

## SOME PORTUGUESE ATTITUDES TO THE TAMILS OF SRI LANKA 1550—1658

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While greatly flattered at being asked to contribute an article to this Volume in honour of my old friend and colleague, Rev. Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, I am also considerably embarrassed, since I know no Tamil and have never been in Tamilnad. My woeful ignorance of Tamil studies has compelled me to choose a theme of only marginal relevance, and one which I cannot develop in any depth owing to lack of time and of several obvious sources, such as Fr. Josef Wicki S. J., *Documenta Indica* (10 vols. Rome, 1948 - in progress), which are not available to me at the time of writing. If the subject is worth pursuing, it would best be developed either by a Tamil scholar who knows Portuguese, or by a Portuguese who knows Tamil. This contribution does not purport to be anything more than a few preliminary soundings and tentative indications. Obviously, any discussion of the Tamils of Sri Lanka cannot be divorced from a consideration of those of Travancore and Madura, but the emphasis here will be on the former.

The differences between Tamils and Sinhalese must have been obvious to those Portuguese who spent any length of time in Sri Lanka; but those without personal knowledge of the island were apt to lump them together under the term *gentio*, "heathen", making no distinction between Buddhists and Hindus. Fernao Lopes de Castanheda (c. 1500-1559), the chronicler who lived for about ten years in India (1528-38), and who may have visited Sri Lanka, still made no clear-cut distinction between them when he published his account of the island in 1551-54.<sup>1</sup> "And all these other cities, save only that of Colombo, are ruled by some lords who call themselves kings: and they maintain a regal estate after their manner. However, they all render vassalage and obedience to the chief king, who is in Colombo, and whom they acknowledge as their lord. And they are all of them heathen ("E todos sam gentios") and so are the inhabitants of the whole island, save only in all the seaports, where there are many Muslim merchants who render obedience to the lords of the soil. The language(s) of the heathen are Canara and Malabar. They are men who are rather unwarlike,<sup>2</sup> because apart from being merchants they are much addicted to good living and are effeminate:

They are well formed and almost white, and most of them have big bellies, and they consider a big belly as honourable. They go naked above the waist, and below the waist they wear garments of silk and cotton which they call *patolas*.<sup>3</sup> In their ears they wear very rich earrings of gold, jewelry and coarse mother-of-pearl, so heavy that they stretch the lobes of the ears downwards as far as the chest. The poor people of this island often sell themselves (as slaves), and a man usually fetches some 200 or 300 reis,"

Joao de Barros, whose *Decadas* appeared at about the same time as Castanheda's *Historia*, similarly made no distinction between Tamils and Sinhalese in his classic description of Sri Lanka; although, unlike Castanheda, he does make a specific, if passing, reference to the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam.<sup>4</sup>

"And along the sea-coast of this island are these kingdoms: Batecalou, which is the easternmost in it; and between it and that of Cande ( Kandy), which lies to the west thereof, is another called Vilacem ( Wellassa ). And going along the coast of the island towards the north above Batecalou is the kingdom of Trinquinamale, which by the coast upward comes to adjoin another called Iafnapatam, which is at the point of the island towards the north, the which kingdoms adjoin one another in the interior."

Barros goes on to explain that the extent and boundaries of these kingdoms constantly fluctuated according to the power of their respective rulers and the vicissitudes of the wars in which they were continually engaged. He does not state that Jaffnapatam was a Hindu Tamil kingdom; but, on the contrary, obsessed by his interest in and his admiration for China, he tries to prove that the islanders were partly of Chinese origin. "The Chijs were masters of the Choromandel coast, part of Malabar, and of this island of Ceilam, and of those called Maldiva." Misled by this conviction, Barros fantastically derives Sinhalese ( Chingalla) from " Chinese of Galle" ( como se dissessem lingua ou gente do Chijs de Galle).

