From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters. Vol. IV, 1938, No. 4. Issued 30th December, 1939.

Letters and other Papers of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J. a Missionary in Tibet (1713-21).

> Edited and translated By THE REV. H. HOSTEN, S.J.

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ARTICLE NO. 24.

## Letters and other Papers of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., a Missionary in Tibet (1713-21).

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In 1904, I made for the first time the acquaintance of Father Carlos Sommervogel's *Bibliotheque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. The article on Fr. Ippolite Desideri, a Jesuit Missionary in Tibet, drew my attention especially (cf. Vol. II, coll. 1963-64; Vol. IX, coll. 204-205). And well it might, for Kurseong and Darjeeling are at the very gates of that Forbidden Land, whose mysteries act as a spell on so many inquisitive minds.

One of the MS. letters of Desideri (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714) was said to be in the Stonyhurst College Library. When appealed to, one of our Belgian Scholastics, then at Stonyhurst, the Rev. Fr. J. Van Neste (now very worthy Professor of Chemistry at St. Xavier's College, Calcutta) was kind enough to copy the letter, an Italian one, for me. His letter of October 23, 1904, says that he had copied half of it already and that the complete transcript would be sent off in a week. The Stonyhurst College Library possessed nothing else of Desideri's. The transcript duly reached me shortly after. Somehow, I delayed the translation till the beginning of my stay in Calcutta (1909 or 1910).

I had by then acquired a fair knowledge of Desideri's special circumstances in Tibet, chiefly through Carlo Puini's *Il Tibet* (Geografia, Storia, Religione, Costumi) secondo la relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri (1715–21), Roma, Presso la Società Geografica Italiana, 102, Via del Plebiscito, 1904. The whereabouts of the original MS. had long puzzled our bibliographers. Now that we have it in print, it is very tempting to undertake the translation of it. In fact, I have made the translation of Desideri's text at pp. 11–264 (338–383, in Puini), but Puini has so completely disturbed the order of the manuscript that, unless one be willing to follow his own order and include all his comments, there is no means of publishing the translation. Moreover, we know Puini has omitted from the Relation whatever did not refer to Tibet, whereas the Relation has considerable

Editorial Note: This paper was received in 1930 but for various reasons it remained unattended before the death of the author. It is now published in its original form, and Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the Philological Secretary, has revised the proofs.—B. G.

portions on Desideri's journey to India before his expedition to Tibet, and on his stay in India, after that expedition. Not only that, but the Society of Jesus, as we see from the work of Father Charles Wessels, S.J., Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia (1603-1721), The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1924, pp. 275-281, still possesses what appears to be a better MS. of the same Relation (MS, A.), and another one, apparently a rough draft, which contains many sections not utilized, or not fully utilized by the author in the Relation of his journeys (MS. A.). It is entitled Notizie istoriche. To publish a translation of the text as we find it in Puini will never be satisfactory. All the available texts should be obtained first, after which that text should be selected for translation which is found to be the most complete, the other texts serving only by way of comment; to this should then be added all portions in the other manuscripts which are not yet represented.

Professor Puini, in addition to the MS. *Relazione* now in the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana of Florence, which, as we said, he edited in a very unsatisfactory manner, published 5 letters of Desideri's, four of which, though printed in the 18th century, were practically unknown or inaccessible.

These are:

1. A letter to the General of the Society of Jesus, Leh (Ladakh), Aug. 5, 1715.

2. A letter to the same, Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717.

3. A letter to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, a Capuchin at Patna, dated Takpo (Tibet), March 12, 1718.

4. A letter to the same, Trong-gnê (Tibet), Aug. 4, 1718.

5. A short letter to the Pope, Kutti (Tibet), Sept. 21, 1721.

This last, it seems, appeared in *La Rivista Europea*, July 1876, p. 293 (cf. Sommervogel, Vol. IX, No. 9); but Puini (*Il Tibet*, pp. XLII, 360 n. 1) speaks of it as a MS. letter in the Propaganda Library.

Desideri's Avvertimenti a' Missionari Viaggiatori nel Tibet appeared in the La Rivista Europea, June, July 1876. Cf. Sommervogel, Vol. IX, No. 6. This I have not seen.

The first four letters mentioned above under Nos. 1-4 are said by Puini to have been taken from the Sommario of the case between the Capuchins and the Jesuits for priority in Tibet. Cf. Puini, op. cit., XLII, 19 n. 6, 360 n. 1. This Sommario appears to be distinct from Father Desideri's three Difesa against Father Felice of Montecchio, printed at Rome in 1728, and from Fr. Felice of Montecchio's own statements on the case.

Puini states (p. XLII) that he had another MS., a relation to the Holy Father by Desideri, dated Febr. 13, 1717 (no doubt from Lhasa) about Desideri's entrance into Thibet and his remaining there. This MS. is shown to be in the Propaganda Library, but we do not find it published in Puini's *Il Tibet*.

Carlo Puini also wrote an article: Di alcune lettere inedite o ignorate del P. Ippolito Desideri da C. di G., Missionario nel Tibet, published in Lavori presentati al Professore Marinelli nel venticinquesimo anniversario delle sue nozze, Firenze, tip. M. Ricci, 1895, 8vo., pp. III-104. Cf. Moniteur Bibliographique de la C. de J., fasc. XIII, 1895 (Rédaction des Études, 1896, April), or Sommervogel, Vol. XI, col. 205, No. 8. A friend, whose name I have now forgotten, was good enough to send me a copy of that article, and I shall add it to these pages, with a translation.

I am myself now in possession of a certain number of rotographic facsimiles of autograph letters by Fr. Desideri. They are all addressed to the General of the Society:-

- (a) Goa, Nov. 12, 1713; 1 p.
- (b) Goa, Nov. 15, 1713; do.
- (c) Surat, Dec. 30, 1713; 2 pp. f'scap.
- (d) Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714; 2 pp.
- (e) Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719; 1 p.
- (f) Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721; 1 p. f'scap; very small writing.
- (g) Kutti, Oct. 5, 1721; 1 p.

All these letters (a-g) are in the possession of the Society of Jesus in Europe. From the same source I have a letter from Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, S.J., Damão, Nov. 29, 1713, to the General of the Society of Jesus (3 pp., autograph), in which there is question of Tibet, and Martinetti's asking to return to Europe.

All these papers (a-g), except one, come from Goana: Epistolae 1569-1742, Goa. 9: Desideri's letter (c) of Surat, Dec. 30, 1713, is marked 'Prov. Goan.'.

In 1911, my friend Fr. Wessels anticipated me by publishing in the original Italian the MS. letter copied for me at Stonyhurst in 1904. It appeared at pp. 30-39 of Atti e Memorie del Convegno di Geografi Orientalisti tenuto in Macerata il 25, 26, 27 Settembro 1910, Macerata, Premiato Stabilimento Tipografico Avv. F. Giorgetti, 1911, in 8vo  $(24 \times 17)$ , pp. LVIII-187, in Onoranze Nazionali al P. Matteo Ricci, Apostolo e Geografo della Cina, 1610-1910-11. Cf. Moniteur Bibliographique de la C. de J., 1912, No. 3280. I have no copy of the work, but Fr. Wessels was kind enough to send me on Oct. 26, 1912, a type-written copy of the Stonyhurst letter published by him. This copy presents a number of discrepancies from the text supplied me in 1904 by Father Van Neste. Having myself handled a number of Desideri's autograph letters, I judge that Fr. Neste's copy is the more faithful of the two. Accordingly, I shall add his transcript to this collection.

There is yet another letter of Desideri's which I include here. It was for long the only one known to the learned world the well-known letter (Lhasa, April, 10, 1716) to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi published in Lettres édifiantes et curieuses (150 recueil, 1781, pp. 183-208; edn. 1843, t. II. pp. 531-555). We publish it again below from C. Markham's Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, 2nd edn., London, 1879, pp. 302-308, Markham having taken it himself, perhaps, from Astley's Collection of Voyages, Vol. IV, together with his account of Travels of Johann Grueber, Jesuit (pp. 295-302). We have, however, retouched Markham's text.

Besides these letters, there is one dated February 13, 1717, in Father Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, pp. 185-186, it is not addressed to the Pope, and is therefore not the letter of the same date, addressed to the Pope, which Puini (*Il Tibet*, p. XLII) says exists in MS. in the Propaganda Library, but did not publish. Cf. our notes *supra*.

I have not seen Fr. Desideri's three Difesa della Compagnia di Giesù . . . contro le scritture del R.P.F. Felice da Montecchio, Cappucino, printed all three at Rome, in 1728 (4to, pp. 18, 31, 19; cf. Sommervogel, Vol. II), at least two of which are still in the possession of the Society of Jesus.

 $M\tilde{y}$  notes also show the following in the possession of the Society of Jesus, all of which, but for want of funds, might by now have been in my collection :—

1. Di 13 scritture de P. F. Felice de Montecchio con risposte alla Cong. di Prop.

2. Descriptio itineris in Tibet a P. Desideri.

Varia: Dominicus a Fano, O. Cap., 15/I 665; 28/W 98; 3/I 718; Appello al Papa, 1721.—1719 16/I Roma; 54 pp. fol. de decr. S. Congreg., 1718.—(Our collection shows Desideri's *Appello al Papa* of Sept. 21, 1721; but he wrote another in January 1721. Is the date 1718 correct, or should it be 1728?)

3. Fel. de Montecchio all' Eminentissimi d.1. Prop. contra Patrem Desideri.

4. 1719 16/I Roma: P. Tamburini Patri Desideri, ut statim relinquat Tibet. This will appear in the present collection.

5. 1723. Accounts of the Father Procurator.

6. 1724 16/I, Eutropio de Saumur, O. Cap., Patri Desideri.

7. 1728. Difess II d.l. Comp. contro Fel. da Montecchio alla S. Congreg.

8. 1728 30/VIII. Ant. Milesius, Refl. de difesa della Comp. per P. Desideri.

9. Difesa R. Desideri quia non prompte Thibet reliquit.

10. 1730 3/XI, Genova, P. Tambini, S.J., Proc. delle Indie, testimonium pro Desideri.

11. 1732. Missio Tibetana privative Capucinis tradita (a small note, without date, place or name. I have this and publish it below). It will be seen from all this that neither Puini nor Fr. Wessels has exhausted the subject of Desideri's travels and stay in Tibet, and of his activities after his return to Italy. We too shall have to leave untouched on this occasion the better and greater part of Desideri's writings.

We may also warn the reader here that a large number of Desideri's letters either never reached their destination, or, if they did, they remain to be discovered. Fewer were lost than he himself imagined while in Tibet. The letters sent to the College of Agra are probably lost for ever; but those addressed to the Provincial of Goa, not a few of which must have reached the addressee, must be hiding among the Archives of the Provincial of Goa, where these are now scattered. The greater part of these Archives ought to be now in Portugal. We have also evidence in the extant letters that Desideri wrote valuable letters not only to his Superiors in Rome and Goa, but to his friends in the Society of Jesus, both in India and Italy. Of these, however, we possess only two, one written to Ildebrando Grassi, Lhasa, Apr. 10, 1716, and another to Fr. Piccolomini, Agra, Aug. 21, 1714.

The documents now published comprise:---

(1) Letter of Desideri, Goa, Nov. 12, 1713, to the General.

(2) Letter of Desideri, Goa, Nov. 15, 1713, to the General.

(3) Letter of Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, Damão, Nov. 29, 1713, to the General.

(4) Letter of Desideri, Surat, Dec. 30, 1713, to the General.

(5) Letter of Desideri, Agra, Aug. 21, 1714, to Fr. Piccolomini, in Italy.

(6) Letter of Desideri, Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714, to the General.

(7) Letter of Desideri, Leh (Ladakh), Aug. 5, 1715, to the General.

(8) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, Apr. 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, a Missionary in India.

(9) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717, to the General.

(10) Letter of Desideri, Takpo (Tibet), March 12, 1718, to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Capuchin (Patna).

(11) Letter of Desideri, Takpo (Tibet), Aug. 4, 1718, to the same.

(12) Decree of the Propaganda (Rome, Dec. 12, 1718) to the General of the Society of Jesus, telling him to recall **Fr.** Desideri from Tibet.

(13) Letter from the General (Rome, January 16, 1719) to Fr. Desideri, recalling him to Rome.

(14) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, to the General.

(15) Letter of Desideri, Kutti (Tibet), Sept. 21, 1721, to the General.

(16) Letter of Desideri, Kutti (Tibet), Sept. 21, 1721, to the Pope.

(17) Letter of Desideri, Kutti (Tibet), Oct. 5, 1721, to the General.

(18) 1732. The Mission of Tibet is assigned to the Capuchins.

Our collection of Desideri letters comprises all those which Fr. Wessels refers to at p. 274 of his work.

We add:-

(19) Desideri on the political events in Tibet (1707-21). Cf. Puini, Il Tibet, pp. 338-350.

(20) Desideri's dates in Puini and in our letters.

(21) An article on Fr. Desideri by Prof. Carlo Puini (1895).

(22) Desideri's Notizie istoriche and other Italian writings noticed by Fr. C. Wessels.

(23) The Desideri's MS. used by Puini.

(24) Two specimens of Desideri's Tibetan writings.

(25) Bibliographical notes from Carlos Sommervogel, S.J.

We add five documents which reached us after the above materials had been fully dealt with.

(26) Letter of Fr. Francis Borgia Koch, S.J., to Fr. Anthony Mordax, S.J., Vienna (Goa, 1706). In reality the letter must be of 1709.

(27) Fr. Francis Anthony Zaccaria, S.J., on Fr. Desideri, including a letter from Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717.

(28) Letter of Desideri to Pope Clement XI (Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717).

(29) The case of Fr. Ippolito Desideri as represented to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda by Fr. Felice da Montecchio, Capuchin, in Sommario A. (1728).

(30) Letter of the Viceroy Court de s. Vicente to the King of Nepal (Goa, Febr. 23, 1667).

The following correspondence is alluded to in the letters we publish below :---

(1) Letter of the General, Rome, July 6, 1709, commending to the Superiors at Goa the reopening of the Tibet Mission. Cf. No. 2.

(2) Letter of the General, Rome, March 21 (22?), 1711, to Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, India, received by him in March 1713. Cf. No. 3.

(3) Letter of Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, Surat, April 1713, to the General. Cf. No. 3.

(4) Letter of the Provincial of Goa, 1713 (?), to Fr. Desideri telling him to stay at Agra. Received at Delhi after May 11, 1713. Cf. Nos. 5 and 6.

(5) Letter of Desideri, Goa, 1713, to Fr. Piccolomini, Italy. Cf. No. 5.

(6) Letter of Fr. Desideri, Surat, beginning of 1714, to Fr. Piccolomini. Cf. No. 5.

(7) Letter of Desideri (before his departure from Surat on April 26, 1714) to the Provincial of Goa, asking for a companion to Tibet. Cf. No. 5.

(8) Letter of the Provincial of Goa to the above, which must have been received by Desideri before his leaving Surat on April 26, 1714. Cf. No. 5.

(9) Letters-patent of Fr. Joseph da Sylva, Visitor of Mogor, Delhi (?), Aug. 15 (?), 1714, to Desideri, allowing him to go to Tibet. Cf. No. 5.

(10) Letter of Fr. Manoel Freyre, Delhi, to Fr. Desideri, Agra, who received it on Aug. 17, 1714, at Agra; telling him he is ready to start with him for Tibet. Cf. No. 5.

(11a) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, end of July, 1716, to the General (via Goa and Portugal), on his journey up to Lhasa and his staying there. Cf. No. 9.

(11b) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, end of July, 1716, to the same unknown correspondent to whom he wrote from Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717. Cf. the letter published by Fr. Zaccaria (our No. 26).

(12) Letter of Fr. Dominic of Fano, Capuchin, from Nepal, before leaving Nepal (Aug. 4, 1716) for Lhasa, where he arrived on Oct. 1, 1716; asking the Propaganda what is to be done by the Capuchins, since Desideri went to Lhasa during the absence of the Capuchins and is there now. Cf. No. 9.

(13) Two Decrees of Propaganda, one of March 1, 1717, another of Sept. 20, 1717, enjoining on the General of the Society to abandon the Missions of Tibet. Cf. No. 12.

(14) A letter or note from the Capuchins announcing to Desideri their forthcoming arrival at Lhasa. Cf. No. 9.

(15) Several letters of Desideri, Lhasa, between Oct. 1, 1716, and Febr. 15, 1717, to the Provincial of Goa. Cf. No. 9.

(16) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, to the Pope, enclosed with his letter to the General, Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717. Cf. Nos. 9 and 15. This must be the letter of Febr. 13, 1717, to the Pope. which, according to the article by Carlo Puini, published below, is in the *Carte referite delle Indie Orientali e Cina*, under that date (Library of the Propaganda).

(17) Letter of the Pope (Rome, Jan. 6, 1714) to the King of Tibet, translated by Desideri into Tibetan and presented to the King on Dec. 4, 1716. Cf. No. 9.

(18) Eleven letters of Desideri, Lhasa, between the middle of April 1716 to Febr. 15, 1717, to the Provincial of Goa and the Rector of Agra. Cf. No. 9. Some of these must have reached their destination, since Desideri's companion, Fr. Manoel Freyre, returned to Mogor shortly after reaching Lhasa, and since we have the letter which Desideri addressed from Lhasa, on Apr. 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi. (19) Letter from Goa to Desideri, saying that in Nov. 1717 Jesuit Fathers will be sent to Tibet. This reached Desideri in Tibet. Cf. his letter of March 12, 1718 (No. 10).

(20) Letter of Desideri, Takpo, enclosed in his letter from Takpo, March 12, 1718, to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Patna; to be remitted to the Jesuits coming to Tibet on their arrival at Patna. Cf. No. 10.

