his "industria y importunidad" (*ibid.* 368).

³² Xavier asked about the rest of the brethren (EX I 419).

³³ Letter of Adam Francisco, of the beginning of 1548 (DI I 258), and of F. Pérez of December, 1548 (*ibid.* 368-369).

³⁴ Cf. the letters of H. Henriques of December 6, 1547 (DI I 226-227), of F. Henriques of December 8, 1547 (*ibid.* 229), of Adam Francisco of the beginning of 1548 (*ibid.* 259), of Cosme Anes of November 30, 1547 (*ibid.* 216-217), and especially that of F. Henriques of January 6, 1548, from Cochin (*ibid.* 264-266), which Wicki would roughly place on January 13, since the writer of the letter at the end says that he also had received the news that P. M. Franciscus was coming from Malacca. But this news was brought by a ship before Xavier's arrival in Cochin, probably the clove ship of Duarte de Miranda,

way between Goa and Cochin, with Brother Baltasar Nunes, who had also been driven out of Travancore. Miguel Vaz had already founded a small Christian community in Chale,³⁶ and the two were there given a warm welcome by both Christians and pagans since the rajah himself encouraged the conversions of his subjects. Fifteen days after their arrival the captain of the fortress, Dom Bernardino da Silva de Meneses, had met them on Christmas day with two ship captains, and they had decided to build a church and school. A native Christian had donated an enclosed piece of ground for this that had earlier belonged to a captain of the fortress. Sixty or seventy *cruzados* and 2,500 building stones had also been brought together for the same purpose. But the vicar of the small fortress was afraid that he would lose a part of his income through the new foundation. When he raised a protest against it, Henriques went to the bishop in Cochin. But here too he encountered opposition to the plan. The bishop refused to give permission for the opening of a school because his companion, a Franciscan priest, wished, as Henriques surmised, to found a school there himself.³⁷ Not discouraged by this, however, he had returned from Cochin to Chale shortly before Xavier's arrival, still confident that he would soon get the required permission;³⁸ and he was there at the time with Brother Baltasar Nunes.³⁹

3. THE VICTORY OF DIU (NOVEMBER 10, 1546)¹

In Amboina Xavier had heard at the end of April, 1547, the first news of the siege of Diu in the preceding year;² and in Malacca his three confreres, who

which arrived at Cochin on January 6 (cf. Q 3596 3599). That the letter was written on January 6 is indicated by the observation of the author that on the following day two ships would sail for Portugal. This occurred on January 7, as we have seen above. On October 10, 1547, Lancilotto wrote from Goa that Brothers Baltasar Nunes and Adam Francisco were there, and that Antonio Criminali, Cipriano, H. and F. Henriques and Francisco de Mansilhas were on Cape Comorin (DI I 182 188). On October 14 the governor was anchored with his fleet near the bar of Goa ready to sail for Cambay (Q 3403), and on the nineteenth he was already on his way there (Q 3408). F. Henriques thus came to Goa between October 10 and 19, "at an inopportune time," as Cosme Anes wrote from Bassein on November 30 (DI I 216-217).

³⁵ Chāliyām between Calicut and Tanor (cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 530, n. 2).

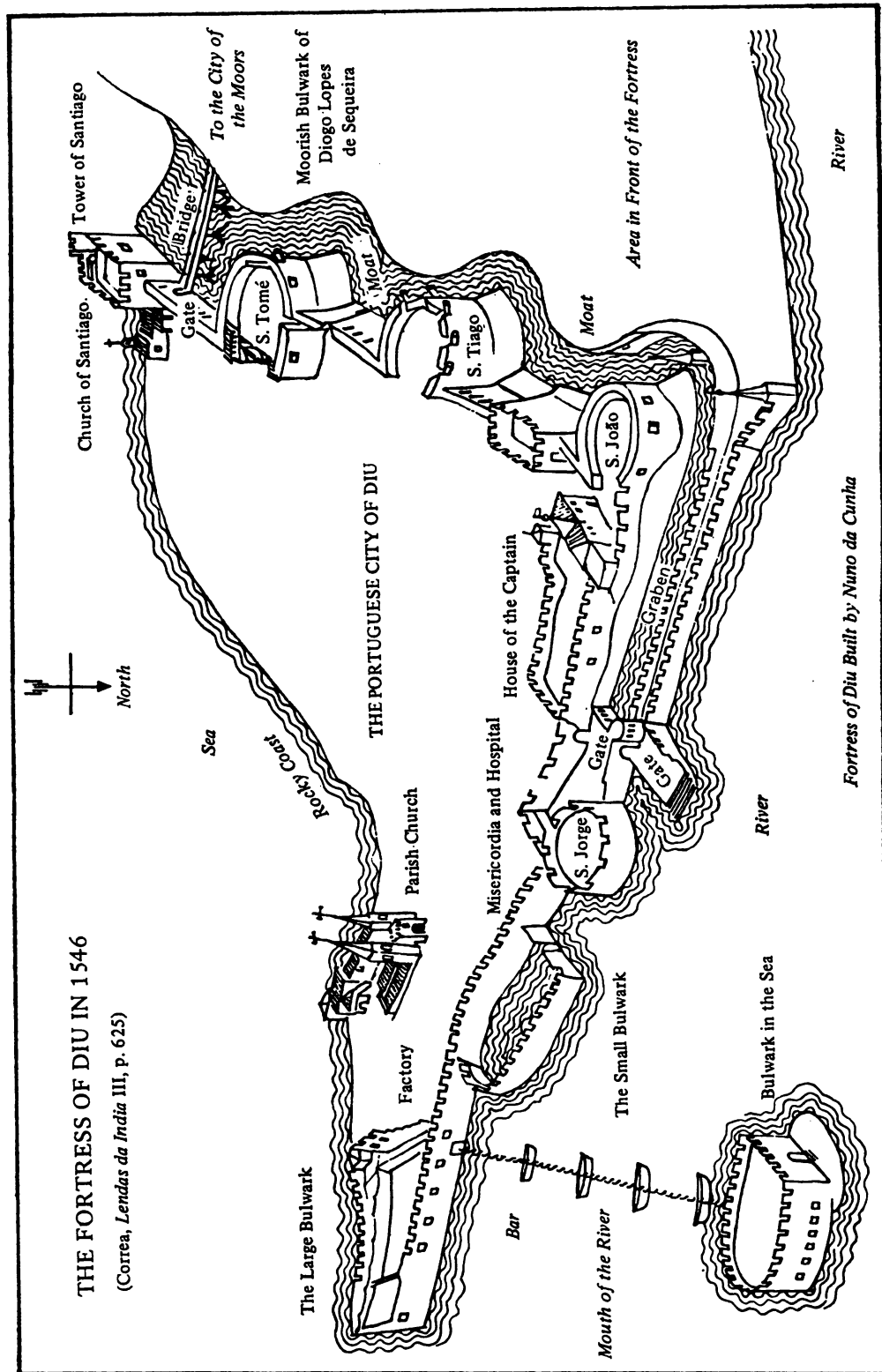
³⁶ *Ibid.* 239-240 288 299-300 326-327; SR II 330.

³⁷ DI I 258-259 265-266.

³⁸ In his letter of January 6, 1548, F. Henriques wrote to Rodrigues that he would very soon have permission to found the school, and he asked him to send him an altar-piece of the conception of St. Ann and another of the Annunciation for the church and school (*ibid.* 266). That he had already departed before Xavier's arrival on January 13 is indicated by the latter's letter of January 20, where he writes that he had not yet seen any priest of the Society in India (EX I 393 419); and Pérez notes that F. Henriques and Baltasar Nunes were in Chale when Xavier sent them to the Fishery Coast (DI I 368).

³⁹ Baltasar Nunes saw Xavier for the first time on October 10, 1548 (*ibid.* 317).

¹ The sources for the following section, which describes the final phase of the second siege of Diu, from September to November, 1546, are assembled in Q, index, pp. 557-558. These contemporary sources have been partially published by Baião in his *História Quinhentista (inédita) do Segundo Cêrco de Dio* (Coimbra, 1925), and by E. Sanceau in *Cartas de D. João de Castro* (Lisboa, 1955). The most important contemporary sources are: (1) the two accounts of the governor, D. João de Castro, of November 15, and December 16, 1546 (*Cartas* 189-196 257-294); (2) the account of the captain of the fortress, D. João Mascarenhas, of December 8, 1546 (Q 2567, edited by Santiago Montoto in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la historia de Ibero-América* 1 [1927] 139-158, a Spanish translation full of typographical errors); (3) the two extensive accounts of L. Nunes, who was one of the soldiers at the siege: his *Sumario*, composed immediately after the siege (Q 2677, ed. Baião, *História* 1-105), and his *Crónica de Dom João de Castro*,



had set sail from Goa on April 12, 1547, had told him how the governor Dom João de Castro had liberated the beleaguered fortress on November 10, 1546, by his brilliant victory over the Mohammedan forces.³ The victory was on everybody's tongue when Xavier landed in Cochin on January 13, 1548. And here he encountered one, an eyewitness, who could give him a precise account of what had happened.

Manuel Lobo Teixeira⁴ was the son of Antonio Lobo.⁵ In 1537 he had married Beatriz, the sister of Gonçalo Barbosa, who had fallen with Dom Paulo da Gama in 1534 in the battle with the Moors near Malacca. Through his marriage Teixeira had obtained the right to become a factor of Chaul.⁶ In the same year as his marriage he had sailed to India, where he had served the king in the fleet for ten years. In 1546 he was in Diu when the fortress was besieged by the troops of the sultan of Cambay, and he had been one of those who had been blown up by a mine in the bulwark of São João on August 10. In the explosion he had suffered severe burns on his hands and feet. He had also been frequently wounded in the battles; and, during the last combat, on November 10, one of his legs had been shattered by a cannon ball that had so crippled him that he was no longer fit for military service. He was now returning to Portugal to obtain a reward for his labors, and he asked the priest for a recommendation to the king.⁷

The arrival of Dom Alvaro, the son of the governor, had brought the number of defenders of Diu at the end of August, 1546, from 150 up to 650.⁸ But the unfortunate sortie in which Dom Francisco de Meneses and his seven companions were killed had encouraged the Moors; and Dom João Mascarenhas, the captain of the fortress, and Dom Alvaro had earnestly asked for further reinforcements.⁹

Within ten days Dom João de Castro had these ready. On September 7 Vasco da Cunha was sent to bring to the fortress some ships and crews of Dom Alvaro's fleet, which had been left behind in Chaul and Bassein.¹⁰ On September 16, four days after the arrival of the first ship from Portugal, four caravels had set sail from Goa¹¹ with 350 *lascars*, 200 builders and stone masons, and provisions and large supplies of ammunition. Among the officers was Cosme de Paiva, the former captain of the Fishery Coast. At the beginning of October

completed in 1550 (Q 4397, ed. Ford 1936, pp. 109-133, cited simply as Nunes); (4) the brief account of Miguel Rodrigues, who also fought in the siege (Q 2516, ed. Baião, *Historia* 234-239); (5) the extensive account of Gaspar Correa, which he derived from reports of those who had taken part in the siege (*Lendas* IV 527-538 540-570). *Accounts* are also given in the contemporary documents mentioned in Q 5076 5085 and 5087, on p. 518, and also in Couto 6, 3, 7-10 and 6, 4, 1-2 (to be used with caution!), and Sanceau, *D. João de Castro* (Porto, 1946) 281-306. The accounts in Francisco de Andrada, *Chronica do Rey Dom João o III* (Lisboa, 1613, an abstract from Correa) and J. Freire de Andrade, *Vida de D. João Castro* (Lisboa, 1836, an abstract from Couto, but with a valuable appendix of documents in this edition) present nothing new.

² Above, pp. 201-204.

³ See above, pp. 201-204.

⁴ Baião 224.

⁵ *Emmentia* 339. He is not to be confused with the son of Dr. Francisco de Mariz.

⁶ TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 6, 74-v.

⁷ EX I 415; Baião 224.

⁸ Baião 132; Mascarenhas 154.

⁹ Castro, *Cartas* 257; Q 2355 2359 2369; Couto 6, 3, 7.

¹⁰ Q 2394 2407-2408 2410 2415 2428 2431 2433 2434 2439; Castro, *Cartas* 257-260; Baião 78; L. Nunes 109-111; Correa IV 528-529; Couto 6, 3, 7-8.

¹¹ Castro writes that the captains of these caravels were "homens muito onrrados e valentes Cavaleiros, e levavam muita e boa gente" (*Cartas* 257; cf. 166); Correa IV 528-529.

the number of defenders at Diu had thus risen to 1,300. Almost all of these were equipped with guns, but only six hundred were well. More than three hundred were sick and unfit for fighting.¹² Castro had also sent with these ships men who knew other languages. Dressed as Gujars, they poisoned the springs and wells of the Moorish camp and city, causing the death of many of the opposition.¹³

Nevertheless, despite all the help, the condition of the camp at the end of October was extremely critical. The superiority of the Moors was overwhelming. There were more than twenty thousand picked soldiers of the most militant peoples of the East—Turks, Abyssinians, Arabs, and Rajputs—under the command of the experienced general Rūmī Khān, and more than forty thousand Gujars and laborers.¹⁴ The fortress was now in ruins. As much of it was in the hands of the Moors as in those of the Portuguese, and it was a miracle that the captain could still resist.¹⁵ The moat had disappeared. It had been filled up by the enemy so that it could no longer be seen. The walls had been demolished. The bulwark had been captured, and on its ruins the enemy had erected their own redoubts, bastions, and ramparts. They had placed their artillery upon these and fired upon the Portuguese dwellings. Somewhat farther from the fortress the enemy had built a wall of hewn stones eight feet thick and thirteen feet high with many bulwarks and paths between the sea and the river. This complex had been constructed by five Turkish engineers whom Khoja Safar had obtained from Constantinople specifically for this purpose. The houses of the fortress, which were only protected by a thin stone wall without mortar, had for the most part been torn down in order to build new fortifications with their materials. Those which still remained had lost their roofs and plaster in the continuous bombardments, and their walls had been pierced by the enemy's shots. The bulwark of St. John had been blown up; that of St. Thomas had collapsed; and the captain had built a new one behind it. Opposite this the Moors had built another, higher than that of the Portuguese, which dominated the whole fortress; and from it they hurled many large drums of gunpowder and huge blocks of stones into the houses with their machines. They were also busy day and night undermining the new bulwark of St. Thomas and that of Santiago, and the captain found it necessary to neutralize their labors with countermines.¹⁶

This was the state of affairs when the fleet of the governor appeared before Diu on November 6¹⁷ and, on the following afternoon, a Sunday, anchored in the bar of the river.¹⁸ It consisted of eighty ships, including thirteen galleons

¹² According to Vasco da Cunha, who wrote from Diu on October 5, 1546 (Baião 197). Mascarenhas wrote on the same day that there were around 500 well and 250 ill (*ibid.* 172). According to Nunes there were, after the arrival of the caravels, more than 1,700 men, all with muskets (Baião 78; Nunes 112).

¹³ Nunes 111-112.

¹⁴ Castro, *Cartas* 271; cf. Q 2638. Others estimated the number of opponents as twenty-four or twenty-five (Q 2504), and thirty thousand (Q 2506). On November 5 Vasco da Cunha wrote that the king of Cambay had also sent ten thousand more men in addition to many warriors of other races (Baião 204-205).

¹⁵ Baião 215.

¹⁶ On the condition of the fortress see Castro, *Cartas* 266-268; Baião 76-77 80 93-94 234-236; Q 2378.

¹⁷ Castro, *Cartas* 190 264; Correa IV 551-552.

¹⁸ Castro, *Cartas* 190 264; Baião 82; Nunes 166; Correa IV 552; Couto 6, 3, 10. According to Miguel Rodrigues, he arrived in the afternoon (Baião 237).

and caravels¹⁹ with over two thousand men: fifteen hundred Portuguese;²⁰ six hundred native soldiers from Goa, Chaul, and Bassein; and two hundred Nāyars from Malabar.²¹ Among the many *fidalgos* who accompanied Castro was Dom Manuel de Lima, who had only recently arrived from Portugal. Following the orders of the governor, he had laid waste the entire coast of Cambay between Damão and Broach with fire and sword; he had cut off the supplies of the besiegers and had burned and sunk 20 large and 120 small ships.²² Simão Botelho²³ had come from Ormuz, and old Miguel Ferreira from the Coromandel Coast. He had not relinquished the opportunity to engage in this "pilgrimage" against the Moors.²⁴ During the night of November 6 and 7, the admiral of the Portuguese fleet, Lourenço Pires de Távora, was also able to greet his old friend the governor. Immediately after landing in Cochin he had boarded a *catur* and had succeeded in reaching the fortress just in time for the battle.²⁵

The fleet was received by the besieged with jubilant *salvos* from the guns of the ships, fortress, and bulwark on the sea. A consultation was immediately held as to where and when the landing could be best effected. Different opinions were expressed, but it was finally decided that during the three following nights, as the tide was coming in, the troops should be secretly ferried to the walls on the eastern tip of the island, which was turned away from the foe. With the help of ladders²⁶ they would then be brought into the fortress in order to strike the foe from there.²⁷

The attack gate was on the southwest between the bulwark of St. Thomas and the tower of Santiago, where a bridge passed over the moat. Opposite, on the shore of a small inlet, the Moors had a small bulwark known as the bulwark of Diogo Lopes. To deceive the enemy and to divert its troops, Castro had a report spread about the fortress and the fleet that he wanted to land near this bulwark in order to attack its camp. To strengthen the opposition in this belief, the governor sailed the same day towards the Moorish city in a *fusta* with his chief captains and refused to be diverted by the defensive fire of the Moors along the southern coast, as if he wished to discover a suitable site for landing. As soon as he had returned to the fleet, he sent three caravels at sunset with an order to anchor before the enemy's bulwark and to bombard it continuously from morning to evening on the following day, November 8. As a consequence, the Moors sent the greater portion of their guns and a large number of their troops there in order to prevent a landing by the governor.²⁸

On the third day, November 9, from morning till evening, and during the whole of the following night, the walls of the enemy, which reached from the sea in the south to the river in the north, and their advance constructions were continuously bombarded by the artillery near the southern attack gate and by

¹⁹ Castro, *Cartas* 168 262 263; Baião 82 237; Nunes 116; Couto 6, 3, 9, p. 241.

²⁰ Fifteen hundred Portuguese (Nunes 116), around fourteen hundred Portuguese and three hundred native soldiers (Castro, *Cartas* 263). On October 27 he wrote: "I am bringing two thousand men" (*ibid.* 277-278); around sixteen hundred (Mascarenhas 157).

²¹ Correa IV 532 554; cf. Q 2407 3828 and Baião 85, where *remo* instead of *Reyno* is to be read.

²² Castro, *Cartas* 261-264; Nunes 113-115; Correa IV 531 549; Couto 6, 3, 9.

²³ Baião 176; cf. Q 2460 4098.

²⁴ Castro, *Cartas* 293-294; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 289-290.

²⁵ Castro, *Cartas* 264; Nunes 115.

²⁶ Wooden ladders (Baião 82, Nunes 117). Couto mentions rope ladders 6, 3, 10.

²⁷ Castro, *Cartas* 190-192 264-265; Baião 82; Nunes 116-117.

²⁸ Castro, *Cartas* 191-192 265; Baião 237-238; Nunes 116-117; Correa IV 553.

that on the bulwark in the sea to the north in order to breach them so that the enemy camp could be assaulted on the following day.²⁹

Two hours after nightfall, the governor landed with the rest of his troops on the east tip of the island, where the wall of the fortress was crossed with the help of ladders³⁰ as had been planned. Late that same night he sent fifty *fustias* under the command of the experienced pilot Nicolau Gonçalves³¹ with secret instructions for the three caravels near the Moorish bulwark of Diogo Lopes. The masts of the boats were lowered, and they were carrying in addition to the rowers five hundred native soldiers and the artillerymen needed to man the guns. The soldiers were ordered to hold their pikes erect and the oarsmen to row with one hand and to hold a burning match in other to create the impression of an attack force of heavy guns. On the main *fusta* were numerous musicians with instruments used in war: trumpets, kettledrums, and oboes; and a great banner was lit up with four torches in order to strengthen the impression among the foe that the governor was coming in person to attempt a landing. The instructions further stated that when a signal, the launching of three rockets, was given from the fortress at the break of dawn on the following day, the fleet should start rowing directly towards the bulwark of Diogo Lopes with loud cries and the sounding of trumpets. All the cannons should be fired and a landing feigned so that he, the governor, might in the meantime be able to leave the fortress and take the enemy's walls by storm and create havoc in the opposing camp before the Moors perceived the ruse.³² At the same time a flotilla on the north side of the river under the command of Martim Branco should make a feint attack with Francisco de Sequeira and his two hundred Nāyars upon the Moorish city in order to draw off there as well a portion of the enemy troops from the principal point of attack.³³

The Moors, who saw that the decisive battle was at hand, had not in the meantime remained idle. They labored feverishly to strengthen their position. The area between their wall and the bulwark of St. Thomas was made impassable by a labyrinth of paths and pits, and they cleared the trench that had been filled in near the bulwark of Diogo Lopes. Many casks of powder, fire-bombs, and heavy stone blocks were held in readiness on the wall between the sea and the river; and around seven hundred artillerymen and numerous archers were stationed upon it. The bulwark which terminated the wall at the river was widened and provided with three or four heavy guns; and fifteen thousand men were assembled, including seven thousand Turks and other foreign mercenaries, in order to defend this line of fortification and its works. The bulwark of Diogo Lopes, which had been demolished for building the wall, was reconstructed during the three days and equipped with numerous pieces of artillery and a force of seven hundred men. An equal number secured the bridge of ships which crossed the river to the Villa dos Rumes. As many guns as possible were arranged on the bridge which led from the attack gate into the open area;³⁴ and Rūmī Khān,

²⁹ Mascarenhas 157; Baião 83; Nunes 117-118; Correa IV 553.

³⁰ Castro, *Cartas* 193 266; Nunes 120; Correa IV 555.

³¹ Castro calls him "mestre" of the ship (*Cartas* 266), Correa "patrão" of Cochin (IV 525 554-555). The king of Cranganore in 1548 called him a former "patrão" of Cochin (Q 3926). Nunes calls him "piloto-mor" (120).

³² Castro, *Cartas* 192-193 266; Baião 89; Nunes 120-121; Correa IV 554-555.

³³ Correa IV 554.

³⁴ Castro, *Cartas* 266-267; Baião 83-86; Nunes 118-120.

with his twenty-three thousand men, was sure of victory and looked upon the coming attack of the governor with a certain amount of contempt.³⁵

The deciding battle was set for November 10, the vigil of the feast of St. Martin.³⁶ When all the troops were brought into the fortress, which raised the number of its inhabitants, including the slaves, laborers, and women, to around three thousand,³⁷ the governor held a consultation with Mascarenhas and the captains on the way the foe should be attacked the next morning. It was decided that the sortie should be made at dawn in two divisions. The first to leave the gate should be Dom João Mascarenhas with the men of the fortress. The second should be made immediately afterwards by the governor with those of the fleet attacking on foot.³⁸ The suggestion that native troops should be sent ahead because the ground was probably mined was rejected. The Portuguese took it as a point of honor that they should undertake the most perilous part of the enterprise and be the first to storm the enemy posts.³⁹

In the meantime Antonio Correa,⁴⁰ the former factor of Bassein, should keep guard in the fortress and, in case of necessity, defend it with two hundred Portuguese, most of whom were sick, and two hundred native soldiers.⁴¹ At the time of the murder of Sultan Bahādur, Correa had fought and slain "Tiger," the bravest of the Moors. During the course of this duel he had received twenty-two wounds and had been since then lame in one leg.⁴²

No one slept the night before the battle. The men readied their weapons and best clothes and went to confession, for they were confronted with a desperate battle for life or death; and each one had to be ready to stand before the judgment seat of God on the following day. The governor issued an order that no prisoners should be taken and that no Moors, men, women, or children, should be left alive. And a reward was set for the first three to plant the Portuguese banner on the enemy's walls.

At the break of dawn the three rockets, as had been ordained, gave the signal for the feint attack to the ships near the bulwark of Diogo Lopes. On the side of the river, in the square before the church of the Misericórdia, Mass was celebrated so that all could see the Blessed Sacrament. After the Mass the *Confiteor* was recited and the *vigario* gave a general absolution to all.⁴³

³⁵ Nunes 119; earlier he wrote 25,000 (Baião 84). Mascarenhas notes that after the battle they heard that there had been 27,000 men (158).

³⁶ According to Castro (*Cartas* 272); Nunes (122; Baião 86), and Miguel Rodrigues (Baião 238). Correa (IV 557) and Couto (6, 4, 1) erroneously place the battle on the feast of St. Martin, November 11.

³⁷ SR III 387; Correa IV 533 555; fewer than 3,000 (DI I 230).

³⁸ Castro, *Cartas* 267; Correa IV 555.

³⁹ Correa IV 556. Vasco da Cunha had written to the governor that he should bring 2,000 native soldiers for this with him (Baião 199).

⁴⁰ Antonio Correa was fifty years old and factor of Cochin when he wrote to the king in January, 1548, of his services (Q 3595). Xavier met him there and four years later, at the beginning of 1552, recommended him to John III because of his services in the war and in the loading of pepper (EX II 307). He had accompanied M. A. de Sousa in the expedition to the pagoda in 1543. On him see Q, index: Antonio Correa II. On his defense of the fortress on November 10, 1546, see Castro, *Cartas* 269.

⁴¹ Castro, *Cartas* 267-268; Baião 85; Nunes 121; Correa IV 556.

⁴² Correa III 781; IV 556; Sousa Coutinho 78.

⁴³ "Confessarão-se todos e viram Deus," according to Nunes (121; the same expression returns on p. 109). Correa describes the preparations and the Mass in great detail, "em lugar que toda a gente vio o santo Sacramento" (IV 555-557 560); cf. Sanceau 294-298. According to Couto all received Communion at it, which is not very likely (6, 4, 1).

The crucial combat then began—two thousand against twenty thousand,⁴⁴ a battle upon which hung the fate of all India. When Mascarenhas left the gate of the fortress and his four hundred men were crossing the bridge, the Moors fired their cannons at them. Only one of these, as if by a miracle, caught fire; and in the thick press of the crowd only one man was hit and torn to pieces. Others were killed by the fire of the foe's arquebuses; but despite the fierce opposition the soldiers, embittered by the hardships and sufferings of the long siege, stormed on over the bodies of their comrades to the foot of the enemy wall, where a raging battle developed under a storm of arrows and bullets.⁴⁵

Dom João de Castro had followed, leading his men on foot, and was on the point of passing the bridge when the hostile artillery laid many of his soldiers low and they began to turn back. The governor was in danger of being thrown into the ditch and had to hack at the men with his sword in order to make a way for himself and his companions, Lourenço Pires de Távora, the secretary Cardoso, and the guardian Frey Antonio do Casal. In order to encourage his men he had a loud cry raised on the way to the enemy wall: "Victory! Victory! The Moors are fleeing; our men are pursuing them; the governor has already reached the far side of the wall!" This caused a change at the crucial moment. The governor had almost been run over by the superior forces of the Moors when Távora, who had never left his side succeeded in freeing him; and despite all the desperate resistance of the foe, the wall was stormed.

On its opposite side, however, a cruel, bloody, hand-to-hand combat ensued with lances, daggers, and swords beneath a cloud of missiles that darkened the sun. A malodorous cloud of dust rose high up from the ground, and the ears of the warriors were deafened by the clash of arms and the battle cries of the Moors. The governor stormed an enemy bulwark with Távora; the *vedor* Botelho, who had been wounded by an arrow; the guardian, who was bearing a crucifix upon lance; and the standard-bearer Duarte Barbudo, who had been twice struck down but had risen each time and had planted the banner on the enemy wall. The shield of the governor had already been impinged by two, and Távora's by five, arrows when a stone shattered an arm of the crucifix. But the fierce attack of the Portuguese could now no longer be contained. The Moors turned in flight and a fearful slaughter ensued in which no lives were spared.⁴⁶

The ruse was finally recognized by the enemy in the bulwark of Diogo Lopes, but the troops which strove to come to the help of their comrades were now swept along with them in their wild flight, and the victors did not cease in their pursuit until the last man had been slain or had fled to the mainland.⁴⁷ It was all over in two hours.⁴⁸ More than three thousand bodies of the Moors covered the field of battle.⁴⁹ Among those who had been slain was their leader

⁴⁴ According to Castro (*Cartas* 271-272); 2,400 according to Nunes (120); fewer than 3,000 according to Francisco Henriques (DI I 230).

⁴⁵ Castro, *Cartas* 193 267-268; Baião 86-88; Nunes 121-125; Mascarenhas 157; Miguel Rodrigues (Baião 238); Correa IV 557-559; DI I 230. According to Nunes' first draft he had 300 men (Baião 86), according to his second 400 (122).

⁴⁶ Castro, *Cartas* 193 268-270; Baião 88-91; Nunes 123-131; Miguel Rodrigues (Baião 239); Francisco Henriques (DI I 230); Correa IV 559-569; Baião 296; Couto 6, 4, 1-2; Sanceau 286-306. Couto erroneously has D. Alvaro de Castro take part in the battle, and he describes his deeds in detail. But his father, the governor, wrote: "Nesta batalha nam entrou D. Alvaro, meu filho, por estar doente de grandes febres" (*Cartas* 270).

⁴⁷ Castro, *Cartas* 271; Nunes 126-128; Correa IV 563.

⁴⁸ Castro, *Cartas* 193-194 269; Baião 238.

⁴⁹ "More than 3,000" (Castro, *Cartas* 194); "More than 3,000 on the field of battle and

Rūmī Khān.⁵⁰ Despite the orders to the contrary, six hundred were taken prisoner,⁵¹ among them being Jhūjhār Khān, the captain of the Abyssinians.⁵² The sultan's royal banner was captured;⁵³ and thirty-three large, and more than one hundred small, guns and all the ammunition of the camp fell into the hands of the victors.⁵⁴ Jhūjhār Khān and many other prisoners said that between the pinnacles of the church of the fortress they had seen during the battle a woman with a face whiter than snow and the rays that went out from it had blinded them all—it was the Mother of God, who through her intercession had obtained victory for the Christians over the followers of the False Prophet.⁵⁵

Sixty Portuguese had been slain and three hundred wounded.⁵⁶ More than forty had fallen off the wall while it was being stormed.⁵⁷ The first to climb it had been Dom João Manuel. Though he had been wounded by a gunshot, he grasped the top of the wall with his left hand. When this was lopped off, he grasped it with his right, which was clasping his dagger. When this hand in turn was hacked off, he grasped the wall with his stumps despite all the wounds he was receiving until a final blow of a sword carried away half of his head and he fell down dead.⁵⁸ Another followed him up the same ladder, but he had hardly reached the top of the wall when a sword slashed through his thigh, severing his limb from his body; and he too fell dead to the round. This second victim was a *casado* from Goa who had caused much distress to Xavier on the Fishery Coast by his oppression of the Paravas. When Francis left the mission, he told him through Mansilhas that he would write to the king and governor so that they would punish him, and that he would also write to the infante Dom Henrique so that he would do the same through the Inquisition since he had persecuted new converts.⁵⁹ It was none other than Cosme de Paiva, the former

countless numbers in their pursuit, the looting of the city and on the whole island" (*ibid.* 270). "More than 4,000" according to Nunes (131 and Baião 91); "more than 3,000 soldiers, not counting the workers, women, and children" (Correa IV 568); "5,000" according to Couto (6, 4, 2).

⁵⁰ Castro, *Cartas* 194 270; Baião 92; Nunes 128-129; Mascarenhas 197; Correa IV 564. Jorge Nunes brought his head to the governor, as was noted by the inscription on his tomb in Damão (Couto 6, 4, 2, p. 283). Our Rūmī Khān (Muharram bin Safar) was the son of Khoja Safar Salmānī, who was killed in the same siege on June 24, 1546 (Q 2268). According to Nunes (132) almost all the captains of the king of Cambay and many of his relatives and great lords of his court perished in this battle. Majāhid Khān, whom the sultan sent to help in July with 12,000 men (Mascarenhas 151), was only saved by his swift horse (*ibid.* 157; Castro, *Cartas* 194; Baião 92; Nunes 133). On the other Moorish captains see Baião 92; Nunes 133.

⁵¹ Castro, *Cartas* 270.

⁵² Castro, *Cartas* 194 270; Baião 92; Nunes 131. Our Jhūjhār Khān II was the brother of Jhūjhār Khān I (Bilāl Habshī, al°Kabīr), who fell in a battle on the feast of St. James, July 25, 1546 (Q 2464; Baião 92; Mascarenhas 150 = Q 3263). Couto erroneously calls him his nephew (6, 2, 8, p. 143). He was captured by Jorge de Abreu (Q 3642).

⁵³ Castro, *Cartas* 194 270; Nunes 131-132. Correa gives a rough sketch of him IV 569.

⁵⁴ See the list of the 33 guns (Baião 245). The figures vary according as to whether or not the smaller guns are counted: 25 (Castro, *Cartas* 270-271), 40 (*ibid.* 194), 34 (Mascarenhas 158), 36 (Baião 91, Nunes 131), 40 large guns and more than 100 others (Correa IV 569).

⁵⁵ Castro, *Cartas* 272; Baião 92-93; Nunes 133; Francisco Henriques (DI I 230); Correa IV 569-570; Q 2601.

⁵⁶ The number of dead varies: around 40 (Castro, *Cartas* 194), around 60 (*ibid.* 271), 50 dead, 200 wounded (Mascarenhas 158), 55 (Baião 91, Nunes 131), less than 100 dead, over 400 wounded (Correa IV 567), 35 (Couto 6, 4, 2).

⁵⁷ Castro, *Cartas* 193 271; Baião 238; Nunes 124.

⁵⁸ Castro, *Cartas* 272-273; Nunes 123-124; Correa IV 559 567.

⁵⁹ EX I 287.

captain of the Fishery Coast. God had now called him before His judgment seat.⁶⁰

The siege of Diu had exacted another victim. At the end of August Dom Alvaro had come to the help of the fortress. Soon after his arrival Antonio Correa, one of the bravest and boldest *cavalleiros*, had fallen sorely wounded into the hands of the foe. Brought before Rūmī Khān, the commander of the Moorish camp, he had refused as a Christian and vassal of his king to make any kind of reverence before a Moor. For this he was struck four times on the face with a sandal. When he was asked by the commander how many people there were in the fortress he replied: "Two thousand." When he was again asked how many people the governor was bringing, he declared: "Twelve thousand." When Rūmī Khān wanted to know if the governor would fight against him, he replied that he would not only fight and destroy him but that he would also go to Ahmadabad, where the king was. When the Moor praised his fearless answers and promised him half of his possessions if he accepted the religion of Mohammed, he was told that the renegades among the Moors who claimed to be Portuguese were Galicians, Castilians, and foreigners. He knew for certain that no real Portuguese, even the lowest and poorest, would become a Moor even if he were given the whole realm of the king of Cambay. Much less would he as a vassal of his king, as a person of noble blood, and one who was so indebted to the true God, who had created him and had taken him into His holy service, become a Moor. The proposal that had been made to him was such an offense that he, if he could come near to him, would give him a hundred boxes on the ears for it. Enraged at this, Rūmī Khān had all of those present spit on the face of the prisoner. He had the hairs of his beard torn out and his face struck with numerous blows of a sandal. He then had him led naked through the camp and pierced with pointed irons as he went along. His whole face was burned with glowing irons, and his head was finally struck off. All this the prisoner bore with great constancy until he died. The Moors stuck Correa's head on the tip of a lance and showed it scornfully to the besieged. Dom Alvaro was so enraged by what had happened that he wanted to behead two hundred captive Gujar Moors before the eyes of the besiegers on the walls of the fortress. Dom João Mascarenhas, however, dissuaded him from this by noting that the foe could in revenge slay all the captured Portuguese.

The brother of the martyr was João Fernandes Correa, whom Xavier had visited in the jail in Goa in 1542 and had recommended to Martim Affonso de Sousa, and who was now again captain of the Fishery Coast.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Castro, *Cartas* 273; Nunes 124; Correa IV 559 567; Q 3750; Couto 6, 4, 1, pp. 267-268. Castro: "Morreu alem das muralhas." Nunes: "Cortaram huma perna pella coxa d'um guolpe, que saltou afastada hum grande espaço, e elle cayo loguo morto." Correa IV 559: "Sobindo Cosmo de Paiva após elle [João Manuel] na mesma escada, hum morto." Couto: "Dos primeiros foi Cosmo de Paiva. Este homem deo aqui grandes mostras de seu esforço, porque teve só o pezo de todos os inimigos, que carregáram áquella parte; e como o muro era largo, cercando-o hum monte delles, trabalháram pelo matar; mas elle defendendo-se de todos, ferindo e derribando alguns, se fez tão temido a todos, que não ousano a lhe chegarem por diante, o perseguíam por detrás, e pelas ilhargas com muitos arremessos, andando elle já ferido de muitas feridas; e como estava em meio de tantos, hum Turco teve tempo de lhe dar hum golpe por detrás por huma perna, que lh'a cortou quasi toda. Vendo-se o esforçado Cavalleiro sem perna, poz o outro gíolho no chão, e assim se defendeo grande espaço, fazendo cousas notaveis até que o matáram."

⁶¹ Nunes 102-104.

4. THE DEATH OF MIGUEL VAZ (JANUARY 11, 1547)

The bishop had been staying in Cochin since the end of November, busy with the visitation of his flock and of the Thomas Christians. In the churches he had been administering the sacrament of confirmation, conferring Holy Orders, instructing children and native Christians, preaching on Sundays,¹ and hearing confessions, including those of the slaves.² He was greatly consoled at seeing Father Master Francis again, for he always looked upon himself as a member of the Society of Jesus,³ and his most earnest wish was to see the whole of India full of "Apostles," that is, of their confreres.⁴ Two and a half years had flown past since Xavier had left India and much had happened in the meantime on the Indian mission. The principal event had been the severe loss it had experienced through the death of the vicar general Miguel Vaz. The bishop was able to give him a detailed account of it.

Xavier had taken his leave from Miguel Vaz on January 27, 1545, when the latter had embarked in Cochin for Portugal.⁵ He had warmly recommended his friend to the king and to Simon Rodrigues, and he had earnestly entreated them to send him back with the next fleet since the bishop was old and sickly, and Vaz was absolutely necessary in India to protect the flock of Christ from the wolves.⁶ Francis and the bishop had both placed the greatest hopes on Vaz's trip to Portugal and his return.⁷ At court the vicar general had been given a most favorable reception.⁸ In a long memorial he had presented the needs and desires of the Indian mission, and the king had granted his requests.⁹ When Vaz sailed back to India at the beginning of 1546, he took with him letters of the king for the governor,¹⁰ the bishop,¹¹ Xavier,¹² the residents of the island of Goa,¹³ St. Paul's College,¹⁴ the Paravas,¹⁵ and the king of Cochin.¹⁶ He also took with him two detailed instructions, one for himself¹⁷ and the other for the governor,¹⁸ in which the king took up each point of the memorial and gave orders for the necessary measures that should be taken.

The bishop's desire to return to Portugal was granted, and Vaz was named as the administrator of the diocese after the bishop's departure. The nine clerics of the Society of Jesus¹⁹ and the six Franciscans of the Piedade province,²⁰ whom John III

¹ Q 3504 3511 3530 3629.

² Q 2910.

³ Q 4439 4544; EX I 409.

⁴ Q 4056.

⁵ Cf. Vol. II, pp. 496-506.

⁶ EX I 249-250 282.

⁷ SR III 454.

⁸ Q 2085.

⁹ Text with the answers on the margin. See Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 229-230 (Q 1768).

¹⁰ Freire de Andrade 426-439 (Q 2016); Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 293.

¹¹ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 293-294.

¹² EX I 404; cf. II 542, n. 22.

¹³ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 298.

¹⁴ DI I 108-109 (Q 2019).

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 110 111 166 (Q 2785) 159 (Q 2707).

¹⁶ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 302.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 292-307 (Q 2000-2001). On the following, see the memorial (Q 1768), to whose points the instruction is constantly referring.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 311-345 (Q 2018). Vaz received a copy of this instruction from the king (*ibid.* 306).

¹⁹ The text refers to ten Jesuits, but the tenth remained in Portugal (*ibid.* 295).

²⁰ Capuchos, as the Recollects were called.

was sending with the vicar general, should be distributed by Vaz and Master Francis in those fields of labor where they could gain the greatest fruit. The College of St. Paul received an annual income of two thousand *pardaus*, to be paid four times a year from the revenues of Goa.

The king wrote to the governor that the main profit which he wished to draw from his Indian possessions was the progress of the mission, where so many had been converted to the faith, as he had learned through Miguel Vaz and the letters of Father Master Francis; and if he, the governor, also had many other important tasks, still this must be his principal concern.²¹ He should therefore give the missionaries whom he was sending their maintenance and every possible help. And since the new converts were frequently abandoned and expelled by their parents and relatives, he should everywhere support such individuals in case of need from the royal revenues. He asked the vicar general to obtain information on all the churches on the coast of India and to ask the governor to complete or repair them where this was necessary.

In the instruction the king gave further details with respect to the pertinent measures to be taken. Idolatry, as he observed to the governor, is a grievous injury to God which he, the lord of the land, could not tolerate in his territories. According to what he heard, there were still some idols in public and in secret on the island of Goa.²² He must immediately proscribe them, and he should not tolerate anyone making such idols out of stone, wood, copper, or other metals. All public pagan feasts should be abolished. People who were living in houses where idols were suspected to be were forbidden to receive any Brahman preachers or pagans in them, and the governor was to attach the severest penalties to this prohibition. The new converts on the other hand should be treated well, and all the offices that had hitherto been held by pagans in the city of Goa and in the villages of the island should be immediately given to Christians. In particular, the position of *government translator*, of the official who had to read the incoming, and write the outgoing, letters, should be immediately given to a Portuguese or to a native Christian. The office should be taken from Dadaji, its present occupant, a son of Krishna, for his father, despite all the favors which he had received in Portugal from King Manuel and in India from him (King John III), was a great and obstinate foe of the Christian faith, as he heard; and if this was so, he too should lose his office. *Pagan painters* must be forbidden to paint and to sell Christian pictures.—The king further ordered the vicar general to deliver to the residents of the island of Goa the royal letter addressed to them and to encourage in his name the Christians among them to live true to their faith, and he should advise the pagans to be converted to Christianity. In the villages where there were new converts, *schools for the giving of Christian instructions* should be erected and teachers appointed for them; preachers should visit the villages several times a year; and the pagans should also be obliged to come to the sermons. A church of St. Thomas should be built on the island in Neurá-o-Grande at a cost of six hundred *pardaus*. If this had already been constructed, the church of the Holy Cross in Calapur should be completed with the sum. On the island of Chorão, a beautiful and majestic church should also be built.

In the two provinces of Salsette and Bardez on the mainland, which had recently been handed over by Adil Khān, the vicar general should banish idolatry, avoiding as far as possible any provocations to resentment, by erecting crosses on suitable sites and appointing teachers for eventual converts, who should also strive to persuade others to take the same step. Attempts should be made to win the people over to the Christian faith by kindly teaching; and, as the king wrote to the governor, Castro himself should strive to persuade them to become Christians since the employment of force would be a cause of great vexation and would not be convenient. The revenues of these islands should no longer be leased to Krishna and Gopu, about whose tyrannies the people

²¹ Schurhammer, *Ceylon*, 308-309. The queen and the infante D. Henrique wrote the same to him (Q 2049 2054).

²² The text has *pagode*, which can mean either temples or idols. From the context the term has reference to idols.

complained, but to Christians, and these should have the taxes collected by Christians. Further, the Christians should be freed from forced labor on the Ribeira of Goa when the fleet had to be brought into the land or let down into the sea; and usury, customary among the pagans and permitted by the *foral*, should be forbidden. The governor should also forbid the sale of slaves by Portuguese to Moors and other barbaric, non-Christian masters.

As soon as possible the vicar general should go to Bassein and take with him two clerics of the Society of Jesus who had come with him. He should introduce them to their labors and recommend them to the captain of the fortress so that he might provide them with every help and favor. He was writing to the governor that he should build a church to be dedicated to St. Joseph in the fortress and that he should appoint a vicar and beneficiaries for it. The annual income from the mosques, which amounted to 3,000 *pardaus*, should be used for the support of the missionaries in that area.

The vicar general should send another priest of the Society of Jesus to the Christians whom he had himself converted in Chale before his voyage to Portugal. And this priest should instruct them in their faith and make new converts. Each year the governor should give the missionary three hundred sacks of rice from the revenues from Bhatkal to distribute among the poor new converts. In Cochin the pepper merchants of the Thomas Christians complained that the traditional contracts in the purchase of pepper had not been observed. Through the vicar general the king informed them that he was ordering his governor to satisfy them in every way. He was delighted with their good Christian faith, and he asked them to serve him in the future with the same loyalty that they had in the past. He would always be glad to show his favor towards them. Vaz should visit the Thomas Christians in Quilon, where there were many of these engaged in the pepper trade. He should also visit the other native Christians and find out how they were being treated and whether they had been oppressed in their trade or in any other way so that he, the king, might take the necessary measures on their behalf. The vicar general should take care that the officials of the fortress favored them in all things. And the governor should finally have the churches of Cochin and Quilon completed.

John III was writing in person to the king of Cochin; and he ordered the vicar general and the governor to take the matter up also with him, namely, that he should break off the barbaric custom of depriving the new Christians of their goods at the time of their conversion. The governor should also strive to obtain that the superstitious rites employed by the royal magicians at the time of the weighing of the first *bahārs* of pepper be laid aside. Since the king of Ceylon also confiscated the goods of his subjects when they were converted to Christianity, Vaz should strive to have him set this practice aside.

Vaz should also obtain information on how matters stood with respect to the punishment of the king of Jaffnapatam, and if satisfaction had been obtained from him for the murder of the new Christians so that others would not be deterred from taking the same step through fear that they would experience the same barbaric treatment. He wrote moreover to the governor that if M.A. de Sousa had not as yet punished the murderer, he should do so with all severity. The question as to whom the kingdom should then be given would have to be decided by the governor in India, for the matter was not clear. A brother of the tyrant as well as the Christian prince of Ceylon who had fled to Goa and the king of Ceylon himself were all claiming it.²³

The governor, after consulting with Father Master Francis, should free the Pearl Fishery of Tuticorin from the tyrannies of the captains of the Fishery Coast and of the men of their patrol fleet. Further, the vicar general should visit the entire Coromandel Coast and the Christians there; he should discover how they were being treated and who was instructing them; and he should request pertinent orders for this if they were necessary. He should also visit the church of the Apostle Thomas and see in

²³ Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 309-310 337-339.

what condition it was and how it was being served; and he should investigate the disposition of the land and inform him about it so that he, if necessary, could have the requisite provisions taken.

He should also see how the island of Socotra was being tended and if the priests there were instructing the Christians as they had begun to do. He should take care that some were always there, and he should ask the governor for all that was necessary for the mission. He was writing to the governor that he should consult with Vaz on how the Christians there could be freed from the tyranny of the Moors without antagonizing their Turkish overlord so that he became a threat to the Indian Ocean with his fleets.

As soon as the monsoon for Maluco set in, Vaz should ask the governor for all that was needed for the missionaries sailing there. If the island of Macassar was ready for the Gospel, as he heard, he should send missionaries there after obtaining the approval of the bishop and Xavier. The governor should grant the necessary money for the work of making converts in Ceylon and Maluco, and the vicar general should advise the priests who were sent there to open up some hospitals for the poor of those lands and to write to the king if they had any further needs in this regard.²⁴

Vaz had landed in Cochin on October 20, 1546, and the captain of his ship, Lourenço Pires de Távora, had immediately sailed on to Diu in a *catur*²⁵ and had fought there at the side of his old friend Dom João de Castro in the great decisive battle of November 10. The vicar general had not reached Goa until December 10. There he visited the bishop in order to inform him about the success of his voyage to Portugal and to present him with his instruction.²⁶ A rumor was immediately spread that he had come with the authority to banish the Sinai Brahmans who did not wish to become Christians from the island of Goa and to take sharp measures against paganism.²⁷

The rumor was not a complete invention.²⁸ But the king's edicts with regard to these matters could not have come to India at a more unfavorable time, and they encountered not a few opponents even among the Portuguese of the city.

During the night of November 16, news of the tremendous victory at Diu had reached Goa, and both Christians and pagans had celebrated it with great jubilation for eight days, till the feast of St. Catherine. There had been tiltings at the ring, bullfights, sham battles, races, and a solemn procession like that of Corpus Christi from the quay to Nossa Senhora da Luz along the splendidly decorated Rua Direita. All of the officials of the city took part in it. The banner of the city and the standard of Sultan Mahmūd of Cambay, which had been captured in the battle, were carried in it. During the procession there were bell,²⁹ child,³⁰ and sword-dances, and other improvisations. The obligatory large and small demons were also present. Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha had written

²⁴ The bishop had a copy of the governor's instruction (cf. Q 4424) and certainly another of Miguel Vaz's, and he probably took them with him to Cochin, where he could have shown them to Xavier. In any case he gave him an oral account of their provisions (cf. Q 4439).

²⁵ Couto 6, 3, 9, p. 224; Q 2495.

²⁶ Q 2583.

²⁷ DI I 215 (Q 3516; cf. also 2638).

²⁸ Q 4184. The king wrote on March 14, 1549, in his answer to a letter of the city (Q 4184): "Quanto ao que dizeis acerca dos bramanes Sinais e da provisão que Miguel Vaaz levava para serem lançados fora dessa Cidade e Ilha todos os que se nom quizessem fazer christãos, eu escrevo sobre isso ao VisoRei, e elle o proverá como vir que he mais serviço de Deos e meu" (APO I 1, 31).

²⁹ *Folias*.

³⁰ *Pelas*. Dances in which a richly adorned boy danced upon the shoulders of a man.

to the governor about the festivities: "I cannot describe to you how the Brahmans and pagans celebrated this feast here, all on horseback in silken clothes and yellow *pāsodis*."³¹ And Raīs Sharaf, the vizier of Ormuz, who had returned from Portugal after sixteen years of exile, also sent the governor a congratulatory letter. He added that his victory had delighted him and his son Nūr-ud-dīn, and that the Christians, Moors, and pagans in Goa and in all the Deccan and elsewhere were praising him.³²

Diogo Rodrigues de Azevedo came from Diu on December 6; and on the following day, which was three days before the arrival of the vicar general, he handed over a letter of the governor in the chamber in which Castro asked the city for a loan of twenty thousand *pardaus* in order to rebuild the ruined fortress of Diu and to pay his soldiers. It was immediately oversubscribed.³³ As Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha wrote to the governor, "Even the Brahmans and merchants and the *canarins*³⁴ and *gancars*³⁵ contributed generously, and this must be especially appreciated by you. They even offered the jewels of their wives in order to serve Your Lordship."³⁶ Two weeks later, when the money was sent, the city gave the bearer an accompanying document which had been written by the secretary of the city and signed by the representatives of the people—Pero Godinho, João Rodrigues Pais, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, Ruy Dias, Jorge Ribeiro, and Bartolomeu Bispo. This informed the governor that they were sending along with it 20,146 *pardaus* and one *tanga*. The Brahmans, the Hindu merchants, the *gancars*, and the goldsmiths had contributed more than 9,200 *pardaus* without any pressure being put upon them. At the end of the letter was the following:

The city reminds Your Lordship that the pagan residents, merchants and *gancars*, gave a part of this loan, as has been already noted. And we would not be surprised if there are virtuous people near you who would make His Royal Highness believe that they are of no account and that it would be good to expel them from this land. We deem it superfluous to write at length about this matter, for Your Lordship is well aware of it.³⁷

Ruy Gonçalves sent a second letter, in which he wrote:

Diogo Rodrigues de Azevedo is bringing the loan of more than 20,100 *pardaus*, as you are being informed by the city's letter. Half of this money is from the *gancars* and individuals who have revenues of the king.³⁸

Dadaji, the son of Krishna, sent an additional letter in which he told the governor that as soon as Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha and the officials of the chamber spoke to him about the loan, he had immediately assumed the task of raising the money. Within only a few days he had collected more than 9,200

³¹ Q 2500-2501 2557; Correa IV 577-578. *Pāsodi* = "shawl."

³² Freire de Andrade 472-474 (Q 2514).

³³ *Ibid.* 460-466 (Q 2638; cf. 2512 2575).

³⁴ The villagers of Goa.

³⁵ The representatives of the villages.

³⁶ Q 2590.

³⁷ Freire de Andrade 460-466. Among the "virtuous individuals" who wished the expulsion of the Brahmans were, in addition to Miguel Vaz, for example, Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa (Q 1545); the author of the letter (Q 4032); the cathedral chapter, which wanted at least the banishment of some of the Brahmans (Q 3440); and the vicar general, Pedro Fernandes (Q 4427).

³⁸ Q 2643.

pardaus from the natives and had handed them over to the officials of the board. The day before he had received a letter from his father, who had gone to Bijāpur as an ambassador to Adil Khān and had been held prisoner by the king for the past two years because the governor had not handed over Mialī. At the news of Castro's victory at Diu, Adil Khān had put him in irons. He therefore asked the governor not to forget his father as an old servant of Portugal.³⁹

The caravel which brought the loan from Goa to Diu during the Christmas octave⁴⁰ also carried with it Miguel Vaz, who wished to speak with the governor about the instructions he had brought with him,⁴¹ and Frey Antonio do Porto, the guardian of the priests of the Piedade province, and his five companions. Frey Antonio was carrying with him a letter of recommendation from the bishop to Castro, in which he wrote that he had, as provincial, given the habit to four of these, and that he had appointed their guardian as the preacher of his province.⁴² They were to found a mission in Bassein since he could not send any of the members of the Society of Jesus for this purpose.⁴³ Two weeks earlier the bishop had written another letter to the governor in which he informed him of the visit of the vicar general. In it he had observed:

The vicar general Miguel Vaz came here from Cochin four days ago. He is going to Diu to see Your Lordship. There, with your discretion, discernment, experience, and so forth, you will assuage and mitigate everything that has need of this. God willing, I shall speak with Your Lordship about some things as soon as we see each other.⁴⁴

Miguel Vaz himself saw that the time was not favorable for the execution of the royal ordinances that he had brought with him. Six days after his arrival in Goa he had already written a letter to the king in which he said that the first person whom he had visited upon his arrival in Goa had been the bishop. The latter, after he had asked so earnestly to be allowed to return to Portugal, did not now wish to use the permission he had obtained. Vaz then added:

If I did not fear that Your Highness would give me a poor reception, I would sail back in the same ship in which I came, so greatly exhausted have I too become during these past two years. May Your Highness be so disposed that I may do it with the same ships when they return, and that I can enter a religious order.⁴⁵

The ship in which Vaz and his companions were sailing for Diu stopped on the way at Chaul. There, immediately after its arrival, one of the Franciscans died. The next day, January 11, the vicar general, after suffering from the same symptoms, also died in less than twenty-four hours.⁴⁶ There was a rumor of poisoning. The friars asked for an investigation,⁴⁷ and the captain of the fortress,

³⁹ Q 2644; cf. 2563.

⁴⁰ SR III 516 (Q 3440). The ship sailed at the end of December (Q 2645).

⁴¹ Freire de Andrade 454 (Q 2590).

⁴² Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 436 (Q 2642).

⁴³ DI I 413 (Q 4091).

⁴⁴ "Vay ha Dio a ver-se com V.S. Lá com sua prudencia, descriçam he saber etc. temperará e moderará todas as cousas que forem neseçarias" (Q 2583. From this, correct the text in SR III 405).

⁴⁵ Q 2597.

⁴⁶ SR III 516 (Q 3440); Q 2735 4003.

⁴⁷ The vicar general plays on this when he writes: "Do requerimento que dous padres fizeram ao capitam sobre a morte de Miguel Vaz" (Freire de Andrade 456; in SR III 491 the text has been garbled).

Antonio de Sousa, wrote to the governor on January 13 that they had died of cholera. Through the *ouvidor* he had had the bachelor, the apothecary, and the surgeon testify under oath as to whether or not there was a question of poisoning, and all three had sworn that this could not have been the case.⁴⁸

Fifteen days after the death of the vicar general, on January 26, 1547, another friend of Xavier, of the bishop, and of St. Paul's College also died—Master Diogo. He had been in the house of João Alvares, the dean of the cathedral, when he received the news of the sudden death of his friend. With a loud cry and wailing he immediately returned to his own dwelling and went to bed with a high fever that carried him away within four days.⁴⁹ With reference to the rumor about an alleged poisoning of Miguel Vaz, the new vicar general, Master Pedro Fernandes, wrote to the governor in the middle of February:

It seems natural and reasonable to us that one should feel for the death of a friend. But when this is so excessive that one dies from it, this is not characteristic of a discreet and educated man, nor even, I may say it, a mark of a good Christian; for a good Christian is accustomed to make himself conformed to the divine will and not to give immediate credence to an opinion that has been rashly snatched out of the air and circulated among the people. Father Master Diogo was always very credulous during his lifetime, and this has also been shown in his death since he believed in things that had neither hands nor feet; and it is said that he died in this false assumption.⁵⁰

But the rumor with respect to the poisoning of the vicar general was not to be stilled. On February 14, 1547, the bishop had already written that he had lost a great assistant through the death of Miguel Vaz. How and when he died, God alone knew. A good many false testimonies were abroad in Goa.⁵¹ In the middle of November the cathedral chapter wrote a letter to the king that the death of the vicar general had been a great loss for India. Since it had been so sudden, the people had been, and still were, confused. A few days later Mestre Diogo had also died, a man of exemplary life and a great support of the country and of the work of converting the pagans. The licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa would give His Highness a reliable account of his death since he had been present at it.⁵² Fifteen days later Cosme Anes wrote from Bassein that Christians and pagans had experienced great sorrow over the deaths of these two virtuous men, especially that of Miguel Vaz, since they saw in him their sole helper and protector. He then went on:

As soon as the death of Miguel Vaz became known, a rumor went around in many places that the bishop had caused him to be poisoned. It was obvious that this was the greatest slander in the world. The life and character of the bishop clearly indicate of themselves that it would be impossible for him to have even a pullet killed on his own account. As far as I am concerned, I believe that, if Miguel Vaz died of poison, as many affirm, the Brahmans gave it to him since they are engaged in all such evils and treacheries. And they would have done it because a rumor had been spread that

⁴⁸ Q 2735.

⁴⁹ SR III 454 (Q 2784) 490 (Q 2822). Couto errs in stating that at the news of this he immediately became a brother in the monastery of St. Francis and died there a few days later (6, 7, 5, p. 93). He left his library to the college and was buried in its church, as is noted by Pérez, who was present at his death (*Informação* 49).

⁵⁰ SR III 490-491.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 454.

⁵² *Ibid.* 516 (Q 3440).

he had come with the authority of Your Highness to expel the Brahmans from the island of Goa and to do other things of the same kind.⁵³

That the bishop was innocent of the death of Miguel Vaz was obvious, and Xavier learned this from the bishop himself.⁵⁴ He also learned from the bishop that the royal ordinances which had been brought back by the vicar general had for the most part remained unexecuted⁵⁵ for various reasons: the decease of the vicar general; the resistance of the city of Goa to the expulsion of the Brahmans, which had been ordered by Portugal, and about which they had written to the king; and the continuous wars with the king of Cambay and Adil Khān.

5. TANOR AND MANDAPESHVAR (1546-1547)

In 1545 the king of Cochin had died and his eleven-year-old nephew had, according to the Malabar right of succession, succeeded him upon the throne.¹ He was a fine lad² and much happier in the Portuguese city than in his residence in Upper Cochin. He had gone there, despite his tutors' objections, to see bull-fights and tiltings at the ring; and he asked the commander of the fortress, Henrique de Sousa, to show him the Franciscan monastery. When he saw it, he could hardly be taken away from the altars and retables of the church. In 1546 the captain wrote to the governor that he should give him an official chamberlain who, under the pretext of guarding his person, could instruct him in Christianity.³ The factor, Antonio Correa, who came the following year to Cochin and brought a letter of the governor for him, also praised the boy, who had a great loathing for the Brahmans and their pagodas.⁴ But in November Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha wrote to the governor from Goa that he should send the youth a sharp rebuke: he listened too much to the Brahmans and Moors and was beginning to quarrel with all the neighboring kings.⁵ On the same day Gonçalves sailed for Cochin. When he arrived there, he visited the wild little fellow and gave him a letter from Dom João de Castro and large gifts: a horse, velvet and scarlet textiles, berets, caps, and knives;⁶ and he received an elephant for the king of Portugal as a gift in kind.⁷

John III, M. A. de Sousa, his successor, Miguel Vaz, and the bishop had all vainly insisted upon the abolition of the Malabar custom that required the confiscation of the property of those who passed over to Christianity. The order of the king of Portugal which had been published in Cochin and which stated that all who became Christians were to retain their property and that the captains

⁵³ DI I 214-215 (Q 3516). Couto writes that Vaz had come with papal briefs in order to make a secret investigation as apostolic Inquisitor of certain rich Jewish Christians. Immediately after his arrival in Goa he imprisoned some of them and sent them to Portugal. He was then poisoned by some of their coreligionists (6, 7, 5, p. 93). But the contemporary sources know nothing of this.

⁵⁴ EX I 409.

⁵⁵ SR IV 61-64 (Q 4003); DI I 743-744 (Q 4327); Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 491 (Q 3505); Lucena 2, 22. The alleged decree against the pagans in Goa of January 10, 1547, mentioned by Nazareth (Q 2746a), was probably never issued; certainly not by the bishop, who was at the time in Cochin.

¹ Q 1639 1665 2316 3092.

² Q 3532 (*bonito moço*).

³ Q 2316.

⁴ Q 3092.

⁵ Q 3431.

⁶ Q 3668.

were to indemnify them for the damages incurred at the time of their baptism from the property of the ruler responsible for them had produced no results.⁸

These letters, edicts, and representations did not make the least impression on the regents who were ruling during the king's minority. They were, as Henrique de Sousa expressed it, great rascals and great tyrants, who made a public sale of justice, and stole whatever they wanted from the possessions of the king. This was particularly true of Itirei and Iticoná. It was said that the mother of the young king was afraid that they would one day kill her son since they said that he was not the lawful ruler and that they would give the kingdom to another to whom it belonged.⁹ Only from the king of Cranganore and his neighbor the king of Parūr had the captain of the fortress, João Pereira, obtained the abolishment of that pernicious custom.¹⁰

Nevertheless, during Xavier's absence, great hopes had been aroused by the young rajah of Tanor, whose territory lay next to that of the king of Chale and south of Calicut, the capital of the Zamorin.¹¹ Since the time of Vasco da Gama the Zamorin, incited by his Mohammedan merchants, had been the principal foe of the Portuguese in Malabar. The prince of Tanor, on the other hand, had been their truest friend since the Zamorin had occupied his territory on the Ponnāni River and was threatening to take Tanor away from him as well. In order to resist him, the threatened ruler had appealed to the Portuguese for protection.¹² In 1513 the Portuguese had built a fortress in Calicut, but twelve years later they tore it down and abandoned the site. In 1531, however, with the help of the kings of Chale, Tanor, and Cannanore, they had built the fortress of Chale south of Calicut on an island in the mouth of the Chāliyam River. The Zamorin had reluctantly given his permission for this,¹³ but he had then been poisoned by his own subjects because of it. Peace had been concluded with his successor,¹⁴ and the captains of Chale and Cannanore had written that the rajah of Tanor deserved honors, favors, and graces, and that the governor should help him with all the might of India.¹⁵ In 1540 the prince at the time had negotiated a new peace with the Zamorin.¹⁶ In 1543 a rich, influential lord, an *arel*,¹⁷ had been converted to Christianity in Chale,¹⁸ and the following year Miguel Vaz had himself won a number of fishers for the faith.¹⁹

This was the situation when, on December 18, 1545, Antonio Coelho de Sousa, the captain of Chale came to Goa²⁰ and delivered to the governor a letter of the king of Tanor. In it he had written that he had been thinking for a long

⁷ Q 2316.

⁸ Miguel Vaz, on January 6, 1543 (SR II 329-330); João Pereira, captain of Cranganore, on January 4, 1548 (*ibid.* IV 6-7).

⁹ Q 2316.

¹⁰ SR IV 6-7.

¹¹ On the king of Tanor, see Q, index, p. 637, and Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe," nn. 254-260.

¹² Barros I, 7, 10, pp. 159-162; Castanheda I, 95; cf. Zinadim 55.

¹³ Q 141 158 1825; Barros 4, 4, 18; Castanheda 8, 43 and 48; Correa III 434-438; Couto 4, 7, 6 and 11-12; Zinadim 57-60.

¹⁴ Letter of the Brahman Mulapulla Nambadory of December 23, 1533 (Q 158); Zinadim 60-61; Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe," n. 251.

¹⁵ Q 159 167.

¹⁶ Q 442; Castanheda, 9, 20; Correa IV 102-105.

¹⁷ *Arel*: representative of the fishers, prefect of the harbor (Dalgado I 53-54).

¹⁸ Miguel Vaz, January 6, 1543 (SR II 330).

¹⁹ Memorial of Miguel Vaz (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 239-240).

²⁰ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 273 (Q 1794).

time about becoming a Christian, and he asked the governor to come with the bishop and as many people of his country as he could so that he might be baptized.²¹ The rajah was ruling in the place of his mentally ill, elder brother;²² and since his father had married a sister of the Zamorin, the younger brother of the rajah of Tanor was the hereditary prince of Calicut.²³ Since his early youth the author of the letter had been thinking about becoming a Christian. He had only wished to wait for the death of his elder brother and of his mother before being baptized. The news, however, of the arrival of the new governor Dom João de Castro, whom he had known earlier, had induced him to renounce any further delay.²⁴

As Antonio Cardoso, the secretary of state of India wrote, the king of Tanor was the greatest friend of the Portuguese in Malabar.²⁵ The letter had consequently caused no little stir in Goa, and two days later the vicar general Mestre Pedro Fernandes had written that the governor intended to sail in person to Tanor if Adil Khān remained quiet. But if this proved not to be the case, he intended to send his son Dom Alvaro with the bishop. And if the bishop could not go, he, the vicar general, had volunteered to swim there in his stead.²⁶

The governor sent Coelho back with a letter in which he indicated that he planned on coming if the king persevered in his resolve, and he had some galleys and galiots readied for the voyage.²⁷ Three weeks later, when an affirmative answer of the rajah had been received,²⁸ Castro summoned his council. A good many *fidalgos* and clerics attended, and it was decided that Mestre Diogo should first be sent in order to prepare the prince for baptism and to find out if there was some ruse behind the whole affair to entice the governor into a trap. Such deceits were not uncommon among the pagan kings, and care had to be taken not to endanger the state.²⁹

At the beginning of February, 1546, Castro received a long letter from Mestre Diogo,³⁰ another from the captain,³¹ and a third from the king of Chale.³² Mestre Diogo was full of praise for the zeal of the king of Tanor and his two younger brothers. He had conversed with them at night until three in the morning, and he urged the governor to come as soon as possible. The reason why the

²¹ Letter of December 9, 1545, from Ponor: Puronor, near Tanor (Q 1777; Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe," n. 255); ed. SR III 286, where *Ponor* instead of *Honor*, *Coelho* instead of *Velho*, are to be read. His signature (in Q, pl. 25, 3), in Malayalam is read as *Sri*, a term that corresponds to the *El-Rey* of the letters of the Portuguese kings. The title of the king was Vettat Koyil (in Castanheda 1, 68: Betacorol).

²² Cf. Q 1886 4130 4271 (SR III 289; IV 567; DI I 538).

²³ On January 27, 1546, Mestre Diogo wrote from Tanor: "Ho principe seu irmão, rey da Serra e herdeiro do reino de Cailcu" (SR III 295; cf. 287 and DI I 546-547). Correa therefore errs in writing that the son of the king of Tanor was the crown prince of Calicut because his father, D. João, the king of Tanor, was married to a sister of the Zamorin (IV 448 692).

²⁴ Letter of the king of Tanor of December 29, 1545, from Poleycheffe: Pollāchi? (Q 1807; Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe," n. 256); ed. SR III 286-287.

²⁵ Q 1804.

²⁶ Letter of December 20, 1545, in Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 273 (Q 1794).

²⁷ SR III 296-297 (Q 1940).

²⁸ *Ibid.* 286-287 (Q 1807).

²⁹ *Ibid.* 297.

³⁰ Letter of January 27, 1546 (Q 1886); ed. SR III 287-295; cf. 297-298.

³¹ Q 1883.

³² Cf. SR III 297-298. He had the title of Pappu Kovil (in Castanheda 1, 68: Papucol); cf. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut* 175 272. In 1531 the king of Chale was called Uni Rama (Barros 4, 4, 1, p. 473).

rajah wanted the governor was that his people would then listen more attentively to him, and the governor could help him in the war with his hostile neighbors, especially the Zamorin, who had taken Ponnāni away from him and was preparing for battle. He still wished, however, to adopt the Christian faith simply for his soul's salvation. Nevertheless he wanted to receive baptism in secret since his secretaries had already betrayed his aspirations. Knowledge of his intention to become a Christian had already reached the Zamorin and other kings and his elder brother, who reproached him bitterly on this account.

At the beginning of February the governor summoned his council and had the three letters read to it. He asked those present to give him their written opinion as to whether he should sail at once for Tanor or only after the rainy season in September.³³

Because of the uncertain political condition, all thought that the matter should be postponed until September, when it would be in clearer perspective. Adil Khān wanted Mialī to be handed over to him. M. A. de Sousa had promised this in return for a payment of fifty thousand *pardaus*. In order to emphasize his request, Adil Khān had sent foot and mounted soldiers. Their captain was stationed in Pondá, only two or three leagues from Goa. He had also cut off the import of provisions.³⁴ The king of Cambay was similarly uncertain; and Diu and Ormuz had to be reinforced, especially since the Turkish fleet had been activated in the Red Sea. Another difficulty was the fact that M. A. de Sousa had let the fleet rot half away. It was now drawn up on land for repairs, and there was a lack of men and money for an immediate voyage. There was also the danger that, since the year was already advanced, there might not be enough wind to make the return to Goa before the monsoon set in, especially if any military complications detained the governor for some time in Malabar.³⁵ Frey Paulo de Santarem further noted with his usual acuteness that the king of Tanor was probably not so full of the Holy Spirit as Mestre Diogo thought and only time would show whether it was the work of God or a trick of the devil.³⁶ The bishop also was for a postponement. If the king wished to be baptized in secret, Mestre Diogo could take care of that. The military preparations of the Zamorin, the quarrel over Ponnāni, the urgent requests for the appearance of the governor, the secret baptism of the king, who was only the deputy of the real king, made the matter suspect. They would have to wait until the troubled waters had cleared before any steps could be taken. The kings could perhaps have made an alliance among themselves in order to entice the governor into an ambush in Malabar through a false representation. If he so wished, however, Mestre Diogo could continue to remain there in order to strengthen the king in the faith.³⁷

The governor had consequently written to Mestre Diogo that he must postpone the voyage until September. On February 22 the latter had answered³⁸ that the king was unhappy about the delay, but that he had finally become resigned to it. An open conversion was impossible since his elder brother was a zealous

³³ SR III 298-299.

³⁴ On this see Q 1773 1794 1804 1806 1894.

³⁵ The opinions (Q 1927-1936 1940-1943 1945 1950-1951) are partially edited in SR III 284-314.

³⁶ SR III 301-304 (Q 1932); on January 26, 1546, the captain of Chale had already written that Frey Paulo should not be obeyed (Q 1883).

³⁷ SR III 296-301 (Q 1940). Correa also gives a brief account of the negotiations (IV 448-449).

³⁸ SR III 307-313 (Q 1972).

servant of the gods and the Nāyars would rise up on his behalf.³⁹ He therefore wished to receive baptism in secret with his two younger brothers and ten or twelve of his followers. He would retain his manner of dress. (Mestre Diogo had told him that he did not need to cut off his forelock or put aside his Brahman cord or wear a beard and shirt like the Portuguese.⁴⁰) He would also observe the usual idolatrous customs in order to gradually convert his people in the meantime. He would grant permission for a Christian church in Tanor, where the converted *arel* wished to build one. He wanted, moreover, to burn his Brahman cord and to destroy the idols when his elder brother died and conditions improved. The governor could obtain the opinions of the bishop and others on all this and send him their answers. The doctors, theologians, and canonists, and especially St. Augustine in his *Contra Mendacium* and *De Fide et operibus*, and St. Paul spoke against such measures. Although the king could remain a catechumen for the time being, there were a number of reasons that favored his immediate, secret baptism: It would encourage the prince to convert his kingdom;⁴¹ St. Sebastian, Gamaliel, and Nicodemus had become Christians in secret; and if St. Augustine had known the present case, he too would probably have decided in its favor.⁴²

But the siege of Diu and the death of Mestre Diogo had brought all the negotiations with respect to the baptism of the king of Tanor to a halt,⁴³ and the rebuilding of the fortress and the war with Adil Khān and the king of Cambay were keeping the governor completely occupied.

The bishop also now had other cares, especially with the secular clergy of his extensive diocese.

During the siege of Diu its vicar, João Coelho, had served exceedingly well in that, at the request of Captain Mascarenhas, he had informed the governor of the impending danger. Later he had sailed twice to Bassein in the midst of the monsoon to obtain help.⁴⁴ But the unfortunate sortie of September 1, which caused the death of Dom Francisco de Meneses and many others of the best *fidalgos* and *cavalleiros*, and which had brought Dom Alvaro, the son of the governor into mortal danger,⁴⁵ was attributed by many to the vicar. But unjustly so, as the captain of the fortress and Frey Paulo de Santarem and Vasco da Cunha⁴⁶ wrote to the bishop, who, after receiving their reports, took up the defense of the accused and sent him back to Diu.⁴⁶ The juridical investigation that was ordered by the governor had shown, however, that Coelho and his four beneficiaries were keeping concubines, that the vicar had children from four or five women, that he was engaged in open trade with Moors and pagans and had ships for this purpose, that he had stirred the men up to make the sortie and had thus driven them to their death, that he and his assistants refused to bury soldiers who had died fighting for their faith in consecrated ground if they were not paid in advance for this, that they took the money allotted to the

³⁹ In 1504 the king of Tanor had 4,000 Nāyars (Castanheda 1, 68).

⁴⁰ The king of Tanor wrote to this effect on January 6, 1549 (Q 4130; SR IV 567-568).

⁴¹ The bishop also gave similar reasons in 1549 (DI I 542).

⁴² On this period, see Q 1984 2070 2094 2193 2337 3133 4130 (SR IV 568).

⁴³ Q 2119 2279 2452.

⁴⁴ On the sortie see Q 2369 2414; Baião, *História* 73-76; L. Nunes, *Crónica* 107-109; Castro, *Cartas* 255-256; Correa IV 515-521 527; Couto 6, 3, 6.

⁴⁵ Q 2452 2452a 2452b 2720 2732.

⁴⁶ Q 2635 2719 2732.

hospital for themselves, and that they failed to offer Masses for the dead for which they had taken stipends.⁴⁷

Castro sent a copy of the protocol with its depositions to the bishop.⁴⁸ This had opened up his eyes and made him more attentive to his flock, as the vicar general, Pedro Fernandes, observed; and he had decided to act energetically in punishing the guilty.⁴⁹ In March, 1547, Frey João de Villa de Conde wrote that the bishop had at the time four clerics imprisoned in irons in the jail, that he had taken his benefice away from one of his priests and had given it to another, and that he had ordered Mestre Pedro, the vicar general, to visit the clerics in Bassein, Chaul, and elsewhere and to take testimony of witnesses in their regard. He had also sent a visitor to arrest and bring to him the vicar of São Thomé. Some time before this he had ordered the vicar of Maluco to be brought in irons, and he had also summoned the vicar of Ceylon. He now took turns preaching in the churches with Mestre Pedro and conducted catechism classes after Mass for the Christians and gave them alms. He also regularly heard the confessions of the blacks, both men and women, and he was seriously intent on reforming his secular clergy.⁵⁰

But the bishop also had problems with his confreres in his own province, the Capuchos.

In 1546 the king had sent six friars of the Piedade province, with Frey Antonio do Porto as their guardian, to India with Miguel Vaz. As the king wrote, these were "men of great virtue and good life." The bishop was to send them wherever they, according to his own judgment and that of Xavier, could do the most good.⁵¹ On December 28 the bishop had warmly recommended them to the governor when they sailed with Miguel Vaz from Goa in order to present themselves to him in Diu.⁵² With the approval of the bishop, the vicar general had given them the territory of Bassein as their field of labor since no Jesuits could be freed for it.⁵³ With its numerous pagan villages this was a completely new and untilled missionary field. On the voyage there the small group lost its first victim. The six companions had hardly reached Chaul when one of them suddenly died on January 10, 1547, and the next day he was followed by the vicar general in an equally sudden death.⁵⁴

The governor was keenly intent on helping the friars, but he was too much occupied with rebuilding the fortress of Diu and making preparations for the impending war with the king of Cambay and Adil Khān. The siege of Diu had, moreover, emptied his treasury. He sent the new arrivals to Bassein with a letter of recommendation to the captain of the fortress, Dom Jerónimo de Noronha.⁵⁵ But it was not a favorable time for the opening of a new mission. The fortress was small, the number of people living in it were few. Many of these were poor, and the place was full of sick and wounded as a consequence of the fighting around Diu. The captain did not know where he could accom-

⁴⁷ On the process (Q 2825, ed. SR III 455-489), see Q 2626 2647-2648 2699 2784 3565.

⁴⁸ Q 2784.

⁴⁹ Q 2784 2822 2837.

⁵⁰ SR III 498 (Q 2910).

⁵¹ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 295 (Q 2001).

⁵² *Ibid.* 436 (Q 2642).

⁵³ Q 4162. On the origins of the Franciscan mission in Bassein, see Meersmann, *Bombay* 103-110 119-122 131 135-140 238-240.

⁵⁴ Q 2735 4003.

⁵⁵ SR IV 63.

moderate them all. The hospital was overflowing; the Misericordia, which had been founded only six and a half years earlier, was poor; and the residents of the fortress had been obliged to take many of the sick into their homes in order to nurse them there.⁵⁶ Under such circumstances there could be no question of an immediate payment of the alleged three thousand *pardaus* that had earlier been destined for the mosques. The officials declared that the king had been falsely informed. The mosques had never been paid so much.⁵⁷ The captain nevertheless wrote to the governor in April that he would try to satisfy the friars in as far as the conditions of the time would permit.⁵⁸ Meanwhile they would have to be content with a lesser alms.⁵⁹

The lack of material means had a crippling effect on the spirits of the new missionaries, but the negative attitude of the natives was even harder upon them. They had dreamed of mass conversions, but they soon saw that that they could be glad if they won fifty a year for the faith.⁶⁰ The natives, Mohammedans, pagans, and Goaris, a kind of Jewish sect that nevertheless ate pork and knew nothing about circumcision and exposed their dead for vultures to eat,⁶¹ held stubbornly fast to their religion. If anyone became a Christian, he was expelled and persecuted by them so that he had to appeal to the charity of the Christians in order not to die of hunger.⁶²

At the end of October the governor had come to Bassein on his expedition to Cambay. Here, at the request of the friars, he had issued an edict that the pagans who had become Christians in the fortress and its territory and all future converts were to be immediately freed from all the forced labors of the community and that they should obtain complete freedom of movement on the island of Bassein. Cosme Anes, the India secretary, who had caused the edict to be drawn up,⁶³ had praised the Capuchos a month later in a letter to the king:

These friars of the Piedade province who came to Bassein are excellent religious and are doing much good in this area. The friars of this order who visit the land are well prepared to produce much fruit. They asked the governor for some things to the advantage of the native Christians, and he made a provision for them. Cloistered friars may be very good, not only for themselves but also for the glory of their monasteries, where they render great service to God. But those of the rule of Jesus Christ⁶⁴ are of greater service here since they travel about the land and preach and baptize.⁶⁵

Frey Antonio do Porto, the guardian,⁶⁶ had taken up the work of the mission with apostolic zeal.⁶⁷ He had begun a college for boys in the fortress so

⁵⁶ Letter of the Misericordia (Q 4030), ed. SR IV 103-107.

⁵⁷ SR IV 61-62 (Q 4003).

⁵⁸ Q 3023.

⁵⁹ SR IV 62.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 61.

⁶¹ Frey Antonio do Porto writes: "Judeus que qua se chamam chuarijs" (*ibid.* 60: "chuaariis"). Not Jews, but *Parsis*, are meant, as Garcia da Orta explains with respect to Bassein: "Ha outros mercadores de buticas, que por nome sam chamados *coaris*, e no reino de Cambaiete lhe chamam *esparcis*, e nós os Portuguezes lhe chamamos Judeus, mas não sam, senão Gentios que vieram da Persia" (II 342-343). Cf. Dalgado I 446-447 (under *guebro*, *gaur*); II 182. *Coari* and *chuari* are the garbled forms for *giaur*, as the non-Mohammedans were called by the Mohammedans.

⁶² SR IV 60-61.

⁶³ APO 5, 202-203 (Q 3415).

⁶⁴ Jesuits.

⁶⁵ DI I 220 (Q 3516).

⁶⁶ On Frey Antonio do Porto, see Trindade (1638) II 147-150 171; Jacinto de Deos

that they might be instructed in reading and writing and, especially, in Christian doctrine, and that they might later be the source of confreres who could work for the conversion of their countrymen.⁶⁸ On the neighboring island of Salsette, west of the famed rock city of the Kanheri pagoda,⁶⁹ he had converted a pagan rock temple into a church in honor of Nossa Senhora da Piedade and had founded a Christian community among the people living in its environs.⁷⁰

(1690) 8-9; Manoel de Monforte (1696) l. 3, c. 39; SR V 401-403; his letters edited in SR IV 59-65; VI 322-326. The destruction of two hundred pagodas, including twelve near the pond of the monastery of S. Antonio in Thāna, the foundation of the stations in Bassein, Agashi, Caranja, Kanheri and Mount Poinsur (Mandapeshvar), and the building of eleven churches in Salsette are ascribed to him (see Meersman, *The Franciscans in Bombay*, where he strives, as elsewhere, to separate legend from history). Frey Antonio do Porto died at an old age in Bassein and was buried there in the Franciscan monastery.

⁶⁷ His praise is proclaimed by the guardian of the province of the Observants (Q 4753; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 606-607) and by Melchior Nunes Barreto (Q 4924; DI II 504). His apostolic spirit is also shown by his long letter of October 7, 1548 (Q 4003; SR IV 59-65).

⁶⁸ Q 4003 4019 4802a.

⁶⁹ An exact description of the so-called Kanheri Caves in the north of the island of Salsette near Bombay with an account of their history, bibliography, the most important texts, and a survey map is given in the *Thāna Gazetteer: Places of Interest* (Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency XIV, Bombay, 1882) 121-190. It is a Buddhist, monastic settlement entirely hewn out of the rock, with temples, chapels, *stupas*, and more than one hundred cells with cisterns arranged in three rows one upon the other. It was begun in the second century before Christ. D. João de Castro, who visited the cave city in 1539, has left a description of it. He counted eighty-three cells and fifteen chapels besides others that he did not have the time to visit (*Roteiro a Diu* 75-81). Garcia da Orta, who had a country home near Mazagão on the present island of Bombay, exaggerated when he spoke of three hundred cells in 1563. He added that the Franciscans had changed the main temple into a church of St. Michael (II 340-341). Couto, who still encountered in the neighboring Mandapeshvar Christians who had been baptized by Frey Antonio do Porto, including a man 120 years old, wrote in 1601 that the priest had been the first to visit the Kanheri Caves with their three thousand cells where many *yogis* lived and he had baptized the 150-year-old superior under the name of Paul Raposo and his more famed companion Calete under the name of Francisco de Santa Maria, who then, as a zealous apostle, converted many *yogis* and other pagans (7, 3, 10). When Gaspar Barzaeus visited Frey Antonio do Porto, the latter showed him also the Kanheri Caves (DI II 271). In 1638 there were still in Kanheri ninety-seven adult and nineteen young Christians (Trindade II 150).

⁷⁰ Meant is the rock temple of Mandapeshvar (Mount Poinsur) dedicated to Shiva. This is described in the *Thāna Gazetteer, Places of Interest* 223-227, and also in Gerson da Cunha, *Chaul and Bassein* 192-195, and Braz. A. Fernandes, *A Historical Sketch of Mount Poinsur* (Bombay, 1923). This lies six miles south of Bassein at the entrance of the valley. In two hours this valley leads to Kanheri. The Hindu sculptures of the walls and pillars of the temple were covered with a thick coat of plaster when the room was converted into a church. Garcia da Orta already mentions the temple and its idols in 1563 under the name of Maljaz (II 341). According to Couto a renowned *yogi* by the name of Ratemnar lived there with fifty companions. When Frey Antonio do Porto came there from Kanheri, they fled to the mainland. The priest then took possession of the site (3, 7, 10). The Franciscan chroniclers employed his unreliable data, as Fr. Félix Lopes, Trindade's editor, has proved. Following Meersman, he gives an abstract from the letters which mention the mission in 1548-1557 (II 147-150).—In October, 1548, Frey Antonio do Porto had already converted many pagans on Salsette and the Christians in the surrounding area came on Sundays to the beautiful and devotional churches of Mandapeshvar for Mass and Christian instructions (Q 4003). In October, 1549, when Gago visited it, the station already had four hundred Christians (DI I 565-566). In 1551 Barzaeus was welcomed there (*ibid.* II 271). Cabrol (1549-1551) gave the village of Mandapeshvar to the mission. This brought it about sixty *pardaus* a year (Botelho, *Tombo* 209-210). Besides this, the guardian Francisco de Chaves (ca. 1556-1559) purchased the villages of Pare (Pahady) and Arengal (SR V 503). The

But two of his confreres, Frey Peregrino and Brother Frey Diogo, who had been sent to the city of Thāna in order to take up the work of converting the pagans, had lost courage because of the difficulties which they had encountered and had, without the knowledge and permission of their superior, sailed to Cochin in order to return to Portugal.⁷¹ When Frey Antonio learned of this, he had sent Frey Domingos in November to accompany them on their voyage so that they would not frighten others away from the mission through their pessimistic reports. He should inform the king in Lisbon on the state of the mission and bring back with him new, reliable companions.⁷² There thus remained in Bassein only the guardian and Frey João de Goa,⁷³ who had been born in India, when Xavier landed in Cochin at the beginning of 1548 and encountered their three companions in the Franciscan monastery.

In the meantime the bishop had obtained a copy of a document in which the Bassein missionaries presented a series of requests to the king in Portugal through Frey Domingos. These were intended to set the entire Franciscan mission in India on a new basis. Their contents were as follows:⁷⁴

The friars of the Piedade province, who are presently in India and who are yet to come, wish to found colleges and, in order to obviate any difficulties in this regard on the part of their order, have need of a bull which will unite them together in their own custody under the title of Madre de Deus and under a freely elected guardian, who should have the same authority as the minister general of the order, with the right not only to accept novices but also members of other houses of their order. He should also have the faculty of absolving his subjects from all, even the most grievous sins, and even those contained in the bull *In Coena Domini*. Moreover their preachers and confessors should work everywhere and be able to absolve from all reserved cases. They should also be able to consecrate idolatrous temples and mosques as churches; and their houses and all those residing in them, including their servants and pupils, should be able to gain all indulgences like the churches of their order.

Frey Domingos should moreover ask for a series of favors from the king. Above all, the king should send many friars of exemplary life who would not lose heart immediately.

He should moreover found colleges in Bassein, Chaul, Quilon, and Ceylon; and these, as also the college of Frey Vicente in Cranganore, should be given to the members of the Piedade province.

The friars of the Ceylon mission should be placed under those of the Piedade province by the minister general João Calvo.

The king should appoint in all the fortresses a special judge and a Christian father⁷⁵ for the native Christians, such as there is in Goa. The friars should present the individuals for this, and the captains and governors should confirm them and provide them with their support.

Franciscans transferred their college in Bassein to Mandapeshvar, and it soon had a hundred resident students (Trindade II 149), and they built their own church. Both fell victims to the attack of the Marathas in 1739. In 1908 the Franciscan tertiaries settled there and built a school, orphanage, and generalate (on the history of the mission, see Meersman, *Bombay* 135 140, with pictures). In 1962 the parish had 2,136 Catholics (*Catholic Directory for India*, 1962, p. 62). According to Gonzaga, Frey Antonio do Porto baptized the superior of the Hindu *yogis* (ed. 1587, p. 1213), and this is repeated by Trindade (II 149).

⁷¹ Q 3504 4003 4091 4123.

⁷² Q 2504 4003 4641b.

⁷³ Q 4003; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 483.

⁷⁴ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 485-491 (Q 2505).

⁷⁵ On the office of a "Christian father," see Dalgado II 139-140.

If the friars present to the governor or to the captains, factors, *tanadars*,⁷⁶ or other officials of the king who have the authority for this a native Christian for the office of a *naik*,⁷⁷ *peon*,⁷⁸ *mukdam*,⁷⁹ *dessai*,⁸⁰ *metere*,⁸¹ *varateque*,⁸² or *patel*,⁸³ they should take these offices from their pagan possessors if these latter refuse to be baptized, and they should give them to the Christians.

The king should further ordain that if the friars asked the captain of the fortress of Bassein for a piece of land for some of the native Christians, he should give it to them, as is done in other instances, for example, from the lands of rebels or of those who die childless or from the lands of the Brahman *vratyas*.⁸⁴

In addition to this, the new converts should not be obliged to perform any forced labor in the community if they do not wish to do so, and they should be able to live where they wish.

Further, the estates and incomes of the pagodas and mosques should be used for the support of the pupils in the colleges of Bassein and Chaul.

The king should give the village of Malar⁸⁵ in Salsette to Diogo Rodrigues as an hereditary fief, and he should make him the *dessai*, that is, the district superintendent of the entire island of Salsette, since he is a good man who knows well the language of the country and has hitherto done what he could for the new converts.

All of these favors and many others are necessary in these lands of His Highness since the people there are very little inclined towards Christianity and are only converted with great difficulty and much effort, being so attached to their customs. Though in other places the pagans are more easily won over to Christianity than the Moors, this is not the case in Bassein.

In conclusion, the king might give an express command that all the orders that had been brought by Miguel Vaz should be executed, for hitherto nothing had happened in their regard.

This was the petition that Frey Domingos was to present to the king in Lisbon.

The bishop was little edified by the friars who had come to Cochin from the Bassein mission,⁸⁶ and Frey Vicente in Cranganore was even less so. He was of the opinion that perseverance was of great importance and that they should have remained through love for even a single soul, and he hoped that God would forgive them for what they were doing.⁸⁷

Frey Vicente afforded much consolation, on the other hand, to his shepherd. His college had seventy exemplary students. Three of these were already priests, and ten were deacons. Though the officials in Cochin had not as yet paid him the annual income of a hundred *milreis* granted by the king, João Pereira, the captain of Cranganore, did all that he could for him. When Frey Vicente made his

⁷⁶ Regional official, chief judge, tax collector (Dalgado II 351-352).

⁷⁷ *Naik*: captain of the native soldiers (*ibid.* 91-93).

⁷⁸ *Peon*: orderly (Yule 569 696). The captain of Bassein had, for example, a *naik* and fifteen *peons* (Botelho, *Tombo* 205). The *tanador* of Salsette, Bombay, had twelve *peons*, seven of whom were taken from him by the governor Garcia de Sá (*ibid.* 212).

⁷⁹ *Mukdam*: overseer, superior (Dalgado II 58-60).

⁸⁰ *Dessai*: regional or village superintendent (*ibid.* I 356).

⁸¹ *Metere*: caste judge (*ibid.* II 572).

⁸² From *varadi*, a military title: a native adjutant (Yule 972).

⁸³ *Patel*: village superintendent, village policeman (Dalgado II 192).

⁸⁴ Brahman *sannyassis* (*ibid.* 413).

⁸⁵ Malad, four miles south of Mandapeshvar, today a railroad station between Bombay and Bassein. It pertains to the parish of Goregaon, which had 3,850 Catholics in 1962.

⁸⁶ "No sé, qué escriba destas cabeçadas," the bishop wrote to the governor on November 26, 1547 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 483).

⁸⁷ SR IV 210 (Q 4123).

missionary journeys, he placed a ship at his disposal for this purpose. The captain interceded with the neighboring kings, especially the king of Cranganore and Parūr, on behalf of the Christians, and if one of the kings followed the custom of the land and confiscated the possessions of a new convert when he became a Christian, he always succeeded, through a bribe or fair words, in having the kings and lords restore their goods to them.⁸⁸

6. THE MISSION OF THE OBSERVANTS IN CEYLON (1546-1547)¹

In the Franciscan monastery of Cochin, Xavier also met the superior of the mission of the Observants in Ceylon, their guardian, Frey João de Villa de Conde. From him he learned what had happened there during his two-year absence from India.

Villa de Conde and his four companions had been well received in 1543 by King Bhuvaneka Bāhu at his court in Kōttē. The prince however had remained firm in his refusal to become a Christian even after Master Francis, at the beginning of 1544, presented him with a letter of the king of Portugal ordering him to be baptized in keeping with the promise he had made. The guardian had therefore abandoned the island after five or six months without taking leave of him. M. A. de Sousa had sent André de Sousa to Kōttē in his stead in order to keep in touch with the king. But when Bhuvaneka learned that Jugo, his eldest son, who had been born to him from a concubine, wanted to sail with Sousa to Goa in order to become a Christian there and to make good his claim upon the throne, he had had him assassinated. Two other princes had then fled to India, where they had been baptized under the names of Dom João and Dom Luis and had appealed to the governor for help against Jugo's murderer.²

The threat from the Turks and the onset of the rainy season had prevented an immediate departure of the governor, and during the rainy season a deputation had come from Jaffna which asked for Prince João as king instead of the murderer of the Christians of Manār.³ But in September, 1545, a new governor, Dom João de Castro, had landed in Goa and M. A. de Sousa's term of office had come to a close.

The new governor did not wish to undertake the affairs of the two princes without first being certain of the disposition of Bhuvaneka Bāhu. He therefore sent an envoy, Duarte Barbudo;⁴ Antonio Ferreira,⁵ the new *guarda-mor* of the

⁸⁸ Letter of João Pereira, captain of Cranganore to the king on January 4, 1548 (Q 3593; SR IV 3-8).

¹ The sources for this section are published in Schurhammer, *Ceylon*. The account in Léon Bourdon, *Les Débuts de l'Évangélisation de Ceylan* (Lisbonne, 1936), is based on them. See also Q, index, p. 564: "Franziskaner Ceylon."

² On the beginnings of the Ceylon mission, see Vol. II, pp. 411-424.

³ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 212-213 227.

⁴ Before his voyage to India, Duarte Barbudo was *alcaide* of the city of Lisbon (Nunes, *Crónica* 125). In September and October, 1545, he was the governor's ambassador in Kōttē (Q 1526 1574 1683 1701 1736 1795 2739 2885). In 1546 the governor sent him with a galleon to Melinde to fetch the wares of the ship of Vicente Gil that had been stranded there (Q 1985; Castro, *Cartas* 222). In the decisive battle of November 10 at Diu, he carried the royal banner (Baião 88 296; Nunes, *Crónica* 125; Q 2508). In 1547-1548 he was ambassador at the court of the Nizām (Q 3408 3830 3911 3916). In 1551 he had an income of twenty *milreis* through his habit of the Order of Christ (TdT: **Livro da receita e despesa do Convento de Thomar* 71v). His father was Estevão Barbudo; his tomb was in the chapel of St. Bridget in the parish church of Lumiar (**Andrade Leitão* III 215).

⁵ Several individuals with this name are mentioned in India (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 160; Q, index).

king; and two Franciscans, including the guardian Frey João de Villa de Conde, to Kōttē with a letter of recommendation and another from John III in which he ordered the prince to become a Christian. At the same time, however, Castro gave the bearer of the letter a directive that if Bhuvaneka at least permitted the free exercise of missionary activity, he should not cancel the provisions that had been granted in Portugal, including the right of succession of his grandson Dharma-pāla, even if he himself refused to accept baptism.⁶

The two Ceylon princes were in the meantime waiting in Goa for the outcome of the embassy with great plans which André de Sousa, their protector, was presenting to the king for an opinion. Dom João was asking that he might succeed to the throne in Kōttē and the crown of Jaffna, that he might have Sousa as his captain and Mestre Diogo as bishop for the Christians of Cape Comorin, who were to be placed under him. He also asked for a share in the profits of the Pearl Fishery, and that Dom Luis might have the lands of his murdered "brother" Jugo.⁷

The governor had already decided in January, 1546, to send André de Sousa with the two princes to Jaffna in order to take the kingdom away from its usurper, a foe of the Christians, and to give it to them⁸ when, in the middle of December,⁹ Barbudo returned to Goa with Frey Antonio Padram¹⁰ and gave a report on the results of their mission.

The envoy had done everything he could to persuade Bhuvaneka to accept Christianity, but without success. Nevertheless, since the king declared that he would cause no difficulties to the work of the missionaries, he had left unchanged the provisions that had been granted him by John III.¹¹ In Kōttē, where the king lived, there was a church and a confraternity with many children and native Christians attending lessons in Christian doctrine. The king had given the church a silver cross, a censer, and a chalice. He had also offered to support the friars, to help build a monastery, and to contribute to its maintenance. He also had issued a decree assuring the Christians that they would receive their inheritance from their parents, and he had also granted them other privileges.¹² Bhuvaneka's ambassador, who accompanied Barbudo, had submitted a document of his lord in which he denied that he had had a promise made in Lisbon that he would be baptized. If he was not happy that his subjects became Christians, the reason for this was that many had themselves baptized when they were guilty of theft or murder in order to escape punishment. Others became Christians shortly before their death in order that their relatives, and not he, the king, might receive their estate. And after baptism some of his subjects refused to pay him

⁶ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 157-158 160-161 169 213 227 410-411.

⁷ *Ibid.* 174 185-187 192 204-220.

⁸ *Ibid.* 213-214 217-219 274.

⁹ On December 18 (*ibid.* 173); cf. 362.

¹⁰ Frey Antonio Padram, as *commissarius*, visited the remote Thomas Christians with Bishop Jacob Abuna in 1530 (Q 131). In 1539 he went from Colombo to São Thomé (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 89). In 1548 he accompanied André de Sousa to Ceylon, where we encounter him up to 1551 (*ibid.* 562). In 1556 he was still writing to the king from India (TdT: *Col. S. Vicente* IX 291). In 1545 he had been seven years in India (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 160). In 1546 André de Sousa describes him as "velho e pequenino" (*ibid.* 378). He was therefore also called Frey Antonio Pequenyño (*ibid.* 500), or Piquino (*ibid.* 438). Castro calls him a *letrado* (*ibid.* 413). On the many fantastic data in the Franciscan chronicles, see *ibid.* 89, n. 6.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 228 274 410-412.

¹² *Ibid.* 411-412.

the taxes that were due to him. With regard to the crown lands, the kings had from ancient times been accustomed to bestow these in connection with specific offices. When those endowed with them were no longer able to serve in the palace or in war because of age or sickness, or because they refused to obey him, the lord of the land could take them back. But he could no longer do this if they became Christians and were thus withdrawn from his jurisdiction.

He did not persecute the Christians. If anyone became a Christian because he was convinced he should do so and was ready to continue paying him the customary taxes, and if malefactors could still be punished after their baptism, he had no objection to their conversion. And if an *adhigār*¹³ oppressed them and a complaint was made about this through his *guarda-mor*, he would have him punished. With regard to the two princes, he had already written to the former governor about their faults; and officials who had been in Ceylon would be able to give information to the governor in their regard. He therefore asked that they should not be sent back to Ceylon.¹⁴

The letters which Frey Antonio brought with him, however, accused the king of lying. Frey João de Villa de Conde, the guardian, wrote that Bhuvaneka had indeed told the ambassador that he knew nothing about any persecutions of the Christians. But he tolerated them since he hated the Christians, as Frey Antonio could inform him in detail from his own experience. The prince had asked him to remain with him and had been promising for three years to carry out all of his requests. But he was doing nothing and was one of the servants of the devil who wanted to bring souls purchased by the blood of Christ under his banner. If the king wrote that he did not wish any conversions because the Christians no longer paid him any tribute and refused to obey him, this was not true. Bhuvaneka hated the Christians and, though he had Moors and all kinds of pagans, Buddhists, and Hindus in his palace, he did not have a single Christian. Through fear of the return of the princes and of the loss of his kingdom, he no longer had any Portuguese in his bodyguard, but only those of other nations. He had not done anything that the ambassador had wished; and, despite the latter's presence, he had not lifted a finger to stop the persecution of the Christians. The Portuguese were consequently afraid of an attack upon their own persons as soon as the galleons sailed away.¹⁵

A letter of Miguel Fernandes,¹⁶ one of the oldest and most prominent *casados* of Kōttē,¹⁷ confirmed the data of the guardian. He wrote that the present friendship of Bhuvaneka with his brother Māyāduṇṇē, the king of Sītāvaka, who was hostile to the Christians, had had an evil influence upon him. Both were now persecuting the Christians with great cruelty. They had had one impaled along

¹³ *Adhigār*: village or regional supervisor, also minister in Ceylon (Dalgado I 11-12).

¹⁴ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 194-198.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 157-159 223-225.

¹⁶ Miguel Fernandes was a "pessoa honrada" in 1545, resident in Kōttē, married to daughter of Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, and known to all the earlier governors, as he writes (*ibid.* 228; cf. 364). In 1546 he enlisted twenty men for the expedition against Kandy (*ibid.* 379-381). In 1547 he signed the letter of the Portuguese who had settled in Ceylon (*ibid.* 494-497). At the beginning of 1552 Xavier cured him in Galle (MX II 194-196). At the end of 1552 or 1553 he was in Kōttē (Sousa Viterbo, *Thesouro* 40-41). About this same time Vidiye Bandāra, who had fled from prison (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 653), burned a beautiful, newly completed ship of his in Galle (Couto 6, 10, 12). In 1556 he was living in Goa and was a witness at Xavier's process (MX II 195; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 171, n. 2).

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 228.

the side of a road, and others had been secretly carried off to Sītāvaka and stretched upon a shield and tortured to death. No one had become a Christian since May, though previously twenty at a time had come for baptism. Duarte Teixeira¹⁸ added that there were now no longer any Christians who had not apostatized and thrown away the cap by which they were recognized, so badly had they been treated.¹⁹ As Antonio Ferreira, the new *guarda-mor*,²⁰ Francisco Alvares, the *ouvidor*,²¹ and Duarte Teixeira, the former factor, wrote,²² fear of the coming of the princes was the reason why Bhuvaneka was now allied with his former foe Māyāduṇṇē. This was also the reason why they were attempting to capture the almost inaccessible mountain region of Kandy. They wished to maintain it as a refuge of last resort if the governor came with the princes and took possession of the coastal land for them.

Along with these letters Frey Antonio brought others of a similar kind from Kandy. They had been written by a Portuguese named Nunalvares Pereira, who had served Jayavīra, the king there, since 1542 as Portuguese secretary and intermediary.²³ The first of these, dated September 12, 1545, and addressed to the *ouvidor* Francisco Alvares and the *guarda-mor*, was a covering document to a letter of the king.²⁴ The second, composed a month later and destined for the governor, had been signed²⁵ by Jayavīra and had been given to the Portuguese Jorge Velho to present in person to the governor. Since Velho had been detained in Colombo by illness, he had given the letters to the friar to take with him and also a gold

¹⁸ Duarte Teixeira was born in Africa. In 1545 he had already served the king of Portugal there and in India for more than forty years. In 1527 he was the treasurer in Cochin, in 1539-1541 the factor in Kōttē, where we encounter him in 1545 and 1547 as Bhuvaneka's chief councilor (*ibid.* 496). In 1546 he was promised the position of a factor in Quilon (Q 1866), in August, 1547, that of an *alcaide-mor* in Diu (Q 3253). In April, 1548, he delivered a letter of the governor Castro to the captain of Cochin (Q 3925). In 1557 he was captain and factor in Quilon (SR VI 244). Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 149.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 166.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 160-162.

²¹ *Ibid.* 169-170. Our Francisco Alvares, whom we meet as *ouvidor* in Kōttē in 1545, is probably to be identified with the *ouvidor* of Diu, *cavalleiro* of the royal house, who was in that fortress in February, 1547 (Q 2825), and probably also with the one whom M. A. de Sousa dubbed a knight in Goa on December 2, 1544, for having gone with him in 1542 against Bhatkal and in 1543 to the pagoda (Q 1315 4378). But he is different from the licentiate Francisco Alvares (Q, index: "F. Alvares III"), since their signatures are entirely different and the latter did not sail to India until 1548.

²² Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 165-167. André de Sousa wrote in a similar fashion (*ibid.* 274).

²³ Little is known about our Nunalvares Pereira apart from the data which he himself gives in his three letters (*ibid.* 148-156 175-184 362-370). In 1542 he went from Negombo to Kandy and we encounter him there as an intermediary in the negotiations with the Portuguese, as a Portuguese secretary and *vedor* of Jayavīra until 1547. André de Sousa calls him a "omem honrado" (*ibid.* 275), Francisco Alvares one "que se diz ser pessoa omrrada" (*ibid.* 172). Frey Antonio Padram, after he had quarreled with him and the king of Kandy, "pobre soldado pratico" (*ibid.* 403). Frey Simão de Coimbra however wrote that he deserved every favor from the king of Portugal for his efforts in Kandy. He was a "homem pera muito," and the king of Kandy did nothing except what he told him; and he was his *vedor da fazenda*; if he knew the language of the country, he would rule that kingdom (*ibid.* 433). He is not to be confused with Dom Nunalvares Pereira, who obtained a voyage to China and the position of captain of Colombo in 1601 for his nine years of service in India and was appointed general and viceroy for the conquest of Ceylon in 1613 (*Registo*, nn. 1458-1459 1878), nor with Nunalvares Pereira, who was slain in 1622 during the defense of Ormuz (*ibid.*, n. 2152).

²⁴ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 148-156.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 175-184.

belt adorned with jewels, a gift of the crown prince of Kandy for Dom Alvaro, the son of the governor.²⁶

In the two letters Pereira described the previous efforts of the king to enter into friendly relations with the Portuguese and to found a factory in Trincomali. He also described the obstacle that had been created in this regard by the other princes, especially Māyāduṇṇē and the rajah of Jaffna. If the governor erected a factory in Trincomali, the king was ready to support its factor and secretary and to pay an annual tribute of fifteen grown elephants and three hundred rowers and to assume a bodyguard of twenty-eight Portuguese if this was granted to him. He was further ready with his son, his house, and many others to receive baptism if the governor came and helped him against the kings of Kōttē and Sītāvaka, who at the time were conducting a bitter war against him in order to take away his realm. But help would have to be sent to him quickly. Castro should send thirty or forty men to him at once so that he could defend himself until Castro himself came. His sister-in-law, the mother of the two princes who had fled to Goa, his neighbor, the prince of the Seven Cōralēs,²⁷ and the barons of the kingdom of Trincomali with three thousand of their people were all ready to be baptized; and he, Jayavīra, wished to give his daughter in marriage to the one chosen by the governor—the grandson of the king of Kōttē²⁸ or one of the two princes. Velho, the ambassador who had remained behind in Colombo, added in a covering letter that he was earnestly asking the governor to come, at the latest in January, 1546, since the king of Kandy could not hold out longer against his foes, and that for the love of God he should not pass over the opportunity of rescuing the whole island and thus save so many men, women, and children and such a great treasure from being lost. The king would come in person to Trincomali to receive him.²⁹

Frey João de Villa de Conde also urged Castro not to fail to take advantage of this unique situation, which had never before been presented, and to bring help as soon as he could. If this king became a Christian, it would be the best means for converting all the kings and their subjects in Ceylon to the Christian faith.³⁰ The other letters urged the same. If the governor decided to come, he should do so as quickly as possible, as Francisco Alvares, the *ouvidor*, noted.³¹ And Ferreira, the *guarda-mor*, wrote that he was holding out great hopes of help from the governor to the king of Kandy. Jayavīra said that he wished to become a Christian. Although he did not believe that the king would keep his promise, still, if Castro helped him, this would compel Bhuvaneka and Māyāduṇṇē to yield to him, the governor. And if the only effect of this dance was to weaken them, very much would be already won by it alone.³² The old, experienced Teixeira was of the opinion that the king of Kandy and his son were writing that they wished to become Christians. Whether they were really in earnest or not, an attempt should be made to discover the truth or falsity of the matter so that it could not be said that such an opportunity for the service of God had been allowed to slip by through their own fault. If Bhuvaneka and Māyāduṇṇē saw that they were deprived of their place of refuge and thus ruined, they also

²⁶ *Ibid.* 199-201; cf. 181 286.

²⁷ A province in northwest Ceylon.

²⁸ Dharmapāla.

²⁹ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 199-201.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 159 225.

³¹ *Ibid.* 172-173.

³² *Ibid.* 161.

would be moved to become Christians. Frey Antonio was pained by their lies and would be able to give the governor good advice on what he should do with respect to the king of Kandy and the two princes in Goa. If the people saw the princes on the throne of Jaffna, the entire country would be moved to accept Christianity.³³

Dom João de Castro had first decided to send André de Sousa in January to Jaffna and then to bring the princes himself to Ceylon in September, 1546.³⁴ But, because of the urgent appeals for help from Kandy, he changed his plan. Sousa should set sail immediately in January, 1546, with fifty men and the two Franciscan priests, Frey Antonio Padram and Frey Simão de Coimbra³⁵ in order to help Jayavira. After his baptism they should negotiate the marriage of his daughter with Dom João, the elder of the two princes of Kōttē, and they should defend Jayavira from Bhuvaneka and Māyāduṇṇē until he, the governor, came in September with the princes.³⁶

But while preparations were being made for the voyage, on January 14, 1546, the two princes were carried off by smallpox in Goa.³⁷ The plan was consequently altered. André de Sousa, as had been decided, should go to Kandy; but Miguel Ferreira, the captain of the Coromandel Coast, should seize Jaffna for the Brahman pretender, the brother of the murderer of the Christians.³⁸

On January 15, 1546, André de Sousa had sailed from Goa³⁹ with letters of the governor for the king of Kandy, in which he promised to come in September or to send Dom Alvaro.⁴⁰ He had enlisted more men in Cochin and on the Fishery Coast and had passed from there to Colombo, which afforded the shortest route to Kandy. In spite of a letter from Castro which ordered Bhuvaneka to let him pass through his territory, the latter attempted to dissuade Sousa from his expedition by telling him that Māyāduṇṇē had occupied all the passes. Since Sousa's *catur* was too small for his men and he was not given another ship in Colombo, he had to sail on to Galle, where he confiscated a *prau* and purchased a *fusta*; but it took him twenty days to fit them out. From Galle he sailed on to Yala, where he saw that he would have to go by land and would have to send one of his boats with his baggage to Trincomali. After a thirteen-day march through wild mountains and a pathless, uninhabited forest, where they suffered from hunger and thirst,⁴¹ his small force of eighty men, thirty-eight of whom were Portuguese and the remaining natives who had been enlisted by the captain in Galle,⁴² arrived in Kandy on April 22.⁴³

³³ *Ibid.* 167-168.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 274-275 278.

³⁵ Frey Simão de Coimbra came to India in 1543 with Villa de Conde. He accompanied André de Sousa together with Frey Antonio Padram on Sousa's expedition to Kandy in 1546. In June, 1546, he carried letters from São Thomé overland to the governor in Goa, where he arrived on September 10, and where he wrote two letters on the expedition in December (*ibid.* 416-434).

³⁶ *Ibid.* 274-277.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 393 407.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 346-348.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 358. On André de Sousa's expedition we have the accounts of Sousa (*ibid.* 355-361 377-378), of Frey Antonio (*ibid.* 371-376 403), of Frey Simão (*ibid.* 416-434), of Nunalvares Pereira (*ibid.* 363-370), of D. João de Castro (*ibid.* 412-414) and of Villa de Conde (*ibid.* 404-405).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 427.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 358-360 346 371-372 421-422.

⁴² *Ibid.* 372; cf. 365.

⁴³ As is indicated by Frey Antonio (*ibid.* 374: "quinta feira de Lavapees") and Frey Simão (*ibid.* 422: "dia d'Emdoenças"). Sousa errs in giving April 25 (*ibid.* 355).

But they had arrived too late! Jayavīra had been compelled by necessity to conclude a peace with Māyāduṇṇē and to give him 2,400,000 *fanams*, nine precious stones, and three costly elephants.⁴⁴ On March 9 he had been secretly baptized⁴⁵ as Dom Manuel by Frey Francisco de Monteprandone, who had been summoned from Colombo, as Sousa had already learned in Galle from a letter of the king.⁴⁶ The arrival of the Portuguese had prevented the handing over of the princess which had been promised in the treaty of peace.⁴⁷ The king had sent a number of prominent individuals from his territory with provisions, elephants, and sedan chairs to meet Sousa and his company;⁴⁸ and he had solemnly met them in person two leagues from his capital in keeping with the custom of the land.⁴⁹ He had handed over to them one of his best pagodas for a church. There the Portuguese, three days after their arrival, celebrated Easter with a Mass, sermon, and procession.⁵⁰ But the prince was disappointed with the small number of Portuguese.⁵¹ Many had deserted along the way, and a division of twenty men under the command of Miguel Fernandes, which had sailed later from Colombo and was waiting for Sousa in Trincomali, had not been able to reach Kandy because of the hostility of the prince of Trincomali.⁵² Jayavīra was further distressed by the greed of the Portuguese.⁵³ After Sousa's arrival in Kandy he had publicly declared himself to be a Christian and, for political reasons, had had this also solemnly proclaimed in Kōttē by Frey João de Villa de Conde.⁵⁴ When the land was thrown into a turmoil because of this, he had calmed his people by stating that he had only said it in order to deceive the Portuguese and with their help to take revenge on Māyāduṇṇē. He was not a Christian and he would not become one.

Frey Antonio consequently assumed that it was all hypocrisy, and he stirred up the soldiers so that they threatened to leave the country.⁵⁵ The king saw that he had to give them three thousand *pardaus* in addition to their living quarters, food, and maidservants. The Portuguese however got so furious about the division of this sum that they came near to killing each other.⁵⁶ On Whitsunday five of the king's chief captains had themselves baptized in order to calm the excited soldiers.⁵⁷ The king promised that if the governor or his son came, the crown prince⁵⁸ and the princess would receive baptism; and he would then make the whole of Ceylon Christian.⁵⁹

In the middle of June Frey Simão and two ambassadors, one a native⁶⁰ and one a Portuguese,⁶¹ would therefore be sent to the governor in India along with

⁴⁴ On the peace terms see *ibid.* 368 371 423.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 363 355. On Frey Francesco de Monteprandone, see *ibid.* 665-668.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 421.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 368.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 372; cf. 422.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 372 356 365.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 422.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 364 379 429.

⁵² *Ibid.* 379-381; cf. 364.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 356 366-367 373 403 413-414 416.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 356 363 422.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 356.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 356 366-367 373 413-414 422-423.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 356-357 365 (their names) 374 422.

⁵⁸ Karalliyeddē Bandāra.

⁵⁹ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 356-357 365 422 424.

⁶⁰ Mogundo (*ibid.* 376).

⁶¹ Antonio Colaço (*ibid.* 369-370), nephew of Frey Antonio (*ibid.* 376).

letters of the king,⁶² the crown prince,⁶³ Nunalvares Pereira,⁶⁴ André de Sousa,⁶⁵ and Frey Antonio.⁶⁶ They should persuade him to come in person to the help of Kandy in September after the rainy season, or that he should at least send his son Dom Alvaro there with the necessary soldiers.

Frey Antonio was of the opinion that if both of these options were impossible, the governor should send another able captain, for example, Dom Jorge de Castro, with three hundred or more men. According to him, though the old king had been externally baptized, he was still inwardly a pagan. He refused to hear anything about instructions in the faith. He was unable to make even a single sign of the cross, and he refused to permit any of his house to become Christians. He had had the five captains baptized against their will so that they would not rebel against him, and they had ceased visiting the priests' after their baptism. The king claimed that if the governor or his son came and he thus received the power to defend himself, he would make everything Christian. There were greater hopes, however, that his son, the twenty-year-old crown prince, who was in good standing with the people, would accept instructions and become an open Christian.⁶⁷

According to Nunalvares Pereira, Jayavira, after the arrival of the Portuguese, had written a threatening letter to Māyādunnē to the effect that he should send his money back to him and the rest of the booty gained in battle.⁶⁸ The news of the baptism of the king had also made an impression upon Bhuvaneka. He had written to the king of Kandy that he could not believe that his relative, who came from the noblest branch of the sun caste, could lower himself so far as to become a Christian and thus a *pariah*. If he had published this news, he had probably done so only because of his disputes with him and Māyādunnē in order that they would no longer wage war on him. He too had had the friars come from Portugal; but he had not become a Christian, and he did not wish his people to become such. The Portuguese were robbers. He should be on his guard against them. A second effect of the news of the baptism of the king of Kandy was that Bhuvaneka, who previously had been inimical to the guardian, now became more affable. He often spoke with him and kept him close at hand, as Villa de Conde reported from Kōttē. And the factor wrote that the king of Kōttē wanted his grandson and successor Dharmapala to be married to the princess of Kandy.⁶⁹ Pereira also had an excellent opinion of the crown prince in Kandy,⁷⁰ and the latter wrote that he would consider it to be a great honor to be baptized at the time of the governor's arrival.⁷¹

André de Sousa was convinced that the king of Kandy was at heart a Christian and wished to convert his house and his kingdom to the faith. If the governor came, he would have to do so because necessity or advantage or revenge or the Holy Spirit or all these together forced him to it. The whole island would then become Christian. The kings of Batticaloa and Trincomali had ambassadors in Kandy; and they wanted to become Christians, as did a great lord on the boundary

⁶² *Ibid.* 423-424 427.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 428-429.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 362-370.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 355-361 377-378.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 371-376.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 374-375.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 368-369.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 367-368 426-427.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 366.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 428-429.

of Jaffna, whose territory extended for more than twenty or thirty leagues;⁷² and other lords, relatives of the princes who had died in Goa. The kings of Kōttē and Sītāvaka were also impressed, and the king of Kandy was asking Jaffna from the governor for his son.⁷³

But a second letter from Sousa, written two weeks later, a short time before the departure of the ambassador, was already less optimistic. News had come that Bhuvaneka and Māyāduṇṇē wanted to wage war again upon the king of Kandy. He, Sousa, had incurred great expenses because of the two princes of Kōttē in Goa and the expedition to Kandy; he was already more than two thousand *cruzados* in debt. The Portuguese in Kandy no longer wished to obey him as their captain and did what they pleased. He was willing to hold on until September. But if the governor did not come then, he would hand his men over to the king and leave.⁷⁴

At this time of the year, when Frey Simão and his companions left Kandy, the southwest monsoon made a voyage from Colombo to Goa impossible.⁷⁵ They therefore set sail from Batticaloa⁷⁶ for São Thomé, where they learned that the fortress of Diu had been besieged since the middle of April and that it was occupying all the military forces. Frey Simão nonetheless immediately traveled overland straight through India to Goa,⁷⁷ where he arrived on September 10, when the governor was on the point of sailing to the help of the beleaguered fortress with his fleet. He therefore gave a letter to the friar for the king of Kandy in which he gave him hopes for the future. As soon as he had returned from the war, he would go there himself or, if this proved to be impossible, he would send his son, Dom Alvaro.⁷⁸

On November 10 Castro had rescued the fortress through his brilliant victory at Diu and thus obtained a free hand in India. But about this same time conditions had worsened in Ceylon. In the middle of November the cinnamon ship sailed from Colombo. Bhuvaneka had given its captain, Francisco de Ayora, a gift of ten bahārs of cinnamon sticks⁷⁹ and two letters for the governor in which he described his services on behalf of the friars and the Church, denied the persecution of the Christians, complained about the latter, saying that they refused to pay him the tribute due to him, and asked for a series of privileges.⁸⁰

But a day before Ayora's departure, while the guardian was still in Colombo, the Portuguese had come from Kandy with their captain André de Sousa and Frey Antonio. They had shamelessly abandoned the prince whom they had offended by their insatiable greed, as Villa de Conde learned from the letters of the king, of Nunalvares Pereira, and of Frey Francisco, who had remained behind in Kandy, and from the oral reports of the men.⁸¹ The tearful entreaties of the king, which could have softened a stone were of no avail. The crown prince had sent them his dagger, vainly pleading them to remain in the name of God and of St. Mary and of the Portuguese king and to complete the work they had begun; and if they did not want to do this, to slay him with this

⁷² The prince of the Seven Corales.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 357-358.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 377-378.

⁷⁵ At first Frey Antonio wished to go with them (*ibid.* 357 360 367 377); but in the end Frey Simão went (*ibid.* 370 376 423).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 431-433.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 367 392 419.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 412-413.

⁷⁹ Q 2832; cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 440.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 397-402.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 404-405.

dagger. When they still continued with their departure, Jayavīra followed them for half a league and threw himself at their feet and asked them to remain for ten more days until an answer came from the governor. Even though he promised to make his whole house Christian, the Portuguese remained unmoved and marched away.⁸²

According to Frey Antonio it was all a farce. The king, according to him, did not believe in God; he refused instructions; he did not wish to see a cross or anyone making the sign of the cross. He did not want anyone in his territory except slaves to become a Christian; and if anyone of these became a Christian in secret, he immediately sold him. He, the king, refused any responsibility for the letters which Pereira had written in his name; and he declared that the latter had promised him that if the governor came, he would crown him emperor of all Ceylon and all the rest would become his vassals and kiss his feet. He would take revenge on Māyāduṇṇē and compel him to return the booty taken in war. The prince was willing to be baptized simply in order to take their land from others. Although Pereira and Frey Francisco regarded the king as a Christian, he honored his idols as he had before his baptism.⁸³ But in a letter to the guardian, the king of Kandy asked the guardian to intercede for him and not to abandon him as Frey Antonio had done.⁸⁴

Immediately after receiving these letters, Frey João de Villa de Conde sailed from Colombo to visit the governor. On November 27 he arrived in Cochin, where on the evening of that same day news was received of Castro's great victory at Diu.⁸⁵ From here he wrote a letter to the king of Portugal and informed him that the Italian priest Frey Francisco, whom he had sent to Kandy, a good religious, had been left in the lurch because he had anticipated the others in baptizing the king there.⁸⁶ In the middle of December the guardian came to Goa, where he met the bishop and Frey Simão, who had returned from Diu. On December 18 the latter sent a letter to the governor in which he informed him of what had occurred in Kandy and asked him to help the king who had been abandoned and, if Jaffna was taken, to give the kingdom to the prince of Kandy who, as nephew of Bhuvaneka and heir of the deceased prince Dom João, had a claim to it.⁸⁷

A week later Frey Simão also wrote a long letter to Dom John III in Portugal. In it he described the expedition to Kandy in detail and also gave translations of the palm-leaf letters of Jayavīra and the crown prince. He wrote that the king was a Christian, wanted to become a vassal of Portugal and to pay tribute, and deserved to be honored more than all the kings of Ceylon. He was sixty years old, was feared by his subjects, took no opium, and drank no palm wine and did not even want to have it in his kingdom, in contrast to the king of Kōttē. His son, the crown prince, was twenty years old and the greatest hopes could be placed in him. He was joyfully waiting for the coming of the governor to become a Christian, and this publicly; and he was eager to bring many others to the faith. The princes who had died in Goa were his cousins, and his mother

⁸² *Ibid.* 416-417.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 403.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 404.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 404-405. According to Brás d'Araujo the news of the victory arrived Saturday night, that is, on November 27, two days before the feast of St. Andrew, which fell on November 29 (Q 2577).

⁸⁶ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 404-405; cf. 346 413.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 416-418.

and Jugo's mother had been sisters. Through his mother he was a nephew of Bhuvaneka. He was mild, generous, a brave warrior, and beloved by his people. He was much inclined towards Christianity and refused to hear anything more about his former idols. The governor had promised Jaffna to the cousin of this prince, the deceased Dom João. If he took it from the usurper, a foe of Christians, and gave it to the crown prince of Kandy, it would be a great gain for the holy faith since there were already five hundred families there asking for baptism. The king of Kōttē, on the other hand, was seeking to stir up the king of Kandy and his subjects against the Portuguese. He called them robbers, who only came to plunder and destroy. He and his brother Māyāduṇṇē had killed the king, their uncle, in order to place themselves upon his throne.⁸⁸ He had torn down the crosses and was persecuting all who became Christians. When one of his subjects had himself baptized in his home, Bhuvaneka took away all his possessions, even his female slaves; when the man went to India in order to complain to M. A. de Sousa, and the latter gave him an *alvará* in which he ordered Bhuvaneka to restore his property to him, the latter simply ridiculed the whole affair. Māyāduṇṇē was a great persecutor of the Christians, and he had all the Christians whom he could lay his hands on sacrifice to his devils.⁸⁹

The bishop also wrote to the governor in Diu when Frey Antonio do Porto sailed there at the end of December, 1546. He recommended to him the request of Frey João de Villa de Conde, and he asked him to send Dom Alvaro to help the abandoned king of Kandy. If he could not sail until after the end of the rainy season, he should now send a reliable captain with fifty men to help him. The harvest was ripe for the baptism of all who were there. And he might grant him permission to sail with him as a simple priest and help with the baptisms. On this account he would forget his age, sickness, and everything else.⁹⁰ When the guardian himself sailed to Diu at the end of January, 1547, the bishop gave him a letter for Dom Alvaro in which he repeated his request and asked him to persuade his father to send a captain and 150 men there at once.⁹¹

When Villa de Conde returned to Goa in the middle of March, he found there an urgent letter from the king of Kandy asking the governor to appoint Nunalvares Pereira as factor for life of the trading station to be founded in Trincomali. He the king, had promised this to him. And the governor should also give Duarte Teixeira to his son as *guarda-mor*.⁹² The voyage of the guardian to the governor had been crowned with complete success.⁹³ In the letters which Miguel Vaz brought from Portugal in September, 1546, John III earnestly urged Castro to further the work of the mission.⁹⁴ The *letrados* of Portugal had declared that if the nephew was heir according to Ceylonese law, the decree in favor of the grandson of Bhuvaneka was to be considered as having been fraudulently obtained;⁹⁵ and in the complicated question about the succession to the throne in Jaffna and Kōttē the governor should take the honor of God and the spread of the faith as his only norm.⁹⁶ Castro accordingly decided that Antonio Moniz

⁸⁸ In 1521 Bhuvaneka, Māyāduṇṇē, and Rayigam Bandāra slew their uncle King Vijaya Bāhu in Kōttē (*ibid.* 2).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 420-434.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 436-437.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 442-443.

⁹² *Ibid.* 451-452.

⁹³ Villa de Conde repeatedly expresses his satisfaction (*ibid.* 448-450 453).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 266-267 308-309 321 335.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 264.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 309-310.

Barreto, one of his best captains, should accompany Villa de Conde to Kandy with a hundred men.⁹⁷

In Goa, Cochín, and on the Fishery Coast, where Moniz recruited soldiers, he was given abundant help.⁹⁸ But the advanced time of the year made a further voyage to Negapatam and São Thomé impossible. He consequently had only sixty men with him when he sailed with the guardian on April 22 from Kāyalpatnam to Trincomali. He hoped with the assistance of the Portuguese in Ceylon to bring the number up to a hundred. These would be enough to defend the king against his enemies. If the king kept his promise and openly proclaimed his faith and had his son and his people baptized, the captain intended to enlist more men on the Coromandel Coast in order to carry the war into Māyāduṇṇē's land with their assistance, as the governor had ordered in his instruction.⁹⁹

In Batticaloa, where they landed, they were greeted by Frey Francisco de Monteprandone with six or seven Portuguese and two thousand men to carry the guns and munitions into the interior. They brought with them a letter in which Jayavīra urged them to come as soon as possible since Māyāduṇṇē was putting great pressure on the prince of the Seven Cōralēs so that he might pass through his territory to Kandy before the arrival of the Portuguese auxiliaries in that city.¹⁰⁰

Moniz had sent a *catur* from Kāyalpatnam to the Shallows of Chilaw¹⁰¹ in order to enlist all the men from the ships sailing through them without permission, and he had already assembled a hundred. Without waiting for further reinforcements, he immediately set out with what he had on the march into the interior; especially since the priests and the Portuguese had assured him that the king would receive baptism the day after his arrival, as he wrote to the governor. The way led for fifty leagues over high mountains and through what was mostly uninhabited land, where the men frequently suffered from hunger and at times also from thirst. Part of it was also through hostile territory, where they had to march with their weapons ready for battle. In addition to this, they also yielded to the requests of those who wished to be baptized so that the king would not take away their land if he became a Christian in order to

⁹⁷ Cf. Castro's judgment on Moniz Barreto (*ibid.* 408-409 414-415), and Dom Alvaro's (*ibid.* 535-537). On his expedition to Kandy, see the account of Moniz (*ibid.* 463-471), Villa de Conde (*ibid.* 472-475), Māyāduṇṇē (*ibid.* 476-486), Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha (*ibid.* 479). Correa IV 674-678 combines it with the later expedition of D. Jorge de Castro. His *life*: In 1529 when he was still young, Antonio Moniz Barreto sailed with his Father Henrique Moniz to India. He accompanied M. A. de Sousa to Diu, where he spent the winter of 1537. He helped repair the fortress after the first siege of 1538; and in the second in 1546, in the midst of the monsoon, he brought the first help to it. He distinguished himself in the last, decisive battle. After the siege he burned Porbandar and captured the rich ship of the steward of the king of Cambay as booty. After the expedition to Kandy in 1547, he accompanied D. Alvaro on his voyage to Aden in 1548. In 1549 he returned to Portugal. He sailed a second time to India in 1552. In 1556-1558 he was captain of Bassein, and in 1558 he helped in the capture of Damão. He then sailed again to Portugal. In 1562 he helped defend Mazagão, in North Africa, which was being besieged (Gavy de Mendonça, *História do cerco de Mazagão* [Lisboa, 1891] 79). In 1571 he returned again to India, where he was governor from 1573 to 1576. He returned to Portugal and remained there. In 1578 he was called to the Cortes. He died in 1600. Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 408, and Q, index. His signature is given in Q, pl. 8.

⁹⁸ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 453-455 459; cf. 447.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 455-462.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 463 472-473.

¹⁰¹ Meant is the straight of Pāmban between the Indian continent and the island of Rāmeswaram.

give it to Christians. Among those who asked to be baptized were the king of Batticaloa, the children of the princess Benachym, the king of the province of Wellassa, who came with sixty of his prominent men, and the lord of one of the Cōralēs, who met them along the way.¹⁰² But fast as he went, Moniz still came too late! Despite all the arrangements he had made with the governor, when the Portuguese arrived, Jayavīra had already sent his daughter to Kōttē as the wife of Dharmapāla, the grandson of Bhuvaneka.¹⁰³

The king nevertheless came out a league from Kandy to meet the Portuguese, and he received them with all the customary solemnities. The newcomers spent eight days recovering their strength. During this time the barons of the kingdom came to the captain and vied with each other in asking for baptism as soon as the crown prince became a Christian. But when Moniz at the end of this period received an audience from the ruler and ordered him to fulfill his promises, the latter declared that he would not confess himself to be a Christian, and he would not allow either his son or his people to be baptized until the kingdom of Māyādunnē and the entire island as far as Jaffna had been conquered for him. As for what had been written in his name to the governor, he knew nothing about it.

When Moniz saw the stubbornness of the king, he and Villa de Conde decided to leave Kandy with the Portuguese. When the king begged them with tears to remain, they had him sign an agreement in Portuguese and Singhalese according to which he pledged to fulfill his promises within twenty days. But the threats and reprisals of the king of Kōttē again attained their goal. Bhuvaneka had the princess confined in a palm grove and her father told that he would not receive her as long as the captain and the Portuguese were in Kandy. And if Jayavīra became a Christian, he did not want his daughter as a wife or even as a slave for his grandson. The consequence of this was that the king did not keep his promises even after the lapse of the period agreed upon. Further, he had assembled a large number of troops, including two thousand armed with guns (the Portuguese had taught them how to make these weapons); and he refused to give the needed provisions and porters for the return march. He further insisted that the Portuguese would have to take the longer route by way of Batticaloa, on which they would have perished from hunger. When he heard this, Moniz left his artillery behind, burned all the goods which they had brought with them that were not absolutely necessary, and set off with his men on the shortest route to Kōttē, with powder and bullets at their belts, their guns on their shoulders, and burning matches in their hands.¹⁰⁴

Jayavīra had assembled troops at a narrow pass on the boundary of his land in order to prevent the passage of the retreating Portuguese. He had also stirred up the prince of the Seven Cōralēs, telling him that the Portuguese wished to conquer his land. A priest had to be sent to him in order to explain what had happened, and it was only after seven days that they could continue on their way. Moniz, to his great surprise, received a warm welcome in the territory of Māyādunnē. At their stopping points the Portuguese were greeted by prominent envoys of the king and given an abundance of provisions; whereas in the territory of the king of Kōttē the people fled into the woods, and no one was will-

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 461-464 474.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 465 479.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 465-467 473-474.

ing to sell provisions to them. Finally, after a march of more than forty leagues through lofty mountains, the exhausted Portuguese came to Colombo.¹⁰⁵

Only after Bhuvaneka saw that Māyāduṇṇē was striving to draw the Portuguese over to his side through frequent embassies did he have Moniz summoned and feigned innocence as to what had happened. But Moniz tore the mask from his face and, in the name of the governor, seized the princess and the women, nobles elephants, jewels, and gifts that had been sent with her as a guarantee of the payment of the costs of the expedition. At a meeting on the Kelani River, halfway between Sītāvaka and the sea, Moniz drew up an outline of a treaty with Māyāduṇṇē which an ambassador of the king was to present to the governor. When Bhuvaneka tried to prevent the embassy from going with a bribe of ten thousand *pardaus*, Moniz indignantly refused the sum; and in the middle of November, after a ship had arrived from Batticaloa, he sailed back to India with Māyāduṇṇē's ambassador and Villa de Conde.¹⁰⁶

The Franciscans and Portuguese in Colombo now interceded with the governor on behalf of Māyāduṇṇē, as also did Frey Antonio Padram, who had never trusted the king of Kandy and had been proved to be right.¹⁰⁷

Moniz' expedition had also opened up the eyes of Villa de Conde. On October 11 he had already written to Castro that he might forgive him for having let himself be duped by so many *olas* and letters. The king of Kandy was evil. He was moreover stirred up by the king of Kōttē and embittered by the attitude of the Portuguese during the expedition of André de Sousa, as he had publicly declared.¹⁰⁸ Two of his friars had lost their courage and wanted to return to Portugal. And Villa de Conde, who had come with them to Cochin, sent a letter from there on November 27 to Castro in which he informed him that he also wished to leave the mission, where he had labored in vain for six years, and to sail home with them if this was agreeable to the governor and he obtained the permission of his guardian.¹⁰⁹ Only with difficulty had the bishop finally persuaded him to remain in India.¹¹⁰

On November 25 Frey Antonio had written to the governor from Colombo:

There is no king or lord here who wants the truth. All is deceit. If you become one [a Christian], I also become one so that you cannot take my property from me and I can take yours. The friendship of Madune is good. We have here churches made of clay with palm-leaf roofs and many Christians along the coast. God knows what will come of it. Our honor demands that we remain firm since we retain a firm hold on the cinnamon. If a fortress is built here in Colombo, everything will be secure and Christianity will increase.¹¹¹

Two days after Frey Antonio wrote his letter, the Portuguese living in Colombo wrote about Bhuvaneka Bāhu:

This king, who calls himself a friend of Portugal, is the greatest enemy that we have here. He works against the Christians in ways that are hard to imagine. He persecutes those who become Christians here so severely that no one now dares to be

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 467-469 479.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 469-470 476-478 492.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 480-481.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 472-475.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 483 492-493.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* 518.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* 480-481.

baptized. On the other hand, those who are already Christians have for many days no longer dared to confess their faith. Because of the numerous persecutions which he and his followers inflict upon them, they go to the pagodas as they did before. The land is ready for a large number of people to become Christians if they saw the might of the Portuguese protecting them from the oppressions which the king inflicts upon the new converts. But they receive so little help from us that they do not dare to remain on our side. All admit that the reason why the king of Kandy did not become a Christian was because the king of Kōttē deterred him from it, and many of his own people say the same.

With respect to the oppressions which he inflicts upon us *casados* and the other Portuguese who have settled here, they are so many that if Your Lordship does not obtain any justice for us, we shall be compelled to abandon this country and the plantations which we have laid out. He has so debased our currency that a gold *pardau* is only worth four *tangas*, and among these there are many counterfeit *fanams*. He always strives to satisfy the captains of the cinnamon ship and a number of influential individuals so that he may be able to oppress the rest of us as he likes without Your Lordship or the other governors being informed about the real state of affairs and he is not punished as he deserves. The sin of sodomy is so prevalent in this kingdom of Kōttē that one should fear to live here. And if one of the prominent men of the kingdom is reproached for not being ashamed of such an ugly vice, they reply that they do everything that they see their king doing, for this is their custom.

Even before the cinnamon ship sailed away, the king of Kandy sent to this king of Kōttē the artillery which Antonio Moniz had left behind and a further twelve thousand *pardaus* to pay for the expenses of the fleet and men. He does not like to admit this with respect to the money. But two days before the departure of the ship, he paid more than fifty of the men who came from Kandy, giving each one twenty-five *pardaus* for the expenses and losses they had incurred upon the way. From this Your Lordship can perceive that he was the reason why the king of Kandy and with him the whole island failed to become Christian. His example would have been enough for all to have become such at once. Your Lordship can be sure of it, for this is the way with these people. On this island there are forty of us Portuguese who have settled here. Obtain justice for us and do not permit us to be tyrannized by this pagan king as we are at present. Your Lordship can obtain information from the friars who are going to you and from other persons.¹¹²

The ambassador of Māyādunnē gave the governor, who had gained a brilliant victory over the Moors in Salsette on the feast of St. Thomas, December 27, 1547, an elaborate gift from his lord—two precious rings adorned with jewels and an ivory box artistically carved with reliefs valued at more than one thousand *pardaus*.¹¹³ He also presented him with a letter of his lord, in which the latter stressed the fact that he had wished to become a vassal of the king of Portugal for many years. He stated that he was ready to pay tribute to him and described how he had helped Moniz in his troubles with the barbaric king of Kandy and the king of Kōttē. Moniz would give him a report on the meeting which they had had and on what had been decided. He, Māyādunnē, offered to capture Kandy if he was given two hundred well-armed Portuguese and the kingdom was left to his son in the name of the king of Portugal. He was willing to pay for all the expenses and to share the great treasure of the king of Kandy with the king of Portugal. He further asked for the harbor of Chilaw with its environs, and he was ready to pay its taxes.¹¹⁴

¹¹² *Ibid.* 495-497.

¹¹³ Receipt of December 22, 1547 (*ibid.* 498).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 476-478.

Māyādunnē was recommended to the governor by Villa de Conde; and when a nephew of the king of Kōttē came to Cochin at the beginning of January in order to visit Castro in the name of his lord, he was forced to hear that Castro had already dealt with the ambassador of the king of Sītāvaka.¹¹⁵ There was no doubt that Bhuvaneka's star was on the decline and that of his brother Māyādunnē on the ascent. Such was the news that Master Francis learned in Cochin about the Ceylon mission from Frey João de Villa de Conde and the bishop.

7. CAPE COMORIN AND JAFFNA (1546-1547)¹

In the middle of April, 1547, when Moniz Barreto came with Frey João de Villa de Conde to the Fishery Coast on his voyage to Ceylon and was waiting in Kāyalpatnam for the ships that were sailing with horses to the Coromandel Coast in order to enlist men for his expedition to Kandy, he was earnestly invited to a meeting by Rāma Varma, the king of the land, who had come to the coast. He informed him that the Badagas, the troops of the king of Vijayanagar, had taken all his land from him.² He had brought together a large force of both cavalry and infantry, and would assemble many Christians as well. If the Portuguese lent him their assistance, he would be able to expel his enemies. These consisted of not more than five hundred cavalymen mounted on poor horses and three thousand infantrymen. At the news of Moniz' arrival even a good many of these had already fled. If he so wished, he was willing to undertake the obligation of paying an annual tax of ten thousand *pardaus* to the king of Portugal and to remit all duties on the pepper loaded at Quilon. The Portuguese could further build at his expense a fortress in Kāyalpatnam to protect the Christians, and he would give them the revenues from all the fisheries on sea or land. The king presented Moniz with a signed palm-leaf document in this regard and gave another to him for Frey João de Villa de Conde in which he promised to become a Christian within a year. He further declared that he would immediately pay Moniz' men two thousand *pardaus* so that they would be willing to take part in the campaign. He only asked Moniz to remain for fifteen days in his country so that his subjects, who were already rebelling, would obey him. He would further give to the Portuguese all the possessions of the Moors of Kāyalpatnam, who were very wealthy. The king and the Portuguese who had come with him also declared that victory was certain if Moniz helped him with his men.

Moniz' first reaction was to help the sorely pressed prince, but on further reflection he saw that it would be necessary to first present the matter to the

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 500.

¹ The main sources for this section are the two letters of Villa de Conde and Moniz Barreto of April 22, 1546, from Kāyalpatnam (Q 3030-3031; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 455-462); see also the letter of the captain of Quilon of May 20 (Q 3091) and that of the factor of Cochin, Antonio Correa, of May 26, 1546 (Q 3992), who received a letter of Diogo de Lisboa from Cape Comorin.

² On April 13 Rāma Varma was still in the military camp of Erupādi, thirty-seven miles west of Kāyalpatnam, in the interior not far from Kallakād, where the king had his palace on the highway which led to the Arāmboli Pass, the point of attack from Travancore (Q 5731). On January 7 of this same year of 1547, his brother and ally in arms Mārtānda, was still in the military camp of Kunrattūr near Tiruppudaimarudūr on the Tāmbraparni River, the northern boundary of the kingdom, twenty-five miles north of Erupādi (Q 5730). The Badagas had thus only taken the northern half of their part of Tinnevely from the two Cēra princes.

governor since a war against the troops of the king of Vijayanagar could create difficulties for the Portuguese on the Coromandel Coast and in Negapatam. He and Villa de Conde therefore wrote to Castro and asked him to send his reply at once by a double route—overland by a *patamar* and with the cinnamon ship by sea—so that they could on their return from Kandy, if he, the governor, agreed, carry out the request of Rāma Varma.

Moniz strongly recommended the matter to the governor. The prince was esteemed by the Moors and the Portuguese who dealt with him and by his subjects as a man of great truthfulness. He was a very good king and a friend of the Portuguese and of the native Christians. When Moniz came to Kāyalpatnam, he encountered there many Badagas who acted like lords. They fled at once and only when they saw that the Portuguese had come with peaceful intent did they return and ask him for letters of protection. When he learned that some of the Christian women had become Mohammedans, he demanded that they be handed over to him. He received them and had them suitably punished for their apostasy from the faith. Despite their small number, the Badagas ruled the land because of the great fear in which they were held. They were extremely harmful to the cause of Christendom since through the favors received from them the Moors became arrogant. Formerly, under the protection of the Portuguese, the Christians had been the leading persons along the coast and had ruled the land; but now the Moors and the Badagas were making them their slaves. They abused, struck, and killed them and so mistreated them that the Christians, still weak in their faith and abandoned by the Portuguese, frequently apostatized. The inhabitants of Vēdālai and Kīlakarai, who had all been Christians, were now afraid and unwilling to see or tolerate any Portuguese in their land; and they had to a large extent returned to being pagans or Moors.

But the two letters to the governor had no effect. The onslaught of the rainy season made it impossible to furnish any immediate help and even the captain of Quilon, to whom the king had sent a *pula*³ with a request for help did nothing for him.⁴ He consequently saw that apart from some Portuguese horse traders and a few other whites who were campaigning with him,⁵ he had to rely upon his own forces; and in August he and his ally Mārtanda Varma, the king of Travancore, had to surrender to Vijayanagar. In the peace treaty of August 13, 1547, they had to yield to the victor all their possessions on the other side of Cape Comorin with the Christian villages and the revenues of the Pearl Fishery and the mountain strongholds of Travancore; and, as vassals of Vijayanagar, they assumed the obligation of paying an annual tribute to its king.⁶

³ *Pula*: aristocrat.

⁴ This can be seen not only from the outcome of the war but also from the letter written on May 25 by Bernaldo da Fonseca, the captain of Quilon, to the governor. He states that he had heard from Rāma Tiruvadi that he was going with some Portuguese horse traders and other white persons, and that the Badagas were leaving the land to him. He had sent a *pula*. All who came from there said that he was very near to becoming a Christian. But even if he was different from others, he still remained a Malabar. When the kings had had him, the captain, visited, he had told them that if they wished to be friends of the governor, they would have to punish those who were smuggling horses (Q 3091).

⁵ On August 25 the *ouvidor* Manuel Lobato wrote from Cochin that a horse trader, the Portuguese Gaspar Botelho, had fallen, and that two Portuguese and a Malabar married in Cochin had been sorely wounded in the wars which the natives were now waging on Cape Comorin (Q 3260).

⁶ An inscription of September 5, 1550, in Brahmadēsam, west of Tirupudaimarudūr,

It was no wonder then that the two princes had changed from being friends to foes of the Portuguese. Mārtānda Varma, encouraged by the Moors, showed himself hostile to the mission. He forbade any further conversions on the part of the missionaries and his persecution of the Christians was such that Father Francisco Henriques and Brother Baltasar Nunes, who had been working among them, were forced to leave Travancore. On the advice of his confreres and the captain of Quilon, the former went to Goa in order to obtain help from the governor against the rajah.⁷ He arrived however at a most inopportune time. Castro had other problems at hand.⁸ Māhmud, the king of Bombay, was making preparations in the north to take Diu and Bassein away from the Portuguese.⁹ And Ibrāhīm, Adil Khān, had sent six thousand infantry and six hundred picked horseman to Pondá, close to the gates of Goa; and he had occupied Salsette.¹⁰ On September 19, 1547, the governor had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Vijayanagar against this traditional foe of the Portuguese and all other enemies with the exception of the Nizām,¹¹ and two days later he had decisively defeated the enemy at Pondá.¹² On October 6 he had also signed a treaty with the Nizām which gave him a free hand against the king of Cambay,¹³ and soon after this he had sailed north with his fleet in order to lay waste his land with fire and sword and to impose peace upon him.¹⁴ He had not returned from there to Goa until December,¹⁵ and this only to take up the war again against Adil Khān.¹⁶

states that, under the reign of King Sadāsiva, Rāmappa Nāyaka gave to the temple of Kailāsamudaiya Mayinār a village with all of its revenues for the services of Vitthala [who was the leader of the army in 1547 in the war with the two Cēra kings]. Among these revenues were included the taxes for the support of the mountain fortresses of Jayatunga-nādu and Siraivāy, just as the Tiruvadi Senior of Siraivāy (that is, Mārtānda Varma, the king of Travancore) had given them on August 13, 1547 (Q 5870). In the treaty of peace, Rāma Varma lost his territory east of Cape Comorin, that is South Tinnevely, where only the inscriptions of the new lord, the king of Vijayanagar, and of the Pāndya princes are found since then. From this time on Cape Comorin formed the eastern limits of Travancore.

⁷ On this see the letters of Henrique Henriques of December 6, 1547 (DI I 226-227), of Francisco Henriques of December 8, 1547 (*ibid.* 229), and of Adam Francisco of the beginning of 1548 (*ibid.* 259).

⁸ On November 30, 1547, Cosme Anes wrote from Bassein to the king of Portugal that India needed a man like Mestre Francisco since the bishop was too weak and fearful, and the vicar general, Mestre Pedro [Fernandes], spent his time in preaching the praises of the governors. The king must therefore send a religious of the Society of Jesus who could remedy the situation and give direction to the College of St. Paul, a man with a scholarly education and authority who could obtain from the governor the assistance needed to solve the difficult problems connected with the conversion of the people of India. The priests of the Society who had hitherto been sent there, with the exception of Mestre Francisco, were not suited for this. They had become involved in some stupid ventures and had been the cause of some unfortunate incidents by asking the governor and a number of the captains and officials of His Highness for things which, though they were not unjustifiable, were not requested at an opportune time. . . . The Portuguese were actually the real impediment to every good work. They put many things into the priests' heads which could only be accomplished with time; but they wanted them at once and thus sent the priests to the governor and to the captains and made them go from Cape Comorin to Goa (DI I 216-217).

⁹ Q 3263; Couto 6, 5, 3.

¹⁰ Nunes, *Crónica* 161-162.

¹¹ Q 3300; Nunes, *Crónica* 170-172.

¹² Nunes, *Crónica* 163-169.

¹³ *Ibid.* 170-172; Q 3353.

¹⁴ Q 3285; Nunes, *Crónica* 174-200.

¹⁵ Nunes, *Crónica* 209.

A consequence of these continuous wars was that the punitive expedition against the murderer of the Christians of Jaffna had perforce been indefinitely postponed.

At the beginning of 1546 Castro had wished to send André de Sousa there in order to capture the kingdom for the prince of Kōttē, Dom João, or for his "brother," Dom Luis. The death of the two princes had nullified this plan; and Sousa had been sent to Kandy, while Miguel Ferreira, the captain of the Coromandel Coast, was commissioned to march on Jaffna in order to replace the tyrant with his brother, a Brahman, who had promised that he would have himself, his friends, and his relatives baptized.¹⁷ On the advice of the Paravas, the expedition had been set for September,¹⁸ but the siege of Diu, which required all available forces, had prevented this voyage as well. In Kandy the king had asked for his son, the crown prince, the rule of Jaffna, since the latter claimed it as a relative of Prince João; and Frey Simão de Coimbra had recommended him to the governor for it.¹⁹

But the unfortunate outcome of the second Kandy expedition under Moniz Barreto in 1547 had also nullified this plan, to the great distress of the old Miguel Ferreira, who had gone to the help of Diu in 1546 and had returned deathly ill from there at the beginning of 1547.²⁰

In the fleet of the governor that sailed from Goa for Cambay in October, 1547, there were 2,200 Portuguese, not counting the rowers and the Malabar auxiliaries.²¹ Two hundred arquebusiers would have been enough to help Kandy and Rāma Varma and to capture Jaffna and thus make the whole of Ceylon Christian.²² Jaffna itself had thirty thousand inhabitants, and five hundred families in its capital²³ were asking for baptism.²⁴ All the people living on the island, from one to two hundred thousand, were said to be ready for conversion if they were freed from the tyrant ruling over them.²⁵ As a usurper he had first slaughtered more than two thousand, and after these the new converts of Manār.²⁶ And the Paravas had declared that they were ready to assemble ten thousand warriors at the time of the Small Pearl Fishery in September for the capture of Jaffna.²⁷

8. LETTERS FOR EUROPE (JANUARY 20, 1548)

On January 22 the *São Boaventura*, also known as the *Nao Nova*, sailed from Portugal as the last of the four pepper ships.¹ With it Master Francis sent a series of letters, all dated January 20.

The first and longest of these bore an address half in Spanish and half in

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 200-217.

¹⁷ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 142 347 382.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 348.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 418 430-431.

²⁰ Q 2788 2813.

²¹ Q 3408.

²² Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 348 (200 men), 364 443 (150 men). On the hope of converting all of Ceylon, cf. *ibid.* 98 159 186 200 207 214 219 247 291 357 369 379 424 427-429 496.

²³ *Ibid.* 205; cf. 213 217-218.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 431.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 348 (more than 200,000), 352 (more than 100,000).

²⁶ *Ibid.* 214.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 349.

¹ Q 3665.

Latin that recalled the formalities of the examination for the licentiate in Paris: "To my dearest Fathers and Brothers in Christ, P. Inigo *et caeteris fratribus dilectissimae Societatis nominis Jesu, qui sunt Romae et ubique terrarum.*"² After referring to his last letter from Amboina, of May 10, 1546,³ he described his labors since then on that island, his missionary voyage to Ternate and the Moro Islands, and his return to Malacca and India.⁴

In Amboina he had baptized many children in the seven Christian villages which he found there, and he had brought peace to the military camps of the Portuguese and Spaniards, to men who had almost made it their profession to live at peace neither with God nor with their neighbor. With an allusion to the foreword of the Latin New Testament of Erasmus, he described how on Ternate the boys on the squares, the girls and women in their homes, the laborers in the fields, and the fishers on the sea sang the texts of his Christian instruction in a language intelligible to all rather than their earlier wordly songs.⁵ With another allusion, to the Book of Esther, he reported how during the three months of his first stay, he had in a short time found "great grace before the eyes of all,"⁶ in those of the Portuguese and of the natives, both Christians and non-believers. He then described his visit to the Moro Islands, where he had remained three months, baptized many children, visited all the Christian villages, and, despite a constant danger of death and the greatest privations, had experienced numerous consolations and had been the occasion of the same for others:

I am giving you this account so that you may know how abundant these islands are in spiritual consolations. For all of these dangers and difficulties freely undertaken simply and solely for the love and service of God our Lord are treasures abundant in great spiritual consolations, so much so, that these islands are much inclined and disposed to cause one to lose the light of one's bodily eyes within a few years because of the abundance of consoling tears. Never do I remember having had such great and constant consolations as upon these islands, and to have felt so little the physical hardships, although I was continuously on islands which were surrounded by enemies and which are peopled by friends who are not very firm, and in places where there is a lack of all remedies for physical ills and of almost all means for preserving one's life. They would be better called "Islands of Divine Trust" rather than "Islands of Moro."

Francis then passed on to his second, three-month stay on Ternate, where many received Holy Communion for the first time during Lent. His departure from there, when he returned to Amboina in order to sail on from there to Malacca, had been very difficult for him and his friends. He then described

² The formula for the granting of the licentiate at the University of Paris ran as follows: "Et ego, Iacobus Aimery . . . do vobis licenciam legendi, regendi, disputandi et determinandi, ceterosque actus scholasticos seu magistrales exercendi in facultate artium *Parisiis et ubique terrarum*, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen" (cf. Vol. I, p. 146, n. 281).

³ EX I 318-325.

⁴ *Ibid.* 375-396.

⁵ In the forward to his Latin edition of the New Testament, Erasmus wrote: "I would like to have even the simplest little woman read the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul and to have these translated into every tongue so that not only the Scotch and the Irish but even the Turks and the Saracens might read them, and farmers might sing verses to themselves behind the plow, and weavers hum them in the midst of the rattle of their shuttles, and travelers free themselves from the tedium of their journey with them" (cf. Vol. I, p. 126; EX I 377).

⁶ Esth. 7:3.

what he had done in this latter city, where he had been filled with joy to meet three of his confreres who were going at his request to the Molucca mission. When he was leaving Malacca, the leading persons of the fortress had earnestly asked him to send them two of the Society in order to preach to them, to their wives, and to the native Christians, and to teach the catechism to their sons and daughters and their male and female slaves as he had himself done. It seemed to him that the debt of gratitude which he owed his friends there, who had shown such great affection for the Society of Jesus, demanded that he do everything he could to send them the two confreres they had requested during the coming April.

In Malacca Francis had also met distinguished Portuguese merchants who had come from the very large, recently discovered islands of Japan, where they believed that a great new door was opening for the Gospel since their inhabitants, in contrast to the pagans of India, were very thirsty for knowledge. He had come to know one of them, Anjirō, through their mediation; and he was of the opinion that if all the Japanese were as eager to learn as he was, his countrymen were the most eager people in the world for knowledge discovered up till then. With his letter he was sending a detailed account about Anjirō's homeland which one of the Portuguese merchants had composed for him. His plan was maturing:

All the Portuguese merchants who come from Japón tell me that if I go there, I shall do great service to God our Lord, more than with the pagans of India, for they are a very reasonable people. From that which I experience within my soul, it seems to me that either I or another of the Society will go within two years to Japón, even if the voyage there is full of dangers because of the violent storms and the Chinese pirates who sail that sea in search of booty, and on whose account many ships are lost. Pray therefore to God our Lord, dearest Fathers and Brothers, for those who will sail there, for it is a voyage on which many travelers have perished. During this time Anjirō will learn more Portuguese and will become acquainted with India and the Portuguese here and our way of life. And during this time we shall instruct him in the faith, and we shall translate the entire Christian doctrine into Japanese with an explanation of the articles of faith which treats extensively of the history of the coming of Jesus Christ our Lord, for Anjirō can write the script of Japón very well.

Francis then described his stormy passage from Malacca to India and how during the tempest he had commended himself especially to the blessed soul of Father Peter Favre and to all the others who had belonged to the Society of Jesus during their life. He also described the consolation that he always experienced when he recommended himself to the intercession of his confreres, both those who were still living and those who were now in heaven; and he wrote in conclusion:

Many times God our Lord has given me to sense within my soul the many physical dangers and spiritual difficulties from which he has preserved me through the pious and continuous sacrifices and prayers of all those who fight here below in the ranks of the blessed Society of Jesus, and of those who are in glory with great triumph, who fought during their lifetime and belonged to the said Society. I am giving you, dearest Fathers and Brothers in Christ, this accounting of the great debt I owe to you so that you may help me pay for everything since I cannot alone do so either to God or to you.

When I begin to speak of this holy Society of Jesus, I am unable to break away from such a delightful theme and I am unable to stop writing. But I see that I am forced to stop against my will and without coming to an end because of the urgency

which these ships are in. I do not know how I can bring this to a better close than to confess to all of the Society that *if I should ever forget the Society of the Name of Jesus, may my right hand be forgotten!* . . . And so I close, asking God our Lord, that in His holy mercy, since He brought us together in His holy Company in this so difficult a life, so may He unite us in His glorious company in heaven, since in this life we are so far separated from each other out of love for Him.

And that you may see how far we are in body separated from each other, know that if you send from Rome in virtue of holy obedience an order to those of us in Maluco or to those who will go to Japón, you will not have a reply to that which you have ordered us in less than three years and nine months. And so that you may see that this is as I have said, I shall give you the reasons for it. If you write to us in India from Rome, it takes eight months for your letters to reach India. After we have received your letters, another eight months pass before the ships sail from India for Maluco since they have to wait for the time to sail. . . . And the ship that sails from India to Maluco needs twenty-one months to go there and to return to India, and this in the most favorable weather. And before the answer reaches Rome from India eight more months will pass by, and this is to be understood of ships that sail in very favorable weather. For if there is any trouble from the weather, the voyage frequently lasts for more than a year.

From Cochín, the twentieth of January, 1548.

The least servant of the servants of the Society of the Name of Jesus,
Franciscus.

The second letter was for Ignatius,⁷ the general of the order, his "dearest" and "best Father," as he is called.⁸ It began as follows:

God knows how very much I long to see you, dearest Father, once more in my life in order that I might speak to you about many things which demand your help and healing hand, for no physical distance stands in the way of obedience. I see that there are very many of the Society in these regions, and I also see that we are much in need of a physician for our souls. I therefore beg and entreat you, dearest Father, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, to have a care also for these sons of yours who are living here in India and send us a man distinguished for his virtue and holiness so that his zeal and energy may stir up my tepidity. Enlightened by God, you know clearly the condition of our souls. I therefore have great hopes that you will make every effort to spur on all our already crippled virtue to a more decisive striving for perfection.

Francis also asked for preachers of the Society, for whom there was a pressing need and great demand in India. The other missionaries who were sent to visit the villages of the pagans must be men of tried virtue so that they could safely be sent anywhere, either with or without companions, to Maluco, China, or to Japan, a description of which he was sending with his letter. There was a great longing in India for the papal faculties and indulgences that had already been requested in 1542. But with respect to Lent, he had learned from experience that its transfer was not necessary since winter did not occur at the same time in all the different areas. With respect to Japan he wrote as follows:

I am not as yet fully determined whether I should myself go with one or two of the Society to Japón a year and a half from now, or whether I should first send two of the Society. But I am resolved to go myself or to send others; and as it now stands, I am inclined to the decision to go myself. I ask God to grant me to know clearly what is more in keeping with His holy will.

⁷ EX I 397-400. The letter is only preserved in a Latin translation.

⁸ *Ibid.* 2, 7.

It seemed good to me to choose one of the three companions who sailed to Maluco to be the superior of the others. I therefore chose Juan de Beira, whom the others are to obey as they would you, and this was most pleasing to them. I intend to do the same also on Cape Comorín and in the other places where several of the Society are living. Implore for us who are dwelling in this pagan land God's help through your own prayers and those of your friends!

Master Francis wrote three more letters to King John III. In the first he recommended to him Dona Isabel Niachile, the queen of Ternate and the mother of Tabarija, who had been converted to Christianity. After Hairun's return she had lost her former revenues. The king should give her a pension for her support. He also recommended her protector, Baltasar Veloso, to the king so that he might grant him a favor.⁹ In the second he sent the king recommendations for a series of friends in Malacca and India.¹⁰ The first of these were three who had rendered service in the crusade against the fleet of the treacherous Achinese, particularly in the battle on the Perlis River.

The first named was Diogo Soares de Mello, who had sailed with him and M. A. de Sousa from Melinde for Goa in 1542.¹¹

I would have Your Highness know that Dioguo Soares furnished great help with the fleet that was equipped last year in Malaqua in order to sail against the Achinese and to destroy them. And he fought at this time in a way that was worthy of him and was to be expected of him. He sailed with two of his beautiful *fustas* which he manned with sailors and *lascarins* at his own cost without receiving anything at all for this from the factory. I say this since they never once gave him rice for the sailors. As a consequence he expended what he did not himself have, and he borrowed money in order to render service to Your Highness. For the service which Dioguo Soares showed you with this fleet, Your Highness must grant him a great favor. I am sending this account to Your Highness since I was at the time in Malaqua and I know those who served you, and I say no more than that without him not so many Achinese would have perished.

In the second place Xavier mentions his great friend Diogo Pereira, who had come with his brother Guilherme to Cochín in order to ask permission from the governor for a voyage to China and to prepare for the voyage:¹²

Likewise, Dioguo Pireira, son of Tristão Pireira, who served Your Highness in India for twenty years, always as a captain of galleys and galleons. In this he exhausted his own possessions and those of his children without receiving any reward for his services. He was slain by the Moors at the siege of Calicut.¹³ The said Dioguo Pireira fought very well in the battle, and he was the captain of the largest ship that sailed there, and he destroyed many ships of the Achinese with his heavy artillery by sinking them. And the *lascarins* who sailed with him killed many Achinese with their guns, and he was unsparing in his expenditures. Your Highness should grant him a favor for his services and for those of his father. A Castilian who came to Maluquo from New Spain¹⁴ and who sailed on a ship of Dioguo Pireira told me that he was greatly pleased to see how well the Portuguese of India fought and were so efficient.