Barros, usually so careful and discriminating an ethno-historian, has compounded his confusion between Tamils, Sinhalese and Chinese, in his earlier description of Malabar and its peoples (*Decada I, Book 9, ch. iii*), where he writes:

....."the native heathen (gentio) and proper indigenous inhabitants of the country are those people whom we call Malabares. There is another, which came thither from the coast of Choromandel by reason of the trade, whom they call Chingalas, who have their own language, whom our people commonly call Chatijs. These are men who are such born traders and so sharp in their dealings that our people, whenever they want to blame or praise a man for his subtlety and skill in merchandising, they say of him 'he is a Chatim; and they use the word *chatinar* for ' to trade '. These words are already very common usage among us." As several commentators have pointed out, Barros has evidently confused Chingala with Chelim, or Kling, and with the Chetti from Coromandel.<sup>5</sup>

Diogo do Couto (c. 1542-1616), the first resident official chronicler of Portuguese India and keeper of the Archives at Goa, who continued the *Decadas* of Joao de Barros, likewise tried his hand at a description of Sri Lanka and its inhabitants (*Decada V*, Livro I, cap. v) Couto claims that he got much of his information on the traditional history of the island from several Christianised Sinhalese princes who were refugees or captives at Goa. He does give a meagre and rather inaccurate summary of the *Rajavaliya*; but from recently published documents it would seem that his principal informant was in reality an Augustinian missionary-friar, Fr. Agostinho de Azevedo, of whom he says nothing.<sup>6</sup> Whatever the explanation for this deliberate omission may be, Couto's account in *Decada V* is still a very interesting, if at times a very confused one.

Like Barros, and presumably following him, Couto (or his Augustinian informant) derived the origin of the Sinhalese from the intermarriage of Chinese sailors, traders and colonisers, with the Aryan and Dravidian inhabitants, whose first ancestors had been banished from Northern India and intermarried with women from Malabar and Coromandel. Unlike Barros, however, Couto (or, rather, his Augustinian informant) disliked the Chinese, whose defects he claimed that the Sinhalese had inherited; "And so, as they proceed from the Chins, who are the falsest heathens of the East, and from the banished men who had been expelled from their own country as wicked and cruel: so all those of this island are the most cowardly, false and deceitful that there are in the whole of India, because never up to this day has there been found in a Chingalla faith or truth."

Whether Couto included the Tamils of Jaffna in this sweeping and palpably unfair assertion is not apparent, but elsewhere in this same chapter of *Decada V*, he makes two statements, which can be taken as including both Sinhalese and Tamils, or as he calls the latter "Malavares". After recounting that when the Portuguese first reached the island, their artillery and firearms greatly astonished and impressed the inhabitants, since they had never seen them before,<sup>7</sup> he proceeds: "after we had entered it, with the continual use of the war that we made on them, they became as dexterous as they are today, being able to cast the best and handsomest artillery in the world, and to make the finest firelocks, and better than ours, of which there are in the island today more than twenty thousand. This was the reason why Scipio was of opinion that one should never make war continuously on one same nation, lest they should become dexterous, as we have done to the Chingalas and Malavares, who by continual use are today more skilful than all the nations of the East, and so have given us more trouble to the State (of India) than all the others."<sup>8</sup>

I may add here that among the presents sent by King Philip III of Spain (II of Portugal) to Shah Abbas the Great of Persia, by his ambassador Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa in 1617, were several pikes and firearms made in Ceylon which were very richly inlaid and decorated. These were of Sinhalese manufacture; but the Tamils may have been equally expert, for all I know (*Commentarios de Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa*, 2 vols., Madrid 1905, Vol. II, p. 83).