(21) Letter of Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Patna, Dec. 23, 1717, to Desideri, which Desideri received in July 1718, and answered from Takpo on Aug. 4, 1718. Cf. No. 11.

(22) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, beginning of June 1717, to the Jesuit Provincial of China, to be forwarded by the Chinese envoys then at Lhasa; in duplicate. Cf. No. 11.

(23) Letter of Desideri, Lhasa, beginning of June 1717, to Fr. Ludovico Gonzaga, China, to be forwarded by the Chinese envoys then at Lhasa; in duplicate. Cf. No. 11.

(24) Letter of the Provincial of Goa, appointing Desideri Superior of the Jesuit Mission in Tibet. Cf. his letter of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719 (No. 14).

(25) Appeal by Desideri to the Pope and the S. Congregation of Propaganda, both enclosed in his letter of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, to the General. Cf. No. 14. A copy is enclosed for the Pope and one for the General.

(26) Decree of Propaganda (Rome, Dec. 12, 1718), seen by Desideri at Lhasa between April 14, 1721, when he arrived from Takpo at Lhasa, and April 28, 1721, when he left Lhasa for Nepal. Cf. No. 15. Already in his letter of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, Desideri refers to a similar decree or news about it as having been received by the Capuchins. Cf. No. 14.

(27) Letter of the General (Rome, Jan. 16, 1719) to Desideri, recalling him from Tibet. This was transmitted to Desideri by the S. Congregation of Propaganda through the Capuchins and was received by Desideri at Takpo in January 1721. (Cf. No. 15.) The letter of the General mentions an order sent by the General to the Provincial of Goa in 1718, and recalling Desideri from Tibet. This was not received by Desideri. Cf. No. 15.

The letter of the General (16.1.1719) mentions a letter by the General, 1719, to the Provincial of Goa and to Desideri, sent via Lisbon by the Goa ships, and recalling Desideri from Tibet, and a similar order to Desideri sent by another route. Desideri received only the letter of January (16?), 1719.

(28) Letter of Desideri, (Takpo), Jan. 1721, to the General and other letters of the same date. Cf. No. 15.

(29) Letters of Desideri, Takpo, January 1721, to the Pope, the Propaganda and the General. Cf. No. 15 (end).

(30) Not many letters, but very many letters, by Desideri, sent from Tibet to the General in 1716-21. Cf. No. 15.

(31) Letters received by Desideri in Tibet (1716-21): from friends in Italy, i.e. from Fr. John Baptist Conti (several times), Fr. Galuzzi, Fr. Corsoni, Master Silvestri, and others not mentioned. Cf. No. 15.

(32) Letter of the General in answer to Desideri's letter (2 letters ?) from Goa, Nov. 12 and 15, 1713, received by Desideri in Tibet in Sept. 1718. Cf. No. 15.

(33) Letters by Desideri to the General, to the Pope, to Cardinal Tolomei, and Count (?) Fedri (?), sent in February 1717 by the Capuchins, by way of the French ships, were received in Rome in 1718, as Desideri was duly informed. Cf. No. 15.

(34) Letter of the Dutch Director, (Patna? Singhia?), 1721 (?), to Desideri, received at Kutti in Sept. 1721. Cf. No. 15.

(35) Letter of Desideri, Takpo, March 1718, to the General. Cf. No. 15.

(36) Letter to the Pope enclosed in his letter to the General (Kutti, Oct. 5, 1721). Cf. No. 17.

(37) Letter of the General, Rome, January 1723, to Desideri, answering his letters of Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719, and of Kutti, Sept. 21 and Oct. 5, 1721.

(38) Letter of the General, Rome, Sept. 22, 1726, to Desideri, answering his letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714.

We shall set down here some of the chief dates in the remarkable career of this great traveller for Christ.

Born at Pistoia on Dec. 21, 1684 (Dec. 20, 1684, in Zacharia, our No. 26), he entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus on April 27, 1700 (May 9, 1700, in Zacharia; our No. 26). Even before he became a priest, he had conceived the idea of going to Tibet. (Puini, Il Tibet, p. 3.) Ordained a priest on Aug. 28, 1712, he set out from Rome for Lisbon on Sept. 27 of the same year, being then twenty-seven years and nine months old. He arrived at Lisbon in March 1713, left for India on April 7, and reached Goa on Sept. 27, 1713. He left it on Nov. 17, 1713,<sup>1</sup> and passed through Chaul, Bassein and Daman, where he fell ill on his arrival (Dec. 21). On January 1, 1714, he started for Surat and arrived on the 4th of the same month.<sup>2</sup> Here Fr. Joseph da Silva, the Visitor of the College and Mission of Agra, showed himself favourable to the new enterprise of reopening the Tibet Mission, to which the Provincial of Goa had destined him.

The journey from Surat to Delhi filled the interval of March 25<sup>3</sup> to May 11, 1714. From Delhi he went to Agra, returned to Delhi on or shortly after Aug. 22, and with Fr. Manoel Freyre

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Wessels, p. 210, has Nov. 13, 1713.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We shall have to discuss these two dates lower down.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> March 26, in Wessels, p. 211, and in Desideri's letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714.

set out for Tibet on Sept. 23.<sup>1</sup> On Oct. 9, they were at Lahore. resumed their journey on the 19th, and reached Kashmir (Srinagar) on Nov. 13. On May 17, 1715, after a serious illness. which overtook Desideri, they proceeded and arrived at Leh, alias Ladakh, on June 26. Here they took information about the Tibet where Fr. de Andrade had been and discovered that, besides Little Tibet (Baltistan) and Great Tibet (Ladakh), there was yet a greater Tibet, where the Capuchins were or had been and the capital of which was Lhasa. Fr. Freyre, who wished to return to India the moment he arrived at Leh, finding that the journey back to Srinagar would lie across the mountains, which he dreaded, insisted on going to Lhasa, and thence back to Agra. As he was Desideri's Superior, he insisted on taking Desideri with him to Lhasa. They left accordingly on Aug. 27 (17, in Puini, p. 32), 1715,<sup>2</sup> and arrived at Lhasa on March 18, 1716. According to Puini (p. 30 n. 1. 50) Freyre returned to India shortly after his arrival there. He had left by the time the Capuchins arrived.

When the Capuchins reappeared at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716, after they had left it in 1711, they found Desideri alone at Lhasa, and the question arose who was to cultivate the missionfield, the Jesuits represented by Desideri, or the Capuchins, who had been appointed to the Tibet Mission by the Propaganda in 1703 and had been at Lhasa between 1708 and 1711. While the question was referred to Rome for settlement, Desideri stayed on at Lhasa, in his house or in two of the Lamaseries in the neighbourhood, where he devoted himself, exclusively to the study of the language and the composition of books of controversy in Tibetan verse, or at the hospice of the Capuchins at Takpo-Khier, where his occupations appear to have been similar. He was two years in Takpo (Puini, 315). The order of the General recalling Desideri, at the request of the Propaganda, reached Desideri in January 1721, at Takpo, and immediately he with-Some ill-informed writers, such as the late Rev. Graham drew. Sandberg (The Exploration of Tibet, Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1904) will have it that Desideri staved on after being recalled, and that he had been sent by the Jesuits to spy on the work of the Capuchins. Nothing can be more pitiable. His was on the contrary as remarkable case of prompt obedience as one could wish.

The journey back from Lhasa, which he began on April 28, 1721, took him through Kutti (arrival: May 30; departure: December 14), Khatmandu, Bhatgaon, Bettiah territory, Singhia, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, and Agra, where he arrived on April 20, 1722. In September he was at Delhi, where he stayed until in 1725 he left for Pondicherry *via* Allahabad, Benares,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sept. 24, in Wessels, p. 211.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Aug. 17, 1715, in Wessels, pp. 214-215.

Patna, and Chandernagore. The Mogor Catalogue of Dec. 1724 mentions him as at Delhi (*JASB.*, 1910, p. 536). He reached Pondicherry on Jan. 10, 1726, studied Tamil to make himself useful in the Carnatic Mission, but on January 21, 1727, left for Rome with the process for the beatification of Blessed John the Brito. Apparently the chief reason for his returning to Rome was that he had repeatedly asked the General, the Propaganda and the Pope to come to Rome in order to represent to them the state of religion in Tibet and urge what reasons he thought he had for defending Jesuit priority in the Tibet mission-field. He arrived at Rome on Dec. 23, 1727 (Puini, 10), on January 23, 1728 (Wessels, p. 273).

From the point of evangelization Desideri's career in Tibet was a failure. He learned Tibetan, wrote Tibetan prose and verse, translated Tibetan books, may have composed, as he intended, a catechism, a grammar and a dictionary, taught the knowledge he had acquired of the language to the Capuchin Fathers, but failed in restoring the old Jesuit mission-field. A little more knowledge at the start of the past history of our Missionaries in Tibet and of Tibetan geography would have avoided the conflict with the Capuchins and would have saved the situation. Had he known where de Andrada had been, all might have been different. But, he did not know, nor did Fr. Freyre, nor did the two Fathers at Agra (1714), nor did the Visitor and the Provincial at Goa, nor any of the Fathers who since 1703 had been busy collecting information about reopening the Jesuit Mission of Tibet. Yet, from 1640 to 1713 only 73 years had elapsed.

Between 1624 and 1640 or so, the Jesuits of the Goa Province, with and after de Andrada, had been at Tsaparang in Guge, and at Rudok; they had visited Ladakh in 1731 in the person of Frs. de Azevedo and de Oliveira. In 1626 the Jesuits of the Cochin Province had gone by Bengal and Kuch Bihar to the Bhutan of our present maps and the dual province of U-Tsang, the capital of which is Lhasa. They had visited Gyantse and Shigatze, had been in touch, at least by correspondence, with the Tsaparang Mission, had crossed Nepal twice on the way back to Bengal, but had not, as far as we are aware, visited Lhasa. By 1632 the Jesuits of Cochin had retired, owing to loss of personnel, and they were not privileged to return.

Desideri considered himself sent to the Tibet of de Andrada. The great mistake he made was to go to the Srinagar of Kashmir instead of striking through the Himalayas, via Srinagar in Garhwal, Badrinath and Mana, the route followed by de Andrada in 1624 and later again. After abandoning Tsaparang and Tibet proper (1641?), the Jesuits had a mission at Srinagar in Garhwal till as late as 1654, and perhaps later. Most modern geographers or historians, imperfectly acquainted with the literature of de Andrada's travels, have also understood that de

Andrada's Srinagar was the capital of Kashmir. How could Desideri make the mistake ? Had he not seen any of de Andrada's printed relations? Srinagar, Badrinath, Mana and Chapa. rangue (Tsaparang) are mentioned there, and the distances from Delhi are set forth. How then did he begin by going to Lahore and Kashmir, a considerably greater distance? Had the Fathers of Agra no traditions, no papers, to show the old route? And what of the Archives of Goa? They were as if thrown into a well, says a Jesuit somewhere. If Desideri had had time to consult the Archives while at Goa, he would have found in them papers now in the British Museum, of which I have copies, and which would have given him ample information. But he was at Goa only from Sept. 27 to Nov. 17, 1713. doubt. Desideri had heard of the Capuchins who in 1708 had reached Lhasa through Nepal. He must have heard of them at Surat anyhow, where he was several months the guest of the Capuchins. He may have met also at Daman Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, who in Nov. 1713 had reliable information of the doings of the Capuchins in Nepal and at Lhasa, which he had received from an Armenian at Patna, a friend of the Capuchins. Before he left Delhi in 1714, Desideri might have known that the Capuchins had left Lhasa in 1711 and were not yet back. Had his intention been to oust the Capuchins. why did he not go to Lhasa by Patna during their absence? He did not, but went in search of the Tibet of Andrada by way of Kashmir. He did not even suspect at the start that Lhasa was in Tibet, it would seem. He had heard of two Tibets, Little Tibet (Baltistan) and Great Tibet (Ladakh). When he arrived at Leh (Ladakh), he discovered that Lhasa was the capital of Greatest Tibet, also called Great Tibet. Apparently all the time he had heard that Lhasa was the capital of Bhutan or Po, and had concluded it was not the Tibet of de Andrada. At Leh Desideri learned that the Capuchins had been at Lhasa and were perhaps still there. It was one of his reasons to refuse at first to go there with Fr. Freyre. But Fr. Freyre, his Superior, overruled his decision of staying in Ladakh. Desideri had no proof that de Andrada had been in Ladakh. He went in search of his mission in the third Tibet, and this brought him to Lhasa. He even entertained the notion that a habit, a biretta, and other things had been left by de Andrada at Lhasa or in that direction. It could not be. de Andrada had never set foot at Lhasa, nor any of the Fathers of the Tsaparang Mission. Freyre and Desideri set out from Leh without discovering that de Azevedo had been there in 1631. They passed through Rudok without discovering that it had been for a time an offshoot of the Tsaparang Mission. They passed through Gartok without knowing how near they were to the Tibet of de Andrada, to Tsaparang. They went to Lhasa. Then the inevitable happened when the Capuchins reappeared on the

scene. What labour and what expense were thus thrown away, because a few points of history and geography had not been cleared up at the start! With Desideri at Tsaparang, the Capuchins of Lhasa would have had no reason to quarrel about priority of occupation, nor would Desideri have had. Both the Capuchins and the Jesuits would have had as large a field as would have satisfied their ambitions.

It is worth noting that the General of the Jesuits urged the reopening of the Jesuit Missions in Tibet at the time when the Capuchins were commissioned by Propaganda to go to Tibet by way of Nepal. That was, in fact, the route which the Pope in 1703 pointed out to the Capuchins on a map in the Vetican. It is not impossible that when the Jesuits heard that on March 14, 1703, the Congregation of Propaganda had decreed to make arrangements with the Procurator General of the Capuchins to open a Capuchin Mission along the banks of the Ganges towards Tibet, they felt as if they were being overlooked. When on March 30, 1704, Father Michael de Amaral was appointed Visitor of the Jesuit Province of Goa, they resolved to reestablish the Jesuit Mission in Tibet. From that moment till the time when Desideri appears on the scene, the question continued to be examined. Father Manoel Monteiro was commissioned to inquire at Agra about the most suitable route and to gauge the chances of success of a fresh effort.<sup>1</sup> When he died in 1707, he had not done more than gather some information from Armenian traders about the most practicable roads.

'As Amaral meanwhile was relieved of his post in 1706, the whole plan seemed off. But, when he was again appointed Visitor in 1707, two young Goa missionaries, Fathers Carvalho and Gill, certain of Amaral's support, wrote to the General and volunteered for the Tibetan Mission. Though they did not see their wishes fulfilled, the Visitor's influence continued to be felt. For, on December 15, 1708, the Provincial Manuel Saraya<sup>2</sup> informed the General that at the instance of F. de Amaral he had appointed John Carvalho and Peter de Torres for Tibet, but had been forced by the death of two missionaries in Maysore<sup>3</sup> to send them thither to supply the vacancies. Rome favoured and even urged the return to the old missionfield, as appears from a letter of the General, F. Tamburini, of July 6, 1709.

'Probably before receiving this letter, on January 3, 1710, Saraya informed the General that Fathers Joseph Martinetti and Francis Koch<sup>4</sup> had been charged to undertake a new

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the Catalogue of November 1705, he appears as missus ad Thibetanam Missionem investigandam, 'sent to examine the question of the Thibetan Mission'. Cf. JASB., 1910, p. 535.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Read: Sarayva.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Mysore.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Francis Koch. Born at Klagensfurt, Oct. 10, 1678, and admitted into the Society, Oct. 21, 1695, he taught grammar and belles-lettres.

venture from Agra—though in fact nothing came of it—and on December 28, 1710, he reaffirmed his diligence in the matter. Such was the state of affairs when on September 27, 1713, Father Desideri disembarked at Goa.' (Cf. C. Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Tibet*, pp. 206-207.)

In his Notizie Istoriche del Thibet, the MS. in the possession of the Society of Jesus (cf. Wessels, p. 276), Book I, has a chapter giving an 'Account of the Mission which the Company of Jesus had had in Thibet, from its foundation up to the time of the author'. Did Desideri discover by June 22, 1728, when he completed that MS. in Italy, that de Andrada had never been at Lhasa, but at Tsaparang? I cannot say; but, having arrived at Rome on January 23, 1728, he may not have had the time to make diligent researches in the history of de Andrada's mission and the position of Tsaparang. Working up the materials he had brought from Tibet and all his diaries would have kept him sufficiently busy till June 22, 1728. The simple discovery of the position of Tsaparang might have led him to advocate in his three Difesa a compromise, a division of Tibet into an area for the Jesuits with head quarters at Tsaparang, and another for the Capuchins at Lhasa.

In April–July 1912, a young Englishman, Mr. Mackworth Young, was sent to Gartok on a commercial mission. On the way back, at the instigation of Sir Edward Maclagan then at Simla, who supplied him from his library with one of de Andrada's relations and with notes from myself, he went out of his way to visit Tsaparang on the return journey and had no difficulty in recognizing the place and the neighbourhood of the Tsaparang of de Andrada. Nay, he found indubitable proofs of the passage and stay of the Jesuits there. I have still among my papers the report of Mr. Mackworth Young drawn up at Sir Edward Maclagan's residence, Armadale, Simla. A copy of it was taken by Fr. C. Wessels, S.J. Mr. G. Mackworth Young has since written A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet, in the Journal of the Panjab Historical Society, Vol. VII, No. 2. (1919), pp. 177–198, where he refers to his discoveries.

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling. Nov. 1, 1929.