⁹ The letter is lost; cf. EX I 417.

¹⁰ EX I 411-417.

¹¹ Vol. II, pp. 112-113.

¹² Cf. above, pp. 20-21; Q 3260 3597a.

¹³ In 1529.

¹⁴ With the fleet of Ruy López de Villalobos.

The third was Affonso Gentil another friend of the priest who, in spite of the heavy losses which he had suffered in China, had still actively contributed to the success of the expedition against the Achinese but had now been brought as a prisoner to India because (without any fault on his part) his royal ship had been burned in Malacca:

Likewise, Afonso Gemtill, brother of Dr. Antonio Gemtill, who was the chief physician of Your Highness, sailed as a captain of a ship in this fleet. He took many men with him and spent much from his resources, as he has ever done in the fleets in the service of Your Highness. After so many services, he is now being so badly treated because a ship of Your Highness was burned in the harbor of Malacca; and all in Malacca say that it is against reason and justice. And those who do evil to others are primarily those who have no services to allege to Your Highness for which they should be rewarded. For the relief of your conscience, Your Highness must grant him a favor and deliver him from so many unjust and unreasonable oppressions.

Another of the priest's friends had encountered disaster in China:

Likewise, Joam Rodriguez Carvalho, who I found so poor in Malacca that I felt compassion for him. His ship sank in China, and I see that he is on the way to being completely ruined in India if Your Highness does not help him and have a great favor done to him. He and I sailed in the same ship from Malacca to Quouchim. I saw his poverty in such detail that I felt pity for him; and I experienced a great sorrow within myself, seeing that it was an affront to Your Highness that he went around so destitute, since he had served you so well. I ask Your Highness to grant him a favor.

Even more tragic was the condition of Henrique de Sousa Chichorro,¹⁵ a former captain of Cochín, whom Xavier met in that city and recommended to the charity of the king. Sousa was an illegitimate son of Garcia de Sousa,¹⁶ who had been for a long time the *provedor* of the hospital of All Saints in Lisbon.¹⁷ He had already served in India in 1521,¹⁸ and he had sailed there again in 1528 and had taken part in the capture of Mombassa on the way.¹⁹ He and his brother Melchior had accompanied²⁰ their elder brother Aleixo²¹ from Lisbon to Mozambique in October, 1537, and he had there been appointed captain. The viceroy, Dom Garcia de Noronha, had sent him back from there to Portugal with letters in 1538.²² Henrique had then embarked again for India in June of the following year.²³ Six years later he had made his last voyage to India in the fleet of the new governor, Dom João de Castro, sailing on the *Burgaleza*, on which the chancellor, Dr. Francisco Toscano, and the newly appointed *vedor da fazenda*, Dr. Maris Lobo, were also sailing to India with their families.²⁴

On the coast of Guinea Dr. Maris was carried away by pleurisy. He had died in the bitterest poverty and had left nothing but numerous debts, which he had

¹⁵ On him see E. Sanceau, "Uma familia portuguesa quinhentista na India," *Studia* 1 (1958) 101-110; Andrade Leitão XIX 795.

¹⁶ *Emmentia* 366.

¹⁷ Couto 5, 2, 7.

¹⁸ Correa II 662 674.

¹⁹ Castanheda 7, 87-88.

²⁰ *Registo*, n. 291; cf. n. 181; Correa III 816.

²¹ Q 255 508 (as captain of the *Siria*); Fonseca 334; Figueiredo Falcão 157; **Memoria das pessoas* 57; Couto 5, 2, 7; *Andrade Leitão XIX 795.

²² Couto 5, 3, 9.

²³ Correa IV 96 98; Q 454.

²⁴ As Maria Pinheira wrote in 1547 (*Studia* I 102-103).

been compelled to incur on board ship,²⁵ and his widow, Maria Pinheira, who was of a prominent family,²⁶ and her five children, two sons and three daughters (a fourth daughter was a nun in Lorrão in Portugal²⁷). The youngest of these was only two and a half years old.²⁸ During the voyage, the governor had asked Toscano to take care of the widow and her children. But after his arrival in India, the chancellor had become completely occupied with affairs of state and Maris' widow had consequently been left alone in a foreign land without assistance or relatives. Henrique de Sousa, who knew the woman's distress, had shown compassion on her, though he was himself without means. He had married her eldest daughter, Isabel, in Goa. Soon after this, when he sailed as the newly appointed captain of the fortress of Cochin, he had taken her there with her mother and sisters and had given them a home in the fortress, where he was living,²⁹ and where, soon after her arrival in January, 1546, Dona Maria gave birth to an infant son.³⁰

As ill luck would have it, the new governor, Dom João de Castro came into sharp conflict immediately after his entrance into office with the captain's brother, Aleixo de Sousa, the former *vedor da fazenda*, who was living in Cochin. And in this dispute Henrique became unwillingly involved.³¹

Immediately after his arrival in India in September, 1545, Castro had been presented with a petition of the city of Goa. His predecessor, M. A. de Sousa, had debased the *bazarucos*. He should replace the new coins by having the earlier, good coins reminted.³² The governor ordered an investigation to be made. Opinions were sought and witnesses heard. All were in favor of reintroducing the old coinage—the bishop; the Franciscans; the captain of the city; the *vedor*; the vicar general, Fernandes; Mestre Diogo; the chancellor; the *ouvidor geral*; the king's procurator, Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa; the registrar, Cosme Anes; the paymaster, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, and his colleagues; and the brothers of the Misericórdia.³³ On the basis of their recommendations, the governor ordered the old coins to be minted instead of the new ones.³⁴

At the request of M. A. de Sousa, Aleixo de Sousa wrote to the governor that he had, by this order, inflicted a loss of thirty thousand *pardaus* upon the king. He had not asked his, the *vedor's*, advice but that of the friars, who knew nothing about monetary matters.³⁵ Castro replied to this complaint with an extremely violent letter, in which he accused Aleixo of usury, of engaging in forbidden trade in pepper with China, of immoral acts with wives and widows; and he turned the words of Christ against him in the matter of the *bazarucos*: "Vade retro, Sathana; non tentabis Dominum Gubernatorem tuum!"³⁶ At the end

²⁵ Castro, *Cartas* 94-95.

²⁶ *Andrade Leitão XII 664; *Studia* I 105.

²⁷ *Studia* I 103.

²⁸ Ana. In January, 1552, she was only nine years old (SR V 97-98).

²⁹ *Studia* I 102-106; Q 1665 1812 1944 2099 2206.

³⁰ Q 2099.

³¹ On this quarrel, see Q, index, pp. 568 and 632.

³² Q 1535. The *bazaruco*, also called *lial*, was the smallest copper coin in Goa. A *tanga* worth sixty *reis* was the equivalent of fifty *bazarucos* (Dalgado I 109 524).

³³ Q 1543-1547.

³⁴ Q 1559.

³⁵ Q 1577.

³⁶ Q 1607. "Get behind me, Satan, thou shalt not tempt the Lord, thy Governor!" The sentence is formed of two citations from the Bible, the words of Christ to Peter: "Vade post me, Satana" (Matt. 16:23), and those to the tempter in the wilderness: "Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum" (Luke 4:12).

of it he wrote: "I showed your letter in public, and my answer as well." He further ordered Aleixo to sail for Goa within three days in order to give an account of himself³⁷ under the penalty of imprisonment and the loss of his possessions. But Aleixo refused to comply on the basis of his being exempt from such a command as a former *vedor* and a Knight of Christ.³⁸ He also stated in a raging reply that there had always been many honorable men in his family, but that there had been many traitors and Jews in the governor's, and that he would reply to the vulgarities and obscenities of the latter's letter when the governor's term of office expired.³⁹ He had then secretly boarded M. A. de Sousa's ship and sailed for Portugal in the middle of December, 1545.⁴⁰

During this feud, Henrique de Sousa had written to Castro that he was not responsible for his brother's acts,⁴¹ but that he had sought in good faith to assist the accused by sending the governor an *alvará* of M. A. de Sousa which gave Aleixo permission to send pepper to China.⁴² In Goa the judges who were conducting the trial against Aleixo proved that the permission had been forged.⁴³ Since then the governor's aversion for the captain of Cochin had become ever more acute.⁴⁴ At the beginning of 1547 Maria Pinheira, the widow of Dr. Maris, consequently wrote to the king that the governor was doing nothing for her after her son-in-law, Henrique de Sousa, had, despite his own great poverty, taken care of her and her orphaned children; and she asked that her two grown sons might be appointed *moços fidalgos*, and that her second daughter might receive three voyages of the Coromandel ship to Malacca as a dowry for her marriage.⁴⁵

If her condition was already such at the time when she wrote that she was there, in far-off India, the most abandoned of all the abandoned, it had in the meantime grown still worse. At the beginning of October, 1547, the governor had imprisoned Henrique on the basis of slanderous reports and had provisionally given the captaincy of Cochin and the office of factor to Antonio Correa. The deposed had registered a protest, had resigned his post, and had declared that he would pursue his rights as soon as Castro's term of office had expired. In November the governor had then sent Francisco da Silva de Meneses to replace him as captain of Cochin.⁴⁶

Through the loss of his position Henrique had lost not only his salary but also his residence in the fortress. He, his wife, his mother-in-law, and her children—Manuel Lobo, the eldest, who had gone from Cochin to Diu in 1546 and had returned ill from there in 1547;⁴⁷ the sixteen-year-old Fernão Rodrigues de Maris; his twelve-year-old brother; the ten-year-old Angela; and the five-year-old Anna—were put out on the street and had to look elsewhere for their support for the love of Christ.⁴⁸ Xavier therefore wrote as follows to the king:

³⁷ Q 1609-1610.

³⁸ Q 1634.

³⁹ Q 1766.

⁴⁰ Correa IV 435-437.

⁴¹ Q 1665.

⁴² Q 2187; cf. 1168.

⁴³ Q 2228.

⁴⁴ Castro, *Cartas* 261 351; Q 2176.

⁴⁵ Q 2724, ed. *Studia* I 102-104.

⁴⁶ Correa IV 605 710. First among those who slandered Henrique to the governor was the *ouvidor* of Cochin, the New Christian Salvador de Leão, about whom the captain made constant complaints (cf. in particular Q 1679 2176-2177 3034).

⁴⁷ Baião 311-312 (Q 2839).

⁴⁸ *Andrade Leitão XII 664 gives their names; Maria Pinheira gives their ages in *Studia* I 103-104 and SR V 97-98.

Anrique de Sousa must receive a great favor from Your Highness, not only because of the services which he has shown you but also because he was so obedient to your governor because of his obedience to you. He married an orphan, the daughter of Francisco Mariz. He has been so badly treated and ruined that it is a pity to see it. Maria Pinheira, his mother-in-law, is so poor and abandoned in this city of Couchim that one must have great pity on her. I have also seen how abandoned are her orphaned sons and daughters. This aggrieved widow asks Your Highness to have compassion on her great helplessness and upon her sons and daughters for the love and service of God our Lord, and to give her as a favor for the marriage of her daughters and her support the voyages to Maluquo and to accept her sons as *moços ffidallguos* with the salary of their relatives.

Francis then recommended to the king two of his old acquaintances and friends who had come to India with him in 1542 and were now, after the completion of their three years' term of office, returning to Portugal. The first of these was the secretary of M. A. de Sousa, Antonio Cardoso:

Likewise, Amtonio Cardoso, the former secretary, is going this year to the kingdom. May Your Highness give him an affectionate reception and a reward, since he has served you so well in these regions. I recommended him to Your Highness not only because of the great friendship which we have for each other but also because of the many services which he has shown to you.

The second was the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues de Gamboa, who had sailed with Xavier in 1542 to the Fishery Coast in order to obtain justice for the newly converted Paravas there in the face of the oppressions of their captain. He had married the sister of a Spanish *casado*, Juan de Aguilar, in Goa.⁴⁹ A judge of the royal processes and procurator of his king, he had defended the interests of his lord with great zeal, and he had increased the revenues from Bassein by thirty thousand *pardaus*. Whereas formerly all its revenues had been spent on the site, after paying all the expenses and the salaries of the garrison in 1544, he still had in 1544 sixty thousand *pardaus* left over in Bassein and fourteen thousand in Chaul. The governor in 1545 could thus pay the eighty thousand *pardaus* needed for the purchase of pepper with these surpluses.⁵⁰ In 1545 he had leased the revenues of Bassein for 97,650 *pardaus*. After the expenses for the fortress had been subtracted, there still remained 69,150 for the governor.⁵¹ He had not used his office as others had in order to enrich himself; and, since he was poor and had served much,⁵² Castro had him given 150 *pardaus* for his voyage home. As one of the *mordomos* of the confraternity of the Holy Faith, he had always been a warm supporter of St. Paul's College in Goa⁵³ and a great friend of Miguel Vaz, who had already praised him to the king in 1543.⁵⁴ He had shared Vaz's opinion with respect to the banishment of the Brahmans from the island of Goa;⁵⁵ and

⁴⁹ Juan de Aguilar, the Spanish *casado* in Goa, the brother-in-law of Gamboa, is mentioned in his letter of April 1, 1546 (Q 2108).

⁵⁰ Q 1322 1734.

⁵¹ SR III 274-275.

⁵² Q 3390.

⁵³ DI I 129. Was he the Portuguese *cavalleiro* who spoke with such enthusiasm of Xavier after his arrival in Lisbon, as Juan de Aragón wrote to Martín de Santa Cruz on October 28, 1548 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 559)?

⁵⁴ SR II 329 332-333.

⁵⁵ According to him the Brahmans were the authors of the advice for the debase-

at the time of his departure, the cathedral chapter wrote to the king that he would give a faithful account of the death of the vicar general.⁵⁶ Because of the measures to be taken with respect to Khoja Shams-ud-din, he had fallen out with the chancellor Toscano.⁵⁷ The governor consequently wrote to the king that he should not listen to him nor to the chancellor since they were hostile to each other.⁵⁸ He was now sailing to Portugal to ask for a reward for his services and would then return to his wife in Goa. Francis wrote of him:

Amtonio Rodrigues de Gamboa is going this year to the kingdom to ask Your Highness for a reward for his services. Martim Affonso de Sousa, as a good witness, will give Your Highness true information in this regard. He has also done what he could in spiritual matters, for he has much of the holy zeal and learning of our good Father Migel Vas, whose soul is now with great triumph in heaven. Your Highness must grant him the grace he asks without delay and show him your favor so that he can help us all.

Sailing with Gamboa and Cardoso was Manuel Lobo Teixeira, a soldier who had fought alongside the secretary at Diu; and he too had asked Xavier for a recommendation. Xavier wrote of him:

Manuel Lobo is going to the kingdom this year to ask Your Highness for a recompense for the many services which he has rendered you these last ten years in India. In the service of Your Highness during the battle of Dio, he was crippled in one of his legs, so that he is now an invalid. The greatest pain that he feels as a true vassal from this injury, my lord, is that he can no longer serve Your Highness on the fleets. You must in conscience see that a vassal who has been so faithful and has rendered you such great services receives a large reward.

In addition to all these recommendations, Francis added another that had not been asked. It was for his great friend Cosme Anes. He did not meet him in Cochin since he was in Goa,⁵⁹ where he had married the daughter of the chancellor Dr. Francisco Toscano in 1546⁶⁰ and, since September, had been serving the governor as secretary in the place of Antonio Cardoso.⁶¹

I have very good news about Cosme Anes, the true protector of the house of Sam Paulo, that he is serving Your Highness very well in his office. Write to him, Your Highness, and tell him earnestly that he should not become weary in serving and caring for Sam Paulo since he will receive his reward from God in the other world, and in this from Your Highness.

Xavier's final recommendation to the king was for the *provedor* and the brothers of the confraternity of the Misericordia of Cochin, who were asking

ment of the currency, and they should therefore be expelled on this account. Experience showed that they were never true to the Portuguese since they were hostile to their credit and welfare (Q 1545).

⁵⁶ Q 3440.

⁵⁷ SR III 433.

⁵⁸ Castro, *Cartas* 365.

⁵⁹ Cosme Anes was with the governor in Bassein on November 30, 1547 (Q 3516). He came with him to Goa on December 20 (Nunes, *Crónica* 209). From there, on January 31, 1548, he reported Xavier's arrival to the governor, who had returned to Bassein (Q 3666).

⁶⁰ Q 2931 4127; MX II 260.

⁶¹ Q 2931 3300 3353-3354.

for a series of favors. They wanted three altarpieces for their church—one for the Misericordia for the high altar⁶² and two others, smaller, for the two side altars, one of St. Amaro⁶³ and another of St. George; and they were sending five hundred *cruzados* for this purpose. They further asked that the king might give an order that they receive the nine *milreis* which he had allotted to them as an alms for orphan girls, to be paid at the beginning of each month from the treasury of Cochin, and that the Misericordia be given each year a thousand *pardaus* for the support of orphans and the poor from the money that was given to it as alms. They further asked that if anyone in Bengal, Pegu, Coromandel or other regions of India left the house [the Misericordia] as his heir, the procurators of the Misericordia could themselves collect this inheritance. As a further favor they asked the king that he might have the hospital which was under their direction,⁶⁴ and whose building was very miserable and dilapidated, reconditioned by his officials, since many ailing individuals who were in the fleets or serving His Highness in other ways were constantly asking for admittance. And he should also provide that the *provedor*⁶⁵ and the brothers as long as they rendered service to the Misericordia should be dispensed from the offices of the council.⁶⁶ He then closed his letter with a last request:

The last favor which I am asking of Your Highness is that you grant me the favor in return for the true love which I have for you, and, for the love and service of God our Lord, that you very quickly and with great diligence do all that which you will wish to have done at the hour of your death so that you may with great confidence approach the judgment seat of God, from which, even if you should wish, you will not be able to flee; and do not put this off until the hour of your death, for the toils of death are so great that they do not leave one an opportunity to think about what we now reserve for that time. Take this, Your Highness, from one of your servants with that sincere love which I have for you.

May God our Lord keep you always in His care during this life, and may He bring you in the next to reign in the happiness of heaven as we, your servants of the Society of Jesus, all wish.

From Couchim, the twentieth of January, 1548,

Your Highness' useless servant,

Francisco.

In his third letter Xavier recommended the India mission to John III.⁶⁷ He had already written about his own labors in the first, lengthy letter to the Society

⁶² The altarpiece probably had the usual scene: Mary, the Mother of Mercy and, under her protecting mantle, the founders and protectors of the Misericordia, as this is already represented in the Lisbon Compromise, printed in 1516: On Mary's right are a pope, cardinal, and a bishop with Frey Miguel de Contreiras; on her left are King Manuel, Queen Leonor, and other individuals.

⁶³ St. Amaro, a pilgrim to Compostela, who died in the service of the poor in the hospital of Burgos, where he was revered (*Dict. Hist. Géogr.* II 963-964).

⁶⁴ M. A. de Sousa entrusted the direction of the hospital to the confraternity of the Misericordia (Q 2334).

⁶⁵ In 1546 the *provedor* was Manuel Lobato (Q 2096).

⁶⁶ Cf. the letter of the confraternity of the Misericordia of January 12, 1547 (Q 2733; cf. 4359).

⁶⁷ EX I 404-410. This and the following letter, written in a state of great spiritual agitation and depression, need an explanation. We have given it in the preceding passages. Xavier's state of soul was consequent to the news which he had received about the mission when he reached Cochin. On this see also D. Maurício, S.J., in *Brotéria* 55 (1952) 467-474; 56 (1953) 350-361.

of Jesus; and this was also for the king's information. With respect to the labors of his confreres in India, he could say nothing since he had not arrived in Cochin until January 13; and he had seen none of them except Adam Francisco. He therefore had to refer the king to their accounts, which he had ordered them to give in an annual, detailed report. He consequently began his letter as follows:

With regard to spiritual matters and the service of God our Lord in the regions of Malaca and Maluco, Your Highness will be thoroughly informed by the letters which I am writing to the Society, which are also replies to Your Highness, for Your Highness is the true and principal protector of the whole Society of Jesus both in love and works.

The three friars, Frey Domingos, Frey Peregrino, and Frey Diogo, whom Xavier had met in Cochin, and who were returning to Portugal on the *São Boaventura*, could give a first-hand account of the mission of the Capuchos in Bassein. He consequently was brief in their regard:

The saintly Fathers of the Piedade [province] who, moved by piety, are going there will inform Your Highness about the spiritual matters of Christianity in India.⁶⁸

Xavier then wrote briefly about the mission of the Observants in Ceylon:

P. Frei João de Villa de Conde, as a servant of God and one who is experienced in what is happening in Ceilão, is writing the whole truth to Your Highness both in a letter and in a memorial which he has shown to me in compliance with God and his conscience for the relief of yours. Your Highness should therefore prepare yourself to relieve your conscience. And the confreres of the Society, it seems to me, are writing to Your Highness, giving you also a very full account about the Christians of Cape Comorin and of Goa and also of the other regions of India.

The death of the vicar general and Mestre Diogo; the meager effects of the royal decrees that had been brought by Miguel Vaz in favor of the mission; the pessimistic reports of the Franciscan missionaries of Bassein and Ceylon; the discouragement of the guardian Frey João de Villa de Conde after six years of fruitless labor, as he thought; the delayed baptism of the king of Tanor; the postponed punitive expedition against the king of Jaffna who had murdered the Christians; the futile appeal for help that had been made by the Great King of Cape Comorin, who wished to become a Christian; the insufficient and ever delayed help for the king of Kandy—all these missed opportunities for the spreading of the kingdom of Christ—had not failed to make an impression upon the zealous apostle. The constant wars had not given the governor time to become actively involved in the mission to the pagans. His officials were primarily concerned with enriching themselves at the expense of the natives, and many of them were inimical to the work of the missionaries. Xavier therefore continued:

Many times I have deliberated within myself if it would be good to write to Your Highness what I feel within the innermost recesses of my soul will be advantageous for the spread of our holy faith. On the one hand it has seemed to me to be for the service of God, but on the other I have been of the opinion that nothing would come of it even if I wrote. But if I fail to write, it seems to me that I shall be burdening my conscience, for God our Lord gave me knowledge for some end; and this can be no other than that I write to Your Highness, writing of the pains I feel in the inner-

⁶⁸ "Os sanctos Padres da Piedade, movidos da piedade" (EX I 404).

most recesses of my soul that nothing is yet being done about what I am writing to you, and that Your Highness will perhaps be accused before God at the hour of your death because of my letters and you will not be pardoned because of your ignorance of it.

Your Highness must believe me that this causes me pain, for I have no other desires than to work and to die in these regions in order to help Your Highness relieve your conscience because of the great love which you have for our Society. When I thought that I should write to Your Highness, I thus found myself in great confusion. I finally decided to relieve my conscience and to write what it tells me because of the experience which I have gained in these regions, in India, but also in Malaca and Maluco. . . .

I have only one remedy for the making of many Christians in these regions and for the great assistance of those who are already converted, so that no one, either Portuguese or pagan, should dare to molest them or to take anything away from them: Tell, Your Highness, the governor who is here, or whom Your Highness is sending from there, that you do not confide in any religious person of all those who are here as much as you do in him for the increase of our holy faith in India, naming us among all those who are here; and that, after God, you confide in him alone to ease the burden of your conscience with which you live if many do not become Christians in India because of the neglect of the governors; and that the governor alone should write to Your Highness about those who become Christians, and about the prospects there are for many more becoming such, since you will give credit to his letters and not to others. And if your governor does the opposite, and does not greatly increase our holy faith, since it depends upon his will to do so, warn him with a solemn oath in the instruction which you send to your governor that you will punish him when he returns to Portugal by confiscating all of his possessions for the works of the holy Misericordia; and that you will moreover keep him in irons for many years, removing from him the illusion that his excuses will be accepted, since those they give as to why many have not become Christians will not be accepted. I cannot say what I know in this regard lest I disturb Your Highness and be forced to think about my own past and present distress without seeing any remedy.

If the governor will be convinced that Your Highness is speaking the truth and that you will keep your oath, then the whole island of Ceilão will become Christian within a year, and many kings in Malavar and in Cape Comorim and many other regions. As long as the governors are not restrained by this fear of being punished and dishonored, Your Highness should never count upon the increase of our holy faith, nor upon those who have become Christians, despite all the provisions which Your Majesty sends.⁶⁹ There is nothing more required for making all in India Christians than that Your Highness punish a governor severely.

⁶⁹ Xavier's contemporary Gaspar Correa wrote in a similar vein in Goa in his *Lendas da India*: "The greatest evil of evils, the greatest of all, is when people do not obtain justice; for the captains of the fortresses of India, who are the leaders of the people and powerful because of the faculties they have received from the king, and to which they appropriate still more and greater powers, do with them great evils, which are very well known to the king: robberies, insults, murders, violences, adulteries with married women, widows, virgins, orphans, and public prostitutes; and they commit every evil without fear of God or of the king against Christians, Moors, and pagans, both natives and foreigners. And they do this as *ouvidores*, judges, police, and officials of the *fazenda*. All this would not be the case, and all would be changed to the contrary into great benefits if the king would order the head of one of the governors of India to be struck off on the quay of Goa with a notice to the effect that the king had ordered him to be beheaded because he did not carry out his duties as he was bound to do. . . . But it is said that the king our lord is so full of mercy that he pardons and forgives all the many thefts and evils that are done even to him, and he thus passes over the wrongs that are done to the people. This seems, in fact, to be the case. For there is no king or prince of the world except that of India who would not have struck off numerous heads for so many evils. And up till today not a single head has been struck off in Portugal for any evil whatever that is done in India; whereas in Portugal there are still so many good laws that one is hanged for an Alemtejo

But since I have no hope that this will happen, I am almost sorry that I have written this. And also, *Senhor*, since I do not know if you, when you are giving an account of yourself to God, and are being accused of failing to do this, though you were warned to do so; I do not know if this excuse will be accepted, namely, that you were not obliged to give credence to my letters. I assure Your Highness that if I had thought that I could fulfill the obligations of my conscience by keeping silent, I would not have written this about the governors.

I, *Senhor*, am not completely resolved to go to Japão, but I shall gradually come to know what I should do, for I have very little confidence that I shall find true help in India, either for the increase of our holy faith or for the preservation of the Christianity already here.

Xavier then asked the king to send many preachers of the Society to India the following year. Experience had taught him that these were needed in the fortresses for both the Portuguese and the native Christians. Because of the lack of preachers neither the Portuguese nor the new converts were real Christians. The priest also had a special word for his friend the bishop.

On January 13 of this year I arrived from Malaca here in Cochim, where I encountered the bishop, and I was greatly consoled by him in seeing how he took upon himself so many physical toils with such great charity by visiting the fortresses of his diocese and the Christians of São Thomé,⁷⁰ exercising his office as a true shepherd. As compensation for such good works, some persons in this area are giving him the reward which the world is accustomed to give. I was greatly edified to see his so holy patience. Some devotees and servants of the world in India said things about him which they will probably also write to Your Highness with respect to the death of Miguel Vaz, about which I, to relieve my conscience without being able to write or say how, know that he is no more guilty of such a thing than I am, who was in Maluco when this happened.

For the love and service of God our Lord, and for the relief of your conscience, I earnestly ask Your Highness as a favor not to cause him any distress; for if Your Highness gives credit to such a great falsehood, you will bring those calumniators of India into high regard.

At the end of his letter, Xavier came to speak again of his friend the vicar of Cochim, whom two years earlier, before sailing for the Moluccas, he had recommended along with his nephew.

The grace which Your Highness granted to Pedro Gonçalves, the vicar of Cochim, appointing him as your chaplain and a nephew of his as a *moço da camara*, has been a great favor to me. I am therefore indebted to you for this, since you should know that the house of the vicar of Cochim is a dwelling for the Society of Jesus, and that he is a great friend of ours, so much so that for our sakes he borrows money and thus spends by chance what he does not have. I beg Your Highness in the name of the Society to show him and his nephew the favor of having their *alvarás* sent to them so that they can receive their salaries here, for the vicar, by caring for the souls of

mantle" (II 652). And again, "the captains of the fortresses are so unrestrained and so unafraid of anyone as long as they are captains that they tyrannize the entire people, Moors and Christians, contrary to the service of the king, of whom they have no fear. They are the true Turks of India opposed to the king and to the people. And there will never be an end to this until Portugal has a king who cuts off the heads of the captains and of the governors of India for the grave evils which they commit against God and against his royal service" (IV 338-339).

⁷⁰ The Syro-Malabar Christians, who were properly under their own bishops such as Mar Jacob.

the loyal vassals of Your Highness, and his nephew, by serving in the fleets, deserve it.⁷¹

In conclusion, I ask God our Lord to grant Your Highness the grace that you sense within your soul, and at the same time do all that you, at the hour of your death, will be content to have done.

From Cochim, the twentieth of January, 1548.

Your Highness' useless servant,

Francisco.

To the letters for the king, Master Francis added another for the king's counselor, Simon Rodrigues,⁷² so that he might also influence the prince along the same lines of thought.

Above all he earnestly asked him to send some preachers of the Society to India. Of all those whom Simon had sent there after his own departure for India, he had only seen Beira, Ribeiro, and Nicolau Nunes in Malacca, and Adam Francisco in Cochim; and they had told him that there were no preachers among the others who had come with them. But if he sent other confreres who were not preachers to convert the pagans, they must be individuals who had undergone a long period of probation in the Society and who, during the course of some years, had gained many victories over themselves. They must also have good health, for the difficulties of India required physical strength, though spiritual endowments were more necessary.

If the spread of the faith among the infidels in these regions encountered many difficulties, there was no reason to be surprised: the greatest obstacle was to be found in his own countrymen. These should therefore be the first to receive help and then the pagans. He was not writing about matters in India since he had only arrived eight days before from Malacca and he knew nothing about them, and the few things he did know were a source of grief to him. The members of the Society whom he sent to convert the infidels would have to be men who could be trusted so that they could be sent alone or with a companion to any region where there was hope of the greater service of God, for example, to Maluco, China, Japan, Pegu.⁷³ Even though they did not have a great deal of learning, individuals could go to any of these lands if they had much virtue as their companion; and they would be able to render much service to God our Lord.

Francis then spoke about the king:

To relieve the conscience of the king, to whom the whole Society is so greatly indebted because of his great friendship towards it, it is very incumbent upon him that he first assist his subjects in their spiritual concerns and then the infidels. I greatly desire, for the honor and service of God our Lord and the relief of the conscience of the king, that he provide all the fortresses of India with preachers of our Society or of the order of St. Francis. And these preachers should have no other occupation of greater concern than that of preaching on Sundays and feast days to the Portuguese, and after dinner, to the male and female slaves and the free Christians of the land on the articles of the faith, and on one day a week to the wives and daughters of the Portuguese about these same articles of the faith, and about the sacraments of

⁷¹ The nephew was, like his uncle the vicar, called Pedro Gonçalves. Xavier had wanted him to be appointed a page, but the king had only given an *alvará de lembrança* to him. This stated that if he came to Portugal he would draw the income connected with it (EX II 305-306).

⁷² EX I 417-422.

⁷³ Xavier does not mention the name of Mansilhas here, and in all his later letters he omits the names of those whom he had dismissed from the Society.

confession and Communion, since I know from experience the great need they have of these.

Strive to influence the king in this regard for the relief of his conscience, for it seems to me, and I pray to God that I am mistaken, that this good man in the hour of his death will find himself much indebted with respect to India; for I fear that in heaven God our Lord and all His saints are saying of him: "Through his letters the king shows his good desires for the increase of my honor in India, since it is only on this title that he holds it in my name; but he never punishes those who fail to execute his letters and commands; yet he arrests and punishes those to whom he has committed his temporal advantage if they fail in any way to increase his estates and revenues." If I were convinced that the king knew the sincere love which I have for him, then I would ask him a favor so that I might render a service through it to him; and it would consist in this, that every day he should employ a quarter of an hour in asking God our Lord to grant him to understand well, and to sense even more within his soul, the saying of Christ: "*What does it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?*"⁷⁴ And, he should adopt the pious practice of adding at the end of all his prayers; "*What does it profit?*" and so forth. It is time, dearest brother Master Simon, to disillusion the king, for the hour is nearer than he thinks when God our Lord will call him to give a reckoning with the words: "Give an account of your stewardship."⁷⁵ He should therefore take care to provide India with spiritual foundations.

My dearest brother Master Simón! From the experience which I have had, I know of only one path and route for the things pertaining to the service of God our Lord to make great progress in these regions of India; and I know of no other, and this is it: that the king send an instruction to the governor of India, whoever he is, and in it he should tell his governor that he does not confide in any religious of India (naming in the first place our Society) so much as he does in him for the increase of the faith of Jesus Christ in these regions of India; and he therefore orders him to make the island of Ceilón Christian and to increase the number of Christians of Cape Comerim; and for this he should try to find religious in these regions, giving him all power over our Society to dispose of it and to give orders to it, and to do with ours and the rest all that which he, the governor, will desire and will seem good to him for the increase of our holy faith; and if he does not act so as to make the whole of the island of Ceilón Christian and greatly increase our faith, he [the king] promises—and in order to make the governors more fearful and convinced that he is speaking the truth, he should take an oath and keep it, since he will merit much in taking it, and more in fulfilling it—that if they do not relieve his conscience by making many Christians in these regions, when they arrive in Lisbon, he will put them in irons and keep them in prison for many years and confiscate all their possessions; and if the king orders this and the governors do not comply with his command and he punishes them severely for this—in this way all in these regions will become Christians, and in no other way.

This is the truth, brother Master Simón. I keep silent about the rest. And in this way the thefts and injustices to which these poor Christians are subject will come to an end; and those who are in a position to bring this about will be greatly encouraged to do so; for if the king entrusts this matter of making converts to Christianity to any other person than to the governor, he should not hope to produce any fruit. Believe me that I am speaking the truth and am experienced in this; and there is no need for me to tell you how I know it. I desire to see two things in India: first, governors with this law; second, to see preachers of our Society in all the fortresses of India; for, believe me, this would be much to the service of God, both in Goa and in all the

⁷⁴ Xavier was thus already considering the founding of some missions not only in Japan but also in China and Pegu.

⁷⁵ On the saying of Christ, see Vol. I, pp. 176-180, especially p. 178, n. 219.

other regions of India. May God our Lord keep us always under His protection. Amen.
From Cochín, the twentieth of January, 1548.

Your dearest brother in Christ,

Francisco.

9. RUY GONÇALVES DE CAMINHA, THE VEDOR DA FAZENDA (JANUARY, 1548)¹

On January 22, the *Nao Nova*, the last of the four pepper ships, weighed anchor at Cochín and sailed with Xavier's letters and friends for Portugal.² The fleet this year was bringing the king a valuable cargo: 23,827 hundredweights of pepper of the old weight, 962 of ginger, 615 of lacquer, 236 of cinnamon sticks, 412 of cloves, 142 of nutmegs, 80 of mace, and drugs in addition to these.³ The two officials who had been charged with the loading, Antonio Correa, the factor, and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, the *vedor da fazenda*, breathed a sigh of relief. Two months of strenuous labor lay behind them.

The *vedor's* greatest problem had been providing lodgings for the *fidalgos*, friars, and Castilians, "people who are very difficult to satisfy," as he wrote to the governor.⁴ In the end he also had trouble with Francisco de Gouvea, the captain of the *Nao Nova*. The ship was already loaded and only the sloop had to be taken on board when Gouvea came to him and stated that before the ship could sail he, Gonçalves, would have to remove a cargo of pepper and thirty passengers with their baggage and possessions since there was no room for them. The *vedor* replied that he wanted him, Gouvea, to set sail the following morning. Gonçalves then went with his men and worked for two days and nights on the ship until everything was put in order. Nothing was removed from the vessel, and it was finally readied for sailing with its crew and passengers—a total of 150 individuals—all provided with good water, 60 barrels on the deck, 135 below it, and 145 which private individuals were taking with them. He could consequently write to the governor: "All were content and very well accommodated. It is the best ship that I have seen in my whole life, and I assure Your Lordship that Francisco de Gouvea gave me so much work that I nearly went mad."⁵

¹ On him see also Vol. II, pp. 173-176.

² This is what Gonçalves wrote on January 31, 1548 (Q 3665); but on February 17 he stated that the ship had sailed on January 20 (Q 3755). In his first letter he further declared that the captain of the ship had arrived on January 15; in the second, on January 16; that he had wanted to unload the cargo of pepper and thirty passengers; and that he had been forced to spend two days and one night (according to the second letter two days and two nights) getting everything on board. All of Xavier's letters are dated January 20. The explanation of the apparent contradiction is probably that all of the voyagers boarded the ship on the twentieth, but this did not sail until the twenty-second. On December 18, 1547, Gonçalves wrote in a similar fashion that D. João Mascarenhas would board the *Burgaleza* on the nineteenth in order to sail on whatever day he wished. He declared that he would sail on the twenty-first (Q 3546); on December 21 the *vedor* wrote that Mascarenhas should sail on that very day, but he did not do so until the following morning (Q 3550).

³ Q 3670 (where the different drugs are specifically indicated). In addition to these, there were the wares of private individuals. On December 25 Gonçalves wrote with respect to these that he had just loaded the *São Felipe* and the *Zambuco*. There was not enough room in them for a great many items. Private individuals were sailing with many hundredweights, and there were many others to whom the king had granted such a favor. The result was that they took up almost half of the available space (Q 3562).

⁴ Q 3538.

⁵ Q 3665 3755.

On January 2 he had already written with respect to the four ships that even the two elephants which his friend Khoja Shams-ud-din and the king of Cochin had given him were being shipped to the kingdom despite the innumerable objections that had been made. He had been reminded of the fact that already under M. A. de Sousa and Dom Estevão da Gama the king of Portugal had wanted some, but it had been impossible to send them; and he added with some complacency:

I am convinced that this cargo is the best and cleanest that has ever been loaded in this country. I have written to the king and to the officials of the India House and to the count [of Castanheira] that I have taken care of this cargo with less than half the capital that would otherwise have been needed for it.⁶

On January 6 Antonio Correa, the factor, wrote a letter to the king in which he gave an account of his services.⁷ Twenty-five years before, when he was twenty-five years old, he had come to India and had served for ten years in the fleet and had been frequently wounded. He had then returned to Portugal to obtain a reward for his services, but he had only received the position of an *almoxarife* of the magazines and provisions in Chaul, where the fleets at the time were being fitted out against Cambay. In the hand-to-hand combat in which Sultan Bahādur had lost his life at Diu in February, 1537, he had fought on the king's *fusta* with the latter's barons and Turks. Among these was the feared "Tiger," whom he had slain; but in the combat he had himself received twenty-two wounds. He had consequently been forced to go around on crutches for two years and had had a stiff leg for life. Despite his lameness, he had sailed in 1538 with the viceroy as the captain of a caravel to Diu. In 1539 he had helped expel the Moors who had attacked Bassein-Salsette. In 1540 he had sailed as captain in chief of eleven ships against the Moors of Cambay and had burned Tārāpur. From 1540 to 1542 he had been factor of Bassein. In 1543 he had sailed with M. A. de Sousa to the pagoda at his own expense; and in the winter of 1546 he had sailed as the captain of one of the seven caravels from Goa to Diu with fifty men, whom he had maintained at his own expense. On the last day of the battle, November 10, he had been assigned the task of guarding the fortress. He had then helped rebuild it. The walls were already finished up to the breastworks when the governor sent him at the end of March, 1547, as factor to Cochin so that he might bring the price of pepper back to normal, since he knew how to deal with the pepper merchants. He had been successful in this and by the time of the arrival of the ships he already had ten thousand hundredweights of pepper in the factory. Correa then came to speak about the *vedor*:

Ruy Gonçalves, the *vedor da fazenda*, came here in November and began to take care of the loading. . . . I must tell Your Highness that he may be a very good man for any other business but not for that of pepper, where one has to encourage the merchants and receive them well and spend one's own resources upon them. He is no good for this. He is so harsh in his speech and way of acting, and so rude, that all are offended by him. I would consider it a great loss for Your Highness if he returned next year to take care of the loading. Your Highness can believe that there would be no means to load the ship *São Thomé* and that of Lucas [Giraldi] if they came here. It is not that there would not be enough pepper in the land for eight

⁶ Q 3589; cf. 3546.

⁷ Q 3595; cf. also above, p. 295.

or ten ships each year, but rather the fact that the sensibility of these merchants is keen;⁸ and even with the pepper already mentioned only the *Burgaleza* and the *São Felipe* could be loaded.

Believe me, if I had the money, I would purchase twenty thousand hundredweights of pepper during the winter before the arrival of the ships. I asked the *vedor* for the money for this and he told me that he had none. I hope that nothing is found lacking in the ships which I loaded here, for it is my intent to serve Your Highness and not to rob you of your possessions. I have what I need. I believe that the *vedor da fazenda* will not write to you about the difficulties which I had in weighing, loading, and shipping it. Obtain information from everyone about my services and grant me a reward. I am an honorable *casado* and have children, and neither they nor I are on the court list of Your Highness.

Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha had known Xavier from Goa, where he was the treasurer of the revenues of the city at the time of the latter's arrival in India. When the *vedor* Braz d'Araujo died in Cochin at the beginning of 1547, the captain of Goa, Diogo de Almeida, and Vasco da Cunha had recommended Gonçalves to the governor for this position.⁹ After some hesitation Castro had given it to him, as he wrote to the king:¹⁰

As soon as I learned of the death of Braz d'Araujo, I reflected for many days on whom I should put in his place. And after I had run everyone through my head, I decided to give the office to Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha. His qualifications for it are as follows: He is very wealthy, extremely independent, a great businessman, highly esteemed throughout the land, keenly intent on pulling the hide off the factors and *almoxarifes*, a great collector of Your Highness' effects, and miserly in disposing of them. But in addition to these traits he has others: He keeps no secrets; he is prone to gossip; he is brutal in his replies; and he has as his guiding principle: "*Viva quem vencer!*"¹¹ Now and then he slanders another as it fits his mood. The main reason why I gave him this office was because it seemed to me that money could thus be obtained from Khoja Shams-ud-din, for Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha is his curb and counselor.

When Araujo was dying, Ruy Gonçalves had asked the governor for his position, not to enrich himself in this office, for he needed nothing, but for the honor it entailed.¹² As soon as he received his appointment, he had written to Castro:

Your Lordship can believe me that I am resolved to do things which have never been done and to do them without any trouble and noise. Your Lordship can truly believe me that the services and marvels which I shall do in the time that I am *vedor da fazenda* will not be for any advantage, income, or favor which I might obtain from the king our lord, but only to serve Your Lordship and to help you during the period of your command. I am now free from all business affairs, especially in dealings in horses. I do not have any, nor even a barn, for I have sold all. You can believe me that I will keep my word, for God has given me ability for this and I have more than I need, something for which I am sincerely grateful to God my Lord.¹³

⁸ The pepper merchants were Thomas Christians of the Syrian rite. They were on a level with the *Nāyars* and also had many privileges which even the Brahmans did not possess.

⁹ Q 2738 2811.

¹⁰ Castro, *Cartas* 364.

¹¹ "Hail to the victor!" the slogan of one who hangs his cloak to the wind, that is, of an opportunist.

¹² Q 2729.

¹³ Q 2843.

That he kept his word was evidenced by the secretary Cardoso when he wrote to the governor in the middle of December, 1547, that Antonio Correa and Ruy Gonçalves, the *vedor*, had worked wonders with the pepper.¹⁴ And the bishop received so much help from the *vedor* in Cochin when he arrived there that he wrote to Castro:

Ruy Gonçalves is so engaged with the service of the king and of Your Lordship, that I never in my life have seen his like; and no one will be found to surpass him. I am mentioning his person in my letters since he has pleased me so much and has obliged me so much and is so helpful that he has charmed me with his good services.¹⁵

When Frey João de Villa de Conde went with Moniz to Kandy, the *vedor* worked with such zeal to equip the expedition that the guardian was full of his praise.¹⁶ The dry, sober, and sceptical *vedor*, who had many friends among the Arab and Persian horse traders and the Brahmins of Goa and was the great friend of Khoja Shams-ud-din, did not in fact share in the missionary enthusiasm and optimistic hopes of the friars and their friends. He had lived too long in India and had come to know the land and its people from close, personal experience. He was on the point of sailing from Goa for Cochin on November 7, 1547, when Christovão Douria arrived, bringing with him the first news about the failure of Moniz Barreto's expedition to Kandy. Gonçalves consequently wrote to the governor in Bassein:

Christovão Douria has told me that the king of Kandy married his daughter to the king of Ceylon, and that they laughed a great deal about the friars and Christianity. Antonio Munyz encountered some insults and fatigues, but despite these he made his way like a brave *cavalleiro*. He fought a number of battles and slew many, but some of his own men were also slain and wounded. The friars are now with Modune, who says that he would like to become a Christian and destroy the king of Kandy and the rest. He [Douria] said that they were sending "important" *patamares* and "important" letters in this regard. It is quite likely that they will invite Your Lordship to go there.¹⁷

About this same time Castro wrote of the *vedor*: "Ruy Gonçalves speaks ill of all and all speak ill of him."¹⁸ Gonçalves was nevertheless embittered when his adversaries slandered him to the king,¹⁹ and he could be mordant in their regard. In the middle of December, 1547, he received news in Cochin that as soon as the governor had left Goa in order to sail to the north, the Moors had attacked and plundered Salsette with fire and sword and had surrounded Miguel Rodrigues with his sixty men in the redoubt of the pagoda of Rachol. The captain of the city assembled his council, and it was decided that help should be sent to him at once. The contention of those who maintained that the permission of the governor for this should first be obtained, however, finally prevailed. Ruy Gonçalves was, like the governor when he learned of it,²⁰ enraged at this, and he wrote to Castro at once:²¹

¹⁴ Q 3545.

¹⁵ Q 3530.

¹⁶ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 450 453; cf. 447.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 479.

¹⁸ Castro, *Cartas* 365.

¹⁹ Q 1772.

²⁰ Correa IV 615-616.

²¹ Q 3546.

As far as the people of Goa are concerned, I would place the least blame on those who live on the Rua Direita²² and upon the craftsmen and vinters,²³ since they go where they are led. Those who are primarily to blame are many others whom I know and who are worse than Luther when it comes to keeping those territories.²⁴ They openly say that it would be better for them to belong to the Moors than to us. I would also not blame João Juzarte, since everything seems equally good to him and he is an epicure in the way he lives.²⁵ And I would ascribe it still less to Manuel Coutinho,²⁶ since it is a miracle if he ever speaks reasonably. He is anxious to go to Pondá as a hostage of Gug Agha. He knows how to sell half a dozen guns in Bengal for three hundred Bengal *tangas* per piece,²⁷ and how to accuse me of being a heretic since I say that my mule wants to become a Christian so that it no longer has to carry me around.²⁸ . . . God granted me the grace of not being there: my words would not have been as weighty as those of João Garcês,²⁹ since he is an astrologer and I am not. The votes must have been those of Pedro Godinho,³⁰ Jorge Ribeiro,³¹ João Rodri-

²² The wealthy merchants lived there, among whom were many New Christians.

²³ "Mesteres e vynhateyros." Since only palm wine was made in Goa, by *vynhateyros* are probably meant the palm growers, that is, owners of the toddy palms (fan-palms) from which the wine was produced.

²⁴ The retention of the two provinces of Salsette and Bardez on the mainland is meant.

²⁵ João Jusarte Tição had served the king in India since 1538 (Q 1129). He had married in Goa the daughter of the rich *casado* Gaspar Pais, who had helped to capture the city in 1510 (Correa II 93), had been a factor in Goa in 1530 (APO V 139) and in Bassein in 1535 (Correa III 619), and had lent the king 3,000 *cruzados* in 1538 (TdT: *Gavetas* 15-12-2), which his son-in-law asked to be repaid in 1543 (Q 1129) and which he received in 1545 (Q 1820). In 1530 Jusarte sailed with the governor to Surat and Diu as the captain of a ship (Correa III 348 391). In 1533 he helped capture Bassein, and was knighted on this occasion (*ibid.* 465 472; Castanheda 8, 61). In 1536 he helped to defend Bardez and Salsette against the men of Asad Khān and was wounded in the process (Correa III 697 708-709 741 758; Castanheda 8, 136-137 149-150). He was present at the death of Bahādur in 1537 in Diu (Castanheda 8, 164). In 1538 he was the captain of the *São Bartolomeu*, a *nau* of 150 tons (Q 334a; cf. pp. 488 517). In 1541 he sailed with the governor to Suez (Correa IV 163 191-192). In 1547 he received a reward of 1,000 *pardaus* from the governor (Q 3238) and in 1548 the right to the captaincy of Cannanore, but he never occupied it (Q 3702).

²⁶ Manuel Coutinho was serving in India in 1540, when he obtained the right to the position of factor in Quilon (Q 502). In 1541 he sailed with D. Estevão da Gama to Suez, but he regarded the voyage as a great folly, undertaken against the will of all the *fidalgos* of India, as he wrote to the king. He recommended however taking Aden from the Turks. The sheik of Sanā, with whom he repeatedly exchanged letters, had promised him his help for this purpose (Q 861). In 1546 he was one of the jurymen of Goa and was summoned by the governor together with Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha for consultation over the downfall of the king of Tanor (Q 1927). In the same year, 1546, he received a voyage to Bengal (Q 1986). In September, 1547, he gave an opinion in Goa with respect to trade with the Turks in Basra, which he said would not be bad (Q 3328). He is to be distinguished from D. Manuel Coutinho; from Manuel Coutinho, the illegitimate son of D. Bernardo Coutinho, who sailed to India in 1550; and from the son of Ruy Gonçalves Coutinho, who sailed there in 1551; and also from Manuel Rodrigues Coutinho.

²⁷ The Bengal silver *tanga* wavered in its value (Ferrand, *Poids* 83-84).

²⁸ An allusion to the privilege that Miguel Vaz had brought with him for the new converts of Goa, namely, that they were no longer compelled to act as forced laborers in drawing up and launching the fleet from the quay (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 322-324).

²⁹ João Garcês appears to be different from two namesakes, the first of whom came to India in 1504 and in 1529 had been serving for twenty-three years in Cochin as a Malabarese interpreter (Q 121). The second was in the service of the Maldivian king in 1583, who asked for him the position of a *contador dos orfãos* (APO III 26-27); and also from the *casado* of Chaul, who came from there in 1546 to the help of Diu (Castro, *Cartas* 250 276; Baião 172).

³⁰ Pedro Godinho, *cavalleiro* of the royal house, a wealthy *casado* of Goa (Correa

gues Pais,³² and Jerónimo Ferreira,³³ who think it a truly great achievement that these territories are kept in hand like Arzila and Tanger and Alcacer and Ceuta.

Seven days later, on Christmas Eve, the *vedor* again wrote to the governor.^{33a} This time it was a question of other victims, and the first among these were the new captain of the Fishery Coast and his predecessor.

I have written to Your Lordship so often in detail that this letter will only serve as a complaint with respect to João Fernandez Correa,³⁴ who was here in this city. He never spoke to me the whole time that he was here. I did not think that he would depart without speaking to me to the advantage of his office so that I might give him an instruction with regard to its execution; and that I might know the number of people he was sailing with so that I could take note of this and they would not be paid their salary at the same time both here and there; and also so that I might also prevent him from taking more people with him than he needed, which could have been from ten to fifteen individuals. This would have obviated the confusion that has been caused by Aires Figueiredo,³⁵ who says that he paid forty men on the Fishery Coast,

IV 670), where he owned the village of Gotorē (TdT: *Gavetas 15-19-7*) and lived near the Dominican convent which was built there in 1548 (Pais, *Tombo* 51-52). In 1520 he was the *almoxarife* in Goa, *vedor das obras*, and secretary of horses for life (APO V 50-52 97-114). In 1536 he fought in Salsette and Bardez against the captains of Asad Khān (Correa III 690 741). In 1547 the governor gave him two hundred coconut palms in Siolim on Bardez as an hereditary fief (Q 3343). In 1548 he sailed to Bengal and Malacca "because he had served for many years" (Q 3881). When the Dominicans built their convent in Goa in 1548, they sought to obtain *his* property in whole or in part for it, but he stoutly defended its possession (Q 4324 4758; Correa IV 670).

³¹ Jorge Ribeiro, *fidalgo* of the royal house, was a witness in 1539 in the trial in Goa of Diogo de Morais (SR II 283), and in 1547 he obtained as an hereditary fief two hundred coconut palms in Nagoá on Bardez (Q 3343).

³² In 1562 the city of Goa recommended João Rodrigues Pais to the king. He had been a very early citizen and was one of the most prominent men of the city. He had already served under King Manuel and for many years in the fleet, at times as the captain of a galleon. He had sons and daughters, was very old and had never received a favor from the king (TdT: *CC 1-106-41*). In 1531 the governor sent him as a captain of a galleon to Aden (Castanheda 8, 34). In 1546 he was a witness as a *fidalgo* of the royal house and *vedor* (Q 2072). In 1547 he received from the governor as an hereditary fief four hundred coconut palms in Nagoá on Bardez, thirty of which were already bearing fruit (Q 3343). In November, however, he wrote to the governor that a Brahman, a son of Krishna, was contesting its possession (Q 3444).

³³ In 1530 Jerónimo Ferreira, as son-in-law of Pero Godinho, represented the latter as the secretary of the horses sold abroad from the island of Goa (TdT: *CC 2-166-36*). In 1545 he wrote an opinion on pepper in Goa (Q 1755). In 1547 he was elected a juror of the city of Goa (Q 2718), and he obtained three hundred coconut palms in Siolim on Bardez as an hereditary fief (Q 3343). As a witness in 1556 he gave an account of what he had learned about Xavier from his friend Diogo Pereira (MX II 215-217).

^{33a} Q 3558.

³⁴ João Fernandes Correa, a brother of Braz Correa, was captain of the Fishery Coast from 1538 to 1540 and because of his bad administration was in prison in Goa in 1542 when Xavier met him there (cf. Vol. II 209-210). He was again captain of the Fishery Coast from 1547 to 1550 (EX II 53; DI I 482; Nunes, *Crónica* 101). In 1559 he sailed from Goa to Cochín and brought Father Marcos Nunes, S.J., from there to the Fishery Coast (DI IV 266-269). In 1560, as captain of Negapatam, he helped the viceroy, who had captured Jaffna a short time before (Couto 7, 9, 3-4).

³⁵ Aires de Figueiredo was probably the son of the well-known Christovão de Figueiredo, who married the wife of the imprisoned Brahman Gorcosse Naique, as a Christian Isabel de Almeida, in Goa in 1513 (CA IV 9; VI 495). In 1537 Aires was factor of Coromandel and an object of complaints on the part of the citizens of São Thomé for his greed and tyrannies and for the fact that he had taken a bribe for a pass for a ship engaged in smuggling pepper (SR II 250-251). In 1538 he was on the list of the

but without any order or provision having been made in this regard, paying one for a year, another for two at a single time. And it is certain that most of these were not on the Fishery Coast, and that they did not serve there but went to Bengal and Pegu and wherever else they wanted to go without serving His Majesty. I shall not pay him for these since it seems to me to be a most irregular and irrational affair. And he is greatly offended with me on this account.

I therefore sent an order to João Fernandez on the Fishery Coast ordering him to send me a list of all the people who are in his company and are there at his request. I am told that there are seventy. He must further send me an account of the people who went there to serve him, who may not be more than fifteen, so that they can be placed on the payroll with their titles. I am of the impression that he will make a mockery of my order and pay very little attention to it. It seems to me that Your Lordship must give a strict order and command that no payment is to be made to him for any soldiers whatever, even if he has a provision for them, and that he must send a definite list of all the people who are there.

Gonçalves then came to speak of the arsenal in Cochin.

There were around three hundred excellent arquebuses and a thousand excellent lances in this arsenal that had been brought by Lourenço Pires.³⁶ An *almoxarife*³⁷ here gave all of these to the men on the payroll so that not a single arquebus or lance remains. And the best of all this is that those to whom he gave them are all known, but still there is no one who knows them. Among his lesser gifts were two arquebuses and two lances to a deck hand. He claims that he gave these at the request of Antonio Correa, the factor; and that's the way it goes. He and the secretary sent the factor a report that the weapons were going to ruin. The factor then issued an order that he should pass them out since otherwise they would become worthless. And the best of all this is that they say that they gave them to individuals who had certificates of Cosme Anes indicating that they were on the payroll.³⁸ From this Your Lordship can perceive the value of these certificates, since they are even good for dispersing an arsenal. Aires de Figueiredo also claims that he made his payments on the basis of Cosme Anes' certificates. And I am afraid that Affonso Gentil will now return from China and that he too will say that he paid the salaries of his assistants on the basis of Cosme Anes' certificates. . . . I have also been told that João Fernandez Correa is going to take possession of Negapatam with its three hundred leagues of coast, which he says belong to him, that is, the coast from Cape Comorin to Satgão and the whole of Bengal. . . . The things which I find in this register are such that I am amazed that the king and queen and their children still have a shirt to wear.

One week later, on January 2, 1548, he wrote again of the *almoxarife* as follows:

Pero Lopo, the *almoxarife*, gave out all the cannons and arquebuses, more than five hundred, and seven hundred lances. There were individuals who received twenty or thirty of them. I made a request that these be returned to the arsenal. He has two

wealthy men in India to whom the Portuguese king should write for a loan (TdT: *Gavetas* 15-12-2). In 1540 he received titles to the captaincy of the Coromandel Coast and to the office of a *provedor dos defuntos* (*Registo*, n. 327). From 1545 to 1547 he was captain of the Fishery Coast (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 347-348; DI 158-164) and helped Moniz for his expedition to Kandy (*ibid.* 455-459). For his signature, see Q, pl. X 3.

³⁶ In 1546 Lourenço Pires de Távora sailed to India as the admiral of the fleet. He was the brother of Fernão de Sousa de Távora. On him see Q, index, p. 616.

³⁷ Pedro Lopo, as the *vedor* wrote on February 2, 1548.

³⁸ Ruy Gonçalves was no friend of Cosme Anes, and the sentiment was mutual (Botelho, *Cartas* 13; Q 4105a 4124).

secretaries. One of these, a son of Jane Anes,³⁹ does things that are simply incredible.⁴⁰ The second is Domingos de Sequeira, the greatest thief and most shameless individual that I have ever seen. He is a Galician, now married to a daughter of Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho.⁴¹ It would be good to deprive the *almoxarife* of his office. He is a young man of little judgment and dresses in silk and scarlet, as does his wife. My own decision would be as follows: Antonio Correa and Gaspar Luis⁴² must repurchase at their own expense a corresponding number of weapons.⁴³

On January 9 the *vedor* returned again to the *almoxarife*:

I wrote to Your Lordship about this *almoxarife* of Cochin and about the devastation for which he is responsible. But when I wrote to you I did not know even half of the damage he had caused. I assure Your Lordship that what he had done is simply incredible. I am ordering all of the lances, muskets, and arquebuses that he gave as pay to be seized. Many of these are here, but others are not; and I am having them all conveyed to Goa. I am not speaking of the artillery. That which he gave out on loan and the balls and powder have no equivalent and cannot be counted. It seems to me that there was not a ship sailing to Bengal which he did not equip with them. May God grant that half of these things can be recovered.⁴⁴

He then turned to another scapegoat:

Marcos Gonsalves⁴⁵ vanished from here and sailed to the kingdom in the *Sam Felype*. I have been told that he has the habit of St. Francis and the cord with him in order to put them on in case he should die at sea. I learned that he cheated Mergulhão⁴⁶

³⁹ In 1528 Joane Anes, *mestre da Ribeira* in Cochin, married Christina do Quintal (Q 1408). In 1552 he wrote to the king that he had been fifty years in India (Q 4757).

⁴⁰ "Faz cousas de todos os diabos."

⁴¹ Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho had fought as a brave *cavalleiro* in Surat in 1530 and in Bassein in 1533 (Correa III 348 465-466). In the latter year, because of his many services and the deaths of his father and brother in India, he had asked the king for the offices which Krishna had held. But the king, informed by Antonio de Macedo about the truth of his words and of his report, had rejected his request (Q 173). In 1536 he fought in Salsette and in 1538 he helped in the defense of Diu (Correa III 756 758; IV 41 46 64). Because of his serious offenses he was, however, imprisoned in the jail in Goa. After a dramatic escape from it, which Correa describes in detail in his *Lendas*, he fled to the Coromandel Coast, where he enlisted men and sailed with more than two hundred of them as a pirate to Pegu, where he plundered Moorish vessels. He then sailed to Ceylon. Since he did not receive a pass from Dom Estevão da Gama, he sailed to the Maldives until his friend M. A. de Sousa came to India and granted a general pardon in 1543. But Vaz Coutinho did not trust this. He entered into the service of Adil Khān, had his wife and children come from Goa, passed over to Islam with them, and became a foe of the Portuguese, being richly provided by his new patron with lands and revenues (Correa IV 148-152 298 540; Q 861).

⁴² Gaspar Luis da Veiga was factor in Cochin before Antonio Correa (Q 1051 2335 2388 2716). In March 1547 he obtained permission to send a ship to the Moluccas. In 1546 he counted the many pieces of artillery of the king of Portugal which were then in the hands of the Malabar kings near Cochin (Q 2388). In 1550 he took part in the war against the Pepper King as the captain of a ship (Q 4592). His seal shows a rampant lion with the letter G (Q 2335).

⁴³ Q 3589.

⁴⁴ Q 3599 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 502-504).

⁴⁵ Marcos Gonçalves was porter and guard of the *fazenda dos contos* in Goa. As such he was asked by Mergulhão on November 9, 1547, what kind of books were in the house (Q 3520). In August he had received permission from the governor to build a ship in Malabar (Q 3246).

⁴⁶ The licentiate Manuel Mergulhão had sailed with Dr. Mariz to India in 1547 and, after the latter's death in September, had obtained the position of *vedor da fazenda*

and Amtonio Afomço⁴⁷ and gave no accounting of his office and did not ask for a receipt. Having amassed wealth for himself, he makes a mockery of them.... No one here will believe that in less than ten days I made the *almoxarife* of Cochin and the treasurer and Antonio Correa give accountings of their budgets. And what I found in them I refrain from saying, and I shall keep them for the future when I see Your Lordship. They are here saying to each other: "When will this devil leave?"

Though Gonçalves showed compassion in the same letter for Bhuvaneka Bahū, the king of Ceylon who had been so badly treated by the Portuguese, and whose envoy, a nephew of the king, had visited him in Cochin on his voyage to the governor,⁴⁸ he was less considerate of his own countrymen:

The Maluco ship arrived here and Duarte de Miranda wanted to stop and unload the goods of private individuals. He also wanted to make another stop on his way to Goa, as is usually done, so that the ships reach Goa only at the end of March, when there is no longer anyone there to buy the king's wares. I made him sail on the very same day without landing; and I forbade his taking even a pound of cloves from the ship or stopping either in Cannanore or Bhatkal, or unloading any of his wares in Goa before I arrived. And I shall do the same with the Banda ship as soon as it comes here. They make great complaints about me, but I shall never cease seeking to do what is necessary for the service of His Highness.⁴⁹

Jurdão de Freitas had come with Miranda's clove ship. Two days before the *vedor* wrote his letter to the governor, he had given the Augustinian friar Jerónimo de Santisteban a letter for the king, another for his wife, and still another for the former queen Isabel Niachile. He also gave him the documents with respect to his removal from office and his own objections, and he added that many told him that the governor now regretted his decision and was afraid that he had been completely wrong when he deposed him and gave the kingdom back to Hairun.⁵⁰ He now wished to defend his right before the governor so that he might retract his removal of him from office. On the same day, January 9, Ruy Gonçalves consequently wrote to the governor:

Jurdão de Freytas is going to you. I have spoken with him, and it really seems to me that he no longer has his reason in the right place. He speaks only of the laws of France and Castile and of other matters by means of which he hopes to be acquitted and to return at once. I told him that Your Lordship would give him a fair hearing but that nothing could be done for the time being, as it seemed to me, since his case has been referred to the kingdom, and Your Lordship will make no decision about his affairs until an answer comes from there. He laughed at me and cited the *Leyes de*

dos contos in Goa (Q 2943 4266). He was praised by the governor (Castro, *Cartas* 365). In 1552 he sent all the accounts and expenditures of the governor and of the other officials back to Portugal (Q 4668). On him see Q, index.

⁴⁷ Antonio Affonso was a *cavalleiro* of the royal house and sailed to India in 1524. He was already active in the *contadoria* of Goa in 1535 and was appointed secretary of it in 1545. As such, on December 1, 1547, he wrote a certificate on the books which according to the data of Marco Gonçalves were present in the house and which were missing. On him see Lagôa, *Grandes* II 38-39, and Q, index.

⁴⁸ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 500-501.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 501.

⁵⁰ Q 3596.

⁵¹ A famous Spanish collection of laws composed in the city of Toro and approved in 1505. It had a great influence on Spanish civil law (*Espasa* LXII 1119-1122).

*Toro*⁵¹ and the *Sete Partidas*⁵² and things from which I came to a conclusion about his condition; and, by God, he is to be pitied.

The *vedor* then spoke about Duarte Barreto, the factor of Malacca. The latter had written him three letters in which he complained that the governor had insulted him by taking his residence and property away from him. And he had given his house to a fellow from Castile who had never fought nor helped to conquer the empire with his lance, and who at best could have claimed a minor secretariate in an *almoxarifat*. He then continued:

I have been told that he is doing things there that are simply incredible, and that the captain and the rest are afraid of him; and that Afonso de Royas⁵³ has gone on board a ship in order to leave because of the difficulties and protests of this fellow with respect to his office and dwelling. I have been told that Barreto is quarreling with the captain and in such a way that, as I am assured, the captain will send him away as a prisoner in the ship of Antonio Pereira⁵⁴ or that of Guomes Farynha.⁵⁵... Afonso Gentill, with his goods confiscated, is also coming as a prisoner; and he is bringing seven or eight thousand *pardaus* of his own money. He lost all the rest in China.

Ruy Gonçalves also had complaints to make about Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos, a nephew of Vasco da Gama and acquaintance of Xavier.⁵⁶ Vasconcellos had obtained two voyages from India to Malacca as the captain of the Coromandel ship, and he now wanted a ship for his second voyage.⁵⁷ On February 17, after his return to Goa, Gonçalves consequently wrote to the governor:

Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos let the king's ship fall to pieces in Malacca, and a thousand false witnesses have been produced in his favor: for example, it fell apart because it was poorly nailed together. But it was lost because it was not anchored and was not held by two anchors at night. The ship thus took in water and fell on its side and broke up. It brought, however, as I learned, twelve thousand *cruzados* in freight and duties from Malacca, which Luis Mendes had in his possession in gold of Menangkabau⁵⁸ and silver from China; and he says that all this is his and that the

⁵² A famous collection of Spanish laws of King Alonso X, drawn up between 1256 and 1265, and translated into Portuguese in the fourteenth century.

⁵³ Alonso de Rojas was *escudeiro fidalgo* of the royal house and a brother of Mestre Juan de Olmedo, the court preacher of John III and later prior of the monastery of Palmella. In 1557 he renounced his position as factor of Diu in favor of his nephew João de Olmedo. The latter handed it over to Rojas in 1566 (APO V 607). Rojas seems to have sailed to India in 1545 with D. João de Castro, who recommended him in 1546 to the infante Dom Luis for a favor from the king (cf. Q 2915; Freire de Andrade 454). In March, 1547, Castro granted him permission to send six *bahārs* of cinnamon sticks to Ormuz (Q 2886), in April to send in the Coromandel ship toll free twenty *bahārs* of cloth goods to Malacca and to have twenty *bahārs* of cloves come from Maluco (Q 3042). In August he appointed him toll judge in Malacca (Q 3273). In 1548 Rojas received from the king the title to the position of a toll judge in Goa (Q 3759). With the ships that sailed at the end of 1547 from Malacca to India he sent a gift of fragrant benzoin wood (Q 3801).

⁵⁴ We already encounter Antonio Pereira with Xavier in Malacca in 1545 (see above, pp. 4 and 28).

⁵⁵ Gomes Farinha sailed from Chaul with his galleon on December 5, 1546, and carried in it thirty-three *bigaris* (workmen) with their *mukdam* (foreman) for the construction of the fortress in Diu, and on December 14 he received from the governor the permission to sail with his ship to Bengal (Q 2587 2918).

⁵⁶ On him see Vol. II, pp. 100-107, and above, p. 232.

⁵⁷ Q 1422 2731 2864 3776.

⁵⁸ Menangkabau in central Sumatra was known for its wealth of gold.

ship had no revenues for the king. He had all the cargo in his cabin, and he loaded the ship with the wares of merchants until no more could be brought below deck; and four leagues from Malacca, he doubled the size of his cabin and of his compartment⁵⁹ under the deck. He bought the pantry, the rooms of the *mestre*, *contramestre*, and pilot, and then enlarged them as much as he wished. He put all the wares that were in the hold of the ship into these rooms. He then said that they all belonged to him. When I wished to see the books of the ship and of its wares in Cochin, he would not listen to me; and he came to my residence determined to break with me. He said that I wished him ill. Your Lordship had given the voyage to another, a great friend of mine; I thus wished to detain him so that another might have his voyage. I swore to him on the holy Gospel that I knew nothing of this. He is sailing to you, convinced that Your Lordship will buy the ship of Antonio Pessoa for him so that he can make his second voyage. It seems to me to be going too far to let a king's ship be lost through negligence and to refuse to give him anything of that which he had brought with it.⁶⁰

Before this, on January 30, he had written to Castro from Cochin:

He says that all the revenues of the ship belonged to him, and that the king consequently still owes him seven hundred *cruzados* which he [Mendes] paid for the ship. It seems to me that for this kind of gain Your Lordship should provide him with the great galleon of Chaul or the ship of Antonio Pessoa, with which he is greatly enamored.⁶¹

The demands of another *fidalgo*, Dom Pedro da Silva,⁶² a son of Vasco da Gama created still further problems for the *vedor*. Through the fault of his pilot, he had lost his ship during the India voyage of 1547 on the reefs of the Angosha Islands off East Africa. Now, in 1548, he was to sail to Malacca in order to take over the captaincy of the fortress there, and he had obtained for this purpose numerous privileges from the governor. He was now asking Ruy Gonçalves in Cochin for four *caturs*, a galleon, and sixty large and small cannons with powder and saltpeter and a machine for making powder. The *vedor* answered

⁵⁹ *Payol*.

⁶⁰ Q 3755.

⁶¹ Q 3665.

⁶² D. Pedro da Silva, the fifth son of Vasco da Gama, was married to Ines de Castro, the daughter of the lord of Rériz, Dom João de Castro (not to be confused with the governor), who had brought almost no dowry with her (Q 2946; *Andrade Leitão X 27). He sailed to India as captain of the *Rainha* in 1537 and returned immediately (Figueiredo Falcão 158). In 1547 he sailed again to India with a title to the captaincy of Malacca for four years (Q 676 1489). He lost his ship however near the Angosha Islands off the African coast (Q 3670 3939 4087; Correa IV 598; Couto 6, 5, 3, pp. 366-367). Endowed by Castro with many privileges (Q 3586), he was captain of Malacca from October, 1548, to 1552. As such he equipped Xavier for his journey to Japan, but his greed and tyranny caused the city to be besieged in 1551; and this was considered to be a divine judgment (Q 4747-4748 4758). In the middle of June, 1552, because of the encroachments of his brother D. Alvaro de Ataíde he resigned his position in favor of the licentiate Francisco Alvares (Q 6075; Couto 6, 10, 7) and sailed to India, where he was imprisoned because of the way he had conducted his office, though he was only punished for some of his transgressions (Couto 6, 10, 8). On June 15, 1556, Jorge de Lima wrote from Lisbon to Dom Manuel de Lima in Seville the latests news which the ship *São Pedro* had brought from India, having sailed from Cochin on Christmas Day, 1555. In his letter he wrote: "A cruel sentence was passed on D. Pedro da Sylva, who came from Malacca—the immediate payment of fifteen thousand ducats and four years of banishment to Africa, and never again to be the captain of a ship or to hold any other office" (*Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa* 6 [1961] 130). On him see also Q, index, and Botelho, *Cartas* 29-30.

his requests by telling him that powder was made in Malacca itself, where there were sulphur and large quantities of saltpeter and a machine for the purpose. He would give him the needed artillery in Goa when he returned there. Silva countered this by saying that if he gave him even *one* piece less than what he was asking for, he would not accept anything at all.⁶³

Ruy Gonçalves had wished to sail back to Goa immediately after the *Nao Nova*, but he was detained in Cochin till the beginning of February because of the peace which he had to establish among the kings of Cochin and Cranganore and the Pepper King.⁶⁴ He knew how to deal with these rulers since there was no one who had a better knowledge of India than he. In the past he had been accustomed to inform the governor regularly, and with great accuracy, on the vicissitudes and wars in the Deccan, where Asad Khān, the governor of Belgaum, had once been his intimate friend.⁶⁵ On his voyage to Cochin, he had visited Khoja Shams-ud-dīn, who had been a great friend of his for many years, in Cannanore.⁶⁶ Shams-ud-dīn was the greatest merchant of the East, and his ships sailed everywhere with Portuguese passes.⁶⁷ Thanks to the mediation of the *vedor*, his cargoes of pepper and ginger went to Portugal on Portuguese vessels.⁶⁸ His brother in Jedda always procured the latest news on the movements of the Turks on the Red Sea and in Arabia.⁶⁹ And when Ruy Gonçalves was taking his leave from him, he gave him an elephant as a gift for the king of Portugal.⁷⁰

Gonçalves also knew how to deal with the princes of southern India. In December, 1547, when he sent Jerónimo Butaca⁷¹ as the chief captain of a fleet to the Maldives from Cochin in order to reestablish order on those islands, he gave him gifts for their king and queen. Similarly, he took with him to Cochin a good many berets and caps,⁷² and numerous knives, and velvet and scarlet goods worth a thousand *pardaus* to win the favor of the leading Malabars.⁷³

The king of Cochin was a boy of thirteen, and his rule was in the hands of his regents. Shortly before his departure from Goa, Gonçalves had received a letter from Antonio Correa in Cochin. He wrote that the king was beginning to become a nuisance. He was starting wars with all his neighbors and acting in such a way that the governor should be asked to depose him for his evil propensities and the bad advice he was taking from Brahmans and Moors. Gon-

⁶³ Q 3755. In Portugal he had also obtained a privilege from the king that no one could sail from Malacca to Patane without his permission, but this was put aside in India (Q 2960 3294).

⁶⁴ Q 3665 3532.

⁶⁵ See his valuable accounts: Q 2643 2719 2757 2794 2812 2847 2893 3001 3222 3426 3767.

⁶⁶ Q 1677 1772 3431 3468 4124.

⁶⁷ Q 3517; cf. 1821 4155 4411; free passage: Q 1145 4094.

⁶⁸ Q 3546. In 1547 he sent 1,000 hundredweights of ginger and 200 hundredweights of pepper (Couto 6, 7, 3, p. 86).

⁶⁹ Q 1821 2202 2347 2350 2598 2832 3072-3073 3291 3293 4094.

⁷⁰ Q 3546.

⁷¹ Jerónimo Butaca was a servant of the infante D. Luis (Baião 179). He fought bravely at the siege of Diu in 1546. He had his hands and face burned when the bulwark of S. João was blown up on August 10. Frequently wounded, he took part in the last battle and helped to rebuild the fortress (*ibid.* 226 333). As a reward, Castro sent him as captain in chief of a flotilla to the Maldives in order to protect the king from the encroachments of Portuguese ships (Q 3092 3145 3153 3387 3526 3546 3923).

⁷² Red caps were in demand as objects of trade (Correa I 313). They are still worn today in some places in India, for example, by fishers in the region of Bassein.

⁷³ Q 3408.

çalves then wrote to Castro that it would be a good idea for him to send the young king a sharp rebuke and order him to dismiss the Brahmans.⁷⁴ The boy's quarrel with the king of Cranganore was primarily concerned with the possession of the pagoda of Tiruvanchikulam, the chief temple of Cranganore, and with that of the pagoda of Chirukurumba, and also over the revenues of three tolling stations.

When he arrived in Cochin, Ruy Gonçalves visited the young king and won him over with his rich gifts. He also gave the regents ceremonial robes and red caps.⁷⁵ As a return gift, he received an elephant.⁷⁶ The obstinate lad, however, refused to listen to his advice and insisted on marching against Cranganore and seizing the land and its pagoda; and he wanted the Portuguese to help him in his project. Ruy Gonçalves then visited the king of Cranganore and praised him to the governor as a very good man, shrewd and discreet; and he added that he had of his own free will immediately lent him ten thousand *pardaus* for the purchase of pepper. But the only thing that he could obtain with respect to the quarrel was that the two adversaries declared their readiness for a two and one-half months' armistice, until the governor came and decided the matter.⁷⁷

The *vedor* was more fortunate with the Pepper King.⁷⁸ Already in 1547 this latter had put at Castro's disposition⁷⁹ for the Cambayan war his brave Nāyar warriors under their Christian captain Vasco Nunes.⁸⁰ When he visited him on the island of Varutala⁸¹ near Cochin, Gonçalves brought him a thoroughbred horse with other gifts and persuaded him to visit the king of Cochin with him

⁷⁴ Q 3431.

⁷⁵ A letter of the king of January 31, 1548 (Q 3668).

⁷⁶ Q 3546.

⁷⁷ Q 3668 3758; cf. the letters of the king of Cranganore: Q 3373 3678a 3898 4144.

⁷⁸ The kingdom of the Pepper King (the king of Vadakkumkur) lay east of Cochin and was bounded on the south by the kingdoms of Tekkumkur and Porakād. He was in conflict with the king of Cochin because of a temple on the island of Varutala. The peace concluded at the beginning of 1548 did not last long. Since the king of Cochin refused to relinquish the money taken from the temple (Q 3796), in 1550 the Pepper King, allied with the Zamorin and the king of Tanor, took up fighting again, but he was killed in battle on Varutala (Q 4530; Zinadim 66). On him see Q, index; his letters: Q 3322 4678 3796 3926; his signature in Q, pl. XXIV.

⁷⁹ Vasco Nunes, who together with Francisco de Sequeira was in command of the five hundred Nāyars that the Pepper King sent to the governor for the Cambayan war in 1547, was his best captain. As Castro wrote (Q 3722), the rajah esteemed him more highly than six or seven thousand Nāyars. On November 25, 1547, the governor solemnly dubbed him a knight and gave him a hundred *pardaus* and a golden chain worth sixty-three *pardaus* (Q 3495); Nunes, *Crónica* 174 220). After his return he enthusiastically described to his lord the heroic deeds of D. João de Castro and of his son D. Alvaro in Broach and in the battle of Salsette against the Moors (Q 3796). When his king was slain in battle with the Portuguese in 1550, he continued the war against them (Correa IV 718; cf. Q 3403 3462 3551 3678 3926).

⁸⁰ L. Nunes wrote that the five hundred Nāyars whom the Pepper King sent Castro in 1547 for the Cambayan war, were the first, as far as he knew, who had sailed across the sea in a fleet in India in order to fight outside their own land (*Crónica* 174-175). But they had already done this earlier. The main concern that the Nāyars caused the Pepper King in 1547 was that all of those who sailed with the governor Nuno da Cunha to Cambay died there from the malicious climate, which they had not feared in Goa (Q 3322). Armed with shields, bows, and arrows (according to Correa with lances), they fought in Cambay and in Salsette on the feast of St. Thomas, December 24, 1547 (Q 3551; Nunes, *Crónica* 213-216), with such bravery that Castro wrote that with five thousand Portuguese and ten thousand Nāyars of the Pepper King he wanted to conquer the whole of India between the Indus and the Ganges (Q 3469; cf. 3224 3306 3322 3678).

⁸¹ Portuguese: *Bardela*, an island in the lagoon of Cochin.

in his palace in Upper Cochin, where the two kings made peace with each other to please the governor. When Gonçalves returned to Goa at the beginning of February, the Pepper King gave him a letter for the governor in which he thanked Castro for the favors which he had granted to his captain and to his people and for the visit of the *vedor* who, on the basis of his instructions, had granted him all he had requested. He then continued:

I ask you, when you make your campaign upon the mainland, to think of calling on me if there is time for this and have ships given to me for myself or for my *regedor* and ten thousand Nāyars so that we may serve you. . . . You have shown me honor and friendship by giving permission to Francisco de Sequeira⁸² and Francisco Fernandes⁸³ to help me in my war with the king of Porakād, who had severely injured me, so that I might take revenge on him for this and for the blood and the possessions of the Portuguese whom he had slain and plundered in his lands.⁸⁴ Grant me also permission to write to the captain of Cochin that he may support me with his person for a single day if I have need of this, not to fight or to put his life in jeopardy, but only to let my adversaries know that I have this favor and that the captain and the Portuguese are with me. Since the *vedor da fazenda* told me that you would be pleased by it, I concluded a friendship with the king of Cochin and took his person and king-

⁸² Francisco de Sequeira, nicknamed "o Malabar," was a Christian Nāyar like Vasco Nunes (Couto 6, 7, 3) and married in Cochin (Nunes, *Crónica* 175). Because of his many services he was named a *cavalleiro* of the royal house and a Knight of Christ by the king of Portugal. He was highly esteemed by all the governors as a brave *cavalleiro* and a renowned captain of oared ships (Correa III 824). From 1528 on he is mentioned in the wars with the Malabar Moors (Castanheda 7, 90). In 1530 he helped destroy Mangalore and Calicut (*ibid.* 8, 12). In 1537 through a military ruse he captured a patrol boat of the Moors (Correa III 824-825). In 1538 he contributed to the victory of Vēdālai by his advice to put the hostile ships on fire (Castanheda 8, 174-175). With his swift *catur*, the *Reis Magos*, which had fifteen banks of oars (Q 334a), he acted as the intermediary between the captain of the fortress and the governor during the first siege of Diu in 1539 (Correa IV 36 41-42). In 1546, during the second siege of the fortress of Cochin, he sailed there with his four *fustas* as captain of two hundred Malabar warriors (Q 3071; Correa IV 554 563). He was then sent by Castro to Malabar as captain in chief of the coast patrol (Castro, *Cartas* 280). In 1547 he fought with the Nāyars of the Pepper King in Cambay and Salsette (Q 3224 3306 3403 3462 3551). In 1548, with the permission of the governor, he helped the Pepper King in his war against the rajah of Porakād (Q 3678). In 1548 and 1549 he was again captain in chief of the coastal patrol of Malabar (Q 3755; Couto 6, 7, 3; 6, 8, 1). In 1550 he came to the help of the Portuguese during the Pepper War (Q 4578), and in 1553 he also took part in the Chembe war (Couto 6, 10, 15). A letter of his of February 6, 1549, is given in SR IV 226-228.

⁸³ Francisco Fernandes, who was nicknamed "o Moricale," was a Portuguese married in Cochin and was like Francisco de Sequeira a brave *cavalleiro* and a renowned captain of oared vessels. Fearless in the face of any danger, he knew the bay of Cambay by heart and in midwinter, 1546, came to the help of besieged Diu from Cochin. Here he bombarded the Moorish bulwark of Diogo Lopes and took part in the final battle (Q 2363 2365 2405 2743). In 1547 he went with Sequeira and the Nāyar troops with two ships to the Cambayan war (Q 3306 3471). In 1548, with the permission of the governor, he helped the Pepper King in his war against the rajah of Porakād (Q 3678). In 1550 he sailed with the scouting vessels to the Red Sea and returned to India with five Portuguese of the Preste (Correa IV 700-703). In 1551 he was a witness in Cochin (Q 4578). One of his letters is still extant (Q 3645).

⁸⁴ The territory of the rajah of Porakād lay south of Cochin. On the war see Q 3297 3678 3796 3925-3926. The king had the title of Chempakasseri Nambiadiri. He was a Brahman and had ten thousand Nāyars (Diogo Gonçalves 5-6). His subjects, like those of his neighbor, the *kaimal* of Mūthēdāthu, were notorious as pirates (*ibid.* 104-105; Barbosa II 95-96). In 1540 the Portuguese had conducted a punitive expedition against both princes for having plundered a Portuguese ship. The *kaimal* had fallen in battle and the Portuguese had cut down ten thousand coconut palms between Cochin and Porakād (Correa IV 133-136).

dom under my protection to resist any kind of offense that might be inflicted upon him because of his youth. With regard to the Christians and the churches about which Your Lordship wrote to me, I immediately ordered that the toll stations should be removed from Varutala, where I had been informed that the Christians were overburdened; and I gave funds for the restoration of the church in Proto; and in the future they will experience my full favor⁸⁵ as Your Lordship requires.⁸⁶

10. MANAPPĀD (FEBRUARY, 1548)

On January 31, 1548, Cosme Anes, Xavier's great friend, wrote from Goa to the governor in Bassein and forwarded to him a letter from Bhuvaneka Bāhu in which the latter defended his past actions.¹ Of Xavier he wrote: "Your Lordship probably knows already that Mestre Francisco has come to Cochin. He must come with the bishop. Your Lordship will be delighted with him since he takes up no one's time and assumes no airs, and his conversation brings joy to one's soul because of his virtue."² Nevertheless, when the caravel³ weighed anchor at Cochin with the bishop on board, it did not take the priest with it. Before he could continue on to Goa, Francis had to visit his beloved Paravas and the missionaries of the Fishery Coast. He wrote to Francisco Henriques and Baltasar Nunes in Chale that they should embark for the same destination;⁴ and immediately after the departure of the last pepper ship, he sailed from Cochin with Adam Francisco.

He met his confreres in Manappād in the first half of February. The Paravas, who saw the *periya padre*, their "Great Father," after so long an absence, were filled with joy at his coming.⁵ Here he assembled the missionaries. With the exception of the three Indian priests, Coelho, Manuel, and Gaspar, they were all new to him.⁶ Juan de Lizano, his former assistant, had left the Fishery Coast.⁷

In Cochin Xavier had already learned of the great change that had occurred on the Fishery Coast. The Badagas, the troops of the king of Vijayanagar, under the command of Vitthala, had occupied the whole of South Tinnevely as far as Cape Comorin; and since August, 1547, Rāma Varma, the "Great King," and his brother Mārtānda Varma, the king of Travancore, had been obliged to pay tribute to the conqueror. Xavier was able to learn more about this from his confreres who had lived through the war's vicissitudes.

Antonio Criminali,⁸ the superior of the mission, was only twenty-eight years

⁸⁵ On April 15, 1548, he wrote that he would favor Vasco Nunes and the Franciscans (Q 3926).

⁸⁶ Letter of February 1, 1548 (Q 3678).

¹ On the embassy of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, see the letter of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha of January 9, 1548 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 500).

² Q 3666.

³ The caravel, the king's best ship in India, brought the bishop to Goa (Q 3755).

⁴ DI I 368. Xavier saw Baltasar Nunes for the first time in October, 1548, during his second visit to the Fishery Coast (*ibid.* 317-318). Francisco Henriques wrote Xavier on October 22, 1548, that he had now been eight months in Travancore (EX I 465-466). He thus returned there in March, 1548.

⁵ DI I 368.

⁶ Cipriano had perhaps been the only one to see Xavier in Rome, for Simon Rodrigues wrote to Ignatius on May 26, 1541: "Send Cipriano and others immediately without further delay, for he will gain more fruit here by hearing confessions than you might believe" (*Ep. Broëti* 525). This suggests that Rodrigues already knew him in Rome.

⁷ He is not mentioned again after this. In 1556 he was already dead (MX II 376).

⁸ On Criminali, see Schurhammer, "Leben und Briefe Antonio Criminali's" (GS II 289-315); Henri Massara, S.J., *Le Père Antoine Criminali* (Zi-ka-wei, 1902). For the sources,

old. He had been born in Sissa, a small village north of Parma not far from the Po, the son of pious and prosperous farmers. He had studied in Parma, where he had come to know Favre and Laynez, who had labored there with great success in 1539 and 1540, and who had conducted a mission in his native village. He was already a subdeacon when he was received into the Society of Jesus in Rome in 1542 in the modest residence near the small church of Santa Maria della Strada, where he took his vows on April 9. Still in this same month he and six companions, including Nicolò Lancilotto and the youthful, fifteen-year-old Pedro de Ribadeneyra, left the Eternal City to continue their studies in France and Portugal. In Avignon Ribadeneyra and his companion Esteban Diaz left the others in order to go to Paris, while the latter continued on, by way of Barcelona and Montserrat, to Coimbra, where they arrived on July 20.

There Lancilotto took up his studies in philosophy. Criminali attended classes in the humanities but was, nonetheless, ordained to the priesthood before Lancilotto, on January 6, 1544. One evening a few days after this, Simon Rodrigues called him to his room and asked him if he were ready to go to India the following day. Criminali replied with a laugh: "Can we go to India in one day?" To this Rodrigues replied: "At least leave here tomorrow for India." But before sending him away, Rodrigues asked where he would like to go, whether he would perhaps prefer to return to Italy. Criminali replied that it was all the same to him—Italy, India, Turkey, or any other place in the world. He was ready to go anywhere for the love and greater service of God. Consequently, on the following day, March 16, he left Coimbra with a Portuguese priest and, on April 19, sailed from Lisbon for India. His ship was forced, however, to return. In 1545 he started out again for India, but this time with Lancilotto and Beira. After an extraordinarily successful voyage, their ship, the *São Matheus*, an *urca*, arrived in Goa on September 2, 1545. A few days later, on the clove ship which was sailing for Malacca, they sent Xavier the mail they had brought with them from Europe. They informed him of their arrival and of their readiness to go anywhere he might send them.⁹

Mestre Diogo maintained them in St. Paul's College as they waited for Francis' reply. There Lancilotto became superior, Beira porter, and Criminali sacristan and infirmarian; and at the same time they became acquainted with the ways of India.¹⁰ Criminali did not agree with the common missionary practice of baptizing pagans with practically no preparation, who could not even recite the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Creed; nor with the practice of conferring this sacrament in the cathedral without the use of holy chrism and the oil of catechumens. He was of the opinion that there should be a catechumenate of at least forty days before baptism, especially since the *Summa Silvestrina*, the *Summa Antonina*, and St. Thomas all required six months. To this Mestre Diogo replied that if such a practice was followed, there would not be four Christians in India; and necessity knows no law. Criminali also objected to the attendance of pagans and Moors at Mass, particularly since the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* required

see Q, index; DI I 481-489 589-594; II 11-12 18-19; IV 158 267-268; MX II 800-801. Two important accounts of his martyrdom have not yet been published: Q 6178, and ARSI: *Ep. Sel.* 30, ff. 33-35. A copy of his process for beatification of 1904 is to be found in the archives of the Postulation, S.J., in Rome. There is a second copy in the episcopal archives in Parma. He died in the middle of June, 1549, in Vēdālai as a victim of the Badagas. His signature is given in Q, pl. VI 1.

⁹ EX I 300-301; DI I 19.

¹⁰ DI I 53 61.

that such individuals, and even catechumens, had to leave the church after the offertory. On the other hand, he was edified by the zeal of Mestre Diogo, even if he did not share his all too optimistic hopes for the students of St. Paul's College. He was less happy about other members of the clergy. It seemed to him that they only came from Portugal to enrich themselves and to return then to their homeland.¹¹

From São Thomé Master Francis had written that any confreres who might come from Portugal should accompany the two Christian princes, Dom João and Dom Luis, to Ceylon;¹² but the new governor had sent an ambassador to the king of Kōttē and wished them to wait for his return.¹³ While preparations were being made for an expedition to Ceylon, the two princes died of smallpox in Goa on January 14, 1546.¹⁴ In February, as soon as Xavier's letter of December 16, 1545, reached Goa, ordering the newly arrived confreres to go to the Fishery Coast,¹⁵ Criminali and Beira sailed there to help Mansilhas. A year later, when Beira left for the Moluccas in March, 1547, he was replaced by more recent arrivals—the priests Francisco and Henrique Henriques and Cipriano, and the brothers Baltasar Nunes, Manuel de Moraes, and Adam Francisco.¹⁶

Lancilotto had appointed Criminali as superior of the mission. It was a choice that was gladly received by all the missionaries since he was an ideal superior.¹⁷ Wherever he went, he met the wishes of his subjects. He offended no one and gave to all a shining example of every virtue. He was a pleasant companion, a zealous apostle who visited the entire coast entrusted to him at least once a month, traveling almost always barefooted, often sleeping on the bare ground, eating little, and contenting himself with rough fare. He labored strenuously, was truly chaste, always obedient, and a true friend of poverty, as even the harsh old Cipriano had to admit. As superior he had much to suffer from Aires de Figueredo, the Portuguese captain of the Fishery Coast, and from his soldiers, whose greed was without limits. When the oppressed Christians came to him as to their father, he espoused their cause with great sagacity. He spoke little and with discretion, and he was much devoted to spiritual affairs.¹⁸ Twenty or thirty times a day he would kneel down to recollect himself for a moment, even though he constantly labored in the presence of God.¹⁹ Father Henrique Henriques was also full of praise for Criminali: the missionaries had an example of every virtue in him; the Christians revered him as their father; and he had never seen in anyone such a contempt for the world and such obedience as he did in him.²⁰

When the new confreres arrived in April, 1547, Criminali divided the field of labor among them. He at first took over Cape Comorin with the Macuan

¹¹ *Ibid.* 11-23.

¹² EX I 292-293.

¹³ DI I 59-61.

¹⁴ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 407-393.

¹⁵ EX I 308-309; DI I 176-177.

¹⁶ In August, 1547, Beira wrote from Malacca that of the nine confreres who came to India in 1546 five had gone to Cape Comorin (DI I 178). But on January 3, 1549, Moraes stated that only Pérez had remained in Goa and that all the rest had gone to Cape Comorin (*ibid.* 457).

¹⁷ DI II 147. H. Henriques wrote on October 31, 1548, that all had chosen Criminali for superior (*ibid.* I 280).

¹⁸ According to Cipriano (*ibid.* 590-594).

¹⁹ DI I 488-527; Ribadeneyra, *Vida* 3, 20.

²⁰ DI I 578-579.

villages of Travancore himself, but in June he entrusted these to Francisco Henriques and Baltasar Nunes. When they departed, he again took care of them. He allotted the Parava villages between the cape and Manappād to Morais. He assigned Manappād with the outposts of Ālantalai, Tiruchendūr, Vīrapāndyanpatnam, and Talambuli, to the north of it, to Cipriano. Henrique Henriques obtained the two large villages of Tuticorin and Punnaikāyal along with Palaya-kāyal, Kombuturē, and a smaller village. He gave the care of the northern area with Vaippār, Vēmbār, and the stations still farther north to a native priest.²¹ With the arrival of the new missionaries, a different program of instruction was introduced. Whereas earlier the girls had never come to the lessons in Christian doctrine, the boys had been obliged to attend them twice a day, an hour in the morning and an hour in the evening. From then on the girls were instructed every day for an hour in the morning and the boys for an hour in the afternoon.²²

Like Criminali, Alonso Cipriano,²³ the missionary of Manappād, had been personally acquainted with Ignatius and the companions in Rome.²⁴ He was already near his sixties,²⁵ the senior of the mission. He had been born in Spain, and his true name was Ciprián.²⁶ After the completion of his studies,²⁷ he had entered the Society of Jesus as a priest in Rome after Xavier's departure in 1540. There he had known the priests Laynez, Salmerón, Jay, Bobadilla, Codacio, and Diogo de Eguía. He had also known Inigo López.²⁸ On November 3, 1541, after being designated for India, he had embarked with four students of the order in Civitavecchia for the college which was to be founded in Coimbra. On their voyage from Genoa to Spain storms had compelled them to land on the French coast and to continue their way on foot to Barcelona. There Cipriano met Isabel Roser, Inigo's earlier benefactress, who wished to go to Rome in order to place herself under his obedience. After they had set out again on their way, Cipriano was forced to leave two of his companions, the ailing Francisco de Villanueva and the Parmesan Martino Pezzano, in the hospitable home of Don Esteban de Eguía in Estella.²⁹ They soon however followed the others and arrived in Lisbon

²¹ *Ibid.* 225 232-233 241 248-250.

²² *Ibid.* 283.

²³ On Cipriano, see Francisco Mateos, S.J., "Compañeros españoles de San Francisco Javier," *Missionalia Hispanica* 9 (1952) 303-324. For the sources, see Q, index; published in DI I-IV. Between 1549 and 1559 he worked in São Thomé, where he died on July 31, 1559 (Seb. Gonçalves 8, 9). His letters (DI III 297-302 676-684) show his unique character. His obituary (*ibid.* IV 286-287) shows the great esteem which he had gained in the city despite his vehement and stormy zeal. On his death see Valignano 386-387.

²⁴ EX II 388-389.

²⁵ On September 26, 1557, Cipriano wrote that he was already sixty-seven years old (DI III 682). For other data on his age see Mateos, l.c. 304.

²⁶ This is the way that Araoz wrote his name. His letter implies that he originated in the district of Zaragoza (*Ep. Mixtae* I 387). Bishop Solis writes it in the same way (MI *Epp.* XII 361).

²⁷ Polanco (DI I 191) and Solis (MI *Epp.* XII 361) give him the title of *Magister*. Barzaeus calls him a good confessor and grammarian (DI II 585).

²⁸ He sends greetings to them in his letters (DI III 301 682-683). Since Diego de Eguía left home at the end of April, 1540 (Vol. I, p. 656) and Bobadilla in September, 1540 (Bobadilla 27), Cipriano had already come to know them. The oldest document on his stay in Rome is not Strada's letter to Ignatius and Xavier of September 27, 1539, where mention is made only of Solis and not of Cipriano (*Ep. Mixtae* I 30); nor Solis' letter of June 9, 1541, where he thanks him for his labors in his episcopal city of Bagnorea (MI *Epp.* XII 361, not 639, as in Mateos); but Rodrigues' letter of May 26, 1541 (*Ep. Broëti* 525).

²⁹ On the journey, see Astrain I 260-261 (according to *Ribadeneyra, *Hist. de la Asistencia de España* l. 1, c. 1). On this journey he became acquainted with Isabel Roser in

on January 14, 1542, five days before them. The confreres were warmly received by Simon Rodrigues, but they had arrived too late for the India ships, which had already left when Cipriano and his companions arrived in Lisbon.³⁰ It was not until four years later, on April 8, 1546, that he and his two confreres, Nicolau and Baltasar Nunes, started out for India on April 8, 1546, on the *Santo Espiritu*. Since the ship had sailed too late, it had to take the outer route around the southern tip of St. Lawrence Island, and it did not reach Cochin until October 20 with the *Espera*.³¹ In the middle of November the three went on to Goa.³² When Xavier's letter from Amboina arrived there in February, 1547, sending two of the confreres to Malacca and the rest to the Fishery Coast,³³ Cipriano sailed with five companions to Cape Comorin, where Criminali gave them their different fields of labor. Since Cipriano's age made it more difficult for him to get around on foot than it was for his superior, he received Manappād as his residence and only four stations to attend. Brother Morais also came frequently from the neighboring Periyatālai in order to visit his villages for him.³⁴

Cipriano was a zealous worker and labored as strenuously as the younger members of the order, though he suffered greatly from the heat. But he was a firebrand with a harsh and rude disposition.³⁵ He had already caused Ignatius a good many headaches; and Rodrigues, who had asked for him from Ignatius had already in January, 1543, been forced to write to the latter about him: "The good Cipriano confuses everything with his philosophizing and predictions, which never hit the mark. May God forgive him, and you must write to him that he should be obedient and humble himself and break his own will, for he has become such a great satrap that he would give advice to the emperor. And if the latter had not listened to him, he would have believed that he had been all the more right on that account."³⁶ A half year before this Ignatius had written to Rodrigues: "Do what seems best to you with respect to Cipriano. This will also seem best to me, though he does not deign to write to me with respect to his ideas on ruling. At least induce him to write to Gomez Vázquez; and if he writes to Don Francisco³⁷ or to the cardinal of Burgos,³⁸ it would be better, for all are delighted to receive good news of him."³⁹

Cipriano's territory was bordered on the north by that of Henrique Henriques.⁴⁰ If the former was content with the least possible clothing because of

Barcelona and Esteban de Eguía in Estella, as is indicated by his greetings to both (DI III 381 683).

³⁰ *Ep. Mixtae* I 91-92 (Pezzano's letter, now in ARSI: *Ep. N.* 65, 257), and ARSI: *Ep. N.* 78, 19v (abstract from Villanueva's letter).

³¹ Q 2159. On his voyages to India, see the preceding paragraph.

³² H. Henriques did not as yet know anything of them in Goa on November 12, 1546 (Q 2489). They thus arrived there after this.

³³ EX I 340-341.

³⁴ DI I 232-233.

³⁵ Cf. Mateos 305 314 317-320 322-323, and in particular Xavier's letter (EX II 384-391).

³⁶ *Ep. Broēti* 532.

³⁷ Francesco de Solis, bishop of Bagnorea 1528-1545.

³⁸ Juan Alvarez de Toledo, O.P., who lived in Rome.

³⁹ MI *Epp.* I 812-813.

⁴⁰ On H. Henriques, see J. Wicki, S.J. "P. Henrique Henriques, S.J. (1520-1600)" *Studia Missionalia* 13 (1963) 113-168 (with a list of his letters and writings); Antonio Lourenço Farinha, *Vultos Missionários da Índia Quinhentista* (Cucujães, 1955 1957) 71-132; Antonio Franco, S.J., *Imagem de Coimbra* I (Evora, 1719) 523-536. The sources are edited in DI (see also Q, index). His signature is in Q, pl. VI 6. His obituary is in the annual letter of the visitor Nicolaus Pimenta, S.J. (ARSI: *Goa* 48, 33-34). It was published in Italian in Rome in 1602 (*Copia d'una del P. Nicolò Pimenta del primo di Decembro 1600*, 96-98),

the heat, the latter could never be warm enough.⁴¹ Henriques had been born in 1520 in Vila Viçosa and had worn the habit of the Capuchos for six or seven months. He had however been dismissed since he was descended from New Christians, and the statutes of the order precluded the reception of such. He therefore had two impediments for entrance into the Society of Jesus.⁴² But since the Constitutions had not yet been finalized and Rodrigues was aware of his excellent qualities—he had already spent many years in the practice of humility and abnegation and in prayer and penance⁴³—he was received by him on October 7, 1545, in Coimbra,⁴⁴ not as a confrere of the Society, but so that Xavier, as he wrote, might employ him on the Indian mission.⁴⁵ Henriques had already studied philosophy and had obtained the degree of bachelor in canon law. He had also begun his theological studies and was already a deacon when he entered in Coimbra.⁴⁶ He could, as a consequence, soon after his acceptance be ordained to the priesthood.⁴⁷ At the time of his entrance he had sold his possessions, which were worth four thousand *cruzados*, and to the great astonishment of the people had divided the proceeds among the poor.⁴⁸ He was an excellent *letrado*⁴⁹ and had already studied theology for nine months⁵⁰ when he boarded the *Victoria* in Lisbon on April 8, 1546, with Father Nuno Ribeiro and Brother Manuel de Morais. On September 17 the ship reached Goa with him and his companions.⁵¹

Even in Coimbra he had suffered constantly from poor health, and this condition persisted. He had suffered for four years from headaches and from pains in his stomach⁵² at times also from fits of melancholy.⁵³ On his voyage to India

and in English in the *Mangalore Magazine* 3 (1906) 273-274; J. Wicki, S.J., "The Confraternity of Charity of Fr. Henry Henriques," *Indian Church History Review* 1 (1967) 3-7. His **Arte dal lingua malabar* is in the Biblioteca Nacional of Lisbon Ms. 3141 (cf. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, "Tamil Manuscripts in European Libraries," *Tamil Culture* 3 [1954] 219-220). On his Tamil publications, see Schurhammer, "Ein seltener Druck. Der erste gedruckte tamulische Katechismus" (GS II 329-331); Schurhammer-Cottrell, "The First Printing in Indic Character" (*ibid.* 317-327); J. Wicki, "O 'Flos Sanctorum' do P. J. Henriques, impresso na lingua Tamul em 1586," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* 73 (1956) 42-49; Thani Nayagam "The First Book Printed in Tamil," *Tamil Culture* 7 (1958) 288-308. His small Tamil catechism (*Doctrina Christam*) appeared in Quilon in 1578; his large catechism, a translation of the *Doctrina Christam* of Marcos Jorge, appeared in Cochin in 1579. Both have been reedited by S. Rajamanickam, S.J., in Tuticorin in 1963. In 1967 he republished the *Flos Sanctorum* in the same city.—On the history of his mission, see L. Besse, S.J., *La Mission du Maduré* (Trichinopoly, 1914) 367-400. Henriques worked in his mission until his death. He was the first European to gain a basic knowledge of the difficult Tamil language. He wrote a grammar and dictionary for it and also printed the first work in this language. He died on February 6, 1600, in Tuticorin, to the grief of Christians, pagans and Moors, and was buried there in the church of Our Lady.

⁴¹ DI I 235.

⁴² *Ibid.* 438; II 134.

⁴³ *Ibid.* II 145.

⁴⁴ ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 2.

⁴⁵ *Ep. Broëti* 582; *Ep. Mixtae* I 231.

⁴⁶ Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 523; *Ep. Mixtae* I 265.

⁴⁷ ARSI: *Goa* 24, 223.

⁴⁸ Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 523.

⁴⁹ DI II 134.

⁵⁰ ARSI: *Goa* 24, 223.

⁵¹ On his voyage to India, see above, p. 214.

⁵² DI I 298; II 145.

⁵³ ARSI: *Goa* 47, 436.

he had been almost always sick and once even to the point of death.⁵⁴ When Xavier's letter reached Goa in February, 1547, ordering all the new arrivals in virtue of holy obedience to go to the Fishery Coast, his confreres had earnestly advised him to remain in Goa, since he would certainly die soon if he went there. He had nevertheless gone with the others and, despite the hot climate and the poor and meager food, he enjoyed better health there than in Goa and in Portugal and was able to work more than he had in either of those places.⁵⁵ Lancilotto, who had a high regard for his virtue and abilities,⁵⁶ wished to appoint him superior of the mission when he himself departed, but the humble religious begged him to desist in this since he was of the caste of the New Christians and the Portuguese would be offended if they saw that a New Christian had charge of the priests. Lancilotto had therefore appointed Criminali as superior.⁵⁷

Henriques had the heart of a zealous apostle. In Mozambique he had been told of the great readiness of the inhabitants of the island of Saint Lawrence, which was three hundred leagues wide, to accept the faith. And he had been told the same in Socotra, where the "pagan" inhabitants bore Christian names. In the College of St. Paul the sight of the native pupils who sang at Mass and Vespers, two of whom already preached each Sunday evening in the language of the country, moved him to tears. And a Portuguese who made the Exercises in the college had told the priests of the mighty kingdom of China, which was closed to all foreigners and was inhabited by idolaters and where the Gospel had not as yet found any entrance.⁵⁸

On the Fishery Coast he had been given an excellent interpreter⁵⁹ and the central area of the mission as his field of labor. This comprised Tuticorin, the largest city on the coast, where the Portuguese captain and his men and the most prominent people lived; Punnaikāyal, the second largest city of the Paravas, where he established his residence on the advice of Criminali because of its central location; the neighboring Kombuturē, which lay across the river from the Moorish city of Kāyalpatnam; and two smaller villages, one of which was Palayakāyal. He visited all of these stations every nine days and was grieved by the fact that even then there were children who died without baptism. He therefore took pains to instruct individuals who, in case of necessity, could administer this sacrament when he was absent. In addition to this he also visited the distant villages of Vaippār and Vēmbār every two months. These were under a native priest, whose authority he wished to strengthen: his parishioners did not fear him as they did the Portuguese priests and did not always do what he commanded.⁶⁰ Henriques, like his companions, found his inability to understand the language of the country and his constant need of an interpreter a great disadvantage. He therefore sought to learn to speak the difficult Tamil language. When Master Francis arrived, he had however learned only two words; and he had almost lost hope of ever being able to master it.⁶¹

There was a great amount of work for the missionaries. In addition to making visits to the schools, instructing the boys and girls every day in Christian doctrine,

⁵⁴ DI I 149-150.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 224-225.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* II 134-135 145-146 373-374.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 147.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 151 154.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 285.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 225-226.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 285.

and celebrating Mass on Saturdays and Sundays, the priests had to settle the disputes of their parishioners in both temporal and spiritual concerns, even though they at times handed the decision over to the *patangatins*. Because of these labors Henriques frequently did not have time to eat or pray or recollect himself. He had a high regard for prayer and described it as the food of the soul.⁶² During all his labors he strove to retain two short periods a day free for the examination of his conscience and meditation. Together with his great love for the Society of Jesus, he had a great devotion towards his crucified Lord, whose service alone he sought in all the pains, persecutions, and consolations which God sent him on the Fishery Coast.⁶³

The fourth missionary whom Xavier encountered in Manappād was Brother Manuel de Morais,⁶⁴ who had not as yet been ordained to the priesthood. He had entered the Society in Coimbra on November 5, 1543, as a young student.⁶⁵ At the beginning of 1546, together with Father Francisco Pérez, he had made the usual pilgrimage of the period of probation. Going on foot and living on alms, they had encountered a variety of adventures on their way from Coimbra through Olalhas, Abrantes, and Castelo de Vide to Villa de Barcorrota, which was across the Spanish frontier and was the birthplace of Father Pérez; and on their return from there to Almeirim and Lisbon. All along their way Morais had preached with great zeal.⁶⁶ Soon after this, on April 8 of the same year, he had sailed in the *Victoria* with Henrique Henriques and Nuno Ribeiro to India. In Goa he had taught Christian doctrine in St. Paul's College for seven months, and had taken over the care of the native hospital near the college when in March, 1547, he was sent with his five companions to the Fishery Coast.⁶⁷

There Criminali entrusted him with the nine Parava villages between Manappād and Cape Comorin.⁶⁸ There, as along the whole coast, a man had been appointed in each of these villages to teach the prayers and summon the people for them—the girls in the morning, the boys in the evening, the men on Sundays, and the women on Saturdays. On these occasions, when he came to a village, Morais, with the help of his interpreter, spoke on the Gospel of the day, the Commandments, the Creed, and similar matters; and he examined the children on what they knew. In many places, when they learned of his coming, the children

⁶² *Ibid.* 226.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 282-283; III 233.

⁶⁴ On Morais junior, see Q, index. In 1549, Xavier sent him to the Moro mission in the Moluccas and had him ordained to the priesthood for this in Goa. Since he left the mission without the knowledge and permission of his mission superior, he was dismissed by Xavier in 1552 and entered the Dominicans in Goa, where he died (Teixeira, *Anotações* 49-50). His letters, with their defective orthography, vividly describe the land, people, and work of the missionaries (DI I 231-249 454-466).

⁶⁵ ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 1.

⁶⁶ DI I 357-360.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 494. In his letter of January 3, 1549, Morais wrote that he had landed in Goa on September 17, 1546, and that "a few days later" (it was in February, 1547), Xavier's letter arrived from Amboina, following which all except Pérez went to Cape Comorin (DI I 456-457). But half a page later in the same letter he states that he had gone in December, 1546, with Francisco Henriques to the Malabar (read: Fishery) Coast, where they found Criminali alone, who immediately gave each of them twenty leagues of coast "in the Parava kingdom" (*ibid.* 458). This is contradicted by his letter of August 6, 1549, in which he declares that he had remained seven months in the College of St. Paul and had then (thus in February, 1547) gone with Francisco Henriques to Cape Comorin, where he remained for two years (*ibid.* 494).

⁶⁸ At one time Morais speaks of fourteen villages, including thus the five of Cipriano (*ibid.* 458); at another time of nine, that is, of his own villages proper (*ibid.* 248).

would go out to meet him singing the prayers. Two hours a day were employed in teaching the faith, one in the morning and one in the evening. The principal difficulty that the brother encountered in this was his ignorance of the language, since the interpreters could not always be trusted. Morais already knew a portion of the prayers and the articles of the Creed in Tamil; and he always repeated these by heart when he baptized children or adults, or when he was called to read a Gospel over one who was ill. The trust of the Christians on such occasions was frequently rewarded in a miraculous manner. A sick man, for example, who had lost his speech, suddenly regained it when the brother prayed over him.

According to the instruction which Master Francis had given the missionaries, he had also to exercise the office of judge and settle disputes among the Christians. When one of them made an idol or sinned with married women, he was flogged and confined. The brother also blessed marriages.⁶⁹ By the middle of December he had already baptized more than two hundred children and adults, and before Xavier's arrival this number had risen to six hundred. Among these had been an old man in Periyatālai, who died immediately after he had received the sacrament. This also happened to many children whom he baptized.⁷⁰ Whereas Morais had always been sickly in Coimbra, he now felt, apart from an occasional attack of diarrhea, strong and healthy despite the poor food he found on the mission. When there was need, he could make a journey of ten leagues in a single day.⁷¹ His territory was bounded on the north by that of Father Cipriano, and on the south by Father Criminali's. During his peregrinations through his villages, he could thus come in contact with both of them. Since Cipriano was old and weak in his legs, Morais often visited his five villages for him, as far as the territory assigned to Henrique Henriques.⁷² He had celebrated Christmas in Manappād with his confreres.⁷³ When offense was taken at his beard (he had perhaps not been particularly well advised), he had cut it off,⁷⁴ since the missionaries sedulously avoided irritating anyone. Still they could not prevent slanders being spread about them, for example, that they associated with women, and that the money given them for the instruction of the children was embezzled and squandered. To these accusations the captain, Aires de Figueiredo, and his Portuguese gave only too easy credence.⁷⁵ But these trials and the difficult climate of his field of labor, the barren, sunburned strip along the coast, were replete with consolations for those who bore them through love for their crucified Lord,⁷⁶ as Morais wrote to Portugal in December.⁷⁷ At times however he had scruples as to whether or not he baptized and blessed marriages in a legitimate way since he was not a priest. He had therefore written to Simon Rodrigues that he should, if possible, obtain for him the necessary faculties for this from the nuncio in Portugal. But Master Francis was able to set him at peace in this regard when he visited him in Manappād.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 234-236 242-243.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 240 249. In his letter from Periyatālai of December 11, 1547, he speaks of more than two hundred whom he had baptized up till then, that is, in the first ten months (*ibid.* 240). In his letter of January 3, 1549, he speaks of around five or six hundred whom he baptized before Xavier's arrival in February (*ibid.* 458 463).

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 235.

⁷² *Ibid.* 232-233.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 240 248.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 236.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 235.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 234 243.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 236.

Three years had passed since Xavier had left Travancore and the Fishery Coast and had written to Mansilhas from Cochin that he should baptize the Macuas in Manakkudi and appoint teachers to instruct the children in all the villages that he had himself baptized.⁷⁸ In a second letter which he had sent him from Negapatam on April 7, 1545, he had earnestly enjoined him to be constant in his visits to the Christians of the villages, to be diligent in baptizing the newborn children, to have the prayers taught throughout his territory, to keep a careful watch over the native priests so that they caused no offense, and to order Cosme de Paiva in his name to return to the Christians the money he had taken from them, since he would write to the king, governor, and Grand Inquisitor that they should punish those who persecuted the new converts.⁷⁹

God Himself had at Diu summoned Paiva before His judgment seat. Another captain, Aires de Figueiredo, had taken his place on the Fishery Coast in 1545. When Xavier, at the end of August of this same year, sailed from São Thomé to Malacca, Miguel Ferreira, the captain of the Coromandel Coast, had promised him that he would undertake the punitive expedition against the ruler of Jaffna who had slain many Christians. At the end of the year Ferreira had gone to Goa in order to obtain from the governor the necessary warrants and orders for this. During the rainy season ambassadors had come from Jaffna to the two Ceylonese princes and the governor in Goa and had declared that they had previously been vassals of the Ceylonese king of Kōttē, and that their present sovereign had seized the rule for himself by force. Since the sons of the Ceylonese king were now Christians, they wished to obey one of them as their king, and they all wished to become Christians. M. A. de Sousa had consequently decided to send André de Sousa there with the princes. His successor Dom João de Castro had approved the plan, especially since the rajah of Jaffna was a tyrant and usurper who had murdered the legitimate king and more than two thousand of his followers, and the whole land was in revolt against him.⁸⁰ But in December, 1545, the plan had been altered. Instead of sailing to Jaffna, André de Sousa should go to the help of the threatened king of Kandy in January, 1546; and, after the king's baptism, he should negotiate the marriage of Prince João with one of the king's daughters. Miguel Ferreira should during this same time conquer Jaffna. The governor wanted to bring the two princes back to Ceylon in September, 1546.⁸¹ Miguel Ferreira should recruit the men needed for the expedition on the Coromandel Coast, and he and Frey Antonio Padram, who was accompanying Sousa, should speak in Kāyalpatnam with the Brahman pretender to the throne of Jaffna. If this latter was ready to accept baptism, he should be given possession of the kingdom in place of the usurper. But as they were busy preparing these two expeditions, smallpox carried the two princes away in Goa on January 14, 1546.⁸² The following day, January 15, the governor handed over to Miguel Ferreira the depopulated island of Manār and the territory of Māntota as an hereditary fief for himself and all his descendants because of the many services which he had rendered for so many years in all the wars as an outstanding *cavalleiro* and captain of both men and ships. Miguel Ferreira would therefore have to come to an agreement with the future king of Jaffna.

⁷⁸ EX I 244-247.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 284-288.

⁸⁰ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 213-214 217-219.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 274-277.

⁸² *Ibid.* 346 407.

Three days later he gave him a royal *fusta* as an installment on his salary and had him paid more than seven hundred *pardaus* because of the many expenses he had incurred at the request of M. A. de Sousa.⁸³ On January 24 Castro had further appointed Christovão Douria as the successor of Antonio Mendes de Vasconcellos as captain of Negapatam and its environs to reward him for his services and for the loss of an eye in Bengal in the battle with the Turks.⁸⁴ And shortly after this he had handed over Cow Island, near Manār, as an hereditary fief to the brave *cavalleiro* Bráz de Goes.⁸⁵

In the middle of February, 1546, Ferreira sailed from Cochin to Kāyalpatnam and from there sent a messenger to the Brahman pretender, who lived three leagues away in the interior. The latter came at once, and Ferreira asked him, as the governor had ordered, whether he was ready to become a Christian with his sons, grandsons, and other relatives. The pretender replied that João Fernandes Correa, as factor of the Pearl Fishery, had once placed him on board a ship and had received a diamond as a gift from him, but that he had been unable to do anything for him. M. A. de Sousa had similarly summoned him and brought him to Cow Island and had sent him back home with the project unfinished. He had taken some pearls from him for this since he had nothing else to give him. Sousa, however, had not established him in possession of his kingdom because the king of Jaffna had given him four or five thousand *pardaus*. The pretender told Ferreira many other things, but he added that from what he had heard about him, he was willing, on the basis of his word, to embark at once with his son and grandsons and many of his relatives and friends; and they wished to become Christians at once. Since his *catur* could not hold so many people, Ferreira told him that the governor had asked him to speak with him and to assemble men in order to place him in possession of his kingdom. He could be sure that the governor would do this even if the king of Jaffna gave him ten million gold pieces. With that he took his leave of the Brahman in the hope that he would soon be able to return to him.

From there Ferreira sailed to Mourão on the northwest coast of Ceylon, where the Paravas and the captain were busy with the Great Pearl Fishery. He handed over to Figueiredo a letter from the governor, and the captain immediately summoned the *patangatins* in order to speak with them about the Jaffna expedition. They all declared that this could only take place at the time of the Small Pearl Fishery in September, when more than ten thousand men capable of bearing arms would come together. If the governor sent them two hundred Portuguese, and even if he sent fewer, they were willing to sail, for it would be less a venture than he thought. But two or three *champanas* of rice should be provided for the poor.

It was therefore decided that they should all come together at the beginning of September, and Ferreira would have a report sent to them in Vēdālai as soon as possible. On March 28 Ferreira sent a *patamar* from São Thome with a detailed account about all this to the governor. He added that it would be best for Castro to send his son Dom Alvaro for this in September. If he did not, then he, Ferreira, would regard it as a great favor if the expedition was entrusted to him. Even if he could not send him any soldiers from Goa, he would assemble the men along the Coromandel Coast for it if the governor sent him a strict

⁸³ *Ibid.* 279-281.

⁸⁴ Q 1875.

⁸⁵ Q 1987.

command that all the Portuguese of this coast and all who came from Masulipatam, Orissa, and Bengal were obliged to sail with him to Jaffna under the penalty of being arrested and having their possessions confiscated. Antonio Mendes de Vasconcellos, with whom he, Ferreira, had spoken in Negapatam, was ready to sail with him with his friends and the members of his household. The governor should, however, send Frey Paulo de Santarem for the baptism and the people of the Pearl Fishery along with the armorer Affonso Toscano.⁸⁶

But in the middle of June, in the midst of the monsoon, news had come to São Thomé of the siege of Diu; and as soon as the weather permitted, Ferreira, accompanied by Douria and Bráz de Goes, sailed to Goa with a *fusta*, a *catur*, and his men, two dozen arquebusiers, in order to take part in the war against the Moors. The old warrior had returned deathly ill from Diu to Goa at the beginning of 1547 and from there, in March, still very weak, to São Thomé in order to recuperate there. But he was determined that if he regained his strength he would, despite everything, undertake the Jaffna expedition.⁸⁷

The siege of Diu was still not ended when Miguel Vaz returned from Europe and landed at Cochin on November 20, 1546. From there he immediately sent a letter to the priests of the Fishery Coast with a letter of the king to the Christians of Cape Comorin, in which he expressed his great joy at their conversion; and he told them that in all their needs and desires they should have recourse to Miguel Vaz, who would present their requests to him; and he further assured them of his benevolence and protection.⁸⁸ In his letter the king granted the Christians of the Fishery Coast free passage for three years, in virtue of which they could sail where they wished with their ships. He also granted them other privileges, especially that they did not have to pay any taxes if there was no Pearl Fishery. If, after the completion of the terms of office of the two individuals who had been nominated captains of the Fishery Coast, they no longer wished to have a captain, they could pay the king in Cochin on a determined day of the year the taxes which they owed.⁸⁹

Aires de Figueiredo, the captain of the Fishery Coast, who had forty men in his pay,⁹⁰ was on the point of exacting from the *patangatis* the customary duties for the king at the time of the Small Pearl Fishery when the two letters arrived. As a consequence the Paravas, supported by the priests, refused to pay the money requested since the usual fishery had not taken place in September because of the war which the Badagas were conducting with the Great King and the other lords of the land, and because the men who had been sent out to explore the field had not found enough pearl mussels for fishing. Since the Christians were obdurate in their refusal and withdrew into the interior of the land, which was under the control of the Badagas, and refused to come to the captain, Figueiredo could not pay his men. They consequently left him and returned to the west coast of India. His only alternative was to sail to Cochin, from where he sent an account to the governor on January 4, 1547:

He had spoken in Cochin with the *vedor da fazenda*, Bráz d'Araujo, and the latter had promised him a commission, but he had then died on January 2, 1547,⁹¹ before he

⁸⁶ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 346-350 371 382.

⁸⁷ Q 2254 2291 2341 2598 2726 2812-2813 4137; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 382-383 389-392 409-410 527-528; Nunes, *Crónica* 112-113; Castro, *Cartas* 293-294.

⁸⁸ DI I 162-163 166.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 159-164; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 330; cf. 244-245.

⁹⁰ Q 3558.

⁹¹ Q 2706.

could carry out his promise. Figueiredo informed the governor that the Great Pearl Fishery in February and March was at hand and that he had an earlier regulation of the *vedor* in which the latter ordered the captains and factors of the Pearl Fishery to exact the same amount of taxes from the Christians whether they obtained much or little, and he knew of no decree of the king or of the governor that remitted this tax apart from the letter sent by the vicar general. According to him the actual facts were as follows:

Thirty or forty leading men on the coast, who gave orders to all the others, were so rich in ships and wares that they allowed the Pearl Fishery to go to ruin. The rest of the people were their slaves because of their usury, as were the divers who fished for the pearl mussels and paid the duties to the king. If these did not dive, the merchants could lounge around their trading vessels, which brought them a good income. And this is what they wanted more than the fisheries, even though here too these wealthy individuals took all the pearl and chank mussels which these poor people harvested from them at a price which they fixed themselves; and the poor were ruined in the process.

These were matters with which the priests should concern themselves, and not with jails and policemen who arrested the people; nor with the fact that they were being fined, as they had been up to the present; but with the fact that they stirred the people up against the captain and the payment of the taxes due to the king, which was contrary to the service of God and of the king. God knew how much trouble he had had during the past year when he spent most of his time sailing the sea in order to rescue these Christians from the many tyrannies of the native kings; whereas they now, after they had been freed from them, joined up with the Badagas, who took their lands from the Great King and the other princes and wished to reconvert them to paganism. He had let it be known that he regarded them as rebels and not as Christians; and he would arrest them on the sea as people who refused to obey either God or the king. He had only deterred them from their intent by blocking up the mouth of a river through which they wished to pass with a *catur* manned by his own people. When Mestre Francisco wished to obtain a favor from the governors for these Christians, he had kept the matter secret and had first spoken with the captain of the coast in order to see if it would be good to procure it for them.

These trading voyages which the king had recently granted to the Christians of the Fishery Coast had made them more interested in trade than in the Pearl Fisheries. The king's revenues were consequently reduced, and a door was being opened for the depopulation of India. There were many Portuguese already hiding in the villages of that coast so that they might sail to Bengal and Pegu and wherever else they wished. The vicar general would therefore have done well if, before publishing these matters to the Christians, he had first gone to them and obtained information about their comportment in order to determine whether it was to the service of God and of the king to grant them these privileges or not. He, Figueiredo, was convinced that it only made them worse. Vaz should have done this, and he should not have announced them before he had spoken to the governor about them.

The governor should consequently decide what he, Figueiredo, should do in this regard. If they did not have to pay any taxes, the governor would have to send the money for the patrol boats and their men and for the priests. And if there was no captain with ships and men there, those Christians would be severely tyrannized by the leaders of the land and would return to their former paganism in which they had been born. The area consequently could not be without a captain.⁹²

⁹² DI I 159-164. P. Maurício, who tries to the best of his ability to justify Cosme de Paiva, the former captain of the Fishery Coast against Mestre Francisco, who, according to him, was misled by illusions, also cites for his purpose Figueiredo's letter. He declares categorically that the reason for the decline of the Pearl Fishery was not that no mussels were found when the search was made for them, but that it was the association of thirty to forty chiefs of the coast, whom he calls *Umaras*, Moorish merchants from the Mogul kingdom (but this is a caste unknown to Dalgado, Yule, and all our

But the missionaries of the Fishery Coast had also turned to the governor. This was all the more necessary since their advocate, Miguel Vaz, had died in Chaul on January 11, 1547. In the same month they sent a man to Diu where the governor was busy with the rebuilding of the fortress. On February 1, Lancilotto gave him a letter of recommendation to take with him to Castro. In it he wrote that the messenger was bringing him a copy of the royal letter to the Christians of the Fishery Coast, in which he told them that they should have recourse to him through Miguel Vaz when they were in need of help. Lancilotto then added the favors which the priests Mansilhas, Criminali, and Beira asked from the governor for the Christians. They were as follows:

1. That they did not have to pay any taxes when there was no Pearl Fishery. This had been the practice of their kings when they were still pagans. Since they had now paid these for two years, though there had been no Pearl Fisheries, it was reasonable that this sum should be subtracted from the taxes when they fished again.

2. No captain should be assigned for some years. In the meantime the priests should be their superiors, that is, until this part of Christendom was a little better established in its Christian faith. The priests were of the opinion, however, that, if he removed the captain, he should send a good man with ten or twelve *lascars* to defend the missionaries and the Christians, and that they should have two *catur*s to sail along the coast whenever this was necessary. The priests did not ask this in order to obtain the right of dominion over them in anyway but simply to remove the tyrannies and the bad example which the Portuguese gave to these people who were still new in the faith. If the governor did not want to do away with the captain, he might at least send one, if possible, who was not a tyrant.

3. Further, that they could sell the chank which they fished to whom they wished, as the king ordered,⁹³ and as the governor himself, although without much success, had ordered. And in what concerned the service of God and of the king, the captain should do nothing without the advice and approval of the priests.

4. Further, he might permit them, since they were Christians, to sail to the Coromandel Coast and to Ceylon without passes. Only if they sailed beyond them should these be necessary. But if His Lordship wished them to sail with passes, he should grant these without charge, for the captain and the secretaries requested payment for these and made no exceptions; and if they received no money, they obliged the captains of the ships to take their wares also with them and sell them from village to village.

5. Further, since there were no revenues from the taxes for the support of the priests and the instruction of children, the Christians should, according to the opinion of the priests, contribute a sum, and this sum should be subtracted from the duties which had to be paid when they fished for pearls.

6. In the preceding year the governor had sent an *alvará* to the captain Aires de Figueiredo, ordering him to give the priests the funds that would enable them to secure an interpreter and provide him with his maintenance. The captain had up to the present provided neither interpreters nor money, but interpreters were necessary also for other priests when they arrived.

The governor could obtain definite information on all these points from the bearer of this petition, for he was a completely reliable man.⁹⁴

sources), who enlisted sailors for their ships with deceptive promises. As a consequence the Jesuit (Xavier), who unfortunately got himself mixed up in the affair, unconsciously became the play of the Moorish usurers of the Fishery Coast ("Governadores e Vice-reis xaverianos," *Brotéria* 56 [1953] 355-359; see also *ibid.* 79 [1964] 503). The thirty to forty chiefs were Paravas. The Moors were the mortal enemies of their caste and hated by the Paravas. We cannot accept the author's explanation in any way, which assumes a rather low judgment of the intelligence of Xavier and his confreres. [See below, p. 382.]

⁹³ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 330-332.

⁹⁴ DI I 165-170.

The bishop also supported the priests of the Fishery Coast against the slanders of their enemies and the complaints of the captain. On February 10, 1547, he wrote to Dom Alvaro in Diu that he might intercede for the slandered priests with his father. He was well aware how good they were, what a good life they led, with what respect and good example they went their way, in what high regard they were held by the king, and how wicked are the tongues of the men of this world.⁹⁵ The governor granted the missionaries some of their requests, for example, those with regard to chanks, passes, and interpreters. Figueiredo, however, remained in his office and was replaced at the end of the year by João Fernandes Correa, the former captain of the Fishery Coast, whom Xavier had come to know in the prison in Goa in 1542.⁹⁶

When Antonio Moniz Barreto came to the Fishery Coast in the middle of April, 1547, as he was on his way to Kandy, he was distressed to learn that this year also there was no Pearl Fishery, since, according to the data of the Paravas, there were no mussels. Figueiredo therefore went to Quilon in order to collect the taxes of the Christians there. Like the captain, Moniz did not accept the reason alleged by the pearl fishers. On April 22, 1547, he wrote to the governor:

It seems to me that the reason for this is that the leaders have become so rich through the favors which they have received as Christians that they build numerous *champanas* and trade with them. And they believe that this business is more profitable than the Pearl Fishery. The poor prefer to dive for chank, which is more profitable for them, since they sell one for fifteen or twenty *fanams* which was formerly worth only five; and the reason for this is that they are exported to Bengal. This is the reason, and not the fact that there are no pearl mussels in the sea, as they say.⁹⁷

When the six new missionaries came to the help of Crimali in April, 1547, the condition of the mission had become critical. Since 1546 the Great King, Rāma Varma, supported by his brother Mārtānda Varma, the king of Travancore, had been at war with the Badagas, who, under the command of Vitthala and his generals Chinna Timma and Vengala, were attempting to deprive him of his territory east of Cape Comorin. In April, 1546, Mārtānda was in Shērmadēvi, south of Tāmbraṇarni, which formed the northern boundary of the territory of the Great King.⁹⁸ In August Rāma Varma was west of it in his camp of Kala-kaikurricchi;⁹⁹ and in December he was in that of Māttāndatātar, near Nālukkāl in the Nānjinād, west of Cape Comorin.¹⁰⁰ When Moniz came to the Fishery Coast in April, 1547, the Badagas had already occupied Kāyalpatnam. Rāma Varma, on the other hand, was in his camp of Erupādi within the interior, southwest of Kāyalpatnam.¹⁰¹ In August he had to abandon the whole of South Tinnevely to his enemy and, together with his brother, become a tributary to the king of Vijayanagar.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 170-172.

⁹⁶ Q 3558.

⁹⁷ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 459. It took many years for the Portuguese to realize that the Paravas were right when they said that in certain years there were no pearl mussels in the sea. There were different reasons for this, for example, the pearl banks were at times covered by shifting mounds of sand on the bed of the sea (cf. Vol. II, p. 312).

⁹⁸ Q 5639-5640; probably together with Rāma Varma (Q 5643).

⁹⁹ Q 5641.

¹⁰⁰ Q 5642a.

¹⁰¹ Q 5731.

¹⁰² Q 5870.

During the confusion caused by the war, the missionaries also had to suffer. They were frequently compelled to go to the kings, *pulas*, and leaseholders of taxes to defend their Christians against the oppressions of the pagan officials,¹⁰³ since they obtained little support from the captain and governor.¹⁰⁴ Their war against idolatry, towards which many of the Christians were inclined, also brought the missionaries more than once into peril of their lives.

Criminali took an idol from a man which he had made in order to obtain a successful delivery for his wife. The man wanted to kill him, but the sudden death of his wife saved the priest.¹⁰⁵ Brother Morais arrested another who was making an idol. The man threatened him with his sword and wanted to thrash him, but he also died a few days later.¹⁰⁶ Cipriano was threatened with a beating, but the village in which this had occurred burned down five or six days later. Henrique Henriques was able to relate similar experiences.¹⁰⁷

In Travancore King Mārtānda Varma, after he had been left in the lurch by the Portuguese, had come completely under the influence of the Mohammedans, who incited him against the Portuguese and their missionaries. Three months after the arrival there of Francisco Henriques and Brother Baltasar, the king had summoned the former and had publicly aired his animosity in a passionate speech in the presence of three hundred persons whom he had invited for the occasion and an influential Moor, who was obviously the principal accuser. He ordered the priest not to make any more Christians in his kingdom and threatened him severely, saying that he would make it impossible for the Christian fishers to celebrate Sunday, and that he would order them to fish also on this day. To this Henriques replied that the king might reflect upon the fact that the sea belonged to the king of Portugal. Under the circumstances, however, he saw himself compelled to leave Travancore,¹⁰⁸ and the brother was also expelled by the rajah from his land.¹⁰⁹

For two weeks Master Francis remained with his missionaries.¹¹⁰ He asked each one in detail about his earlier life,¹¹¹ his progress in the spiritual life, and the means which he used in his mission territory to spread the faith and to preserve the new converts in it. He also redistributed his confreres, entrusting Morais with the care of the abandoned Christians in Travancore.¹¹² He commissioned Francisco Coelho, a native priest, to translate his Molucca catechism into Tamil so that it could be read in the churches. To the satisfaction of all, he confirmed Criminali in his office of superior of the mission;¹¹³ and he promised that Father Francisco Henriques and Brother Baltasar Nunes, whom he had called from Chale, would soon arrive. The coming of Master Francis brought great

¹⁰³ DI I 242-243.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 248.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 223.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 233-459.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* 233-234.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 264; cf. 229 264-265 460.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 259.

¹¹⁰ Fifteen days (*ibid.* 458), ten days (*ibid.* text B).

¹¹¹ For the beginning of text B (Q 4125) of Morais' letter of January 3, 1549, Wicki refers to text A (Q 4126), but in his apparatus for text A he omits an important variant (DI I 462). It reads: "Neste tempo veio o P. M. Francisco de Maluco, e foi ter conosco e para isto nos ajuntamos todos num lugar que chamam Manapar, onde nos tomou conta da nossa vida passada até então, dandonos muitas consolações" (SIE 107).

¹¹² DI I 458.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 280.

consolation to all. He told them of his experiences on his voyage to the Molucas, of the great harvest in the Far East, and of the great hopes offered there for the spread of the Church.¹¹⁴ He hoped to return to them before the beginning of the rainy season.¹¹⁵ Before he left, he gave them an instruction on the method they should employ in their future missionary labors.¹¹⁶ Its contents were as follows:

In their visits to the villages of their territory, the missionaries should be greatly concerned about the baptism of the newborn infants. They should therefore go from house to house with some boys of the village and ask if there were children to be baptized. They should not wait until the warden or someone else called them since there was a danger that the infants would die without baptism.

Further, in their villages, they should see to it that the children were taught the catechism and that they were brought together for this with great diligence. During their visitations, the missionaries should learn how many knew their prayers so that they might perceive greater progress at the time of their next visit. This instruction of the children was their most important work.

On all Sundays in the villages where they were, or which they visited, they should see to it that the men came to church to say their prayers. In the remaining villages they should ask the wardens if the *patangatis* and the other residents of the village were attending church on Sundays. In the village where they happened to be, they should explain the prayers after these had been recited; and they should condemn the vices that were prevalent among the people with clear examples and comparisons so that all would understand; for example, that God would punish them in this life with sicknesses and shorten their lives through the tyrannies of the *adhigāris* and of the king;¹¹⁷ and that they would go to hell after their death because of them.

They should also inquire about those who were living in enmity with each other. On Sundays, when the men came together in the church, they should strive to make them friends; and they should do the same on Saturdays with the women.

The alms which the men and the women gave on Sundays and Saturdays, or the alms which they brought to the church, or which they vowed when ill, should all be divided up among the poor and nothing should be taken for themselves.

They should moreover visit the sick and take care that they were informed when anyone fell ill. When they visited the sick, they should have them recite the *Confiteor* and the *Credo*; and they should ask them if they truly believed each article. They should therefore take a boy with them who knew the prayers so that he could prompt them. They should then read a Gospel. On Saturdays and Sundays they should warn the men and the women to inform the missionaries when anyone fell ill. If they neglected this, they would not bury the person in the church or in the cemetery of the Christians if he died.

On Sundays and Saturdays, when the men and women were assembled, they should explain the articles of the faith to them from the text which he had given to Father Francisco Coelho to translate into Tamil. When this translation was completed, they should have it read every Saturday and Sunday in the churches in the villages where they lived or visited.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 461.

¹¹⁵ EX I 436.

¹¹⁶ Text, *ibid.* 422-435.

¹¹⁷ The kings were as follows: for Travancore, Mārtānda Varma; for the Najinād between Travancore and Cape Comorin, Rāma Varma; for the villages lying to the east of Cape Comorin, from August, 1547, Rāma Rāya, the king of Vijayanagar, who was ruling for the shadow king Sadāshiva, and his viceroy the Nāyak of Madura, Visvanātha Nāyaka; and local princes such as Vettum Perumāl, the king of Kayattār, in Tuticorin, and Tumbichchi Nāyaka in Vaippār and Vēmbār.

¹¹⁸ Cf. DI I 287 582.

When anyone died, they should bury the body. For this they should go to the house where the person had died with a boy and a cross. They should recite the prayers on their way there, and a responsory in the house. On the way to the cemetery all the boys should recite the prayers, and the missionary should recite another responsory at the place of burial. As a conclusion he should give a brief talk to those who were present, indicating that they too would all eventually die, and that they should prepare themselves for this by a good life if they wished to go to Paradise.

Further, they should tell the men and women on Sundays and Saturdays that when a child fell ill they should bring it to the church so that the missionary could read a Gospel over it. They were to do this so that the adults would be strengthened in their faith in, and love for, the Church, and the children healed.

When there were quarrels and legal disputes among the people, they should persuade them to come to a charitable agreement. They should refer more serious cases to the captain or to Father Antonio¹¹⁹ in order to have as little as possible to do with investigating their disputes and thus neglect spiritual works of mercy because of them. They should have the less important cases decided by the *patangatis* of the villages on Sundays after the prayers.

They should maintain the best possible relations with the captain and should in no instance break with him. They should strive to live in peace and charity with all the Portuguese of the coast and not to be at odds with anyone even if one so wished. When they [the Portuguese] oppressed the Christians, they should correct them with charity; and if this proved to be of no avail, they should let the captain know about it. And, once again, they should in no instance be at odds with the captain. Their conversation with the Portuguese should be restricted to the things of God. They should speak to them of death, of Judgment Day, and of the pains of hell and of purgatory. If they spoke to them of such matters, they would not hinder them in the conduct of their office; and they would themselves speak with them about spiritual things or leave them alone.

They should assist the native priests in spiritual matters, and they should advise them to go to confession and to celebrate Mass and to give a good example. They should never write poorly of them in their letters. They could only inform Father Antonio, as superior of the coast, of eventual evils.

When they baptized children, they should first read a Gospel of St. Mark or recite the Creed. Then, with the intention of making them Christians, they should pronounce the essential words of baptism: "*Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti*," and while saying this they should pour the water over the child being baptized. After the baptism they should read a Gospel or recite a prayer according to each one's devotion. When they baptized an adult, however, they should first have the candidate recite the *Confiteor* and the Creed, and at each article they should ask him if he believed in it. After he said that he did, they should baptize him.¹²⁰

They should avoid speaking ill of the Christians in the presence of Portuguese. Rather, they should always take their side and defend them when they spoke for them, since the Portuguese, if they reflected upon the meager instructions which these people had had, and the short time that they had been Christians, should be surprised that they were not worse than they were.

¹¹⁹ Criminali.

¹²⁰ These baptisms, without additional ceremonies even for adults, were a later source of scruples for H. Henriques. In 1555 he wrote to Ignatius: "I have a certain scruple with respect to the baptisms, since we always baptize here without ceremonies, at least the children, but frequently also the adults. P.M. Francisco recommended this to us. Would your paternity see if we can do this without scruple" (DI III 420-421)? And again in 1556 he wrote: "We also have scruples because we baptize without solemnity. P.M. Francisco advised us to baptize without solemnity, not only children but also adults. He knew that the land was very extensive, that the priests were few and overburdened with work. For some time I have been baptizing adults here with ceremonies and the children without them. Your Paternity should obtain from the pope permission so that we can do this without scruple where it seems good to us" (*ibid.* 600).

The missionaries should strive with all their might to gain the *love* of these people, for if they were loved by them, they would do more for them than if they were despised. Further, they should not punish any of them before consulting Father Antonio; and if they were in a village where the captain was, they should not punish or arrest anyone without first coming to an agreement on this with the captain.

When anyone made idols, whether men or women, the penalty for this should be that, with the approval of Father Antonio, the guilty person should be banished from the village where he lived to another.

They should show great love for the children who came to the prayers; they should avoid offending them; and they should overlook punishing them even if they deserved it.

When they wrote to the priests and brothers in India,¹²¹ they should give a detailed account of the success of their work. They should write the same to the lord bishop with great respect and reverence, as to their shepherd, so that he might recognize them in the obedience which they showed towards him.

They should not go to any place, even if a king or another lord of the land invited them, without the consent of Father Antonio, excusing themselves by saying that they had no permission to do so.

In conclusion, Xavier repeated his advice that they should strive to gain the affection of the people in the villages which they visited or where they lived, not only through their works but also through their kind words, so that they would rather be loved by all than rejected; for thus they would, as he observed, work with greater fruit.¹²² He then signed his instruction with the words:

May the Lord grant you His grace for this and remain with all of you. Amen.
February, 1548.

Wholly yours,

Maestro Francisco.

¹²¹ The west coast of India.

¹²² In 1555 H. Henriques still wrote: "The people of the land have a great love for us, and this greatly increases our ability to help them spiritually. Following the advice of our great P. Mestre Francisco, we strive to descend to their ability to understand *et omnibus omnia fieri, ut omnes lucrifaciamus* [cf. 1 Cor. 9:22]. Since he had the true spirit of the Society, he fulfilled this saying of the Apostle in its entirety; and he advised us and bid us act this way; *et omnes qui in istis partibus aliam viam sequuti sunt moti zelo Dei, sed non secundum scientiam, erraverunt et perierunt (non sine scandalo) cum suis sequacibus* [cf. Rom. 10:21]" (DI III 240). He had already written in a similar fashion of Xavier's regulations of January 27, 1552 (*ibid.* II 363).

[Addition to n. 92, pp. 376-377: Miss Katharine Diehl has indicated two corrections to be made in this note: Reference is to be found to the *Umaras* in Yule under the heading *Omrah*. They cannot be described as a caste since the title (that of a high official at a Mohammedan court) was not hereditary.—Translator's note.]

CHAPTER III

THE LAST DAYS OF DOM JOAO DE CASTRO (MARCH—JUNE, 1548)

1. NEW CONFRERES IN GOA (MARCH 6-14, 1548)¹

At the end of February Xavier sailed from Manappād to Cochin,² where he promised his great friend Diogo Pereira that he would obtain from the governor the necessary warrants for his projected voyage to China, and that he would bring them to him personally on his return to the Fishery Coast.³

He landed in Goa on March 6.⁴ There he greeted the bishop and found in

¹ Xavier's visit to Goa is described by Pérez (DI I 368-369). According to him the saint sailed from there to Bassein before eight days had past. Anjirō wrote on November 29, 1548, that he had come to Goa at the beginning of March and had met Father Master Francis there four or five days later (*ibid.* 339). The priest brought with him from Cochin the letter of his friend Diogo Pereira in which he asked the governor for permission and the necessary warrants for his voyage to China. The permission was given in Bassein on March 19 (Q 3857). Xavier was thus already there by this time. At the end of March the ailing governor already wished to return to Goa, as is recorded by Simão Botelho, who was at the time with Castro in Bassein (Botelho, *Cartas* 4-5). On Easter Sunday, April 1, Castro already received a gift of the king of Honāvar in Goa (Q 3899). The day before this, March 31, he had also given João Velho permission for a voyage to Bengal (Q 3897, supplement). On April 2 Xavier, who sailed with the governor, wrote a letter to Diogo Pereira from Goa in which he informed him that he had assigned a priest and a brother for Malacca (EX I 436). But he did not make this appointment until after his return from Bassein (DI I 369-370). In the letter of Torres, erroneously dated January 25, 1549, the latter states that Xavier did not come to Goa from Cochin until March 20 (*ibid.* 477). This is repeated by Valignano (113) and Seb. Gonçalves (3, 18) and later authors. But his letter has survived only in a defective copy in which there is more to be corrected than a date. The date January 24, 1549, is to be changed to *November 25, 1548*, as the context clearly indicates (Q 4154, supplement). In the letter 1538 should be read instead of 1548, 1542 instead of 1541, *September 20* instead of August 20 (DI I 471, lines 31 and 46, p. 481, line 153). During the favorable season of the year (December to the beginning of February) the voyage from Goa to Bassein usually lasted twelve days, and later more, as Valignano notes in his *Summarium* (cf. Schütte I 1, 124-125). But at the end of July, 1546, in the midst of the monsoon, D. Alvaro de Castro sailed from Goa to Chaul in three days (Q 2323; cf. 2310-2311), and in November, 1559, Araujo similarly sailed from Bassein to Goa in three (DI IV 406). For Xavier's voyage from Goa to Bassein, which according to Pérez lasted only a few days despite the contrary winds that prevailed at that time of the year, and the return voyage which was also made in a brief time (DI I 369), we must reckon at least six or seven days: three or four going and three returning. We therefore assume that March 6 should be read in Torres' letter instead of March 20 and that Xavier was in Goa from March 6 to 14.

² DI I 368.

³ We conclude this from Xavier's letter of April 2, 1548, (EX I 435-438).

⁴ Xavier's biographers up into the twentieth century have adorned this voyage from the Fishery Coast to Goa with miraculous events. A series of anecdotes and legends, some of which had nothing to do with Xavier, and others of which belonged to a different period of his life, were associated with it. In 1546 Correa heard that Master Francis had baptized the king of Kandy and he reports how he visited the king from

the College of St. Paul, in addition to Misser Paulo, his former companion on his voyage to India, five new confreres, about whom he had already heard in Malacca, Cochín, and Manappād. These were the priests Lancilotto and Pérez and the brothers Oliveira, Castro, and Rodrigues. He also met the Japanese Anjirō with his two companions. At the beginning of March, four or five days before his own arrival, they had come there with Captain Jorge Alvares. He also met the brown pupils from the Moluccas, whom Gonçalo Fernandes had brought with him from Malacca for the college. After the death of Mestre Diogo, whose tomb the priest visited in the choir of the college church, the care of the college had been taken over by Cosme Anes alone.⁵

Misser Paulo⁶ was the same selfless, quiet,⁷ unassuming religious that he had been before, always content with inconspicuous tasks.⁸ He slept near the pupils in their dormitory above the refectory. He accompanied them on their

the Fishery Coast in 1547 and went with the king's ambassador to visit the governor in Goa. Since the latter was on the point of sailing for Bassein, he asked his visitors to wait for his return. After the ambassador had been baptized in St. Paul's College, the governor sent Francis with Moniz Barreto to help the king (IV 525 619-621). This confuses the saint with Frey Francesco de Monteprandone, O.F.M., who baptized the king of Kandy on March 9, 1546; with Frey Simão de Coimbra, O.F.M., who at the king's request visited the governor on September 10, 1546, when he was on the point of sailing to Diu; and with Frey João de Villa de Conde, O.F.M., who went with Moniz Barreto to Kandy at the beginning of 1547. It also confuses the ambassador of the king of Kandy with that of the king of Kōttē, who was baptized in St. Paul's College in 1552.—According to Lucena, Xavier sailed from the Fishery Coast in 1548 to Galle, where he healed Miguel Fernandes (but this did not happen until the beginning of 1552). From there he went to Kandy and came to Goa on March 20. He returned there from Bassein on April 2. On April 8 he sent Pérez to Malacca from Goa. He then sailed with one of the eight *fustas* which were being sent from Goa to D. Alvaro de Castro for his expedition to Aden in order to convert a Portuguese who had not received the sacraments for eighteen years and heard his confession at their first stopping place (according to Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado* 1, 1, 1, 36, in Careapatam, twenty-three leagues north of Goa) and then returned to the capital (5, 26; 6, 1 and 3). But the eight *fustas* which, according to Correa (IV 635-636), were sent in March, 1548, from Goa to Dom Alvaro sailed at the latest on February 25 (Q 3755 3778). Bouhours not only has Xavier convert the king of Kandy but he also has him visit the king of Jaffna from there. He has him go for this latter to the governor, who then sends Moniz to Jaffna. In 1697 Sousa wrote with reason that there was a great confusion among the authors with respect to this trip of Xavier (*Oriente Conquistado* 1, 1, 1, 48).

⁵ EX II 74. Pérez, who was present for Diogo's death, writes that he was buried in the college church (*Informação* 49). Seb. Gonçalves says that he was laid to rest in the choir of the church (3, 11).

⁶ According to his own declaration, Misser Paulo had no family name (DI I 437). He had been born in the city of Camerino (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 289). Three families claim him among their ancestors—the *Aresti* in the eighteenth century (ARSI: *Hist. Soc. Sc.*, f. 115v), the *Voglia* and the *Battibocca* (P. Savini, *Storia della città di Camerino* [Camerino, 1895²] 243); cf. Vincenzo Poggi, S.J., "Messer Paolo fa il gioco di squadra," *Missioni della Compagnia di Gesù* 48 (Aug.-Sept., 1962) 26-28; and Tacchi Venturi, *Storia* II 1, 338-347, who suggests that the priest had perhaps said out of humility that he had no family name. This is not likely since he would have been officially asked about it by his superiors from Rome on. He died with a reputation for sanctity after a year and a half of sickness in St. Paul's College on January 21, 1560. His necrology is given by Seb. Gonçalves 8, 11; Valignano 417-418; DI IV 729; judgments on him are found in DI II 407-409, III 347-348, IV 505. On his sources, see the indices of *Zeitgenössischen Quellen* and of *Documenta Indica* I-IV. He was a "vir simplex et rectus in quo dolus non erat," without pomp, humble and patient, filled with great compassion for the needs of the poor, as Valignano wrote of him (417-419).

⁷ "A man of few words and many deeds" (DI II 153).

⁸ DI IV 505; Valignano 418.

walks.⁹ He taught them their catechism and heard their confessions¹⁰ and those of the externs.¹¹ With self-sacrificing love he nursed the poor natives¹² who were sick in the hospital which Cosme Anes had built, despite all the opposition he had encountered, across from the college.¹³ Xavier had earlier warned him earnestly by word of mouth, and in writing from Malacca and Amboina, that he should obey the *mordomos* who were in charge of the administration of the college in every way, and especially Master Diogo.¹⁴ The latter was now dead, and Simon Rodrigues had appointed Lancilotto the rector of the college in 1546,¹⁵ so that this burden had been removed from the shoulders of Misser Paulo. Even though he had been unable to gain much mastery of Portuguese,¹⁶ he was still ever zealously engaged in apostolic labors. He allowed himself no moment of rest, and most of the time came very late for his meals.¹⁷ When the bell in the morning sounded the signal for the confreres to rise, he had already finished his spiritual exercises.¹⁸

Nicolò Lancilotto,¹⁹ the rector of St. Paul's College and superior of the mission during Xavier's absence in the Far East, was an Italian like Misser Paulo and, like him, was personally acquainted with Ignatius. He was the teacher of grammar whom Master Francis had requested for the college in 1542.²⁰ He had been born in Urbino, the old ducal city of the Marches. He had entered the Society in Rome in 1541 and had pronounced his simple vows on February 22, 1542.²¹ He had already studied the humanities for some time when Ignatius sent him to Portugal with Criminali on April 28 with three other students of

⁹ DI I 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 61 134, II 507; EX I 169 277.

¹¹ DI I 155, II 509.

¹² DI I 569, II 490 507-508, III 348, IV 747 505; Valignano 148.

¹³ DI I 420-421.

¹⁴ EX I 309 342-343.

¹⁵ DI I 184; cf. 19 53 61 139.

¹⁶ Seb. Gonçalves 8, 11.

¹⁷ DI I 155.

¹⁸ Seb. Gonçalves 8, 11.

¹⁹ On Lancilotto (the way in which he himself wrote his name), see the *sources* in the indices of *Zeitgenössischen Quellen* and *Documenta Indica* I-IV. Twenty-four of his letters have been preserved and edited. *Accounts*: F. Hilt, *Compagnons d'Apostolat de Saint François Xavier* (Ho-kien-fou, 1917) 143-176; Polanco treats him at length in the six volumes of his *Chronicon*; cf. its index, where at the end however the reference is with respect to his brother and not to him. At the end of 1548 Xavier sent him to the more salubrious Quilon because of his ailing lungs in order to found a house there and a college for native boys. In 1549 he also handed over to him the direction of the missions in Travancore, on the Fishery Coast, and in São Thomé. In Quilon he preached with the help of an interpreter (from 1550 to 1555 this was the young Brahman convert Pero Luis; cf. DI II, 381, IV 394). Despite his constant sickness he worked here with great fruit and was revered by all, both Portuguese and native Christians, as *Padre santo* (*ibid.* I 586), though he described himself as a "useless, fruitless tree," which occupied its site in vain (*ibid.* III 607). He died there in the presence of Father Francisco Pérez on Holy Thursday, April 7, 1558, with the great patience and resignation which he had shown throughout his life and was mourned by the entire village (*ibid.* IV 179 180; Pérez, *Informação* 61-62; Valignano 334). His necrology was written by Valignano 333-334 and Sousa, *Oriente Conquistado* 1, 2, 2, 16-17. His signature is given in Q, pl. VI, n. 2.

²⁰ EX I 135-136.

²¹ ARSI: *Ital.* 58, 277. "Italiano de Urbino, segundo elle me disse, se bem me alembro, porque foy companheiro meu no collegio de Cuymbra de cubiculo" (Pérez, *Informação* 53).

the order to continue their studies in Coimbra.²² They had traveled on foot, living on alms, dressed in the usual pilgrim garb with its short leathern mantle and pilgrim staff.²³ They had been accompanied by Ribadeneyra and Esteban Díaz, who were assigned to Paris, as far as Avignon. The route had been by way of Viterbo, Parma, Sissa, and Avignon²⁴ to Barcelona, where Isabel Roser, Inigo's former benefactress, received them with maternal affection. They consequently did not need the alms offered them by the vicereine. From Barcelona they visited Montserrat,²⁵ and they arrived in Coimbra on July 29.²⁶ In the following year, because of his earlier studies, Lancilotto could pass from the course in humanities to that of dialectics.²⁷ He was already a priest²⁸ when, at the beginning of 1545,²⁹ he took his departure from Simon Rodrigues in Evora; and on March 29 he sailed from Lisbon for India with Criminali and Beira.³⁰

Rodrigues had sent Lancilotto to Goa as a teacher of the humanities.³¹ Because of his poor health, however, he was unequal to this task. He had already been troubled by his weak lungs in Coimbra. In Goa, after his favorable voyage to India, he had at first felt better, despite the extraordinary heat.³² He had therefore taken over the class of humanities with its twenty pupils when Lopo Diez de Viena, who had taken care of the Latin students during the past nine months, became too busy as chaplain of the Misericordia to be able to continue with his teaching.³³ Books were still in demand—there were only forty-five old, used texts of Virgil, and an equal number of copies of the comedies of Terence.³⁴ Nevertheless, Lancilotto had expounded the *Andria* and the greater part of the *Eunuchus* of Terence, all the *Eclogues* of Virgil, some of Ovid's tales and two of his letters, and Cato to his pupils; and during Lent he had taught St. Jerome's letter to Heliodorus, and on all Saturdays of the year the *Copia verborum* of Erasmus.³⁵ But in July, 1546, he was seized with a fever and began to spit a large amount of blood. His physicians, as a consequence, prescribed a complete rest for him; and because of the suspicion of consumption, they also advised that he should give up reciting his breviary.³⁶

Lancilotto had somewhat recovered from his illness when, in the fall of this same year, nine new confreres came from Portugal with a letter of Simon Rodrigues in which he ordered him to take over the direction of the house as its rector and, in Xavier's absence, to act as superior of his confreres in India. Although he was still spitting a great deal of blood and daily, even hourly, had to reckon with death, he now saw himself burdened with these new responsi-

²² MI *Epp.* I 206-207.

²³ Schurhammer, *Criminali* 246 (GS II 300).

²⁴ *Ibid.* 244-245 253-254 (GS II 298-299 305-306); Ribadeneira, *Confessiones* 16-18 (MHSI: Ribadeneira I).

²⁵ *Ep. Mixtae* I 93-94.

²⁶ ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 50; *Ep. Mixtae* I 142.

²⁸ *Ep. Mixtae* I 163.

²⁹ In Evora he spoke with Miguel Gomes, who entered the Society in 1546 (**Responsa Nadal* IV 155-156v).

³⁰ On the voyage to India, see DI I 6-7 11-12 27-28 39 58; *Ep. Mixtae* I 265.

³¹ DI I 19-20.

³² *Ibid.* 47.

³³ *Ibid.* 20 28-29 40-42 53.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 35-36.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 135-136. The work of Erasmus bore the title *De duplici rerum et verborum copia*.

³⁶ DI I 137.

bilities,³⁷ which were all the more oppressive since he had no one, especially after the death of Master Diogo, whom he could consult in his many doubts and scruples. Like Criminali, he did not agree with many of the things which he encountered in India—the lax practice of baptizing without instruction, the presence of pagans, Turks, and Moors at Mass, the ease with which the priests excused themselves from daily transgressions of the bull *Coena Domini*, the desires of Cosme Anes with respect to the participation of the pupils and priests in processions and with regard to burials in the college church, and so forth. In addition to these he had doubts about his faculties for preaching and hearing confessions, questions with respect to the adaptation of European institutions to such different conditions that existed in India, for example, the establishment of colleges, with respect to which Ignatius had sent some regulations, and similar problems.³⁸

Lancilotto was a keen, sober, and practical observer, and extremely conscientious. He had no illusions about the moral climate of India; and, as a consequence of his chronic illness, he was inclined, as he himself knew, to a melancholy, pessimistic point of view.³⁹ With the exception of Mestre Diogo, he had no high regard for the Portuguese clergy. He was of the opinion that they were ignorant and sought only to enrich themselves.⁴⁰ Mansilhas was so little versed in Latin that he could not read the breviary, which as a priest he was obliged to do; and there was no hope that he would ever advance so far as to be able to celebrate Mass. Lancilotto had asked the bishop how he could have ordained such a man, and had received as his answer: "There are none with more education. What is to be done?"⁴¹ From Lancilotto's point of view, the natives were depraved and almost like dumb animals. They became Christians only out of temporal interests, and many with a bad intent: the slaves of Moors and pagans in order to be set free; others to obtain help against their tyrants; others to receive a cap, a shirt, or some trinket that would be given to them; others so as not to be hanged; others because they had had sexual relations with Christian women. He was further of the opinion that it was a miracle if one became a Christian from a virtuous motive. When anyone said that he wanted to become a Christian, he was baptized at once, when and where he happened to be, without any instruction. He was then left to go, and many of those who had been thus baptized returned to their earlier paganism or Mohammedanism. They had very little understanding of spiritual things, but all the more of those of the flesh. And India was so large that even a hundred thousand priests would not be enough to instruct them all in the faith.⁴²

He had asked Ignatius in vain to send to the confreres in India a good, learned, professed father to whom they could turn in all their doubts and difficulties, a priest with full authority and comprehensive faculties, even for the cases indicated in the bull *Coena Domini* and for the vows of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Rome, and Compostela, for Master Francis could be of as little help to them from where he was as if he were in Rome;⁴³ and he was so far away

³⁷ *Ibid.* 139.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 140-143; see also 31-32.

³⁹ Cf. DI III 231-233, where he speaks of his "umor malencolico."

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* I 30-31.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 138.

⁴² *Ibid.* 182-183; cf. 125.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 140-141.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 184.

that Lancilotto no longer had any hope of ever seeing him return again to Goa.⁴⁴

The zealous priest was distressed by the fact that so many thousands and thousands of pagans had been for so many centuries without the light of truth. He would gladly have given up his life for their salvation, yet he could do nothing for them.⁴⁵ He was also pained by the fact that Ignatius, who had received him into the Society and had borne him in Christ, and to whom he clung with all the fibers of his heart,⁴⁶ had still not sent an answer to all his letters. He consequently did not know if these had been received by him. For despite all his defects and uselessness, he was a son of the Society of Jesus; and he hoped to die in this holy Society.⁴⁷ On October 10, 1547, he had written to Ignatius:

I am so weak that my body cannot do what my spirit wishes. A vein in my breast has broken, and on this account I frequently lose a great quantity of blood. I am unable to study or to teach others, nor can I assume the labors which my office requires; and it seems to me that I was only born so as always to be a burden to others. Praised be the Lord, the exalted Creator of all things, since this is to His service and pleasure.⁴⁸

It was thus providential that there was one among the nine confreres sent in 1546 who could take the burden of teaching from Lancilotto. This was Father Francisco Pérez, whom Xavier also encountered in St. Paul's college. Francisco Pérez⁴⁹ was a Castilian. He had been born about the year 1515⁵⁰ in Villanueva

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 145.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 140, II 12 383-384.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* I 181.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 186.