Couto's immediate successors have left nothing in writing on Sri Lanka that has come down to us; but Antonio Bocarro, who was the official chronicler and keeper of the archives at Goa from 1631 to 1643, has a valuable account of the island and its inhabitants in the famous *Livro do Estado da India Oriental*, which he compiled together with his colleague, the viceregal secretary, Pedro Barreto de Rezende.<sup>9</sup> Writing of the island of Mannar and its inhabitants, he observes: "All the people of the island, who are of the so-called Careas and Balas castes<sup>10</sup> are Christians and they are very good men-at-arms. Some of them have firelocks and others have bows and arrows; and armed with these, they assemble under their own captains whenever they are called up for service. They are always obedient, and they muster between 2,000 and 2,200 armed men altogether.....On the land (opposite Mannar) which is called Mantota, there are some ten leagues of land on the island of Ceilao, containing villages which have been granted to the Portuguese inhabitants of Mannar, but remaining largely depopulated. The remaining inhabitants are all Christians, very good men-at-arms, amounting to about one thousand. Most of them are armed chiefly with firelocks, in the use of which they are very skilful, and they all obey the summons of the captain of Mannar. The reason why there are so few of them in such a large extent of land, is partly because of the continual wars which have diminished their number, but not least because of the tyrannies of the captains of Mannar, who oppress them so much that they oblige them to leave their lands, and hence a great part thereof is depopulated. Yet these people are better Christians and more obedient than the Chingalas on the other side, for they rarely join with the king ( of Kandy ) who is always trying to stir up everyone against the Portuguese.<sup>11</sup>" Bocarro also noted that most of the "Balalas, Carias, Chandos" in the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam had by now been converted to Christianity; but he adds that the Portuguese had disarmed them (....."os mais sao gente de armas mas nos Ihas tiramos nao consentindo que as tenham"). And thus there are in the whole of this kingdom forty-two churches, of which the Franciscan friars administer twenty-five, and the Paulistas<sup>12</sup> fifteen. These are all parish churches with a large number of Christians, although they are not such perfect Christians as there are in many parts of Europe. Yet withal, since we can here use the secular arm to enforce compliance, they are very respectful to the Fathers; and they serve and obey them so well, that some of the lay Portuguese who have been granted villages in fief by the Crown complain that the said Fathers usurp all the jurisdiction and control from them."<sup>13</sup>

It is interesting to contrast Antonio Bocarro's praise of the martial qualities of the Balalas and Carias of Mannar and Jaffnapatnam with the scornful dismissal of them by Padre Fernao de Queiroz S. J., writing in 1687. Neither Queiroz nor ( in all likelihood ) Bocarro, had ever been in Sri Lanka; but they were both relying on the reports and writings of people who had, so the discrepancy is rather curious. In the course of his lengthy description of the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam, one of the fullest and best which we have from a Portuguese source, father Queiroz affirms<sup>14</sup> "It was well peopled in the time of the native kings; in that of the Portuguese, leaving out women and children, there would be about 20,000men. They are very poor people and extremely weak, because they are Balalas, a race (casta)



different from that of the Chingalas, and they are said to originate from Bramanes (Brahmans) of the continent, a people who never fared well at arms, because they never professed them; and the kings were obliged to keep a garison and a guard of Badagas from the opposite coast. And they are commonly held to be Malavares, not of the Muslim pirates who settled on this coast, but of the heathen inhabitants of the land, and neither in language nor in religion are they at all like the Chingalas, though they are equally superstitious, and they hold tenets so extremely bestial that only men who deliberately wish or err can accept the nonsense they practice."

The conversion of the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam to Christianity is recounted in detail by the Franciscan chronicler, Fr. Paulo da Trindade, in his *Spiritual Conquest of the East*, compiled at Goa in 1630-36<sup>16</sup>. After listing the distribution of the parish churches and their communicants, he proceeds: "And according to this account, the Christians which we have in the kingdom of Jaffnapatao and its neighbouring islands amount to 71,438, all, or nearly all, of whom were converted to the faith and baptized by our Religious during the last ten years, excluding 400 who were baptized in the month of August of the year 1634, which is when we are writing this chapter, and as many more who are ready to be baptized soon, according to what the Commissary of that kingdom writes, to whom I assigned, by reason of my charge of Commissary-General in these regions, the task of computing this number with great accuracy and diligence. This total does not include the Christians which we have in the churches of Mantota, whom we will deal with later, who also belong to the district of this kingdom, nor those who have died during the past ten years, who amount to a great number."<sup>16</sup>