Sommervogel states that he wrote from Goa in 1706 a letter respecting his forthcoming journey to Agra and thence to Tartary. Fr. Huonder (*Deutsche Jesuiten-Missionäre des* 17 und 18, Jahrhunderts, Freiburg, Herder, 1896) says that he was destined for a Mission to Tibet, the king of which had asked for Missionaries. He died at Agra on Oct. 8, 1711. One 'P. Franciscus Borgia', a German, left Lisbon for India in 1700 (A. Franco's lists). The reference in Sommervogel is: Brief P. Koch, Soc. Jesu, an R. Patrem Mordax, Soc. Jesu, geschrieben zu Goa, 1706. Von seiner Reis von Goa nach Agra, und ferner in die Tartarey.-In the Welt-Bott of Fr. Stöcklein, V, No. 117.

1. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society, Rome (Goa, 12 Nov., 1713).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: Goana Epist. 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

(P. 1.) Molto R. do in X.po P.re N.ro,

P.C. CCLXXII.

Si compiace S.D.M. p. mezzo dl P.e Procinciale di chiamarmi, e destinarmi all nuova Missione del Tibet. Con tutto il mio cuore, abbraccio, e seguo la voce, e volontà di Dio, e questo sarà lo scopo, ed il fine, a cui consacro tutto me, tutti i miei pensieri, opere, forze, e vitta sino all' ultimo respiro, Mà perchè chi vuole efficacem.te il fine cerca tutti i mezzi, e particolarmente i Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

It pleased His Divine Majesty by means of the Father Provincial to call me and destine me to the new Mission of Tibet.<sup>1</sup> With all my heart I embrace and follow the voice, and will of God, and that will be the aim and the end to which I consecrate my whole self, all my thoughts, works, strength and life, up to my last breath. But, since he who efficaciously wants the end

<sup>1</sup> The letter is dated Nov. 12, 1713. Desideri had arrived at Goa only on Sept. 27, 1712. We have reason to think that the General had asked the Provincial to let him go to Tibet, in case he judged him a fit subject for such an enterprise: for in his letter to the General (Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721) Desideri says that the General gave him permission at Rome in 1712 to go to Tibet, and that the Provincial of Gos confirmed that permission in 1713. We must therefore take exception to the conclusion reached by Fr. Wessels, pp. 207-208. 'Was Desideri specially commissioned by the authorities at Rome to re-establish the Tibet-Mission? We have it on his own authority (P. 208) that for some time before leaving Europe he had entertained the idea of working in that field, and his purpose to devote himself to that Mission was approved of and blessed by Pope Clement XI at a special audience granted to the two travellers, but neither Desideri's letters nor any other extant writing contain any hint, that he had a special charge with regard to Tibet. His letters rather go to show that he had not. Thus when writing to the General on November 12 and 15, 1713, he informs him that he has been chosen and destined for the new mission by the Provincial and that he is delighted at the appointment. He then urges the General to address him a special letter confirming the appointment and ordering him (Desideri) explicitly to open the mission of Tibet and to act in all this under direct responsibility to Rome; thus he will be able to overcome all the difficulties that might be raised against the undertaking. Six weeks later he returns to this There was no need in 1713 for Desideri to recall to the General point.' that he had given him permission in 1712 at Rome to reopen the Tibet Mission. The Provincial chose and destined Desideri, as we now can see, because the General himself had recommended him to the Provincial of Goa for the task. Nor does Desideri ask the General to confirm the choice of the Provincial, but to make it impossible for the Provincial to recall his choice and decision.

The two travellers at the audience of the Pope in 1712 were Desideri and the companion of his travels to India, Fr. Ildebrando Grassi. piu efficaci, p. ottenerlo; p. questo, conoscendo io, che l'autorità di Sua P.tà èi l mezzo, trà gl'umani, il più efficace, questa invoco, questa con ong'instanza dimando.

Dissi, l'autorità di Sua P.tà essere il più efficace per conseguire il fine propostomi, perchè ella sola frà tutti può rimuovere tutti gl'impedimenti, che distornino il conseguimento del fine sopradetto. Due sorti d'impedimenti riconosco in una tal impresa. Alcuni sono le difficoltà, e i travagli grandi, che possono incontrarsi nel viaggio; mà di questi non fò caso veruno, perchè pongo la mia fiducia tutta nel mio Dio potentissimo, misericordiosissimo, fedelissimo, e sò di certo, che spes non confundit; e tanto e lungi, che mi sbigottiscano i travagli, che anzi auesti m'invitano. perchè questi sono ciò che son venuto a cercare nell' India p. amor del mio buon Gesù, risolutissimo ò di sup. are tutti i travagli. ò di morire in mezzo ad essi soddisfatissimo di tal sorte, perchè così morirò con una morte simile a quella dl Redentore, de' santi, e de' veri figliouoli dlla mia amatiss. a Madre la Comp. a. L'altra sorte d'impedimenti, i quali l' esperienza di clò che in altri succedè altre volte m'insegna essere i più gagliardi, e perciò più da temersi, e perciò da meglio precautelarsi contro d'essi, sono le volontà de' Nostri medesimi, che incatenano chi corre, tagseeks out all the means, chiefly the most efficacious means, to obtain it, I therefore, knowing that the authority of Your Paternity is among human means the most efficacious one, ask for that, and request it with all earnestness.

I said that the authority of Your Paternity is the most efficacious means to obtain the end proposed to me, because it alone, of all the rest, can remove all the obstacles which might prevent the attainment of the end above-said. I see two kinds of obstacles in such an enterprise. Some are the difficulties and great toils which can be met on the journey; but of these I make no account, because I place all my confidence in my most powerful, most merciful, most faithful God, and I know for certain that spes non confundit (hope confoundeth not): 1 and the toils, instead of frightening me, invite me rather: for these are the things I have come to seek in India for love of my good Jesus, being firmly resolved either to overcome all toils, or to die in their midst, most happy in such lot, because thus shall I die death similar to that of the Redeemer, of the Saints, and of the true sons of my most beloved mother The the Company. other which obstacles. the experience of what happened at other times to others teaches me to be the most troublesome. and therefore the most to be feared, and therefore the most to be guarded against, are the

liano le ali a chi vola, in una parola a spada tratta si oppongono a' voleri dello zelo di Sua P. tà, e perciò a' manifesti voleri di Dio.

P.re Nostro, eccomi genuflesso a' piedi suoi con tutto il cuore. Quivi posto la supplico per amor di Dio, che così vuole; e p. il sangue preziosissimo di Gesù, che merita di essere esaudito, la supplico, dico, a darmi in questo genere l'aiuto, ed il rinforzo della sua autorità. dandomi assoluta, totale, e independente facoltà di proseguir' il viaggio fino al Tibet, p. potermi prevalere di essa in caso, che, conforme si dice quì comunemente da tutti io. ricevessi un' arresto p. istrada, dopo che già saranno partite le lettere, che si mandano a Sua P. tà.

P.re N.ro Dio mi chiama al Tibet, e se non giungo là, non proverrà certam. te da me; onde quando S.D.M. nel Giudizio mi dicesse; p. che non andassi? che cosa gl'hò da rispondere? Non avevo l'autorità di ciò fare mentre gl' uomini me l' impedivano; Mà perchè sarebbe mia colpa l'istesso non procurare tal' autorità, p. questo gle la dimando, e di nuove gle la chieggo p. il sangue preziosiss.o di Gesu.

La supplico altresì ad applicare buon numero di Messe, e a far fare orazioni nelle nostre case, e particolarmente nel Noviziato, p. ottenere, che S.D.M. benedica, prosperi, e conduca a buon' esito quest'

wills of Ours themselves, which bind him who runs, and clip the wings of him who flies, in one word with drawn sword are opposed to the wishes of Your Paternity's zeal, and therefore to the manifest will of God.

Our Father, here I am. kneeling at your feet with all my heart. Placed here, I beseech you for God's sake, who wants it so, and by the most precious blood of Jesus, which merits being heard, I beseech you, I say, to give me in this matter the help and the support of your authority, giving me absolute, complete and independent permission to pursue the journey up to Tibet, so that I may avail myself thereof in case that, as is commonly said here by all, I be stopped on the way, when the letters now being sent to Your Paternity will have left.

Our Father, God calls me to Tibet, and, if I do not get there, it will certainly not be because of me; hence, if at the Judgment God should tell me: Why didst thou not go? what sort of thing have I to answer? I had not the authority of doing so, since men prevented me? But, as that would be my fault, in that I did not procure such authority, I therefore ask it of you, and again I beg for it by the most precious blood of Jesus.

I also beseech you to apply a good number of Masses, and to cause prayers to be said in our houses, and in particular in the Novitiate, to obtain that His Divine Majesty bless, prosper, and bring to good impressa di tanta gloria di Dio, e dalla qualle si può sp.are la conversione, e salute di tante anime. E posto a' suoi piedi la supplico dell'aiuto dlle sue S. S. Orazioni, e S. S. Sacrifizj, e dlla sua S.a Benedizione.

Di. V.P. Goa, 12. Novembre 1713. Ind.mo in X.po Servo,

Ippolito Desideri.

issue this enterprise of so much glory to God, and from which may be hoped the conversion and salvation of so many souls. And, kneeling at your feet, I beg the help of your Holy Prayers, and of your Holy Sacrifices, and of your Holy Blessing.

Your Paternity's

Goa, the 12th November 1713. Most unworthy Servant in Christ,

Ippolito Desideri.

2. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society, Rome (Goa, 15 Nov., 1713).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: Goana Epist. 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

(P. 1.) Molto R.do in X.po P.re N. ro,

P.C. CCLXXII.b.

Con altra via hò dato parte a Sua P.tà dell' essere io stato destinato da questo P.re Provinciale p. tentar di nuovo l'impresa d' aprire la Missione dl Tibet. Con questa 2.a via confermo il medesimo. Sò che questa è volontà di Dio, et è volontà di Sua P.tà che mostrò il Suo zelo grande, e giustissimo, che intorno à ciò hà, con quelle parole, che ritrovo in una sua lettera scritta a'6 di Luglio dl 1709., che sono le seguenti-Ex datà occasione valde commendamus, ut aperiantur novae Missiones. et ferventius agatur de reditu ad Tibetum, Nec deterreant ullae difficulties; nam causa Dei est, qui iā sternit viā p. Mogolense imperium.

Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

By another via I have informed Your Paternity<sup>1</sup> that I have been destined by this Father Provincial to try anew the enterprise of opening the Mission of Tibet. By this second via I confirm the same. I know that this is the will of God, and the will of Your Paternity, who showed the great and most just zeal you have, regarding this, by these words which I find back in a letter of yours written on the 6th July 1709, which are as follows: 'Occasion offering, we greatly commend that new Missions be opened, and that more fervour be shown for returning to Tibet. And let difficulties frighten: for no it is God's cause, who already

Ah P.re N.ro, io non posso quì esprimerle, che animo, che vigore mi diano quelle belle parole: Causa Dei est. Le prometto di certo, conforme me ne sono già risolutissimam. te protestato col mio Dio, che quanto è p. parte mia, ò io hò da morire p. il viaggio, ò hò col favor divino a entrare nel Tibet; nè fò conto veruno, hè di patimenti, nè di difficoltà, nè di pericoli, nè della morte. Mi dichiaro, e mi protesto, che p. la gloria di Dio hò da fare tutto il pos ibile con l'aiuto dlla Divina grazia. Di sorte che, se succedesse, che p. il viaggio io mi vedessi mancare. e già vicino a morire se vedrò di poter dare, prima dll' ultimo respiro, un passo di più verso il Tibet, mi dipiù verso il Tibet, mi dichiaro, e mi protesto, che hò da dare quel passo di più, e consecrarlo all gloria di Dio, e alla conversione dl Tibet. Questo è p. parte di me aiutato dalla grazia divina. Mà se (il che Dio non permetta mai) se conforme è succeduto altre volte, e conforme si dice comunemente, che sia p. succedere questa volta, doppo anche essersi di quà mandate bellissime lettere a Sua P. tà, mi un' venisse arresto, mi e venisse da' nostri medesimi impedito, e sturbato, ciò che addesso mi vien comandato, ciò che manifestamente è volontà di Dio, ciò che è volontà espressissima di Sua P. tà, tante volte, e con tanto zelo, e fervore manifestata; se mi fosse impedito cio, che porta consequenza tanta di seco

paves the way through the Mogol empire'.

Ah, Our Father, I cannot here express to you what courage, what vigour these beautiful words give me: It is God's cause! I promise you for sure, as I have already protested most resolutely to my God, that, as far as in me lies, either I have to die on the journey, or I have with the divine favour to enter Tibet. Nor do I make any account, either of sufferings, or of difficulties, or of dangers, or of death. Ł declare and protest that, for the glory of God, I have to do all that is possible with the help of the Divine grace, so that, should it happen that on the journey I see myself breaking down and already near death, yet see that before my last breath I can make one step more towards Tibet, I declare and protest that I shall make that step more, and shall consecrate it to the glory of God, and to the conversion of Tibet. This for my part. helped by the divine grace. But if (which may God never permit!) if, as has happened at other times, and as is commonly said will happen also this time, after most beautiful letters have been sent from here to Your Paternity. I should be stopped, and I should be prevented by Ours themselves, and that should be disturbed which now is ordered me, that which manifestly is the will of God, that which is the very express will of Your Paternity, manifested so many times and with such zeal and fervour: if that be

anno la lettera di V.P.M.R. da, scritta a 21 (22?) di Marzo del 1711: ne hò fatto la dovuta stima, sì per inferirne la vuona salute di V.P.tà, come anche per essersi compiaciuta di gradire le notitie, che le havevo trasmesse.

Stando nel mese d'Aprile sulle mosse per cicornare a Prov. a di Goa acrissi dà Surrate in questo stess' anno a V.P. dandole conto delle disgratie, e calunnie ch' havevo sofferto: come correndo rischio d'essere affrontato dal Vicere, havevo già determinato di passare al nostro Coll.o ď Aspahan in Persia; e come finalmente conosciuta più chiara che la luce del sole la mia innocenza, era stato invitato dal P. Ant. o d' Azevedo. e da PP. più gravi d.a Prov. a à ritornarvi, ai quali inviti mi era reso; venendovi di fatto nel mese di Maggio.

Promisi n.a su d.a lettera di ragguagliare à V.P. tà lo year <sup>1</sup> the letter of Your Very Reverend Paternity, written on the 21st (22nd?) March 1711. I made due esteem thereof, both because I inferred from it your Paternity's good health, and also because you were pleased to think well of the informations I had transmitted to you.

Being in the month of April on the point of returning to the Province of Goa, I wrote from Surrate this same year to Your Paternity, giving you an account of the disgrace and calumnies<sup>2</sup> I have suffered: how, running the risk of being insulted by the Viceroy,<sup>3</sup> I had already resolved to go to our College of Aspahan<sup>4</sup> in Persia; and how, finally, when my innocence appeared clearer than day light I had been invited by Fr. Antonio d'Azevedo, and by the most worthy Fathers of the Province, to return thither, to which invitations, I had yielded, coming there in fact in the month of May.<sup>5</sup>

In the above-said letter I promised to inform Your Pa-

Martinelli in the Catalogue of January 2, 1710, where he appears with Fr. Francis Borgia Koch as in Mogor. The name was read Martinelli by Fr. Van Meurs. The Catalogue of January 1708 and of December 1716, which immediately precedes and follows, does not contain their names. (Cf. JASB., 1910, p. 536.) I find the name of 'P. Josephus Antonius Martineti,' who came out, from Lisbon in 1708, in Fr. A. Franco's Synopsis Annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania ab anno 1540 usque ad annum 1725. Augustae Vindelicorum et Graecii, M.DCC. XXVI. We may therefore decide in favour of Martinetti.

<sup>1</sup> Since he says he had taken information on Tibet during three years, and we find him for the first time in the Mogor Catalogue of January 2, 1710, he appears to have come back from Mogor to Surat in the beginning of 1713 or not long before.

<sup>2</sup> I do not know what is meant by these calumnies.

<sup>3</sup> The Viceroy of Goa.

4 Ispahan.

<sup>5</sup> I understand that in the month of May 1713 he arrived at Goa. What brought him to Damao soon after? del Tibete per minuto; mà hò fatta riffless.e non essere già necessaria tanta minutia; supposto il non appartenere più alla Comp. a tal Miss. e; e ne dirò in breve le ragioni.

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On the whole, Fr. Martinetti's correspondent was pretty well informed; but Martinetti's news was old. He does not know on Nov. 29, 1713, that the Capuchins withdrew in 1711, and that one, or even two, of them went to Rome at the end of 1712 or in the beginning of 1713 to represent gloria di Dio, e la salute eterna di tante anime redente col Sangue preziosiss.o di Gesù; che potrò, che doverò io fare in tal caso? Io non voglio aspettar' un tal caso; Mi stimo obligato in coscienza di premunirmi avanti, e di' implorare il di lei potentissimo aiuto in questo particolare.

P.re N.ro, eccomi genuflesso a' suoi piedi, i quali riverentemente bacio. La prego, la supplico per quello zelo ardentiss.o che hà della salute dll' anime, per il sangue preziosissimo di Gesu, col quale esse furone redente: per amor di Dio, la di cui maggior gloria le stà tanto a cuore; la supplico a favorirmi, p. maggior assicuramento di un negozio tanto importante, di una sua Patente, nella quale espressamente mi dia ordine di andar' ad aprir la Missione del Tibet, e di andare con l' autoritá, e dipendenza immediata di V.P. tà, non ostante qualunque ordine in contrario che mi fosse già stato fatto da altri Superiori in queste parti; aggiungendo ordine espresso, che nissuno chiunque sia, mi disturbi, nè mi trattenga, nè m'impedisca in modo veruno l'ademoire la volontà, e gl'ordini Suoi.