⁴⁹ On Francisco Pérez, see the *sources* in the indices of *Zeitgenössischen Quellen* and *Documenta Indica* I-XI and his *Informação*. In his letter of December 13, 1548, from Malacca, he gives a retrospect of his life (DI I 352-380). *Accounts*: Wicki in his introduction to the *Informação* in AHSI 34 (1965) 36-46; Francisco Mateos, S.J., in *Missionalia Hispanica* 9 (1952) 324-346; Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 395-406. Pérez worked in an exemplary manner in Malacca from 1548 to 1552, where he experienced the siege of 1551, which he described in detail (DI II 204-220). Because of the persecution of D. Alvaro de Ataíde, he was sent by Xavier to Cochín, where he was superior from 1553 to 1558. In 1557 he established peace among the Paravas on the Fishery Coast (DI III 755-756, IV 41-47). After Lancilotto's death he was superior in Quilon from 1558 to 1561. He made his profession in Cochín on January 6, 1560 (ARSI: *Lus.* I, 68; cf. DI IV 498). He was in Goa from 1561 to 1563 as rector, preacher, and moral professor. In 1564 and 1565 he was living in Macao, where he founded a house and vainly sought to find an entrance into China with the ambassador Gil de Goes and the admiral Diogo Pereira. Returning from there, he was again superior in Cochín in 1566 and 1567, and in Quilon from 1567 to 1570. He was then for three years, from 1571 to 1573, in São Thomé, where he was plundered by robbers as he was visiting a mission station. From 1574 to 1576 he was again rector in Cochín and in 1576 in Manār. He then retired to São Thomé, where he wrote his *Informação acerca do principio da Companhia da India* in December, 1579, "in the house of the Mother of God" on the Small Mount, the site of the martyrdom of the apostle Thomas, which had been given this same month to the Society of Jesus with all its buildings (ARSI: *Goa* 13, 35-36). At the end of 1582, as he was on his way from São Thomé to Madura and the Fishery Coast, he contracted a severe cold and died in Negapatam after an illness of three months on the vigil of Ash Wednesday, February 12 according to the old Julian, but February 22 according to the new Gregorian, calendar, revered by both Christians and pagans as a saint. He was buried in the choir of the church of the Misericórdia, and in 1602 his remains were transferred to the newly erected Jesuit church in Negapatam. His necrology, which was written one day after his death by the Franciscan guardian Frey Antonio da Conceição (ARSI: *Goa* 32, 456-457) was published with omissions and alterations by Sousa (*Oriente Conquistado* 2, 2, 2, 8) and Franco (*Imagem de Coimbra* II 405-406). It is supplemented by the annual Malabar letter of Hieronymus Rebello of January 24, 1548 (ARSI: *Goa* 47,

de Barcarrota in the province of Badajoz, not far from the Portuguese frontier. He had studied some theology⁵¹ and was already a priest when he entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra on January 25, 1544, where he was Lancilotto's roommate.⁵² At the beginning of 1546, he was sent with Manuel de Morais on a pilgrimage. In Las Olalhas near Tomar this latter asked him to preach after the Sunday Mass, even though Pérez had only his breviary and the New Testament with which to prepare his sermon. His success was, however, so great that the people sent them provisions for their noonday meal: soup with pieces of chicken, doves, bread, and a jug of wine; and they asked them to remain with them for the Lenten sermons. As they continued their pilgrimage, they reached Pérez' native village, where the priest with whom he had previously lived first dismissed them with two *maravedis* and was going to send them to the hospital for their lodgings when Pérez identified himself. When Morais was giving a spiritual conference to some nuns with his usual zeal, one of the latter said to her superior: "Mother, how learned he is! And we say that Portuguese are dumb!" At this Pérez replied: "And he is the dumbest one there is!" a witty retort that surprised his hearers even more.⁵³

Pérez had sailed in this same year of 1546 to India with Francisco Henriques and Adam Francisco. During the voyage he had suffered much because of his poor health. For forty-five days, from Lisbon to the Cape of Good Hope, he had been kindly cared for by his two confreres. Beyond the cape, however, the rolling ceased. The other two fell ill with high fevers and arrived sick in Goa, whereas their nurse, Pérez, enjoyed good health.⁵⁴ He came to Goa like a gift from heaven for the ailing Lancilotto, who immediately handed over the humanities class to him. Since Pérez, in addition to his teaching, preached at times and offered Mass for the sick in São Lazaro, and was also occupied with hearing confessions and other spiritual labors which the rector assigned to him, he had an abundance of work to do. Thus, when all of the other arrivals were sent at Xavier's command to the Fishery Coast, he had been detained in Goa as being essential there.⁵⁵

Pérez informed Xavier that a distinguished Franciscan priest had told him that Father Master Francis traveled around too much, an opinion which was also shared, incidentally, by Lancilotto⁵⁶ and Cosme Anes;⁵⁷ and it seemed to him that it was not necessary for him to go everywhere. Xavier replied that he believed that his voyages were quite necessary, and he added: "If I had not traveled to those lands, I would not know their needs; and how could I take care of them and, from practical experience, be able to tell the priests how they

298v). On his cult, see *Oriente Conquistado* 2, 2, 2, 9-10. His signature is given in Q, pl. VI, n. 8.

⁵⁰ In the formula of his profession of January 6, 1560, he declared that he was forty-five years old. The necrology of the annual letter states that he had died in 1583 at the age of seventy. The catalog of 1553 gives his age as forty, that of 1572 as fifty-seven, and that of 1575 as sixty.

⁵¹ "De mediocre letre" Lancilotto wrote in 1548 (DI I 441), "principiado em theologia" according to Barzaeus (*ibid.* II 585).

⁵² ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 1v; Pérez, *Informação* 53.

⁵³ DI I 358-360.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 149-151 361-363.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 145 188 357 457; Pérez, *Informação* 55.

⁵⁶ DI I 34-35 48 141.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 215.

should conduct themselves, since experience is one of the principal parts of prudence?"⁵⁸

Francis further told him that he did this in order to relieve the conscience of the king, who had the duty of having the law of God preached in those regions by suitable persons. And he had been moved to care for these regions by the dire necessity which he had seen they were in.

Pérez, a gracious,⁵⁹ humble,⁶⁰ pious, and zealous priest,⁶¹ who had a great devotion for the wounds of Christ,⁶² and who was loved by all and indefatigable in his labors despite his weak stomach, was the man whom Xavier was seeking for Malacca. He had promised his friends there at the time of his departure that he would be sure to send them a priest and a brother for preaching and teaching in the school.⁶³

Xavier also found a brother in St. Paul's College for the school in Malacca—Roque de Oliveira.⁶⁴ He was a young man of about twenty-five, who had been born in Aveiro in the diocese of Coimbra. For more than three years he had been teaching reading and writing to the young pupils of the college for an eternal reward. He was not capable of doing much more since he had not learned Latin, and Lancilotto was even doubtful if he could learn it. But he was a pious youth of good character and would have gladly studied to become a priest and consecrate himself entirely to the service of God. Lancilotto had given him the Exercises and had taken him provisionally into the Society. He had promised him that everything would be done for him that could be for the honor of God and the salvation of his soul.⁶⁵ When Xavier arrived in Goa he ratified his acceptance.⁶⁶

Xavier also met two other candidates for the order in the college. They had come from Portugal on their own account in order to be received by him into the Society. These were Affonso de Castro, whom he had already known in Lisbon, and Gaspar Rodrigues.

Affonso de Castro,⁶⁷ of an ordinary appearance,⁶⁸ was the son of a wealthy

⁵⁸ The Franciscan was of the opinion "que o Padre M. Francisco era muyto andejo" (Pérez, *Informação* 77-78).

⁵⁹ EX I 132.

⁶⁰ DI I 355-357 374. Still under the influence of the *fervores de Coimbra*, he signed his long letter from Malacca of September 4, 1548: "Francisco Perez asno, indignus vocari filius" (*ibid.* 380). His obituary in the annual Malabar letter notes that Xavier had said that "he envied nothing more than the humility of this priest" (ARSI: Goa 47, 298v).

⁶¹ DI I 365 375-376; EX II 131-133.

⁶² Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 2, 2, 2, 9.

⁶³ EX I 389-390.

⁶⁴ On Oliveira, see Q and DI I-II (indices). He helped Pérez as a schoolteacher in Malacca from 1548 to 1550 and was then sent by Xavier to Goa in order to be ordained so that he could return to Malacca in April, 1551 (EX I 133-134). But the order was apparently rescinded since Oliveira studied in Goa in 1551-1552. At the end of 1552 we encounter him in Quilon, where he taught the elementary classes and Latin (DI II 380 451 583 611 620). In 1553 he left the order. In 1557, as an official in Malacca, he testified with the scribe Diogo Fernandes to the authenticity of the copy of Xavier's process (MX II 429). In 1563, as city scribe, he wrote the letter of the citizens of Malacca to the queen in his beautiful, ornate hand (TdT: CC 1-106-64).

⁶⁵ DI I 20 29 42 188 258 369 441. He was "bom esrivão e leitor" (Pérez, *Informação* 58).

⁶⁶ DI I 319.

⁶⁷ On Affonso de Castro, see the sources in Q, DI I-V, and Sá II (indices). *Accounts*: Valignano 365-366; Seb. Gonçalves 8, 5; Bartoli 6, 12-16. He labored with great zeal in the Moluccas, mainly in Ternate, from 1550 to 1557. At the end of 1557, as he was

goldsmith in the parish of São Gião in Lisbon. From his childhood his parents had taken care that he receive a good Christian education,⁶⁹ and he had worked in his father's shop. When Xavier and Rodrigues came to Lisbon in 1540, he had gone to confession to them, and at their suggestion he had begun to receive Communion every eight days.⁷⁰ After Xavier's departure he had entered the Capuchos and had worn the habit of St. Francis for some months. He had then been forced to leave since he was a New Christian and the constitutions of the order forbade the reception of such.⁷¹ He had returned to his father's business, but was now so dead to the world that when anyone gave him the back of his hand, he, in keeping with the words of Christ, offered him his other cheek.⁷² When Father Francisco Vieira, who had entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra in 1544, was transferred three years later to the residence of Santo Antão in Lisbon,⁷³ Castro had chosen him for his spiritual director and had revealed to him desire of joining the Society of Jesus. Since his relatives refused to give him permission to do so, Vieira had advised him to sail to Father Francis in India and to ask him to be received into the order there.

Castro and a companion of his youth, Gaspar Rodrigues, had then decided to undertake the voyage together as stowaways under the foredeck of one of the ships, without informing his parents, when the India fleet was being equipped for sailing from Belém at the end of March, 1547. His disappearance had, however, been noted; and his brother, a doctor, and other relatives had come and found him in his hiding place; and they had asked the captain to hand him over to them. Castro had strenuously refused to leave the ship and had told the captain that he did not recognize the doctor as his brother since he was trying to stop him from serving God. When his relatives saw his constancy, they had

returning from Moro, he was captured by the Moors and died as a martyr on the island of Hiri near Ternate after he had been repeatedly maltreated and bound to a kind of St. Andrew's cross and beheaded for refusing to apostatize from the faith. The superior of Ternate, Francisco Vieira, gives a detailed account of his martyrdom in his letter of March 9, 1559, to his confreres in Portugal (Sá II 316-322), and briefer accounts in his letters of February 18, 1558, to the general of the order (*Nuovi Avvisi* 1562, 27v-33v: on his youth, voyage to India, and capture), and of February 13, 1558, to the provincial B. Dias (Sá II 307). See also Frois in 1560 (DI IV 287) and 1561 (*ibid.* V 352-353), and B. Dias, from oral reports, on December 3, 1559 (*Nuovi Avvisi* 1562, 34v-35). He died at the end of December, 1557, since Fernão do Souto on Batjan had already received the news of his death on January 1, 1558 (Sá II 294-295), twenty days after his capture (DI V 353).

⁶⁸ Bartoli 6, 12.

⁶⁹ *Nuovi Avvisi* 1567, 29v. He knew "only a little Latin" (DI II 146).

⁷⁰ On his relations with Xavier and Rodrigues, see Vol. I, p. 615.

⁷¹ DI I 438-439; II 146.

⁷² Cardoso, *Agiologio* I 8, according to the oral information given by an eyewitness, his neighbor, who was over ninety-five.

⁷³ Francisco Vieira, from Arruda (Lisbon), entered the Society in Coimbra on January 15, 1544 (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 1). From here, during the Lent of 1546, he helped hear confessions in São Fins, the newly acquired villa of the College of Coimbra (*Ep. Mixtae* I 268). In the catalog of Coimbra, which contains the names of the confreres who entered there up to April 17, 1547, he is still listed as a student of theology (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 539). He was however according to his own declaration already in Lisbon when the India ships sailed from there on April 23 and 28, 1547. The *Quadrimestres* of 1553 state that he was "per multos annos" superior in S. Antão in Lisbon, and that he worked with great success particularly among the craftsmen and nobles (II 220-221). In 1554 he sailed to India. In October, 1557, he came to the Moluccas and remained there in Ternate until his death in 1561. He was thus not the spiritual director of our martyr in Portugal for eight years, as Bartoli writes (6, 16).

finally agreed to his departure. Castro had wished to make the voyage as a poor man of Christ, as Xavier had done some years before. He had therefore left the provisions that had been given him for the voyage on the beach. When Vieira had them brought on deck, the two friends divided them all up among the poor sailors and lived on alms during their voyage to India.⁷⁴

Since they had no cabin, the two at first established themselves among the chests and casks of the hold. They slept there until an artilleryman took compassion upon them and offered them a trunk on which they sat during the day when they made their spiritual reading or meditation and slept at night. While some were edified by the piety of the two young passengers, others made fun of them; but they bore this with patience. One day, as Castro was sitting on the ship's rail, a sailor who was descending from the rigging used his back as a step, to the amusement of his comrades. Castro took this calmly and refused to become disturbed. The two friends used all the time that was left from their spiritual exercises in serving and tending the sick, gaining thus the general respect of their fellow voyagers.⁷⁵ And yet Castro was so sensitive to every draft that he slept in his clothes so as not to catch a cold.⁷⁶

In Goa, where the ship docked at the end of September, the two young men were kindly received in the College of St. Paul. Lancilotto was full of praise for their piety and virtue. He gave them the Exercises and let them take their religious vows, but only conditionally, for Rodrigues had the same impediment as his friend for his reception—he was a New Christian and had worn for some time the habit of St. Dominic.⁷⁷ There was no lack of work for them to do. While one of them took care of the college door and taught Christian doctrine, the other taught the *Cartilha* and the Psalter.⁷⁸ Edified by the constancy with which the two candidates had followed their vocation with such great sacrifices, Xavier ratified their acceptance into the Society.⁷⁹

In addition to Castro, Xavier found to his surprise another old acquaintance in St. Paul's College, a Spanish countryman who was making the Exercises, Cosme de Torres.⁸⁰ He had come to know and esteem him in Amboina in 1546, and he had imagined that he was already on his way to Portugal.

⁷⁴ According to Vieira. He also mentions his companion without giving his name (*Nuovi Avisi* 1562, 29v-30). The name is given by Pérez (DI I 369) and Gago (*ibid.* 560).

⁷⁵ Bartoli 6, 16.

⁷⁶ *Nuovi Avisi* 1562, 31; Sá II 318.

⁷⁷ DI I 258 438-439; II 146. In 1548 Gaspar Rodrigues was at first destined by Xavier for Socotra (EX II 9), but instead of this he was sent with Cipriano in March, 1549, to São Thomé (DI I 560), where he remained until 1551. Deathly ill, he was brought back to Goa, where he piously died at the end of the Mass which a priest celebrated in his sickroom on Easter morning, March 29, 1551 (*ibid.* II 288 452-453).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* I 258.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 369. With respect to the impediment of their reception, see the consoling reply which Ignatius sent in 1549 for him and Castro (*ibid.* 512).

⁸⁰ On Cosme de Torres, see above, pp. 115 125 140, and Q, EX DI I (indices). In addition to the accounts in Frois, *Geschichte Japans*, and Schurhammer, *Disputationen*, see Mateos in *Missionalia Hispanica* 9 (1952) 347-364. Torres gives an account of his experiences from his departure from Amboina to the time of Xavier's arrival in Goa in his two letters, one of November 25, 1548, to Ignatius and his confreres in Europe (DI I 475-481; on its date, see Q 4154, pp. 500-501), and the other of September 29, 1551, to his confreres in Valencia (Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 90-91). His account is complemented by that of Escalante Alvarado of August 1, 1548 (Q 3973; CAO 5, 198-205), and that of Frey Jerónimo de Santisteban, O.E.S.A., of January 22, 1547, written six days after his arrival in Cochín (Q 2760; CAO 14, 162-165; see also his letter to John III in SR III 450-452).

Xavier had taken leave of Torres on the beach of Amboina on May 17, 1546, when the latter was sailing for India with the fleet of Fernão de Sousa de Távora. In the middle of July the ships with 117 Spaniards, the survivors of the expedition of Ruy López de Villalobos,⁸¹ had reached Malacca, where they had waited for five months to continue their voyage, and where they had been obliged to sell their remaining weapons since Távora could only pay five ducats to each of them.⁸² When Escalante Alvarado with his countrymen and Frey Jerónimo de Santisteban reach Cochin in January, 1547, they found the Portuguese vessels still there in the harbor; but the governor, who had to decide upon the transport of the Spaniards to their homeland, was far away in Diu. Torres, who was sailing with Távora, the admiral of the fleet, had been driven by the winds with him to the Maldiv Islands and had not reached Cochin until after the departure of the pepper ships. Villalobos' men were thus compelled to wait another year for their return—until the departure of the next fleet for Portugal.⁸³

Torres had been detained for more than six months with his countrymen in Cochin. But as soon as the rainy season had passed, he executed the plan he had made in Amboina, namely, to place himself at the disposition of the bishop of Goa.⁸⁴ Frey Juan de Albuquerque received his visitor with great warmth and did his best to win such an excellent assistant for his diocese. Torres was not only a pious priest, he was also a good Latinist, had studied canon law, and was well grounded in moral theology. The bishop made his Spanish countryman numerous offers and within two days provided him with a parish, which Torres tended for four or five months. Nevertheless he did not find in it the peace which he was seeking. One image had been stamped upon his soul which he could not forget—that of Father Francis. Torres felt that he was called to something higher. He had therefore visited St. Paul's College on numerous occasions and had obtained from Father Lancilotto, the rector, detailed information upon the manner of life of the priests of the Society of Jesus. He was pleased with what he heard, and since he was a man of prayer and abnegation, it seemed to him that he would only find in the Society peace which he had sought for so many years. Here he could serve the infinite goodness of God, for whose service and love he had been created. A few days later he decided to make a long retreat, the Spiritual Exercises of thirty days, under Lancilotto's direction. After two or three days his heart was filled with a peace and joy that he had never before experienced. He had often read the words of Sacred Scripture, but they had never made such an impression on him as now. Surprised at this, he asked his retreat master the reason for it. Lancilotto replied that he should commend himself to God and thank Him for this great grace. From then on Torres was determined to serve until his death in the Society of Jesus. But at the end of his Exercises new, grave temptations and a strong repugnance threatened to shatter his resolve.

At this critical moment Father Master Francis, contrary to all expectations, arrived. His appearance and counsel banished the darkness from Torres' troubled

⁸¹ Frey Jerónimo 162.

⁸² Escalante 198-199.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 199-200; Frey Jerónimo 162; cf. Q 2517 2577 2695 2730 2766. On February 9, 1547, Távora was still on the Maldives (Q 2812; DI I 476). On April 19, 1547, he was in Chaul on his return voyage from Diu (Q 3026).

⁸⁴ DI I 475 476; Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 90.

soul and filled him with heavenly consolation,⁸⁵ and he was received by his former confessor as a beloved confrere into the Society of Jesus.⁸⁶

Master Francis could only remain for a week in St. Paul's College since he was being compelled by urgent matters to consult the governor, who was in Bassein at the time because of the Cambayan war. His brief visit had, however, been a source of great joy to all, and his presence had been much required, as Pérez wrote nine months later.⁸⁷ Xavier's arrival also brought great consolation to the Japanese Anjirō, who had been much edified by his earlier encounter with the priest. And since then, because of his love for him, he had desired to serve him and never be separated from him.⁸⁸

In addition to the other matters that required a visit to the governor, there was now in Goa a new reason for seeing him. The foolish actions of individuals such as Francisco Henriques, who had come to Goa at a most inopportune time to accuse the governor, had prejudiced the latter against both the priests and the college, as Xavier learned. In the previous November, Cosme Anes had written to the king that he should by all means, if possible, send a priest of the Society of Jesus with authority and learning to direct the college in Goa. He should be one to whom the college and the priests coming from Portugal would be subject, and who would deal personally with the governor in important matters with respect to the evangelization of India. The priests of the Society of Jesus who had hitherto come, with the exception Father Master Francis, were not suited for this; and he added the following:

They have made some foolish mistakes and caused resentment by what they have done and by the demands which they have made upon the governor and upon some of the captains and officials of Your Highness; not so much that these were unjust, but because they were not opportune at the time, since their lives are without defect; and all is good zeal and virtue. But the fervor and naiveté with which they come, and the fact that they have no superior with the needed capacity, makes them meddle in affairs with whatever information they have, and this causes them to be ill received. They have need of warnings and advice, not with respect to the natives, but with regard to the Portuguese, who can be an obstacle to every good work, and who put many things into their heads which can only be achieved in the course of time, but which they would like to have done at once. And with this in mind, they persuade the priests to go to the governor and to the captains and to come from Cape Comorin to Goa. For this and other reasons, they have great need of a superior who has the qualifications required in these regions.⁸⁹

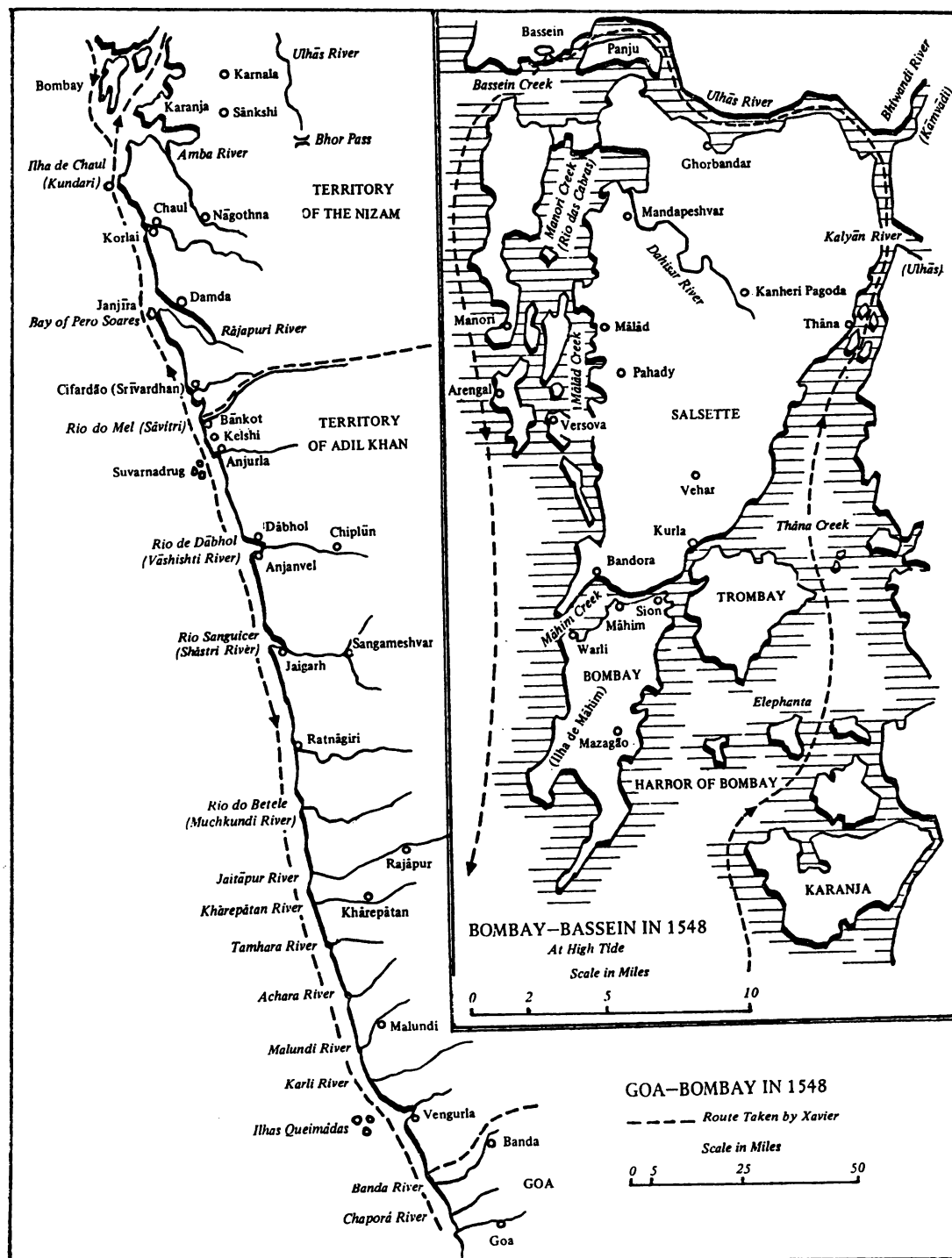
⁸⁵ In his letter of November 25, 1548 (Q 4154), Torres writes of the strong impression which the Exercises made upon him and he adds: "O que pasei nelle [no breve tempo dos Exercícios], seria nunca acabar: ainda que na fim, acabando os Exercícios, tive grandes tentações indecíveis, as quaes me remedeou o Padre Mestre Francisco com sua boa vinda, que parece que o Senhor Deus pera mim o trouxe; e a sua chegada foy a esta cidade a 20 de Março de 1548" (DI I 476-477; cf. 368-369).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 477; Valignano 113.

⁸⁷ "Recebimos muita consolación con la vista y venida tam deseada de todos y muy necessaria por cierto. Y aún no avia estado con nosotros ocho días quando se partiô para Baçaim" (DI I 369).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 339.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 216-217. In 1579 Pérez wrote of Xavier's visit in Goa: "Tornou a Goa em Março, anno de 1548, o derradeiro anno de Dom João de Castro. Ainda vevia Dom João d'Albuquerque e estava o P. Nicolao Lancilotto reitor no collegio [the copyist here obviously skipped the text to the next *collegio*. We complete it as follows: 'Os Padres de Goa tinham a impressão que o Governador não estava bem com o collegio,'] não sei porque, e o Padre, vindo e conhecendo ist, se foi pera o Governador que estava



2. THE VOYAGE TO BASSEIN (MIDDLE OF MARCH, 1548)¹

Bassein was a distance of seventy Portuguese leagues from Goa. The first forty-seven leagues were sailed along the coast of Adil Khān. This provided a monotonous view of low hills, which at times fell steeply into the sea, or a sandy beach with coconut palms, and behind, in the distance, the high, pale blue wall of the Ghāts, which separated the coastal region of Konkan from the highland of the Deccan. The fertile area along the coast was from thirty to forty miles in width and crossed by numerous rivers. The largest of these were navigable far into the interior, and galleys could pass their bars at flood tide.

The Chaporá River, two miles from Goa, formed the boundary between the province of Bardez and the territory of Adil Khān. Five leagues farther on was the Banda River. The boat then sailed between the multireefed, barren Ilhas Queimadas, or "Burnt Islands,"² which Xavier had encountered on his voyage to India in 1542, and the mainland. They then passed the Kārli, Malundi,³ and Achra⁴ rivers. There then appeared a beautiful, semicircular bay, bounded on the south by a steep, rocky cape, where there was the mouth of the Tamhara.⁵ Three leagues farther on, the voyagers reached the mouth of the Khārēpātā, the fairest river on this coast. It had an abundance of fish, game, wood, and drinking water, and was without a bar. Even large *naus* could sail into it, and it was navigable for six leagues upstream to the once famous merchant city of the same name, inhabited, like most of the larger villages of this coast, by Hindus and Moors. The picturesque bay, guarded by an old Hindu fort, afforded an excellent harbor.⁶

One league farther on the ship came to the mouth of the winding Jaitāpur River, the best and most beautiful inlet on this coast. Even the largest ships

em Baçaym, e com sua boa graça e conver[sal]ção e sanctidade e doutrina foy tão accepto ao Governador que era espanto, e ficou tudo em paz e quietação" (*Informação* 58). Valignano, who probably had the complete text, as also Seb. Gonçalves, since both, for example, take from it the passage noted above on the remark of the Franciscan, writes that the governor had at first been hostile to the priests for some time because of the adverse information he had received about them, but that he had become a very great friend of both Xavier and of the Society after his arrival (114). According to Seb. Gonçalves, Miguel Vaz's return with the royal edicts, which were frequently received with displeasure by the officials in India, and which betrayed Xavier's interventions, had contributed to the governor's hostility "pello que o Governador não estava muito savoroso da Companhia" (3, 18).

¹ For the following section we have used in particular the *Roteiro desde Goa, até Dio 1538-1539* (Porto, 1843), in which D. João de Castro describes the coast in detail with its rivers and villages, and records them on an accompanying atlas. To fill this out, we have used the *Segelhandbuch für die Westküste von Hindustan* (Reichs-Marine-Amt: Berlin, 1907); and, for the description of a number of villages, Jas. Burgess, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1897). In addition to these are the *Gazetteer of India*; *Maharashtra State Gazetteers*; *Ratnagiri District* (Bombay, 1962); and *Kolaba District* (Bombay, 1964); the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency 14: Thāna. Places of Interest* (Bombay, 1882); and J. Gerson da Cunha, *Chaul and Bassein* (Bombay, 1876). On our voyage from Bombay to Goa in 1910, we also took extensive notes for the description of the area.

² Vengurla Rocks or Burnt Islands; cf. *Ratnagiri Gazetteer* 813.

³ Sirja Kote.

⁴ Castro has *Acharaa*.

⁵ Devgarh. The *Libro de Marinharia* and Couto write *Tamboná*. It received its name from the village of Tamhara lying upstream.

⁶ Vijayadurg, or Vāghōtan River. Castro writes *Carapatão*; on the city of Khārēpātā lying on its upper course, see Burgess 202-203; *Ratnagiri Gazetteer* 763-764.

could sail into it, and it offered protection against the northwest wind.⁷ The Portuguese had given the name of Rio de Betele to the next river because of the many betel nuts exported from there.⁸ The barren hills then fell steeply into the sea until, sixty leagues from Goa, the large and beautiful bay of Malabar came into view.⁹ During the southwest monsoon it provided a safe refuge for merchant ships. It was recognizable by a steep hill in the north which, from the south, had the appearance of an island. At its foot was the mouth of the broad and famed Sanguicer River, which had received its name from an old merchant city six leagues upstream. This city, with its many temples, could be reached even by large ships.¹⁰

Four leagues farther north was the Dābhol River,¹¹ into which *naus* could also sail. It was bounded on the south by a steep, bare, rocky height. On its northern bank was the merchant city of the same name. This was the principal harbor of Adhil Khān and was much frequented by Moorish ships from Mecca, Aden, Ormuz, Cambay, and Malabar. Inhabited by wealthy Moors and Hindus, it was a meeting place for merchants of all the nations of the East.¹²

Four or five leagues north of Dābhol there appeared three small, rock islands close to the strand. One of these was crowned by a Moorish fortress bearing the proud name of Suvarnadrug (Gold Fortress).¹³ The treeless coast here formed a plateau that fell off sharply into the sea. It had two rivers, the Kelshi, with two high hills at its mouth,¹⁴ and a league farther on the large Rio do mel (Honey River), called this by the Portuguese because of its wealth of honey. This river, which formed a frontier, was also called the Beiçom, or Mar, River from the two villages that lay upon it. Ships from all India used to come to it in order to take on cargoes of wheat or other foodstuffs. It had a dangerous bar, but once this had been crossed, boats could sail up the river for eight leagues to the foot of the Ghāts.¹⁵

When Xavier was sailing along this coast, however, it was solitary and abandoned. Adil Khān had treacherously taken advantage of the siege of Diu in 1546 to snatch from the Portuguese the provinces of Salsette and Bardez, which he had earlier ceded to them. Recently allied with the Turks, he and the sultan of Cambay were threatening the rule of Portugal in India. After Diu had been rebuilt, Castro had returned to Goa¹⁶ in solemn triumph.¹⁷ Then, on September 19, 1547, he had concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with the Hindu ruler of Vijayanagar,¹⁸ and on October 6 another with the Nizām.¹⁹ During the

⁷ Also Rājāpur River; Castro writes *Ceitapor*.

⁸ Muchkundi River. The editor of Barbosa erroneously identifies it with the Vijayadurg or Vāghōtan River (Barbosa I 167), Fontoura da Costa with the Ratnagiri River (Lagôa, *Glossário* I 109).

⁹ The Jaigarh Bay.

¹⁰ The Shastri River. The city of Sangameshvar is described by Burgess 201-202 and the *Ratnagiri Gazetteer* 802-804.

¹¹ The Vāshishti River.

¹² On Dābhol (Castro: Dabul), see Barbosa I 164-166; Burgess 199-200; and the *Ratnagiri Gazetteer* 745-750.

¹³ Of the fifteenth century (Burgess 203-204).

¹⁴ Castro: *Quelecim*.

¹⁵ The Sāvitrī River.

¹⁶ Q 3354; Baião, *História* 248.

¹⁷ Correa IV 588-592.

¹⁸ Q 3300; Botelho, *Tombo* 255-257; Nunes, *Crónica* 171.

¹⁹ Q 3353; Botelho, *Tombo* 120-123; Nunes, *Crónica* 171-172.

interval between these two treaties he had, on September 21, defeated the troops of Adil Khān near Pondá, slain their leader, and burned their fortress.²⁰

In the middle of October Castro had then sailed with 120 oared vessels and four galleons with two thousand Portuguese and five hundred Nāyars to Bassein.²¹ From there he had sent Dom Jorge de Meneses with a force to destroy the cities of Jāfarābād and Broach in the territory of the king of Cambay.²² Castro had then himself laid waste the entire coast from Bulsar to Broach with fire and sword.²³ Near Broach itself he had put the sultan to flight²⁴ and had then put the two populous cities of Patane and Pate, west of Diu,²⁵ to flames along with all the villages of the coast to Gogha²⁶ and the whole east side of the bay. He had destroyed their fields and groves and had burned more than four hundred ships in six months and slain more than ten thousand of his foes in order to force his enemy to make peace.²⁷

At the end of November the governor had returned to Bassein, where he received letters from Goa which informed him that the Moorish captains of Adil Khān, following the orders that had been given to them, had made an attack from Pondá with a large number of men and had put Salsette and Bardez to fire and sword. They were plundering the land, tyrannizing the people, besieging the small Portuguese garrison, and forcing the inhabitants who had hitherto paid taxes to the Portuguese to pay them to themselves and to quarter their troops. Adil Khān needed a lesson which he would not soon forget.²⁸

Castro readied his fleet as quickly as he could. He was in Chaul on December 8,²⁹ and from there sailed south to the Honey River, where the territory of the sultan of Bijāpur began. He destroyed its entire coast as far as the Chaporá River. He burned the villages, cut down the palm and fruit trees, set fire to the crops, and slew the people who lived there. The whole stretch gave the appearance of a flaming hearth.

In Kelshi, a beautiful, fortified city, the Turkish *tanador*, who had set up a defense with some eight or nine hundred men, was put to rout and the city itself was leveled to the ground. The great city of Dābhol, which was defended by a Turkish captain, was captured from the Moors in a raging battle against vastly superior forces. It was plundered and burned, and a great number of large and small vessels and many other towns on the same river suffered a similar fate. It was then the turn for Jaigarh at the mouth of the Sanguicer River and for all of the coastal towns south of it as far as Jaitapur, where the Moors five years before, in a period of peace, had treacherously slain Dom Aleixo de Meneses with fourteen or fifteen of his companions. Many villages on this river were destroyed; the crops and fruit trees were set on fire; and countless palms were cut down. Castro continued with the same procedure in all the further towns of Adil Khān³⁰

²⁰ Q 3304a 3308; Nunes, *Crónica* 163-169; Correa IV 601-604.

²¹ Q 3403 3408; Nunes, *Crónica* 175.

²² Q 3426 3449 (cancel: "als Artillerie von Baroda kam"); Nunes, *Crónica* 175-177; Correa IV 606-609.

²³ Q 3469; Nunes, *Crónica* 178-179.

²⁴ On November 7, 1547 (Q 3434 3469); Castro, *Cartas* 359-360; Nunes, *Crónica* 182-188.

²⁵ Q 3469; Nunes, *Crónica* 189-196.

²⁶ Q 3469; Nunes, *Crónica* 198-200.

²⁷ Q 3565.

²⁸ Q 3486-3494; Correa IV 614-616.

²⁹ Q 3534.

³⁰ Q 3485 3562; Nunes, *Crónica* 201-208. Couto erroneously places the destruction at the time of Castro's return voyage in January, 1548, and names the towns burned from

until he sailed into the Zuari River, on December 19. Early on the twentieth he anchored near Agassaim, and on the same morning he passed over to Salsette with his troops and the cavalry that had come from Goa. He marched to Vernã and on the following day inflicted a devastating defeat on the troops of Adil Khān at the Rachol River, during the course of which their leader and three more captains, including the famous Salabat Khān, lost their lives.³¹

The Christmas holidays were hardly over when the governor, on New Year's Day, 1548, started his return to Bassein in order to continue the Cambayan war.³² On his way he burned all the remaining villages on the Dābhol River belonging to Adil Khān. Among these was Chiplūn, nine leagues upstream, where ships were accustomed to load wares brought by caravans of oxen from the Deccan, especially bales of cloth. He also destroyed Anjurla, which lay north of Dābhol, a town which Castro himself confessed excelled his own beloved Sintra in beauty with its painted houses, its groves and gardens.³³ An envoy of the king of Vijayanagar had accompanied the governor on this voyage since he had asked him to bring him to Chaul, from where he wished to go to the court of the Nizām.³⁴

Xavier had also reached the territory of the Nizām at the Honey River. Cifardão was the first harbor in his territory, and one in which the entire fleet of the governor could find shelter from the northwest winds.³⁵ Five leagues farther north was the large bay of Pero Soares with the mouth of the Damda River, one of the largest and most renowned along the coast. It too was navigable for large *naus*, and the bay itself was larger in circuit than any up till then. On its southern side was a tall, densely wooded, rock island with a fort surrounded by a double wall that gave protection against attack. The village of Damda itself was almost hidden in a grove of coconut palms and fruit trees on the northern side of the bay.³⁶

Four leagues farther on was Chaul, recognizable on the Morro, a steep, wooded hill on the south side of the mouth of the Kundalika River. From a distance it resembled an island, and it was crowned by a Portuguese watch tower.³⁷ The fishing weirs that began here and continued to be found on the voyage to Bassein reached out at times for a league and a half into the sea and to a depth of sixty-five feet. Some were made with trunks of trees as large as the mizzenmast of a caravel and others of areca palms driven firmly into the

the Chaporá River on: Banda, Meludi, Achará, Tamboná, Mazagão, Carapatão, Rayapor, "and all the other towns of this coast to Dabul" (6, 5, 11).

³¹ Q 3547 3551-3552; Castro, *Cartas* 346-348 369-370; Nunes, *Crónica* 208 217.

³² Q 3586-3588; Nunes, *Crónica* 220.

³³ Nunes (*Crónica* 221-223) has the governor destroy all the other villages on both sides of the river after the destruction of Chapelom (Chiplūn). He then has him return to Dābhol, leave the bar, and sail along the coast on January 11 to Amjurlaa, a Moorish town of four thousand citizens (*vezinhos*) on another river, who were great foes of the Portuguese (cf. Q 3672). Lagôa identifies the site with Unjurli on the 17° 51' degree of latitude (*Glossário* I 36), and thus north of Dābhol. The identification with Janjira (Q index, p. 527 580) is therefore unlikely since Janjira lay within the territory of the friendly Nizām. On Chiplūn, see *Ratnagiri Gazetteer* 742-745; on Unjurli (Ānjarlê), see *ibid.* 736.

³⁴ Nunes, *Crónica* 223.

³⁵ Srīvardhan.

³⁶ Janjira or Rājapuri Bay with the Damda or Rājapuri River.

³⁷ Morro, with the village of Korlai at its foot, had 615 Christian inhabitants in 1962. On the fortress and the village, see Castro's *Roteiro* 49; Correa II 666-667; the *Kolaba Gazetteer* 833-838.

floor of the sea.³⁸ These were a reminder of the heroic death of Dom Lourenço, the son of the viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida. His ship had been driven into the mouth of the river near Chaul by the flood tide; and, after a desperate battle with the superior forces of the united fleets of the sultans of Egypt and Cambay, it had sunk there with its crew in 1507.³⁹

On the northern side of the river, opposite Morro, was the Portuguese settlement of Chaul.⁴⁰ On the quay was the small fortress that had been built between 1521 and 1523 with the Nizām's permission, and which had been enlarged in 1529.⁴¹ Half a league upstream was the ancient merchant city of *Chaul de cima*. This was inhabited by Moors and pagans. It had a large number of mosques, temples, and sacred pools and was ruled by a *tanadar* in the name of his king. During the months from December to March this main trading post of the Nizām was a gathering place for ships from the whole of the East, especially those from Malabar, which exchanged spices, areca nuts, coconuts, drugs, palm sugar, wax, emery, mercury, cinnabar, and copper for the wares which the ships brought from Cambay, and the caravans of oxen from the Deccan: cotton and woolen textiles, wheat, grain, rice, and sesame.⁴²

The Portuguese city was small. It had five hundred Portuguese capable of bearing arms and an equal number of brave Negro slaves able to fight and adept in the use of arquebuses.⁴³ There were also Hindu coolies who had fought against the Moors at the side of the Portuguese at Diu in 1546.⁴⁴ The captain of the fortress since 1545 was Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, an old friend and penitent of Xavier.⁴⁵ He had sailed with him from Mozambique to India in 1542. To the right, close to the fortress near the quay, lay the *matriz*, the parish church with its vicar and beneficiaries.⁴⁶ In its choir was the grave of Miguel Vaz, the former vicar general.⁴⁷ To the west of it was the Misericórdia and the hospital which M. A. de Sousa had here, as in Goa and Cochín, entrusted to the confraternity.⁴⁸ Spread far out beyond the fortress were the homes and chapels of the Portuguese, São Sebastião,⁴⁹ Madre de Deus,⁵⁰ and Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe,⁵¹ protected since 1546 from the mainland by a palisade.⁵² The Portuguese

³⁸ *Roteiro* 182-186; *Segelhandbuch* 166 178.

³⁹ *Roteiro* 48. On the death of D. Lourenço, see Correa I 750-767; Barros 2, 3, 8.

⁴⁰ Today Revadanda. On Chaul and its history, see Gerson da Cunha 1-114; *Kolaba Gazetteer* 715-755; SRH 457-462; and, for the description of the buildings, the excellent, richly illustrated monograph of Gritli von Mitterwallner, *Chaul* (Berlin, 1964). The earlier city maps are given in Silveira III 353-358.

⁴¹ Q 93 6125; Correa II 660-667; III 285 306; Mitterwallner 27-31.

⁴² On Chaul de cima, the native city, see Barbosa I 158-163; Gerson da Cunha 106-114; *Kolaba Gazetteer* 746-755. Did Xavier live with the captain of the fortress? A successor built to the left of it the chapel of Xavier with the still extant inscription: "Por haver morado neste lugar S. Frco. Xavier quando passou ao Norte fes esta ermida Dom Gilianes de Noronha sendo capitão desta fortaleza pera memoria e louvor do Sancto o ano de 1640."

⁴³ Q 2221 2233.

⁴⁴ Q 2338; cf. 3287.

⁴⁵ Vol. II, pp. 76-81 101.

⁴⁶ Q 114; Botelho, *Tombo* 129-130.

⁴⁷ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 137; cf. Q 4709 6125; SRH 461; Mitterwallner 58-79.

⁴⁸ Q 1729 4923 4944; SR IX 601-603; SHR 462-463; Botelho, *Tombo* 129-130; Mitterwallner 79-90.

⁴⁹ Q 4713 (offered to the Jesuits in 1551) 4923; Mitterwallner 191-192.

⁵⁰ Q 2319.

⁵¹ Q 2709 4258 (given to the Dominicans in 1548); Mitterwallner 91-92.

⁵² Q 2233 2598.

of Chaul were all wealthy merchants, and most of them were married to native women. All had horses, slaves, and ships;⁵³ and at the beginning of 1546 John III had raised the town to the rank of a *cidade*, with all the privileges that this entailed,⁵⁴ because of the service which its people had rendered in the building of the fortresses of Chaul, Bassein, and Diu. They had shown themselves worthy of the favor of their king.

When in the same year as the siege of Diu the whole of Portuguese India was threatened with disaster and the governor had written to them that they should help him "with brave hearts and gleaming weapons,"⁵⁵ they replied with an enthusiastic letter signed by sixty-two individuals, in which they offered him themselves with their persons, weapons, horses, ships, and all their other possessions; and they added that if these were not enough, their wives would offer their jewels, as the Roman women had once done on the Capitoline.⁵⁶ One of these, who was at the time with her daughter in Goa, sent Castro her own ornaments with a letter in which she assured him that simply with the jewels of Chaul he would be able to wage war for ten years without exhausting all of them.⁵⁷ Though the Nizām, stirred up by the sultan of Cambay, adopted a threatening mien,⁵⁸ the citizens of Chaul gave such great help⁵⁹ to Diu that the governor raised them all without exception to the rank of knights.⁶⁰ The victory at Diu on November 10, 1546, had also removed a nightmare from Chaul, and a year later the Nizām had concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Portuguese. In this he promised to hand over to the Portuguese all the Turks who were in his territory and to provide the Portuguese with sailors, provisions, and wood for their fleets. In return, the governor assumed the responsibility of defending his coast; and he permitted him to send his ships to the coasts of India and to Malacca, and to send one each year to Mecca and five to Ormuz.⁶¹

Voyagers usually changed ships at Chaul in order to sail to Bassein by way of Thāna.⁶² Beyond Chaul the coast presented a monotonous series of low green and yellow hills. Because of the numerous weirs and shallows, ships here sailed a league from the land. North of the bar of Chaul was the rocky reef of

⁵³ Q 2147 2197 2241 2766; Correa IV 495.

⁵⁴ Q 1997-1998.

⁵⁵ Q 2162; Castro, *Cartas* 137-140.

⁵⁶ Q 2179 2241; cf. 2766; the sixty-two signatures are given in Q, pls. XIII-XV.

⁵⁷ Q 2241.

⁵⁸ Q 2151 2158 2214-2215 2221-2222 2233 2249-2250 2261-2262 2274 2297 2324 2387 2598 (Castro, *Cartas* 242-243).

⁵⁹ Q 2264 2297 2319 2323 2598 (Castro, *Cartas* 249-253 276-277).

⁶⁰ Q 2663 4436.

⁶¹ Q 3353.

⁶² Castro explored the entrance into the Thāna River in December, 1538. At first it seemed doubtful to him that galleys could sail into it, but he was inclined to believe that they could (*Roteiro* 72-74). The inner route from Thāna to Bassein was always used by *fustas*, for example, by Alī Shāh in 1529 when he fled on it with seven *fustas* (Castanheda 7, 94), and in 1539 by the five *fustas* which Chaul sent to the help of the besieged Bassein (*ibid.* 9, 15; Correa IV 93). On April 7, 1548, the citizens of Chaul wrote that their messenger, whom they had sent to the governor in Bassein, had not encountered him since the latter was sailing from Bassein to Goa along the outer route (Q 3721). In 1579 Valignano wrote in his *Summarium* of the province of Goa that ships sailing from Goa to the north or from the north to Goa usually put in at Chaul, that voyagers usually changed ships there for the continued voyage to Bassein, and that they frequently had to wait ten or twelve days for an opportunity to sail (ARSI: *Goa* 7, 18v; cf. 47, 163).

Nagaom,⁶³ and two leagues farther on was the so-called *Ilha de Chaul* with its two wooded heights. The island itself was a good falcon's shot in length and that of an arquebus in width.⁶⁴ Two leagues farther north of it the hills of the mainland suddenly withdrew and turned towards the east to the broad mouth of the Nāgothna River, also known as the Amba. The foothills of the Ghāts drew near to the coast, and over the blue heights in the east rose a huge tower, the basalt column of Mount Karnala, whose almost unassailable fortress, along with that of the neighboring hill of Sānkshi, was a bone of contention between the sultan of Cambay and the Nizām. In 1541 the latter had captured them from the Gujars. At the latters' request Dom Francisco de Meneses, the captain of Bassein had recaptured them; and Rodrigo de Sequeira, whom Xavier converted in Malacca in 1545, had taken part in this expedition. In March, 1542, however, the governor had concluded a treaty with the Nizām in which he returned the two fortresses to him in exchange for an annual payment of five thousand *pardaus*.⁶⁵

The territory of the mighty sultan of Cambay, one of the most dangerous foes of Portuguese rule in India, had once reached as far as the Nāgothna River and the island of Bombay east of it. In 1529, on his voyage to Diu, the governor Lopo Vaz de Sampayo had here fought and annihilated the Cambayan fleet of Alī Shāh. The Moorish admiral had fled with seven *fustas* by way of Thāna to Bassein,⁶⁶ but the victors had pursued their fleeing foes. They had attacked a portion of their adversary in the Nāgothna River and had there destroyed six large villages. Alī Shāh, who had entrenched himself at Bassein behind the trunks of palm trees, was driven out; and his defenses along with two buildings and a portion of the palm grove were burned down. The sheik of Thāna then surrendered and promised an annual tribute of four thousand *pardaus*.⁶⁷

In 1531 the new governor Nuno da Cunha had appeared with a powerful force and had held a review off the island of Bombay. His fleet numbered more than four hundred large and small vessels. Among these were five large transports from Malacca, eight *naus* from Portugal, fourteen galleys, two *galeasses*, twelve royal galleys, sixteen galiots, and 228 oared sailboats: brigantines, *fustas*, and *catur*s with more than 3,560 Portuguese soldiers, 1,450 Portuguese sailors, 20,000 native troops: Malabars and Canarins from Goa, including more than 3,000 musketeers, and 4,000 native rowers. Together with their followers, men, women, children, merchants, and traders, there were more than 30,000 in all.⁶⁸ But the governor's plan to capture Diu failed. Nuno da Cunha was forced to withdraw with heavy losses, and the Moors had on this account become arrogant.⁶⁹ Malik Tughan, a captain of the king of Cambay, had in the meantime fortified Bassein, and the sheik of Thāna refused to pay the tribute he had promised two years earlier.⁷⁰ To punish them Diogo da Silveira had attacked and plundered the

⁶³ The rock reef of Kolaba near Alibagh.

⁶⁴ Kundari Island.

⁶⁵ On the two fortresses see Q 847 942 1029 1079 2262 4367 (Rodrigo de Sequeira); Couto 5, 8, 3-6; De Jong 487-508; Botelho, *Tombo* 117-123. On the Karnala fort, see *Thāna Gazetteer, Places of Interest*, 196-197; for the Sānkshi fort, see *Kolaba Gazetteer* 957-961.

⁶⁶ Castanheda 7, 94-95; Correa III 288-297; Barros 4, 2, 14.

⁶⁷ Castanheda 7, 97; Correa III 301; Barros 4, 2, 16.

⁶⁸ Castanheda 8, 29; Correa III 390-394.

⁶⁹ Castanheda 8, 29-33; Correa III 398-417.

⁷⁰ Castanheda 8, 44 51; Correa III 465-466.

sheik's village and Bandora, which had also been fortified by Malik Tughan. He had burned many other villages on the coast of Cambay, and he had returned with four thousand captives. The following year he had also destroyed the Cambayan harbors of Patane, Pate, and Mangalore.⁷¹

In 1533 the governor had returned with eighty ships and had captured and destroyed the village of Bassein and its newly built Moorish fortress that had been further strengthened by Malik Iliās.⁷² He had also devastated Thāna and Karanja, which were near it; the island of Elephanta in the harbor of Bombay; the coastal areas of Bassein and Tārāpur; and, within the interior, the old merchant cities of Bhiwandi and Kalyān. The *tanadars* of a series of other cities, including those of Bombay, Māhīm, and Bandora, promised to pay an annual tribute of four hundred *pardaus*.⁷³

In December, 1534, Bahādur, the sultan of Cambay, who was being threatened by the Moguls and needed the help of the Portuguese, had handed over the territory of Bassein to the latter⁷⁴ and had ratified this gift the following year.⁷⁵ Between 1536 and 1539, the new rulers had erected a fortress in Bassein⁷⁶ and had dedicated it to the apostle St. James⁷⁷ to replace the factory that had originally been established there.⁷⁸ But at the beginning of 1537, Bahādur, who had secretly asked the Turks for help, died suddenly in the waves during a meeting with Nuno da Cunha.⁷⁹ His ten-year-old son Mahmud had followed him on the throne.⁸⁰ Three years later the regents who were ruling for him sought to regain Bassein.⁸¹ They sent their captain Burhān-ul-Mulk⁸² with 1,500 cavalry and 8,500 infantry to recapture the site. But the four hundred Portuguese in the fortress, whose numbers were increased to eight hundred through help coming from Goa and Chaul, had forced the foe to withdraw in March, 1540, after a siege of nearly a year.⁸³ After this peace was concluded with Cambay;⁸⁴ and in the treaty with the Nizām, the latter had promised in 1542 that he would not let any brigands enter by way of Kalyān and Bhiwandi.⁸⁵

Five miles north of Chaul, Xavier reached the bay of Bombay, the largest and most renowned of all on the west coast of India. The entrance into the bay, which was a league and a half wide, and which, growing ever narrower,

⁷¹ Castanheda 8, 44-45 52; Correa III 461-462; Couto 4, 7, 13.

⁷² Castanheda 8, 59-62; Correa III 464-474; Q 4471.

⁷³ Couto enumerates the sites: Taná, Carapusa [Ghārāpuri=Elephanta], Brundim [Biundim=Bhiwandi], Galiana [Kalyān], Bombaim (4, 8, 4), Bandora, Maym (4, 8, 5).

⁷⁴ Q 172; Castanheda 8, 84; Correa III 583-586.

⁷⁵ Q 179.

⁷⁶ Castanheda 8, 120 124 139; Correa III 689. The governor had the cornerstone laid by Antonio Galvão. The fortress was completed in 1538 (Q 1645; Correa III 837-883).

⁷⁷ According to Castanheda the fortress was dedicated to Santiago (8, 120). From Correa's data, the governor Nuno da Cunha laid the cornerstone of the fortress on his return voyage from Diu in 1536 and on the occasion had a Mass celebrated in honor of St. Sebastian because he had captured Bassein on his feast (January 20, 1535) (III 689). According to Couto the governor laid the cornerstone and dedicated the fortress to St. Sebastian on his feast, January 20, 1535 (4, 9, 2, p. 321).

⁷⁸ Correa III 586; Couto 4, 9, 2.

⁷⁹ Cf. Vol. II, pp. 77-78.

⁸⁰ Q 2516a.

⁸¹ Q 375.

⁸² Portuguese: *Bramaluco*.

⁸³ Castanheda 9, 7 10-19 24-25; Correa IV 92-94; Couto 5, 7, 3-4; Q 435 620 864 1115 1348 3820 4291.

⁸⁴ Couto 5, 7, 4.

⁸⁵ Q 942; Botelho, *Tombo* 117-120.

stretched five leagues towards the north to Thāna, afforded a brilliant panorama. To the right, at the northern end of Nāgothna Creek, rose up the two peaks of the island of Karanja, whose steep slopes were overgrown with brush and palms, and whose beaches were fringed with fresh green mangroves. On the left the bay was bounded by the rather narrow island of Bombay, three and one-half leagues long, known also as the island of Māhīm from the village of this name on its northern coast. Its numerous hills were covered with palms, and there was an old, grey Hindu temple on its southwestern tip. The southern part, the island of Bombay proper, with its mango groves,⁸⁶ had been leased by Castro to the cathedral preacher Mestre Diogo before his death for an annual rent of 1,432 *pardaus*.⁸⁷ The governor had also leased the four villages of Parel, Siva,⁸⁸ Warli, and Wuddala, in the district of Māhīm on the northern part of the island, to Manuel Serrão for the sum of 412 *pardaus* a year.⁸⁹ To the northwest of Bombay could be seen another island, that of Trombay, and beyond it the mountains of Salsette, rising to a height of more than 1,500 feet, and the blue heights of Bassein in the distance. To the east, beyond the flat coast, were the foothills of the pale blue, lofty Ghāts.

The entire region around the bay of Bombay as far as the eyes could reach, and much farther in the north, had formerly comprised the southern part of the kingdom of Cambay, but it had been handed over to Portugal by Sultan Bahādur in 1534; and this fruitful, densely populated area was, after Goa, the most important and profitable possession of the Portuguese in India.

In the middle of the bay, in which the fleets of all the world could easily be anchored together, lay two small rock islands. The one on the right was the island of Puri, called *Ilha do Alifante* (Elephanta), from a stone elephant that was found there. There were two hills on the island, separated from each other by a deep ravine and overgrown with brush and palms. The hill on the north, the smaller one, was the site of a famed rock temple adorned with many artistically carved figures of gods and goddesses, dwarfs, and gatekeepers. Among these was a figure with eight arms. Most important, in the principal shrine was the representation of the Hindu trinity, three busts of marvelous workmanship over twenty-feet in height. These rose out of the floor of the dimly lit cave and were carved entirely from the hard rock.⁹⁰ Castro had leased the island to João Pires, a *casado* in Chaul, for an annual rent of 105 *pardaus*.⁹¹

⁸⁶ In his *Coloquios*, Garcia d'Orta, who later leased the island of Bombay, has his agent, Simão Toscano, who was living on the island, bring a basket of mangos for the governor from there (II 101; cf. 25 and I 326, and also Ficalho, *Garcia da Orta* [Lisboa, 1886] 259-276).

⁸⁷ Botelho writes in his Tombo: "A Ilha de monbaym [Indic: *Mumbai*], que no forall velho estaua em catorze mill e quatro centos fedeas, e os anos atrás esteue arrendada por mill trezentos e cinco pardaos, ffoy aforada a mestre dioguo, pelo dito gouernador [D. João de Castro] por mill quatrocentos trinta dous pardaos mēo" (160-161). Ficalho declares that the cathedral preacher cannot be meant by Mestre Diogo since the former was dead by this time (273-274). But Diogo died on January 26, 1547, and many villages had already been leased before his death by the governors M. A. de Sousa and Castro (Botelho, *Tombo* 161-162 and Q 2485).

⁸⁸ Sion today.

⁸⁹ Botelho, *Tombo* 157.

⁹⁰ Garcia da Orta had already visited Elephanta in 1534, and he has given a short account of it in his *Coloquios* (II 342). Castro gives a detailed description of the island in his *Roteiro* (64-69), as does Couto (7, 3, 11). The *Thāna Gazetteer*, *Places of Interest* 59-97 gives the most extensive account of it. This has been reedited in the *Kolaba Gazetteer*

Beyond Elephanta the bay was divided into three "creeks," which became ever narrower. The one on the left was between the island of Trombay and Bombay. The one on the right was Panvel Creek. And the one straight ahead was Thāna Creek. Boats sailed northwards up this last between broad, barren mud banks and pans of salt, which were for the most part covered by the sea when the tide was in. Beyond these, on the left, rose the solitary mountain of the island of Trombay. Slowly rising up beyond this were the mountains of the large, fruitful, and populous island of Salsette. At their highest reaches, in the midst of a primitive forest, were the famous rock caves of Kanheri, an entire city carved from the rock, which Dom João de Castro had visited in 1538⁹² and Frey Antonio do Porto after him.⁹³

Where the foothills of the mountain of Salsette seemed from a distance to touch the mountains of the mainland was Thāna, an old, once powerful city, inhabited by Hindus, Moors, Jews, and Parsis, but which was now only a shadow of its former greatness. At the time of its bloom the city had had sixty noble mosques and temples and sixty sacred pools, some almost as large as the Rossio Square in Lisbon, surrounded by stone walls and steps like an amphitheater. All of the buildings of the city, which were made of dressed stones fitted together without mortar, manifested the wealth of its earlier inhabitants. Thāna had formerly engaged in trade with all the lands of the East, and it had had nine hundred looms for weaving silks with gold, and twelve hundred for white textiles. But the city had never recovered from the last three devastations to which it had been subjected between 1523 and 1538, two by the Portuguese and one by the Gujars.⁹⁴

From Thāna to Bassein there was still a distance of four leagues. The entrance into the Thāna River, the name that had been given to the arm of the sea separating Salsette from the mainland, was only navigable by ships of narrow draft at flood tide under the guidance of an experienced pilot.⁹⁵ A half a league farther on, the narrow passage opened up into the broad Kalyān River, which turned sharply towards the north and then towards the west after it had joined the Bhiwandi, which entered from the right.⁹⁶ The route continued through a narrow strait, only 130 feet wide at its narrowest, between steep, solitary hills covered with brush and bamboo thickets until the area opened up near the village of Ghorbandar on the coast of Salsette. In place of the hills there were now fields of rice and salt marshes. In the middle of the river was the flat island of Panju, three miles in length and surrounded by mangroves and white salt pans. Boats sailed between it and the mainland on the north.⁹⁷ At the end

759-797. On the Trimurti sculpture, see Stella Kramrisch, "The Image of Mahadeva in the Cave-Temple on Elephanta Island," *Ancient India* 2 (1946) 4-8 (with good photographs).

⁹¹ Botelho, *Tombo* 157-158. The *Thāna Gazetteer, Places of Interest*, notes on this: "When the Portuguese took the island, it was rented to one João Pires for the annual quit-rent of four pounds (105 *pardãos*). It remained with him till 1548, when it passed to Manuel Rebello da Silva, who again made it over to his daughter Dona Rosa Maria Sampaio on April 22, 1616. The descendants of this lady were living in Bassein as late as 1848" (84); see also *O Oriente Português*, nn. 7-9 (1934-1935) 145-147.

⁹² *Roteiro* 69-70 75-81.

⁹³ See above, p. 313.

⁹⁴ On Thāna, see *Roteiro* 70-72; *Thāna Gazetteer, Places of Interest* 345-361; Barbosa I 152-153; Yule 895-896; see also DI II 540-541; III 591; IV 115; V 631.

⁹⁵ *Roteiro* 72-74.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 74-75. The two rivers received their names from two old merchant cities Kalyān on the Ulhās River, and Bhiwandi on the Kāmavādi.

⁹⁷ *Segelhandbuch* 217-219.

of the island, where the river emptied into the open sea, could be seen on the right, beyond an extensive marsh, a large grove of coconut palms and, in front of these, close to the beach, a fortress. This consisted of a strong, five-cornered bulwark with high walls and towers.⁹⁸ Joining it on the north was the native settlement with its brown, clay, palm-covered houses.⁹⁹ In the river the fleet of the governor lay at anchor. Bassein, the goal of the voyage, had been reached.

3. BASSEIN (MARCH, 1548)¹

Bassein lay on a tongue of land which was surrounded on the south by the sea and on the east and west by swamps that at flood tide and during the rainy season were under water. The fortress,² which had been begun in 1536 by Garcia de Sá,³ and which had been completed in 1538,⁴ stood on the beach near the landing. It was an irregular pentagon with a strong square tower to the left of the entrance gate and three half-round bulwarks on the west and north. Within the pinnacled walls in the north was the residence of the captain Dom Jerónimo de Noronha and the chapel of our Lady. The fortress, however, was small and weak,⁵ and it would have been completely inadequate if attacked by heavy artillery.⁶ About the fort were grouped the houses of the Portuguese village with their palm-leaf roofs.⁷ In 1546, when there was the threat of an assault by Burhān-ul-Mulk, the captain of the king of Cambay, these had been surrounded by a broad moat and a tall earthen wall surmounted by a palisade.⁸ Among these buildings, on the side towards the sea, was the factory which had been built in 1535,⁹ the newly erected, temporary parish church dedicated to St. Joseph,¹⁰ and the residence of the vicar and his beneficiaries.¹¹ On the other side of the fort was the hospital with the Misericórdia that had been founded in 1540.¹²

Northwest of the fortress, and connected with the Portuguese settlement by a narrow strip of land, was the Bassein of the natives, known as *Baçaim de cima*,

⁹⁸ Pictures in Silveira III 348-350, especially the plan in Correa (III 689).

⁹⁹ Castanheda 9, 15.

¹ On Bassein see Gerson da Cunha, *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein* (Bombay, 1876) 115-251; Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency XIV: *Thāna: Places of Interest* (Bombay, 1882) 28-43; Bras A. Fernandes, *Armas e inscrições do Forte de Baçaim* (Lisboa, 1957). On Xavier's visit in 1548, see EX I 436-437; II 73-74 477; Pérez, letter of December 4, 1548 (DI I 369), and *Informação* 58; letter of Antonio Gomes of December 20, 1548 (DI I 413-414); Botelho, *Cartas* 4-5, and the testimony of Rodrigo de Sequeira in MX II 954-955.

² Cf. the sketch in Correa III 689 and the plan in Bras Fernandes 98.

³ Bras Fernandes 11.

⁴ At the beginning of 1538 Garcia de Sá had built the whole fortress up to the battlements (*no andar das amêas*) (Correa III 837).

⁵ Q 596 1645 2609 4411 4592. In 1549 Azunaique described it as the weakest fortress in India (Q 4418). Garcia de Sá wished to rebuild it as governor, but he died in the meantime (Q 4097). In 1554 the walls were begun around the Portuguese village and the bulwark of São Sebastião was built into it (Bras Fernandes 92-93 180). In 1555 (TdT: CC 1-94-83), 1561 (*ibid.* 1-105-79), and 1579, they were still building it (Couto 12, 1, 8, p. 65).

⁶ Q 1645.

⁷ Castanheda 9, 15.

⁸ Q 2170 2215 2225 2598; Castro, *Cartas* 243; Baião, *Historia* 183.

⁹ Correa III 586; Botelho, *Tombo* 216.

¹⁰ Ordered by the king on March 8, 1546 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 324).

¹¹ In 1542, a vicar, a beneficiary (Q 969); in 1554, a vicar, four beneficiaries (Botelho, *Tombo* 208); see also Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 324.

¹² Botelho, *Tombo* 217; Q 4030a.

connected with the mainland by a bridge.¹³ It was situated on the edge of a large grove of coconut palms and other fruit trees which extended for an hour to the north and south and almost as far to the east. Within it were a number of large and prosperous villages and artificial ponds. The extensive native city¹⁴ was chiefly inhabited by Hindus, Brahmans, farmers, and craftsmen, especially weavers, but also by able Banyan merchants and Chuari traders (Parsis) from Gujarāt, and Mohammedan Naitias from the south. The people of the city were engaged in a vigorous trade in rice, flax, vegetables, chickens, butter, and especially in the valuable wood used for building ships that was found in the neighboring mountain forests.¹⁵

The Portuguese settlement was still small. The *casados* were still few, and most of these hoped to obtain a copyhold to one of the villages of the hinterland.¹⁶ But at this time Bassein was the headquarters of the governor. At the beginning of January he had come from Goa with fifty *fustas* and eight hundred men and the guardian Frey Antonio do Casal in order to conduct the war against Cambay from there. The town was consequently swarming with soldiers and *fidalgos* when Xavier landed there in the middle of March.¹⁷

Cosme Anes had informed the governor from Goa of the arrival of the priest,¹⁸ and a hearty welcome had as a consequence been prepared for him.¹⁹ Dom João de Castro,²⁰ the victor of Diu and terror of the seas, was tall and of a

¹³ Castanheda 8, 62; 9, 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 8, 62; 9, 10; Castro, *Roteiro a Diu* 110.

¹⁵ Cf. the letter of the *tanadar-mor* Seb. Coelho of August 8, 1547 (Q 3229); Botelho, *Cartas* 7. In 1563 Garcia da Orta enumerated the different kinds of residents in Bassein: *Naitias*, *Curumbins* (Khumbis: farmers), *Malis* (gardeners), *Parus* (Prabhus: scribes), *Baneanes* (Banyans: merchants), *Deres* (Dhers: street sweepers), *Coaris* (Parsis) (II 342-343 348-349). On the Parsis, see also above p. 312.

¹⁶ Botelho, *Cartas* 6. Small but widely extended, so that the village needed many men to guard it (Q 2317). In 1564 the Portuguese village was still small and had less than four hundred Portuguese *casados* (DI VI 341).

¹⁷ Nunes, *Crónica* 221 223.

¹⁸ Q 3666.

¹⁹ "Fué recebido afable y beninamente del Governador y de todo el exército," Pérez wrote on December 4, 1548 (DI I 369); and in 1579: "Se foi pera o Governador que estava em Baçaym, e com sua boa graça e conversação e sanctidade e doutrina, foy tão accepto ao Governador que era espanto, e ficou tudo em paaç e quietação" (*Informação* 58). In direct contrast to this well informed witness is the account given by Brou, who employed a number of false assumptions. According to him, Xavier came to Goa with the ambassador of the king of Kandy in order to obtain military assistance for him. The governor, who was on the point of sailing to Bassein for the Cambayan war, received the two coldly and postponed the decision until later. Xavier followed him to Bassein, where Castro asked him to mount the pulpit at once, probably to put the famed zeal of the priest to a test. He was then won over by his preaching. Brou bases Castro's aversion to the Society and Xavier on the early authors such as Tursellinus (3, 14), Valignano (114), Seb. Gonçalves (3, 18), and Lucena (6, 1-2). See also Maurício in *Brotéria* 56 (1953) 350-364. He also confuses Xavier with others: The Jesuit priest who annoyed Castro in Goa before his sailing to Bassein was Francisco Henriques, in October, 1547, as we have seen above. The religious who came to Goa on a commission from the king of Kandy was Frey Simão de Coimbra. On the importunities of the friars on behalf of the Ceylon mission, see Q 2646 2739 3431 3672.

²⁰ On D. João de Castro, see the *sources*: Q, index, pp. 543-544; L. Nunes, *Historia do Segundo Cêrco de Dio*, ed. Baião (Coimbra, 1925, with an appendix of documents, pp. 107-354); *idem*, *Crónica de Dom João de Castro*, ed. J. D. M. Ford (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); also the general chronicles of Correa and Couto. His works: *Cartas*, ed. E Sanceau (Lisboa, 1955). *Roteiros*: *Lisboa a Goa* (*ibid.* 1882¹ 1940²), *Goa até Dio* (Porto, 1843¹; Lisboa, 1940²), *Goa até Soez* (Paris, 1833¹, Lisboa, 1940², with colored plates), French

knightly bearing. He was forty-eight years old at this time; and since he had already served in India from 1538 to 1542, he was very well informed with respect to the land and its people. His lean face, with its sharp nose, was surrounded by a full, black beard; and the sharp gleam of his eyes revealed an iron will and a high and noble intent.²¹ He insisted that Francis should ascend the pulpit at once in order to preach to him and his men. Though he was still tired from his voyage and did not have time to prepare a sermon, the priest accepted the invitation, and his words struck home. He immediately won the hearts of his hearers and especially that of the governor.²² Xavier and Castro were, in fact, kindred spirits, two crusaders with high ideals, each in his own sphere. But the governor also had at heart the defense and spread of the faith.

At the end of 1545 he had written to his king, urging him to come to India. In his letter he cited the example of the Moors in India: Although there were not more than two thousand white followers of Mohammed in the great region of the Deccan, they ruled over it and made it a place of refuge for Turks, Persians, Khorasans, and Abyssinians. He then continued: "If a king of Portugal will ever wish to show a great service to our Lord and to bring great peoples and nations to His holy Catholic faith and to become the lord of the world and emperor of the East, he needs only to come to India with ten thousand men."²³ At the end of December, 1546, he had given his king a detailed report on the condition of the mission in Ceylon, on his efforts on behalf of the king of Kōttē, on the confused situation in Kandy, and on the contradictory accounts about the king there, who had been secretly baptized and had asked for military help at the time when Diu was being besieged and he, the governor, was on the point of going in person to the help of the fortress. He had then observed:

In spite of everything, I am ready to send my son Dom Alvaro when the wars permit it, and to do all in my power for the Christianity of the kingdom of Kandy and of every other kingdom of that land, for I know no more glorious triumph that I can have in this world. The friars and clerics, men of great zeal and filled with longing for the conversion of these people, are very insistent, and each one of them wishes to obtain me for himself without thinking about the time and the moment and the countless labors that I have. God is a true witness and knows that I wish this work as much as they do, even though I am a great sinner and they are holy, virtuous men. But it is obvious that when one comes to the assistance of these wavering Christians, he loses that which is truly solid and puts in jeopardy the honor and state of Your Highness. I have therefore postponed it for better times with the hope that our Lord will give me such, since this will contribute so much to His service.²⁴

translation by A. Kammerer, *Le Routier de Dom Joam de Castro* (Paris, 1936, with commentary); also all the plates in *Portugaliae Mon. Cart.* (Lisboa, 1960) I, pls. 59-70; *Tratado de Sphaera*, etc. (Lisboa, 1940); *Testamento de D. João de Castro*, ed. Christovam Ayres (Lisboa, 1901). *Accounts*: J. Freire de Andrade, *Vida de D. João de Castro* (Lisboa, 1651; with an appendix of documents, *ibid.*, 1835); E. Sanceau, *Knight of the Renaissance: D. João de Castro* (London, 1950); we cite the Portuguese translation *D. João de Castro, trad. A. Alvaro Dória* (Porto, 1946); B. Aquarone, *D. João de Castro, Gouverneur et Vice-roi des Indes Orientales* (Paris, 1968). *Pictures*: *Portugaliae Mon. Cart.* I 130-133 168; V 145-155. See also the bibliography on the second siege of Diu in 1546, above, pp. 201-202. His signature is given in Q, pl. VII 3.

²¹ See Castro's description in Nunes, *Crónica* 9-10 164; picture in Correa III 431.

²² "Aogóle mucho que le predicasse, y así lo hizo aunque iva de camino y cansado y sin aver estudiado," Pérez wrote in December, 1548 (DI I 369).

²³ Q 1773.

²⁴ Castro, *Cartas* 302-303.

The siege of Diu and the war against Adil Khān and Sultan Mahmud of Cambay had prevented him, despite the best of will, to do more for the mission than he had done, as Frey Antonio do Porto wrote to the king.²⁵

Two concerns in particular had brought Xavier to Bassein: the Molucca mission and the founding of a house of the Society of Jesus in Malacca. In addition to these there was also the voyage of his friend Diogo Pereira to China. His requests were granted with the greatest alacrity. On March 19 he received an *alvará* which granted Pereira, "because of his long years of service in these regions," permission to sail with his ship to Malacca and from there to China.²⁶ Other *alvarás* ordered the *vedor* to give the two Jesuits who were to found a station in Malacca all that they needed for their journey, and the captain of the fortress to have their expenses paid.²⁷ The favors asked for Sultan Hairun through Xavier's intercession were also readily granted, especially the request that one of his sons should, after his baptism, be recognized as the king of the Moro Islands and of their Christian inhabitants.²⁸ As governor, Dom João de Castro had already acquitted Hairun, who had been sent as a prisoner to Goa by Freitas, and had sent him back to Ternate as king.²⁹

Another earnest wish of the zealous apostle seemed also near to fulfillment—the rescue of Socotra. Danger of embroiling the Turks had been the main impediment to giving active assistance to the abandoned Christians of the island. Since 1538, Aden, the key to the Red Sea, had been in the hands of these mortal enemies of Christendom.³⁰ They sent their ships to northeast Africa³¹ and as far as the east cape of Arabia.³² In 1546 they helped the sultan of Shihr to capture Qishn, the only refuge that the Portuguese had on the southern coast of the peninsula.³³ The sultan, who had befriended the Portuguese, had been expelled and had been forced to flee to Socotra.³⁴ The Turks had moreover bombarded Maskat³⁵ and had already come dangerously close to Ormuz.³⁶ They were also striving to reach it so that they might wage the decisive battle against Portuguese rule in India by land and sea.³⁷ At the beginning of 1547, as they were advancing to the south, they had captured the important city of Basra at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates.³⁸ But the Imām of Yemen was at constant war with the Turks,³⁹ and on September 26, 1547, Rais Rukn-ud-dīn, the vizier of Ormuz, had written to Castro that one of his naval captains had told him as an eyewitness that the Arabs had recaptured Aden. He had then added: "I remind Your Lordship that Aden is the key to the whole of India; and if I knew that it was in the hands of the Portuguese, we would all live in safety."⁴⁰

²⁵ SR IV 63 (Q 4003).

²⁶ Q 3785.

²⁷ DI I 369.

²⁸ EX I 386-387; II 73 112 477.

²⁹ See above, p. 191; Q 2110 3596; Castro, *Cartas* 224-227.

³⁰ For the advance of the Turks on the sea, see the data in Q, index, pp. 642-643. On the capture of Aden in 1538, see Q 345 427 454 2570.

³¹ Q 861 984.

³² Q 1582.

³³ Q 563 964 1322 2202 2205 2481.

³⁴ Q 2205, cf. 1322.

³⁵ Q 2475 2481 2486-2487 2591.

³⁶ Q 3149 3529.

³⁷ For a survey of the advance of the Turks on land, see the data in Q, index, p. 643.

³⁸ Q 4332.

³⁹ Q 495 563 861 1718 2347 2350 2817 3072-3073 3149 3199 3204 3291 3293.

⁴⁰ Q 3318.

Since the Arabs had no artillery and had been accustomed to fight solely with lances, swords, and shields, they had asked the captain of Ormuz for help. In October, Dom Payo de Noronha, the admiral of the Persian Gulf, had consequently written to Castro from Maskat that at the request of Dom Manuel de Lima, the captain of Ormuz, he was sailing with two ships to Aden.⁴¹ At the end of January, 1548, an embassy of the king of Aden had come to the governor in Bassein. The envoy, who was received by Castro with all solemnity, Amīr Dū's ben Ahmad, was the maternal uncle of the ruling prince. He reported that the king's father, Alī ben Sulaimān, had fallen in battle with the Turks, that his son Muhammad was now ruling in the city, and that Dom Payo de Noronha was with him. He also asked for help since there was fear of a siege by the Turks.⁴²

On February 12 Castro and the ambassador had concluded a treaty according to which the Portuguese would defend the city against the Turks and would have permission to build a fort there and to import their wares duty free.⁴³ At the end of February Dom Alvaro, the son of the governor, had sailed with the ambassador and his fleet from Bassein for Aden.⁴⁴ He had received orders to dock first in Socotra and then to visit the Canecanim Islands⁴⁵ in order to obtain information on the state of affairs in Aden. If the city was free of the Turks, he should sail there in order to have the treaty signed by the king and his brothers and to inform him that the governor would come after the rainy season in order to capture the whole of the southern coast of Arabia for him. But if he heard that a Turkish fleet was lying before Aden and he was unable to cope with it, he should take the king of Qishn, who was at the same time the sheik of Socotra, from this latter island and reestablish him in his kingdom;⁴⁶ and he should sail back to India before the beginning of the rainy season at the end of April.⁴⁷

In addition to this, a new field of labor had opened up for the Society of Jesus in Bassein itself. Only two of the six Capuchos whom the vicar general Miguel Vaz had brought from Portugal were still left. These were the guardian Frey Antonio do Porto and Frey João de Goa. Xavier visited them, and they earnestly asked him to send a priest of the Society who might take over the direction of the college which they had started in the fortress, and to distribute the income of three thousand *pardaus* which the king had granted for the support of the new converts. Their rule did not permit them to handle money, and the mission in Mandapeshvar on the island of Salsette claimed all their resources. Master Francis had to postpone their request for the future. If new

⁴¹ Q 3352.

⁴² Nunes, *Crónica* 224-226.

⁴³ Treaty, Q 3713, ed. Castro, *Cartas* 385-389.

⁴⁴ With thirty *fustas*, a galleon, and six to seven hundred *cavalleiros* according to Nunes, *Crónica* 226. Correa gives other numbers: D. Alvaro sailed from Bassein with twenty-three *fustas*; in addition to these there came from Goa eight *fustas*, three *navios* with provisions, and a caravel with artillery, munitions, and three hundred men (IV 635). On the preparations for the voyage to Aden, see Q 7637 3680 3694 3705 3713-3714 3720-3721 3734-3735 3742 3755 3779-3781 3784-3792 4097.

⁴⁵ The Canecanim Islands: Ghutdrin, Sikkah, and Jibus, near Rās al-Kalb, between Muhallā and Aden.

⁴⁶ The king of Qishn (Caixem) was also the sheik of Socotra (Q 1322). Vasco da Cunha therefore writes about the same time to D. Alvaro: "If you learn in Socotra that the Turks are in Aden, take the sheik with you" (Q 3788).

⁴⁷ The instruction for D. Alvaro (Q 3786) is edited in Castro, *Cartas* 378-384.

confreres came from Portugal in the fall, he would take Bassein into consideration when their tasks were being assigned.⁴⁸ From his former penitent Simão Botelho, whom he met in Bassein, he was also able to obtain information about another area that was in pressing need of spiritual help. Botelho had taken his leave from Xavier in Malacca in December, 1545.⁴⁹ He had passed the winter of 1546 in Ormuz as the newly appointed *vedor* of the fortresses. At the king's command he had gone to this fabulously rich emporium, with its extremely hot climate, on a rocky island in the Persian Gulf to compose a register, a *tombo*, of all the treaties, revenues, taxes, and privileges of His Highness; of the artillery, weapons, and munitions of the fortress; and of the officials and their salaries.⁵⁰ Botelho was able to tell Xavier about the frightfully low level of morality of the people there and of the shameless vices, like these of Sodom and Gomorrha, which invoked the wrath of God upon that Moorish stronghold. Francis would have gladly sailed there himself, but the newly discovered islands of Japan were calling him in an opposite direction to the Far East. But he refused to forget Ormuz and the Portuguese who were there before sailing away.⁵¹

To his surprise Francis also encountered another of his former penitents in Bassein from whom he had taken leave in Malacca in 1545. This was Rodrigo de Sequeira, the former servant of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, who had promised his confessor in Malacca that he would sail to Portugal at the next opportunity in order to avoid the occasions of sin and to receive the sacraments frequently. Xavier had recommended him to Mestre Diogo and this latter in turn had recommended him to Dom Alvaro, the son of the governor, since he was subject to a trial in India.⁵² Thanks to Dom Alvaro's intercession, he was acquitted and sent by the governor to Bassein, where he obtained from Dom Jerónimo de Noronha, the captain of the fortress, the position of *almoxarife* of the magazines with an annual income of thirty *milreis*. This favor was in no small part due to the fact that under the captaincy of Noronha's brother, Dom Francisco de Meneses, he had helped capture the two mountain fortress of Karnala and Sānkshī.⁵³ As *almoxerife* during the siege of Diu in 1546 he had supplied the ships which came to the help of the fortress and the fortress itself with all that was needed.⁵⁴ In gratitude for this Castro had given him in 1547 three villages in the territory of Bassein in copyhold—Anchola and Calambona in the district of Salgão, and Chincholi in that of Cairena.⁵⁵ Because of the cares of his office, Sequeira had forgotten all the promises he had made to his confessor and had not been to confession for two years when he encountered the priest by chance on the street in Bassein. Because of his former friendship with him in Malacca, he was delighted to meet him. But Francis reproached him with the words: "Ah! my son, is it you? Why have you not kept the promise you made to me? I shall no longer be your friend nor speak with you until you have gone to confession."⁵⁶

⁴⁸ EX I 73-74; Q 4091 4003.

⁴⁹ On him see above, pp. 16-18 46 48.

⁵⁰ Botelho, *Tombo* 5-7 78-104.

⁵¹ DI I 598 643 646 690.

⁵² See above, pp. 26-27.

⁵³ Q 2170 6123; Botelho, *Tombo* 206.

⁵⁴ Q 2290 (Sequeira's letter of July 13, 1546; signature on pl. IX 4); 4367.

⁵⁵ Botelho, *Tombo* 169 192.

⁵⁶ The Portuguese text of Sequeira's testimony (MX II 212-213) has Xavier say: "Ay filho! sois vós? Como não compristes o que me prometestes? Não ei-de ser voso amigo, nem ei-de falar mais comvosquo até que vos não confeseis."

Sequeira saw that the priest, enlightened by God, knew the condition of his soul. The following day he went to confession with great sorrow and contrition for his sins and received Holy Communion.⁵⁷

Xavier remained for only a few days in Bassein. He wished to return to the

⁵⁷ Before December 9, 1556, when Sequeira gave his testimony in Bassein, he gave a twofold account with some variants. At the beginning of 1552, a few days before Xavier's return from Japan, he sailed in the *Santa Cruz* from Cochin to Portugal, arriving in Lisbon on September 15 (EX II 242-243). On the twenty-first of this month P. Francisco Henriques, S.J. (different from the one in India), wrote from Lisbon to Coimbra that D. Pedro Mascarenhas had come with great joy to speak with P. Urbano Fernandes about things which the passengers coming from India reported about Xavier, especially his servant (Sequeira: *criado*), who had come in this ship and had reported how the priest converted him in India and brought him to confession. But with the affairs and offices that he had had, he had again forgotten God and his soul and no longer went to confession, and he had been in this condition when Xavier came to Goa. They had met there by chance and the priest had taken him by the hand and the first words which he said to him were: "A filho! Mal compristes o que me prometestes." And he immediately handed him over to the vicar with the words: "Tende cuidado desta vossa ovelha que anda desencaminhada." And he said to him: "Confessai-vos, filho, e olhai por vos." "About this," the writer of the letter continued, "that man is astonished, for he is sure that P. M. Francisco could not have known anything about his sins and failures by any human means. From this he is convinced that the priest knew them all" (MX II 137-138).—But neither did this second conversion last long. In January, 1553, a Diogo Lopes, "o Galego," accused Sequeira of fraudulently selling a female Chinese slave and a Kaffir slave to Francisco Lopes. He, Diogo, had brought the Chinese from India; the Kaffir belonged to João de Gouvea. The accuser renounced his claim in February. But Sequeira was now accused by Jorge Cabral of having taken a female slave away from him, but he too soon afterwards renounced his complaint. But because of these two incidents, we encounter the accused in the state prison in Lisbon, the Limoeiro, on Christmas day of this same year. He was still in prison there when his lord, D. Pedro Mascarenhas, sailed as viceroy for India on April 2, 1554; and in his petition to the king, Sequeira had written that because of the two mentioned incidents only an *auto* had been raised against him. But all four opponents had renounced their claims, since he was innocent. They had pardoned him. He therefore asked the king also to pardon him and to let him return to India with the next fleet so that he could complete his office of *almoxarife* in Bassein. He was dying of hunger and neglect in the prison. On October 4 the king decided that he should be allowed to sail to India but that he should never again be permitted to return from there to Portugal (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III. Perdões* 25, 244). But since after being pardoned he had wounded a João Soares during an argument in the prison, on February 8, 1555, he was condemned to a year of banishment. His request that his place of banishment be changed to India, since he already had permission to sail there, was granted on March 7, but with the obligation of paying the court chaplain four *milreis* as a penance (*ibid.* 24, 255). He was thus able to sail with the fleet on April 1.—After reaching India he also told P. Antonio Quadros about his earlier conversion by Xavier, as Quadros wrote to P. Diego Mirón on December 6, 1555: When he was being prosecuted for homicide, he met Mestre Francisco in a fortress. The latter brought him back to the right way and recommended him to go to confession and to receive Communion every eight days and to return to Portugal. When he sailed to India, the priest recommended him above all else to go frequently to confession. In this way he would indicate that he was his friend and would repay him for the favors that he had shown him. He promised to do so, but he did not keep his word and lived for two years without confessing. When Mestre Francisco came to India, he met the priest in Bassein, but when, overjoyed, he encountered him, the priest told him: "Filho, muito mal fizestes o que vos encomendei, pois nunca mais vos confessastes depois que vos partistes de mim." Quadros then adds: "Since the priest could not have learned this in India by human means, it was clear that God revealed it to him. He then said to him that he would not speak with him again until he had gone to confession. And so he had him go to confession and receive the Blessed Sacrament the following day. This same person told me that he had not gone to confession and that he held it for a marvelous thing that he had moved him to reflect with great sorrow upon his sins" (DI III 337-338).

Fishery Coast before the beginning of the rainy season in order to spend the winter with his beloved Paravas and the newly converted Macua fishers of Travencore before undertaking his voyage to Japan in 1549.

But Dom João de Castro, the governor, was gravely ill with a wasting fever. When Dom Alvaro sailed for Aden, he had recovered for a brief spell; but he had then become ill again.⁵⁸ He felt his strength ebbing. It was perhaps the beginning of the end, his last voyage. If it had to come, he wanted to have an experienced guide. He was anxious that the saintly priest should remain with him in Goa during the rainy season, and the latter agreed to this with a heavy heart.⁵⁹

From Botelho, Francis learned more about the illness of the governor. The death of his son Dom Fernando had been for him the first heavy blow, from which he never really recovered.⁶⁰ In the battles against the Moors, he had not spared himself. Fearless of death, he had taken an active part in the hand-to-hand combat at the decisive battle of Diu in November, 1546. He had been no less unsparing of himself in the battle of Pondá in September, 1547, where he wore his armor both day and night, and at the battle of Salsette in the following December. But his enormous efforts had exacted their toll.⁶¹ The constant warfare had, moreover, emptied the treasury, ruined trade, and lowered revenues. Despite all this, Botelho, by making strenuous efforts, had been able to equip the fleet for Aden; and after its departure he had been able to provide the necessary food and ammunition for Diu. In Bassein and Chaul he had collected 25,000 gold *pardaus* so that the captain of the latter fortress could pay his restless soldiers three-quarters of their pay. But the soldiers were also suffering from hunger in Bassein, and there was no money to pay them their long overdue salaries. The governor, reduced to a skeleton from the concern he felt for his men and his growing fever, had become so irritable and violent that he was unbearable; and Botelho, who had also to take over the place of the ailing Antonio Pessoa as secretary, suffered so much from this that he himself became deathly ill and had to conduct his affairs from his bed.⁶²

⁵⁸ On his sickness, see Q 3791 3799 3833 3838 3859 3874 4046 4103a.

⁵⁹ EX I 436. Pérez writes that the governor was so pleased with Xavier's sermon that he asked him not to leave Goa that winter, as is indicated in the original in DI I 369. A free and greatly shortened copy of the letter made in Coimbra for Rome in 1551 omits the first ten paragraphs on the earlier life of the author of the letter in Europe and probably goes back to a second *via*. It gives a free account of Xavier's visit to Bassein: "Después del P. M. Francisco haber aqui [en Goa] estado ocho dias, no más, se partió para Baçaim a hablar al governador; adonde fué muy bien recibido, y á su petición predicó, y fué muy acepto de todos; y quisiera el governador que quedara con él; mas él no quiso; negociando lo necesario, se volvió á Goa" (SIE 69). But there is nothing of this in the original, and on April 2, 1548, Xavier wrote to Diogo Pereira: "O Senhor Governador me mandou que envernasse cá em Goa, e não pude tal fazer [to meet Pereira in Cochín], senão obedecer a Sua Senhoria" (EX I 436).

⁶⁰ Nunes, *Crónica* 106-109; Couto 6, 6, 9.

⁶¹ Nunes, *Crónica* 124-131 164 213-217.

⁶² Correa IV 614-615 662. See Botelho's letter of December 24, 1548, to the king. After he has described the trouble in bringing the necessary money together, he continues: "Nom foy nada o trabalho que niso leuey; mas como o viso rei adoeceo, foi tão apasionado e agastado, que mor seruico fyz a vosa alteza no sofrimento que niso tyve, que no trabalho que leuey; e de o sofrer, e meter por dentro, tyve huns accidentes de que estive á morte, sem nunca dixer de dar ordem a tudo, asi em cama como estava, até que de tudo ficou prouido; e de tudo ysto he boa testemunha o custodio e Mestre Francisco e dom Jerónimo de Noronha e todos os fidalguos e pessoas que aquy estauão, tendo sempre com o viso rei todas as temperanças que podião ser, nom lhe

The needs of the soldiers in Bassein had increased so greatly that a large number of them, thinking that the governor did not want to be seen and pretended to be sick so as not to be compelled to hear their complaints, came together one day and marched in rank and file with a flag, fife, and drum to the house of the governor. There they fired off numerous shots in the hope that he would come out and meet their demands. Although Manuel de Sousa, at Castro's request, persuaded the men to leave voluntarily by telling them that the governor was deathly ill and could not receive anyone, the incident had irritated the ailing governor to extremes. Before he sailed away he made an example of the drummer at the demonstration. He had him arrested and his right hand cut off "as a traitor and rebel against the service of the king." He also had the fifer and the standard-bearer seized so that he could take them back to Goa with him and have them tried there.⁶³

During the governor's illness, Dom Jerónimo de Noronha, the captain of the fortress, also had his problems.

Dom Jerónimo was the firstborn son of Dom Henrique de Meneses, the brother of the marquês of Villa Real.⁶⁴ When Dom João de Castro, a relative of his,⁶⁵ sailed to India as governor in 1545, he accompanied him, to the great surprise of his contemporaries.⁶⁶ There he was given the fortress of Bassein⁶⁷ as the successor of his younger brother, Dom Francisco de Meneses, who held the captaincy at the time.⁶⁸ He had landed at the same time as Castro in Mozambique⁶⁹ and Goa;⁷⁰ and his cousin Nunalvares de Noronha, the *vedor* of

dando nunca a entender que recebya desgostos, nem me dei nunca por achado de nenhum deles, dos que me fez" (Botelho, *Cartas* 45).

⁶³ Correa IV 636-637.

⁶⁴ On the family, see Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* V 310-313. D. Jerónimo sailed back to Portugal in 1549 and there married Isabel de Castro, the sister of the governor D. João de Castro (*ibid.* 206). He usually signed his letters: "Jerónimo de Loronha." Couto calls him Jerónimo de Meneses o Bacalhao, "casado com uma filha de D. Alvaro de Castro, irmão [an obvious error for irmã] do Governador" (6, 1, 1, pp. 5-6). In his index Correa gives him under "Noronha" and "Meneses," and in the title to a chapter he is erroneously designated as uncle (*tio*) instead of brother of D. Francisco de Meneses (IV 462). Sanceau wrongly calls him *sobrinho* instead of *cunhado* of D. João de Castro (*D. João de Castro* 159), and she states that he was married to a *sobrinha* (instead of sister) of the same (Castro, *Cartas* 92, n. 1). In the Goa process he is erroneously called João (instead of Jerónimo) (MX II 185-186).—On D. Jerónimo, see Q, index, p. 607, and 2220 2225 2318 2321 2598 2915 3615 6118. A number of contemporary accounts pertinent to this question have been published: Baião, *História* 152 160 183 221; Castro, *Cartas* (index); Correa IV 534, and *passim* (cf. index); also Couto 6, 1, 1-3; 6, 7, 2-3 and 6. He describes his merits himself in Q 1921 3921 4328 (ed. *Gavetas* I 899-903); D. João de Castro 2598 (*Cartas* 243); Frey Antonio do Casal 4148 (SR IV 257); Frey Antonio do Porto 4003 (*ibid.* 63-64); Frey Paulo de Santarem 2434 (Baião, *História* 221), Simão Botelho 4097 (Botelho, *Cartas* 14-15). His seal, like that of his brother Francisco, shows the coat of arms of the Noronhas de Linhares (TdT: *Col. S. Lourenço* III 77v; cf. 89v 57v): in the first and third fields: a castle with two rampant lions; in the second and fourth: the five shields of Portugal *antigo* (Santos Ferreira, *Armorial português* II, n. 1049). Their uncle was the first count of Linhares.

⁶⁵ Nunes, *Crónica* 108.

⁶⁶ Couto 6, 1, 1, pp. 5-6; *Emmentia* 425.

⁶⁷ Q 1354 1357.

⁶⁸ D. Francisco de Meneses was captain of Bassein after his return from the voyage to Suez, from September, 1541, to September, 1543, and then again after the resignation of D. Manuel de Lima, from December 1544 to October, 1545 (Q 833 995a; Correa IV 415, and Q 1821 1598).

⁶⁹ Q 1519.

⁷⁰ Freire de Andrade 451; Correa IV 432.

John III,⁷¹ had written to the governor before his departure from Lisbon: "Send Dom Jerónimo back from there very soon and very rich, and I shall not be at all angry with you if he takes up his office in Bassein within a year or less."⁷² Castro had immediately sent Dom Jerónimo from Goa to Bassein in order to assume his office with extensive privileges like those which his brother Dom Francisco had enjoyed: During his three years of office he could send ships to Bengal, Maluco, Basra, Coromandel, Arakan, Malacca, and China. He could import a series of wares tax free, and he could freely distribute all the offices in Bassein.⁷³

With the first leases which he let out on the villages of Bassein, the new captain had immediately increased the king's revenues by 23,000 gold *pardaus*.⁷⁴ In the following year, when Diu was being besieged, and when Bramaluco⁷⁵ was at the same time threatening Bassein, Castro had sent Dom Francisco de Meneses in April, 1546, with five *fustas* to the help of the fortress of Bassein. He was actually the best man he could find for this in India. Dom Francisco was allied to his brother, the captain, by the closest bonds of friendship. He was a *fidalgo* in possession of qualities seldom found united in a single person. He had proved himself in four years of fighting with the Moors in North Africa. As Dom Jerónimo's predecessor, he was excellently well informed on the land and its people. He was esteemed and feared as a brave captain by the Gujars and Deccanese since he had recaptured from the Nizām⁷⁶ the mountain fortresses of Karnala⁷⁷ and Sānkshī,⁷⁸ which had been deemed to be unassailable.

Dom Jerónimo had then fortified Bassein with a wall and moat against Bramaluco. His foe consequently did not dare attack him.⁷⁹ In July and August, in the midst of the monsoon, he had done everything he could to bring help to the gravely threatened fortress of Diu.⁸⁰ He had equipped with food and munitions the auxiliary fleet under the command of Dom Alvaro, the son of the governor, that had been sent to Diu, and the ships that had been sent from Chaul and the fifteen from Bassein. Standing barefooted in the mud, he had helped to push the *fustas* into the sea;⁸¹ and he had sent 350 of his 600 men to Diu with his brother Francisco, as the governor had wished.⁸² He was thus himself left with only 250.⁸³ When he learned that his brother and thirty of his comrades had fallen in battle with the Moors while making a sortie on September 1, a few days after they had landed in the beleaguered fortress, and Castro himself

⁷¹ On him, see Sousa, *Hist. Geneal.* V 204. He was the cousin of D. Jerónimo, son of his paternal uncle D. Fernando de Meneses, the second marquês de Villa Real.

⁷² Q 1359.

⁷³ Q 1598 1650 3921.

⁷⁴ 23,000 (Q 4328), 28,000 gold *pardaus* (Q 1921).

⁷⁵ Burhān-ul-Mulk, one of the captains of the king of Cambay.

⁷⁶ On the wars for the two mountain fortresses which the Nizām seized from the king of Cambay and which the Portuguese recaptured for their earlier owner but returned again to the Nizām in the treaty of March 30, 1542, in return for an annual payment of six thousand *pardaus*, see Couto 5, 8, 34 (detailed); Q 847 942 2170 4328 4367; Castro, *Cartas* 239-240 and above, p. 27.

⁷⁷ On Karnala in Taluka Karjat, which formerly belonged to Thāna District, but now to the Kolaba District, see *Thāna Gazetteer, Places of Interest* 196-197.

⁷⁸ Sānkshī, five miles northeast of Pen. It is located within Pen Taluka, which formerly belonged to the Thāna District. It now belongs to the Kolaba District.

⁷⁹ Q 2170 2225 2598.

⁸⁰ Q 2433 4148 4328.

⁸¹ Q 4428.

⁸² Castro, *Cartas* 249.

⁸³ Q 2317 4328.

came to Bassein in October on his way to relieve the desperate situation in Diu, Dom Jerónimo had offered to accompany him. When the governor told him to remain because of the threat of an attack by Bramaluco,⁸⁵ he had placed at his disposal a galleon and other ships which he had equipped at his own expense. After the relief of Diu, the governor had given an appropriate account of his deserts in a long letter to the king of December 16, 1546.⁸⁶

When the governor rebuilt the fortress of Diu, which had been largely demolished by the enemy's artillery, Dom Jerónimo had sent numerous ships with food, limestone, and munitions for this purpose.⁸⁷ In November, 1547, when Castro campaigned against Cambay, he had relinquished his fortress to an administrator and had joined the governor's forces. He captured and burned the city of Bulsar and led the van when the governor landed at Broach and provoked Sultan Mahmūd to battle.⁸⁸

In 1546, however, when Castro stopped for a few days in Bassein on his way to Diu with his fleet, natives and Portuguese had already come to him on his ship and had bitterly complained about "the robberies and oppressions" of the captain. They had also accused Dom Jerónimo of having done nothing for the auxiliary fleet which the governor had sent to Diu in July under the command of his son Dom Alvaro, and which had been driven back to Bassein by the monsoon. He had placed the whole burden upon the factor, but at the same time he had paid himself and his brother the salaries due to them. At that time Castro had had more important things to do than to hold hearings on these complaints, and he had put the plaintiffs off until his return voyage; and he had then let the matter slide.⁸⁹ A barb of suspicion had, however, become fixed in the governor's heart; and when he fell ill in Bassein in 1548, he advised Dom Jerónimo not to visit him in his house. The latter consequently received the impression that the governor's earlier favor had been turned to rejection,⁹⁰ even though individuals such as Simão Botelho, Frey Antonio do Porto, and Castro's confessor, the guardian Frey Antonio do Casal, interceded on his behalf.

Frey Antonio do Casal declared that Dom Jerónimo had served his king very well at the siege of Diu and in the Cambayan war and had generously afforded a table for the soldiers.⁹¹ Frey Antonio do Porto testified that the captain had been of great help to him since the departure of Frey Domingos. He had carried out the orders of the governor with regard to his new converts; he had paid him the money granted by the king; he had divided the lands of the pagodas and mosques among his Christians; and he had ceased giving offices to the

⁸⁴ Nunes, *Crónica* 107-109; Correa IV 514-520; Couto 6, 3, 6; Q 2369.

⁸⁵ Q 4328.

⁸⁶ Castro, *Cartas* 239-240 243 246 249: Q 4328.

⁸⁷ Q 4328.

⁸⁸ Q 3514 4148 4328.

⁸⁹ Correa IV 534; Botelho, *Cartas* 14-15.

⁹⁰ D. Jerónimo speaks of *odio* against him (Q 4328).

⁹¹ Q 4148. D. Jerónimo writes that he always provided a generous table in India, especially during the Cambayan war, in which there was always great scarcity, and for this he had made great expenditures (Q 3921 4428). After the murder of Luis Falção on October 1, 1548, he had gone to Diu and had there provided a table for more than four hundred soldiers; and up to his sailing for Portugal he had spent eighteen thousand *pardaus* for the king (Q 4328). He had made little use of the voyages that had been granted to him. He wrote to D. Alvaro de Castro in February, 1547, that he had bought two ships in Ormuz for three thousand *pardaus* and that he had sent one to Bengal and one to Maluco, but that he had lost one thousand *pardaus* in the process (Q 2859; cf. 3921).

Brahmans.⁹² Botelho rejected the accusations of Dom Jerónimo's adversaries. With respect to the salaries, in 1546 he had ordered more than three hundred *pardaus* to be paid to his brother Francisco from the latter's own salary since he was on the point of going to the help of Diu. With respect to his care for the auxiliary fleet, any neglect in this regard should be attributed to his phlegmatic temperament. And if he had perhaps been somewhat concerned about his own gain, he had also been generous when an occasion presented itself. In the previous spring he had lent fourteen thousand *pardaus* for the assistance of Diu and for Dom Alvaro's expedition to Aden. And he had said that he was ready to undertake the expedition himself at his own expense.⁹³

All this was not without its effect upon the ailing governor. When he saw that he was getting worse and that he could no longer carry on the affairs of government, he drew up a provision for Dom Jerónimo by means of which he handed the administration of these over to him. He invited him to his dwelling and gave him a document signed by his confessor Frey Antonio do Casal, Mestre Francisco, and his faithful companion Vasco da Cunha in which he recognized his many services.⁹⁴

When the time came for the departure of the governor at the end of March, Botelho visited him and asked him where he should spend the winter. Castro would have preferred to have him in Goa, but since the king wanted the *vedor* of the fortresses to complete the register of Bassein which he had begun, he told him to remain there.⁹⁵ Before the beginning of Holy Week the ship was ready to depart.⁹⁶ Master Francis took leave of his friends, and, with the governor

⁹² Q 4003; cf. 3023 3415.

⁹³ Castro, *Cartas* 15.

⁹⁴ In his *Memorial* which he wrote for the king on his return to Portugal, he states: "E huma das mais principaes cousas, en que Sua Alteza pode ver como ho servy e o credito que tinha na India, que ho Governador, não sendo meu amigo, no proprio tempo, en que me estava mandando dizer, que não fose a sua casa, por sua doença yr a ante e ser necesario dar despacho aos negocios, me pasou huma provisam, en que me encarreguava todo ho negocio da India, porque não pode tanto ho odio que mais não pudese ha obringuaçam que el tinha ao serviço de Sua Alteza e meus serviços. E me tornou a mandar pedir que fose a sua casa, confesando quanto me devia por o seu confesor e Mestre Francisco e Vasquo da Cunha, e eu o fiz como se pode ver por hum escrito que deles tenho" (Q 4328, ed. *Gavetas* I 901-902). This scene is to be placed during Xavier's stay in Bassein since D. Jerónimo did not leave Bassein before the death of the governor.

⁹⁵ Botelho, *Cartas* 5.

⁹⁶ When did Xavier sail away? According to Botelho he sailed at the end of March (*Cartas* 5). In Bassein on March 17 Castro gave Antonio Pessoa privileges for the seven villages which he had handed over to him as an hereditary fief (DI VIII 380-382). On March 19, he gave permission to Diogo Pereira for a voyage to China (Q 3857). This entry is the last on f. 183 of his **Libro das Mercês*. The following pages 183v-195 were, it seems, also still written in Bassein. On March 23 João Pedrosa received the money which the factor of Bassein had to pay him (Q 3879, f. 183v). On the twenty-fourth Seb. Teixeira also received his salary, payable through the factor of Ormuz (Q 3885, f. 184). Up to then the entries are in chronological order. These are followed by additions, all before this date, some for citizens and officials of Bassein, others for Diu and for the voyage to Aden of D. Alvaro. Then on f. 195 there is still an entry of March 23 for Pero Godinho, who received a voyage to Bengal (Q 3881). The next entry is for March 31. This and the following six entries of the governor are all written in Goa. The voyage was thus between March 24 and 31, 1548. On Easter, April 1, the governor was already in Goa, where he received a gift of the king of Honāvar (Q 3899); and on April 2 Xavier wrote a letter from Goa to Diogo Pereira (Q 3901). In addition to this the city of Chaul wrote a letter to Castro in Goa on April 7 in which it is said: "Before Your Lordship sailed from Bassein we sent Seb. Luis to you with a letter as

and his few companions,⁹⁷ among whom were Frey Antonio do Casal⁹⁸ and Vasco da Cunha,⁹⁹ set out on his return voyage to Goa.¹⁰⁰ The ship sailed off¹⁰¹ along the west coast of Salsette past the mouth of the Rio das Cabras, where the *Santiago* had sunk in 1542,¹⁰² and the Rio do Pagode de Baçaim,¹⁰³ and then along the island of Bombay. A few days after leaving Bassein, without landing in Chaul,¹⁰⁴ it anchored at Goa.¹⁰⁵ Francis could thus celebrate Easter, which fell on April 1, with his confreres in St. Paul's College.¹⁰⁶ The two prisoners, however, the fifer and the standard-bearer, thanks to the help of their friends, succeeded in disappearing during the course of the voyage.¹⁰⁷

4. CONCERN FOR THE EAST (BEGINNING OF APRIL, 1548)

The feast of Easter was solemnly inaugurated in the cathedral of Goa. But in place of the former preacher, the deceased Mestre Diogo, there was another who had taken over the office, Mestre Pedro Fernandes.¹ Since the beginning

a reply to what you had written. But since Your Lordship had already sailed on the outer route, he did not find you there and consequently returned" (Q 3911). The letter which Seb. Luis was to have brought is dated March 20 (Q 3859). He sailed on the inner route by way of Thāna. If the letter was held up for several days before the departure of its bearer, and the latter passed the night in Thāna on the voyage of thirteen leagues, or was forced to wait for the tide in order to pass through the dangerous, shallow entrance into the Thāna River, he perhaps did not reach Bassein until the evening of March 24, from which the governor had sailed away on the morning of that same day.—Correa's statement that Castro did not come to Goa until the week of Easter in April (IV 637) and Couto's, that he did not sail from Bassein until April (6, 2, 38-39), are therefore to be corrected.

⁹⁷ Correa: "Com pouca gente" (IV 637).

⁹⁸ As the confessor of the governor he naturally had to accompany him. We therefore encounter him in Bassein as well as in Goa.

⁹⁹ He was one of the "acostumados capitães em todos os negocios" (Nunes, *Crónica* 168). We therefore find him also at the governor's death in Goa.

¹⁰⁰ That Xavier accompanied the ailing governor on his voyage is to be taken for granted. He too as a consequence returned with him to Goa.

¹⁰¹ "De mar a fora" (Q 3911).

¹⁰² Cf. Vol. II, pp. 198-200. The Rio das Cabras, where the shipwreck occurred, is the modern Manori Creek.

¹⁰³ This is what Castro calls Mahim Creek, which he describes in detail in his *Roteiro a Dio* (87-90).

¹⁰⁴ This follows from the city's letter.

¹⁰⁵ "Y de Baçaim despediéndose con las provisiones necesarias para mandar dos compañeros a Malaca, vino en breve tiempo a Goa," according to Pérez (DI I 369).

¹⁰⁶ On March 31 Castro granted a Bengal voyage in Goa to João Velho (Q 3897, where instead of Bassein, Goa is to be read).

¹⁰⁷ Correa IV 637.

¹ On Mestre Pero Fernandes, see the sources in Schurhammer, "Novos documentos sobre M. Pedro Fernandes Sardinha," (GS II 149-152) and in Q, index. They are partially edited in EX, DI, SR, *Monumenta Brasiliae* (MHSI) 1-2, HCPB III 342-343 360 363 364 369 373-376 379-380, and Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 271-273 509-510. The older, misleading accounts in Cardoso, *Agiologio* (Lisboa, 1651) I 516-517 521-522, and Barbosa, *Bibliotheca Lusitana* III 566, have been superseded by Odulfo van der Vat, O.F.M., *Principios da Igreja no Brasil* (Petropolis, 1952) 261-404, and especially by Serafim Leite, S.J., *Monumenta Brasiliae* I (Roma, 1956) 46-52. His labors in Brazil are given by F. X. Gomes Catão, "Doutor Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, primeiro Deão da Sé de Goa," *Boletim Eclesiastico da Arquidiocese de Goa*, Serie 2, 15 (1956) 58-66; his work in Brazil is given by van der Vat, l.c., and S. Leite, S.J., *Historia da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* 2 (Lisboa, 1938) 515-523.—His name is given only as Pedro Fernandes in the contemporary documents. Since the end of the sixteenth century authors call him Pedro Fernandes Sardinha (for example, the *Dialogos* of Pedro de Mariz which appeared in Lisbon in 1594),

of 1546 he had also held the position of vicar general. He had been living at the court in Lisbon as a royal chaplain and preacher when King John III sent him to India at the beginning of 1545 with the fleet of Dom João de Castro with a salary of twelve *milreis* as dean and preacher of the cathedral "to reward him for his services and those of his father Diogo Fernandes."² He was already more than fifty years old³ and had brought a number of books with him on his voyage. Cosme Anes had informed the king in November, 1547, of the death of his two friends, Miguel Vaz and Mestre Diogo, whose offices were now held by Pedro Fernandes, and he had added:

Mestre Pedro, who is serving as vicar general, is wasting the time of his preaching with encomia of the governors, and he does not bother about the opposite. It is said that he gets along well this way. He nevertheless delivers the petitions and affairs of the native Christians to the governor and does what he can, but Miguel Vaz did more when he was alive.⁴

The new vicar general was an old acquaintance of Master Francis from his Parisian days. A few weeks before Xavier's arrival at the university, Fernandes had enrolled there in the summer of 1525 as "a cleric of the diocese of Evora" under the rector Gaspar Cognegut. He had studied humanities and theology in Paris for more than ten years and had gained a master's degree in philosophy and a bachelor's in theology when he returned to Portugal;⁵ and he often boasted

apparently because he was confused with Pedro Sardinha.—*Namesakes* confused with him are: (1) Pedro Fernandes, valet of John III, son of Francisco Fernandes, studied canon law for six years in Paris and went to Coimbra in 1549 to complete his studies (M. Brandão, *Documentos de D. João III* 4 [Coimbra, 1941] 52-53; Matos 98-99). In 1550 he delivered a Latin discourse there which appeared in print (Anselmo, n. 275). A copy of it in Evora is ascribed to P. Fernandes Sardinha (*Monumenta Brasiliae* I 47). (2) Pero Sardinha who, as chaplain, in 1531 acknowledged the receipt of stipends for the Masses which he offered in the Sé of Lisbon for the repose of the soul of King Duarte (HCPB III 336) and, as pastor of Santa Cruz do Castelo in Lisbon from November, 1545, to May, 1546, signed the entrances in the baptismal register of this church (Prestage-Azevedo, *Registo da Freguesia de Santa Cruz de Castelo* [Coimbra, 1913] 5-8.—*Life*: Returning to Portugal in 1549, he was, through the bull *Super specula militantis Ecclesiae*, appointed on May 25, 1551, to be bishop of the newly founded diocese of São Salvador da Bahia in Brazil (Q 4626). In 1552 he came to Bahia, where he soon so antagonized the Jesuits, the second governor of the land, and a portion of the clergy and the Portuguese there that the king had to summon him back to Lisbon for an accounting. On his return voyage, however, he was shipwrecked on the Brazilian coast and was slain with his companions on June 16, 1556, and devoured by the Indians.

² Q 1411 1421.

³ The governor D. Duarte da Costa wrote on May 20, 1555, that the bishop was sixty years old (HCPB III 375).

⁴ DI I 216. When he became vicar general, Castro raised his income to forty *milreis*, "considering the many labors which he had in his office, his learning and his preaching in the cathedral, and the fact that he is a man of good life and example" (Q 2063). He later received further favors (Q 3243 3244).

⁵ Matos 54-55. In his foreword to the *Tractatus Alvari Gometii Lusitani Doctoris theologi, Sacellani et Concionatoris serenissimi Portugalliae Regis, De coniugio Regis Angliae cum relictis fratris sui* (Lisbon, 1551) ff. 1v-9 (Anselmo, n. 639), he notes that he had studied the humanities and theology for more than ten years in Paris (Matos 54). In 1524 Petrus Fernandez Evorensis wrote a preface to the work of Frey João de Santa Maria, O.E.S.A., which was printed in Paris, *Aurelii Patris Augustini Regula* (Santiago Vela VII 323-324). The document founding the diocese of Bahia calls him "baccalarius in theologia" (Q 4626); the king of Portugal "mestre em theologia" (Q 4496). He did not have a doctorate, and in 1553 Nobrega wrote that he was no *letrado* (*Monumenta Brasiliae* I 455).

that he had had Ignatius of Loyola and Simon Rodrigues among his students.⁶

But on Easter, 1548, Master Francis was busier with the East than with the West. He had hardly returned to St. Paul's College when he summoned his two confreres Pérez and Oliveira and told them that they should ready themselves for a pilgrimage since he had destined them for founding a house of the Society of Jesus in Malacca.⁷

His next concern was for his friend Diogo Pereira in Cochin. On Easter Monday he wrote a covering letter to the governor's *alvará* granting him permission for his projected voyage to China,⁸ and sent them both to him. The letter⁹ began as follows:

God our Lord knows how happy I would have been to see you before you set sail for China. But the Lord Governor ordered me to stay here in Goa, and I could do nothing else but obey His Lordship, although I was eager to go to Cochin and from there to Cape Comorim, where my companions are.

It would have been indeed a great joy and consolation for me to have talked with Your Grace, my true and faithful friend, about a sea voyage which I hope to make to Japão a year from now;¹⁰ for I have obtained much information about the fruit which can be obtained there in the spreading of our holy faith.

I am sending two of my companions there to Mallaca, one of them to preach to the Portuguese and to their wives and slaves, and to teach and instruct each day as I did when I was there; and the other companion, who is not a priest, to teach the children of the Portuguese how to read and write and how to recite the Hours of Our Lady, the Seven [Penitential] Psalms, and the Office of the Dead for the souls of their parents. For, as you know, all that they are taught there is how to read from protocols of the court;¹¹ and the children of the Portuguese, since they read from protocols, and mostly from protocols of Mallaca, finally become true *mallaquazes*.¹² I am, moreover, ordering the one who is to teach the Portuguese children how to read and write also to teach [Latin] grammar in the course of time to those who are suited for it.

I would have been greatly pleased to have seen Your Grace before you sail for China in order to commend to you a very precious ware which those who trade in Mallaca and China deem to be of small account. This ware is called the conscience of one's soul. It is so little recognized in those parts that all the merchants think they are ruined if they make good use of it. I hope in God our Lord that my friend Diogo Pereira will make a profit since he is sailing with a good conscience where others are ruined because they have none. I shall always ask in my poor prayers that God our Lord may accompany you and bring you back safely and richer in soul and conscience than in earthly goods.

⁶ "Diz muitas vezes ser Mestre e ensinar a Mestre Ignatio e a V. R. em Paris," Nóbrega wrote to Simon Rodrigues in July, 1552 (*Mon. Brasiliae* I 373). Perhaps this refers to Latin lectures such as, for example, Ignatius attended in 1528 and 1529 in the Collège de Montaigu.

⁷ DI I 369-370.

⁸ Q 3857.

⁹ EX I 435-438.

¹⁰ On January 20, 1548, Xavier was still not sure whether he himself should go or another, whether he should go with another, or whether he should send two on ahead and follow them later (*ibid.* 392-399).

¹¹ Our confrere Dionysius Fernandez Zapico informed us that he had himself, when he was young, learned how to read in school from protocols.

¹² Xavier is here playing on the two meanings of the words *malaquês* and *feitos*. *Malaquês* could mean a silver coin worth one *milreis* which Affonso de Albuquerque had minted in Malacca, but it could also mean one born in Malacca. *Ficção feitos mallaquazes* could therefore mean: "They finally become true Malaccans," or "What finally remain are Malaccan protocols."

Francis then made a request on behalf of a poor fellow by the name of Alonso Ramírez who had come to him in Goa and had asked him for help.¹³ He had been with the fleet of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, but for some reason or other he had not been able to embark with his countrymen who had been taken from Cochin to Portugal at the beginning of the year at the expense of the Portuguese government. Since he did not have the funds needed to return to his country, Francis ended his letter to Pereira with the following request:

Ramires is sailing there in order to put himself completely at the disposal of Your Grace, since he knows the true friendship which exists between us and is of the opinion that if he serves Your Grace and places himself completely at your disposal, you will help and assist him to obtain an alms to return to his country. He has a father and mother and is very anxious to see them again, but he lacks the means for embarking and equipping himself for the voyage. I am so poor that, even if I sought to do so, I would not have the possibility of helping him to return to his country. I therefore ask Your Grace for the love of Christ our Lord and our Lady, the Most Blessed Virgin, His Mother, appealing to our friendship as earnestly as I can, that you take him into your company and make use of his services; and that you grant him a loan, as Your Grace is accustomed to do for all those who are recommended to you; and that, in conjunction with your loan, you see that he can make some profit from it so that he can obtain what he needs for his return. By doing this you will render a great service to God our Lord and a great favor and alms to me, and it will make me obliged to do whatever Your Grace asks of me.

May our Lord increase the days of your life for His holy service; and may He accompany you and bring you safely back, as you desire. Amen.

Goa, the second of April, 1548.

Your Grace's servant and true friend.

Francisco.

As he usually did on such occasions, Master Francis wrote an instruction for his two confreres destined for Malacca.¹⁴

Oliveira should teach the children reading and writing and their prayers, the Office of Our Lady, the Seven Penitential Psalms, and the Office of the Dead. They should not use judicial reports as texts in class, as had hitherto been the custom, but materials which would instruct them in a Christian way of life: ¹⁵ catechisms, his own explanation of the articles of the faith, copies made from the lives of the saints, and similar works.¹⁶ If there were any students

¹³ Garcia d'Escalante Alvarado, an officer of Ruy López de Villalobos' fleet, adds to his account of the expedition, of August 1, 1548, which was destined for the viceroy, a list of the surviving Castilians. Among these there is at the end an Alonso Ramiro (209), a reference to our Ramírez. He sailed with Diogo Pereira for China, was left there with two junks of still unsold wares, and was imprisoned with his companions by the Chinese in 1549. The account which he wrote in 1555 from the interior of China, and which we published in 1953 in "Der Ursprung des Chinaplanes des hl. Franz Xavier" (GS III 665-679), was signed by him as "Allonso Ramiro." We have described his experiences in China in a second article, "Das Geheimnis der zwei Dschunken" (*ibid.* 681-703). Nothing is known about his subsequent fate.

¹⁴ The instruction is lost. We have reconstructed its contents from the following sources: (1) data furnished by Xavier in his letter to Diogo Pereira of April 2, 1548 (EX I 437), and his letter from Malacca of June 22, 1549 (*ibid.* II 131-133); (2) Perez' letter from Malacca of December 4, 1548 (DI I 370-374), and his *Informação* of 1579 (58-60). The information contained in the *Anotações* of Manuel Teixeira, composed in 1581 (52-53), and in Lucena 6, 3 (cf. EX I 439-441) is also drawn from these.

¹⁵ Pérez, *Informação* 58.

¹⁶ "Oras de N. Senhora, sete Psalmos, Oras de finados" (Xavier in 1548); "Cartilhas

for Latin, he should also introduce them to its elements.¹⁷ As far as his own teaching permitted it, he should also help give instructions in Christian doctrine and assist in the conversion of the pagans, in the settling of quarrels, and in the service of the sick.¹⁸

Pérez, as Xavier had already done,¹⁹ should teach Christian doctrine in the church of the Misericórdia every day to the sons and daughters of the Portuguese and to their slaves for an hour and a half,²⁰ from half past twelve until two o'clock. Only in case of necessity should he entrust this work to another.²¹ On Sundays and feast days he should, moreover, preach in the morning after his Mass²² to the Portuguese in the parish church;²³ and after the noon meal he should give an instruction on Christian doctrine to the children and slaves of the Portuguese and to the native Christians.²⁴ In this he should follow the explanation of the articles of faith which Xavier had composed in Ternate. On another day of the week²⁵ the priest should, in addition to this, offer the Mass of the confraternity in Nossa Senhora do Monte and after it speak for half an hour²⁶ on the articles of the faith, the commandments of God and of the Church, and the sacraments²⁷ to the Portuguese and other native, married women, since both had urgent need of such instructions.²⁸ Since the Misericórdia was poor and did not have a chaplain, Pérez should act as a substitute for one.²⁹ He should therefore offer a Mass each Wednesday for its *provedor* and brothers;³⁰ and each Friday, or some other weekday, he should do the same for the sick of the hospital. He should hear their confessions and dispense the other sacraments to them³¹ without accepting payment or alms for this.³² From time to time he should also go with some boys as interpreters to speak with the pagans on the other side of the river.³³

The priest should visit the captain every eight days.³⁴ He should keep on very good terms with him and under no circumstances break with him or with

e Oras" (Xavier in 1549); "Oras de N. Senhora, Ofícios dos finados, treslados de Vidas de Santos e de outros libros, donde se puede tomar dotrina para la vida; y ansí los enseño por una declaración de los articulos de la fee que el Padre Maestro Francisco ordena" (Pérez in DI I 370-371).

¹⁷ Xavier in 1548 and 1549; Pérez in 1548; Lucena.

¹⁸ Lucena.

¹⁹ Xavier in 1548. See the precise description given by Pérez in 1548 of the way in which Xavier taught Christian doctrine (DI I 372-373).

²⁰ "Hórae medea y a laz vezes dos oras" (Pérez in 1548), "ora e meia, scilicet das doze e meia às duas" (*Informação* 58).

²¹ Teixeira, Lucena.

²² Pérez in 1548.

²³ Xavier in 1549.

²⁴ Xavier in 1549 (articles of the faith); Pérez in 1548 (Xavier's explanation of the articles of faith).

²⁵ "On one day of the week" (Xavier in 1549, in EX I 131 133); "Thursdays" (Pérez in 1548); "Saturdays" (Pérez, *Informação*; Teixeira, Lucena).

²⁶ Pérez in 1548.

²⁷ Sacraments (Pérez in 1548), articles of the faith, commandments of God and of the Church (Teixeira, Lucena).

²⁸ Teixeira.

²⁹ Pérez in 1548; Xavier in 1549.

³⁰ For the Misericórdia (Pérez in 1548); "na Misericórdia ao provedor e irmãos" (Pérez, *Informação* 58).

³¹ Once a week (Pérez in 1548, Lucena); on Fridays (Pérez, *Informação* 58).

³² Lucena.

³³ Pérez, *Informação* 58.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Teixeira, Lucena.

the vicar and the clergy.³⁵ And in his sermons he should say nothing against the captain or the clergy. He should make efforts to gain their friendship; and if he succeeded in this, he could then tell them in private what seemed good to him before God. He should work to secure the love of all, for he would then obtain greater fruit; and he should avoid being a source of trouble to anyone, keeping in mind the saying of the apostle: "*Quod ex vobis est, cum omnibus hominibus pacem habentes.*"³⁶

Xavier further told Pérez that he should not show himself impatient when the people spoke with him or visited him. Rather, he should let them see that he was much pleased by their visits. They would not then flee from him but would rather be glad to listen to him and to draw profit from this. He should also preach as often as possible and about the sins of the people in general. He should therefore strive to obtain knowledge of the public failings of a village from reliable individuals who were cognizant of them.

When the time for departure arrived, he gave Pérez a document with some reserved cases and faculties which the bishop gave him for Malacca, and he told him:

Take this and show it to the vicar Affonso Martins of Malacca. If he agrees with it, make use of it; and if he does not, do not use it. For in this way you will be able to do all that you wish. And see to it that you are very much his friend and that you are subject to him, for otherwise we only make the people grumble; and you will be the occasion for many offenses against God our Lord.³⁷

On April 8 Pérez and Oliveira took their departure from Master Francis and their confreres in St. Paul's College;³⁸ and, with their blessing, they boarded the royal clove ship that was sailing for Ternate by way of Malacca. The captain was Diogo de Sousa Braga,³⁹ to whom the governor had granted on March 13 all the privileges for this voyage which his predecessor Duarte de Miranda had had, with the addition that the captain of Malacca could not prevent his sailing.⁴⁰ Xavier gave him Castro's warrants for King Hairun⁴¹ and one from the bishop for Father Juan de Beira. According to this latter, if one were dismissed from the order, Beira should inform him that he must report to his major superior under the penalty of excommunication.⁴²

God had sent a substitute for Pérez as a Latin teacher. Before Xavier's return from Malacca, Lancilotto had received into the house a young man by the

³⁵ Pérez, *Informação* 58, Teixeira.

³⁶ "In so far as it depends on you, keeping peace with all men" (Rom. 12:16). Pérez, *Informação* 58-59.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Teixeira, Lucena.

³⁸ Pérez in 1548 (DI I 370).

³⁹ His brother Manuel de Sousa and his brother-in-law João Bravo also sailed with the captain (Pérez, *Informação* 59). Diogo de Sousa fought against the Moors in Malabar in 1525 and 1530 (Correa II 864; III 352). In 1538 he was the captain of the seventy-ton caravel *Rosa* (Q 334a). In 1547 he received in addition to the two earlier voyages a third Molucca voyage as the captain and factor of the clove ship (Q 2835). In February, 1549, he sailed from Ternate, but he had to turn back. In February of the following year, 1550, he again undertook his return voyage (Q 4380). During the course of it he was sponsor in Amboina during the baptism of the murderer of P. Nuno Ribeiro (DI II 118; Q 4543). In 1552, on his second Molucca voyage, Xavier sailed with him from India to Malacca (MX II 391).

⁴⁰ Q 3841 3907.

⁴¹ EX II 477-478.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 114; DI I 267.

name of Domingos de Carvalho⁴³ who had attended classes in the humanities and was religiously inclined. Soon after completing his Exercises, Torres had heard Carvalho's confession. When he spoke to him of the Society of Jesus, Carvalho was immediately ready to join it. Master Francis accepted him and ordered Torres to give him the Exercises. He made them with great profit and was immediately ready to teach Latin in the order.⁴⁴

5. DOM ALVARO'S VOYAGE TO ADEN (FEBRUARY—MAY, 1548)¹

On April 16, four days after the departure of the clove ship, the solemn procession of Corpus Christi was held in Goa. This had been transferred to the Thursday after Whitsunday² because of the rainy season, but the governor did not take part in it since the fever which he had brought back with him from Bassein refused to abate.³ Because of it he had, on his return, taken up his residence outside the city to obtain some needed rest. He declared that he would move to his earlier residence in the Sabayo Palace when Dom Alvaro returned from his expedition to Aden, and he ordered the citizens to get ready to receive the latter.⁴

In the meantime he had the memorials of his past victories brought into the city. At the capture of Patane in Cambay he had taken as booty two whale ribs which, raised on pillars, had formed an arched gate at the entrance to the city. He had these erected in the same manner near the city gate close to Nossa Senhora da Serra, and over them he placed a copper banner with a representation

⁴³ In his supplement to his life of Xavier, Teixeira wrote that when Xavier came to Goa (in March, 1548), he had encountered six of his confreres there: Micer Paul, Lancilotto, Pérez, Baltasar Nunes, and Cosme de Torres and Brother Domingos Carvalho, two whom Lancilotto had recently received into the Society, to Xavier's great consolation. When the latter learned that the governor, D. João de Castro, was in Bassein and was not too well disposed towards the Society, he immediately sailed to him (*Anotações* 51-52).

⁴⁴ DI I 477-478. Carvalho was summoned to Japan by Xavier and ordained to the priesthood in October, 1549, but he died of consumption in Goa on April 3, 1552, in Xavier's presence. Gil Barreto wrote of him that he had been the one in whom his confreres had mirrored themselves the most because of his great meekness and humility. He had been their teacher in grammar, but much more in the practice of virtue (DI II 512).

¹ The sources on the preparations for the expedition to Aden are given above on p. 410. The principal *sources* for the Aden expedition itself are: (1) the treaty of the governor with the representatives of the king of Aden (Q 3713, ed. Castro, *Cartas* 355-359); (2) his instruction for D. Alvaro (Q 3786, ed. *ibid.* 378-384); (3) *auto* on the Canecanim Islands of March 19 (Q 3856), signed by all the chief *fidalgos* (Q, pl. VIII); (4) three instructions of D. Alvaro and the *assento* of the same of March 27 (Q 3858 3878 3790 3891); (5) the *auto* of Qishn of April 5 (Q 3906); (6) the letter of the king of Qishn (Q 3922); (7) D. Alvaro's diary of the voyage, most important (Q 3932); (8) the letters of the governor to D. Alvaro on the occasion of his return (Q 3931 and 3934, ed. Castro, *Cartas* 394-397); also: Q 3788 4046 (according to the accounts of eyewitnesses) 4087 (one who sailed there) 4249 (document of knighting) 6225 (local tradition). South Arabian sources are: the *Chronicle of al-Shihr*, composed by Bā Fakīh al Shiri, who died in 1624, which for our period largely goes back to Bā Makhramah, who died in 1564, given in Serjeant 107-109; and the legendary tradition, pp. 155-156.—*Accounts*: (1) Nunes, *Crónica* 224-237 (used the papers of D. Alvaro); (2) Correa IV 624-651 (a contemporary); (3) Couto 6, 6, 1-6, pp. 1-48 (from the data, especially of Antonio Cornejo, who took part in the expedition; cf. p. 7).

² DI I 302.

³ Q 3925-3926.

⁴ Correa IV 637-638.

of St. Martin upon it. He also had the large stone balls which the Moors had shot into the fortress of Diu during the siege placed upon the walls. It had been on the vigil of St. Martin that he had obtained his memorable victory at Diu in 1546. Near the city wall, which had been torn down near the hospital after the siege for his triumphal entrance into Goa, he had another arch erected with an inscription in gilded letters commemorating his victory. Above it were two stone lions carrying his coat of arms upon their breast, and upon the interior of the arch was placed a picture of the saintly bishop and a ledge below it, upon which a lamp should be ever burning. A similar picture of the saint adorned the door to the hall of his residence. Over the city gate near the Misericórdia, he had sculptured stones from the mosque of Diu immured, and a painting affixed to it representing St. Thomas as he was placing his hands into the wounds of Christ. Over it were also placed two stone lions with his coat of arms and stone balls from the siege of the fortress as a reminder of the victory which he had achieved over the Moors in Salsette on the feast of St. Thomas, December 21, 1547. The painting was brought in a solemn procession from the College of St. Paul, in which the cathedral chapter, the Jesuits, the Franciscans, and the citizens took part, to the sound of music and the roar of cannons.⁵

The governor appointed a commission for the administration of his office, which was extremely burdensome to him in his illness. This was made up of the city captain, Dom Diogo de Almeida; the bishop, Frey Juan de Albuquerque; the *vedor* of the *fazenda*, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha; the chancellor, Dr. Francisco Toscano; the *ouvidor geral*, Sebastião Lopes Lobato; and the secretary, Cosme Anes. Castro handed over to them all his authority with the exception of decisions with respect to war and peace and replies to embassies. Every three days the commission held a meeting in the residence, and under the presidency, of the bishop until the death of the governor.⁶ Since the governor was so poor that he did not have the money to pay the salaries of his servants and his other expenses during his illness, he summoned the men of his council, the members of the commission, and the officials of the royal *fazenda* to his sickroom and explained to them his needs. Along with them he had also invited the vicar general, Mestre Pero Fernandes; the guardian, Frey Antonio do Casal; and P. Mestre Francisco.

As he informed them, he did not have at the time enough money to buy even a chicken for himself. The expenses of the last two years of fighting had put him so much in debt that he had already been compelled to anticipate his salary up to September 15. In order to preserve his independence as governor, he had never wished to borrow money from anyone. He therefore asked the administrator of the royal possessions and the officials of the king to grant him for the next four months, until the arrival of the ships from Portugal, an appropriate sum for the expenses of his house and to designate someone for its administration so that no unnecessary expenditures of this sum would be made. He further asked that some still outstanding debts which he had incurred during the past wars in the service of his king for the support of his soldiers be paid

⁵ *Ibid.* 614-638. On the special devotion of the governor for St. Thomas, see Seb. Gonçalves, 3, 19.

⁶ Correa IV 638-639; Couto 66, 9; letter of the bishop in SR IV 114 (Q 4037). Correa correctly places the appointment of the commission before the reception of the ambassador of the Nizām; Couto erroneously places it after the arrival of the ships from Portugal.

from the money of the king, and that these payments should be recorded in a separate book which should be kept by the royal treasurer. If God should preserve him his life, he would pay them later; but if he died, these debts should be remitted to him.

After he had spoken, the governor laid his right hand upon a missal and swore on the holy Gospels that up to the present hour he had not owed a *cruzado* to his king or to any other Christian, Jew, Moor, or pagan. Neither had he, while he was ruling in India, ever engaged in any kind of trade, nor had he sought in any other way to enrich himself. He had defrayed all his expenses entirely from his own salary; and apart from what he had brought for his office from Portugal, he possessed nothing. The few pieces of silver which he had for his personal use were reduced to half since some had been stolen and others worn out or broken. He had kept such a tight control over his expenses that he had never had enough money to buy a mattress other than the one he had on his bed. The only items which he had in his house which he had purchased in India were a gold dagger with a jewel of little value and a helmet adorned with silver, which he had commissioned to be made for his son Dom Alvaro, whom he wished to send to Portugal the following year so that he might serve his lord, the king, at court and in battle. And he asked that an *auto* be composed with respect to all of this, and that it be signed by all present so that if the contrary to what he had declared was ever discovered, the king might punish him as a perjurer and corrupter of his honor and possessions.⁷

The desires of the ailing governor were executed. The document was drawn up and signed by all, and the money needed for his expenses during his illness was generously granted.⁸

Only once did the desperately ill governor make an exception to his resolve not to return to the Sabayo Palace before the arrival of his son. This was on April 26, when he went there for the solemn reception of the ambassador of the Nizām. The latter had come with Duarte Barbudo, whom Castro had sent to this important Moorish prince in order to conclude with him an alliance against his rival, Adil Khān. The reception was a solemn event. There was music from numerous instruments: trumpets, kettledrums, and schawms. The ambassador was greeted with the booming of guns as he entered the great hall of the Sabayo Palace with the city captain, where the governor was sitting on a throne surrounded by his bodyguard and all the *fidalgos* in formal garb. The ailing governor rose slightly, stretched his hand out to the ambassador, and invited him to sit near him. The visitor delivered the gifts of his lord: a precious turquoise, thirty-

⁷ Couto gives the words of the governor in the first person according to the original *auto*, which was composed at his request; and he adds: "Este auto se fez logo, e hoje está o proprio, em que todas as pessoas nomeadas [thus also Xavier, whom he expressly mentions] se assinaram em hum livro dos registos da Fazenda dos Contos de Goa. donde o nós tirámos, e trasladámos" (6, 6, 9, p. 67). Couto places the *auto* fourteen days before the death of the governor and after the arrival of the letters from Portugal. Since the governor died on June 6, Couto thus places it on May 22. But this date is impossible. On May 21 Christovão de Sá came with the first ship from Portugal and told Castro that it was bringing ten thousand *cruzados* for him. The *auto* must therefore be dated before the arrival of this ship since the governor makes a request in it that he be granted his salary for four months, until the arrival of the ships from Portugal (in September).

⁸ "Os Veadores da Fazenda com os Deputados do governo, ordenáram ao Viso-Rey pera dispezas de sua casa tudo abastadamente; mas o que lhe limitáram, e o livro em que se lançou esta despeza, nós o não achámos, buscando-o bem" (Couto 6, 6, 9, p. 69).

five pieces of silk, thirty-six shawls, and twelve pieces of fine linen cloth. Castro indicated his pleasure, spoke a few words, and then dismissed his guest, who was taken back to his residence by the captain of the city.⁹

Soon after this two *fustas* of the fleet of Dom Alvaro,¹⁰ who had returned to Bassein¹¹ on April 26, arrived in Goa. They were bringing the wounded, who were able to give an account of the expedition of the governor's son to Aden.¹²

Dom Alvaro, as he had been instructed, had sailed from Bassein at the end of February¹³ and had reached Socotra with a favorable wind with nineteen of his ships.¹⁴ He had wanted to take the sheik¹⁵ with him, but the latter preferred to remain on the island. He gave him, however, his son Sayyid ben Isā ben Afram, whom he had made king of Quishn.¹⁶ Dom Alvaro had sailed with him to the Canecanim Islands, near the southwestern coast of Arabia, in order to obtain news about conditions in Aden.

⁹ Correa IV 639. On April 18 the king of Vijayanagar had a gift delivered (Q 3928). The ambassadors, Tristão de Paiva and Duarte Barbudo, give detailed accounts of the negotiations with him (Q 3706 3743) and with the Nizām (Q 3767 3830 3911) with respect to an alliance against Adil Khān.

¹⁰ Correa errs in stating that the two *fustas* with the wounded did not reach Goa with the first news about the expedition to Aden until May 2 (IV 639). Castro's letter of April 28 shows that the governor already had news at the time of the return of his son (Q 3931). Correa also places the arrival of D. Alvaro at the bar in Pangim on May 4 instead of April 30, and the solemn entrance on May 6 instead of May 2. All three dates are thus four days too late. He apparently identifies the solemn entrance with the celebration of the city on Sunday, May 6, and has the city stage another celebration on the following Sunday (649-650). All his dates should consequently be four days earlier. Couto errs in stating that after the capture of Qishn D. Alvaro immediately, on the same day, sent the wounded in the *fusta* of D. Payo de Noronha to Goa with letters for his father; that D. Alvaro had himself sailed from Qishn on April 8; and that the governor had visited all the sick in the hospital (6, 6, 6). This is all contradicted by the contemporary sources. D. Alvaro left Qishn on April 11; on April 12 he encountered the *fustas* with the sick and gave them an infirmarian to help the surgeon (*Diary* 151v).

¹¹ *Diary* 155v.

¹² Correa IV 639-640.

¹³ D. Alvaro made an entry into his diary on the last day of February. Immediately after this he wrote that on the morning of Thursday, March 1, he had encountered two ships of his company (143). He thus apparently gives February 29 as the day of his departure since 1548 was a leap year. Nunes has him set sail on February 28 (*Crónica* 226).

¹⁴ "With his whole fleet," according to Nunes (*Crónica* 226). But in his diary D. Alvaro states that he came with nineteen of his ships to Socotra and that before he left five more ships of his fleet had arrived (148v).

¹⁵ The old king of Qishn (Portuguese: *Caixem*) is meant. He was also the sheik of Socotra (Q 1322), where he had fled when his capital was seized by the king of Shihr (Portuguese: *Xael*) and the Turks in 1546 (Q 2205).

¹⁶ Alvaro's diary calls him a nephew of the sheik (148v). According to the Arabic legend, Sa'id bin Isā fled to his maternal uncles in Socotra and was named sultan of Qishn (Serjeant 156). His brother 'Amir had gone to India to obtain help (*ibid.* 108 155-156). Elsewhere Sa'id bin Isā is always called the son of the king of Qishn (Q 2577 2588 2635-2636). His name is given by Nunes (*Crónica* 226 230 235). In his instruction for D. Alvaro the governor had told him: "If in Socotra you receive more precise news that a large Turkish fleet is at Aden which you cannot engage in battle, and you are unable to help the king [of Aden], sail to Caxem [Qishn], taking the king of Caxem with you, and put him in possession of the city" (Castro, *Cartas* 380-381). At the same time Vasco da Cunha had written to D. Alvaro: "If you obtain news in Socotra that the Turks are in Aden and that your fleet cannot fight with them, then take the sheik with you" (Q 3788). D. Alvaro had sailed along the southern coast of Socotra and had landed in Kalenzia on the northwest of the island. From there he had sent a messenger with a gift and a letter from Castro to the sheik, who lived in Suk thirty-seven

There, to his great surprise, he had encountered Dom Payo de Noronha with two *fustas*, and he had learned from him the reason for his presence on the islands. Dom Payo had been commissioned by the captain of Ormuz to assist the Arab king Alī ben Sulaimān, who had asked for help against the Turks, from whom he had captured the city of Aden. On November 15, 1547, Noronha had entered the city with his twenty-seven Portuguese, but the enemy had come with fifteen galleys and a large number of men. These were in turn joined by two thousand more who had come overland, and the siege of the city was begun. Since provisions could no longer be brought into it, a famine broke out in the city and the people began fighting among themselves. Conditions became ever more intolerable. Many refused to obey the king. Others, for example, the Abyssinian troops, who were in control of the magazines, favored the side of the besiegers. On February 5 Dom Payo and his few men, without the knowledge of the king, secretly abandoned the fortress. Under the cover of night they sailed away in a *catur* and were thus able to warn certain other Portuguese ships that were intent on bringing help to the fortress. In the harbor of Hairīdj,¹⁷ east of Aden, Noronha had learned that the city had been occupied by the Turks the very day of his departure. In addition to this, he had been told that seven more galleys and three thousand more men had come overland from Suez to help in the siege of the city. They had been further joined by seven ships with two hundred Turks from Shihr,¹⁸ and the king of Aden¹⁹ had been slain with almost all his people.

Shortly before his encounter with Dom Payo, Dom Alvaro had sent a ship with Duarte Leitão²⁰ and a servant of the ambassador of the king of Aden in order to obtain information. He returned with the news that the sheik in Burūm,²¹ a harbor between Aden and Hairīdj, had told him that one of his subjects had left Aden eighteen days before, and that the Turks had not at the time succeeded in capturing the city.²²

In order to clarify these contradictory reports, Dom Alvaro sent three ships on different routes with the ambassador of the king of Aden, who had come with him from Bassein, to the Arabian coast not far from Aden.²³ On March 27 they

miles away on the northern side of the island, "e lhe dixe," as he wrote in his diary, "que meu pai me dixerá, que o levase a Caixem dipois que fizese os negoceos em Adem, e isto dando-me o tempo lugar, que com esta aventura avia d'ir se quizesse. Mas ele como omem a que nisto não ia muito, não quis ir e mandou o *sobrinho*, que hee a pesoa a quem o reino pertence e a quem se a d'entregar" (148v). Nunes, who had the diary at his disposal, makes of this: "Tanto que dom Alvaro foy certificado da tomada d'Adem, determynou de fazer sua Rota pera o Reino de Caxem, pera trabalhar de meter de pose d'elle Çaide bem Iça ben Afram, que *seu pai* lhe dera, e entregara pera iso" (*Crónica* 230). By *seu pai* Nunes apparently means D. Alvaro's father, since he did not understand Castro's instruction correctly and erroneously assumes that Çaide ben Iça bem Afram had come to Bassein to ask for help and had sailed away from there with D. Alvaro (*ibid.* 226).

¹⁷ Portuguese: *Rique*.

¹⁸ Portuguese: *Xael*.

¹⁹ Muhammed bin Alī bin Sulaimān. His father, Alī bin Sulaimān, had already before this fallen in battle with the Turks. According to the Arabic chronicle of al-Shihr the Turks conquered Aden on Muharram 14, 955, that is, February 24, 1548 (Serjeant 107-108).

²⁰ During the course of his voyage, before arriving at the Canecanim Islands, Alvaro had already sent him there (*Diary* 149v).

²¹ Portuguese: *Veruma*.

²² According to Couto the Turks only learned of Noronha's flight three weeks later (6, 6, 5).

²³ *Auto* of March 19, 1548 (Q 3856). The diary gives the names of the three captains

returned with a definite report that the city was now in the hands of the Turks. Sixteen Turkish vessels were lying at anchor in the harbor, galleys and galiots, and the arrival of the entire Suez fleet was anticipated.²⁴ Dom João de Ataíde, who had sailed from Bassein before the departure of Dom Alvaro's fleet and had fought with Turkish ships in the harbor of Aden two days after the fall of the city, reported the same.²⁵ A council of war was then held, and Dom Alvaro, since he could not possibly fight against the superior forces of the Turks with his own limited strength, decided to sail on to Qishn in keeping with the instructions he had received from the governor.²⁶ The Portuguese fleet, consisting of twenty-six oared ships, arrived before the city on April 4 with Sayyid ben Isā, the king who had been driven from his city.²⁷ There the sultan of Shihr, who was allied with the Turks, had erected a proud fortress with lofty walls and four strong bulwarks and a deep, broad moat.²⁸ In it there were seventy Fartakis with a Turkish captain,²⁹ all expert with guns.³⁰ Since they refused to accept an unconditional surrender, the fortress was bombarded for two days and nights. It was then captured after a bitter, three-hour battle.³¹ The entire garrison was put to death (the besieged had already slain their wives and children),³² and the king was placed again in possession of his kingdom. But the victory had cost the Portuguese dearly: thirty had been killed and more than forty wounded;³³ and these arrived in Goa in a pitiable condition since the salty air of the sea had grievously affected their wounds.³⁴

(150). In a *catur* were Aleixo Carvalho with the ambassador Amīr Dū-s ben Ahmad (Nunes, *Crónica* 227-228). With him, in a small *fusta*, was Pero de Ataíde Inferno (Correa IV 645) and, in a second *catur*, D. Antonio de Noronha (Q 3858). Extensive accounts on D. Payo de Noronha and his flight from Aden are given by Nunes (*Crónica* 226-227), Correa IV 627-630 641 642 644-645, and Couto, mainly from oral data furnished by Antonio Cornejo, who accompanied D. Payo on this voyage (6, 6, 1-6).

²⁴ *Diary* 150; *assento* of March 27, 1548 (Q 3891).

²⁵ Q 3891; cf. Nunes, *Crónica* 228-230; Correa IV 642-645 and Manuel da Gama's letter of December 15, 1548 (Q 4087). He sailed with Ataíde to Aden and then with D. Alvaro to Qishn. Correa has Ataíde arrive in Aden six days after the fall of the city (IV 642-644).

²⁶ Q 3891. Ataíde was left behind with two *fustas* in order to bring the ambassador and his people back, and to fetch the Portuguese of his escort ships in Arabia (Q 3890). D. Alvaro sailed two hours before dawn with twenty-six ships (*Diary* 150v); according to Correa with thirty-two *fustas* (IV 645).

²⁷ *Diary* 151v; Nunes, *Crónica* 231; the Arabic chronicle of al-Shihr has the same date: Safar 24, 955, Wednesday (Serjeant 109). Correa has D. Alvaro sail to Qishn with the "son of the king of Caxem," but he then errs in having the king of Caxem come from land and visit D. Alvaro on his ship and present him with gifts and ask him to give his kingdom back to him (IV 647). Couto is wrong in having D. Alvaro capture Xael (Shihr) and give it to the king of Caixem (6, 6, 6).

²⁸ Described in Nunes, *Crónica* 231. The sultan of Shihr was Badr bin 'Abdullāh al-Kathīrī, also known as Badr Bū Tuwairik (Serjeant 216).

²⁹ Correa IV 647. According to Couto there were only thirty-five Fartakis (Arabs from the region of Cape Fartak; cf. Vol. II, p. 120) in it (6, 6, 6, p. 43).

³⁰ Nunes, *Crónica* 231-232.

³¹ *Ibid.* 231-235 (with the letter of the king). Correa describes the capture in detail (IV 647-649). See also Couto 6, 6, 6, and Q 4046 4087 4249.

³² Correa IV 649. According to the chronicle of al-Shihr, only one man was left alive: Sulaimān bin Sa'd al-Muhammadi, who was probably the peace agent (Serjeant 109).

³³ The data are contradictory. According to Nunes the Portuguese lost many through death and more than forty were wounded (233 237). According to Correa there were more than forty dead and more than eighty wounded, some of whom later died in the hospital in Goa (IV 649). According to Couto there were only five dead but more than forty wounded (6, 6, 6). Manuel da Gama, who took part in the battle, gives other numbers: thirty dead and sixty wounded (Q 4087). Francisco de Lima has from twenty-

On April 28, as soon as the governor learned that his son was on his way, he sent him a note in which he congratulated him on his return, expressed his own satisfaction on this account, and ordered him to remain in Pangim until he sent him further word.³⁵ Two days later, on April 30, Dom Alvaro and his fleet anchored at the bar of Mandovi;³⁶ and on the following day, May 1, he received precise instructions from his father for the morrow.³⁷

On Wednesday, May 2, Dom Alvaro made his triumphant entry into Goa.³⁸ At two in the afternoon he and his men set sail up the river from Pangim, with all their *fustas* festively adorned with greenery and banners, to the sound of trumpets, the thunder of cannons, and the salvos of guns, which were answered by the heavy artillery of the fortress in Goa. On the quay the *fidalgos* and the *lascars*, in formal garb and armed with arquebuses, awaited their victorious return. Near the gate of the city were standing the jurymen with their staves of office and the banner of the city, and with them were the four *mesteres* and the usual groups of dancers. Dom Alvaro greeted and embraced them with affection. They all then went in procession through the Rua Direita, which had been decorated for the occasion with green fronds and silk streamers straight through the city to the Misericordia. The van was formed by the people of the city. They were followed by the banners and men of the fleet, and behind these were the banners of their leader and of the city. Then came the Franciscan friar with the crucifix which he had carried ahead in the battle at Qishn. The rear was brought up by the son of the governor with the jurymen and *mesteres* and a basin containing silks as an offering.

A prayer of thanksgiving was recited in the Misericordia for God's protection during the voyage to Aden. The procession then returned along the Rua Direita past the Sabayo Palace, which was adorned with precious carpets and banners captured in earlier wars, for brief acts of devotion in the cathedral and church of St. Francis, where the friar remained with his crucifix. The procession then moved to the Sabayo Palace, where machines hurled bananas out into the crowd, and two barrels of wine were tapped for them. The ailing governor was seated with the bishop on a raised tribune under a baldachin in the large hall of the palace, which was adorned with life-sized portraits of former governors, painted at Castro's request by Indian artists from data furnished by Gaspar Correa.³⁹ There he received his son and the latter's men. Dom Alvaro knelt down and kissed the hand of his father. The latter then embraced him and gave him his

seven to thirty dead and an equal number of wounded (Q 4046). According to the chronicle of al-Shihr, the Portuguese suffered a loss of around forty dead. According to it the siege of the fortress was begun on Safar 24, and the fortress was captured on the twenty-ninth (Serjeant 109; legends on the capture, *ibid.* 155-156).

³⁴ Nunes, *Crónica* 237.

³⁵ Q 3931, ed. Castro, *Cartas* 394-395.

³⁶ D. Alvaro arrived in Bassein at three in the afternoon of April 26. Early in the morning of the twenty-eighth he sailed from there. His *Diary* closes with the words: "On April 30 we landed at the bar of Goa, where our voyage came to an end, praise be to our Lord" (155v). Nunes erroneously places his arrival on May 1 (*Crónica* 237). Correa has him come to Pangim on May 4 (IV 649). According to Francisco de Lima he did not come until May 8 "with his whole fleet" (Q 4046).

³⁷ Q 3934, ed. Castro, *Cartas* 396-397.

³⁸ There are two sources, which complement each other, for D. Alvaro's entrance: (1) the letter of the governor of May 1 with precise instructions, and (2) Correa IV 650, who erroneously places the entrance on May 6 and the celebration of the city on the thirteenth. The entrance was on May 2, the celebration of the city on the sixth.

³⁹ Correa IV 596-597.

blessing. Dom Alvaro next kissed the hand of the bishop. He then mounted the tribune, where Xavier and the rest of the priests had taken their place, and embraced them.⁴⁰ He then turned and embraced the representatives of the city. After this he returned to his father, who also embraced all the captains of the expedition and expressed to them and to their men his sincere gratitude for the service which they had rendered to their king; and he gave orders that they should all be generously rewarded. The following Sunday, May 1, four days later, the city celebrated Dom Alvaro's return with bullfights and tiltings at the ring and other festivities. The captains and soldiers who were present in Goa also honored Dom Alvaro on this occasion with a reception since they knew that this would please the ailing governor.⁴¹

The reception in the Sabayo Palace was the last occasion on which Dom João de Castro appeared in public. Tired to death, in the company of his son, he went to his sick room in the palace, which he never again left. Dom Alvaro gave him an account of the expedition and handed him a letter of the king of Qishn,⁴² in which the latter thanked him with deep emotion for the assistance which had been given to him. In his letter, the king greeted "his very faithful friend, the great captain of the Portuguese, captain general and governor, the true path, as it were, of loyalty and fidelity; making known to his noble *Senhoria* that his true righteousness is apparent to all the world from East to West." He then continued:

When this your servant came to this harbor of Caxem [Qishn] in the company of the greatly blessed and excellent captain, your son, because his nobility has been attested by all, *senhor* of good will and greatly approved by all, he immediately had his arrival announced to the captain and soldiers who were in the fortress; and he ordered them to surrender to their lord what was his, and to leave that city before he came to land; but they refused to do so. He then had the soldiers of the ships and the artillery brought to land, and he immediately began to fire upon the fortress and continued this for two days and nights. He then forced his way into it and slew all who were there, and he handed the fortress over to me and gave me many privileges and favors which he had not granted to any others, not even to any prince, as I believe; and he gave me everything that I needed. I remain here as one of your slaves and truest vassals, ready for all that you command me as if it were ordered directly by God Himself.

I have the task of gathering all the news about the harbors of the Turks and about the entire coast, and I shall make every effort I possibly can in order to obtain it. I am ready and eager to do any notable service for you with my power and person, and I shall do this also for the least Portuguese who will come to this land. *Senhor* Dom Alvaro gave me three brass guns⁴³ and three kegs of powder and lead and tinder and all that was most necessary for me.

From your true servant,

Gaide Bem Yçabenafram.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ The governor wrote in his instruction: "Isto asy feito (after had had kissed the bishop's hand) vos deçerês do tabernaquolo abraçarês primeyramente os Reverendos padres que ão d'estar asentados em hum banquo" (Castro, *Cartas* 397).

⁴¹ Nunes, *Crónica* 237; Correa IV 650.

⁴² Nunes gives the text (*Crónica* 234-235).

⁴³ According to Correa, D. Alvaro gave the king "hum camello e dous falcões e nove berços" (IV 649).

⁴⁴ The chronicle of al-Shihir names the king Sa'd ben 'Isa ben 'Afrār (Serjeant 108). In 1621 his great-grandson 'Amīr ben Sa'd, king of Qishn and Socotra, in a letter to the king of Portugal, recalled with gratitude the day when the Portuguese recaptured his

But the ailing governor also heard other reports about his son's expedition to Aden which were circulating in the city. Dom João de Ataíde had arrived in Goa soon after Dom Alvaro.⁴⁵ He had been ordered by the latter to sail from the Canecanim Islands to the coast of Arabia to bring back the ambassador Amīr Dū's ben Ahmad and to fetch the Portuguese of his two escort ships who, after a powder explosion had fled, pursued by the Turks, to Amīr Alī, the king of Khanfar and a brother of the king of Aden, who had fallen in battle. Amīr Alī offered them his hospitality; but he and his Arab subjects told them that if Dom Payo had not left them in the lurch, the Turks would not have succeeded in conquering Aden.⁴⁶ And others who had taken part in Dom Alvaro's expedition reported that the Moors in the fortress of Qishn had been ready to withdraw if they had been permitted to take their wives and children with them, and that the king himself had asked that their request be granted. But Dom Alvaro had let himself be incited to battle by the blustering demands of his young *fidalgos*, and this had cost the lives of many Portuguese. The grief caused by these reports was not without its effect upon the sick governor. His sufferings became worse each day. In addition to his fever, he suffered from diarrhea and loss of appetite. If he seemed at times to have slightly recovered, he immediately afterwards suffered a further decline in his state of health.⁴⁷

6. PENHA VERDE (1539-1548)

In all his battles with the Moors in Africa and India, and in all the cares and labors of his office as governor, Dom João de Castro had been ever sustained by a single hope—the dream of his youth—that he might spend the last years of his life in the bosom of his family on his estate of Penha Verde. This lay five hours west of Lisbon in the mountains of Sintra, far from the noise and confusion of the capital.¹ It was near the fabulous royal palace, on a rocky height at the foot of a defiant Moorish stronghold, in the peaceful quiet of a forest with its romantic, rocky wilderness and marvelous panorama.

kingdom for his great-grandfather and the graves of many of them who had lost their lives at that time (Q 6225, and pl. XX 3).

⁴⁵ According to Nunes, he came to Goa at the beginning of May (*Crónica* 230). According to Correa, D. João came with Pedro de Ataíde before the solemn entry, when D. Alvaro was still in Pangim (IV 649).

⁴⁶ On his experiences and notes, see Correa IV 641-642 645-647 649; Nunes, *Crónica* 228-230; Couto 6, 6, 5-6; Serjeant 108.

⁴⁷ Correa IV 648-651; Nunes, *Crónica* 231 237. Francisco de Lima's letter to the king from Goa, of November 12, 1548, describes the mood in Goa. He, together with D. Jerónimo de Noronha, the captain of the fortress, Vasco da Cunha, and Simão Botelho, had dissuaded Castro in Bassein from making D. Payo de Noronha the captain of the men in Aden. He states that "in the whole of the strait [the Red Sea] they were waiting for our fleet, since all were of the opinion that the viceroy would order an attack on Aden. Even though he was our great enemy, the king of Shihr was ready to hand over all the Turks he had and to pay Your Highness large taxes and to become your vassal, as were all the lords of that coast. All was lost through the fall of Aden. The capture of its arms alone would have been an enormous gain. I am not able to write to Your Highness the sorrow that this has caused" (Q 4046).

¹ On Sintra see the *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira* XXIX 199-229 (with a rich bibliography up to 1950, pp. 226-227). See also Ant. A. R. da Cunha, *Cintra Pinturesca* (Lisboa, 1905; on Penha Verde, see 78-87 246 253), the *Guia de Portugal* I (Lisboa, 1924) 476-550 (on Penha Verde, pp. 526-528). This guide has been published by the national library in Lisbon. See especially J. Martins da Silva Marquez, *Sintra e sintrenses no ultramar português* (Lisboa, 1949).

Already at the end of 1539 he had written to his king from Goa:

When I was eighteen I took up arms in your service. I sailed six times to Africa and there grew my beard. You sent me in the fleet of the Levant against Barba Roxa. I was personally present at the capture of Guoleta,² where my caravel bristled with cannon balls; and the very excellent prince, the infante Dom Lois, is a good witness of this. I went at your command to the help of India in order to resist the assault and cruel fury of the Turks, and I helped expel such pestilential fiends from these lands of yours. Never were the opinion and the work of the Portuguese brought to a lesser account or contaminated by me. I spent twenty years in your service, the best and most precious of my life. For the love of God and as a reward for these toils, I ask Your Highness that you permit me to sail from this land to Portugal so that I may live with my wife and children, and that I may end these brief and troubled days that still remain to me in the mountains of Simtra. May our Lord increase the life and royal estate of Your Highness.³

It was not until 1542 that he again saw his beloved Sintra Mountains. In gratitude for his favorable return to Portugal, he built, as he had vowed, a chapel in honor of the Mother of God, Nossa Senhora do Monte, on his estate of Penha Verde. It was erected on a terrace of huge stone blocks, from which there was a splendid view of the distant sea in the west. A Latin inscription over its entrance recalled his difficult battles for the Christian faith during the past twenty years—in the two Mauretanas, on the campaign to Tunis in 1535, and in the course of his voyages on the Indian and Arabian seas. In the forecourt of the chapel, near two stone slabs on which were carved Indian inscriptions,⁴ he had placed another on a stone block in honor of his great friend and benefactor, the infante Dom Luis.⁵

But he was not to enjoy the quiet peace within the circle of his family in his beloved Penha Verde.⁶ At the beginning of 1545 the king sent him as governor

² In 1535 in the emperor's campaign against Tunis.