From the two aptly-named *Conquistas* of Fr. Paulo da Trindade O.F.M., and Fr. Fernao de Queiroz S. J., as well as from Bocarro's *Livro do Estado da India Oriental* and from all other Portuguese sources, it is perfectly clear that the great bulk of these mass-conversions were made by a mixture of carrot-and-stick methods during the years when the famous (or infamous, according to taste) Felipe de Oliveira was the *conquistador*, governor and captain-general of the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam, 1619-27. As Fr. Paulo himself noted at the end of his chapter 51: "I conclude this chapter by stating that if there had been a viceroy, who, as regards the conversion of the unbelievers, had had the zeal which Felipe de Oliveira showed when governing the kingdom of Jaffnapatao, there would now be very few heathen in Goa, Salsete, Bardes and in the other regions of this State."<sup>17</sup> Temple-bashing was one of his favourite occupations, and he boasted that he had destroyed some 500 Hindu temples by the end of his life.

Fr. Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M., assures us that the Franciscan friars in Sri Lanka were very diligent in learning the language spoken by their converts and parishoners, whether Sinhalese or Tamil. He makes particular mention of a Fr. Mateus de Cristo in Jaffnapatnam, whose Tamil was so excellent that "if they heard him speak and did not see his face, he would have been taken for a native." Another friar, Francisco de Santo Antonio had translated into Tamil the *Symbol of the Faith* by Cardinal Robert

Bellarmino, and was then (in 1634) engaged on translating the Franciscan chronicles into that language. The Jesuit<sup>18</sup> missionaries also included a number of men who made a diligent study of Tamil, both on the Malabar coast and in Sri Lanka, beginning with the *Doctrina Christam en Lingua Malavar Tamul* of Henrique Henriques S. J. (1520—1600) in 1578, and including the posthumously published *Vocabulario Tamulico com a significacam portugueza* (1679) of Antao Proenca (1625-1666). These works are well-known and have been intensively studied.<sup>19</sup> Naturally enough, they did not reflect an interest in Tamil culture for its own sake, but rather the need to use the language for Christian propaganda. As Donald Lach has observed; the missionaries working in Tamilnad showed almost no understanding of Hinduism and remained completely untouched by the higher elements of Hindu thought, with the exception of Roberto de Nobili (1577-1656)<sup>20</sup>. They never bothered to acquire and translate Tamil writings into European languages for the information and benefit of the Western World; unlike their colleagues of the China mission, who often had such an appreciation of some aspects of Chinese culture that they became enthusiastic propagandists thereof. The missionaries also varied, naturally enough perhaps, in their evaluation of Tamil as a language. Those, like Henrique Henriques and Proenca, who made a thorough study of either Tamil or of Malayalam, or of both, were rightly appreciative of their respective qualities. The same can be said of Diogo Goncalves S. J. (1561—1640), who wrote in his *Historia do Malavar* (c. 1615):<sup>21</sup> "There is a language current throughout the whole of Malavar which they call maleame, because of the Malavares who speak it. It is different from the other Indian languages, although it has much in common with the Tamul language, rather like the connection between portuguese and spanish; so that whoever knows one language well can more or less understand the other. They are methodical languages and extremely copious in their vocabularies; the nouns with every variety of cases, and the verbs with every variety of tenses, conjugations and different persons. In short, they express themselves very elegantly, using some expressions when talking with the common people, others with the upper classes, and others for kings and princes. They are so respectful when speaking of these last, that they even call them by no lesser name than that of God." Padre Goncalves was also very complimentary about the Tamil alphabet and writing; although he noted that it was necessary to speak it well, as a reading knowledge would often not enable the reader to distinguish between consonants and vowels.