In oltre si degni di raccomandare, e far raccomandare premurosissimam te a S.D.M. nelle nre case, e especialm. te nel Noviziato, e me miserabile, e il buon successo di questa impresa e la conversione del prevented me which of consequence carries with it such glory of God and the eternal salvation of so many souls redeemed by the most precious Blood of Jesus, what shall I be able, what shall I be obliged to do in such a case ? I do not want to await such a case. I consider myself obliged in conscience to forearm myself and to beseech your most powerful help particularly in this.

Our Father, here T  $\mathbf{am}$ kneeling at your feet, which I most reverently kiss. 1 beg you, I entreat you, by that most ardent zeal which you have for the salvation of souls. by the most precious blood of Jesus, whereby they were redeemed, by the love of God, whose greater glory have so much at heart, I entreat you to favour me for the greater safety of so important an affair, with a Patent of yours, wherein you expressly give me the order to go and open the Mission of Tibet, and to go with Your Paternity's authority and immediate dependence, notwithstanding any order to the contrary which might already have been given me by other Superiors in these parts, adding the express order that no one, whoever he be, shall trouble me, or shall divert me, or shall impede me in any manner from fulfilling your will and orders.

Besides, deign to commend and to get commended most earnestly to His Divine Majesty in our houses, and especially in the Novitiate, both wretched me and the good success of this enterprise and the conversion Tibet. Con che fo fine supplicandole dlla sua S. a Benedizione, e S. S. Sacrificj.

Di. V.P.

Goa, 15 Novembre 1713.

Ind.mo. in X.po Servo,

Ippolito Desideri.

(P. 2) (Address): Al Molto R.

do in X. po P.re N.ro Il P.re Michel' Angelo Tamburini Prep. to Gen. le

d, a Comp.a di Gesù.

Roma.

(Endorsement on the same page as this address):

Goae 12 et 15 Novembris 1713.

P. Hippolitus Desiderii.

Explicat desideria quibus flagrat, ingrediendi Missionem Tibet tensem, vel moriendi in ipsamet expeditione, et ne ab aliquo nostrorum, impediatur, petit ut P. V.a illi mittat Patentes litteras, quibus independenter ab aliis possit progredi in hao determinatione, etc. of Tibet. Wherewith I end, beseeching your Holy Blessing and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Paternity's

Goa, the 15th November 1713.

Most unworthy Servant in Christ,

Ippolito Desideri.

(Address): To our Very Reverend Father in Christ, Father Michelangelo Tambirini, Provost General,

of the Company of Jesus.

Rome.

(Endorsement):

Goa, the 12th and the 15th November 1713.

Fr. Hippolitus Desideri.

He explains his ardent desires of entering the Tibet Mission, or of dying in the very expedition, and, lest he be prevented by anyone of Ours, he asks Your Paternity to send him letters-patent whereby he may pursue this determination independently from the others, etc.

3. Letter of Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinetti, S.J.,<sup>1</sup> to the General of the Society, Rome (Damao, 29 Nov., 1713).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: Goana Epist. 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

M. to R.do in X.po Padre Nostro,	Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,
P.C. CCLXXIII.	The Peace of Christ.
Hebbi l'honore di ricevere	I had the honour of receiving
nəl fin di Marzo di quest'	at the end of March of this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The signature of the writer of this letter is not clear. Fr. Wessels reads Martinetti, and so it could be read, if his name were otherwise known to have been Martinetti. I have his name down as Joseph Anthony

anno la lettera di V.P.M.R. da, scritta a 21 (22?) di Marzo del 1711: ne hò fatto la dovuta stima, sì per inferirne la vuona salute di V.P.tà, come anche per essersi compiaciuta di gradire le notitie, che le havevo trasmesse.

Stando nel mese d'Aprile sulle mosse per cicornare a Prov. a di Goa acrissi dà Surrate in questo stess' anno a V.P. dandole conto delle disgratie, e calunnie ch' havevo sofferto: come correndo rischio d'essere affrontato dal Vicere, havevo già determinato di passare al nostro Coll.o ď Aspahan in Persia; e come finalmente conosciuta più chiara che la luce del sole la mia innocenza, era stato invitato dal P. Ant. o d' Azevedo, e da PP. più gravi d.a Prov. a à ritornarvi, ai quali inviti mi era reso: venendovi di fatto nel mese di Maggio.

Promisi n.a su d.a lettera di ragguagliare à V.P. tà lo year <sup>1</sup> the letter of Your Very Reverend Paternity, written on the 21st (22nd?) March 1711. I made due esteem thereof, both because I inferred from it your Paternity's good health, and also because you were pleased to think well of the informations I had transmitted to you.

Being in the month of April on the point of returning to the Province of Goa, I wrote from Surrate this same year to Your Paternity, giving you an account of the disgrace and calumnies<sup>2</sup> I have suffered: how, running the risk of being insulted by the Viceroy,<sup>3</sup> I had already resolved to go to our College of Aspahan<sup>4</sup> in Persia; and how, finally, when my innocence appeared clearer than day light I had been invited by Fr. Antonio d'Azevedo, and by the most worthy Fathers of the Province, to return thither, to which invitations, I had yielded, coming there in fact in the month of May.<sup>5</sup>

In the above-said letter I promised to inform Your Pa-

Martinelli in the Catalogue of January 2, 1710, where he appears with Fr. Francis Borgia Koch as in Mogor. The name was read Martinelli by Fr. Van Meurs. The Catalogue of January 1708 and of December 1716, which immediately precedes and follows, does not contain their names. (Cf. JASB., 1910, p. 536.) I find the name of 'P. Josephus Antonius Martineti,' who came out, from Lisbon in 1708, in Fr. A. Franco's Synopsis Annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania ab anno 1540 usque ad annum 1725. Augustae Vindelicorum et Graecii, M.DCC. XXVI. We may therefore decide in favour of Martinetti.

<sup>1</sup> Since he says he had taken information on Tibet during three years, and we find him for the first time in the Mogor Catalogue of January 2, 1710, he appears to have come back from Mogor to Surat in the beginning of 1713 or not long before.

- <sup>2</sup> I do not know what is meant by these calumnies.
- <sup>3</sup> The Viceroy of Goa.
- 4 Ispahan.

<sup>5</sup> I understand that in the month of May 1713 he arrived at Goa. What brought him to Damao soon after? del Tibete per minuto; mà hò fatta riffless.e non essere già necessaria tanta minutia; supposto il non appartenere più alla Comp. a tal Miss. e; e ne dirò in breve le ragioni.

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loro da Pattnà, il quale havea dimorato per 30 anni mercante nel Tibet. La ragione è perche, dal tempo, che vi fù il Nostro P. Andrade, 80 e piu anni, si è tutto mutato quel Regno. Nel tempo dell' Imp.e Arnzeb del Gran Mogol si fece tutto moro, per ricevere da lui un buon soceorso contra un Regolo vicino, che andaua entrando vittorioso nel loro Regno: Micuperato il perduto, tornarono all' Idolatria, e al presente stanno più fissi che mai ne suoi errori.

2°; Perche anche supposto che il campo fosse libero, e dasse speranza di frutto, è impossib. e, per l'enorme distanza, a questa Prov.a l'assistervi aì perche le spese altrepassano le sue forze, come anche perche e scarza di soggetti, e per farvene giunger uno è necess.o mandarne quattro.

3<sup>0</sup>: Perche quel Regno è già diviso frà vary Regoli, e non sisàa qual appigliarsi.

Pattnā a great friend of theirs. an Armenian, who has stayed 30 years as a merchant in Tibet. The reason is that. from the time our Father Andrade was there, 80 years and more ago, that Kingdom has become quite changed. At the time of the Emperor Aranzeb of the Great Mogol, it became quite Moor, in order to receive from him a good succour against a neighbouring Kinglet, who went and entered victoriously their Kingdom: when they had recovered what they had lost, they returned to Idolatry, and at present they are more than ever rooted in their errors.<sup>1</sup>

2ndly: Because, even supposing that the field is free and gives hope of fruit, it is impossible for this Province, owing to the enormous distance to stay there, both because the expenses exceed its means, and because also it is short of subjects; and to make one reach there, it is necessary to send four.<sup>2</sup>

3rdly: Because that Kingdom is now divided among various Kinglets, and it is not known to whom to go.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The answer to this objection is that the Provincial of Goa had just appointed Desideri to reopen the Mission.

<sup>8</sup> The Capuchins had found where to go. Martinetti had not discovered where de Andrada had been.

to the Propaganda that the financial situation at Lhasa was desperate and that the Mission must be strengthened in men and means. Why had Martinetti in April 1713, while at Surat, not sought the last information from the Capuchins at Surat, who generally gave hospitality to the Jesuits passing through the place ?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Kingdom here referred to cannot be the Tibet of Lhasa. We do not think it can mean Nepal. Does Martinetti refer to Little Tibet, or Baltistan, which Desideri says was formerly Buddhist, but had in great part become Muhammadan, by being under the government of the Great Mogol? Cf. Puini, *Il Tibet*, p. 27.

4<sup>0</sup>: Perche se pur si doyesse, sentare, sarebbe dalla Cina, ò anche Cocincina con la quale confina: onde fù provid.a del Cielo che per ogni parte mi fosse impedito l'andarvi. Queste sono le vere notitie; e se altre costi si spacciano (riservando sempre un miracolo d.a divina Onnipot.a) creda che sono favole; perche in trè anni hò esaminato bene il ponto.

Conchiudeva io la lettera su d.a con una caldissima supplica a V.P.M.R., ai cui piedi prostrato le chiedeva licenza di ritornare in Europa. Perche supposto il non essere più capace di intraprend.e le Missione, como fui dicchiarato in Goa, non posso in alcun modo accomodarmi a questi geny, ed a questi impieghi. Le Missioni di quà più disgustano con l'inconstanza del frutto che si vede doppo due giorni, di quel che consolino con la frequenza alla Missione.

Mio Riveritissimo P. Gen.le (P. 3) Io le parlo chiaro come à mio Padre. Io non hò fatto voto per l'Indie: l'oggetto della mia risolut.e, ch'erano le Missione già è svanito: vivo 4thly: Because, if we had to establish ourselves, it should be from China, or even Cochinchina, on which it borders;<sup>1</sup> hence it was heavenly providence that my going thither was impeded from every side.<sup>2</sup> There are the true informations; and, if others are spread over there (always excepting a miracle of the divine Omnipotence), believe that they are fables, because I have well examined the point for three years.<sup>3</sup>

I concluded the above-said letter with a very warm request to Your Very Reverend Paternity, prostrate at whose feet I asked for permission to return to Europe, because, considering the inability of further undertaking the Missions, as I was told at Goa,<sup>4</sup> I cannot in any way accommodate myself to characters and these these employments. The Missions here disgust more by the inconstancy of the fruit, which is seen after two days, than they console by the concourse to the Mission.

My Most Reverend Father General, (P. 3) I speak to you clearly, as to my Father. I have not made a vow for the Indies; the object of my resolution, which was the

<sup>3</sup> Did he not feel that his objections might be overruled, and that he might be thought to have been remiss in taking information?

<sup>4</sup> Was he not told at Goa in May 1713 that personally he was unfit for opening new Missions, or reopening that of Tibet ?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is childish.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This man appears to congratulate himself on having found no entrance into Tibet. Fr. Wessels (p. 207 n. 3) says well of him: 'Evidently this man was not the stuff of which missionaries are made, and that he could be mistaken for a possible successor to an Andrade seems, to say the least, somewhat surprising.'

afflittissimo per più cause, che non mi è lecito confidare a fogli che volano sì longi. Io non hò fatto alcuna colpa per meritare questo esilio, e questa sì dura, e si grave mortificatione. Le spese del viaggio con licenza de' Superiori grà stanno depositate e sono 250 scudi ch'hebbi d' elem.a dal Medico Francese del Gran Mogol; e q.do non bastino sò dove posso senza viltà supplire al di più. Sia servita la supplico di mandarmi la licenza, la quale guidico nel Sig.e essermi necessar.a: e tanto necessaria che non faccio caso di qualunque giudicio si formi del mio ritorno; perche sā quel dio che mi ha da giudicare che la chiedo per bene dell'anima mia; e quanto più esamino avanti à Dio questo punto, tanto più mi par d'essere obligato a chiede la. Non mela gratia, perche neghi di apprehensione di una causa giusta è sovente Maestra ne' spiriti fiacchi com' è il mio di dottrine, e d'inventioni nocive; nelle quali supplico S.D. M. è non lasciarmi cadere, e V.P.M.R. per carita ad ovviarle:

e chiedendole la sua S. ta Benedizione le baccio suppli-

Missions, has now vanished; I live most afflicted, for several reasons, which it is not licit for me to trust to pages that fly so far. I have not committed any fault for which I should deserve this exile. and this so hard and heavy mortification. With the permission of the Superiors, the expenses for the journey are already deposited, and are 500 scudi, which I had in alms from the French Physician of the Great Mogol; <sup>1</sup> and, if they do not suffice. I know where I can without shame supply the remainder. Be pleased, I beg of you, to send me the permission, which I judge in the Lord is necessary for me, and so necessary that I care not what judgment be formed of my return; because the God who has to judge me knows that I ask it for the good of my soul: and the more I examine this point before God, the more it seems to me I am obliged to ask it. Do not, I pray, deny it me, because the perception of a just cause is often in weak spirits as is mine, the Mistress of harmful teachings and inventions,<sup>2</sup> wherein I beseech His Divine Majesty not to let me fall, while I beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity, of your charity, to obviate them.

And, begging your Holy Blessing, I entreatingly with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Who was the French physician at the Court of the Mogol who had given Martinetti 500 scudi for his return to Europe? Had he not received that money before he retired from Agra to Surat?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This is like a threat of leaving the Society in case his request for returning to Europe is not granted.

chevole con le lagrime agl' occhi le mani.

Damone 29 9bre 1713.

D.V.P.M.R.da Indegno in X.po Fiklio,

Gioseppe Ant.o Martinetti.

(P. 4) (Address):

Al M.to R. do in X.po Padre N.ro

Il P. Michel' Angelo Tamburini

Preposito Generale d. a Comp. di Gesù.

Roma.

(Traces of the seal below the address.)

the tears in my eyes, kiss your hands.

Damone,<sup>1</sup> the 29th November 1713.

Your Very Reverend

Paternity's Unworthy Son in Christ,

Goseppe Antonio Martinetti.

(P. 4) (Address):

To Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,

Fr. Michel' Angelo Tamurini,

Provost General of the Company of Jesus.

Rome.

(Traces of the seal below the address.)<sup>2</sup>

4. Extracts from a letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus, Rome (Surat, 30 Dec., 1713).<sup>3</sup>

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: Goana Epist. 1769-1742 (Goa 9).)

Fin quì hò fatto la causa Up to here I have spoken in comune di q.ta Prov. e da the common cause of this Comp.a. Mi sia lecito aggiun- Province and of the Company.

<sup>1</sup> Damao.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The seal is too indistinct for description. It appears to show the monogram of the Society of Jesus, I H S, with rays all round the inner rim of the seal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The date of the letter is clearly Surat, Dec. 30, 1713, and Fr. Wessels (p. 210, n. 4) rightly observes that in his letter of Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, Desideri dates his arrival at Surat on January 4, 1714. Cf. Puini, p. 361. Puini (p. 6) says moreover that he left Samão on January 1, 1714, and arrived at Surat on January 4. His letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714, also gives January 4, 1714, as the date of his arrival at Surat. How then did Desideri date the *end* of his letter, which appears to have been a rather long one, from Surat, on Dec. 30, 1713, when he was still at Damão? I do not see any plausible reason. On his arrival at Damão on Dec. 21, 1713, he fell ill (Puini, 6). Had he been at Surat on Dec. 30, he should have left Damão on Dec. 27 at the latest, since he calculates elsewhere 4 days of travelling (January 1-4) for the journey from Damão to Surat.

gere qualchè cosa in causa mia propria.

Conforme già scrissi a V.P. da Goa, il P. Prov.le mi avvisò p. la Missione dl Tibet. Con tutto ciò tanto in Goa, quanto nel restante dlla Prov. a hò sentito in q.to particolare tanto in contrario, e tanti esempi sò di altri mandati, e poi trattenuti; che a dirla chiaramente hò concepito un gran timore di dover ricevere un solenne arresto in Agra. Questo arresto (confesso sinceramente la mia fiacchezza, e il mio poco spirito) mi trafiggerebbe l'anima, e mi ruscirebbe sommamente aspro.

Avendo io fatte con specialiss.a attenzione varie dilizenze hò inteso, che quelli Genti dl Thibet sono beniss.o disposte: hò inteso, anche exconfessione di verij Nostri, che quelle Genti desiderano, che là tornino i N.ri; sò di certo, che q.ta Prov.a hà la Comp.a varij Beni, le rendite de' quali ex Justitia appartengono all Missione dl Thibet. Sò etiam ex confessione di chi ha il maneggio, che una tal Sig. ra Donna Giuliana, che stà nel Mogor, hà già dato molta

Be it permitted me to add something in my own cause.

As I already wrote to Your Paternity from Goa, the Father Provincial destined me for the Mission of Tibet. However. both in Goa and in the rest of the Province I have felt in this particular so much to the contrary, and I know of so many examples of others who were sent and were then detained,<sup>1</sup> that, to speak to you clearly, I have conceived a great fear that I am bound to receive a solemn order to stop, when at Agra. This stopping (I candidly confess my weakness and my little spirit) would pierce my soul, and would be for me most disagreeable.

