

Jesuit Letters from Bengal, Arakan & Burma (1599-1600.)

A NEW VERSION OF THE ANNUAL LETTER OF GOA (DECEMBER 1,
1600), DATED SEPTEMBER 8, 1602.

IN 1917 or earlier I translated Fr. Nicholas Pimenta's Annual Letter of Goa, December 1, 1600, from the *Exemplum/ Epistolae P./ Nicolai Pimentae Provin-/ciae Orientalis In-/diae Visitoris/ad/admodum R. P. Clav-/divm Aquavivam Praepo-/situm Generalem Societatis/Iesu,/de statu rei Christia-/nae in India Orientali Calendis De-/cembri anno/1600 datae./ Excursum primo Romae/apud Ludovicum Zanetti 1602./Nunc vero/Mogontiae Apud Joannem/ Albirum/anno eodem (1).*

The Latin text of this Mainz edition was translated from the Italian by "I.B., S.J.," that is to say, Joannes Busaeus or Jan Buijs, S.J., of Nijmegen. A faithful reprint of this translation will be found among other collections in Fr. John Hay's *De Rebus Iaponicis, Indicis, et Peruanis Epistolae Recentiores* (Antverpiae, anno MDCV [1605], pp. 809-859).

Recently I found that a manuscript Latin text of an Annual Letter of Fr. Nicholas Pimenta, dated September 8, 1602 (MSS. of the Society of Jesus: *Goana Hist.*, 1600-1621; Goa, 33; *Litt. Ann.*, September 8, 1602) supplies another version of the text printed at Mainz and Antwerp. The differences were sufficiently great to warrant a new translation.

I may remark that Father Pierre du Jarric, S.J., seems to have utilised yet another source than those enumerated above for his *Troisiesme partie de l'histoire des choses plus memorables* (Bourdeaux, 1614, pp. 826-834, 840-847).

H. HOSTEN, S.J.

(Fol. 60 recto). 1. Next comes the mission of Bengala, about the origin of which I wrote to your Paternity last year. I shall now add a few particulars about its progress, for letters from our Fathers have given us more information about the country itself and allow us to hope better results from that Mission.

2. Bengala is a vast country, stretching far and wide in every direction. The sea-coast alone, from East to West measures six hundred miles. The first and real inhabitants of this country are those whom we call Bengalas. They follow heathenish rites. Some Mahometan Patanes,

(1) The portion concerning Mogor [Hindustan] was published by me in *The Examiner* (Bombay) of October 11, 1919 (pp. 407-409). The translation was made from the Mainz edition. I have in manuscript the translations of the Jesuit Letters on Bengal, Arakan, and Burma for 1598-1610.

who live amongst them rebelled and took up arms against them; but they were not allowed to enjoy long their ill-gotten power. The Mongols or Mogores, a nation bordering on the Bengalas, expelled the Patanes, killing their King and their Chiefs, and took possession of the kingdom. Twelve princes, however, called Boyones (2) who governed twelve provinces in the late King's name, escaped from this massacre. These united against the Mongols, and hitherto, thanks to their alliance, each maintains himself in his dominions. Very rich and disposing of strong forces, they bear themselves as Kings, chiefly he of Siripur (3), also called Cadaray, and he of Chandecan (4), but most of all the Mansondolin (5). The Patanes, being

(2) See my article *The Twelve Bhuiyas or Landlords of Bengal*, in J. A. S. B. IX (1913) no. 10 pp. 437-449.

(3) *Siripur*, or *Sripur*—on the right bank (?) of the river Meghna, and situated not far from Rajabael in the Munshiganj subdivision of the Dacca district. All trace of the site, including the church, has been washed away. The place is mentioned by Rennell (*Mem. A.S.B.* Vol. III). Ralph Fitch visited Sripur in 1586 and writes:

From Satagon [Saugon] I travelled by the country of the King of Tippura or Porto Grande [Chittagong] with whom the Mogores or Mogra [query: both the Moghals and the Maghs of Arakan] have almost continual warres.....From Chaitigan [Chittagong] in Bengala I came to Bukla [identified by Fr. H. Jonson, S.J., in his *Mission du Bengale occidental* (Bruges, 1921, Vol. I, 55, map) as a place in the Backerganj district].....From Bacola I went to Serrepore [Siripur] which standeth upon the river of Ganges; the king is called Choudery [Chaudhari]. They be all hereabouts rebels against their king Zebaldin Echebor [Jalal-ud-din Akbar]; for there are so many rivers and Islands that they flee from one to another, wherby his horsemen cannot prevail against them.....Sinnergaon [Sunargaon] is a towne six leagues from Serrepore where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India.....Great store of Cotton cloth goeth from hence and much Rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places..... I went from Serrepore the 28th of November, 1586 for Pegu in a small ship or foist of one Albert Caravallos [Carvalho] and so passing down the Ganges and passing by the Island of Sundiva [Sandwip], Porto Grande or the Countrie of Tippura, the kingdom of Recon [Arakan] and Mogen [of the Maghs], leaving them on our left with a faire wind at north-west, our course was South by East, which brought us to the barre of Negrais in Pegu.

Dominic Carvalho was in 1602 in the service of Raja Kedar Rai [Cadaray] the Bhuiya Raja of Sripur. In September, 1603, he was decoyed into Pratapaditya's palace at Jessore and killed and the Fathers and Christians had to leave Chandecan. A letter of Fr. Andrew de Nabois of January 25, 1602, shows that there were at that time at the Portuguese settlement of Chandecan some fifteen Portuguese, a number of topasses (Indian or half-caste Christians, speaking Portuguese as well as the vernacular), and one Augustinian priest. Half a league away, near the Jesuit Church, lived three Portuguese, and some married topasses and Indian converts.

(4) The capital of the Raja of Chandecan (Pratapaditya) is difficult to determine. Fr. H. Jonson (op. cit. Vol. I, p. 53, n. 1) places it in the extreme east of the modern district of Khulna. I believe it was at Jessore. Mr. H. Beveridge (J. A. S. B. 1870, Vol. XLV, Part I) identified it with Dhumghat, near the modern bazar of Kaliganj, which is eighteen miles to the north of the town of Jessore. Vikramaditya, the father of Pratapaditya (one of the Barah Bhuiyas, or Twelve Chiefs) had obtained the estate of Chand Khan from King Daud. See my article on the Twelve Bhuiyas in J. A. S. B. IX (1913), pp. 441-442, where the authorities are cited.

(5) Mansondolin is a corruption of Masnad-i-Ali, the title of Isa Khan, the Bhuiya Raja of Khizarpur, near Narayanganj.

scattered above, are subject to the Boyones. However, as of these twelve Kinglets only three are Gentiles, namely those of Chandecan, Siripur and Bacala (6), the others being Mahometans, the Christian harvest promises less well and meets with greater obstacles. The Moga (7) neighbour on the Bengalas. Their King, who is called King of Chandecan (7A), also possesses a part of Bengala. The Portuguese living within the limits of Bengala have certain settlements called Bandeles (8). Some of these, to whom the Kings gave lands and yearly revenues, are very rich and powerful. At times a priest goes to them on a visit and administers to them the Sacraments; but, as these priests depend upon the said Portuguese for their subsistence, they cannot do aught but as they list (9). Hitherto conversions to the faith on the part of the Gentiles have been rare. However, you will find in the settlements some Neophytes, whom the Portuguese have either brought from other places or have had baptised there from among their dependents. The condition of them all is such as to show clearly how badly they require a shepherd.

3. The country is large and fertile; on the side washed by the sea, where the Ganges flows into the ocean, it breaks up into many islands, being intersected by many rivers, commonly called 'gangas' (10), because the people hold strongly that they are arms or mouths of the Ganges; yet, the source of many 'gangas' has been discovered by navigating upstream for eight or ten days: however, none has yet been discovered, as far as I know.

(6) *Borala, Buteala, or Bakla* was the ancient name for the tract of country now known as Backergunge. It was visited in 1586 by Ralph Fitch, who observes that the King was a "Gentile". This was the Chandradwip Raja Kandarpa Narayan who was succeeded by his son Ramchandra, described by Fr. Melchior Fonseca, S.J. (*post*, para. 18) as "a boy of eight but intelligent beyond his years." The name Bakla has now disappeared except in the compound form Bakla Chandradwip, given to the Pargana. This was sold for arrears of revenue in 1799 and the Raj family, which still exists, was reduced to poverty (*Backergunj Gazetteer*, p. 125). Sarkar Bacala or Ismailpore is mentioned in Todar Mal's assessment of 1582 and Alad Fazl records in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that it was overwhelmed by an inundation in 1584. During the time of Mir Junsal and Shaista Khan, Bakla passed definitely under the rule of the Moghuls. Fr. Fonseca's description of the road from Bakla to Chandecan does not by any means suggest that the Sundarbans were populated at the time.