Others were not so complimentary. The remarkably industrious but rather narrow-minded Fernao de Quiroz S. J. (1617—1688), wrote in his previously quoted *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*:<sup>22</sup>

"Among them are the teachers of reading and writing, and they teach the Malavar language, which they call Tamul, esteemed by the nations who sail to the Cape of Comory (Comorim) and the coast of Choromandel, just as here in Hindustan (the language) which they call Marassetta (Marathi), although it is barbarous not only in comparison with Greek and Latin, but even with the other languages of Europe. A general defect of these languages is that, although they abound in nouns, they are very poor in verbs. They are still more barbarous in orthography and in pronunciation, because

they neither separate the words nor the periods by fullstops and commas, and only in the beginning of their words do they use a vowel, for in the middle of the words they supply it by different characters which the Chingalas call *combas*, *espilas*, *alopilas*, *papilas*,<sup>23</sup> and they use only eleven characters, though they are more beautiful than those of other Asian nations, whose languages generally are very difficult to pronounce..... Wherefore the best way is to learn first their letters and their pronounciation, for he who speaks them properly will also be able to pronounce the languages. And this is one of the difficulties in refuting their errors, and in composing books for that purpose, because the European printed works are not understood by them by reason of the different characters; and we do not understand their languages without making a special study of them. And although in our other Provinces such as in that of Malavar, or of China, it is enough to learn the Tamul or the Chinese language, in that of Japan, which includes many kingdoms and in this of Goa, which extends over much of Asia and Africa, it is necessary to learn many languages;<sup>24</sup> or else the Superiors must make up their minds not to transfer personnel, and the subordinantes must be prepared to spend their lives in the same missions. For a grown man cannot always behave like a little child and be learning barbarous languages."

Queiroz goes on to exemplify his argument by listing the languages which were most commonly spoken in the far-flung Jesuit Province of Goa. He also emphasized the importance of distinguishing between Hinduism and Buddhism, which many missionaries of his own day and generation were still failing to do. Despite his sweeping denunciation of all Oriental languages as "barbarous", he did go on to admit that some of their poetry sounded well enough; although he hastened to add that the contents of Asian prose and verse could not measure up to those of Europe, with the partial exception of China. "But incredible is the energy which the Asians display in their verses, in which they repeat their Veddos (Vedas), their Puranas, which means their Scriptures and the Doctrines of their Sciencies, such as they are; but as they have achieved perfection in no faculty outside China, neither their prose nor their verse can be compared with the Greek and Latin works or with modern European ones."<sup>25</sup>

This Eurocentric approach was regrettable but not in the least surprising, considering the Counter-Reformation educational background of the missionaries, and the fact that their conviction of the superiority of the superiority of European civilization and the Christian religion was, after all, the main, if not the sole reason for their chosen vocation. "Blind heathen" were "blind heathen", and only a few very exceptional missionaries, such as Ricci in China, Nobili in Madura and Joao Rodrigues Teuzzu in Japan, were able to form a deep understanding and appreciation of the indigenous cultures to which they were exposed.<sup>26</sup> Many of the missionaries displayed no interest whatever in the religion, literature and historical traditions of those people they were trying to convert, limiting themselves to acquiring a knowledge of the requisite vernacular. Others, as we have seen, were more intelligent, even if they would not, or could not, penetrate very far below the surface. Among these latter we may cite the Augustinian informant of Diogo do Couto, and an anonymous friar who told the Inquisitors at Goa in 1620:

“That in all the regions where he had been, he tried to obtain information about all heathen practices, both because this was his duty on account of the indigenous christian communities, as because he himself had an inquiring mind and was always wont to study things pertaining to the said heathendom.”<sup>27</sup>

If only there had been more like him in Sri Lanka, we might well have more satisfactory accounts of Tamil culture and civilization in the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam than we actually possess. But in a day of small mercies the heart is thankful for scraps; and long-term research in the Portuguese archives may well disclose other and fuller accounts than those which are now available in print.