³ Castro, *Cartas* 34-35.

⁴ In his dedication over the entrance to the chapel, Castro also mentions Indian inscriptions which he had brought with him: "cum . . . omnes Indiae oras non modo lustrasset, sed litterarum etiam monumentis mandavisset, . . . domum rediens Virgini Matri fanum ex voto dedicavit 1542." Of the two Sanscrit inscriptions in front of the chapel, the *first* (on the right) comes from the famed Shiva temple of Somnāth-Patane on Kāthiāwār (destroyed in 1024 and 1395 by the Moors, and in 1532 and 1547 by the Portuguese). It refers to a gift to the temple of 1287. The *second* (on the left), badly weathered and only partially legible, from the area of Bombay, speaks of a gift to the rock temple of Jogeshvari in Bombay-Salsette in July, 1137, A.D. The first of these was published by Georg Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica* I 276; and with corrections, together with the second inscription, by E. Hultzsch, "Two Sanskrit Inscriptions at Cintra," in W. Kiefel, *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens* (Festschrift Herrmann Jacobi; Bonn, 1926) 187-193; see also E. A. Voretzsch, "Indische Skulpturen in Portugal," *Asia Major* 2 (1925) 312-322, and GS IV 819. Further bibliography is given in *Grande Enciclopédia* XXIX 226-227 (Murphy in 1795, Burgess in 1879, Vasconcellos Abreu in 1890-1891, Cunha in 1905, Moura in 1906, Reis Santos in 1931, Corte Real in 1938 1942 1948).

⁵ Castro's Latin inscriptions in Penha Verde are given in Braacamp Freire, *Brazões* I 507-508, and Cunha, *Cintra* 80-81.

⁶ That Castro lived in Sintra in 1542-1545 is indicated by the letters which the king sent to him at this time (TdT: *Cartas de D. João III a D. João de Castro*). The king, who was also living in Sintra at the time, addressed, for example, a letter to him on September 25, 1542: "To D. João de Castro, *Fidalgo* of the Royal House in his Villa near Sintra."

to India. Before sailing, he drew up his will in case he should not return from there. At its very beginning he wrote:

I have a country home in Sintra called "Quinta da Fonte de El Re [Villa of the King's Spring]," which I built; and I have a great affection for it since I erected it on the site where my father and my grandparents grew to adulthood. I look upon this country home as my personal inheritance, and I leave it to my firstborn, Dom Alvaro, by right of primogeniture.⁷

Though he was accompanied by his two sons Dom Alvaro and Dom Fernando to India, Dom João de Castro was still homesick for his beloved Penha Verde in the Sintra Mountains and the family that he had left behind. Seven months after his arrival in Goa he received a letter from the captain of Diu, Dom João Mascarenhas, asking him for money since his men had not been paid for six months.⁸ At the same time the captain sent a letter to Dom Alvaro asking him to support his request with his father, and he excused himself for being a source of trouble to him again.⁹ He should not be surprised at this, for it was of the nature of this land to be richer in difficulties than in anything else. But if one bore them patiently, one gained great merits before God and men, "and in this way you will enjoy your rest all the more when you will be in the Sintra Mountains, where I hope sometime to visit Your Grace."¹⁰

But two weeks later, on April 6 and 8, Mascarenhas had to write again to the governor and Dom Alvaro, and this time he asked for assistance in his dire distress. Thunderclouds were gathering in the north and they were threatening the whole of India. The siege of Diu by the sultan of Cambay and his Turkish allies had begun. For the next eight months this would demand all the attention and concern of the governor, since the fate of Portuguese rule in India depended upon the fate of Diu. The rains set in, the stormy sea made sailing impracticable. But despite all the forces of nature, Castro sent help to the threatened fortress; and with the soldiers he sent his two sons, first Dom Fernando and then his firstborn Dom Alvaro. On September 4 the governor received letters from Diu. They informed him of the death of Dom Fernando (the Moors had blown up the bulwark which he was guarding with a mine) and of the arrival of Dom Alvaro in the final hour of their extreme need.¹¹

Seven days later, on September 11, the first ship of the Portuguese fleet arrived in Goa; and the captain, Dom Manuel de Lima, delivered to Castro the first letters from his homeland.¹²

⁷ Published by Christovam Ayres, *Testamento de D. João de Castro* (Lisboa, 1901).

⁸ Q 2079 2080.

⁹ D. Alvaro had already asked his intercession with the governor; cf. Q 1827 1900 1912.

¹⁰ Q 2084.

¹¹ Dom Alvaro's letter of August 27 (Q 2355) and those of the captain of Bassein of September 1 (Q 2371-2372) reached Goa on September 4 (Correa IV 526). See also the letter of the bishop of September 6 (Q 2375).

¹² On D. Manuel de Lima, see the indices of Castanheda, Correa, and Couto; the sources in Q, index, p. 589; the brief data on his life in Sousa, *Hist. Genealogica* XII 2, 804-808; Braamcamp Freire, *Brazões* III 100-105 (youth and epitaph); and Sanceau in *Studia* 9 (1962) 200-207. He was the second son of Diogo Lopes de Lima, the *alcaide-mor* of Guimarães, and Isabel de Castro Pereira, lady of Castro Daire. Though he had been destined by his father for a canonry, he preferred the career of a soldier and sailed to India in 1524, where he accompanied the governor to Diu in 1530 (Correa III 391). In 1532 he sailed for a second time to India with eleven men (*Emmentia* 333; GS II 167), and in 1537 he fought in Malacca against the Achinese (Castanheda 8, 178-179). At this

The banker Lucas Giraldes,¹³ who was a close friend of Castro, wrote to him at length about his family. After his departure for India, his wife, Dona Leonor,¹⁴ had born him another son, Dom Miguel. Dona Violante, the mother of the count of Castanheira, had been the infant's sponsor at its baptism. The other children, Dona Ines,¹⁵ Dona Joana, and the small Dona Leonorzinha were, like his wife, in good health and were counting the years, months, and days they had to wait for his return. João Fernandes,¹⁶ who was going to inspect his estate at Sintra, would write at length about its condition. It was said to be in a very good state and that the trees had grown well. The lower wall, which was to separate the forest of cork oaks from that of Cascais, was finished; and the stones were ready for a second building. Dona Leonor wished to move to the villa the following summer. He, Lucas, had wished to visit it with his friend the bishop of Angra and remain there for fifteen days; but because of the great increase in prices, they had postponed this to the following year. Lucas had written this letter in December, but the ship that was to carry it to India had been forced to return. He could therefore add further details in March. Dom Garcia, Castro's third son, had died in February of smallpox. As far as his estate was concerned, Castro could be at peace. It would be put into excellent shape, and Dom Manuel de Lima, the bearer of the letter, had promised him that he would visit it so that he could give him a report on it at first hand. Dona Ines, his eldest, married daughter, was four months pregnant. He, Lucas, was seeking to purchase a suitable residence for Castro's wife, Dona Leonor; and he would take care that she and Dona Leonorzinha and Dona Joana were in need of nothing. The bishop of Angra was the best friend that he, Lucas, had, and he had spent many days near the hearth of his country home; and they had repeatedly spoken of him, the governor, who was the third in their friendship, and whose return was eagerly sought by all.¹⁷

There was also a letter from Rodrigo Pinheiro, the bishop of Angra,¹⁸ a

time probably occurred his visit to southwest Borneo, which is perpetuated in the Portuguese cartographs since 1558 with the entrance: "Laue, domde foi Dom Manoel de Lima" (*Port. Mon. Cart.*, pls. 95 97 105 124 139 156 177 217 244 271 285 307 324 341 375 401 461 463 505; cf. Pires II 224). In 1541 he took part in the expedition to Suez (his account on this in Sanceau, *Studia* 9, 207-234). Offended by M. A. de Sousa when he was captain of Bassein (1542-1544), he returned to Portugal in 1545 but sailed again to India in 1546 and accompanied Castro this same year to Diu, where he took part in the battle and, at the bidding of Castro, destroyed the coast of Cambay (Castro, *Cartas*, index). His father had written to the governor that he should have him return home as rich as possible (Sanceau, l.c. 203). Provided by Castro with many privileges (Q 2987 3632a), he was captain of Ormuz from 1547 to 1550, where he built up the fortress so that it became the "strongest bulwark of Christendom" (Q 4311). According to his successor, he took 150,000 *pardaus* from there (Q 4758). On his return to Lisbon he was imprisoned, but he vindicated his innocence (Q 4681). He purchased the choir of the Franciscan church of S. Francisco in Lisbon for his crypt and was buried there in 1586 (Braamcamp Freire).

¹³ On him, see Vol. I, pp. 614-615.

¹⁴ Castro's wife, Dona Leonor Coutinho, daughter of Leonel Coutinho, had been married to him since 1524 (Sanceau, *D. João de Castro* 40-41).

¹⁵ Ines, married to D. Luis de Albuquerque, chief cupbearer of John III and *alcaide-mor* of Salvaterra (Sousa, *Hist. Genealogica* I 299, and Q 1482 2051).

¹⁶ Should Fernão d'Alvarez, who in his letter describes Penha Verde, probably be meant by João Fernandes?

¹⁷ Q 2051. The letter is published in Virgínia Rau, "Um grande mercador-banqueiro italiano em Portugal: Lucas Giraldis," *Estudos Italianos em Portugal* 24 (Lisboa, 1965) 20-35.

¹⁸ D. Rodrigo Pinheiro, *doctor utriusque iuris*, was one of the most learned men of his time. He was bishop of Angra from 1540 to 1552, but his diocese was administered

great friend of the family. He also gave Castro news about his loved ones. Dona Leonor was inconsolable and wept much because he had not written to her from Mozambique on his way to India. He had not been able to go with Lucas Giraldes to Sintra in order to visit his estate and its chapel. Because of the increase in prices no fodder could be found for the horses. But they would go there the following summer, and Lucas had a thousand precious trinkets which he wished to take with him for Penha Verde and its chapel.¹⁹

A third letter was one that had been sent by Fernão d'Alvares,²⁰ to whom Lucas had entrusted the writing of a description of his labors on Penha Verde. The wall already reached from the chapel to the stable, and it enclosed a small orchard which had previously been outside the wall, and where there had been young orange trees.²¹ In a few days it would reach the aqueduct. The old surrounding wall would then continue alongside the path until it reached the high hill, where they intended to place a large cross that would be visible from afar. The vegetable garden and chapel and all the rest were a delight to behold. The estate had also been partially improved in the direction of Collares.²²

On September 16 Castro sent to his son Alvaro in Diu the letters that had come for him from Europe along with the one which had been sent by Lucas Giraldes.²³ In November he came himself with the fleet to the assistance of the besieged fortress. After the memorable victory of the tenth of this month, during the course of which he had placed his own life in jeopardy in the tumult of battle and had destroyed the greatly superior forces of the Moors and Turks, he wrote a long letter to his king.²⁴ In it he recalled in detail the heroic deeds of his fellow combatants and recommended them to him. For himself, however, he asked for only a small gift as his reward—"a chestnut grove which you have on the mountains of Sintra near the *Fonte de El Re*, which borders on my estate. It has a selling price of ten or twelve *milreis*, but it is worth many thousand *cruzados* to me."²⁵

But some pages further on, where he came to write about the services of Antonio Moniz,²⁶ he asked the king to give him the captaincy of Chaul as his reward. If need be, he was even ready to yield his own recompense, the chestnut

by an agent. From 1552 to 1572 he was bishop of Porto (cf. Fortunato de Almeida, *Hist. da Igreja* II 2, 958-959 873-874).

¹⁹ Q 2085.

²⁰ The letter (Q 2045, where the brackets and the enclosed name, "d'Andrade," are to be stricken) is, like all the letters addressed to D. João de Castro, extant in the original; and it clearly bears the name of its sender on the address: Fernão d'Alvares. Sanceau is therefore wrong in maintaining that the signature is incomplete (*D. João de Castro* 273), but that it seem to be *Fernão de Alvares*, the signature of the chief treasurer of the empire. The writer of the letter is not Fernão d'Alvares de Andrade, the chief treasurer of John III, whose letters (for example, Q 1077 2865 2889 2931 4151) reveal a different hand. In addition to this, the author of our letter states that his father-in-law was Gaspar Rodrigues. That of the chief treasurer was, however, Nuno Fernandes Moreira (Sousa, *Hist. Genealogica* V 257-258).

²¹ Castro had the small orange trees removed and woodland trees planted instead (cf. note 37).

²² Q 2045.

²³ Castro, *Cartas* 165.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 210-313.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 272. On November 20, 1553, the king gave Dom Alvaro, the son of the governor, a "mercê dos castanhaes e das mealhas, que estam em Symtra aa Fonte del Rey" (with a precise description of the boundaries) for his services (TdT: *Chanc. D. João III. Doações* 57, 6-6v). Meant is the present *Monte das Alviças*.

²⁶ On him, see above, p. 327.

grove, and every other favor and even his prebend, which His Highness had given to him, since Moniz deserved them more than he.²⁷

Before bringing his long letter to a close, Castro asked the king for still another favor:

I would first remind Your Highness that you should not keep *any* governor or official, whether *de Justiça* or *de fazenda*, here for longer than three years, even if they claim that they heal the sick and raise the dead, since this land is of such a kind that I do not think that there is a nature so strong that it can resist for long the covetousness and the vices which are prevalent here. . . . I confess to Your Highness that I am not now what I was when I left Portugal; and I feel that I am ever rusting away like the weapons in your armories, even though I have great hopes in God that I shall not be completely corrupted at the end of three years! . . . It is therefore of great interest to Your Highness *not to keep me here for more than three years*, and my conscience calls me again and again to the forests of the Sintra Mountains so that I may give some days to God from the many years which the world has taken from me; and Your Highness should not regard it as a weakness on my part that I am most eager to leave a land to which *Santomé* was so reluctant to be sent by our Lord.²⁸

Castro also wrote to the queen from Diu, saying that he had told his wife that she should make a personal call upon Her Royal Highness so that she might obtain from her husband, the king, permission for his return to Portugal. He also thanked the infante Dom Luis for the letter which he had sent to him. He stated that he would frame it in gold and keep it throughout his life in order to leave it to his sons when he died. And he asked him too to support his request for his return with the king.²⁹

The homesickness of the governor for his beloved Penha Verde was known. He used to say before he saw Anjurla between Goa and Chaul³⁰ that there was no more beautiful spot in the world than Sintra. When a rich Moorish ship was captured in the Cambayan war, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha wrote to the governor in February, 1547, that he was saving the candlestick from the booty for the latter's country home in Sintra.³¹ And on August 9 Sebastião Coelho, the *tanadar* of Bassein³² and the vigorous defender of the natives against the oppressions of his Portuguese countrymen, wrote: "May our Lord preserve you for your country home of Penha Verde together with *Senhor* Dom Alvaro and take you away from the midst of such evil men so that I can go with him."³³

The wish seemed near fulfillment when Castro wrote to his son nine days later: "I am mad with joy, for August is now coming to an end; and despite

²⁷ Castro, *Cartas* 289.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 296-297. He is playing on the words in the Legend of St. Thomas where the apostle says: "*Mitte me, quo vis, sed non ad Indos!*"

²⁹ Both letters are preserved in an excerpt in the remains of Maffei (Q 2600 2601).

³⁰ Nunes, *Crónica* 223; see above, p. 399.

³¹ Q 2843.

³² Seb. Coelho was *alcaide-mor* in Ceuta in Africa and sailed with Castro to India in 1545 (*Emmentia* 426; **Memoria das pessoas* 85). He was a particular confidant of the governor, who treasured him as one who had had "the utmost experience in wars by sea and land, in many sieges and battles, in the ways to fight the enemy and to repair a fortress." It was because of this that he sent him to his son Fernando in Diu (Castro, *Cartas* 239). On him see Q, index, especially his two letters on the siege of Diu (Q 2268) and his activities as *tanadar-mor* of Bassein (Q 3229).

³³ Q 3230.

the strong wind, no ship has yet as come from the kingdom, which makes me suspect that a new governor is on his way.”³⁴

But the hope was premature. The four ships which arrived in Goa from Portugal in September, 1547, brought the governor letters from his homeland, including one from Dona Leonor, but no successor. Pedro Leitão³⁵ wrote from his manor in Alvalade near Lisbon:

João Fernandes and I speak of nothing but Penha Verde. Since I have only recently come from Ceuta,³⁶ I have not as yet seen it. But it has been praised to me beyond all else. The major work there has been completed, as Your Grace will already know where you are. I can tell you that if you came now, you would find a large vineyard with muscat grapes. I would have preferred hawthorn and genista and beech and other woodland trees that are green the year around, but all is good. The infante Dom Luis, to imitate Your Grace,³⁷ has cut down all the small orange and lemon trees which he had in Salvaterra. But I swear to you that, no matter how much he spends, he will never be able to compare his estate with those rocks on the terrace of Your Lordship from which there is a view of Cape Finisterra.³⁸

Dom Garcia de Castro,³⁹ the former captain of Goa, who had returned to Portugal in 1546, and who was writing from Almeirim, had visited Dona Leonor, who was with her married daughter Ines; but he had not found time to visit the governor's estate in Sintra.⁴⁰ Francisco de Mello, a neighbor to Penha Verde in Collares,⁴¹ reported, however, from Lisbon that the governor had a great friend in the duke of Bragança. He had frequently sent individuals to visit Dona Leonor and was concerned for her welfare. He then added:

I am not writing any news about what has happened here or of your estate, since so many sketches are being sent from here, and Lucas is writing to you. I will only say that no one has visited it as frequently as I. It has as superabundance of everything and the only thing that it lacks is Your Lordship. I hope from Nossa Senhora da Penha⁴² that this will soon be remedied, and with such honor as your race has always won. I am no longer living in Collares, and I shall do so again only when Your Lordship comes. . . . The stone from Melide has been placed on Lucas' terrace, and all the clocks of the manor and the marble sculptures are in the best condition;⁴³

³⁴ Castro, *Cartas* 345.

³⁵ After Castro's death, Pedro Leitão Freire married his daughter Joana de Castro (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac., *Pombal* 196, 86v).

³⁶ In 1512 Pedro Leitão was *adail* of Tangier (Bernardo Rodrigues, *Anais de Arzila* I [Lisboa, 1915] 80-81).

³⁷ See above, n. 21.

³⁸ Q 2904.

³⁹ D. Garcia de Castro, related to the count of Castanheira (Q 1224), *fidalgo cavalleiro*, son of D. Francisco de Castro and of D. Joana de Castro, sailed in 1538 to India as captain of the ship *Fieis de Deus* with a monthly income of 3,750 *reis* (**Memoria das pessoas* 58 60; *Emmentia* 367-368). In 1541 he reluctantly went with the governor D. Estevão da Gama to Suez (Q 841). He was captain of Goa from 1542-1545 (see the indices in Vol. II and the present volume and in Q) and, favored by Governor Castro, he returned to Portugal at the beginning of 1546 as captain of the *São Pedro* with an income of one thousand *pardaus* (Q 1818).

⁴⁰ Q 2905.

⁴¹ Francisco de Mello, servant of the duke of Bragança, an account of whose house in Collares is given by Lucas Giraldes (Q 2051), is different from his namesake whom we encounter in Goa in 1547 and 1548 (Q 3267 3783).

⁴² The church of Nossa Senhora da Serra was that of the Hieronymite monastery in Sintra. It was founded in 1503 by King Manuel. In 1840 and following, King Fernando III built the present Castelo da Pena on its site (*Guia* 499-504).

⁴³ “A pedra de Melide posta no heirado de Lucas, e todos os relogios da quimta e

and I hope to see Your Lordship in a similar state sail through this bar to the great consolation of Lady Dona Leonor and the advantage of your children.⁴⁴

There was also a letter from Dona Violante de Távora, the mother of the count of Castanheira, in which she thanked the governor for the pious crucifix which he had sent her; and she added the following:

Remember Lady Dona Leonor, Your wife, who weeps countless tears for you; and remember also your daughters so that you take care to return home rich. For you will need this. If you return poor, you will live poor. And give Lord Dom Alvaro every opportunity to enrich himself. . . . And do me this favor: Believe this old woman who wishes you a great estate and has already seen many things.⁴⁵

And, finally, there was also another letter from Lucas Giraldes, which had been written on March 28, the day of the departure of the last two ships. In it he informed the governor that he had sent all the news with the ships of Micer Bernardo⁴⁶ and of Dom Pedro da Silva,⁴⁷ which had sailed five days earlier. After their departure, Castro's sister, Dona Ines⁴⁸ had piously and devoutly died, as she had always lived, on the feast of Our Lady; and Dona Leonor had assisted her in her death. The lord Dom Luis (the infante) had come from his prebend very well disposed. When the king returned to Lisbon, he too would go to the city, and Dona Leonor would come with him. She would remain there until Castro himself returned.⁴⁹

Though Dom João Mascarenhas,⁵⁰ the defender of Diu, had sailed for Portugal at the end of 1547, and Antonio Cardoso, the secretary, had done the same at the beginning of 1548, there were no letters from the king among those brought to the governor by the fleet which would have fulfilled his great longing to return to his family.

marmores em sua properidade." We do not know what kind of a stone is meant by this. Cunha speaks in his description of Collares of the "matta de Milides" (174), the "Quinta de Milides" (166), and especially of the very old "ermida Nossa Senhora de Milides," which was according to tradition the first parish church of Collares, near the former Carmelite monastery of Santa Anna, whose origins go back to the beginnings of the Portuguese monarchy. According to the legend, twenty Portuguese wished to free the land from the dominion of the Moors. When they were afraid because of their meager number, Mary appeared to them in a dream and encouraged them with the words: "Ide, que mil ides! (Go, you will go like a thousand!)" This gave them new courage. They fell upon the Moors and put them to flight despite their superior forces. Since then the Mother of God had been honored in this chapel under the title of "Nossa Senhora de Milides" (155-156; picture 229). The original letter clearly has *Melide*. Sanceau erroneously reads this as *Melinde*, and in that she associates them with the two Indian inscriptions which are in Penha Verde (*D. João de Castro* 152-153). There is of course no question here of the city of Melinde in East Africa.

⁴⁴ Q 2930.

⁴⁵ Q 2967.

⁴⁶ Misser Bernardo Nassi, captain of the *Santa Cruz*, wintered in Socotra and did not reach Goa until May, 1548 (Q 2670 3939; Correa IV 678; Couto 6, 5, 3; **Memoria das armadas* 34v).

⁴⁷ D. Pedro da Silva, captain of the *São Thomé*, lost his ship in a wreck near the Angosha Islands (Q 3219 3670 3939 4087). The letters for the governor were probably lost in this wreck.

⁴⁸ Ines, the sister of the governor, was first married to Aires Teles de Meneses, and after his death, to the viceroy D. Garcia de Noronha, who died in 1540 (*Andrade Leitão VII 1508). She herself died on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1547.

⁴⁹ Q 2976.

⁵⁰ Q 3538 3546 3550 3562 3589.

Castro had already sailed from Goa to the north and had reached Bassein when he received a departing letter written by Cardoso on January 8, 1548, from Cochin.⁵¹ He congratulated the governor on his recent, great victories, thanked him for the many favors that he had received from him, recommended to him Xavier's great friend, the merchant Diogo Pereira and his brother Guilherme, whom he had encountered in Cochin; and he closed with the promise:

As soon as Your Lordship returns to the kingdom, I shall, if I am there, even if it will be in Armamar,⁵² immediately come to visit you with a leathern bottle of the best wine, for Your Lordship will then certainly drink it, and with a basket of Anguoshia pears and a ham and a grilled piglet.⁵³ And may it please our Lord that I can come to offer it to you in your manor in Sintra, so that it may taste all the better to Your Lordship.⁵⁴

Patience! The ships would come in September from the kingdom, and they would bring the king's answer to his letter and his successor. But the answer was to come sooner than he thought.

On the feast of Pentecost, May 20, the bishop conferred the sacrament of baptism in the cathedral on the three Japanese staying at St. Paul's College. Lancilotto had prepared them for this with great care. Following the desires of Cosme Anes, Anjirō received the name of *Paul of the Holy Faith*, his servant that of *Joane*, and the third Japanese that of *Antonio*.⁵⁵ It was a day of great joy for Master Francis and his confreres. But the happiness of the occasion was dampened by concern for the ailing governor, who had not been able to assist at the ceremonies. In the oppressive, glowing heat of May, the hottest time of the year in Goa, his condition worsened from day to day; and, after the return of his son Alvaro, he had not been able to leave the Sabayo Palace.

The following night, however, Castro received an unexpected visit from a new arrival. Christovão de Sá,⁵⁶ the captain of the *Santa Maria do Rosario*, which

⁵¹ The still extant original letter is erroneously dated by Cardoso as January 8, 1547, instead of 1548 (Q 723). On January 20, 1548, Xavier recommended him to the king and noted that he was sailing this year, 1548, to Portugal (EX I 414). On January 27, 1548, the chancellor Toscano sent Cardoso's letter from Goa to the governor (Q 3660), who had sailed from Goa on January 8 and arrived in Bassein on January 16 (Nunes, *Crônica* 220 223).

⁵² Armamar, in the province of Beira Alta, was Cardoso's birthplace (cf. Vol. II, p. 14; GS III 147).

⁵³ "Peras d'anguoxa e presuntos com marans." Probably meant is the species of pear known as *pêra-de-engonxo* (Ant. de Moraes Silva, *Grande Dicionário de Língua Portuguesa* 8 [Lisboa, 1955] 121).

⁵⁴ Q 723.

⁵⁵ On the baptism of the three Japanese, see EX II 145-146; DI I 339 480; Pérez, *Informação* 60. Pérez adds: "E forão bautizados, e foi seu padrinho o Bispo e parece-me que também o Governador, e chamou-se Paulo da Sancta Fee, porque asi o quis Cosme Annez pola rezão já dita; e os criados hum Antonyo, outro Joanne." That Castro was also a patron seems little likely to us because of his severe illness. Joane (as distinguished from João) refers, in Portuguese, to the Catalan hermit *Joanne o pobre*, who at the time of King Affonso I lived near S. Payo de Midoens (Bluteau IV 188).

⁵⁶ Christovão de Sá, *cavalleiro* of the royal house, obtained permission from M. A. de Sousa to bring twelve *bahārs* of cinnamon bark from Ceylon and send it to Ormuz, and this was confirmed by Castro in 1545. At the end of this year Sá began his return voyage to Portugal, "dizemdo mal da festa" (Q 1816). In 1548 he returned to Goa. He was for five months captain with two hundred men in the fortress of Rachol, where he brought peace to the province of Salsette. Because of the great expenses which he had incurred, he asked the king for a second Molucca voyage in addition to the one which had already been granted to him (Q 4303). His uncle Garcia de Sá, the

had sailed from Lisbon on October 31, 1547, with two other ships and had been the first to enter the bar of Goa on May 20.⁵⁷ Because of the news of the siege of Diu, which Lourenço Pires de Távora had brought to Lisbon at the beginning of August, the king had immediately sent three ships to India; and these were followed by three more in November. Sá informed the governor that the king was conferring upon him the title of viceroy as a reward for his services and extending his rule for three more years. He would receive ten thousand *cruzados* for his expenses; and his son, Dom Alvaro, who was appointed admiral of the sea, would receive a double salary of five thousand *cruzados*. Eight hundred men were coming in the six ships, and three thousand would be coming with the main fleet the following year. The empire was at peace and well established, and the emperor had concluded an armistice with the Turks.

When he received this news, the governor lifted his eyes filled with tears of joy to heaven and said: "Lord, may Thy holy kindness be highly praised for the greatness of Thy mercy! Now may there happen to me whatever is in keeping with Thy holy service."

The news was immediately spread throughout the city to the great joy of the people. The cannons of the fortress were fired, all the bells were rung, and crowds came together on foot and horseback to celebrate the grateful news. Throughout the night trumpets, kettledrums, and shawms were sounded in the Sabayo Palace. But the governor was so ill that he could not leave his residence.

A few days after the arrival of Christovão de Sá, the second of the three ships, under the command of Martim Correa, reached the bar of Goa; but it was forced by an opposing wind to sail south and anchor near the island of Angediva. From there the captain, as soon as the weather permitted, sailed to Goa in a *fusta* with the mail sack, which contained numerous letters for the *fidalgos*, the document raising the governor to the rank of a viceroy, and the letters of the king, queen, and the infante Dom Luis.⁵⁸

The king in his letter, which Castro showed to everyone, congratulated the

new governor, sent him with Jurdão de Freitas to Ternate in April, 1549 (Rebello 446-447; Couto 6, 7, 6), where he took over the fortress as its captain (Couto 6, 8, 10). In October, 1550, he handed it over to Bernaldim de Sousa, and on his return to India he helped Malacca, which was being besieged (*ibid.* 6, 9, 8-10; Q 4746). Returning to Ternate, he was again captain of the fortress there from 1554 to 1556, and in 1557 to 1558 he took part in the battles with the Ternatans and Tidorese (Couto 6, 10, 11; 7, 5, 3). He is not to be confused with his namesake, the son of Henrique de Sá, whom we encounter in India from 1519 to 1521, and who was still living as a Franciscan in Portugal in 1553 (Castanheda 5, 22 and 84; Barros 3, 3, 8, p. 322).

⁵⁷ "I sailed into the bar of Goa on May 20 without any other ship, when the whole of India was at war. Because of the news which I brought, they came at once to ask for peace," Christovão de Sá wrote on December 7, 1548 (Q 4303). The wrong date of the letter, 1549, is to be corrected to 1548, as the context indicates. Correa errs in calling him Belchior de Sá and has him arrive "on May 22, the Monday of the first octave of Pentecost," and has him come to the governor at night (IV 651). But Pentecost Monday in 1548 was on May 21. According to Nunes, Sá came to Goa on May 15 and brought Castro the title of viceroy, which the king sent him with three more years of rule and ten thousand *cruzados*, and D. Alvaro the position of an admiral of the sea with an income of five thousand *cruzados* "segundo o melhor pude saber" (*Crónica* 237-328). Manuel Xavier mistakenly calls him Pero de Sá (*Compendio* 23).

⁵⁸ Correa IV 651-652. The author has Martim Correa come to the bar on May 28, and since he could not sail into it he went to Angediva. He also states that the governor died fourteen days after he received his appointment as viceroy. This indicates May 23 or 24 as the day when the document of his appointment was handed over to him (*ibid.* 658).

governor on his victory, thanked him for his heroic sacrifices, expressed his condolence for the death of his son Dom Fernando, and assured him of his everlasting gratitude. But he ordered him, for the sake of his service, to remain three more years in India. He would then send him his permission to return, and he hoped that God would grant him the best of health. But if Castro should deem it necessary to return, he should write this to him and await his answer.⁵⁹

The letter of the queen was also full of praise, but she wrote regarding his request:

With respect to your request to return, about which your wife, Dona Leonor, has told me how earnestly you desire it: I was overjoyed at seeing her because of the merits of your person and her virtues and the great affection which I have for her; and I would have been greatly pleased to have satisfied you and her in this. But because of the high esteem which His Highness has for your service, and since your person under the present circumstances would be sorely missed, he has deemed it good that you should serve him for three more years, as you will see in his letter; and I am sure that you will find this good because of all these reasons. I therefore earnestly ask this of you and hope from our Lord that he will give you the health and strength for it.⁶⁰

The infante Dom Luis wrote as follows:

I spoke with His Highness about your return as you requested in your letter, but he did not grant it and he gave me two reasons for this; and it seems to me that even if you have many reasons for longing to return, His Highness has still many more for asking you to serve him in this office for three more years. You should be glad to do this in order to serve our Lord for the great graces which he has conferred upon you, and His Highness because of the great confidence which he has in you and the satisfaction which he finds in your service. And trust in God that He will give you the strength for this in the great difficulties and disorders of India. And I hope in Him that, if you do this, you will come to fill these peaks of the Sintra Mountains with chapels and memorials of your victories, and that you will be able to visit them and take your pleasure in them when you come to rest from your labors.⁶¹

But another rest was waiting for him in his everlasting home.

Dom João immediately sent the letters which the king had written to the *fidalgos* wintering in Diu and to the captains of Chaul, Bassein, Cannanore, and Cochin to their respective addressees. He also paid at once the persons who had lent him money for his voyages with the ten thousand *cruzados* which he had received. He then wrote his last letter to his king, in which he observed:⁶²

My Lord, I feel very weak and exhausted, and I have become lame because of a severe illness which I experienced on the Red Sea in your service. I would not be afraid to die or to become paralyzed apart from the fact that I would not be able to serve you more. I have two daughters and own nothing with which I might be able to see them married, for Your Highness knows that I have expended all that I inherited from my father and mother in your service. I shall be grateful to Your Highness if you will provide for their marriage, since you do this for all the orphans and abandoned of your kingdom. But if you grant me this favor, may it be with nobles of good families,

⁵⁹ Q 3410, ed. Correa IV 652-654; Baião, *Hist.* 252-254.

⁶⁰ Q 3419, ed. Freire de Andrade 300-303; Baião 254-256.

⁶¹ Q 3411, ed. Freire de Andrade 304-306.

⁶² Couto 6, 6, 9, pp. 62-63.

and the respective suitors should be in keeping with my daughters' years, for I would not like to see them given fathers instead of husbands.⁶³

7. THE DEATH OF THE VICEROY (JUNE 6, 1548)¹

On May 31 the Jesuits held a Corpus Christi procession in the cloister of St. Paul's College, in which the bishop carried the Blessed Sacrament.² The viceroy could not take part in it. His physicians were of the opinion that he would live for only a few more days.³ On June 1, around midnight, he suffered an attack and lost his speech. All feared that his end was at hand, but he recovered in the morning and asked to go to confession. The bishop came for this, offered Mass in his sickroom, and gave him Holy Communion; and in the afternoon he anointed him.⁴

Castro then had his son Dom Alvaro summoned. He spoke with him, gave him his blessing, and told him that he should not be troubled because of his death. He still had a good king and a good lord. He should serve him his whole life long; and he would receive from him a great reward since he, his father, could leave him nothing but his weapons so that he might serve his lord with them.⁵ He earnestly enjoined upon his son the gratitude which he owed the king for the many favors which he had conferred on both of them. He must show himself worthy of the favors granted to him, and the curse of God would punish him if he did not serve the king all the days of his life.⁶

The ailing governor then took his leave of the many *fidalgos* who visited him, and he asked pardon of Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda⁷ and of Francisco da

⁶³ Q 3943. Only the undated fragment in Maffei's collected materials is extant. We regard it as a portion of Castro's last letter to his king. Castro had already written before his voyage to Suez in 1541 that he would exhaust his entire resources upon it (*Cartas* 57-58). In his will of March 19, 1545, Castro states that he is leaving three daughters, of whom the eldest, Ines, was already married. His assets were still sufficient to marry off his two remaining daughters in keeping with their station. He had only exhausted his wealth towards the end of his life. There is no mention of his illness in his extensive letter on the voyage to Suez of October, 1541 (*Cartas* 59-83), nor in his *Roteiro de Goa atee Soez*, nor in the letters of his contemporaries. Only the letters from the beginning of 1548 refer to it (Q 3672 3791 3799 3833 3838 3859 3874).

¹ The following *contemporaries* of the viceroy give accounts of his death: (1) Correa (IV 659-660); (2) D. Alvaro de Castro (Q 4211); (3) Frey Antonio do Casal, his confessor (SR IV 256-257); (4) this last with Xavier, Frey João de Villa de Conde, and Pedro Fernandes, the vicar general, in their common letter (EX I 468-473); (5) L. Nunes (*Crónica* 238-239); (6) Thomé Lobo (SR IV 66-67); (7) Jorge Cabral (Q 4103a); (8) F. Pérez (*Informação* 61). In addition to these there are the accounts of later authors: Couto 6, 6, 9 to 6, 7, 1; Seb. Gonçalves 3, 20; Freire de Andrade, *Vida de D. João de Castro* (Lisbon, 1835) 309-310; E. Sanceau, *D. João de Castro* (Porto, 1946) 390-394.

² Letter of the bishop of November 5, 1548 (SR IV 109). They held it always on the day that it was held in Europe since the cloister protected them from the rain.

³ Nunes, *Crónica* 238.

⁴ "Tornou a fallar, pedindo confissão, que lhe o bispo deu, com a comunhão em huma missa que lhe disse, e á tarde a santa unção" (Correa IV 658); Nunes, *Crónica* 238.

⁵ According to Frey Antonio do Casal (SR IV 256).

⁶ According to D. Alvaro on his return from India, from the island of Terceira to the king on June 21, 1549 (Q 4211); Sanceau, *D. João de Castro* 390: "M'ele deixou muitas maldições, se todos os dias de minha vida não gastasse em seu serviço, que eu comprerei até m'alma sair fora do corpo."

⁷ The chief *sources* for Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda (not to be confused with thirteen contemporary Manuel de Sousas!) are, in addition to the chronicles of Castanheda, Correa, Couto, and Baião, *História* 142 145 156 165 312 329, the contemporary documents (see Q, index).—He was the son of Diogo de Sepúlveda and Dona Constança de

Cunha⁸ for having complained to the king that they had been unwilling to take over the captaincy of the fortress after the siege of Diu.⁹ He tore up many papers and gave a chest full of them to his son.¹⁰ He then remained alone with Father Master Francis; the guardian, Frey Antonio do Casal; his confessor, Frey João de Villa de Conde; and the vicar general, Master Pedro Fernandes, until his death so that his only thoughts might be about his soul.¹¹

On June 3 Castro made a final entrance in the book in which he had noted

Távora and sailed to India in 1533 (Q 436; *Emmentia* 334), where he served in the fleet of M. A. de Sousa from 1534 to 1538 and campaigned with him in 1534 against Damão, in 1535 against the Moguls, in 1536 against Repelim; and he fought against the Moors in 1537 at Coulete, and in 1538 at Vêdālai. In 1540 he came to the help of the besieged Bassein with his two brothers (Q 449 4291). In 1541 he sailed with D. Estevão da Gama to Suez (Q 841), and in 1542 with M. A. de Sousa against Bhatkal. From 1542 to 1545 he was captain of Diu, where he built bulwarks, the factory, and the Misericórdia, and furnished the Sé with a choir, tower, chapels, and altarpieces (Q 1134 5326 5411). In 1546 he bought the village of Pereira in Portugal (Q 1851) and sailed with D. João de Castro to the help of Diu (Q 3168), where he was wounded in the decisive battle (Q 2598 3168) and at great personal expense helped to rebuild the fortress (Q 2842). In 1547 he followed the governor in his campaign against Pondá (Correa IV 602) and Cambay (Q 3382 3805). He sailed with D. Alvaro against Dābhol (Q 3462) and accompanied the governor in 1548 to Bassein (Q 3805) and Goa. In December, 1548, after the death of Castro, he married Dona Leonor, the daughter of Garcia de Sá (Q 4103a; Correa IV 673; Couto 6, 7, 6), and was recommended to the king by Frey Antonio do Casal in 1549 (Q 4148). In 1550-1551 he distinguished himself in the "Pepper War" in Malabar, and he had testimonies taken for himself in this regard (Q 4549 4575-4578 4585 4589 [ed. in *Gavetas* V (1965) 379-410] and 4556; Correa IV 709-719; Couto 6, 9, 2 15 18). In 1552, with a recommendation to the king from Xavier (EX II 303), he sailed in the galleon *São João* with his wife and their two small children and his ten-year-old, illegitimate son to Portugal. The ship sank near the coast of Natal on June 24 in the most famous shipwreck in Portuguese history. Of the five hundred persons who reached land, only eight Portuguese and fourteen male, and three female, slaves came to Mozambique on foot. All the rest, including Sepúlveda and his wife and children, succumbed to the fatigues of the journey. The main account of the shipwreck was published in Lisbon in 1592 from the data furnished by one of the survivors. This has been included by Gomes de Brito in his *Historia Tragico-Maritima*: I (Lisboa, 1904) 13-44. It became the theme of the epic of Jer. Corte Real (Lisboa, 1594), the play *Sosa* of Nicolaus Avancinus, S.J. (1642), and the novel of José Agostinho, *Tragedia Maritima* (Porto, 1908). Sepúlveda's coat of arms (Q 436) shows an eagle with two lilies in fields one and four; fields two and three are divided into three: two rampant lions above and a castle below.

⁸ On Francisco da Cunha (to be distinguished from seven contemporary namesakes), see the chronicles of Castanheda, Correa, Barros, and Couto and the contemporary documents in Q, index. He sailed to India in 1519 as the captain of the *S. Antonio* (Figueiredo Falcão 149; GS II 156), was captain there of a caravel in the Malabar fleet in 1529-1530 (Castanheda 8, 1 and 12), sailed in 1530 to Diu with the governor (*ibid.* 8, 29; Correa III 391 393 402), helped capture Bassein in 1533 (*ibid.* III 467), and sailed to the strait (*ibid.* 475). After his return he wrote two letters to the king (GS II 156-157). In 1534 he was present at the capture of Damão (Castanheda 8, 82), and in 1536 he fought against the Moors in Bardez (Correa III 708). In 1538 he was captain of the caravel *Conceição* (Q 334a), and in 1542-1545 captain of Chaul (Correa IV 447). He helped at Diu in 1546, and fought with Castro in the front ranks in the decisive battle. After this he provided a table for many and took care especially of the sick (Q 2387 2924; Castro, *Cartas* 191 274; Correa IV 560 567 572 579). He refused, however, to take over the fortress since he was very sick himself and wished to sail to Portugal in order to marry there and to take care of his two poor, orphaned sisters (Correa IV 586-587).

⁹ On his refusal see Correa IV 586-588. D. João Mascarenhas finally obtained the fortress.

¹⁰ These letters and documents are extant; see Schurhammer, *Quellen*, pp. XXXIII-XXXIV (letters) and XXXVII (documents).

¹¹ EX I 470-471; Correa IV 658. Nunes also names the bishop, but he leaves out Frey João de Villa de Conde (*Crónica* 238-239).

down the favors he had granted during his term of office up until April 8. It had reference to his faithful companion and armor-bearer, Vasco da Cunha:¹² "Vasco da Cunha should receive thirty *bahārs* of cinnamon sticks in order to pay the debts of his brother Antonio da Cunha,¹³ for the latter rendered great service to his king and died after he had been pierced by a lance in the battle of Salsette."¹⁴

He made a general confession to his confessor, Frey Antonio do Casal,¹⁵ and he asked him to beg pardon of Henrique de Sousa Chichorro in his name for having, through hatred, removed his brother Aleixo de Sousa from the captaincy; and he asked pardon of him as well.¹⁶ He then made his will,¹⁷ and he asked the four priests who were with him to write a common letter to the king and remind him in his name of the merits of a number of *fidalgos* since he himself could no longer do so.¹⁸

In the first place he reminded his lord of the many great services which Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda had shown to His Highness in the battle of Diu and in the rebuilding of the fortress, during the course of which he had provided a table for many men, and the care he had taken in the erection of the bulwark of São Thomé, which had cost him great efforts; and he had also accompanied him and been of great assistance on all the fleets. He therefore asked the king that he might consider it his duty to grant him many favors. And if His Highness had been somewhat displeased that he had not taken over the fortress of Diu, he asked him to forgive him because of the hour in which he, the viceroy, was now in.

He further recommended Francisco da Cunha to them. They should remind the king of him. He had served very well at Diu, both in the fighting and in the rebuilding of the fortress; and he had provided a table for many men and had taken care of many who were sick. After God, he had been the reason why many had recovered from grave sicknesses. And he asked, for the sake of the hour in which he, the viceroy, was now in, that the king might forgive him if because of him he had felt some displeasure that he had not taken over the fortress of Diu.

¹² On Vasco da Cunha, see Vol. II, pp. 361-362.

¹³ Antonio da Cunha (to be distinguished from two namesakes) bore on his coat of arms, like his brother, the nine wedges of the Cunhas (Q 2362). He sailed with the governor to Suez in 1541 and with D. Fernando de Castro to Diu in 1546 (Q 2127; Baião, *Hist.* 21; Nunes, *Crónica* 43-44 58) and was on August 10 severely wounded by the mine that caused the death of D. Fernando and destroyed the bulwark of S. João (Baião, *Hist.* 223). On August 29 he informed the governor of the death of his son (Q 2362; Baião, *Hist.* 213-214), and on December 16 the governor described to the king his services in the siege of Diu (Q 2598; Castro, *Cartas* 237-238 290). In 1547 he accompanied D. Alvaro on his voyage to Aden (Q 2803 3166; Baião, *Hist.* 307), and on December 21 he fell in the battle of Salsette (Nunes, *Crónica* 216).

¹⁴ Mercês 197 (Q 3945).

¹⁵ SR IV 256.

¹⁶ Correa IV 659 (where *Henrique* is to be read instead of *Belchior*).

¹⁷ Nunes (*Crónica* 238) and Couto 6, 6, 9, p. 69, state this expressly. Castro wrote his first will in Lisbon on March 19, 1545 (Q 1482) before his voyage to India. Opened in Lisbon on July 30, 1549 (Q 4228), it has been edited by Ch. Aryres in *Testamento de D. João de Castro* (Lisbon, 1901). Although Ayres (*ibid.* 6-7), Freire de Andrade (310), and Sanceau, *D. João de Castro* (392) state that Castro never made a second will, it cannot be denied that he made certain testamentary additions, for example, on the executor of his will, the place of his burial in Goa, and the transfer of his bones to Portugal.

¹⁸ EX I 470.

In addition to these he told them that they should commend Dom Francisco de Lima¹⁹ and Vasco da Cunha to His Highness, since they too had been of great help and had accompanied him on his labors; and Dom Francisco had always shown great love for him and had always remained with him up to the hour of his death.

He further told them that they should recommend Dom Diogo de Almeida,²⁰ the captain of Goa, to His Highness. In the wars on the mainland he had always been most assiduous with his assistance; and he had always been among the foremost in conducting them. Finally, they should remind the king that Antonio Pessoa²¹ had, with great diligence, given him much help with the fleet which he had fitted out for Goa and in all other concerns. Because of this he had given him some villages in the territory of Bassein in the name of His Highness, on which he paid the king the usual rent; and he asked the king that he might ratify this because of his services.²²

On June 6 the viceroy urgently asked them, for the love of God and because of the hour in which he was now in, to ask the king in his name to forgive Henrique de Sousa Chichorro, whom Xavier had recommended to King John III²³ in his last letter, and probably also to the viceroy by word of mouth, and to take into account the fact that he was poor and had married a very poor orphan.²⁴

¹⁹ On D. Francisco de Lima, see Vol. II, p. 87.

²⁰ On D. Diogo de Almeida Freire, see the contemporary documents in Q, index; Castro, *Cartas* 399; Baião, *Hist.* 262 306 313, Nunes, *Crónica* 144, and the contemporary chronicles of Castanheda and Correa; see also Couto 6, 5, 9; *Manso Lima I 366 368, and *Andrade Leitão I 366. His coat of arms show the six spheres of the Almeidas (Q 3611). He was the second son of D. Bernaldim de Almeida and of Guiomar Freire. He first married a daughter of Pedro Preto, and after her death in India in 1547 the wealthy, childless widow of the captain of Chaul, Christovão de Sousa (Q 3543), who bore him no children. In 1533 he sailed to India (*Emmentā* 335). He accompanied the coastal fleet of Malabar under the command of M. A. de Sousa as the captain of a ship from 1534 till 1539. He fought at Repelim, against the Calicut fleet, and at Vēdālai (Castanheda 8, 81 142 146 174); and in 1539 he helped Bassein which was being besieged by the Moors (*ibid.* 9, 15 and 19). In 1541 he sailed against his will with D. Estevão da Gama to Suez (Q 602; Correa IV 162). After his return the latter wrote to the king on October 25, 1541, that he was sending him with D. Bernaldim de Noronha, the son of the deceased viceroy (D. Garcia de Noronha) to Portugal with the *auto* of their guilt. They had freed a man who had hacked off the arm of another at the elbow from the hands of a judge and three policemen (Q 841, ff. 6v-7v). Returning from Portugal, Almeida was city captain of Goa from 1545 to 1548. In this capacity he rendered valuable service to Castro in the siege of Diu in 1546 (Q 2294 2391 2645 2875 3448). In 1547 he twice drove the Moors out of territory which they had taken from the city of Goa (Q 2488 3486 3543 3611). As a consequence, Adil Khān saw himself compelled to sign a treaty of peace (Q 3985). Four of his opinions are extant from this time (Q 1547 1745 1928 3329). In 1549 he sailed back to Portugal (Q 3543). He is not to be confused with six contemporary namesakes.

²¹ On Pessoa, see Vol. II, p. 279.

²² These were the villages which belonged to Melique Acem (Malik Ayāz) before his rebellion. On January 19, 1548, Castro gave them to Pessoa in copyhold for himself and his wife for life (Q 3612). The names of the seven villages were: on the island of Mahim (Bombay): Mazagão (Mazagon); in the district (*pragandā*) of Salsette: Vanare (Bandora) and Calera, also known as Colerem or Curulem (Kurla); and in the district of Camão (Kāman), that is, the present district of Bhivandi: Vallaunda, also known as Vallamdaa (not on modern maps); Coya, or Coiaa (Cow); Damona, or Damanaa (Dhamne); and Dayalla, or Demalem (Dahyala). See Q 3622 4088; EX I 472; DI VIII 380-382.

²³ EX I 413-414.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 470-473.

It was the last day of his life.²⁵ Frey Juan de Albuquerque,²⁶ the bishop; Mestre Pedro Fernandes, the vicar general; Frey Antonio do Casal, his confessor; Frey João de Villa de Conde; and Mestre Francisco stood by his deathbed and assisted him with their pious intercession. The dying governor retained his consciousness to the very end and showed in all his devout words his fullest confidence in the mercy of God and His most holy passion and death;²⁷ and, with his gaze lifted up to the crucifix,²⁸ he returned his soul to his Creator in the greatest peace. He was forty-eight years old when he died, far from his family and his beloved mountains of Penha Verde.

A search was made for his will in order to see what provisions he had made for his burial. It was found in a small box, whose key Castro was accustomed to carry with him. In it there was also found an old, worn discipline, which showed that it had frequently been used, and the lock of his beard which he had sent to the city of Goa as a pledge for the loan which he had asked in order to rebuild the fortress that had been destroyed during the siege, and three small silver coins, *tangas larins*, whose total value was less than a single *pardau*. The viceroy had named his wife and his son Dom Alvaro as the executors of his will, and he had ordered that he should be buried in the church of St. Francis, and that his bones should be transferred from there to his chapel in Sintra. He further ordered his son to sail back to Portugal at the first opportunity.²⁹

His body was laid out clothed in the white mantle of the Order of the Knights of Christ and over this was the brown habit with the white cord of the Third Order of St. Francis. His sword was placed at his hip and his gilded spurs at his feet. His face was left bare, and his head was covered with a black berret and supported by a velvet cushion. The bier on which his body rested was covered with a tapestry. The monsoon had already set in, and heavy showers of rain fell noisily from a sky hung with dark clouds when the *fidalgos*, with linen cloths under the bier and numerous torches, carried the body of the deceased governor, in the company of a great many friars and the cathedral chapter, from the Sabayo Palace to the neighboring church of the Franciscans, where it was placed in a new coffin and buried in the choir.

All the *fidalgos* were present for the funeral, and the church could not contain the throngs that came for it. When the prayers had been completed and before the body was laid to rest on the Gospel side of the choir, measures were taken to determine who was to be the next governor.

Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, the *vedor da fazenda*, had the box with the five patents of succession brought to him. These had come with the latest ships, and upon them depended the weal and woe of India and of the Indian mission for the next three years. He opened it, took out the first document and gave it to the captain of the city, Dom Diogo de Almeida, who examined it with the

²⁵ June 6 is given as the date of the death by D. Alvaro (Q 4211), Nunes, *Crónica* 238, and Correa IV 658. In his letter of December 27, 1548, Cabral gives the wrong date of June 13 (Q 4103a).

²⁶ Nunes, *Crónica* 238-239.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 239.

²⁸ Seb. Gonçalves 3, 19.

²⁹ Couto 6, 6, 9, pp. 69-70. D. Alvaro sailed for Portugal in 1549. In 1576 the mortal remains of the viceroy were brought from India to Portugal, where they were first laid away in the monastery of S. Domingos in Lisbon and then in the neighboring monastery at Bemfica in a common chapel of their church until his grandson, Bishop D. Francisco de Castro, had a worthy chapel built for them in the same church (cf. Freire de Andrade 310-315; Luis de Sousa, O.P., *Hist. de S. Domingos* III 192-203).

ouvidor geral and determined that it was in good condition and had not been touched. He then gave it back to the *vedor*, who then handed it to Cosme Anes, the secretary. The chancellor, Dr. Francisco Toscano, then mounted the steps of the choir and read forth an *alvará* of the king in which he ordered the three patents of succession that had been sent earlier to be returned unopened and only the five new ones, which Martim Correa da Silva had brought with him, to be opened. He then gave the letter to the secretary; and as the bishop stood on one side of him and the captain of the city on the other, he solemnly opened the first patent of succession, which bore the following title: "The first succession of the governor of India, which is not to be opened except in case of the death of the present viceroy, Dom João de Castro, which may our Lord avert." The secretary then read in a loud, intelligible voice the document which declared that the governor should be Dom João Mascarenhas, the heroic defender of Diu. If he were not present for the opening, he should be summoned. Meanwhile the captain of the fortress and the *vedor da fazenda* should in such a case have charge of the government; and if the document was opened in Goa, the bishop should also rule with them. But if the person named was in a place from which he could not be called, the second succession should be opened.

Mascarenhas had already sailed to the kingdom in January. The second succession was consequently opened and read with the same solemnity. It named as successor to the deceased the old Garcia de Sá,³⁰ who was present in the church. When he heard what was read, he knelt down and praised God with hands upraised and with many tears of joy for the favor which he had received through this appointment; and all the *fidalgos* embraced him and congratulated him on his election. The city captain immediately received his promise of fidelity; the secretary had him swear his oath of office upon a missal; and the new governor signed the document with some of the *fidalgos*. Garcia de Sá then went in the company of all to his residence outside the city. On the third day he returned to the Franciscan monastery and assisted at Vespers and, on the following day, at the Mass and Office of the Dead for the deceased viceroy, during the course of which a eulogy was preached. Another Office of the Dead was held with great honors in the cathedral, and a third in the church of the Misericórdia.³¹

The next fleet, which sailed six months later for Portugal, brought the king the news of the governor's death and a letter from his confessor, the guardian Frey Antonio do Casal. In it he wrote:

I was present at the death of the viceroy and heard his confession, and he confessed as he was accustomed to do at every opportunity; and I assure Your Highness before God and my own conscience that I have never heard the confession of one who died so conformed to the will of God. Mestre Pedro, the vicar general, who was also present, is sailing to you. He will give Your Highness an account of this, for the things which he [the viceroy] uttered in the hour of his death are ever worth Your

³⁰ Couto erroneously maintains that the second succession was for D. Jorge Telo de Meneses. But at this time he had already sailed to Portugal. He adds the anecdote with respect to Cabral, who said after the opening of the third succession: "I would give something if I could learn who is named in the fifth succession, for I know well that the fourth is for me" (6, 7, 1). In the election of Cabral in 1549, Correa repeats that the second was for Garcia de Sá and the third for D. Jorge Telo, who had at the time already sailed for Portugal (IV 680). In 1548 Telo was still the captain of Mozambique, where Baretto met him when he landed on June 5, 1548 (Q 4063).

³¹ Correa IV 658-660; Couto 6, 7, 1, pp. 73-75.

Highness' hearing them. This land lost much when it lost a governor who was so chaste, virtuous, and without greed, and who served Your Highness so faithfully.³²

Among the many other letters which the king received was one from Thomé Lobo, who had grown grey in his service in India.³³ In it he informed him of what had happened:

God took Dom Joam de Castro to Himself after he had received the favor and honor which Your Highness showed him by making him viceroy. He was a very good Christian and, from what we all here generally know of his life and virtues, his soul will be in paradise; and Father Mestre Francisco, a saintly man, who says things from the pulpit which we recognize as revelations, has assured us of this. This priest accompanied him constantly until the hour of his demise. And when the Moors learned that the viceroy had died, they celebrated great feasts in all the lands of Ydallcão [Adil Khān], so great was their impression of him while he was still alive.³⁴

³² SR IV 256.

³³ Thomé Lobo wrote on October 13, 1548, to the king from Goa that he had served His Highness as a soldier for thirty years, since he had come to India in 1518 (SR IV 66). He had received many wounds in the service of his king in fighting with the Moors. He had been present at the battle of Salsette (December 21, 1547) and in the march against Pondá (September 21, 1547), and he had lent M. A. de Sousa twenty-eight gold marks for the purchase of pepper and much money to D. Estevão da Gama in Malacca when the latter was captain there (*ibid.* 71-72). In the defeat which the Portuguese ships had suffered in 1523 in their battle with the fleet of the sultan of Bintang on the Muar River, Lobo had escaped by night and had reached Malacca after tramping through the forests for nine days (Castanheda 6, 52, p. 232; Correa II 771).

³⁴ SR IV 66-67. An alleged letter of Xavier on the death of the viceroy is a forgery (cf. GS III 177-178).

CHAPTER IV

UNDER GARCIA DE SA (JUNE, 1548—APRIL, 1549)

1. THE CHRISTIAN DAILY ORDER (SUMMER, 1548)

Xavier had become free through Castro's death, but the four-month rainy season detained him in Goa. In the meantime there was no lack of opportunities to exercise his apostolic zeal. The last time he had been in Goa had been at the end of 1544, before he set sail for the Moluccas. After having been away for more than three years, he had returned again for the first time at the beginning of March, 1548. All kinds of rumors had in the meantime been spread about him—how he had, for example, been unable to do any good in the morally depraved Malacca, and how he had consequently shaken the dust from his feet at the time of his departure. According to others he had removed his clothes and buried them, and had dressed himself in skins instead.¹ The joy of his confreres and admirers was thus all the more when they saw him again in their midst. Misser Paulo, who had accompanied Master Francis on his voyage to India in 1541, wrote at the end of the year to Simon Rodrigues:

Words fail me to narrate the countless graces which God our Lord has wished to confer upon Father Mestre Francisco and the zeal and charm which He has given him in his preachings and conversations, and the great fruit which he obtains through his hearing of confessions and his teachings and instructions. All the boys and girls, male and female slaves, gather about him because of the great esteem they have for him and his sermons, which he gives to the said boys and girls, male and female slaves, in their Negro talk, and, to express it better, in their own language.²

Thomé Lobo wrote to the king of Portugal:

When Father Mestre Francisco is here, he always preaches with great learning. And he is always going about making friendships, and he tolerates no enmities; and because of this great evils have already come to an end.³

Francisco Pérez, whom he sent to Malacca in April, praised especially a grace which God had granted to the priest: his cheerfulness and pleasantness in his dealings with others. Through this he brought them to the right path and withdrew them from their sins so that they became his great friends and admirers. As Pérez later wrote:

When he encountered a person who was deeply sunk in sensual sins, who had an *orancaya* or *orancayas*,⁴ that is, concubines, as was the custom in India at that time.

¹ DI I 255.

² *Ibid.* 347.

³ *Ibid.* 270-271.

⁴ The Malayan word *orangkaya* usually indicates a prominent, wealthy individual but also a high official (Dalgado II 122-123; Yule 644-645).

and did not free himself from this, he struck up a friendship with him and went a number of times to eat with them until he gradually persuaded him to make a general confession; and he made him remove the obstacles which he had or marry one of them.

Pérez then added that the priest usually gave as a part of the person's penance a *Christian Daily Order* with a number of prayers, which he took in part from his Small Catechism and had his penitent copy out and repeat a fixed number of days.⁵ The text of this *Daily Order* was as follows:⁶

ORDER AND RULE WHICH SHOULD BE MAINTAINED EACH DAY TO COMMEND
ONESELF TO GOD AND TO SAVE ONE'S SOUL⁷

The Order to be Maintained on Rising

First, as soon as a good Christian awakes in the morning, he should do three things which please God more than all others. The first is that he profess the Most Holy Trinity, three Persons in one sole God, which Christians alone truthfully and faithfully profess when they bless themselves with the words: In the Name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.⁸

The second is that he profess Jesus Christ, the true Son of God, by reciting the Creed and truly and faithfully believe it without any doubt, in which the whole Catholic faith is contained, and which reads as follows:

I believe⁹ in God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth. In believe in Jesus Christ, His Son, our only Lord. I believe that He was conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary. I believe that He suffered under the rule of Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried. I believe that He descended to those in the lower world and on the third day 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 flesh. I believe in everlasting life. Amen, Jesus.

Profession of Faith

True God! I freely and from the heart, as a good and true Christian, profess the Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three Persons in one God. I firmly

⁵ *Informação* 52.

⁶ Pérez, who had the text of the *Christian Daily Order* before him, gives its principal contents (52-53). Maurício has maintained that it is not unlikely that Xavier wrote it for the personal use of the governor D. João de Castro and, perhaps, at his request (*Brotéria* 56 [1953] 365). This opinion lacks all foundation and probability. The oldest extant text is found in Seb. Gonçalves 5, 13, in 1614, who notes that Xavier gave this instruction to all the churches so that all the Christians could read it and recite the prayers contained in it if they did not know them by heart. Xavier's instruction for Gaspar Barzaeus at the time of his mission to Ormuz in April, 1549, contains the first mention of it (EX II 93-94). We therefore assume that the saint composed it during the rainy season of 1548 in Goa. We have published the text in EX I 441-460 with the additions and variants of later copies, an historical introduction, a description of the different extant texts, a table of comparisons (*ibid.* 443), and a list of the passages taken from his Small Catechism (*ibid.* 115); cf. Vol. II, pp. 219-221.

⁷ Xavier gives the title in his instruction for Barzaeus (EX II 93-94).

⁸ Cf. EX I 366-367.

⁹ Also in his Small Catechism Xavier intentionally repeats the words "I believe" with each article of the Creed in order to strengthen the people in their faith by this repetition (Seb. Gonçalves 2, 4); cf. Barros, *Compilação de Varias Obras* (Lisboa, 1783) 17-18, and EX I 162-163.

believe, without doubting, all that our Holy Mother the Church of Rome believes and teaches. I promise to live and die as a true Christian in the holy, catholic faith of my Lord Jesus Christ. And if I should not be able to speak at the hour of my death, I now profess with all my heart my Lord Jesus Christ as the only Son of God for that moment of my death.

The third is that he ask God the Lord for the grace to keep the Ten Commandments of His most holy law, for no one can save his soul without keeping them—those which are recited in the morning—and that he ask God the Lord with respect to each one of them for the grace to keep and fulfill them that day and all the others of his life, as He has commanded in the following way:

The Commandments of God our Lord are ten, namely, as follows:

The first is to love God above all things; the second, thou shalt not swear by His holy name in vain; the third, thou shalt keep the Sundays and feast days; the fourth, thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother and thou wilt live for many years; the fifth, thou shalt not kill; the sixth, thou shalt not fornicate; the seventh, thou shalt not steal; the eighth, thou shalt not bear false witness; the ninth, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife; the tenth, thou shalt not covet the things of others.

God says: Those who keep these Ten Commandments will go to paradise.

God says: Those who do not keep these Ten Commandments will go to hell.

Prayer: I ask you, my Lord Jesus Christ, to give me the grace to keep these Ten Commandments today, this day, and all the time of my life.

Prayer: I ask you, my Lady St. Mary, that you intercede for me with your blessed son Jesus Christ, so that He may give me the grace today, on this day, and the whole time of my life to keep these Ten Commandments.

Prayer: I beg you, my Lord Jesus Christ, forgive me my sins which I shall have committed today, on this day, and in the whole time of my life because I have not kept these Ten Commandments.

Prayer: I ask you, my Lady St. Mary, Queen of Angels, to obtain pardon for me from your blessed son Jesus Christ for the sins which I shall have committed today, on this day, and in the whole time of my life because I have not kept these Ten Commandments.

After finishing this prayer, he will recite the Our Father and Hail Mary, and he will do the same at each one of the Commandments by himself so that he may remember them better and may be determined and strive to keep the Commandments and be freed from the habit of sinning against the Commandments which he has not kept and, if he has sinned against any one of them, may recognize the evil which he has done more quickly and may sooner repent the sins which he habitually commits. And in each of the Commandments in which he finds himself more guilty because of an evil habit, he will ask God the Lord with great sorrow and great contrition for his sins for the grace to keep it on that day and on all those of his life. And he should strive earnestly to save his soul by keeping the Ten Commandments; and he should employ all his strength in freeing himself from the habit of sinning against them by saying:

I truly believe that if death overtakes me in any sin whatever against one of these Ten Commandments, then my soul will be condemned to the pains of hell without any redemption. And I also truly believe that if death overtakes me free from mortal sin and after I have freed myself from the habit of sinning against the Ten Commandments, against which I sin because of an evil habit, God my Lord will have mercy on my soul, no matter how great a sinner I was, and will give me everlasting salvation, which is the glory of paradise, after I shall have done penance for my sins either in this life or in purgatory.¹⁰

¹⁰ Cf. EX I 164 and the triple colloquy and the first manner of prayer in the Exercises (Vol. I, pp. 218-219).

*Order which Must be Followed at Night in Asking
God our Lord for Pardon for One's Sins*

A faithful Christian, when he is about to go to sleep, will adhere to all that has been said above, examining his conscience with respect to the sins he has committed that day, intending with the grace of his Lord to amend them, and being resolved to confess them at the proper time. And since sleep is the image of death, and many who have gone to sleep in good health are dead in the morning, I shall say the *Confiteor* with great repentance for my sins, and I shall recommend myself to my holy guardian angel, and I shall speak as follows:

I, a sinner who have wandered far astray, confess before God the Lord and St. Mary and St. Michael, the angel, and St. John Baptist, and St. Peter and St. Paul and St. Thomas,¹¹ and all the saints of the court of heaven; and to you, Father, I confess my guilt, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought and in word and in deed, that I did not do much good which I could have done, that I did not refrain from much evil which I could have avoided. I am sorry for all this. I confess to God my guilt: Lord, my fault, my great fault. I pray and ask my Lady St. Mary and all the saints that they may be willing to ask my Lord Jesus Christ that He may be willing to forgive me my present, past, confessed, and forgotten sins; and that he may grant me His grace for the future so that He may keep me from sinning and bring me to the enjoyment of the glory of paradise. Amen, Jesus.

Prayer to One's Guardian Angel

O angel of God, who are my protector, because of your supreme compassion for me, I commit myself to you: save, defend, and govern me. Amen, Jesus.

I ask you, blessed angel, to whose care I have been entrusted, to be ever present to assist me. Before God our Lord present my requests to his most merciful ears so that He, because of His mercy and your prayers, may grant me pardon for my past sins and a true knowledge and contrition for those present, and counsel to avoid sins in the future; and that He may grant me the grace to do good and to persevere unto the end. Keep far from me, through the strength of Almighty God, every temptation of Satan; and may you obtain through your prayers before our Lord what I do not deserve because of my works, that there may not be in me any trace and mixture of any evil; and if at times you see me wandering from the right path and following the errors of sin, take care to bring me back to my Saviour along the ways of justice. And when you see me in any trial and tribulation, take care that help comes to me from God through your sweet intercession.

I ask you never to abandon me but always to shield and visit and assist and defend me from every wile and warfare of the devils, watching over me by day and night at every hour and every moment; be willing therefore to come as my guardian and companion. I beg the same of you, my protector, that when I am about to depart from this life, you do not let me be frightened by the devils, nor let me fall into despair, and do not abandon me until you shall have led me to the beatific vision of God our Lord, where I shall be near the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and all the saints so that we shall always be refulgent in the glory of paradise which Jesus Christ our Lord will give us, who lives with the Father and with the Holy Spirit and reigns forever. Amen.

Prayer to God our Lord, to Our Virgin Lady, and to St. Michael

O my powerful God and merciful Father of my soul, Creator of all the things of the earth, in You, my God and Lord, since You are all my good, I firmly believe without the possibility of doubt that I am to be saved through the infinite merits of the death and passion of my Lord Jesus Christ, no matter how very great may be the

¹¹ The king had ordered that the apostle Thomas should be mentioned in the prayers (SR III 15).

sins of my youth and all that I have committed since then. You, Lord, created me and gave me soul and body and whatever I have; and You, my God, have made me to Your likeness, and not the false *pagodas* who are the gods of the gentiles in the form of beasts and animals of the devil. I renounce all the *pagodas* and magicians and soothsayers since they are slaves and friends of the devil. O gentiles, how great is your blindness and sin that you make a beast and animal into God since you adore Him in their forms! O Christians, let us give thanks and praise to God, three and one that He has given us to know the faith and true law of His Son Jesus Christ!

O my Lady, St. Mary, Hope of Christians, Queen of Angels and of all the Saints who are with God our Lord in heaven, I recommend myself to you, my Lady, and to all the saints now for the hour of my death so that you may protect me from the world and the flesh and the devil, which are my enemies, eager to draw my soul to hell.

O lord St. Michael, defend me from the devil at the hour of my death when I shall render an account to God of all my past life.

Weigh, lord, my sins¹² against the merits of the death and passion of my Lord Jesus Christ and not against my few merits, and I shall thus be delivered from the power of the enemy and shall go to enjoy forever the glory of paradise. Amen, Jesus.

*What a Venial Sin Is and by What Means One Obtains Its
Forgiveness—What a Mortal Sin Is and How One Obtains
Its Forgiveness*

A venial sin is nothing else than a disposition to mortal sin, and it is called a venial sin because it is easily forgiven, and it is forgiven in nine ways. The first is through attendance at holy Mass; the second, through Communion; the third, through the blessing of a bishop; the fourth, through saying the *Confiteor*. The fifth, through holy water. The sixth, through blessed bread.¹³ The seventh, through the beating of one's breast. The eighth, through the devout praying of the Our Father. The ninth, through the hearing of a sermon. All this with repentance.

A mortal sin is when one wishes says, or does something against the law of God, or fails to do what He commands. It is called a mortal sin because it kills for all eternity the body and soul of one who dies without doing penance for it, though it is a mortal sin. Through mortal sin a man loses God who has created him, and he loses everlasting happiness which He has promised him, and he loses his body and soul redeemed by Him, and he loses the merits and good deeds of Holy Mother the Church, and he loses in addition the good works which he does in the state of sin. For these do not profit him with respect to his salvation even if they help him in the increase of his health and temporal goods and to the lessening of punishments and to the recognition of the sin in which he finds himself so that he may free himself from it. For if a sinner has sorrow for his sins with the resolution of not sinning again and of confessing at the time that the Church commands this, he already has a true spirit of penance and is ready for the merits and indulgences of the Church; and the good works which he does are to his profit in everything. Mortal sin is remitted through four means. The first is through repentance. The second, through a contrite confession to a proper priest. The third, through reparation in deed with contrition. The fourth, the resolve to sin no more along with contrition.

Prayer to the True Cross

O happy Cross, which was sanctified by the body of my Lord Jesus Christ and was adorned with His precious blood! I entreat You, merciful Lord Jesus Christ, through the strength of Your passion and death, which You suffered on this most holy Cross

¹² With the expression "Weigh, lord!" the archangel St. Michael is meant, who was represented on the façade of Santa Maria in Sangüesa (cf. Vol. II, p. 221) as a knight at the Last Judgment with the scale for souls in his hand.

¹³ At Mass in many places (in Navarre in many churches, for example, in the valley of Baztán; see Vol. I, p. 20) bread was blessed in addition to the consecration of the host.

that You will forgive me my sins as You forgave them to the thief when You, kind Lord, hung crucified upon it; and grant me victory over my opponents; and may you bring my enemies to true knowledge so that they repent their guilt. Amen, Jesus.

How Boys and Girls Should Assist at Holy Mass

Boys and girls must be taught to keep silence in the church. They should kneel for the *Confiteor* at Mass and stand for the *Gloria in excelsis*; and immediately after, at the prayer, they should kneel, except during Easter and Christmas. They should sit for the Epistle and stand with great reverence at the Gospel, and also at the Creed. And when saying *homo factus est*, they should kneel on the floor. They should stand for the Preface and kneel after the *Sanctus* until the end of Mass and the reception of the priest's blessing.

They should also be taught that in the morning before anything else they should make some act of devotion of a few Hail Marys and Our Fathers and the Creed, at least three Hail Marys kneeling: the first to the faith with which our Lady conceived the Son of God, the second to her sorrow when she saw him die upon the cross, the third to her joy at the resurrection. They should do the same at night before going to sleep. And also at noon they should recite something in memory of the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ.¹⁴

Prayer to the Host

I adore You, my Lord Jesus Christ, and I bless You, for through Your holy Cross, You have redeemed the world and me. Amen, Jesus.

Prayer to the Chalice

I adore You, Blood of my Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed upon the Cross in order to save sinners and me. Amen, Jesus.

Reflections for Those who Wish to Save Themselves

Every sinner should reflect upon the fact that there is a very great difference between sinning grievously out of habit and sinning occasionally, and not from habit. And he should know for sure that it is necessary that men give up their habitual sins during their life, and that they should not postpone this until the hour of their death. For if one waits till this time, the sins leave the sinner and the sinner does not leave the sins. And in such sinners the justice of God is revealed when they die, since they will be damned to the pains of hell. With those, however, who sin occasionally and not from habit, provided that they make efforts to keep the Commandments, God shows them His mercy in the hour of their death.

All prayers, alms and charitable works, and rightly ordered labors and sicknesses born with patience, and the works of mercy which they perform, and all other good works which they do should be directed to this goal, namely, that they ask God the Lord for the grace to break their habit of sinning against the Ten Commandments, where I commit sin through evil habit, because it is so necessary for the salvation of my soul that I free myself from the habit of sinning, since habitual sins are those which lead men to hell.

Every Christian should reflect and have a constant remembrance of death, and of the shortness of life, and of the most strict account which he must render to God about his whole life past when he dies; and he should call to mind the day of universal judgment, when we shall all rise in body and in soul, and the everlasting pains of hell, which will never end; and he should reflect upon the glory of paradise, for which we were created. All these things observed each day will greatly help me to dispose myself

¹⁴ Cf. the rules in the catechism of Barros on how one should assist at Mass (*Compilação* 46-49).

and to do now what I shall wish to have done in the hour of my death in order to enter into the glory of paradise.

Every faithful Christian who follows this order will, with the grace of the Lord, gain the glory of paradise in this life.

This was the *Christian Daily Order* which Master Francis recommended to his penitents. He had it displayed in the churches so that the people could read it and recite the prayers contained in it if they did not know these by heart. They were also able to make copies of it for themselves. Francis also gave copies of it to his confreres when he sent them with an instruction to other villages.

During the rainy season of 1548, which kept him fast in Goa, Xavier's main concern, after that of the apostolate, was the College of St. Paul and its residents. In November, 1546, Lancilotto had written of his relations with it as follows: "Master Francis can have as much care for what is going on here from the place where he now is [he was in the distant Moluccas] as if he were in Rome, and he knows little about this college. He was never able to remain here."¹⁵

Francis now had the opportunity and time for gaining information on it closer at hand.

2. THE COLLEGE OF THE HOLY FAITH (1545-1548)¹

During Xavier's long absence, the college, thanks to the tireless concern of its great friend, Cosme Anes, who had held the office of India secretary since 1547,² had made good progress.³ A confrere of the saint could consequently write to Simon Rodrigues about it at the end of 1548:

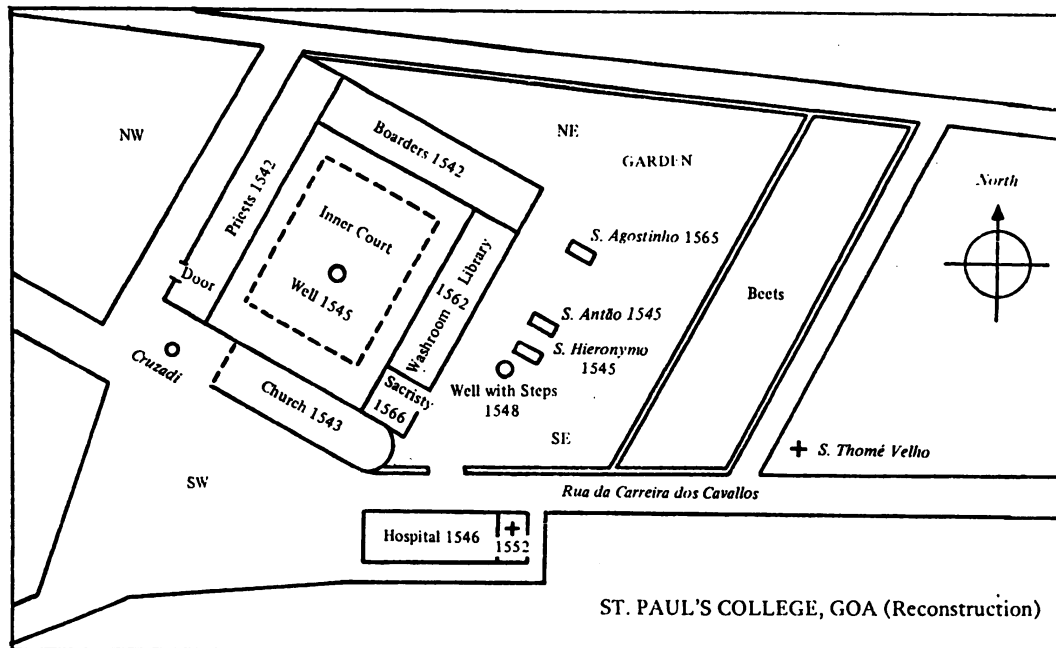
The man who has care of this house, who built it and is building it alone without the help of anyone else, is Cosme Anes. He has created such a large and costly work in such a short span of seven years that I do not know of any governor who would have been able to undertake it and do it so well. He comes here to visit us every day. He employs as much diligence on the things of the house, in its direction and administration, as Your Reverence does for the College of Coimbra. I say this because I cannot exaggerate the love and attachment which he has for this house. He gives us from what he possesses, and he borrows if he needs to; and without him nothing could be done. One can say with truth that no stone would be on another in this house if he were not here. Your Reverence must tell the king, as Mestre Francisco and I are writing, that he should keep him forever in this land since he is so committed to the things of His Highness and of God. He built the hospital

¹⁵ DI I 141.

¹ For this period the principal description of the college is that given by Lancilotto on October 22, 1545 (DI I 42), and that of Cosme Anes of November 30, 1547 (*ibid.* 221). Of the structures which Xavier saw in 1548, only the two wells are still extant. The best map of the city of Goa is that of Linschoten, who was there from 1583 to 1588 (Linschoten I 120). All other maps are either defective copies of this or useless for the study of the college in Xavier's time. The representation of the college on the map in Lopes Mendes, *A Índia Portuguesa* I (Lisboa, 1886) 138, which professes to portray the condition of the city in 1863, is pure imagination. The college formed a square (only completely constructed in 1562) with one corner pointing towards the north. The property on which it stood formed an "island" enclosed by streets and homes (DI VI 541), and it was many times larger than that of the Roman College (*ibid.* 251).

² Q 2931 3300.

³ DI I 133 142.



Explanation:

Linschoten's large map of the city of Goa of 1595 contains a drawing of the college (*Itinerario* I 120). We reconstruct its plan from the data in Xavier's letters and in DI I-X, which, however, never give a clear picture of it.

1. The church, built in 1542 and 1543, was small. It was replaced in 1560-1572 by a new one, "the largest and most beautiful in India," as Gomes Vaz wrote in 1576 (DI X 456).

2. The two wings of the square towards the north, built in 1542, were two-storied and had verandas on both floors facing the inner, open area. The northwest wing, the building for the priests, was favored by the sea breeze, and in 1558 a large novitiate was built onto it (*ibid.* IV 181-182). The northwest wing, that of the students, had the refectory on the ground floor and the dormitory above it. In 1558 it was already dilapidated, and in 1562 it was replaced by a new, one-story structure with windows on the north and doors on the south (*ibid.* IV 191; V 596; VII 300).

3. The southeast wing, where there was originally only the veranda of the cloister, was built to close off the quadrangle in 1562-1567. It contained the library, washrooms, and sacristy, to which was joined a four-storied bell tower (*ibid.* V 596; VII 69 386).

4. On the southwest side of the quadrangle, vaults were erected alongside the church in 1569 to finish off the cloister (*ibid.* VIII 91-92).

5. The well in the inner court, from which good drinking water was obtained, was dug in 1545 (*ibid.* I 42). The second well was dug in 1547-1548 and was equipped with stairs. It was used for watering the trees in the garden which surrounded it (*ibid.* 221).

6. Not far away were the two chapels of S. Antão and S. Hieronymo, which are already mentioned in 1545 (*ibid.* 42). In 1555 Quadros wrote from Goa that a religious confrere of his had once heard Xavier, as he was walking in the college garden and praying with his eyes lifted up to heaven, exclaim in an excess of spiritual consolation: "Senhor, no mais, no mais!" (*ibid.* III 332). In 1556 Gonçalo Fernandes testified in the Goa process that Brother Alberto de Araujo had told him that Xavier had gone a number of times at night into the college garden, where he walked about with his eyes lifted up to heaven; and one night he had heard him say: "Senhor, já são oras!" as if he were speaking with someone (MX II 179). In 1594 and 1596 Tursellinus elaborated what the brother had stated into "Patres quidam," who had often noticed and heard

him say: "Sat est, Domine, sat est!" (1594: 4, 7; 1596: 6, 5). According to Lucena the saint often spent the entire night praying in the college garden, at one time in one of the two chapels, and at another walking about between them; and he was heard to say: "Nam mais, Senhor, nam mais!" And it is in this attitude that he is usually represented in pictures (6, 5). In 1655 Queyroz wrote that Xavier had immediately after his arrival in Goa in 1542 built a chapel on the site of the later St. Paul's College, where he was accustomed to say Mass until the college was founded, and that this chapel was still preserved (*Conquista da India* 561). In 1697 Sousa declared that there was a tradition among many in the province that the rapture of the "Satis est!" had occurred on the spot where the Xavier chapel, painted with scenes from his life, then stood. It must consequently have been built there as a memorial. Perhaps it was one of the two chapels, whose name was later changed (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 39). In 1710 Brother Christopher Mattern wrote that he had found the old College of St. Paul in a very neglected state.

In the garden next to it Xavier had planted some trees, of which four were still standing. Near one of them the Blessed Trinity had appeared to him, and he had heard at the same time such a delightful song of angels that he had cried out, overcome with joy: "Satis est, Domine!" Near its trunk there still stood a small chapel which vividly presented the event to one's eyes (*Welt-Bott*, n. 508, pp. 114). The present Xavier chapel, which is visited by numerous pilgrims, was repaired in 1859 and rebuilt in 1884 (*Saldanha* II 22). It was only built in the seventeenth century, after Xavier's death, on the site of the two earlier chapels, which had already disappeared in 1610, as Seb. Gonçalves wrote in his censure to Lucena (Wicki, "Zensuren" 98).

7. The hospital, destined for poor, sick natives, was built in 1546 through the activity of Lancilotto. In 1552 it obtained a chapel dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Consolação. In 1546 a piece of ground at the end of the college garden was purchased as a cemetery for those who died in the hospital (*DI* I 125-127; II 490 508). In 1568 the hospital was transferred to Salsette (*ibid.* VIII 573-574).

The climate around the college was originally good, but in December, 1574, Valignano wrote that it had become so unhealthy during the past four years that it should have been given up; but since more than one hundred thousand *scudi* had been spent on its construction, it could not be abandoned (*ibid.* IX 490). In 1610, the old St. Paul's College was finally relinquished and the new St. Paul's College, which had been built on Mount Rosario, was occupied. In 1710 Brother Mattern wrote that the old college had been left deserted and that it had only been saved from falling completely apart by a reprimand from the general of the order. The vault of the church had collapsed and had been replaced by a wooden roof, and one or other corridor had been cleared. Only an old priest and a brother were still living in it. After the transfer of the seat of the government to Pangim in 1759 and the expulsion of the Jesuits by Pombal in 1760, the old St. Paul's College fell, like Old Goa, into complete ruins. In 1829 the public authorities ordered that whatever still survived should be broken up and the stones sent to Pangim for the buildings there. Only the two wells, the Xavier chapel, and the ruins of the façade of the church are still extant (*Saldanha* II 55-56). The printed guides for pilgrims say that in the chapel Xavier had experienced the rapture of the "Satis est!" that he had drunk water from the well in the former inner court, that he had washed his feet in the well in the garden, and that it was on this account that the water was thought to have healing powers.

and endured much opposition in the process. He has done much for the Misericordia, and he has far greater care for this house than for his own.⁴

The buildings of the college formed a square that was closed off on the south-west by the length of the church.⁵ In the fall of 1547, the poorly constructed choir of the church, which was supported exteriorly by flying buttresses, had collapsed; but Cosme Anes, immediately after his return from Bassein, had set

⁴ Antonio Gomes on December 20, 1548 (*ibid.* 420-421).

⁵ Cf. Vol. II, p. 274. "It is almost as large as S. Pedro in Coimbra," Lancilotto wrote in 1545 (*ibid.* 42).

about reconstructing it.⁶ The portal of the church was on the west; and adjoining the east side of the church, near the choir, was the sacristy⁷ and the bell tower.⁸

The college square was somewhat similar to that of Santo Antão da Mouraria in Lisbon. Its inner court contained a well with good drinking water, and around about it were verandas on the ground and upper levels. The Corpus Christi procession could thus be conducted there even during the rainy season.⁹ The northwest wing contained three large rooms for the priests close to the door which was near the entrance to the church.¹⁰ The northeast wing was nearly ninety feet long and twenty feet wide.¹¹ On the ground level it contained the refectory and on the upper level the dormitory of the pupils. There were only verandas on the southwest, along the church, since there was little light there.¹²

Behind the college was a large, beautiful garden with many trees and two very devotional chapels, one dedicated to St. Jerome and the other to St. Anthony the Hermit.¹³ In 1547 digging had been begun in the garden on a large well, which was still unfinished, as Cosme Anes wrote in November to the king. Around it were roofed verandas where the pupils could study or take their recreation when the burning sun or rain prevented them from using the benches along the garden paths.¹⁴ Opposite the church¹⁵ was the hospital, and on the other side of the college wall was the cemetery.¹⁶

On July 25, 1541, the Confraternity of the Faith had given the college which it had founded its statutes in a Compromise composed of sixteen chapters. But since the revenues had increased in the meantime, and the instruction in, and spiritual direction of, the college had been handed over to the Society of Jesus, and a hospital for natives had been erected, the retiring and incoming *mordomos* composed a new constitution for the college in twenty-seven chapters, which took into account the altered circumstances, defined the reciprocal competencies of the interested parties, and was signed by its authors on June 27, 1546.¹⁷ The following paragraphs give a somewhat shortened version of this document:

The name of the college shall be the College of the Holy Faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ, even though it is usually called St. Paul's College because of its origins in the

⁶ Cosme Anes on November 30, 1547 (*ibid.* 221). On January 31, 1548, he wrote to the governor from Goa: "I asked the *vedor da fazenda*, the licentiate Manuel de Mergulhão, for a caravel in order to fetch provisions for the college and myself, and wood for the work of construction" (Q 3666).

⁷ DI V 264 596.

⁸ *Lisbon, *RProcess* I, 103v-104; Bartoli, *Asia* 4, 39.

⁹ DI I 42 118. The well is on Linschoten's map and is still extant.

¹⁰ DI I 42.

¹¹ It measured 123 x 29 *palmas* (*ibid.* 42 132).

¹² *Ibid.* 42.

¹³ *Ibid.* 42 133; Polanco, *Chron.* VI 837 (according to a lost letter of Francisco Rodrigues in 1556).

¹⁴ DI I 221. The well and its stone steps leading down to the water are still extant. Picture in Lopes Mendes I 167.

¹⁵ The hospital was across from the college church, separated from it by the Rua da Carreira dos Cavallos (Polanco, *Chron.* VI 837). On the hospital see DI I 125-127 219 420-421 569; V 170. It was transferred to Salsette in 1568 (*ibid.* VII 573-574) and is not to be confused with the hospital for the poor of the Misericórdia, the "spital dos pobres" on Linschoten's map, which lay south of the Rua dos Ouriveis.

¹⁶ The cemetery lay "da bamda de riba do cerquo da orta" (DI I 125).

¹⁷ Text, *ibid.* 111-129. On the Compromise of 1541, see Vol. II, pp. 239-241.

chapel of St. Paul in the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz; and its principle feast shall be Corpus Christi, as the bishop desires.¹⁸

The students of the order, as also the rest of the pupils,¹⁹ shall follow the rule and customs of the apostolic order of Jesus, and the priests of this same order will instruct them. The *mordomos* shall carefully select the priests and teachers for the divine service and instruction if the king or the superior of the apostolic order of Jesus do not send them from the kingdom. When such come, the others shall be dismissed, and the *mordomos* shall determine their income.

The maximum number of native pupils to be accepted from the different nationalities must be fixed as follows: Canaris (Goanese), since there are many chapels on the island where they can later be appointed as vicars or chaplains, up to ten; Malabars with good talent for higher studies up to six, since many of this nation studied in the college of Frey Vicente²⁰ in Cranganore and elsewhere.²¹ Another six of each of the following: Kanarese, Tuticorins²² from the Coromandel Coast, and Malays from the region of Malacca.²³ Another six from Maluco and another six Chinese whenever such can be obtained by good means.²⁴ Six each also from Bengal, Pegu, Siam, and Gujarāt; up to eight Abyssinians, and of the Kaffirs from Sofala, Mozambique, and St. Lawrence Island²⁵ from six to eight; and also from other nations of these regions, where there is need and the hope of fruit, similarly up to six. And those who are accepted should be from thirteen to fifteen years old and not older or younger, for if they are thirteen or older they cannot forget their mother tongue, which they would if they were younger. For this is necessary so that they can preach the holy faith in their countries. And in order that the students of the order and the rest of the students do not forget their mother tongue, they must twice a day, after they have eaten, take their recreation separated according to their nationalities, as the rector of the house or their teachers will order.

They must have a Latin teacher to whom all who are studying grammar are subject. The same shall be true of the teachers to be appointed for the other subjects, for logic, philosophy, and theology. And these shall teach according to the books and doctors that are most approved in their order. And the novice master²⁶ will have the care of all those who are candidates for it, and also the master who teaches reading, writing, and the Psalter, and what they have to do or learn during the day, for example, in the service of the house and in recreation, in keeping with the said apostolic rule and the orders of the rector.

When the students are ordained to the priesthood after reaching twenty-five years, the *mordomos* will send them to their lands if they are sufficiently prepared in order to produce fruit there, and they shall provide them with clothes and all that is necessary; and for this they shall obtain letters of recommendation from the governor and the bishop so that they will be assisted and favored there in the service of God

¹⁸ Cosme Anes favored the name "College of the Holy Faith" (Perez, *Informação* 49); see also DI I 65; EX I 143; MX II 845.

¹⁹ The College of St. Paul was thus considered to be an apostolic school for the Society of Jesus and a mission seminary for the education of a native secular clergy for the lands east of the Cape of Good Hope.

²⁰ Frey Vicente de Lagos, O.F.M.

²¹ For example, the Malabar students in Portugal (cf. Vol. I, p. 574).

²² Paravas, cf. Vol. II, pp. 267, 375; DI I 221-222.

²³ For example, pupils from Celebes, from where Paiva brought four in 1545; cf. Vol. II, p. 521.

²⁴ Since China was closed to all foreigners, Chinese students had to be sought elsewhere, for example, in Malacca, where many Chinese were living.

²⁵ Madagascar.

²⁶ In 1545 Beira called Misser Paulo "Padre de novicios" (DI I 61); but with these "novices" are meant the pupils with whom he ate and slept, whom he escorted, and for whom he offered Mass and chanted on Sundays and feast days the canonical hours (*ibid.* 20). The Society of Jesus did not have any novices at this time in the college (*ibid.* 35).

and the spread of the holy faith. And if there are benefices in those places, they shall be obtained for them if they are suited for this. And care must always be taken that they are visited from the college and information is obtained on how they are living; and if they are living badly and not producing fruit, the *mordomos* shall have them come in order to punish them according to their deserts and to set others in their place.

The boys who are taken into the college shall be of the said age and of good aspect and good talent; and those who are already above the fixed number in the house and do not possess the said qualities shall be given by the *mordomos* to the priests or teachers so that they are protected and do not go to ruin. And these shall always take care to help and protect them.

There shall be in the house a book in which all the boys must be registered with data on their father and mother and from where they have come and when they were accepted, and their age. In it is also to be noted when they are sent to their countries. Also to be registered are those who are given to priests or craftsmen to learn a trade, so that it may be known that they have been manumitted;²⁷ and the house shall take care of them. Moreover, all the obligations which the house has with respect to the deceased who have left alms, and what they have left, shall be registered in the book, and also the church vestments and the adornments of the church and the slaves which the college has for domestic services.

In the house there shall only be those servants who are necessary for the indispensable domestic services; for what is more than this only causes useless expenses. Six slaves should be sufficient for the garden, for the burial of the poor of the hospital, for sweeping, and for splitting wood; and two or three for the kitchen.

The house shall have a Portuguese as a buyer, a man of good morals and the necessary concern. He shall live in the house and purchase what is necessary for its maintenance. The *mordomos* shall determine his salary, and he shall give an account to them every Sunday of his expenses, and for this he should draw up a list every month with his credits and debits. And the *mordomo* who receives the rents should give him what he needs from them, and he shall draw up a list of these. The buyer shall take care to go to the *mordomos* in time so that rice and other necessary items may be purchased at wholesale, and also when the ships come from the kingdom so that he may purchase wine, oil, and vinegar for the priests and teachers. These should always be well cared for by the *mordomos* with respect to their food but also with respect to their beds and clothes.

Another man shall be appointed who can live within the college or next to it so that he may take care of the garden and see that it is kept in good condition and that the slaves work in it and that the other services are performed, and so that he may go with his slaves and the bier when a native dies. And he should be given his support and a reward if there is no one to be found who is willing to do this for a reward from God.

The natives of the college who have been ordained priests should wear black or red cotton clothes²⁸ and a simple cornered or round black biretta, and all the other students should be dressed in red cotton materials as a reminder of the tunic of our Lord;²⁹ and for services in the church they shall wear a cassock that reaches down to their ankle, and around the house *bajus*³⁰ reaching down to the knee and trousers.

Their noon meal shall be early, the evening meal and breakfast at fixed hours; and nothing should be changed in their customary rice and fish and curry,³¹ for this is a great help to their maintaining themselves on less when they return to their coun-

²⁷ Some of the pupils had been purchased as slaves. They consequently needed a certificate of emancipation.

²⁸ The text has *guimões*, which means an Indian cotton cloth (Dalgado I 449-450; Yule 375-376).

²⁹ The "Holy Cloak" of Argenteuil was red.

³⁰ A closed jacket (Dalgado I 81-83; Yule 46-47).

³¹ The addition to the rice. It was usually heavily peppered.

tries and to their being less of a burden upon the house; and the money that is thus saved can be used for other necessary works.

Their recreation within the house and when they go out shall comply with the apostolic rule³² which they must follow; and with the permission of the rector they can go out for recreation under the supervision of their teachers or other reliable persons.

No lay people shall live within the house; private individuals may only be taken into the house for a day or two for their confession or for similar works. No homicide may stay in the house; and if such a one enters in a case of necessity and he cannot be prevented from doing so, he may remain only one or two days, and under no circumstance longer.³³

Since it greatly helps to the conversion of the people of this land when they see that the Christians exercise charity and all the works of mercy in their regard, so that they cannot say that the Christians no longer have any care for them after their conversion to our holy faith—for when they become ill, we do not take care of them, and when they die they are not buried, as they usually say—a hospital for the natives has been erected next to the college so that they can be nursed in it; and beyond the garden wall a place has been purchased for their burial. The *mordomos* shall consequently be greatly concerned with caring for the said hospital so that in as far as possible all the poor will be nursed there, and these will in this manner become Christians, and they shall also be concerned with helping them later on as far as this is possible.

There shall always be a native *physicus* for the house, from among the best who can be obtained for this purpose. He shall be given a reward and the medicines for his labors, as will be ordained by the *mordomos*; and China wood³⁴ and Portuguese wood³⁵ shall be purchased for the swellings and discharges.³⁶ And the barber, who must always be at the disposal of the house, and who will receive a salary, shall take care to execute the bleedings and to apply the cupping glass and to shave the sick in the hospital and to cut their hair. And in the hospital there shall be an infirmarian, a Portuguese or a native, a good man, who shall have charge of the hospital and receive his support. For the burial of the sick who have died in the hospital and also for those who have died outside it and are granted this service, two or three of the native priests of the house shall go with a cross and holy water. And the man who will have charge of the slaves or the hospital shall go with a staff in his hand and the slaves of the house with the bier to carry the deceased, as has been ordained. And the priest shall recite a responsory in the church and recommend his soul to God. And they shall then carry the corpse to the cemetery with the cross and bury it there.

As far as possible burials in the church must be avoided, and if individuals have requested in their wills to be buried in the said house, they should be buried in the cloister, with the exception of dignitaries whom it is impossible to refuse when they have given a corresponding alms. The priests of the house and the pupils shall not go for one who has died. But if they are compelled to bury anyone in the house, they shall go to receive the corpse outside the portal. They shall also not go with the processions which are held in the city, with the exception of the one on Holy Thursday or in some exceptional case when the ships from the kingdom conduct one.

From the incomes and alms of the house, attempts should always be made to give an alms to the poor, needy natives; and to those who are converted some clothes

³² The Rules of the Society of Jesus.

³³ It was a question of the right of asylum.

³⁴ The drug was brought from China to Goa in 1535 and from there to Europe, where Emperor Charles V used it as a remedy for his gout. Cf. Garcia da Orta II 259-273; Dalgado II 196.

³⁵ A remedy brought from America and therefore also called "pão das Indias da Castella," "guaiacam," and "lignum sanctum." It was used by Ulrich von Hutten to cure his syphilis and was described by him in a document he composed (cf. Garcia da Orta II 259-271).

³⁶ "Boubas e corrimentos." Meant are syphilis and gonorrhea.

should be given: *bajus* and trousers, and cloths to the women;³⁷ and this should be done when convenient, after caring for the house and hospital.

The priests of the house shall take care to offer the prescribed Masses, those for the dead who have left alms for this purpose, and those for the king and benefactors; and there shall be a tablet on which these are written as a reminder to them.

Since it would greatly impede the instruction and Christian education of the native boys who live in the college if the sons of Portuguese and mixed-bloods were admitted to it because of the many grave difficulties, which are not listed here, these shall never be accepted; and they shall not be instructed by the teachers who are in the college for the education of the natives. And this is ordered so as not to give occasion to the great confusion which would otherwise occur.³⁸

One of the *mordomos* who is less occupied, and in the opinion of all can do it the best, should have charge of collecting the money of the revenues of the house, that is, the revenues of the former lands of the pagodas, which could amount to almost two thousand *pardaus*, and which was granted by the governor until confirmation arrives from the king. In addition to this there are 150 *pardaus* from the revenues of the provinces of the mainland,³⁹ which the governor Martim Affonso de Sousa gave to the house and hospital. And the secretary of the confraternity shall enter into a register what he has received, and he shall give a receipt for this to the leaseholders. And the said *mordomo* shall give to the buyer the necessary money for the expenses of the house, and the latter can thus, with the approval of the *mordomos*, purchase at wholesale all other provisions. For these he must give an accounting in the presence of the said officials for the *mordomos* who will be elected the following year.

The said *mordomos* shall take special care to gain precise information about all the lands and possessions which formerly belonged to the pagodas, and a land register must be made and the leases must be made at the right time and with sufficient security; and when the rents are collected, care must be taken that the leasers always pay each quarter what is due according to the terms of the lease.

The said *mordomo* shall receive the alms for the said house or hospital and they shall be entered into a book. And no other person can accept such alms.

And this is what was determined by the *mordomos* who have been serving up till now: Bastião Luis, Diogo Froes, and Cosme Anes; and by those who have been recently installed: Dr. Francisco Toscano, Felipe Gonçalves, Julião Fernandes, and the licentiate Antonio Rodrigues Gamboa.⁴⁰

Goa, June 27, 1546.

Since Master Francis lived in the College of St. Paul during the rainy season of 1548, two years after the composition of this rule for the college, he could become acquainted with the financial condition of the house.

In 1541 the governor, Dom Estevão da Gama, had concluded a treaty with the *gancares*, the representatives of the villages on the island of Goa, according to which the Confraternity of the Faith would receive each year 2,000 *tangas brancas*, or 768 *pardaus*, from the revenues of the destroyed pagodas. The first year the

³⁷ The *sari*, the garb of Indian women, consists of a single long piece of cloth that is wound about the body. The neophytes in later times always received new clothes (Valignano 348).

³⁸ On November 5, 1546, Lancilotto wrote that the builders of the college had decided to accept only fullbloods, no Portuguese or mulattoes, and not without reason, for, as he continued: "They say of the Portuguese that if we accept Portuguese with these blacks, they will always be quarreling and saying: 'You are black and I am white; you are a slave and I am born free,' and so forth. The mestizos of this land do not have a good reputation; no one consequently expects any good from them" (DI I 142).

³⁹ Bardez and Salsette.

⁴⁰ All seven also signed the Compromise of 1541 (DI I 776).

confraternity had used 300 of these *pardaus*, all that was left after paying the chaplains of the chapels on the islands, for expenses incurred in building the college.⁴¹ On August 2, 1542, M. A. de Sousa had ordained that all 2,000 *tangas* should go to the college while it was being erected.⁴²

When Criminali and Lancilotto came to India in 1545, they found that the rents of the pagoda lands had been leased to the Brahman Ramu Sinai,⁴³ and Criminali wrote a month later to Ignatius that they brought in an annual income of from 1,500 to 1,600 *scudi*.⁴⁴ According to Lancilotto this was too little, since the costs of building used up a good part of this money. The pupils had to restrict themselves in their eating and manner of living even though their food consisted almost entirely of rice and fruit. They had no one to prepare their food properly for them, and no one to direct the work about the house. If their studies were not to suffer, servants had to be appointed to take over from them these physical labors, as he wrote to Simon Rodrigues.⁴⁵

A year later, in October, 1546, Miguel Vaz had returned from Portugal with a letter from the king in which he granted the college an annual income of 2,000 *cruzados* or 800 *milreis*.⁴⁶ The siege of Diu and the sudden death of the former vicar general on his voyage to the governor in January, 1547, and that of Mestre Diogo in the same month, had postponed the execution of the royal decree. Cosme Anes had sent the letter to the governor, but since it did not clearly indicate that the income of 2,000 *cruzados* was to be in addition to the revenues earlier granted from the lands of the pagodas,⁴⁷ the officials had assumed that the latter were included in it; and they had entered the 2,000 *cruzados* as the entire income of the college in their books. At the representation of Cosme Anes, Castro had ordered the *vedores da fazenda* on June 17, 1547, to examine the king's letter and inform him what it contained.⁴⁸ At the end of 1547 Cosme Anes had written to John III that his letter, despite all his own efforts, had been interpreted in India to the disadvantage of the college. He had then noted that His Highness had known at the time it was drawn up that the college already had the revenues of the pagoda lands, since he and the other *mordomos* had sent him the Compromise with an accompanying letter.⁴⁹ He had also pointed out the fact that the king had ordered the 2,000 *cruzados* to be paid out of his own income, whereas the revenues that had been earlier granted to the college came from the pagoda lands and not from the revenues of the king. But all this had been of no avail. The revenues of the pagoda lands officially amounted to 2,000 *pardaus*, the equivalent of 600 *milreis*, but in reality they brought in much less since the lands were scattered about in small plots over the whole island of Goa and could only be collected with great effort.⁵⁰ His Highness might therefore see if the college had to be maintained with 2,000 *cruzados* (or with less when fewer taxes were collected). From this sum the following had to be paid: the

⁴¹ Vol. II, pp. 238-239.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁴³ DI I 805.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 12. Instead of these, Lancilotto gives 1,600 ducats (*ibid.* 32 43).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 32-33.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 96 108-109 187.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 218-219.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 174-175.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 789 797-799.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 219. This passage makes it probable that the 1,500 to 1,600 *scudi* of Criminali, the 1,600 *ducats* of Lancilotto, and the 1,500 *cruzados* of Antonio Gomes correspond to the badly counted *pardaus* of Cosme Anes.

expenses of the hospital for the natives and others for poor Christians and their burials, for medicines and the salaries of the employees, all of which greatly redounded to the service of God and His Highness. A house like the college could not be maintained in such poverty and stinginess. A certain generosity in dealing with the inhabitants of this land contributed to their conversion. Provisions had to be made for the winter and for the priests who were departing so that they did not see themselves obliged to disturb the governor and *vedor da fazenda*, who became offended at this. The college was becoming a second St. Peter's for the Christians in this region and had to take care of those who were coming and going. It therefore had to be well financed. He had urged, for example, that the bishop of Abyssinia should be taken into the college. After leaving Portugal he had been largely abandoned, but he had been sedulously assisted and nursed in the college; and he had died there after being provided with all his needs; and he had been honorably buried there, to the edification of externs.⁵¹

The king's answer to this letter could not come before the arrival of the ships from the kingdom in September, 1549.⁵² In the meantime, on July 20, Garcia de Sá, as successor to Dom João de Castro, had ordered the letter of John III to be carried out as it had been in the past,⁵³ that is, that the college should receive an income of 2,000 *cruzados*, 1,500 from the pagoda lands and another 500, but no more.⁵⁴ From Lancilotto's point of view, this was too little for so many people, as he had written to Ignatius at the end of 1547.⁵⁵ The cathedral chapter had also taken the side of the college and had adverted the king to the fact that it still had many buildings to erect, that it had numerous boys from all the nations of these regions, and that as a consequence the current income did not seem to be adequate for the various expenses. They had heard that His Highness had made provisions for an increase of revenues and that these had been brought by Miguel Vaz, but they had not been carried out.⁵⁶

But during Xavier's absence the college had also acquired some other grants. M. A. de Sousa had given it and the hospital an annual sum of 150 *pardaus* from the revenues of Bardez and Salsette. He later raised this to 300 *pardaus* and this had been reconfirmed by his successor.⁵⁷ In addition to this the gifts which the pagan and Mohammedan princes had been accustomed to send to the king and queen, and whose sale in 1548 amounted to 1,300 *cruzados*,⁵⁸ were handed over to the house. In 1547 John III had the confraternity paid 400 *milreis* from the *soldo* of the house, and Cosme Anes thanked him for this.⁵⁹

In 1545 Criminali had written with respect to the recruiting of boarders that there were sixty studying in the college, some of whom were twenty and twenty-one years old, others from seven to twenty. Some of these had entered on their own in order to learn reading, writing, and Latin. Others had been given by their masters, who had kept them as slaves. Others had been purchased with alms by Mestre Diogo and Misser Paulo. Some of the students were thus

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 218-220.

⁵² On October 22, 1548, the king decided that the 2,000 *cruzados* should be paid independently of the incomes from the pagodas (*ibid.* 275-276).

⁵³ *Ibid.* 268.

⁵⁴ According to A. Gomes on December 20, 1548 (*ibid.* 418-419).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 187.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 189.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 128; II 607; cf. V 170.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* I 418 565.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 221.

voluntarily in the house; others were dissatisfied with it and were not present entirely through their own free will. They moreover spoke from eight to ten different languages.⁶⁰ According to Lancilotto the founders of the college had assembled the pupils, some seventy in number, from all the languages of India without any selection whatever. Among them were many who were not only barbaric but also completely uncivilized. At an age approaching twenty, they were incapable of any virtue or instruction. They could not be brought to the practice of virtue and good behavior since they did not understand Portuguese and only jabbered it like parrots.⁶¹ In 1548 he repeated his opinion that the college housed a motley crowd from ten different nations, one more barbaric than the other, from the most barbarous nations in the world.⁶²

The number of students had risen from sixty in January, 1545,⁶³ to more than eighty in 1548,⁶⁴ of thirteen different languages.⁶⁵ In 1546 eight of the students were Canarins from the island of Goa.⁶⁶ In addition to these there were five Kanarese, six Gujars,⁶⁷ nine Malabars including the Paravas,⁶⁸ two Bengalis, four Kaffirs,⁶⁹ four Abyssinians, two Peguese, four Macassarese from Celebes, six from the Moluccas, and two Chinese.⁷⁰ Later there were added to these the three Japanese who had arrived in Goa in 1548 shortly before Xavier, the ten boys whom he had brought with him from the Moluccas,⁷¹ and the Peguese, who had increased to four: Martinho de Santa Fé, Simão de Santa Fé,⁷² Baltasar de Santa Fé, and Cristovam de Santa Fé.⁷³ Portuguese and mixed-bloods, who were excluded by the regulations, were not accepted.⁷⁴

In 1545 eighteen of these pupils were already in the grammar class.⁷⁵ In 1546 this class already had thirty students, while the others were still learning

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 12.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* II 169.

⁶² *Ibid.* I 441.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 12 53.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 411 415.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 260.

⁶⁶ Among them was the Brahman André Vaz, who taught Latin in 1548 (*ibid.* 411). He was ordained to the priesthood in 1558, the first native Goan to be so. He became parish priest of Carambolim (*ibid.* 221; IV 192-193 214 658-659).

⁶⁷ Among them was Paulo Guzarate. In 1552 Xavier wrote of him that he had been educated for many years in the college and was an excellent interpreter. He was therefore sending him to Bassein in order to help the missionary there (EX II 334; DI I 478).

⁶⁸ Among them was at least one from Tuticorin (DI I 221-222). One of these students was probably the Malabar Amador, whom Xavier took with him to Japan and left there. In 1555 we still encounter him in Bungo and Hirado as a servant of the priests (*Cartas*, 1598, 46v).

⁶⁹ Among them was Diogo de Moçambique. In 1549 Xavier wrote from Malacca to Goa that he should write to him in detail about the students in their name (EX II 125). On him see DI I 478.

⁷⁰ Antonio China, also called Antonio de Santa Fé, was one of these. He sailed with Xavier in 1552 for China (EX II 474-475) and was present at his death (DI III 651-675). On him see Q, index. On December 1, 1552, Frois wrote: "He [Xavier] also took with him a young Chinese who had been in the house [in Goa] for seven or eight years and had studied four years of grammar, one of the most virtuous and spiritual of the natives I have seen in these regions" (DI II 454-455). Valignano still encountered him in Macao in 1578 (*Hist.* 260).

⁷¹ See above, p. 207; Q 6003.

⁷² The same as the Simão do Lado who had been nine years in the college in November, 1556 (DI III 487).

⁷³ *Ibid.* I 260.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 127-128 142.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 25.

how to read and write.⁷⁶ In 1547 most of the students were already studying Latin.⁷⁷ If Lancilotto was generally pessimistic about their choice, he still found many among them who were well endowed for study.⁷⁸

When Lancilotto took over the class in grammar in 1545, eight of his pupils had already advanced so far that they could compose in Latin and read Virgil and Terence, whereas the other ten were still beginners as far as Latin was concerned. He had accepted them with zeal and had exercised them in Latin conversation and in the memorization of pieces.⁷⁹ A year later he was able to see that they had made good progress. His pupils had begun to understand and write Latin reasonably well, even though they had never had a learned teacher; and he had the best hopes for the future.⁸⁰ At the end of 1547 Cosme Anes wrote to the king that the college was progressing at an excellent pace. Among the students he indicated four of great talent, and some of them already knew more than the teachers who had come to instruct them.⁸¹

Roque de Oliveira had taught the elementary students reading and writing since 1545. When Xavier destined him for Malacca, Gaspar Rodrigues had taken over his work.⁸² Pérez had succeeded Lancilotto in teaching the class in grammar,⁸³ and when he too sailed for Malacca, Domingos Carvalho and André Vaz had inherited the task.⁸⁴ Affonso de Castro and Gaspar Rodrigues had been teaching the catechism and the Psalter since 1547.⁸⁵

The religious life in the college had also developed favorably. In 1545 Lancilotto had already written that the students who were older and had already grasped something of the Christian way of life were fine young people and great good could be hoped of them. The others were still small and new, and needed to be gradually tamed with great patience, effort, and attention.⁸⁶

The pupils assisted at the High Mass on Sundays and feast days, which Misser Paulo usually offered for them. They also sang Terce, Sext, Nones, and Vespers and Compline⁸⁷ with him. On working days they had a Low Mass and then went to school, where the older students had two hours of instruction in Latin followed by a third hour of repetition and composition.⁸⁸ Every day the pupils went after the noon meal in procession from the refectory to the two chapels in the garden. This was led by the priests and followed by the grammarians, then by those who were learning the Psalter, and at the end by the small boys of the elementary class. They knelt down in the first chapel and their teacher started the prayers for the king, the queen, the princes and the state of India; and all then joined him in them. From there they went two by two in the same order to the second chapel. After this they separated for recreation on the paths or benches, or under the verandas, which offered protection from

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 135.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 185.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 40 145 217 411.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 40-41.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 145.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 217.

⁸² *Ibid.* 42 133 369.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 145.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 411.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 258.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 35.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 20 151 411.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 411.

the sun and rain, all being separated according to their respective languages so as not to forget them.⁸⁹

Two of the oldest students in 1545 were already preaching on Sundays in their native language, Konkani, in two parishes, to the great edification of the Portuguese and of the native Christians.⁹⁰ And one of them accompanied Mestre Diogo when he went on Sundays to the newly converted fishers in the neighboring Banasterim in order to preach to them in their language.⁹¹ In 1546 one was preaching in the same language to the native Christians in the college church.⁹² In 1547 there were already four students in St. Paul's College of great talent who preached the word of God to the native Christians. Another, a thirteen- or fourteen-year-old student in the Latin class, a Parava from Tuticorin, gave promise of becoming a great orator. He preached in the best Portuguese with abundant citations from all the Doctors of the Church to the astonishment of his hearers, who were moved to tears of joy.⁹³ Torres gave the Spiritual Exercises to four of these Latin students: Diogo, Paulo, Manuel, and André Vaz, a native of Goa. They made these with many tears, great emotion, and a great understanding of their Lord. The retreat master and the other priests were amazed, and Master Francis asked many times if this were really true; and he praised God many times for this grace.⁹⁴

In a letter written to Ignatius in 1542, Xavier had already expressed the hope that men would eventually go forth from this college who in the course of a few years would increase the number of Christians many times over.⁹⁵ The missionary zeal of the students was fostered not only by the baptisms conferred almost every Sunday in the college (in 1547 there were more than six baptisms nearly every Sunday),⁹⁶ but also by the guests who were received there. At the end of 1545 Antonio de Paiva had brought four boys from Macassar for the college, and he was able to tell of the conversion of the kings there and of the great missionary prospects afforded by that land.⁹⁷ On February 14, 1546, the two Christian princes of Ceylon had, moreover, died of smallpox in the house.⁹⁸ In 1547 Dom Paulo, an Abyssinian bishop, was welcomed there. He had come from Rome and was carrying letters of the pope and of the Portuguese king to Preste Joam, and he was able to speak of the great fruit which the priests of the Society of Jesus would be able to produce later in his country. He had wished to return to Abyssinia in January, but he had died in September and had

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 221.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 29-30 46.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 55-56.

⁹² *Ibid.* 151.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 221-222. Mestre Diogo had left his ample library to the college (Pérez, *Informação* 49).

⁹⁴ DI I 478. Probably meant are Diogo de Moçambique, Paulo Guzarate, Manuel China, and André Vaz. A. Gomes at the end of 1548 spoke with disdain of the fruit of these Exercises, since he in general spoke poorly of the spirit and judgment of the native pupils and wanted them to be replaced by Portuguese: "Ha dous ou tres delles que tomaram os Exercicios; mas muy pouquo proveito se seguio diso polos nam continuarem depois de saydos" (*ibid.* 411-412). His prejudice was laid aside in time. We may place these Exercises before Xavier's departure for the Fishery Coast, since Torres mentions them in his letter of November 25, 1548, before Xavier's departure for it (*ibid.* 478-479).

⁹⁵ EX I 133.

⁹⁶ DI I 151 253.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 60.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 138.

found his last resting place in the church of the college.⁹⁹ In November, 1546, a Portuguese had made the Exercises in St. Paul's College. He had been secretly engaged in smuggling in China, which was closed to foreigners, and was able to report remarkable things about this mysterious land and its inhabitants. It was a very large kingdom and because of a prophecy that it would some day be captured, the Chinese kept a strict watch so that no foreigners entered it. To be able to recognize these more easily, they had the men and women of the country grow their hair long. All were pagans and worshiped idols. Among them were individuals who resembled religious, and who at the time of their profession burned a hand or a finger. When a foreigner entered the land, he was imprisoned.¹⁰⁰ Another Portuguese was able to speak of Pegu, which he had already visited twice. It was the best land in the world. If a priest of the Society of Jesus went there, all would become Christians, since the only thing they lacked was baptism. They had many monasteries and their inmates, called Raulins, preached twice a week and were more highly honored by the people than the king. They had great privileges, and if one who deserved death took refuge in their house, no one could take him away from there. They went barefooted, ate no meat, and did not have intercourse with women. And the four boys of that land who lived in St. Paul's College were very intelligent students.¹⁰¹

Mestre Diogo had hoped that all the pupils of the college would some day enter the Society of Jesus.¹⁰² But the time for the opening of a novitiate had not yet come. In 1545 there was not as yet any sign of a vocation to the Society among the students. Nevertheless Lancilotto indicated in his letter to Father Martín de Santa Cruz in Coimbra that even if none of them entered the order, it would still be to the greatest advantage of India if the king gave the college an income of from four to five thousand *cruzados* for a hundred students.¹⁰³ In 1546 he wrote that if the boys were educated in virtue and wisdom from the time that they were small until they had reached the maturity of being able to distinguish between good and evil, and those of them were then accepted who wished to join the Society and follow Christ, the Society would be able to recruit members in India from the youth of the land, who could better endure the climate, which was intolerable for Europeans. But for this, it would be necessary for the Society to take over the direction of the college, and the king would have to support it more generously in order that requisite faculty might be appointed.¹⁰⁴

But even if the College of St. Paul had made excellent strides in the three years of Xavier's absence, there were also numerous difficulties. Already in a letter to Ignatius of November, 1546, Lancilotto had referred to some of these and had sent him the new regulations for the college so that he might examine them and decide the attitude to be taken towards them.¹⁰⁵

The chief obstacle for the development of the college from Lancilotto's point of view was the fact that it was not he, the rector, but the *mordomos* of the Confraternity of the Faith who were in command, and he was not in agreement

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 186-187 220.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 153-154.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 260.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 22.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 45.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 144-145.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 140-147 185.

with their desires and decisions in many matters; and he had had many disputes with Cosme Anes on this account.

The latter, for example, wanted the students and the priests to take part in the many processions which were repeatedly held in Goa during the course of the year. The studies of the boys would have to suffer under these constant distractions, and the priest was of the opinion that there were a good many friars and canons and clergy in the city who could do this favor for the people. Moreover, the Society of Jesus had expressly freed its members from this burden and it could only be obliged to accept it through a command of the general of the order. Cosme Anes further wished that foundations for burials in the college church should be accepted. According to Lancilotto's point of view this was no less an obstacle to studies. Every day some would give stipends for thirty-day ¹⁰⁶ and other Masses if a place of burial was given to them in the church. But they had in the past refused all of these and the petitioners consequently went to the Franciscan church or to the cathedral, and because of this the friars and clerics kissed their feet and said that the priests were saints. If these alms were accepted, the priests would draw down upon themselves the envy and hatred of the secular clergy and of the other religious orders.¹⁰⁷

Criminali had also rejected High Masses and Offices sung by the students since these were not customary in the Society. But he had been told that the people would be irritated if the practice that had been introduced by Mestre Diogo ¹⁰⁸ were suspended.¹⁰⁹

But Lancilotto was in most disagreement with the age for the reception of boarders. He was of the opinion that boys five or six years old should be accepted since virtue could be more easily implanted in them than in those who were older and who already had their heart full of wickedness and diabolic deceptions. But the founders of the house were people of the world and had an opposite view. The boys should be received when they were between twelve and fifteen since they would then not forget their own language. To avoid a conflict, Lancilotto remained quiet,¹¹⁰ but he feared for those who were older, many of whom were already twenty or twenty-one. Someday they could fall into sins of immorality. He had therefore frequently asked Mestre Diogo and Cosme Anes to dismiss them and to take in others who were younger. But since these were only apprehensions of the scrupulous priest, neither of them would listen to him on this. Later, when the rector had to verify some moral failings, he had the culprits whipped;¹¹¹ but he did not dare to dismiss them for fear of damaging the reputation of the founders and of their college with the people and the king by a public scandal and thus lose their friendship. He therefore complied with their wishes in the hope that another superior would relieve him of his office and would find another remedy.¹¹²

If Lancilotto had hoped to meet Master Francis at the College of St. Paul in Goa when he sailed from Lisbon in 1545, he had been deceived. When he

¹⁰⁶ Gregorian Masses.

¹⁰⁷ DI I 143.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* II 594.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* I 20-21; II 594-595 615-616.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* I 185-186.

¹¹¹ On whipping see also *ibid.* 417.

¹¹² *Ibid.* II 169-170. In 1547 he had written to Ignatius in a similar vein: "Io, por no sentir diferencias, estoy esperando otro que concorda esta música com edificaçam de todos y a gloria del Señor" (*ibid.* I 186).

landed in India at the end of September, the saintly priest was on the point of sailing from São Thomé on the east coast of the country to distant Malacca and the Macassars. In a pessimistic mood he had written to Simon Rodrigues at the end of October, two months after his arrival, that the college would have to be given over to the Society of Jesus so that it could be organized in keeping with the institute of his order, and he had added: "Master Francis is, one might say, as if he were in Constantinople and we were in Portugal; and we shall not get an answer from him before a year or more."¹¹³

He repeated the same in his letter to Father Martín de Santa Cruz, the rector of the college in Coimbra, with the observation that if the *mordomos* did not hand the college over to the Society, he would remain until an answer came from Master Francis or from Portugal.¹¹⁴ And a year later he wrote to Ignatius with respect to the college:

Master Francis came here shortly after the establishment of this college and immediately struck up a friendship with its founders and remained here for some days. But since he thought that he could produce greater fruit in another place, he immediately departed. And wherever he went, he attracted the eyes and hearts of all in admiration to himself; for always, wherever there was an opportunity, he taught children and the uneducated and heard confessions and preached; and from this he attained a great name in the whole of India. And when these founders saw so much knowledge and holiness of life in him, they were extremely anxious that he take over the college in the name of the Society. But since he was alone, he thought that he should not at that time take such a burden upon his shoulders, since Misser Paulo, who had come with him, had remained in Mozambique to take care of the many who were ill. And when he saw that he could go to another region where he could exercise his office better, he immediately went from here to a land more than two hundred leagues away, called Cape Comorin, where he baptized almost a countless number of pagans; and he remained there for around a year. He then returned here, I know not why, and found here Misser Paulo and Francisco de Mansilla, who had in the meantime come to Goa; and he wished to take both of them with him to those regions where he had converted a great multitude of pagans; but at the request of the governor of India, who had been of no small assistance to this college, and others of its founders, he left Misser Paulo here in this college to teach the boys and to hear their confessions. He therefore went away and took with him Francisco de Mansilla to those regions from which he had come and remained there for another year, not without rendering the greatest service to God. Then, for some reason unknown to me, he left Francisco de Mansilla there in order to take care of those Christians, and he went to other lands two thousand leagues from here, known as Maluco, from where we can receive letters only once a year.¹¹⁵

Later on in his letter he added the following:

Master Francis can take care of us from the place where he is just as if he were in Rome, and he knows little about this college. He could never remain here. I believe that he is driven by the Spirit of God to those regions.

Lancilotto therefore suggested that someone should be called from India to Rome in order to give the general an exact account of the land and its people and their problems; and he earnestly asked Ignatius to send a professed Father

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 33-34.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* 47-48.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 133-135.

with authority whom all would obey and who would take over the direction of the college.¹¹⁶ And in October, 1547, he repeated this suggestion:

I am of the opinion that the best means for converting these peoples would be the founding of colleges like the one which we are now in so that we might teach natives who could better endure the hardships of the land; and that the priests who come here should have fixed areas in which to work; and that they took pains to learn the languages, for little or no fruit is gained through an interpreter; and in order to effect this, it is necessary that a priest of learning and authority should come here, for it seems to me that Master Francis will not return.¹¹⁷

In November of the same year Cosme Anes had similarly asked the king for such a rector for the College of St. Paul, even though he would have preferred that Master Francis remained in Goa in order to take care of the house and of the whole mission.¹¹⁸ And Xavier himself had also written from Cochin in January, 1548, to Ignatius that he might send a priest distinguished for his virtue and holiness as a superior for his confreres in India.¹¹⁹

3. THE CALL OF JAPAN (JUNE—SEPTEMBER, 1548)

On the island of Goa the mission was making slow progress. The fishers of Banasterim, more than a hundred in number, whom Mestre Diogo had won over for Christianity in the Lent of 1545, and who had soon after that fled when they were again asked to pay the taxes which had been remitted by M. A. de Sousa, had returned and were regularly visited.¹ The large village of Carambolim, south of Goa, had moreover obtained a zealous *vigario* in the person of the cleric Antonio Ponce. His father was from Fregenal de la Sierra in the Spanish province of Badajoz. He had shed his blood in the service of the king of Portugal in many battles and skirmishes and had died in Malacca fighting the Achinese during the defense of the city. Antonio had followed in his footsteps and had accompanied the viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha to Diu as a soldier in 1538. He had sailed with Dom Estevão da Gama to the Red Sea in 1541 and had gone to Diu with Dom João de Castro against the Gujars. He had served for three and one-half years as a chaplain in the hospital in Goa and five years before, already advanced in years, he had received the vicariate in Carambolim from the bishop. Here he had converted many pagans, and with Miguel Vaz he had sent the king a sack full of idols which he had removed from the houses of his new converts; and he had asked Vaz and the bishop to recommend him to His Highness.² But if there were five thousand native Christians on the island of Goa who had obtained in Ruy Barbudo a "Christian father" as their protector and defender,³ there were still at least forty thousand pagans in comparison with them; and on the neighboring mainland the burning of widows, which was proscribed on the island of Goa, was still generally practiced.⁴

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.* 140-142.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* 184.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 215-216.

¹¹⁹ EX I 398.

¹ Cf. above, p. 38; DI I 55-56. The portion of the inhabitants that still remained pagan were almost entirely baptized in 1560. Only a few non-Christian remained (DI IV 681-682 703).

² See his letter of October, 1548 (SR IV 54-56).

³ *Ibid.* 174-176.

⁴ DI I 253 254.

The new Christians were powerless against the endless suits to which they were repeatedly subject. As India secretary under Garcia de Sá, Cosme Anes had ordered that complete jurisdiction over the native Christians should be given to the "Christian father." But the secretaries of the judges and procurators had told the chancellor Toscano that they would be ruined and would starve because of this. He finally conferred with the governor about the problem and the latter withdrew the decree.⁵ Despite all the efforts of the deceased vicar general Miguel Vaz, the Brahmans still had the principal offices in their hands and used them to the detriment of the new converts.⁶ The physician of St. Paul's College was also a pagan Brahman, one of the leading persons of his caste and so hardened in his religion that even arguments with priests that lasted for hours had no effect on him.⁷

But at this time, Xavier's thoughts were going beyond the island of Goa to the farthest distances, to the land of his desires, the newly discovered Japan.

On Pentecost, May 20, 1548, the three Japanese in St. Paul's College had received baptism, for which they had been well instructed in the faith by Lancelotto.⁸ They were distinguished by their quick apprehension, especially Paul; and few in the college excelled him in this.⁹ In the five months of their stay in Goa they had learned to read, write, and speak Portuguese.¹⁰ Xavier, Lancelotto, and Torres continued their instruction in the faith even after they had been baptized. They explained to them the mysteries of Christ's life and why the Son of God took flesh in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and how the whole of mankind was redeemed through Christ. Many times Xavier asked them what they thought was best in the law of the Christians. They always replied that it was confession and Communion, and every reasonable person would have to become a Christian. After an instruction Xavier heard Paul exclaim with many sighs: "O you pitiable people of Japan, who adore as gods the creatures which God has made for the service of men!" The priest asked him why he said this. Paul replied that he had said it because the people of his country adored the sun and the moon, even though they were like servants and slaves of those who know Jesus Christ, since they have no other service to perform than to enlighten the day and night so that men may serve God through their brilliance, glorifying His Son Jesus Christ here on earth.¹¹

Francis also noticed that Paul while he was listening to his instructions wrote what he heard in an unintelligible Japanese script from top to bottom and from right to left. He asked him why the Japanese did not write horizontally, from left to right, like the Portuguese. But Paul asked him in turn why the Portuguese did not write like the Japanese. A man's head was certainly above and his feet below; it was therefore fitting that when writing men should go from top to bottom.¹²

Xavier also learned from Paul that the law which the Japanese observed had been brought to them from a land by the name of Chengico, which lay on

⁵ SR IV 175.

⁶ DI I 68-70.

⁷ *Ibid.* 254.

⁸ EX II 117 145-146.

⁹ *Ibid.* 10; DI I 340 402-403 480; Frois 34.

¹⁰ DI I 402-403; cf. 346; EX II 10.

¹¹ EX II 146.

¹² *Ibid.* 30-31.

the other side of China and Tartan;¹³ and that it took three years to make a trip from Japan to Chengico and back. In the whole of China and Tartan, an extremely large country between China and Chengico, the only teaching which was followed was that given in the great schools of the University of Chengico. The sacred books which had been revealed by God, and which contained this teaching, also came from there. Since Paul had not received a higher education, he could not read these books: they were written in Chinese characters and were thus preserved, as it were, in another language, as Latin is with us in Europe.¹⁴ In Japan there were also great schools in the palace where the king lived, as Xavier learned from Paul.¹⁵

His Japanese friends further told Xavier that the Japanese priests in Japan, the bonzes, would be offended by him and his companions if they saw them eat meat or fish. It was therefore decided that it would be better to maintain a severe diet there than to be a cause of annoyance to any one. The Portuguese who came from Japan told him that the number of Japanese priests was very large, and he could be sure that the people, both young and old, showed them complete obedience.¹⁶

At Xavier's request Torres explained to Paul for some hours a day the literal meaning of St. Matthew's Gospel, and the latter wrote all the points down in his Japanese script. After Torres had expounded the Gospel twice to his student, the latter knew it all by heart from the first to the last chapter.¹⁷

Paul and his two companions were much devoted to prayer and meditation, and they had prayerbooks for this purpose. Xavier often asked them in what prayer they found particular satisfaction and spiritual consolation. They replied that it was in the reading of the passion of Christ, for which they had a great reverence.¹⁸ Their zeal edified all in the house.

Paul, like his companions, wore the same garb in the house as the members of the order. He ate with them in the refectory, confessed on every Saturday, and received Holy Communion on every Sunday as they did.¹⁹ His two companions also frequently went to confession and to Communion. And they showed a great zeal for converting their countrymen.²⁰ Paul said that he was ready to accompany the priests from two to four years in Japan, until they had learned the language of the country well; and he wrote that he was ready to give his life a hundred times for Christ.²¹

Garcia de Sá, who as governor was occupying the Casa dos Contos, the finance office between the fortress and the town hall,²² was already known to

¹³ Japanese: *Tenjiku*; Chinese: *Tienjukuo* = India, the land of Buddha. Xavier repeats the south Japanese pronunciation; cf. EX II 11; D'Elia in AHSI 3 (1934) 212-218, and *Fonti Ricciane* I 121, n. 3. *Tartan* is the Japanese form of Tartary.

¹⁴ EX II 31 39 46. If Xavier writes elsewhere that Paul wrote Japanese very well (*ibid.* I 392), he is only saying that he knew the two Japanese syllabic scripts and a limited number of Chinese ideograms; but these were not sufficient for the reading of the sacred books of the Buddhists written in Chinese characters.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* II 148.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 151-153.

¹⁷ DI I 340 480; EX II 10; Frois 3.

¹⁸ EX II 117 146.

¹⁹ Frois 34.

²⁰ EX II 117.

²¹ DI I 340; Calado 98.

²² Correa IV 661; cf. Linschoten's city map. After his return from Bassein (in the middle of March, 1549) he took up his residence "nas casas grandes" (Correa IV 673-674). According to Couto he lived in the Sabayo Palace (6, 7, 6, p. 109).

Xavier from times past. He had become acquainted with him in Goa in 1542, on Cow Island in 1543, and in Malacca in 1545. The new governor carried on his coat of arms a blue-and-white checkerboard like the black-and-white checkerboard of the Azpilcuetas.²³ He had first come to India in 1518, and since then he had selflessly and faithfully served his king as a soldier and captain of Bassein and of Malacca. Only one stain clung to him: he was living without benefit of marriage with a woman of low birth, Catarina, called "a Piró," from Miragaia in Porto; and he had from her two grown daughters. When Xavier was in the distant Moluccas, Garcia de Sá had regularized his union. He had married his deathly ill wife in the Church²⁴ before going with Dom João de Castro to the help of Diu in September, 1546. After the victory of November 10, he had received the news of her death.²⁵ In the church of the Rosario in Goa, where Xavier had given daily instructions in Christian doctrine after his arrival in India, he had erected a plain but beautiful monument of white marble for her with the simple Christian inscription: "Here lies Dona Caterina, the wife of Garcia de Sá. She asks the one who reads this to pray to God for mercy on her soul."²⁶

He had never amassed wealth for himself; and now, in his old age, his principal concern was for the marriage of his two daughters, as he wrote before his appointment to his predecessor, Dom João de Castro,²⁷ who had already recommended them to the king in 1546.²⁸

Garcia de Sá was already in his late sixties and somewhat sluggish in his movements because of his excessive weight.²⁹ When he reintroduced the decree that had been suppressed by his predecessor, Dom João de Castro, that the people of his city would have to sail with their ships to Goa and pay there a tax of from six to seven percent upon their wares; and when he ordered, contrary to the earlier custom, that no one could sail from Cochin without his permission, an old citizen of Cochin, Francisco Monteiro de Palle, wrote in great agitation to the king at the beginning of 1549:

Garcia de Sá is a very fine *fidalgo*, and certainly before he became governor I never saw him do anything which caused him a great loss, and still less anything that was to his own gain. But now, because of his many years and poor health, it seems to me that, for the reasons indicated, he is not suited for ruling such great

²³ See his picture with his coat of arms in Correa IV 661. On Garcia de Sá, see Vol. II, p. 361, and the sources given there; see also Maurício in *Brotéria* 56 (1954) 593-611 713-727.

²⁴ Correa IV 673 679; Couto 6, 7, 10, p. 135.

²⁵ Correa wrote that before his departure for Bassein (January, 1549) Garcia de Sá had married off his two daughters whom he had from a wife who had died long before this, and whom he had married "in the hour of her death" so that his daughters would be legitimated (IV 673). Telles writes that it was said that Xavier had witnessed the marriage and cites for this I. A. Ismael Gracias, "O Governador Garcia de Sá e sua mulher," *O Oriente Português* 8 (1919) 89-96 (*Igrejas* 72). But D. João de Castro wrote from Diu on December 16, 1546: "Garcia de Sá is a very honorable man and all the time that he was in Portugal he served Your Highness on the coast, and when he was away in war. When he came here to relieve this fortress, his wife was very ill; but he nevertheless left her and came with me to serve Your Highness. After God gave us the victory over the Moors, they brought him the news that his wife had died" (*Cartas* 281-282). Castro left Goa for Diu on September 25 (*ibid.* 262) and the victory was on November 10 (*ibid.* 272). We therefore assume that the ecclesiastical marriage "in articulo mortis" took place before September 25, 1546, and her death before December 16.

²⁶ Telles, *Igrejas* 72.

²⁷ Q 3590.

²⁸ Castro, *Cartas* 282.

²⁹ Correa IV 663; Botelho, *Cartas* 15; Sá I 567.

affairs as these extensive areas which Your Highness has here. And I would also say to Your Highness that I am not sure if he is even capable of ruling Goa alone. His years and his age and his poor health never permit him to leave a chair, not even for Mass. He is always at home, undressed, and I have seen him in his Malay *baju*, like that which the women of Malacca wear, with four pages who scratched him all day long with the same number of small, ivory hands.³⁰

But the old governor turned the tables on his critic. He took the reins of office at once into hands with unexpected energy. The constant wars of his predecessor had exhausted the coffers of the state and had been an obstacle to trade, so that there was no money to pay the soldiers. He immediately had four rich tables set up for all who wished to eat at them. And he insisted upon a speedy execution of his decisions. As soon as he entered into office, he had all the outstanding lawsuits counted. One hundred of these were found in "very large, old volumes" from the time of Dr. Simão Martins, who had died in 1547,³¹ and many of them from that of Dr. Pedro Fernandes, who had retired four years before. At the beginning of August he charged the licentiates André Lopes and Sebastião Pinheiro with their execution,³² and he himself led the way with his good example.

In the early morning he assisted at Mass. He then held an audience for all petitioners and executed their requests immediately with his secretary Cosme Anes or with his counselors so that none remained unanswered for more than a day. In order to facilitate the execution of the lawsuits, he increased the number of appellate judges and appointed the licentiate Antonio Barbudo to replace Sebastião Lopes Lobato as *ouvidor geral*; and he ordered him to hold hearings for the prisoners in the jail with all his assistants every fifteen days and to decide the cases on the spot where this was possible. Since the affairs of office and his corpulency kept him at home, he sent a man in whom he had great confidence to visit the Ribeira and the magazines and to provide him with an account of them so that he could take care of them, and he was particularly concerned about the hospital.³³ Since there was always the possibility of an attack by the Turks, he had four ships built like those used in India. He also had many large cannons cast and numerous guns made; and he ordered large amounts of powder to be made in the fortresses, which previously had, as a rule, been only manufactured in Goa.³⁴ He ordered the old ships on the Ribeira, which could no longer be repaired, broken up and the wood put at the disposal of the cannon foundry, where there were many broken pieces of artillery. He sent all the smiths he could find into the metal works of the Ribeira, and he constructed a large building for producing guns, ten thousand of which were needed.³⁵

He further had the general register examined by Manuel de Sá to discover the individuals who were receiving salaries and assistance from the king. He found 23,000 inscribed on the lists, 7,000 of whom had not received anything for a long time, and for whom there was no indication as to where they were or whether they had died.³⁶ On July 10 he signed with Cosme Anes an order for

³⁰ Q 4163; see the negative judgment of Jorge Cabral (Q 4103a).

³¹ Q 3378.

³² Correa IV 661-663; Q 4080.

³³ Correa IV 662-663.

³⁴ Sá I 567.

³⁵ Correa IV 661-663; Sá I 567. According to Couto he had two thousand guns made in Cochín, Quilon, Ceylon, and other places (6, 7, 10, p. 135).

³⁶ Q 4079.

the execution of the king's decree according to which the College of St. Paul should receive an annual income of eight hundred *milreis*; ³⁷ and shortly after taking office, he wrote to Simão Botelho in Bassein that he should immediately build two galleons there and assemble the materials for rebuilding the fortress as soon as the rainy season had passed.³⁸ At the same time, through lengthy negotiations, he and the bishop were trying to persuade Adil Khān to make a treaty of peace.³⁹

In addition to all these various activities, Garcia de Sá asked men with experience to write up reports on all the territories of Portuguese Asia and its neighboring lands containing information that could be of use for governing, war, and trade.⁴⁰

From Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, the *vedor da fazenda*,⁴¹ he obtained two reports, one on the revenues of Goa,⁴² and another on the food, iron, and other wares which came from the lands of Adil Khān, from the kingdom of Vijayanagar, and from Bassein.⁴³ From João de Magalhães,⁴⁴ the former factor of Bassein, whom M. A. de Sousa had sent from there to Cambay to obtain information

³⁷ DI I 268. Maurício erroneously assumes that on July 10, 1548, Garcia de Sá in a magnanimous act, "certamente por solicitação de Xavier," had anticipated the king's decision of October 22, 1548, and in addition to the income from the pagodas granted the college an annual sum of eight hundred *milreis* (*Brotéria* 56 [1953] 596). For this he had no authority.

³⁸ Botelho, *Cartas* 12-13.

³⁹ Correa IV 663-665; SR IV 109-110.

⁴⁰ The twenty-five reports are contained in a copy, put together, it seems, at the end of 1548, in a small folio codex of 101 leaves (twelve of which are blank) copied by three different hands. The paper and writing would indicate the middle of the sixteenth century. The two watermarks, a jug with a flower and a hand with a star, would be of the same time. The first of these marks is found in Portuguese printed works in 1539 and 1543 and in letters from India in 1550 and 1551 (cf. EX I 30*, *filigranum* 68). The second (in this codex only on ff. 50-57 in the sixteenth report, that of Simão Alvares) is found on an original letter of H. Henriques of November 12, 1546, from Goa (DI I 148: in ARSI: *Goa* 10, 28 and 30). The texts themselves also refer to the year 1548 and expressly state that Garcia de Sá ordered the report to be written.—The codex, whose title page has been torn out, was formerly found, as two signatures indicate, in the charterhouse of Evora which was once so rich in rare manuscripts and books. It was later in the possession of the renowned Latinist and bibliophile Dr. Francisco de Paula Santa Clara, who gave it to the town clerk, Antonio Thomas Pires, of his paternal city of Elvas in 1901, where he died the following year at the age of sixty-six. Pires published its three accounts on Japan in Coimbra in the review *O Instituto* for the years 1906 and 1907. After his death in 1913 the codex came into the possession of the municipal library of Elvas, where it has the signature 5/581. In 1957 the volume was published in Coimbra with an extensive and valuable introduction by Adelino de Almeida Calado under the title of *Livro que trata das cousas da India e do Japão* (cf. Q 4121 and p. 500). The titles for the individual reports were apparently added to the (today lost) original by Garcia de Sá.

⁴¹ He is thus named in the title on the report on the revenues. Since he had to relinquish his office to Cosme Anes on the arrival of the ships from Portugal at the beginning of September, 1548 (Q 3777 4002), his report was written before this.

⁴² Calado, pp. 125-128.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 62-67.

⁴⁴ João de Magalhães, "milk-brother of the empress," wrote to the king from Goa in 1533 about the capture of Bassein and the Cambay and Malabar wars, and he asked for Ceylon and the Pearl Fishery of Ormuz for himself (GS II 161). In 1537 he sailed again for India with the income of a *moço fidalgo* and provided with the position of factor of Bassein (*Emmentia* 338), where we still encounter him in 1539 as factor and *alcaide-mor* (Castanheda 9, 40). In 1541 he sailed as chief captain of the *fustas* with D. Estevão da Gama to the Red Sea (Correa IV 163 175 201 206). He helped at Diu in 1546 (Castro, *Cartas* 275-276) and was in Goa in 1547 (Q 2828 3232 3242 3334).

about the land, particularly its revenues, navigation, and trade, Sá requested an account of the wares it exported and the losses it would suffer in a war with the Portuguese.⁴⁵ From Mestre Pedro, who was in charge of the royal foundries of Goa,⁴⁶ and who had come to the help of Diu with Dom Alvaro and had there repaired a good many cannons,⁴⁷ for which he had been dubbed a knight by Garcia de Sá himself,⁴⁸ he obtained an estimate on the iron of India and its cost.⁴⁹ From two jewelers, Mestre Pedro⁵⁰ and Francisco Pereira,⁵¹ he secured information on the diamond mines in the kingdom of Vijayanagar and elsewhere.⁵² From Nicolau Gonçalves,⁵³ a former chief inspector of ships in Cochin, who had much experience behind him,⁵⁴ he obtained a description of the rivers by means of which wood came to Cochin, of the towns lying along them, and the names of their respective *kaimals*⁵⁵ and kings.⁵⁶ From Sebastião Lopes Lobato, who had been factor in Ormuz from 1545 to 1547,⁵⁷ he received two accounts, one on the revenues of the city and of the kingdom,⁵⁸ and another on the sulfur in the lands of the Persian Gulf and on its export to Goa and to the lands of the Mohammedan kingdoms of India.⁵⁹ From Khoja Pir Kuli,⁶⁰ the official interpreter of Persian in Goa, he received an account of Persia, his native

⁴⁵ Calado 57-60.

⁴⁶ Mestre Pedro (not to be confused with the trader in jewels) is called in the title "Mestre das ferraryas."

⁴⁷ Q 3103; *Gavetas* IV 376 (where the document is erroneously dated 1540 instead of 1549 (?); cf. GS IV 948, n. 4327a). The viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas recommended the "man needed for India" in 1554 to the king and asked that his thirteen-year-old son, who had been studying in St. Paul's College for some years, should be named a valet (TdT: *Gavetas* 20-14-35).

⁴⁸ Q 4243.

⁴⁹ Calado 60-62.

⁵⁰ In the title called "lapidayro." He is still mentioned as such in Goa on August 23, 1549 (Q 4327).

⁵¹ Francisco Pereira was called an expert in Goa on December 27, 1547 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 498, where *December* is to be read instead of November; cf. Q 3560). For his namesake see GS II 133.

⁵² Calado 69-71.

⁵³ Nicolau Gonçalves, called by Castro to Diu, arrived there from Cochin with two *fustas* and men on August 18, 1546 (Correa IV 525 554-555 573). The governor wrote to the king that he was "Mestre das Naus da carreira" (Castro, *Cartas* 266). Correa calls him "patrão-mor de Cochin" (IV 525); L. Nunes calls him "piloto-mor" (*Crónica* 120). In 1546 Castro gave him permission to send one *fusta* to Bengal (Q 2014), and on April 10, 1548, the king of Cranganore wrote that he was *patrão* of Cochin (Q 3920).

⁵⁴ According to D. João de Castro he was a "homem de grande sizo e experiencia do mar e valente homem" (*Cartas* 266), according to Correa a "homem de muyto segredo e cavalleiro e muyto pratigo nas cousas do mar" (IV 573).

⁵⁵ Princes.

⁵⁶ Calado 43-48.

⁵⁷ See Vol. II, p. 394.

⁵⁸ Calado 128-130.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 117-120.

⁶⁰ Portuguese *Perculim* (GS IV 40). He was a very rich Persian Mohammedan who in 1531 had already been many years in Goa. He served as an interpreter and was a friend of the Portuguese and very reliable. Castanheda and Correa, who knew him personally, relate how Nuno da Cunha sent him as a spy to Diu in 1531 (8, 154; Correa III 394 405 407-408 411). Castanheda further tells how the governor in 1536 gave him as a companion to the ambassador of the king of Cambay so that he might learn from him the true mind of the sultan, and how he made him talk with good Portuguese wine and thus learned of the treacherous intentions of his lord (8, 154). In 1547 he translated a letter of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha to Adil Khān into Persian (Q 2794), and in October of the same year he accompanied D. João de Castro as an interpreter on his voyage to Cambay (Couto 6, 5, 6, pp. 385-386).

land.⁶¹ From Antonio Pessoa, who, as factor in Colombo from 1541 to 1543,⁶² had gained a good knowledge of the land, he obtained information on Ceylon: its cinnamon, wood for the building of ships, shank and pearl fisheries, gems and food supplies.⁶³ From Alvaro de Sousa,⁶⁴ who had come from Pegu with a cargo of lacquer in 1546,⁶⁵ he secured a brief notice on obtaining of lacquer in that country;⁶⁶ and from the chief royal apothecary, Simão Alvares, who could look back on thirty-nine years of experience⁶⁷ in India and went every year to visit the different hospitals, he obtained an extensive account on the lands from which drugs were exported to Portugal and the trade routes which they followed.⁶⁸ In addition to this there were further accounts on the Coromandel ship and the textiles connected with it,⁶⁹ on the preparation of caulking materials, *galagala* and *caramguste*,⁷⁰ on the manufacture of concrete in Ormuz,⁷¹ on the transportation of wood on the Tigris and Euphrates to Basra,⁷² on the route taken by spices from Ormuz to Tripoli by way of Basra,⁷³ and on the distances on the island of Diu.⁷⁴ He also obtained an extensive treatise on the revenues of the individual coastal provinces of Adil Khān,⁷⁵ and another on the losses which he would incur in case of war with the Portuguese.⁷⁶

Garcia de Sá also turned to the Jesuits for information, and from Xavier he received a copy of Jorge Alvares' description of Japan⁷⁷ and an abstract of the report on China which the priest had obtained in Malacca in 1547.⁷⁸ He also secured two more, extensive accounts about Japan which Lancilotto had composed from data received from Anjirō.⁷⁹

4. THREE REPORTS FOR GARCIA DE SÁ (SUMMER, 1548)

The first new report on Japan was primarily concerned with the religious life in that land, and Garcia de Sá wrote over it: "*Information on the Island of*

⁶¹ Calado 132-133.

⁶² Antonio Pessoa was factor and *alcaide-mor* in Colombo in 1541-1542 and again, after an interruption of some months, in 1542-1543 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 149).

⁶³ Calado 36-39.

⁶⁴ On him see Vol. II, p. 551.

⁶⁵ On the lacquer which he brought from Pegu, see Q 2713 2843.

⁶⁶ Calado 73.

⁶⁷ Simão Alvares became chief apothecary in Goa in 1513 (CA V 390 432) and is named as apothecary in Cochin in 1514-1515 (*ibid.* VI 117; VII 138; SR I 269). In 1529 he was still in Cochin (SR II 184). In 1546 he was chief apothecary and was praised as an excellent physician by D. João de Castro, who sent him to the help of Diu with his son D. Alvaro and many medicines. There, through his skill, he saved the lives of many *fidalgos* and soldiers (Castro, *Cartas* 162 172 195 196 259; Q 2395 2408). As a reward for his services Castro gave him in 1547 a palm grove of three hundred young trees in Saligão in Bardez (*Mercês* 154v). The inscription on his tombstone in the church of S. Francisco in Goa, where he died on May 3, 1546 (Q 5576), is probably, as far as the year is concerned, reproduced incorrectly.

⁶⁸ Calado 50-57.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 40 43.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 67-69.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 130-131.

⁷² *Ibid.* 72-73.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 74.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 75-76.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 76-88.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 48-50.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 99-112.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 113-117.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 88-89 121-125.

Japan given by Mestre Francisco, who obtained Reports on it from very Trustworthy Persons, especially from a Japanese who became a Christian in this City, a Man of great Talent and Ability."¹ The real author was Lancilotto; his source of information was Anjirō, who had assumed the name of Paul of the Holy Faith when he became a Christian.² The report read as follows:

¹ Calado 88-99; see below, Appendix I, "The Genealogy of Lancilotto's Report on Japan." Eleven manuscripts of this first account of Japan are still extant (Q 4101, 1-10 and 4102) in three drafts: The *first draft* contains sections 1-16 (text 7-9), the second adds sections 17-27 to these (text 1-6 and 10), the third (*via* 2) reorders these and adds section 28 (text 11: Q 4102).—The history of the texts can be reconstructed from the variants somewhat as follows: All the originals sent from India to Europe at the beginning of 1549 are lost with the exception of text 11, written entirely by the hand of Lancilotto. Similarly lost are all the originals that remained in Goa. The first draft was drawn up for the governor Garcia de Sá: Lancilotto wrote an Italian text from Anjirō's data, as he himself explains. Xavier translated this into Spanish and, for the governor, into Portuguese (probably with the help of Cosme Anes, who used to come every day to the college according to Antonio Gomes). This Portuguese text and the other accounts that had been made for Garcia de Sá were copied into a volume, probably in the same year 1548. This is the present *Codex 5/381* in the municipal library of Elvas. It constitutes text 8, and has been published by T. Pires in *O Instituto* 53 (1906) 758-765, and by Calado in 1957 (88-99). Xavier gave a copy of his Spanish translation to his confrere Cosme de Torres in Goa, who fitted it out with his own introduction and a conclusion and sent it to his confreres in Europe with his letter of November 25, 1548. In Portugal a Portuguese translation was made of the letter and report and sent to Rome, where they were copied into a book in 1549 (text 9 in ARSI: *Jap. Sin.* 4, 18-21v). Xavier sent a second copy of his Spanish translation with the date January 1, 1549, to Ignatius in Rome, where a copy of its was immediately made (text 7, in the Bibl. Naz. in Rome: *Fondo Gesuitico* 1482, n. 32).—Lancilotto, who completed the *second draft* in Cochín, sent an Italian copy to Rome, where a copy of it was entered into the same book in which text 9 is found (text 1 in ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 4-8). As usual, a second copy of this text was made in 1549 for Cardinal Marcello Cervini. It is preserved in the miscellaneous volume of the same (text 2: Bibl. Vat. *Ottobon. lat.* 797, 34-38v). An Italian abstract from text 1, which also made use of texts 9 and 11, is preserved in the Bibl. Naz. in Rome: *Fondo Gesuitico* 1384, n. 6. This constitutes text 3. In the same volume with the same number, there is also a Latin translation with numerous corrections. This is text 10. The Italian text 1 was published in the *Nuovi Avisi*, Terza Parte (Venezia, 1562) 18-27. This in turn was published in Latin with many errors in *Ep. Indicae de Stupendis* (Louvain, 1566) 175-198, and in *Ep. Iapanicae* (*ibid.*, 1570) 6-20. German versions of this were published by Götz (Ingolstadt, 1586) 47-80, Eglauer, *Briefe aus Japan* 1 (*ibid.*, 1795) 1-21, and Haas 1 (Tokyo, 1902) 280-300, with an extensive and valuable commentary.—Xavier sent his Spanish translation of the second draft to Simon Rodrigues in Portugal with the same date of January 1, 1549. In 1553 a copy of it was placed in the *Codex Ulyss. I*, which was destined for reading in the refectory (ff. 57v-62: text 4). An Italian translation of this text appeared in the second edition of the first volume of Ramusio's great collection of travels (Venezia, 1554, 418-425v, and in the following editions of 1563, 1588, 1606, and 1613). A copy of text 4 was made for the *Codex Eborensis I*, 1566, f. 63v (text 5), and from this in 1567 for the *Codex Conimbricensis I*, f. 77 (text 6). Coleridge published an English translation of this last text in the second volume of his life of Xavier (London, 1872, 208-226). A German translation of this was published in the first volume of Vos (Regensburg, 1877, 452-462).—On December 26, 1548, Lancilotto sent a *third draft* of his Italian text with a new order of contents, new dates, and, especially, a concluding section on the death of Buddha (text 11, today in the Bibl. Naz. in Rome: *Fondo Gesuitico* 1384, n. 2). We shall come back later to the second and third drafts of the account when we discuss the mail which Xavier sent from Cochín to Europe at the beginning of 1549.

² Lancilotto states several times that he was the author of the first Japanese account, for example, at the beginning of his second account for the governor (Q 4103) and in the third draft of his first account (Q 4102). We conclude that Xavier translated the Italian text into Spanish from the fact that none of his confreres in Goa had a sufficient mastery of both languages to do this. That Cosme Anes helped him with the translation into Portuguese is probable because of his great friendship with Xavier

[2] He first said³ that the island of Japan is six hundred leagues long,⁴ and that the whole country is ruled by a king; and under him, he said, there are lords like dukes. In the whole of Japan there are fourteen of these; and if one of these lords dies, his firstborn son inherits his dignity; and he gives to the other sons some towns for their support, but with the condition that they always remain obedient to the oldest son so that they never let the state be divided; and the least of these lords, he says, has ten thousand warriors and others have fifteen, others twenty, and others thirty thousand of them.

The chief king, he says, is called in their language *Vo*,⁵ and this is the highest caste among them; and those of this caste do not marry into another caste.⁶ And this *Vo*, it seems, is among them like the pope is among us, and his jurisdiction is not only over the secular people but also over the clerics, of which there are many in that land. But even though he has complete jurisdiction over everything, he says, he never takes juridical proceedings against anyone but leaves the entire care of this to another, who is like the emperor among us. This latter is called *Gosho*⁷ and has

and his close connections with St. Paul's College. This is also indicated by a comparison of the orthography in the translation with his original letter of November 30, 1547 (DI I 313), where we find the same characteristics, for example, *m* instead of *n*, *r* instead of *l*, *ll* instead of *l*, etc.—That Xavier made the Spanish translation of Lancilotto's account, and that texts 4 and 7 (and, mediately, 8 and 9 as well) thus go back to him is indicated by the following: (1) In his heading for text 8, Garcia de Sá expressly states that he had received it from Master Francis, who had obtained the information from trustworthy individuals, especially a Japanese Christian. (2) Xavier was in Goa, where text 7 was written, and in Cochín, where text 4 was written. In both cities he was the only one who knew Italian and Spanish well enough for this. (3) Text 4 is dated at the end "Cochín, January 1, 1549." Only Xavier could have written this since he was alone with Lancilotto in that city; and at the end he adds: "We shall sail to Japan with three priests and brothers," by which he meant himself and the confreres who remained in Goa. Text 4 also shows that its author knew text 11, which Lancilotto had written in Cochín in December, 1548, since it, like that of the latter, contrary to all the other texts places the penance of the *Vo* at the time of the waning moon. Text 4 also adds the Spanish translation of sections 17-27, which Lancilotto added to the first draft in Cochín. (4) Text 7 written in Goa and text 4 in Cochín agree mostly verbatim in vocabulary and orthography with Xavier's letters. Thus, for example, expressions reoccur such as *puercos monteses*, *vino de uvas* (EX I 379), *palo de aguilá* (II 180), *rosarios de cuentas* (I 137; cf. text 4: *cuentas o rosarios*), *Mahoma* (I 330). There is also a similarity in their orthography *Japon*, *Chyna*, *Cochim*, *Ytalia*, *aroz*, and their frequent use of *b*, *t*, and *j* for *v*, *c*, and *i* (for example, *boz*, *bivos*, *purgatorjo*, *disentiones*, etc.). At times Xavier corrects or makes more specific the Italian original, for example, when Lancilotto writes that P. M. Francisco would sail to Japan with "tre fratelli," text 4 states that he would sail with three "padres y hermanos;" where the original states that a "persona" had come from Japan, text 4 has "una persona llamada Angero con dos criados;" and where the Italian says that "Angero" wished to go in two, three, or four years to Japan with the priests, text 4 has only in two or three. Further, Xavier sent three *vias* of his letters to both Ignatius and Rodrigues, and to each of the six copies he added that he was sending with them the information which he had obtained from the Japanese Paul. Thus, for example in his letter to Rodrigues of January 20, 1549, he states that the Japanese who became Christians in St. Paul's College "me dieron información daquela ysla, como vereys por un quaderno que allá hos embió, que fue sacado por la información que nos dió Paulo de Santa Fe" (EX II 37-38).

³ Anjirō.

⁴ Five hundred *ri* (at 2.42 miles) according to Japanese data.

⁵ Ō (king), a title of the emperor of Japan. The other texts have *Voo*, text 9 has *Voh* (Papinot 127).

⁶ The emperor had to take his wife from one of the five branches (*Go-sekke*) of the Fujiwara family. The branches were comprised of the Konoe, Kujō, Nijō, Ichijō, and Takatsukasa families (Papinot 127).

⁷ Gosho (literally: Exalted Place) is properly the name of the imperial palace in Kyoto and of the emperor himself, but in the Ashikaga period (1336-1573) it was used

command and lordship over all Japan. He is however obedient to the said Vo; and if the Gosho visits the Vo, he says, he does so with his knee upon the ground. And he says that if the Gosho does something bad, the Vo can take his kingdom from him and cut his head off if he did something that deserved this penalty. And he says that those of lower condition are very obedient to those higher because of the great justice which is practiced. They are of the opinion that all sins are alike, and they treat them accordingly; and they give the same penalty to one who has stolen ten *bazarucos*⁸ as to one who has stolen ten thousand *cruzados*.⁹

[3] He says that the Vo, the chief king of Japan, lives as follows: When the moon begins to wane, he begins to fast, dressed in white with a large crown upon his head, until the full moon; and he fasts every day; and when the moon begins to wax, he lives again together with his wife for another fifteen days; and during this time he goes hunting and enjoys himself and gives himself to all other amusements; and, after another fifteen days, he returns, as said, to the above religious way of life. And he says that if his wife should die before he has reached the age of thirty, he can remarry; but if she dies after he has passed his thirtieth year, he does not marry again but observes perpetual chastity and lives like a religious.¹⁰

[4] He also says that there are many other small lords such as our counts and other masters of towns; and there are among these people *fidalgos*, merchants, and craftsmen of all kinds as we have, and different grades of persons as we have; [5] and they usually marry only one wife.¹¹ And he says that if a wife does something which she must not do and her husband catches her in the act, they are accustomed to kill the man and the woman; and if he only kills one of them, he is brought to trial and put to death; and if the man does not kill the two of them, this is a great disgrace for the husband.¹² He further says that if a woman has a bad reputation and cannot be caught in the act, she is sent to the house of her father; and the man does not lose his honor. He then marries another; and such a wife remains dishonored forever, and no one is willing afterwards to marry her. [6] The people of better condition on the island place their sons in a monastery when they are seven or eight years old. They remain there until they are eighteen or twenty years old; and they there learn to read and write and the things of God; and when they come out they marry.¹³

[7] He says that in this land there are three kinds of religious,¹⁴ who have monasteries like those of friars; some of these have monasteries in the city, and

for the *generalissimo*, that is, the shogun (Haas I 283). Our texts have *Goxo*, the *Nuovi Avisi* and its followers have *Gozo*; text 11 has *Cosci* by mistake.

⁸ Our text has: "os bazaruquos," which must mean according to the other texts "dez bazarucos." The *bazaruco* was an Indian small coin of varied worth. At Goa in 1544 fifty *bazarucos* were worth one *tanga* at sixty *reis* (Correa IV 337, Dalgado I 109).

⁹ According to the old Japanese penal law (*Taihō-ryō ritsu*), which was in force up into the nineteenth century, the penalty for theft was judged according to the value of the stolen goods; but in the middle of the sixteenth century the district lords had arrogated penal jurisdiction to themselves and had increased the penalties (Haas I 283; Papinot 616).

¹⁰ Anjirō repeats the legendary view of the people about the life of the emperor. The "Laws of Ieyasu," which were based on ancient custom, granted the emperor twelve concubines in addition to his wife, and remarriage was also permitted (Haas I 284). In texts 4 and 11 the Vo fasted at the time of the waning moon, but he enjoyed himself when it was waxing.

¹¹ This was true only for the people of the lowest rank. The "Laws of Ieyasu" limited the number of concubines for the princes to eight, for the nobility to five, for the *samurai* to two (*ibid.* 284). On marriage at the time in Japan, see also Valignano, *Sumario* 27-28 52-53, and Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 126-127.

¹² According to the "Laws of Ieyasu" a husband could slay his wife and her accomplice if they were found *in flagranti*, but he could not slay only one of the two (*ibid.*).