(7) *Mugh* or *Maghs*. According to Shihabuddin Talish (MS. Bodleian, 580) "the people of the country are called Maghs, which is an abbreviation of Muhamil-i-sag (despicable dog). They do not admit into their country any other tribe than the Christians, who visit it by the sea-route for purposes of trade". (See article by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, J.A.S.B., Vol. III, June 1907, p. 419). Francis Buchanan Hamilton (1810) says: "The term Mugg, these people assure me, is never used either by themselves or by the Hindus, except when speaking the jargon commonly called Hindoostanise by Europeans."

(7A) Read here: *Chatigan—Chittagong*. "Chatigan is the most famous and wealthy city of the Kingdom of Bengal, by reason of its port, at which meets the traffic of all that Eastern region". (João de Barros, *Decadas da Asia*, 1552).

(8) *Bandeles*—from the Persian *bandar*, city, port, wharf. The best known Bandel is a mile above the town of Hugli. Chittagong is called Bandel de Chatigno in Bocarro (*Decada 13 da Historia da India*) and the term "Bandel" is applied to Gombroon by Sir Thomas Roe (1616).

(9) Priests, mostly of the secular clergy, had laboured there before the coming of the Jesuits.

(10) *Ganga* is a generic term for "river".

arrival has given much pleasure to the inhabitants. The affairs of that residence are in a good way. The house is finished up to the roof, and they are completing the Church so as to be able to say in it the first solemn Mass on the feast of the Circumcision. As Your Reverence ordered, we shall dedicate it to the Most Holy Name of Jesus, the first in Bengala (38). There remains to ask Your Reverence to send soon helpers and assist us with your prayers and sacrifices and those of the whole province, so that what we have undertaken for God's service may prosper and happily redound to his glory." Thus far Fr. Francis Fernandez (39).

17. In another letter by Fr. Melchior Fonseca, dated Chandecan, the 13th before the Kalends of February of the year 1600 [January 20, 1600] we read:—

"Before leaving Chatigan, I wrote to your Reverence about our voyage, and I informed you about everything I remembered to have happened until my departure. Now I shall relate what happened afterwards up to my arrival at Chandecan, where Fr. Dominic Sosa and I are for the present, much consoled with this mission in Bengala, and hoping that God is pleased with our labours, since we have experienced already some beginnings and tokens of his pleasure, which I doubt not will be very good news to Your Reverence and to this entire province.

18. "I left Chatigan in November, and I went out of my way on a visit to Bacala, at the request of the Portuguese, who had been without the sacraments for more than two years. Father Francis Fernandez was about to send me to Arracan in his stead, but the bad state of my health prevented me from going. I judged that God arranged it so, in order that I might be the occasion of starting a residence in the kingdom of Bacala. When I arrived there, I was at once called by the King, a boy of eight, but intelligent beyond his years. I went with all the Portuguese, who most willingly under-

(38) See "under that title". This must be the meaning of the writer, since there was a church at Hugli, if not two; and we have heard above of a church at Dianga earlier than that of Chandecan. On the supposed position of the Chandecan church at Ishwaripur, see P. L. Faulkner's article "When Pratapaditya Reigned" in *Calcutta Review* (April 1920, pp. 175-188) and his other article "In old Jashore" (*Empress*, April 1920, p. 26). Close to where the church is said to have been, there are some masonry tombs.

(39) Remark again the rapidity of the events between October and December 22, 1599. A letter from Chandecan received by him (in the beginning of October ?) makes Fr. Fernandes go to Chandecan; he stays there a month; the journey back to Sripur takes 10 days; he falls ill; two Fathers, newly arrived at Dianga on September 17, hearing about his state, come over to Sripur. They take him back to Dianga where they arrive long before the end of November, since Fr. Fonseca who went to Chandecan shortly after landing at Dianga on his return from Sripur, states that, leaving Dianga in November he arrived at Chandecan via Bacala on November 20. At Dianga the three Fathers found the Portuguese ready to go to the capital of Arakan in order to congratulate the King who had just returned victorious from Pegu. They carried Father Fernandez' letter to the King, and yet an answer from the King was received at Dianga by December 22, 1599. Fr. Fonseca, on his way to Chandecan, had made a detour to Bacala, where he obtained from the Raja a favourable document, a copy of which had come into Fr. Fernandez' hands at the time he wrote (December 22, 1599).