## NOTES

1. *Historia do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, first published in 8 volumes at Coimbra in 1551—1561. The reference here is to Vol. I of the third edition by Pedro de Azevedo (4 vols., Coimbra, 1924—33), Livro II, cap. 22, p. 261.
2. That is, Konkani (*Canara*), and Tamil, and/or Malayalam. Castanheda has confused *Canara* with *Ching lu* (Sinhalese). For the etymology of *C nara* and *Malabar* see H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson* (ed. Wm. Crooke, London, 1903), and S. R. Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiatico* (2 vols. Coimbra, 1919—21), *in voce*.
3. *Pattuda*, “a silk cloth” See *Hobson-Jobson* and *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, *in voce*.
4. *Apud* Donald Ferguson (trans. and ed.), *The History of Ceylon from the earliest times to 1600 A.D., as related by Joao de Barros and Diogo do Couto* (forming Vol. .... XX, No. 60 of the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908 (Colombo, 1909), p. 37. Barros' description of the island of *Ceilam* and its identification with the classical Graeco-Roman Taprobana is in *Decade III. BK. 2, ch. i*. Here as elsewhere, I have checked Ferguson's translation with the Portuguese-originals, and my versions occasionally differ very slightly in the wording.
5. Cf. D. Ferguson in *JCBRAS*, XX (1908—09, p. 34 note (I).
6. For Couto's apparently inexplicable plagiarism of Fr. Agostinho de Azevedo, O.E.S.A., see the documented expose by Georg Schurhammer S. J., *Franz Xaver, Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, II, *Asien*, 1541—1549, (2), *Indien und Indonesien 1547—1549* (Freiburg, 1971) pp. 448—453. All the citations from Couto's *Decade V* which are given here are like wise to be found in the earlier text of Fr. Agostinho de Azevedo O.E.S.A.
7. For the first contacts between Portuguese and Sinhalese and the impression made by European firearms, see Donald Ferguson “Discovery of

- Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506", in *JCBRASI*, Vol. XIX, No. 59 (Colombo 1907) and Genevieve Bouchon, "Les Rois de gotte au debut du XVI siecle," in J. Aubin (ed.), *Mare Luso-Indicum*, Vol. I, pp. 65-96 (Paris, 1971).
8. Cf. D. Ferguson in *JCBRAS*, XX (1908—09), pp. 62—73, especially p. 72. At the beginning of this chapter, Couto states: ".....that island has always been to the State of India as Carthage was to Rome; because, little by little, it has gone on consuming in expenses, men and artillery, so much, that it alone has swallowed up with its wars more than all the other conquests of this East."
  9. Cf. C. R. Boxer, "Antonio Bocarro and the Livro do Estado da India Oriental", in *Garcia de Orta, Revista da Junta das Missoes Geograficas e de Investigacoes do Ultramar, Numero Especial* (Lisboa, 1956) pp. 203-219
  10. For *Balalas*, or *Belalas*, *Vellales*, etc., deriving from the Tamil *velalar*, agricultural caste of Southern India, see S. R. Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiat co*, Vol. I, p. 84; and for *Carea*, *Caria*, etc., *ibidem*, *op.cit.*, p. 216, deriving from the sub-caste of fishermen and divers (*kareiyar* in Tamil, *karava* in Sinhalese).
  11. Unfortunately, the only text available to me at the time of writing is the very defective one (taken in the first place from an unreliable copy) published in the *Arquivo Portugues Oriental* (Nova Edicao) Tomo IV, Vol. II, Parte I, (Bastora, 1937—38), pp. 366—68, for the shortcomings of which see my article quoted in note (9) above, p. 210.
  12. By "Paulistas" Bocarro means the Jesuits, whom he clearly did not like and whom he ventured to criticize in his *Livro do Estado da India Oriental* and in his *Decada XIII* (first published in 1876) whenever he could. By "Chandos", Bocarro may mean either *chardo* (*charodo*, etc.) (*Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, I, 263-64), or else *chaudarim* (*Glossario Luso Asiatico*, I, 268), although these are agricultural sub-castes in Goa. For Bocarro's description of Jaffnapatnam, see *APO* (2a serie), *op. cit.*, pp. 416—21. Bocarro more than once severely criticized the tyranny and misbehavior of the Portuguese captains and governors of Jaffna as well as those of Sri Lanka.
  13. This was a perennial source of complaint, with both laymen and clergy accusing each other of oppressing the villagers, while themselves claiming to be model or paternal landlords. Cf. T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, 1594—1612* (Colombo, 1966), pp. 100—34, for the distribution of land in Ceylon to lay Portuguese and the Religious Orders. There is in the British Museum Library a curious MS dossier (to which I have unfortunately mislaid the reference) concerning the dispute between laymen and Religious over some villages in Jaffna, dating from 1645, with supporting documents.
  14. *The Conquista Temporal e Spiritual de Ceilao*, which was ready for the press at Goa in 1687, was first published integrally at Colombo in 1916.