¹³ The teaching of students began on the sixth day of the sixth month of the sixth year, and thus, according to Japanese reckoning, in the seventh year (*ibid.* 285).

¹⁴ The "Laws of Ieyasu" also distinguished three kinds of Buddhist priests according to their dress (*ibid.*).

others in the forests.¹⁵ Those who live in the city never marry,¹⁶ and they live on alms. They have their head and beard shaved and wear long cassocks with large sleeves nearly like ours; and when it is cold, he says, they wear coverings over their head like those of friars; and the rest of the time they go with their head uncovered. They eat in a refectory like friars and fast many times during the year as we do. And these religious eat nothing that can die; and he says that they do this in order to weaken the body so that it is not eager to sin; and this abstinence is common to all the religious of that land. And he says that these religious rise around midnight to pray, and they pray singing for half an hour. They then go back at once to sleep till dawn.¹⁷ They then rise and offer up other, different prayers. They do the same at sunrise and at noon and at the *Ave* hour, for which they also ring a bell in this land as we do here. And he says that when they ring the *Ave* hour all the people kneel down and lift their hands to heaven as we do. And this man says that he did not understand the prayers which they recited, for these were in a different language.¹⁸ He says that these religious preach to the people as we do; and when they pray, they have a large auditorium; and they weep and make the people weep. They preach that there is only one single God, the Creator of all things.¹⁹ They also preach that there is a paradise, a place of purification, and a hell; and they say that all souls when they depart from this world, go to the place of purification, both the good and the bad; and from there the good are sent to the place where God is and the evil to the place where the devil is. They also say that God sends the devil into this world to punish the bad. He says that these religious would be leading a very good life except for the fact that they are known for that most ugly of all sins: they have, that is, many boys for instruction in the monastery [and sin with them],²⁰ although they preach to the people that this is an extremely serious sin, and they praise chastity. All of these are dressed in long black cassocks,²¹ and he says that they are very great scholars.²² And in each monastery they have a prior whom all obey. They accept as clerics only those who are well educated and proved in virtue.

There are priests of another type, who wear a grey cassock²³ bound at the waist by thick cords. They also do not marry; and they have an order of women like nuns,

¹⁵ With respect to the last, Anjirō is probably thinking in particular of the Yama-bushis, who did not practice celibacy (*ibid.*).

¹⁶ With exception of the Shin (Jōdo-Shinshu) sect.

¹⁷ The expression "até oras d'allua" ("until dawn") in texts 8, 9, and 11 (in text 4 and 10 correctly translated by *aurora*) was falsely read in the other texts as "ora de la luna" ("until the moon hour"), but this makes no sense. Lancilotto's autograph has correctly "a hora del alba."

¹⁸ Haas believes that there is here a question of the vocal reading of prayers written in *Bonji* (Sanskrit or Pāli) characters, whose meaning was foreign to most of the bonzes themselves (I 286). The Sanskrit or Pāli prayers were also written in Chinese characters, which indicated their sound.

¹⁹ The Buddhists did not know a Creator of the world.

²⁰ Text 11: "Omnes [religiosi] notantur de turpissimo Sodomorum vitio, nam omnes nobiles dant illis filios suos instruendi gratia, quibus sine freno abutuntur." Reports of the missionaries agree that pediastry was widely spread in the Japanese bonze monasteries of the sixteenth century. On this see Valignano, *Sumario* 28-29; Frois, *Kultur-gegensätze* 140-141, and especially the detailed account which the experienced Matheus de Couros sent from Arima to the general of the order on February 25, 1612. In it he treats the matter *ex professo* (ARSI: *JapSin.* 2, 159-168; cf. GS II 693-694).

²¹ In Kagoshima three Buddhist sects in particular were represented: the Shingon, the Ji-shū, and the Sōtō Zen (Aoyama 35-36); by those in black robes are probably meant the Shingon and Zen bonzes (*ibid.* 65).

²² Probably meant are the Zen bonzes, especially those of the Sōtō branch, who possessed the large Fukushōji monastery in Kagoshima and, along with meditation, studied books. Cf. Frois, *Geschichte Japans* 122-124; GS IV 302-303; Aoyama 51 72-73.

²³ By the grey bonzes the Jishūs are perhaps meant. In contemporary pictures they are dressed in grey (Aoyama 37). In Kagoshima they had the large monastery of Jōkōmyōji, which had been founded by the ruler Shimazu Hisatsune († 1284) (*ibid.* 36).

and they are similarly dressed and have their monastery combined with the monastery of these priests. And all the people say that these priests have relations with these nuns and never beget children, for, he says, they give them a remedy so that they do not conceive.²⁴ And he says that each monastery of these clerics has adjoining it another of nuns. These priests have very little education and pray almost exactly like those mentioned above; they also fast sometimes; and this sect began three hundred years ago.²⁵

There are priests of still another type, who are also clothed in black, and practice little penance. They pray three times a day, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at midnight. The prayer houses of all these priests are all of the same shape. [8] All have some idols of gilded wood, others have pictures painted on the wall. All adore one single God whom they call in their language *Denychy*; ²⁶ and he says that they sometimes paint this Denychy with only one body and three heads.²⁷ They then call him *Cogy*.²⁸ But this man said that he did not know the meaning of those three heads; but he knew that all were one, Denychy and Cogy, as with us God and Trinity.

The second order of those religious, of whom we have said above that they are clothed in grey, when they pray in their choir, pray together with the nuns, that is, they sit on one side of the choir and the nuns on the other.

[9] This man also told the history of a man who is regarded among them as a saint and who is called *Shaka* by them,²⁹ and the account runs as follows:

He says that there is a land on the other side of China towards the west called Chengico.³⁰ In it there was a king who was called Jombondaiuo,³¹ and he was married to a woman by the name of Maiabonym.³² This king, when he was once sleeping during the day, dreamed that a boy appeared to him who said that he must enter into the body of his wife; and this boy appeared to him three times on the same day and each time spoke the same words to him. And this king immediately told his wife what had happened to him. Since they were so frightened by the dream, they no longer had any marital relations with each other; and in the same month she discovered that she was pregnant without having had any relations with anyone. At the end of nine months she bore a son whom they called Shaka; and, immediately after the child's birth, its mother died and its father had Shaka brought up by a sister of the mother of the boy.

He says that when this Shaka was born, two large snakes with wings miraculously

²⁴ On the Buddhist nuns (*bikunis*), see Valignano, *Sumario* 31-32 63-64, and Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 126-129.

²⁵ Ippen Shōnin, the founder of the Jishū sect, who lived from 1239 to 1289, also visited Kagoshima on his wanderings (Aoyama 51).

²⁶ *Dainichi* (literally: "Great Light"), the Japanese name for *Mahā Vairocana*, the basic principle of the All, penetrating and enlightening everything, the chief divinity of the esoteric Shingon doctrine.

²⁷ After a long search, Haas found a picture of Dainichi Nyorai with three heads, although Buddhist priests had refused to admit the existence of such a one (Haas I 288).

²⁸ Haas would like to identify the name with *Go-chi Nyorai*, the five gods of wisdom: Yakushi, Tahō, Dainichi, Ashuku, and Shaka, whose number in an earlier period of development was not five but three (I 288). Each of the five formed together with a Bosatsu (*Bodhisattva*) and Myōō (*Maharaja*) a trinity. Four of the Go-chi Nyorai lived in each of the four quarters of heaven, Dainichi in their center.

²⁹ The Japanese name for *Sākyamuni*, or Buddha.

³⁰ Japanese: *Tenjiku* ("the Heavenly Country": India). The word is frequently distorted in the eleven texts of our account: *Cengico* (text 11), *Cegnico* (texts 1-2 and 10), *Cegnicho* (text 3), *Chenico* (text 7), *Chempico* (text 8), *Chenguinco* (text 4), *Chinisco* (text 9). Buddha was born in the grove of Lumbini near Kapilavastu north of Benares not far from the border of Nepal.

³¹ *Jōbon-dai-ō* (Indic: *Suddhodana*). The texts have: *Jombondaiuo* (texts 1-2 7 and 9), *Jombondaruo* (text 8), *Jambondaiuo* (text 10), *Jambon* (text 4), *Gioibondarno* (*Nuovi Avisi*, etc.).

³² *Maya-bunin* (Indic: *Māyā*). The texts have: *Majabonym* (text 8), *Maiabonim* (text 9), *Magabonin* (texts 1-2 and 10), *Magabuny* (text 4), *Magabonim* (text 7).

appeared. They came in the air over the boy, and they spewed water out of their mouths upon the said boy.³³ And he says that this boy got on his feet at the end of three months and took three steps and lifted a hand to heaven and pointed the other to the earth and said: "I am one alone above in heaven, and one alone on earth."³⁴ This Shaka grew until he reached the age of nineteen and his father ordered him to marry against his will.³⁵ And when he reflected upon the misery of mankind, he did not wish to unite himself with his wife and fled at night and came to a very high and barren mountain, where he remained for six years³⁶ and practiced great penance. After this he went forth and began to preach to those inhabitants, who were still pagans, with great eloquence and enthusiasm. Through this he gained such a reputation for the greatest sanctity and virtue that he renewed all the laws and gave to that people a law and a new kind of divine worship. And he says that he won over eight thousand disciples who led the same life of perfection as he. Some of his disciples came to China, where they preached their laws and their kind of divine worship and thus converted the whole of China and had all the idols and pagodas that were in China destroyed. And they came from China to Japan and did the same. And he says that in all of China and Japan are found pieces of old statues as in Rome. This Shaka taught all these peoples to worship one single God, the Creator of all things; and he ordered that he be painted, as has been said above, with one single body and three heads.

And this said Shaka is said to have observed Five Commandments. The first of these is that they should not slay; the second, that they should not steal; the third, that they should not do anything unchaste; the fourth, that they should not become upset by things for which there is no remedy; the fifth, that they should forgive injuries.³⁷ This Shaka also wrote many books, in which he treated the virtues and the vices and the customs which men should observe according to their rank and condition.³⁸ He ordered them to fast frequently, and he said that penances were very pleasing to God and very necessary for the salvation of sinners. We asked him [Anjirō] if there was any kind of baptism in that land. He said that all infants are washed immediately after their birth, and this in imitation of Shaka, who was washed with the water which those snakes which miraculously appeared to him at his birth spewed over him, as has been said above. And he says that if a child dies before it has been washed, this is regarded as a great sin on the part of its father and mother.³⁹

³³ According to the popular Japanese life of Buddha, *Shaka jitsu-roku*, there were two Naga kings, Nanda and Ubananda, who poured streams of water from their mouths upon the child and then mounted up again to heaven (Haas I 289).

³⁴ In the Chinese life of Buddha, the newborn child took seven steps towards the four quarters of heaven, raised one hand to heaven, and pointed with the other to the earth and said: "I am the most noble on earth and in heaven. Gods and men owe me tribute and prayer and worship." Two springs then rose from the earth, and nine dragons sent a fine rain from out of the clouds upon the newborn child in order to purify him (Henri Doré, S.J., *Vie illustrée du Bouddha Çakyamouni* [Changhai, 1920, Variétés Sinologiques, No. 57] 29, with a colored representation of the scene). Other legends place the experience seven days, or years, after his birth (cf. Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 82 108; M. Cooper, S.J., *They Came to Japan* [Berkeley, 1965] 326); or immediately after his birth (Doré 28-29, with a picture).

³⁵ Text 9 has nine, text 11 eighteen, years. The Chinese biographies have nineteen years (Doré 53). The wife of Buddha is called *Yashudara* (Indic: *Yasodhara*).

³⁶ Text 11 has seven, the Japanese life has twelve years (Haas I 390); the Chinese sources speak of six years of penance in the desert (Doré 97).

³⁷ The Five Commandments (*Go-kai*) are: (1) Thou shalt not kill; (2) Thou shalt not steal; (3) Thou shalt not do anything unchaste; (4) Thou shalt not lie; (5) Thou shalt not drink any intoxicating drink. Text 11 has instead of these: (1) Non occidere; (2) Non fornicare; (3) Non furari; (4) Dimittere injurias; (5) Non mereri neque tristari ob ea, que curari neque remediari possunt. He thus copied from text 3.

³⁸ Anjirō perhaps confuses Shaka here with Confucius, who wrote many books of moral teachings.

³⁹ The washing of a newborn child with cold water does not of itself have any religious significance. Baptism (*kwanjō*: to pour water over the head; Indic: *abhiseka*)

[10] And he says that if anyone is sick in that land, those priests go and console them, and they urge them to make a will; and if they see that they are in danger of death, they preach to them about the goods of the other world; and they advise them not be concerned about present goods, since they see that all is vanity. When they die, those priests come singing in procession; and they carry the deceased to the cloister of the monastery, continuously singing and praying to God that He forgive him his sins; and they bury all, rich and poor, without any distinction; and they take no reward for this. It is true that if the relatives of the deceased should give them an alms, they would take it; but otherwise he would be regarded as wicked who would ask a reward for this.

[11] He says that they are accustomed to practice in that land a kind of penance in the following way:⁴⁰ They fast and observe chastity for a hundred days. They then enter into a very large forest,⁴¹ in which there are many pagodas like chapels. They remain for seventy-five days in that forest; and they do not eat on any day any more rice than they can eventually hold in the hollow of their hand; and they do not drink water more than three times a day. And, at the end of seventy-five days,⁴² all of those who go into that wilderness, who can at times be a large number, assemble in a place before a pagoda. Kneeling down, each one confesses the sins of his whole life in a loud voice before all; and while one is confessing, the others listen; and when they have all thus publicly confessed, each one swears on the pagoda that he will never betray what he has heard in those confessions after leaving the wilderness.

He says that they do not sleep⁴³ during all the seventy-five days that they are on this penitential pilgrimage, and they never undress. They are clothed in rough linen

was customary at a coronation in India in pre-Buddhist times. In Buddhism, especially in the esoteric sects, it was used as a ceremony of initiation. According to Kōbō Daishi, the grace to obtain the highest illumination was communicated through this "baptism" of Buddha; and all impediments to its attainment were removed. Through the transmission of the secret doctrine, the awareness of the unity with Dainichi Nyorai would be aroused. There are three kinds of baptism in use today: (1) *Dempō-kwanjō* (Baptism of Initiation). The Shingon disciple is led into the hall and, in order to effect the union with Buddha, the *Gochi-no-heisui* (Water of the Five Wisdoms) is poured over his head, through which he receives the mystical sign of Dainichi Nyorai. (2) *Jumyō-kwanjō*, or *Gakuhō-kwanjō* (Baptism of Enlightenment). When he begins the study of the esoteric doctrine, or a portion of it, the candidate receives the correlative mystical sign. (3) *Ketsuen-kwanjō*, a kind of baptism administered to ordinary followers of Buddha in order to effect the union with him, whether they believe in the esoteric doctrine or not. It is also customary on some other occasions, particularly for a woman after a miscarriage (*Nagare-kwanjō*). This type of baptism was probably also common in many places for newborn infants. On the different types of Buddhist baptism, see Coates 172-176.

⁴⁰ In the following the pilgrimages, or Nyōhō assemblies, of the Yamabushis are described. They are followers of Shugendō. On them see Schurhammer, "Die Yamabushis," GS II 705-730, and M. A. Casal, "The Yamabushis," *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 46 (1965) 1-45 (with pictures). The principal Japanese work on the Yamabushis is Wakamori Tarō, *Shugendō-shi kenkyū* (Studies on the Shugendō [Tokyo, 1943]). The old Shintoistic belief in the magical forces of the mountain wilderness and the worship of the mountain gods was especially promoted in the seventh century by the hermit En-no-ōzune (alias En-no-Gyōja), later raised up as the idol of all the mountain ascetics. In the ninth century the Shugendō came under the influence of the esoteric Buddhism of the Shingon and Tendai sects.

⁴¹ Among the places where the Yamabushis were accustomed to make their pilgrimage, the mountain range of Omine in Yamato with its rich forests is especially noted. This is not far from Kōyasan, the principal site of the Shingon sect (GS II 708-709 713-714). Other pilgrimages were directed towards the Katsuragi in Yamato, the Ishizuchiyama in Shikoku, the Hiko-zan in Kyūshū, and the "Three Mountains," especially to the Haguro-san in northern Japan.

⁴² Text 11 has seventy-six days.

⁴³ Text 9: "They hardly sleep at all."

and are tightly girdled at the hips;⁴⁴ and they never remain quiet in the same place but each day wander four, five, and six leagues through that forest around the mountain, all together as in a procession; and when they come to certain fixed spots, they rest a little and make a large fire to warm their bodies. And he says that they take a master with them, who leads them in their prayer and penance. And if one sleeps, when they wake up, they are given many blows with a piece of wood by that master; and if one of them becomes so ill upon the way that he cannot go further, they leave him there and let him die; and the others go on their way. And if one dies in the presence of the people, they cover him over entirely with stones and leave behind a piece of wood with the inscription: "Here is *so and so* from *such and such* a place." He also says that each of these people carry a small tablet on their breast on which is written his name and town.

He says that if a hundred go into this wilderness, it happens many times that they see two hundred. Then the master looks around and sees many who have no tablet upon their breast. He then asks them all to remain standing and to pray to Deniche so that he may free them from such company, for they are convinced that those hundred who appear there are devils; and each one of these devils joins one of these people and imitates his appearance so closely that one Joam is two and one Pedro is two without any difference between the one and the other; and they thus all act in the same way. And if they pray, as the master teaches them, these demons then disappear.⁴⁵ And when these penitents come from this penance, they are so lean and dark that they are like death; and since they never remove their clothes nor wash during this time, they return home in a very good company [of vermin]; and all kiss their clothes. [12] He says that there are many magicians⁴⁶ in this land, but they are little esteemed by reasonable people. There are also very great astrologers, who prophesy many things.

[13] These people write chronicles in the same way as we do with respect to their history and deeds. They are very much like us in their customs and vivacity of spirit; and the one who is giving this information is so talented that each one of us can envy him; and he shows in his words and deeds that he avoids every kind of vice that he has seen in us.

[14] And he says that it seems to him that the whole of Japan would be glad to become Christian, for they have written in their books that at some time there will be only one law, and none can be imagined better than ours. And he is therefore very happy, since it seems to him that God is granting him a great grace in that he will be the means for bringing people to Japan to preach this holy law. And although he is married, he has offered to go from two to four years in the company of the priests who will sail there, until Christianity has made a good beginning in that land and the priests have learned the language very well.

[15] He says that this land is very healthy, and that very strong winds blow there, and that at times the earth quakes so violently that men fall to the ground. In that land there are almost all the fruits and birds that there are in Europe; and there are few poisonous snakes there, and it is a land with a great amount of game, both birds and animals, such as deer, wild boars, and hares. There is no wine with the exception of rice beer, like that which they make in Flanders out of barley.⁴⁷ There are many wild grapes in the forest, and they eat them. These people eat rice with curry and

⁴⁴ The Yamabushis were known by their dress. They did not shave their head but wore a special stole, a peculiar grey hood (*token*), a hempen overgarment (*suzukake*), and had, in addition to these, sixteen (in other branches twelve) special objects, the most important of which were a kind of rosary (*juzu*), a staff (*shakujō*), a pannier (*oi*), and an ax and a sword in order to cut their path on the mountains. See GS II 715 716.

⁴⁵ Haas writes that an old Shugenja (Yamabushi) still told him about such appearances of the devil (I 293). On them see GS II 711.

⁴⁶ The Yamabushis in particular, but also the Shintō priests, engaged in magical arts and prophecies (Haas I 293; GS II 716-720), as did also the Ikkōbonzes (Frois, *Kultur-gegenstände* 160-161).

⁴⁷ Distilled rice wine (*sake*).

meat, as is done in India. They have much wheat, from which they make noodles and pastries. There are few chickens, and they do not raise any animals in the house.

[16] He says that there is a duke in this land who has a large cross on his banner just as we have. This is his coat of arms, and no other caste can bear it except his.⁴⁸

All these people in Japan pray with rosaries⁴⁹ as we do, and those who can read pray from books. And he says that those who pray with rosaries say a prayer at each bead twice as long as our Our Father. And he says that their rosary has 108 beads. I asked him the reason for this number. He says that the scholars preach that there are 108 kinds of sins, and a prayer is consequently said against each one of them. And he says that he does not understand that prayer, for it is in another language such as Latin is with us.⁵⁰ And he says that every morning when they get up, they say nine words⁵¹ lifting up two fingers of their right hand as we do when we make the sign of the cross; and they make nine crosses like a St. Andrew's cross, and he says that they do this to ward off the demon.⁵²

Since this account composed by Lancilotto treated almost exclusively the religious aspect of Japan, Garcia de Sá had asked him also for one on the political and military status of the land. The priest had therefore drawn up a second account on which the governor wrote: "*Further Information on Japan which*

⁴⁸ The family coat of arms (*mon*) of the Shimazu, is a black ring with a cross on a white field. The chief expert in Japanese heraldry, Professor Yorisuke Numata, has assembled all the earlier explanations of the coat of arms in *Nihon Monshō-gaku* (Study of Japanese Heraldry [Tokyo, 1926], pp. 1349-1370; in the abridged edition, *Kōyō Nihon Monshō-gaku*, pp. 392-394). He rejects Christian influences, for example, through Xavier or the Nestorians. According to him the cross is an old sign of luck among the Chinese, which was adopted at some undetermined time by the Japanese. From ancient times in many regions crosses have been cut on the rice cookies (*mochi*) used for festive occasions. The Shimazu probably took this sign of luck as their coat of arms. The oldest extant coat of arms with a cross is on the morion of Shimazu Tadahisa, who in 1196 was the first of his family to go to Satsuma (in the possession of the family Shimazu). On an old scroll (*maki-e*) of the battle at the time of the Mongol invasion (1281), there is also a cross on the banner of the Shimazu Hisachika. Father Cieslik found another explanation in Kagoshima. According to this the Shimazu in the time of the Kamakura still had the number ten (a cross) on their banner. This probably meant the ten departments (*jūban*), and the coat of arms was developed from this.

⁴⁹ On the different kinds of Buddhistic rosaries (*juzu*), see J. M. James, "Descriptive Notes on the Rosaries (*Jiu-Dzu*) as Used by the Different Sects of Buddhists in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 9 (1881) 174-186.

⁵⁰ That is, in *Bonji*, a corrupt Sanskrit (Haas I 295). According to Waddell, a rosary with 108 beads is recited with prayers or mystical formulae in Tibet. They follow the real prayer and allegedly contain the essence of the formal prayer and work as powerful charms. They are of a Sanskrit nature and usually contain the name of the honored deity; and these, even if they are not completely unintelligible, as they usually are, are still more or less incomprehensible to the one who recites them (*The Buddhism of Tibet* [Cambridge, 1939] 205-210).

⁵¹ Probably meant is the Japanese *Om-ma-ni-padme Hūm*, consisting of nine words (*Om! O Jewel in the Lotus! Hūm!*), which in Japanese Buddhism is directed to the chief divinity Dainichi (Vairocana) and is pronounced: "Om! Amogha Vairocana Mahā-mudra mani Padma Ivala-pravarthtaya. Hūm!" (Waddell 148-149, who on pages 150-151 has put together the most frequently used formulae of the Tibetan rosary). Among the Shingon followers, to whom Anjirō belonged, the mystical formulae (*dhāraṇī*) were in very common use. The *Hokkekyō* or *Myōhōrengekyō* (the Lotus of the Law), the Indian *Saddharma Pundarīka Sūtra*, which was also widely read by the Shingons, contains many such magic, unintelligible mystical, formulae (*ibid.* 141).

⁵² On the customary positions for the fingers (*mudras*) in the Shingon and Tendai sects, see GS II 719-727. Waddell gives a descriptions and illustration of the nine usual finger positions (336-337).

P. Niquilao of the Order of Jesus gave, which he obtained from the Japanese who came to India."⁵³ It ran as follows:

In the first document which I sent to Your Grace with information on Japan, I merely wrote some chief points about the religion and divine cult customary in that land, although with great brevity. I did not strive to learn about other, worldly matters with such care, since they did not seem to me to be so important and necessary for my profession. But since Your Grace asked me to obtain information on so-called worldly matters, I could not fail to obey you, since I am so greatly indebted to you.

With respect to your question whether the Japanese fight among themselves, he says that there are frequent wars between the dukes and lords of the same island because of some differences, as there are among ours; and one side fights against the other, and many people are killed, for they are great lords and have many people; and if they cannot come to a mutual understanding, the chief king, who is like the emperor among us, and whom those there call Goshy,⁵⁴ has them brought to peace. And if one of those mentioned is hardheaded, the said Goshy then wages war against him and takes his lordship from him and sometimes cuts off his head when he deserves it. But he never takes a lordship of this type for himself, but he gives it to the sons or to the nearest relative in so far as he has a legal claim, in the same way as this is customary with us.

The island of Japan, he says, is from east to west six hundred leagues long, and from north to south it is in comparison with its length very narrow, but he does not know how many leagues it is in breadth. And he says at the lower end of China and Japan, towards the northeast, is a very large land called Esoo,⁵⁵ whose inhabitants⁵⁶ come to fight with Japan⁵⁷ in large and small ships. But they do not come to erect a camp on the land, but they fight like pirates in order to steal on the coast and to flee immediately. He says that they have no other weapons except bow and arrow and very short swords. They are white people and have long beards and their hair tied up; and they are tall in stature and fight bravely and have no fear of death; and one stands to fight against a hundred, as is the custom with the Germans.⁵⁸

On the east side is an island with the name of Guiquay.⁵⁹ Its inhabitants come

⁵³ Calado 121-125. This second report, composed by Lancilotto, was probably, like the first, translated by Xavier into Portuguese with the help of Cosme Anes. It was first published by Thomas Pires in *O Instituto* 53 (1906) 765-768.

⁵⁴ *Gosho*. Our text has *Guoxy* and *Guxy*, Lancilotto's autograph, text 11, has *Cosci*.

⁵⁵ *Yezo*, Japanese *Ezo* and *Hokkaidō* (Region of the North Sea), is the great, northern island of Japan.

⁵⁶ On the *Ainus*, the inhabitants of *Yezo*, see H. Borton, *A Selected List of Books and Articles on Japan* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), nn. 969-987; John Batchelor, *Ainu Life and Lore, Echoes of a Departing Race* (Tokyo, 1927); and H. Haas, "Die Ainus und ihre Religion," *Bilder-Atlas zur Religionsgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1925). The Jesuit missionaries Girolamo de Angelis and Diogo Carvalho, who visited *Yezo* in 1618-1622, gave the first detailed accounts of it. The original text of this has been published by H. Cieslik, S.J., in *Hoppōtanken-ki* (Tokyo, 1962).

⁵⁷ The *Ainus* are today a dying race of around fifteen thousand individuals, now strongly mixed with other peoples. They were once feared neighbors of Japan, and were only slowly pushed back towards the north in constant warfare. It was not until the eighteenth century that they were definitely overthrown (see M. Ramming, *Japan-Handbuch* [Berlin, 1940] 21-22).

⁵⁸ On this, compare the verse of the *Nihongi*, the Japanese imperial annals, composed in the eighth century: "Although men say that a single *Yemishi* [Ainu] can withstand a hundred men, they never offer the least resistance" (GS IV 799).

⁵⁹ An island *Kikai-jima* lies to the east of the *Ryūkyūan* island of *Amami-Ōshima* (cf. *Japan Pilot* [London, 1914] 74). According to Papinot, the island of *Iwō-jima* (west of *Tanegashima*, in the *Japan Pilot* 82: *Io jima*) is the devil island of *Kikai-ga-shima* of the legend. It also served as a place of exile and since the end of the sixteenth century belonged to the *Shimazus* (222). But *Kikai-ga-shima* (devil island) was in ancient times, apparently, a common name for all the islands south of *Kagoshima*. In the *Heike-mono-*

like the others to the island of Japan to steal in small ships like the *korakor*as of Maluco,⁶⁰ and these are brown people.

He says that in Japan there are coats of mail and breastplates and morions and brassarts and bracelets, and they are accustomed also to wear iron greaves on their legs and thighs. They have muskets, bows and arrows, and lances. They also have a kind of halberd, broader and longer and fixed to a shaft, like ours. They have large and small sabres, as we have one- and two-handed swords. They have no shields, but instead of this they usually have a piece of leather covered with metal plates which is fastened over the left shoulder and takes the place of a shield on that side. He says that it is about three spans long and somewhat narrower, and the left hand remains free for fighting.⁶¹

When these Japanese go to war, each soldier has his armor and morion, and that kind of shield and sabre, and lance and bow and arrows; and he takes a servant with him, who helps him carry his weapons; or he may take more, each one according to his status, as with us. And all fight on foot on this side of this island, for it is a mountainous land. But on the other side, where the land is level, they fight on horseback⁶² with bow and arrows and two-handed swords.⁶³ And when they slay any foes, they are accustomed to cut off their heads and to bring them to the captain; and when they cannot take these with them, they cut off their ears as a sign and witness of their bravery and take them with them. The horses of Japan are as large as ours. They are heavy and have thick legs like a French horse, and their lords take pride in having great herds of mares for breeding on their estates.

The ships of Japan are all small, and the larger ones are like caravels but shorter and of a different shape than ours. All are oared and have matted sails, and every time that they are anchored the masts are lowered because of the great wind found in that land.

The merchants of Japan trade with the Chinese and take silver, weapons, sulfur, and fans from Japan to China; and they bring from China saltpeter and silk in great quantities and also porcelains and musk in the form of cakes. The Japanese also conduct trade with other people below China towards the east in a land called Coree.⁶⁴ They also take silver there and pelts of martens, since there are large numbers of these on their island. They also take fans there, and bring back cotton textiles from there.

He says that there are also very many and very large rivers there. These stretch into the land and are all sailed by ships, and in addition to these there are many small rivers. This island has excellent water and mountains and very large forests, and on a part of these a great amount of snow falls.

gatari (History of the Family of Hei), which was composed in the twelfth century, the paragraph *Nagato-hon* states the following: "There are twelve Kikai Islands. Five belong to Japan, the other seven do not. Shiroishi, Akoishi, Kurojima, Iōjima, Asena, Yakunoshima, Tōerabu, Okinawa—these are called Kikai-ga-shima." Asena is probably *Amami*, Yakunoshima is probably listed by mistake. The book notes in this passage that the inhabitants of these islands wear loincloths of bast and long hair and have no culture. The historical work *Azuma-kagami*, composed at the end of the thirteenth century, gives an account of a campaign against Kikai. Until the annexation of Amami by Shimazu Tadatsune in 1609, the "twelve islands of Kikai (*Kikai jūni-tō*)" served as the southern limits of Satsuma (cf. Yoshida Tōgo, *Dai Nippon Chimeijisho* 3 [Tokyo, 1910] 1806).

⁶⁰ On the *korakor*as (Malay oared sailing boats), see above, pp. 95-96.

⁶¹ On the Japanese weapons, see J. Brinckmann, *Kunst und Handwerk in Japan* (Berlin, 1889) 135-150; Inami Hakusui, *Nippon-Tō, the Japanese Sword* (Tokyo, 1948); Matt Garbutt, "Japanese Armour from the Inside," *TPSJ* 11 (1914) 134-185; and Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 184-191.

⁶² In 1547 Jorge Alvares already wrote that the Japanese fought on horseback, but Frois notes that "the Japanese dismount when they have to fight" (*Kulturgegensätze* 108-109).

⁶³ Cf. Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 108-109.

⁶⁴ Korea, Japanese: *Kōrai*.

With respect to the question which Your Grace posed, whether there were large cities on it, he says that there are very large towns, but there is no city surrounded with walls or ditches. The fortresses which they are accustomed to having there are formed by the building of a large, strong house upon a mountain. The surrounding area is then cut away so that they can only be entered on steps like our winding stairs.

The houses are all built of fir. In some places they are covered with the same wood, and in others with straw. They have two or three stories like ours, and they are large and small according to the status and means of the people.

The usual food of this people consists of rice and fish and all kinds of meat; but meat is rare for they are not at all accustomed to raise any kind of animal. It is a land with many opportunities for hunting, and the men take delight in this. They have much fruit, almost all that there is in Europe. They make no wine from grapes, but they brew beer from rice.⁶⁵ They have much wheat and make noodles and pastries from it.

He says that there is a large amount of silver in different places on this island and some gold mines, although few. There is also a large amount of copper, lead, tin, iron and steel in great abundance, and also some mercury and much sulfur.

They also have much cinnamon and ginger, and they are accustomed to grind cinnamon into their noodles and pasteries and to add it to some other dishes. He also says that the poor and common people in some places on this island are accustomed to kill their children if they do not wish to rear them; and no one prevents them from doing this or is disturbed by it, since it is the usual thing; and it happens at the time of the child's birth.⁶⁶

He says that there is a place of 3,500 houses on the island. It is located on a mountain and is inhabited only by religious and their servants.⁶⁷ These, he says, are very rich; and they do not allow any woman or any female being to enter that place. This was ordained by a man who passes among them as a saint and is called *Coombudesi*, who, he says, may have lived here eight hundred years before.⁶⁸

In addition to the three Japanese reports already indicated, Garcia de Sá asked for, and received from, Xavier an account on China.⁶⁹ In this the latter replied to the governor's questions from the data furnished by his Portuguese friend who had composed an account of the land for him in Malacca. Over it Sá wrote: "*Information on China, given by a Man to Mestre Francisco.*" The document ran as follows:

What Your Grace wishes to know about China,⁷⁰ whether there are people in the land of China who live like Christians or who give indications of being such in that

⁶⁵ Sake.

⁶⁶ Cf. Valignano, *Sumario* 31-32 340-341.

⁶⁷ Kōyasan, the chief site of the Shingon sect. See the description of it in GS II 695-703.

⁶⁸ Kōbō Daishi. On him see GS II 683-703. He died in 835 A.D.

⁶⁹ Calado 113 117.

⁷⁰ Garcia de Sá had evidently given Xavier a list of questions as he had for Lancilotto's earlier account of Japan. We have shown above on p. 265 that Affonso Gentil disappeared from the scene between 1529 and 1533 in order to escape the Portuguese justice with which he had come into conflict on the Moluccas, in Malacca, and in India. We therefore suspect that he, like so many others in his condition, sailed to China in order to gain his livelihood there by smuggling along its forbidden coasts. Garcia de Sá was captain of Malacca from 1529 to 1533 and was succeeded in April by D. Paulo da Gama (Castanheda 7, 177). Still in this same year 1533, the latter concluded peace with Pahang and Patane through Manuel Godinho. The way to China was thus again open (Q 1629). Among the Portuguese who then sailed to there was the author of the account on China which served as the basis for Xavier's text, since he states of himself that he had been the first to come to Canton in 1533. We therefore suspect that this was Affonso Gentil. This would also explain why Xavier does not name his

they have crosses or churches like ours, he says⁷¹ that he has no knowledge of this, and that he has never seen such or heard them speak of Christ, or of a similar person, or of people with our ceremonies.

With regard to the further question which Your Grace asks, whether in the land of China, where the king is, or in other places, evil would be done to foreign scholars who wandered through the world in religious garb in order to preach and teach the faith of our Lord, he says that if the same could speak Chinese, he could travel through all the land in complete safety, without fear of anything whatever, and that their priests⁷² even more than the people would be glad to learn from him. He says, however, that it would be necessary that he performed good deeds so that they believed him and had a high regard for him.

With regard to the question which Your Grace asked whether there are institutions of study in the land of China where more than reading and writing are learned, and whether there are schools for law, medicine, and other arts as we have in our country, he says that there are schools in many cities in China in which the officials who rule the land learn all the laws of the kingdom. There are also schools where the priests learn, that is, to understand their books. I saw many of these books, and they take them to the land of Japan, and there are there⁷³ schools where one learns how to heal all sicknesses; and about all this they have lengthy writings in Chinese, and he knows of no other books or documents apart from those in Chinese. And the Chinese script, he says, is read from Champa⁷⁴ to Meaquo⁷⁵ on the mainland of Japan, which is a coast of over five hundred leagues, if the maps which the Japanese draw do not lie, and you can see how extensive the hinterland must be for a coast of over five hundred leagues. And he further says "I have frequently heard many others, Chinese,⁷⁶ say that in China the most books are printed, and there are many printers; and some have already asked me about our books, whether they are handwritten or printed on plates."⁷⁷

With respect to the question which Your Grace asks, whether educated men and scholars⁷⁸ are highly regarded and learned, and whether they have influence and because of their knowledge would become *fidalgos* and great lords, he says that in China the only *fidalgos* are the scholars, and the more knowledge one has the more he is honored in the kingdom and treasured by the king. All the people, both young and old, consequently earnestly devote themselves to learning, and they say that it goes as follows: If they can read and write well, the boy who should learn goes to a scholar of his village and says: "I want to learn the laws in order to become a scholar." The mandarin then has such a boy instructed and pays his expenses for food and clothing, for all the rest is given by the king. And when he has grown up and has acquired a good knowledge of the laws of the kingdom, he is sent for an examination; and if it is discovered that he is sufficiently prepared, he is given small offices and afterwards, if he has managed these well, large ones until he becomes great and has climbed so high that he can give orders to all the others. These have the power to kill in the land, and in war they are the captains and everything in the land. And one thing is forbidden above all others in the laws, that is, to act the tyrant; for I went to the old harbor in Canton, where I paid the duties in the year 33; and I gave to the mandarin who came to determine the duties a ring with a ruby which might have been worth forty *cruzados* and other trinkets that are customary there. But he refused to take

Portuguese authority in his account for Garcia de Sá. His friend was again involved in a suit with the crown. He had been accused of having lost a ship of the king in Malacca through his own fault (see above, p. 268).

⁷¹ Xavier's Portuguese authority was, we believe, Affonso Gentil.

⁷² Bonzes and pagan priests.

⁷³ In China.

⁷⁴ A former kingdom southeast of Annam (Vietnam).

⁷⁵ Miyako (Kyōto).

⁷⁶ Here, as elsewhere, Xavier cites his source verbatim.

⁷⁷ By this block printing is meant.

⁷⁸ "Homens de letras e letrados."

them and said, instead, that if he knew who had given me this advice he would have him punished. For the good mandarins of China are not accustomed to take anything as a bribe, especially from strangers.⁷⁹ These mandarins are not born in the town. If they are people from Chincheo⁸⁰ they become governors in Canton, and those from Canton in Liampo,⁸¹ and those from Liampo in Chincheo. They are thus exchanged and on this account they are so severe and inflict numerous penalties and exercise strict justice. They have no revenues of their own, only their salary, which is paid annually to them by the king. And they told me⁸² that in all China there are no other lords with jurors⁸³ except the king himself.

With regard to the question which Your Grace asks, whether men have many wives in China, and whether they are punished if they have more than one wife, and whether this is forbidden to them by their priests, he tells me that men in China have several wives if they can support them, and no one prevents them from having such; and they kill them if they do something that deserves this punishment, and some dismiss them and tell them to go. And he says that there are men in China who are married in ten or twelve towns; and when they do not want them anymore, they abandon them. But if one kills, he also is killed when he is caught.

With respect to your question whether in the interior of China there are people who are not Chinese and live apart from the others,⁸⁴ he says that he saw many times in the region of Poquym⁸⁵ many tribes who were like the Chinese but ate no pork; but they ate every other kind of meat. And he told me that the animal flesh they eat is killed by their hand by cutting off its head. They are people who are accustomed to having little doings with others, and he says that it seems to him that they are all circumcised. He saw those who take care of their temples, and these are circumcised. He says that they observe a day like the Mohammedans on which neither men nor women do any kind of work; and on this day all the men go to a temple which they have, where they have many idols different from those of the Chinese.⁸⁶ And when they go to the temple, the men dress themselves in splendid garments with turbans on their head and long trousers. And they enter the temple and kneel down and bow many times with their head to the ground. On other days however they go dressed like the Chinese with the same hairdo.⁸⁷ And they have a language of their own, which the Chinese do not understand.⁸⁸

I asked him if these people had a king. He said yes. The land of this people is on the side of Poquym on the far side of a mountain range, and there they have their king. And since their land is small, they went to China; and the king of China made one of them, who is a rather great *cavalleiro*, their captain so that he might keep them

⁷⁹ This shows that the author of 1533 was the first Portuguese to sail again to Canton after an interval of many years. He did this as a private individual since the captain of Malacca did not send an official envoy there until 1535 in order to find out if the Chinese were willing to renew the trade that had been suspended in 1521 (Castanheda 8, 89; Correa III 631; Barros 4, 9, 15).

⁸⁰ Chincheo is Chüanchow.

⁸¹ Ningpo.

⁸² By this Xavier's authority is probably meant.

⁸³ *Juros*.

⁸⁴ EX I 334-335; cf. Schurhammer, "Der 'Tempel des Kreuzes'" (GS II 319 322), the pagoda of Shih-tzu-ssu, forty-four miles from Peking. See also D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane* I 112-114, II 319-322 325.

⁸⁵ Peking. Ricci usually writes Pacchino (D'Elia I 15).

⁸⁶ They were thus neither Mohammedans nor Jews.

⁸⁷ See *Desehnios*, nn. 140-141, where the Chinaman is wearing a round red cap on his head with a white rim, a green jacket, blue trousers, a brown cloak, red stockings, black shoes, and a dagger at his side. The Chinese woman is wearing a red jerkin, a blue coat, red stockings, black shoes with a yellow trim, and a necklace; and her black hair is tied together in a knot. Cf. the more accurate pictures of *sangleyers* (Chinese merchants) in the manuscript composed about 1590 in Manila, in Boxer, *South China* 261.

⁸⁸ Were they Tartars?

in peace and quiet. He says that they are great archers and all go on horseback, and that they are the chief warriors whom the king has.⁸⁹

They are people who employ the script of the Moors. He says that he went to Siam⁹⁰ and took a letter of those people with him so that the Moors in Siam might read it.⁹¹ He further says that the people are white and have their beard trimmed like that of the Gujars.⁹² These people have as a rule only one wife and many female slaves and concubines. And he says that he has not heard, nor seen, nor read that there are other foreigners in China, or such adjacent to it.

With respect to the question which Your Grace asked if there are possessed people in the land of China and whether their devil speaks different languages, he says that there are many possessed of various kinds, but he has never seen one who spoke anything but Chinese. And he says that if anyone came to expel these devils, many honors would be shown to him, and he would be very highly esteemed, for the Chinese have no remedies whatever for these people.

5. NEW COMBATANTS (SEPTEMBER, 1548)

The rainy season was coming to an end in Goa. The sea was slowly becoming tranquil again, and Master Francis was preparing to visit his Christians and confreres on Cape Comorin once more before sailing for Japan. But before this he wished to wait for the arrival of the ships from Portugal, which usually came at the beginning of September. Two years before Lancilotto had earnestly asked that a professed father should be sent who could take over the direction of the College of St. Paul and the entire Indian mission in Xavier's absence,¹ and Xavier himself had repeated this same request at the beginning of 1548.² The desired substitute was perhaps now coming, to whom he could calmly entrust the direction of his confreres when he sailed for Japan.

On August 8 a vessel came from Sofala with the former captain of the fortress there, Dom Jorge Telo de Meneses. But he was unable to give any information on ships from the kingdom which should have reached Mozambique.³ On the tenth and eleventh of the month, however, three ships came to anchor at the bar in front of Goa under the chief command of Francisco Barreto. These had been sent from Lisbon by the king on November 16, 1547, in order to bring aid to Diu. They had come from Mozambique, where they had been forced to pass the winter. Ten days before their departure for Goa, Manuel de Mendonça, the

⁸⁹ Gaspar da Cruz speaks of the Tartar prisoners. Their imprisonment consisted in compulsive service as soldiers in China. They wore Chinese clothes, but red hats (like those of the Chinese in the *Desenhos*), and were paid by the king (Boxer, *South China* 85-86).

⁹⁰ Xavier's authority.

⁹¹ The manuscript has: "a que os mouros dezião a leram." Calado replaces the first *a* with *e*, so that the sentence reads: "and that the Moors said that they read them." It is quite unlikely that the Mohammedans in Siam could read the script, which was apparently Mongol. The text, which was misunderstood by the copyist, probably read in the original: "a que os mouros de Sião a lerem," that is, he took a sample of the writing with him in order to have it read by the Moors in Siam. In the cross pagoda near Peking, Syriac inscriptions were found. These were written, like the Mongol script, from top to bottom (cf. GS II 787).

⁹² The king of Cambay (Gujarāt) and his companions at the time wore a moustache; the Rajputs of that land, a moustache or a short full beard (cf. *Desenhos*, nn. 43 44 59); the Chinese, in *Desenhos*, n. 140, a short full beard.

¹ DI I 140-141.

² EX I 397-398.

³ Correa IV 665.

chief captain of five ships which had left Lisbon on February 6,⁴ had arrived on the island; and on August 1 a storm drove the *Atouguia*, under the command of Fernandalvares da Cunha,⁵ to the island of Angediva, from where the voyagers were carried to Goa in *fustas*.⁶ It was one of the three ships which had sailed from Lisbon at the beginning of April, the last of this year's India fleet. He reported that eleven ships were coming in all, among them were two with members of the Society of Jesus. Master Francis therefore postponed his departure for Cape Comorin until their arrival.⁷

While Francis was waiting for his confreres from Portugal, something occurred in Goa that must have also made an impression on him. On August 22 the governor and the bishop saw their two months' efforts for peace crowned with success.⁸ Garcia de Sá, in the name of the king, and Muzaffar Khān, the ambassador of Adil Khān, in the name of his lord, concluded a treaty of peace. To their signatures were added those of Dom Diogo de Almeida, the captain of the city; Dom Francisco de Lima; Dom João Lobo; Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, the *vedor da fazenda*; Licentiate Antonio Barbudo, the *ouvidor geral*; Miguel Carvalho, João Raposo,⁹ and Fernão de Sequeira, jurors; and Khoja Pīr Kulī and

⁴ Correa falsely states of these three ships: "Estes derão nova que em Moçambique ficarão onze navios pera logo partirem" (IV 666). In order to obtain a clear picture, the five fleets which the king, by exception, sent to India at the end of 1547 and the beginning of 1548 because of the siege of Diu must be clearly distinguished. The first fleet consisted of three ships under the chief command of Martim Correa. They left Lisbon on October 31, 1547, and reached India in May (S. *Matheus* and *Rosario*) and September (*Botica*). The second fleet under the general command of Francisco Barreto also consisted of three ships (S. *Salvador*, *Santa Caterina Nova*, and S. *Dinis*). They left Lisbon on November 16, 1547, and arrived in Goa on August 10, 11, and in the beginning of September. The third fleet, consisting of five ships (*Trindade*, *Santa Maria a Nova*, *Santa Maria da Ajuda*, S. *Sebastião*, and *Santa Caterina*), left Lisbon on February 6, 1548, and arrived in Goa at the beginning of September. The fourth fleet, under the command of João de Mendonça, was made up of three ships (S. *Pedro*, *Galega*, and *Santo Espirito*), which sailed from Lisbon on March 28, 1548. The *Galega* did not arrive in Goa until October 9, the two others arrived early in September. The fifth fleet, under Dom João Henriques, also consisted of three ships (*Sphera*, *Vitoria* alias *Atouguia*, and *Flor de la Mar*), which left Lisbon at the beginning of April. The *Atouguia* arrived in India on August 18, 1548, the *Flor de la Mar* on September 3, and the *Sphera* on September 24, 1548. During the fall monsoon the voyage from Mozambique to Goa lasted as a rule from twenty to twenty-five days (cf. Vol. II, p. 105), but sometimes more. The *Sphera*, for example, needed forty-three days for this (SR IV 83), the *Galega* fifty-eight (DI I 394 431), but the S. *Pedro* only thirty-two (*ibid.* 311 430).—The three ships which arrived in Goa on August 10-11, must consequently have left Mozambique at the beginning of July at the latest. Manuel de Mendonça, who encountered them in Mozambique ten days before they left (Q 4063), took four months in sailing from Lisbon to Mozambique, arriving there in June (Q 4133). The ships of the fourth and fifth fleets did not reach Mozambique until after the departure of the second fleet. SR IV 148-149 gives a part of Francisco Barreto's travelogue, but he calls the third captain Victor, instead of Eitor, Aranha; and he omits "in Moçambique" in the sentence "He arrived twenty days before me."

⁵ He sailed to India as captain of the *Vitoria* (*Atouguia*) in 1543, 1546, and 1548 (in 1542 his ship had to return) (Correa IV 264 309-310 335 531-532 666-669; SR IV 82 112; Q 2754).

⁶ Correa IV 666-667.

⁷ Barzaeus writes: "El Padre Mestre Francisco, estando en Goa de camino para el Comorin, oyendo nuevas de nosotros por unos navíos de Maçambique que quando allá estávamos partieron primero que nuestra armada, quísonos esperar" (DI I 393). The only ship in question here was the *Atouguia*, but we have no further details about its voyage.

⁸ SR IV 109-110.

⁹ Probably different from his namesake, whom we encounter in 1546 in Amboina.

João de Castro, the two interpreters. According to this agreement, Adil Khān promised to send back to Goa the Portuguese ambassador Galvão Viegas, who had been detained in Bijāpur since the time of M.A. de Sousa, not to accept any Portuguese renegades as mercenaries, to close his harbors to the Turks, to renounce Bardez and Salsette forever, and to permit the entrance of provisions into Goa. Deserters, leaseholders, and slaves would be mutually returned; the Portuguese would erect a factory in Dābhol; the Moors would regain their possessions in Bardez and Salsette; passes would be given to Adil Khān for his ships; he could import fifteen horses and three thousand *pardaus* worth of wares each year free of taxes; the Portuguese would deliver sulfur to him; and they would not send Mialī away from Goa without giving him previous notice.¹⁰ Large concessions had been made on both sides. But they had been necessary since the Turks were in Aden and Basra, and their goal was India.¹¹

At the beginning of September the main portion of the ships of the India fleet finally arrived.¹² The first of these came on the third, the *São Pedro* under Captain João de Mendonça¹³ and the *Flor de la Mar* under Antonio de Azambuja.¹⁴ The *São Pedro* brought the first group of confreres sent by the king. As soon as Master Francis learned that the vessels had anchored in the bar of the Mandovi river, he sent a boat downstream with many refreshments and had the newly arrived companions greeted and told that they should come immediately to Goa since he was very anxious to see them.¹⁵ They were five in number, and they were warmly received in St. Paul's College.

The first of these new confreres was Father Master Gaspar Barzaeus,¹⁶ a Lowlander¹⁷ of powerful physique¹⁸ and in his thirties. He had been born of

¹⁰ Botelho, *Tombo* 41-46; Q 3985.

¹¹ Cf. SR IV 83-84.

¹² These were the five ships of the third fleet (Couto 6, 7, 2), two of the fourth (*S. Pedro* and *S. Espirito*), the *Flor de la Mar* of the fifth (Q 4052), and probably the *Botica* (alias *Boquica a Velha*) of the first, which had wintered in Ormuz (London: Brit. Museum: *Add. Mss.* 20902, f. 50v; Q 4063; Couto 6, 6, 7, pp. 52-53).

¹³ According to Melchior Gonçalves the ship reached Goa on the second or third of September (DI I 311), according to Barzaeus on the fourth (*ibid.* 392). The ship probably reached the bar on the third and the confreres arrived in Goa on the fourth of September.

¹⁴ Q 4052: "Chegamos a este Goa em 'Flor de la Mar' com outras naos a 3 dias de Setenbro," Christovão Fernandes wrote to the king on November 21, 1548.

¹⁵ DI I 393.

¹⁶ The primary sources for Gaspar Barzaeus (*Berze*, as he and Ignatius wrote his name, also known in Portugal as Gaspar Francisco) are his letters and documents and those of his contemporaries edited in DI I-IV and GS II 413-435. See also the indices in Q and EX. The chief accounts are: (1) *Nicolaus Trigault, S.J., *De Vita P. M. Gasparis Francisci Barzei, Belgae e Societate Jesu rebus in Orientis India gestis celeberrimi Libri quatuor* (Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, Ms. 5166-5167 [Catalogue, n. 4020]), written in Coimbra in 1606, where the author, in addition to the printed works of Lucena, Tursellinus, Guzman, and Maffei, used the now lost manuscripts of the college. This work, partially abbreviated, was published under the title *Vita Gasparis Barzaei Belgae e Societate Iesu, B. Xaverii in India socii* (Antverpiae, 1610). (2) Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 327-358. (3) W. van Nieuwenhoff, S.J., *Gaspar Berse of de Nederlandsche Franciscus Xaverius* (Rotterdam, 1870), mainly from Bartoli and Trigault. The complete works of Valignano, Seb. Gonçalves, Bartoli, and Sousa, *Or. Conquistado*, also give detailed accounts of him. The chief source for his early life is his letter to Ignatius of December 16, 1551 (Q 4713), and Trigault. Further bibliography is given by E. Lamalle in the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire ecclésiastique* VI (Paris, 1932) 1059-1061.

¹⁷ He calls himself a "flamengo de nação" (DI II 595).

¹⁸ "Cum . . . ea oris ac corporis esset vastitate, ut ne quidem, qui proficere posset [in praedicando] iudicaretur" (Trigault, *Vita* 12).

modest parentage in 1515¹⁹ in Goes in Zeeland.²⁰ At the age of twenty he enrolled as a student of Castrum College in the University of Louvain.²¹ Seven months later, on March 28, 1536, he gained there the degree of Master of Arts.²² A few days later he enlisted in the army of the emperor Charles V in Cologne, when the latter was marching to Italy, and from there against Francis I in France. The fortunes of war, however, were not favorable to the emperor in Provence, which had been laid waste by his adversaries.²³ Disgusted with the life of a soldier,²⁴ Gaspar then changed his military cloak for the garb of a hermit on Montserrat. But here too he did not remain for long.²⁵ He went to Portugal and entered into the service of the royal treasurer, Sebastião de Morais, who was married to a woman from the Netherlands, in Lisbon.²⁶ At court he frequently met Father Simon Rodrigues. He also became acquainted with Mosén Juan de Aragón,²⁷ who had been taken into the Society in Louvain by Peter Favre. Ara-

¹⁹ "Minha idade seraa de 38 annos, ainda tenho grandes forças," he wrote on January 12, 1553 (DI II 596).

²⁰ On Goes (today Protestant), see F. C. Albrecht, "The City of Jacqueline," *National Geographic Magazine* 27 (1915) 29-56.

²¹ DI II 247. He enrolled on September 7, 1535: "Jasperus Berse de Gous. 7. sept." (A. Schilling, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain* 4 [Bruxelles, 1861] 130).

²² "Gaspar Berse, ex Goes." Cf. Edmond Reusens, "Promotions de la Faculté des Arts de l'Université de Louvain," *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique* 2 (1866) 309.

²³ DI II 247. There were twelve hundred Flemings under the command of the lord of Isselstain in the army (Manuel de Foronda y Aguilar, *Estancias y viajes del Emperador Carlos V* [Madrid, 1914] 426). On the campaign, see *ibid.* 424-431.

²⁴ Trigault's manuscript has the following on this: "Inde varii eum casus erroneusque in Lusitaniam attulerunt, quibus porro casibus iactatus sit, incertum. Non desunt tamen, qui sub Carolo V. militasse et etiam vitae periculum ob nescio quid in disciplinam militarem peccatum putent; sed quoniam qui haec dicunt, non asserunt, sed incerto auctore referunt, donec certum aliquid cognoscamus, relinquimus" (3v). Trigault's printed text omits the part given by us in italics, and after *militasse* continues with the following: "putent: at tandem malis eruditum, quibus expertis bellum amarescit militiae primum postea etiam mundo nuntium remisisse. An idoneo autore ita sentiant, ambigo. Nec de nihilo tamen haec opinio nata est: quando in litteris Indicis iam olim editis ad marginam litterarum Ormutinarum haec a fidâ, ut creditur, manu adiecta reperiantur. At verò non est quòd incerta coniectemur" (3). In his letter to Ignatius of December 16, 1551, Barzaeus only says: "Chegando por muitos trabalhos, traveçando as Alpes d'Alemanha a Italia, emfadado dei cabo à militia, parecendo-me mylhor os trabalhos da Religião que o descanso mundano; e, confirmado nestes prepositos por muitas tromentas do mar e perigos na terra, padecendo muitas vezes naufragium" (DI II 247).

²⁵ Barzaeus continues: "Me vim a Portugal descontente da vida hermitica de Nossa Senhora de Monsarrate" (*ibid.* 247). The novitiate for the hermits on Montserrat lasted for seven years and was in the monastery. But after this was completed, the candidates had frequently to wait for many more years until one of the hermitages was free (A. M. Albareda, O.S.B., *Historia de Montserrat* [Monasterio de Montserrat, 1946] 281). This explains why Gaspar, who remained for only a short time in the monastery, is not registered in the two manuscript catalogs, the **Catalogo General* and the **Catalogo de los Padres Ermitanos y de los Hermanos Legos del Monasterio de N. Sa. de Montserrat desde 1493 hasta 1808, copiados por D. Fausto Curiel y Gutierrez, O.S.B., 1910* (in the archives of the monastery). In 1564 a Gaspar Beusa is named, and he is followed by Diego Zorrilla in 1566. This Gaspar has of course nothing to do with Gaspar Berse.

²⁶ "Qui, quod uxorem haberet, e Belgio sanguine oriundam, facile Gasparem in suam familiam vel in coniugis gratiam admisit" (Trigault 3), to which the manuscript adds: "eis enim avus Jacobus ab hollandia dicebatur" (3v).

²⁷ Mosén Juan de Aragón entered the Society in Coimbra in 1544. He was highly esteemed at the court as a companion of Simon Rodrigues. He was a refuge for all the poor, widows, and oppressed, a zealous apostle and tireless in the confessional. He died in Lisbon in 1553 (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 572; EX I 269). He spoke of Xavier as "nuestro bendito Padre" (Q 4029).

gón had been the chaplain of the infanta Dona Maria and of Dona Juana, the daughter of Charles V, and it was to him that Barzaeus later ascribed his own conversion. He was finally, "and forcibly," persuaded by Father Manuel de Morais²⁸ to ask for admission into the Society of Jesus, and his request was granted by Simon Rodrigues.²⁹

On April 20, 1546, Barzaeus entered the novitiate in Coimbra.³⁰ He had privately continued his studies even after leaving the University of Louvain and had brought his books to the novitiate with him.³¹ At the end of 1547, after he had finished his long retreat and had spent some months in humble, household labors as clotheskeeper and servant of the servants of a sick brother,³² Rodrigues came to visit Coimbra and asked for a written account of conscience from everyone. Barzaeus gave him a document that read as follows:³³

I did not enter the order to be served but to serve; I did not come to seek myself but Jesus Christ crucified, to follow Him in perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience, as I have promised Him. I therefore say and promise and am ready and give myself entirely into the hands of Your Reverence as a perpetual help of the professed of the Society of Jesus, either as a cook, sweeper, buyer, or groom; to carry messages anywhere by land or sea wherever they wish to send me for the service of God, be it in the land of Christians, Moors, Turks, pagans, or heretics. I further surrender myself into the hands of Your Reverence in the name of Jesus Christ in order to serve in all the lowly offices within the house and outside of it for the service of Christ without any exception, among lepers, those sick with the plague, or with any other malady whatever, no matter how infectious it may be; to serve always in hospitals and to wander through foreign lands, in India, to the Preste, and in Guinea, in poor and torn clothes, in hunger and thirst, in cold and in heat, in rain and in snowstorms, and in every other difficulty as Your Reverence or any other will ever order me in your name. I wish to follow the Lamb wherever He goes, in the same steps and in the same spirit. I do not desire to become professed, and I have no will of my own in this regard, but I seek only the will of Christ and of Your Reverence and what will be commanded me. I promise and confess all this before our Lord and the glorious Virgin His Mother; that I will always obey this as perfectly as I can and I hold this as valid as if it were an actual vow. I therefore ask all the saints of the heavenly court that they might obtain the grace for me that I can keep it as perfectly as I desire until death, even the death of the cross. And with this I surrender myself into the hands of Your Reverence as the representative of Christ so that you may do with me and order me what you deem more to His service in everlasting servitude.

Simon Rodrigues, who recognized the great potentialities of the novice, gave him permission to be ordained to the priesthood after a brief period of preparation.³⁴ Gaspar was thus able to offer his first three Masses on Christmas, 1546.³⁵

²⁸ Manuel de Morais senior. Simon Rodrigues wished to send him to Goa as rector in January, 1548 (Q 3632), but he did not sail for India until 1551 (Q 4610).

²⁹ As Gaspar wrote in 1549 (DI I 665). Since he is silent about Strada, Polanco's statement that he was won for the Society of Jesus through the Lenten preaching of Strada in Coimbra seems erroneous to us, especially since he did not arrive in that city until Holy Week (*Chronicon* I 192-193).

³⁰ ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 2v.

³¹ Trigault 5.

³² DI II 247.

³³ We give a translation of the Portuguese text in Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 328, who obviously, like Trigault, had at hand the Portuguese text which the latter found in the college archives (**Vita* 5v). The text in his manuscript (somewhat abbreviated in the printed text) agrees with that in Franco.

³⁴ DI I 247.

³⁵ Trigault 13.

Barzaeus' companions could give an account of the popular missions which he had given shortly before his departure for India. After he had studied a year of theology, he was sent with Father Jorge Moreira, at the beginning of February, 1548, for a popular mission to two villages, Pedrogão Grande and Figueiró dos Vinhos, which lay eight leagues southeast of Coimbra. People from the area assembled for it, and the mission proved to be extraordinarily successful. Gaspar was on his way to Pedrogão when he met Father Luis Gonçalves da Camara, who, at the request of Rodrigues, brought him the news that he had been designated for India. Barzaeus was beside himself with joy. He promised to offer sixty Masses for Camara and as soon as he mounted the pulpit in Pedrogão he announced his appointment. After speaking to the people, he remained from eighteen to twenty hours in the confessional, until the morning of the following day, in order to hear the confessions of all the people of the village before his departure. He then left for Coimbra, and from there went with five confreres to Lisbon, where they took ship for India.³⁶

Three of the eleven ships sailing for India this year left on March 28,³⁷ taking with them ten members of the Society of Jesus, five on the *São Pedro*, and five, including Father Antonio Gomes, who had been designated as rector of the College of St. Paul, on the *Galega*. In addition to these religious there were nine Dominicans sailing on the *Santo Espirito*. The *São Pedro* was carrying about four hundred passengers, among whom were many prominent individuals, *cavalleiros* and pages of the royal house. The captain, João de Mendonça, showed himself to be a great friend of the Society, and he readily granted the request of the priests that the Litanies should be recited every evening, and that sermons and instructions on the faith should be regularly given.

At the beginning of their voyage, Gaspar's four confreres were all seasick, and he had to prepare their food in the common kitchen of the ship, where the smoke threatened to suffocate him. There the crowd of rough sailors had no respect for his priestly garb. They threatened him with blows, stole, broke, or overturned the pot which he used for cooking. Henrique de Macedo, a prominent *cavalleiro*, finally had pity on him and sent a slave to take over this task for him. From then on Master Gaspar preached on the works of mercy on all feast days; and on many days of the week, during the catechetical instructions, he explained the Our Father. Because of the large crowd of listeners, he spoke from the veranda of the ship's castle. His success was so great that the crew, who were at first obdurate in their gambling and vices, were eventually tamed. They offered the priests all that they had for themselves and the poor, and they asked their advice in their doubts and problems of conscience. Many of the

³⁶ *Ibid.* 14-17. The printed text omits the promise of the sixty Masses (**Vita* 9v). Cf. *Ep. Mixtae* I 523-527.

³⁷ Different dates are given for the departure. The oldest account, that of Melchior Gonçalves of November 9, 1548, has: "vinte e tantos de Março" (DI I 307). More exact is the date in the best ship lists, which the manuscript *Emmentas* of the India House cite as sources (Palmella, Vatican, Academia das Ciências, British Museum): March, 28. The India decrees of the royal chancellory (Q 3893) also go back to this date. Other dates are given by Figueiredo Falcão: March 8 (162, probably a scribal error for March 28); Barzaeus: March 17 (DI I 392-393: XVII, probably a scribal error for XVIII, as Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 333, read in the now lost original). Polanco, Trigault, Francisco Rodrigues, and Wicki, DI I 307, also give the date as March 17. Couto has March 20 (6, 7, 2). The main accounts about the India voyage of the *S. Pedro* are those of Barzaeus (Q 4077: DI I 382-394) and Melchior Gonçalves (Q 4011: *ibid.* 307-311). These are filled out by the three shorter accounts of Barzaeus (Q 4713: *ibid.* II 248), Luis Mendes (Q 4108: *ibid.* I 447-448), and Paulo do Vale (Q 4099: *ibid.* 430-431).

soldiers also confessed each week. The five companions generously divided their supplies among the poor, and their penitents and friends saw to it that these were never exhausted. When the captain saw how they performed the lowest services for the sick and washed their dishes, he summoned Barzaeus and offered him the whole ship.³⁸ He also put himself entirely under his direction and made the Exercises of the first week.

The voyage proceeded without incident. The wind was favorable as far as the Canary Islands. Here the *Galega* became separated from the two other ships and sent up a fire signal, which was taken for a bad sign.³⁹ The dreaded doldrums detained them only briefly off the coast of Guinea. But while they were rounding the Cape of Good Hope, which took them twenty days, they encountered two severe storms. During the second, which lasted for three days, they were all nearly desperate until Barzaeus blessed the sea and ordered the wind and waves to quiet down. Thanks to the good care which the sick received, none of them died before they reached Mozambique. Before landing, Gaspar preached once more to his fellow voyagers and advised them to help the poor sick in the hospital with alms which he and his companions would solicit. They were thus able to collect flour, preserves, marmalade, vegetables, and other provisions which were not to be found on the island. The value of these gifts amounted to some ten thousand *maravedís*.

They remained on Mozambique for fifteen days. Fernão de Sousa de Távora, the captain of the fortress, had invited Gaspar and his confreres to remain with him in his house, but they had preferred to stay in the hospital to be near the sick. The captain then generously provided them with everything they needed and turned over to them the temporal and spiritual direction of the institution. The vicar also received them with great kindness; and he warned them of the breath of those who were ill, which had almost cost Master Francis his life on his way to India. The sheik of the Mohammedan village was also friendly to them. Still, though the companions argued much with him, they could not win him over to their faith.⁴⁰

When they arrived in Mozambique, they had found five ships in the harbor under the general command of Manuel de Mendonça which had been wintering there since the beginning of June. Three other ships had set sail for Goa in the middle of July after consumming all of the provisions for the sick.⁴¹ More than 120 had been brought ill from the ships to the hospital where one of the companions kept a general watch over the sick during the night, while the others slept near them upon mats which had been spread upon the floor. Barzaeus helped hear confessions, kept watch at night, prepared the dying for death, acted as cook, pharmacist, and preacher, and prepared his talks as he was preparing the food. He begged this latter for the sick from the palm gardens of the Portuguese. Otherwise the patients would only have had rough bread made of millet to eat. In addition to this, drinking water had to be hauled from the mainland. The captain of the fortress sold a palm garden to obtain money for the sick. Though many of these died, they all received the last sacraments. During the time that the companions were on Mozambique, the *Santo Espírito* also arrived with the nine Dominicans sailing upon it. Two of these immediately

³⁸ DI I 385-386. Gaspar wrote from Ormuz on December 10, 1549: "São agoura capitão como hera na nao, cando vim do Reyno" (*ibid.* 673).

³⁹ *Ibid.* 394.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 311.

⁴¹ Q 4063.

helped in the service of the sick with great charity. One of these was Frey Ignacio da Purificação, who had been a servant of Father Leão Henriques in Paris.⁴² And shortly before they sailed away, the *Flor de la Mar* also arrived at the island.⁴³ But the people on these two ships had no news whatever of the *Galega*. It was consequently a source of concern. It could have been forced to return, or it could have suffered an accident.⁴⁴

When they were ready to leave, the sick asked to be taken along. Barzaeus distributed them among the various ships, and through his efforts all who were in a condition to sail were taken on board. The *São Pedro* alone received thirty of these. Seven or eight of those who were ill had to be left behind in Mozambique.⁴⁵ Only a very few of the thirty sailing with Barzaeus died on their further voyage to India, and all of these had been well prepared for death.⁴⁶

The second priest who came with Barzaeus to India was Melchior Gonçalves.⁴⁷ He had been received into the Society of Jesus in Coimbra on April 25, 1546,⁴⁸ and was the superior of his confreres on their voyage to India.⁴⁹ Near the Cape of Good Hope he had felt nearer to death than he had ever before in his life. His only consolation at the time had been that he had undertaken the voyage through holy obedience. Like Barzaeus, he had prepared food for the sick and had preached during the voyage. Though he was aware of his many imperfections, he consoled himself with the saying of his confessor in the College of Coim-

⁴² DI I 392.

⁴³ Q 4133.

⁴⁴ DI I 311.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 431.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 392 447.

⁴⁷ On Melchior Gonçalves, see the sources in Q, index; his letters in DI I 305-315 725-727; II 183-185. In 1549 he was sent by Xavier to Bassein, where he worked with great zeal and also in Thāna, where he built a large church and opened a school, and in Salsette where he destroyed the famous pagoda dedicated to Trimurti in Vehar along with other pagodas, as he himself reported at the beginning of 1551. At the end of 1551 Barzaeus wrote that he had received a letter from him stating that he was deathly ill, and that many believed that he had been poisoned (DI II 270). On the basis of this letter Lucena assumed that he had been poisoned by the pagans or Mohammedans and had died as a martyr (6, 10), and he is followed in this by later authors such as Tellez (I 390), Bartoli (*Asia* 5, 35), Alegambe (10), Nadasi (*Annus dierum memorabilium* II 208), Franco (*Ano Santo* 569), and Guilhermy (*Portugal* II 310).—But at the beginning of 1552 he was called to Goa by Xavier because of some scandals and dismissed, as Pérez wrote in 1579 (*Informação* 71) and Polanco in 1574 (*Chron.* IV 551). They are followed by Seb. Gonçalves (*Hist.* 5, 8), Rivière (483-484), F. Rodrigues (*Hist.* I 2, 531-532), Wicki (Valignano 116), and us (EX II 74).—In 1710 Sousa attempted to unite the two explanations by assuming that there were two superiors in Bassein, one of whom, Belchior Gonçalves died as a martyr, and the other, Melchior Gonçalves, was dismissed (*Or. Conqu.* 2, 4, 1, 110); Cross (*Doc. Nouveaux* I 383-384) and Brou (II 312) leave the question undecided; Teixeira simply wrote in 1581 that he had died in Goa (*Anotações* 54); and Queyroz stated in 1655 that, after he had worked for many years on the Bassein mission, he had died rich in virtue and merits in the College of St. Paul in Goa, which was a treasury of the bodies and relics of many excellent men who had died like him in the service of God (*Conquista da Índia* 597). But Seb. Gonçalves was better informed when he wrote in 1610 in his censure on Lucena: "He did not persevere in the order. That he died in St. Paul's College as a member of the Society is false since he died outside of it as the vicar of S. João Baptista, which is in the village of Carambolim. A still worse error is made by the author of the first chapter of the *Martyrs of the Society*, printed in Rome. He places this priest on the list of our martyrs" (Wicki, "Zensuren" 97-98). Sommervogel confuses him with D. Gonçalo da Silveira and Gonçalo Rodrigues (III 1584), an error which has been corrected by Rivière (483-484).

⁴⁸ ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 2v.

⁴⁹ DI I 383.

bra, that stones which are not good enough for the corners of buildings can still be used as *matacães*.⁵⁰ In the hospital of Mozambique he had visited the sick with Barzaeus and had heard their confessions.⁵¹

The third priest was Baltasar Gago.⁵² He was a cleric who had already studied Latin, though with only moderate success,⁵³ when he was received by Rodrigues into the Society in Lisbon.⁵⁴ He was pious, affectionate, humble,⁵⁵ and a good penman.⁵⁶ He had been ordained to the priesthood but had not as yet celebrated Mass when Rodrigues sent him to Goa at the beginning of 1548 to teach a course of philosophy in St. Paul's College. He and his companion

⁵⁰ The Spanish translation has: "Los que no fuesen para piedra angular, que servirían para matar los perros" (DI I 308). In the lost Portuguese original there was probably instead of *matar los perros* the word *matacães* (literally, "dog killers"), in German *Pechnasen*, "pitch spout," a kind of balcony over the door of the fortress with an opening through which stones were thrown or boiling pitch poured upon attackers.

⁵¹ DI I 390.

⁵² On Gago, see the sources in Q, index; his India letters in DI I 500-507 548-570 571-575; II 277-289, his Japan letters in *Cartas* 1598 38-42 63-67 95-100, and his letter to Ignatius of September 23, 1555, in ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 61-62v; in addition to this is his letter on his return voyage from Japan of December 10, 1562 (Q 6157), with two enclosures: his account on the sects of Japan (Q 6158) and his information on China from the data of Amaro Pereira (Q 6159). On his work in Japan, see in addition to his letters, Frois, *Geschichte Japans* (index). All the letters of the last years of his life, from 1562 to 1583, are missing. We must therefore use the meager data in DI V-XI. Accounts are given by Bartoli, *Asia* 8, 1 3-5 15 21; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 2, 7-9; 2, 1, 1, 17 and 71; Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 669-684.—His life: In 1549-1552 he was in Cochín, in 1552-1559 in Japan, where he worked with great zeal and success in Bungo, Hirado, and Hakata. He returned from there to India broken in body and spirit, where we encounter him in Goa in 1562 and later, then alternately in Chorão and Salsette (Rachol and Margão), and finally again in Goa, prematurely aged and full of ailments. He had written at the end of 1562 to Borgia, the general of the order, for permission to return to Europe where, according to the opinion of his physicians, he would be able to find a cure for his sicknesses. Borgia had given the visitor his approval for this and had written to Gago. But the visitor, Gonçalo Alvares, was offended by the indifference of the priest in keeping the rules and was of the opinion that if it were not for his eight years of work in Japan, he deserved to be dismissed because of the harm done by his example. See DI VII 73 308 338-339; VIII 13*; X 36 231-315 (at the provincial congregation in 1575) 907-909 (Valignano's judgment). He died in Goa on January 9, 1583, "already very old and tired" (Valignano 431; ARSI: *Goa* 32, 452; annual letter of December 5, 1583).—There are contradictory statements in the sources about his age. According to Franco, he entered the order in 1546 at the age of thirty-one. This would give 1515 as the year of his birth. But he entered in 1548 and the catalogs, which were usually written at the end of the year, give his age as thirty-eight in 1559 (DI IV 477), fifty in 1566 (*ibid.* VII 73), fifty-four in 1571 (*ibid.* VIII 421). These would give his year of birth in 1521, 1516, and 1517. The annual letter of 1583 erroneously gives his age as seventy-five when he died, but this is contradicted by all the catalogs.

⁵³ ARSI: *Goa* 24, 85. According to Lancilotto, Gago, Melchior Gonçalves, and Paulo do Vale knew "a little, poorly intelligible Latin" (DI I 440).

⁵⁴ On March 8, 1548, Simon Rodrigues wrote to Father Martín de Santa Cruz in Rome: "Este anno vão á India Antonio Gomez, Gaspar Francisco, Belchior Gonçalves, e outro clérigo que recebi depois, muyto bom homem e muy humilde. Vay pera ler hum curso d'artes no collegio" (*Ep. Broëtii* 585-586). By this he means that he received him after the departure of the addressee. Santa Cruz, however, left Lisbon at the end of June or the beginning of July, 1547 (*ibid.* 561-562). Melchior Gonçalves wrote of Gago, his companion on the voyage, in November, 1548: "un bienaventurado Padre recibido nuevamente, mui antiguo en virtudes, subiecto a la obediencia quanto se puede obedecer" (DI I 308). See also the judgment of Misser Paulo (*ibid.* 347).

⁵⁵ Cf. his letters II 281-284 288.

⁵⁶ See his long letters of October, 1549 (*ibid.* 548-575), January, 1552 (*ibid.* II 277-289), and of December 10, 1562, on his adventurous return voyage from Japan (*Cartas* 1598, 95-100).

Juan Fernández had the task of distributing the food ordered by the physicians to the patients in the hospital in Mozambique.⁵⁷

Juan Fernández de Oviedo,⁵⁸ the fourth of the nine companions, had been born in Cordova in 1526.⁵⁹ He had a slight, youthful appearance and a delicate physique.⁶⁰ He had gone to Lisbon where his elder brother, a rich and prominent merchant on the Rua Nova dos Mercadores, owned a shop for silk and velvet materials which he had brought for sale.⁶¹ One day a friend invited him to go with him to Santo Antão, the Jesuit church, in order to hear the excellent music there. More than two hundred men had assembled in the church, but instead of hearing the music which he had expected, he heard a sermon on the passion for Christ. When it was ended, the lights were extinguished and the men in the church began to scourge themselves. This ceremony made a deep impression on Fernández. From then on he began to converse frequently with the priests,⁶² and he finally went again to the church in order to make a general confession. He came in while Francisco de Strada was preaching and was carried away by his fiery eloquence.⁶³ He was further influenced with respect to the Society by the conversion of a royal page, Ambrosio Ferreira,⁶⁴ who two years before had left the court for Coimbra and had there asked to be received into the Society of Jesus. Ferreira had been the organist of the bishop of Coimbra, who had died in 1543. Since he was renowned for his playing, a number of religious communities had been competing for him. To test Ferreira's constancy, Simon Rodrigues asked him if he were ready walk with a skull in his hand from the Dominican monastery at the foot of the city to the college of the Jesuits. He did, and was then taken into the Society.⁶⁵ Fernández now

⁵⁷ DI I 390-391.

⁵⁸ On Juan Fernández de Oviedo, see Q, index (Hernández) and Streit IV (index). His letters are published in Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 89-111; *Cartas* 1598, 67-68 77-82 115-118 143-145 199-202 229-239. *Accounts*: Frois, *Geschichte* 340-343 and index; Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 312-327; Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 14-19; Mateos, "Compañeros" 81-92. His life: Fernández sailed with Xavier in 1549 to Japan, where he learned Japanese in a short time and served Xavier, Torres, and others such as Gago as an interpreter, who wrote of him that he spoke Japanese better than his mother tongue. He remained with Torres in Yamaguchi after Xavier's departure from Japan in 1551. He then went with Torres to Bungo and Yokoseura. He spent a year with Frois in Takushima and then with another priest in Hirado, where he died on June 26, 1567, revered by his Christians as a saint, as Miguel Vaz wrote on November 12, 1567, from Kuchinotsu (*JapSin.* 6, 212). See the report of his companion Jacobo Gonçalves from Hirado of July 3, 1567 (*ibid.* 189-190).

⁵⁹ In November, 1559, he was said to be about thirty-three years old (DI IV 447).

⁶⁰ Frois, 341.

⁶¹ Frois gives the best account of his conversion (340-341). We fill this out with other accounts in Melchior Nunes Barreto of 1547, Simon Rodrigues of 1548, Orlandinus of 1615 (who is followed by Nieremberg), Tellez of 1645, Bartoli of 1653, Sousa of 1710, and Franco of 1719 and 1720.

⁶² Orlandinus 1.8, n. 77; Bartoli, *Asia* 8, 42.

⁶³ Tellez I 312-316. Melchior Nunes Barreto wrote from Coimbra on September 27, 1547: "Father Estrada is still in Lisbon. He preaches to large audiences, and our Lord works much fruit through him. The number of scourgers is growing greatly, and every day there are many persons in S. Antão who go to confession and receive Communion" (*Litterae Quadr.* I 66).

⁶⁴ In the letter just cited, Barreto wrote to Martín de Santa Cruz: "Outros são também entrados depois da ida de Vossa Reverencia, entre os quaes hum deles he . . . hum mercader castelhano, que tinha logia em Lixboa, com assaz edificação de muitos que o conhescião. A sua vocação foi mui notavel; ho instrumento foi Ambrosio Ferreira com suas circunstancias" (*ibid.* 68).

⁶⁵ *Fabri Mon.* 344-345.

also went to Rodrigues and asked to be received as a lay brother. To test him, Rodrigues asked him if he were ready to ride on an ass from the Mouraria, where the Jesuit college was located, through the Rua Nova dos Mercadores, the main street of Lisbon, at a time when the traffic was at its height. He also passed the test. In order to mortify himself the more, he donned his best silk clothes, mounted the beast backwards, and grasped its tail with his hand. To the astonishment and laughter of the people, he rode in this fashion to the shop of his brother, who happened at the time to be with some distinguished citizens. There he told him: "Up till now you have called me João of Córdoba; from now on I do not wish you to call me anything but João Hernández." The men who heard him were astonished. Some of them broke out in laughter; others lifted their eyes and hands to heaven and blessed God for having permitted, and ordained, that this young man of such excellent talents, upon whom such great hopes had been placed, should become so mad.⁶⁶ When Fernández, accompanied by the laughter and ridicule of the street urchins, returned to the college, Rodrigues took him to the Society and sent him to the novitiate in Coimbra,⁶⁷ where he entered on June 19.⁶⁸ On the voyage to India, Fernández took care of the sick on board ship and in the hospital of Mozambique. His great abnegation in this service aroused the admiration of all who witnessed it.⁶⁹

The fifth companion was the Portuguese Gil Barreto.⁷⁰ Three years younger

⁶⁶ We here follow Frois 340-341. The expression *João Fernandes* also has the meaning of "a dummy or good-for-nothing." According to Orlandinus, he replied in this way to those who thought that he had lost his reason that he had not lost it but had rather gained it. According to Tellez, Rodrigues only ordered him to ride in silk clothes on an ass without a saddle through the street mentioned; Fernández increased the penance by riding backwards on the beast.

⁶⁷ Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* II 313.

⁶⁸ ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 3; Franco, erroneously: May 19, 1547.

⁶⁹ Frois 341; DI I 310 390-391.

⁷⁰ On Gil Barreto see his autobiographical data of 1561 in the **Responso Nadal*, ff. 241-v 246 and Q 4713 4817 4923 4927 4929 and the dispersed data in DI I-V (index). His letters have been published in DI II 510-520 539-546. His two extant letters from the Bassein mission, where Xavier sent him in 1552, and where he taught reading and writing and gave religious instructions, indicate a fine literary talent. He was the secretary of the rector for a year in Goa, a year as a scribe of the Inquisition in Goa. He taught in Bassein in 1552-1555. During the rainy season of 1557 he was in Diu. He was also a year in Quilon. Between times he was engaged in domestic duties. He also studied Latin for two years in Goa (1549 1555 1559), but without much persistence and success. Of a weak and inconstant character, he lacked the spirit of the order and the judgment of the priests in Goa in 1559-1560 was devastating. Francisco Rodrigues (DI IV 384), A. Quadros (*ibid.* 403), F. Cabral (*ibid.* 461), Gonçalo da Silveira (*ibid.* 472), and Melchior Nunes Barreto (*ibid.* 509) noted that he was "phlegmatic, very little mortified, of little virtue, completely useless, weak in his vocation, and makes very little effort to keep the rules. He is little concerned with recollection, prayer, silence, peace of soul." At the beginning of 1561 he was therefore sent back to Portugal in the hope that he would there amend his ways; but the judgment given on him in September, 1561, in Evora, where he had been allowed to study, ran as follows: "Unmortified, fickle, melancholy, disobedient, he studies very little and chatters much with the students in his class. He has already received many admonitions, but to little effect" (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 59 374v). He was as a consequence sent to Coimbra in this same year for domestic labors (DI V 158). A new attempt to have him study in Braga was equally unsuccessful. He was therefore given work in the refectory (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 209-210 276). But since he was not content with the work of a lay brother, and his letters to the provincial, to the general of the order, and to Father Diego Mirón, who was in Rome in 1566, were without success (ARSI: *Hist. Soc.* 174, 46-49v; *Lus.* 62, 154), he was dismissed in 1567, and his name was erased from the volumes of the India letters destined for reading in the refectory (DI IV 763 774 824; V 248 306).

than Fernández, he had been born in 1529,⁷¹ the first of six children (five boys and one girl), in the city of Almeida in the province of Beira Baixa. In the eyes of foreigners, his father was a wealthy man since he owned mills, houses, and estates and had a brood of cows, oxen, and mares. One of Barreto's brothers was married and was a servant of the queen. He had himself been a servant of the infante Dom Duarte, the son of King Manuel, until his death on October 20, 1540. He had then entered into the service of the secretary of the king until the departure of the ships for India in March, 1548. He was moved by three priests with whom he frequently conversed to enter into the Society. These were Master Gonçalves de Medeiros, Mosén Juan de Aragón, and, in particular, Antonio Gomes. When the latter was preparing to sail for India, Barreto conceived the desire of going with him; and Gomes obtained permission from Simon Rodrigues for him to go along with the missionaries as a candidate for the order. When the confreres were divided up for the voyage, Barreto was assigned to the ship which was carrying Melchior Gonçalves and his companions. Barreto was endowed with robust health,⁷² but not with the solid character of the mortified Juan Fernández. Whereas the latter had asked to be received into the order as a simple lay brother, Barreto, though he had only attended primary school and knew no Latin, had joined it as an "indifferent," or scholastic. He thus hoped one day to become a priest,⁷³ though he had a poor memory and no particular inclination for study.⁷⁴ At the time he joined the order, in addition to his three religious vows, he added the three following, private vows: (1) Even if he were dismissed from the order, he would never depart but would remain for a long time near the gate of the house. (2) In spite of such a dismissal, he would observe perpetual chastity and would never marry. And (3) even if he were no longer a religious, he would serve in the hospitals.⁷⁵ He further vowed that he would recite the Rosary every day and that he would fast on all Fridays and Saturdays.⁷⁶

In addition to Barreto, the *São Pedro* was bringing another candidate for the Society. This was Luis Mendes,⁷⁷ who had set sail for India to pursue his fortune there and to acquire an abundance of earthly wealth. The heroic sacrifices of the priests and brothers in the service of the poor and sick had made such an impression upon him that he imitated their example in caring for them, and he asked to be received into the order. He was convinced that the ship had been saved by the charity and instructions of the priests and brothers, and that God had miraculously increased the provisions which Father Gaspar had brought

⁷¹ In November, 1559, Cabral wrote that Barreto was thirty years old (*ibid.* IV 461). At the end of 1561 he himself declared that he was over thirty (**Responso Nadal*).

⁷² **Responso Nadal*.

⁷³ He stresses this repeatedly, especially in his letters of September 12 and November 20, 1566, to his provincial, and in that of November 15 to the general.

⁷⁴ **Responso Nadal*.

⁷⁵ Letter to the provincial of November 20, 1566.

⁷⁶ **Responso Nadal*.

⁷⁷ On Luis Mendes, see Q 4108 (letter) 4288 4713 4907 4907 4956 6025 6148 6178 and DI I-III (indices), and also his memorial in Valignano 287-288. Sent by Xavier at the end of 1548 to Quilon, he nursed the sick there in the hospital with the greatest self-sacrifice, even during the plague of smallpox. In 1552 Xavier sent him to the Fishery Coast, where at the end of the year he was slain in the fighting between the Badagas and the troops of the Great King during an attack of the soldiers of the king along with some Christians who defended him. See the account of André de Carvalho of 1553 (DI III 30-32) and *H. Henriques in 1579 and 1583 (ARSI: Goa 38, 299v-301v). Seb. Gonçalves erroneously ascribes the slaying to the Badagas (6, 7 and 10; 7, 5).

with him and had distributed to the thirty sick that sailed from Mozambique for Goa. Like him, many of his fellow voyagers had been moved by grace and had been changed into new men and were, at the time of their disembarkation in India, thinking about entering the religious state.⁷⁸

Master Francis gave his newly arrived companions a most cordial welcome in St. Paul's College. He made inquiries about each one of them and repeatedly asked about the College of Coimbra, about Simon Rodrigues, Ignatius, Strada, and all his other confreres and coworkers in the Society; and he praised God when he heard of the fruit which the members of the Society were producing in Portugal and elsewhere. He was also able to hear great things about Antonio Gomes, whom Rodrigues had sent as the rector of St. Paul's College. He had entered the Society in Coimbra in 1544 as a Master of Arts and Doctor of Theology, and he had renounced his paternal inheritance in favor of the Jesuit college. His missions to the people in northwestern Portugal had been so successful that they even left the bullfights in order to hear his deeply moving sermons. But no one was able to give any information on the *Galega*, and it was doubtful if the ship could still reach Goa in 1548.

Barzaeus was greatly impressed by the warmth with which he and his companions were received by Master Francis. He consequently wrote to his confreres in Europe: "The joy which we experienced is not to be described, and the charity which I saw in our Father Master Francis cannot be comprehended, and how he praised God when he heard and spoke of the fruit which the Lord is working through our Society in Portugal and in all the other regions."⁷⁹

Xavier took Luis Mendes into the order⁸⁰ and also approved the reception of Gil Barreto.⁸¹ He told Barzaeus to prepare a sermon for the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin on September 8. This was to be preached in the church of St. Paul's College, and he earnestly advised him to speak loudly when he delivered it. On the feast a great number of people came to listen to him, since a report of his labors on the voyage to Goa had spread throughout the city. Their expectations, however, were deceived since he did not speak loudly enough. Many could hardly hear him, and one of these asked a priest: "What's this poison doing here?" Neither was Xavier happy with the performance, and before his departure he told Barzaeus that he should practice speaking in the church at night to strengthen his voice.⁸²

He ordered Father Torres, during his own absence, to prepare Gago for his first Mass; to give the Exercises to Gil Barreto; to explain, as he had done before, the Gospel of St. Matthew to the Japanese Paul of the Holy Faith and to the students; and to repeat the same on Sunday afternoons in the Church for the benefit, primarily, of the new converts.⁸³ He told Lancilotto to hand the college over to Antonio Gomes as soon as he came⁸⁴ and then to go to Cochín with Luis Mendes.⁸⁵ He further ordered all to obey Antonio Gomes as rector when he arrived.⁸⁶ Help should also be sent to the Fishery Coast since he wished

⁷⁸ See his letter of the end of 1548 (DI I 446-448), and *ibid.* 384.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 393-432.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 384.

⁸¹ **Responsa Nadal.*

⁸² See Gaspar's letter (DI I 393), distorted in Trigault 50 and still more in Brou II 50.

⁸³ DI I 478-479. Gil Barreto made the long retreat of twenty-eight days (**Responsa Nadal*).

⁸⁴ DI I 412.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* II 171; EX I 467-468.

⁸⁶ DI I 412.

to send Father Cipriano with two companions to the Christians who had been abandoned on Socotra and were being threatened by the Arabs. The Franciscans had left the island and there was no one there to instruct them and to baptize their children.⁸⁷

The newly arrived confreres had also brought with them letters from Europe for those in India. The main bundle of these was addressed to Lancilotto as rector of St. Paul's College and mission superior during the absence of Master Francis.

Through his brief, *Exponi nobis*, of June 5, 1546, Paul III had granted the Society of Jesus permission to accept spiritual and temporal coadjutors into the order and to give the privileges of the professed in whole or in part to twenty of these spiritual coadjutors.⁸⁸ Ignatius had chosen four of the confreres in India to be such, and he sent to each of them a document in which he informed the respective individual of his nomination and gave him all the privileges of the professed. Those chosen were Lancilotto,⁸⁹ Misser Paulo,⁹⁰ Criminali,⁹¹ and Cipriano.⁹² The bundles also contained four letters of Polanco addressed to Lancilotto, dated November 20 and 22, 1547, in which he, at the request of Ignatius, replied to Lancilotto's letter of November 5, 1546.⁹³ There was also a copy of a letter of the secretary of the order to the whole Society of October 31, 1547.

In the first letter Polanco spoke of Lancilotto's suggestion to send one of the confreres as a reporter to Rome with some of the pupils of the college. He left the choice of this to him and his companions. If Cipriano was not suited to the climate of India, as Lancilotto wrote, he could be sent for this purpose, since he was much esteemed in Rome, even by people of high rank. The pupils should learn a little Italian on the way. The faculties which he had asked with respect to the absolution of cases contained in the bull *Coena Domini* and the dispensations with respect to a pilgrimage to Jerusalem were being sought. He could give the documents containing the privileges for his three companions to them if it seemed good to him.⁹⁴

In the second letter Lancilotto's appointment as rector of St. Paul's College by Simon Rodrigues was approved by Ignatius, but he was advised to have a regard for his poor health and to share his labor with others. He could be at peace with respect to his scruple about his faculties since he obtained all the faculties of the professed with the document for the spiritual coadjutors. Ignatius was ready to appoint others also as coadjutors in India, and he asked Lancilotto to send him a list of those who might be considered for this. In case one of the four, or others whom he suggested, might have impediments for entrance into the order, he should inform him of this so that a dispensation could be obtained. He therefore enclosed for him a list of seven impediments. With respect to the progress of the Society of Jesus, he had sent a letter to Portugal with a request that a copy of it be sent to India.⁹⁵

In the third letter Polanco added that the reporter who would be sent to

⁸⁷ EX II 39-41; DI I 318 412.

⁸⁸ MI *Const.* I 170-173.

⁸⁹ His patent is lost.

⁹⁰ The original is extant (DI I 194-196).

⁹¹ The patent is lost.

⁹² A copy of the patent is preserved (*ibid.* 196-197).

⁹³ Lancilotto's letter, see *ibid.* 130-147.

⁹⁴ See Polanco's original *regestum* (*ibid.* 190 194) and Lancilotto's reply (*ibid.* 436-439).

⁹⁵ A copy is extant (*ibid.* 197-204). Cf. Lancilotto's reply (*ibid.* 436-439).

Rome should also bring detailed information on the land and people of India. He should also bring testimonials from the bishop and other authorities; a letter of the bishop for the pope and a series of cardinals, a list of which he was enclosing,⁹⁶ and for the papal secretary Cardinal Maffei, the bishop of Massa Marittima; and also a letter for the king of Portugal so that he might help secure the spiritual favors which had been requested. The reporter sent from India should bring with him five or six pupils of the college so that ecclesiastical authorities in Rome might observe their talents. Two of these should be brought to Rome; the others should be left in Portugal; and all should complete their studies there before they returned to their native land. With respect to the regulations which had been sent for the college and their norms with regard to the reception of students, the participation in processions, funerals, and so forth, they wished to wait for the arrival of the reporter in Rome. In the meantime no changes should be made in them.⁹⁷

At Ignatius' request Polanco warned him in the fourth letter that he should take care that his confreres followed the institute exactly in all obedience and Christian propriety. He recommended great prudence in dealing with women. Only priests of tried virtue and firmly founded in their vocation should be allowed to hear their confessions. With respect to their apostolic labors, Ignatius warned him that no one should be burdened with a task beyond his strength; and that it was better to pursue a slight but sure gain than one which was abundant but could be a source of scandal. Lancilotto should therefore make a careful choice of the brethren for the labors they were to undertake and always send two of them together. Ignatius kept those who were weaker near him; but the more he could trust the others, the more freely he sent them anywhere.⁹⁸

In his circular letter addressed to the whole Society, Polanco noted that the head, stomach, and heart of the Society of Jesus were in Rome. He therefore wished above all to write about the work of the general of the order and of his Roman confreres.

Ignatius, as Polanco wrote, considered it his most important task to bring down God's grace on the Society through his prayers. He was spending much time and labor on the composition of the Constitutions. In addition to this there were the on-going tasks such as the founding of colleges and houses. In these he was helped by the authority and esteem which he had with the pope, cardinals, and officials of the Curia. He had obtained, for example, from the bishop of Coria an annual income of eight hundred ducats for the founding of a college of the Society of Jesus in Salamanca. But beside such matters, there was the governing of the order, the selection of persons, the current correspondence, the care for individuals and their support, the direction of the house with its international community, and the testing of candidates. There was also his concern for good works outside the order which benefactors of the Society had recommended to him. The prince of Spain, for example, had asked his help with respect to the reform of the monasteries in Catalonia. The viceroy in Sicily had asked for help with respect to the monasteries there. His wife had asked help for a convent in Gaeta. And Cardinal Farnese wanted help with respect to the reform of the Recluses of St. Peter in Rome. The general had also been

⁹⁶ Polanco's original draft gives the names: Alessandro Farnese, Marcello Cervini, Marcello de Crescentiis, Juan Alvarez de Toledo (*ibid.* 207).

⁹⁷ The original is extant (*ibid.* 204-209); cf. Lancilotto's reply (*ibid.* 436-439).

⁹⁸ Copy, *ibid.* 210-212; Lancilotto's reply (*ibid.* 436-439).

asked for help and advice in the founding of orphanages for boys in Barcelona and Palermo and for other pious works. He was also hearing the confessions, though not many, of influential persons; and one of these had restored some 25,000 to 30,000 ducats. Ignatius had effected reconciliations where even high dignitaries had labored in vain. He was also helping others in various spiritual and temporal concerns, even though he was usually ill and was impeded by great pains in his stomach, which frequently made it seem that he was unsuited for any work. He and the other confreres still had the care of the house of St. Martha, which he had founded for repentant women. Because of his many labors, he had wished to give it over to others; but he had been obliged to yield to the wishes of the cardinal protector Carpi. The house had many residents, and in the last three or four years more than a hundred of his charges had joined an order, married, or found support from a pious matron.

There were from thirty-four to thirty-five residents in the house of the Society in Rome. Among these were twelve priests, but the only professed among them was Father General. Ignatius was very careful in the reception of candidates to see if they were suited for the institute of his order. If one who had been received proved to be difficult or refused to do his duty, he dismissed him. He helped him, however, if the individual wished to make himself more useful in the service of God elsewhere. He tolerated no scandals and also no defects of character, even when the individual did not recognize them as such and deemed himself to be a spiritual man and servant of God. Under no circumstances was obstinacy tolerated in the house, even if the individuals concerned possessed good qualities that would compensate for this. If there were rich opportunities in the house for satisfying one's desires for poverty and mortification, still the main thing was the exercise of humility and the subjection of one's own desires and opinions, in short, the exercise of obedience. One had not only to obey the *pater praepositus*, the minister, and subminister, but also the least officials of the house, for example, the cook. The house was thus a good school of obedience with numerous opportunities for the exercise of abnegation, especially of one's own will and judgment, which was regarded of the highest importance for the members of the Society. The priests were all busy administering the sacraments, especially with hearing confessions. One of these was preaching in the church of the community on Sundays and feast days to large congregations. But the church was too small and inconvenient. They were waiting for a benefactor who would replace it with a new, larger edifice that would be worthy of the order. One of the priests was giving conferences in San Eustachio to the clergy of Rome, many of whom were quite unlearned. In addition to this, the Exercises were being given and attempts were being made through spiritual conversations to assist those with whom they came in contact. Reconciliations were being effected, and the sick were being visited in the hospitals. Among these latter had been a powerful noble involved in twenty-five personal feuds. Through the efforts of a priest, he had been reconciled with all his adversaries before he died. Another, who had not received the sacraments for thirty years, was prepared for a pious death.⁹⁹

In addition to the letters for Lancilotto, a bundle of them had also come for Father Pérez. Among these was one from Ignatius in Rome, another from Andreas Oviedo in Gandía, and one from his confreres in Coimbra.¹⁰⁰ Father

⁹⁹ MI *Epp.* I 609-619; cf. DI I 203.

¹⁰⁰ DI I 379.

Manuel Godinho had also written from there to Misser Paulo,¹⁰¹ and others to Baltasar Nunes.¹⁰² Among the reports coming from Portugal was one to the effect that at the end of October, 1547, Rodrigues had sent, at the request of John III, four missionaries to the Christian king of Manicongo in Africa in order to assist the mission there.¹⁰³

On September 12 Xavier gave his confreres their letters in Goa. Not one single letter had come for him, neither from Italy nor from Portugal. This was a great surprise to him and to all the others. Ignatius had probably believed that he was still in the Moluccas, where letters could not have reached him.¹⁰⁴

Soon after this Master Francis sailed for the south in order to visit his confreres and the Christians in Cape Comorin once more before setting out for Japan. He asked Lancilotto to inform him if the *Galega* with Antonio Gomes and the rest of the companions would still come.¹⁰⁵ Xavier at first wished to take Melchior Gonçalves with him to the Fishery Coast, but at the last moment he told him to remain in Goa until the arrival of Antonio Gomes.¹⁰⁶ Two months later Gonçalves wrote to his confreres in Coimbra the impression which he had received of Master Francis:

We are greatly worried by the delay of the priest [Antonio Gomes], but filled with joy from our meeting with Padre Maestro Francisco, the complex of whose virtues cannot be described in a letter, since they are so great and noble that I do not know anything equal to them. He is so filled and inebriated with the love of the Lord that he feels nothing else; and certainly, my dear brothers, if I should wish to give you a detailed account, I would never come to an end, and I would not have the time nor the place for doing so because of the many confessions and occupations I would have to record. I do not know if I could do it in a few words without omitting what is, so to say, the best. If it were possible to write everything, I would do so, for I know the longing for, and the consolation that comes from, the true accounts and edifying reports on the Society and on the blessed Maestro Francisquo in Coimbra.

He is not old, and he is in good health. He drinks no wine at all, a very valiant soldier of Christ, as St. Bernard says: "A faithful soldier does not feel his own wounds when he looks lovingly upon those of his king."¹⁰⁷ We can therefore say that we have a living martyr in our midst, and I believe that he will soon be one since I see that he seeks nothing else. He has been shot with many arrows for the love of the crucified Christ, and they have burned many shelters where he was sleeping, and three to four in one night. Think what a peaceful sleep that must have been!¹⁰⁸ He can in truth call himself a soldier of Christ, and what I say is nothing. Many miracles have been manifested in his preaching, and one with great edification. And I do not write of them in order to leave this to another, or to learn more clearly if they should be published. I only ask that you all recommend him in a very special way to God our Lord!¹⁰⁹

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 349.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 317.

¹⁰³ A. Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana: Africa Occidental* II (1953) 163-173; *Ep. Broëti* 568; *Litterae Quadr.* I 58 69-70; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 2, 542-547 565.

¹⁰⁴ DI I 436; II 9 and 11.

¹⁰⁵ EX I 467-468.

¹⁰⁶ DI I 312-313; cf. 414.

¹⁰⁷ "Fidelis miles vulnera sua non sentit, dum benigne sui regis vulnera intuetur" (St. Bernard, *In Cant. sermo* 61, n. 8, in Migne, PL 183, 1074).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Vol. II, pp. 441-442.

¹⁰⁹ DI I 311-312.

6. THE DEPARTURE FOR THE FISHERY COAST (OCTOBER, 1548)¹

The "Great Father" was jubilantly received by the Paravas on the Fishery Coast. They spread cloths upon the ground where his feet were to rest and carried him on their shoulders to the church.² In Punnaikāyal³ he called the missionaries together, and their joy was no less great at seeing their beloved father again in their midst. During his last visit in February, 1548, he had promised them help and had sent Francisco Henriques and Brother Baltasar Nunes to the Fishery Coast, which brought the number of laborers in the vineyard up to ten: ⁴ four priests: Criminali, the superior, H. Henriques, Cipriano, and F. Henriques; three brothers: Adam Francisco, Manuel de Morais, and Baltasar Nunes; and three native priests: Coelho and the two Paravas, Manuel and Gaspar.⁵ The Fishery Coast, which had been occupied since August, 1547, by the Badagas down to Cape Comorin,⁶ had not as yet become completely tranquil; and in the north, in Ilāvelankāl east of Kāyattār, a war between the Badaga troops of Vengalarāja and the Maravan warriors of Vettumperumāl had broken out in March, 1548.⁷

Xavier brought his confreres the letters which had come in the *São Pedro*, and on October 10 he could give to Baltasar Nunes the letters which the latter had received from his confreres in Coimbra.⁸ He shared with them the news which had come from Europe, the circular letter to the whole Society written by Polanco at the request of the general of the order, his replies to Lancilotto's letter, the reports of the newly arrived companions on Simon Rodrigues and the College of Coimbra, the increase in the Society and its labors in Europe, and the experiences of the new arrivals on their voyage to India; and he praised God for all that He had permitted the young order to achieve since its founding seven years before. He then also told them of his own labors and plans, of the abandoned Christians on the island of Socotra and of the help he wished to send them, and of the prospects for the spread of the faith in the newly discovered, distant Japan, where he intended to sail in the coming April. He then inquired about the labors and experiences of his fellow workers on the Fishery Coast, about their sacrifices and difficulties, and about their advance in the spiritual life; and their apostolic zeal filled him with joy.⁹

¹ The primary source for Xavier's visit to the Fishery Coast in October, 1548, is H. Henriques' long letter of October 31, 1548 (DI I 276-300); and it is complemented by the letters of B. Nunes (*ibid.* 315-322 and II 557-572) and Ml. de Morais (*ibid.* I 454-466), and the data in Xavier's letters (EX I 462-468; II 13-14 29-30 51-54 78-79).

² DI I 402.

³ Xavier wrote his letter from Punnaikāyal to F. Henriques in October, 1548 (EX I 468). The missionaries also came together there in 1549 after the death of Criminali (DI I 488).

⁴ DI I 279. In his original letter of November 18, 1548, B. Nunes wrote from Travancore that the following were on the mission: Antonio Criminali, Adão Francisco, H. Henriques, F. Henriques, and himself; and he continued: "com outros que do Reino vierão [com] o P. Belchior Gonçalves" (DI I 319), by which Paulo do Vale is meant, who came this same year, but not on the same ship, with Belchior Gonçalves. *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae* erroneously have: "e o P. Belchior" (39), from which DI I, index, p. 835, erroneously has the priest working on Cape Comorin.

⁵ EX I 245 286 429.

⁶ Q 5870.

⁷ Q 5742 (cf. p. 511).

⁸ DI I 317 and 437. With respect to the documents for Criminali and Cipriano, see DI I 350-352 (n. 9).

⁹ EX II 78; DI I 280-281 283 586.

Criminali, their superior, was a saintly religious, made, as it were, for the life on the missions and for being a superior. He was loved by Christians, pagans, and Moors; and it would have been difficult to say how much he was loved by his subjects. He still visited all the mission stations at least once a month, almost always barefooted. He frequently slept on the bare earth. He was firm with all when there was a question of sin, but indulgent and pleasant in all that was indifferent. He had a great esteem for poverty, chastity, and obedience. And in the course of all his labors, he had striven to learn even the difficult Tamil speech and writing, and he was already able to understand and speak much of it.¹⁰

Henrique Henriques was also a very edifying religious.¹¹ He wrote to Ignatius and his confreres in Europe that they should pray to God that He would always grant him the grace to perfectly fulfill His holy will in poverty, hardships, and difficulties out of love for Christ, who had chosen these for Himself in this world. He was of the opinion that God drew the pagans to the faith in the primitive Church through miracles, but now it was the holy example of the missionaries that would have to convert them to Christianity. God had founded the Society of Jesus also out of compassion for the souls in India, and this thought should inspire its sons to live and work in a saintly manner. Although he had been ill for four or five years (his head and his stomach caused him much suffering¹²), God had given him, to the astonishment of his confreres, the strength to labor with much profit among the Christians entrusted to him,¹³ and this with many consolations. He was also convinced that the more labors and toils one took upon oneself, the more spiritual and physical forces were given him by God if he did not forget his own misery and took a little time each day and night to make an examination of conscience in order to know his weaknesses, to implore God's mercy, and to reflect upon His infinite kindness so that he might inflame himself to His great service. He wrote:

The consolations here are so great for those who truly seek God our Lord that when one considers the need which these regions have for servants of God and the good that they perform, I believe that if our Lord would say to them that they should think about going to paradise or remaining on this coast in order to serve Him and to produce fruit, they would then say: "Lord, grant that I may still serve you for some years. My paradise is to serve You in these regions. And even if You were to give me no consolation whatever, may I still remain here, and this all the more in that You are the Highest Good." . . . I wish that the confreres who come here would not come because they know that God gives great consolations to those who take upon themselves many difficulties through love for Him, as He truly does, but that they come in order to suffer upon the cross with the crucified Christ, deprived of all consolation out of pure love, like that of Christ upon the cross.¹⁴

When Master Francis came to the Fishery Coast in February, Henriques knew only two words of Tamil; and he had almost despaired of ever learning it, especially since he had a good interpreter. But after Xavier's departure, his interpreter, who had other employment, left him. He therefore resolved to master the dif-

¹⁰ See Xavier's judgments in EX II 29-30; DI I 561-588, H. Henriques' (DI I 250-251 381-383 578 586-587), Cipriano's (*ibid.* 250-251 381-383 578 586-587).

¹¹ Cf. Xavier's judgment in EX II 13-14.

¹² DI II 148.

¹³ *Ibid.* I 298-299.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 282-283.

ficult idiom. He worked at it day and night without omitting his visits to the villages entrusted to him, and God lent him His assistance. He had composed a kind of grammar for himself, and he sought to conjugate the tenses as in Latin and to determine their past, future, infinitives, subjunctives, and so forth. It was a project that cost him endless efforts. He did the same with the accusative, genitive, dative, and other cases; and he sought to find out what should come first, whether it was the verb or noun or pronoun, and so forth. In this way he was able to master the language in a short time, to the amazement of the natives. Though there were some Portuguese who had learned to speak a bit of Tamil in four, five, or six years, their knowledge of it was so imperfect that they could never, for example, distinguish the present from the future. The people were consequently convinced that God had miraculously bestowed a knowledge of the language upon the priest when, after five months, he could speak with them in their own moods, tenses, and persons. In addition to this Henriques learned to read and write their script. He had thus been able to dispense with the services of an interpreter during the past three or four months. Though he could thus speak and preach to his Christians in their own language, its pronunciation was so difficult, and so different from Portuguese, that they did not always understand him. He therefore had a native helper repeat the words he spoke in Tamil after him so that all would catch their meaning. He hoped that after some months he could be able to dispense also with this assistance.

During his last visit Xavier had asked the native priest Coelho to translate into Tamil his Large Catechism, which he had composed in Ternate as an explanation of the articles of the faith. This had been done, and on the last four or five Sundays Henriques had explained this translation to his Christians in the churches. For about two months he had only attended the station of Vēmbār and a small outpost¹⁵ so that he could give more time to his study of the language. The old and widowed women came to the church in the principal village on Fridays, the married women on Saturdays, the men on Sundays; and when these had returned home, they sent their female slaves for instruction. The boys and girls came each day in the morning and evening for their instructions. On Thursdays he went to the neighboring outpost for a talk to the women and also at times on another day of the week to baptize or to visit the Christians.¹⁶ A young native whom he had in his house helped him much with his study of the language. He knew the deceits of the pagans and the truths of the Christian faith and was resolved to remain unmarried and to serve the priests for a reward from God.¹⁷ As soon as Henriques had mastered the language sufficiently, he spent a good deal of time with the children; and they told him when someone was serving idols. The adults also did the same.¹⁸ From the Christians he heard many of the fables about their gods, and he was thinking about writing some day a book in the language of the country to refute them. He often spoke about such matters with the Christians and the pagans, who, in their blindness, worshiped the devil and stones; and he told them: "Let a hundred or two hundred of your priests come together, the oldest and most learned that are among them; and I alone, despite my youth, will dispute with them and let them know the truth. And if they wish to have a demonstration of the truth of our teaching

¹⁵ Probably Chetupār, whose inhabitants went to church in Vēmbār (cf. Vol. II, p. 323).

¹⁶ DI I 288-289.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 299.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 294.

through a trial by fire with me, I am ready for it if they promise to accept Christianity if I come unharmed from it.”¹⁹

At the beginning of September Henriques became acquainted with a *yogi* in Vēmbār who enjoyed a great reputation among the pagans and ridiculed their idolatry and destroyed their idols. He had studied with a very famous teacher and was considered to be the most learned man in that region. Henriques had frequently invited him to dinner and had often spoken to him about the true faith, and he hoped that one day he would convert him to it. The *yogi* told Henriques that when the Brahmans came to him, they greeted him with great respect; but he would then ask them: “Why do you deceive the people by telling them of good and bad days, and by advising them to adore *pagodas* and similar deceits”: To this they replied: “What should we do? We have to eat. If we did not do this, what would we have to eat?” Henriques presented the example of this *yogi* to his Paravas,²⁰ and the disputations which the priest had with the pagans strengthened them in their faith.²¹ The interpreters frequently distorted what the missionaries told them, and none of them was in a condition to give a good explanation of Christian doctrine.²² Since Henriques was no longer dependent upon them, the Christians gained much from his preaching and were truly devoted to him. Despite his poor health he could thus do more than two who were well.²³

Adam Francisco was a pious, zealous, and saintly brother, who applied himself much to the service of the Christians and pagans. When Henriques visited a village where he had earlier labored, he was glad to see that the men and women, the boys and girls, and the slave women came much more to church than they had before, when the village still pertained to his own mission territory.²⁴

Manuel de Morais also worked hard and gave a good example.²⁵ During his last visit, Xavier had handed over to him the care of the Macua villages in Travancore, where he had remained for four or five months and had baptized two hundred children and adults and had demolished numerous idols either by himself or through others.²⁶ During this time he had been extremely busy since he had to be constantly visiting the villages, giving instructions in Tamil two hours a day, baptizing, visiting the sick, and preaching on Saturdays and Sundays.²⁷ Criminali had then given him another post where there was less work. Morais then wrote to Henriques that, as far as his health was concerned, he had felt better before, when he had more to do.²⁸ He could already speak some Tamil, to the astonishment of his Christians.²⁹

Alonso Cipriano, a rough firebrand, still worked, despite his sixty years, as constantly as if he were a young man. He saw that the harvest and the needs of the Christians were great and required assistance. But those in the greatest need were the abandoned Christians of Socotra, whom the Franciscans had earlier

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 288-289.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 291-294.

²¹ *Ibid.* 288-289.

²² *Ibid.* 287.

²³ *Ibid.* 286; EX II 13-14.

²⁴ EX II 79; DI I 283.

²⁵ DI I 281.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 458-462.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 494-495.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 281-282.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 463.

helped. Master Francis consequently informed him that he wished to send him there with three companions the following January, when the ships would be sent to reconnoitre the Red Sea. It was a difficult mission. The isolated island was rough and short on food. The Christians were tyrannized by the small, Moorish garrison; and since the unfortunate expedition of Dom Alvaro, the Turks had occupied the neighboring Aden. Cipriano at first raised some difficulties to this assignment. At his age he was not fit for the rigors of the mission on that hot, inhospitable, rocky island. But he soon regretted his original weakness and declared that he would be glad to go to a place where he could do so much for the honor of God and atone for the sins of his youth. Manuel de Morais was also designated for the same mission.³⁰

In Punnaikāyal Xavier now came to know for the first time on a personal basis Baltasar Nunes,³¹ whom he had sent with Francisco Henriques from Chale to the Fishery Coast in February. Nunes had been born about 1525³² and had entered the Society in Coimbra on March 25, 1544,³³ where he was exercised in humility by public acts of penance, as were the other confreres, by Simon Rodrigues.³⁴ He had sailed for India with eight companions in 1546. In April, 1547, at Xavier's bidding, he had been sent with four of his confreres to Cape Comorin, where the war between the Great King and the Badagas was at the time in full progress. He had worked the first three months on the Fishery Coast. When this was occupied in the fall of that year as far as Cape Comorin by the Badagas, the troops of the king of Vijayanagar, he had gone with Father Francisco Henriques to Travancore until the king there, Mārtānda Varma, expelled them both. He had then sailed with the priest to Goa; and when they obtained no help there from the governor Dom João de Castro, they had gone to Chale to found a mission there until Xavier sent them to the Fishery Coast.

They had in the meantime followed as best they could the instruction which Master Francis had left for his confreres on the Fishery Coast the preceding February. From time to time they visited each other for mutual discussion on the spiritual life and the best means to instruct and care for the Christians.

When a child was born, the people came immediately to report this to the missionary; and if it became ill before it had been baptized, they summoned him with all haste so that he might come and baptize it. If a Christian went for some months into the interior and a child was born to him during this time, its parents, when they came to a place where there was a priest, took care that he baptized it. When anyone fell sick, the priest was called to attend him and to recommend him to God. At times the people brought their children to the church with an offering so that the priest might pray over them. All the alms

³⁰ EX II 30; DI I 281 319 330 467 495.

³¹ On Baltasar Nunes see the indices in Q and DI I-VIII. He was a cousin of the later bishop Melchior Carneiro (DI IV 509) and pronounced his vows as a scholastic in 1546 (*ibid.* VII 78). He worked in Travancore and on the Fishery Coast until the end of 1551, where he had much to suffer. He baptized from twelve to thirteen hundred persons, mostly children, and also visited and described the Christians in the north of the mission and the temple of Rāmeswaram (*ibid.* II 557-572). On the mission he contracted a severe dysentery which never left him. At the beginning of 1552 Xavier consequently sent him to Goa where he lived as a broken man, mostly on Chorão, and piously died in Goa on May 11, 1569 (*ibid.* VIII 39). Two of his very informative letters are still preserved (*ibid.* I 315-322; II 557-572).

³² At the end of 1559 he was allegedly thirty-three years old (*ibid.* IV 460), at the end of 1565 forty (*ibid.* VI 625), at the end of 1566 forty-three (*ibid.* VII 78).

³³ ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 2.

³⁴ *Fabri Mon.* 346.

received were, however, divided up among the poor, a practice which was very edifying to all, since the pagan priests were only interested in getting paid for everything.³⁵

In every village there was a teacher for the instruction of the children and another to bring them together every day. The instruction lasted for two hours a day.³⁶ The girls came for them in the morning; the boys came to school in the afternoon and there learned the Small Catechism, which Master Francis had with great difficulty translated into Tamil. The Portuguese were greatly edified at seeing how well the pupils learned their prayers. When the missionary visited the villages, he asked how the instruction was being given and tested the knowledge of the children.³⁷

The women came on Saturdays and feast days two hours before Mass for instruction; and after Mass they were told of the miracles and of the life of Christ and of the saints, which they were glad to hear. The men came for instruction and Mass on Sunday mornings. In some villages widows and old women, who had seldom come to church before, were given separate instructions on a week day. They needed many proofs and exhortations to make them relinquish the old legends of their gods. In some villages it was ordained that female slaves, who had not previously come to church, should be instructed on Sundays after their masters had left it.³⁸

In addition to these labors, the priests and brothers had to act as judges during their visits to the Christian villages, settling conflicts among their parishoners and executing their petitions. Besides instructing the adults in the faith, they had to test the candidates for baptism with respect to their knowledge and intentions; and they had to visit the sick and obtain information on the lives of everyone.³⁹

The method employed in administering baptism was as follows: The missionaries first sought to bring the people to a knowledge of the truth. They then had the candidates spend some days in learning the prayers and receiving instructions in the faith. They then had them brought solemnly to the church with their godfathers and godmothers. Before its entrance they recited the *Confiteor*, the Our Father, and the Hail Mary. They were then asked, following the Roman ritual: "What do you seek from the Church of God?" The minister of the sacrament then said: "I sign you with the sign of the holy Cross on the brow and on the heart." This was followed by the prayer to the most Holy Trinity and the Gospel of St. Mark: "*Recumbentibus undecim discipulis.*"⁴⁰ The minister then entered the church with the candidates and those who were accompanying them. There he immediately had them renounce in a loud voice all idols, pagodas, and pagan customs, and ask pardon for their sins. The candidates then knelt down and the priest recited the *Te Deum* over them. He then pronounced the baptismal formula as he poured water over the head of those being baptized. This was followed by a prayer to the Holy Spirit and to the most Blessed Virgin and the Creed. After each article of this latter they were asked if they truly believed it. Immediately after the baptisms, husbands and wives, in keeping with the prescriptions of the Church, were ecclesiastically married.⁴¹

³⁵ DI I 284 465.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 494-495.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 283 285 463-464.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 284-285 288 464.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 285 464.

⁴⁰ Mark 16:14.

⁴¹ DI I 464-465.

In his instruction Xavier had encouraged the missionaries to win the love of the Christians above everything else. As good shepherds, they had achieved this with their flocks, as Xavier could himself see. The Christians were ready to die for their priests and their faith. They were proud of it and worked as apostles in their own milieu. H. Henriques could give many examples of this.

In Vēmbār a Christian disputed with a pagan over the true faith. He argued as follows: "Consider the priests of the Christians and those of the pagans. Look at the lives of the former and those of the latter, the words of the former and those of the latter. When a pagan falls sick, a Brahman comes and says to him: 'Promise so many *fanams*, so many rams, so much sandalwood, and other things as well to that *pagoda*, and it will heal you at once.' All his words have but one aim, to obtain these sacrificial gifts later for himself. But the words of our priests are not like his. When anyone falls ill, the priest visits him and says to him: 'Make a good examination of your conscience; see the sins which you have committed, since frequently God sends these illnesses because of them. Ask pardon for all of them with a purpose of amendment, and God will grant you your health and well-being, and so forth.'" To this the pagan could only reply: "Who can argue with you?" and he offered the Christian betel and areca as a token of friendship.⁴²

One day when Henriques was explaining the Tamil translation of the Large Catechism, he told those who were listening to him that if they firmly believed in Christ as true God and true man and a devil took possession of a person and they gave the following command to it with a firm faith: "Devil! In the name of Jesus Christ, God and man, I order you to leave this body immediately," it would do so. One of the Christians who heard him say this spoke some days later with a highly esteemed *yogi* and asked him about the faith of the pagans. The *yogi* told him that God has ten sons. The Christian said that this was impossible, that it was a great lie, since God has but one Son. In order to settle the point, the Christian suggested that they go together to one possessed by a devil to see which of them could drive it out. But the *yogi* did not have the self-confidence of the Christian and refused to take up the challenge, saying that he sought to earn his livelihood with his way of life.⁴³

When the Paravas of Vēmbār were still pagans, they were afraid to go to the sea and to their fishing boats at night because of the many demons that were accustomed to appear there in a fiery form. The same was true in other villages. But they had now overcome their fear and the apparitions had ceased.⁴⁴

In another village a good Christian hung a rosary about the neck of a woman who was ill, and she was cured by this. News of what had happened became known; and when anyone fell ill, people came to ask the man for his rosary and offered him money for it. But he always lent it without taking any compensation.⁴⁵ In many villages, as Manuel de Moraes could testify, the Christians often healed the sick by reciting a prayer or reading a Gospel over them.⁴⁶

The people with power in the land frequently tyrannized the others, especially those who had become Christians. They even bound them hand and foot and mistreated them in order to wring money out of them, and they threatened to burn down their churches for the same purpose. But the Christians then took

⁴² *Ibid.* 294-295.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 289-290.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 290.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 295-296.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 459.

up their weapons and kept watch at night by their church and slept near it, using their shield as a pillow.⁴⁷

Further difficulties were created by the battles between the Badagas, who claimed to be the lords of the land, and the native princes. Baltasar Nunes was twice seized by the Badagas⁴⁸ when he was living in the south of the Fishery Coast, where the war between Rāma Varma, the Great King, and the troops of Vijayanagar was raging. One day when he was sitting under the projecting roof of his church with his teacher studying the Tamil alphabet, some soldiers entered a side door of the church to rob it. Nunes went into the church, where he was immediately surrounded by men armed with lances, bows, and arquebuses, who arrested him and took him to their captain. When the Parava women saw what had happened, they began to cry and tear their hair and to call their husbands. When these came and heard the lamentations of the women and children, they decided to rescue the missionary. They seized their weapons, swords and cudgels, and sent word to the neighboring village. The Christians there came immediately, striking their drums and cymbals as a token of war. They marched to the place where Nunes was held and told the captain that the prisoner was a Portuguese who had left his homeland to teach them how they could save their souls. He, the captain, could be certain that they were all determined to die and to leave their children, wives, and possessions out of love for their missionary. The Christians had surrounded the house of the captain, but he managed to flee to a pagoda. When his besiegers learned this, they hastened to the temple to slay him, but found the doors locked. Nunes was, however, released, and the Christian women brought him home. After Nunes had summoned them two or three times, their husbands finally returned from the pagoda.⁴⁹ Three or four days later he had to visit the neighboring Christian villages even though the Badagas were in the area. When he came to the first village where the enemy were staying, the captain of the Badagas summoned him to his presence and told him that he would have to take him to the camp of his own king and kill him since he was a vassal of their enemy. Here too the Christians gave their support to the brother and nothing happened to him. As he continued on his way, Nunes came to a village where there were six hundred families. The people implored him on their knees to remain since the enemy was in the vicinity. When he insisted, however, on going on his way, they provided him with an armed escort. On one of his visits he used a catamaran to reach a village. When he left it, he would have been drowned in the raging sea if the Christians had not rescued him. Since there was a captain of the Badagas in the village, he was taken from there by the Paravas in a *toni* to the nearest town.⁵⁰

Morais was once beaten with clubs, and another time he was sold for 1,200 *pardaus* by people who claimed to be his great friend. They later, however, returned these to the purchasers.⁵¹

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 459 463.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 460 466. In a field near Ilāvelankāl, a village east of Kayattār, there are still standing eleven commemorative stones dated March 26, 1548, with inscriptions and carvings representing the battles between the Marava warriors and the Badagas, who attacked the village under their leader Vengalarāja, when Vettumperumāl, the king of Kayattār, was there. The stones were erected in honor of the Marava warriors who fell there fighting on foot against their mounted adversaries (Q 5742, and p. 511).

⁴⁹ Baltasar Nunes calls the enemies "robbers" (DI II 564-565); H. Henriques says that they were Badagas (*ibid.* 167); Ambrosio Nunes calls their leader an *adhigāri* (*ibid.* I 492).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* II 565-566.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* I 367-368 460 466.

Divine judgments at times strengthened the faith of the Christians. A powerful pagan lord ordered a church to be burned down. He was suddenly stricken with a mortal malady and had the Christians told that he would make them very rich if they prayed for his cure. But his request proved to be fruitless. He soon died a terrible death, but before he died he confessed that he had been thus punished because of his sins. Another pagan wished to slay Morais with a sword since he prevented him from having an idol made. A few days later he died a sudden death. Another wished to destroy a cross. He tore it down and stamped upon it. He also was punished for this deed.⁵²

H. Henriques could tell Xavier of the steadfastness of one of the pupils of St. Paul's College in Goa. In 1547 the boy had wanted to sail with the priests to Maluco and had secretly hidden himself on board their ship. In Cochin he was assigned to a person to take back to the college. But instead of returning to Goa, the young fugitive sailed with a Portuguese to the Malabar coast. Their ship was stranded near the harbor of Puthupattanam, and they both fell into the hands of the Mohammedans there. These latter slew the Portuguese and ordered the boy to accept the religion of Mohammed. When he refused, they put him in chains and threatened to kill him. A few days later the Portuguese attacked the village, burned it, slew a great number of Moors, and freed the boy. The lad then went from there to H. Henriques on the Fishery Coast, where he told him that there were many slaves on the coast of Malabar who had run away from their Portuguese masters, but who had preserved their Christian faith even in that Mohammedan land; and they had told him: "Do not become a Moor! and do not lose your soul!" Another runaway slave also came to the priest and told him that in the interior of the country there were a number of such fugitives serving a pagan captain as soldiers. When one of their comrades died from a wound received in a battle, his Christian companions wrapped him in a linen shroud and made a cross and knelt before it, and prayed for the repose of his soul. They then buried him and planted a cross over his grave. Some of these soldiers came to Xavier in Punnaikāyal and told him that they were Christians and wished to live again under Christians. They asked the priest to secure a letter of safe conduct for them, and he promised that he would.⁵³

In his instruction of February, 1548, Xavier had ordered the missionaries to remain at peace with the Portuguese captain and the rest of the Portuguese on the Fishery Coast and not to break with them at any cost. But the present captain, João Fernandes Correa was no better than his avaricious predecessors; and he had learned nothing even in the prison in Goa, where the priest had visited him in 1542. The Christians and missionaries raised great complaints against him and collected their grievances in a memorial⁵⁴ so that Master Francis could take the matter up with the governor and king and obtain relief for them, since the orders which Miguel Vaz had secured in Portugal had never been executed. Their principal complaints were as follows:

1. The captain and his men want to force the people to pay tribute even if there is no Pearl Fishery; and they want to force them to fish for pearls even when they do not wish to,⁵⁵ against the edict of the governor Garcia de Sá.

⁵² *Ibid.* 459.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 296-298 (where *Cannanore* is to be read in the footnote instead of *Cranganore*) and Q 3292 2396 2598.

⁵⁴ EX II 52-54.

⁵⁵ In the fall of 1546 and spring of 1547 there was no Pearl Fishery. According to the Paravas the pearl banks were exhausted. See above, pp. 375-376.

2. The captain of the Pearl Fishery asks them to pay duties on the fish which they catch and kill for themselves, but this was never asked before.

3. The captain and his men forcibly take from them the shank mussels which they fish and pay them only a third of what the other merchants would give for them. The king should issue an order which would prevent the captain from trading in them, either by himself or through others; and which would permit the Christians to sell them freely to whom they wished, and would exempt them from paying taxes upon them.

4. The captain and his men⁵⁶ further oppress the Christians in the way that rice is imported into the land. They want only the rice imported by themselves to be sold, and at the price they demand. By this they reduce the people to such a state of necessity that they take it for themselves and eat it. The Christians ask that the captain should not be allowed to trade in such provisions, but that each one should be free to import and sell them without the payment of tolls and taxes. The captain should, moreover, not have his rice distributed on credit at the price he has fixed for it, since the people are later harassed and seized for its payment.

5. The captain does not permit them to go to obtain food and other necessary things without his passes and warrants, for which he demands much money. Since they make their voyages in *champanas* and small boats to towns within the vicinity—the farthest are to the Maldive Islands—the Christians ask to be relieved of these obligations.

6. The Christians and all the others who live on the Fishery Coast are oppressed by the captain, who does not let them live in fixed abodes but keeps changing them so that they must move from place to place. These changes which are imposed upon them are a source of revenue for him. They therefore ask that they be permitted to live where they wish and that they may freely decide whether they should move or not, and that no tribute should be exacted for this.

7. His Highness should further ordain that all the pagans who flee from other regions to the Christians of the Fishery Coast, because they are tyrannized and robbed in their homeland, may live among them without being mistreated or molested. On the contrary, they should be honored and assisted; and more favor and honor should be shown towards them than to the natives, since they are both numerous and prominent; and if they are well received, they will be converted to the Christian faith. They should further have all the freedoms and privileges which the Christians of the land possess, and no tribute or taxes should be demanded of them since they are new to the land.

In this way the area will be populated and the name of Christ will be spread.

Xavier promised to obtain from the governor Garcia de Sá and the king the necessary provisions against the rapacity of the captain, and he drew up the last regulations for the mission.

He sent Cipriano and Morais at once to Goa, where they should make preparations for sailing to Socotra.⁵⁷ Criminali remained the superior of the mission. H. Henriques retained only Vembār and its outpost so that he might be free for his linguistic labors. Master Francis ordered the Tamil translation of his Large Catechism, which Coelho had completed, to be read in all the churches. Henriques planned on transcribing its palm-leaf original into Latin characters and placing over each passage an explanation for the use of his confreres in their sermons and instructions. Xavier asked him to compose a Tamil grammar with the declensions, conjugations, and moods so that the missionaries could learn the language more easily.⁵⁸ He also told Henriques that he should send

⁵⁶ On December 3, 1549, Cipriano wrote about the greed of the soldiers to Ignatius, noting that Criminali had suffered also many vexations from the Christians, especially the Portuguese captain and his soldiers, "que sabéys quienes son donde pueden tender la mano, máxime si están pobres" (DI I 591).

⁵⁷ EX I 467; DI I 402.

⁵⁸ DI I 287.

every year a long letter to Ignatius, Rodrigues, and the whole Society;⁵⁹ and with the letter for this year,⁶⁰ he should send a palm-leaf strip with Tamil writing upon it.⁶¹ He also promised that he would send replacements for the two confreres destined for Socotra when the ship arrived with Antonio Gomes.⁶²

One of the missionaries, who was far away in distant Travancore on the other side of Cape Comorin, had not been able to come to Punnaikāyal. This was Francisco Henriques, who was in need of help and encouragement. Brother Baltasar Nunes was therefore appointed to assist him, and on October 12 Xavier wrote a letter to Francisco to encourage him.⁶³ It ran as follows:

God our Lord knows how much happier I would be to see you rather than to be writing to you, and to console myself with all the labors which you have undertaken for the love and service of God our Lord. . . . I am sending you Baltasar Nunez so that he may remain with you in the kingdom of Travancor and help you in your labors and console you in the same, though you are hoping for your true reward from God our Lord. I am sailing to Guoa in order to assist the Christians there in a matter which I hope in God will come to a successful end and will be the occasion for many to pass over to Christianity. Recommend this affair to God and ask Him that, even if our sins are great, and we are not at all worthy to be instruments in so important a matter, He may still, in His boundless goodness and inexhaustible love, deign to make use of us for the spreading of His holy faith.

Father Antonio will visit you in the near future; and if you feel physically ill and believe that you cannot work where you are, do what the priest tells you, that is, remain in those regions, or go to India to regain your health in Goa. . . . Do not lose heart even if you see that you do not reap as much fruit from your Christians as you might wish, since they are addicted to the service of idols and the king is opposed to their becoming Christians. Reflect on the fact that you are gaining more fruit than you believe, since you are giving spiritual life to the newly born children when you baptize them, as you do, with great diligence and care. For if you seriously reflect upon it, you will discover that few go from India to paradise, either whites or blacks, apart from those who die in the state of innocence, such as those who die at the age of fourteen or under. Know, Brother Francisco Amriquez, that you are producing more fruit in the kingdom of Travancor than you believe. And think of the number of children who have been baptized since you have been in the kingdom and who have died and are now in the glory of paradise, and who would not be enjoying God if you had not been there. The foe of human nature detests you much and would be glad to see you leave so that no one would go to paradise from the kingdom of Travancor. It is the practice of the devil to represent to those who serve Jesus Christ greater services of God, and this with the evil intent of troubling and confusing a soul that is in a place where it serves God. . . . And reflect upon the fact that since you have been on this coast, which can be eight months, you have saved more souls by baptizing children who died after their baptism than you would have saved in Portugal or Coullão up to now. . . .

I am sending Father Cipriano and Morais to the island of Sacotorá, where many Christians are living, and where there is no priest and no one to baptize them. Every day I hope for the arrival of the priests who are coming from the kingdom this year. They are to come to these regions, for I ordered them to come here when I sailed from Guoa to these regions. They will bring news of Antonio Gomez if the ship in which he sailed with his companions has arrived, for at the time of my departure from Goa the ship had not yet come.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 279-577.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 283.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 286.

⁶² EX I 467.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 462-468.

May our Lord give you much health and life for His holy service and lead you after the completion of this life to the glory of paradise. From Punicalle, the twenty-second of October in the year 1548.⁶⁴

Francis had dictated the letter thus far when he had to depart from the Fishery Coast. Since he had no opportunity to send the letter directly from Punnaikāyal to Travancore, he took it with him to Cochin. His confreres were grieved to see him depart. He was sailing towards an uncertain future, and who could know if they would ever see him again in this life?

One month after his departure, Baltasar Nunes wrote to his confreres in Coimbra an account of the impression which Xavier had made upon him at the time of his visit:

I received your letters, brothers, on October 10, 1548, when I was on this coast of Cape Comorim, very anxious to receive news from you; and it pleased our Lord that the bearer who brought it from Goa to this coast was our greatly loved and desired Padre Mestre Francisco, whom I, because of my sins, had not seen up till this time. Our Lord thus wished to console me through my seeing him and through your letters. I am leaving it to my brothers to tell you of the joy which I received from the letters which you sent to me, and I shall begin with the news of our good priest and father.

You should know that he is neither very small nor very large, but about the height of Father Manoel da Nobrega. His conduct is refined but without airs; his face is open; his eyes are ever raised to heaven and moist with tears. . . . You never hear anything from his mouth except Christ Jesus and the most Holy Trinity; and he then adds to these: "O my brothers and my companions, we have a much better God than we think! See, and give thanks and much praise to God that in so short a time since our holy Society was confirmed, only seven years ago, we perceive how much the Lord seeks to work through it. For we see, my dearest companions, that some are in Rome, others in Valença, others in Gandia, others in Coimbra, others in Santa Fee in Goa, others in Sacotorá, others in Cape Comorim, others in Malacca, others in Maluco, others in Japão, where I shall now be going."

He spoke these words, my brothers, with such emotion that he moved all of us companions who were present to tears, since we heard words spoken with such love and charity; and for our example he inspired us with greater zeal in spirit and greater longing to suffer as he told us of the labors and fatigues he had experienced. In the regions through which he passed and where he stayed he left behind such a reputation that it can hardly be believed. There are things which I shall not write, for they are things so precious that one does not dare entrust them even once to paper. "*Os iusty*

⁶⁴ The date of this letter has caused a good many headaches to its editors. On the different, mostly impossible attempts to resolve the problem, see EX I 463-464. The difficulty consists in the fact that this and the following letter are both extant in the original and appear to contradict each other: they both seem to have the same date: October 22. The first was written in Punnaikāyal; the second has no formal indication of the place of writing. Nevertheless, it was certainly not written in Punnaikāyal, but rather in Cochin; and both are signed by Xavier. MX, which we hesitatingly followed in EX, concluded that the words which come after *Punicalle* were added to the first letter by its author in Cochin on October 22. But the text down to the concluding *1548 annos* seems to have been written with the same ink and at the same time. Then, in fainter ink, but by the same hand, was added "*ep.*" on the same line. The *p* is written with a loop like those employed earlier in *pti* (*parti*) and *ptida* (*partida*), so that the author apparently intended to add *e partimos de llá*; but he broke this off and began a new line; and with the dark ink of the rest of the text he added: "*Depois que viemos de laa.*" Further, the Latin numbers for the day of the month after *Punicalle* are not written clearly. Instead of *a XXII*, as *XII* may perhaps be read, since the cross stroke from left to right is missing from the first X. We therefore prefer the solution that the letter was written on October 12, when Xavier was certainly still in Punnaikāyal.

meditabitur sapientia[a] e[t] lingua eius loquetur yuditium."⁶⁵ So great is his renown and example which are proclaimed throughout all India that the more one can say that he is a friend of his, the more reason one has for being called blessed.

I am writing this brief account to you, brothers, since I know that you will be happy to know it. But I am sorely grieved that I cannot describe in detail the marvels that men tell of him. Know and keep it to yourselves that the Lord works many things through him about which, as I have said, one is not allowed to speak. I therefore say no more about what concerns our good Padre Mestre Francisco except that he is sailing in April to Yapão, a voyage that takes a year and a half because, as it seems to me, of the changes of the seasons of the year; for the winds do not blow except in fixed months, in a way that creates great difficulties. But because of the great fruit and the redemption of souls, our Padre Mestre Francisco has resolved to go there. Moved by his great zeal for the increase of our holy faith, he has distributed us in these regions; whereas he is the first to encounter much greater perils to increase our strength of soul.⁶⁶

In his letter to his confreres in Coimbra, Manuel de Morais described the great consolation which the presence of Francis had brought to him in similar terms. He then went on to say:

He told us of the trials and labors which he had experienced in the lands where he went, in which he did things and left behind such a reputation for virtue and holiness that it would not be proper for them to be put in writing during his lifetime. The opinion which is held of him in the whole of India is so great that all, both young and old, believe that the closer they are friends of his, the more fortunate they are.⁶⁷

And H. Henriques, in the letter which he wrote on October 31, 1548, to Ignatius and the other priests in Europe, added the following:

I shall first attempt to give you an account of Father Mestre Francisco so that you and all of the Society may give great thanks to God our Lord, since he seeks as far as he can, and more than can be described, to fulfill that saying of St. Paul: "*Omni-bus omnia factus sum ut omnes lucrificerem*" (which is very applicable to our Society).⁶⁸ I would not be able to write with a pen to Your Reverence the reputation which Father Mestre Francisco has in India, from which there comes great fruit and praise to God our Lord. All the people regard the priest as a saintly man. He is never in a place where he is not overly occupied, so much so that one considers himself fortunate if he can speak with him. In all these regions he is a great light and example. All the priests of the Society are thus greatly obliged to give continuous thanks to God our Lord for the high esteem in which he is held by all, and for the abundant fruit which our Lord works through him. And since those who are going to you from here in India can give you news about the priest, I shall not enlarge upon this.⁶⁹

After a voyage of some six days, Xavier reached Cochin.⁷⁰ There he had his secretary add the following to the letter addressed to Francisco Henriques: "After we came from there." He then wrote below this in his own vigorous hand: "Your brother in Christ, Francisco."⁷¹

⁶⁵ "The mouth of the just will meditate wisdom, and his tongue will speak justice" (Ps. 36:30).

⁶⁶ DI I 317-319.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 460-462.

⁶⁸ "I have become all things to all men so that I might gain all" (1 Cor. 9:22).

⁶⁹ DI I 280.

⁷⁰ One could reach Cochin from Tuticorin in a sailboat in five days (Queyroz, *Basto* 123).

⁷¹ "Vosso hyrmão en Christo, Francisco."

In the city Xavier met three acquaintances: Pedro Fernandes, the vicar general; Frey João de Villa de Conde, the superior of the Ceylon mission; both of whom wished to sail to Portugal at the beginning of 1549; and Frey Antonio do Casal, the guardian. From Frey Antonio he learned that he had met Miguel Ferreira, the great friend of the Franciscan and Jesuit missions, in Cochin when the latter was recently sailing to the governor, Garcia de Sá, and on his return from Goa. Ferreira had recovered from his illness and had made a last attempt to undertake the punitive expedition against Jaffnapatam, for which he had received the captaincy through a decree of the governor Dom João de Castro. He had told Frey Antonio of the failure of his voyage. The old governor, who was averse to all wars, had told Ferreira that he would not send a fleet any great distance because of the danger from the Turks. Ferreira had replied that was not asking him for men or money for a fleet, only a small amount of powder. He would himself recruit the men for it from the Portuguese who sailed to the Coromandel Coast and were not in the service of the king. But his efforts had all been in vain.⁷²

The presence of the vicar general and of the three mission superiors, who had assisted the viceroy Dom João de Castro at the time of his death, was used to fulfill a last wish of the deceased through a letter to the king. The document, which was written in a beautiful hand by an official scribe and signed by all, ran as follows:

Senhor!

When the viceroy Dom Joam de Castro was on the point of dying, he told all four of us, Mestre Pedro, the vicar general; Frey Antonio, the guardian; Mestre Francisco of the Society of Jesus; and Frey Joam de Vila de Conde, by word of mouth that we should write this letter to Your Highness, in which we should remind you of the following in his name since he was already in a time when he could longer do so:

First, he recalled the many great services which Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda rendered to Your Highness in the battle of Diu and in the building of the fortress, where he provided a table for many men and had charge of building the bulwark of São Thomé, which cost him much effort. He also gave great assistance to, and accompanied, all the other fleets. He therefore asked Your Highness that you might find it well to reward him richly for this. And if Your Highness was somewhat displeased because he did not accept the fortress of Diu, then he asked Your Highness, for the hour which he was in, to forgive him.

He also recommended to us Francisco da Cunha so that we might remember him to Your Highness, for he also served very well at Diu, both in the battle and in the building of the fortress, and he provided food for many men and took care of many who were ill; and after God it must be attributed to him that many recovered from severe sicknesses. And he asked you, for the hour which he was in, to forgive him if he had displeased you in some way for not accepting the fortress of Diu.

And he further told us that we should commend Dom Francisco de Lima and Vasco da Cunha to Your Highness, who also were of great assistance to him and accompanied him in his labors; and Dom Francisco always accompanied him with great love and was ever with him up to the hour of his death.

He also told us that we should commend to Your Highness Dom Diogo de Almeida, the captain of Goa, who always helped him with much diligence in the wars here on the mainland, and he was always one of the first in them.

And he told us also that we should remind Your Highness of how Antonio Pessoa had greatly helped him with this fleet which he equipped for Diu and with all the

⁷² Frey Antonio do Casal to the king from Cochin on January 12, 1549 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 527-528).

others with great diligence; and for this reason he gave to him in the name of Your Highness as a reward some villages in the lands of Bassein, for which he pays the usual land tax. And he asked that you might deign to confirm this for him.

He likewise told us, and recommended with great earnestness on the same day that he died, that we should ask Your Highness that you might, for the love of God and because of the hour which he was in, forgive Amrique de Sousa Chichorro, and take into account that he is poor and is married to a woman who is an orphan and very poor. And since he told us all these things, and since they really occurred, to unburden our consciences, and for the consolation of the soul of the deceased, we all four here sign our names.

Today, the twenty-second of October, 1548.

Petrus Fernandus
Francisco

Frey Amtonio do Cassall, *custos*
Frei Joam de Villa de Conde ⁷³

After the document had been drawn up, a ship arrived in Cochin from Goa with a new confrere of the Society, who brought with him the long awaited news of the arrival of Antonio Gomes and his companions, and the letters from Europe which had come with him on the *Galega*.⁷⁴ The ship had landed in Goa on October 9;⁷⁵ eight days later he had been appointed for the mission on Cape Comorin; and Lancilotto had given him a box with the letters for Master Francis and the other companions.⁷⁶ The bearer of these was a young priest by the name of Paulo do Vale.⁷⁷ Like Gago and Melchior Gonçalves, he was moderately proficient in Latin.⁷⁸ He had his origins in Vizeu and was the son Affonso Martins and Catarina do Vale. His father was already deceased when Paulo entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra on November 6, 1547. He had left a document there in which he declared that he was ready to become a professed father or coadjutor, whichever would seem good to his superiors.⁷⁹ Five months after his entrance, on March 28, he had sailed from Lisbon for India with Antonio Gomes and three other confreres.

During their voyage they had all enjoyed excellent health, and by the end of May a favorable wind had already brought their ship to the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope; but since neither the pilot nor the skipper nor their substitutes had every sailed to India in such capacities, they thought at the time

⁷³ EX I 470-473.

⁷⁴ Also called *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*.

⁷⁵ Vale states on the eighth or tenth (DI I 431), Barzaeus on October 9 (*ibid.* 394).

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 431 436.

⁷⁷ His name is written *do Vale* by himself (*ibid.* 343), Ambrosio Nunes (*ibid.* 492), H. Henriques (*ibid.* II 388 390), Frois (*ibid.* 452), and Quadros (*ibid.* III 446). It is written *del Valle* by Barzaeus (*ibid.* I 383), Lancilotto (*ibid.* 441), Melchior Gonçalves (*ibid.* 314), and Gago (*ibid.* 560). Vale immediately became one of the best coworkers of H. Henriques, and with the latter's grammar he quickly learned the difficult Tamil language (*ibid.* 492 583). In the Lent of 1550 he was already able to hear the confessions of the Paravas (*ibid.* 390 396); he also learned its difficult script (*ibid.* 388-389 581). He was repeatedly struck by the pagans, and one day as he was preaching he was seized by the Badagas and carried off to the interior, where he had to endure a long month in jail (*tronco*, which becomes *cepo* in Seb. Gonçalves 6, 8) on a starvation diet of a handful of dried rice and a little water until the Paravas freed him by force of arms (Quadros in DI III 346; Bartoli, *Asia* 5, 35). Exhausted by the pains and difficulties of the apostolic life, he fell ill with consumption, a high fever, and dysentery; and, after bearing his sickness with great patience for three months, he died in Punnaikāyal on March 4, 1552 (DI II 388-389 452; III 346).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* I 440.

⁷⁹ Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 536-538 (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 3).

that they were only two hundred leagues from land, when they were actually a thousand leagues away from it. As a consequence, it took them thirty days to sail around the cape. Or August 5, at ebb tide, when they were seven leagues from Mozambique, their ship ran upon a reef and threatened to sink. At this critical juncture, Antonio Gomes fetched a head of one of the Eleven Thousand Virgins which they were taking with them and asked God's help through the intercession of the martyr. The *Galega* then came afloat again, and the following day they anchored at Mozambique, five days after the departure of the *São Pedro* from there. Six days later their own ship continued on its way. Unfavorable storms, however, delayed them an unusually long time. Food and water threatened to run out; almost all the passengers fell ill; and they did not reach Goa until October 9. Immediately after their arrival, Lancilotto handed the college over to Gomes, since he had for a long time, because of his infirmities, wished to obey rather than to command. All the others, like him, placed themselves under the obedience of Gomes, as Master Francis had ordered.

Master Francis was delighted to see Vale. During the five days that they were together in Cochin, he repeatedly asked him about his various confreres and their labors, especially about Master Simon Rodrigues and Father Ignatius, from whom he had received no letters even on this second *via*.⁸⁰ He also inquired about Strada, and he was particularly pleased with a letter from Master Simon which Vale had given to him.⁸¹

Rodrigues had always had the desire of going to Master Francis in India, even, if necessary, without the permission of the king. In January, 1545, Xavier had consequently been obliged to write to him that he should not come unless this was approved and ordered by Ignatius.⁸² The king had always maintained that Rodrigues was indispensable, not only for the founding of the college of the Society in Coimbra, but also for the court and the education of the prince. In 1547 Master Simon had therefore written to Xavier that as long as he could not himself sail to India, he would at least send him many fellow workers. In the same letter he had informed him that the Preste had asked for a patriarch, and that Master Pascasio had been chosen for this.⁸³

At the end of 1547, Rodrigues had, however, gained new hopes of going to India. The college in Coimbra was nearing completion, and the king had given him ten negro slaves to expedite the remaining work. His presence was no longer necessary for the prince since another could be appointed as his confessor. Rodrigues had therefore written to Martín de Santa Cruz in Rome that he should speak with Ignatius about his departure. He was anxious to spend the few days that remained of his life on the missions, and he was doing what he could to this end.⁸⁴

He discovered a new means to secure his departure in the king's opposition to the appointment of Father Pascasio as patriarch of the Preste. As a Frenchman, he was suddenly no longer favored for the mission. The king was thinking, instead, of sending a Portuguese priest from the College of Coimbra in his place. Rodrigues had therefore offered himself to the king for the office, reminding him of the fact that he and Xavier had earlier been destined by the pope to go

⁸⁰ DI I 436; II 11.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* I 428-432 394-395 552.

⁸² EX I 279-280. Cf. Vol. II, p. 539. On the relation between Xavier and Rodrigues, see F. Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 257-280.

⁸³ *Ep. Broëti* 559-561. See above, p. 247.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 571.

to the Preste. The College of Coimbra was, moreover, now firmly established both spiritually and temporally. What was still wanting could be easily supplied by another. As far as a confessor for the prince was concerned, the king had already asked Rodrigues to propose two or three priests of the college for this so that he might select one of them. On March 24, four days before the departure of the India fleet, Rodrigues had written all of this to Santa Cruz in Rome; and he had asked him to show his letter to Master Ignatius so that the latter might send him his opinion about it and tell him what he should do, since he did not wish to do anything without his approval. If he gave his blessing to it, God would favor the project; but if not, nothing would happen. He was convinced that the kingdom would suffer little harm though his absence. On the contrary, his departure would contribute to the great edification of both natives and foreigners.⁸⁵ This was more or less what Rodrigues had also written to Xavier.

At the end of October the ship which was to bring Xavier to Goa sailed from Cochin. Two months later Paulo do Vale wrote from Vêmbâr to his confreres in Coimbra about his meeting with Master Francis:

You will know, dearest brothers, that when we arrived in India our blessed Father Mestre Francisco was in Cape Comorim, and that those who were there enjoyed his presence, which is greatly desired, for six months. And it pleased our Lord that eight days after my arrival I was sent to where he was, to stay in Cape Comorim and to bring him the letters which had come for him from the kingdom. I met him in a city a hundred leagues from Goa by the name of Cochim, which is a distance of another hundred leagues from Cape Comorim. But how can I describe the happiness that filled my soul at the time! I can only express it to you in a few, weak words. *Vere, vere, vere servus Dei est iste, et nuncam inveniri similis [!] ili.*⁸⁶ Certainly, brothers, I do not say that if one speaks with him, but that if one only sees him, one is imbued by him with such a fragrant desire to serve God that it cannot be told. He was filled with joy at seeing me, and he has such a love for Father Mestre Simam that he did not cease speaking to me about him, and he kissed his letter and his signature many times. His mouth never ceased saying: "Praised be Jesus Christ!" with such fervor that those who spoke with him were filled with it. We were together for five days,⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 590-591.

⁸⁶ "Truly, truly, truly this is a servant of God, and I have never found one like unto him" (DI 432). A few lines later, he writes again in Latin: "*Mercēs vestra copiosa est in celis, si relictis omnibus vultis sequere [!] Jesum*" (*ibid.* 432-433).

⁸⁷ The place of the letter: "Esteveamos cinco dias . . . juntos" (*ibid.* 432) is wrongly translated by Cros: "Il passa avec les frères de Cochin cinq jours" (*Vie* I 394), and this is repeated by Brou (II 56). But the only confrere whom Xavier met in Cochin was Paulo do Vale. Cipriano and Morais had already sailed from Cochin for Goa before he arrived there, and they reached Goa before Xavier (DI I 402). Lancilotto did not encounter Cipriano in Goa or Cochin (*ibid.* 437). He left Goa probably before October 21, the day of Loku's baptism, since he says nothing of it, and certainly before October 24, when two *fidalgos* (Diogo Lobo and André de Carvalho) entered the Society, since he did not receive the news of their entrance until he was in Cochin (*ibid.* 441). The voyage from Goa to Cochin lasted an average of twelve days. The ships of Cipriano and of Lancilotto thus crossed on the way. On November 9 Xavier was not yet in Goa, since Melchior Gonçalves wrote from there on the ninth that he was expected in January (*ibid.* 315).—The chronology is therefore about as follows: Xavier was in Punnaikāyal on October 10. He wrote his letter to F. Henriques on the twelfth. Cipriano and Morais sailed from Punnaikāyal about the thirteenth, arriving about the nineteenth in Cochin. They sailed from there on the twentieth and reached Goa around the twenty-eighth. Xavier left Punnaikāyal about the fifteenth, reached Cochin around the twenty-first, signed the letter to the king on the twenty-second, and sailed around October 30 from there for Goa. Lancilotto came to Cochin about November 1. Melchior Gonçalves wrote from Goa on November 9, where Xavier arrived on the thirteenth.

and during this time there were not twenty hours that we were not with each other. He did not become tired asking about the brethren and about all that had happened, especially about Father Mestre Simão and Father Inacio above all others, and also about Father Estrada. He is always greatly enamored. At the end of five days he departed for Guoa with great desires to see Father Antonio Guomez.⁸⁸

7. ANTONIO GOMES (NOVEMBER, 1548)

In Goa it was thought that Master Francis would not return to the College of St. Paul until the end of January, 1549, after the letters for Europe had been completed;¹ but, instead, he arrived there unexpectedly in the middle of November.² Lancilotto and Luis Mendes³ had already sailed three weeks earlier, and the ships had crossed on the way. During Xavier's absence a rumor had spread in the city that he had been murdered in Cape Comorin, and the gruesome details of his death had been even indicated. The news had caused a great deal of sorrow among his admirers, including almost all the inhabitants of Goa. Some wished to fetch his body in order to have him canonized. They said that it must be obtained even if it cost thirty thousand ducats. They spoke with the priests about some miracles which he had, according to them, performed, but which he himself had kept secret. Cipriano and Morais had then, however, come from Cape Comorin. They had seen him there in good health and had left him unharmed. The excitement consequently died down.⁴ In St. Paul's College, Xavier encountered, instead of Lancilotto and his companion, the new confreres who had arrived during his absence on the *Galega* on October 9: Antonio Gomes, the new rector, and three scholastics: Luis Frois, Francisco Gonçalves, and Manuel Vaz.

Antonio Gomes⁵ had his origins in Ponta do Sol on the island of Madeira,

⁸⁸ DI I 431-432.

¹ DI I 315.

² See above, p. 527.

³ In the division of the newly arrived confreres, Luis Mendes was sent by Xavier from Goa to Quilon, as Barzaeus wrote in 1551 without giving an exact time (DI II 249). His extant letter, without place or date (*ibid.* I 446-448), seems to have been written before his departure from Goa since he says nothing of the baptism of Loku on October 21 and the arrival of the three *fidalgos* on October 24-25. In his letter to Lancilotto in this same year, Ignatius had insisted upon the observance of the *regula socii* (*ibid.* I 211-212 438); and we henceforth encounter Mendes constantly with Lancilotto in Cochin and Quilon (*ibid.* 405 520; EX II 9 24). Since Lancilotto was sent to Quilon because of his weak health and to found a college, Xavier must have given him a confrere as a companion and helper (EX II 76-77); and André de Carvalho wrote that at his death (end of 1552), Mendes had been four years with Lancilotto in Quilon (DI III 30).

⁴ DI I 402.

⁵ On Antonio Gomes see the sources: the indices in Q, EX, DI I-IV; *Ep. Broëti* 569 571 585-586 801; *Ep. Mixtae* I 265-266 375-383 485 527; *Ep. Quadr.* I 57 63-66; *Fabri Mon.* 345-347; Pérez, *Informação* 61 70-71; Gomes de Brito, *Hist. Trag. Mar.* I (1904) 47-65. ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 2; TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 5, 135v; *family tree*: F. de Meneses Vaz, "Gomes Eannes," *Das Artes e da História da Madeira* 3, n. 4 (1953) 50.—Accounts: Teixeira, Tursellinus, Lucena, Franco, and Guilhermy are silent about him. He is discussed by Polanco, *Chronicon* (index); Valignano 195-198; Seb. Gonçalves 5, 18; Tellez I 196; Bartoli, *Asia* 2, 32; 3, 45; 4, 6-7; Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 50 53 56 69; Cros and Brou (index); Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 367-368 647-652 (does not mention his India period); F. Hilt, S.J., "Paul de Camerino et Antoine Gomez," *Compagnons d'Apostolat de Saint François Xavier* (Ho-kien-fou, 1917) 1-23; A. L. Farinha, "Dr. António Gomes," *Das Artes e da História da Madeira* 3, n. 4 (1953) 1-10; J. H. Gense-A. Conti, S.J., *In the Days of Gonzalo Garcia 1557-1597* (Bombay, 1957) 69-71, and GS III 325-329. We shall later discuss his subsequent life and his death in the sinking of the *São Bento* in 1554.

where his parents, Gomes Eannes, called "*o Cavalleiro*," and Isabel Fernandes, had a good home and a chapel in the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz.⁶ Antonio Gomes was still less than twenty-five, but already a Doctor of Theology,⁷ when he entered the Society of Jesus in Coimbra on May 22, 1544.⁸ On August 6 of this same year he had renounced in favor of the Society his paternal inheritance which he, as the only legitimate son,⁹ would have inherited upon the death of his parents.¹⁰ The following year Simon Rodrigues had come to Coimbra and Gomes received a share in the public penances which Rodrigues had introduced, as has been already noted: On the morning of July 17, 1545, Rodrigues sent him before the beginning of classes with another student of the order in a black frock without sleeves and without a scholar's cloak to get water from the Cellas monastery for the college. After dark he was sent with five others into the city to ring a bell at various spots and to cry out: "Hell for all those who are in mortal sin!" Four days later he was sent again with others to deliver a speech on death in a public square and to invite the people to a sermon to be given by Father Strada on the following day.¹¹ In April, 1546, Gomes was ordained to the priesthood.¹² It was a turbulent time. The public penances which Rodrigues had introduced the previous year had encountered fierce resistance in the city, and also in the college, not so much from the young students of the order who, in Rodrigues' report, were young lions, whose *fervores* could only be checked with great effort, but among the upper classes of the city and the older priests.

⁶ Meneses Vaz 50.

⁷ In December, 1548, Lancilotto, disillusioned by the success of his urgent requests for a rector, wrote to Ignatius: "Mandò finalmente questo anno Mestre Simone qua un Patre che se chiama Antonio Gomes dalla insula da Madera, el quale dice essere dotor in teologia" (DI I 439). On March 8, 1548, Ant. Soares had already written more specifically to Martín de Santa Cruz: "Os da India, que este ano vão, são: Antonio Gomez, que vay por reitor do collegio; é feito doctor por solazar [Salazar?]" (*Ep. Broëti* 801). According to Polanco he was at the time of his entrance "inter maxime ingeniosos Conimbricensis civitatis habitus, et in Philosophia et in Jure canonico satis eruditus" (*Chronicon* I 158). In 1645 Tellez wrote at greater length that "Padre Antonio Gomes, insigne doutor theologo sarbonense, et muito conhecido de excellente engenho," had entered the college of Coimbra in 1544 (I 156). The *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa*, of 1945, states that Gomes had studied philosophy and theology at the University of Paris and that he had been a doctor of canon law and professor of philosophy in Coimbra (XII 515). In 1953 Farinha wrote that he had studied theology and philosophy at the "Sarbona" in Paris (2). In Soares' original letter, "Solazar" probably stands for *Salazar*, and his "Sarbona" is the *Sorbonne* in Paris. But Bernard-Maitre, who compiled from the acts of the University of Paris an accurate list of all the doctors of theology of this university between 1496 and 1536, could not find any Salazar or Antonio Gomes there. See "Les 'Théologastres' de l'Université de Paris au temps d'Erasmus et de Rabelais (1496-1536)," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 27 (Genève, 1965) 248-264. Neither was Matos able to discover them there in the data provided by Joaquim de Carvalho in his edition of the *Noticias Chronologicas* of F. Leitão Ferreira, 2a Parte, I, p. 380 (Coimbra, 1950) (*Les Portugais à l'Université* 103). Neither do we know anything about Antonio Gomes' teaching in Coimbra; none of the many Salazars in the bibliography of Nicolaus Antonio match the one we are interested in; and this is even more so for the Salazar and Antonio Gomes in F. Stegmüller, *Filosofia e Teologia nas Universidades de Coimbra e Evora* (Coimbra, 1959) 22 and 54.

⁸ ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 2.

⁹ TdT: *Chanc. D. João III, Doações* 5, 135v.

¹⁰ According to the family tree put together by Meneses Vaz, Gomes Eannes had in addition to Antonio six legitimate children: Isabel Fernandes, Helene Gomes, Guiomar (dos Anjos), Susana (de Santa Clara), Antonia, and Joana Gomes, and an illegitimate son Gomes Eannes de Figueiredo.

¹¹ *Fabri Mon.* 345-357; On these penances, see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 365-374.

¹² *Ep. Mixtae* I 265-266.