Having with very special attention made sundry inquiries. I have understood that those peoples of Tibet are very well disposed; I have understood, also from the declarations of sundry of Ours, that those Peoples wish Ours to return thither: <sup>2</sup> I know for certain that in this Province Company has  $\mathbf{the}$ various goods, the revenues of which ex Justitiâ (in Justice) appertain to the Mission of Tibet.<sup>3</sup> I know etiam (also) from the confession of who has the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The examples of others, sent and then detained, seem to refer to Tibet. We have, indeed, noted in our introduction the examples of Frs. Manoel Monteiro, John Carvalho, Peter Gill, Peter de Torres, Joseph Martinetti and Francis Kock (1706-1713), none of whom carried through the project of reopening the Tibet Mission. Desideri may have had in mind similar cases in connection with other Missions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See note 6 of our introduction. We shall hear more of this in the letter of Leh, Aug. 5, 1715.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The King of Tsaparang had indeed given the Fathers in 1626 a large sum of money, amounting to Rs. 8,000, for founding the Tsaparang Mission. (Cf. JASB., 1925, p. 60.) The money must have been invested in properties in Bombay, presumably at Parel.

quantità di denaro da impiegarsi in limosine p. li Poveri dl Thibet; e sò di certo, che q. to denaro stà nelle mani de' Nostri. Sò di certo, che vi è la strada praticata, e non una, mà più d'una p. il Thibet; e q. to mi consta *ex confessione* anche de' Nostri, e particolarmente di chi è stato in Agra.

Tutto ciò presupposto torno a dire a V.P., che quant' è del canto mio sono risolutissimo di far tutti i tentativi, tutte le diligenze, tutto il possibile per riaprire quella Missione, a cui sono stato destinato, fin' all' ultimo passo, fin' all' ultimo respiro, e di non desistere giamai, senza riguardo nè a difficoltà, nè a patimenti, nè a pericoli, nè pur' alla morte medesima. A cio mi son' impegnato col mio Dio, e di nuovo m'impegno, col voto che gl' hò fatto di non desistere dal canto mio da tal' impresa, e di far gagliardissime instanze. ed efficacissime a' Superiori p. eseguir tal' opera e di usar

management, that a certain Signora Donna Giuliana, who is in the Mogor, has already given a great quantity of money to be spent in alms on the poor peoples of Tibet; 1 and I know for certain that this money is in the hands of Ours. I know for certain that the road to Tibet is used, and not one, but more than one; and this is clear to me from the confession of Ours also, and particularly of who has been at Agra.<sup>2</sup>

All this being presupposed, I say again to Your Paternity that, inasmuch as depends on me, I am firmly resolved to use every attempt, every diligence, all that is possible to reopen that Mission, to which I have been destined, even to the last step, to the last breath, and never to desist, caring not, either for difficulties, or sufferings, or dangers, or death itself. To this I have pledged myself with my God, and I again pledge myself, with the vow I have made to him not to desist on my side from such enterprise, and to make most earnest and efficacious entreaties to the Superiors in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This point is obscure to us yet. Probably more is to be learned from Desideri's Notizie Istoriche, Bk. 1, ch. 5, 'of the Churches and Christianity which the Company of Jesus has at Delly and of some notable Christians living there'. Cf. Wessels, p. 276. The portion of Donna Juliana in the Florence MS. was obtained by W. Irvine, the editor of Manucci's Storia do Mogor, for the late Fr. S. Noti, S.J., formerly of Bombay, I have not seen it. On Donna Juliana cf. my article in Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1917, pp. 1-11.

We suggest that the Fathers previously appointed to investigate the possibilities of reopening the Tibet Mission had received money from her for that purpose. We shall see further, letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714, that she lent the money necessary for Desideri and Freyre's expenses on the Tibet journey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Fr. Giuseppe Antonio Martinelli had been at Agra. Desideri may have met him at Damão.

tutte le diligenze che mi sarano moralmente possibili p. condurre a fine quest' intento; e di non arrendermi giamai a tutti gl'ostacoli, che da' Nostri mi fossero posti, eccettuandone il commando de' Superiori.

Posto ciò, rinovo nelle mani di V.P., e ratifico questo mio voto; e p. sgravio della mia coscienza la prego, la riprego, e la supplico per il Sangue prezioso di Gesù, che si degni con la sua autorità di confermarmi l'avviso di andar' a riaprire la Missione del Thibet, datomi in Goa dal P. Prov. le; e a darmi con tutta la pienezza della sua autorità ordine, che non ostante qualunque impedimento che mi fusse fatto da' Nostri, e non ostante qualunque contrordine, e contravviso che ricevessi da' questi sup. ri e Prov. li locali, con ordine espresso, e immediato di V.P., io ò proseguisca, ò di nuovo intraprenda l'impresa di riaprire la Missione dl Thibet.

Padre N.re io non le dimando ciò utcumque, mà gle lo dimando p. scarico, e sgravio dlla mia coscienza, e perchè attentis omnibus, et diligenter expensis formo giudizio, che la Comp. a è gravemente obbligata a far tutto il possibile p. riaprire quella Missione, perchè quelli dl Thibet hanno dato a conoscere evidentemente che vogliono la Santa Fede Cattolica; e dall' altra parte si sono order to pursue that work, and to use every diligence which I shall morally be able to make in order to bring this plan to execution, and never to yield to all the obstacles which Ours may throw in my way, the orders of the Superiors expected.

This settled, I renew in Your Paternity's hands and ratify this my vow; and, for the discharge of my conscience, I beg you, beg you again, and beseech you by the previous blood of Jesus that you deign with your authority to confirm unto me the instruction of going to reopen the Mission of Tibet which was given me at Goa by the Father Provincial, and to give me with all the fulness of your authority the order that, notwithstanding any impediment which might have been caused me by Ours, notwithstanding and any counter-order and counterinstruction which I might receive from these local Superiors and Provincials, I should. under express and immediate order of Your Paternity, either prosecute or undertake anew the enterprise of reopening the Mission of Tibet.

Our Father, I do not ask you this utcumque (in any manner whatever), but I ask it you for the relief and discharge of my conscience, and, because attentis omnibus, et diligenter expensis (all things considered and carefully weighed), I form the opinion that the Company is under the grave obligation of doing whatever is possible to reopen that Mission: for those of Tibet have given to chiaram. te dichiarati che voglieno p. loro Maestri non altri, che quelli d. a Comp. a, descrivendo a minuto il vestito, che portano i Nostri in Agra, perchè con tal vestito entrò là in altri tempi il n. ro P. Andrade. Sicchè se a quegli mancher e la Feda, ne sarà rea la Compagnia, in caso che si manchi (il che Dio non p. metta mai) dal canto nostro di fare il possibile.

P. re N. ro io scarico la mia coscien-(Next page)-za.

Ecce ego, mitte me. Ancorchè mi sia necessario camminar p. le fiamme, e ancorchè mi fosse necessario passar p. tutto l'Inferno a fine di arrivare a dar la notizia di Dio, e d.a Santa Fede Catholica a quelle povere Genti dl Thibet, p. le fiamme camminerò, e p. tutto 'Inferno passeròl' confidato in Dio, purchè la Comp. a non resti punto aggravata, purchè si promova la gloria di Dio, purchè si procuri la salute eterna di quell' anime. Ecce ego, mitte me; son pronto ad andar senza verun sussidio, senza viatico, senza cosa veruna; Bastami solo la fiducia nell' assistenza Divina, giacchè know to evidence that they want the Holy Catholic Faith; and, on the other hand, they have clearly declared that they want for their Teachers no others than those of the Company: describing minutely the dress Ours wear at Agra, because with such dress did our Father Andrade enter there in other times.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, if the Faith will fail them, the Company will be guilty of it. in case we fail (which may God never permit !); on our side to do what is possible.

Our Father, I discharge my conscience. (Next page.)

Ecce ego, mitte me. (Lo. here I am; send me).<sup>2</sup> Even if I ought to walk through the flames, and even if I ought to pass through the whole of Hell, in order to succeed in giving the knowledge of God and of the Holy Catholic Faith to those poor peoples of Tibet, through the flames shall I walk, and through the whole of Hell shall I pass, confident in God, so that the Company may not remain one whit burdened, so that the glory of God be promoted, so that the eternal salvation of those souls be procured. Ecce ego, mitte me. (Lo, here I am; send me). Ι am ready to go without any

<sup>2</sup> Isai. 6. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This information is very baffling. It appears to have been obtained at Goa, or at Damão, and before reaching Surat. In his letter from Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, he gives it as doubtful. If it were correct, men from the King of Tsaparang should have come to Surat to ask for Fathers like those who had been there in 1624-40; the information would have led the Capuchins to ask for the Tibet mission-field. In that case the men came to Surat several years before Propaganda assigned Tibet the Capuchins in 1703. How is it that, nevertheless, in 1706, Fr. Francis Borgia Koch was destined to a Mission in Tibet, the King of which had asked for Missionaries ?

tengo scolpite nel cuore le parole di V.P. scritte a' Sup. ri di q. ta Prov.a in una sua lettera, nella quale ordinandogli, che trattino di aprir nuove Missioni, e che trattino con maggior impeyno de reditu ad Thibetum; e animandoli a non isgomentarsi p.niuna difficoltà apport loro quel belliss. o motivo suggeritole certam.te dal suo cuore tutto pieno di spirito, e di zelo: Causa Dei est.

Altro più non aggiungo p. non far torto alla sua fervorosiss.a carità, e zelo. Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit; riflettè molto benè S. Agostino, nel considerare, che Marta e Maddalena allorchè. Stava molto infermo Lazaro, solam. te diedero di ciò avviso, a Gesù, che era assente: senza aggiungere preghiere, nè altro. Così io giudicando che basti solo rappresentar ciò che hò gid scritto a V.P. tà sopra.to punto, p. muovere la sua carita, lo zelo suo dlla maggior gloria di Dio, e dlla salute dll' anime: p. questo non aggiungo altre preghiere altre suppliche; Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit.

Solam. te posto a' suoi piedi riverentem.te li bacio, e la supplico dlla sua S.a Benedizione, e che si degni impetrarmi

subsidy, without any viaticum. without anything. Enough for me is my confidence in the divine assistance, since I hold engraved in my heart the words of Your Paternity. written to the Superiors of this Province in one of your letters, wherein, ordering them to consider opening new Missions. and to consider with greater earnestness de reditu ad Thi*betum* (returning to Tibet). and encouraging them not to be dismayed by any difficulty, you adduce for them that most beautiful motive, surely suggested to you by your heart all full of spirit and of zeal; Causa Dei est (It is God's cause).

I add nothing more, not to wrong your very fervent charity and zeal. Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit (To him who loved it was enough to announce), as Saint Augustine very well reflected. when he considered that, when Lazarus was very ill, Martha and Magdalen only sent word thereof to Jesus, who was away, and added no prayers, nor anything else. Thus I, judging that merely to represent what I have already written to Your Paternity suffices in order to move your charity, your zeal for the greater glory of God, and of the salvation of souls. do not therefore add other other entreaties. pravers. Amanti tantummodo nuntiandum fuit (To him who loved it was enough to announce).

Only, placed at your feet, I reverently kiss them, and I beg you to give me your Holy Blessing, and that you deign dal S ig.re quello spirito che si conviene p. vivere, e morire da vero Figlio d.a Comp.a, e da uomo Apostolico d.a Comp.a, p. adempire i disegni di Dio che ciò pretese col chiamarmi, e mandarmi p.mezzo di V.P.all 'Indie.

La supplico ancora ad aplicar Messe, e far fare Orazioni da' N.ri, particolarm.te da Novizj p.il buon' esito di q.ta impresa, e p.la conversione dl Thibet. E facendole umiliss.a riverenza mi raccomando alle sue S.S. e Orazioni, e S.S. Sacrifizj.

Di V.P. Suratte 30. Xbre 1713. SOLI. Ind.mo in X.po Servo, Ippolito Desideri. ask of the Lord that spirit which behoves, to live and die as true Son of the Company and as Apostolic man of the Company, to fulfil the designs of God, who intended *that*, when calling me and sending me through Your Paternity to the Indies.<sup>1</sup>

I also beg you to apply Masses, and to get Prayers made by Ours, chiefly by the Novices, for the good success of this enterprise and for the conversion of Tibet. And, making most humble reverence to you, I commend myself to your Holy Prayers and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Paternity's Suratte, 30th December, 1713. PRIVATE. Unworthy Servant in Christ, Ippolito Desideri.<sup>2</sup>

5. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J. to Fr. Piccolomini, Italy (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714).'

This letter, now translated for the first time into English, is preserved in the Stonyhurst College Library (A.I. 36, 2nd Part, pp. 4, 4to). (Cf. Sommervogel.) It is dated from Agra, Aug. 21, 1714, and is addressed to Fr. Piccolomini, in Italy.<sup>3</sup> It recounts Desideri's journey from Surat to Delhi and from Delhi to Agra, his three months' stay at Agra and his forthcoming departure for Tibet. It is the most circumstantial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is one of the passages showing that Desideri contemplated the Tibet field when leaving for India; it also implies, in the light of Desideri's other statements, that the General destined him for Tibet when sending him to India.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> There is no reference yet in this letter to the Visitor, Fr. Joseph da Sylva, whom, judging from the further letters, Desideri found at Surat on his arrival there. Would not this show that the letter was written at Damão, with the intention of posting it at Surat?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Fr. Francis Volumnius Piccolomini: b. at Siena, July 7, 1682; admitted into the Society of Jesus, June 1, 1698; taught grammar, 2 years; rhetoric, 3 years; philosophy, 6 years; moral theology, 2 years; canon law, 6 years; master of novices; Rector of the German College, Rome; died at Rome, Jan. 14, 1740. Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, VI, 700.

account we have thus far of this part of Desideri's travels. It should be compared with his *Notizie isotiroche*, of Desideri's Bk. I, ch. IV: 'Departure from Goa and journey up to the city of Delly, the capital of the Empire of the Mogol. Brief account of that court.' (Cf. Wessels, p. 276.)

We may well pardon Desideri the pathos of his farewell to all his old friends. To have an idea of what such a journey at such a time meant, one must remember the terrible experiences of Fr. Anthony de Andrada in his first expedition to Tibet (1624), and Desideri's own subsequent hardships. He was sent to reopen de Andrada's mission, but he walked to the unknown, not knowing where de Andrada had been.

To understand the good man's emotion on the eve of setting out for Delhi, Kashmir and Ladakh, let us remember that his was a self-imposed mission, one to which for years before coming to India he had felt himself drawn. What had inspired him with the idea, we cannot say. Perhaps, what he had read of de Andrada, either de Andrada's own two printed accounts of his first and second journey to Tsaparang, or the stray literature on the subject as found in the histories of the Generals of the Society. He may also have been impelled by the efforts of the General to reopen the Tibet Mission, which between 1706 and his own departure from Italy in 1712 had led to nothing. To inspire him the more there was the example of the Capuchins sent to Tibet in 1704, who had actually penetrated to Lhasa in 1708.

M. to R.do in X.po P.re,

## P.C.

Tanto prima di partir di Goa, quanto prima di partir di Surat, scrissi a V. R. dandole nuova di me e del mio arrivo a detti luoghi, adesso vò continuado le notizie di questo 3° tomo ò 4° del mio viaggio; perche di poi, Dio sà quando, è se, le potrò più inviar nuove di me.

Dunque fui necessitato a trattenermi quasi trè Mesi in Very Reverend Father in Christ,

The Peace of Christ.

Before my departure from Goa as well as from Surat, I wrote to Your Reverence, giving you news about me and my arrival at the said places.<sup>1</sup> I now continue the account of the 3rd or 4th tome of my journey:<sup>2</sup> for God knows when, or whether at all, I shall be able to send you any news of myself hereafter.

So then, I was obliged to stay about three months at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We do not know where these two letters are.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The first tome may have been in Desideri's mind his story up to his embarking at Lisbon; the second, his voyage to Goa; the third what happened at Goa and up to his writing to Piccolomini from Surat; the fourth would be the present letter.

Surat, a cagione delle guerre, e turbolenze di quest' I mperio del Mogor; e in detto tempo stiedi in casa de' P.P. Cappuccini, che quivi stanno alla cura di quei Cristiani che in Surat si ritrovano. Party finalm.te a' 26 di Marzo, quando già era cominciata la forza del caldo, che in questi luoghi è molto grande, e partij in compagnia d'alcuni altri pochi. Nell' ottavo giorno del viaggio eramo in un certo passo aspettati da un grosso numero di Ladri armati, parte a piedi, e parte a cavallo; mā si compiacque il Sig.re di farsi difesa di chi andava posto nelle sue

Surat,<sup>1</sup> because of the wars and disturbances in this Empire of the Mogor.<sup>2</sup> And, during the said time, I lived in the house of the Capuchin Fathers, who there are in charge of the Christians found at Surat.<sup>3</sup> Finally, I left on the 26th of March, when had commenced already the strength of the heats, which in these parts are very great; and I left in the company of some others.<sup>4</sup> On the eighth day of the journey, at a certain pass,<sup>5</sup> we were awaited by a large number of armed robbers, some on foot, some on horseback; but it pleased the Lord

<sup>1</sup> He remained at Surat between Jan. 4, 1714, and March 26. 'During the time I was obliged to remain at Surat, I began the study of Persian.' (Letter from Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, cf. Puini, *op. cit.*, p. 361.)

<sup>2</sup> On the death of Bahādur Shāh (Feb. 18, 1712) there was the usual struggle for the throne and the ensuing massacre of kindred. Jahāndār Shāh succeeded, but was massacred after eleven months. His nephew Farrukhsiyar Shāh, who ascended the throne on Jan. 9, 1713, began his reign by terrible reprisals on the nobles who had opposed his father 'Azīm-ush-shān. In 1713-14 there was a violent disturbance at Ahmadābad, between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Ahmadābad lay on Desideri's route to Delhi.