took the journey with me. Before I reached the palace, the King courteously sent twice messengers to say that he was awaiting us with his nobles and Captains of Fortresses in some big building. When I came into his presence, all arose. The chief place near the King had been spread with a large carpet for receiving the poor little Father and the other Portuguese. After the mutual salutations and the compliments usual when meeting, he asked me whither I was going. I said I was going to the King of Chandecan, who they say is to be the father-in-law of him of Bacala. But, since with God's help I had been brought to his own kingdom, I wished (with his kind permission) to offer him my respects in passing [and ask him] to invite the Fathers to come, and with his leave to build Churches throughout his Kingdom and impart to the inhabitants the knowledge of the one true God. He acceded willingly to my request; nay, he seemed to be eager for it himself, on account (I suppose) of what he hears daily about us. When the King had given us leave to go, I turned my attention to the Portuguese, heard their confessions, administered to them the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, and baptised several. After that, I continued my journey, although the Portuguese were against my going: they wished me to be theirs for good, and I tried to pacify them as best I could, by telling them that Fr. Francis Fernandez would come to them about Lent [1600] and that, at the end of a year, Your Reverence would send them some Father to take care of their souls. [Fol. 63 verso].

19. "The way from Bacala to Chandecan is wonderfully pleasant. All along flow deep rivers of sweet clear water; on the one side are dense shady woods, and herds of stags and cattle roaming about the plains; on the other side fields covered with rice and displaying far and wide their joyful burdens. We were travelling by the gangas or rivers; in many places and for very long distances they were so densely bordered with trees on either bank that the sun's rays could not pierce through. From the branches hung swarms of bees and honeycombs, while monkeys were playfully jumping from branch to branch. Here and there plantations of the much-prized sugarcane were to be seen. But there were Tigers too, and Crocodiles which at times fed on human flesh (40). Rhinoceroses were roaming about the forests, but we did not see any.

20. "I reached Chandecan on the 12th day before the Kalends of December [November 20, 1599]. The welcome from Fr. Dominic Sosa and all the Portuguese was most joyful. What added to their joy was that my arrival was unexpected, as they had heard I had gone to Arracan. The next day I went on a visit to the King, and offered him (what gave him no small pleasure) some fine Biringian oranges which I had brought on purpose. He received me very kindly; my present gave him joy, as there are no

(40) Fr. Hay's text has *Neque desunt tigres et crocodili, qui carne humana subinde vel incuria vel culpa nostra vescuntur*. Hence read *feed* for *fed*.

fruits of that kind in his country (41). He asked me my name, and repeated the question two or three times. I thanked him for this mark of affection towards us, since he was so anxious not to forget my name. He treats us most politely; as soon as we come into his presence, he rises and salutes us with great respect; he does the same when we go away. We attribute this respect to this reason only that he hears we observe perfect chastity, which they have the greatest reverence for and extol to the skies. We asked him for a large piece of ground near our house, so that the Neophytes might live conveniently near the Church. He granted it easily, and the diploma [of concession] was drawn up; he also ordered that the Pagans living there should pay [to the Fathers] the tribute which they owed to the King. As I had learned from Fr. Francis Fernandez that Your Reverence wished that the first Church to be built in Bengala should be dedicated to the Most Holy Name of Jesus, we tried hard to get it finished that day (42).

21. "Although the Church is such only as we could make it in a hurry, according to circumstances and our poverty, it is however sufficiently spacious, and not less pretty. We adorned it all over with different precious curtains (43) for which the Portuguese gave us much help. In fact, they are very fond of us and confess that our arrival is to them a very great blessing. We promulgated the Jubilee, according to our privilege for India (44). All who could approached the Sacraments of Penance and of the Holy Eucharist. We had to try our very best to make the feast as solemn as possible, both because this feast was for the first time celebrated in Bengala, and to make the Pagans who witnessed it ashamed of their misery.

22. "On the eve, and on the morning of the feast (44A), there were illuminations everywhere (45) and a general firing of guns, as we had had on the eve of St. Thomas' feast (46), when we planted the first Cross in the

(41) "Le lendemain j'allay saluer le Roy, et luy apportay vn present d'oranges de la race de Beringan, fort belles." (du Jarric). The derivation of the word *Beringian* remains to be determined. *Hobson-Jobson* and Mgr Dalgado's *Glossaries* afford no help. De Barros mentions, between *Pora* [Porikad] and *Travancore*, "Cade Coulu, Retura, and Bevinjan", *Dames* (Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol. II, p. 102, note 1) identifies *Beringan* with *Vizitingani* on the south coast of *Travancore*. Is *Beringan* noted for oranges? A friend, born in India, knows the expression "Beringian oranges", but does not know where these oranges come from.