Martín de Santa Cruz, the rector of the college, and Strada, the celebrated preacher, were definitely opposed to them. Santa Cruz told Rodrigues of Favre's fear that these excesses could create difficulties for him in Castile; and Strada noted that he had lived with all the first companions and Misser Ignatius, that penances of this type had not been customary among them, and that more was made of them in Portugal than had been in Italy. When Rodrigues cited the example of St. Francis of Assisi, Strada replied that St. Francis had been a saint and had acted from a special divine inspiration. After Rodrigues' return to Lisbon, the college became so divided by the conflict between the two parties that the rector had difficulty in preserving his authority and Rodrigues had to return to establish peace.¹³ And one of those who had caused most difficulties for the rector had been Antonio Gomes.¹⁴

In December Luis Gonçalves da Camara, who had been born like Gomes on Madeira, succeeded Santa Cruz as rector in Coimbra.¹⁵ In the spring of 1547, he sent Antonio Gomes with two of his fellow students to the estate of the college in São Fins on the northwest frontier of Portugal to obtain some needed rest after their strenuous studies. Gomes had been appointed superior of the group, but he had a rather strange concept of a vacation. He sent his two companions on a popular mission to Caminha with orders to observe the strictest poverty, keeping strictly to the precise wording of the Gospels and the spirit of their institute. They were not to make any provisions for the following day; they were to beg their daily bread; they were to accept no alms or gifts; they were to live in the hospitals and serve the poor there. Some days later, though he was himself ill, Gomes joined them. The example of the three missionaries and their sermons on penance made a powerful impression upon the people of the city, who abandoned the bullfights in order to hear them preach the word of God. Encouraged by this success, Gomes and his companions conducted more missions in other towns between Douro and Minho: Viana do Castelo, Barcelos, Braga, Guimarães, Porto, and Lamego, and everywhere with great success. They had to stay up until around midnight to recite their breviary and to prepare their sermons. Women came to the hospital as early as three in the morning in order to secure a place for confession, and Gomes declared that all the priests in Coimbra would not be enough to satisfy all the penitents. The people wept aloud at the sermons. Some said that God wished to reform the Church through these missionaries; others that the end of the world was near; others followed them from place to place in order to make sure of their salvation; and many asked to be received into the Society. In his account of their activities to Luis Gonçalves da Camara, his rector, Gomes ascribed all their success to the prayers of his confreres in the College of Coimbra. He further noted that he was compelled to adopt two different attitudes: one of patience and meekness with the people outside, and one of rigor and justice within São Fins. He and his subjects were now seeking to observe all the customs of the college. He asked that his position of superior be given to another since he wished to be under obedience, to be given directions, and to have his faults revealed to him. His only wish was to know and to do God's holy will.¹⁶

At the beginning of 1547, in a long letter to Ignatius, Rodrigues had explained

¹³ Rodrigues to Ignatius at the beginning of 1547 (*Ep. Broëti* 547-551).

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 569.

¹⁵ See the list of rectors in Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 536.

¹⁶ Letter of A. Gomes from São Fins of May 27, 1547 (*Ep. Mixtae* I 375-383 and *Ep. Quadr.* I 65-66).

and defended his views on the public penances which he had introduced. He had, however, also noted the current strife which had risen because of them, and he had asked the general to write a letter on the true spirit of the Society to the students of the order in Coimbra.¹⁷ Ignatius had consequently sent him a letter on May 7, 1547, in which he, as an experienced master of the spiritual life, marked out the path of perfection which his sons should follow and suggested to them a middle course.¹⁸ The letter was received with great enthusiasm in Coimbra,¹⁹ as was the account which Antonio Gomes wrote on the success of the popular missions conducted by himself and his companions. On July 12 Antonio Soares wrote a letter from Coimbra to Martín de Santa Cruz, the former rector, in Rome about these missions.²⁰ On the same day Melchior Nunes Barreto sent a second, detailed report on them.²¹ He noted that since Antonio Gomes, whose *fervores* were already well known to him, was the captain of this *conquista*, the missionaries had gone forth with the greatest poverty and contempt of the world imaginable. He further observed that the missionaries had written that they were amazed that God had worked such great things through such poor instruments as themselves.²² At the end of the year Simon Rodrigues also wrote to Santa Cruz and informed him that Antonio Gomes and Gonçalo Vaz had gone the preceding summer to Viana and Caminha and to other towns of that region and had edified them greatly. He had then added: "Antonio Gomes has greatly improved and has great knowledge of, and regret for, the pains which he caused you; and he says that you are a perfect man." He then closed his letter with the following: "The people here are studying more than ever, so much so that I am afraid they will become ill. These people are all for extremes, as you know."²³ And on March 8, 1548, he informed Santa Cruz that Antonio Gomes was sailing this same year for India. In a postscript he repeated what he had already written: "Antonio Gomes has improved, for which God must be thanked; and it seems to me that he will produce much fruit there."²⁴

In addition to Paulo do Vale, three scholastics had also come on the *Galega* with Antonio Gomes.

Luis Frois,²⁵ the youngest of these, had been born in Lisbon²⁶ and had already

¹⁷ *Ep. Broëti* I 547-553, and the shorter 557-558.

¹⁸ *MI Epp.* I 495-510. Ignatius also wrote to them a letter on obedience on January 14, 1548 (*ibid.* 687-693). On both letters see Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 554-561.

¹⁹ *Ep. Quadr.* I 57-58 67.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 57.

²¹ *Ibid.* 60-71.

²² *Ibid.* 63-66.

²³ *Ep. Broëti* 569-571.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 585-586.

²⁵ On Frois see the *sources*: the indices in Q, DI, and Streit IV, and the biographical data in his letters and his *Historia de Japam. Accounts*: Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa* 201-254, which largely describes his work in Japan from his letters; Schurhammer, "P. Luis Frois, ein Missionshistoriker des 16. Jahrhunderts in Indien und Japan" (GS II 581-604); Frois, *Geschichte Japans*, pp. I-XXV, with a list of his letters; and Frois, *Kulturgesetze* 10-16. [See also P. Luís Fróis, S.J., *Historia de Japam I (1549-1564)*, edição anotada por José Wicki, S.J. (Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, 1976), 1*45*.] *His life*: He made his two years of novitiate in Goa. He then studied two years of philosophy and three of theology and, after a three-year stay in Malacca, was ordained to the priesthood in Goa in 1557 (DI V 258-259). Since his extraordinary literary talent was immediately recognized in India, Frois was at once employed as secretary of the rector and provincial; and his numerous, very informative letters were ravenously devoured in Europe and immediately printed in the original text and in translations. From 1563 he worked as a tireless apostle in Japan, where he gained the confidence of Nobunaga in Miyako. After the murder of his exalted benefactor, Frois returned to southern Japan, where he made

worked there in the royal chancellory,²⁷ where a Bartolomeu Frois held the position of a secretary,²⁸ when, at the age of sixteen,²⁹ he was received into the Society of Jesus in February, 1548, by Simon Rodrigues³⁰ so that he might sail for India a month later. Of this talented, vivacious, mature young novice, who was already experienced with the pen, with business, and with the world, it was said that he had not grown up on a farm but in the royal palace.³¹

Francisco Gonçalves, also known as Casco, had entered the order on October 11, 1546, in Coimbra;³² and Antonio Gomes had a high regard for him because of the great zeal which he showed in the service of God.³³

Manuel Vaz, the third scholastic, had been a servant of Luis Gonçalves da Camara. He had entered the order in Coimbra on May 20, 1545, where he was called "the philosopher" because of his learning. Despite his poor health he had

his vows of profession on October 18, 1581. The original of these is still extant (ARSI: *Lus.* 18, 1-v). From 1583 on he wrote his *Historia de Japam*, and after a transient stay in Macao he died in Nagasaki on July 8, 1597.—On his nickname *Polycarpo*, see DI II 537; III 365 361, n. 1, and p. 27*. The list of India voyagers adds to his name: "olim Polycarpo" (Wicki, "Liste" 270 336). The first part of his history appeared in a German translation in 1926; the second, in the original Portuguese, in 1938; the chapter on the Japanese embassy in the third part, in 1942. The manuscript of this third part, formerly in the possession of Lord Sarda, has been in the possession of the National Library in Lisbon since 1957. [As indicated above, the first part of Frois' history was published in the original Portuguese by Josef Wicki, S.J., in 1976.—Trans. note.]

²⁶ As Frois himself wrote in the Japanese catalog of January, 1588, which he drew up and wrote in his own hand (*JapSin.* 25, 9v); and in the **Livro de diversas lembranças e cousas que pertencem ao Superior universal de Japan*, which he composed in 1585, but which is only preserved in a copy (Ajuda 49-456; a poorer copy in the Ac. Hist. Madrid, *Jesuitas legajo* 21, n. 3, has "Cuimbra" by mistake instead of Lisbon). The Goa catalog of December, 1584 (*Goa* 24, 146v); Tellez I 393; Cardoso I 82; and Bartoli, *Giappone* 2, 64 also give his birthplace as Lisbon. Nieremberg, *Honor del Gran Patriarca San Ignacio* (1645) 363, erroneously gives his birthplace as Beja; and he is followed in this by Franco, *Imagem de Lisboa, Annus Gloriosus*, and *Ano Santo*, and by Barbosa Machado III (1933) 96.

²⁷ According to Maffei in his letter of November 6, 1579 (Frois, *Geschichte Japans*, p. VIII).

²⁸ Probably a relative of his. He is, for example, named in 1542, 1544, 1546 (Q 989 1183 2019), and 1552 (Sousa Viterbo, *Traub. Naut.* I 251).

²⁹ According to the Japanese catalog of January, 1588, composed by Frois, he was at the time fifty-six years old. He would thus have been born in January 1531 or 1532. The catalog of 1579 supports the year 1531: he was forty-eight (*Goa* 24, 123). The catalog of December, 1584, does the same: he was fifty-four (*ibid.* 146v). The catalog of Carneiro, from around November 20, 1559, gives his age as twenty-seven (DI IV 424), which would place his birth in 1532. The catalog of Cabral, of November 25, 1559, gives his age as twenty-six (*ibid.* 458), which would place it in 1533.

³⁰ He wrote on November 5, 1585: "I was received in Lisbon by Father Master Simon some thirty-five years ago, and I sailed in the same year to India" (*JapSin.* 9, 94). According to the catalog of 1588, written by Frois in his own hand, he entered in 1548 (*JapSin.* 25, 9v); according to that of December, 1584, in February or March, 1548 (*Goa*, 24, 146v).

³¹ See the judgments of the priests in Goa in 1559-1560: Carneiro (DI IV 424), Cabral (*ibid.* 458), Quadros (*ibid.* 403), Melchior Nunes Barreto (*ibid.* 507-508), Silveira (*ibid.* 472). Carneiro says of him: "Es humano en la conversación, porque ha sido hombre de palacio, de qua aún agora tiene algunas hezes."

³² ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 2; *Ep. Mixtae* I 527; Wicki, "Liste" 270 336. Appointed by Xavier for the Moluccas, he abandoned these without permission and was consequently dismissed by him in 1552.

³³ Gago wrote of him in 1549: "Francisco Gonçalves, por este sospiró Antonio Gomez, porque aprovechó aqua en grande manera y dexó mucho edificado este collegio de fervores que lleva, por ser naquela tierra [Maluco] necesarios" (DI I 554).

been sent to India by Rodrigues, where he could work as a teacher in the college.³⁴

Misser Paulo was full of praise for the zeal of the new confreres whom Master Simon had sent this year from Portugal, and he thanked him in a letter which he had given to Lancilotto at the end of October when he was departing for Cochin.³⁵ Antonio Gomes, the rector, as he observed in it, preached with such success that wherever he spoke the people ran after him. Father Melchior Gonçalves and Master Gaspar were also proclaiming the word of God to the pagans and infidels on the streets and squares with the help of a pupil of the college who was conversant in Konkane and served them as an interpreter.³⁶ Paul, the Japanese, had learned to read and write Portuguese well in seven or eight months, and he had made such progress that he daily wrote and meditated upon the life and sufferings of Christ. His servant Joanne was a very good son and was making great progress. With their countryman Antonio, who had been given to Master Francis, they wished to go with the latter to Japan. He could not write of the countless favors which God had given to them through the meditation of Cosme Anes, the *vedor da fazenda*, and his great zeal for the

³⁴ ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 2; *Ep. Broëti* 586 801-802.

³⁵ The letter is without a date or place of writing (DI I 344-349). According to Wicki it was not written before November 27 and, apparently, before the beginning of December, 1548, since it names Cosme Anes as *vedor*, a position which he received according to Q 4080 between November 27 and December 10, 1548. The short, insufficient data in our *Quellen* deceived him. Q 4080 (cf. *ibid.* p. 499) is a testimonial requested by governor Garcia de Sá on November 27, 1548, and given on December 10, 1548, with respect to an *auto* which Cosme Anes, "India secretary at the time," drew up on August 2, 1548. Garcia de Sá, immediately after his entrance into office (June, 1548), had ordered that the number of lawsuits in arrears should be determined. It was discovered that there were more than 160 of these. To expedite their settlement, the governor increased the personnel of the court of appeals by two *letrados*. On November 27 they had completed their task. Since in the meantime the king had sent two more judges for the court of appeals with the fleet, the two *letrados* appointed on August 2 were no longer necessary. The *ouvidor geral* and his colleagues had to write up a document to this effect for the king. This was done on December 10, and it was further stated in it that, since Cosme Anes, as *vedor da fazenda*, was at the time busy loading the ships in Cochin, the earlier *auto* (of August 2) could not be obtained, and that the present testimonial had therefore been drawn up.—On September 3, 1548, the new India secretary, Francisco Alvares, had come with the *São Pedro*, which had also brought the first group of Jesuits. Immediately after Alvares' arrival, Cosme Anes, in virtue of a royal decree (Q 3777), had relinquished his position; and Alvares on September 17, as India secretary, had already signed the treaty of the governor with the queen of Bhatkal (Q 3992). As a replacement for his former position, Cosme Anes now received that of *vedor da fazenda*, earlier held by Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha. The latter in turn became *provedor-mor dos defuntos*. On October 5, 1548, all three signed a document with statements regarding their new offices (Q 4002 and pl. XI 3, with their inscriptions).—The contents of the letter indicate that it had already been written by Misser Paulo in October. He states that the Japanese Paul (who came to Goa at the beginning of March, 1548) had learned to read and write good Portuguese in seven or eight months. The letter mentions the departure of Paulo do Vale, who sailed for Cochin on October 19, but it says nothing, like Lancilotto's letter, which was probably written at the same time (DI I 341-344), about Loku's conversion on October 21 and the entrance of the three *fidalgos* on October 24 and 25. The boundless praise of Antonio Gomes also indicates an earlier date, as also the repeated statement that others would write in detail to Europe.

³⁶ Wicki has Xavier speak Konkane, and he appeals to Xavier's own words in EX II 220 and 226 for this. But what is meant is a corrupt Portuguese, like that which the descendants of Portuguese still speak with local variants in their former colonies, as Xavier expressly observed when he wrote that his confreres should preach in Goa "falando el portugués como lo falan los esclavos de la manera que io lo hacia quando allá estava" (EX II 220).

holy work of making converts, which the arrival of the new priests had still further advanced. At the conclusion of his letter he asked Rodrigues to recommend Mestre Diogo and Miguel Vaz, the deceased founders of the college, ever in his prayers. Of Master Francis he wrote: "It seems to me that he must leave us since we are not worthy of so great a grace. He has a great desire to go to Japan."

After his return, Xavier told his confreres in St. Paul's College of the great zeal with which the priests and brothers were working for the salvation of souls on the Fishery Coast, and of the saintly example which their superior, Father Criminali, was giving to all of them.³⁷

In his letter Misser Paulo also praised the progress of the pupils of St. Paul's College in their study of Latin and in the spiritual life. Domingos de Carvalho had taken over the second Latin class.³⁸ Among the students in the college were the Paravas of the Fishery Coast and the boys whom Xavier had brought from the Moluccas. There was now also among them a young Brahman convert whom Criminali had sent at his own request to study in Goa. This was Pedro Luis,³⁹ who was sixteen years old at the time. He was a bright lad who came from a pagan family in the environs of Quilon.⁴⁰ Some two years earlier he had been baptized there. Ten months later he had offered to accompany Father Francisco Henriques as a missionary assistant when the latter went to Cape Comorin in April, 1547;⁴¹ and he had served the priests on the Fishery Coast and in Travancore for a year and a half as an interpreter.

A good many things had happened in Goa during Xavier's two-month absence.⁴² Antonio Gomes had reached the city on October 9 with the *Galega*. Lancilotto had immediately handed the college over to him, and all had vowed obedience

³⁷ DI I 561; cf. also 586 (on Criminali), 283 (on Adão Francisco), and EX II 23 29-30 (on Criminali) and 13-14 (on H. Henriques).

³⁸ DI I 478.

³⁹ On him see Wicki, "Pedro Luis, Brahmane und erster indischer Jesuit," NZM 6 (1950) 115-126. The primary source for his earlier life is his letter to Laynez of November, 1559 (DI IV 392-396). On his later life see the indices to DI I-XI.—He was taken into the Society as the first Indian in 1561 and was ordained a priest in 1576. As a scholastic and priest he worked with great zeal and success on the Fishery Coast and later also among the Thomas Christians. He died in 1596 and was mourned by his Christians as a father. His sermons on the Passion on the Fishery Coast moved the Paravas to tears. His obituary states that he was the first and last of his caste to be taken into the Society. It praises his obedience and his piety, and the great fruit he had produced on the Fishery Coast by his teaching and example (*Goa* 32, 610v-611). The catalog of the students of November, 1556, states that he had been nine years in the college (DI III 485).

⁴⁰ His brother, whom he converted to Christianity in 1568, lived in a village near Quilon (*ibid.* VII 569).

⁴¹ Wicki presumes that he joined Francisco Henriques in September, 1547, when the latter visited the captain of Quilon (*ibid.* IV 393-394). But Luis writes that he had entered the College of St. Paul in the year that Antonio Gomes came to India, that is, in 1548, after he had served the priests on the Fishery Coast for a year and a half. This brings us to April, 1547, when F. Henriques came to Quilon for the first time on his way from Goa to the Fishery Coast, and not to his second visit in September, 1547, when he went from Quilon to Goa and Chale, from where he did not return to the Fishery Coast until 1548.

⁴² For the activities of Antonio Gomes and Gaspar Barzaeus in Goa up to the conversion of Loku, the *main sources* are: the long letter of Barzaeus of December 13, 1548 (DI I 380 406), the two letters of the bishop of November 6 and 28, 1548 (*ibid.* 300-305 324-332); that of Melchior Gonçalves of November 9, 1548 (*ibid.* 305-315); and the short letters of Lancilotto (*ibid.* 342-344), Misser Paulo (*ibid.* 346), and Luis Mendes (*ibid.* 446-448), all three apparently written at the end of October before Loku's baptism.

to him, as Xavier had ordered them to do. On the following day he had visited the governor, the bishop, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans who had come with Gaspar Barzaeus.⁴³ He gave the bishop a letter of the king in which the latter recommended to him the priests of the Society of Jesus and St. Paul's College.⁴⁴ He also gave him the briefs through which the pope granted permission to the vicars of Ternate, Malacca, Macassar, Coromandel, Socotra, Quilon, Ormuz, Sofala, Mozambique, and Ceylon to administer the sacrament of confirmation,⁴⁵ and another with extensive faculties for the bishop himself.⁴⁶ On the following Sunday, October 14, the head of St. Geracina, one of the Eleven Thousand Virgins,⁴⁷ was carried from the ship to the cathedral and from there, in the evening, in solemn procession to St. Paul's College. The cathedral chapter and the rest of the secular clergy, the Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits and the students of the college, the bishop, governor, and all the nobility took part in this. Antonio Gomes delivered a sermon for the occasion that edified all,⁴⁸ and another on the following Sunday, the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins.⁴⁹ On the Sunday after this, October 28, Gago, whom the new rector had appointed minister of the house, celebrated his first Mass, for which he had been prepared by Torres through the Spiritual Exercises.⁵⁰ Before and during the Mass, Gomes preached to a packed congregation that not only filled the church but also the forecourt and cloister.⁵¹ On All Saints' Day, November 1, he again preached in the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz, where the body of a man who had recently been hanged had been brought from the gallows so that it could be given a Christian burial. His colloquies on this occasion gripped and enthralled the assembled throng.⁵²

The effects of his fiery preaching were extraordinary. The people said that nothing like it had ever been heard before in India.⁵³ They found no greater consolation in the absence of Master Francis than in the sermons of Father Antonio Gomes. He spoke with such zeal that he could have melted stones,

⁴³ *Ibid.* 394-395.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 301-303.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 303. The brief *Cum sicut carissimum*, of October 28, 1546 (cf. GS I 495 and Q 2472a), had been requested by Xavier (EX I 141-142 399). There was no vicar in Macassar or Socotra when the brief arrived.

⁴⁶ DI I 303-304. The brief *Meditatio cordis nostri*, of October 28, 1546 (Q 2471).

⁴⁷ Cf. Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 42, and DI XI 338.

⁴⁸ Correa erroneously states that the Dominicans had brought the relic in the *Galega*, and that the bishop had wanted it for his cathedral but had been refused by the friars. Because of this and some jurisdictional disputes, the secular clergy of the cathedral and other churches had refused to take part in the procession which brought the head from the Franciscan church to the Dominican monastery. They also refused to take part in the second procession, which brought a portion of the relic, which the Dominicans had given to the Jesuits, to the College of St. Paul, even though the whole city with its jurymen took part in it (IV 667-668). But this is contradicted by the bishop who wrote expressly that the relic was brought directly from the ship to the cathedral, and that he with the governor, the entire cathedral chapter, all the secular clergy of the city, the Franciscans, Dominicans, all the pupils of St. Paul's College, and all the priests of the Society of Jesus had brought it on October 14 to the college (DI I 303). Gaspar Barzaeus only mentions the governor and bishop and the whole of the nobility (*ibid.* 395).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 395.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 478-479.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 396.

⁵² *Ibid.* 313-314.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 342.

much more the hearts of Christians, as the old Thomé Lobo wrote to the king.⁵⁴ Some even went to the church at night to have a place when he preached.⁵⁵ And Melchior Gonçalves wrote to his confreres in Coimbra that what had happened in Portugal could not be compared with the success of the preaching of the new rector. The throngs coming to the college were a source of amazement, and it was impossible to satisfy all those who wished to go to confession. They were all preachers, but there was something extraordinary about Antonio Gomes, and his like had never been seen before. He was not only greatly admired for his words and wisdom, but his colloquies during his sermons were one single flood of tears—his own and those of his hearers. The bishop was also delighted with the results of the rector's preaching. He invited him to mount the pulpit in the cathedral, and he asked the king to order Antonio Gomes to do this occasionally in the future.⁵⁶

When he was leaving Goa for Cape Comorin, Xavier had ordered Barzaeus to exercise his thin voice at night in the church. He had done this until his confreres were satisfied with him. He had then begun to preach regularly, and his hearers were beginning to be pleased with his sermons. Besides this he had regularly visited the prisoners and had taken over an hour of grammar and another of *Proverbia* in the college.⁵⁷ He had also lectured on philosophy before the arrival of Antonio Gomes.⁵⁸ Although he and Melchior Gonçalves and Juan Fernandez had been ill when Gomes arrived, and he had himself been bled twice, he was back on his feet the following day;⁵⁹ and he soon became, after the new rector, the most renowned preacher in the city⁶⁰ and carried everyone with him through his ardent words.⁶¹ Whereas the rector was prevented by his many duties from preaching frequently,⁶² Barzaeus was tirelessly engaged in it—in the church, the jail, the hospital, and in the chapels in the environs of the city. Using the students of the college as interpreters, he also spoke on the streets and public squares. He thus preached three and four times a day,⁶³ and he also gave instructions in Christian doctrine on Saturdays.⁶⁴

Many poor migrants had also come with the fleet, who were not listed on the payrolls. They were rough and uneducated, and went begging in swarms from door to door. The governor saw himself compelled to provide food for them twice a day at four large tables, each of which held around two hundred people, to prevent them from starving or going over to the Moors.⁶⁵ In order to mortify him, Gomes on October 12, sent Gaspar Barzaeus with Cosme de Torres and a Malabar companion to preach to them.⁶⁶ They were a turbulent mob, whose heads were bloodied as they fought for places at table. They had already

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 272.

⁵⁵ As Gago already wrote with the ships which sailed for Portugal at the beginning of 1549 (*ibid.* 552).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 313-314 331.

⁵⁷ According to Wicki, Gaspar intends to say that he had gone through the *Disticha* of Cato (*ibid.* 396). In 1546 Lancilotto wrote that he taught these (*ibid.* 316).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 393-394.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 395.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 313-314 342 346.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 440 561.

⁶² *Ibid.* 398.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 314 330 342 346 398 440.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 607.

⁶⁵ Correa IV 671-672.

⁶⁶ Polanco, *Chronicon* I 342, for which he obviously had a more detailed text of Gaspar's letter.

threatened to kill Antonio Pesspa, who had tried to calm them down, and even the governor himself, so that the latter had been constrained to have one of the ringleaders hanged. But Barzaeus succeeded in establishing his authority over this rude company, which could have numbered some five or six hundred individuals; and they listened to him with keen attention. From then on, the priest went three times a week, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, to this "governor's table," as it was called, to preach the word of God. On the same days he also preached in different churches of the city, and was thus at times occupied the whole day with this work.⁶⁷

The results of all these activities persisted. There were soon confessions without end. Among these were many general confessions of prominent individuals. The bishop consequently wrote that almost the whole year was now Lent in Goa.⁶⁸ All in the jail went to confession, and every evening the Litanies were recited there. One of the convicts was appointed to correct those who swore and to reprove those guilty of other excesses when necessary.⁶⁹ During the short time that Xavier was gone, many large restitutions had been effected and many conversions made. A rich merchant offered Gaspar all he possessed and began to help the poor. After a sermon another who had been for a long time with the Moors came to him and stated that he was ready for any penance for his sins. A man of thirty-five came to the priest filled with remorse. He admitted that he had not believed in Christ his whole life long. He asked for a scourge in order to do penance for the sins he had committed. He scourged himself so cruelly that his confessor had to order him to stop. Others among his penitents had lived for many years in mortal sin, and one of them had lived for ten years among the Moors.⁷⁰

But none of these conversions caused so much surprise as that of the Brahman Loku.⁷¹

At the beginning of October Barzaeus learned that among those who listened to the sermons which he preached in the jail was Loku, the chief Brahman of Goa and one of the most prominent leaders of the pagans.⁷² Together with Krishna, the *tanadar-mor*, and Gopu, the representative of the charcoal dealers, he had been for long years in the service of the Portuguese. He was one of the main supports of Hinduism in Goa and a prime impediment to conversions to Christianity.⁷³ In 1524 his name was already in the account books of the factory⁷⁴ alongside those of Gopu and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha. In 1541, with Krishna and Gopu, he had handled the negotiations with the governor as a representative of the *gancars* during the transfer of the revenues of the ruined temples to the

⁶⁷ DI I 396-397 314 329.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 329 397.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 398.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 398-399.

⁷¹ On Loku's conversion, the *main sources* are Gaspar's letter of December 13, 1548 (*ibid.* 399-401), and the bishop's of November 28, 1548 (*ibid.* 325-329). Loku had the surname "*Comprido*" ("the Tall"), as is indicated by Christovão Fernandes (Q 4052) and Correa (IV 437).

⁷² DI I 399.

⁷³ Martim Affonso de Mello wrote from Goa on November 6, 1541, that many pagans on the island of Goa became Christians, and that more would become such if there were not some persons there who supported the pagans so that they did not become Christians, namely, Krishna, Loku, and Anu Sinai, and some of their relatives (*ibid.* 792-793).

⁷⁴ Q 104.

newly founded Association for the Propagation of the Faith.⁷⁵ A great friend and servant of the governors,⁷⁶ he was always to be found in the palace and had always enjoyed their favor; and, as a leaseholder of the tolls and other taxes during the course of many years, he had gained great wealth. His annual income was estimated at being six thousand *pardaus*.⁷⁷ As a friend and benefactor of the Portuguese, he had done much good for them. He distributed much of his wealth as alms, and he was so generous that it was only a trifling matter for him to give a thousand *pardaus* to someone. He also gave generous assistance to his countrymen and coreligionists. But the alms which he gave them kept them from passing over to Christianity. The bishop had sought for a long time to win him over to the true faith, but without result; and he had given up the attempt years before. Nevertheless, God found another means of entrance into his soul. A stroke of bad luck had reduced him to a state in which he was unable to pay his obligations, and he had been put in jail.⁷⁸ One day Barzaeus went to visit him and found him in the company of a good many Brahmans and other friends. Among these was Dadaji, the son of Krishna, who was administering his father's office of *tanadar-mor* while the latter was being held as a hostage in Bijāpur at the court of Adil Khān. God gave the priest the courage to engage them in battle. A long argument was begun on the religion of the Hindus. When Loku asked him to prove certain points of the Christian faith, Barzaeus did so with a number of comparisons and natural reasons adapted to the mentality of his hearers. After he had convinced them with respect to a good many of these, he suggested some articles and asked them to reflect upon them and to ask God to enlighten their understanding, to let them perceive the truth, and to give them the strength to follow it. Dadaji made fun of the priest when some questions were raised, but Loku took the matter seriously. Two days later he had Gomes told that he wished to become a Christian.⁷⁹ Gomes and Barzaeus thanked God for his change of heart, commended his request to Him, and immediately went to the jail. Loku gave himself completely into the hands of the rector. He wished to be baptized and asked the priest to help him save his soul. This was the only factor that was moving him to become a Christian. He was not being influenced by worldly considerations or the thought that he might obtain his freedom, since he wished that justice should take its course in everything.

⁷⁵ DI I 763.

⁷⁶ Correa cites a letter which Aleixo de Sousa wrote to the governor D. João de Castro in which he severely criticizes him for having altered the *bazarucos* which had been devalued by M. A. de Sousa. This had cost the king thirty thousand *pardaus*; and he insinuates that Loku, the chief leaseholder of the tolls of Goa, had bribed the governor to do this. It was said of this Hindu that, at the reception of the new governors, he had drums beaten and trumpets blown, and so charmed them with these that they agreed to everything he wished (IV 436-437). Meant is Sousa's letter of October 6, 1545 (Q 1577), to which Castro replied on October 17 (*Cartas* 105).

⁷⁷ DI I 401. The *Codex Ulyssiponensis* has 6,060, but this was corrected to 6,000. Six thousand *pardaus* correspond to 4,275 *cruzados*. The annual income of the governor amounted to 8,000 *cruzados*.

⁷⁸ DI I 326-327 401. The bishop indicates that financial difficulties put Loku in prison. He wrote that God had thrown this new Saul from his horse, from the honors which he enjoyed, and had caused him to experience what was unknown to the others, the "açoites de pobreza e mingua," in order to convert him (*ibid.* 326). On December 1, 1548, Gomes Serrão, the treasurer, wrote that Loku, as leaseholder of the tolls for Salsette and Bardez, owed 3,500 *pardaus* for the tolls of the past three years, 55 for the duties on the oil presses for the past two years, and 520 for the cargoes of camlet and silk of the past year (Q 4061).

⁷⁹ DI I 399-400.

Gomes reported the matter to the governor and asked him if he could release the prisoner. The request was readily granted; and the priests brought Loku to the college, where he received the necessary instructions for baptism in eight days. In the meantime the rector sent Barzaeus with two other priests and three Goanese students as interpreters to win Loku's companions also for the faith. They converted three of these, one of whom was a nephew of his, and another an old, respected *gancar*⁸⁰ by the name of Tahim.⁸¹

The solemn baptism of Loku and his companions took place on Sunday, October 21, 1548.⁸² It was a feast day for the whole of Goa. The streets were adorned with branches and areca palms that had been set up in them. In this the city was following the example of Lisbon, where the Rossio, the principle square of the city, was regularly adorned with firs on Easter Sunday. All the bells were rung as the solemn procession of the candidates for baptism, to the sound of shawms, trumpets, and kettledrums, made its way, accompanied by all of the nobility of the city on horseback, to the College of St. Paul. A Solemn High Mass was celebrated in the college church, during the course of which Antonio Gomes preached a sermon praising the native Christians and the Christian

⁸⁰ *Gancar* (*gāmvkār*), a representative of a village community (Dalgado I 416-417).

⁸¹ DI I 400; Q 4052.

⁸² We place the day of Loku's baptism on October 21 in contrast to Wicki, who would place it on November 18 or 11 (DI I 325 400). The reasons for our choice are as follows: On October 13, 1548, Thomé Lobo wrote from Goa (his letter is still extant and the date is written out on it: "*Treze dias do mes d'Oitubro*"): "Ao presente se fez cristão Lucuy, homem da terra dos principais, com sua moher e filhos" (*ibid.* 272), which at least means that Loku had already declared that he wished to become a Christian with his wife and children. Barzaeus wrote that when he learned that Loku was in prison, he had visited him and had argued with him; and two days later Loku had Gomes informed that he wished to become a Christian. The rector had then obtained his release and had him given his baptismal instructions for eight days in the college (*ibid.* 399 400). Both Gaspar and the bishop state that the baptism took place on a Sunday (*ibid.* 325 400). According to the bishop, an effect of Loku's baptism was that three or four days after it three *fidalgos* entered St. Paul's College in order to dedicate themselves entirely to the service of God: D. Diogo Lobo, André de Carvalho, and Alvaro Ferreira (*ibid.* 331-332). This, however, certainly happened before November 4, when Melchior Gonçalves wrote from Goa that Diogo Lobo, André de Carvalho, a third *cavalleiro*, and two others, fellow passengers on the voyage to India, were in the college at the time seeking admission into the Society (*ibid.* 309). According to Barzaeus, Carvalho had come and then Lobo, on the following day, to make the Exercises there (*ibid.* 403 404). This occurred however after Lancilotto's departure. He sailed from Goa on October 23 for Cochin and wrote from there on December 26, 1548, that during the past days he had received a letter from Goa stating that two *fidalgos* had come to the college to make the Exercises and to enter the Society (*ibid.* 441).—Our *chronology* is therefore as follows: On October 9 Gaspar argued with Loku in the prison, and Gomes came to Goa. On the eleventh Loku had Gomes informed that he wished to become a Christian. From the twelfth to the twentieth he received instructions for baptism in the college (on the thirteenth Lobo wrote of his conversion; on the eighteenth Paulo do Vale sailed from Goa). On the twenty-first, a Sunday, Loku was baptized. On the twenty-third or earlier Lancilotto sailed with Mendes from Goa for Cochin. The three *fidalgos* entered on the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth.—A *difficulty* is created by the bishop's letter of November 28, 1548, in which he writes at the beginning: "Omtem, dominguo, bautisamos . . . Loquu" (*ibid.* 325-326). November 28, 1548, was a Wednesday and not a Monday. The solution is probably that the bishop began his letter on October 22 and did not complete and date it until November 28. His preceding letter, dated November 5, 1548, was also begun a month earlier, since he begins it with the words: "During the writing of this letter the ship *Galega* arrived." He then describes the procession of October 14. The ship, however, arrived on October 9. This also explains why he is silent in the first letter on the baptism of Loku: he had begun it before it occurred.

faith. He also stressed the price which Christ had paid for the salvation of immortal souls. The bishop baptized six candidates: Loku, his wife, his nephew, two *gancars*, and a second woman.⁸³ Loku received the name of Lucas de Sá, his wife that of Dona Isabel, and his nephew that of Dom Antonio.⁸⁴ The governor, Garcia de Sá, was himself their sponsor. A priest of the Society of Jesus held the basin, another the container with the salt, a third the oil stocks, a fourth a burning candle, and a fifth the tapers during the procession in the cloister. Many of those who attended the ceremony were so moved that they shed an abundance of tears. After the ceremonies had been completed in the church, the neophytes rode, accompanied by all the *fidalgos*, and by many Brahmans as well, to the house of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha for the secular celebration. The festivities lasted for eight days; and the pagans said that since their father had become a Christian, they too, his children, must do the same. Loku himself declared that he would convert more individuals than he had hairs on his body.⁸⁵

The example given by Loku made a deep impression upon the people. Every day since his baptism there had been catechumens in the college preparing themselves for baptism. The bishop saw that the time was near when the whole island of Goa would become Christian.⁸⁶ The governor conferred many privileges and exemptions upon the new converts, and the bishop further urged him to give the office of *tanador-mor*, which had hitherto been held by Krishna, to Lucas de Sá. He also wrote to the king to ratify this honor after it had been granted.⁸⁷

Loku's baptism also made a great impression upon the Portuguese, especially upon a number of persons who had come to India on the ship with Barzaeus and felt drawn to the Society of Jesus by his example and that of his confreres, and by his preaching.⁸⁸ Three or four days after it, three *fidalgos* came to St. Paul's College to join the order.

⁸³ DI I 327. Thomé Lobo wrote that Loku had become a Christian with his wife and children (*ibid.* 272). Barzaeus and the bishop name only Loku with his wife and nephews. Christovão names him only with his wife and the old *gancar* Tahim (Q 4052).

⁸⁴ DI I 400.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 327-328 400-401. On November 5 the bishop wrote that in this year of 1548, in the cathedral and the two parish churches in Goa, 912 pagans, 200 children of Portuguese, and 500 children of native Christians had been baptized. In addition to these, 300 had been baptized in Carambolim and Pangim and the chapels of the island of Goa, and others in the College of St. Paul, whose number he did not know (*ibid.* 304-305). On December 18, 1548, the "Christian father" Ruy Barbudo declared that at the governor's request he had counted the Christians on the island of Goa. These came to five thousand. If the new converts in Salsette and Bardez and others who had not been included in the counting because they were absent were included, the number could have reached seven thousand. There would be many more, however, in the following year. Their number was daily increasing, especially since the baptism of Loku, who had formerly been the pillar of idolatry but was now helping to spread the Christian faith with all his strength. Antonio Gomes had just told him that many were baptized every day in St. Paul's College (*ibid.* 408). Lucas de Sá, as Loku was now called, died under the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha (1550-1554) (cf. APO V 177-178 798-799). Braz de Sá, *gancar* of Chorão is his descendant, as Professor Pissurlencar told us in 1952. Gomes Catão, relying on a genealogy of the Braz de Sá family, places Loku's baptism on September 30 (*Studia* 15 [1965] 60), but this is impossible since A. Gomes did not arrive in Goa until October 9.

⁸⁶ DI I 327-328.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 327-329. On December 13, 1548, he had already received the office of *tanadar-mor* from Garcia de Sá (*ibid.* 401).

⁸⁸ This is reported by Barzaeus (*ibid.* 403), Melchior Gonçalves (*ibid.* 309-310), the bishop (*ibid.* 331), Luis Mendes (*ibid.* 448), and Lancilotto (*ibid.* 441). See also *ibid.* 567-568. The bishop places the entrance of the three *fidalgos* "three or four days after Loku's baptism" (*ibid.* 331-332). According to Barzaeus, Carvalho was the first to be

The first of these was André de Carvalho,⁸⁹ a nineteen-year-old *cavalleiro*⁹⁰ and cousin of Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda.⁹¹ He had been born in Alcacer Ceguer in North Africa, where his father, Pedralvares de Carvalho, lord of Canhas de Senhorim in the province of Beira Alta, was the captain of the fortress. After the latter's death, André's brother Alvaro had succeeded to this position. Carvalho had grown up in Moorish territory fighting the followers of the Prophet with his seven brothers.⁹² After a stint at the Portuguese court,⁹³ he had sailed with his brother Gil Fernandes de Carvalho to India in 1548, both with a monthly income of two *milreis*.⁹⁴ The poverty of the members of the Society of Jesus, their heroic self-sacrifice in the service of the sick, and their apostolic labors in Goa had aroused in him the desire of entering the order. Antonio Gomes, who was aware of this, sent Barzaeus to visit him in his dwelling three days after the baptism of Loku. He found him ready to follow him. Without betraying his plans, Carvalho regulated his affairs and came by night to the college accompanied by one of his servants in order to make the Exercises before his reception.⁹⁵

received and Lobo on the following day (*ibid.* 403-404). We place Loku's baptism on the twenty-first and the entrance of the three *fidalgos* as a consequence on October 24 and 25. Wicki writes that November 25 is to be read in our footnote (EX II 343, n. 3) instead of October 25 (DI I 423, n. 54); but he earlier gives the text of Melchior Gonçalves' letter of November 9, 1548, in which the latter has an account of the entrance of the three *fidalgos* (*ibid.* 309).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 309 331-332 403. On André de Carvalho the sources are: his autobiographical data in the **Responso Nadal* I 85-86 (a summary is given in *Mon. Nadal* I 689, n. 2); his genealogy in **Andrade Leitão* VII 1696-1699 and **Manso de Lima* VII 58-63. For India, see the indices of Q EX and DI I-II. For the years 1553-1559 in Portugal and Africa: *Mon. Nadal* I-II (see indices); ARSI: *Ital.* 2, 361; 58, 78 (vows); *Lus.* 43, 51v 53v 57 64 65 68 71 74 107 113 119 121 142 145 147 168v 172v 179; 51, 237v; 52, 57 240 253-v 256v; 58, 54; 60, 154 160 165 176; 61, 119 142, and also the account of the eyewitness Agostinho de Gavy de Mendonça, *Historia do cerco de Mazagão* (Lisboa, 18902).—*Accounts*: Franco, *Synopsis* 67-68, *Ano Santo* 49-50, *Annus Gloriosus* 53-54; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 466-467.—*Life*: He returned ill to Portugal with an accompanying letter from Xavier in 1553. In October he wrote a letter to Ignatius from Coimbra on the martyrdom of his companion Luis Mendes. After completing his studies, he was ordained to the priesthood in Coimbra in 1559 and in different houses held the offices of minister, confessor, novice master, and procurator; but he was constantly afflicted by headaches, fevers and other maladies. An irresistible homesickness was drawing him back to Africa, where two of his brothers were fighting against the Moors: Ruy de Sousa de Carvalho as captain of the fortress of Mazagão, which was being besieged by the Moors, and Alvaro as admiral of the auxiliary fleet. Since the queen also wanted him to settle a quarrel between his two brothers, his superiors sent him there in 1562; and he fell the following year in Tangier during an attack in the battle with the Moors.

⁹⁰ According to the catalog of July, 1559, he was at the time twenty-nine years old (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 74). According to his own account in September or October, 1562, he was thirty-three or thirty-four (**Responso Nadal* 85).

⁹¹ DI I 332.

⁹² **Andrade Leitão* VII 1696-1699; **Manso de Lima* VII 58-59. "Un cavallero de mucha manera" he is called by Melchior Gonçalves (DI I 308). Gavy de Mendonça describes his brother Ruy de Sousa de Carvalho as a "very brave *cavalleiro*," and he states that his brother Alvaro, who victoriously defended the fortress of Mazagão during the two-month siege of 1562, in which the Moors lost more than twenty-five thousand dead, had taken part in more than fifty tourneys (51 145-147). Alvaro was the son of the captain of Alcacer Ceguer and a brother of Bernaldim de Carvalho, who followed their father in this office.

⁹³ **Responso Nadal* 85.

⁹⁴ **Memoria das pessoas* 97; *Emmentia* 430.

⁹⁵ DI I 403. Contrary to Nadal, he stated that he entered to save his soul, since it seemed to him that he would not be able to do this in the world, and that no one had persuaded him to do so. He made his confession to Master Gaspar; A. Gomes received him into the Society. His Exercises lasted for sixty-four days (**Responso Nadal* 85).

The following day the rector sent Father Melchior Gonçalves to get another *fidalgo*, Dom Diogo Lobo,⁹⁶ who had also manifested a desire to join the Society of Jesus. He too immediately accepted the invitation to make the Spiritual Exercises. Lobo was an illegitimate son of Dom Felipe Lobo⁹⁷ and nephew of the baron of Alvito, Dom Rodrigo Lobo.⁹⁸ He also had sailed to India on the *São Pedro*, as a *moço fidalgo* with a monthly income of one *milreis*.⁹⁹

When the captain of Sofala¹⁰⁰ visited Carvalho while he was making the Exercises in the college, the latter told his visitor that he would not give up an hour in the Society for all the gold in the world. He also said the same to many other nobles, and this moved others to follow his example.¹⁰¹

Three more *fidalgos* then came to the college.¹⁰² The first of these was Alvaro Ferreira¹⁰³ from Montemor in Portugal.¹⁰⁴ He was a gifted and virtuous young man,¹⁰⁵ but like all the others without any higher education.¹⁰⁶ In addition to these, there were more than twenty others who had asked to be received.¹⁰⁷

⁹⁶ DI I 403-404 309 331. According to Melchior Gonçalves he entered "con votos deliberados" (*ibid.* 309). He seems to have soon left the Society. Nothing is known about his later life.

⁹⁷ Wicki erroneously calls him the son of D. Rodrigo Lobo, the third baron of Alvito, the *vedor da fazenda* (*ibid.* 331, n. 26; corrected in DI VIII 77). D. Rodrigo was the son of D. Diogo Lobo, the second baron of Alvito (Braamcamp Freire III 402-403). According to Barzaeus D. Diogo Lobo was the son of D. Felipe Lobo (*ibid.* 403). He was an illegitimate son (*Emmentia* 429; **Memoria das pessoas* 96). In DI I 867 he is confused with André de Carvalho.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 309 331.

⁹⁹ **Memoria das pessoas* 96.

¹⁰⁰ Meant is D. Jorge Tello de Meneses, captain of Sofala from 1544 to 1547 and successor of João de Sepúlveda (Q 984). In 1547 he was succeeded by Fernão de Sousa de Távora (Correa IV 605). On August 8, 1548, he came from Sofala to Goa and sailed at the beginning of 1549 for Portugal (*ibid.* 665 680). Wicki erroneously states that he became captain of Goa in 1548 (DI I 403, corrected in VIII 777). The captain of Goa from 1545 to 1548 was D. Diogo de Almeida. His successor, D. Francisco de Lima, took his oath of office before the chamber on November 3, 1548 (**Confirmação*).

¹⁰¹ DI I 403-404.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 404.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 331-332. Alvaro Ferreira was dismissed by Xavier in 1552 from Sancian and sailed back to India. From there he sailed to Portugal (Teixeira in MX II 803). Nothing is known about his later life. The bishop calls him Alvaro de Ferreira (DI I 404), as does Barzaeus (*ibid.* II 581). Melchior Gonçalves simply calls him a *cavalleiro* without giving his name, and he continues: "otros dos, los quales de la nave en que veníamos, venían movidos" (*ibid.* I 309). He is probably to be identified with Alvaro Ferreira, son of Antonio Ferreira and Maria Anna, who sailed in 1545 with his brother Nuno for India, both as *cavalleiros* with a monthly salary of 1,240 *reis* (**Memoria das pessoas* 86). On his namesakes see EX II 474, n. 23.

¹⁰⁴ His birthplace is given by Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 1, 70.

¹⁰⁵ "De grande vertude e muita abelidade," according to Frois in 1552 (DI II 454).

¹⁰⁶ Barzaeus wrote on December 13, 1548, of those who at that time requested to be received: "No tienen letras, porque acá no aa sino quien busque riqueza temporal" (*ibid.* I 403-404). André de Carvalho had still to study Latin after his return to Portugal, and he was also poorly equipped with Portuguese orthography. In two extant vows (without year or place) we find such forms as: *ofreso*, *deuyna*, *ymtylgēsya*, *palrauras*, *prepetua*, *obydyemsa*, *sopryores*, *quōpaynhya*, instead of *offereço*, *divina*, *intelligencia*, *palavras*, *perpetua*, *obediencia*, *superiores*, *companhia*.

¹⁰⁷ Not all were received. On December 13, 1548, Barzaeus wrote: "Andan al tiempo que ésta hago más de veynte que piden que los resciban: si algunos probaren como es necesario recibirlos an" (DI I 403). A year later, in October, 1549, Gago wrote from Goa: "These who have been received since the arrival of Antonio Gómez up to the present moment (for none were received before this) are twenty. Two of these went to Cape Comorin [Ambrosio Nunes and Manuel Rodrigues], one went to Coulam [Luis Mendes] to Father Nicolao [Lancilotto], two others to Basaín [Luis Frois and probably

Thus, for example, a number of those sailing to India on the *São Pedro* had expressed their wish to enter the Society of Jesus. Among these was none other than the captain of the ship and admiral of the fleet, João de Mendonça.¹⁰⁸ There was also a *doctor utriusque iuris*, who had been a companion of Father Urbano in Siena;¹⁰⁹ and the licentiate Francisco Alvares, who was sailing to assume the position of India secretary, a man distinguished both for his virtue and his learning.¹¹⁰ The heroic sacrifices of Barzaeus and his companions had made such an

Simão da Vera]; the rest are here in the college. Of these two were ordained [to the priesthood]: Domingos de Carvalho and Francisco López. . . . There are presently studying: Andrés de Carvalho, Alvaro Ferrera, [Melchior de] Melo, Francisco dela Silva, Reynão Perera, [Gil] Barreto, [Alberto de] Araujo, Francisco López" (*ibid.* 567-568). Of these the following were received in 1548: Araujo, Lopes, Nunes, Pereira, Rodrigues, and Vera. Fernão do Souto and Antonio Vaz were also received, and, apparently still in 1548, Mello and Silva. Frois had already been received in Lisbon. Torres, Domingos de Carvalho, Mendes, and Barreto had been received by Xavier. Pedro de Alcáçova apparently entered in Goa in 1546, and Lobo had already again left the order in 1549.

¹⁰⁸ DI I 309 383. João de Mendonça had the surname "o Chá" to distinguish him from his cousin of the same name, João de Mendonça Casão, and four other namesakes. On him and his ancestors, see Feo Cardoso 753-770, and Couto 6, 7, 2, p. 82; 7, 10, 18, pp. 573-585. Couto (in other places), Correa (in index), and Ferreira Martins, *Crónica* 301, confuse him with Mendoça Casão. Our João de Mendonça was the son of Antonio de Mendonça and Isabel de Castro. He sailed in 1538 to India with his two brothers Diogo and Manuel, all with a monthly salary of 1,680 *reis*, Diogo as a *fidalgos cavalleiro*, the two others as *fidalgos escudeiros* (**Memoria das pessoas* 64 66-67; *Emmentia* 370-371). In 1547 he received a title to the captaincy of Malacca and sailed in 1548 a second time to India. He sailed a third time in 1557 in order to take over this position (*Emmentia* 25), which he held from 1559 to 1561. When the viceroy D. Francisco Coutinho died at the beginning of 1564, Mendonça became governor of India by virtue of a royal *alvará* of March 1, 1562 (APO V 563-565), and ruled until September 3, 1564, when the new viceroy, D. Antão de Noronha, relieved him. A letter of March 29, 1564, praises his "marvelous" zeal in the service of God and of his king, "new in these regions," and his complete lack of any greed (TdT: CC 1-106-131). Couto gives a long description of his short rule and adds at the end a brief description of him: "He was of average size, haggard, somewhat thick-set, truthful, liberal, a friend of justice, businesslike, impartial, always available to any visitor." He was married to Dona Joanna de Aragão, the daughter of Nuno Rodrigues Barreto, the *vedor da fazenda* and chief captain of the city of Faro and of the Villa de Loulé. He left for Portugal the following year [1565], but had to winter in Ormuz. He sailed from there in November and landed on St. Helena, where he left some partridges, with which the island is now full, and a cow and a young bull for breeding. He arrived poor in Portugal, since he had gained little or nothing from Malacca and still less from his service as governor (7, 10, 18-19). His wife bore him three children: two sons, who entered the order of St. Francis, and a daughter who also entered a monastery. He accompanied King Sebastião on his voyage to Africa and fell in the unfortunate battle of Alcacer Quebir in 1578 (Feo Cardoso 768-770; Queiroz Velloso, *D. Sebastião* [Lisboa, 1935²] 384 409). His letters are in TdT: of January 15, 1564 (CC 1-106-107), and of March 3, 1564 (CC 1-92-6).

¹⁰⁹ DI I 309. Probably meant is Father Urbano Fernandes, S.J., who died on his voyage to India in 1553 and was earlier called Gonçalo. It is not known who was the *doctor utriusque iuris*.

¹¹⁰ DI I 309. On the licentiate Francisco Alvares (not to be confused with at least seven namesakes, among whom was an *ouvidor* whom we encounter in 1545 in Ceylon and in 1547 in Diu), the *main sources* are: Q 3777 3992 3994 4002 4183 4854 4911 6129 6130 (and pl. XI 3), and p. 478; EX II 454-456 462 519; DI I 309; II 41-42 47; III 756-757 764 766; IV 23 46; VII 259-261 699; SR IV 57-58 315 499 512; V 347; VI 174 177; VIII 369; APO V 203 218 221 229-231 233 235 257-258 278 322 639 893 954; Correa IV 680-681.—*His life*: On February 2, 1548, John III gave his private secretary, "for his loyal services," the office of a secretary to the viceroy in India for three years with an annual salary of 200 *milreis* and forty hundredweights of pepper purchased with his own money to be shipped to the kingdom (*ao parte do meio*), the pepper to be sold to him at thirty-four *cruzados* per hundredweight; and he was to take up his position of secretary immediately after his arrival (Q 3777). Because of his appointment as India secretary, his wish with

impression on Mendonça, who was a very prominent *fidalgo* and special favorite of the king, that even before their arrival in Mozambique he had asked with the greatest insistence to be received into the Society of Jesus. It seemed to him that with all the pomp and vanities of his rank he would not be able to obtain everlasting felicity, since not even the priests with all their poverty and toils were certain that they would save their souls. He was told in reply that there are many mansions in the house of the Lord. After he had made the Exercises of the first week and had made a general confession, he was given to understand that he could not be accepted. There was fear of the people, who loved him dearly. He was told that he should persevere for a year in his resolve in order to obtain certainty from God about his future. After this he let himself be guided in everything by the advice of the priests of the Society of Jesus.¹¹¹

In a letter which he wrote to the king on October 13, the old veteran Thomé Lobo described the impression which the work of Xavier and his new confreres had made upon the people of Goa:

Great service is shown to God in these regions by all the religious communities that are here, and especially by the order of Jesus, since these apostles make us excellent Christians in comparison with what we were before, something which should afford a great amount of satisfaction to Your Highness. During the whole past year there have always been many confessions and Communion in their church of São Paulo; and when Father Mestre Francisco is here, there is always preaching filled with great learning; and he is always going to make friendships, and he tolerates no enmities; and by this great evils have been avoided; and he employs his time in this. They are all very virtuous and of great humility. They accept no money for Masses or for anything they do, and they do not regret this since they say that they are sufficiently attended by the great alms and favors which Your Highness provides for them. Father Mestre Francisco is always seeking labors in strange lands where he can encounter a martyr's death, and he now says that he wishes to go to Japão; and, as it is said, he will produce great fruit and service there for God on high. . . . With the coming of Father Antonio Gomez of the same order, we have no greater consolation for our souls

regard to his acceptance into the Society could not be granted; but he always remained a warm friend of the order. On April 3, 1550, the king appointed him *ouvidor geral* for the criminal cases which went to the court of appeals in order to expedite their completion (APO V 229-231: Q 4453). He was living in Malacca in this capacity and as *vedor da fazenda* in 1552 when D. Alvaro de Ataíde, as admiral of the ocean, blocked the embassy of Diogo Pereira. When Pereira's brother, D. Pedro da Silva da Gama, deposed him from his office of captain of Malacca because of this and handed the fortress over to Alvares, D. Alvaro resisted this command as well. In March, 1553, Alvares returned to Goa with D. Pedro da Silva and gave the governor an account of his activities (Couto 6, 10, 8, p. 452). On October 12 of this same year he also received, at the request of the king, the position of *provedor-mor dos defuntos* (APO V 258). As such he defended the legacy of the deceased convert Lucas de Sá against the royal treasury (SR VI 177). On January 13, 1557, he testified to the authenticity of the copy of the depositions in Goa for Xavier's process of canonization (MX II 218-219). In the same year, at the request of the priests of the Society on the Fishery Coast, the governor commissioned him and the vicar of Cochin and Father Pérez to help with the reestablishment of peace between two warring factions of the Paravas (DI III 676 756-757 764; IV 23 46). Between 1567 and 1579 we encounter Alvares in Goa as *juiz dos feitos* (APO V 639 893 954). A tombstone in the church of St. Francis in Goa with the simple inscription "Sepultura de Frco Alvres e de seus erdeiros" (BSGL 13, 8 [1894] 619) is probably his. In 1561 he signed a document of the confraternity of the Misericórdia as a member (SR VIII 369). He was praised by the provincial D. Gonçalo da Silveira, S.J. (DI III 757), the governor Francisco Barreto (SR VI 174), and the king himself (Q 3777). His signature is given in Q, pl. XI 3. The chief dates of his life have been assembled by F. X. Gomes Catão in *Studia* 13/14 (1964) 502.

¹¹¹ DI I 248.

in the absence of Father Mestre Francisco than he. He preaches with such zeal that stones would melt from it,¹¹² how much more the hearts of Christians! Since his coming he has done great things; and just recently Lucuy,¹¹³ one of the most prominent natives of the land, has become a Christian with his wife and children. I assure Your Highness that apart from the fruit which all these priests produce in their preaching, they advise your captains and officials on what they should do and on their responsibilities so that Your Highness will be well served by them. These people live as they speak and do what they say, and it can be said of them that they are the salt of the earth.¹¹⁴

The bishop, Frey Juan de Albuquerque, was similarly enthusiastic about the work of the priests of the Society of Jesus. Along with other letters, Antonio Gomes had brought him one from the king. In it John III urged him to favor the priests of the Society in whatever way he could, and also the students of the College of the Holy Faith. The bishop answered him in this regard in a letter which he wrote on November 5:

I have always done so in spiritual matters, in their hearing of confessions and winning of souls for Jesus Christ. I have given them all my authority and faculties both here and in all the regions where they go; and I have reserved nothing to myself, neither the cases reserved to bishops, nor those which I have from the pope through his briefs, nor even those reserved on the Thursday of the Washing of the Feet.¹¹⁵ For I know how much fruit those who help me to carry the burdens of my office produce, and I trust in their consciences that they will use them with great prudence and discretion, since our Lord inspired Your Highness to send them to me here in order to help me to increase our Catholic faith. They are very humble and subject to every reason, and their conversation is, I may say, angelic. With regard to our personal affairs, I visit them frequently and they me. They celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi on the day that it is celebrated in Portugal;¹¹⁶ and they do so in their cloister; for even if it rains and the weather is bad, they go under a roof; and I, to the honor of God and of the college, go there on that day and carry the Blessed Sacrament in pontifical robes. And I provide for everything else that they request of me.¹¹⁷

After the conversion of Loku, the bishop informed the king of this significant event; and he expressed the hope that with the assistance of the priests of the Society of Jesus he would be able to convert the whole of the island of Goa in one or two years if certain measures were taken: The office of *tanadar-mor* should be taken from Dadaji, an enemy of the Christians, who was administering it for his father Krishna while he was being detained at the court of Adil Khān, and given to Loku. Dadaji should also be kept away from the palace of the governor; a free hand should be given to Loku; and he should be permitted to remove some of the highly placed pagans discretely from their offices and to give them to Christians.¹¹⁸ Frey Juan de Albuquerque then continued:

Experience has shown me that no people have come to this land with greater zeal and more care and concern for the affairs of Christianity and the conversion of the infidels and readiness to help the Portuguese to save themselves than the priests of the

¹¹² Cf. Judith 16:18: "Petrae, sicut cera, liquescent."

¹¹³ Loku.

¹¹⁴ DI I 271-272.

¹¹⁵ The bull *In Coena Domini* is meant.

¹¹⁶ On the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. If Easter was late, this fell during the rainy season in India.

¹¹⁷ DI I 301-303.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* 327.

Society of Jesus. They go every day to the hospital to hear the confessions of, and to serve, the sick; and they are also very assiduous at the prison. And at the table of the *lascarins*, which the governor provides (though he is not himself present), there is a sermon three times a week before the noon meal, while all the *lascarins* are seated at table according to their rank; and a priest of the Society called Mestre Guaspar preaches to them; and after the sermon the food comes, and they eat. In addition to this there are the general confessions of many prominent people, so that we have Lent almost the whole year round. They visit the chapels; and young men of the same land, students in the college, preach to the Canarins for them in their own language; and I at times go with them. . . .

I would like to see the whole of India filled with *Apostolos*.¹¹⁹ . . . They are in Cape Comorim and in this city, and four of them are now going to Çacotorá. And I would like to find one or two of them in every street in the whole of India, for the respect which the people have for them and the decency of their dress and their contempt for the world surpass human understanding. They are very easily equipped for spiritual matters; they are not a burden to the clergy; they do not take from them the *trintairos*¹²⁰ or other Masses. They do not bury any of the dead; and they do not go into any homes with a cross in order to take away the deceased with their *Venite*;¹²¹ for the priests of this land are very poor. When the church was built in Cananor, there was a vicar with four beneficiaries in the city, who recited the Office in choir. Now the city can only support a vicar, and only a Low Mass is offered there, as in Landeira.¹²² The sole activity of the priests of the Society of Jesus is work for souls, and this without being a burden to the clergy. I am obliged to tell Your Highness the truth, especially where I have the responsibility of doing so.¹²³

Whenever Xavier came to Goa, one of the first visits he made was to his friend the bishop,¹²⁴ whose life's dream was to see the whole island of Goa become Christian. After that he would be glad to die. During Xavier's absence, Frey Juan de Albuquerque had learned that a prominent Brahman on Divar had hidden some idols and pagan books in his house. On the strength of this report, he sent a church warden with two priests of the chapel on the island and two witnesses to the house. There they found a basket filled with idolatrous books, which they then brought to him. When Krishna's son Dadaji learned of this, he secured an order from the governor that the books should be returned to their owner. Dadaji happened to be with the bishop when the governor's servant delivered this decree to him. The aged shepherd rose from his chair without a word and seized his staff. His visitor fled from the room, through the reception hall to the door of the episcopal palace, with the bishop in hot pursuit. There the latter paused and raised his staff to lay a mighty blow upon the fleeing Brahman, but he only hit the door. The bamboo pole was shattered and Dadaji was able to escape. The bishop then returned to his room and gave his reply to the messenger of the governor: "Tell His Lordship that I have been doing this for a long time, and that I did it during the rule of former governors to root out paganism and to increase the Catholic faith of Jesus Christ. This Dadaji

¹¹⁹ By this are meant the Jesuits, who were called "apostles" in Portugal and India (cf. Vol. I, p. 604).

¹²⁰ Gregorian Masses (thirty on successive days) are meant.

¹²¹ "Venite" is the beginning of Ps. 94, which introduces the Office of the Dead.

¹²² Landeira is a small, out-of-the-way parish in the district of Montemor-o-Novo (Evora).

¹²³ DI I 329-331; SR IV 131-137.

¹²⁴ In 1555 Quadros wrote about Xavier in Goa: "When he came here, he first went to visit the bishop, then the vicar and the friars of St. Francis and St. Dominic before he came to us (DI III 335).

can no longer be heard, or favored, or be permitted to enter the palace. If His Lordship does not like what I am doing, he should know that this was the only reason for my coming to this land, and this was the commission which I received from the King, our Lord. Let someone else confer the sacrament of orders and give the children a blow on the cheek when they are confirmed." After this the governor did not offend the bishop again. The latter, however, showed the basket and its contents to Antonio Gomes, who took one of the books, as he was asked, to see if he could find someone to translate it.¹²⁵

The Franciscan mission in Ceylon was a source of concern for the bishop. Garcia de Sá, in contrast to his predecessor, supported Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the rajah of Kōttē, against his brother Māyāduṇṇē.¹²⁶ The superior of the mission, Frey João de Villa de Conde, saw that the only remedy to the persecution of the Christians by the pagan king was to sail in person to Portugal and give an oral report on the situation to John III and obtain from him preventive measures. The bishop had sought to detain him during the past three years, but the guardian was now unwilling to be further delayed. The bishop therefore recommended him to the king since he was a good man, a virtuous religious, and had the best of intentions. Frey Juan de Albuquerque was still, however, of the opinion that they had come to India to endure difficulties and despite for the love of God and the increase of the faith. For this business of converting the pagans, they needed much prudence and endurance, which some of them lacked. Ceylon was, moreover, a land in a state of war and subject to vicissitudes which could not be easily understood in Portugal.¹²⁷

With respect to the Dominicans, the bishop had spoken with their vicar general, Frey Diego Bermúdez. Since the latter wished to send two priests to Chaul and two more to Cochin, he had given them a chapel in the former and was ready to give them another in the latter. But he was opposed to their building monasteries in these cities and thought that they should be content for the present with the new building in Goa. He would have preferred to have had Jesuits in both places.¹²⁸

Among the secular clergy, Gabriel Feroso, the French vicar of Nossa Senhora da Luz in Goa, was a problem for the bishop. Since he had been the chaplain of Martim Affonso de Sousa, the bishop had appointed him to be vicar of this church. Feroso had then sailed with his patron to Portugal and had returned from there in 1542 as a chaplain of the royal house and prothonotary apostolic. The papal nuncio in Lisbon had obtained this latter dignity for him, which exempted him from the authority of the bishop and placed him directly under that of the pope. Not content with this, Feroso now wanted to wear a rochet in the general processions. His example had infected other priests, who ambitioned the same dignities and privileges. The bishop therefore had to write to the king that he should have the prothonotary's brief immediately revoked, especially since its present possessor had no higher education. He should also forbid the nuncio's procuring any more briefs of the kind for India.¹²⁹

After he had visited the bishop, Master Francis called on the Franciscans,

¹²⁵ The bishop wrote: "I showed Antonio Gomes the basket with the books yesterday." But the letter was begun on October 26 and not completed until November 28. as we have shown above in n. 82.

¹²⁶ Cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 11.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* 518-519.

¹²⁸ SR IV 136.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.* 138-139.

as he habitually did, and also the Dominicans, who had come during his absence.¹³⁰ They had been brought to India on the *Santo Spirito*.¹³¹ There were nine of them;¹³² and for the first three months, while their monastery was being built, they had been hospitably taken in by the Franciscans.¹³³ Like their hosts, they were close friends of the priests of the Society of Jesus.¹³⁴ They took turns with the Jesuits in preaching at the church of the Rosario, and they frequently came to St. Paul's College and had been invited to dinner there.¹³⁵ They were a picked group. Their vicar general, Diego Bermúdez, was a Castilian, and before sailing

¹³⁰ On the antecedents to the founding of the Indian "congregation" of the Portuguese Dominicans, see Benno Biermann, O.P., "Die ersten Dominikaner in Ostindien (1503-1548)," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 26 (1936) 171-192; *idem*, "Documenta quaedam initia Missionum Ordinis Praedicatorum in India Orientali illustrantia (1503-1548)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 10 (1940) 132-157; Charles-Martial de Witte, O.S.B., "Aux origines de la Congrégation indienne de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs (1546-1580)," *ibid.* 36 (1966) 457-492. The sources for the arrival of the Dominicans in Goa in 1548 are: Q 2880a 3413 3994 4002 4052-4053 4056 4089 4104 4129 4148 4187a 4324; EX II 51; DI I 303 323 330 391-392 395 407; SR IV 57-58 109 129 135-136 172-173 210-211 219-223 254 290-313 321-322; Correa IV 669-670.—*Accounts*: Santos II 92-93; Cacegas IV 304-312; Jacinto da Encarnação in SR VII 367-546 (Sá published another, almost verbatim copy in V 347-535. On the author, see *ibid.* 347-348 535).

¹³¹ DI I 391-392. Cacegas mixes everything up (we give his erroneous data in italics): He has Bermúdez sail to India with twelve companions, who were *divided up on all the many ships*. *One of these with two priests* [of the Society] came, according to him, on July 2 to Mozambique and these immediately helped in the hospital. The vicar general [here confused with Antonio Gomes] sailed in the *Galega*. *He saved the ship from sinking by means of the head of the Eleven Thousand Virgins* and did not come to Goa until the end of October (IV 306-307).

¹³² The authors are at odds with respect to the number. Santos (1609) gives thirteen and names three of these: Bermúdez, Macedo, and Gaspar da Cruz. Jacinto da Encarnação (1679) has the same number but names two more priests in addition to Bermúdez and Macedo, who only came later to India: Antonio Pegado and Manuel da Serra. Cacegas (1678) has twelve sail for India and gives their names: (1) Bermúdez, (2) Macedo, (3) Ignacio da Purificação, (4) Luis de Abreu, (5) Diogo de Ornellas, (6) Gaspar da Cruz, (7) Sebastião da Cruz, (8) Vicente de Santa Maria, (9) Reginaldo de S. Domingos, (10) another priest, and two lay brothers: (11) Luis do Rosario and (12) Pedro da Magdalena (IV 305).—But the contemporary sources contradict this. Correa writes that there were six friars (IV 670). And the Portuguese Provincial Frei Francisco de Bovadilla, O.P., wrote to the king from Porto on October 23, 1547, that he had just received a letter from him according to which six confreres should be chosen for founding a monastery in Goa, and he would do everything to carry out the wishes of his His Highness (SR III 511). In 1551 and 1560 the king also sent six Dominicans to India (DI II 196; IV 834). Jacinto da Encarnação however writes that Bermúdez took twelve companions with him, including a chorister and a lay brother. Another account states that he had six companions (375). Yet the Franciscan guardian Frey Antonio do Casal wrote to the king on January 21, 1549: "I gave shelter to all nine of the Dominican priests who came this [past] year, and who were sent by Your Highness to found a monastery. I kept them for more than three months and always gave them whatever they needed" (SR IV 254). He was also in a position to know. Against a number of twelve or thirteen is also the circumstance that we do not find further references to seven to twelve in Cacegas' chronicles. They are probably listed by Cacegas because he thought that Antonio Gomes and his companions were Dominicans. The number six is also perhaps explained by the fact that the king originally wished to send only six, also by the possibility that the lay brothers were not counted.

¹³³ Casal speaks of "more than three months." Cacegas states that the Franciscans had sheltered the Dominicans for six months (IV 309).

¹³⁴ On December 13, 1548 Barzaeus wrote: "Antonio Gomes went the day after his arrival to visit the governor and bishop and the friars of St. Dominic and St. Francis, and all love us much" (DI I 395).

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 323 392.

for India he had been the superior of the monastery in Lisbon.¹³⁶ Francisco de Macedo had there occupied the first chair of theology.¹³⁷ Ignacio da Purificação had studied together with Xavier in Paris and had been a student-servant of the young Leão Henriques in the Collège de Sainte-Barbe in 1535.¹³⁸ Two years later he had come with some fellow students from Paris to Lisbon and had there received the habit of St. Dominic. He had also held the position of novice master.¹³⁹ Gaspar da Cruz, who had been born in Evora, had made his profession in the monastery of Azeitão. He was a zealous missionary,¹⁴⁰ as were his two companions, Luis de Abreu and Diogo de Ornellas.¹⁴¹

The priests had brought with them a building plan that had been approved by the king for their future monastery in Goa.¹⁴² They had to look for a suitable site on which to erect it and had received 50,000 *cruzados* for its construction and an annual income of 1,500 *pardaus*.¹⁴³ The king had recommended them in a letter to the governor, and the latter had designated Ruy Gonçalves de

¹³⁶ Cacegas IV 305. On Bermúdez, see the *sources*: his letters: Q 4072 (ed. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 514-517) 4334 4719 (ed. *ibid.* 569-574); *ibid.* 663-664; SR IX 154-155; Botelho, *Cartas* 35-36; DI II 263-265; III 582 761 763 766 773; IV 231; SR VI 171; his signature in Q, pl. V 10. *Accounts*: Cardoso I 54; Cacegas IV 305-314; Jacinto da Encarnação 375-377.—*Life*: Bermúdez was vicar general of the India province, which he founded, from 1548 to 1559. He built the splendid monastery in Goa and founded the houses in Chaul and Bassein. He died in Goa on January 6, 1563, revered as a saint. After his death people kissed his hands and feet and cut pieces from his habit as relics. Four days before his death he had written his last letter to the queen, "already old and tired." He informed her that this year he had seen the completion of the church of his monastery in Goa, "one of the most beautiful churches. I have never seen one larger and more beautiful except for São Domingos in Lisbon" (SR IX 154).

¹³⁷ On Macedo, see Santos II 92; Cacegas IV 305; Jacinto da Encarnação 376-377. He was the first to teach philosophy and theology in the monastery in Goa, and the first to have the title of prior as superior there (1554). He was also novice master and died in 1570 with the reputation for sanctity.

¹³⁸ DI I 392. On Leão Henriques, see Vol. I, p. 253. At the end of 1535 he came with his cousin Luis Gonçalves da Camara to Paris, but he did not enroll until the rectorate of Diogo de Gouveia junior (December 15, 1538, to March 23, 1539) (Matos 93). He took the examinations with his cousin in Paris, continued his studies in Coimbra, and entered the Society on April 30, 1546, a year after his cousin. He was rector of the colleges of Coimbra, Evora, and Braga, vice-provincial in 1565, and provincial from 1566 to 1570. For several years he was confessor of the cardinal infante and of King Dom Henrique. He died a saintly death in Lisbon on April 8, 1589 (Franco, *Imagem de Coimbra* I 61-89, *Ano Santo* 188-191; Rodrigues, *Hist.* I 1, 448-449).

¹³⁹ Mario Brandão, *O processo na Inquisição de Mestre João da Costa* (Coimbra, 1944) 53. In 1540 he was already in the Dominican monastery in Lisbon (Matos 73). On December 30, 1548, he was present at the election of the jurymen in the monastery in Goa (SR IV 222-223). In Goa he also became novice master (Cacegas IV 311 322). He was revered as a saint because of his faithfulness to the rule and his zeal. In the church of his order in Cochín, he delivered his last sermon with his usual fiery eloquence and was carried dying from the pulpit (Santos II 165-166).

¹⁴⁰ Gaspar da Cruz, who was renowned for his *Tractado da China*, printed in Evora in 1570 (Anselmo, n. 399), went to Malacca in 1554. From there he went to Cambodia at the invitation of its king. In 1556 he went to China, and from there to Ormuz and Portugal, where he died in Setúbal in 1569, in the service of those stricken with the plague, and was buried in the monastery of Azeitão (Santos II 93-94; Cacegas IV 320-322 and Jacinto da Encarnação 410 510-511).

¹⁴¹ Ornellas was present on December 30, 1548, for the election of the jurymen in the Dominican monastery in Goa (SR IV 222-223). According to Santos he was a very exemplary religious and servant of God (II 166). Nothing further is known of Luis de Abreu (cf. Lagôa, *Grandes* I 229-230).

¹⁴² Botelho, *Cartas* 36; Correa IV 669; SR IV 57-58; Cacegas IV 308.

¹⁴³ Correa IV 669-670.

Caminha to take care of them. With his help¹⁴⁴ and that of other friends, such as Francisco Barreto, who had come to Goa on August 10 as the captain of the *Burgaleza*,¹⁴⁵ a good site was found. The plot of ground was at the southern foot of the height of Nossa Senhora do Monte, between it on the east and Mandovim Square on the west.¹⁴⁶ It was located on the boundary of the village of Gotorê and was occupied by the homes of eleven poor families, each with its own garden.¹⁴⁷ These were expropriated, torn down, and their owners indemnified for them.¹⁴⁸ Though the priests owned a large garden with wells, they wished to have also the adjoining garden and part of the house of Pedro Godinho, who held the village of Gotorê as a hereditary fief, for the erection of their cloister.¹⁴⁹ Godinho was a wealthy man and one of the earliest and most respected citizens of Goa.¹⁵⁰ When he resolutely refused to renounce his property, Bermúdez was obliged to write to the king for assistance.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ EX II 51.

¹⁴⁵ SR IV 172-173.

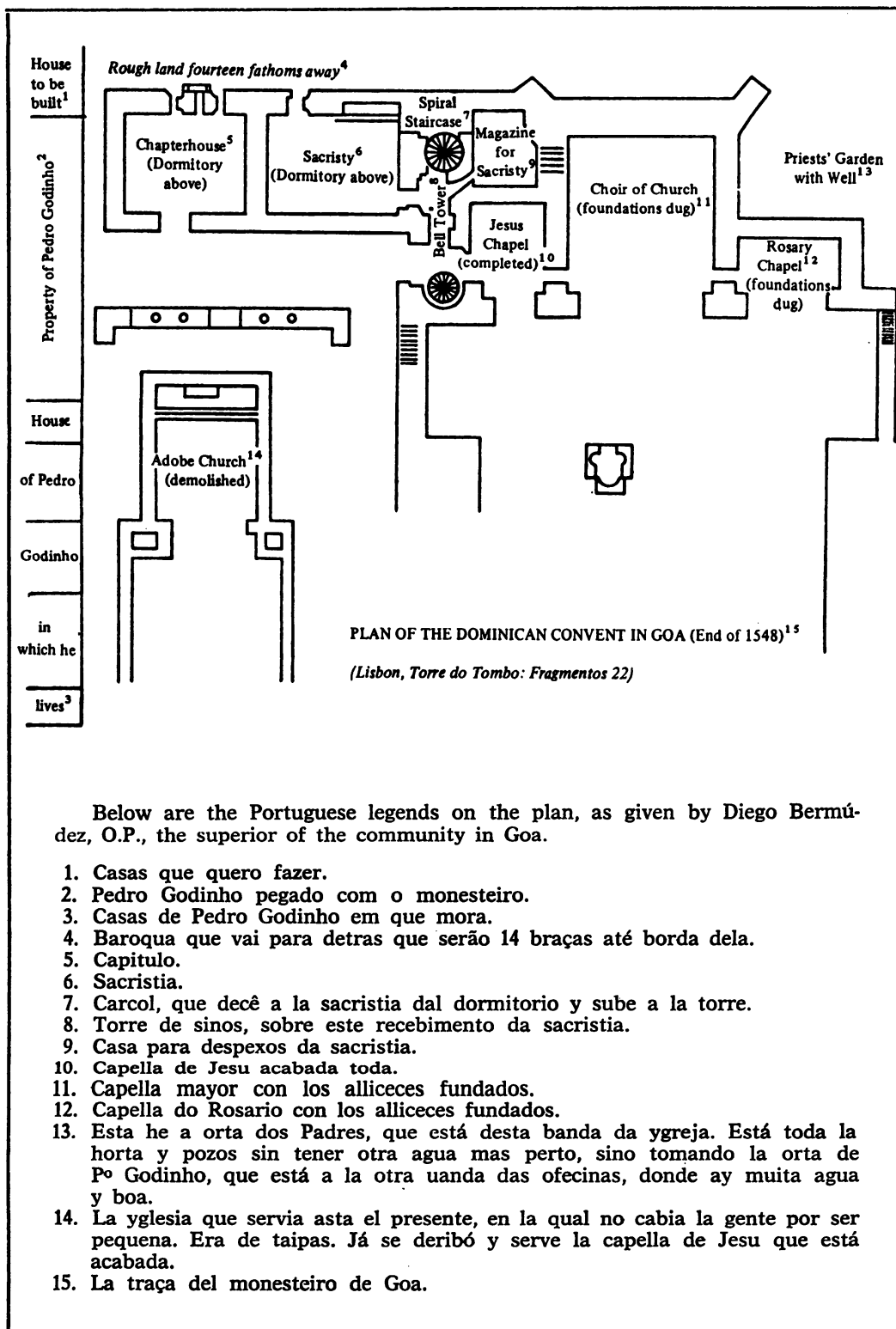
¹⁴⁶ Cacegas IV 308.

¹⁴⁷ Pais, *Tombo* 52; Correa IV 670.

¹⁴⁸ The residents were, according to Cacegas, pagans, and were only persuaded to leave their homes when one of their countrymen, a venerable old man, told them that he had had a vision of two priests in the same garb as that worn by the Dominicans before the coming of the Portuguese, a sign that God wished to have the priests there (IV 308-309). Correa, who was no great friend of the Dominicans, wrote that they had brought warrants from Portugal according to which they could compensate the owners of the confiscated houses with an estimated sum; but he added: "forão pagas a Deos misericordia" (IV 669-670).

¹⁴⁹ On January 30, 1552, Botelho wrote that Bermúdez had enlarged the plan which the king gave him, and he added ironically: "It seems that it was necessary, since this country does not tolerate any small churches." He quarreled with Pedro Godinho over this. The result was that the building of the cloister had to be suspended (*Cartas* 36).

¹⁵⁰ Pedro Godinho was married in Goa when he received from the king in 1520 the offices of *almoxarife* of the depot, overseer of the buildings (*vedor das obras*), and secretary of the horse tolls for life (APO V 50-52; instruction of 1526, *ibid.* 97-114). Around 1530 he had the village of Gotorê in copyhold and paid for it an annual lease of ninety-seven *tangas brancas*, two *barganis*, and six *leais* (*Gavetas* V 245). The undated document has an erroneous archival notice upon it: "1540?" It was, however, written before 1532. At the end of it there is a paragraph written in a different ink referring to the taxes of the money-changers which "the deceased governor D. Henrique [de Meneses]," at the end of January, 1526, "leased in order to finish the cathedral with them." The city was now asking that these might be given to the cathedral after its completion as a source of income (*ibid.* 248). On March 26, 1532, the king replied to a letter which had been written by the city to inform him that the church had been completed with alms and the income from the money-changers which he had granted to it until it was finished (APO I 1, 1314). Godinho served in Diu in 1530, and his son-in-law Jerónimo Ferreira was able to register the horse tolls until his return (TdT: CC 2-166-36). In 1536 he fought on horseback with the other *casados* of Goa on the mainland against Sulaimân Agha and Jane Beg, the captain of Adil Khân (Correa III 690 741). At the end of 1542 he wrote to "a very great friend of D. João de Castro" (probably the secretary of state) in Portugal about the arrival of M. A. de Sousa and the first measures he had taken (TdT: CC 2-238-7). In 1544 he received a royal *alvará* according to which his son Gomes Godinho should, after his own death, receive his position as secretary of the horse tolls (Q 1206). In 1547 the governor D. João de Castro handed over to him two hundred fruit-bearing coconut palms in Siolim, worth 190 gold *pardaus*, for a lease of 7 *tangas brancas* and 3 *barganis*, to thank him for his help during the siege at Diu (**Mercês* 149v). And in the middle of March, 1548, the same governor gave him as a reward "for his many years of service" a voyage to Bengal and Malacca (*ibid.* 195). In the solemn procession which was held for the placing of a picture in honor of St. Catherine on the victory wall to celebrate the triumph of the governor in Broach, he had been able to carry the picture with Antonio Fernandes (Baião, *Hist.* 264). Jacinto da Encarnação cites an *alvará* of June 26, 1551, according to which the viceroy, D. Affonso



Below are the Portuguese legends on the plan, as given by Diego Bermúdez, O.P., the superior of the community in Goa.

1. Casas que quero fazer.
2. Pedro Godinho pegado com o monesteiro.
3. Casas de Pedro Godinho em que mora.
4. Baroqua que vai para detras que serão 14 braças até borda dela.
5. Capitulo.
6. Sacristia.
7. Carcol, que decê a la sacristia dal dormitorio y sube a la torre.
8. Torre de sinos, sobre este recebimento da sacristia.
9. Casa para despexos da sacristia.
10. Capella de Jesu acabada toda.
11. Capella mayor con los allicees fundados.
12. Capella do Rosario con los allicees fundados.
13. Esta he a orta dos Padres, que está desta banda da ygreja. Está toda la horta y pozos sin tener otra agua mas perto, sino tomando la orta de P^o Godinho, que está a la otra uanda das ofecinas, donde ay muita agua y boa.
14. La yglesia que servia asta el presente, en la qual no cabia la gente por ser pequena. Era de taipas. Já se deribó y serve la capella de Jesu que está acabada.
15. La traça del monesteiro de Goa.

On September 20 Garcia de Sá had the government architect, Affonso Madeira, make an estimate of the cost of the stonework on the projected monastery from the building plan. On October 25, in the presence of the *vedor*, Cosme Anes, the *provedor-mor dos defuntos*, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, and the India secretary, the licentiate Francisco Alvares, Francisco de Resende, the chief carpenter, submitted an estimate on the cost of the woodwork and fittings. The former would come to at least 40,000 *pardaus*, and the latter to 20,800 if the church and choir were vaulted.¹⁵² The work was immediately begun, and a temporary, adobe church, the chapter room and sacristy with a dormitory above them,¹⁵³ and a house for novices were erected.¹⁵⁴ A number of sons of the citizens were at once accepted as candidates.¹⁵⁵ The priests alternated with the Jesuits

de Noronha, in the name of the king, gave the village of Gotorê, which he had bought with royal funds from “padre [read: Pedro] Godinho,” who owned it, with an income of three *xerafins* and twelve *reis* (377), in perpetuity to the monastery. But on January 30, 1552, Botelho was still writing to the king that Bermúdez and Godinho were at great odds over a house adjacent to the monastery. Without it the cloister could not be completed. Godinho was willing to relinquish it on the condition that the vicar general [Bermúdez] first built elsewhere. Botelho added that it was not right for the friars to try and take Godinho’s garden from him since they had a large garden of their own. He, Botelho, at the request of the viceroy, had attempted to bring them to an agreement, but without success (*Cartas* 36). Cacegas explains Godinho’s final consent with a legend similar to the one which had persuaded the owners of the other houses to relinquish theirs (IV 309).

¹⁵¹ Bermúdez’ unpublished letter, without date and signature (Q 4324), like the chart on the progress of the construction of the monastery and its accompanying letter, is from the end of 1548. We discovered the chart in *Fragmentos*, fasc. 22, in the Torre do Tombo. The letter states that the government architect, Aleixo Madeira, had received the measurements of the royal plan and had discovered that a part of the sketch went beyond the proposed site if a portion of Pedro Godinho’s house were not taken. The king might therefore order all the necessary land to be expropriated. Madeira writes in detail about this. On the extant chart in the *Fragmentos*, the following were already built: the chapter room; next to it, the equally large sacristy; a spiral staircase, which led from there to the dormitory above; next to it, on the right, a magazine for the sacristy; and, to the left of the choir of the church, which was still under construction, the small Jesus chapel. Only the foundation of the choir and the chapel on the right side of the large, projected church can be seen. The earlier, small adobe church is sketched in beneath the chapter room with the observation that it had already been torn down and the now finished Jesus chapel served in its place. Along the entire left side of the chart are the houses of Pedro Godinho. Above these Bermúdez has written: “*Casas que quero fazer*.” On the right side of the plan, beyond the projected church, the garden is sketched in with a note that there were wells in it, and that there was no other water in the vicinity unless the garden of Pedro Godinho were included, which had an abundance of good water.—The first Mass offered in the new church (the Jesus chapel) was on Christmas, 1548 (SR IV 222).

¹⁵² SR IV 57-58 (Q 3994 and 4002, with a reproduction of the signature in Q, pl. XI 3).

¹⁵³ On the adobe church sketched in the plan, see Correa IV 670; EX II 51; Cacegas IV 409.

¹⁵⁴ EX II 51.

¹⁵⁵ Correa IV 670, speaks of 15-20 novices, whom they immediately received from respectable families. He adds that “they wished to have nothing to do with the poor.” The priests, however, also took in the poor, as is shown by a letter of the jurors of January 4, 1549, which states that they were at every hour ready for the needs of the poor as well as for the rich, and that they had already received some who had been born in the land (SR IV 219-220). Among the first novices was Frey Estevão de Santa Maria. He had been born in India and, according to his own account, he had entered in 1548 as “a *fidalgo*, wealthy and beloved by all the viceroys,” as he wrote to his provincial in his long letter of 1557. In it he also described in sharpest terms the collapse of the Dominican mission in India (SR VI 290-313). Cacegas postpones the first reception of novices to April 30, 1550, following the laying of the cornerstone of the

in preaching on Sundays and feast days in the church of the Rosario.¹⁵⁶ In keeping with the precedent of their monastery in Lisbon, they also founded a confraternity of the Rosary for Negro slaves.¹⁵⁷ In Chaul, where Frey Pedro Coelho had worked with his companions from 1539 to 1542,¹⁵⁸ the citizens again asked for a Dominican residence, and they declared that they were ready to bear all the expenses for the erection of a monastery.¹⁵⁹

The vicar general of the newly founded Indian province of the order, Frey Diego Bermúdez, was a representative of the strict reformatory tendencies within his order. He was a zealous religious, an example for his confreres in fasting, watching, and abnegation, and an excellent preacher. But in contrast to the bishop, who was mild and patient, so that it was not said of him that he was harsh despite the fact that he was a Castilian,¹⁶⁰ Bermúdez was an austere religious who frequently, and in the sharpest terms, censured the evils which he found in India.¹⁶¹ Like Master Francis, he too came to speak of the difficulties of the Franciscan mission in Ceylon and the voyage of Frey João de Villa de Conde to Europe. Shortly after Xavier's visit he wrote to the king:

Padre Fray Joan de Villa de Conde is a very virtuous and zealous man, who out of love for souls took many difficulties upon himself and now wishes to take even greater ones. For he sees that the concerns of Christianity find little favor here, especially since the very important Christian mission in Ceylon, which began so well and where, to the honor of God, and with His favor and that of Your Highness, so many thousand souls were converted, and there were hopes that through their increase the whole island would soon be Christian, these were not fulfilled because of our sins. On the contrary, all has been lost and ruined; and this did not happen through the fault of Your Highness, but because of those who are here. For they come here only to make money, and they surrender their souls and the whole of Ceylon to the devil for a *tostón*.¹⁶²

The Christians, still young in the faith, see that they are persecuted by their king and by the captain and officials, and they see that the governor does nothing about this and does not assist them. What else can they do but give up their faith and deny it and our Christianity? And in this we are at great fault. Since we baptize them and make them Christians, we have the gravest obligation to assist them so that they

church. They were "around twenty" in number. Their reception had been deferred by Bermúdez; Frey Ignacio da Purificação was novice master (IV 311). Frey Jacinto da Encarnação, however, names Frey Francisco de Macedo as novice master and Frey Antonio de S. Domingos, alias Pestana, who died as a martyr in Siam, as "the first son of this congregation," "or according to another source," Frey Christovão do Espiritu Santo, who also died as a martyr because he rebuked the failings of the new converts (376).

¹⁵⁶ SR IV 129.

¹⁵⁷ Correa IV 670.

¹⁵⁸ Frey Pedro Coelho sailed to India with three or four companions in order to accompany the "patriarch" Bermudes to the Preste, but they were detained in India (Santos II 91; Cacegas 1, 2, 41 [I 295-296] and 4, 3, 4, 3 [IV 304]; Jacinto da Encarnação 374). Frey Jacinto adds that Frey Pedro was so highly esteemed in Goa that the dying viceroy D. João de Castro summoned him with the guardian of the Franciscans and Xavier to his deathbed. He confuses him thus with Pedro Fernandes, the vicar general. Frey Pedro Coelho was actually arrested by M. A. de Sousa in 1544 and, at the beginning of 1545, sent back to Europe. His companions were probably also sent back with him since nothing more is heard of them (Cf. Vol. II, p. 498 where SR VII instead of SR V is to be read).

¹⁵⁹ SR IV 173 321 322.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Vol. II, p. 156.

¹⁶¹ See his letters in Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 514-516 569-574 663-664.

¹⁶² The *tostão* was a silver coin worth 100 *reis*.

do not apostatize and abandon the faith, which is worse than if they had remained pagans. Your Highness must lend credence in this regard to virtuous and zealous religious, who have no other interests except those of God; and they come here not to seek money, but souls. In this matter few of the others will tell you the truth, and you can believe only a few. . . . I therefore ask Your Highness, and we all implore that Your Highness may take the necessary measures in this regard, for Fray Joan is not going for any other purpose than this; and it is for this that he is undertaking the great hardships of the voyage to Portugal and return. Your Highness must be assured that we religious can do nothing here without great assistance from Your Highness for our work; and where this is lacking, we lose heart and do nothing. I therefore find the bishop cool and disconsolate, and also Maestre Francisco and other priests, since they see such little help and so many obstacles which the devil and his companions prepare in this matter.¹⁶³

Xavier's chief concerns on his return from the Fishery Coast were, however, for his confreres and St. Paul's College, and especially for its new rector Antonio Gomes, whom he had so long requested, and who was to take his place as superior of the Indian mission during his absence in Japan.

There was no question about Antonio Gomes being a learned theologian, an experienced man of the world, a brilliant orator, as the Portuguese wished him to be, and, as a religious, a zealot for the law. But behind the brilliance and success of his first appearance could also be seen shadows which filled Master Francis with deep concern. For the office of superior which he was to hold, he lacked two qualities: humility and charity—the humility to learn from others who knew India and its entirely different attitudes, and the charity to patiently endure the weaknesses and imperfections of his confreres and of the newly converted Indians.¹⁶⁴

Rodrigues had sent him as the rector of St. Paul's College, to whom all the confreres and students in Goa and, in Xavier's absence, all the confreres of the Indian mission should be subject. After he had presented his credentials, Lancilotto had handed the college over to him; and all had submitted themselves to the new rector.¹⁶⁵ But completely inexperienced in the ways of India, he had immediately taken up his office like a second Savonarola, as a merciless reformer, who sought to clean up everything with a stiff broom and believed that he had to teach his confreres the true spirit of the institute of the Society of Jesus.¹⁶⁶ In order to effect this renewal in them, he began to change food and drink, sleep and study, prayer and Masses in both quality and quantity according to the principle: "*Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia!*"¹⁶⁷ Everyone in the house was consequently of the opinion that he had gone to extremes in his reforms and needed someone to curb his excessive zeal.¹⁶⁸ Gomes further pursued his plans by imposing numerous mortifications on his subjects so that they might learn to shun human respect and tread it under foot,¹⁶⁹ and thus come as near to the cross of Christ as possible.¹⁷⁰ In order to break all resistance, he stated

¹⁶³ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 514-516.

¹⁶⁴ EX II 6-7.

¹⁶⁵ DI I 395 412 439; II 10.

¹⁶⁶ The measures taken by Antonio Gomes against his confreres are discussed in the letters of the following: Xavier (EX II 7), Lancilotto (DI II 10-11 170), Barzaeus (*ibid.* I 401-402), and Melchior Gonçalves (*ibid.* 313).

¹⁶⁷ From the hymn *Sacris solemnis*.

¹⁶⁸ According to Lancilotto (DI II 170-171).

¹⁶⁹ According to Barzaeus (*ibid.* I 401-402).

¹⁷⁰ According to Melchior Gonçalves on November 9, 1548: "El Padre reformó mucho

that he had brought with him the authority to arrest those who opposed him and send them back in chains to Portugal.¹⁷¹

The new rector also extended his reforms over the College of St. Paul.¹⁷² Since the deaths of Miguel Vaz and Mestre Diogo, Cosme Anes had taken over the sole care of the college, including the collecting of revenues and the completion of the roofs. Since September he had held, however, the office of *vedor da fazenda* and lacked the necessary time for the college. At his repeated insistence, Antonio Gomes finally took over, with the approval of the *mordomos*,¹⁷³ the spiritual and temporal administration of the college. With this his hands were no longer tied as Lancilotto's had been, and he immediately began to revise everything: ¹⁷⁴ the order of studies was to be like that in Paris; prayer, meditation, and examination of conscience were to be like those of the students of the order in Coimbra, since he found the seventy or eighty native students ¹⁷⁵ restless, without spirit, and without devotion. But these students were, as Lancilotto noted,¹⁷⁶ a miscellaneous mixture from ten nations thrown together without any selection having been made. Among them were youths twenty years old who did not understand Portuguese at all and were unsuited for any kind of moral instruction.¹⁷⁷ Lancilotto, who knew the students from a year's experience, had explained to Gomes that they were not yet ripe for such reforms. New wine should not be poured into old skins; ¹⁷⁸ progress must be made step by step. It was already enough that they were Christians. But Gomes refused to listen to this. Lancilotto had then, as Xavier had ordered, sailed off to Cochin; and a few days later some of the students had already clambered over the college wall and sought their salvation in hasty flight.¹⁷⁹ This was the state of affairs when Master Francis returned to Goa in the middle of November.

Xavier was delighted with the news which he obtained from Gomes about Master Simon.¹⁸⁰ But their conversation soon turned to St. Paul's College, and he was compelled to see that the new rector had come with finished plans from Coimbra and with a self-consciousness of his own spiritual superiority which needed no advice from either Lancilotto or Master Francis. One month's experience in Goa had shown him the way to secure the reform of the college and of the whole Indian mission.¹⁸¹

In eloquent words he presented his plans to Xavier. As he wrote to Rodrigues,

la casa, de manera que nos llegamos a la cruz quanto podemos, y spero que con ruegos de todos no se errará el camino" (*ibid.* 313).

¹⁷¹ EX II 7.

¹⁷² The two chief sources for the reform and the plans of Antonio Gomes with respect to St. Paul's college are his own long letter of December 20, 1548 (DI I 409-426), and Lancilotto's two letters of December 26, 1548 (*ibid.* 434-444), and January 12, 1551 (*ibid.* II 168-174). See also the latter's additional letters of January 25, 1550 (*ibid.* 8-13), and January 6, 1551 (*ibid.* 144-149); Xavier's letters of January 12 and 20, and February 2, 1549 (EX II 5-16 31-44 66-80); that of A. Gomes of January 16, 1551 (DI II 174-179); and that of the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha of January 16, 1551 (*ibid.* 180-181).

¹⁷³ EX II 74; DI I 420-421 439.

¹⁷⁴ According to Lancilotto on December 26, 1548 (DI I 439-440), and his survey of January 12, 1551 (*ibid.* II 171); see also A. Gomes, *ibid.* I 412.

¹⁷⁵ Lancilotto writes seventy (*ibid.* II 169), Gomes eighty-ninety (*ibid.* I 411).

¹⁷⁶ According to Lancilotto (*ibid.* I 440).

¹⁷⁷ According to the same (*ibid.* II 169-170; cf. 141-142).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Mt 9:17.

¹⁷⁹ Lancilotto (DI II 171).

¹⁸⁰ Gomes gives a detailed account of his meeting with Xavier in his long letter of December 20, 1548 (*ibid.* 409-426).

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* 412.

he gave Master Francis an idea of the principles and methods followed by the Society of Jesus in its colleges, and of the spirit and procedures in the college of Coimbra. Gomes could see that Master Francis was pleasantly surprised by this, and that he could hardly believe that he now saw his own deepest desires being fulfilled. Gomes then told him that Ignatius and Rodrigues were convinced that the strength and vitality of the Society of Jesus were to be found in its colleges with their instruction in wisdom and the spiritual life. Their chief concern should therefore be the erection of colleges in which those who could bring assistance to the world should be trained in wisdom and holiness. Great efforts should be made to spread the Society of Jesus throughout the whole of India, but this could not be done without colleges. To Gomes it seemed that his listener was delighted with his lengthy explanation of all this.¹⁸²

Father Simon Rodrigues, as Gomes further informed Xavier, was of the opinion that the college in Goa should become a second Coimbra, a university of the Society for the teaching and study of philosophy and theology. But this would be impossible in the present order, or rather disorder, of the college, which, as he had learned from experience, was an obstacle to its becoming another Coimbra. The boarders lacked the spirit of abnegation, which was the spirit of the Society. Some of the eighty or ninety students were children, others were adults, some of whom were learning how to read and write, others were studying Latin, others philosophy, and others theology.

Any real government was impossible in such a mixture. The Indian boys, moreover, disturbed the peace of the house since they had to be allowed to play. Sometimes they had to be whipped, and this caused the newcomers to become restless. The house was daily visited by *fidalgos* who wished to speak about their problems of conscience with the priests; and in the last two months it had become so renowned that the only topic of conversation on the ships and in the fortresses was of the sermons that were preached, and of the confessions that were heard, in it. The Indian boys must therefore be sent away as soon as possible to a college somewhere else.¹⁸³ The College of St. Paul should be, and this was also the opinion of Father Rodrigues, who had discussed it with him, exclusively for the philosophical and theological students of the Society, around a hundred in all. In order to obtain the necessary increase for this university of the order, apostolic schools must be opened in Cochin and Chale, where native boys could be taught reading, writing, and Latin. When they had finished their schooling in these, those with less talents should be placed with *fidalgos* or craftsmen, or employed as catechists. Those who were gifted and wished to continue their studies and showed signs of a vocation to the Society of Jesus should be sent to Goa. Here, immediately after their arrival, they should make the Exercises, as was done in Coimbra. They should then practice themselves in mortification and humility so that they might begin the study of philosophy. The Society should have the right of propriety to the college in Goa, but only that of administration in the other colleges. This would give a strong impetus to the Christian faith. There would be preachers and confessors of the Society in all the fortresses, and the men for such a great *conquista* as was that of India.¹⁸⁴

Master Francis replied that there were two reasons why natives could not

¹⁸² *Ibid.* 412-413.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* 416-417.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 415.

be recruited in India: first, since most were of a weak character, nothing could be achieved without Portuguese; and second, the Portuguese in India were willing to confess to Portuguese priests but never to Indians or mixed-bloods. To this Gomes replied that a college for thirty or thirty-five Portuguese students should be established in Quilon. These could be selected, as in Coimbra, by an examination; and they could be trained and mortified as there. They would study Latin in the same city but their philosophy and theology in Goa. It would thus be a Latin school for scholastics of the Society of Jesus. By means of it the college in Goa would be relieved of a burden and its expenses lessened, since it would be much cheaper to support the students in Quilon and in all the other outposts than in the capital.¹⁸⁵ This college should also belong to the Society of Jesus. Similar colleges with elementary classes could be established elsewhere, for example, in Bassein, Malacca, and Maluco, and wherever there were priests of the Society. Cosme Anes, who had done so much for St. Paul's College, would be a help in this.¹⁸⁶

Master Francis agreed with the plan of founding colleges for Portuguese and native students.¹⁸⁷ As he observed, the major portion of the costs would probably be obtained from the parents of the students in the local colleges.¹⁸⁸ He would write to the king that he should provide an income of two thousand *cruzados* for the colleges in Cochin, Quilon, Malacca, and Maluco. This should be paid to the rector in Goa, who would invest the money in textiles from Bassein, which could be sold in Maluco at a fivefold profit.¹⁸⁹ The king had already provided an income for Bassein, where the Franciscans had for a long time been asking Xavier to take over their college.¹⁹⁰ But as for the rest, Xavier had his own reservations with respect to the reform and plans of the new rector.

During the two weeks that Xavier remained in Goa after his return from the Fishery Coast, he had to make the necessary arrangements for the mission before sailing for Cochin. The governor Garcia de Sá was glad to grant him the requests which he had presented to him in his memorial on the Fishery Coast;¹⁹¹ and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, as procurator of the Paravas, undertook to obtain its ratification from the king. He also undertook to further the punitive expedition against the rajah of Jaffnapatam with the governor as soon as a favorable opportunity for this would present itself, and to obtain an opportunity for Cipriano to sail to Socotra, for which he and Manuel de Morais¹⁹² and two brothers, Gaspar Rodrigues¹⁹³ and another, were destined. When the patrol boats sailed to the Red Sea in January they would take the missionaries with them.¹⁹⁴ The patriarch who had been requested by the Preste would be provided by Portugal during the coming year. Xavier had learned this from Gomes, and also that Rodrigues wished to come to India with many confreres from the college of Coimbra in order to accompany the patriarch.¹⁹⁵ Because of its heroic defense in 1538 and 1546, Diu had attracted the eyes of all India;

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 416-417.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 421-423.

¹⁸⁷ EX II 12-13 37.

¹⁸⁸ DI I 417.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 417-418.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 417.

¹⁹¹ EX II 54.

¹⁹² DI I 281 319 466.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.* 439.

¹⁹⁴ EX II 30 39-41 51-54.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 13; DI I 342-343 410-411; cf. Q 3584 3886.

and many who had heard of the ardent preaching of Gaspar Barzaeus and Antonio Gomes had come from there and from Bassein in order to confess to them.¹⁹⁶ In Bassein the people had, moreover, been offended by the evil lives of the secular priests, which had brought them to trial through a strict command of D. João de Castro.¹⁹⁷ Ormuz, the rich, proud, dissolute city on the Persian Gulf, had long attracted Xavier's attention; and if Japan had not intervened, he would have preferred to go there himself.¹⁹⁸ After his own departure, Gomes should therefore send Father Melchior Gonçalves¹⁹⁹ with a brother²⁰⁰ to Bassein, where only Frey Antonio do Porto and Frey João de Goa of the original six Franciscans still remained,²⁰¹ in order to take over the college which the friars had founded, and which already had fifty students.²⁰²

Xavier told Gomes that he should write to the king and Rodrigues that His Highness might provide the priests of the Society of Jesus with their annual supply of Mass wine, as he already did for the bishop and the Franciscans. He should further confirm the gift of St. Paul's College to the Society and the conveyance of the college in Bassein to it by the Franciscans. He should write a letter of thanks to Cosme Anes for the services he had rendered to the Society of Jesus; and, after the lapse of his term of office, he should give him that of a *provedor-mor dos defuntos*. In addition to this, Gomes should warmly recommend the bishop to the king, which he himself also intended to do. For two or three years Rodrigues should send two or three priests with the qualities of Father Pérez for the founding of colleges in the Portuguese fortresses of India. The king should moreover give two thousand *cruzados* each year for the colleges to be founded and should settle the doubt with respect to the revenues of St. Paul's College: two thousand *cruzados* in addition to the revenues from the pagodas,

¹⁹⁶ DI I 414.

¹⁹⁷ Q 2626 2635 2647-2648 2699 2719 2720 2732 2784 2822 2825 2837.

¹⁹⁸ DI I 643.

¹⁹⁹ On February 2, 1549 Xavier wrote: "I left Melchior Gonçalves there with a helper" (EX II 74). A. Gomes wrote on December 20, 1548: "I decided to send Belchior Gonçalves with a brother there. But I was waiting for the arrival of Mestre Francisco [November, 1548] to see if it seemed good to him. He [Melchior Gonçalves] is now there in [Bassein] with a letter [of recommendation] of the bishop and of our own. We have had no answer from him [Melchior Gonçalves] as yet" (DI I 413-414). And Melchior Gonçalves states on December 15, 1549, that he was in Bassein to help the priests of the Piedade province at the request of P. M. Francisco (*ibid.* 726). Brou misinterpreted A. Gomes' letter and consequently wrote that the bishop and A. Gomes had written to Xavier in Cochín in order to obtain his approval (II 67).

²⁰⁰ Melchior Gonçalves "with a brother" (EX II 74; DI I 414 442). This brother is not Frois, as Wicki, appealing to Seb. Gonçalves (DI I 442, n. 42), has maintained, for Frois expressly states on December 1, 1552, that when Barzaeus came to Bassein in November, 1551, he, Frois, had already been there for a year (*ibid.* II 460). In October, 1549, Gonçalves had two brothers as helpers (*ibid.* I 563). Seb. Gonçalves therefore errs when he writes that Xavier had already sent Frois with Melchior Gonçalves to Bassein in 1548 (3, 22). Lancilotto states on December 26, 1548, that after Xavier's departure for Japan there were in addition to the priests only five or six lay brothers remaining in St. Paul's College (DI I 442). If the brothers destined for other places up to this time (December, 1548) are subtracted, there were remaining in Goa: Juan Fernández, Gil Barreto, Luis Frois, Francisco Gonçalves, Manuel Vaz, and two others who entered in Goa and are mentioned in the same letter: André de Carvalho and D. Diogo Lôbo (*ibid.* 441). Is there a question here of one of these, or of Pedro de Alcáçova, who had already entered in 1546?

²⁰¹ See the letter of Frey Antonio do Porto written from Bassein on October 7, 1548 (SR IV 59-61), and those of A. Gomes (DI I 413-414) and Xavier (EX II).

²⁰² SR IV 61.

and Rodrigues should further this at court. Cosme Anes would also take up the matter of the financial support of St. Paul's College with the king. Rodrigues should send the long requested indulgences with the first ships. The king should write to the governor and recommend the Society to him, and also to the captain of Bassein if the order obtained the college there.²⁰³

Xavier asked Torres to give the Long Retreat to the Japanese Paulo.²⁰⁴ He took with him to Cochin a letter which Anjirō had written on November 29 to Ignatius in which he gave a detailed description of his earlier life and enclosed a sample of his Japanese writing.²⁰⁵ Father Torres gave him a second letter in which he also gave a long account of his earlier life to the general of the order, and he enclosed a copy of the report on Japan which had been composed for Garcia de Sá.²⁰⁶ Xavier gave orders that Affonso de Castro and Manuel de Morais should be ordained to the priesthood after they had spent a month in preparing for this.²⁰⁷ He further ordered all the confreres to write to Simon Rodrigues.²⁰⁸

8. THREE OLD ACQUAINTANCES (1547-1548)

In Goa Xavier also encountered two acquaintances from Ternate: Jurdão de Freitas, the former captain, and Francisco Palha, the former factor of the fortress.

In the middle of May, 1547, Freitas had left Xavier in Amboina and had sailed for India as a prisoner on the *Bufara* with his ailing son Antonio.¹ On the way, in Malacca, he had made a search for Tabarija's will, which had been suppressed during the course of his own trial, so that he might have his case reviewed in Goa. At his request, the *ouvidor*, Antonio Barbudo, had shown him the testimony given by Garcia de Sá, the captain of Malacca at that time. In it Sá confirmed the fact that he had received the will in order to send it to the governor, Dom João de Castro, in India. Freitas then had a notarized document drawn up with the testimony of his son Antonio, who had seen to the making of the will. He had another composed with the testimony of Antonio Barbudo, who had written up the minutes himself; a third of the notary and the witnesses who had been present and had approved it; and a fourth of Antonio Lopes, who had written it at the request of King Dom Manuel Tabarija. He also had a copy made of the *auto* that had been composed at the opening of the will.²

Freitas had arrived in Cochin before Xavier, and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha,

²⁰³ DI I 418-423; EX II 12-13.

²⁰⁴ DI I 480.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 332-341.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 468-481. On the date, see Q 4154 and pp. 500-501; on his report on Japan, above, p. 480.

²⁰⁷ DI I 495 554.

²⁰⁸ EX II 41.

¹ For Freitas' suit there are the following *sources*: Freitas' report with an accompanying letter to the king from Cochin on January 7, 1548 (Q 3596: Sá I 525-533). The letter of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, from Cochin, of January 9, 1548 (Q 3599: Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 501-502). Freitas' main account to the king on the trial and his acquittal from Goa, of August 31, 1548 (Q 3986: Sá I 560-568). Palha's letter to the king, from Goa, of November 20, 1548 (Q 4051: Sá I 571-578). A second letter of the same of December 26, 1553 (Q 6032: Sá II 102-128). In addition to these there are the copies of Tabarija's will, made in 1550, of the testimonies in its regard, and of Freitas' dispute with Bernaldim de Sousa in Ternate of November-December, 1546 (Q 4355a: Sá II 19-39).

² Sá I 531-533.

the *vedor*, had told him that if he wished to see the governor while he was still in Goa, he would have to leave at once since he was sailing to Bassein. But he also told him that the governor would not be able to do anything with respect to the suit which Freitas wished to pursue until he had received an answer from Lisbon, since he had written about the matter to the king. But Freitas was still intent on speaking with the governor and was certain that the affair would be settled in his favor. He had also learned from others that the governor deeply regretted the fact that he had sent King Hairun back to Maluco, since he was so dangerous to the service of God and of the king.³

Freitas had therefore quickly written a long account of the troubles he had incurred and a letter to accompany it for the king. In his report he bitterly complained about the wrongs to which he had been subjected.⁴ He then gave it, on January 7, 1548, to Frey Jerónimo de Santisteban, the prior of the Augustinians, who was sailing that same day with his three fellow religious and the Spaniards of Villalobos' fleet for Portugal. He told Frey Jerónimo that he should give it in secret to a friend of his so that he could pass it on to his brother Gonçalo, who would take the matter up in person with the king.⁵ To further his cause he also sent with his report the public records from Ternate and a letter of Dona Isabel, the mother of Tabarija, who had been detained from sailing to Portugal. She had hoped to go there in order to make a complaint about the oppression of the new king, who was suspected of having poisoned her son. She had also wished to tell His Highness that the leaders had been ready to become Christians if her son had returned; but all of this had been brought to nought by the arrival of Hairun.

In his account Freitas stated that he intended to go to the governor and present him with the document that had been drawn up in Malacca with respect to Tabarija's will. Dom João de Castro had obviously been badly informed by his enemies. If he had known of the will, he would never have confirmed Hairun as king and sent him back to Ternate.⁶ The chief reason why the governor had conducted the trial with such speed and had sent Hairun back to the Moluccas was the fact that he had become convinced that the Spaniards could not be driven out of the islands without him.⁷

In Goa the judges of Freitas' first trial, the chancellor Toscano and the *ouvidor geral*, Dom Pascoal Florym, told Freitas that if they had known of the suppressed will and of the similarly suppressed letter of M. A. de Sousa, they would never have condemned him.⁸ And before he sailed off for Bassein, the governor, Dom João de Castro, ordered the new trial to be held as quickly as possible. Only his illness and death delayed the proceedings.⁹ But Garcia de Sá, his successor, postponed the trial for a long time. As former captain of Malacca, he too was at fault in the suppression of the will.

On August 13, 1548, however, Freitas was able to write to the king that the trial had finally been decided in his favor,¹⁰ and that the governor had ordered

³ *Ibid.* 525-526.

⁴ *Ibid.* 525-533.

⁵ *Ibid.* 526.

⁶ *Ibid.* 530-531.

⁷ *Ibid.* 553.

⁸ *Ibid.* 551.

⁹ *Ibid.* 554.

¹⁰ Maurício, in *Brotéria* 56 (1953) 597, gives one of his usually unfounded conjectures: "Não é difícil presumir que, também, por intervenção de Xavier, o Governador se resolvesse a fazer justiça às rectas, embora indiscretas, intenções do amigo do santo

the execution of the sentence.¹¹ Nevertheless Garcia de Sá was culpably implicated in the condemnation that had resulted from the earlier trial. The day after Tabarija's death, the former captain of Ternate, Dom Jorge de Castro, had come to Malacca with the imprisoned Hairun on his way to India. Since he was jealous of Freitas' achievements, he had decided to suppress the will. He promised Garcia de Sá that he would marry one of his daughters, and the two had then given false information to the governor, Dom João de Castro, so that Hairun might regain his throne and he, Freitas, might be ruined.¹² If the governor Garcia de Sá was to be praised in everything else that he had done, in the execution of the sentence against him, he had shown his antipathy towards him. The reason for this was that he, Freitas, had been able to secure Tabarija's will and had initiated further investigations. He had also sent the *autos* which had obtained his release to the king in Portugal. Garcia de Sá had therefore done his best to prevent the execution of the judgment which would enable him to serve out the rest of his remaining year as captain of Ternate and to be indemnified for his losses. Sá had prevented the execution of the judgment on the pretext that Hairun would rebel, and he had secretly obtained testimonies to this effect.¹³ In addition to this, his successor, Bernaldim de Sousa, was afraid that he, Freitas, would take revenge upon him when he returned to Ternate. He had therefore convinced Master Francis that he should urge the king not to send him back to Ternate under any circumstances, but to give him another, larger reward instead. Otherwise, Hairun would rebel and the land would be brought into great confusion; and the *casados* themselves would urge him, the king, not to give the fortress over to its earlier captain. The governor, Garcia de Sá, had therefore been compelled to advise him, Freitas, not to start a quarrel with Hairun or Bernaldim de Sousa, but to wait until another captain came who would grant him his right, and from whom he could secure the return of his possessions.¹⁴ He now wished to return to Ternate even though this, his third year would not bring him much profit, since it was not the year for harvesting cloves, which he had lost to Bernaldim de Sousa. If it were not for his family, which he had left in Ternate, he would certainly never return there.

In Ternate he would wait and see what His Highness ordered with respect to King Hairun. He would strive to keep him peaceful and content, and he would see if he could be persuaded to become a Christian. If he did so, he could be permitted to rule in the name of His Highness, even though he had already asked permission of Dom João de Castro to build a stone house, and had already begun to build a fortress¹⁵ on a strong site outside the Portuguese city, and had treated badly the chief mandarins who had approved of the execution of the will and the surrender of the kingdom to Portugal by immediately

apóstolo: Jordão de Freitas. Dada ordem para uma revisão de processo, o antigo capitão das Molucas foi absolvido pelo seu procedimento contra Hairum. Não repugna que os esclarecimentos do missionário libertassem das teias de aranha da intriga oriental os desembargadores legalistas, enfrascados em latins jurídicos." Freitas' letters and the measures taken by Garcia de Sá, which impeded the execution of the judgment, make it unlikely that Xavier had anything to do with the suit.

¹¹ Sá I 552-553.

¹² *Ibid.* 559-560.

¹³ *Ibid.* 567-568.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 566.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 562.

depriving them of their possessions and banishing them from the realm. If he, Freitas, was unable to bring them back to Ternate, he would like to see them go to Amboina, where he would give them some villages for their support. But they would need the approval of His Highness for this. He had already persuaded some of them to become Christians.

If His Highness so willed, he could now, if the treaty with the emperor with respect to the Moluccas had been concluded, drive the kings out of those islands in a short time, a punishment which they all richly deserved. Six *caturs* manned by Canarins and a caravel with eighty men would be enough to effect this within two or three years. The shipping of cloves would not in the meantime suffer on this account: the people were unable to live without this trade.¹⁶

But Palha, Freitas' adversary, had also come to Goa with him and had registered a complaint against him: the former captain of Ternate had made grave accusations against him and had deprived him of his position as factor. In this second suit Freitas was less successful. The court in Goa rendered its decision in Palha's favor. It declared him to be free of any guilt and permitted him to return to Ternate to take up his office again. It further ordered Freitas to pay Palha for the damages incurred. On November 11, 1548, Palha also wrote to the king¹⁷ and asked to be given another position, since he did not dare return to Maluco, where the captains and officials of His Highness had not allowed him to serve him.

Palha further noted that he had written every year to the king what was needed for his service, and that this had been the cause of his ruin. In Maluco the *samarau*, the regent, had been slain. He had upheld the fortress during the wars at the time of Tristão de Ataíde and Antonio Galvão, and it was said that Freitas had caused him to be slain. He, the factor, had ordered documents with respect to this to be drawn up and had sent them to the court in Goa. But they had not been presented during Freitas' trial. The kings of Maluco were very poor and had been powerless to assert their rights, but they well remembered the many wrongs which they had suffered. They now had guns, cannons, and light vessels; and they had lost so much of their fear for the Portuguese that they often attacked them. They received no benefits from the fortress of His Highness, and those who supported the Portuguese were subject to constant vexations. The captains took their cloves and paid what they wished for them. They forced them to build ships for them, and they seized their kings and leaders and slew their regents. And they did such things only to their friends, that is, to those who had remained loyal to them.

He had written to M. A. de Sousa about this, and the latter had ordered him, Palha, and not the captains, to administer the royal possessions. Since he had wanted to do what was to the service of His Highness, he had been imprisoned by Freitas; and his offices of factor, *ouvidor*, and secretary had been given to the captain's own men, even though Sousa, on the basis of the information which he, Palha, had furnished him, had ordered that the positions which became free should be held by *casados* of Ternate as long as they were not filled by the king or governor.¹⁸

In Moro there were Christian villages which were badly tended. The natives

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 564-565.

¹⁷ Q 4051, ed. Sá I 571-578; see also his letter of December 26, 1553, which he sent to the king with the decision on his trial in 1548 (*ibid.* II 102-128).

¹⁸ Sá I 572-574.

were poorly instructed and confronted by the bad example given by the Portuguese. If it were not for Dom João, the chief of Mamojo, they would all have become Moors by this time. Dom João had endured great hardships in his service of God and of His Highness. Many of his brothers, relatives, and people of his village had been slain, and he had himself been almost ruined through his support of the Christians. His Highness should be mindful of him. He should write to him and pay him an annual sum of ten *pardaus* from his factory. He should also, as an example, send him gifts, and he should recommend him to his captains.¹⁹

At the end of his letter, Palha asked the king to give him as a reward for his twenty-five years of service the position of secretary on the voyage to Maluco with an empty room and the right to sail with one hundred *bahārs* of cloves, since he was poor and his left arm was disabled, and he had been frequently wounded in battle. Or he could be given the position of a *tanadar-mor* for life in Bassein or that of a receiver for life in the customhouse in Goa, as the governor had already ordained.²⁰

In Goa Xavier also encountered another old acquaintance, Duarte da Gama,²¹ who had been the captain of the fortress in Quilon since April, 1544. Xavier had come to know him there, and he had always been a willing friend and helper.²² M. A. de Sousa's attack on the temple of Tēvalakara, north of Quilon, some months before Gama assumed his office, had been a source of serious trouble for him.²³

The governor had seized a gold pot in the temple and had sent it from Cochin to the king of Portugal at the beginning of 1544.²⁴ But the latter had sent it back to India in 1546 and had ordered it to be restored with all solemnity to the Brahmans of the temple by the captain of Quilon, who should also give them 3,500 *pardaus*, the value of the coins that had been found in it.²⁵

M. A. de Sousa's successor, Dom João de Castro, immediately sent the command to the *vedor* in Cochin, Braz d'Araujo,²⁶ who then sent it on to Duarte da Gama, the captain and factor of Quilon,²⁷ so that he could pay the Brahmans with the 3,400 *pardaus* left over from the purchase of the cargo of pepper. Gama sent the gold pot and 1,426 *pardaus* to the temple in Tēvalakara, but without the requested solemnity. He further declared that the balance of payment would have to be paid by his successor.²⁸

In March, 1547, the governor sent Bernaldim da Fonseca²⁹ to Quilon with

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 574-575.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 577-578.

²¹ MX II 415.

²² Cf. Vol. II, pp. 465-467.

²³ The sources for the trial with respect to the temple of Tēvalakara, all unpublished, are contained in the following letters of 1547 to the governor: Francisco da Maya, paymaster, Cochin, January 26, (Q 2768); Duarte da Gama, Cochin, May 23 (Q 3089, the main account); Fonseca, captain of Quilon, May 25 (Q 3091); Manuel Lobato, *ouvidor*, Cochin, May 27 (Q 3098); Fonseca to D. Alvaro, Quilon, August 6 (Q 3223); Lobato, Cochin, August 25 (Q 3260) and September 4 (Q 3283); Thomé Lopes, procurator, Cochin, September 15 (Q 3297); Manuel Alvares Barradas, *ouvidor*, Cochin, December 5 (Q 3527); and Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, *vedor*, Cochin, December 21 (Q 3550).

²⁴ See Vol. II, pp. 377-410.

²⁵ Q 3260.

²⁶ Q 3283.

²⁷ Q 3089.

²⁸ Q 3223.

²⁹ Bernardo da Fonseca, son of the appellate judge Dr. João do Souro and Fran-

extensive privileges³⁰ to replace Duarte da Gama as captain. Castro, who had been falsely informed by an enemy of Gama, had also sent the latter a sharp rebuke. Because of this, in the customary audit of the expenses he had incurred during his term of office, Gama only listed those spent for the purchase of pepper, the indemnity given to the Brahmans of Tēvalakara, and the expenditures that had been requested by the *vedor*, Araujo. He did not include the 2,200 *pardaus* which, at the request of the governor, he had paid to Francisco de Eça for the ship which he had delivered in January, 1547, nor those spent on salaries—his own and those of the personnel of the fortress. Nevertheless Fonseca forced him to pay an additional 1,200 *pardaus* at the conclusion of his audit.³¹

On May 17 Gama with his entire household, twelve Portuguese and more than thirty Christian women and children, set sail from Quilon for Cochin along the inner canal in seven *tonis*. He also took with him more than seven or eight thousand *pardaus* in cash. While they were on their way, they were surrounded by a swarm of men armed with bows and arrows in the territory of the king of Batimene,³² and they were only released after Gama had bribed the king with money and gifts, had made further promises, and had left two persons as hostages for their fulfillment.³³ It was not until three months later that the captain of Cochin, by acts of reprisal, was able to make the king pay an indemnity of more than three hundred *pardaus* for the goods that had been taken.³⁴

On May 23 Gama sent a letter to the governor from Cochin.³⁵ In it he defended himself with respect to the three cargoes of pepper which he had loaded during his term of office in Quilon, and he strenuously protested against the treatment which he had received at the time he had made his audit on the basis of calumnies which had been leveled against him. He had not been credited with the 2,200 *pardaus* which, on the authority of the *vedor*, Araujo,³⁶ he had taken from the money left over from the purchase of pepper in order to indemnify himself for the ship which had been taken from him, not so that it might be sent to the kingdom or against the Turks, but so that it could be given to Francisco de Eça for his voyage to Bengal. And through this he had lost 2,000

cisca Gil, was a *fidalgo* of the royal house and sailed to India in 1532 and in 1544 with the position of an *alcaide-mor* in Quilon (*Emmentia* 333 425; *Registo* 297). In 1545 D. João de Castro gave him the position of toll judge in Malacca because he was "a good man and well deserving of the king" (Q 1560). He was captain of Quilon from 1547 to 1550. In 1562 the citizens of Quilon asked that he be appointed captain for life (TdT: CC 1-105-85). In 1581 he became *vedor* of India, "because of the great experience which he had in India" (*Registo* 942), and sailed to India with his son Thomé Lopes da Fonseca, a *moço-fidalgo*. He was married to Lucia Lopes (**Memoria das pessoas* 239).

³⁰ Q 2984, ed. Baião, *Hist.* 316. The privileges which he received from Castro were as follows: (1) A salary of one hundred *milreis* paid in advance. (2) He could send a ship to Bengal. (3) He could build a high rimmed ship on the coast of Malabar. (4) As captain and factor of Quilon he could give their pay and subsistence to twelve servants four times a year. He could distribute the offices that became free in Quilon.

³¹ Q 3089.

³² In Venmani, between Kāyankulam and Porakād.

³³ On May 27 Lobato gave an extensive report on this (Q 3098).

³⁴ On August 26 Lobato reported on the negotiations with the king of Batimene (Q 3260).

³⁵ Q 3089.

³⁶ According to Gama (Q 3089) and Fonseca (Q 3091). The paymaster, Francisco da Maya, wrote to the governor on January 26, 1547, that Duarte da Gama had taken 2,200 *pardaus* in Quilon as compensation for his ship from the 3,200 which remained from the purchase of pepper. As a consequence, there were only 1,000 left to take care of his salaries and those of the fortress (Q 2768).

pardaus, since he had been offered 3,000 *pardaus* for it in Goa, and 4,000 in Malacca; and he had already purchased the wares which he had intended to send with the ship to Malacca.

He had served his king in India for twenty-five years, and he had lost an eye and two fingers in the battle of the fleet at Diu with the galleon *Samorim Grande*. As a reward for this, the governor, in his letter, had not even taken into account his salary or that of his poor men nor that which he had paid his assistants in virtue of warrants which he had received for this; nor had he even taken into account the sums due to the priests, the secretaries, and the police. And if he had not given Fonseca the 1,200 *pardaus* which had been asked but were not owed, he would have had to spend the winter in the fortress of Quilon as a prisoner, and it had already been readied for this, as if he had been a thief and liar in the administration of his office.³⁷

But worse was still to come. On August 24, when the rainy season had passed and the sea was again navigable, Gama wished to sail from Cochin to Goa to speak with the governor. But the royal procurator, Thomé Lopes, then came with a letter of the captain of Quilon for the *ouvidor*, Manuel Lobato. In it the captain requested him to keep Duarte da Gama in prison until he had paid the *pardaus*, more than 1,800, which were still due to the Brahmans of Tēvalakara, since the *vedor*, Araujo, had ordered him to pay the entire sum of 3,500 *pardaus* during his term of office. Lobato then informed Gama that he was under arrest, and he took from him his word of honor that he would not leave the fortress of Cochin until the sum was paid.³⁸ During the audit in April, Fonseca had assumed that the indemnity had been fully paid with the 1,426 *pardaus*. In July, however, when he went to Kāyankulam, the pepper harbor north of Quilon, to visit the tollboats and pepper scales and to negotiate for the purchase of pepper, the Brahmans of the temple of Tēvalakara asked for the remaining 1,800 *pardaus*; and they made a threat that if these were not paid no pepper would be delivered to Quilon.³⁹

Duarte da Gama answered the procurator's request in triplicate, but Lobato then told him that he would have to hand over the missing money to the Brahmans or give it to him for them. If he did not, he would place him in the strictest confinement in the fort and would pay the required sum out of Gama's possessions; and he gave him five days in which to think it over. When Gama still refused to pay and appealed to a higher instance, the *ouvidor* accepted his word of honor that he would not leave his house until a reply came from the governor.⁴⁰

Eleven days later, however, on September 15, the procurator Lopes wrote to the governor that Gama's five days of reflection had passed and he was still going about the city. He had therefore asked that he be thrown into prison until he had paid, or enough of his possessions had been sold to pay, the sum.⁴¹ His request was granted. When the new *ouvidor*, Manuel Alvares Barradas, came to Cochin in November, he discovered, as he wrote to the governor on December 5, that Gama was imprisoned in irons in the fortress, and that there was an order from the governor that he should be taken in chains by a judge,

³⁷ Q 3089.

³⁸ Lobato on September 4 (Q 3283).

³⁹ As Fonseca wrote on August 6 (Q 3223).

⁴⁰ According to Lobato on September 4 (Q 3283).

⁴¹ According to the royal procurator Lopes (Q 3297).

policeman, and scribe to the temple of Tēvalakara and, arrested as he was, pay the Brahmans the more than 1,800 *pardaus* owed to them. The order was executed, but a letter from Tēvalakara then informed the *ouvidor* that Gama refused to pay what was demanded and to return to Cochin. The *vedor*, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, then ordered his agents to go to the house of the recalcitrant Gama and sell his possessions and anything else that he had. When Gama's relatives learned of this, they collected the required sum and sent it off at once to the temple and paid the Brahmans. Despite the fact that these were now paid, the governor ordered Gama to be kept confined in the city jail with the common criminals. This was then protested by his relatives: as a *fidalgo*, Gama's detention in the fortress was quite sufficient. At the end of his report to the governor, the *ouvidor* asked that the prisoner might be treated with mercy so that his confinement would not be prolonged.⁴² Gama's brother, who sailed to the governor on December 21 with a cargo of coconut fibers, also pleaded for him.⁴³

Duarte da Gama was finally freed from his arrest.⁴⁴ But he was angered by the unjust and disgraceful treatment he had received from Dom João de Castro and his representative during the past year. Injured in his honor as a *fidalgo*, and disgusted with his career as an official, he had decided to begin a new life and to seek his fortune outside the reach of Portuguese justice as a merchant in the Far East. If Master Francis would undertake his voyage to Japan during the coming spring, he too would abandon India for the Far East.

At the beginning of December⁴⁵ Xavier took leave of him before sailing for Cochin, since he wished to found a college in Quilon and to prepare the mail for Europe. After the departure of the ships for Portugal he intended to come back to Goa at the end of February in order to make his final preparations for his voyage to Japan. Xavier had persuaded Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha to be the procurator for his mission, and thanks to his assistance Garcia de Sá had granted the privileges requested in the memorial on the Fishery Coast. Gonçalves had also sent them to the king for ratification, and he had found means to send the missionaries to Socotra and to further the expedition to Jaffna.⁴⁶

9. TWO MONTHS IN COCHIN (DECEMBER, 1548—BEGINNING OF FEBRUARY, 1549)

Xavier arrived in Cochin in mid-December.¹ There he found Lancilotto and Luis Mendes waiting for him in the home of the *vigario*, Pedro Gonçalves, where he too was warmly welcomed.² In the Franciscan monastery he found his old

⁴² Q 3527.

⁴³ As Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha wrote on December 21 (Q 3550).

⁴⁴ When he was released is not known. Was he free and still in Cochin when Xavier arrived there on January 13, 1548? In the Xavier process of 1556 in Malacca, Duarte da Gama stated as a witness that he had seen Xavier on the Fishery Coast; in Quilon, where he was captain; in Goa and elsewhere; and in Malacca when the priest sailed from there for Japan (MX II 415/416).

⁴⁵ The last letter for the Jesuits in Europe which Xavier took with him from Goa to Cochin is dated November 29, 1548 (Q 4057). The next letter, from Goa, that of Barzaeus, bears the dates December 10 and 13 in the extant copies. Xavier sailed from Goa between these two dates and before the letter of Barzaeus, since he wrote that Xavier had come from the Fishery Coast to Goa and had immediately sailed on to Cochin (DI I 402). In his long letter, which he completed on December 20, 1548, A. Gomes wrote: "Agora vay Mestre Francisco a Cochim" (*ibid.* 417). But the letter, in the first half of which this appears, was probably not written on a single day.

⁴⁶ EX XII 50-54.

¹ Lucena 6, 7. Xavier had sailed from Goa some time before December 13 (DI I 402).

² EX I 410; II 7. When Gaspar came to Cochin at the beginning of February, Xavier

friend Mar Jacob,³ the bishop of the Thomas Christians; the guardian Frey Antonio do Casal;⁴ the superior of the Ceylon mission, Frey João de Villa de Conde;⁵ and the three brothers from Bassein. Frey João and the brothers were waiting there for the departure of the ships for Portugal. Xavier also greeted other friends and acquaintances in Cochín: Cosme Anes; Mestre Pedro Fernandes, the vicar general;⁶ Dom Jerónimo de Noronha, the former captain of Bassein;⁷ Dom Alvaro, the son of the deceased viceroy Dom João de Castro; and Dom Bernardo de Noronha, the son of the earlier viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha. The latter two, who were both great friends of the Society of Jesus, sailed off for Goa a few days later.⁸

Cosme Anes, the *vedor da fazenda*, was busy loading the pepper fleet. Seven ships were lying at anchor:⁹ the *Santa Cruz* under Captain Bernaldo Nassi;¹⁰ the *Santa Maria do Rosario*, which was sailing back to Portugal under the captaincy of Dom Alvaro with many *fidalgos*, including Antonio Moniz Barreto, the valiant captain of the expedition to Kandy, who wished to ask the king for a reward for his services;¹¹ the *Victoria* (also called *Atouguia*), with Dom Jerónimo de Noronha as its captain;¹² the *Flor de la Mar*,¹³ which had taken on ginger and pepper in Chale;¹⁴ the *Sphera*;¹⁵ the *São Pedro*;¹⁶ and the *Trindade* (also called *Biscainha*).¹⁷

spent the night with him in the Franciscan convent, where they were both given an excellent reception.

³ Q 4100; EX II 61-63.

⁴ Q 4137 4148.

⁵ EX II 60.

⁶ SR IV 256 259; EX II 56.

⁷ Fonseca 340; Q 4148; SR IV 256-257.

⁸ They took A. Gomes' letter of December 20, 1548, with them from Goa (DI I 424-425).

⁹ MX XII 186 (against Couto 6, 7, 3, p. 84, who states that of the seventeen ships which sailed in 1548 to India only four returned in 1549. There were five).

¹⁰ Misser Bernaldo Nassi, a shipowner, sailed to India in 1547 as captain of the *Santa Cruz*. He landed on Socotra and did not reach Goa until May, 1548 (**Memoria das armadas* 34v). In 1551 he sailed again in the same ship for India (*ibid.* 37; cf. Q 4537). According to the **Livro das armadas* of the Palmella Library (BB 4-11, f. 22), he sailed "in a ship." Correa calls it "the ship of Garcia de Sá" (IV 598) since the latter owned part of the wares on it (*ibid.* 678). Couto calls him Nacer and his ship *Burgaleza* and has him winter on Socotra (6, 5, 3, p. 366). Nassi sailed from Lisbon in March, 1547, and was still not in India in January, 1548 (Q 3670). Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha consequently wrote on March 17, 1548, that he had returned (Q 3939). Fonseca states that he suffered shipwreck near Socotra (298).

¹¹ The *Santa Maria do Rosario* sailed for India on October 31, 1547 (**Memoria das pessoas* 91) and arrived in Goa on May 20, as its captain Christovão de Sá wrote on December 17, 1548 (Q 4303). D. Alvaro sailed back on it as its captain in 1549 (Couto 6, 7, 3; cf. Q 4211). In 1551 the ship sailed again for India (*Emmentia* 434); cf. Fonseca 330. D. Alvaro wrote a letter of recommendation for Moniz to André Soares on August 5, 1549, from his estate of Penha Verde in Sintra (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 535-537).

¹² The *Victoria* sailed for India in 1543 (Q 4266), 1546 (Q 2100), and 1548 (Correa IV 666; SR IV 82) under Captain Fernandalvares da Cunha on the basis of a contract which he had made with Luis de Atouguia on February 13, 1542 (Q 900a); and in 1549 it sailed back with D. Jerónimo de Noronha (Q 4237); cf. Fonseca 340-341.

¹³ The *Flor de la Mar* sailed to India in 1546, 1548, and 1550 (Q 2100 2540 2577 2716 2767 4133 4672; SR IV 82; **Memoria das armadas* 34 35 76v; Fonseca 318), and returned again in 1549 (Figueiredo Falcão 162).

¹⁴ Q 4142 (SR IV 243).

¹⁵ The *Sphera* sailed for India in 1548 (Q 4026) and returned in 1549 (Figueiredo Falcão 162; cf. Fonseca 302).

¹⁶ The *São Pedro* sailed to India in 1548 (Q 4041) and returned in 1549 (Figueiredo

Xavier was to remain two months in Cochin. He spent his time in writing letters to Europe, conversing with the many visitors who came to see him, and, as usual, in the apostolate.¹⁸ He was able to do much good through his ardent preaching and his hearing of confessions.¹⁹ He visited the sick in the hospital, which almost became his second residence.²⁰ When he saw a native lying ill and helpless on the street, he would wrap him in his cloak and carry him to the hospital, where he would take care of him. He begged whatever he needed, including marmalade, from the homes of the wealthy.²¹ When he passed through the streets without a cloak, his friends would give him one; and he would accept it with the phrase: "It is for the love of God."

Every day he gathered the boys together with his little bell and took them to the fish market in the southwestern part of the city on the Rio do Esteiro, which separated the Portuguese quarters from the rest of the island of Cochin.²² There, around one o'clock in the afternoon,²³ he taught them the elements of Christian doctrine. But he also taught catechism in the Matriz, the parish church, and in a chapel outside the city, where large crowds gathered to hear him. One of those to attend these instructions was a Chinese woman by the name of Lucia Villanzam, who was fifty-three years old at the time. Sixty-seven years later she was still able to give testimony as an eyewitness of Xavier's work in Cochin. Pedro Carvalho, a grandson of the great Affonso de Albuquerque, and Antonio Gonçalves were two others who later gave an account of his zeal. In order to strengthen the new converts in their faith and to free them from their superstitious fears, he told the boys to destroy the idols which they discovered. He also baptized numerous pagans and found places for them in the homes of prominent individuals so that they might be further instructed in the faith. Another witness of later years was Francisco Pires, a native barber who had trimmed Xavier's hair and beard. In his old age he testified that he was universally regarded as a saint.

The result of Xavier's various labors was that the citizens became favorably disposed not only to the priest himself but also to the Society of Jesus,²⁴ and the *vigario* and the rest of the people earnestly asked him to send them priests to give instructions to their sons and to increase their faith.²⁵

In the meantime Christmas had come, and Xavier had celebrated it with

Falcão 162). It sailed again in 1550 for India (**Memoria das armadas* 36v) and returned in 1551 (Q 4592 4672); cf. Fonseca 325.

¹⁷ The *Trindade* sailed for India in 1546 and 1548 (**Memoria das armadas* 34-35) and returned in 1547 (Q 2767) and 1549 (Figueiredo Falcão 162). It sailed again for India in 1551 (Q 4537); cf. Fonseca 338.

¹⁸ The sources for Xavier's apostolate in Cochin are the following testimonies from the Cochin process of 1616 in MX II: those of eyewitnesses: Lucia Villanzam (454), Pedro Carvalho (456-457), Antonio Gonçalves (493-494) and Francisco Pires (452). In addition to these there is that of Simão Carvalho (463) and, especially, the very extensive testimony of Sebastião Affonso, whose father, Manuel Affonso, a notary in Cochin, had known Xavier (501).

¹⁹ According to Gago (DI I 559).

²⁰ "Hospitalibus, in quibus assidue habitabat" (MX II 501).

²¹ "Dulciaria" (*ibid.*).

²² Cf. the city plan drawn before 1622, apparently by João Teixeira, in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, Codex 6800 (O. Quelle, *Portugiesische Manuskriptatlanten* [Berlin, 1953] pl. 25).

²³ MX II 501.

²⁴ DI I 417.

²⁵ Seb. Gonçalves 7, 9.

Lancilotto and Mendes. The time would soon be at hand when the ships would have to leave for Portugal, and Xavier had already decided that Roque de Oliveira and Domingos Carvalho should, in addition to Torres, go with him to Japan.²⁶

The day after Christmas Lancilotto finished a long letter which he had written to Ignatius in answer to the letters which had come from Rome.²⁷ He had already written to him from Goa in October that all were anxiously waiting for the arrival of the patriarch of Ethiopia with many bishops and learned priests, since there were the greatest hopes for the good that they would do. The church of Ethiopia would be reconciled with that of Rome. Other great Christian provinces such as Armenia, Syria, and Alexandria would follow its example, since they could all be informed about the affairs of Rome from it. He had learned from an Ethiopian that all the people there wished to obey the pope, but they were deterred from doing so by the Turks who were between them and Rome.²⁸

In his December letter, Lancilotto expressed his gratitude for his appointment as a spiritual coadjutor.²⁹ He also expressed his surprise that there had not been a single letter for Father Master Francis among those which had arrived. With respect to the family names of his confreres, Misser Paulo declared that he had none. He had not as yet seen Cipriano, and he had been unable to write to him.³⁰ With respect to the sending of some Indian students and one of the confreres to Rome to give a report on conditions in India, Master Francis was of the opinion that this should be postponed for two years.³¹ As for Ignatius' prescriptions that the confreres should always have a companion,³² Master Francis was taking care of this; but the need for instructions was so urgent here and in so many other places that, if it were possible, each one of the confreres would be gladly torn to pieces so that each piece could be in a different place and could thus help relieve the great misery that existed in the different areas. The best means to forestall any lack of discretion would be to send to India only those who possessed great prudence and experience and were so practiced in self-denial that they could swim without the assistance of a cork belt. With respect to the impediments for reception into the Society,³³ there were three in India burdened with them: two had been Capuchos³⁴ and one had been a Dominican. One of these was Henrique Henriques, a man of moderate learning and good life, and a New Christian. The two others were also New Christians, but of excellent life. One of these, who was named Gaspar,³⁵ was with Cipriano on Socotra.³⁶ The other, whose name was Affonso,³⁷ would go to Malacca the following April. All three had pronounced, as was customary, the conditional vow

²⁶ According to Lancilotto on December 26, 1548 (DI I 441).

²⁷ "I wrote to Your Reverence in detail in December, 1548, when I was with Padre Mestre Francesco in Cochin, when I answered your letter of November 22, 1547" (DI II 9). This letter is in DI I 434-444.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 341-343.

²⁹ Cf. *ibid.* 194-196 201.

³⁰ Their two ships crossed each other between Cochin and Goa.

³¹ Cf. DI I 206-208.

³² Cf. *ibid.* 211-212: the *regula socii*.

³³ Cf. *ibid.* 202-203.

³⁴ Franciscan Recollects.

³⁵ Gaspar Rodrigues.

³⁶ He assumes that they will be there when his letter arrives.

³⁷ Affonso de Castro.

of entering the Society.³⁸ With respect to the new rector whom he had so earnestly sought from Master Simon, he had the following to say:

Mestre Simone finally sent this year a priest by the name of Antonio Gomes, from the island of Madera, who says that he is a doctor of theology. Because of the letters of Maestro Simone which he gave to me, I immediately handed over to him the college and its students and my own self, as was right; and he is the rector of the college and our superior. Here in India I hope that God our Lord will give him the grace to rule to the edification of all.³⁹ It is true that he has more talent for preaching and hearing confessions than for ruling and commanding. He preaches with great zeal, and the people are very devoted to him; he is producing great fruit with his preaching; and since he has such authority, Cosme Ianne, the founder of the college, entrusted himself entirely to him, giving him complete authority in the said college in both temporal and spiritual matters. And as soon as the said Antonio Gomez took over the charge of the college, he began to give it a new form in everything, saying that he wished to train these students with respect to their order of studies in the manner of [the University of] Paris, and with respect to their prayer and meditation in the manner that is customary for ours in Coimbra; and this program has now been introduced. With the help of God he will succeed, though with difficulties, for those who are in this college are a mixture from ten nations, each more barbarous than the other, the most barbarous and uncivilized peoples in the world; and all that I could write in this regard will remain to be examined by the prudence of Your Reverence, for a few words are sufficient for one with a good understanding.⁴⁰

With respect to the new confreres, Lancilotto wrote that five priests and seven nonpriests had come this year, and that they were all edifying men. Antonio Gomes was a doctor; Master Gaspar, a Fleming,⁴¹ was an excellent *letrado*. Both were zealous in preaching and in other pious works; and they did much good through their sermons and hearing of confessions in the city of Goa, which was in great need of instruction. The three other priests, Gago, Gonçalves, and Vale, could speak a little Latin, though it was difficult to understand them. They were, however, excellent persons. Manuel,⁴² one of those who were not priests, was an excellent *letrado* and was teaching the humanities at the time in St. Paul's College. The others had not received any higher education, and he did not know their names. He had had little to do with them, and they were all new in the Society. Within the past few days he had learned from a letter that two *fidalgos* had entered the college to make the Exercises,⁴³ and he hoped that God would give them the grace to persevere in the order.

Lancilotto then gave a brief account of the state of the mission. There were four confreres⁴⁴ on the coast of Moro in Maluco, which was inhabited by beastly

³⁸ The vows of scholastics to enter into the Society after completing their studies "si recibirlos quisieren, juzgando seer idoneos para ella" (MI Const. I 56-57). They belonged to the Society in a wide sense; in the strict sense, only the professed and coadjutors belonged to it (*ibid.* III 162).

³⁹ He wrote on January 25, 1550: "Entrò nel cargo con tanto fervore e con tanta austerità, che foi necessario che Maestro Francesco remediassse" (DI II 10).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* I 439-440.

⁴¹ According to the usual way of speaking in the sixteenth century, Flanders, broadly speaking, included Belgium and Holland.

⁴² Manuel Vaz.

⁴³ D. Diogo Lobo and André de Carvalho.

⁴⁴ Beira, Ribeiro, and Brothers Nicolau Nunes and the Baltasar Nunes who had entered in India, not his namesake who had come from Portugal (Lancilotto also writes: Belchior. Cf. DI I 364).

men who lived on fish and bread made from wood.⁴⁵ They were waiting in India for news from them. Father Pérez was in Malacca. He was an excellent man with an average education. Roque de Oliveira, a new assistant, was an excellent young man who was making the Exercises in Goa and wished to be received into the Society.⁴⁶ There were six on Cape Comorin doing great good.⁴⁷ They could already speak some Malabarese. In January Cipriano would be sent with two young lay brothers to Socotra.⁴⁸ The people there were Thomas Christians, but the only Christian thing about them was their name. Two had recently gone to Bassein: Melchior Gonçalves and one who was not a priest.⁴⁹ After Xavier's departure for Japan, Antonio Gomes would remain as rector in St. Paul's College, Gago as minister, and Misser Paulo and Master Gaspar with five or six other confreres⁵⁰ and fifty Indian students.⁵¹

Cosme de Torres, a priest from Valencia, a good man with an average education, would be sailing with Master Francis for Japan. Domingos Carvalho and Roque de Oliveira, two fine young men, and three fine Japanese would also be going with them. The people of China and Japan had the same religion; and he, Lancilotto, was sending an account of it to Ignatius. It had been roughly written from information which he had been able to obtain from one of the Japanese.⁵² At the time he obtained the information, this latter had not as yet learned how to speak Portuguese well; but he was so clever that he had been able to explain what he, Lancilotto, had wanted to know through circumlocutions. Because of the similarities between customs in Europe and theirs, he, Lancilotto, was inclined to believe that some Christian heretics had gone to preach in China. There was a very old Armenian⁵³ bishop in Cochín who had been there for forty-five years and had instructed the Thomas Christians of Malabar in the faith. This bishop said that during the first centuries of the Church, Armenians went to China and founded there a great Christian community.⁵⁴ May God grant that, through the voyage of Master Francis, these peoples may be again enlightened upon the way of truth, since they say that it had been foretold to them in prophecy that they would receive a new, more perfect law. Unceasing prayers should therefore be offered up to the Lord for the success of this venture. Along with this letter, Lancilotto sent his report on Japan which he had composed for Garcia de Sá. He had added a number of new paragraphs to its conclusion,⁵⁵ which ran as follows:

⁴⁵ Bread obtained from the pith of the sago palm: sago cake.

⁴⁶ On November 15, 1548, Baltasar Nunes wrote from Travancore that Xavier had received Oliveira in India (*ibid.* 319).

⁴⁷ Criminali, H. and F. Henriques, Vale, and Brothers Adam Francisco and Baltasar Nunes.

⁴⁸ Gaspar Rodrigues and Manuel de Moraes.

⁴⁹ The name is no longer preserved; see above, p. 558.

⁵⁰ Juan Fernández, Gil Barreto, Luis Frois, Francisco Gonçalves, and Manuel Vaz.

⁵¹ According to Criminali the college had sixty students at the end of 1545 (DI II 12), according to Lancilotto sixty at the end of 1546 (*ibid.* I 133), and seventy in 1548 (*ibid.* II 169). Does he omit in this last letter those who fled from the college soon after his own departure (*ibid.* II 171)?

⁵² Anjirō, as a Christian, Paul of the Holy Faith.

⁵³ The Portuguese also called the Arameans (Chaldeans) Armenians (*Armenios*). Jacob Mar Abuna, is meant.

⁵⁴ Nestorians.

⁵⁵ The second draft. We follow the Italian text in ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 4 (Q 4101, 1), and add the numbers to the text in square brackets. In the notes we give the chief variants of the Spanish text in *Codex Ulyssiponensis* 57v (Q 4101, 4).

[17] Their religious have the profession and the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, and they are exercised in humility before their entrance into the order.

[18] These peoples are in the same climate as we.⁵⁶ They are also white and of the same height as we.⁵⁷ They are clever and distinguished and love virtue and knowledge and have a high regard for those who are educated.

[19] Their customs and the manner in which they rule the state in peace and war are as they are with us, except that justice is rendered orally and is consequently quick and also severe, so that a lord may kill a servant who has shamed him or done him some other wrong without incurring any penalty. The firstborn son of the Vō succeeds him in the highest dignity; and if he does not have a son, the closest relative in the paternal line. There is the same custom also with the other lords of the land. The princes are not tyrants, and if there is a strife between them and they make war upon each other, the Gosho attempts to reestablish peace. But if they cannot reach an agreement and one is stubborn or disobedient, the Gosho himself makes war on him and takes his state away from him and also his head; he does not, however, take the ruling power for himself but gives it to the one to whom it belongs by law, as if the said lord had died a natural death. One who during the lifetime of his wife has sexual intercourse with any other one whatever is deemed to be dishonorable.⁵⁸

[20] To obtain the remission of sins for the living and the dead, they make use of prayers, alms, pilgrimages, and fasts, and this many times during the year; and when they fast, they eat at the time we do, but their fast is stricter than ours.

[21] On a mountain of this island are five thousand religious,⁵⁹ very rich, with an abundance of servants and good houses and clothes; and they observe chastity, so that no woman or any other female being can be nearer than a league to them.

[22] When their wives bear, they remain for fifteen days without touching other persons, and forty days without entering their temples. When the servants⁶⁰ bear, they are separated from the others in houses.⁶¹ They do the same at the time of their monthly purification; and if anyone touches them, he becomes unclean and must wash, as was this custom with the Jews.⁶²

[23] Poor women, if they have many children, are accustomed to kill those born later so as not to see them in misery; and this sin is not punished.⁶³

[24] They say that more than fifteen hundred years ago⁶⁴ the idols in the kingdom of Cengico,⁶⁵ from which one passes through China and Tartan⁶⁶ to Japan, and also on that island, were destroyed through the teaching of Shaka. They preach of hell and say that the souls are tortured in it with different torments by the demons. The damned are in everlasting fire and other punishments, and the same is the case in purgatory, where those souls who did not do enough penance in this life are detained until they have been purified. They also speak of paradise, where there are angels who meditate upon the divine majesty.⁶⁷ They also maintain that the angels are protectors of men. They are therefore accustomed to carry the images of angels with

⁵⁶ Spanish: "in the same climate that Italy is."

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*: "like the Italians."

⁵⁸ This sentence is missing in the Spanish text.

⁵⁹ Kōyasan, the main site of the Shingon sect, is meant.

⁶⁰ The Spanish text has "slave women."

⁶¹ Meant is the birth shed (*ubu-ya*). On it see O. Nachod, *Geschichte von Japan I* (Gotha, 1906) 128; Haas I 297, and Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 128-129.

⁶² The Spanish text is here abbreviated.

⁶³ Cf. Frois, *Kulturgegensätze* 128-129.

⁶⁴ Spanish: "sixteen hundred years."

⁶⁵ Tenjiku (India).

⁶⁶ Tartão (Spanish: Tartan) is Tartary.

⁶⁷ The Buddhist angels (*tennin*) are represented as winged young women suspended in the air, dressed in colorful robes and playing musical instruments, in the Paradise of the West, the Buddhist heaven, where they represent the souls of the deceased Amida and sing and make music. See the description of the Buddhist paradise in John L. Atkinson, *Prince Siddharta, the Japanese Buddha* (Boston, 1893) 225-276.

them, who according to them are spirits and creatures of another material, and not of the elements.

[25] He says that they pray long prayers to the praise of God and meditate, especially the religious, who move about their altars while they are singing. They are also accustomed to ring bells in order to call the people to the sermon and to the sacrifice and to common prayers, and when someone dies. And when they assemble to carry their dead to their grave or to burn them, they carry lighted candles. All of their laws and writings and prayers are in a different language from what they usually employ, as is Latin with us. When he was asked if they also offer sacrifices, the said man replied that the priests, and especially their superiors, go to their church on certain days in certain garments, and in the presence of the people they burn certain fragrant substances: incense, aguilawood,⁶⁸ and certain fragrant leaves upon a stone like a kind of altar as they sing certain prayers.

The churches of these people have the same freedom as ours, that is, the court cannot arrest or carry away anyone in them for any case apart from theft. They have many images of holy men and women in their temples, either painted or carved with crowns and rays like ours. They have the same reverence for these as we have for ours. And if they pray to only one God, the Creator of all things, they also pray to the saints so that these may intercede for them. They also have a woman painted with a son on her arm, as we have the Virgin Mary. They call this saint Kwannon.⁶⁹ They look upon her as a general intercessor in all their needs, as we do our Lady. But this man could give me no information with respect to the history and life of this saintly woman.

These people eat everything and do not practice circumcision. It seems probable that the Gospel was brought into those regions and that the light of faith was darkened by their sins or through false leaders such as Mohammed.

[26] While I was busy writing this letter, an Armenian⁷⁰ bishop came to me, who has been more than forty years in these regions; and he told me that the Armenians⁷¹ went to China to preach in the time of the primitive Church. It would be a great blessing if that land would again be enlightened by the faith and the teaching of the Gospel. Although it is a trip of eight thousand leagues from Rome to Japan, if one loves the salvation of souls, all dangers and difficulties are a delight.

[27] If God so wills, Father Master Francis will sail with Paul, the source of this information, and two other Japanese who have become Christians and three brothers of the Society this coming April for Japan. In two years Your Reverence will have information on the good that can be worked in this land with the grace of Jesus Christ our Lord, who may be ever blessed for all eternity. Amen!⁷²

In addition to this second report on Japan, Lancilotto wrote still another in which he arranged the materials in a logical order.⁷³ As an introduction, he added a paragraph on his authority, Anjirō, a very clever man, who in a short time in St. Paul's College had obtained a knowledge of the Christian faith and had become a Christian. He had learned how to read and write Portuguese and had written a short compendium of the essential doctrines of the Christian faith in the Japanese language and script. He practiced prayer and meditation; and during these, he recommended himself to Jesus Christ as if he were a man who had lived for twenty years in the wilderness; and he could not write what a

⁶⁸ A fragrant wood used as incense. See Dalgado I 17-18; Yule 335-336, Orta II 47-65.

⁶⁹ The goddess of mercy (see Haas I 6, n. 117; Eliot 120-124 349-355; see also 29 149 186-187).

⁷⁰ Jacob Mar Abuna, the Chaldaean bishop of the Thomas Christians.

⁷¹ Nestorians.

⁷² The Spanish text has at the end: "Cochin, the beginning of January, 1549."

⁷³ Q 4102.

good man he was. While he, Lancilotto, was giving him instructions in the catechism, he in turn was giving him an account of his law and of the customs of his land.

The new text contained in addition to this some new data:

1. Cencico, the homeland of Shaka, Lancilotto suspected was in the neighborhood of Scythia.⁷⁴

2. Shaka's mother according to Anjirō was a prominent and honorable woman but sterile. The king, her husband, therefore had no children. After his dream, he summoned all the astrologers and magicians to ask them what his dream meant. And they told him that the queen would become pregnant and bear a son. When he was eighteen, Shaka went into the wilderness, where he remained for seven years, until he was found; and his many visitors so disturbed him that he could not continue with his penance. He therefore descended from the mountain and preached to the people.

3. Purgatory is a kind of customhouse where the good and evil souls go after death; and the evil are sent from there to hell, and the good to heaven.

4. The religious pluck out all the hair of their head and beard with iron tweezers which women use to pluck their eyebrows; and they thus pull out all the hair of their head and beard.

5. His authority says that the grey bonzes were founded by a holy man.⁷⁵

6. He added with respect to the pilgrimage of the Yamabushis that in each of the wayside chapels which they came across was an idol; and at night great fires were seen in different places on that mountain, and terrible voices were heard; and there was only a certain pass which could be used on that mountain where the hermits were; and they made the pilgrimage barefooted and bareheaded; and each one took with him a little sack of rice and a small cooking pot with a bucket of water and hung a tablet around his neck on which he had written his name and that of his father and his place of residence; and they thus went to the mountain where the hermits are. And many come together at the same time for this pilgrimage, at times more than a thousand. When they are all together, three or four of those hermits come in order to guide them along the footpaths and the good ways and to teach them how they should behave on this journey. And they then begin to go from chapel to chapel on that mountain, and at each chapel they pray before the image that is there, and they rest a bit and then wander on again and go around that mountain for seventy days. And, at the end of those seventy days, they assemble on the pass where they entered the first day and kneel down before the image of their god.

7. He observed with respect to Kōyasan that there is a gate at the foot of the mountain, a league from their homes; and they do not let any woman pass through this gate.

The conclusion was comprised of a paragraph on Shaka's death:

This Shaka, who gave laws to these people of China and Japan, ended his life as follows. He called all of his disciples and the people in general together and preached to them and said at the end that he would soon die. And he stepped into a marble tomb which he had ordered to be built and died before the eyes of all. His disciples then burned his body, and as they were placing his ashes in the same tomb, Shaka himself, in the presence of all, appeared in the air above a white cloud with a cheerful countenance and a marvelous aspect and thus went up to heaven and was seen no more. He was ninety years old.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Gaspar da Cruz extends Scythia as far as China (*Tractado* 7-13); cf. Boxer, *South China* 66-73.

⁷⁵ Ippen Shōnin (1239-1289), the founder of the Ji sect.

⁷⁶ According to the common tradition, Buddha died when he was eighty.

On December 30, four days after Lancilotto, Cosme Anes, Xavier's great friend, also wrote a long report to the king.⁷⁷ At the beginning of his letter he referred to the dangers which threatened India from the Turks, who were on their way and had already captured Basra and Aden. The whole country was scandalized and offended by the Portuguese, and the governors were becoming ever worse. If His Highness could not come himself, he should send his brother, the infante Dom Luis. He would bring a new life, would quicken their spirits. The Portuguese, who were at the time everywhere dispersed, would hasten to come under his banner; Christianity would increase; trade would flourish; many kingdoms and provinces would become tributary; Aden would be recaptured; the straits of Ormuz and Mecca would be secured; a treaty of friendship would be concluded with Shāh Tahmāsp;⁷⁸ Abyssinia would be transformed; the kings of India and other regions would be pleased with the orders given by a royal prince; fleets would sail to many regions equipped with an abundance of contented men. All this and more could be attained.

The writer of the letter then took up the condition of the Church. The king should procure a new shepherd. The bishop was an excellent prelate, but better for Portugal than for India since he was already old and ill. He could not as a consequence visit many regions in person and was also in many other ways impeded in the exercise of his duties of office. His Highness must therefore soon send an efficient vicar general. Master Pedro,⁷⁹ who was sailing to Portugal, had occupied this office. He was sickly and not made for the land. He led a virtuous life but was not suited for India, as he, Cosme Anes, had written in an earlier letter.⁸⁰ He then continued:

Preachers are very necessary here for the service of God and of Your Highness, and in every fortress there should be a preacher. As many as possible of these apostolic priests⁸¹ should come. They occupy no place and are very useful. Friars serve in their houses, but less outside of them; and they are very difficult to satisfy and cost much to maintain. Five or six⁸² Franciscans are sailing to you in these ships, but no new ones are coming. These young fellows are sailing with permission and are no great loss.

Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha is very harmful to this land, and I can say so much about this that I prefer not to mention it. He and Antonio Pessoa must be replaced, or some other remedy found for them, so that they do not corrupt the governors (which they certainly do, though in different ways). Your Highness can believe that the devil did not look for more means to tempt Christ than Ruy Gonçalves. He does this to some through hunger, to others through greed, to others through trade. Though Dom João de Castro swore that Ruy Gonçalves would never enter his house, and even though he issued an order that he be sent to the kingdom, the latter obtained from him what Your Highness will have already learned where you are; and Antonio Pessoa did the same; and it seems to me that one who escapes them is a courageous man indeed.

⁷⁷ SR IV 469-476. The date December 30, 1549, means here, according to the usual manner of writing, December 30, 1548.

⁷⁸ The king of Persia (1524-1576).

⁷⁹ Pedro Fernandes, the vicar general.

⁸⁰ He wrote to the king about him on November 30, 1547 (see above, p. 419).

⁸¹ The Jesuits.

⁸² The original clearly has "V-VI" (as is also indicated by a comparison with the closing date "XXX"), and this corresponds also to the facts. We know that four sailed. Frey Antonio do Casal also wished to sail, but he had to remain. SR III 472 reads: "10-11," DI I 445: "X-XI?"

The third object of Cosme Anes' complaints was Khoja Shams-ud-dīn, a resident in Cannanore, a great friend of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, and the richest Moorish merchant in India:

I would remind Your Highness again about Coge Cemaçadym: He is a mine more to be feared than that of the bulwark of São Thomé in Diu.⁸³ I did not wish to ask him for help with the expenditures that had to be made, and he would also have refused to grant me a loan.

Though Cosme Anes had encountered difficulties in borrowing the money he needed for the purchase of the cargo of pepper, he had still dared to make an unusual purchase at his own risk:

Despite the difficulties of this year, I was very anxious to buy a diamond for Your Highness, which is now going to you and is the most valuable thing that ever came into this land; and I did this on the condition that half of it would be paid for there, and the other half here in time.