<sup>3</sup> On the Capuchins at Surat, see Fr. Felix, O.M.C., *The Capuchin Mission at Surat*, in *The Franciscan Annals of India*, Agra, 1910, pp. 20-23; 38-41; 86-89; 112-116; 136-137; 176-179. If Fr. Felix expresses there the opinion that in 1713 the house of the Capuchins was occupied by the Carmelites, we find here that it cannot have been so in the beginning of 1714.

<sup>4</sup> In this letter there is not the slightest allusion to Fr. Desideri's two companions on the journey from Surat to Delhi: Fr. Joseph da Sylva, the Jesuit Visitor of the Mogor Mission, and Fr. Melchior dos Reys, who went to Agra as the new Rector of the College there, which meant that he was virtually the Superior of all the Fathers in the Mogor Mission. 'On the 26th of March, I left with the Fr. Visitor and arrived on May 11 at Delly, where Fr. Freyre's going to Tibet was ratified.' Cf. Puini, op. cit., p. 361. At p. 6, *ibid.*, March 25 is, given as the day of departure from Surat. The word 'ratified' in the passage just quoted, might show that already at Surat there had been question of Fr. Freyre's going with Desideri to Tibet, but it may mean also that the Visitor approved at Delhi of Freyre's spontaneous offer to go with Desideri. Puini (p. 6) can be misunderstood as meaning that Fr. Freyre became Desideri's companion from Surat. Fr. Wessels (p. 210) states that at Surat Desideri learned that 'Fr. Manoel Freyre was to be his Superior and travelling companion.'

This does not appear from our letters. Is it stated so in Desideri's Relazione as published by Puini or in his Notizie istoriche?

<sup>5</sup> Probably a pass in the Satpura Range.

mani; sicchè non ricevemmo verun danno; anzi varii di quei ladri ci vennero per buono spazio accompagnando. Non così successe ad altri non Christiani, che in quella medesima mattina passarono da quell' istesso luogo, poichè gl'infelici furono costretti a ricevere sopra di se quella tempesta, che per noi era preparata, e lasciarono quivi non solo la robba, mã ancor la vita in preda al furore degli spietati Ladroni.

A 5d' Aprile arrivai a Amadabat Città molto grande, e popolata di circa due milioni d'anime, dove si crede che regnasse il P. di S. Giosafat, e dove conservasi tuttavia una veste, che dicono fosse di S. Barlaam. In detta Città fui ricevuto in Casa degl' Olanto defend who went committed to his hands; hence, we received no harm; some of these robbers even came along a good distance, accompanying us. It did not happen so to others, non-Christians, who that very morning passed by the same place: for the poor fellows were forced to face the storm which had been prepared for us, and there they left, not only their belongings, but life itself, the victims of the fury of the cruel robbers.

On the 5th of April I arrived at Amadabât, a very great City, with a population of about two million souls,<sup>1</sup> where it is believed reigned the Father of Saint Josaphat, and where anyhow is kept a garment which they say belonged to Saint Barlaam.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ahmadābad. At p. 6, in Puini, we have: 'Amadabaad, the capital of the Province of Guzarat'. Puini adds that they arrived at Amadabaad in April 1, whereas we have here April 5. The latter date alone is correct, since they were yet in a pass on the 8th day after their departure from Surat; moreover, Desideri adds here that after staying at Amadabaad on April 6, they left it on April 7.

<sup>2</sup> The principal characters of a legend which was a favourite subject of writers in the Middle Ages. It is a christianized version of one of the legends of Buddha, as even the name Josaphat shows, Josaphat being a corruption of Joasaph, corrupted through the middle Persian Budasif (Budasif = Bodhisattva). A Latin translation of the Greek text was made in the XIIth century and was used for translations into nearly all the European languages. In the East it exists in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Hebrew.

I give here the usual opinion on this matter, but I shall add that I am not fully satisfied. At Amadābad the custodians of the tradition enunciated by Desideri may have been the Armenians and the Abyssinians, both of whom had churches there in Tavernier's time. I should think that the story of Barlaam and Josaphat spread to Europe through the Georgians, and that a section of the Georgians (called Guzr in Persian) actually gave their name to the province of Gujarat, and to the Gujrat and Gujranwala of the Punjab. When these Georgians settled in India, had they not already a smattering of Christianity, which they lost subsequently in India? And was not their chief town in Guzarat at Ahmedābad ? I expect most readers will deride the passage in Desideri as puerile local tradition, while it may be a very precious survival of ancient Christianity in India. Can the tradition here voiced by Desideri be traced to other authors, earlier or later ? So many passed through Ahmedābad, and the English and the Dutch were established there so early, that it desi, che quivi si ritrovano, e vi stiedi tutto il giorno seguente.

La mattina del 7. partij in compagnia d'una Cafila, che appunto in quel giorno s'imbattè a partir da Amadabât. Cafila chiamano una compagnia di molta gente, rutta, ò quasi tutta armata, che si unisce a far viaggio; ed è ciò necessarissimo a cagione dell' incontrarse frequentis simamente grossi squadroni di Soldati, dimoranti per lo più ne' monti, che sono di suo offizio Ladroni, de' quali è pieno tutto questo vasto Imperio. La Cafila, con cui partij era composta di due mila persone ò più, gran parte dè quali erano Soldati a Cavallo, e gran parte erano soldati a piedi. Cosi uniti cominciavamo la mattina prima di farsi giorno a marciare con buona ordinanza a maniera d'esercito, con tromba, Tamburi, Stendardi, Offiziali, Carri di Bagaglio, Cameli, etc. In cotal guisa seguivamo a comIn this City I was received at the house of the Dutch, who are found there,<sup>1</sup> and there I stayed the next day.

On the morning of the 7th, I left in the company of a Cafila,<sup>2</sup> which just that day happened to leave from Amadabât. They call Cafila a large body of people, armed all of them, or nearly all of them, who combine to travel together. And this is quite necessary, because one meets very often great troops of soldiers, staying mostly in the mountains, who by profession are robbers, and with whom the whole of this vast Empire The Cafila swarms. with which I started consisted of two thousand persons, or more, a great number of them soldiers on horseback, and a great part foot-soldiers. Thus united, in the morning, before daybreak, we began marching in good order, like an army, with trumpet, drums, standards. officers, baggage-carts, camels, etc. We went along in this style up to a convenient hour,

<sup>1</sup> For the Dutch at Amadabaad, cf. Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. IV. Amadabaad, Bombay, 1879, pp. 272-3, 285. Valentyn states that the Dutch lodge in 1639 and 1679 was important. After 1679 the number of employees was diminished. In 1711 there was a head merchant (koopman) with 5 subalterns, Dutchmen, and some natives. Cf. Ive Deel, Ilde Stuk, p. 151, col. 1.

It is gratifying to see the hospitality thus extended by the Dutch to the Jesuits. They were not less amicable at Agra, and to the Capuchins passing through Singhia, near Patna. Nor were the English, wherever they were found, less hospitable to our Missionaries.

<sup>2</sup> Cafila. Arab.:  $k\bar{a}fla$ : a body or convoy of travellers, a caravan. My two copyists read casila, which I treat as a misreading for cafila.

would be very wonderful if Desideri had been the first to record the Ahmedābad tradition.

Even if the christianized legend were borrowed from a tale of the Buddha, the introduction to the Christian version appears to reflect correct Indian history when it states that St. Thomas evangelized India and that India swarmed with Christian monks, monasticism having been brought to it from Egypt.

minare fin' ad era competente, ed in fine ci accampavamo in qualchè luogo spazioso, e sempre vicino ad alcun lago, fiume, ò fosso, per ristoro della nostra sete. Quivi a campagna aperta passavamo la notte in riposo, mà sempre con sentinelle vigilanti. Il cammino molti giorni fù buono, mà molti giorni ancora fù aspro, e travaglioso; e sempre reso molto grave da un' eccessivo caldo, e specialm te ogni giorno da un vento infocato, che rendeva penosissimo il viaggiare anche agl' stessi animali. Gl' incontri di pericoli furono varij, mà sempre si superarono col favor divino senza verun danno. Proseguimmo in tal modo fino quasi al fine di Aprile, nel qual tempo la Cafila restò smembrata, e divisa in varie parti, poichè diverso era il termine di ciascuna parte di essa.

Con una di queste parti seguitai io il mio viaggio sino alla Citta chiamata Sanganêr. Quivi avendomi conosciuto per Europeo, i Ministri della Città persuadendosi, che sotto abito di Religioso, e di povero, fossi un molto ricco Mercante, mi arrestarono, e esigevano una buona quantità di denaro. Fui quivi costretto a fermarmi due giorni, nel qual tempo quella parte di Cafila, con cui andavo tirò innazi il suo viaggio. In

and finally encamped in some spacious place, and always near some lake, river, or ditch,<sup>1</sup> where to quench our thirst. There, in the open, we spent the night resting, but always with sentries on the watch. For many days the road was good, but many days too it was rough and difficult: and it was rendered verv difficult all the time by the excessive heat, and chiefly every day by a hot wind, which made travelling most painful, even for the animals themselves. The dangers we encountered were of various sorts. but with the divine grace we always escaped without harm. We continued in this way up to about the end of April, when the Cafila broke up, and divided off to several parts, the destination of each lying in a different direction.<sup>2</sup>

With one of these sections I pursued my way up to the City called Sanganèr.<sup>3</sup> Here, having recognized me for a European, the officials of the town, persuaded that under the habit of a Religious and a poor man might be hidden a very rich merchant, arrested me and exacted a large amount of money. Here I was obliged to stop two days, during which time that part of the Cafila with which I went proceeded

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fosso='ditch'. Can it be for pozzo='well'?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The caravan broke up probably at Ajmer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sanganer is 7 m. S.W. of Jaipur; hence Amir must not be identified with Ajmer, but with Amber or Amer, *alias* Jaipur. Amber was a few miles further ahead (*piu avanti*). The Amber Rajah then reigning was Jai Singh II Siwae (born *circa* 1683; died 1743). He is known as the great astronomer prince, and at a later date he had at his court several Jesuits, astronomers, mostly Germans.

tanto saputosi nella Città di Amir, posta alcune miglia più avanti, dove risiede il Regolo di quei luoghi, il mio arresto in Sanganer, venne una buona riprensione a' Ministri di quella Città con ordine espresso, che subito subito mi lasciassero andare senza veruna contribuzione per il mio cammino. Così spedito, mà senza la solita compagnia, tirai innanzi, fidato, che il Sig.re, a cui maggior gloria solam. te erano indirizzati tutti i miei passi, mi assisterebbe in tutto, e mi defenderebbe in tutto, come buon Padre; ò almeno, quando si degnasse di disporre altrimenti, mi darebbe forza di tutto sopportar con giubilo di cuore per suo amore. Si compiacque però di guidarmi sicuram.te, e prosperam.te, di modo che agl' undici di Maggio con somma felicità, e con una straordinaris.sima speditezza arrivai sano, e salvo alla gran Città di Delly, capo di quest' imperio, residenza del Re, e abitate da trè milioni, e piu di gente.

Sta quivi all cura di quei trecento più ò meno Cristiani, che quivi si ritrovano un nostro Padre, daun fui accolto, e ricevuto con molta cortesia, e carità. Quivi nella prima nolle si degnò il Sig.re di darmi il ristoro, e conforto di tutti

on its journey. Meanwhile, when in the City of Amir, some miles further, where resides the Kinglet of those places, they learned of my arrest at Sanganer, there came a severe reproof for the officials of that City, with express order that at once, they should let me go on my way, without any payment. Thus free, but without the usual company, I pushed forward, trusting that the Lord, to whose greater glory were directed all mv steps, would assist me throughout, would defend me throughout, like a good Father, or at least that, if he deigned to dispose otherwise, he would give me strength to bear all with jubilee of heart for love of him.<sup>1</sup> Now, he was pleased to guide me safely and securely, so that with extraordinary speed I arrived safe and sound. on the eleventh of May<sup>2</sup> at the great City of Delly, the Capital of this Empire, the residence of the King, and inhabited by three million people and more.

There, in charge of three hundred Christians, more or less, lives a Father of Ours,<sup>3</sup> by whom I was welcomed and received with much courtesy and charity. There, the first night, the Lord deigned to give me rest and refreshment from

<sup>2</sup> The same date is given at pp. 6 and 361 of Puini, and in Desideri's letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716; also in his letter of Delhi, Sept. 20, 1714. It is evident that Desideri kept a diary.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> What happened to Fr. Joseph da Sylva and Melchior dos Reys? Were they not dressed like Desideri, suspected of being merchants, arrested, and set free with Desideri? If they were not arrested, they would surely have waited at Sanganer till Desideri was set free. Here is a case for the negative evidence of silence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Fr. Manoel Freyre.

gl' incomodi, e patimenti del passato viaggio. Convien sapere, come avendo in goa ottenuto d'andar' a procurar d' aprire una nuova Missione nel Thibet, fui destinato sì, mà solo, e senza verun compagno in un' impresa molto ardua, ed in luoghi tanto remoti, e da' Nostri, e da qualunque Cristiano. Avevo scritto al p. Provinciale a Goa, che si degnasse mandarmi almeno un Padre per compagno, affinchè quando si compiacesse S.D.M. di farmi trovar' alcuna Messe, avessi chi m'aiutasse, ò quando volesse di me disporre altrimenti ò nelviaggio, ò nel termine, avessi la compagnia, e l'aiuto d'alcun nostro Religioso. M' aveva promesso il P. Provincial di mandarmi un Padre, e di soddisfare al mio desiderio. mà però non poteva quello da Goa arrivar' a queste parti, se non doppo un' anno, nel qual tempo m'era necessario star' in queste parti aspettando il di lui arrivo, Mà però in quella prima notte di Delly parlando con quel Padre, che quivi trovato avevo, e manifestandoli il mio intento d' andar a procurar d'aprir una nuova Mis sionedl Thibet, mi s'offerseper venir'egli in mia compagnia, ed io riconoscendo ciò come dono della mano pietosa di Dio, restai molto consolato, e soddisfatto. Mà perchè non potevano così subito partire.

all the discomforts and sufferings of my past journey. You must know that, having obtained leave at Goa to go and try to reopen a new Mission in Tibet, I was sent indeed, but alone, and without any companion, on a very arduous enterprise, and to places, 80 remote both from Ours and from any Christian. I had written to the Father Provincial at Goa, asking him kindly to send me at least one Father for a companion, so that. should His Divine Majesty be pleased to make me find some harvest, I might have who would assist me, or, should he wish to dispose of me otherwise, either on the journey or at the goal, I might have the company and help of one of our Religious. The Father Provincial had promised to send me a Father and to gratify my desire, but he could not come from Goa to these parts till after a year, and meanwhile I had to stay in these parts and await his arrival. But, now, that first night at Delly, as I was speaking to the Father whom I had found there, and I made known to him my project of going and trying to open a new Mission, that of Tibet. he offered to come with me, and I, seeing in this a gift from the merciful hand of God. was much consoled and satisfied.<sup>1</sup> But we could not start

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Desideri must have written to the Provincial before his departure from Surat, and must even have received the answer before that departure on March 26, 1714. How then can it be said that Fr. Freyre was appointed Fr. Desideri's companion by the Visitor Fr. Joseph da Sylva, while the Visitor and Desideri were still at Surat? (Cf. Puini, 6; Wessels, 210.) Desideri's interview with Fr. Freyre the first night they were together at Delhi precludes the theory.

sì a cagione del doversi trovar' alcun Padre, che restasse alla cura de'Cristiani di Delly, sì a cagione dell' esser già vicine a cominciar le pioggie, le quali in questi loughi ne' presenti Mesi sono dirottissime, e continue; percio doppo essere stato dieci giorni in Delly, partij per Agra, indi distante sette giornate.

Arrivato in Agra, per buona sorte contro l'ordinario costume, trovai quivi due Patri, e subito un d'essi, che era destinato per andar'a trovar alcun riposo delle sue fatiche a Goa, s'offerse d'andar' egli alla cura de' Cristiani di Dellỳ, perchè 'l altro Padre potesse meco venire per la Missione dl Thibet. Così stabilite le cose, sopravenendo il so quickly, both because some Father had to be found to remain in charge of the Christians of Delly, and because the rains were already about to begin, which in these places during the present months are very excessive and continual; therefore, after a ten days' stay at Delly, I went to Agra, a distance of seven days thence.