(42) The first of January is the Feast of Circumcision and of the Most Holy Name of Jesus.

(43) Lower down *peristroma* means "carpets": perhaps also here.

(44) A plenary indulgence could be gained according to this privilege. The year 1600 must have been a jubilee year.

(44A) December 31, 1599, and January 1, 1600.

(45) There must have been fireworks too, as no feast was complete without them.

(46) Most likely the feast of St. Thomas, the Apostle of India, on December 21; not the feast of St. Thomas, Bishop and Martyr, on December 29.

cemetery (47). The King sent us word that we should not set foot in the new ground before his arrival, as he wished for the sake of greater solemnity to put us himself in possession of it. In the evening, therefore, that day having been fixed for the ceremony (48), he came with all the gentlemen of his household to the settlement of the Christians, a distance of four hours by sea (49), and at once enquired where the Fathers were. Hearing [Fol. 64 recto] that they were busy decorating the Church, he directed his course at once towards the Church. We went to meet him as he landed. He received us kindly and joyfully, and, as out of politeness we had to go in front of him, he followed us up to the Church. He entered the Church with much respect: before setting foot in the chapel (50) he took off his shoes, and he could not be persuaded to sit on a chair or on the carpet; he would sit only on the border of the mats. He enquired into the meaning and use of the things he saw on the altar. It was a good occasion, and we discoursed about God. Raising his hand to his beard, he promised to build a Church which would eclipse in beauty all those to be built in Bengala. We wait to see whether he will make the promise good. The next day, the Prince came to see the Church and its decorations, and it gave him no less pleasure than to his father. I forgot to say that, when his father went away, he wished to see the house. On going up the steps, we went first, at his request, and he came behind. When he took leave, he turned to the Portuguese present and said: "What more do you want? I have become a Padre already," which loving expression surprised all very much. We pray to God that the sequel may correspond to these beginnings. Every day, during about sixteen days, an incredible number of people of all ages and conditions came to see the Church; out of so many thousands hardly one Pagan in the whole of the country was found who stayed at home. While they came near while they examined, they would say: 'People who do these things are not men, but Gods'. Others exclaimed: 'Lord, thou art the true God'. There were not wanting some who prayed for the recovery of their sick. On their knees, or prostrate on the ground, they manifested their worship and veneration to the unknown God, whom we beg and beseech kindly to reveal himself and make himself known to them. We are instructing some Catechumens for the reception of Baptism, and we shall soon, with God's help, build a hospital, in order to entice many unto Christ with this bait. Our house is suited to the requirements of the Society and removed from all

(47) We would expect to find a stone cross, or at least a stone with a cross, and some simple inscription, on the tombs of the more substantial Christians who died in the settlement. Until now, however, no such Christian emblems have been reported from Ishwaripur.

(48) December 31, 1598; since the Fathers were busy decorating the Church in the evening.

(49) Query: by river. This would show that the King's capital was at a considerable distance from the Portuguese settlement. Travelling by river would, however, have been easy at all times; when the Fathers or the Portuguese wished to see the King, it would have been possible to go and return on the same day.

(50) "Chapel", as opposed to "Church," might mean here "the sanctuary". If Pratapaditya had not taken off his shoes on entering the building he removed them before entering the sanctuary.

intercourse. The whole ground is surrounded by a wall twenty-five feet high (51); it had been commenced before, and we completed it not without expense. The house, in addition to this excellent ground and the most pleasant site I have seen in India, has other advantages in keeping with the religious life, which the Fathers whom we expect from Your Reverence will be able to enjoy. We apply ourselves diligently to prayer and the examination of conscience at the proper times, so that by means of these exercises God may make of us worthy labourers in this Mission. This is about all I intended to write to Your Reverence. I end by commending myself earnestly to your sacrifices and prayers. Chandecan (52), the 13th before the Kalends of February 1600."

23. I wrote to your Paternity (52A) last year about the affairs of Pegu, and I explained why it did not seem advisable to send to Pegu those whom I had destined to that Mission before the ruin of that kingdom. I shall now relate a few particulars concerning the kingdom of Martavan (53) which is subject to Pegu. Your Paternity will gather from them how the lamentable overthrow itself of that Empire called us to Pegu.