- With all its faults, it remains an indispensable source for the history of 17th century Sri Lanka, and it is most conveniently consulted in the reliable and painstaking translation made by S. G. Perera S. J., *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (3 vols., Colombo, 1930). I have made occasional and insignificant changes in the wording.
15. Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M., *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* (ed. Fr. Felix Lopes, O.F.M., 3 vols, Lisboa, 1962—67). The author was born at Macao c. 1570, and died at Goa, 25 Jan. 1651. He has a great deal to say about the Franciscan missions in Sri Lanka, and he devotes much space to the Tamil kingdom of Jaffna. See especially Vol. I, pp. 333—359, and Vol. III, pp. 198—269.
  16. Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M. *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, III, 243-48.
  17. Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M. *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, III, 242.
  18. Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M., *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, III, 247-48.
  19. G. Schurhammer, S. J. "The first printing in Indic characters", in his *Gesammelte Studien*, II, *Orientalia* (Rome, 1963), pp. 317—331; Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, *Antao de Proenca's Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary A.D. 1679* (Kuala Lumpur and Leiden, 1966).
  20. Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the making of Europe*, I, *The Century of Discovery* (University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 436—440.
  21. Diogo Goncalves S. J. *Historia do Malavar* (ed. Josef Wicki, S. J., Meunster in Westfalen, 1955), pp. 29—30.
  22. *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (ed. S. G. Perera S. J., 1930), Vol. I, pp. 116—117.
  23. For the identification of these Tamil and Sinhalese terms see *op. et loc. cit.*, p. 116 n.
  24. The Jesuit Province of Japan at this period included Indochina, Macao, and the two southern Chinese provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi: The Province of Goa included most of Hindustan and East Africa, although the Vice-Province of Malabar was constituted as a Province independent of Goa since 1605.
  25. *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* (ed. 1930), Vol. I, pp. 117-118.
  26. For Joao Rodrigues Tcuzzu S. J., see Michael Cooper, S.J. *This Island of Japon. Joao Rodrigues' Account of 16th century Japan* (Kodansha, Tokyo and New York, 1973); Ibidem, *Rodrigues the Interpreter. An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (New York, 1974).
  27. "Em todas as partes por onde andou teve noticia de toda a gentildade assi por isto lhe comprir por resao das christandades e da sua religiao

e officio como tambem por ele testemunha ser curioso e andar sempre estudando as cousas da dita gentildade” (Antonio Baiao ed., *A Inquisicao de Goa. Tentative de Historia da sua origem, estabelecimento, evolucao e extincao, I, Introducao a correspondencia dos Inquisidores da India 1569—1630*, Lisboa, 1945, p. 320.) Unfortunately, Baiao, a slapdash editor if ever there was one, does not give us the name of this intelligent deponent, whom he merely terms “um guardiao de um convento.” I suspect that he may have been Fr. Joao de Sao Matheus O.F.M. (flourished, 1595—1636), who was a good linguist. For a good objective evaluation of Portuguese missionary activity in both Jaffna and Kotte prior to the arrival of the Dutch in 1638, see C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617—1638* (Colombo, 1972) pp. 236—46.

**Note:**

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