Having arrived at Agra, I found there by good luck, against the usual order of things, two Fathers,<sup>1</sup> and presently one of them, who was destined to go to Goa there to find some rest from his fatigues, offered to go and take charge of the Christians of Delly, so that the other Father might come with me to Tibet. Matters thus settled, the time

Neither Freire nor Durão are in A. Franco's list, which may mean that they were born in India, or were admitted in India. The same list shows that Fr. Joseph da Sylva, a Portuguese and not yet a priest, came out via Lisbon in 1673, and that Fr. Melchior dos Reys, a Portuguese and not yet a priest, came out in 1699 via Lisbon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The two Fathers at Agra were probably the new Rector, Fr. Melchior dos Reys, and the outgoing Rector. The Catalogues for the Mogor Mission show for January 2, 1710, Fr. Emmanuel Durão as Vice-Rector at Agra. We have no catalogues till December 1716. (Cf. JASB., 1910, p. 536.) The personnel of the Mogor Mission in 1714 seems to have been: Fr. Joseph da Sylva, the Visitor; Fr. Melchior dos Reys, Rector, about May 28, at Agra; the outgoing Rector or Vice-Rector at Agra, Fr. Manoel Durão, who would have taken Fr. Freyre's place at Delhi, when he (Freyre) and Desideri left for Lahore on Sept. 23, 1714. In fact, the catalogue of December 1716 shows Fr. Manoel Durão at Delhi, also the Catalogue of Dec. 1718 and of Nov. 1719. In 1713 the Father at Delhi was Manoel Freyre. As there was no missionary at Lahore, the above list appears to be complete for 1713, with the addition of Desideri.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Manoel Freyre was born at Ancião in Portugal in 1679 and entered the Society at Goa, October 7, 1694. In 1710 we find him engaged in the Agra Mission, to which he returned after his Lhasa journey. After 1719 his name disappears from the yearly lists. There can be no doubt that he left the Society, for in a letter to the General written from Goa, Dec. 10, 1724, he petitions for re-admission. The reply is not known, but the catalogue of 1728 has a note appended, to the effect that the name of Manuel Freyre has not been entered, because he will not be able to present himself till after a month. Nothing seems to have come of the affair, for his name is not seen either in the catalogues of later years or in the Catalogus defunctorum.' Cf. Wessels, 222 n. 2.

tempo delle pioggie, e non potendo io partire, mi aplicai allo studio dlla lingua Persiana, la quale per il restante del viaggio, che mi rimane, e per entrar nel Thibet m'è necessaria, e di cui avevo preso i prim principij in Surat. Non posso a bastangza spiegar' a V.R., che fatica, e che travaglio seco porti lo studio d'una tal lingua, la quale contiene molta difficultà, special.te per la pronunzia per chi non è tuttavia Bambino, Mà sia pur sempre ed in tutto lodato, e benedetto il Signore, per cui amore se altro non potrò fare in questo tempo, almeno goderò di potergli ogni giorno offerire questo piccolo sacrifizio di questo travaglio, che pur si rende dolce, per star l'occhio posto di mira nel di lui prezioso amore. e nel desiderio della conversione delle anime redente col sangue di Gesù, che sono i due condimenti, che rendono agevole tutto l'aspro, e fanno dolce tutto l'amaro.

Mà non è questo il tormento maggiore, poichè la pena più sensibile è il veder avanti agl' occhi di continuo tanta ruina d'anime preziose, e tante, e tanto grandi offese, che si fanno contro l'Infinito Bene, e non poter nè pur dar un passo per ovyiare, a si lacrimevole sconcerto. E questo un continuo, e tormentosissimo eculeo; imperocchè siccome in quello l'atrocità consiste nell' of the rains coming on, I, being unable to start, applied myself to the study of the Persian language, which I need for the rest of my remaining journey and to enter Tibet, and the first beginnings of which I had learned at Surat.<sup>1</sup> I cannot sufficiently explain to Your Reverence what fatigue and what trouble the study of such a language entails; it offers many difficulties, especially for the pronunciation, for one who is no longer a babe. But, praised and blessed for ever and in all things be the Lord, for whose sake if I can do nothing else at this time, I shall at least have the satisfaction of being able to offer him daily the small sacrifice of this labour, which becomes even sweet when the eye is fixed on his precious love and on the desire of the conversion of the souls redeemed by the blood of Jesus, the two seasonings which make easy whatever is hard, and turn to sweet whatever is bitter.

However, that is not my chief torment: for keener is the pain I feel when I behold continually before my eyes the ruin of so many precious souls, and so many, and such grievous offences committed against the Infinite Goodness, and when I see I cannot make even one step to prevent such lamentable disorder. This is like a rack continually torturing me most cruelly: for, as the atro-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Persian must have been of use to Desideri wherever Muhammadans or Armenians were found. He found both at Lhasa. He says, however, in his Relation (Puini, 82) that a knowledge of 'Hendustanic' was necessary as a preparation for the study of Tibetan.

essere il corpo, nel tempo medesimo, in cui con funi violente è stirato fortemente per una banda, con altrettanto violente funi stirato per la parte totalm.te opposta; con che di due moti totalm.te opposti si compone una dolorosa carnificina; Così in me appunto sperimento dentro dl cuore. Si compiace S.D.M. in vinculis charitatis con dolce amorosa violenza di tirarmi con tutto il cuore là dove è grande la perdita dell'anime e più oltraggiata è la di lui amabiliss.a bontà; e nel tempo medisimo con durissimi legami misono stretti, e stirati, in altra parte i piedi, senz' altro poter fare se non mandar sole e scompagnate le potenze dll'animo, dove non può il corpo far loro compagnia. Mà ben presto ritornano elle a me sconsolate; come cani che scoperta la preda bramata, non potendola essi afferrare tornano al Cacciatore, e lo stimolano ad andar' egli più avanti a trafiggerla con le sue armi.

Mà sia in tutto fatta la Divina voluntà dell' amabilissimo Padre, e Signor nostro, il quale con queste dimore giustam.te mi gastiga, e mi dà la pena, che ben merito per aver tardato tanto tempo, e tuttavia tardar' a ritirarmi dalle creature, e da me stesso, a tutto darmi a lui, e perciò giustiaam.te mi punisce col permetter, che non possa io adesso come pur vorrei, tirar fuora dalle fauci dell'Inferno le

city of the rack consists in that the body, at the very time it is being violently drawn with strong ropes to one side, is at the same time and with ropes equally violent drawn in exactly opposite direction, the two totally opposite strains causing a cruel torment, just so do I feel in my heart. It pleases His Divine Majesty to draw my whole heart away in vinculis charitatis (with the bands of love) 1 and with sweet and amorous violence to where is great the perdition of souls, and where his most amiable goodness is outraged more; and at the same time with fastest bonds are my feet bound and drawn elsewhere, while I can do nothing else than send, alone and unaccompanied, the powers of the spirit to where my body cannot follow. But soon enough they return to me disconsolate, like dogs, who, when they have discovered the longed-for prev and are unable to seize it themselves, turn to the hunter, and press him to come along and to pierce it with his weapons.

But, let the Divine will of our most amiable Father and Lord be done in all things, who punishes me justly with these delays and chastises me deservedly for having tarried so long, and for tarrying still, to sever myself from creatures and from myself, and to give myself to him wholly. For this does he justly punish me by allowing that I should not now, as I would, be able to snatch souls from the jaws of

anime per darle a lui, e per riporle come in luogo di sicurezza nel Cuore amorosissimo del Crocifisso gesù. Frà tutto questo però mi consolo col ricorso al potentissimo patrocinio della Santissima Vergine, e de' SS.i miei Avvocati, col patrocinio di quali spero in fine di placare il misericordioso Signore, e doppo le lacrime spero di poter cum exultatione, scorrere liberamente là dove mi chiama Dominus messis. e di poter consolarmi potrans manipulos a piè della Croce del mio Signore. E tale speranza va sempre in me aumentandosi sensibilisper conoscer' io simam.te e quasi toccar con le mani di continuo, che S.D. M. stà impegnata in favorire, е promuovere questa mia impresa, mentre incontro aiuti dove meno li potevo aspettare, e veggo con facilità sparire gl' ostacoli tutti, che in mezzo all' opera si frappongono. Faccia il Demonio, e l' Inferno tutto quanto vuole, ponga in contrario tutte le sue forze; non per questo mi atterrisce, perchè Scio cui credidi. Sò di certo, che la causa è di Dio, e son consapevole a me, che non ostante l'esser' io in tutto pieno di peccati, e d'ingratitudine alle divine misericordie. nondimeno con l'aiuto dl Sig.re l'intenzione è retta; e perciò non posso dubitar punto, che Dio sarà sempre con me; e si Deus pro nobis, quis contra Sono risolutiss.o con la nos?divina grazia ò di morir in mezzo all' opera, ò di condurre

Hell, and give them to him, and place them as in a place of safety within the most loving Heart of my Crucified Jesus. Withal, I console myself throughout by having recourse to the most powerful patronage of the Most Blessed Virgin, and of the Saints, my advocates, with whose protection I hope in the end to appease the Lord of Mercy, and to obtain that after my tears I may be able *cum* exultatione (with joyfulness) hasten freely where Dominus messis (the Lord of the harvest) calls me. and may console myself portans manipulos (carrying my sheaves)<sup>1</sup> to the feet of my Lord's Cross. And that hope is always growing stronger in me, because I know most sensibly, and so to say touch with my hands continually, that His Divine Majesty is bound to favour and speed this my enterprise, since I meet with help where I could least expect it, and see vanishing with ease all the obstacles standing in the way of the undertaking. Let the Devil. let Hell, do whatever they please; let them put forth all their strength in opposition; I am not frightened thereby; for *scio cui credidi* (I know whom I have believed).<sup>2</sup> Τ know for certain that it is God's cause, and I am conscious that, though I am wholly steeped in sins and ingratitude to the divine mercies, yet with the help of the Lord the intention is right; hence I cannot a fine questa impresa, che so di certo che Dio vuol da me.

E perchè chi si pone ad una grand' impresa è necessario, che ò tenga buon capitale, ò che almeno riceva da altri qualchè grosso sussidio; perciò trovandomi io senza nè pur tenue capital di virtù, di spirito, e di fervore, affinchè non sia temeraria questa mia impresa ricorro ad altri, e specialmente a V.R., a cui è ben nota la mia grandiss.a miseria, affine di recevere dalla sua, e altrui carità qualche opportuno sussidio. Padre mio amatissimo sum pauper, miser, et miserabilis assai assai piu di quello, che si passa imaginare, sono senza punto di vigor vitale di spirito, sono pieno di piaghe, sono aggravato dalla soma de' miei moltissimi peccati, sono molto maltrattato dall' amor proprio, e dalle febbri quotidiane della mie verissime, e immortificate passioni, in somma sono sì fiacco, sì debole, che appena appena stò in piedi, e se mi reggo in piedi è perchè il misericordiosissimo Sig.re spinto dal suo svisceratissimo amore, in vece di abbandonarmi. come di continuo; meriterei per le mie insopportabili ingratitudini, facit potentiam in brachio suo,

for a moment doubt but that God will always be with me; and si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? (If God be with us, who is against us?)<sup>1</sup> I am quite resolved with the divine grace either to die in the midst of the labour, or to carry through this enterprise, which I know for sure God wants of me.

And, because he who turns his hand to a great undertaking must either have a large capital of his own, or at least receive from others some large subsidy, hence, finding myself without even the smallest store of virtue, of spirit, and of fervour, that my enterprise may not prove rash, I turn to others, and chiefly to Your Reverence who well know my very great misery, hoping to receive from your charity and that of others some timely succour. My very dear Father, sum pauper, miser, miserabilis (I am poor. et and wretched. miserable).<sup>2</sup> much, much more than can be imagined; I have not a title of vital vigour of spirit; I am full of wounds; I am burdened with the weight of my very many sins; I am buffeted by self-love, and by the daily fevers of my very true and immortified passions; in fine, I am so weak, so feeble that hardly, hardly, do I stand on my feet; and, if I do stand on my feet, it is because the most merciful Lord, prompted by his passionate love, instead of forsaking me. as I should deserve continually for my unbearable ingratitudes, facit

e mi và pietosamente sostenando perchè non cada. degnandosi di esaltar in me la sua misericordia e non i meritati rigori della sua infinita Giustizia, Or se, anche un Religioso di malto spirito, di soda virtù, e di sperimentato fervore, dovendosi porre in mezzo di persone di mondo, con tutto che siano Cristiani. e timorati di Dio; con tutto ciò hà grandissima necessità d'essere molto, e molto aiutato dalle Orazioni di anime buone, e amiche di Dio; argomenti qual sia l'estrema necessità di me miserabiliss.o peccatore, che vò a pormi (perchè Dio così vuole da me) in paese totalm.te Infedeli, trà gente tutta nemica di Dio, e con uno spaventevole prospetto di tutte le maggiori iniq uità di continuo avanti agl' occhi.

Padre mio amatissimo, posto a suoi piedi, e con le lacrime agl' occhi la prego per quanto amore porta all' amabiliss.o Dio, per quanto zelo hà della sua divina gloria, per il Sangue di Jesù con cui fù redenta la poverella mia anima, la prego e la supplico con tutto il cuore non si acordi mai mai mai di me in ogni sua Orazione, che da quì innanzi farà, ed in ogni suo S.S. Sacrifizio. Preghi, e preghi con gran fervore, con gran premura per me, e specialmente offerisca spesso per me all' Eterno Padre il Sangue preziosissimo di Gesù.

Nè solo questo, mà con santo zelo, procuri d'indurre molti potentiam in brachio suo (sheweth might in his arm)<sup>1</sup> and compassionately keeps sustaining me lest I fall, deigning to exalt in me his mercy rather than the deserved rigours of his infinite Justice. Now, if even a Religious of much spirit, of solid virtue, and tried fervour, when he has to venture among people of the world, Christians though they be and God-fearing, is yet in very great need of being much, much helped by the prayers of good and God-loving souls, judge how extreme is the need of me, most miserable sinner, who go to place myself (God willing it so of me) in countries wholly infidel, among people wholly unfriendly to God, and with the fearful prospect of having continually before my eyes all the worst iniquities.

My very dear Father, I cast myself at your feet, and with the tears in my eyes I beg of you, by all the love you bear to the most amiable God, by all the zeal you have for his divine glory, by the Blood of Jesus with which was redeemed my poor little soul, I beg and beseech you with all my heart never, never, never to forget me in each of your prayers, which henceforth you will make, and in each of your Holy Sacrifices. Pray, and pray with great fervour, with great earnestness, for me, and especially offer for me often to the Eternal Father the most precious Blood of Jesus.

Not only that; but with holy zeal try to induce many, moltiss.mi, specialmente persone Religiose a pregar di continuo per me, rappresentando loro le grandi miserie della mia anima per muoverle a compassione, e per far che preghino per me. Nè solam.te preghi, e faccia pregare per me, ma ancora faccia questa grand' opera di carità verso tanti poverelli ciechi quanti sono gľ Infedeli, e specialmente riponga spesso nelle piaghe dolcissime di Gesù in poverelli ciechi di tutto il Thibet, e offerisca per essi spesso a S.D. M. il Sangue salutifero del nostro comun Redentore.

Padre mio, questo sarà una buona occupazione, e di molto frutto, se le sue orazioni, SS. Sacr.i, e buone opere, le quali sono accette a S.D.M., per essere d'un' anima che con fervore l'ama, a che sempre maggiorm.te procura di piacergli, le applicherà tutte ad un fine si buono, si salutevole, e di tanta gloria di Dio.

V. R. sà molto bene quanto fuoco di zelo ardentissimo della divina gloria, e della salute dell' anime ardesse ne' curio di S. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, e di S. Teresa amantissime di Dio; mà perchè non era loro permesse l'uscir fuora a salvar' anime con la predicazione, stavano nel loro ritiro di continuo occupate principalm.te in questo santo esercizio di pregare Dio e per la conversione dell' anime, e per quelli Operarij Apostolici che s'impiegavano nella conversione dell anime: in modo tale, che in leggendo le loro vite pare, che Dio principalmente le avesse poste al Mondo, per aiutare e l'anime,

very many, chiefly Religious persons, to pray for me continually, representing to them the great miseries of my soul to move them to compassion, and to make them pray for me. Not only pray and make others pray for me, but do render this great work for charity also for such wretchedly benighted souls as are those of the Infidels; especially do often lock up in the most sweet wounds of Jesus the poor blind ones of the whole of Tibet, and do often offer for them to His Divine Majesty the life-giving Blood of our common Redeemer.

Father mine, it will be a great occupation, one of much fruit, if you apply to a purpose so good, so salutary, and of such glory to God, all your prayers, Holy Sacrifices, and good works, which are acceptable to His Divine Majesty, coming from a soul that fervently loves God and always increasingly tries to please him.

Your Reverence knows very well what a fire of most ardent zeal for the divine glory and the salvation of souls burned in the hearts of Saint Mary Magdalen of Pazzi and of Saint Theresa, those great lovers of God; but, as it was not given them to sally forth to save souls by preaching, their continual occupation in their solitude was chiefly the holy exercise of praying to God, both for the conversion of souls, and for the Apostolic Missionaries employed in the conversion of souls: so much so that, when we read their lives, it seems that God had placed them in the world

e quelli che con la predicazione attendevano alla salute dell' anime, per mezzo delle loro ferventissime orazioni. E quante, e quante anime vedremo noi nel giorno del giudizio far queste beata compagnia a Sante, e ad esse doppo Dio attriluir la loro eterna salute? Così dunque faccia V.R.; prendasi a petto il coltivare con le sue Orazioni, con frequenti Sacrifizi, con le sue ferventi e sante opere, e con le sue lacrime tutto il Thibet. Alzi V.R. costà di lontano le sue mani di continuo, perchè chi è destinato a combatter quì da vicino contra l'Inferno, avvalorato, ed assistito dal divino favore prevalga, e tiri via dalle zanne dello spietato nemico quell' anime, sopra le quali pare, che voglia già il pietoso Signore fissare uno sguardo affine di salvarle. benigno Tanto spero che farà V.R. con gran premura, e fervore, e che farà far' altresi da altri; e con tal sicurezza resterò molto consolato, e animato, e imitando l'esempio dl gloriosissimo Apostolo, dell' Indie, S. Francesco Xaverio ancor io, ne'bisogni principalm.te, offerirò a S.D.M. le Orazioni di V.R., e dell' altre anime ferventi, e caritive, affinchè da esse placato, da esse mosso, usi misericordia e con l'anima mia miserabilissima. e con quella gente, che a lui desidero col suo favore condurre, perchè sia egli come merita, da tutti conosciuto, da tutti amato e acciocchè se non possono tutte impedirsi, almeno gran parte in si diminuiscano le offese, che contro la sua infinita amabilis-

chiefly in order that by their most fervent prayers they might help the souls and those who by preaching labour for the salvation of souls. And how many, how many souls shall we on the day of judgment see making blessed company to these Saints and attributing to them under God their eternal salvation: Let then Your Reverence do likewise: take to heart to cultivate by your prayers, by frequent Sacrifices, by your fervent and holy works, and by your tears the whole of Tibet. Over there, from afar, let Your Reverence raise your hands continually, that he who is destined to fight here at close quarters the powers of Hell may, stengthened and assisted by the divine favour, prevail and snatch from the jaws of their cruel enemy those souls on whom it seems that the merciful Lord is now willing for their salvation to cast a look of pity. This much do I hope Your Reverence will do with great earnestness and fervour, and I hope that you will make others do the same. With this assurance I shall remain much consoled and encouraged, and, imitating the example of the very glorious Apostle of the Indies, Saint Francis Xavier, I too, chiefly in times of need, shall offer up to His Divine Majesty the prayers of Your Reverence and of other fervent and charitable souls, so that, appeased by them, moved by them, he may have pity both on my most miserable soul, and on that people whom with his favour

sima bontà dagl' Uomini ingrati si comettono.