24. What I have learned from Fr. Francis Fernandez about the kingdom of Martavan is more or less as follows. The Kingdom of Martavan is subject to the Pegusians, its inhabitants being Pegusians and speaking the same language. The kingdom which we call properly Pegù is to the West, Martavan to the East. The neighbouring kingdoms of Tanasarin, Jangoma (54) and Tangu (55) are very rich. Through the kingdom of Jangoma one goes to Cambogia (56) and from there to China; hence, many goods are imported from China into Jangoma [Fol. 64 verso] and Martavan. The kingdom of Martavan of which I speak is very fertile and productive; but on account of the wars in Pegu it suffered almost the same destruction [as Pegu]. When the King of Sion (57) devastated Pegu, he made re-

(51) An enormous height. One would suspect that something had gone wrong with the figures. The passage is not in du Jarric or Hay. It was probably a bamboo enclosure.

(52) From the spelling of 'Chandecan' not "Ciandecan", as in Fr. Hay's Latin text, I judge that the present Latin translation was made from a Portuguese text.

(52A) Fr. Pimenta, writing from Goa, addresses the General of the Society.

(53) Martavan.—"The city of Martavan hath its front to the South-east, South, and South-west, and stands on a river which there enters the sea.....it is a city of Maupragin, a Prince of the King of Pegu's"—Gasparo Balbi (1588). The place is north of Maulmain.

(54) Jangoma, Zangomay, Lamshey, Zimwe: see Siamese Laces. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson* and also Ralph Fitch (circ. 1587): "I went from Pegu to Lamshey, which is the country of the Langeiannes whom we call Jangomas; it is five and twenty dayes journey to the North-east from Pegu".

(55) Toungoo: Taung-gnu to the north of Prome.

(56) Cambodia.

(57) Siam. Sir George Scott in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* (Vol. I, part I, p. 205; Rangoon, 1900) gives two derivations: "a barbarous Anglicism derived from the Portuguese or Italian word *Sciam* or else 'the Malay *Sayam* which means 'brown.'" Cf. de la Loubère (*Historical Relation of Siam*: Eng. transl. 2 vols. folio in one, 1693): "The name of Siam is unknown to the Siamese. 'Tis one of those words which the Portuguese of the Indies do use, and of which it is very difficult to discover the original".

Reverence. Hence, I thought I should wait till an answer from Father Francis Fernandez calls me back. I understand that Philip de Brito will call Religious of other orders, if we decline this Mission. (Fol. 66 verso). Let Your Reverence examine what is to be done, and how important it is for us to commend to the Divine Providence this residence and those of Arracan and Chatigan. I am confident that we shall manage everything properly, which hope is daily increased by Philip de Brito, whose favour and influence with the King are very great. Kindly commend me to Fr. Provincial (104) and to all my very dear Fathers and Brothers. From the harbour of Sirian, the 13th before the Kalends of April" (105).

NOTE ON DIANGA.

It is generally difficult to reconstruct topography from old pictures. But I have little doubt that the Dutch print, which is reproduced opposite page 56, represents Dianga, the Bandel of the Portuguese, at the mouth of the Karnaphuli or Chittagong river. The sea, which appears to form the background, is barely three miles from the Bandel of Dianga which I visited. The southern bank is hilly, and so also, if I recollect rightly, the northern or right bank. Bandel is, however, such a loose term that it is not easy to determine when it refers to a Portuguese settlement, and when not. At present, at Chittagong itself, which is some five or six miles from Dianga, the place round the Catholic Church goes by the name of Bandel. In the Latin inscription "Arakan" may be construed either in apposition to "emporium" (the emporium called Arakan) or as dependent upon it (emporium of the country of Arakan). The Dutch inscription supports the former: otherwise, the wording would be "Van Arrakan." But the meaning of "reede" favours Dianga. A "reede" is a bay of the sea, where ships can "ride" at anchor. That would fit Dianga, whereas the old capital of Arakan lay at some distance from the sea and was approached by river from Akyab. As for Akyab, the name does not appear, I believe, during the 17th and 18th centuries: and it would be surprising to find the term Bandel applied to it. It is, of course, possible that the place intended is Chittagong itself, but I am inclined to identify it with Dianga.—H. H.

(104) The Provincial of Goa, as opposed to the Visitor, who was Fr. Pimenta.

(106) March 25, 1600: but more probably "5th before the Kalends of April" or March 28, 1600; see notes (96) and (97).