At the conclusion of his letter, Cosme Anes again brought up his bold plan for the conquering of India.

There are few of us here, and we are hungry and letting ourselves go to ruin since we have no landed estates to live upon and in which to find refuge. Two Moorish slaves⁸⁴ have become the masters of these lands and rule them like tyrants with the help of a very few foreigners who do not feel attached to them. May it please our Lord to grant Your Highness many more days, so that you may in time, with God's assistance, provide a remedy for such great things, through which His holy name will be glorified and the royal position of Your Highness will be greatly increased.

At the beginning of his letter, Cosme Anes had written to the king:

After you have read this letter, see that it is torn up so that what my zeal prompted me to write to you, since it seemed to me to be to the service of God and of Your Highness to do so, does not redound to my harm. I am greatly afraid, Lord, to be in this land. I do not know if this is because I have more pledges and obligations and am becoming old and am longing for rest, or because I see that the land is becoming worse.

Ten days before this, Antonio Gomes had written to Simon Rodrigues about Cosme Anes as follows:

He comes here to us every day. . . . I cannot describe the love and affection which he has for this house. . . . Your Reverence must tell the king that Mestre Francisco and I are writing that he must always leave him in this land, since he works for the affairs of Your Highness and of God. . . . He has great authority and respect in all India.

But he had also added:

He has much to suffer from his adversaries, since they cannot match his virtue. Your Reverence must promote his interests with the king since truth requires that

⁸³ In 1546 the Turks had blown up the bulwark of São João with a mine (see above, p. 291).

⁸⁴ Yūsuf Adil Khān, the founder of the Adilshāhi dynasty, was according to Varthema a native of Sāva in Persia and came as a slave to India (Barbosa I 174); see Vol. II, p. 166.

such a good and virtuous man be the recipient of favors in India. . . . I earnestly ask Your Reverence to obtain a letter from the king filled with kindness. He should tell him that he is very happy with the service which he shows towards God and towards himself. And he should do this with words that will render him great honor, for this is necessary here where his enemies work so tirelessly to ruin him because of the virtues which they see in him. The king should further give him the office of a *provedor-mor dos defuntos*, since Mestre Francisco knows no one who could occupy it with greater conscientiousness than he, when his office as *vedor-mor da fazenda* of the king expires. When we have this man here, Your Reverence can be at peace, for we shall then establish as many colleges as we wish. Have the same regard for his concerns as you have for those of the Society, for truly Mestre Francisco is overcome by his love and concern for the Society; for when he receives a letter from there, he goes and shows it through all the streets simply in order that the Society may be esteemed; and now his only consolation is to see the saintly exhortations and devotions that are in them.⁸⁵

One of Cosme Anes' chief adversaries was Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, about whom Simão Botelho wrote from Bassein on December 24:

Because of the construction of this fortress and the one at Diu and the galleons which the governor ordered to be made (I hear that they are eight or ten), I fear that no very good cargo of pepper can be shipped from here this year to the kingdom. This will not be simply due to a lack of money but also because, as I am told, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha is putting as many obstacles in the way of Cosme Anes as he can. But these are reports from a distance. Your Highness will there learn the truth. But I shall not omit saying one thing: He is to a certain extent responsible for the displeasure which the governor felt for Cosme Anes, and also for other things.⁸⁶

Garcia de Sá, on the other hand, wrote to the king on January 3, 1549:

Because of the letters which Cosme Anes, the *vedor da fazenda*, has written to me from Cochin, where he is taking care of the cargo, I fear that it will not be as good as I would like and as I wrote to Your Highness. From what I have been told, he may place part of the blame for this on me to Your Highness. Your Highness will learn the truth, namely, that I sent Cosme Anes to Cochin, and that he found in the factory there pepper and drugs and also some money which Ruy Gonçalves, the former *vedor da fazenda*, had left there for this year's cargo, amounting to more than 140,000 *pardaus*. I wrote to the king of Cranganore that he should make a loan of 10,000 *pardaus* for the cargo, and to the city of Cochin that it should lend something for it; and I sent them an order that they should take all of the money from the orphans' fund, which I would later return. This is what, my Lord, I did for the cargo when there was no money in your treasury; and now, at the end of the year, when the revenues of Your Highness have not been paid, and the people are in need because of the past wars, I remind Your Highness of what I would not have done if Cosme Anes had not been the *vedor da fazenda*, for my opinion of him forces me to do so. He is the executive of the will of his father-in-law, Francisco Toscano, who was the *provedor-mor dos defuntos*, and he appropriated his entire estate. I have not been able to determine how much it was because of the shortness of time, since I had to send him to Cochin for loading the cargo. Francisco Toscano owes more than 36,000 *pardaus*.⁸⁷ I am ordering Cosme Anes to give the money to the treasurer for the purchase of pepper.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ DI I 420-422.

⁸⁶ Botelho, *Cartas* 13. In October, 1549, A. Gomes wrote to the king: "Cosme Anes . . . por las lembranças que hizo al governador Garcia de Saa do vuestro servicio fué mui vexado" (DI I 530; cf. Correa IV 682).

⁸⁷ More precisely, he owed 36,034 *pardaus*, 3 *tangas*, 57 *reis* (Q 4370).

⁸⁸ Q 4127; SR IV 218.

Cosme Anes' father-in-law, Dr. Francisco Toscano, the former chancellor, had died shortly before his departure for Cochin. In Cochin the *vedor* had obtained a loan of ten thousand *xerafins* from the king of Cranganore for the pepper cargo, although Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha had borrowed ten thousand *pardaus* from him the preceding year for the same purpose and had not as yet, despite his promises, repaid it.⁸⁹ Ruy Gonçalves did not have the best reputation with the king of Portugal. When he sent him the memorial of the Fishery Coast on December 30, he had consequently taken advantage of this opportunity to manifest his missionary zeal. He had added a note to the end of it in which declared that, as the procurator of the Christians there, he had recommended all of the requests contained in the memorial to the governor. These had been granted by him, and he asked His Highness to confirm them. With the memorial he sent an accompanying letter in which he informed the king that Father Master Francis had asked him for help in some of his affairs, and that he had granted his requests in order to render service to God and His Highness, since he knew how much this would please His Highness, especially with respect to the requests of the people on the Fishery Coast. He was busy obtaining the necessary warrants from the governor for the voyage of some priests to Socotra. He was also occupied with the expedition against Jaffnapatam, though the time was not yet ripe for it and the governor was now going to Bassein. But, if God so willed, he would take care of the matter during the coming year. The governor had entrusted to him the care of the Dominicans who had come this year from the kingdom. He had obtained for them a fine piece of ground, upon which they had already built a church, dormitory, and residence for novices. They had offered Mass on Christmas in the church, which was very large and very good. They were provided with all their necessities and would be in a good condition for some days, until they began to erect their main building. They would write to His Highness how satisfied they were.⁹⁰

On December 15 Antonio Pessoa also wrote a letter to the king from Goa. In it he thanked him for not having given any credence to the false intrigues of his enemies and for obtaining information from the now deceased viceroy on his deserts. He also thanked him for the great favor and honor which he had shown him. For fifty years he had had an abundance of the goods of this world, and for twenty-five years he had served His Highness; and before his death the viceroy had asked the priests who had heard his confessions and were assisting him in his last hours to write to His Highness that he should confirm the grant of the villages in the territory of Bassein which had formerly belonged to the Moor Melique Acem,⁹¹ and which had been given to him by the viceroy as an hereditary fief.⁹²

Khoja Shams-ud-dīn, the great merchant of Cannanore, also sent four letters to Portugal with the ships. In the first he thanked the queen for two letters which she had sent him this year, and in which she had informed him of the constant readiness of the king, her husband, to assist him. Shams-ud-dīn assured her that he knew no other sovereign in the world whose assistance he appreciated more, since he was obliged to him for everything; and he asked her to support the requests which he was sending to the king.⁹³ His three other letters were

⁸⁹ Q 4144.

⁹⁰ EX II 51-54.

⁹¹ Malik Iliās, son of Malik Ayāz, governor of Bassein.

⁹² Q 4086.

⁹³ Q 4055.

addressed to the king. In the first he informed him that he was now sixty years old, that he had become a vassal of His Highness, and that he had received many favors from him. But he was obliged to complain that the king's Portuguese subjects, instead of favoring and honoring him, oppressed and insulted him. They made impossible demands upon him. They did not treat him as a friend but as a slave. Some complained about him; others threatened him; and others seized the wares on his ships by force. The king had granted him a patent in virtue of which he could sail his ships wherever he wished, and he had always done so.⁹⁴ But instead of being compelled to ask the governors for permission each time for this, His Highness should issue an order that the captain of the fortress from which his ships sailed, or the *ouvidor*, or the judge of the fortress, could grant these passes, since he always let his boats be searched for proscribed wares. If the complaint is made that he does not make any loans for the loading of the ships, he replies that he has no liquid assets, and that he has, instead of money, offered wares which could be sold for cash. Even His Highness, who was such a great lord, was often in need of money; and he, Shams-ud-dīn, was only a merchant; and all the other kings and lords shunned him because he had given his hands to him as his vassal. Every year his ships furnished him with definite knowledge from the other side about the Rumes;⁹⁵ and he always sent these reports immediately to the governor, wherever he might be. His Highness might persuade M. A. de Sousa to repay the money which he had borrowed from him. He needed it for his own support and for the service of His Highness. He further asked that he should not be forced to sail his ships to other harbors than where he lived. The other ships of this land were not compelled to do this.⁹⁶

In a second letter Shams-ud-dīn informed the king that the new *vedor*, Cosme Anes, was hostile to him because he, the writer of the letter, was a friend of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha. He had immediately shown his animosity. On his voyage to Cochin, Cosme Anes had come to Cannanore, where he lived, and although he remained a day in the fortress, he refused to see him or to ask anything of him. When he arrived in Cochin, he found one of his, Shams-ud-dīn's, ships there. He detained it and would not let it sail on to Cannanore until it had paid the required taxes, even though he still had a warrant of His Highness exempting him from such duties, as was known throughout the world. Not content with this, Anes spoke about him as he pleased, though he was less to blame in the service of His Highness than many of his own people. If the contrary was said of him, His Highness might order his governors to make a juridical investigation of his life every year.⁹⁷

In his third letter, Shams-ud-dīn complained about the wrongs perpetrated by the captain in chief of this year's Malabar fleet. He had caused one of his ships on its way to Arabia to be ambushed, its men brought to land, and the ship itself unloaded in order to look for forbidden wares which it was not carrying; and he took from him 250 *cruzados*-worth of wares. And all this happened because he had not lent the captain in chief the 2,000 *cruzados* he had wanted. If he obtained no relief in these matters, it would be better for him not to send out his ships, even though he served the king better than any other and gave

⁹⁴ Cf. the letter of safe conduct of November 20, 1543 (Q 1145), whose contents we have given in Vol. II, pp. 400-401.

⁹⁵ Turks.

⁹⁶ Q 4094.

⁹⁷ Q 4124.

the largest share of his profits to the Christians. If the captain of the fortress were not such an excellent man, the land would already have been in open turmoil because of the exactions of the Malabar fleet. He asked the king to express his gratitude for all that he had done for him, and not to give credence to slanders made against him.⁹⁸ Together with these letters, Shams-ud-din sent the queen a thousand hundredweights of ginger and two hundred of pepper "for her slippers,"⁹⁹ since every year she sent him very honorable letters with gifts and curiosities from Europe; and to the king he sent an elephant for service on the Ribeira.¹⁰⁰

Cosme Anes had purchased the diamond which he was sending to the king from Simão da Cunha¹⁰¹ in Cochin in 1548 for ten thousand gold *pardaus*.¹⁰² Half of these were to be paid in Portugal, the other half in India, and Anes had promised to raise the money for its purchase. The stone weighed sixty-five *manalins*, which was the equivalent of the same number of *carates*. Three jewelers, Boaventura, Mestre Pedro, and Francisco Pereira, had examined it; they had declared that it was the most perfect diamond that had ever been seen in India; and they affirmed that it would be worth more than thirty thousand *cruzados* in Portugal. Cosme Anes assumed that the king would approve of the purchase, and he sent the stone at his own risk, giving it to Dom Jerónimo de Noronha, who was sailing to Portugal as the captain of the *Atouguia*.¹⁰³

The ship was already on the high seas when Xavier met Cosme Anes and asked him how he was getting along with the loading of the ships.

"Very well, Padre Mestre," the *vedor* replied; and he noted that seven ships had sailed and, thanks be to God, with a large quantity of pepper and drugs. In addition to these he was sending the king a diamond which he had purchased for ten thousand *pardaus*, but which would be worth 25,000 to 30,000 *cruzados* in the kingdom.

Francis then asked him through whom he was sending it and on what ship. Anes replied that he had sent it with Dom Jerónimo de Noronha, who was sailing as the captain of the *Atouguia*, which had come to India under the command of Fernandalvaes da Cunha. Francis immediately told him:

⁹⁸ Q 4155.

⁹⁹ On the "slipper-money" of the queen, see Vol. II, pp. 406–497.

¹⁰⁰ Couto 6, 7, 3, pp. 86–87. Ruy Gonçalves had already written on December 18, 1547, that Shams-ud-din had given him an elephant (see above, p. 351).

¹⁰¹ Simão da Cunha, *fidalgo cavalleiro* of the royal house, not to be confused with the brother of the governor Nuno da Cunha who died in 1529 (Braamcamp Freire, *Bra-sões* I 176), had as his first wife Catarina Salvada, who was the servant of the chief lady in waiting of the queen, Maria de Vasconcellos, and received in 1541 as her dowry the position of a factor of Bhatkal for four years; and in 1542, because of her, he received the captaincy of a Maldiva voyage (*Registo* 355–356). In 1542 he sailed to India with a monthly income of 1,100 *reis* (**Memoria das pessoas* 75). In 1546 he was sent by the governor to help Bassein (Q 2170), from where he brought the news of victory to Goa (Q 2500). He was elected judge by the city of Goa but rejected by Garcia de Sá. The king, however, confirmed his election in 1553 (APO I [2nd ed.] 38). After the death of his first wife, he married in Goa Jerónima Pereira, the sister of Xavier's friend Antonio Pereira (**Andrade Leitão* VII 846), who spoke as a witness in Xavier's process in Goa in 1556 (MX II 201). When Melchior Nunes Barreto sailed for Japan in 1554, her husband gave him a number of valuable gifts (DI III 200).

¹⁰² Jorge Herváez wrote to the king in Lisbon on January 17, 1547, of a large diamond of inestimable worth which had been discovered in Narsinga (Vijayanagar) and was to be had cheaply (Q 2750).

¹⁰³ Q 4237.

"Não quisera que ho mandaras n'esa não" ("I would have preferred that you did not send it on this ship").

Anes was dismayed at this and asked: "Are you saying this, Father, because the ship was taking in water while it was here?"

"Nom por eso" ("Not for that"), he replied.

"Then, Father," the *vedor* insisted, "for the love of our Lord, remember to recommend this ship and the others in your sacrifices and prayers!"¹⁰⁴

On January 12 Xavier began to ready the mail for Europe. He wrote to Ignatius through three *vias*,¹⁰⁵ since there were a number of ships to take the letters. He began his letters as follows: "May the grace and love of Christ our Lord always help and favor us. Amen. My only Father in *Christi visceribus*!"

The first letter¹⁰⁶ dealt with the reforms and plans of Antonio Gomes. Master Francis had been greatly disappointed with him at the time of his encounter with him in Goa. He was not the man whom he had so earnestly desired and requested, and who was needed in India during his absence. He could not think of him as being either the rector of St. Paul's College or the superior of the mission. He must be sent away from India. He could use his talents for preaching in Ormuz or in Diu.

In his first paragraph, Xavier recommended his confreres in India (there were already thirty¹⁰⁷) to the prayers of his father in Christ. Great demands

¹⁰⁴ The testimony of Cosme Anes of 1556 contains some lapses in memory. He places the event in 1545, on the occasion of Xavier's return from Cape Comorin; he states that he sent the diamond through D. João (read Jerónimo) de Noronha, and he adds: "From letters of Dr. João and other definite reports, I learned that on the return voyage of this ship to Portugal a leak was sprung at the foot of the mainmast and all his fellow voyagers had decided many times to beach the vessel or to transfer to another. They finally decided to cut down the mainmast since they saw no other remedy. It had hardly been cut down when the leak stopped. The ship was dried out and with two poles for sails and the cross-tree (*crucete*) of a topmast (*mastareo*) the ship sailed with the others into Lisbon with the same tide, so that one had to believe that all was the work of our Lord through the intercession of this holy priest" (MX II 185-186).—Cosme Anes collected the money for the diamond. On February 3, 1550, there were still fifty-two *pardaus* that had to be paid (Q 4370). The diamond, however, worked miracles: On July 13, 1551, the king sent a ring with the precious stone in it to his ambassador in Rome with the notice that he should deliver it to the pope as a gift and not to speak with him on that day about business. He should then ask him for a favor, namely, that the dignity of Grand Master of the three knightly orders, which the king had personally for life, should always remain united with the royal house (Q 4669). On August 15, the ambassador wrote to the king that the diamond had arrived on August 8, and that he had presented it to the pope on the following day. The latter was never satisfied with looking at it, and he praised the zeal of the Portuguese king for the spreading of the faith. The jewel was estimated by most dealers in precious stones as being worth 100,000 *cruzados*. It had been taken out of its mounting and weighed, and it was the only subject of conversation in Rome. The pope had given it to his brother so that it might remain as an entailed property (Q 4679). Through a brief *Raræ magnitudinis* of August 13, 1551, the Holy Father thanked the king (Q 4677); and on December 30 he granted his request, through the bull *Praeclare charissimi*, that the dignity of Grand Master of the three knightly orders should be forever united with the Portuguese crown (Q 4718).

¹⁰⁵ "I am writing to you three letters of almost the same contents," Xavier states in his third letter (EX II 29).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 5-16.

¹⁰⁷ Xavier and Misser Paulo had been in India since 1542; Beira, Criminali, and Lancilotto since 1545; F. Henriques, H. Henriques, Pérez, Ribeiro, Cipriano, Adam Francisco, Morais junior, Alcáçova, B. Nunes, and N. Nunes since 1546; Torres, Barzaeus, Gago, Melchior Gonçalves, A. de Castro, Gaspar Rodrigues, Oliveira, Domingos de Carvalho, Juan Fernández, Gil Barreto, Luis Mendes, A. Gomes, Paulo do Vale, Frois, Fran-

were made on these members of the Society by the climate of India with its excessive heat in summer and its constant torrents of rain in winter; by its sparse diet, especially in Maluco, Socotra, and Cape Comorin; by its difficult languages, its dangers to body and soul; and, as far as he had learned to know them, by its barbarous peoples. Through the grace of God, they had up to the present been preserved from ruin; and they had won the approval of all the Portuguese, both those engaged in spiritual, and those employed in temporal, labors, and also of the pagans. The Indians, in as far as he had come to know them, were all pagans or Moors, very unlearned, and the work of spreading the faith demanded many virtues of the missionaries: obedience, humility, perseverance, patience, charity, and especially chastity because of the numerous occasions of sin. They also needed a sound judgment and good health to endure the difficulties. The general of the order should hereafter test the confreres designated for India; and if he could not do this himself, he should only send those in whom he had great confidence. They especially needed much chastity and humility, and they must be free from all arrogance. He then came to speak of Antonio Gomes:

The one whom you were to send, my Father, to take over the care of the College of the Holy Faith in Goa and the native students and the members of the Society must have these two qualities in addition to all the others which one must have for the direction and ruling of others. The first is much obedience in order to gain the love of the people, especially of all our ecclesiastical, and then of the secular, superiors who rule the land so that they do not notice any pride but rather great humility in him. I say this, my Father, because the people of this land, both our ecclesiastical and secular superiors who rule the land, expect to be well obeyed. When they see this obedience in us, then they do everything that we request of them and love us. But if they see or suspect the contrary, they are greatly offended. The second is that he must be meek and kind towards those with whom he deals, and not strict; and he must do all in his power to be loved by them, especially by those whom he has to rule, both the native Indians and those of the Society who are here and are yet to come, so that they do not get the impression that he wishes to exact obedience through rigor or servile fear. For many, feeling rigor or servile fear in him, will leave the Society, and few will enter it, either Indians or others who are not such. I say this, my Father of my soul, since those of the Society here were little edified by an order which N. [Antonio Gomes] brought with him to arrest and send back in irons to Portugal those who it seemed to him were not edifying here.

It has been my opinion up until now that no one should be retained by force against his will in the Society except by the force of love and charity. On the contrary, I have dismissed those who were not fit for our Society even though they did not wish to leave it. But those who seemed to me to be suitable for the Society I have thought should be treated with love and charity in order to strengthen them the more in it, since they bear so many difficulties in these regions in order to serve God our Lord, and also because it seemed to me that "Society of Jesus" should strive to mean "Society of love and conformity of minds," and not "of rigor and servile fear." I am giving this report of these regions to your holy Charity so that you may appoint a suitable person for this office for the coming year, one who knows how to command without giving the impression that he is eager to command or to compel obedience, but rather to be himself obedient.

Xavier then took up the problem of the training of new members of the Society of Jesus in India:

cisco Gonçalves, Manuel Vaz, D. Diogo Lobo, André de Carvalho, and Alvaro Ferreira since 1548; thirty-four in all.

Because of the experience which I have of these regions, I clearly see, my dearest Father, that there is no way for our Society to be perpetuated by native Indians, and that Christianity will only endure among them as long as we who are already here live and remain here, or whom you will send from there. And the many persecutions which those suffer who become Christians, and which it would be too long to enumerate, are the reason for this. And since I do not know into whose hands these letter may come, I do not put them into writing.

For further information with respect to the activities of the confreres on the Indian mission, Xavier referred to the general reports which all of them would send addressed to Simon Rodrigues. Wherever there were Christians there were priests of the Society: four in Maluco,¹⁰⁸ two in Malacca,¹⁰⁹ six on Cape Comorin,¹¹⁰ two in Quilon,¹¹¹ two in Bassein,¹¹² and four on Socotra.¹¹³ The distances were great: Maluco was 1,000 leagues from Goa, Malacca 500, Cape Comorin 200, Quilon 125, Bassein 60, Socotra 300. There was consequently a superior in each of these areas to whom the others were obedient, even though they were very edifying individuals.

Because of their great sins, the native Indians were not at all inclined towards the things of the faith. Instead, they greatly abhorred them and were mortally afraid when they were asked to become Christians. Only those who had already been converted were, as a consequence, kept for the present in the faith. Nevertheless, if the pagans of these regions were given much help by the Portuguese, many would become Christians. But since they saw that those who had become Christians were so ill treated and persecuted, they did not seek to become Christians themselves.

Because of these and many other reasons, and because of the detailed information which he had obtained about Japan, an island near China, he had, to his own deep satisfaction, decided to go there. The people in Japan were pagans without any admixture of Moors or Jews. They were a people eager to learn new things about God and supernatural matters, and it seemed to him that the good which members of the Society would work during their lifetime among such people would be carried on by the latter themselves.

In the College of St. Paul there were three Japanese, who had come from Malacca in 1548. They were men of good morals and great talent, especially Paulo, who was writing at length to him through Simon Rodrigues.¹¹⁴ Paulo had been well introduced to the truths of the faith and was at the time making the Exercises. He hoped that many in Japan would become Christians, and he was resolved to go first to the city where the king was residing and then to the universities, where they made their studies. And he had a great hope that Jesus Christ would help him. Their law, according to Paulo, had come from a land

¹⁰⁸ Beira, Ribeiro, Nicolao Nunes, and a fourth who entered in India and is called Baltasar by Pérez and Morais (DI I 368 456-457), Belchior (*ibid.* 441) and Baltasar Nunes by Lancilotto (*ibid.* II 17); cf. above, p. 570.

¹⁰⁹ Pérez and Oliveira.

¹¹⁰ Criminali, F. and H. Henriques, Adam Francisco, Baltasar Nunes, and Paulo do Vale.

¹¹¹ Lancilotto and Luis Mendes.

¹¹² Melchior Gonçalves and a companion whose name is not known to us.

¹¹³ Cipriano, Morais, Gaspar Rodrigues, and another companion whose name we do not know.

¹¹⁴ DI I 332-341.

named Chengico,¹¹⁵ which lay beyond China and Tartão;¹¹⁶ and it took, also according to him, three years for one to go from Japan to Chengico and return. He would write at length to Ignatius from Japan on its customs and sacred scriptures and on what was taught in the great university of Chengico. When he had seen the writings of Japan and had spoken with the scholars of the universities, he would write in great detail about what he had learned; and he would not fail to write to the University of Paris, and through it all the other universities of Europe would be informed. He was taking a priest by the name of Cosme de Torres with him. He had entered the order in India and was writing a long letter to him.¹¹⁷ He was also taking with him the three Japanese, and with God's help he would sail the following April. It was 1,300 leagues or more from Goa to Japan, and the voyage there would be by way of Malacca and China. He could not write enough of the great inner consolation which the thought of this voyage furnished him, for it was one filled with great dangers of death, severe storms, numerous shallows, and pirates. If two out of four ships that sailed there survived, they were fortunate indeed. Even though he was certain that he would be encompassed by greater perils than he had ever been before, he would not give up this voyage because of the great hope he had of spreading the faith there far and wide. From the *Información* which Paulo had given him on Japan, and which he was sending with this letter,¹¹⁸ he could see the possibilities which those regions had for the service of God.

There were fourteen or fifteen fortresses in India,¹¹⁹ and these were the only places where Portuguese were living.¹²⁰ Many colleges could be established in these regions if they were provided with revenues by the king at their inception. He was writing to His Highness about this at very great length,¹²¹ and also to Master Simon. He was also writing to this latter that it would be very useful if, with Ignatius' approval and command, he came with many of the Society, including preachers, to these regions. Since he enjoyed high favor with the king, he would come with extensive warrants from the latter to increase the colleges and to assist the Christians who had already been converted and those who, in this case, would become Christians. Ignatius would know what to write to Master Simon in this regard since, as Antonio Gomes had told him, he was resolved to come with many from the College of Coimbra to these regions.

Some members of the Society who had no talent for learning or preaching and were consequently dispensable could serve God more in India if they were well mortified and had been thoroughly tested and possessed the other virtues needed for the pagan missions, especially great chastity, and the required age and strength of body to endure the great difficulties of these regions. The general might do what seemed best to him in this regard. He would further do a great service to God if he would send his least sons in India a letter of guidance and spiritual instruction, as a kind of testament, in which he would share with his

¹¹⁵ Tenjiku (India).

¹¹⁶ Xavier gives the name as he heard it from Anjirō. Tartary is meant.

¹¹⁷ DI I 468-481. The letter is to be dated November 28, 1548 (see Q 4154, p. 500).

¹¹⁸ Q 4101.

¹¹⁹ The fortresses, from west to east, were: Sofala, Moçambique, Ormuz, Diu, Bassein, Chaul, Goa, Cannanore, Chale, Cranganore, Cochin, Quilon, Malacca, and Ternate. By the fifteenth is probably meant the wooden fortress which Freitas had constructed on Amboina.

¹²⁰ In addition to the Portuguese fortresses there were small settlements, for example, in Colombo, Kōttē, Galle, Negapatam, and São Thomé.

¹²¹ The letter is lost.

physically banished sons the riches which God our Lord had communicated to him.

On Cape Comorin there was a priest who had come from Portugal by the name of Anrique Anriques. He was a very virtuous person and gave great edification. He was able to speak and write Malabarese¹²² and thus produced more fruit than two others. The Christians had a great love and high regard for him because of the sermons and discourses which he gave to them in their own language. Ignatius, for the love of God, should write to him and console him since he was a very good person and worked to such great advantage.

Xavier then recommended to Ignatius his great friend Frey Vicente de Lagos and his college in Cranganore:

Five leagues from this city of Cochin is a very charming college which was founded by a priest of the order of São Francisco. He is a Capucho by the name of Frey Vicente, a companion of the bishop, who is also a Capucho. In the whole of India there is only one bishop, and he is a very great friend of our Society. The lord bishop is very eager to become acquainted by letter with Your Charity. For the service of God our Lord, write to him when this becomes possible. In the college which was founded by Father Frey Vicente there are a hundred native students. This college is within a fortress of the king. I am a great friend of this priest, as he is of me. He is asking for a *padre* of our Society, a priest to teach grammar to the students in the college, and also to preach on Sundays and feast days to the residents of the fortress and of the college. In the environs of this college there are many Christians from the time of St. Thomas. They have more than sixty villages, and the students of this college are the sons of the leading Christians.

There were two churches in the fortress of Cranganore—the venerable old church of the apostle Thomas¹²³ and the college church dedicated to St. James. Frey Vicente would be very glad to receive a plenary indulgence for the feasts of the patrons of these two churches, and for the last days of their octaves. The Christians of the land were descendants of those who had been baptized in India by the apostle Thomas. They had a great reverence for this saint, and Frey Vicente was very anxious to obtain these indulgences. At the end of his letter Xavier also asked for a favor for himself:

I have a great desire, my Father, that you would order a priest of the Society to offer up a Mass for me every month for the period of one year in that chapel in S. Pedro de Montoro where it is said that S. Pedro was crucified.¹²⁴

¹²² Tamil.

¹²³ It was the old church of the Thomas Christians (Q 25-26 121), which had been destroyed by the Moors in 1524 and by the Zamorin in 1536, but which had been rebuilt by the Portuguese (Q 121; Correa II 785-786; Castanheda 8, 141).

¹²⁴ Ignatius was accustomed to receive the sacrament of penance from his confessor in the monastery of San Pietro in Montorio. In the fifteenth century the legend rose that St. Peter was crucified there, the result of a misinterpreted local designation of the church "*Ecclesia S. Petri montis aurei*" in the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna, of the ninth century. In 1502 Bramante erected, in the adjoining cloister, the famous round chapel, where an opening in the floor represents the alleged site of the crucifixion (cf. M. Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma* II [Roma, 1946²] 809-811; P. J. Chandlery, S.J., *Pilgrim Walks in Rome* [1931⁴] 325; J. M. Huskinson, "The Crucifixion of St. Peter: A Fifteenth Century Topographical Problem," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969) 135-161.

To this he added a second request:

For the love of our Lord, I ask Your Charity to order a person of the house to write to me the news about all the professed of the Society, their number and where they are,¹²⁵ and how many colleges there are,¹²⁶ and the obligations to which the professed are bound,¹²⁷ and also many other things about the fruit which is produced by the Society. I am leaving an order in Goa that the letters should be sent to me in Malacca, where they will be translated and sent to me in Japón by many *vias*.

And thus I bring this to a close, asking your holy Charity, most reverend Father of my soul,¹²⁸ as I kneel upon the ground while writing this, as if you were present before me: Commend me much to God our Lord in your holy and devout sacrifices and prayers so that He may grant me to know His most holy will in this present life and give me the grace to fulfill it perfectly. Amen. And I commend the same to all of the Society.

Cochin, the twelfth of January, in the year 1549.

Your least and most useless son,

Francisco.¹²⁹

Two further copies of this letter were dated by Xavier on January 14, and he included some further information in them. In the first of these he wrote:

Believe me, my Father, Padre Antonio Criminali is a great servant of God and most suited for this region, and he is greatly loved by the Christians and Moors and gentiles; and special praise is to be given to God for the love which all of his subjects have for him.¹³⁰ . . . Father Nicolao Lanzilotto is now going to Colon, which is twenty-five leagues from Cochin, where an order has been given to found a college.¹³¹

He enclosed with the letter a sheet with the Japanese alphabet,¹³² and he again recommended to Ignatius the request of his friend Frey Vicente in Cranga-

¹²⁵ In 1549 there were in addition to Xavier the following professed: Ignatius and Bobadilla in Rome, Laynez in Naples, Salmerón in Verona, Rodrigues in Almeirim, Jay in Ferrara, Broët in Bologna, Araoz in Barcelona, Borgia in Gandía.

¹²⁶ At the beginning of 1549 the Society had the following colleges (with the year of their foundation): Paris (1541); Padua, Coimbra, and Louvain (1542); Cologne, Valencia, and Alcalá (1544); Valladolid, Gandía, and Barcelona (1545); Bologna (1546); Zaragoza (1547); and Messina and Salamanca (1548).

¹²⁷ Before 1549 the professed had few special obligations (cf. *MI Const.* I 448). These were more precisely determined in the Constitutions (cf. *ibid.* III 344-345).

¹²⁸ Xavier was indebted to him for his conversion and his call to the Society.

¹²⁹ EX II 17-27.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* 23.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* 24.

¹³² The Japanese syllabic alphabet (*iroha*) consists of fifty signs. On February 14, 1550, Polanco sent a Latin translation of this letter to Canisius in Ingolstadt. The latter seems to have informed the chancellor of Lower Austria, the Orientalist J. A. Widmanstad, about it. He then wrote to Polanco: "The Lord Chancellor of Her Majesty asks Your Reverence for the alphabet of the Japanese language and, if you have the Indian alphabet, or something similar, of the Indian language." On February 27 the secretary of the order replied: "I cannot find the Japanese alphabet; if it comes to my hands, I shall send it." The **Index scripturarum in Archivio generali spectantium ad domos* of 1710 lists among the documents of the college in Macao an *Alphabetum Japonense*. This part of the archives is today in the *Fondo Gesuitico* of the ARSI, but the alphabet is missing from it (cf. EX II 27-28).

nore, noting that the latter had informed him of his intention of leaving his college to the Society of Jesus.¹³³

In the second copy of his letter,¹³⁴ Francis asked Ignatius to send as many individuals as possible like Criminali. He then wrote of Socotra:

Father Cipriano, who is advanced in years, is sailing to the island of Socotora. He is leaving for there at the end of January with three of the Society, one priest and the rest brothers. The island of Socotora has a circumference of about twenty-five leagues and is entirely inhabited by Christians. For many years they were without Catholic priests, and they now have only the name of being Christians. They say that they are descended from those who were converted by the apostle Thomas. I hope that through the efforts of Father Cipriano and his companions, they will become good Christians. The island is very poor in produce and provisions, and also quite harsh and full of difficulties. Father Cipriano, despite his sixty years, is nevertheless sailing there most readily, since he hopes that he will be able to serve God well there and, at the same time, expiate the sins of his youth. Although he was at first reluctant to go because of the difficulty of enduring such hardships at his age, he soon declared that he would not be unwilling to go if this were necessary.

Xavier noted that the ailing Lancilotto was feeling better, and that Quilon, where he was to found a college, had a healthy climate. Colleges of this kind could be established in many other places if Master Simon was sent by the king with great authority and brought with him many confreres, including six or seven preachers. Xavier had written to the king that he should send Master Simon not only with the right to found colleges, but also to assist the native Christians and pagans, who would be brought to Christ through even the smallest favors.

Lancilotto and Brother Luis Mendes were already in Quilon on January 20 when two more ships were preparing to sail for Portugal. Xavier sent letters to Simon Rodrigues on both of them. He gave the first of these letters¹³⁵ and all those of his confreres to the vicar general, Pedro Fernandes, who was returning to Portugal.¹³⁶ The letter began with what must have been a bitter pill for the addressee, and Master Francis attempted to sweeten it as best he could. It began as follows:

I would come to no end, my brother Maestro Simón, if I wished to describe the consolation which I received from the arrival of Antonio Gómez and all the other priests. You must know that they produce much fruit in souls and do much for the service of God our Lord, not only through their lives, but also through their preaching, hearing of confessions, giving the Spiritual Exercises, and conversing with the people. All those who know them are greatly edified. The need for persons of our Society in these regions is very great, especially in the city of Ormuz and in Dío, more than in Goa. Because of the lack of preachers and spiritual persons, many Portuguese live apart from our law. Since I see that they are in such great need, I shall send Antonio Gómez to Dío or Ormuz, since God our Lord has given him so much talent and zeal for preaching, hearing confessions, and giving the Spiritual Exercises, and conversing with the Christians; and Maestro Gaspar will remain in the College of the Holy Faith.

Xavier then stated that Rodrigues would do a great service to God if he came with many of the Society to India, including seven or eight preachers.

¹³³ *Ibid.* 26.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* 28-32.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* 31-44.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* 56.

But even if they had no talent for preaching, if they were men of great abnegation and years of experience, they could do much work among the infidels. Colleges could be easily founded in the fortresses for Portuguese and native boys by a preacher and his companion.

He then told Rodrigues of his decision to sail to Japan, and he sent him a copy of the report on Japan and the letter that had been written by Father Torres. The arrival of the new confreres had taken care of the needs of India. He, Xavier, could now be spared, especially since he believed that Rodrigues, or his substitute, would be coming the following year with many of the Society. He hoped that in the meantime Rodrigues would receive an account from him in Japan about the prospects of the Gospel in that land. After Rodrigues had arranged many things in India, they could see each other again in Japan if the prospects there for the spread of the faith were greater than he hoped. In time it might please God that many of the Society went to China, and from China to its great institutions of learning in Chingico on the other side of China and Tartan. According to the information furnished by Paul, the law followed in the whole of Tartan, China, and Japan was that which was taught in Chingico. After he had collected the necessary information on this in Japan, he would write in detail to India, to the college in Coimbra, to Rome, and to all the universities, especially that of Paris so that they would not forget the ignorance of the pagans while pursuing their own studies.¹³⁷

Cipriano is going this year with a priest and two lay brothers to Çacotora. There is a Moro on that island who rules over that island of Çacotora by force contrary to all reason and justice without any other right than that he rules by force. He sorely oppresses the Christians by taking their possessions away from them and also their daughters, making them Moras, and afflicting them with many other evils. You must take this up with His Highness so that, for the service of God and the relief of his own conscience, he orders the Moros to be driven from that island. He can do this without any expense. He needs only to order those who are sailing to the strait¹³⁸ to drive out those Moros who are near the beach on Çacotora on their return voyage when they are sailing back from the strait. There can be in all about thirty Moros in a miserable house like a fortress. They do not let the people living in the land have weapons, and they keep them in very great servitude. For the love of our Lord, see to it that these unfortunate and sorely tried Christians are freed from their servitude, since they are tyrannically ruled by the Moros. These can be driven from the land in eight days when the ships return from the strait and go to get water on that island. It is heartrending to hear the complaints of these Christians of Çacotora. It is now six years since I passed through Çacotora, and I had the greatest compassion when I saw the persecutions which they suffered from the Moros of the coast of Arabia. All this lies in the will of the king without his incurring any expenses. Martín Alonso de Sousa, who was the governor of India, can give His Highness a true account of the tyranny with which those Moros rule over that island, and of how those Moros can be annihilated by the fleets which sail to the strait without any expense if they tear down that miserable house which they have as a fortress.¹³⁹

Xavier referred Rodrigues to the letters which were being sent by all the confreres for news about the mission, and he seriously recommended one thing to him in particular. This was that every year he should send confreres, especially

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 35-39.

¹³⁸ To the strait of Bab-el-Mandeb at the entrance to the Red Sea.

¹³⁹ EX II 39-41.

those who were priests, to India. He should write to Rome and elsewhere so that a number of priests might be sent to Coimbra. These should be men of great abnegation and experience. Even if they did not have the knowledge or talent for preaching or for the founding colleges in Europe, if they possessed great humility, meekness, and other virtues, they could do much for the conversion of infidels in India, Malacca, Maluco, Cape Comorin, and Japan; or they could go to the Preste. This should be continued until there were many in the College of Coimbra who had completed their studies. Those who entered the Society in India could not be sent outside the colleges, since they lacked the necessary knowledge, virtue, and spirit for converting the pagans. As Rodrigues well knew, there was need of many years of self-abnegation and experience for this. Xavier then described the work which was being done by Frey Vicente in Cranganore, and he asked Rodrigues to send him a teacher of grammar and to obtain for him the indulgences which he wished either in Rome or through the nuncio in Portugal.¹⁴⁰

In his second letter,¹⁴¹ Xavier added that he had sent Manuel Vaz back to Goa, since he would serve God better there than in Portugal. Vaz, the learned "philosopher" and former servant of Luis Gonçalves da Camara, had come to India with Antonio Gomes and had taken over the class in grammar in St. Paul's College; but he had already become disenchanted with India and had left the college without informing the rector in order to sail back to Lisbon. On December 20 Gomes had written that the sanctity and advice of Master Francis had not been enough to free Vaz from his temptations, and that he had left the house. His departure, however, had been a great grace for Gomes: Vaz had harmfully influenced another, who had now come back to himself; and he could have become a source of harm to others whom Gomes had received into the order. He had thus not impeded his plan for embarking for Portugal. The Society in India needed men of great spirit and zeal, which Vaz did not have: he had made constant progress in knowledge but not in the spiritual life.¹⁴²

In addition to his letter for Rodrigues and those for his confreres, Xavier had given to the vicar general, Pedro Fernandes, a memorandum on what he should obtain from the king for the benefit of the Christians of India.

He should first remind His Highness to send many preachers of the Society of Jesus since, as he well knew, the fortresses in India were in great need of them. He should then tell the king that he would render a great service to God if he sent Master Simon with many of the Society of Jesus to India. The Portuguese would gain much, and many infidels in the land of Japan would be converted if His Highness gave him generous support and jurisdiction over the native Christians even in civil matters. Except for those appointed by the king himself, only those designated by Master Simon should have authority over them. The captains who currently had this jurisdiction over the native Christians used it to the detriment of the latter. They deprived owners of their property and were a source of scandal to the Christians of the land. The pagans who saw the evils to which the Christians were subject were therefore unwilling to be converted.

If Master Simon did not come to India, Fernandes should obtain this jurisdiction in civil matters over the native Christians for the bishop, who could

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 41-44.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* 44-46.

¹⁴² DI I 423. Vaz was soon after this dismissed (ARSI: *Lus.* 43, 2).

then delegate it to others. And those who were appointed to an office by the king should exercise it only as long as they did their duty. If they did not, the bishop would retain the right to depose them and give their office to another.

Fernandes should further inform the king that it was not necessary for a captain and his fleet to be present at the Pearl Fishery. His Highness would render a service to the Christians if he did away with the captain. The taxes that he had collected could be paid to the factor in Cochin.¹⁴³

Along with Xavier's memorandum, Fernandes took with him a copy of the memorial of the Fishery Coast which Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha was sending to Portugal with a covering letter.¹⁴⁴ Among the things which the vicar general wished to obtain from the king for the improvement of conditions in India were the following:¹⁴⁵ Only priests of the Society of Jesus should be sent there for the conversion of the pagans. The governors should carry out in every detail the instruction which the king had given to Miguel Vaz, Fernandes' predecessor, for improving the status of the native Christians. It was particularly important that his order to drive the Sinai Brahmans, the enemies of the Christians, from the island of Goa be executed, and that the offices of *tanadar-mor* and official translator be taken away from Krishna and his son Dadaji, who were the worst foes of the Christians. No new converts should be ordained to the priesthood before they were well grounded in the faith and had reached the age of twenty-five, or, better, thirty. Some converts to the faith had been ordained when they were still young in Cranganore and on Cape Comorin, but this had led to scandals and disorders. The same should be maintained in the ordination of mixed-bloods and Portuguese who had been born in India. Experience had taught the priests of St. Paul's College the importance of this.¹⁴⁶ The king should further order the governor to visit the sick in the hospital and the prisoners in the jail every two weeks to see how the former were being treated and to settle by word of mouth the cases of those who were imprisoned for slight offenses. This was an edifying practice that had been observed from the time of M. A. de Sousa until the death of Dom João de Castro.¹⁴⁷ Since most of the native Christians were poor, all of the offices should be given to them, as had already been ordered many times by the king. The bishop was sending his own memorial with respect to other matters.¹⁴⁸

Along with the letters of Simon Rodrigues, Xavier sent one for the king.¹⁴⁹ In it he stressed the importance of the colleges in India,¹⁵⁰ including boarding schools for Portuguese orphans¹⁵¹ and schools for teaching Christian doctrine. His Highness should grant five thousand *pardaus* for these from the revenues of Bassein.¹⁵² He recommended in particular the college in Quilon for the sons

¹⁴³ EX II 46-50.

¹⁴⁴ SR IV 562.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 558-564; DI I 742-747.

¹⁴⁶ On December 5, 1550, Lancilotto wrote: "Since these people are very new in the faith and do not understand the sacraments, it would perhaps not be wrong if it were forbidden for a short time to give the Blessed Sacrament to any of the native Christians. Similarly. Since they are very new, even if they understood something, it would probably be good not to give holy orders to any of this land. We bear witness to that which we have seen" (DI II 127).

¹⁴⁷ SR IV 563.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 564. The letter of the bishop is lost.

¹⁴⁹ The letter is lost; cf. EX II 16-17.

¹⁵⁰ EX II 12.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* 69-70.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* 70

of Portuguese, Thomas Christians, and natives of the Fishery Coast.¹⁵³ He also asked him to send Master Simon to India with many priests and generous warrants which he could use to the advantage of the recent converts and pagans so that these latter would be inclined towards the faith.¹⁵⁴ He further recommended the bishop to him,¹⁵⁵ and Frey Vicente de Lagos, so that he might be left in his college in Cranganore as long as he lived.¹⁵⁶

Six of the seven ships of this year's Portugal fleet had already sailed from Cochín. The one that still remained was waiting, as usual, for the arrival of the ship from Malacca. It came a short time later and brought with it an alarming report from a reliable source: The harbors of China were all in an uproar against the Portuguese! But this did not change Xavier's intent. On January 25 he wrote to Rodrigues:

I shall not on this account give up going to Japón, as I wrote to you, for there is no greater consolation in this life than to live in the midst of great perils of death, all simply undertaken for the sole love and service of God our Lord and for the increase of our holy faith. And in these difficulties, one finds more peace than if one were living apart from them. May God our Lord unite us in His holy glory!¹⁵⁷

A soldier by the name of Jurdão Garro,¹⁵⁸ who was sailing to Portugal, took this letter with him for Rodrigues; and he earnestly asked Xavier for a letter of recommendation to Master Simon. He had fought in the decisive battle of Diu in 1546, and Dom João de Castro had dubbed him a knight for his bravery. Xavier had become acquainted with him in India and had learned other things about him that were not much in his favor. He therefore wrote of him:

The bearer of this letter is a man whom I came to know in these regions, and who is now going to Portugal in order to ask for a reward for his services. He earnestly asked me to give him a letter for you so that you may have knowledge of him there. I have this to say: Jurdán Garro would do better to address his petitions to God in order to obtain pardon for his sins than to seek a reward from the king for his services. And if you can help him by advising him that it would be better for him to become a friar than to return to serve as a *lasquarín*¹⁵⁹ in India, you will do a very pious work, since you will have gained a lost soul. Still, for the love of our Lord, help him to obtain a reward for his services so that he can live there in Portugal.

In addition to the letters which Master Francis had already sent with the earlier ships, he wrote another to the king on January 26. Its bearer was his friend Frey João de Villa de Conde.¹⁶⁰

Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the king of Kōttē and an enemy of the Christians, had been in high spirits since the death of the viceroy Dom João de Castro. In September, 1548, Garcia de Sá had been obliged to send him a letter from John III with

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* 76-77.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 23 69.

¹⁵⁵ DI I 422.

¹⁵⁶ Seb. Gonçalves 1, 12.

¹⁵⁷ EX II 56-57.

¹⁵⁸ He is called "Jurdão Guaro Falcão, filho de Affonso Guaro, morador na ilha de Madeira" in the document of his knighting, conferred upon him by D. João de Castro for his bravery during the decisive battle at Diu in 1546. It was ratified on September 20, 1549, in Lisbon (Q 4251: Baião, *Hist.*, p. LIX).

¹⁵⁹ The Portuguese word *lascarim* usually means a native, but also at times a Portuguese, soldier in India, as in this case (Dalgado I 515).

¹⁶⁰ EX II 57-63.

the cinnamon ship that was sailing for Colombo. In it the king expressed his serious concern about Bhuvaneka Bāhu's obstinacy in remaining a pagan despite the promises of his ambassador that he would become a Christian. He also criticized him severely for his persecution of the Christians. The Ceylonese prince had then replied to the governor by stating that he had never promised to be baptized, and that there was no question of a persecution of the Christians in his kingdom. Despite this negative answer, the old governor remained on friendly terms with the ruler of Kōttē. Garcia de Sá had a high regard for peace. He was anxious to avoid any conflicts so that he could put some order into the confused state of finances in India. The Portuguese regime there was at the time in sore need of funds and had a large number of people to support. John III had ordered the money owed to the Singhalese prince to be at least partially paid, but the latter had informed the governor that there was no urgent need for this. João de Vasconcellos, the captain of the cinnamon ship, was consequently acting according to instructions when he postponed his return voyage at the request of Bhuvaneka Bāhu in order to help him in the event of an attack by his brother Māyāduṇṇē.¹⁶¹

Despite the bishop's attempts to dissuade him, Frey João de Villa de Conde was now sailing for Portugal to deliver to the king a copy of the memorial of the Fishery Coast and to inform him about the sad condition of the Ceylon mission and the true character of the king of Kōttē, who had been so favored by him and the present governor, and to obtain the needed help for his persecuted Christians. Xavier therefore wrote in the letter which he gave to Frey João for the king:

I am not writing to Your Highness in detail about the reverses and ill treatment which have been the lot of those who were converted to our holy faith and became Christians, for Padre Frey Joam de Vila de Comde, who is sailing there, will give an account of this in all its truth to Your Highness. Your Highness owes him great thanks for the many difficulties which he has taken upon himself in these regions of Imdia both for the service of God and the relief of the conscience of Your Highness. For the physical hardships which Padre Frey Joam has endured in these regions of Imdia, as numerous and great and constant as they may be, are not to be compared with the difficulties of spirit at the sight of the evil treatment given to the new converts by the captains and factors, although it is their duty to assist them. It is intolerable and, as it were, a kind of martyrdom to remain patient and see destroyed that which was gained with so much labor.

We have definite news here that the king of Ceilão¹⁶² is sending a letter to inform Your Highness of the great services which he is rendering to Your Highness. Be assured, however, that God has a great enemy in Ceilam in the king. And this king is favored and does all the evil that he can, and this solely through the favor of Your Highness. This is the truth, and it hurts me to write it. For we fear here from past experience that he will, in spite of this, receive more support from Your Highness than the friars who are in Ceilam. And, finally, experience has taught me that Your Highness does not have the power to spread the faith of Christ in Imdia, and it has the power to take and possess all the temporal wealth of Imdia.

Forgive me, Your Highness, for speaking so frankly to you, since the disinterested love which I have for you obliges me to so; for I already perceive, as it were, the judgment of God which will be revealed to you at the hour of your death, and which no one can escape no matter how powerful he may be. I, *Senhor*, since I know what is happening here, have no hope that the orders and commands which you send to Imdia

¹⁶¹ Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 11-12 520-523.

¹⁶² Bhuvaneka Bāhu.

for the advantage of Christianity will be executed here. And I am therefore, as it were, fleeing to Yapam so as not to lose more time than I have in the past. Padre Frey Joam is taking with him certain requests of the desperate Christians of Cape Comorim.¹⁶³ May Your Highness be a father to them, since their true father, Migel Vaz, has died.

At the end of his letter, Master Francis also recommended to the king the saintly bishop of the Thomas Christians who, in his old age, had found a refuge and true friends in the Franciscan monastery in Cochin:

A bishop of Armenia¹⁶⁴ by the name of Jacome Abuna has been serving God and Your Highness in these regions for forty-five years. He is a very old, virtuous, and holy man, and at the same time one who has been neglected by Your Highness and by almost all in Imdia.¹⁶⁵ God is granting him his reward, since He desires to assist him by Himself without employing us as a means to console His servants. He is being helped here solely by the priests of Sam Francisco; and he has been so assisted by these priests that nothing more could be done for him; and if it were not for them, the good and saintly old man would be at peace with God. Your Highness should write a very affectionate letter to him and in a paragraph give an order commending him to the governors and to the *veadores da fazenda* and the captains of Couchim so that he receives the honor and respect which he deserves when he comes to them with a request.¹⁶⁶

I am not writing this to Your Highness as if the bishop were suffering from want, since the love of the priests of the order of Sam Francisco will, in their zealous charity, take generous care of his needs. But Your Highness must write to him and earnestly entreat him that he recommend you to God, since Your Highness is in greater need of being supported by the prayers of the bishop than the bishop is in need of the temporal assistance of Your Highness. He has worked much among the Christians of Sam Thomé, and now in his old age he is very obedient to the customs of our holy mother, the Church of Rome.¹⁶⁷ In the letters which Your Highness writes to the priests

¹⁶³ EX II 52-54.

¹⁶⁴ Meant here is Chaldea, Mesopotamia.

¹⁶⁵ Xavier is here speaking of the king of Portugal and his officials, not of the Thomas Christians.

¹⁶⁶ For his Christians.

¹⁶⁷ Xavier's paragraph on Mar Jacob has been differently understood. One side is represented by K. N. Daniel, "Rome and the Malabar Church," KSP 2 (1932-1933) 271-273 and 327-340. The other has been represented by us in two articles: (1) "Three Letters of Mar Jacob, Bishop of Malabar, 1503-1550," *Gregorianum* 14 (1939) 62-86 (GS II [1963] 333-349); and (2) *The Malabar Church and Rome during the Early Portuguese Period and before* (Trichinopoly, 1934). This passage in Xavier's letter is discussed by Daniel on pp. 273 and 327-331, and by us in GS II 357-363. According to Daniel, by his adoption of "Roman usages," the bishop became an apostate and was as such abandoned by the Thomas Christians. We have maintained that he did not become an apostate by this, and that he was not abandoned by them. What is the meaning of Xavier's observation that the bishop was "muito obediente aos costumes da samta madre Igreja de Roma"? The advance of the Turks into Mesopotamia had cut off the connection of the Thomas Christians with their patriarch in Babylon, who could no longer send a bishop to India. Mar Jacob therefore wrote in 1524 that he was not versed in the usages of Rome. But he introduced Latin priests to his Christians so that they might take care of them after his death (GS II 312). In 1530 he wrote that the Franciscans were a good help to him, and that he had gone with them two or three times to the Thomas Christians in the interior, some of whom kept their Syrian rite, but others were ready to adopt the "usages of the Roman Church"; and he had upon the advice of the governor brought seven of their sons as pupils to Cochin (*ibid.* 344; cf. SR II 189 and 243-245). When the governor sent the Syrian bishop Mar Elias with his companion Mar Joseph to the monastery of Frey Antonio do Porto in 1557, they at first offered their Syrian Mass there with great devotion. The friar then taught them the Latin Mass so that they read their Latin Mass with great devotion on Easter, and from then on they always used

of the order of Sam Francisco, you can send along with them a letter with many indications of your regard to this bishop.

May our Lord grant Your Highness to recognize His most holy will within your soul, and may he also grant you the grace to fulfill it perfectly, as you will wish to have fulfilled it at the hour of your death, when you will give an account to God of your whole life past; and this hour will come more quickly than Your Highness thinks, and be prepared for it, since kingdoms and lordships all come to an end. Your Highness will encounter a new thing which you will never have experienced before. You will see yourself deprived of all your kingdoms and lordships at the hour of death and entering others where it will be a new thing for you to be commanded and, may God avert it, to be excluded from paradise.

From Couchim, the twenty-sixth of January, 1549.

[*In Xavier's own hand:*] Your Highness' useless servant,

Francisco.

The many individuals who asked Francis for a letter of recommendation forced him to take up his pen repeatedly. On February 1, for example, he wrote again to Simon Rodrigues: ¹⁶⁸

There are so many who ask me for letters to you, and I have such a great longing to write to you since it seems to me that the consolation which I have in writing to you will be the same when you read them. The bearers of this present letter are two *casados* from Malaca, excellent men and good Christians. They are going to fulfill certain obligations to which they are bound. As eyewitnesses, they will give you much news about Malaca and of the fruit which is being produced by those of our Society there. They are also bearing letters of Father Francisco Perez in which, for it seems to me that he is writing at length, he gives a minute account of the fruit which is being produced there.¹⁶⁹ They will also give you information with respect to some things about China and Japão, since they were for a long time in Malaca. . . . For the love and service of God our Lord, I ask you to receive, assist, and favor these two men who are sailing there in all that you sincerely can during the few days that they will be in Lisbon; and you will be able to learn many things from them about India; and write to me at great length through them about all of the Society who are in Italia, França, Frandes, Alemanha, Spanha, Aragão, and about the blessed college of Coimbra, since boats sail every year from Malaca for China, and from China for Japão. The letters should be addressed to the priests of the Society who are in Malaca. They will send a copy to me by many *vias*, keeping the original in Malaca; and they will send them to me through so many *vias* that I shall receive them through one. May our Lord unite us in His holy glory of paradise. Amen.

Xavier's friends had vainly sought to deter him from this dangerous voyage to Japan. He consequently wrote the following in the same letter:

this language at their Masses (SR VI 323-324). According to Manuel da Veiga, S.J., the vice-provincial of Malabar, the same was done by Mar Jacob. He wrote in 1601: "In 1530 [read: 1536], when M. A. de Sousa was the admiral of the sea, he built a fortress in Cranganore, where the prelate of the Thomas Christians at the time was Mar Elias [read: Mar Jacob] was living. He remained there for some twenty years and could speak Portuguese, and he was accustomed to read his Mass *ritu latino*. After his death he was followed by Mar Joseph" (ARSI: *Goa* 15, 62v). If Mar Jacob followed the Latin rite in this and other matters, this does not mean that he gave up his Syrian rite and still less that he became an apostate. That the Thomas Christians did not consider him to be an apostate is indicated by the fact that they, and even their leaders, continued to entrust their sons to the Franciscans of the college in Cranganore so that they might be educated; and the first to send students there had been Mar Jacob.

¹⁶⁸ EX II 63-66.

¹⁶⁹ Xavier consequently did not open the letter. It was the long letter of December 4, 1548 (DI I 352-380).

All my friends and followers are greatly astonished that I am undertaking such a long and perilous voyage. I am still more surprised at seeing what little faith they have, since God our Lord has dominion and power over all the winds and shallows, which are said to be numerous and the source of ruin for many ships. God our Lord has power and dominion over all the pirates, who are so numerous that it is terrifying. And these pirates are very cruel since they inflict many kinds of torments and martyrdoms upon those whom they capture, especially upon the Portuguese. Since God our Lord has power over all of them, I have no fear of anyone but God alone, that He may send some punishment upon me for being neglectful of His service, unsuited and useless for the spreading of the name of Jesus Christ among people who do not know Him. All the other fears, dangers, and hardships told to me by my friends I count as nothing. I am only affected by the fear of God, for the fear of creatures is limited to the extent permitted to them by their Creator.

In addition to Pérez' long letter, the Malacca ships¹⁷⁰ had brought others from the confreres in Amboina, Ternate, and on the Moro mission; and at the last moment Xavier received yet another from the Fishery Coast with the news of the death of Brother Adam Francisco. In a final letter¹⁷¹ to Simon Rodrigues, of February 2, he consequently recapitulated the main news with respect to the missions in the Far East.

Antonio Gomes had been destined for Ormuz, and Master Gaspar was to remain in Goa as the rector of the college.¹⁷² Xavier had written to Ignatius that he should grant permission to Rodrigues to sail to India. He had also written to the king that he should send him there with ample authority and numerous companions, and that he should provide them with the necessary incomes for the founding of colleges and the support of Portuguese orphans whose parents had died in the service of their king, and which would also provide for the instruction of natives in Christian doctrine; and for these purposes he should give them five thousand *pardaus* from the revenues received from Bassein.¹⁷³ Pedro Gonçalves, the vicar of Cochin, was sending a letter about a personal problem, and Rodrigues might do all that he could for him with the king, since he was a true friend of the Society and all of its members were hospitably received by him in Cochin.¹⁷⁴ He might further obtain an annual supply of eight or ten barrels of Mass wine for the houses of the Society.¹⁷⁵ Francis also recommended to Rodrigues the petition of a priest in Cochin, Estevão Luis Borralho.¹⁷⁶ At the latter's request, Xavier had himself written to the king that he should appoint him as one of his chaplains. This would raise his standing, and he would thus find it easier to secure husbands for his three orphaned sisters. For this same end, the king should place their stepfather, Gonçalo Fernandes, Xavier's friend,¹⁷⁷ on the list of court officials without a salary.

All of the Franciscans were friends of the Society, but this was particularly true of Frey Antonio do Casal. He had now been for five years in India, and he

¹⁷⁰ Among the "Malacca ships" were also those from the Moluccas (the Banda ship with nutmegs and the Ternatan ship with cloves) and also ships which came from China.

¹⁷¹ EX II 68-80.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* 69-72.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* 69-70.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 71.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 71-72.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 75-76. In 1552 he was still a deacon and wished to enter a monastery in Goa.

¹⁷⁷ Gonçalo Fernandes was a penitent of Xavier and was with him in Ternate and Amboina and in 1547 took with him from Malacca the native boys whom the priest brought from the Moluccas for St. Paul's College. See above, pp. 268 384 466.

ardently wished to return to Portugal after two more years, when he would have completed his term of office. Rodrigues might obtain the king's permission for this.

Lancilotto, who had been sent to Quilon to regain his health,¹⁷⁸ was greatly esteemed by the people there. They were already talking about the foundation of a college in which the sons of the Portuguese first, and then those of the Christians of the Fishery Coast and of the Thomas Christians could be educated. The people living in the fortress were rather few and poor, and they could not start a college merely with their own resources. He had therefore written to the king about it. Rodrigues might persuade him to write to the governor and his *vedor* that they should build a fairly large college in Quilon, where a good many Portuguese and native orphans could be boarded. There was an abundance of everything in the city, and it was there that the largest number of students could be maintained at the least expense.¹⁷⁹

From the letters written by Father Pérez and Brother Roque de Oliveira from Malacca, he had received news about their most gratifying labors. He had also received good news from the Moluccas. Beira and his companions were living there in the midst of the greatest privations and in a constant danger of death. But they were making great progress in spreading the faith, as Beira had recently written to him. After the departure of the ship from Ternate, Beira's companion had wintered for three months on Amboina. Beira himself had in the meantime gone from Moro to the captain of the fortress in Ternate to ask for military support for the Moro Christians. On his return voyage he had encountered a misfortune.¹⁸⁰ Xavier had not been able to learn from the letters which he had received or from the people whom he had encountered just what this was. But there was one thing that he could say: As gold is tried in the furnace, so those who love God and their neighbors are put to the test. He did not know if there was any place in the whole of Christendom where those who labored for God and the salvation of souls had to endure so many difficulties and dangers of death as on the Moro Islands. He therefore recommended those who had gone there, or would be going there, in his prayers. He wished to send two or three there within the near future. He believed that there would be many martyrs of the Society of Jesus on those islands, and that they would consequently be called Martyrs' Islands rather than Moro Islands.

Those companions who desired to give up their life for Christ should thus take heart and rejoice, for they had a seedbed of martyrdom where their longing could be fulfilled.

Nuno Ribeiro was in a village on Amboina that was safe and inhabited by many Christians.¹⁸¹ Xavier saw from his letter that his labors were producing much fruit.¹⁸² The Portuguese who had wintered there for three months were also able to tell him that during this time Ribeiro had baptized from five to six

¹⁷⁸ He often spit blood (DI I 561).

¹⁷⁹ EX II 76-77. On December 20, 1548, A. Gomes wrote that Quilon was such a cheap place that an *arratel* (459 grams) of meat cost only eight *ceitil* (six of which amounted to one copper *real*), three or four chickens cost forty or fifty *reis*, and fish for the feeding of thirty people cost four or five *reis*, whereas in Goa a chicken cost one *tostão* (one hundred *reis*), and at times three *tostões* (DI I 417).

¹⁸⁰ The letter is lost. Gago wrote in October, 1549, that it was said that he had been killed (*ibid.* 554).

¹⁸¹ Hatiwi. His letter is also lost.

¹⁸² EX II 77-78.

hundred individuals, had visited the villages of the Christians, had broken up their idols, and had explained to them the teachings of Christ; and that when their ships left in May, some other Portuguese had remained with him on the island in order to assist him in his apostolate.¹⁸³

The companions on Cape Comorin had been most effective in promoting Christianity, as Rodrigues would be able to perceive from their letters which he was sending to him, and in which they gave an extensive account of all their activities.¹⁸⁴ God had already called one of them to Himself:

It has pleased God to call our dearest brother Adam Francisco from this life in order to give him his reward for his very many great labors. His death was in keeping with the life he had lived; for he was distinguished by his holiness, as I learned from others and perceived myself. He was a truly pious man and animated with a glowing zeal to bring the pagans to Christ. As for me, I recommend myself more to him than I do him to God; for I am convinced that he is already enjoying the beatitude for which he was created.¹⁸⁵

Francis ended his letter with the following observations:

I am now traveling to Goa to prepare for the voyage to Japan next April. I shall sail from Goa to Cambay, to the governor of India, who is now in Bassein, so that he may consult the interests of the Christians in Maluco and provide for the needs of the companions whom I shall soon send there. Among these will be a preacher who will live in the king's city¹⁸⁶ and be in charge of the college which is to be founded there, and in which the children of the Moorish Christians and the Portuguese will be educated. Another residence will also be founded, where, in addition to Portuguese orphans, the Japanese whom, God willing, I shall send, will be instructed in the Christian mysteries. And since ours in India are not only loved and esteemed by the bishop and secular clergy, but also by the religious and all the Christians and also by the pagans, I have a great hope that the Society will be spread far and wide in those places.

Consequently, dearest brother Simon, take care to come as soon as possible with a great number of companions, both preachers and those who are not. Be careful, however, about one thing. Do not bring too many who are young, since we want men here who are between thirty and forty years of age and are equipped with all the virtues, especially humility, meekness, patience, and of course chastity.

It is my own fault that when I write to you I do not come to an end. From this you can see what joy I find in writing to you, especially since I have been induced to write by your letter. And so I bring my letter to a close, though I can find no end to it. I hope, however, that we shall sometime see each other again in China or Japan, or certainly in heaven, where we, as I hope, who have been called in a similar manner through the special mercy and goodness of God to the Society of His heavenly kingdom, shall enjoy God, the everlasting source of all good, for all eternity.

From Cochin, the second of February, 1549.

[Franciscus.] ¹⁸⁷

Xavier had ordered his confreres in India to send letters giving a detailed account of their labors with the fleet to Portugal, and he had referred Ignatius and Rodrigues to these reports in his own. The ships were thus bearing such

¹⁸³ DI I 364-365.

¹⁸⁴ The letters of B. Nunes (Q 4048), Paulo do Vale (Q 4099), and Morais (Q 4125-4126) to Rodrigues and H. Henriques to Ignatius and the Society (Q 4030).

¹⁸⁵ EX II 78-79.

¹⁸⁶ Ternate.

¹⁸⁷ EX II 79-80.

accounts from all the missions. They were taking from Goa the shorter letters of Misser Paulo,¹⁸⁸ Lancilotto,¹⁸⁹ and Luis Mendes;¹⁹⁰ and the long reports of Antonio Gomes,¹⁹¹ Barzaeus,¹⁹² and Melchior Gonçalves¹⁹³ on their voyage to India and their first labors in Goa; of Torres¹⁹⁴ on his past life and his vocation to the Society of Jesus; of Paul Anjirō¹⁹⁵ on his former life and Japan; and of Manuel de Morais¹⁹⁶ on his experiences on Cape Comorin and the customs and usages of the people there. In addition to these there were also the extensive accounts of Henrique Henriques,¹⁹⁷ Paulo do Vale,¹⁹⁸ and Baltasar Nunes¹⁹⁹ on the Fishery Coast and Travancore. From Malacca there was the long letter of Father Pérez describing his earlier life and his work in that city.²⁰⁰ Nuno Ribeiro and Beira and his companions wrote from the Moluccas.²⁰¹ And Xavier added to all the letters which he sent to Ignatius and Rodrigues a copy of the account on Japan which he had composed from the data of the Japanese Anjirō.

The ships were also carrying other letters to Portugal. Among these was one from the king of Kōttē, as Frey João de Villa de Conde had correctly informed Xavier. On December 7, 1548, Bhuvaneka Bāhu had written to John III,²⁰² thanking him for his letter and expressing his joy over the news of the good health of His Highness and of the queen, his lady, and also of the prince and the infante. He denied, however, that he had made a promise through the ambassador whom he had sent to Lisbon that he would be baptized. He had heard the first report of this from Frey João de Villa de Conde, and he had told him that there were two things which he would not give up for anything in the world: the king's friendship and his own God. He now wished to say in turn to His Highness that, since this was a work of God and could not be effected by force, God would Himself determine when it was to His greater service. As to what His Highness had written to him about his treating the Christians badly and preventing his people from becoming Christians when they wished to do so, he was astonished that anyone would dare to write such falsehoods. He had never done evil to those who had acted ill towards him, and much less to the Christians, who had been so highly recommended by His Highness; and he had had a public instrument drawn up so that His Highness could come to know the truth. As far as this and the other charges were concerned, he, Bhuvaneka Bāhu, was the one who had the least power in this land, and the reason for this was his love for His Highness. If there was anyone who was being persecuted, it was himself; and this was being done by His Highness' factors, especially Gaspar de Azevedo,²⁰³

¹⁸⁸ Q 4460.

¹⁸⁹ Q 4059 4100.

¹⁹⁰ Q 4108.

¹⁹¹ Q 4091.

¹⁹² Q 4077.

¹⁹³ Q 4041.

¹⁹⁴ Q 4154.

¹⁹⁵ Q 4057.

¹⁹⁶ Q 4125-4126.

¹⁹⁷ Q 4030.

¹⁹⁸ Q 4099.

¹⁹⁹ Q 4048.

²⁰⁰ Q 4067-4068; cf. EX II 65 77.

²⁰¹ EX II 77-78.

²⁰² Q 4074. (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 520-523). At the end of the letter there is a Tamil verification of it and the Singhalese signature of the king (Q, pl. XXII 3). The seal has a picture of the Singhalese lion.

²⁰³ In 1527 Gaspar de Azevedo, *fidalgo* of the royal house, a posthumous son of Lopo

who had been ill disposed towards him from the very beginning and had tolerated people in his harbors who oppressed his subjects to such an extent that they were leaving their towns, as the protocols which he had ordered to be drafted in this regard would show.

On December 11 Bhuvaneka Bāhu had composed a second letter,²⁰⁴ in which he informed the king that five months earlier the Portuguese had murdered his governor and four of his companions in Galle, and he asked him to issue an order which would prevent any Portuguese from going to any of his harbors except Colombo.

Frey Antonio do Casal, the guardian and superior of the Ceylon mission, also wrote two letters to the king in Portugal. In the first, of January 12, he described the efforts made by Miguel Ferreira on behalf of the Jaffna expedition. He assured John III that he was the man most suited for this, and that he was always ready to help the priests of the Society of Jesus and his own religious brethren.²⁰⁵ In the second, of January 21,²⁰⁶ he recommended the priests of the Observance to the king. They had been forgotten during the past four years; but as the first heralds of the faith, they had founded the Indian mission. He had himself accompanied the deceased viceroy wherever he went, and he had always carried the crucifix before the soldiers when they were engaged in battle. He had sheltered the Dominicans when they arrived in Goa for more than three months in his monastery, and his houses in Cochin and Cannanore were always open to the priests of the Society of Jesus. After twenty-five years of the apostolate in India, he had wished to return to his home province with Dom Alvaro de Castro in order to find rest from his labors and to direct the affairs of his custody; but the general of his order had imposed three more years as guardian upon him.²⁰⁷ He hoped to go to Cannanore in September, where the chapel of the monastery was almost finished,²⁰⁸ in order to spend the winter

Fernandes de Azevedo from Madeira, received the right to the captaincy of a ship sailing from Cochin to Cambay (*Registo* 279). He sailed to India as the captain of a ship in 1536 (*Emmentia* 338) and again in 1541 with the right to the position of a factor, *alcaide-mor*, and *provedor dos defuntos* (Q 727), which he occupied in 1548 and from 1550 to 1552 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 148-149 521-522 524-525 582 584-586 614). He never married and died on his return voyage to Portugal (*Andrade Leitão V 151).

²⁰⁴ Q 4082 (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 524-525).

²⁰⁵ Q 4137 (*ibid.* 527-528).

²⁰⁶ Q 4148 (SR IV 253-259).

²⁰⁷ He was guardian from September, 1545, to September, 1551 (cf. SR II 281).

²⁰⁸ According to this, Frey Antonio do Casal came to India for the first time in 1523. He sailed the second time with Fernão Peres de Andrade, who sailed to India as chief captain in 1535 and 1544. P. Félix Lopes, O.F.M., in his valuable commentary on the chronicle of Frey Paulo da Trindade (I 103-104), assumes that he accompanied him in 1535. We believe that he did this in 1544, for he brought the permission to build a chapel in Cannanore. On December 23, 1542, M. A. de Sousa wrote that His Highness had ordered him not to permit the Franciscans to build a monastery in Cannanore as they intended to do. But he had already found friars there whom he could not expel. They had even threatened to build two or three more monasteries in Chaul, Bassein, and Diu; and two of their confreres were sailing to Portugal in order to discuss the matter with the king (SR II 309). One of these two was probably Frey Antonio do Casal, who on his return voyage to India in 1544 brought with him the permission requested for Cannanore. Xavier's observation that the guardian was already in his fifth year of service to His Highness (EX II 76) also indicates 1544. Although Correa writes that the commissary Frey Antonio was present for the condemnation of Jerónimo Dias in 1543 (IV 292), he means by this Frey Antonio Padrão, who was commissary from 1528 to 1531, if he is not confusing Frey Antonio do Casal with the guardian and commissary Frey Pedro de Atouguia, who occupied this post from 1542 to 1545. At the

there and to found a college like that of Frey Vicente. His Highness should not send any friars to Ceylon since his custody had care of that mission. If Christianity was not making great progress it was because the king and the Portuguese there did not favor it, and the natives only wished to become Christians from temporal interests. His confreres sent many complaints to him from there about the king; but he, Frey Antonio, had told them not to become excited. That king had already done enough: he had let them have three churches and schools in his kingdom and had allowed them to preach the faith without placing any obstacles in the way. In time much fruit would be gained.

The author of the letter then spoke of the death of the viceroy. He had been his confessor and had heard his last confession. He assured His Highness that he had never in his life heard the confession of anyone who died so reconciled to the will of God; and Mestre Pedro, the vicar general, could, as an eyewitness, give an account of this to His Highness. Through his death India had suffered a great loss, since it had been deprived of such a chaste, virtuous, and unselfish governor, who had served His Highness so faithfully. His son Dom Alvaro deserved many favors from His Highness, since his father had left him nothing but his weapons with which to serve him.

The altarpiece over the high altar of his monastery in Goa and the two in the transept had already rotted away, and the chapter room was also in need of one. He had already written about this several times, and Dom Jerónimo de Noronha had now agreed that he would remind His Highness to send them to him.

At the end of his letter the guardian recommended a series of individuals whose deserts he knew from personal experience as the constant companion of the deceased viceroy. These were Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda, Francisco da Cunha, Dom Bernardo de Noronha, and Dom Jerónimo de Noronha, the former captain of Bassein, who had all provided food for many soldiers and had shared in all the trials of the viceroy. There was also Cosme Anes, the *vedor da fazenda*, who had similarly accompanied the viceroy in Cambay and in the territory of Adil Khān. He assured His Highness that it had been an inspiration of God that he had appointed him to be *vedor da fazenda*, for nothing could be expected from such a virtuous and godfearing man than that he would serve His Highness to the best of his ability. He also recommended Francisco da Silva, the captain of Cochin,²⁰⁹ and Antonio Moniz, who on the expedition to Kandy had proved to be a great, brave, and selfless servant of His Highness. After the treacherous king of Kōttē had aroused the king of Kandy against the Portuguese, he had tried to bribe Moniz with ten thousand *pardaus* so that he would not lodge a complaint about him with the viceroy; but Moniz had refused the money. His Highness could obtain information on this from Frey João de Villa de Conde, who had gone with him to Kandy.

The Franciscan Observants felt that they had been overshadowed by the Capuchos, to whom the bishop, Frey Vicente de Lagos, in Cranganore, and Frey Antonio do Porto, in Bassein, belonged. These latter also wrote to the king.

beginning of 1552 Frey Antonio do Casal sailed back to Lisbon, where he was chosen on January 28, 1568, by D. Manuel de Lima as the executor of his will (BNL: *Codice Alcobacense* 3, 505-506). He died in the Franciscan monastery in Lisbon (SR V 404). His signature is in Q, pl. III 5.

²⁰⁹ Francisco da Silva de Meneses, *fidalgo* of the royal house, received the right to the captaincy in 1546 and entered office at the end of 1547. He campaigned against the Pepper King in 1550, who fell in battle on the island of Bardela (Varutala), but on his way back da Silva was also killed (Q 2007 3481 4530 4724).

On January 1 Frey Vicente de Lagos, whose college was so warmly recommended by Xavier to the king, wrote a long letter to his sovereign about his own work, which did not always receive the required recognition from his fellow religious of the Observance.²¹⁰ He noted that he had always asked for a companion so as not to give any occasion for evil gossip to other religious. People of the world did not engage in such talk since they knew the good example which he had always given. Many governors and religious had advised him to dispense with a companion. Otherwise, he could be easily distracted from the work which he had begun. He now had Malabar assistants who were staying with him. They were completely faithful to him and gave a good example. If people over there told His Highness that he did not keep his rule, they could say what they pleased, since that was the way it was with men. But because it was a matter of conscience, he would give an accounting of everything to His Highness. It would profit him little to bring souls to the Lord if he lost his own.

The captain of the fortress, João Pereira, took care of his college, and many people came to this house from Malacca and the regions of India because of the reputation which it had acquired. When they saw the good education that was given there, they became devoted to it and gave João Pereira alms for it, one giving ten, another twenty *pardaus*; and he used these for the erection of this house, which was still being constructed with the help of some of his students and a Malabar priest who directed the work. He, Frey Vicente, did not know what was spent or not. His Highness might see if he broke his rule in this. It was true that he at times offered Masses,²¹¹ and his students also sought alms for the support of the eighty-eight boarders. Every year he purchased a hundred *mans* of rice²¹² since he did not receive enough of this from His Highness for such a large house and so many students. If he was somewhat to blame in this, God would have mercy upon him. If His Highness was displeased with this, he might tell him what he should do and he would do it. He was sending His Highness a sketch of the college so that he might see what had been erected and grant a somewhat larger subsidy. In this way he would render God a great service, as he could learn from those who were sailing from there, and also from the vicar general, Mestre Pedro.

The king might further obtain a bull from the Holy Father so that he would not be assigned to any other work as long as he lived because of the great good which he was doing and the love of the Christians there for him; that he should be under the direct obedience of the bishop of India; and that, if this latter should die, under that of the pope. He was making this request since many, including members of the Society of Jesus, wished to have this college. His Highness could do what seemed to him to be to the greater service of the Lord. Once again, for the love of God and the consolation of his soul, he begged His Highness that he might be allowed to end his days in this college of Santiago in this poor land of Malabar.

His pupils observed the following daily order: After Matins they studied for an hour and a half. Prime was recited at dawn. Those of the grammarians who were already ordained recited Prime, Terce, and Sext; and after this all the grammarians together listened to a sermon. A bell was then rung for the

²¹⁰ Q 4123; SR IV 200-211.

²¹¹ For Mass stipends. The rule forbade their touching money.

²¹² A *man* was the equivalent of twenty-four Portuguese pounds (in Goa in 1554). A *man* of rice was sufficient for a day's rations for ten persons (Ferrand, *Poids* 74).

first Mass. When this was finished, five strokes were given to the bell. The grammarians then went to their studies and the others attended classes in Christian doctrine and practiced reading and writing until ten o'clock, when the assistants repeated the lessons with the pupils. The bell was again rung at eleven for the noon meal. After all had assembled, they sat on the benches and recited the *De profundis* with the prayer for their benefactors. They then went to the refectory and said grace. During the meal there was reading at table. After eating they recited another prayer and then went to the church reciting the *Miserere*. In the church itself they prayed for the deceased. On Sundays they recited Vespers for the Dead; on Mondays the First, on Tuesdays the Second, and on Wednesdays, the Third Nocturn; on Thursdays Lauds; on Fridays the Penitential Psalms with their Litanies and Orations; and on Saturdays the Gradual; and all of these prayers were offered for His Highness and all their benefactors. They then washed their hands and a bell was rung for *siesta*. Those who wished to do so, slept for an hour; the others continued their studies. At two o'clock a bell was rung for Vespers. After these were completed, five strokes were again given to the bell; and they went to their classes. At four o'clock the bell was rung for Compline. After this they had a short period of recreation in the garden and then went to the three chapels that were located within it. In one of these, chosen by rotation, they recited the *Salve Regina* with the commemoration of the saints and some prayers for the whole of Christendom. The bell was then rung for the evening meal. After they had finished with this, they recited together in a chapel of our Lady the Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed, *Salve Regina*, blessing, *Ave Santissima*, and a petition. After this the bell was again rung, and they went to study until eight or nine o'clock. The bell was then rung again for retiring. Before they went to sleep, one of the students was designated to offer a prayer for the deceased. Four of the boys kept watch through the night until Matins to see that all were decently covered, and four others kept watch from Matins until dawn. Every Friday there was a procession in the cloister with a litany for Christendom. Every Sunday four, and at times six or eight, went in turns with the priests who offered Mass, preached and gave instructions in the Christian villages. And each month he himself, Frey Vicente, went to visit the Christians and to ask what the priests did in the villages where they went to confer baptism. This was his life and his "breaking of the rule."

In order that His Highness might see the good that the college could do, he would cite but *one* example. Fifty leagues from Cranganore, on the other side of a high mountain range, there was said to be a race of some forty or fifty thousand people who wore a cross about their neck and had their own king. When this latter went out, a cross was carried before him as a banner. A number of his Thomas Christians had already seen and spoken with some of them, who said that they were Christians, that a holy man by the name of Thomas had passed through there, and that they consequently, called themselves *Tomes*. Malabar priests had gone a distance of forty leagues and had discovered that they actually did live on the other side of the range. But the priests had become ill with a high fever and had therefore returned. At the beginning of winter he would send others; and if they verified the facts, he would himself go there with some brothers of the college.²¹³

²¹³ Cf. the decision of the Synod of Diamper of 1599, Session 8, Decree 7 (APO IV 459-460), to send priests to Todamala, forty leagues from the churches of the Thomas Christians in the territory of Calicut, where there were some villages inhabited by nominal

Frey Vicente then wrote of the two Malabars who were studying in the College of Coimbra.²¹⁴ He had heard much good of them, and they were *letrados*. If His Highness sent them to India, they could do much good there. They could teach in the college and go forth from it to preach and to baptize. The college had need of a virtuous religious to teach grammar. He himself would, moreover, also be glad to receive a plenary indulgence for the feasts of Easter, of St. James, and of St. Thomas and their octaves, since many Thomas Christians came for these.

He also asked for books for the college: small breviaries, Hours of our Lady, small Psalters, a large Psalter, and a large missal for the choir, and half a dozen small missals. He also asked for all books needed for the grammar classes and for some books of devotion: the *Vitae Patrum*, *Contemptus Mundi*,²¹⁵ *Fasciculus Myrrhae*,²¹⁶ *Exercitatorium*,²¹⁷ small sacramentaries, books for confession in the vernacular, a *Flos Sanctorum*,²¹⁸ and an *Evangeliarium*. He further asked for an altarpiece of St. James representing his whole life on six panels, a large crucifix with our Lady and St. John for the chapter room, an iron for baking hosts, and a large bell that could be heard for a league.

Towards the end of his letter Frey Vicente recommended a number of persons to the king. The first of these was the bishop, who had won over the people with his mildness and was most generous with his alms, frequently pawning his silver for this purpose. The king should write him a consoling letter and grant both him and the college some *bahārs* of cinnamon sticks. The author of the letter then turned to Master Francis:

Master Francis does great service to God our Lord, and Your Highness may believe that he is a light illuminating the whole of India. He has visited almost the whole of the East. The priests of St. Paul²¹⁹ produce great fruit and give an excellent example through their doctrine and virtue. Master Francis is going to Japão. I do not know how right he is in this. He does much for the service of God our Lord in Goa. Your Highness must speak with Mestre Symão so that he has him come from Japão to remain in Goa and as far down as Cape Comorim; for he is greatly needed in India, and the bishop is also much consoled by him and his doctrine and advice.²²⁰

Frey Vicente then recommended João Pereira, the captain of the fortress of Cranganore. He was his only consolation, and God had used him and his wife as means to protect the college. The king might give him the fortress for life and write him a letter expressing his gratitude. The captain had four daughters and owed the king of Cranganore 2,500 *pardaus* as a consequence of the numerous losses he had incurred. The revenues of the fortress amounted

Christians, in order to bring them back to the faith. On the subsequent efforts to do so, see the accounts of two Syro-Malabar priests and that of P. Jacobo Fenicio, S.J., of April 1, 1603, in the following: L. Besse, S.J., "Un ancien document inédit sur les Todas," *Anthropos* 2 (1907) 970-975; Jarl Charpentier, *The Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais of Fr. J. Fenicio* (Uppsala, 1933), pp. LXXXV-XCV; also the accounts in German 302-309; Ferrolí I 472-480; and, on the Todas, Thurston VII 116-167.

²¹⁴ In 1552 they were already in Cranganore (DI II 305).

²¹⁵ Of Frey Luis de Granada (Lisboa, 1542); cf. Anselmo, n. 625.

²¹⁶ *Fasciculus Myrrhae*, a Spanish work on the passion of Christ composed by a Friar Minor, which first appeared in Burgos in 1511 and was republished in 1518, 1536, and 1543 (Palau, *Manuel de Librero* 5 [1951] 263-264).

²¹⁷ Garcia Ximenes de Cisneros, *Exercitatorium vitae spiritualis* (Montserrat, 1500).

²¹⁸ A collection of legends of the saints.

²¹⁹ The Jesuits, who were also called Paulists after their college in Goa.

²²⁰ DI I 453.

to no more than 120 *milreis*, and these were poorly paid. The king might give him a voyage from Coromandel to Malacca or Maluco for one of his daughters. This would be a great favor not only for Pereira, but also for the college and Frey Vicente himself, since he was much indebted to the captain. Every day he sent him the noon and evening meals for his eighty boarders, and on Sundays and feast days bread and curry, for Frey Vicente had of himself no wheat, rice, oil, or vinegar.

At the end of his letter, Frey Vicente also recommended the two confreres of his province in Bassein to the king. They had sixty students and had baptized many of the natives. If their companions had not departed, and may God forgive them for it, still greater fruit could have been expected. The Dominicans would also do much good since they were preachers, and these were lacking in India.

In conclusion he asked the king to write always to the kings of Cranganore and Diamper,²²¹ and to the Pepper King,²²² and to recommend the Christians of this region to them so that they would help and favor them, as they had now begun to do more extensively. He should do this especially with the king of Diamper, who was called "the King of the Christians."

Frey Antonio do Porto, the superior of the Bassein mission, also sent a long report to the king dated October 7, 1548.²²³ In it he described the difficult beginnings of the mission. Because of the war he had not received the three thousand *pardaus* from the former mosques and pagodas that had been granted him by John III. On his way to Bassein, one of his five companions had died in Chaul. Two others had become discouraged and had gone to Cochin in order to sail back to Portugal. He had consequently been obliged to send Frey Domingos to inform the king so that the report of the two who had left did not infect their confreres in Europe.

Although he and his companion were now alone, the mission had still made a good beginning. They had a college with fifty boys in Bassein and a church in a former temple on the island of Salsette, and they had already made a number of converts. At the time of their arrival, the royal officials had declared that the mosques had never been paid a sum of three thousand *pardaus*. After the departure of Frey Domingos, a Brahman employed in the factory had informed him that the sum given to the mosques had amounted to 2,077 *pardaus*, but in addition to this had been the oil which they received. Dom João de Castro had wished to help the friars, but he had been prevented from doing more than he had by his constant wars and by some individuals who were opposed to such assistance. He did not know as yet what Garcia de Sá would do. The bishop helped him where he could. The captain of the fortress, Dom Jerónimo de Noronha, had done little for them at first; but since the departure of Frey Domingos, he had shown much favor to the native Christians. He divided the lands of the temples and mosques among them, gave them many alms and offices, and executed all the orders with respect to new converts. This encouraged many to become Christians. Due to his sagacity, the destruction of the mosques and pagodas by the missionaries had not caused an uproar among the people, and there had not been the trouble that there once had been in Goa. The *vedor* Simão Botelho was also very helpful to the Christians and missionaries. He assisted them as much as he could. At the same time, without offending anyone,

²²¹ Udayampērūr.

²²² Of Vadakkumkur. His signature is given in Q, pl. XXIV 5.

²²³ Q 4003: SR IV 59-65.

he had taken good care of the royal revenues by identifying, and then collecting, numerous taxes that had been withheld. When they began to tear down the mosques and pagodas, the opponents of the mission had declared that His Highness' revenues would be decreased. But the opposite had occurred. Thanks to the efforts of Botelho, they had rather been increased.

Simão Botelho,²²⁴ who had been commissioned by the king to write a *tombo*, a land register, as he had done in Ormuz in 1546, also wrote two letters from Bassein. In these he gave detailed reports on both areas to His Highness. Dom João de Castro had given the majority of the villages in the territory of Bassein to Portuguese as hereditary fiefs, but these latter had failed to pay many of their taxes. Since Botelho kept a sharp eye on the leases, he had made many enemies and had become the object of their mortal hatred. He was therefore compelled to defend himself against their false accusations and to inform the king about his own deserts. If the latter found the accusations of his enemies to be consistent, he should have his head struck off. As it was, he would not let others plunder the possessions of his king.²²⁵ Complaints had also been made to the king about Dom Jerónimo de Noronha, and Botelho had been commissioned to investigate their veracity. He had heard thirty witnesses, and they had all brilliantly vindicated the captain.²²⁶

Jorge Cabral²²⁷ had succeeded Dom Jerónimo de Noronha as captain of Bassein. On December 27 he also wrote a letter to the king.²²⁸ He was hostile to both Dom João de Castro and his successor, Garcia de Sá. The new governor had married his wife in the Church shortly before her death, and he had thus legitimated his two grown daughters.²²⁹ After years of searching, he had also finally, in December, 1548, found husbands for them. The eldest, Leonor, had married Manuel de Sousa de Sepúlveda; the younger, Joana, had married Dom Antonio de Noronha, the son of the deceased viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha. Their weddings had been in the cathedral, and they had been celebrated by bullfights and tiltings at the ring. The governor had designated everything he possessed as dowries for his daughters.²³⁰ Cabral had not attended the wedding;

²²⁴ Q 4097-4098: Botelho, *Cartas* 4-25.

²²⁵ *Ibid.* 17-18 20-25.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* 14-15.

²²⁷ For the sources on Jorge Cabral, see the indices of Q, Correa, and Castanheda. *Accounts*: Couto (see index; his judgment on him in 6, 9, 2, pp. 235-237); Queyroz, *Conquista da Índia* 593-595; Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 541; Maurício in *Brotéria* 57 (1953) 460-481; 58 (1954) 210-231. His genealogy is given by *Andrade Leitão VI 1115; *Manso de Lima (lithographed edition) VI 23-24; Ayres de Sá, *Frei Gonçalo Velho* 2 (Lisboa, 1900) 109. His seal with his coat of arms is in Q 2576 (p. 202); his picture in Correa IV 680; his signature in Q, pl. VII 5. His *life*: Cabral was the son of the *alcaide-mor* of Belmonte, João Fernandes Cabral, lord of Azurara, and the chief lady in waiting of Queen Leonor, Joana de Castro. He was born in Belmonte and was a *fidalgo* of the royal house. He sailed to India the first time in 1524 (*Registo* 108), and there, as captain of Malacca (1526-1528), again attracted, after long years of interruption, merchants from China and Pegu (Q 109). In 1531 he sailed back to Portugal but returned again to India as admiral of the fleet in 1536 (Figueiredo Falcão 157; *Registo* 278). He fought at Repelim this same year and sailed back to Portugal in 1537 (Correa III 768). He came the third time to India in 1545 with his wife Lucrezia Fialho (the *Emmentia* gives her name as Brites de Valadares 427). In 1546 he distinguished himself at Diu (Q 2576 2631). At the end of 1546 he was captain of Bassein and, after the death of Garcia de Sá, governor of India from 1549 to 1550. In 1551 he sailed back to Portugal (Q 4672; Correa IV 726).

²²⁸ Q 4103a.

²²⁹ See above, p. 475.

²³⁰ Couto gives details about his marriage and his descendants (6, 7, 6, pp. 108-109); Correa IV 673.

and, as he noted in his letter, the governor had been upset by this and had not given him the privileges as captain of Bassein that Dom Jerónimo de Noronha had enjoyed. But Cabral was also critical of others. He wrote that God had granted a very great favor to the king in the death of Dom João de Castro. Otherwise he would have completely ruined India with his misrule. The deceased viceroy had rendered poor service to His Highness in leasing the villages of Bassein to Portuguese, who paid their rents only with great reluctance and had great difficulties in obeying the court. Some received more from their villages than His Highness in Portugal gave for truly extraordinary deserts. Antonio Pessoa, for example, received two thousand *cruzados*, and God knew what he deserved. Simão Botelho had leased the customhouse of Bassein during the past year on the most pernicious terms. That the king had placed Garcia de Sá on the list of succession was to be ascribed to the evil information which he had received from Dom João de Castro. As soon as the latter had died, Adil Khān had sued for peace; and Sá had given it to him. The king of Cambay had taken amiss a miserable gift which the governor had sent him—six horses and a piece of velvet and of atlas. All, in brief, from the governor or down, sought to destroy Portugal's dominion in India; and it had only been maintained by God because of the virtues of the king.

On December 13 Garcia de Sá wrote on his own account to the secretary of state, Pedro de Alcáçova Carneiros: ²³¹

I had hoped many times to sail to the kingdom, but I now have this very difficult and dangerous office of governor of India, with such great dangers from His Highness and from his enemies. Take up my affairs with His Highness so that he does not let me be condemned before I have been heard, as happened to me once before, to my great shame and to the loss of my possessions. Francisco de Sá, to whom I commend some of my concerns, will remind you of this.

On January 3 he wrote to the king that he feared that Cosme Anes might blame him for the small cargo of pepper this year. He then continued:

Mestre Pedro, the vicar general, is going to you. It seems to me that he is not well pleased with me. The reason for this is that I tied his hands in some of his undertakings that little pertained to his office and garb. He appointed police in this land with staves of office who greatly oppressed the newly converted Christians for every least possible offense, and the penances which they inflicted were not Our Fathers or candles, but fines. He also seriously oppressed and mistreated the pagans and gave them an even worse example, and all this has kept them from becoming Christians. If he complains to Your Highness about me, you should know why he does so.²³²

The bishop was also of the opinion that he should justify his actions to the king. In his letter of November 5,²³³ in which he informed him of the arrival of the *Galega*, he defended the right of asylum for his cathedral and the traditional tax when one of the priests died. He also stressed his deserts in the peace negotiations with Adil Khān.

Peace has been concluded between Adil Khān and Garcia de Sá. He will explain to Your Highness how, and on what conditions, it was effected. For two months before

²³¹ Q 4085.

²³² Q 4127: SR IV 218, where *Padre Mestre* is erroneously given instead of *Pater noster*, which Maurício also copies from it.

it was completed, I was in correspondence with Adil Khān and his ambassador, and I have preserved thirteen letters from him and his ambassador and Gonçalo Vaz, and also the copies of those I sent to him before the entrance of his ambassador into this city. After his [official] reception, he came to my residence and asked me what he should do. I told him that he should grant the governor all that he asked, and I gave him reasons for doing so. And that is what he did. He conceded nothing more nor less than what was demanded by the governor. Mestre Pedro is aware of this, as are other *fidalgos* of this city.²³⁴

In his second letter to the king, of November 28, the bishop gave a detailed account of the baptism of Loku, of the measures he had taken against Dadaji, the son of Krishna, and of the labors of the Franciscans, Dominicans, and especially of the Jesuits. He also defended himself against the accusations which he heard had been sent by the jurors of the city to His Highness.²³⁵

On January 20, João Soares, the vicar of Chale, also wrote to the king.²³⁶ The fortress there had been constructed sixteen or seventeen years before, but the church was still the poorest in India—a palm-leaf hut in the midst of elaborate mosques and pagodas. It lacked all that was necessary for divine worship and was a source of great scandal to the pagan kings and lords who came to the fortress. The king gave a fixed sum as an alms for poor Christians in all the other fortresses, but nothing in Chale. There would be many more Christians in the city if the poor could be helped. He had frequently gone to speak with the king of Tanor about his longing for Christianity. Captain Bernaldim da Silva had also spoken with him about this. The king had asked to become a Christian, but secretly, and with the provision that he could continue to perform exteriorly the pagan ceremonies. He had experienced this desire ever since he had come to know the Portuguese. Since there were different opinions about the king's request, he, the vicar, did not wish to grant it without first consulting the bishop. In the meantime, however, the king wished to be instructed in the faith by a Malabar priest of the fortress. As soon as the present war was terminated, he, Soares, would send this priest to him.

The captain, Bernaldim da Silva, had built the choir of the church out of stone, and he had covered it with a tile roof. He had also established a *Misericórdia*. He and his wife, Dona Jerónima, were loved by Christians, Moors, and pagans because of their charity towards the poor. Cosme Anes had declared that the ginger for the ships sailing to Portugal had never been better or more cheaply handled than at this time. Soares himself asked that an altarpiece of the Immaculate Conception, vestments, and a frontal might be sent for his church.

The vicar also wrote in terms of high praise about his bishop, who was a mirror for all, and about the sixty-year-old dean of the cathedral, João Alvares, who had great authority among the priests. At the time he did not know of anyone in India who would be more suitable for the position of vicar general. The king might send a virtuous and educated man for this position; and if this were not possible, he might at least send one who was virtuous, and especially mild, since too great an insistence upon minutiae drove the people to the Moors.

He had nothing but good to write about all the priests of the Society of

²³³ Q 4037: SR IV 108-114.

²³⁴ SR IV 109-110.

²³⁵ *Ibid.* 134-138.

²³⁶ Q 4142: SR IV 240-247. Since fall, 1548, he had been vicar of Chale (*ibid.* 349).

Jesus. They were solely employed in bringing great numbers under the yoke of Christ. This was particularly true of three of them: Mice Francisco, Mice Paulo, and Mice Nicolao. The friars of St. Francis were known as good and virtuous religious, especially Frey Antonio Padrão, who labored tirelessly for the conversion of pagans and in other works of charity, even though he was himself already old and tired. It was not necessary to write about them since some of these religious were sailing to Portugal. His Highness could be well informed by them, especially by Frey João de Villa de Conde, who could also give him a full account on the fortress of Chale.

This letter of Soares to the king was accompanied by two others from neighboring rulers. The first of these, of January 6,²³⁷ was from the king of Tanor. In it he wrote to John III that he had always loved the religion of the Portuguese from the time of his youth. Since he wished to adopt it, he had written to the governor Dom João de Castro that he should come and make him a Christian. Since the governor was prevented from doing so by the war in which he was engaged, he had sent Mestre Diogo in his stead. When his elder brother, to whom the kingdom legally belonged, and his mother learned of this, they begged him with tears not to become a Christian during their lifetime, or at least not to change his dress and ritual observances; and he had agreed to this. His brother had handed the rule over to him so that he might devote himself entirely to contemplation. He, the king, had therefore decided to become a Christian in secret, and he had been told by Mestre Diogo that this could be done. He did not have to give up his *corombin*²³⁸ and Brahman cord, or let his beard grow, or wear a shirt, since the religion of Christ did not forbid these. Mestre Diogo had further told him that he needed only to believe firmly in his heart, and that it would be good for him to inform the governor and bishop of this. When he went to Goa for this purpose, however, he had died. Since then he, the king, had received no further news. He still wished to become a Christian but, as long as his mother and brother lived, in secret; and the king might grant him the permission for this. Frey João de Villa de Conde might bring him his decision as soon as possible. His kingdom, his vassals, and all that he possessed belonged to His Highness; and he was the right arm of His Highness, ever ready to serve him. Within a short period of time he would bring it about that the whole of India would become subject to Portugal. His Highness should therefore order the governor and the captains of the fortress to show him their favor. His expenses were great, and in order that he might be compensated for them, His Highness might let him sail to any harbors that he wished with wares that were not forbidden. He had spoken about many other things with Frey João de Villa de Conde, and His Highness could obtain further information from him by word of mouth.

On January 20²³⁹ the king of Chale also sent a letter to John III. In it he wrote that all of his ancestors, and especially his predecessor, had always been friends and servants of His Highness. As soon as the fortress of Calicut was demolished, he had himself wished to have one in his kingdom; and, with the help of his uncle, the king, the governor Nuno da Cunha had built it at once; and he had done this against the wishes of the king of Calicut, who on this account waged numerous wars against him, slew many of his people, tore down

²³⁷ Q 4130: SR IV 567-569.

²³⁸ The Hindu tuft of hair.

²³⁹ Q 4143: *Archivo Historico Portuguez* 2 (1904) 457-458.

many palm trees, and burned many of his towns. After the death of his uncle, he had succeeded him on the throne. He had served His Highness on every possible occasion, but had not been favored by his governors. The king might order them to support him in his rule. Frey João de Villa de Conde had visited him, and he could give an oral account of him to His Highness.

On December 20 Sultan Ibrahim, also known as Adil Khān, sent John III a letter from Bijāpur.²⁴⁰ It was burdened with an abundance of oriental rhetoric:

To the one shining more brilliantly than the sun, may his star and fortune be exalted! To the Lion of the Sea and Land, to King Dom Joam, King of Portugal, may Allah increase the days of his life and of his kingdom and of his royal state unto the Day of Judgment! Your Highness would know that I helped your people when the Turks came because of the love which I have for your service, and from then on you saw that it would be good to be joined with me in friendship. Your viceroy wrote to me at length in this regard, with many requests that we should be united together in a great friendship which we would truthfully preserve forever, from day to day unto the end of ends; and with the help of Allah it will ever increase. I have therefore ordered my people to receive all your captains and officials and people as they would my own. I expect the same from you and your officials.

But on December 6 his rival, the pretender Mialī, who was being detained in Goa, also wrote to John III.²⁴¹ He informed him that the governor M. A. de Sousa had brought him to Goa, as he had been advised to do by Asad Khān, at the time when Dom Garcia de Castro was captain of the city. Deprived of his liberty, he had been detained for four years in the fortress, though he had previously lived in complete freedom in Cambay with his wife and children. He had been greatly favored by the king there, who gave him an annual income of ten thousand *cruzados* and permission to go wherever he wished. But here in Goa he had been compelled to use up much of his resources. Dom João de Castro had then come and released him from the fortress and, on orders from His Highness, had given him two thousand *pardaus* and had showed him much honor until his death. Through Sebastião Lopes Lobato he had been summoned by Dom Garcia de Castro; and, relying upon the great truthfulness of the Portuguese, he had come with his wife and children. He was now very poor and had sold the jewels of his wife and children and whatever else he had in his house in order to be able to stay alive. Many of his servants had left him because they saw the poverty he was in, and one of his sons had also left him and had not returned. He therefore asked for permission to go freely where he willed, even to his own country, and to be able to send ships wherever he wished. He had already written several times to His Highness, but he had never received an answer; and he was very sad because of this.

The kings of Cochin and Cranganore also sent letters to John III with the last ship sailing for Portugal.

The letter of the young king of Cochin,²⁴² dated January 27²⁴³ and written

²⁴⁰ Q 4093.

²⁴¹ Q 4073.

²⁴² Q 4160. The king at the time was fourteen years old. He succeeded his uncle on the throne at the end of 1545 (Q 1639). At the time he began ruling he was eleven (Q 1665). In May, 1547, he was twelve or thirteen (Q 3092). The letter is published in *Arquivo Historico Portuguez* 2 (1904) 456.

²⁴³ The king's letter was written on October 29, 1545, by his paymaster Diogo Ferreira. The king was in mourning for the death of his uncle and could not as a consequence

by his interpreter Itiunyrampa in Portuguese, but signed in Malayālam, recommended the factor, Antonio Ferreira de Azevedo, to the king. He had not been able to take up his office on time, and he had discovered that there was no pepper for this year's cargo in the factory. But he had succeeded in doing what no other factor had accomplished. He had given the pepper merchants many gifts and had worked day and night, and he had gone out of his way to visit them. They had been angered by the ill treatment and bad pay which they had previously received. But he had won them over. Many merchants who had not brought pepper in the past had come from far away so that all the ships could be loaded. As a reward for this the king might give him the habit of the Order of Christ and a fixed income so that he might do the same during the five more years he would be in office. Whatever the king did for Antonio Ferreira de Azevedo, would be taken by him as being done for himself.

His rival, the king of Cranganore, who was often quarreling with the king of Cochin, also sent two letters to John III, from whom he usually received a letter every year. In his first letter, of January 20,²⁴⁴ he informed him that during the past year he had lent the *vedor*, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha, ten thousand gold *pardaus* for loading pepper. Caminha had promised him that he would immediately send the money back to him from Goa, but he had failed to do so up to the present. This year he had lent the *vedor*, Cosme Anes, ten thousand *xerafins* for the same purpose. Anes had promised him that he would repay him in copper of the same value so that he would suffer no loss. The *vedor* now claimed that he could only give him copper at the rate of twenty-three *pardaus* per hundredweight, the equivalent of 6,900 *reis*, but it had never been worth even 6,000 in the land. After the king of Cranganore had sent off this letter, he learned that his rival in Cochin wanted to adopt the king of Diamper, who was a great lord and a vassal of Calicut. He therefore wrote a second letter at once, on February 8, to the king of Portugal and sent it to Cochin, where it arrived just in time for the departure of the last pepper ship. In it he informed him that this would be much against the service of His Highness, and he hoped that the old minister of the king of Cochin and the governor would not permit it. The Zamorin could never be a friend of the king of Cochin. The family that was now ruling in Cochin had been brought from the interior, contrary to the law of inheritance that prevailed in the land, by Diogo Pereira²⁴⁵ when the Portuguese came there. This forced the king of Cochin to be subservient to the Portuguese. His alliance with the Zamorin would consequently be to their great disadvantage. The king of Calicut had once wished to be adopted by the king of Cranganore because of the old friendship that existed between their two houses. But since he wished to serve the king of Portugal, he had declined the offer and had adopted another lord by the name of Aremutamcol, who was a friend of the king of Cochin. Under no circumstances could His

write at the time. The letter was signed by his two ministers, Unireiminique, as interpreter, and Ytiunirrey, with the usual royal signature *Sri* in Malayālam (Q, pl. XXV). The king alone signed his four other letters of 1546, 1548, 1549, and 1557, and drew a line around his signature (as was also customary for the royal names of Egyptian hieroglyphs). It is transliterated as *Unikēla Kōvil* (Q, pl. XXIII, pp. 480-481 515). Cf. "Or. Briefe," 282.

²⁴⁴ Q 4144: *Archivo Historico Portuguez* 2 (1904) 457.

²⁴⁵ Diogo Pereira, *o Malavar*, lord of Bendurte.

Highness approve of this adoption of the king of Diamper by that of Cochin; and if it had already taken place, he would have to nullify it.²⁴⁶

Two days before this the famed Christian captain of the Nāyar caste, Francisco de Sequeira, had also written to John III from Cochin.²⁴⁷ He began his letter as follows:

Our sins were so great that the new viceroy died a blessed death; for when he died, the will which the *lascars* had earlier possessed to serve Your Highness also died; and this is because they are not given their salary or maintenance. And this is why many of them are going over to the Moors and becoming their soldiers. Your Highness must find a remedy for this, since it is for the service of God and of Your Highness.

Sequeira then added that many did not become Christians because they were not favored, and that those who had become Christians were not shown the honor which they deserved. The key to the Malabar coast was Chale. The fortress was near Calicut, from which all the pepper was smuggled across the sea. The fortress should be under the command of a very conscientious captain who had the honor and service of His Highness greatly at heart. João Pereira, the captain of Cranganore, did much that did not redound to the service of His Highness. He prevented the native Christians from making a living; and those Christians who were able to do so were leaving the land, since they were forbidden to trade in four varieties of wares; chickens, betel, areca, and building materials—bamboo poles and palms; but these were the very objects of their trade. They had no other means of subsistence since they did not sail upon the sea.

10. LAST CARES AS SUPERIOR (FEBRUARY—APRIL, 1549)

The second week of February had begun; the last ship had sailed for Portugal;¹ and Master Francis had already written a letter to Father Torres informing him that he would come to Goa the following Friday² when, just before his departure, he was surprised to meet Gaspar Barzaeus in Cochin. He had come from Chale, where he had been sent by Antonio Gomes to found a college for the *fidalgos* whom he had taken into the Society in Goa. These latter were to make their novitiate in Chale, exercise themselves in spiritual labors, and converse with the pagans of the Malabar coast, especially with those in

²⁴⁶ Q 4168. *Sri*, the signature of the king, is given in Q, pl. XXIV 1. His first letter has the same signature (Q 4144).

²⁴⁷ Q 4165: SR 226-228. Garcia de Sá sent him at the end of 1548 as chief captain with fifteen ships to patrol the Malabar coast, and Couto observed on this: "This man was of the caste of the Nāyars, a very great *cavalleiro*, and he rendered so many services to the state that the king made him a *fidalgo* and granted him the habit of Christ and a good income. This summer he conducted many battles against the rebellious coast of Cannanore. He burned many villages there and cut down many palm trees" (6, 7, 3, pp. 85-86).

¹ The last letter for the fleet is that of the king of Cranganore of February 8, which could have been brought on the same day to Cochin. The last ship therefore sailed on the ninth, and Xavier, according to Gago, remained around two months in Cochin "until the ships sailed to the kingdom" (DI I 559). Wicki therefore errs when he has Xavier "apparently" sail from Cochin at the end of January (*ibid.* 643, n. 12). Maurício errs in having him visit the Fishery Coast during these two months (*Brotéria* 56 [1953] 713).

² MX II 183.

Calicut and Tanor, since the rajah of Tanor was at the time close to becoming a Christian. Barzaeus had not visited him since there were two Franciscans with him, whom he had received with many tokens of respect. In Chale he had found almost everything that was needed for the college: a garden with a stone wall around it, admirably suited for the construction of a building, good houses in which they could live; and seventy *pardaus* in cash. He had come to Cochin in order to give an account of what he had found to Xavier.

Francis, however, did not favor the plan of founding a house in Chale: its designated occupants were still too few. He had other plans in mind, and he told Barzaeus that he must sail back with him to Goa the following morning. They then went together to the Franciscan monastery, where they were as warmly received as if they had been themselves Franciscans, and were earnestly invited to spend the night there.³

The next day they both set out from Cochin for Goa. In Cannanore they were also given a most cordial welcome by the Franciscans,⁴ and on Friday, March 12, they arrived in Goa.⁵ Here Francis left his companion. He himself continued on his voyage to Bassein,⁶ where he encountered the governor, Garcia de Sá; the captain of the fortress, Jorge Cabral; his friend Simão Botelho; the secretary, Francisco Alvares; and his confrere Melchior Gonçalves and his companion.

On his way from Goa to Bassein, Gonçalves had preached in Chaul. The people there had been so pleased with his sermon that they had offered him a house for the Society. Since he could not accept it, he had taken his leave of Captain Vasco da Cunha⁷ and the others, refusing the gifts which they offered to him. Nevertheless, as he continued on his voyage, he discovered that they had sent many things to the galley for his trip. He had worked with success in Bassein and had gained the affection of all. At the earnest request of Frey Antonio do Porto, he had taken over the direction of his college. He preached occasionally, and on Wednesdays and Fridays went with a little bell to recommend to the prayers of the people the souls in purgatory and those living in mortal sin.⁸

Botelho could, in turn, inform Xavier on the state of religion in Ormuz from his own personal experiences.

Garcia de Sá received Xavier with the greatest kindness, but it was impossible at the time to undertake the mission in Socotra. At the end of January, the governor had sailed with six galleys, four galleons, ten caravels, and sixty oared ships from Goa to Bassein. He wished to bring an end to the war which his predecessor had begun with Cambay. He also wished to obtain a better treaty of peace⁹ from Sultan Mahmūd than the one which Luis Falcão, the

³ According to Gaspar (DI I 598). Now, after the departure of their religious confreres, there was room in the monastery.

⁴ DI I 598 642-643.

⁵ Gaspar Vaz testified that he had read Xavier's letter and had been on the quay when he disembarked. The Friday must have been March 12.

⁶ EX II 79.

⁷ Wicki errs in stating that Antonio de Sousa was probably the captain of Chaul at the time (DI I 562, n. 67).

⁸ *Ibid.* 561-562.

⁹ Couto gives a detailed description of the fleet and of the peace negotiations and of the celebration of the conclusion of the treaty (6, 7, 4). Correa states that the fleet consisted of twenty-eight small sailboats and that the treaty was never agreed upon (IV 673).

captain of Diu, who had been murdered in October,¹⁰ had concluded through his agent Antonio Mendes,¹¹ and which he, Garcia de Sá, had refused to recognize.¹² According to this treaty, Manorá, the northern district of the territory of Bassein, with its forty-two villages, which brought an annual income of forty thousand *pardaus*, and which had always belonged to Bassein, was granted to Cambay.¹³ As long as the negotiations for peace lasted, everything that could offend the Moors had to be avoided. The governor had therefore forbidden any Portuguese vessels to sail to the bay of Cambay in order to avoid the encroachments which had occurred despite all his prohibitions.¹⁴

Consideration also had to be given to the instruction that had been given by John III with regard to the mission on March 8, 1546. On the basis of the information which had been supplied by M. A. de Sousa,¹⁵ he had ordered the governor, Dom João de Castro, to help the oppressed Christians of Socotra, but in such a way that the Turks, whose vassals they were, did not cause trouble on the Indian Ocean with their fleets.¹⁶ But now, since the failure of Dom Alvaro's expedition in 1548, the Turks were in firm possession of Aden. Moreover, since 1547 they had been in possession of Basra and had been pushing on towards Yemen and the east coast of Arabia, where they had been in control of al-Ahsa, the main site on the coast, since this same year.¹⁷ Their next goal was Ormuz, the key to the Persian Gulf. When the governor learned that there were Turkish galleys in Aden intent on sailing against this fortress, he had sent eight ships¹⁸ with two hundred men and munitions to assist the threatened city¹⁹ under the command of his nephew Pantaleão de Sá.²⁰ This had been further required by the fact that the fortress of Manūjan, on the Persian side of the gulf, had been treacherously delivered into the hands of the enemy.²¹ Botelho was therefore also of the opinion that peace had to be preserved at any cost so as not to imperil India.²²

All of Xavier's other requests were, however, readily granted. The governor had his secretary draw up the necessary *alvarás* for the voyage of the missionaries to Ormuz, the Moluccas, and Japan. He issued orders for the captain

¹⁰ On November 20, 1548, the *ouvidor* and factor wrote to the king from Diu that Falcão had been murdered on October 1 (Q 4033).

¹¹ Cf. the letter of Mendes of March 13, 1548 (Q 3893); the opinion of D. Francisco de Lima of September 9, 1548 (Q 3989); and the letter of Botelho from Bassein of December 24, 1548 (*Cartas* 16).

¹² According to Cabral from Bassein on December 27, 1548 (Q 4103a).

¹³ On Manorá, see Gerson da Cunha, *Chaul and Bassein* 206.

¹⁴ Botelho, *Cartas* 16-17.

¹⁵ Vol. II, pp. 542-543.

¹⁶ Q 2018: Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 328-330.

¹⁷ Q 3282 4211.

¹⁸ Correa IV 673.

¹⁹ Correa IV 673; Q 4304; DI I 611 615 663 667; cf. Q 4598. The chronology in Couto is wrong. He has Pantaleão de Sá sail in November, 1548, and Garcia de Sá sail from Goa at the beginning of January, 1549, and return in the same month (6, 7, 4). The governor was still in Goa on January 25 (Q 4153). He did not return until March (Correa IV 673). Maurício errs in giving Garcia de Sá, the nephew of the governor, as the captain of the eight ships (*Brotéria* 56 [1953] 609). He did not, however, sail to Ormuz but to Chale (Correa IV 674), as Maurício (610-611) also states in opposition to his previous assertion, adding that he went there to build a fortress. But the fortress was built in 1531.

²⁰ DI I 667.

²¹ Couto gives a detailed account of the revolt and recapture of Manūjan (6, 7, 3, p. 82, and 6, 7, 7); Correa IV 667.

²² Botelho, *Cartas* 16.

of Ternate with respect to the protection of the Moro Christians and the founding of a college,²³ and others for the captain of Malacca so that he would secure passage for Xavier and his companions to Japan and would provide them with their support during their stay in that land.²⁴

As soon as Francis had finished his business, he returned to Goa. During his two months' absence, Antonio Gomes had taken into the Society a number of the many candidates who had sought admission. These were the young Ambrosio Nunes and Manuel Rodrigues,²⁵ as lay brothers; the nineteen-year-old Francisco Lopes, as a scholastic;²⁶ Reimão Pereira,²⁷ who had sailed to India with Melchior Gonçalves as a *fidalgo escudeiro* and on board ship had already conceived the desire to enter the Society of Jesus, and who, soon after the baptism of Loku and the entrance of the first three *fidalgos*, had followed their example; the eighteen-year-old Alberto de Araujo,²⁸ as a scholastic; Fernão do Souro,²⁹ who was of about the same age, as a lay brother; and Antonio Vaz, a New Christian

²³ EX II 79.

²⁴ Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 91 (Torres' letter of September 29, 1551).

²⁵ Both signed the letter of the missionaries of the Fishery Coast from Punnaikāyal on the martyrdom of Criminali, which they sent to the bishop about June 19, 1549 (DI I 545), and according to Gago (*ibid.* 560) also the one to the mission superior of June 19 (*ibid.* 484-489). Ambrosio Nunes probably wrote the third letter of the same time about the mission (*ibid.* 489-493). They were probably sent by Xavier after his return to Goa with the first ship sailing for the Fishery Coast, since in November Ambrosio had already made great strides in Tamil and could read its script fairly well (*ibid.* 583). H. Henriques wrote that he had been in Goa only for the Exercises, and that he had been sent immediately, while Criminali was still alive, to the Fishery Coast (*ibid.* II 304). And on October 29, 1552, Lancilotto wrote that he had already been for four years on that mission (*ibid.* 374). He died there, probably in 1553, since he is no longer mentioned after that. The annual letter of H. Henriques, which probably contained his obituary, has been lost (*ibid.* III 50). He was praised by Henriques as his best coworker (*ibid.* II 164-165 304).—His companion Manuel Rodrigues died on the Fishery Coast, probably in 1550. He is mentioned for the last time on January 27, 1550 (*ibid.* 16).

²⁶ On November 25, 1559, Francisco Lopes, according to F. Cabral, was thirty years old. He had been in the order for eleven years and had studied enough philosophy and moral cases and six or seven months of theology (*ibid.* IV 451-452). He was ordained in October, 1549, (*ibid.* I 567-568). He labored as a preacher and confessor in Bassein and then in Goa, Cochín, and Quilon. He died in 1568 as a martyr, being slain opposite Chale by the Moors as he was sailing from Cochín to Goa (*ibid.* VII 599). For his letters, see *ibid.* V 70-74 759-760; VI 407-416. On him see Seb. Gonçalves 7, 7, and Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 2, 1, 1, 25.

²⁷ Reimão Pereira was the son of João Rodrigues Pereira. He sailed to India in 1548 with a monthly salary of 1,687 *reis* (**Memoria das pessoas* 96; *Emmentia* 429). He entered in 1548 (DI I 404 567), but he had to return to Goa in September, 1549, because of the great heat (*ibid.* 617-618 669). He studied there from October on (*ibid.* 568) and died a holy death in 1553 (Valignano 117). For his letter of December 8, 1552, see DI II 506-509. On him see Polanco, *Chron.* IV 559 649; DI III 178.

²⁸ According to F. Cabral on November 25, 1559, A. Araujo was twenty-eight years old. He had been in the order for eleven years. He had studied moral cases, but was almost always ill (DI IV 458). On January 12, 1553, Barzaeus wrote that he had been received some four years earlier (*ibid.* II 593). He was ordained in 1557 (*ibid.* III 786) and died in Goa on November 18, 1559, as piously as he had lived (*ibid.* IV 406-407 and Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 2, 44).

²⁹ According to F. Cabral on November 25, 1559, Fernão do Souro was twenty-eight years old. He had been eleven years in the order, content with the office of Martha, faithful and sound (DI IV 449). He worked briefly in Bassein and Goa and from 1557 on in the Moluccas, Ternate, Batjan, and Moro (*ibid.* III 716; IV 347 835-836; V 69 620). In 1560 and 1563 he also visited Amboina (*ibid.* V 284-285). He died on March 27, 1565, in Ternate, allegedly poisoned by the infidels (*ibid.* VI 491-492; Sá III 133). For his letters see Sá II 294-303 354-357 372-373; III 6-26.

at least on one side, from Leiria. After beginning his novitiate, he had been strongly tempted against his vocation and had already asked to be released when Xavier came to know of it. He had him summoned and said to him: "Son, so you will leave us?" At this the temptation left him for ever.³⁰ Bernardo Rodrigues,³¹ a twenty-year-old *mestizo* who had been born in India, had also joined the priests. Pedro de Alcáçova had also done the same. In 1543, at the age of nineteen, he had entered the order in Coimbra; and in 1545 he had pronounced his simple vows in Lisbon. But he had then left the order to sail to India. He had been received again into the order there in 1546 and had taken his vows as a scholastic in 1548.³²

Since the mission to Socotra was impossible at the time, Xavier had to send his confreres elsewhere. The choleric Father Cipriano, who had preached twice in St. Paul's College with his usual fire, was sent as a preacher to São Thomé, where religious instructions had been greatly neglected³³ and strong speech was quite in order. He received as his companion Brother Gaspar

³⁰ According to the catalog of December, 1565, Antonio Vaz was forty years old at the time (DI VI 628). On November 18, 1573, he wrote to the general from Macao: "I entered in India twenty-four years ago, and for more than twenty years I have preached in Goa, Bassein, Damão, Urmuz, Dio, Cochín, Malacca, Maluco, and now here. I am about forty-six years old" (*ibid.* IX 284-285). He was from Leiria (catalog of 1599, in *Goa* 24, 281), and was, at least on one side, a New Christian (DI IV 457). He was ordained in 1551 (*ibid.* II 273). In 1554 he went to Ternate, where he laid claim to the office of superior during the absence of Affonso de Castro and was on this account dismissed by him. Supported by the captain of the fortress, he nonetheless kept on ruling, and in 1557 baptized the king of Batjan. In the same year, however, he was declared to be a usurper by the new rector, Francisco Viera. He returned to Goa in 1558, and was there received again in 1559 (*ibid.* IV 457-458). After this he was in India, five years as superior in Damão, four in Thāna, two in Macao, and three in São Thomé. He died in Quilon in 1599 or 1600 (*Goa* 24, 241 281). On him see Bartoli, *Asia* 4, 52; 6, 11-12, and Couto 7, 4, 7. Still extant are his letters of 1552 (DI II 443-444), 1555 (Q 6080), and 1573 (DI IX 282-285). On his temptation in 1549, see Bartoli, *Asia* 6, 12, p. 62, and 4, 52, p. 290. His sources are contained in the testimony of Nic. Spinola in the process *Rom. in genere* 2v-3 (*Minutes 107v).

³¹ In December, 1549, Barzaeus greeted Bernardo Rodrigues along with his other confreres in the college in Goa (DI I 636). He therefore joined before Gaspar sailed for Ormuz. In November, 1550, he was with Pérez in Malacca (*ibid.* II 106). At Xavier's request he went with Pérez from there to Cochín in 1553, where he taught the small students reading, writing, and their prayers until his death, since constant headaches made it impossible for him to study. He took his vows in 1557. He is mentioned for the last time in 1561 (*ibid.* V 73-74). See his letter of January, 1558 (*ibid.* IV 51-56).

³² The data on the age of Pedro de Alcáçova varies. According to F. Cabral he was thirty-five years old and thirteen or fourteen years in the order in November, 1559 (*ibid.* 458). According to the catalog of October, 1575, he was at the time fifty-three. He entered in 1543 in Coimbra and took his simple vows in Lisbon in 1545 (*ibid.* X 39). He then left the order, sailed to India, and reentered it in Goa (*ibid.* II 454). According to the catalog of November, 1571, he had taken his vows as a scholastic twenty-three years earlier, which would thus be in 1548 (*ibid.* VIII 424). According to the catalog of December 2, 1566, he had already been twenty-one years in the order (*ibid.* VII 78). He sailed for Japan in 1552 and returned to Goa in 1554 with the ambassador of the king of Bungo and, from Malacca, with Xavier's body (see his detailed report Q 6045). In 1556 he was sent a second time to the Far East in order to take care of the Japanese mission (DI III 528-529). He returned from there, and we find him from then on in St. Paul's College engaged with the care and instruction in Christian doctrine of the small pupils and orphans, who loved him as their father. He died there in 1579 (DI XI 652 699: necrology). In addition to this he was also busy with the instruction and care of the candidates for baptism (DI IV 645-646 685 703 865; V 275; VI 617), always content with the work of Martha (*ibid.* IV 458).

³³ *Ibid.* I 495 520 560 564-565. Xavier's instruction for him is lost (cf. EX II 388).

Rodrigues, who had come to India in 1547 with Affonso de Castro in order to be received into the Society there.³⁴ Manuel de Morais breathed a sigh of relief when he learned from Xavier that he should accompany Affonso de Castro to the Moluccas. On January 3 he had written from Goa to his confreres in Coimbra: "If I go to the cape of Socotra, you must recommend me earnestly to God since it is a land which is attacked by the Turks, and they are hostile to us."³⁵

In February he and Castro had been ordained to the priesthood.³⁶ The third to go with them to the Moluccas was Brother Francisco Gonçalves. Antonio Gomes was very sorry to see him leave, since he had made great progress in the college and had edified his confreres with his great zeal.³⁷ Lancilotto also had a high regard for Affonso. He had been a year with him in St. Paul's College as his superior and spiritual director. He had given him the Exercises and was much edified by his zeal in prayer and meditation and his modesty in his dealings with others. Although he was a New Christian and, apart from a little Latin, had almost no higher education, Xavier had had him ordained to the priesthood; and he was now sending him to the Moluccas, since he was so discreet and virtuous,³⁸ as a preacher and procurator for his confreres there. Ambrosio Nunes and Manuel Rodrigues,³⁹ two of the recently accepted confreres, were sent to the Fishery Coast to replace the deceased Adam Francisco.

Juan Fernández was designated to take the place of two others who had been originally destined for Japan, the delicate⁴⁰ Domingos Carvalho and Roque de Oliveira. During his year's stay in Goa, Cosme de Torres had been twice ill and near to death,⁴¹ but his strong constitution had on both occasions gained the upper hand. He had given the Long Retreat to Domingos Carvalho, Baltasar Gago, Gil Barreto, and the four most talented students in the college: Diego, André, Paulo, and Manuel; and in January, 1549, to Paul Anjirō as well.⁴² The latter had made the Spiritual Exercises for more than twenty days⁴³ with great recollection and a great desire to profit from them. He had then given them in turn to his servant Joane. Their countryman, Antonio, had also made the Long Retreat. All three had gained much from the Exercises and a clear understanding of the many graces and benefits which they had received from their Creator and Lord. They had all experienced many consolations and tears, and were eager to bring the Christian faith to their countrymen.⁴⁴

As Gago, the minister of the house observed, Juan Fernández had been a source of great edification to his confreres in Goa and "a mirror" for all of them.⁴⁵ On his voyage to India he had been universally admired for the charity

³⁴ *Ibid.* I 560.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 466.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 495 554.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 554.

³⁸ *Ibid.* II 146.

³⁹ *Ibid.* I 484 560 567.

⁴⁰ He died of consumption in 1552 (*ibid.* II 512).

⁴¹ As Juan Fernández wrote in 1581 (*Cartas*, 1598, 81; *JapSin* 4, 217). In Japan he was constantly sick to his stomach (DI IV 447 510-511).

⁴² *Ibid.* I 477-480.

⁴³ Frois, *Geschichte* 3.

⁴⁴ EX II 10 25 111 (each of the three made the Exercises for around a month) 117 146; Frois, *Geschichte* 3. Maurício confuses Joane with the Japanese João de Torres (*Brotéria* 56 [1953] 720). On the latter, who entered in 1568, see Frois, *Geschichte* 70, n. 1).

⁴⁵ DI I 554.

with which he had served the sick and for his zeal and fire. He was obedient in the least details and was always the first to carry out orders given to the community in St. Paul's College. Although India had an enervating climate and he was thin and weak, he spent three to four hours a day in meditating upon his knees. If the labors with which he was burdened gave him no leisure during the day, he sought an opportunity for prayer at night; and, in order not to fall asleep, he knelt down at the foot of a tree in the garden; and though it rained heavily at times, he did not rise from there until he had finished his meditation. If his confreres wished to prepare themselves for the reception of the Eucharist or to acquire a devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, they needed only to turn their attention towards him. Fernández was in charge of the laundry in the college of Goa and of those who were ill. Though he was also subminister and had been ordered to study, he filled his various offices with as much care and diligence as if he had only one of them. To save time in fulfilling his tasks, he mended the shirts of his confreres in the clothesroom and kept his grammar near him. As he sewed, he would look from time to time at the materials he had to study. His superiors occasionally reproached him with apparent severity to show his patience or to edify others. Though he was not to blame for the faults found in him, he would never excuse himself or say anything in his own defense. Instead, he would kneel down, turn his gaze upon the ground completely humbled and abashed, and with tears in his eyes persuade himself that the reason he did not immediately recognize the faults with which he was reproached was his own blindness. A great friend of poverty, he preferred to have the worst, poorest, and meanest things in the house given to him for his use.

Xavier could not have found a better companion for his voyage to Japan. He ordered a breviary and the tonsure to be given to him so that he could be ordained to the priesthood before his departure. Though Francis very seldom let himself be moved by entreaties after he had made a decision, the tears and entreaties of Brother Fernández were so effective, and the conviction and emotion with which he asked not to be ordained were such that Xavier, out of pure mercy and compassion, yielded to his request.⁴⁶

Lent had begun on March 6, and Antonio Gomes had found time in the midst of his many other activities to preach three or four times a week with great zeal and no little success.⁴⁷ About the middle of the month, the governor, who had ratified an edict⁴⁸ of his predecessor in favor of the native Christians on March 11,⁴⁹ had also returned to Goa;⁵⁰ and it was now time to execute the difficult task of sending Antonio Gomes to Ormuz, and to appoint Gaspar Barzaeus in his stead as rector of St. Paul's College, about which Xavier had said nothing up till then. When he informed Barzaeus of his decision, he encountered unexpected difficulties. The humble priest felt that he did not have the qualifications for such a task. He considered himself to be the least worthy in the whole house and was afraid that he would drown in the sea of all its duties and responsibilities. He asked and implored his superior to have compassion upon him. He revealed all his imperfections which made him unworthy of such

⁴⁶ Frois, *Geschichte* 341, as an eyewitness.

⁴⁷ DI I 570.

⁴⁸ Q 4183. Instead of March 11, Maurício has erroneously March 3. He cites for this APO V, p. 89, instead of n. 89 (*Brotéria* 56 [1953] 610).

⁴⁹ Q 3415.

⁵⁰ "Already in March" (Correa IV 673).

a high office, but without success.⁵¹ He was obliged to take over the office of rector.

But it was otherwise with Antonio Gomes, who used every means at his disposal in order not to be sent to Ormuz. He won over to his cause his friend Cosme Anes, who had a high regard for him. Anes, who was in difficulties because he had posted bail for the debts of his deceased stepfather⁵² and was being persecuted by his enemies⁵³ and not assisted by the governor, hoped that Gomes, who had great influence at the court in Lisbon, would recommend him to his benefactor, the king. He therefore interceded for Gomes and earnestly insisted that he be left in Goa as rector of the college and its students. Since the College of St. Paul and the whole of the Society in India were so greatly indebted to Anes, Xavier finally yielded to his request. He reappointed Gomes to the office of rector and designated Barzaeus for Ormuz.⁵⁴ The decision was also influenced by the fact that the people of Goa, who favored Gomes because of his preaching, were opposed to his departure; and Gomes, who was also esteemed by the bishop and governor and other dignitaries, was a Portuguese, whereas Barzaeus was a Netherlander. Francis therefore left Gomes as a preacher and rector of the college in Goa until another decision came from Portugal or Rome, but he limited his authority as rector to the students in the college and to the Portuguese novices he had received into the college.⁵⁵

Barzaeus felt as if he had been freed from a heavy yoke when a few days after his appointment as rector he saw the office taken from him, and he gladly accepted his appointment to Ormuz. Francis told him that he would have much preferred to go there himself if the voyage to Japan had not prevented him,⁵⁶ and that he was much afraid that the city would be ruined because of the great sins which were committed there. He was consequently sending him away at once.⁵⁷ A short time before this a Franciscan who had gone to Turkey dressed as a Turk with a Christian companion and some disciples had encountered a martyr's death. Since Francis was afraid that Barzaeus, because of his zeal and daring, might leave Ormuz for Turkey or Persia, he told him to remain on the island and not leave it for three years, until he had received news from him; and he would send him to China or Japan or some other place, since he did not know what God would do with him there.⁵⁸ He would prefer to send him to China if God would open it up. But Barzaeus should not leave the island of Ormuz during the next three years, even if he received an order to the contrary from India. If he did not receive a report from him within this time, it would be a sign that he had died; and he should then be under the obedience of the rector of Goa.⁵⁹ When Barzaeus asked him if he could accompany the

⁵¹ DI I 643 598; II 171 243.

⁵² Q 4127. Maurício is of the opinion that the registrar, *vedor*, and *provedor-mor dos defuntos*, Cosme Anes, whom the Jesuits took pains to praise (*desfazem-se*) because of his friendship and services, had taken public money with the intention of returning it, but apparently not always with the necessary permission, to pay debts in order to save his father-in-law Toscano from bankruptcy (*Brotéria* 56 [1953] 608). There is nothing of this in the sources which he cites; and not he, but his father-in-law, was *provedor-mor dos defuntos*.

⁵³ Q 4091 4097 4105a 4124.

⁵⁴ DI II 171.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 10.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* I 598 643.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 646 690.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 617 630-631 643.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 609.

soldiers to the Persian mainland if war broke out, he was told that even in such a case he should remain on the island.⁶⁰ He should further send a detailed report of his activities every year to Rome.⁶¹ For his work in Ormuz he also received a lengthy instruction from Master Francis.⁶²

He first advised Barzaeus to think of the debt which he owed to God and to his soul. If he was faithful in this, he could also be of great assistance to his neighbor. He should consequently be willingly engaged in low and humble tasks in order to obtain humility and to advance in it. He should therefore teach the children of the Portuguese, the male and female slaves, and the wives of the native Christians their prayers; and he should not leave this office to another. This would edify the people, and they would come more readily to hear and learn the doctrines of the faith. He should also visit the poor in the hospital⁶³ and preach to them from time to time and persuade them to confess their sins and to receive Communion. When he was free from other labors, he could hear their confessions and also speak with individuals who had the means and authority to help them in temporal matters. He should also visit the prisoners in jail and preach to them and persuade them to make a general confession of their whole life past, since there were many among them, and perhaps the majority, who had never gone to confession. He should recommend them to the Misericordia so that it would help them at court and provide for those who were indigent. He should therefore serve the Misericordia in any way he could, and he should be on friendly terms with all its members.

When he learned in confession that someone was obliged to make restitution but did not know to whom he should return the unjustly obtained goods because the owner was dead or unknown to him, he should have the person give it all to the Misericordia. If someone asked him for an alms, he should refer the petitioner in like manner to the Misericordia because of the many deceits which prevail among the poor, who are often entangled in sins and vices; and these people were well known to the brothers of the Misericordia,⁶⁴ who would give alms to those whom they knew were in greatest need. This would also prevent many from coming to him more for temporal than for spiritual help, and he would also thus avoid the suspicions of individuals who might think that he was taking alms and money from them for his own advantage.

In his spiritual conversations with others, he should treat them in all his words and actions and manifestations of friendship, whether they were close friends of his or not, as if some day they would be his enemies. This would edify them in all his dealings with them, and they would be ashamed to relinquish his friendship. A lack of watchfulness over himself would often give occasion to others for relinquishing their friendship towards him, and it would also be a source of scandal to his enemies and others who did not know him. He should therefore twice, or at least once, a day make a particular examination of conscience; and he should have a greater concern for his own conscience than for that of others; for how can one do anything for others who has no care for himself?

He should preach as often as possible, since this is a work that is profitable to all. It produces much fruit and contributes to the service of God and to the salvation of souls. In his preaching he should never speak about dubious questions or the difficulties of professors, but rather about things that are very clear and moral matters.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 617.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 599.

⁶² EX II 80-101

⁶³ Text 1 2 read "hospitals." But Botelho, in his *Tombo* of 1550, has only one hospital in Ormuz. It was at the time in a small, miserable tenement and was administered by the Misericordia (92 97).

⁶⁴ The confraternity of the Misericordia of Ormuz received fifty *xerafins* every month from the city. The *provedor* could distribute these among the poor. The annual sum, which amounted to six hundred *xerafins*, was the equivalent of 180 *milreis* (*ibid.* 97).

He should condemn vices by speaking of the offense they give to God, of the condemnation of sinners to the pains of hell for all eternity, of sudden death, so feared by those who are unprepared. He should touch on some points of the passion of our Lord in the form of a colloquy between a sinner and God,⁶⁵ or of the wrath of God against a sinner; and he should seek as far as possible to move the minds of his hearers to sorrow, repentance, and tears, and to encourage them to confess their sins and to receive the Blessed Sacrament. In this way he would gain much through his preaching. In his sermons he should never reprehend individuals or anyone who had power in the land. Such admonitions should be given in private, in their home or in confession; for such men are very dangerous. Instead of becoming better when they are criticized in public, they become worse. And he must give them these admonitions after he has become their friend. If they are great friends, he should earnestly correct them; but if they are only slight friends, he should correct them only a little. He should give these admonitions with a cheerful countenance and mild and loving words, and not with severity. From time to time he should embrace them and so humble himself that they will accept the admonition more readily. For if this is done with severity, it is to be feared that they will lose patience and become enemies. This is particularly true of those who are influential or possess power or wealth.

Before hearing confessions, especially in those regions, he should persuade his penitents to first reflect for two or three days over their past life and, while doing so, to call to mind their sins and to write them down in order to be able to reflect upon them better. After this he should hear their confession, but he should not absolve them at once. He should rather postpone this for some two or three days, and during this time he should give to them some meditations from the first week of the Exercises⁶⁶ so that they might meditate upon their sins and weep for them; and he should prescribe a penance and discipline so that they would be moved to tears. He should also persuade them to pay their debts or to become reconciled with their enemies or to free themselves from sins of the flesh or other sins which encumber them. He should take care that they do this before he gives them absolution, for they make many great promises in confession but are little in keeping them. Further, when he hears confessions, he should not at the beginning look harshly at his penitents; and he should not make them fear until after they have finished with the confession of their sins. He should rather speak to them of the great mercy of God and make light of what is in itself very serious until they have finished with their confession and the admission of their guilt.

When he is hearing confessions, he will encounter some persons who are so ashamed of some ugly and disgraceful sins that they do not dare to reveal them. He should encourage such individuals with all his strength so that they confess their transgressions. He should tell them that he knows others greater than what they have committed, making light of them all. Sometimes it also helps persons of this type to confess their sins, which the devil is keeping them from admitting through shame, to tell them in general about his own sad life in the past. Experience will teach him this.

He will also find some persons, and it is to be hoped that they are few, who have doubts about the sacraments, especially Communion. The reason for this is that they have not received Communion for a long time and have had dealings with the pagans, and there are other reasons as well. If we are not always constant in our own lives, we can understand how easy it is for sinners to be subject to some or other error with respect to the Consecration. In such cases he should take care that they reveal to him all their imaginations, disbeliefs, and doubts; for the best remedy for such difficulties is to reveal them at their very beginning. And he should move them to believe firmly and without doubting that the true Body of Christ our Redeemer and Lord is in this sacrament. And frequent Communion will help them to rid themselves of such an error.

⁶⁵ Cf. the colloquies of the first week of the Exercises (MI Ex. 282-285 288-289).

⁶⁶ Cf. Vol. I, pp. 219-220.

When he hears confessions, he should take great care to ask the people about the way they earn their livelihood through trading. If he perceives that they have practiced usury, he should not accept the words of many who say that their conscience does not trouble them about anything for which they should make restitution; for there are many who have no remorse because they have no conscience; and if they have one, it is very light.

When he hears the confessions of officials of the king, especially captains, factors, or others who have employment from the king, or agents for the property of others, he should be very diligent in asking them how they make their living in their particular office, and they should give him a detailed account of it. From the information which they give him, he will see how they use the goods and properties of others for their own advantage, not letting others buy before the captains have bought or sold; or factors using the king's money and not carrying out the king's orders to pay those who have served him. In this way he will learn if they are obliged to make restitution or not much better than if he asked them if they had property that belonged to others, since they will easily reply to this question that they do not. For it is common for these people to make their living by evil means; and what is still worse, doing evil and living badly is so common that nothing strange is thought about it.

He must be particularly obedient to the *vigario*;⁶⁷ and when he comes, he should kneel on the ground and kiss his hand. He must preach and hear confessions and give instructions and exercise other spiritual ministries with his permission. On no account should he quarrel with him. He should make efforts to win his friendship in order to give him the Exercises, at least those of the first week if he cannot obtain more. He must be a good friend of all the priests,⁶⁸ and he must on no account quarrel with any of them. On the contrary, he must show them great honor and gain their affection in order to give them the Exercises, and if not all of them, at least those of the first week.

He must be particularly obedient to the captain⁶⁹ and humble himself before him. On no account should he quarrel with him, not even if he sees him do things which are very unjust. When he feels that he is his friend, he should then, because of his concern for the salvation of his soul and for his honor, tell him with great love and humility and a cheerful countenance what people outside are saying about him. And he should do this when he sees that it can be useful and he is receptive to it. Many will come to him with complaints about the captain so that he may speak to him about them. But he must excuse himself as far as he can: he is busy with spiritual matters, and he also does not know to what extent his intervention would be useful. One who has no concern about God and his conscience will have still less regard for his words.

When he has the time for it, he should work for the conversion of some infidels.⁷⁰ But above all, he should never omit a general good for a particular one,⁷¹ for example, preaching in order to hear a confession, or the daily instruction in Christian doctrine for a particular concern. One hour before teaching the prayers, he or his companion should go through the streets and call the people to the instruction in Christian doctrine.

He should write to the college in great detail about all the good that he is doing

⁶⁷ The *vigario* of Ormuz received a salary of 113 1/3 *xerafins*, equal to 34 *milreis* (Botelho, *Tombo* 96). On August 7, 1547, the captain of the fortress, D. Manuel de Lima, wrote that the vicar was young, imprudent, and impossible for this position (Q 3206). His name was Antonio de Moura (DI I 660).

⁶⁸ The four beneficiaries of the church each received an annual income of 70 *xerafins*. Altogether this amounted to 280 *xerafins*, the equivalent of 84 *milreis* (Botelho, *Tombo* 96).

⁶⁹ The captain of the fortress was D. Manuel de Lima (1547-1550), with an annual salary of 2,000 *xerafins*, the equivalent of 600 *milreis* (*ibid.* 95).

⁷⁰ Barzaeus was sent primarily to assist the Portuguese.

⁷¹ This was also the basic principle of the founder of the order (cf. *MI Const.* II 217-219).

there for the service of God our Lord and about the fruit which God is working through him, for the letters which he sends to the college will be sent to the kingdom. In these letters he should write about things which are edifying and encourage the reader to the service of God. He should also write to the bishop and to Cosme Anes about the fruit he is gaining.

He should seek at the very beginning to learn from reliable individuals the business practices of the people in Ormuz and become well acquainted with them so that he can reproach them in public and in confession for their evil practices of usury.

Every night he should recommend the souls in purgatory with a few words which will move his hearers to piety and devotion. He should also commend the souls of those who are in mortal sin so that God our Lord may give them the grace to return to a good state. Both exhortations should be accompanied by an Our Father and Hail Mary.

He should deal with everyone with a cheerful countenance and not one that is heavy or morose. For if the people see him sad and cross, many will refuse to treat with him. He should therefore be gracious and benign, and he should give his admonitions with love and kindness so that those whom he is assisting do not get the impression that he is averse to those who speak and deal with him.

If he sees that an individual is suited for the Society, and the same has made the Exercises, he should send him, whether he is a priest or a layman, with a letter to the college. Or when he sees that he can be of help to him, he can keep him with him for this.

In the afternoons of Sundays and feast days, he should preach from one to two, or from two to three, as it seems better to him, to the male and female slaves, to the native Christians, and to the children of the Portuguese on the articles of the faith in the Misericórdia or in the church;⁷² and before this he or his companion should go through the whole city and ring a bell and invite all to come.

He should take with him from the college the text of the "Christian Doctrine,"⁷³ and of the "Explanation of the Articles of the Faith,"⁷⁴ and the "Order and Rule Which Should be Maintained Each Day to Commend Oneself to God and to Save One's Soul."⁷⁵ He should give this "Order and Rule" to those whose confessions he has heard as a penance for their sins for a certain length of time. After this it will become habitual with them. This is a very good rule and penitents are greatly assisted by it. He should also recommend it to many persons, even if they do not confess to him. And he should post it on a board in the church of Our Lady of Mercy⁷⁶ so that those who wish may copy it.

When he receives any into the Society whom he sees are suited for serving God in it, they should, after they have made the Exercises, undergo probations⁷⁷ and mortifications by serving in the hospital and visiting those who are in jail and serving them, or by doing something in the house of the Misericórdia, and not strange things that would be the source of ridicule and derision;⁷⁸ and at times it will be very useful for them to beg, for God or for the poor of the hospital or for those detained in prison, so that those who see them may be edified by these mortifications; and he should see that they do so. When he has to assign these public mortifications, he should first carefully consider the one who is to undertake them. He should choose these

⁷² Ormuz had only one parish church.

⁷³ The Small Catechism (EX I 93-116); cf. above, pp. 153-154.

⁷⁴ The Large Catechism (EX I 348-369); cf. above, pp. 153-154.

⁷⁵ The Christian Daily Order (EX I 441-460); cf. above, pp. 451-456.

⁷⁶ In Ormuz the parish church was also called Matriz, Sé, and Nossa Senhora da Conceição. It was small and narrow and located in the bulwark on the right of the gate of the fortress (DI I 623; Correa II 439, with plan; Q 1313). A half league outside the city was the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Esperança (DI I 616). By Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia is probably meant the chapel of the confraternity of the Misericórdia.

⁷⁷ On the trials, or experiments, which the novices had to make, see *MI Const.* I 12 (Vol. I, p. 460).

mortifications in accordance with the virtue which he perceives in those who are to undergo them; and he should not impose anything upon them, either great or small, that would exceed their strength. If he does the contrary, he will, instead of assisting, turn them away; and they will be tempted and lose heart for other mortifications.

In order to help the exercitants in spirit, he should take pains that they reveal their temptations to him, since this is a great means for the imperfect to reach perfection. But if they feel that he is strict in mortifying them, they will not reveal their temptations to him; and these temptations will become ever stronger and eventually leave them no peace at all. The foe will then easily bring it about that they will leave and abandon him.⁷⁹

He should also give one who he sees is tempted by pride or sensuality or any other passion a period of time to reflect upon the reasons against such a temptation, showing him how he can later discover for himself as many reasons as he can for resisting such a temptation. He should then have him deliver these reasons in the form of an exhortation or address, for example, to the prisoners, to the sick in the hospital, or to others who are well. For his giving these to others will be of great profit to himself, and he will overcome such temptations. This rule will also be useful for people in the world who come to confession but have impediments which prevent them from receiving absolution. They should consider what means they would choose if they had to give advice to another with respect to such a spiritual evil, indicating what ways and means they would take to persuade them to do the opposite; and they should then apply these to themselves. Yet this is an art and science given to souls through the power of the One who created them so that they may praise their Creator and save themselves in this present life.⁸⁰

When he hears the confessions of individuals who are seriously bound to make restitutions, or are infected with carnal desires or hatreds, and do not wish to do what reason tells them to do by taking the means to free themselves from their sins,⁸¹ since they are now so accustomed to them, a remedy for these may be, if their reason has any influence or force upon them, the love and fear which they owe to God, or, when this is lacking, the fear of death and hell.⁸² But most are as wanting in this fear as they are in love. He must then deal with them in the following manner: he should describe to them the punishments of God in this present life, how their days are shortened, the great infirmities, disgraces, loss of possessions, persecutions of the captains, dangers from the sea, and other things of this present life which God permits, all because of their sins. There are many who do penance through fear of these punishments rather than through fear of God and of the pains of hell. Sinners are reduced to such misery because they are so forgetful of God and of their conscience and have a feeble faith, which makes them judge according to what they see, and to doubt about what they will have to see in the next life.

When he has to discuss spiritual matters with a particular individual, he should be prudent in his speech and first see if the person is sad or distraught or has plans opposed to the salvation of his soul, or if he is free from such temptations and has the right disposition to receive correction. If he sees that the person is sad, irritated, excited, or enraged, he should speak mildly to him and not harshly, and gradually bring him to that disposition necessary for the salvation of his soul. And if he sees that he is free from passions and is disposed to accept correction, he should first begin with small things; and if he accepts these well, then those that are more serious;

⁷⁹ Xavier is here thinking about the penances which Simão Rodrigues introduced in Coimbra and the penances which he had imposed, for example, upon Juan Fernández.

⁷⁹ Cf. the second annotation at the beginning of the Exercises and the rules for the discernment of spirits of the first week (MI Ex. 230-231 524-527).

⁸⁰ Cf. the foundation of the first week of the Exercises (*ibid.* 250-251) and the first manner of making an election (*ibid.* 382-383).

⁸¹ See the consideration on the three classes in the second week of the Exercises (*ibid.* 360-361).

⁸² Cf. the fifth meditation of the first week of the Exercises (*ibid.* 294-295).

and thus, when he sees that he is disposed to be influenced by truth and reason, he should speak to him frankly. From there he should be brought gradually, as has been already said, to that which his conscience demands. For example, if he is irritated with another, he should ascribe the reason for this to the ignorance of the one who has caused this and not to the latter's malice, as he thinks when he is angry. Or he should ascribe what has happened to his sins, and that he did the same to his father or to his mother or to someone else with whom he was on intimate terms; and, as a punishment for what he did, God allows another to pay him in the same coin; and he should add other soothing words to divert him from his anger. And what is said about this disturbance of soul, is true of every other passion, so that it is always made clear to another that he has no reason for taking such things to heart. He should speak in this way with those who are angry, impassioned, or sad, and he should do so with a cheerful countenance until he has freed them from the passion that is afflicting them. He should then converse with them in another manner, with a certain severity, as he corrects them when he sees that they are listening to reason.

He should take great pains to learn all the business practices and the ways in which the people make their living and do their trading both within and outside the land. And he should obtain a good knowledge of this through persons who know their business practices. These persons will teach him how he is to produce fruit, since they will give him accurate information on all the evils that are prevalent there. When he is sailing to Ormuz he can gain detailed information on the business dealings and the practice of usury that are common there; and during the course of his voyage he can reflect on how to persuade the people to recognize the errors in which they live and to make the restitutions to which they are obliged, and on how he should preach and hear confessions, and upon the remedies he must give them. And he should remember that they will not improve unless they make a general confession of their sins and some meditations from the first week of the Exercises so that they obtain contrition, sorrow, tears, and grief at the sight of their perversity.⁸³

He should also gain knowledge about the numerous lawsuits and deceits which occur in the administration of justice and through false testimonies, bribes, friendships, and other means through which the truth is withheld and concealed. In brief, nothing will profit him more to help the souls of the inhabitants of that city than his getting a very detailed knowledge about their way of life; and this should be his main study for helping their souls. He should have these as books for reading things which he will not find in dead writings; for these latter will not help him so much in his work for souls as the things which he shall have learned well from living men who are active in the same endeavor, since he, Xavier, has always fared well with this rule.

On Sundays or feasts or weekdays, he should make efforts to settle feuds and to bring an end to lawsuits by reconciling the differences of the contending parties, for they spend more on lawsuits than they gain from them, even though the lawyers and secretaries will be upset by this. He should seek to give the Exercises to these lawyers and secretaries, for they are those who instigate all the lawsuits.

He should remain in Ormuz until he receives an answer from him on what he should do. He should write from Ormuz to Francisco Pérez in Malacca in great detail about the fruit which he has gained, since Pérez will send his letters from Malacca to Japan if God deems it good and to His service that he should go to Japan. If Barzaeus should receive no word from him in the course of three years, he must remain in Ormuz during this period of three years, as he, Xavier has decided, even if the opposite is written to him from India. But if he does not receive an answer from him in the course of these three years, he must remain there until the rector of the College of the Holy Faith orders the contrary. He should write in great detail to the rector about the fruit which he is gaining there. After the lapse of three years,

⁸³ Cf. the second prelude of the first and second meditations of the first week of the Exercises (*ibid.* 276-277 284-285).

he should write to the rector about the fruit that he is gaining there, and how much he would be missed if he were not there. He should then do what the rector tells him. He should send a letter to him, Xavier, with every ship that is sailing from Ormuz to Malacca, and the letters should be addressed to Francisco Pérez.

While he is on board ship, he should teach the prayers and take good care of his fellow voyager. He should see that he goes to confession; and he should take great care that he does not become dissipated while on the ship. He, Barzaeus, should preach on Sundays and on other days that seem good to him.

In his sermons he should quote from authorities as little as possible. He should speak of what is happening within the interior of sinners who are living an evil life, and of the end they will meet, and of the deceits of the enemies, and of things which the people can understand and not of those which they do not understand. If he wishes to produce much fruit both within himself and in his neighbor, and if he wishes to live in consolation, he should converse with sinners and persuade them to open themselves up to him. These are the living books which he must study both for his preaching and for his own consolation. This does not mean that he should not occasionally read books which are written, but this should be done in order to look for examples that will support in writing the remedies for those sins and vices which he reads in living books, proving with the authority of Sacred Scripture and the examples of the saints what he says against the vices.⁸⁴

Since the king was ordering everything he needed to be given to him,⁸⁵ he should take these from him rather than from anyone else, since it is a great thing not to be compelled to take from anyone what is needed; for one who takes is taken,⁸⁶ that is, if one takes something from another, his words no longer have the same effect as when he was not indebted to him. We are thus impeded when we have to correct them, and we do not have words to speak against them. He will find many living in sin who will earnestly seek his friendship so that he does not speak ill of them, but not to amend their lives and to seek a knowledge of their sins through him. Xavier was telling him this so that he might be on his guard; and when they invited him or sent him something, he should only take it on the condition that he might advise them on what would contribute to the salvation of their soul. If they invited him to eat with them, he should go; and he should invite them in turn to confess to him; and if they did not wish to receive assistance in spiritual matters, he should let them know his own views in this regard. When he, Xavier, said that he should not accept anything, he did not mean that he should refuse small items such as water,⁸⁷ fruit, and similar things which, if he did not accept them, would be a source of scandal. He should not accept large gifts, and if they sent him many things to eat, he should send them to the hospital or to those in prison or to other individuals who were in want. The world would know that he gave away the small things which he accepted. The people would be more edified by his acting in this manner than if he refused to take them, for they would be offended if he did not accept the little things which they gave him, for the Portuguese in India are scandalized when one takes nothing from them.

As for his lodgings, he should see whether it would be more convenient for him to live in the hospital or in the Misericordia or in a cottage near the church.

If he should be summoned to Japan by him, he should write to the rector of the

⁸⁴ The work of Marcus Marulus, which was Xavier's spiritual reading (Vol. I, p. 556; Vol. II, pp. 225-280), was a collection of such examples.

⁸⁵ In his *Tombo*, at Ormuz, Botelho notes the following: "P. M. Gaspar of the Society of Jesus, for him and his companion 120 *xerafins* per year for his expenses, the equivalent of 36 *milreis*; and if he needs more, he shall be given what he requests" (98).

⁸⁶ "*Quem toma, tomado esta.*"

⁸⁷ Water was a welcome gift in Ormuz. Since there was no good drinking water on the island, it had to be brought in from elsewhere. Since the authors in Europe did not understand this, Tursellinus writes *poma* instead of *aqua*. Maffei and texts 6, 9, and 10 omit the word.

college so that he would provide a suitable person to console the people of that city and to take over his work. And he should do this through two or three *vias* on ships that were sailing from there.

Xavier then brought his long instruction to a close with the following recommendations:

As a conclusion to all this, I recommend you above all else to yourself, that you remember that you are a member of the Society of Jesus. For to do this, among other things, will contribute much to the service of God, when you will have gained experience of the land; and experience will teach you, since she is the mother of all things. Recommend me always in your holy prayers and in those of your devout friends. As an end to all this, I recommend your reading this memorial every week so that you do not forget what I so earnestly commend to you.

Reimão Pereira was designated as Barzaeus' companion in Ormuz.⁸⁸ For his labors in that city, the bishop gave Barzaeus all his own faculties, even those contained in the bull *In Coena Domini*.⁸⁹ He also gave him a letter for the clergy of Ormuz in which he informed them that he was sending Barzaeus with all his own authority, and that they should honor him as they would himself.⁹⁰ On April 7 the ship that was going to the Persian Gulf and would bring the two confreres to Ormuz set sail from Goa.⁹¹

The time for Xavier's own departure was now fast approaching. The bishop felt his leaving keenly.⁹² He was a great friend of the Society and showed the priests the letters which he received and they showed him theirs.⁹³ He had just received two of these which must have been of interest to Master Francis as well. One was a letter from the rajah of Tanor. Since his youth he had always had a great affection for the Portuguese, and he had favored them whenever he could. For ten years he had fostered the desire of becoming a Christian without finding the courage and strength to take the step. Frey Vicente de Lagos visited him whenever he sailed from Cochin to Goa or from Goa to Cochin in order to speak with him about the Christian faith, and the king had always been pleased to see him and to listen to him. A year before this the bishop had sent Soares to Chale as vicar, and he had urged him to make frequent visits to the king. In the preceding February, when Cosme Anes was sailing back from Cochin to Goa, he had landed in Chale; and he and the captain of the fortress, Luis Xiralobos, and the vicar had gone to visit the rajah in the neighboring Tanor. There Anes explained to him that it would contribute much to the service of God and to that of the king of Portugal if he became a Christian. His arguments were so persuasive that the rajah had himself immediately baptized by the vicar, the *vedor* and the captain acting as sponsors. When he learned that Dom João was the name of the king of Portugal, he took that name as well.

⁸⁸ DI I 650.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 604 654; II 31-33. On October 28, 1546, the bishop received faculties through the brief *Meditatio cordis* to absolve penitents, either by himself or through others, from papal reservations twice in a lifetime, from those contained in the bull *Coena Domini* once for each case, and to commute all but five vows (Q 2471).

⁹⁰ DI I 604.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 561 (eight days before Xavier sailed away) 602 (before Xavier sailed).

⁹² *Ibid.* 453. He nearly wept at the time of Xavier's first departure in 1542 (Vol. II, p. 281). See also Teixeira 885-886.

⁹³ DI II 33.

The baptism was conferred in secret and the neophyte continued to wear his Brahman cord and outward garb, but hidden on his breast he carried a crucifix which had been given to him by Frey Vicente de Lagos. He wished to gradually persuade the leading Nāyars to receive baptism and then, together with them, openly confess himself to be a Christian. His other subjects would not then dare rebel. He was acting in this manner since he was not the lawful king but ruling for his elder, weak-minded brother. When the bishop learned of his baptism, he sent him a letter of congratulations strengthening him in his Christian faith. In response to this he had received a letter from the king dated from Chale, March 28, 1549.⁹⁴

In it the king thanked the bishop for his letter and expressed his regrets that he still had to conceal his baptism. The *vedor* could give him the reason for this by word of mouth, and the vicar and captain in writing. He himself wished to profess his Christian faith openly as soon as possible, and he asked the bishop to pray for him and to have all of the priests of India also pray for him. He was even now ready to fight for the faith of Christ with his whole kingdom, which he soon hoped to see entirely Christian. He asked the bishop to intercede with the governor in his favor since they were all brothers in Christ. The bishop and the governor should therefore come to him. He was also very anxious that the bishop would send him a priest of the apostles⁹⁵ to help the vicar, João Soares. He would also be greatly pleased if a church were built immediately in Tanor. He had asked the vicar to do this at once, and he was willing to give him every help for it. But the vicar had told him that he could not do anything without a mandate from the bishop, and that he had already written to him for it. He had further told the captain, Luis Xiralobos, that he might write to the governor that he should send some men during the coming winter⁹⁶ to the fortress of Chale so that they could help in case of need.⁹⁷

The second letter which the bishop received had arrived from Malacca in the middle of March. It was dated December 7, 1548, and its author, Manuel Pinto,⁹⁸ gave him a report in it about his stay in Macassar and the prospects of the mission in that land.⁹⁹ He began it as follows:

I came to this city of Malaqua from the Maquasares on the twentieth of November of this present year, and since it seems to me to be to the service of God to give an account to Your Lordship of the land and of the Christians who were converted by Father Visemte Viegas, since I went with him and remained there for three years, I shall give an extensive account of this to Your Lordship. I was there with a Christian king who is called the king of Supaa,¹⁰⁰ who was the first to become a Christian

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* I 539-540. The letter is contained in the bishop's letter of October 25, 1549. Maurício dates it incorrectly as August 20 (*Brotéria* 56 [1953] 610).

⁹⁵ A Jesuit. They were also called "apostles" (see Vol. I, p. 551).

⁹⁶ The rainy season, from June to September.

⁹⁷ Q 4189; DI I 537-540; cf. Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 471-572, n. 1.

⁹⁸ Manuel Pinto, to be distinguished from three namesakes, was the son of the João Pinto who once lived in Tendais (Beira Alta, diocese of Lamego). He sailed for India in 1511 (*Memoria das pessoas* 10; *Emmentia* 270), where in Goa, in November, 1512, Affonso de Albuquerque had him paid thirty *reis* as a corporal (*cabô d'esquadra*) (CA V 243). We encounter him in Ternate in 1531 with Baltasar Velloso and other conspirators who knew the language of the country and saw that their trade in cloves was being impeded by Captain Gonçalo Pereira (Castanheda 8, 38; Correa III 426).

⁹⁹ Q 4075 (DI II 419-423), contained in a letter of Melchior de Mello, S.J., of November 27, 1552 (*ibid.* 414-424).

¹⁰⁰ Supa in southwest Celebes (cf. Vol. II, p. 523). The king had received the name of Dom Luis in baptism (*ibid.* 519).

there with his wife and his children and many of his people. He is the king who sent the king (*El-Rei*), our lord, a golden armband, which was brought by Amtonio de Paiva;¹⁰¹ and I remained with this king for a year and a half, and he always afforded me very good company; and he openly professed himself to be a Christian. He is greatly surprised that no priests or Portuguese have come to him; and he asked me why the lord governor did not send any to him as Amtonio de Paiva had promised him. And Father Vicemte Viegas and I had no other answer to give him except that it seemed to me that his requests had been sent to Portugal and that the governor was waiting for an answer; but that as soon as this came, priests and Portuguese would be sent to him at once. This land is very good and is well provided with all kinds of foods.

After this I went to another king, a very great lord, who is called *emperador*, and he is the father-in-law of this king. He lives five or six leagues within the interior of the land in a city called Sedemre.¹⁰² He is the lord of the most people in these regions. It is said that he rules over three hundred thousand people; and his land is the best that I have seen in this world, for it is completely flat and has much rice, meat, fish, and fruit. His city is located on the shores of a lake on which there are many large and small *praus*. It has many types of fish in great abundance. Around about this lake there are many flourishing cities. This lake is twenty leagues long and four or five leagues wide. It has many kinds of fish in great abundance. A river flows from this lake towards the interior of the land and, after flowing for a month, empties in the east into the sea of Bamda¹⁰³ in a city by the name of Maluvo,¹⁰⁴ where there is a very great lord, a gentile, who greatly desires our friendship. From this city called Sedemre to that other called Malluvo they sail in *praus* in twenty days, and a large *fusta* can sail up this river to this city of Sedemre. Here I remained for eight months, and the king always provided me with very good company; and every day he asked me if a priest would return there in order to preserve him in the desire which he had, and I kept giving excuses as best I could.

After this I went to Macasar de Baixo¹⁰⁵ until I came to a city called Siam,¹⁰⁶ which belonged to a Christian king, a great friend of ours; and it has a countless number of Christians. This king died,¹⁰⁷ and his pagan brother inherited the reign. I asked him if he wished to become a Christian, and he told me that he did, and that he would do what his brother had done. He is a great friend of ours, and his kingdom is well provided with many foodstuffs, since he told me that if priests came there with some Portuguesees and settled in his land, he would become a Christian with all his people, which would be about forty thousand individuals, and that he would give all the food necessary for this fortress of Malaqua in great abundance.

At the side of this king is another king, his uncle, a Christian who was converted by Father Vicemte Viegas. He is a good Christian; but because of their poor instruction in the things of God, they seem to be cool. He is a great friend of ours and has a great amount of food. He continually hopes for the coming of priests, and that he will be instructed by them more perfectly in all the teachings of our holy Catholic faith; and he has no greater desire than to see the priests and some Portuguesees.

I am further telling Your Lordship that to this island of Macasar,¹⁰⁸ where the sandalwood is, came a Francisco Nunez,¹⁰⁹ the captain of a ship of Gratia de Saa.¹¹⁰

¹⁰¹ On the report, see *ibid.* 512-524. It has been published with a detailed introduction and commentary by Hubert Jacobs, S.J., in *Studia* 17 (1966) 251-305.

¹⁰² Sidenreng on Lake Tempe, east of Supa.

¹⁰³ The Tjenrana River.

¹⁰⁴ The capital of the kingdom of Luwu in southeast Celebes, today called Palima.

¹⁰⁵ Southwest Celebes.

¹⁰⁶ The present Pangkadjene, formerly Siang, not to be confused with the Siau Islands north of Celebes or with Siam in Farther India. Cf. Jacobs 287.

¹⁰⁷ Dom João.

¹⁰⁸ By this Pinto means the whole of Celebes.

¹⁰⁹ Francisco Nunes, not to be confused with his namesake, who was knighted at

This Francisco Nunez made a king Christian with some of his people. This Francisco Nunez was lame; he went around on two crutches. He was suddenly cured and made a cross and hung his crutches on it. The people were greatly astonished by this unwonted event, and they all wished to become Christians; but since Francisco Nunez sailed back for Maluquo, it was all left open. But they long to become Christians, and they are looking for nothing but a priest, since in the meantime a pagan son of his came to me from Macasar and asked me why the Portuguese did not return there, for his father was a Christian and he also wished to be one; and he asked me if priests and some Portuguese would come there. And I told him that they would be provided this year, but up to the present no priest nor even Portuguese have gone there. If Your Lordship does not take care of this Christian race, it can happen that they will be offended; and Your Lordship should on this account take care of them, for with these Christians many others would become Christians; and it would be the way for the whole island to become Christian, for the land is very good and has much gold and sandalwood and aguilawood and lacquer and many slaves and much food, both rice and meat. The land is very close to Malluquo since in seven or eight days one can go from there to Maluquo with all the food and help it may need; and it is also close to Amboino, since one can go in three or four days from Macasar to Amboino in large and small *praus*.

This island of Macasar seems to me to be about three hundred leagues in circuit, and all around the island there are many people. They are very rich lands, all inhabited by pagans; and it therefore seems to me that the king, our lord, should take care that he does not let them be taken over by the Mouros, that is, the Jaos [Javanese], since I met the king of Jaoa¹¹¹ when I sailed from Macasar to this city. Because of the weather, we arrived in Jaoa, where the king of Java was. He had me summoned and asked me about many things, including Maquasar; and he said that he wished to send ten thousand men there. I told him that he should not send them because the land of Maquasar belonged to the king of Portugal, and if he sent them there, he would arouse the displeasure of the lord governor, since Maquasar had many Christians, and this year many Portuguese would go there to convert it to Christianity. And it seems to me that this king of Java campaigns with great success against the pagans,¹¹² who do not wish to accept his sect of Mafamede; and when they join his sect, he gives them many presents and treats them very well; and he takes many people with him and works for nothing else than to make these pagans Mouros, since this king of Java says that when he has made these races of pagans Mouros, he will be a second Turquo¹¹³ and Malauqua will be a small thing for him. From what I saw when I was with him, it is his intention and resolve to cut off the food supplies so that they do not come to this city, which is the worst kind of war that can be conducted against this city of Malauqua. I therefore tell Your Lordship that it will be a great service to God and to His Highness to provide them with priests and some men so that they can take possession of the land, for in this city of Malauqua there are many *casados* and many *solteiros*; and they would consider it to be a great enterprise to go there with two or three priests to lay the foundations of Christianity, since it would all redound to the service of God and of His Highness.

There is no more for the present, except my wish that God our Lord may increase the days of Your Lordship. Amen.

From this city of Malauqua, the seventh of December, 1548.

Servant of God,

Manoel Pimto.

Diu in 1546, had been appointed in 1537 captain of the ship which Antonio Galvão had loaded in Cochin for his voyage to Ternate (Castanheda 8, 124 155 158; Correa III 711 800).

¹¹⁰ On February 7, 1547, Garcia de Sá received permission to send a ship to Maluco for cloves (Q 2804).

¹¹¹ Meant is Pangeran Trangannan, sultan of Demak (1521-1550).

¹¹² Against the pagan kings in Java.

¹¹³ Turkish sultan.

Master Francis, however, wished to capture a larger kingdom than Macassar for Christ—the island of Japan.

When he traveled alone, Xavier usually took nothing with him except his surplice, his small, traveler's breviary, and the book he used for spiritual reading, Marcus Marulus' collection of *exempla*.¹¹⁴ But now he had need of more. He had already received from the bishop and governor letters of recommendation, beautifully written and illuminated on parchment, for the king of Japan.¹¹⁵ He was also taking with him a series of books and valuable gifts.¹¹⁶ Among these were an unusually ornate, illuminated bible, and a new, beautifully embellished *Glossa ordinaria*,¹¹⁷ an altarpiece of our Lady with her divine Child,¹¹⁸ a precious set of brocaded vestments, and all that he would need for the celebration of Mass.¹¹⁹ Torres and Fernández; two servants, the Chinese Manuel and the Malabar Amador;¹²⁰ and the three Japanese were accompanying him. He had paid his departing visits to the bishop and governor,¹²¹ to the Franciscans and Dominicans, to Cosme Anes, and to the rest of his friends. Would he ever see Garcia de Sá again? In Goa Xavier had met his former penitent and ex-captain of Chaul, Antonio de Sousa;¹²² and he had told him: "Garcia de Sá will not rule for long," though the governor was at the time in good health.¹²³

Two ships were in the harbor ready to depart for Malacca. One of these was the royal clove ship under the command of Dom Jorge de Eça.¹²⁴ The younger brother of Dom Pedro de Eça,¹²⁵ and son of Dom Francisco de Eça and Dona Maria de Ataíde, he had obtained the right to a voyage to Maluco on January 9, 1548.¹²⁶ Sailing back with him on this ship to Ternate was Jurdão de Freitas, who was intent on serving out his missing year as captain of the fortress, regaining his possessions, and then departing with his wife and children. Since

¹¹⁴ Gago wrote that Xavier took with him to Japan everything that was needed for saying Mass "y libros, si fueren necesarios, aunque el Padre Maestro Francisco no lee ny estudia sino en su libro" (DI I 554), by which he probably meant Xavier's usual spiritual reading, the book of Marcus Marulus (cf. Vol. I, p. 556; Vol. II, pp. 225–280).

¹¹⁵ EX II 262; Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 56. An illuminated letter of recommendation of this type is preserved in the temple of Myōhōin in Kyōto. It is that of the viceroy D. Duarte de Meneses of April, 1588, in which he recommends the visitor Valignano to Kwampakudono Toyotomo Hideyoshi, edited with a picture in Nagayama Tokihide, *Kirishitan shiryō shū* (Nagasaki, 1927²), pl. 11 (cf. GS II 738; IV 875), and in *Revista de Historia* 9 (1920) 20–29.

¹¹⁶ Frois 4.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* 14.

¹¹⁸ EX II 200.

¹¹⁹ Frois 14; EX II 148; DI I 554.

¹²⁰ EX II 131; Frois 4.

¹²¹ Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 91.

¹²² MX II 373.

¹²³ *Ibid.* 182.

¹²⁴ Rebello writes "de Essa" (Sá III 447); Couto (6, 7, 6, p. 108) and the *Registo* "Deça." D. Jorge de Eça, not to be confused with four namesakes, sailed for India in 1538 with his brother Francisco, both with a monthly salary of 4,400 *reis* (**Memoria das pessoas* 67; *Emmentia* 371). In 1552 he sailed for a second time to the Moluccas (Couto 6, 10, 8), and in 1559 a third time with the auxiliary troops for the captain of Ternate, D. Duarte de Eça, who was, however, through a conspiracy of the Portuguese, deposed, imprisoned, and sent back to India (7, 5, 3). In October, 1561, D. Jorge wrote to the queen from Malacca that the viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança had unjustly imprisoned him in Cochín. He had fled to Malacca and was asking her help (TdT: CC 1-105-42).

¹²⁵ Q 4587 (where *de Eça* instead of *de Sá* is to be read).

¹²⁶ Q 3702 (*Registo* 417).

the governor was afraid that he might start quarreling with Bernaldim de Sousa, he was sending in addition to the clove ship a caravel under the command of his nephew Christovão de Sá, who was to sail on ahead, take possession of the fortress, and hand it over to Freitas after Bernaldim de Sousa had boarded ship. He also gave his nephew a sealed letter which was to be opened before he handed the fortress over to Freitas, and which contained the following instructions: If the sultan, Hairun, was content with Freitas' appointment as captain, the fortress should be handed over to him; but if he was not, he should himself assume the position of captain, and Freitas should return to India.¹²⁷ Castro, Morais, and Francisco Gonçalves, who had been destined for the Moluccas, were also to sail on the clove ship.¹²⁸ Xavier and his companions had, however, been given passage on the caravel. About this same time, Duarte de Gama was also sailing for Malacca.¹²⁹

Francis was still able to celebrate Palm Sunday, which fell on April 14, within the circle of his confreres in St. Paul's College; but with the beginning of Holy Week¹³⁰ the hour had struck for his departure and that of his companions. They all wished to accompany him to Japan. He consoled them by telling them that if God would open up the way, he would write for all of them since he bore them all within his heart. But if they were not to meet again on earth, their far-flung Society would be again united in the heavenly Jerusalem.¹³¹ Many tears were shed at his departure¹³² on April 15.¹³³ The clove ship was to follow three days later.¹³⁴

Gago, the minister of the house, remained sadly behind with his confreres. He would have much preferred to sail with Master Francis for Japan,¹³⁵ and in October, he wrote to his confreres in Coimbra: "We had the pleasure of having Padre Maestro Francisco only a short time in this college, for he is not one to take a rest even though he was very anxious to console us."¹³⁶

Xavier left an instruction for Misser Paulo giving a precise definition to his sphere of authority and that of Antonio Gomes. It read as follows:

MEMORIAL OF WHAT YOU HAVE TO DO DURING MY ABSENCE¹³⁷

In the first place I recommend to you above everything else that, for the love of God our Lord, and for the love which you have for Father Ignatio and for all of the Society of Jesus, you live with great humility and prudence and circumspection in love

¹²⁷ Rebello adds the following: "It is said of Freitas that he knew of this before he sailed from India; but he still sailed for the sake of his wife; for he was certain that Hairun would not agree" (446-447).

¹²⁸ DI I 495.

¹²⁹ Probably in one of the two ships. We find him with Xavier in Malacca in June, 1549 (MX II 43).

¹³⁰ "In Holy Week," according to Gago (DI I 553).

¹³¹ *Ibid.* Cf. EX II 129-130.

¹³² Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 91.

¹³³ April 15 was the usual day of departure for the Molucca ships, and Xavier was already in Cochin before Easter, that is, before April 21 (*ibid.* 91). Tursellinus errs in having him sail on the ship of Diogo de Noronha (3, 17), Lucena also in having him sail in a *fusta* to Cochin (6, 12).

¹³⁴ DI I 495. Morais erroneously writes that he sailed with his two companions from Goa on March 18, probably an error for April 18, for his ship arrived in Cochin on the morning of Easter Monday, April 22, where he met Xavier, who was already there.

¹³⁵ EX II 129-130.

¹³⁶ DI I 553.

¹³⁷ Q 4194 (EX II 101-108).

and charity with Antonio Gomez and all the priests who come from Portugal and with all those who are dispersed in all the regions of Yndia. On the basis of what I have learned about them, I have such confidence in all of the Society of Jesus that they do not need a superior; but so that they may have greater merit and may live according to a rule, it is good that someone should be superior, to whom they show obedience. I therefore think it good, since I have great confidence in your humility, prudence, and circumspection, that you be the superior of all of them, to whom all those outside shall be obedient until the contrary is made known to you.

Antonio Gomes shall have the care of all the students of the land and of the Portuguese,¹³⁸ and of the collection of the revenues of the house and of their use, and of the expenses of the house; and you shall not interfere in these. Also, with respect to the dismissal of Portuguese and native students, I leave this to him to do what will seem better to him. You should therefore not interfere in any of these matters nor order him anything under obedience, but only in the way of love and advice; and similarly with respect to the mortifications which he will impose upon the Portuguese and natives, and with respect to the regulation on their way of living within the college, where he can assign offices and positions as it seems good to him without your interfering with him in anything. And I again repeat my request, and under the obedience which you have vowed to Father Ignatio, to which I bind you as strictly as I can, that there should be no dissensions or discords between you and Antonio Gomez, but great love and charity, without giving occasion for murmurs to those within or without.

When those confreres who are going to Cape Comory¹³⁹ write about things for the Christians which need the favor of the lord governor or of the bishop—and so also Father Nicolao,¹⁴⁰ who is in Coulam, and Father Cipriano, who is in San Tomé, and Father Belchior Gonçalves, who is in Baçaim, and Father Francisco Perez, who is in Malaca, and Father João da Beira and the other priests who are in Maluco, and all the other companions—all the things which the confreres who are outside write to this house—things of which they have need, both temporal and spiritual, the temporal being ordered to what is spiritual—all these things which the confreres of the Society who are outside request, take great care to fulfill them; and hand over their execution to Antonio Gomez so that he can fulfill them with great diligence. And when you write to the confreres who are burdened outside with many labors, write to them things of much love and charity; and avoid writing about things that would displease them or things which could cause them to be tempted.¹⁴¹ Provide them with the necessary things which they request, since they endure such great labors in the service of God, especially those who are in Malluco and on Cape Comory, for they are those who truly bear the cross. Help them therefore in spiritual things, and in temporal things which are ordered to what is spiritual. And I thus highly recommend to you, and order you in the name of God and of Father Ignatio, that you take great care to assist those who are outside.

I earnestly ask you, brother, to ever increase in virtue and to give a good example, as you have always done. Write to me at great length news about yourself and the whole house; and about the love and charity which flourishes between you and Antonio Gomez; and about Nicolao and Antonio;¹⁴² and about all who are on Cape Comory; about Cipriano, who is in San Tomé; and about the confreres who may come this year from the kingdom, whether they are preachers or priests or laymen.¹⁴³ Write to me in particular about all of these: how many preachers, how many priests, and how many laymen. And in the ship which will sail to Mallaca in September, the one that is going to Banda, write me a full report about all the news. Send the letters to Father

¹³⁸ That is, the Portuguese novices received by Gomes.

¹³⁹ Indic: *Kumari* (in the local dialect with a short *a*).

¹⁴⁰ Lancilotto.

¹⁴¹ "E guardai-vos de screver cousas de desamor ou cousas de que se possam tentar" (EX II 106).

¹⁴² Criminali.

¹⁴³ Nonpriests.

Francisco Perez, since he will send them to me from Mallaca to Yapam. And every time that ships sail from Goa to Mallaca write me much news, and about all the brothers of the Society and of this college. Ships sail twice a year from Goa to Mallaca: one time in April and another time in September; and these are ships of the king. The one which leaves in April sails to Malluco and calls at Mallaca; and the one which leaves in September sails for Banda and calls at Mallaca. Every year write to me, to Mallaca, by both *vias*; and the letters should be sent to Francisco Perez, and he will send them to me in Yapam.

I earnestly ask you to read this memorial of mine once each week so that you may always be mindful of me and commend me to God, both you and all your devout sons and daughters; and have all in the house recommend me to God.

I have told Antonio Gomez¹⁴⁴ that if preachers come he should send some of them away, for example, to Cochim, since preachers are so urgently needed there; and the same is true of the regions of Cambaya and of Dio. And if some preachers should come this year, you should be careful to remember that you both send out suitable persons for this.

Give Domingos¹⁴⁵ or another Portuguese of the house the task of taking care to write to me news about the whole house and about the confreres who are dispersed through the whole of Yndia, and of Padre Mestre Gaspar, who is in Ormuz, and of all the fruit that is produced in these regions; and you should sign the letter; and if you should wish to write me something in secret, you should write it with your own hand.

Since you do not have any experience of what is happening outside the city, for example, on Cape Comory, in San Tomé, Coulam, Malluco, Mallaca, and Urmuz,¹⁴⁶ you should not write to any of those who are there that they should come, since you do not know what fruit they are producing there and how greatly they would be missed if they should come. I am therefore writing to those who are in charge on Cape Comorym such as Father Antonio that he let no one leave there, not even if he should be called, unless it seems to the said Father Antonio that he is not necessary there and will not be missed. I am writing, moreover, to him and to all the others that they should not send away any of the people whom they have there if they believe that they are necessary for the greater service of God and the increase of our holy faith. You should thus not summon anyone through obedience to come to this college; but if they should send some of these to this college so that they may be helped and assisted in the spirit, then help them so that they do not leave if you see that they accept some correction and amendment.

Xavier then added to this memorial, which he had dictated, the following in his own hand:

I earnestly ask you, Micer Paulo, brother, to strive to observe this memorial.

Wholly yours,

Francisco.

¹⁴⁴ Xavier's instruction for A. Gomes is lost.

¹⁴⁵ Domingos de Carvalho.

¹⁴⁶ Persian: Hurmuz.

APPENDIX I

STEMMA OF LANCILOTTO'S REPORT ON JAPAN

ACCOUNT I (Q 4101)

First Draft (nn. 1-16)

Summer, 1548, Goa

It. Lancilotto

(lost)

Summer, 1548, Goa ¹

Spanish, Xavier

January, 1549, to Ignatius

(lost)

(7) Rome, 1549
Copy in BN, Rome
F. Ges. 1482, n. 32

Summer, 1548, Goa ²
Copy, Torres (adds
beginning and end)
Nov. 25, 1548, to
Jesuits in Europe
(lost)

Summer, 1548, Goa
Portuguese by
Xavier (and C. Anes?)
for Garcia de Sá
(lost)

Lisbon, 1549
Portuguese translation
for Rome (lost)

(8) Summer, 1548, Goa
Copy for college
Codex now in Elvas
ed. Pires 758
ed. Calado 88

(9) "1549" copy, Rome ³
ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 18

ACCOUNT I (Q 4101)

Second Draft (nn. 1-27)

End of 1548, Cochin ⁴

It. Lancilotto

(lost) for Ignatius in Rome

(1) Copy, Rome, 1549 ⁵
"1548"
ARSI: *JapSin.* 4, 4
ed. *Nuovi Avisi*, 1562 ⁶
Lat. *Ep. Indicae*, 1566 ⁷
Ep. Japan., 1570
German, Götz, 1586 ⁸
Eglauer, 1795 ⁹
Haas, 1902, I ¹⁰

(2) Copy, Rome, 1549 ¹¹
for Cardinal Cervini
Vat.: *Ottobon. lat.* 797

(3) Ital. abstract, Rome, 1549 ¹²
BN, Rome: *F. Ges.* 1384, n. 6

ACCOUNT I (Q 4102)

Third Draft (nn. 1-28) ¹⁸
 Substantially reordered
 Dec. 26, 1548: 2nd *via*
 It. Lancilotto, original
 with letter for Ignatius
 BN, Rome: *F. Ges.* 1384, n. 2

ACCOUNT II (Q 4103)

for Garcia de Sá
 Summer, 1548, Goa
 It. Lancilotto
 (lost)

Summer, 1548, Goa
 Portuguese translation,
 Xavier (and C. Anes?)
 for Garcia de Sá
 (lost)

Summer, 1548, Goa
 Portuguese copy for college
 Codex now in Elvas
 ed. Pires 764
 ed. Calado 121

(10) 1549? Rome ¹³
 Lat. translation
 "Jan. 1, 1549"
 BN, Rome: *F. Ges.* 1384,
 n. 4

Jan. 1, 1549, Cochin ¹⁴
 Spanish translation
 Xavier for Rodrigues
 (lost)

(4) *Cod. Ulyssip.*, 1553 ¹⁵
 "Jan. 1, 1549"

(5) *Cod. Eborens.*, 1566

(6) *Cod. Conimbr.*, 1567
 English ed., Coleridge, 1872
 German ed., de Vos, 1872 ¹⁷

It. translation:
 ed. Ramusio I, 1554 ¹⁶
idem, 1588
idem, 1606
idem, 1613

¹ On January 12, 1549, Xavier wrote to Ignatius: "por la información que nos dió Paulo de aquella tierra de Japón vereis la disposición que hai en aquellas partes para servir a Dios nuestro Señor: la información os mando con estas cartas" (EX II 12); on January 14: "Per l'information che ci ha dato Paulo di Giapan vederete la dispositione che vi è in quelle bande, la qual information vi mando con queste littere" (*ibid.* 25-26); and in his third letter: "Trinas ad te dedi litteras eodem fere exemplo . . . Descriptionem item Iaponiae et morum illius gentis a Paulo acceptam tibi mitto" (*ibid.* 29-31).

² On the date of Torres' letter (November 25, 1548), see Q 4154, and pp. 500-501. But this must be corrected since Lancilotto had already left Goa for Cochin on October 23, 1548. Torres wrote: "Dando-me conta o P. Mestre Francisco de huma terra, por nome Japam, que Vossas Reverencias verão lá per apontamentos da jemte e calidade della" (DI I 479).

³ Our copy bears the inscription "1549" and the notice: "Já está no livro trasladada [then by another hand:] mas tiene el principio diferente e parece melhor este que não o do libro" (21v). At the end Torres wrote of Paul: "Este Abril que vem do ano de 1549 a de partir com o P. Mestre Francisco e outros da Companhia para a ilha de Japão." The copy is in *JapSin.* 4, 18-21v. Torres' accompanying letter is in DI I 468-481 with a wrong date (cf. VIII 777-778).

⁴ Lancilotto's accompanying letter to Ignatius of December 26, 1548 (Q 4100, ed. in DI I 434-444). Lancilotto wrote: "La gente de Cina e de Giapan tengono una mesma lege, la quale mando a V.R. cosi rudimente scritta secondo io possitti tirare da questo giapan [Paulo], el quale non sapeva ancora parlare bene" (*ibid.* 443).

⁵ The copy in *JapSin.* 4, 4-8v bears the archival note "1548" (8v) and is written by an Italian hand in Roman format with some mistakes in copying. The text has, for example, 30 instead of 300, skips the words between *Giapan-Giapan* and *sopra-sopra*, and has the missing words added to the margin. At the end of his account Lancilotto wrote: "Estando io a scriver' questa litera, venne qui un vescovo Armenio, qual è stato più de 40 anni in queste bande [Mar Jacob Abunal], e mi disse, che li Armeni furono a predicar nella China a li principi de la primitiva chiesa." He stated the same in his covering letter of December 26, 1548, and the passage indicates that the lost original of our copy was written in Cochin and sent along with the letter.

⁶ *Nuovi Avisi dell'Indie di Portogallo*. Terza parte (Venetia, 1562) 18-27v. Q 4101, 1 follows the text faithfully.

⁷ *Epistolae Indicae de stupendis et praeclaris rebus* (Lovanii, 1566) 175-198 translates the text of the *Nuovi Avisi*, but it has Paul come to Goa on May 1 since the translator erroneously renders *l'Aprile passato* with *Kalendis Maii*.

⁸ Götz, *Kurtze Verzeichnuss* (Ingolstadt, 1586) 47-80, translated the text of the *Nuovi Avisi* with the help of *Ep. Indicae*, 1566.

⁹ [Eglauer] *Missionsgeschichte: Briefe aus Japan I* (Augsburg, 1795) 1-21, follows Götz.

¹⁰ Haas, *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan I* (Tokyo, 1902) 280-300, with a valuable commentary. He follows Coleridge and Eglauer.

¹¹ The text is in Bibl. Vaticana: *Ottoboni lat.* 797, 34-38v. The volume contains the copies of the India letters which the Jesuits were accustomed to give to their great benefactor Cardinal Marcello Cervini.

¹² An abstract from Q 4101, 1 and 4102. Sections 24 22 23 25-27 are given in their entirety, 9 8 and 15 only in part. The author, for example, took from Q 4102 the data on the Five Commandments, the representations of Dainichi with three heads under the name *Cosci* and the birth of *Shaka*, where he adds: "Io me penso che questo nome Siacha facilmente possa derivarsi da *Suach* che sol dire secondo che intendo in hebraico Salvatore." The watermark (an eagle on a mountain within a shield) is found in documents of the years 1548-1550, for example, in ARSI: *JapSin* 4, 3 5 7.

¹³ The translation is a combination of Q 4101, 1 and 4, and it gives the date at the end: "Ex Cochin Calendis Januarii 1549." The text was written in Rome in Roman format.

¹⁴ On January 20, 1549, Xavier wrote a letter to Rodrigues on two *vias*. In the first he stated: "Por la mucha información que tengo de una isla de Japón . . . como vereys por un quaderno que allá hos embio, que fué sacado por la información que nos dió Paulo de Santa Fé . . . determino este Abril que viene del anyo de 1549 de ir a Japón" (DI I 37-38). He repeats the same almost verbatim in his second letter (*ibid.* 45). The report which he sent along with both letters bears the date "January 1, 1549," that of the codices of Lisbon, Evora, and Coimbra, where it was introduced for reading at table (Q 4122).

¹⁵ We conclude that the original of our texts was written by Xavier from the passage: "Plaziendo a Dios *el padre Maestro Francisco Xavier* [we suspect that the underlined words were added to the copies, especially since the word *Xavier* is added here] con Paulo autor desta información y dos hombres de Japón hechos christianos con otros 3 padres y hermanos de nuestra Compañía navegaremos este Abril que viene a Japón. ... De Chochym al principio d'Enero de 1549." Torres and Fernández were at the time in Goa. Xavier is consequently the only one who could have written the report in Cochin. Instead of *caril* the copyist erroneously wrote *carne*.

¹⁶ That there was thought in Venice in 1553 of publishing the account from Japan is indicated by the letter which Polanco wrote at the request of the general of the order on August 26, 1553, to Father Cesare Helmio in Venice, where he states: "Circa le lettere dell'India, quella historia de Xaca si puo lassar' con la parte di quella che parerà al Rmo. nuncio [Andrea Lippomani], benchè quella e altri cose di qua ci davano suspicione che fossino stati un tempo christiani, et che puoi fossi persa la fede, restando alcuni segni di quella, et historie mescholate con buxie. Et di quella lettera del Giapan, quale non è delli nostri, senza scropolo si possono levar molte cose" (MI *Epp.* V 415). The matter is not brought up again in later letters, and Ramusio published in the second edition of the first volume of his *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, which appeared in Venice in 1554, an Italian translation of the text of the *Codex Ulyssiponensis*, a copy of which he obviously had (418-425v). On the data of the *Navigazioni*, see George B. Parks, "The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's *Navigazioni*," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 59 (1955) 279-313.

¹⁷ Eduard de Vos, S.J., *Leben und Briefe des heiligen Franciscus Xaverius I* (Regensburg, 1877) 452-462, follows Coleridge.

¹⁸ That our text, which was written entirely by Lancilotto, was written in Cochin and not in Goa is shown by the passage in which the author states that Paul, the Japanese, "stette con noi" in the College of St. Paul in Goa. That he wrote it at the time of his letter of December 26, 1548, is indicated by the passage where he states that while he was writing the report, the "Armenian bishop" had come to him: "Stando io scrivendo queste lettere venne qui un vescovo hirmenio, quale stette in queste parte più di quarenta anni. Questo me disse, che li Hermenii forano a predicare nella Cina nel principio della chiesa primitiva." The passage is also found almost verbatim in Lancilotto's account of December 26, 1548, and in his covering letter (see note 5); and in our text he refers to the covering letter for Paul ("como gia dissi nel'altra carta"). The name of the goddess Kwannon (suppressed in Q 4101, 1 4 and 10, and in the *Nuovi Avisi*) is here, as in Q 4101, 2 correctly written as *Quannon*.

HISTORY OF LANCILOTTO'S ACCOUNT OF JAPAN

Garcia de Sá, who succeeded D. João de Castro as governor of India in June, 1548, asked for reports on the lands in the Far East which had relations with Portuguese Asia. Lancilotto consequently wrote in Italian a report on religious attitudes in Japan from the data which he received from the Japanese Anjirō. This was translated by Xavier into Spanish and (probably with the help of Cosme Anes) into Portuguese for the governor (Q 4101). On November 25, 1548, Cosme de Torres sent a copy of the Spanish text, to which he had added an introduction and a conclusion, to Portugal. Lancilotto, who had been in Cochin since the end of October, sent from there on December 26, 1548, his Italian text through two *vias* to Ignatius—on one of these a second, markedly enlarged draft, and on the other a third, substantially reordered draft (Q 4102). On January 1, 1549, Xavier sent to Rodrigues from Cochin a Spanish translation of the second draft and on January 12 and 14 another of the first or second through three *vias* to Ignatius.—At the request of the governor Lancilotto wrote a second account in Italian on the secular attitudes of Japan. This was translated by Xavier into Portuguese (probably with the help of Cosme Anes) for Garcia de Sá (Q 4103); but it was not sent to Europe. We have given above, on pages 481-491, an English translation of the text of the account with the history of its origins. In the genealogical tree we have given the numbers of the extant texts from Q 4101, 1-10, in parentheses.

APPENDIX II

CONTRADICTORY REPORTS ON FRANCISCO DE LIMA AND DIOGO SOARES DE MELLO

On Martim Affonso de Sousa's stay in Mozambique and his further voyage with Xavier to Goa in 1542, we have two accounts which contradict each other in almost all their details. These were written by Correa, who was a contemporary of Sousa, and by Couto, who was of the next generation. The two accounts are juxtaposed for the sake of comparison. The definitely false data are printed in italics, and the two texts are explained with the help of contemporary documents in the footnotes. Correa deals with M. A. de Sousa's stay in Mozambique and his further voyage to Goa in 1542 in *Lendas* IV 214-215 220-226 275 and 428; Correa in *Decada* 5, lib. 8, cc. 1-2 and 9; and lib. 9, c. 1 (pp. 173-183 232-235 and 300 in the edition of 1780). For our own interpretation of the reports, see *Francis Xavier* II, pp. 51-132 198 200.

1. M. A. de Sousa did not come to Mozambique until *October*,¹ for Nuno Pereira arrived in Goa⁴ from Melinde in a merchantman⁵ on November 22. When he sailed from there⁶ at the end of September, there had been no news in Mozambique of the arrival of a ship from Portugal (214-215).⁷

2. D. F. de Lima, a friend of D. E. de Gama, who shows him many favors,⁸ sails from Goa on November 26 (215 223).⁹

1. Sousa arrived in the beginning of *September* and was received by *Captain Sepúlveda*² and *Aleixo de Sousa* (173).³

2. Lima sails from Goa *at the beginning of October*¹⁰ *with orders to reach Lisbon if at all possible before the de-*

¹ Sousa came to Mozambique at the end of August (Teixeira 838; Seb. Gonçalves 1, 11; EX 120); after August 15 (Q 859).

² Sepúlveda was away in Melinde and did not return until the end of January, as he himself wrote (Q 984). He had sailed from Mozambique at the middle of August.

³ Aleixo de Sousa sailed on August 15 from Mozambique (probably with Sepúlveda) (Q 859).

⁴ On November 24, 1541, Aleixo de Sousa, who sailed with Nuno Pereira, wrote from Goa that he had just come to Goa (Sá I 376).

⁵ In 1537 Nuno Pereira received a captaincy for three sailings of the merchant ship from Sofala (*Emmentia* 339). He was a citizen of Goa well known to Correa, who often mentions him in his *Lendas*.

⁶ "From there" is to be referred to Melinde.

⁷ At the time of his sailing from Mozambique on August 15, no news of the ships from Portugal had as yet been received, as Ml. de Sousa wrote from Goa on November 20 (Q 859).

⁸ Lima brought a letter of D. E. da Gama in which the latter warmly recommended him to the king and added: "aimda que me ajam por sospeito por dizerem que sam seu amigo" (Q 841).

⁹ On October 26, D. João de Castro wrote from Goa that he was sending this letter on the dispatch boat (Q 844); on December 26 Jorge Pegado stated that Lima had sailed on the dispatch boat (Q 875). A day before this Ml. de Sousa wrote that he had sent another letter with the ship in which Lima was sailing (Q 874), meaning that of November 20 (Q 859). Sixteen letters that Lima took with him from Goa are still extant. The first bears the date of October 16, the last that of November 26 (Q 838 839 841 842 847 850 852-856 858-861). After this there are no more letters until December 8 since there were no other sailings.

¹⁰ Couto was uncertain. In his second draft he consequently corrects *October* to *November* (De Jong 481).

3. In Mozambique Lima often speaks against D. E. da Gama. M. A. de Sousa must sail at once for India.¹³ Sousa has documents drawn up to this effect and sends them with Lima to the king (223).

4. L. Mendes de Vasconcellos, a friend of D. E. da Gama,¹⁸ arrives in Mozambique *four months after Lima's departure*¹⁹ with instructions that if he encounters the governor and is detained by him, he should inform D. E. da Gama of this (220 223-224).

parture of the India fleet (178).¹¹ He reaches Mozambique at the beginning of December (181).¹²

3. Lima encounters Sousa *deathly sick with a high fever and delirium and his head and beard shaved. He therefore does not speak with him.*¹⁴ He takes on water¹⁵ and arrives in Lisbon in April after the departure of the fleet [1542] (181). He arrives in Lisbon *shortly before the departure of Silveira [1543].*¹⁶ Lima tells the king that Sousa has died in the meantime. Because of this the king gives Silveira letters of succession to the effect that if D. E. da Gama is still in India, he should be governor; and if not, Silveira should be (360).¹⁷

4. He arrives *immediately after Soares, who arrived in January and found Sousa again in good health (180 183).*²⁰

¹¹ In Xavier's time no India ships ever arrived this early in Portugal.

¹² The voyage from Goa to Mozambique under the most favorable conditions lasted at least twenty-one days, and usually a month (Linschoten I 23). Lima could therefore only have reached Mozambique at the end of December.

¹³ There was general discontent with D. E. da Gama in India, especially after his unfortunate Suez expedition, as letters of the time indicate. Lima was moreover an intimate friend of D. João de Castro (Q 2905; EX I 471), whose *Roteiro ate Soez* he took with him (Q 825). In his letter to the king of October 25, 1541, D. E. da Gama manifests a marked prejudice against Castro (Q 841). That Sousa received bad reports on Gama and was advised to leave early for India is shown by the fact that when Sepúlveda arrived in Mozambique at the end of January, he found him already determined to be in Goa by the end of April, and this for many reasons (Q 984).

¹⁴ There is not the least hint of this illness in either Xavier's letter of January 1, 1542, which Lima took with him (EX I 91-93), or in that of Sepúlveda (Q 984). Couto anticipates and exaggerates Sousa's illness, since he wishes to show that Lima could not have brought an accusation against D. E. da Gama to him. It was only later, at the time of his departure, that Sousa was "mal dispuesto" (EX I 121).

¹⁵ Couto means by this that he immediately continued his voyage, but he sailed at the earliest on January 1, the date of Xavier's letter. It was thus impossible for him to be in Lisbon already in April.

¹⁶ Couto thus contradicts himself. The first date of his arrival is too early, the second too late, for Xavier's letter had already reached Rome on July 2, 1542 (EX I 90). Lima arrived in Lisbon on May 16, 1542 (Figueiredo Falcão 160).

¹⁷ Silveira sailed for India on March 25, 1543. We could not find any trace in the archives of the alleged letters of succession. We regard them as a complete fiction.

¹⁸ Gama recommends him to the king in 1541 as a cousin and friend (Q 841).

¹⁹ This is impossible. On October 25, D. E. da Gama wrote that Vasconcellos was sailing to Mozambique to obtain the money chest (Q 841). D. Duarte d'Eça, who had sailed to India in 1538 with his brother Fernando (*Emmentia* 370), wrote that D. E. da Gama had sent his cousin Vasconcellos in January, 1542, from Cochín to Mozambique in order to obtain the chest (**Relação* 35v); and Castanhedo wrote that he had arrived there in February (9, 31). (Fernando d'Eça had received a captaincy of Cochín and

5. He is well received by Sousa (223).

5. He is badly received (183).

6. Through Vasconcellos' steward, Sousa receives a letter from Jer. de Figueiredo in India accusing D. E. da Gama²¹ of great thefts. He intends to distribute his booty among his friends as soon as his successor reaches the bar of Goa. Sousa must therefore take him by surprise if he wishes to obtain this large sum of money (223).²²

7. Vasconcellos and D. A. d'Ataide want to send a secret messenger to Goa to warn D. E. da Gama (225).²³

7. D. A. d'Ataide wants to send *Vasconcellos* to Goa in order to warn D. E. da Gama (232).²⁴

8. Sousa sails from Mozambique in Vasconcellos' ship with his servants, confidants (225), and French chaplain (227).²⁵

8. He sails on *March 18*²⁵ in Vasconcellos' galleon since it is a swifter ship. He is accompanied by *Aleixo de Sousa* (183 233),²⁶ Xavier, and the latter's companions (238).²⁷

9. Sousa orders the master and pilot to get his ship ["S. Tiago"] ready and to set sail directly for Goa as soon as the weather permits (225).²⁸

9. Sousa makes D. F. de Noronha captain of the "S. Tiago" and sails *with him and Soares' galiot* to Melinde (233).

held this office from 1539 to 1541, returning from there to Portugal at the beginning of 1542 [Correa IV 103 215]).

²⁰ When he sailed at the end of February, Sousa was "mal dispueto." He therefore took Xavier with him so that he might confess to him in case of need (EX I 121).

²¹ Figueiredo had served under Sousa in 1538 (Castanheda 8, 146 174). He was hostile to D. E. da Gama, who ascribed to him the chief blame for the mutinies on the voyage to Suez (Q 841). In 1543, obviously as a reward for services rendered, he obtained from Sousa the voyage for the discovery of the gold island with its prospects of gain (Q 1276; Correa IV 306), even though the king had given this voyage to Diogo Cabral (*Registo* 343; *Emmentia* 373; Q 1821). What a decadent *fidalgos* of this type was capable of doing was shown on this voyage (Q 1291 1295-1296 1822).

²² On the "robberies" of D. E. da Gama in Malacca, see the letter of his successor, Pero de Faria, of November 23, 1540 (Q 614). What Figueiredo states was Gama's intent on the arrival of his successor was precisely that which Sousa, according to the complaint of one of his enemies, did on a similar occasion (Q 1821 f. 13v).

²³ So also Eça (**Relação* 35v).

²⁴ Instead of "Vasconcellos, que era o que determinava de ir a Goa," Couto's second draft has "Vascomssellos, que tambem entrava naquelle jogo" (De Jong 521).

²⁵ At the end of February (EX I 121; Q 984); immediately after the arrest of Ataide and Vasconcellos (**Eça* 35v).

²⁶ In his second draft Couto omits Aleixo de Sousa (De Jong 521). He had been in Goa since 1541 (Q 860).

²⁷ Xavier's two companions remained in Mozambique when he sailed from there (EX I 121). They had not reached Goa by September 20 (*ibid.* 127). Sepúlveda wished to send them with the fleet of 1542; but when this was delayed, he sent them in another ship (Q 984). Xavier left Goa at the beginning of October and his companions arrived soon after this (Sousa, *Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 24).

²⁸ Xavier calls him the *Padre franceis* (EX II 219). He was Sousa's chaplain and sailed back with him to Portugal in 1546 (SR I 138).

²⁹ Sepúlveda writes the same.

10. The "S. Tiago" is immediately readied and sails away under Sousa; the other ships go with him (225).³⁰

11. Diogo Soares, charged with murder by D. E. da Gama,³¹ does not receive a letter of safe conduct from him.³² He goes as a pirate with two ships to the Melinde coast (154). He is in a harbor north of Melinde³³ with a "fusta" and "catur" when he learns that Sousa is in Melinde. He asks for, and receives, a letter of safe-conduct and sails with Sousa to Goa (226).³⁴

12. Sousa takes on provisions in Melinde (226).

13. Sousa sends Ayala⁴⁰ from Melin-

10. The other ships should sail *during the August monsoon* (233).³⁰

11. D. Soares, a great *cavalleiro*, no friend of D. E. da Gama, but a very great friend of Sousa, is *in Goa*,³⁵ where D. E. da Gama waits the whole of September³⁶ for a ship from Portugal and then sails to Cochin.³⁷ *After his departure, ships come from Ormuz with the news that letters have come there from Venice stating that Sousa has sailed from Lisbon as governor.*³⁸ *Learning this, Soares secretly readies a galiot and sails in December from Goa in order to seek him out. He comes to Mozambique in January and is well received by Sousa* (180 183).

12. Sousa remains *one day*³⁹ in Melinde, where the king visits him and sends him provisions (233).

13. Sousa sends a "catur" to Ormuz

³⁰ According to Sepúlveda the ships were ready on March 8, but they had to wait until March 20 for good weather (Q 984).

³¹ Correa states that Soares had been sent to India "por ser matador d'homens em Portugal" (IV 226). He describes the murder of Fernão Drago in Goa during the winter of 1540 in all its details and gives the names of those who were involved in it, including Soares (IV 153-154). Soares' later adventurous life as a mercenary captain in the service of the king of Burma also is in keeping with Correa's description of his character.

³² M. Coutinho wrote on November 26, 1541, that many refugees from justice were in revolt along the Coromandel coast and in other regions because D. E. da Gama was not giving them letters of safe-conduct. One of these, for example, was Gonçalo Vaz Coutinho in Pegu with some two hundred men (Q 861).

³³ Probably Bahia Ferosa, seven leagues north of Melinde.

³⁴ Sousa wrote that at the time of his arrival in India in 1542 he had encountered many *fustas* in revolt and that these were doing much harm. He immediately issued a proclamation in all the towns and fortresses of India that all exiles would be pardoned if they came to him within a fixed time, as most did with their ships and guns (*Autobiographia* 146).

³⁵ Correa must have known this better since he was living in Goa at the time.

³⁶ In his second draft Couto wrote that he had waited until September 20 (De Jong 480).

³⁷ D. E. da Gama wrote letters from Goa up to November 16 (Q 854-855). His first letter from Cochin is from December 23 (Q 873).

³⁸ There is not the slightest indication in any of the contemporary documents of any letter coming overland from Venice with respect to Sousa's arrival. We regard it as a piece of fiction which was used to save Soares. He has to furnish a reason for the latter's voyage from Goa to Mozambique.

³⁹ Xavier's letter suggests a longer stay: he mentions a visit of the king, a burial on the land, and his conversation with a Moor (EX I 122-123). Tursellinus thus has Xavier remain there "for several days" (I, 16). There is also the fact that Sousa was more than two months on his voyage from Mozambique to Goa instead of the usual one month (EX I 122), and this is probably not to be ascribed simply to bad weather. That the king visited Sousa, Couto gathered from Tursellinus' edition of Xavier's letters of 1596. His fifth decade was completed in November, 1597, but it was apparently not sent to Portugal until 1600 (Ferguson 6-7).

⁴⁰ Miguel d'Ayala sailed to India in 1541 with the office of a treasurer of the depots of Cochin (Q 731). We already encounter him in India in 1538 as a confidant of Sousa (Couto 5, 2, 5).

de⁴¹ to Ormuz to obtain money (273).

14. Soares comes to the bar of Goa on May 7. Sousa follows him that night and remains in Santos on Thursday ("quinta feira").⁴³ On Friday ("sexta feira")⁴⁴ he comes to Goa (226-229).

15. The four patrol boats sail on April 24 from Cape Guardafui to Socotra under Ml. de Vasconcellos. Here they encounter the "S. Tiago". They sail on ahead of it and with good weather reach Goa on May 13 (241), and May 8 (232).⁴⁷ The "S. Tiago" is stranded in front of the pagoda⁴⁹ between Bassein and Chaul (249). The fifth patrol boat cannot leave the Red Sea until August (241).

16. The four other ships came to Goa a velha in June (249).

17. The ships which sailed from Lisbon in 1542 arrive in Goa on October 20, 1542. The first of these is the "Graça" (264).⁵¹ It sails again to India in 1544 under

in order to obtain the revenues from the tolls (232-233).

14. Sousa lands in Socotra; he comes with Soares to the bar of Goa on May 6.⁴² Gama hands over the rule to him in Santos, and a few days later Sousa takes possessions of Goa (235-238).⁴⁵

15. The "S. Tiago" is separated from Sousa⁴⁶ after Socotra. At the beginning of May, in bad weather, it comes to India above Dabul and is stranded in the Rio das Cabras⁴⁸ near Bassein (234).

16. At the beginning of September⁵⁰ the four other ships come to the bar of Goa together with three of the following fleet (300).⁵¹

17. The ship of Vic. Gil [the "Graça"] sinks in 1542⁵² on the India voyage near Melinde (300), that of Simão de Mello in 1544⁵³ near Mozambique (423).⁵⁴

⁴¹ Melinde is more probable than Mozambique since it was nearer Ormuz.

⁴² In the Latin edition of Xavier's letters of 1596 it is stated that he arrived in Goa on May 6. In Couto this becomes the bar of Goa. The Spanish text however is clearer: "Llegamos a la ciudad de Goa a seys de Mayo" (EX I 125).

⁴³ According to Eça, Sousa arrived in Goa on May 5 (*Relação 35v); according to Castanheda on the fourth at the bar, on the fifth in Goa (9, 31). Did Correa confuse 5. feira with 5. Mai?

⁴⁴ Did Correa confuse 6. feira with 6. Mai? The different data on the arrival can be reconciled as follows: Sousa arrived at the bar of Goa on Thursday, May 4 (5. feira); he remained in Santos on Friday, May 5 (6. feira), and arrived in Goa on May 6. (Sabbado).

⁴⁵ Couto is here following Castanheda to a certain extent if the manuscript of the latter's ninth book was available to him, since this has Sousa return to Santos for eight days after the transfer of office in Goa. Only after this does he have him enter solemnly into Goa (9, 31).

⁴⁶ This must mean "from the patrol boats."

⁴⁷ Correa contradicts himself here.

⁴⁸ According to Eça (*Relação 36) and Castanheda (9, 31). The Rio das Cabras, between Bassein and Versova, as Sousa notes (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 16), is Manori Creek, which leads up to the pagoda of Mandapeshvar.

⁴⁹ In Castro Manori Creek is called "Rio do Pagode" (*Roteiro a Dio* 85), into which his "Rio das Cabras" (*ibid.* 91), the Dahisar Nadi, flows.

⁵⁰ According to Eça, the four ships of Sousa's fleet which had set sail with the S. Tiago on March 20 from Mozambique did not arrive in Goa Velha until after May 20 (*veinte e tantos*) because they had stayed too long in Socotra taking on water (*Relação 35v-36). This was ten to twelve days after Xavier's arrival, as is noted by Teixeira (841-842); at the end of May or June according to others, as Sousa notes (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 1, 1, 16).

⁵¹ No ships had come as yet by September 20 (EX I 125). On October 8 the Graça, the first ship, was already in Goa (Q 1000).

⁵² The shipwreck on the next India voyage was that of the Graça, as its captain Simão de Mello wrote from Goa on September 8, 1545 (Q 1523).

⁵³ In 1542 the captain of the Graça was Vicente Gil, in 1544 Simão de Mello. Couto

Simão de Mello and sinks near Melinde
(413 428).

How are we to explain the discrepancies in these two accounts? Couto, who could not have known Correa's manuscript, is obviously striving to clear D. Francisco de Lima and Diogo Soares de Mello from accusations such as those found in Correa; but his efforts are repeatedly contradicted by contemporary documents. Couto had oral information on Soares de Mello from the latter's companion in arms, Fernão Rodrigues, who had witnessed his violent death in Pegu and who, at the time that Couto was writing his seventh decade, was superintendent of the horse traders in Goa.⁵⁵ Couto was married in Goa to Luisa de Mello,⁵⁶ and he describes at length the deeds of Luis de Mello da Silva, who was also living in Goa, and of Luis de Mello of Cannanore,⁵⁷ in whose company he seems to have fought in Malabar in 1559.⁵⁸ These friends and relatives of Soares had little reason to speak of his earlier life in Portugal and India, which according to Correa was scarcely edifying. Couto's information with respect to D. Francisco probably came from his relatives, and these also had reasons for portraying their ancestor in the best of lights. D. Paulo de Lima was related to D. Francisco de Lima—his great-grandfather and Francisco's grandfather were brothers.⁵⁹ D. Paulo came to Goa a year before Couto. He lived there in the house of Luis de Mello da Silva, campaigned under him in Malabar,⁶⁰ and was Couto's companion in arms in the capture of Mangalore on January 4, 1568.⁶¹ Couto wrote his life and dedicated it to his half-sister, D. Anna de Lima, the seventh lady of Castro Daire.⁶² Correa's sources of information, on the other hand, were not tainted by family interests. He was in no way related to the parties concerned. He had nothing to fear from the hostility of offended relatives, since his manuscript was not destined for publication at the time. He was moreover a contemporary of both men and knew both of them personally, and his data are in accord with the contemporary documents. We have consequently preferred to follow Correa's account of what happened.

makes of this two ships and two shipwrecks (cf. Figueiredo Falcão 160; *Emmentia* 374 424; Fonseca 309).

⁵⁴ They were stranded near Bahia Ferosa between Melinde and Lamu (Q 1821). When Couto describes another shipwreck of 1545, that of Martim Correa da Silva near the island of Mafia, he explains the prevailing confusion in the accounts by the fact that all the books and papers were missing in the archives in Goa, the register of the ship's cargo was lost when it sank, and not even the archives of the India House in Lisbon could give any information on it (5, 10, 7).

⁵⁵ Couto 7, 2, 5, p. 145.

⁵⁶ M. Severim de Faria (Couto, *Decada* IV 1, p. IX). She was the daughter of Manuel Fernandes and Marianna de Mello (Barbosa Machado I 10).

⁵⁷ Couto, *Vida de D. Paulo de Lima Pereira* (Lisboa, 1903) 21 ff.

⁵⁸ Bell, *Couto* 8-9.

⁵⁹ D. Paulo de Lima was an illegitimate son of D. Antonio de Lima, author of a famous *Nobiliario* (Braamcamp Freire III 103-104). His grandfather was Diogo Lopes, his great-grandfather Fernão de Lima (*ibid.* 92-102). Fernão was the brother of D. João de Lima; and João's posthumous son was Diogo, the father of D. Francisco de Lima (*ibid.* 87-88).

⁶⁰ *Vida de D. Paulo de Lima* 21-45.

⁶¹ Couto 8, 20, pp. 117 121.

⁶² *Vida de D. Paulo de Lima* 195. On this see Braamcamp Freire III 104-105.

APPENDIX III

SHIP AND PASSENGER LISTS

João Vidago, who is preparing a *Sumario da Carreira da India 1497-1640*, has given in "Anotações a uma Bibliografia da 'Carreira da India,'" *Studia* 18 (1966) 209-241, a survey of the manuscript lists of the annual India fleets and of their vessels, captains, and passengers known to him. The official lists of the India House were lost in the earthquake of 1755. The manuscript and printed lists and most of the data of the chronicles go back directly or indirectly to these lists. With the help of manuscript lists, printed materials, and data contained in our *Zeitgenössischen Quellen* unknown to Vidago, we have expanded his work, giving in the following pages: (1) a register of manuscript and printed lists of ships and their captains; (2) lists of passengers, noting in particular the Jesuits who sailed to the East on Portuguese vessels bound for India; (3) a list of voyages to India between 1541 and 1554; and (4) a list of return voyages between 1542 and 1552. Quirino da Fonseca's *Os Portugeses no mar I: Emmentia histórica das naus portuguesas* (Lisboa, 1926) has been a great help in this.

1. Lists of Ships and Captains

The year given after the number on the list indicates the last year given in the respective work. The number given in parentheses is that of the manuscript in Vidago.

1. 1550. Correa, *Lendas da India* (Lisboa, 1858-1864).
2. 1561 (7). *Emmentia da Casa da India* (1503-1561; 1583), ed. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa* 1907-1908.
3. 1562 (3). **Livro de Lizuarte de Abreu* (Washington, Library of Congress), illustrated, begun on his India voyage in 1558. Cf. Lagôa, *Grandes e Humildes* I 210-215.
4. 1566 (1-2). **Memoria das Armadas* (Lisboa, Ac. de Ciências: 588 azul.), illustrated. The author sailed to India in 1549 and 1561, and from there in 1556 and 1567. Cf. Frazão de Vasconcelos, *As Pinturas das Armadas da India* (Lisboa, 1941).
5. 1581. Couto, list of *armadas* (*Decada* 10, 1, 16, pp. 116-148).
6. 1584 (20). **Emmentia da Carreira da India* (Lisbon, Bibl. da Marinha).
7. 1592. **Livro das Armadas e Capitães que forão á India do descobrimento della até oje* (Lisbon, Bibl. Palmella: BB 4-11). A very good list, from 1497 to 1592, but for 1592 only the admiral is named. The lower half of the sheet is blank (1-35v). This is followed by 1586-1590. On f. 37v the text breaks off with the words *Este Nao*. It thus seems that the final page is missing. Another exemplar of this list, with the same title, *Livro das Armadas e Capitães que forão á India do descobrimento della até oje*, is in Bibl. Vaticana: Reg. lat. 793. A copy of the Vatican manuscript, made in 1744, is in the *Symmicta* collection in Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda: 46-9-12, f. 103 ff.
8. 1605. **Livro das Armadas e Capitães que forão á India desde o descobrimento della até oje*. The list, which ends on April 6, 1605, is found in Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Ms. portugais 36 (formerly 51), ff. 378-412v, at the end of some documents

which were added to the work of Pedro Barreto de Resende (cf. A. Morel-Fatio, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Espagnols et des Manuscrits Portugais* [Paris, 1892] 326).

9. 1560-1595. "Sucesso de las naues y armadas, desde el año de 560," in Duarte Gomez, *Discursos sobre los comercios de las Indias* [Madrid] (1622), ed. *Arquivo Histórico da Marinha* 1 (1933) 201-222.

10. 1597 (26). **Armadas e Capitães mores, e mais Capitães e naos que do Reino vierão* (Evora, Bibl. Pública: 103-2-17, f. 98 ff.).

11. 1600. **List of India ships* (Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda: 50-5-22, ff. 1-28).

12. 1608. **India Oriental*. "Nesta recopillação se conthem: os nomes dos capitães-mores das armadas e capitães das naos," etc. On the margin is written: "Copiada de outra do conde de Vidigueira, em Setuval, anno 1618 ao 5 de julho" (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms. portugais 8 [formerly 15], ff. 206v-236); cf. Morel-Fatio 256, n. 85. Rich in contents, valuable. Another exemplar with the same title: "Copiada... julho" is in Lisbon, Bibl. Nac. Alcobaça 308 [formerly 443], ff. 150-184v. See below, n. 17, for another exemplar that goes to 1632.

13. (8). Figueiredo Falcão (1859) 137-190.

14. 1581-1614. **Armadas que forão para a India depois de Sua Magestade ser Rei de Portugal* (Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda: 50-4-34, ff. 163-171v). Rich in contents.

15. 1628 (4). **Memoria das pessoas que passarão á India*, "que tiramos dos Livros da Casa da India" (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac. Pombal 123). A copy is also in the Bibl. da Marinha (Vidago, n. 5).

16. 1628. **Pedro Barreto de Resende, Livro do Estado da India Oriental* (Paris, Bibl. Nac. Ms. portugais 36 [formerly 51]. The work has three parts. The first contains watercolors of the governors, the second those of the cities and fortresses, the third a treatise on revenues. In the first part there is also a list of the India ships from 1497 to 1635, but with many errors. The text is here more complete than in the other exemplar, Ms. portugais 1 (formerly 50), which has better pictures (cf. Morel-Fatio 325). The list of India ships is also to be found in various copies of the work, for example, in Lisbon, Bibl. Nac. *Fundo Geral* 787 (in Vidago, n. 10); also *Iluminados* 139 (copy in Paris made in 1887-1889); London, Brit. Museum: *Sloane* 197; cf. F. F. de la Figanière 162.

17. 1632. **List of India ships* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms. portugais 46 [formerly 52]). The text is more detailed than that in n. 12; cf. Morel-Fatio 326.

18. 1634 (22). **List of India ships* (Lisbon, Ac. de Ciências: 478-v). Contains "os descobridores da India Oriental, todos os Capitães Mores, que e ela forão com Armadas."

19. 1635 (24). **List of India ships* (Evora, Bibl. Pública: 115-1-19).

20. 1636 (14). **Livro das Armadas e Capitaens que forão á India desde o descobrimento della até oiee* (Evora, Bibl. Pública: 115-1-19). Text similar to n. 36.

21. 1638. **List of India ships* (Muge, Bibl. Cadaval: 959, f. 81 ff.).

22. 1638 (21). **Relação das Armadas que partiram desde o anno de 1496 até o de 1638* (Coimbra, Bibl. da Universidade: 509 ff. 189-228).

23. 1638. **List of India ships* (Lisbon, Bibl. da Ajuda: 51-8-38).

24. 1639. Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa* III (Lisboa, 1675) 525-558. No names of ships.

25. 1640 (23). **Armadas que partiram para a India* (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac. *Reservados: Fundo Geral, Caixa* 26, maço 37).

26. 1640 (30). **Livro das Armadas da India 1497-1640*, with the observation: "Belongs to the Conde Almirante" (Lisbon, Torre del Tombo: *Livraria* 319).

27. 1640 (38). *List of India fleets in Panorama 4* (1840) 171-172. Summary.
28. 1650 (11). Simão Ferreira Paez, *As Famosas Armadas Portuguesas 1496-1605* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937) 1-151. Facsimile reproduction of the manuscript of the Biblioteca de Marinha of Rio de Janeiro, ending in 1650. The author was, as it seems, archivist of the India House and also made use of Barros. On him see Martim de Albuquerque, *Simão Ferreira Paez, Autor das "Famosas Armadas"* (Lisboa, 1958).
29. 1653. **Relação das Naos e Armadas da India com os successos dellas que se puderam saber, para noticia e instrucção dos curiozos, e amantes da Historia de India* (London, Brit. Museum: Additional Mss. 20 902). Cf. Conde de Tovar, *Catalogo dos Manuscritos Portugueses no Museu Britânico* (Lisboa, 1932) 84-86. A rich compilation of the seventeenth century. The first author brought the work down to 1631, a second to 1634, a third to 1653, two more added further data; cf. also *Arquivo Histórico da Marinha 1* (1933) 200, note.
30. 1653 (19). **Relaçam de todas as Naos da India, e Armadas, que foram desde o anno de 1496 athé o anno de 1653* (Lisbon, Ac. de Ciências: 312-A [formerly 5-25-10]). This has numerous notes on the fleets of 1546-1549.
31. 1657. **Memorial das Missões que se fizeram desta Provincia desdo ano de 1541*. (Evora, Bibl. Pública: 115-2-8, n. 9). Lists of Jesuits; from 1596 on, it also gives data on the ships.
32. 1683 (12). Manuel Xavier, S.J., *Compendio Universal de todos os Viso-Reys, Governadores, Capitães Geraes, Capitães Mores, Capitães de Naos, Galleões, Urcas, e Caravellas, que partirão de Lisboa para a India Oriental e tornarão da India para Portugal* (Nova Goa, 1917) 3-62 84-90. Manuel Xavier died in Rachol in 1661; the later data have been added by another hand.
33. 1687 (16). **Armadas que foram á India desde o seu descobrimento, que foi no anno de 1497* (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac. Pombal 265, f. 121 ff.). Copy of the eighteenth century. Barros, Couto, and Faria y Sousa are named as sources. Other exemplars with the same title are found in Evora, Bibl. Pública: 116-1-39 (Vidago, n. 17) and in Coimbra, Bibl. Universidade: 509, f. 69 ff. (Vidago, n. 18).
34. 1688. [Fernão de Queyroz, S.J.] "Conquista da India" (London, Brit. Museum: Egerton 1646, 24-246), ed. in *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa I* (Lisboa, 1960) 267-632. The chronicle gives annual data on the fleets sent to India from 1497-1555; cf. Tovar 11. The author died in Goa in 1688.
35. 1731 (35). Ernesto de Vasconcelos, "Relação de Capitaens Mores e Naos que vierão do Reyno a este Estado da India des do seu Descobrimto", *Boletim da Segunda Classe da Academia das Sciências de Lisboa* 16 (1926) 378-416. It distorts many names.
36. 1762 (13). *Francisco Luis Ameno, *Noticia Chronológica dos Descobrimto que fizerão os Portugeses no Novo Mundo até a India Oriental e das Armadas, que os Reis de Portugal tem mandado áquelle Estado desde o anno do seu descobrimento até o presente* (Evora, Bibl. Pública: 115-1-21). Another exemplar is in Porto, Bibl. Pública Municipal: 482, ff. 36-91v (Vidago, n. 15).
37. 1846 (37). "Resenha das Embarcações, e Capitães-Mores, que dobraram o Cabo da Boa Esperança, desde 1497 até os nossos dias," in *Gabinete Literario das Fontainhas* (Nova Goa, 1846). It omits the names of the captains "for the sake of brevity."

2. Lists of Passengers

Three of the above lists, in addition to the names of the captains, also give lists of the principal passengers, taken from the books of the India House: "criados e moradores de casa real, homens de armas, fidalgos," and others.

2. 1503-1561 and 1583 (7). *Emmentia da Casa da India*. The list, composed in the eighteenth century before the destruction of the India House in the earthquake of 1755, was obtained by A. Braamcamp Freire from an antiquarian and published in the *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, 1907-1908. Years 1517 1519-1522 1526-1527 1529 1539 1552 1562-1582 are missing in it.

5. 1505-1636 (6). **Pessoas que passarão á India* (Lisbon, Bibl. da Marinha). The second part of the volume is given by *Vidago* as n. 20. The years 1536 1539 and 1566 are missing.

15. 1504-1628 (4). **Memoria das pessoas que passarão á India* (Lisbon, Bibl. Nac.: *Pombal 123*). The list gives the wealth of each person. The order of succession is irregular: 1503-1505 1510-1511 1507-1509 1515 1509-1510 1525-1526 1531-1532 1530 1533-1534 1503-1504 1508 1535 1537-1538 1540-1545 1547-1551 1553-1561 1583. The years 1539 1546 and 1552 are missing. A modern copy (*Vidago*, n. 5) is in the Bibl. da Marinha in Lisbon.

Lists of Jesuit Voyagers to India

An excellent list of Jesuits sailing to India has been published by Josef Wicki, S.J., in his "Liste der Jesuiten- Indienfahrer 1541-1758," *Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte* 7 (1969) 252-450, in the first series of the Portugiesische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft. The introduction gives a survey of the manuscript and printed lists of voyagers. His register contains 2,120 names, a commentary on them (335-423), an appendix on the novices of the India House in Lisbon from 1735 to 1753 (423-428), and an index of names (429-450).

3. List of India Voyages from 1541 to 1554

For this list we have followed as a rule Ferreira Paez. After the name of a ship we give its number as found in Fonseca, and beneath this, in parentheses, other designations for the ship. In the third column we give the date of departure from Lisbon; in the fourth, the course taken (*w*: wintered in Mozambique; *fora*: took the outer route south of Madagascar); in the fifth, the date of arrival in India (*arribou*: forced to return; *sank*: suffered shipwreck). The abbreviation *cm.* after a name indicates the *capitão-mor*. We have checked the following ship lists: 1-2 4 6-7 12-13 15-17 21 24 26 28-32 34.

Ships	Captains	Sailed	Voyage	Arrived in Goa
<i>1541: 5 Ships (Correa IV 211) ¹</i>				
1. S. Thiago 367	M. A. de Sousa cm. ²	Apr. 7	w sank	
2. Sto Espiritu 296	Alv. Barradas	Apr. 7	w	beg. of June, -42
3. Flor de la Mar 328	Luis Caiado	Apr. 7	w	beg. of June, -42
4. S. Pedro 344	D. Alv. de Ataide	Apr. 7	w	beg. of June, -42
5. Sta Cruz 280	Fco. de Sousa	Apr. 7	w	beg. of June, -42
<i>1542: 5 Ships (Correa IV 264-265)</i>				
1. Victoria 380	Fernão d'Alvares da	Apr. 23	arribou	
(Zambuco) 382	Cunha cm.			
2. Graça 307	Vicente Gil	Apr. 23		Oct., Goa
3. Grifo 312	Baltasar Jorge	Apr. 23		Oct., Cannanore
4. S. Salvador 357	Lopo Ferreira			Oct., Cannanore
(Burgaleza)		Apr. 23		
5. S. Matheus 333	Henrique de Macedo ³	Apr. 23	w	Aug., 30, -43, Goa
(Urca, Urquinha) 375				
<i>1543: 5 Ships (Correa IV 309-310)</i>				
1. S. Thomé 370	Diogo da Silveira cm.	Mar. 25		Sept. 3
2. Conceição 277	Simão Sodré	Mar. 25		Sept. 3
(Gallega)				
3. Sta Cruz 280	D. Roque Tello de	Mar. 25		Sept. 6
(Zambuco)	Meneses			
4. S. Filipe 301	Jacome Tristão	Mar. 25	arribou	
5. Victoria 380	Fernão d'Alvares da	Mar. 25		Sept. 3
(Zambuco, Atouguia)	Cunha			
<i>1544: 5 Ships (Correa IV 412-413)</i>				
1. Espera 290 ⁴	Fernão Peres d'Andrade	Apr. 19	fora	Nov. 14, Cochin
	cm.			
2. Sto Espiritu 297	Luis de Calataude ⁵	Apr. 19	fora	Nov. 8, Cochin
3. S. Filipe 301	Jacome Tristão ⁶	Apr. 19	fora	Mid. of May, -45
4. Graça 307	Simão de Mello ⁷	Apr. 19	sank	
5. S. Salvador 357	Simão Peres d'Andrade ⁸	Apr. 19	arribou	
(Burgaleza)				
<i>1545: 6 Ships (Correa IV 431-432)</i>				
1. S. Thomé 371	D. João de Castro cm. ⁹	Mar. 29		Sept. 1
2. Sta Cruz 280	D. Manuel da Silveira ¹⁰	Mar. 29		Sept. 10
(Zambuco) 382				
3. S. Matheus 333	Garcia de Sousa ¹¹	Mar. 29		Sept. 2
(Urca) 374				
4. S. Pedro 344	D. Jer. de Noronha ¹²	Mar. 29		Sept. 1
5. S. Salvador 357	Simão Peres d'Andrade ¹³	Mar. 29		Aug. 21
(Burgaleza)				
6. Sto Espiritu 298	Diogo Rebello ¹⁴	Mar. 29	w	May 7, -46
(Nao Nova)				
7. Sta Catharina ¹⁵	Lionel de Sousa ¹⁶	Dec. 3	arribou	
(Boquica) 261				
<i>1546: 6 Ships (Correa IV 531-532)</i>				
1. Espera 290	Lour. Pires de Távora	Apr. 8	fora	Oct. 20, Cochin
	cm.			
2. Flor de la Mar 329	D. Manuel de Lima ¹⁷	Apr. 8	fora	Sept. 12
3. Conceição	D. João Lobo	Apr. 8	fora	Sept. 24
(Gallega) 305				

Ships	Captains	Sailed	Voyage	Arrived in Goa
4. Victoria 380 (Atouguia)	Fernão d'Alvares da Cunha ¹⁸	Apr. 8		Sept. 17
5. Sto Espirito 297	Alvaro Barradas ¹⁹	Apr. 8	fora	Oct. 20, Cochin
6. Trindade 373 (Biscainha, Atouguia)	João Rodrigues Pessanha ²⁰	Apr. 8	fora	Oct. 2, Goa

1547: 6 Ships (Correa IV 598) ²¹

1. S. Thomé 371	D. Pedro da Silva ²²	Mar. 23	sank	
2. S. Salvador (Burgaleza) 265	Balt. Lobo de Sousa ²³	Mar. 23		Sept. 10
3. Sta Cruz (Zambuco) 382	Francisco da Cunha ²⁴	Mar. 28		Sept. 23
4. S. Boaventura 260 (Nao Nova)	Francisco de Gouvea	Mar. 23		Sept. 10
5. S. Filippe 300	D. Fco. de Lima ²⁵	Mar. 28		Sept. 3
6. Sta Cruz 281	Bernardo Nassi ²⁶	Mar. 23	w	May -48

1547 Fleet I: 3 Ships (Correa IV 651-652)

1. S. Matheus 333 (Urca)	Martim Correa cm.	Oct. 31		May, 28, -48, Angediva
2. Rosario 354	Christovão de Sá ²⁷	Oct. 31		May, 15, -48
3. Boquica a Velha 261 (Botica, Biscainha)	Antonio Pereira ²⁸	Oct. 31	w	beg. Sept. ? -48

1547 Fleet II: 3 Ships (Correa IV 651 666)

1. S. Salvador 356 (Burgaleza, Grangeira) 311	Fco. Barreto cm. ²⁹	Nov. 16	w	beg. Sept. ? -48
2. Sta Catharina a Nova	Pedro de Mesquita	Nov. 16	w	Aug. 11, -48
3. S. Dinis 287	Heitor Aranha	Nov. 16	w	Aug. 11, -48

1548 Fleet III: 5 Ships (Correa 666-667) ³⁰

1. Trindade 373 (Biscainha)	Manuel de Mendonça	Feb. 6		beg. Sept.
2. Sta Maria a Nova	Ml. Rodrigues Coutinho	Feb. 6		beg. Sept.
3. Sta Maria da Ajuda 236	Alvaro de Mendonça	Feb. 6		Aug. 10
4. S. Sebastião 363	Sebastião de Ataide	Feb. 6		beg. Sept.
5. Sta Catharina (Cicea) 365	Jorge de Mendonça Furtado ³¹	Feb. 6		beg. Sept.

1548 Fleet IV: 6 Ships (Correa IV 666-667)

1. S. Pedro 344	João de Mendonça o Chú cm. ³²	Mar. 28		Sept. 9
2. Conceição 277 (Gallega)	Aires Moniz Barreto ³³	Mar. 28		Oct. 9
3. Sto Espirito 298	Diogo Rebello ³⁴	Mar. 28		beg. Sept.

Fleet V:

4. Espera 290	D. João Henriques ³⁵	beg. Apr.		Sept. 24
5. Victoria 380 (Atouguia)	Fernão d'Alvares da Cunha ³⁶	beg. Apr.		Aug. 18, Angediva
6. Flor de la Mar 329	Antonio de Azambuja ³⁷	beg. Apr.		Sept. 3

Ships	Captains	Sailed	Voyage	Arrived in Goa
<i>1549: 5 Ships (Correa IV 687)</i>				
1. S. Bento 259	Diogo Botelho Pereira ³⁸	Mar. 23		Oct. 20, Cannanore
2. S. Boaventura 260	D. Alv. de Noronha	Mar. 23		Sept. 5, Goa
3. Sta Cruz 282 (Zambuco) 382	João de Mendonça Casão ³⁹	Mar. 23		Sept. 7 ?
4. S. Filipe 301	Jacome Tristão	Mar. 23		Sept. 5
5. S. Salvador 357 (Burgaleza)	João Figureira de Barros	Mar. 23	sank ⁴⁰	
<i>1550: 6 Ships (Correa IV 725; Couto 6, 9, 1)</i>				
1. S. Pedro 344	D. Afonso de Noronha cm. ⁴¹	May 1-2	fora	Oct. 17, Ceylon
2. Flor de la Mar 329	D. Diogo de Noronha ⁴²	May 1-2	w sank	
3. Sta Cruz (Sta Anna) 240	D. Jorge de Meneses Baroche ⁴³	May 1-2	arribou	
4. Trindade 373 (Biscainha)	Lopo de Sousa	May 1-2	arribou	
5. S. João 318 (Galeão Grande)	D. Alvaro de Ataide ⁴⁴	May 17	fora	Nov., Galle
6. S. João, caravela	Simão Peres de Andrade ⁴⁵		arribou	
<i>1551: 9 Ships (Couto 6, 9, 16) ⁴⁶</i>				
1. Espera 290	Diogo Lopes de Sousa ⁴⁷	Mar. 10		Sept. 5
2. Sta Cruz 281	Bernardo Nassi ⁴⁸	Mar. 10		beg. Sept.
3. Trindade 373 (Biscainha)	Lopo de Sousa	Mar. 10		beg. Sept.
4. Cerveira 364 (Silveira)	Aires Moniz Barreto ⁴⁹	Mar. 10		beg. Sept.
5. Rosario 354	Jacome de Mello	Mar. 10		beg. Sept.
6. Espadarte 288	D. Diogo de Almeida ⁵⁰	Mar. 17	fora	Sept. 30, Cochín
7. Algaravia 238 (Visitação) 378	Fco. Lopes de Sousa	Mar. 17		beg. Sept.
8. Barrileira 254	D. Jorge de Meneses Baroche	Mar. 20	arribou	
9. Bom Jesus 316	Lucas Giraldes ⁵¹		arribou	
<i>1552: 6 Ships (Couto 6, 10, 6)</i>				
1. S. Boaventura 260	Fernão Soares de Albergaria cm.	Mar. 24		Sept. 8
2. S. Pedro 344	Francisco da Cunha	Mar. 24		Sept. 8
3. S. Filipe 300	Braz da Silva	Mar. 24		Sept. 8
4. Zambuco 382	Antonio Moniz Barreto ⁵²	Mar. 24	sank	
5. Barrileira 254	D. Jorge de Meneses Baroche ⁵³	Mar. 24	w	beg. Sept. -53
6. S. Thiago 368	Antonio Dias de Figueiró ⁵⁴	Mar. 24	w	
<i>1553: 4 Ships (Couto 6, 10, 14) ⁵⁵</i>				
1. S. Bento 259	Fernão d'Alvares Cabral cm.	Mar. 24	fora	beg. Sept.
2. Loreto 325	D. Paio de Noronha ⁵⁶	Mar. 24	w	Aug. 30, -54
3. Sta Maria da Barca 253	Ruy Pereira da Camara ⁵⁷	Mar. 24		Nov., Cochín
4. Conceição 282 (Sta Cruz)	Belchior de Sousa Lobo ⁵⁸	Mar. 24	arribou	
5. S. Antonio 247	D. Manuel Tello de Meneses ⁵⁹			

Ships	Captains	Sailed	Voyage	Arrived in Goa
<i>1554: 6 Ships (Couto 7, 1, 3) ⁶⁰</i>				
1. S. Boaventura 260	D. Pedro Mascarenhas cm. ⁶¹	Apr. 2	fora	Sept. 23
2. Conceição 278	Miguel de Castanhoso ⁶²	Apr. 2	fora	beg. Nov., Cochin
3. Sta Cruz 282	Belchior de Sousa	Apr. 2	w	beg. Nov., Cochin
4. Espadarte 288	Fernão Gomes de Sousa ⁶³	Apr. 2	arribou	
5. Sta Maria das Reli- quias 348 (Flamenga)	D. Manuel Tello de Meneses ⁶⁴	Apr. 2		
6. Victoria 381 (Galleguinha) (S. Francisco) 303	Francisco de Gouvea ⁶⁵	Apr. 2	w	

¹ The voyage is described in detail in Vol. II, especially pp. 3-132 198-200.

² The governor left the *S. Thiago* in Mozambique and sailed with Xavier in the *Coulam* to Goa, where he arrived on May 6, 1542 (pp. 148-153). The *S. Thiago* sank in the Rio das Cabras south of Bassein at the beginning of June on its further voyage to Goa (pp. 197-200).

³ Correa IV 305.

⁴ Also called the *Sphera* and the *Esperança* (Fonseca, n. 293).

⁵ Q 1349.

⁶ Correa IV 413 428-429. The four first ships sailed together from Lisbon on April 19, as is noted by Calatayude (Q 1349), against Correa, who has them depart in May.

⁷ Mello's ship went down near Melinde. He himself came in a *fusta* to Goa on May 4, 1545 (his account is in Q 1523; see also Q 1821 and Correa IV 428).

⁸ Cf. GS II 311-312, n. 125.

⁹ *Ibid.* 312-313, n. 130. All the main lists have the fleet sail on March 28. But the second list adds: "on Palm Sunday." In 1545 this fell on March 29; and on this day Crimalini set sail on the *S. Matheus*, as he wrote to Ignatius on October 7, 1545 (Q 1581); see also Q 1486 and GS II 312-313, n. 130.

¹⁰ Castro, *Cartas* 92.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 95. According to Correa, Jorge Cabral sailed on the *Urca* under Garcia de Sousa (IV 432), who is also given as captain on lists 2 13 and 15. Cabral is named as captain on lists 4 6 12 16 17 24 28-30 and 34; D. João de Castro also names Cabral among the captains, and not Garcia de Sousa (*Cartas* 95); cf. GS II 312-313, n. 130. Fonseca names only Garcia de Sousa and not Cabral on his list of ship captains.

¹² Castro, *Cartas* 92.

¹³ *Ibid.* 94.

¹⁴ Q 2598 3514.

¹⁵ Q 2577.

¹⁶ Q 1771 2051. List 12 (*Alcobaça*) has the date of departure on December 3.

¹⁷ DI I 363.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 151.

¹⁹ Correa IV 560; Q 2577. Correa erroneously has Cunha arrive in Goa on October 2 and Pessanha on September 19 (IV 532).

²⁰ Q 3514 2767.

²¹ Cf. Q 2865 2889 2977.

²² Q 3219 3670 4087. The ship sank near the Angosha Islands off the southeast coast of Africa.

²³ Couto 6, 5, 3.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Correa IV 598. Couto does not have him reach Goa until September 23 (6, 5, 3).

²⁶ He wintered in Socotra (Couto 6, 5, 3); cf. Q 3760 3939.

²⁷ Nunes, *Crónica* 237. Correa mistakenly calls him Belchior de Sá and gives a wrong date of arrival: "May 22" (IV 651). List 4 has "Pero de Sá."

²⁸ The log of Bernardo Fernandes, who sailed from Lisbon on October 31 with Captain A. Pereira in the *Boquica-a-Velha* and two other ships, breaks off on May 11, 1548 (Bernardo Fernandes, *Livro de Marinharia* [Lisboa, 1941] 176-203). He wintered in

Ormuz (list 7). Couto writes that he came to Ormuz at the end of May and wintered there. He did not know whether he sailed back from there to Portugal or remained in India (6, 6, 7, pp. 52-53).

²⁹ Couto 6, 7, 2, pp. 82-83.

³⁰ All the ships of this fleet arrived in Goa at the beginning of September (*ibid.*); cf. Correa IV 667.

³¹ In his letter of January 10, 1549, he states that the other ships needed four or six months to go from Lisbon to Mozambique (Q 4133). All five ships of his fleet, however, sailed from this island on August 1 and arrived in Goa at the beginning of September with the exception of that of Alvaro de Mendonça.

³² Lists 7 28 29 and 30 give March 28 as the date of departure; lists 13 and 29, the eighth; list 30 the twenty-third (probably a scribal error) for the second fleet. Melchior Gonçalves, the superior of the Jesuits on the voyage, who was sailing on the *S. Pedro*, gives the date as "vinte y tantos de Marco" (DI I 307); Barzaeus has "XVII de Marco," a date not contained on any of the ship lists (*ibid.* 392-393). According to Gonçalves the ship came to Goa on the second or third of September, according to Barzaeus on the fourth (*ibid.* 311 392). Couto calls him João de Mendonça o Chú (6, 7, 2, p. 82).

³³ According to Barzaeus the *Gallega* arrived on October 9 (Q 4077); according to Paulo do Valle, on October 8 or 10 (Q 4099).

³⁴ The Dominicans sailed on this ship to Goa (DI I 391-392). On September 25 they were already making plans for building a monastery there (Q 3994).

³⁵ The account of his voyage is in Q 4026.

³⁶ Correa IV 666.

³⁷ Q 4052.

³⁸ The account of his voyage is in Q 4672 and TdT: CC 1-94-55 (he first came to Cannanore).

³⁹ His full name is given only by list 4. Couto calls him, against all the main lists, Diogo de Mendonça (6, 8, 1, p. 141).

⁴⁰ The ship sank near the Comoro Islands (Correa IV 687 721).

⁴¹ Q 4592 (Noronha's travelogue) 4674.

⁴² The ship wintered in Mozambique (Couto 6, 9, 1, p. 224) and sank on May, 1551, near Mazagão, north of Bombay (Q 4672 and Couto 6, 9, 4, pp. 248-250).

⁴³ Couto calls the ship *Sta. Anna* (6, 9, 1, p. 223).

⁴⁴ His ship, the *Geleão Grande* (Q 4674), first sailed to Pegu; from there, at the beginning of November, to Galle; on December 13, 1550, to Cochin. It wintered in Goa Velha (Couto 6, 9, 1, pp. 223-225 229; Q 4674). According to list 4 it reached Cochin on December 26.

⁴⁵ "Arribou duas veses" (list 13); "arribou no Reino em 29. de Julho" (list. 2).

⁴⁶ See also Q 4537 4699 4710. Five ships sailed on the tenth, two on the seventeenth, one on the twentieth.

⁴⁷ Three travelogues of passengers in Q 4699 4710 4917. They came to Goa on September 5 (Q 4710), and 6 (Q 4917).

⁴⁸ The *Emmenta* (list 2) gives the captain as "Misser Paulo Marchioni," list 32 as "Micer Paullo." All the other lists which we have seen have Misser Bernardo Nassi as captain (in Couto: Misser Bernardo Nacer), at times with the observation: "armador" (shipowner).

⁴⁹ List 4 names him Ayres Nunez Barreto. Couto erroneously calls him Ayres Miniz Brito (list 6), but Ayres Moniz Barreto in 6, 9, 16, p. 342. Couto has ships 1-3 5 7 reach Goa on September 10, Aires Moniz Barreto land at Ormuz, and ship 8 winter in Mozambique (*ibid.* pp. 341-342). But Teixeira wrote from Goa on November 15, 1551, that he had sailed in the *Espera* with five other ships from Lisbon and that all six ships reached Goa together (Q 4699).

⁵⁰ Ships 6-7 sailed on March 17 from Lisbon (list 2; cf. Q 4641). On their arrival in Cochin, see DI II 227.

⁵¹ The lists for the most part mention only eight ships. List 13 adds a ninth with the observation: "Arribou em o 1. Agosto 1551." List 2 also names it without a date of departure for 1551; also list 15.

⁵² His ship sank in the mouth of the Jaitāpur River north of Goa (list 4; Couto 6, 10, 6, p. 436; DI II 489).

⁵³ Couto 6, 10, 14, p. 494.

⁵⁴ Couto 6, 10, 6, p. 436. Figueiredo is given by lists 7 (Vatican) 12 24 28 32 34, Figueiró by 4 6 13 15, Figueiroa by 7 (Palmella).

⁵⁵ See also DI III 4* and 206-207, and Gomes de Brito I 47-48.

⁵⁶ It wintered in Mozambique (Couto 6, 10, 14, p. 495; he calls the ship *Rosario*) and arrived in Goa on August 30, 1554 (list 4).

⁵⁷ Couto 6, 10, 14-15, who has it come to Cochin in November, 1553. According to lists 13 28 and 34, the ship had to return; list 13 states: "Arribou a 24 Mayo 1556." List 34 calls the ship *S. Dinis*.

⁵⁸ According to Couto (list 6) the ship sank on its return voyage; but the *Santa Cruz*, on which two Jesuits, Francisco Vieira and Antonio Alvares, sailed, had to return because water entered into the hold (*Litt. Quadrimestres* II 220-221 353; lists 2 28 34).

⁵⁹ The ship burned up in the harbor of Lisbon before the departure (lists 13 and 28).

⁶⁰ Cf. the travelogue of Diogo do Soveral in DI III 108-113.

⁶¹ The ship sank near the bar of Goa after it had been unloaded (Couto 7, 1, 3, pp. 36-37).

⁶² Miguel de Castanhoso is given by lists 6 12 13 15 and 28; Manuel de Castanhoso by Couto 7, 1, 3, p. 34, and lists 24 and 34; Miguel de Castanheda by lists 2 and 32.

⁶³ The ship arrived very late in Mombassa and wintered in Ormuz (Couto 7, 1, 3, pp. 35-36).

⁶⁴ The ship "arribou a S. Thomé, desbaratada" (list 28).

⁶⁵ *Victoria*, alias *Galega* (list 2), *Galleguinha* (list 28), *S. Francisco* (Couto 7, 1, 3, p. 36).

4. List of Return Voyages 1542-1552

Ships	Captains	Sailed from Cochin	Voyage	Arrived in Lisbon
1542: 4 Ships (Couto 5, 8, 2, pp. 177-183) ¹				
1. S. Thiago	D. Fco. de Lima ²	Nov. 16, -41, Goa		May 16 ³
2. Zambuco 382	D. Diogo de Mendonça ⁴	beg. Jan.		beg. July
3. S. Thomé 369	D. Fernando de Eça ⁵	beg. Jan.		beg. July
4. Caravela	D. Pedro de Castellobranco ⁶	beg. Jan.		after the others
1543: 5 Ships (EX I 116-117) ⁷				
1. Grifo 312 ⁸	Gil Vicente ⁹ Alvaro Barradas ¹⁰ Fco. de Sousa ¹¹ D. Est. da Gama ¹²		sank	
2. Graça 307				
3. Sto Espiritu 296			sank	
4. Sta Cruz 280				July 10
5. S. Salvador 357 (Burgaleza)		Feb. 28		
1544: 5 Ships (EX I 152) ¹³				
1. S. Matheus 333 ¹⁴ (Urca) 374	D. Roque Tello de Meneses ¹⁵ Diogo da Silveira ¹⁶ Fernão d'Alvares da Cunha ¹⁷	bef. Jan. 3?		July 9
2. Conceição 277 (Gallega)		bef. Jan. 3?		July 9
3. Sta Cruz 280 (Zambuco) 382		bef. Jan. 3?		July 9
4. S. Thomé 370		aft. Jan. 3		July 29
5. Victoria 380 (Atouguia)		aft. Jan. 3		July 29
1545: 5 Ships (EX I 255 261-262) ¹⁸				
1. Navio de drogas	Martim Correa da Silva ¹⁹	Oct. 10, -44, Goa	sank	
2. Espera 290	Fernão Peres d'Andrade ²⁰	ca. Jan. 20		Sept. 18
3. Sto Espiritu 297 ²¹		ca. Jan. 20		Sept. 18
4. S. João	M. A. de Mello Juzarte ²²	Jan. 27		Sept. 18
5. Sta Cruz 281	Bernardo Nassi ²³	Jan. 27	w	Feb. 14, -46
1546: 6 Ships (EX I 295) ²⁴				
1. S. Thomé 371	M. A. de Sousa ²⁵ João de Sepúlveda ²⁶	Dec. 16,-45		June 3 ?
2. Sta Cruz 280 (Zambuco) 382		Jan. 18		Aug. 7
3. S. Filipe 301	Jacome Tristão ²⁷ D. Garcia de Castro ²⁸			
4. S. Pedro 344				
5. S. Matheus 333 (Urca)				Aug. 7
6. S. Salvador 357 (Burgaleza)				Aug. 7
1547: 7 Ships (EX I 311) ²⁹				
1. Espera 290	Lour. Pires de Távora ³⁰	Jan. 26		Aug. 2
2. Flor de la Mar 329 ³¹		Jan. 26		Aug. 2
3. Victoria 380 (Atouguia)		Jan. 26		Aug. 2
4. Sto Espiritu 298 (Nao Nova)	Fernão d'Alvares da Cunha ³² Diogo Rebello ³³			
5. Trindade 373 ³⁴ (Biscainha)				
6. Sto Spirito 297	Alvaro Barradas ³⁵		sank	
7. Conceição 277 ³⁶ (Gallega) 305				Aug. 8

Ships	Captains	Sailed from Cochin	Voyage	Arrived in Lisbon
<i>1548: 4 Ships (EX I 370-371) 37</i>				
1. S. Salvador 356 (Burgaleza)	D. João Mascarenhas ³⁸	Dec. 22, 47		June 6
2. S. Filippe 300	Luis Coutinho ³⁹	Jan. 4		July 23
3. Sta Cruz 281 ⁴⁰ (Zambuco) 382		Jan. 4 and 10		Aug. 20
4. S. Boaventura 260 (Nao Nova)	Fco. de Gouvea ⁴¹	Jan. 22		Aug. 20
<i>1549: 7 Ships (EX II 1-2 66-67) 42</i>				
1. Sta Cruz 281 (Burgaleza)	Bernardo Nassi ⁴³	Jan.		
2. Rosario 354	D. Alvaro de Castro ⁴⁴	Jan.		bef. July 30
3. Trindade 373 (Biscainha)				Aug. 25
4. S. Pedro 344				Aug. 25
5. Espera 290				Aug. 25
6. Victoria 380 (Atouguia)	D. Jer. de Noronha ⁴⁵	Jan.		Aug. 25
7. Flor de la Mar 329 ⁴⁶		beg. Feb. ?	w	
<i>1550: 3 Ships (EX II 136-139) 47</i>				
1. S. Dinis 287	D. João de Ataíde ⁴⁸	Jan. 24		July 16
2. S. Boaventura 260 ⁴⁹	Simão de Mello	ca. Feb. 5		Sept. 26
3. S. Filippe 301	João de Mendonça o Chú ⁵⁰	ca. Feb. 5		Sept. 26
4. Sta Cruz 282 ⁵¹ (Zambuco)			w	July 17, -51
5. S. Bento 258	Diogo Botelho Pereira ⁵²	Feb. 23	arribou	
<i>1551: 3 Ships (EX II 138) 53</i>				
1. S. Bento 258	Diogo Botelho Pereira ⁵⁴	Jan. 18		Aug. 9
2. S. João (Galeão Pequeno)	D. Manuel de Lima ⁵⁵	Jan. 30		Aug. 9
3. S. Pedro 344	Jorge Cabral ⁵⁶	Feb. 15		Sept. 5
<i>1552: 5 Ships (EX II 242-244) 57</i>				
1. Sta Cruz 281	Bernardo Nassi ⁵⁸	bef. Jan. 24		Sept. 15
2. Visitação 378	Fco. Lopes de Sousa ⁵⁹	ca. Feb. 1		Sept. ?
3. Espera 290	Diogo Lopes de Sousa ⁶⁰	ca. Feb. 1		end of March -53
4. Trindade 373	Lopo de Sousa ⁶¹		sank	
5. S. João (Galeão Grande)	Mle de Sousa de Sepúlveda ⁶²	Feb. 3	sank	

¹ See also Luis de Sousa, *Annaes de Elrey Dom João Terceiro* (Lisboa, 1844) 352-353, and Q 859.

² Cf. Vol. II, pp. 87 95; Correa 215 223; Couto 5, 8, 2, pp. 177-178 181.

³ According to Couto the ship should, if possible, arrive in Lisbon before the departure of the India fleet. The fleet sailed on April 23, but Lima arrived after this date. Sousa states erroneously that he arrived at the beginning of April, list 13 that he did not arrive until May 16. The ship was loaded only with drugs.

⁴ Ships 24 brought the cargo of pepper. According to Correa, the captain of the *Zambuco* was D. Diogo de Mendonça; according to Couto, João de Mendonça Cassão. According to Correa it was a ship of three hundred tons, which certain shipowners had built in Bassein, and which the governor had bought from them for the king for 3,800 *pardaus* and had completed in Cochin (IV 215). According to Couto it was a

galleon which Ruý Lourenço de Távora took from the Moors in Agaçaim, north of Bassein (5, 8, 2, p. 178). Like ships 3-4, it sailed from Cochin at the beginning of January, and all three arrived in Lisbon at the beginning of July (*ibid.* 178-179).

⁵ According to Correa it was a small ship which the governor purchased from a *casado* in Cochin, and which he had completed and sent with D. Fernando de Eça as captain to Portugal (IV 215). According to Couto the governor gave it the name S. Thomé and entrusted it to D. João Deça as its captain (*l. c.* 178).

⁶ The caravel was sacked by French corsairs near the Azores (Couto *l. c.* 181-183; Correa IV 410). It arrived in Lisbon after the others (list 16).

⁷ See also Correa IV 265-266. According to Couto all the ships had a good voyage except the *Santo Espiritu* (5, 9, 2, p. 308).

⁸ It sank near the island of Terceira on its return voyage (list 4).

⁹ Correa IV 265.

¹⁰ It sank near Titangone in southern Africa (Couto 5, 9, 2, pp. 308-309).

¹¹ Q 1032. According to list 13, it returned on July 10, 1542 (read: 1543).

¹² The ship sailed, the last of all, on February 28 (Correa IV 265-266) and had a good voyage (Couto 5, 9, 2, pp. 308-309).

¹³ See also Correa IV 335-337. He gives a report on how the governor on January 3, when the other pepper ships had already sailed, through his secretary Cardoso had given to each of the following, Diogo da Silveira, the chief captain, Fernão d'Alvares da Cunha, the captain of a ship, and Jorge de Lima, the captain of another ship, 100,000 *pardaus* for the king from the 300,000 *pardaus* that had been received from Khoja Shams-ud-dīn (cf. Vol. II, p. 404). List 13 gives the arrival of the ships.

¹⁴ The ship came to Angra (Azores) on May 15, and the captain decided to wait for the escort fleet since French corsairs were making the coast of Portugal unsafe (Q 1243). If Correa's statement that D. Jorge de Lima sailed as captain of another ship is true, then this was ship 1 or 2, which consequently sailed after January 3.

¹⁵ He had brought the ship to India in 1543 and probably returned with it in 1544. He sailed again to India in 1545, but under a different captain. In 1546 he returned to India on the *Trindade* with his wife under the captain D. Ml. da Silveira to remain there (Q 3514). On March 10, 1548, he received three villages in the region of Bombay-Salsette as an hereditary fief with the obligation of living in Bassein (Q 3832a).

¹⁶ Correa IV 335. His pilot was Affonso Pires (Q 1386), who was shipwrecked in 1555 on the shallows of Pero dos Banhos (Fonseca 277).

¹⁷ Correa IV 335. According to Couto, D. Jorge de Lima sailed to Portugal in 1544 on the ship of Fernão d'Alvares da Cunha (5, 9, 11, p. 377). We prefer Correa's data to those of Couto in this regard. The data given in EX I 152 are to be corrected from those in Vol. II, p. 404. D. Jorge de Lima had already returned to India as the captain of a ship in 1537 (Fonseca 281).

¹⁸ See also Vol. II, pp. 520-521 532 541 and Correa IV 408.

¹⁹ He was shipwrecked near Monfia (Mafia) on the African coast (Q 1821; the text in *Studia* 13 [1964] erroneously has *monfra* instead of *Monfia*). See also Correa IV 428, and Couto 5, 10, 7, pp. 422-423 430.

²⁰ The *Espera* had sailed to India with the *Santo Espiritu* in 1544, and they left Cochin together in 1545. The *Espera* was on both trips under the command of Fernão Peres d'Andrade. On an Arabic letter of Khoja Shams-ud-dīn, which he took with him, see Correa IV 413-414, and Schurhammer, "Or. Briefe" 278. Xavier's letter to the king dated January 20 was sent on ship 2 or 3 (EX I 248). His further letters to Europe are from January 27. They therefore went with ship 4 (*ibid.* 255-282, and Vol. II, pp. 520-521 532-544).

²¹ The ships had a good voyage, with the exception of that of Martim Correa (Couto *l. c.* 430). Couto calls our ship the ship of Luiz de Calataud (*l. c.* 423); but it obviously sailed back under another captain, since Calataud wrote to the king from Cochin on January 5 about his voyage to India in 1544 (Q 1349), but at its end he asked for another favor than that of a captain and factor of the Ceylon voyage, which he had received in 1541 (Q 653), since for this one had to be a "capitão de palmada e chatym," which he was not.

²² The captain appears to have been M. A. de Mello Juzarte, who was called back to Portugal by the king (Couto 5, 10, 7, p. 424). Xavier sent his letters dated January 27 on this ship, as did the governor his letter of January 19, from Goa, on the arrival of the Spaniards in the Moluccas (Q 1366). The king acknowledged its arrival on December 1, 1545 (Q 1771). Rodrigues acknowledged the arrival of Xavier's letters in September, 1545 (Q 1564). The pilot was Cosme Ledo (Q 1612). André de Sousa came

to Cochin with Prince João on January 27, "the day when the ships sailed [to Portugal]," as he wrote (Schurhammer, *Ceylon* 202). But it was only the *S. João* which could have brought Xavier's letters of January 27; the *Santa Cruz* did not reach Lisbon until 1546. On this see EX I 261-263, and Vol. II, pp. 532-534 541.

²³ On December 1, 1545, the king wrote to the governor of India: "I hope that you arrived there safely with all the ships of your fleet. And through those which came this year, excepting that of Guarcia de Saa [the *Santa Cruz*], which has not yet come and, as it seems, had to winter in Mozambique, I received news of the arrival of the Castilian fleet in Maluquo in the letters of Martim Affonso de Sousa" (Q 1771). The "ship of Garcia de Sá," the *Santa Cruz*, had sailed from Cochin on January 27, 1545, "as the last of the ships" (Correa IV 414). Its captain, Bernardo Nassi, as the king surmised, had been forced to spend the winter in Mozambique. On March 25, 1546, he wrote to the governor from Lisbon that he had sailed from Mozambique on September 29 and had arrived in Lisbon on February 14 (Q 2090; cf. 2045). List 13 errs in not having him arrive in Lisbon until August 7, 1546.

²⁴ List 13 has ships 1-3 and 5-6 arrive in Lisbon on August 7, 1546, but this is not true for ship 1. In March, 1547, Jacome Tristão wrote from Lisbon to the governor and sent his letter with the India fleet about his return voyage. He had sailed from India on January 19, 1546, and had had a good voyage. He had not gone to St. Helena since at the Cape [of Good Hope] he had encountered the pilot of the *Burgaleza* and had accompanied him all the way. Near the island of Terceira all five ships had come together and had sailed thus to Lisbon, something which no ships had done for many years. They had arrived there on a Saturday (Q 3424; see p. 497). August 7, which is given by list 13, was in 1546 a Saturday.

²⁵ M. A. de Sousa sailed to Lisbon as the captain of the *S. Thomé* (Q 1784), as the king had ordered (Q 1484). He sailed from Cochin on December 16, 1545 (Q 1812). Couto erroneously has him sail on December 13 (6, 1, 1, pp. 9-10). He arrived at Angra (Azores) on May 13, 1546, but did not land since he had a strong wind and wished to continue his voyage (2195a). Jacome Tristão has him arrive in Lisbon already in May (Q 3424), Couto on June 13 (6, 1, 1, p. 10), list 13 on August 7, 1546. The June 13 of Couto is probably an erroneous reading or misprint for June 3, for M. A. de Sousa was already in Lisbon on June 6. On June 6 the king wrote to João de Barros, the factor of the India House in Lisbon, from Almeirim, fifty miles north of the capital (which could be reached by a courier in two days), that M. A. de Sousa had informed him that he was bringing in his ship a chest with 300,000 *pardaus* and that he had the key with him. Barros should have the chest brought to Sousa's house and there with the treasurer and a scribe receive and count the money (Q 2234). On June 11 Barros confirmed the receipt of the royal letter (Q 2244; cf. 2248). Sousa did not bring any letters from India with him since "Braz de Araujo had not brought him the mail" (Q 3424), and on June 30 Rodrigues wrote from Almeirim that definite news had come from Xavier but as yet no letters (Q 2265).

²⁶ The captain was João de Sepúlveda (Q 1694). He sailed on January 18 (Q 1852) and, according to M. A. de Sousa and Jacome Tristão, was the first to reach Angra after a favorable voyage. He had, however, to wait there for some two months for good weather and the other ships before he could continue his voyage (Q 2907). He arrived in Lisbon on August 7 (according to list 13); and on September 7, Aleixo de Sousa, who had come with M. A. de Sousa (Couto 6, 1, 1, p. 9), wrote to the king that the governor was sending three written accusations against him, and that he should burn them unopened (Q 2396).

²⁷ The captain was Jacome Tristão (Q 2907), who had come to India on the same ship in the middle of May, 1545. He sailed from Cochin on January 19, and from Angra with the other four ships to Lisbon (Q 3424, cf. p. 497).

²⁸ The captain was D. Garcia de Castro (Q 1818 1857).

²⁹ Seven ships sailed (Q 3939). In Cochin on January 25, the paymaster, Francisco da Maya, gave their names and cargo; and he noted that the seventh had not been loaded in Cochin but in Chale and Cannanore (Q 2767). On January 26 he wrote: "The ships, there are five of them, will sail today, January 26, from this harbor very well laden" (Q 2768). According to Couto the fleet, under the chief captain L. Pires de Távora, had a favorable voyage with the result that he with all the ships reached Lisbon at the same time (6, 6, 7, p. 49); and the same was said by Cosme Anes, who loaded the ships of the fleet in Cochin as *vedor da fazenda*, in the Xavier process of 1556 (MX II 186). According to Correa, however, L. Pires de Távora arrived before the others (IV 651). According to Couto he announced the victory of Diu by means of one of the

caravels which was sent a few days earlier from Angra. List 13 gives August 2 as the date of arrival for only ships 1-3 5 and 7.

³⁰ Q 2767-2769. The day before his departure, January 26, he still wrote to the governor: "Dessa nao à vela" (Q 2769). He loaded his ship in Quilon (Q 2577).

³¹ The ship was loaded in Quilon (Q 2577); cf. Q 2767.

³² The ship began to be loaded in Cochin on December 12, 1546 (Q 2577); cf. 2767.

³³ On December 12, 1546, the ship was already half loaded: it had taken on board six thousand hundredweights of pepper (Q 2577); cf. 2767.

³⁴ Q 2577 2767.

³⁵ On December 12, 1546, the ship was almost completely loaded (Q 2577); cf. 2767. The ship sank near the Comoro Islands (Q 3219 3514; Correa IV 598).

³⁶ On December 12, 1546, Braz d'Araujo wrote that the ship should be loaded in Chale and Cannanore (Q 2577). On January 25 it was still being loaded (Q 2767).

³⁷ See also Q 3531 3532 3538 3545 3546 3550 3557 3562 3589 3599 3665 3670 3755.

³⁸ See Q 3531 3532 3538 3545 3546 3550 3557 3589. The chief captain, D. João Mascarenhas, first wished to sell his office to Alvaro de Sousa, but the governor did not approve of it (Q 3531). The cargo consisted of 7,000 hundredweights of pepper, 1,500 hundredweights of drugs, etc. (Q 3532). The ship sailed on December 22, 1547 (Q 3550 3589). It carried the first *via* of letters (Q 3557). It arrived in Lisbon on June 6, 1548 (list 30).

³⁹ Cf. Q 3531 3532 3538 3545 3546 3550 3562. The captain was Luis Coutinho. On December 14, 1547, the *vedor da fazenda* wrote from Cochin that it had cost him much effort to bring *fidalgos*, *frades*, and Castilians on board the ships since they were difficult to please. They all wanted to sail on the *Burgaleza*, but the governor had now assigned them to the *São Filippe* (Q 3538). The ship sailed on January 4, 1548 (Q 3589). According to list 30, the ship reached Lisbon on July 23, 1548; and on August 1, 1548, Garcia Descalante Alvarado completed his account of the voyage of Ruy López de Villalobos in Lisbon (Q 3973).

⁴⁰ Cf. Q 3531 3532 3538 3546 3550 3562 3599. The ship sailed on January 4, 1548, but it had to return and sail again on January 10 (Q 3589 3599). According to list 30, it reached Lisbon on August 20, 1548.

⁴¹ Cf. Q 3531 3532 3538 3546 3550 3562 3585 3599 3665 3755. This, the last ship, sailed on January 22 under Captain Francisco de Gouvea with 150 men (Q 3665 3755). It was loaded in Quilon (Q 3599). According to lists 13 and 30, it arrived on August 20.

⁴² In 1556 Cosme Anes, the *vedor da fazenda*, testified that he had loaded seven ships in 1545 (read 1549) (MX II 186). List 28 states that of the six ships which sailed on March 28, 1548, to India, all had gone and returned with good fortune. It had taken them nineteen months for the voyage and return, with the exception of the *Victoria*, which sank on the return trip in 1550. The data are inaccurate. The *Victoria* which sank in 1550 is n. 381 in Fonseca, not n. 380. Moreover, of the six ships, two did not return in 1549: the *Santo Espirito* and the *Espera*. Couto is also in error when he writes that of the seventeen ships which came to India in 1548 there were only four which returned in 1549 (6, 7, 2-3). With respect to their departure from Cochin: the letters written for these ships in Cochin and its environs bear dates from December 26, 1548, to February 8, 1549 (Q 4100-4168).

⁴³ In 1547 Nassi had sailed for India "in the ship of Garcia de Sá," that is, the *Santa Cruz* (Correa IV 598), but he did not arrive there until May, 1548 (Couto 6, 5, 3, p. 366). In 1551 he sailed in the same ship again for India; he also returned with it to Portugal in 1549 (cancel the notice "Goa 10, 97v" in EX II, n. 1, where it is a question of D. Bernardo de Noronha; cf. DI I 424).

⁴⁴ The captain was D. Alvaro de Castro, the son of the viceroy (Q 4211; Couto 6, 7, 3 and 6, 9, 1), who, along with a letter of Antonio Gomes, S.J. (DI I 424), took with him the entire correspondence of his deceased father. Fonseca erroneously has him return in 1548 (330). On June 6, 1549, he reached Angra, from where he wrote to the king on June 21 (Q 4211). On July 30, 1549, he was present for the opening of his father's will in Lisbon (Q 4228).

⁴⁵ On August 23, 1549, the governor Jorge Cabral testified that the *vedor da fazenda* Cosme Anes had told him that he had purchased the previous year in Cochin a diamond for the king for 10,000 gold *pardaus*. So precious a diamond had never before been seen in this land, and he had given it to D. Jerónimo de Noronha, the captain of the *Victoria*, to take to the kingdom (Q 4237). In the Xavier process in Goa in 1556, Cosme Anes testified the same, with some lapses of memory. The first and second *vias* of this process are found in the Archives of the Postulation of the Society of Jesus in

Rome (fasc. 34, sect. 4 and 4a) in two authentic, contemporary copies. Of these, *via 1* has been published in MX II 184-187. It is here stated that in the year 1545 (in *via 2 cinco* has been crossed out and *oito* written over it), after he had dispatched the ships (*via 1* has a *Nao*) of the kingdom (*depois de ter despachado as naos do Reyno*) as *vedor da fazenda*, P. M. Francisco had come from Cape Comorin (read: from Goa) and had immediately sought him out (Xavier had been in Cochin from the beginning of December, 1548) and had asked him how he was getting along with the loading. He had replied that he was getting along very well. Seven ships had sailed with much pepper and drugs and a diamond which he had purchased for 10,000 *pardaus* for the king. He had sent it through D. João (according to both *vias*, but in *via 1* he is once called *D. João* and later *D. Jo*, which could also be read as *D. Jerónimo*) de Noronha, who was sailing as the captain of the *Atougia* of Fernão d'Alvares da Cunha. Xavier's fears had been fulfilled. The ship had sprung a leak, but it had finally come, together with the others, "em huma maré" to Lisbon (MX II 185-186).

⁴⁶ One of the ships usually had to wait until the ships arrived from Malacca. If our ship was the last, it sailed at the earliest on February 9, 1549, since it still took with it a letter of the king of Cranganore of February 8 (Q 4186). Xavier wrote the letters which went with the other ships up to January 20. These were followed by a pause until January 25. The four letters which he wrote on January 25 and 26, and on February 1 and 2, went with the last ship; and in the first of these, which is that of January 25, he stated: "After I had written all the letters for Portugal, which Master Pedro Fernández is taking with him, the ships arrived from Malaca" (EX II 56-57); and in the last, of February 2, he noted: "I am now sailing for Goa in order to get ready for my voyage to Japan next April" (*ibid.* 79). The ship wintered in Mozambique (Q 4672).

⁴⁷ Cf. Q 4390 and Couto 6, 8, 3, p. 153, who writes: "He dispatched the ships up to January 10. They made such a successful voyage that they all reached Lisbon in good condition during the course of July."

⁴⁸ Q 4353. According to list 13, the ship which was sent before the others arrived in Lisbon on July 16.

⁴⁹ On August 20, 1550, Manuel Pacheco wrote from Fayal (Azores) to the king: "We were greatly concerned that the ships from India had been so long delayed. Then today, August 20, João Fernandes, the pilot, came with good news. He had left two ships from India between these islands, the *São Filippe* under Captain João de Mendonça, and the *São Boaventura*, under Captain Simão de Mello. They came to these islands because of the bad wind. We looked for them. They are ten or twelve leagues from this island. They are coming well laden. The people are well since they left India seven months ago, at the beginning of February. Hopefully the others are not far off. João Fernandes gave a good account of them and of the others. He has served Your Highness well on this voyage" (Q 4504).

⁵⁰ On August 20, 1550, Frey Simão de Figueiredo, O.F.M., wrote to the king from Fayal about his voyage on the *S. Filippe*: "We sailed from India on February 5 and had good weather until the Cape [of Good Hope]. We reached this latitude on April 26. We then had a contrary wind until May 26. Many times we saw that we were lost. But God gave us a day when we were able to sail around it, during the first octave of Pentecost [June]. We then came with good weather to St. Helena on the feast of St. John [June 24]. Here we encountered the ship *Boaventura*, which had been there for four days. On August 16 we sighted Fayal. Your fleet with provisions then met us" (Q 4503). According to list 13, both ships reached Lisbon on September 26. The captain, according to Couto, was João de Mendonça o Chú (6, 8, 3, p. 153).

⁵¹ The ship wintered in Mozambique and, according to list 13, did not arrive in Lisbon until July 17, 1551.

⁵² "After the departure of the three ships, with which I wrote to Your Highness, some things occurred which I must report" the governor wrote to the king on February 21, 1550. He added that he was sending this letter with the *São Bento*, which was sailing to Portugal under Captain Diogo Botelho Pereira (Q 4390). On July 15, 1551, the captain sent an account of his voyage from the island of Terceira. Since there was a lack of pepper and money, the ships were loaded late. His was the last, and he could thus not sail until February 23. He was driven back and had to spend the winter at Angediva and could not sail again until 1551 (Q 4672).

⁵³ See also Q 4592. The Pepper War prevented the loading of the three ships.

⁵⁴ On July 15, 1551, Botelho Pereira wrote from the island of Terceira that he had sailed from Cochin on January 18, 1551, had rounded the Cape of Good Hope on April 7,

had arrived in St. Helena on April 24, and on July 14 at the island of Terceira (Q 4672). See also Q 4592 4596 4674 (sailed January 19, carrying *via* 1). According to list 13, he arrived in Lisbon on August 9.

⁵⁵ On July 17, 1551, D. Manuel de Lima wrote in detail about his voyage from the island of Terceira. He sailed with the letters of *via* 2 from Cochin on January 30, after the arrival of the Malacca ships, and encountered the *São Bento* in St. Helena. The large galleon (*S. João*), in which Alvaro de Ataíde had sailed to India, went to Pegu. Lima's ship was the small galleon *São João*, which had been in use for two years. It was small and could not hold as much pepper as the *S. Bento*, which was carrying 12,000 hundredweights. It was however bringing many jewels from Ceylon for the king. Since Lima found the *S. Bento* in St. Helena with a leak and split foremast, he accompanied it on its further voyage (Q 4674 4596). On January 16, 1551, the viceroy wrote to the king from Cochin that he was sending only three ships since he had no more, and he noted that he was sending the galleon *S. João* with the cargo of pepper because he had no others except the *S. Pedro* and *S. Bento* (Q 4592). According to list 13, the ship reached Lisbon with the *S. Bento* on August 9.

⁵⁶ Cf. Q 4592 4596 4672, and Correa IV 725-729. According to Couto, it sailed February 15 from Cochin and after a difficult voyage arrived eight months later, in October, in Lisbon (6, 9, 2, pp. 232-235). List 13 has it arrive on September 5.

⁵⁷ On January 29, 1552, the harbor master João Anes wrote to the king from Cochin that he was bringing five ships to the kingdom poorly laden with pepper that had been picked too soon (Q 4757). They brought only half the amount of pepper (Couto 6, 9, 18, p. 359).

⁵⁸ The ship sailed before January 24 since it brought no news of Xavier's return from Japan, who arrived in Cochin on January 24 (EX II 274; Q 4744; MX II 136-139). On September 20, 1552, the nuncio Zambeccari wrote from Lisbon to Cardinal de Monte: "On September 15, only *one* ship came from India. Its captain was an Italian, Bernardo Nassi of Florence. There were doubts about all of them because they were delayed so long. According to his report, the four others will soon come. The others have more wares. It is thought that they may have to winter in Mozambique" (Arch. Vaticano: *Lettere di Principi* 19, 64v).

⁵⁹ This and the following ship carried the letters which Xavier wrote between January 21 and 31. They were already prepared to sail when he arrived in Cochin (EX II 279; Schurhammer, *Disputationen* 111). According to Couto the viceroy dispatched all the ships with the exception of the *S. João* in January (6, 9, 18, p. 359). The captain was the same one who had brought the ship to India in 1551. List 13 has the ship arrive in Lisbon on August 4. On September 21 Francisco Henriques had sent word from Lisbon to Father Ml. Godinho in Coimbra about the arrival of Bernardo Nassi. He added that the captain had not shown him the India letters with the news on Xavier since he wanted to bring them himself to Rome. The other ships had not come, and there were doubts about their arrival (MX II 136-137). But on October 2 Godinho wrote to Father Miguel de Torres in Spain that he had received a letter from the rector of the college in Lisbon, Father Urbano Fernandes, which he was sending to him; and he added: "At the end of the letter are very good news about P. M. Francisco. Another ship has just arrived. Letters are probably coming with it" (*Ep. Mixtae* II 802). By this ship is probably meant the *Visitação*, which thus did not come to Lisbon until September. The ship brought Xavier's letters, but not the one to the king of January 31, 1552, and his main letter to the Society of January 29, which were brought by the *Espera*. See EX II 243-244.

⁶⁰ The ship sailed at the beginning of February from Cochin under Captain Diogo Lopes de Sousa, who had brought it to India in 1551. The viceroy gave him the Japanese arms which Xavier had brought for the king (Q 4746). He also brought with him Xavier's letters of January 29, 30, and 31 (Q 4755 4756 4759 and 4761), and one for the king, now lost, in which he mentioned the Japanese arms which he was sending him (EX II 309). List 13 has the ship arrive in Lisbon on May 17, 1553; but it had already arrived in March, 1553, as is indicated in the Spanish translation of Xavier's letter to the Society (EX II 240) which was made in Rome in April, 1553 (Q 4756). Mirón had immediately sent the Portuguese original to Rome, where it arrived in the first half of April, as was attested by Polanco on April 18 (*ibid.* 244-245). On March 15, 1553, the king wrote to Xavier: "I have not received a letter from you for two or three years, not even on the last ships which have come" (Seb. Gonçalves 1, 6). His letter left with the India fleet on March 24, 1553. The *Espera*, which brought Xavier's two letters to the king thus reached Lisbon at the end of March, 1553, after the departure of the

fleet, since it had been forced to winter in Mozambique. On this see EX II 242-244 301.

⁶¹ The captain was Lopo de Sousa, who had brought the ship to India in 1551. Couto, who calls it *S. Jerônimo*, states: "Desappareceo no caminho, sem se saber, nem se suspeitar até hoje aonde" (6, 9, 21). List 13 states: "Perdeose em fin de Feuereiro 552."

⁶² The ship, the last from Cochin, sailed on February 3, 1552, and sank near the coast of Natal on June 24, 1552. The voyage and the shipwreck, the most famous in the whole history of Portugal, is described in detail in the *Relação da mui notavel perda do Galeão Grande S. João do capitão Manoel de Sousa Sepúlveda na Terra do Natal, onde se perderam a 24 de Junho de 1552*. This was composed in Mozambique from data provided by one of the few survivors, the assistant of the chief boatsman (*guardião*) of the galleon, Alvaro Fernandes, whom the author met there in 1554. It was published by Gomes de Brito in his *Historia Tragico-Maritima* 1 (Lisboa, 1904) 13-44. See also Couto 6, 9, 18, pp. 359-360; 6, 9, 21-22, pp. 379-403. Lists 4 7 24 28 29 30 32 34, among others, give a brief mention to the shipwreck, as does Fonseca 639, who however omits it in his chronological list of shipwrecks (726), and in his description of the ships on their return voyages confuses it with the small galleon (314), as does Figueiredo Falcão (list 13), who correctly has the ship sail to India in 1550 under Alvaro de Ataide, but then has it return to Lisbon on September 9, 1551 (163). The *S. João*, with which Ataide sailed to India in 1550, was the *Galeão Grande*. The ship landed in Pegu instead of India. It then sailed to Galle and from there, on December 13, 1550, to Cochin. Since it was too late for it to sail [in 1551] for the kingdom and was in need of repair, Ataide sent it to Goa and docked it at Goa Velha, where it spent the winter and was repaired (Couto 6, 9, 1, p. 229).

APPENDIX IV

TYPES OF SHIPS

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Ships in General

The *Lembranças de cousas da India* of 1525 give a list of all the "naos e navios e quaravellas de toda sorte que ao presente á na India" in Cochin and elsewhere with their tonnage and artillery (21-28); "naus, galeões, galeões bastardas, galeotas, bragamtis, navyos redomdos e latynos, barquaças, bateis grandes, paraos, naos e navyos de mercadores, caravellas," and it adds a list of "outros navyos, galeotas e fustas, e bragamtys e paraos," which would also be necessary (28-29). On September 12, 1537, a "lista das naus" which were at the time in Lisbon and could sail to India in 1538, with their tonnage, was drawn up for the king (*Gavetas* V 179-182). This contains sixteen *naos*, seven galleons, one *navio* and one *caravel*. The list of the fleet which the viceroy D. G. de Noronha assembled in October, 1538, for the siege of Diu names 121 ships with their tonnage: seventeen galleons (among them an *albetaça latina* and *redonda*), sixteen *naos* (among them three *navios* and one *taforea*), seven *caravels*, eight royal galleys, seventeen galiots, nine brigantines, thirty-four *fustas*, and thirteen *catur*s (Q 334a; cf. p. 517. TdT: S. Lourenço 4, 247-250). The list of the same fleet in Correa may be compared with this: eight large *naos* from Portugal and a *taforea* of the same

size; thirteen small *navetas*, fourteen large and small galleons, five Latin and eight round caravels, fifteen galleys and galiots, thirteen royal galleys and a bastard galley, eleven brigantines with a high rim like galiots, two *albetças*, eighteen large *fustas*, and forty-four *caturs* and small *fustas*, for a total of 152 vessels, not including the twenty-four which were brought by Antonio da Silva, a galley in Bassein, and a *fusta* and other *navios* which were waiting for the viceroy in Bassein and Chaul (*Lendas* IV 59-60). Barros gives a list of 170 vessels: seventeen galleons, fifteen *naos*, seven caravels, eight galleys, eighteen galiots, nine brigantines, thirty-three *fustas*, thirteen *caturs*, twenty additional *caturs* and *fustas* for patrolling, and other vessels with food and munitions (4, 10, 19). The fleet with which M. A. de Sousa made the expedition to the pagoda in 1543 had, according to Correa (IV 507-508), with the four ships that had been sent in advance, a complement of forty-five units: twelve galleys, nine galiots, two *albetças*, three Latin caravels, two small *navios*, sixteen *fustas*, and one brigantine. Instead of these Couto gives twelve galleys, eight galiots, five caravels, thirteen *fustas* (5, 9, 7). The fleet that sailed with the governor D. Estevão da Gama in 1541 to the Red Sea was made up of eighty-four vessels, among which were eight galleons, two *naus*, one caravel, seventy *fustas* and *caturs* and three galiots (Vol. II, p. 88).

Individual Ships

Albetça: small, decked, oared sailboat (Leitão 18; Dalgado I 20; Morais I 561; Vol. II, pp. 197 361).

Almadia: oared barque in Africa and India (Leitão 24; Dalgado I 25; Morais I 650; Pereira 151).

Banca (*bancão*, *vancão*): Chinese oared freighter, smaller than a junk (Leitão 61; Dalgado II 402; EX II 486).

Banting (*bantim*): Malay oared sailing ship with two masts, a kind of small brigantine (Leitão 62; Dalgado I 97; Morais II 366; Eredia 26).

Barcasse (*barça*): large freighter (Leitão 64; Morais II 383).

Brigantine (*bergantim*): oared sailing vessel, smaller than a galiot, in 1538 with from fourteen to nineteen banks of oars (Leitão 71; Morais II 463; Nogueira 22; Fitzler 345; Vol. II, pp. 29 59).

Caravel (*caravela*): light, agile sailboat of narrow draft, generally of less than two hundred tons, with three masts and three-cornered lateen sails. Caravels of 120 tons are mentioned in 1537, of fifty to eighty in 1538 (cf. Quirino da Fonseca, *A Caravela portuguesa* [Coimbra, 1934]; Leitão 106; Morais II 91; Lopes de Mendonça 40-75; Fitzler 353-355; Quadros 137; Pieris I 460; Nogueira 26-31; Vol. II, pp. 7 59; pictures: HCPB I 180; Nogueira 22 23 25 28 30 40).¹

Catamaran: fishing craft made of three roughly hewn palm logs bound together with coconut fibers, with a slanting bamboo mast, three-cornered sail, and a crew of two or three, used on the Fishery Coast and in Travencore (Vol. II, pp. 292 324 326-327; EX I 293; Dalgado I 231; Yule 173; Morais II 1018; Fitzler

¹ In October, 1545, Pero de Faria wrote from Goa to the king: "The governor D. João de Castro held a consultation on the kind of ships he should build. ... Caravels would be good ships, but they carry very few men, who would be able to do little, especially since the ship is low. A caravel which has thirty men cannot engage a galley which has a high rim and two hundred men, for whom only ten men on the caravel would be free. ... The governor wanted to give it a lateen sail; but there are no people in India from Algarve, Loulé, and Lagos, and the Indians have few men to trim round [four-cornered], and still far less lateen [three-cornered], sails" (Q 1582).

- 359; Pieris I 460; pictures in Jos. Van Laer, S.J., and Louis Sterkens, S.J., *Dans le sillage de François Xavier* [Paris-Bruxelles, 1960] 129 144).
- Catur*: narrow, swift, open, oared sailboat of India, larger than a *fusta*, with fifteen to sixteen banks of oars in 1538 (Leitão 116; Dalgado I 239; Morais II 1030; Yule 175; Fitzler 357; Quadros 139; Pereira 151; Pieris I 460; EX I 214).²
- Champana (sampan)*: common name for large and small freighters differing according to regions. On the Fishery and Coromandel coasts, a single-decked sailboat as large as a small caravel, for twenty-five to thirty persons, used on the Pearl Fisheries (Vol. II, 312; Leitão 120; Dalgado I 254; Morais III 25; Pereira 151; Fitzler 363).
- Cotia*: small, two-masted South-Indian sailboat (Leitão 146; Dalgado I 316; Morais III 634; Pereira 151; Miley 252; Quadros 139; Vol. II, pp. 76 82).
- Dhau (dhow)*: Arab sailing barque on the east coast of Africa (Leitão 165; Yule 314; Quadros 138; Vol. II, pp. 52 98).
- Fusta*: long, oared sailboat with a large lateen sail and one or two masts, used as a freighter and battleship, of some three hundred tons, with fifteen or sixteen banks of oars in 1538, larger than a *catur*, sometimes also called a galiot (Leitão 217; Morais V 382; Fitzler 345; Pereira 151; Sousa, *Or. Conquistado* 2, 4, 2, 3; Vol. II, p. 73; pictures in the atlas of Castro's *Roteiro a Dio*).³
- Galley (galé)*: oared sailing ship with two or three masts and fifteen to thirty banks of oars. The *galé bastarda* had twenty-four banks of oars, the *galé real* usually had twenty-nine (Leitão 219; Morais V 403; Fitzler 341; Nogueira 30-31; pictures: *ibid.* 26 and 31).
- Galleon (galeão)*: high-rimmed ship for war and trade, with two or three decks and four masts, usually called *nau* in the ship logs; in 1537 from 100 to 280 tons; in 1538 from 70 to 300; later up to 1,200 (Leitão 220; Morais V 404; Lopes de Mendonça 25-31; Fitzler 343; Pieris I 460-461; Nogueira 21; Vol. II, pp. 87-88; pictures: Nogueira 17 30 32-33 35).⁴
- Galiot (galeota)*: small galley with sixteen to twenty banks of oars and one or two masts (Leitão 221; Morais V 406; Pereira 151; Pieris I 460; Nogueira 19; Vol. II, p. 88).
- Junk (junco)*: in the narrowest sense, the largest Chinese ship for trade and war, with a rudder fore and aft, a mast and matted sail, of up to seven hundred tons. In regions where Malay was spoken, junks had two masts (Leitão 243; Dalgado I 497; Yule 472; Fitzler 362; Pereira 151-v; Eredia 26-27v; see above, p. 13; picture: Eredia 30v).⁵

² L. Nunes describes his voyage from Bassein to Diu during a monsoon storm in 1546: "cincoenta homens dentro num sambarco, que asy he hum catur, sem ter nenhum guasalhado mao nem bom, senam o rosto no vento, e chover nelles como na rua, e pilhados huns c'os outros como sardinhas, agoua debaxo, agoua derriba, he certo cousa muyto piadosa e pera matar d'enfadamento o mundo todo, e pera jurar todo homem de se fazer irmitam na Serra d'Osa, e de nunca mais ver agoua salguada" (*Crónica* 81-82). Sousa writes: "O Vice-Rei mandou equipar um catur ligeiro, outros dizem fusta; e uma e outra embarcação, aquella menor e esta maior, era descuberta e de vela e remo, como eram ha poucos annos os navios, que na India chamamos da armada" (*Or. Conqu.* 1, 4, 2, 3).

³ In 1536 Diogo Botelho built a *fusta* in India that was 16½ feet long and less than 10 wide and foolhardily sailed it to Portugal with his slaves and five Portuguese (Vol. I, p. 590; Barros 4, 6, 14).

⁴ The *Galeão da carreira* was the royal clove ship which sailed each year to Ternate. A galleon was more maneuverable than a *nau* as a warship.

⁵ In 1527 the Kling merchants wrote to the king from Malacca that the captain

Korakora (*coracora*): oblong, flat, coastal freighter of the Moluccas, with raised fore- and afterdecks, a cabin in the middle, a bamboo mast with matted sail, and outriggers with seats for rowing; those twenty to twenty-five feet long had ten to forty rowers; *korakoras* used for fighting were up to eighty and a hundred feet long and had from fifty to ninety rowers (see above, pp. 95-96; Leitão 139; Dalgado I 307; Morais III 534; Yule 159; Pereira 151v; pictures in Sá III 344; Valentyn II 1, 184).

Lanchara (*lanchara*): small, flat, light, Malayan rowboat with two rudders and masts with matted sails, used for war and trade along the coast (Leitão 246; Dalgado I 508; Morais VI 14; Yule 502; Pereira 151; see above, p. 13; Eredia 26; picture: *ibid.* 30v).

Manchua: Malabar oared barque, similar to a galiot with a mast and square sail for coastal voyages with from ten to forty tons (Leitão 260; Dalgado II 19; Morais VI 466; Yule 549; Fitzler 361; Pieris I 460).

Nau (*nao*): ship with high sides, three decks, three masts, a castle fore and aft, used for trade, of one hundred tons under Vasco da Gama, up to five hundred to a thousand under John III (1537: 150-650; 1538: 250-500), the ordinary ship employed for voyages to India (Lopes de Mendonça 5-11; Leitão 284; Morais VII 195; Fitzler 346-353; Pieris I 460-461; Nogueira 11-14; pictures: *ibid.* 18 20 21 24 26 27 29; HCPB I 76; II 38, and the India fleets from 1497 to 1560 in **Memoria das armadas*).⁶

Navio: in the widest sense, a name for a ship in general, today used for larger ships; in the narrowest sense, a high-bordered ship, smaller than a *nau*, of 120 tons in 1537, of 70 to 140 tons in 1538 (Leitão 286; Morais VII 203-204).⁷

Prau (*prahu, prao, proa, parau, paró*): small ship for war and trade in India and Indonesia, similar to a galiot or *fusta* (Morais VII 810; Dalgado II 170; Yule 733; Fitzler 361; Pereira 151; Pieris I 460; *Grande Enciclopédia* XVIII 461-463; EX I 234).

Ramming fusta (*fusta d'espórão*): *fusta* with a ramming spur (Leitão 217; see above, p. 228).

Taforea: a kind of *nau*, primarily equipped for the carrying of horses, later replaced by *naus* of great tonnage, of four hundred tons in 1538 (Leitão 378; Morais X 595; Lopes de Mendonça 23-25; Fitzler 356; Quadros 141; *Grande Enciclopédia* XXX 541).

Terrada: Arab oared sailboat in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea (Leitão 385; Dalgado II 368; Morais X 809).⁸

had permitted their slaves to become Christians. They could not as a consequence man their junks or provide *lancharas* for His Highness (see above, p. 13).

⁶ According to Bluteau the *naus* which sailed to India under King Manuel did not surpass four hundred tons. John III made them larger: eight to nine hundred tons with up to eight hundred persons and more on board. In 1570 King Sebastian issued an edict that no vessel for India should have more than three or four hundred tons. But the greed of the pepper merchants caused them to be built ever larger (V 671). In 1511-1513 a *nau* of eight hundred tons, the *Santa Catarina de Monte Sinai*, was built in Cochín (Fonseca 257 261). According to Xavier's contemporary, Fernando de Oliveira, Kings Manuel and John III never permitted *naus* of under five hundred tons to be built for the India voyage, and the large ships were from five hundred to a thousand tons (Lopes de Mendonça 10). According to Lopes de Mendonça, there was no essential difference between *naus* and galleons (*ibid.* 27-31). In the sixteenth century Nogueira also wrote that there was no precise distinction between *naus* and galleons (12).

⁷ The term *navio* for a specific type of ship did not come into use in Portugal until the first quarter of the sixteenth century (Lopes de Mendonça 26).

⁸ According to Braz de Albuquerque, at the time of his father's arrival in Ormuz,

Tone (toni): South-Indian oared sailing bark (Leitão 389; Dalgado II 378; Morais XI 19; Fitzler 363; Miley 253; Quadros 141; Pereira 151; Vol. II, p. 294; EX I 204 207 209-210 223 225 235 246).

Urca: heavy, slow, high-sided freighter with two masts, of German origin, of two hundred to nine hundred tons (Leitão 400; Morais XI 433; Lopes de Mendonça 21-22; Fitzler 355; Nogueira 47).

Vallam (balão): light, Indian oared boat (Leitão 58; Dalgado 185, II 401; Morais II 334; Fitzler 363; Miley 253; Pereira 151; Pieris I 460; Eredia 26; Vol. II, p. 294; DI II 217-218).

Zambuco (sambuk): small, Arab oared sailboat; open and flat-bottomed in East Africa (Leitão 418; Morais IX 867, XI 882; Dalgado II 438; Miley 253; Pieris I 460; Vol. II, p. 378).

ADDENDA :

Antonio Galvão, whose work has been published in Hubert Th. Th. M. Jacobs, S. J., *A Treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544). Probably the preliminary version of Antonio Galvao's lost "História das Molucas"* (Rome, 1971) 158-163, has left a description of the vessels used in the Moluccas. Those which have not been included in the foregoing list are as follows:

Djuanga: a large vessel with up to two hundred rowers on both sides and nearly one hundred men-of-the-*baileu* (cabin). Rebelo deemed the number of rowers too high. A smaller *djuanga* was from sixty to seventy-two feet in length with one hundred and fifty rowers and from four to fifty men-of-the-*baileu*.
Kalulus: a boat with outriggers having from twenty to fifty rowers and ten to twenty men-of-the-*baileu*.

Lakafunu: an oared ship not used for carrying cargoes. It was long, low, and narrow, resembling a *djuanga* and employed as a galleon. The ship was protected by boards and rattan so as not to be damaged upon impact.

Camanomi: a ship resembling a galley. Long, high, and wide, it carried from forty to seventy oarsmen and twenty-five men-of-the-*baileu*.

Njonjau: a small boat similar to a *perahu* that was used for fishing. It had from three to twelve rowers and two men-of-the-*baileu*.

Rorehe: a boat with from fifteen to twenty oarsmen and from six to ten men-of-the-*baileu*.

there were in the fleet of the king there many *terradas* "que são como barcas de Alcou-chete" (*Commentarios* 1, 29).

APPENDIX V

COINS, MEASURES, AND WEIGHTS

A. COINS

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History

We have already given a brief account of coins in Europe and their history in Vol. I, p. 735-739. For more on these, see Damião Peres, *História monetária de João III* (Lisboa, 1957), who adds an appendix of sixty-two documents to his researches. The third volume of A. C. Teixeira de Aragão's *Descrição geral* likewise gives 140 official documents on the history of the mints and coins of Portuguese India.

We are here interested only in the period of Francis Xavier, that is, the first half of the sixteenth century. Several authors give brief historical summaries of this time, for example, Gerson da Cunha (17-55); Grogan, *Numismática* (53-104); Yule, under "pardão" (672-678); H. W. Codrington, "The Pedigree of the Pardão," *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* 1 (1915/16) 24-28; and the evolution from Albuquerque until 1569 is given in an edict of the viceroy D. Luis de Ataíde of June 16, 1569, in APO II, n. 54, pp. 174-187. The history is fairly confused and the data of contemporaries, like those of later authors, are full of contradictions, as Yule has noted. Important finds of coins have recently brought more light to this problem. The value of coins was constantly falling, especially of silver and copper coins as the result of the debasement of the alloys, whereas *venezianos*, for example, the Venetian sequins, made of the finest gold, retained their value. The value of the coins frequently changed also according to place and the conditions of the times. The monetary reforms of 1569 attempted to put some order into this. The minting of gold and silver coins was suspended. The silver *patacoës* were withdrawn and melted down, and the viceroy was ordered to improve the copper coins. Of the gold coins, only the *San Thomé* could still be stamped, and only in Goa (APO II, pp. 180-181). Albuquerque had founded a mint in Goa in 1510 and a second mint in Malacca in 1511. A third mint was founded in Cochin in 1544. In Goa gold, silver, and copper coins were minted, in Malacca tin, silver, and gold. In 1554 Antonio Nunez, the controller of currency (*contador e provedor dos contos*) composed his important *Lyvro dos pesos da Imdia, e asy medidas e mohedas* in Goa. In it he discussed coins in circulation from Ormuz and Sofala to China and the Moluccas. This is the most valuable survey that we have for Xavier's time, composed at the request of the king of Portugal by a commission of the viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas, who sent the document to Portugal on December 24, 1555 (TdT: **Fragmentos* 8; see also the *Noticia Preliminar* of R. J. de Lima Felner to his *Subsidios*, p. IX, and Sousa Viterbo, *O The-souro do Rei de Ceylão* 41-44). Ferrand gives his account in a French translation with notes in *Les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies* (34-92).

Prices

Some examples, mainly from Xavier's time, can indicate the value of coins of this period. In 1550 the king gave an annual sum of 120 *xerafins*, the equivalent of 36 *milreis* for the support of Gaspar Barzaeus and his companion (Botelho, *Tombo* 98). According to Correa everything was cheap in Diu during the siege of 1538, since there was always an abundance of food at hand. An egg cost 1 *tanga*, a chicken 2 *pardaus*, an ox for turning a mill 20 *pardaus*, a pound of meat 2 *vintens* (*Lendas* IV 65). In 1549 a *bazaruco* (8 *ceitis*) was enough for the daily support of one man in Bassein (DI I 566). In 1528 four chickens cost 1 *tanga* in Chaul, three gourds 6 *bazarucos*, a small billy-goat 1 *tanga*, rice and fish for the slaves of the hospital for a day 2 *bazarucos* (SR II 149-171). In 1516 according to Barbosa a horse from southern Arabia cost from 500 to 600 *cruzados* in Goa, one from Ormuz cost 200 to 300 (I 65 178). In 1546 D. João de Ataíde sold a horse there, which the king of Basra had given him, for 200 *cruzados* (Q 1961). In 1533 a *canada* (something more than a liter) of cow's or buffalo's milk cost 8 *reis*, a pound of pork 9, a pound of smoked bacon 14; a hen 1 *vintem*; a cock 19 *reis*, a dozen eggs 14, a *canada* of Portuguese wine 60, a dozen figs 2 to 7, a pound of grapes 30, a dozen cucumbers 2.5 (Silva Carvalho 29). In order to obtain

horses in 1547, the king of Vijayanagar sold the Portuguese in Ankola rice at 2 gold *pardaus* per *kandil*, wheat at 5, and barley at 2, and even less (Correa IV 621); and in Goa, in 1548, wheat was sold for 6-7 *pardaus* per *kandil*, rice at 16-17 (Q 3833). In Cochin in 1510 an elephant was purchased for 202 *cruzados* (CA III 317), in 1514 a beautiful horse for 700 *pardaus* (CA I 342) or 700 *xerafins* (Pires I 21). In Quilon everything was cheap: a pound of meat in 1548 cost 8 *ceitis*, 3-4 chickens 40-50 *reis*, whereas in Goa everything was expensive (DI I 417). In Quilon in 1552 3 Jesuits and 50 boys could be supported for an entire year with 400 *pardaus* (Q 4946), while the *vigarario* in 1554 drew an annual salary of 20 *milreis* (Botelho, *Tombo* 39). The monthly salary for the sailors on the oared ships of the India fortresses in 1557 amounted on an average to 300 *reis*, on high-rimmed ships 360 (APO V, n. 200, p. 325). In 1548 in Travancore three large fat chickens were obtained for one *fanam* (25 *reis*) (DI I 319). Before the great famine of 1540 everything on the Coromandel Coast was extremely cheap. In Negapatam, Correa frequently saw 6-8 chickens sold for one *fanam*, that is, for less than 30 *reis* (IV 131-132). He also saw how ten very large chickens were obtained on the Coromandel Coast for one *fanam*, and how a large, live deer (*veado*), a she-goat with two kids, or a pig were obtained for the same price; when prices were very high, these cost 2 *fanams*. But he also added that trade with the Portuguese had tripled prices up to 1560, when he was writing: one could only obtain, for example, four chickens for one *fanam* (II 722). Everything was cheap on Macassar (Celebes). For half a *cruzado* one could obtain 2.5 *kandis* of rice, for 2 *cruzados* a buffalo, for 1.5 *tangas* a pig, for 1 *cruzados* 3,000 sardines, and for 3.5 *pardaus* a slave (Vol. II, p. 523). Castanheda gives the prices during the siege of Ternate in 1536. This led to a severe inflation which was only brought to an end by the new governor Galvão when he lifted the siege and established new prices in this same year. We give a list of both prices and, in brackets, the corresponding prices in the chronicle **Tratado de las yslas de los Malucos* (Q 1158, f. 26), which was composed by Galvão or one of his fellow warriors. Castanheda's lists are in Book VIII, cc. 131 (before Galvão). The price during the siege were: a sardine: 50 (50-60) *reis*; a *cavala*, a cheap fish similar to a sardine: 6 *vintens* (70-80 *reis*); an *alqueire* = 13 liters of rice: 5 *cruzados* (2.5 *milreis*); a *jarra* = 24 *canadas* of sago, which was hardly sufficient for one person for a month: 25-30 *cruzados* (the daily rations of sago per man: 2 *tostões*); a pig: 20 *milreis* (50 *cruzados*); a she-goat: 8 *milreis* (15-16 *cruzados*); a chicken 4 (2-3) *cruzados*; an egg: 30 (20-25) *reis*; a *jarra* of palm wine: 16 *cruzados*; a *pipa* = 430 liters of Portuguese wine: 100 *milreis* (300 *cruzados*); a cooking pot: 1 *tostão* and more; a coat of mail 100-150 (100) *cruzados*, a musket: 30 (40-50) *cruzados*; a lance, a sword, or a small leathern shield: 25 (20-25) *cruzados* each; a dagger: 12 *cruzados*; further, according to the **Tratado*: a gourd: 50-60 *reis*; a banana 8-10; sago bread, which for 2 *tostões* a day lasted hardly a month: 50 *cruzados*; a *canada* = a large liter of oil: 4 *cruzados*; a pair of knives: 6-7 *tostões*; a drinking pot: 50 *reaes*; a cap: 20 *cruzados*; a pair of slippers: 8-9 *cruzados*. Against these Galvão sets the normal price: an *alqueire* of rice: 60 *reis*; a *jarra* of sago: 200 *reis*; a pig: 3 *milreis*; a she-goat: 2 *cruzados*; a chicken: 50 *reis*; a kid 3 *tostões*, and a suckling pig: 1 *cruzado*.

List of Coins

N.B. For the coins used in Portugal, see Vol. I, pp. 735-736: *milreis* (1,000 *reis*), *cruzado* (400 *reis*), *tostão* (100 *reis*), *real* (40 *reis*), *vintem* (20 *reis*), *maravedi*

(27 *reis*), copper *real* (6 *ceitis*), and *ceitil*. In the following summary we give the city and value in *reis* for the year 1554 according to Nunez unless otherwise noted.

Barganim: silver coin: 28.8 *reis* in Goa (Nunez 31; Dalgado I 99; Ferrand 75; Yule 68 676; Gerson da Cunha 24 36; picture, Molinari 31).

Bazaruco: copper coin (also called *leal*): 1.2 *reis* in Goa (1/50 *tanga*). M. A. de Sousa had debased *bazarucos* minted in Cochin in 1544 at 0.85 *reis* or 1/70 *tanga*. In 1545, D. João de Castro, at the request of the people, had these replaced by the earlier good coins; cf. Q 1535-1536 1543-1559 1577 1607 1773, and Correa IV 337 429 435-437 (Nunez 31; Dalgado I 109; Ferrand 89; Yule 121 676; Cunha 46 78-79 105-106; Campos, nn. 3 5; Grogan, *Cat.*, nn. 1500-1503; poor coins, nn. 1351-1352; pictures of debased coins Grogan, *Cat.*, nn. 1500-1501 1503; pictures of good coins, Cunha, pl. 6, n. 1 good).

Caixa (*sapeken*): Chinese copper coin with a square hole in the center, introduced into Malay and Indonesia from China: 0.3 *reis*; in 1543 in Ternate 1,200 of these were equal to one *cruzado* (**Tratado* 15). In February, 1523, Ruy Gago wrote from Ternate: "The coins of the land brought by the Javanese, the *caixas*, are made of copper. Fifty of these are worth one *vintem*, 1,000 one *cruzado*. In October money of higher value began to be minted here: on one side the Portuguese coat of arms, on the other a sphere. Two kinds of *caixas* are minted here, the larger corresponds to five of theirs, the smaller to two. But people are very reluctant to accept them" (Sá I 166-167). In 1534 Captain Tristão de Ataíde wrote: "The salaries of the men are paid here in *caixas*. The captains who came to this fortress (Ternate) were accustomed to bring them from Java, and if there were many *caixas* on hand, they set the price at 600 to a *cruzado*, but if they were few at 1,000 *caixas*. Each captain as a consequence fixed the value of the *cruzado* as he wished. Since the time of Dom Jorge [de Meneses, 1527-1530] the *cruzado* has been fixed at 800 *caixas* and the salary of the men at 500 *reis* per month, which is in reality 300 *reis* since they are paid in *caixas*" (*ibid.* 313-314). On the *caixas* see: Nunez 41; Dalgado I 175; Ferrand 88-89; Yule 167 293; Pereira 150-v; Grogan, *Num.* 113; picture, Molinari 61).

Calaim: Tin coin in Malacca: 1.5 *reis*. According to the *Commentarios* of Albuquerque Sultan Iskandar Shah (1414-1424) minted the first *caixas* in Malacca with the permission of his Chinese overlord. One hundred of these were worth one *calaim*, which was fixed at 11 *reis*, 4 *ceitis* (3, 17). In 1511, immediately after the capture of the city of Malacca, Albuquerque minted gold coins (*catholicos*), silver coins (*malqueses*), and tin pieces to replace the earlier tin coinage (*ibid.* 3, 32). The *calaim* bore the Portuguese coat of arms and was worth 1/40 *tanga* (Grogan, *Num.* 121-122). In 1581 20 *calains* were worth one *vintem* (*Pereira 150); cf. Dalgado I 179; Grogan, *Num.* 109-115, and R. Hanitsch, "On a Collection of Coins from Malacca," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the R. Asiatic Society* 39 (1903) 183-202.

Chakra (*chocrão*, also simply called a *fanam*): 29 *reis* in 1554 in Negapatam. Tiny gold coins worth 1.5 *fanams* with the picture of Vishnu's quoit (*chakra*) (Nunez 36; Dalgado I 277; Ferrand 82; Yule 217; Vol. II, p. 550).

Cruzado: gold coin: 360 *reis* in Goa in 1554; but "cruzados de Portugal de ley nova: 420 *reis*" (Nunez 31-32). In 1510 Albuquerque had gold *cruzados* worth 420 *reis* stamped in Goa (Correa II 76).

Fanam: Tiny gold coin in South India: 20 to 40 *reis* according to time and place:

- in 1554 in Kāyalpatnam on the Fishery Coast: 22.3 *reis*; in paying taxes on the Pearl Fishery, it was reckoned at 25-30 *reis* (see Vol. II, pp. 260 319 374 408; Nunez 36; Dalgado I 386; Ferrand 83; Yule 348-349; Cunha 50; pictures, Molinari 151 and pl 79, 12-14).
- Fédea*: copper coin, also an imaginary coinage: 12-15 *reis* in Konkan. In 1554 four were worth one *tanga*; before 1546 they were valued at six in leases and in the *foral* (Botelho, *Tombo* 161; Dalgado I 393; Yule 350; Cunha 49).
- Larim*: silver coin in the shape of a bent wire with a Persian stamp, introduced into India from Ormuz: 60 *reis* (Dalgado I 513; Yule 506; Barbosa I 99-100; APO II, n. 54, p. 185; Cunha 63-70; Grogan, *Cat.*, nn. 1330-1343; Pereira 150; Molinari 235-236; pictures, *ibid.*, pl. 81, 18-21; Grogan, *Cat.*, nn. 1330-1341).
- Leal*: copper coin: 1.2 *reis* (1/50 *tanga*). Since 1542 also called *bazaruco* (Cunha 46). Albuquerque minted *leais*, 48 of which amounted to one *tanga*. The viceroy D. Antão de Noronha (1564-1568) ordered 60 *leais* to be given for a *tanga*, but on the continent 80 or more were asked for one. In 1569 the king consequently ordered a remedy to be found for this (APO II, n. 54, p. 178). Cf. Nunez 31; Dalgado I, 524; Ferrand 75; Cunha 23 25 46; Grogan, *Num.* 118; Grogan, *Cat.*, nn. 1492-1494 1496; pictures, *ibid.* 1493).
- Malaquês*: silver coin: 1,000 *reis*. In 1511 Albuquerque had these minted at this value out of purest silver in Malacca (Castanheda 3, 61). Cf. Dalgado II 16; Yule 504; EX I 437; Grogan, *Num.* 113-114; picture, *ibid.*, n. 116.
- Pagoda* (*varāha*): gold coin with the incarnation of Vishnu as a boar: 360 *reis*, minted in South India by the pagan princes. The *Tombo Geral* states that the *pagoda*, formerly called a gold *pardau*, was equal to 13 *baranis*, the equivalent of 360 *reis* (APO V, p. 326). Cf. Dalgado II 133; Yule 653; Cunha 21-22 71-74; Grogan, *Num.* 21-28; picture, Molinari 362).
- Pardau*: gold coin: 360 *reis* (6 *tangas*); silver coin: 300 *reis* (5 *tangas*). On this see Codrington, "The Pedigree of the Pardão," *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* 1 (1915/16) 24-28, and the edict of Governor Francisco Barreto of August 27, 1557, on the value of the *pardau* in Diu (APO V, n. 200, pp. 324-326); see also Nunez 31; Dalgado II 175; Ferrand 75; Yule 672-678; picture, Molinari 364).
- Pataka* (*patacão*): silver coin: 300 *reis*. The *pataka* was a coin of the viceroy D. Affonso de Noronha (1550-1554) valued at one gold *pardau* (360 *reis*). The people immediately put up a strong resistance to it, and it constantly sank in value. In 1569 the king ordered no more to be minted and those in circulation to be melted down (APO II, n. 54, pp. 176-184). In 1567 80 *patakas* were worth 1,000 *fanams* (DI VII 427-428), and in 1569 a *pataka* was worth only 300 *reis* (ARSI: *Lus.* 63, 194). Cf. Yule 683; Cunha 48 52 79; Grogan, *Num.* 73-88; Vol. II, p. 312; picture, Molinari 367).
- São Thomé*: gold coin with the image of the apostle Thomas: 1,000 *reis*. This was a new coin which came from Lisbon with the fleet of 1545. The king had had it minted from the gold *pardaus* which he had received from M. A. de Sousa. The *São Thomé* was a *pardau* stamped as a *cruzado* and was worth 1,000 *reis*. It had the Portuguese coat of arms on one side and on the other the image of St. Thomas with the inscription: "India tibi cessit" (Correa IV 434). Under D. João de Castro and Garcia de Sá, they were also stamped in Goa (Grogan, *Num.* 57-59), and others later of a different value (*ibid.* 57-73). Under John III they were also minted in silver with a value of 360 *reis* and had the portrait of the apostle seated (*ibid.* 59 92). In 1569 King Sebastian

ordered no more silver coins to be minted in India; and the only gold coins that could be minted were *São Thomés*, in Goa, worth 360 *reis* (APO II, n. 54, pp. 180-184). See also Cunha 47; Peres, *História* 33-34; Grogan, *Cat.*, nn. 1504-1505; pictures, *ibid.* 1504-1505, *Num.* n. 45, Cunha, pl. 2, 6.

Tael: Chinese weight and silver coin: around 540 *reis*. According to Valignano in 1583, 9,000 *taels* were worth 14,000 ducats (148); in 1598 he wrote from Macao that a *tael* there was worth 11 *tangas* (660 Portuguese *reis*), since 8,000 *taels* equalled 12,000 *cruzados* (Evora, Bibl. Pública 115-27, f. 50). According to Mendes Pinto, 2 *taels* were worth 3 *cruzados* (c. 35). Cf. Dalgado II 335; Yule 888; Pereira 150v.

Tanga: silver coin: 60 *reis* (50 *leais*). The *tanga branca* was an imaginary coinage. According to Filipe Neri Xavier, it was worth 152½ *reis* on Salsette and Bardez, in Goa and on its three neighboring islands 96 (Dalgado II 355). According to the *Tombo Geral*, the *tanga branca* was worth 4 *barganis* (APO V, p. 326). Cf. Nunez 31; Dalgado II 355-357; Ferrand 75; Yule 896-898; Cunha 60-63; Pereira 150; Vol. II, pp. 238-243-523; picture, Molinari 509.

Venezianos (sequins): gold coin: 420 *reis* (7 *tangas*). They came to India from Venice by way of Ormuz. They were made of the purest gold and always maintained their value. Cf. EX II 480; Nunez 32; Yule 964; Pereira 150.

Xerafim (ashrafi): gold coin: 300 *reis* (5 *tangas*). Came to India from Ormuz, where one *leque* equaled 50 *xerafins*, one *xerafim* = 2 *azares* = 20 *candis* = 300 *reis* = 2,000 *dinares* (Barros 2, 10, 7, p. 480). In 1550 the captain in Ormuz received each year 2,000 *xerafins* = 600 *milreis*; Gaspar Barzaeus and his companion together 120 = 36 *milreis*; the *vigario* 113⅓ = 34 *milreis*; his four beneficiaries together 280 *xerafins* = 84 *milreis* (Botelho, *Tombo* 95-98). Cf. Barbosa I 99-101; Nunez 32; Dalgado II 424; Ferrand 75; Yule 974-975; Cunha 59; Pereira 150). Silver *xerafins* valued at 300 *reis* were not minted in Goa until 1569 (Grogan, *Num.* 79).

B. MEASURES AND WEIGHTS

We give the Portuguese measures and weights according to Angelo Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia* (Torino, 1883) 277-279, the Asian mainly according to Nunez. We give their metric equivalents according to the tabulations of José Gomes Goes, which Lima Felner adds to his edition of Nunez, pp. 45-64.

1. Portuguese Linear Measures (before 1835)

Legua (league): 6.1-6.6 km. (3 *milhas*; the English league has 4.8 km.).

Legua marítima: 5.5 km. (1/20 degree).

Milha: 2 km. (the English mile has 1.62 km.).

Milha marítima (sea mile; knot): 1.8 km. (1/60 degree).

Braça (fathom): 2.18 m. (2 *varas*; the English fathom has 1.83 m.).

Vara (large ell): 1.10 m. (5 *palmos*).

Covado (small ell): 0.65 m. (3 *palmos*).

Pé (foot): 0.33 m. (1.5 *palmos*).

Palmo (span): 0.22 m.

Pollegada (inch): 0.02 m.

2. *Dry measures*

a) Portuguese (of 1835)

Moio: 811 liters (15 *fangas*).

Fanga: 55 liters (4 *alqueires*).

Almude: 16-25 liters (1/2 *fanga*).

Alqueire (bushel): 13.5 liters.

Quarta: 3.3 liters.

b) Asian

Kandil, for wheat and rice: 245 liters in Goa and Bassein, 218 in Cochin. Cf. Nunez 31; Dalgado I 199; Ferrand 268, index.

Curó (alqueire): 8 liters. Cf. Dalgado I 337; Ferrand 247.

Medida: 1 liter (cf. Nunez 31; Dalgado II 47; Ferrand 269, index: measures).

Jarra: 33.6 liters. In Ternate also used as a dry measure for rice. Cf. Nunez 40; Dalgado I 488; Ferrand 88.

3. *Portuguese liquid measures (before 1835)*

Tonelada: 860 liters (2 *pipas*).

Pipa: 430 liters (26 *almudes*).

Barril: 298 liters (18 *almudes*).

Almude: 16.5 liters (2 *alqueires*).

Alqueire: 8 liters (6 *canadas*).

Candada: 1.3 liters.

4. *Weights*

a) Portuguese (before 1835)

Tonelada: 793 kilograms (13.5 *quintaes* = 54 *arrobas*).

Quintal (hundredweight): 59 kg. (4 *arrobas*).

Arroba: 15 kg. (32 *arrateis*).

Arratel (pound): 0.459 kg.

Quarto: 0.11 kg. (4 *onças*).

Onça (ounce): 0.03 kg.

Quilate (carat): 0.20 gramm (4 grains). Measure for gold and precious stones.

b) Asian

Bahār: 141-330 kg., varying according to time, place, and wares. On the difficulties and mistakes in reckoning, see Lima Felner, *Subsidios*, pp. VI-VII. See the same work, pp. 44-55, for reckonings in kilograms derived from the data furnished by A. Nunez: Bassein 235, Banda 330, Cannanore 205, Ceylon 176 Chaul 235, Chaul Basar (Estamim) 211, Cochin, Quilon 166, Cuama 293, Malacca: the large Achinese *bahār* 210, the small one 183, Maluco 273, Mozambique 229, Negapatam, Pulicat 211, Sofala 247. Nunez distinguishes between the large and small Achinese *bahār* in Malacca. The large had 3 *quintaes*, 2 *arrobas*, 10 *arrateis*, and with it were purchased cloves, nutmegs, *maça* (the husk of nutmegs) sandalwood, pepper, *pucho* (a drug), incense, gallnuts, myrrh, brazilwood, iron, sulphur, saltpeter. The small *bahār* had 3 *quintaes*, 16 *arrateis*. With it were purchased tin, Chinese silks, ivory, opium, rosewater, storax, Chinese camphor, and other wares (39). According to Garcia da Orta, the *bahār* used in the purchase of camphor in China was about 600 *arrateis* (3 *quintaes*), that used in the purchase of sandalwood in India and cinnamon

in Malabar was 4 *quintaes* (II 282). In 1534 Tristão de Ataíde wrote from Ternate that 4,500 *bahārs* of cloves amounted to 24,640 *quintaes* (Sá I 232), in 1537, 300 *bahārs* were the equivalent of 1,500 *quintaes* (*ibid.* 355). The *bahār* thus had according to him 5 *quintaes*. On this see Vol. II, p. 84. According to Queyroz 300 *bahārs* of cinnamon were the equivalent of 1,200 *quintaes* (*Conquista da Índia* 342). The *bahār* thus equaled 4 *quintaes*. The *bahār* for the annual tribute of the king of Kōttē was reckoned at 3 *quintaes* (Vol. II, p. 143). The *bahār* used in the purchase of ivory in Sofala, Mozambique, and on the Cuama River had 4 *quintaes* (*ibid.* 61). Cf. Dalgado I 78; Ferrand 264, index; Yule 47.

Cate (English catty): 625 grammes. A Chinese weight equal to 12 *taels* 1/100 *pico*, common in China and Malay. According to Nunez it was the equivalent of 1.05 kg. in Malacca, 1.36 in Maluco, 0.61 in China. Nunez gives its equivalent as 16 *taels*. Orta notes that Borneo camphor was sold according to *cates*, China camphor according to *bahārs*; and that the *cate* came to 20 ounces, the *bahār* to 600 *arrateis* (I 159). Cf. Nunez 41; Dalgado I 232; Ferrand 265, index; Yule 175; Orta, index.

Kandil: 200 kg. According to Nunez the *kandil* in Goa in 1554 weighed 20 *mãos* = 480 *arrateis*, that is, 3 *quintaes*, 3 *arrobas* (31), the equivalent of 220 kg., in Chaul 325, in Cochin 214 kg. Cf. Nunez 31; Dalgado I 199; Ferrand 265, index; Yule 155; Vol. II, p. 523.

Mangelim: 4.5-8 grains. A small weight somewhat heavier than a carat, for the weighing of gold, diamonds, and other precious stones. Cf. Nunez 35; Dalgado II 29; Ferrand 81; Yule 553; Orta II 196.

Mão (*man*, English maund): 1.75 kg., differing according to place and circumstance. The *mão* had 11.01 kg. in Goa, 11.75 in Bassein, 10.55 in Negapatam in 1554. According to Nunez a *mão* in Goa was equal to around 24 *arrateis* (31); according to Garcia da Orta it was the equivalent of 27 in Cambay (II 330). Cf. Nunez 31; Dalgado II 34; Ferrand, 266, index; Yule 563; Orta, index.

Metical (*matical*): 4.41 grammes. Arabic gold weight. Cf. Vol. II, p. 47; Nunez 27; Dalgado II 43; Ferrand 266, index; Yule 568; Orta I 165.

Pico (*pikol*): 61 kg., that is, practically a quintal. Chinese weight of 100 *cates*. Cf. Nunez 41; Dalgado II 208; Ferrand 267, index; Yule 690.

Tael: 48 grammes. Chinese weight equal to 1/16 *cate*. Cf. Nunez 41-42; Dalgado II 335; Ferrand 99; Yule 888.

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>Historia 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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ADDENDA:

Two of the works cited as manuscripts in the Bibliography have appeared in critical editions. These are the **Tratado de las yslas de los Malucos*, and **Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M., Conquista espiritual do Oriente*, which have been published as follows:

A Treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544). Probably the preliminary version of António Galvão's lost "*História das Molucas*." Edited, annotated, and translated into English from the Portuguese manuscript in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, by Hubert Th. M. Jacobs, S. J. Rome, 1971.

Frei Paulo da Trindade. Conquista Espiritual do Oriente. Repartida em três volumes. Introdução e notas de F. Félix Lopes, O.F.M. Lisboa, 1962, 1964, 1967. See also: *Chapters on the Introduction of Christianity to Ceylon, taken from the "Conquista Espiritual do Oriente" of Friar Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M.* Translated and annotated by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., and Friar Achilles Meersman, O.F.M. Colombo, 1972. For further information on these works, see Vol. III, pp. 625-626, 629.

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