Mà ritornanda alla mia narrazione cominciata, dalla quale mi distolse quel vivo sentimento, che di continuo stà altam.te impresso nel mio cuore; dico, come doppo d'es sere stato quasi trè Mesi nel Coll.o nostro di Agra, a causa delle pioggie, e nel tempo medesimo a causa dlla lingua, che mi conveniva studiare. finalmente ricevei Patente in data de' 15 d' Agosto per andar' alla Missione del Thibet, e proseguir' il restante del viaggio, conforme al mio desiderio. e continuam, te replicate instanze. Il di 17. dl medesimo Mese d'Agosto ricevei littera del P. Manoel Freyre, che come dissi stava in Delly, e mi s' era offerto per venir' alla Missione del Thibet, in cui m'avvisava, esser' egli già disposto a venir in qualunque tempo io arrivassi a Delly. Ricevuta tal carta di notte tempo, desideraI wish to lead to him, that he may, as he deserves, be known by all. loved by all, and that, if the offences committed against his infinite and most amiable goodness by ungrateful men cannot be prevented all, they may at least be greatly diminished.

But, to return to the narrative which I had begun and which the lively feeling always deeply impressed on my heart diverted me from, I say that, having been about three months in our College of Agra, on account of the rains, and at the same time on account of the language which I had to study, I finally received a Patent, dated (?) the 15th of August, and allowing me to go to the Mission of Tibet, and to continue the remainder of the journey, conformably with my wish and my requests continually repeated. On the 17th day of the same month of August, I received from Fr. Manoel Freyre, who, as I said, was at Delly, and had offered himself to come to the Mission of Tibet, a letter in which he informed me that he was now ready to come any time I should arrive Delly.<sup>1</sup> at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The letters-patent came from the Visitor, who seems to have been at Delhi on Aug. 15, the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady. It is not clear to me whether the letters-patent were dated the 15th of August, or whether Desideri received the letters-patent on the 15th of August. On Aug. 17 he received a letter from Freyre, saying that he (Freyre) was ready to start any time Desideri was ready. Now from Delhi, where Freyre was, to Agra there was a seven days' journey. Freyre would hardly have written as he did, unless the Visitor had notified to him several days before Aug. 15, that he and Desideri could now proceed to Tibet. Nor would Desideri have started for Delhi on Aug. 18, as he intended, unless he had received the letters-patent, which, if dated Aug. 15, could hardly have reached him on Aug. 17, except by the swiftest runners.

vo nel giorno seguente partire, mà non potei per non esser' ancora finite alcune cose de' sacri arredi per dir Messa,che facevo fare, e i Vasetti per gl'Olij Santi; con che mi convenne aspettare alcuni pochi giorni, cioe sino al di 22. d' Agosto, che è dimani, Ottava dlla gloriossiss.a Assunzione della Santissima Vergine.

Dimani dunque partirò d'-Agra, e forse forse questa sera sul tardi per portarmi a Delly, ch'è di quà sette giornate distante, e arrivato là, doppo pochi giorni partirò per il Thibet, giacchè adesso le pioggie cominciano ad esser minori. non ostante che le strade siano molto caltive. Di Delly in quindici, ò 20 giorni spero di pormi in Lahor Città molta grande dl Mogor, dove stanno alcuni cinque, ò 6 Cristiani. Quivi si fermeremo alcuni giorni per amministrare i SS. i Sacramenti e consolare inDomino, questi pochi Cristiani; di poi procureremo subito di passar' avanti a Cascimîr, se pure le Nevi, che in quelle grandi Montagne sono altissime, ce lo permetteranno, di modo che possiamo esser in Cascimîr prima d'Ogni Santi; Indi in Cascimîr è necessario aspettare la congiuntura d'alcuna di quelle Cafile, che sopra hò detto che cosa siano, e con non molto lungo, mà pur travaHaving received his letter at night, I wished to leave the next day; but I could not, as certain things of the sacred furniture for saying Mass, which I was getting made, and the little vessels for the Holy Oils, were not yet finished. Accordingly, I had to wait a few days longer, that is till the 22nd August, which is tomorrow, the Octave of the glorious Assumption of the Most Blessed Virgin.

So then to-morrow, and perhaps, perhaps late to-night, I shall leave Agra and go to Delly, a seven days' journey from here. Arrived there. I shall, few days after, leave for Tibet, since the rains now begin to abate, though the roads are very bad. From Delly, in fifteen or 20 days I hope to arrive at Lahor, a very great City of the Mogor, where live some five or six Christians. There we shall stop some days to administer the Holy Sacraments and console in Domino (in the Lord) these few Christians. After that, we shall try to push on at once towards Cascimîr, provided the snows which lie very deep on those great Mountains allow us, in such a way as to be in Cascimîr<sup>1</sup> before all Saints' Day.<sup>2</sup> In Cascimîr it is necessary to wait till one of those Cafilas—I explained above what they are—chances to form. From Cascimîr, after a not very long, but very difficult journey, one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> They left Delhi on Sept. 23, arrived at Lahore on Oct. 9, set out again on Oct. 19, and arrived at 'the very great and delicious city of Cascimîr' (Srinagar, Kashmir) on Nov. 13. Cf. Puini, p. 6. <sup>2</sup> Nov. 1.

glioso viaggio da Cascimîr s' entra nel Thibet piccolo. Da piccolo. Thibet questo ò minore, credo che con viaggio un pò lunghetto, e di molti scabrosi monti passeremo al Thibet grande, ò maggiore, dove pare che si possa sperare maggior Messe. Questo è quel che l'Uomo propone, non per altro che per il motivo della gloria Divina, e per ovviare a tanta, e sì lacrimevole strage di tante anime, redente col preziosissimo Sangue dll' amoro, sissimo, e amabilissimo Gesù.

Adesso tocca a Dio, in cujus manu sortes meae sunt, al disporre secondo il suo sapientissimo, e rettissimo beneplacito, fuora del quale niuna cosa desidero per santissima che parer possa a' nostri occhi. Certo è, che la speranza, che hò nel Divino favore, che sia per condurre il tutto a buon' esito, e per dispor tutto a salvazione di quelle povere genti, è grande, ed è molto grande; e in vigor di questa son risolutissimo di non tralasciar diligenza veruna che possa intraprendersi per condurre a fine una tal' opera, a costo di qualsivoghia, fatica, di qualsivoglia patimento, e anche del mio sangue, e della mia Vita. Mà che varrano le mie forze tutte, se non vengano rinvigorite, e sostentate dalle altrui Orazioni appre so l'Altissimo, da cui viene, e hà da venir' ogni bene, e senza di cui in vanum laboraverunt chiunque si pone a voler formar' una nuova fabbrica, come adesso io intraprendo.

enters Little Tibet. From this Little, or Lesser, Tibet, I think that after a pretty long journey, across many rugged mountains, we shall pass into Great. or Greater. Tibet. where it seems a better harvest can be expected. This is what man proposes, with no other motive than that of the divine glory, and to prevent so great and so lamentable a ruin of so many souls redeemed by the most precious Blood of the most loving and most amiable Jesus.

It now belongs to God, in cujus manu sortes meae sunt (in whose hands are my lots),<sup>1</sup> dispose of me after his  $\mathbf{to}$  $\mathbf{most}$ wise and most iust good-pleasure, outside of which I desire nothing, appear it ever so holy in our eyes. Certain it is that the hope I place in the divine favour, that he will bring it all to a happy issue and will ordain it all for the salvation of these poor peoples, is great, and is very great; and on the strength of this confidence I am firmly resolved not to omit any diligence that can be tried to bring about the success of such a work, at the cost of any fatigue soever, of any suffering soever, and even of my blood and of my life. But what will all my strength avail, if it is not invigorated and sustained by the prayers of others before the Most High, from whom comes and must come every good thing, and without whom in vanum laboraverunt (he laboureth in vain)<sup>2</sup> who wants

Per tanto posto humilm.te a' suoi piedi torno a pregarla, e supplicarla per il Sangue amabiliss.o e piaghe dolcissime di Gesù, che offerisca a S.D.M. molte Orazioni, opere buone, e SS. Sacrifizj per il buon' esito di quest' impresa, e per la Conversione di quelle Genti; e con il medesimo fervore, e instanze la supplico a procurar' efficacem.te, che in tutta codesta Provincia, da tutti i Nostri, anche da tutti i Novizj si faccia il medesimo con gran fervore, e perseveranza. La fò in questo particolare in cotesta Provincia Procuratore della Missione del Thibet; le incarico questo peso, e se eserciterà bene un tal offizio sappia certo che acquisterà presso S.D.M. un grandiss.o merito farà al medesimo uno cosa gratissima, e sarà nel giorno dl giudizio riconosciuto per Apostolo fruttuosissimo dl Thibet.

Del resto P. Piccolomini mio cariss.mo addio, la riu.o con tutto l'affetto, e la supplico a pregar di continuo per me. Mille saluti cordialissimi al P. Gio: Batt.a Conti, al P. Cotti, al P. Guarini. Al P. Turano, al P. Merlini, al P. to raise a new fabric like the one I now undertake.

Therefore, humbly and reverently kneeling at your feet, I again beg and beseech you by the Blood and the wounds of our most lovable and sweet Jesus, to offer to His Divine Majesty many prayers, good works and Holy Sacrifices for the happy issue of this enterprise, and for the conversion of these peoples, and with the same fervour and earnestness Ι beseech you to try efficaciously that, in the whole of your Province, the same be done with great fervour and perseverance by all Ours, also by all the Novices. In this particular I establish you in your Province the Procurator of the Tibet Mission; I lay this burden on you; and, if you discharge faithfully the office, know for certain that you will acquire very great merit before His Divine Majesty, will do what is most pleasing to him, and will on the day of judgment be acknowledged as most successful Missionary of Tibet.

And now, my very dear Father Piccolomini, good-bye. I salute you with all love and beseech you to pray for me continually. A thousand heartfelt greetings to Fr. Giovanni Battista Conti,<sup>1</sup> to Fr. Cotti, to Fr. Guarini,<sup>2</sup> to Fr.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fr. John Baptist Conti: b. at Ascoli, July 22, 1648; entered the novitiate at Rome, Oct. 11, 1668; taught philosophy at Siena and Rome, where he occupied during 34 years the chair of the higher sciences; was prefect of studies, and a member of several Congregations; d. at Rome, April 20, 1723. Cf. C. Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, 11. 1388.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Fr. Ignatius Guarini: b. at Lecce, July 30, 1676; admitted, Febr. 19, 1693; professor of humaniora, philosophy, and mathematics; 18 years a lecturer in polemical theology at Rome; sent to Germany in 1739; d. at Dresden, Apr. 28, 1748. Cf. *ibid.*, III. 1899.

Corsoni, al P. Turano, al P. Crivelli, al P. Isola; in somma a tutti, poichè tutti affettuosissimam.te abbraccio, e a tutti con tutto il cuore mi raccomandi Il Sig.re si degni per sua misericordia di riempire V.R., e tutti gl' altri del suo santo Amore, d'un grande e constante fervore nel suo santo servizio, e nel zelo dlla salute dell' anime, e d'ogni consolazione, finchè ci dia grazia di rivederci nel Santo Paradiso. Vale, vale, vale.

Di. V.R.

Agra 21. Agosto 1714.

Div. ma e Ind. mo in X. po Servo, Ippolito Desiderj.

Turano,<sup>1</sup> to Fr. Merlini,<sup>2</sup> to Fr. Corsoni,<sup>8</sup> to Fr. Turano,<sup>4</sup> to Fr. Crivelli, to Fr. Isola.<sup>5</sup> to all in fine: for I embrace all most affectionately, and with all my heart commend myself to all. May the Lord in his mercy deign to fill Your Reverence and all the others with his holy Love, with great and constant fervour in his holy service and in zeal for the salvation of souls, and with every consolation, so that he give us the grace of meeting one another again in his holy Paradise. Farewell, farewell, farewell.

Your Reverence's Agra, 21st August 1714.

Most devoted and most unworthy Servant in Christ,

Ippolito Desideri.

6. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus, Rome (Delhi, 20 Sept., 1714).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: Goana Epist. 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

M.to R.do in X.po P.re N.ro., Our Very Reverend Father P.C. CCCXI.

in Christ.

The Peace of Christ.

Non posso, nè devo privare I may not, and I must not, V.P. d'una consolazione, la deprive your Paternity of a

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Dominic Mary Turrano: b. at Burgio (Sicily) on Aug. 4. 1679; received into the Society on Oct. 14, 1694; taught at Palermo the humanities, mathematics and theology; became substitute of the Assistency of Italy, vice-provincial of Sicily, and d. at the Professed House of Rome, Nov. 13, 1759. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII. 270.
<sup>2</sup> Fr. James Philip Merlini: b. at Visso (Umbria), Sept. 7, 1662;

admitted, July 31, 1679; taught grammar, humaniora, rhetoric; lectured 9 years on philosophy at the Roman College, 1 year on theology; d. at Rome, Febr. 1, 1716. Cf. ibid., V. 979.

<sup>8</sup> Fr. Marlo Corsoni: b. at Pistoia, May 2, 1678; admitted into the Society of Jesus, Febr. 20, 1694; taught grammar; the humaniora 4 years; philosophy 4 y.; was a preacher and a missionary; d. at Rome, May 22, 1747. Cf. *ibid.*, II and III.

<sup>4</sup> Note that Fr. Turano is mentioned twice.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Mark Anthony Isola: b. at Genoa, Nov. 25, 1683; entered the novitiate, Febr. 17, 1700; d. at Genoa, Sept. 21, 1747. Cf. ibid., IV.

quale sò, che sarà non mediocre ma straordinaria al cuore di V.P. zelantiss.o e della gloria Divina, e del bene dlla Compagnia. Trà pochi giorni, cioè presso a 25. di questo mese il P. Manoel Freyre, ed io partiremo di delly per il Thibet, dove siamo inviati per procurar di riaprire là alcuna Missione; tanta grazia compiacera se di concederci per sua misericordia l'Altissimo. Ad esso, come a Dator d'ogni bene si devono infinite grazie, per spuntata essersi finalmente questa risoluzione, che incontrò sempre tanti impedimenti. Doppo Dio la lode, e molte grazie si devono al **P**. Giuseppe da Sylva, che presentem.te è Visitatore di questa Missione del Mogor, come potrà V. P. intendere di cio che soggiungo.

Nel Mese di Novembre dell' anno scorso fui dal P. Provinciale avvisato per la Missione dl Thibet. Due giorni doppo un tal' avviso partij di Goa col P. Melchior dos Reys, che andava per nuovo Rett.e dl Coll.o di Agra. A' 4. di Genn.ro 1714. arrivammo in Surat, dove si ritrovava già il sopradetto P. Visitatore, il quale si mostrò subito inclinatissimo ordine favourirmi in al a farmi conseguire il desideratissimo intento della Missione assegnatami. A cagione delle turbolenze di questo Mogor fummo necessitati a tratten-

consolation, which I know will be, not small, but extraordinary, for Your Paternity's heart, so very zealous both of the divine glory and the good of the Company. In a few days, that is about the 25th of this month,<sup>1</sup> Father Manoel Freyre and I shall start from Delly for Tibet, whither we are sent to try reopening there some Mission, if the Most High is pleased in His Mercy to grant us so much To Him as to the Giver grace. of all good, are due infinite thanks, because this resolution. which always met with so many obstacles, has at last been reached. After God. the praise and much thanks are due to Father Giuseppe da Svlva. who  $\mathbf{at}$ present is Visitor of this Mission of the Mogor, as Your Paternity will be able to understand by what I add

In the month of November of last vear I was destined by Fr. Provincial for the Mission of Tibet. Two days after that choice, I left Goa with Fr. Melchior dos Reys, who went as new Rector of the College of Agra. On the 4th January 1714, we arrived at Surat, where already was the abovesaid Fr. Visitor, who presently showed himself very much inclined to favour me, in order to make me obtain the much desired end of the Mission assigned me. Owing to the disturbances in this Mogor we were obliged to stay back

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> They left Delhi on Sept. 23, 1714. (Puini 6.) Wessels (p. 211) has Sept. 24.

erci in Surat fino a' 26. di Marzo, nel qual giorno tutti e trè partimmo per il nostro viaggio. Agl' undici di Maggio arrivammo felicem.te a Delly, dove arrivò subito lettera dl P. Provinciale, in cui ordinava, che io restassi nel Coll.o di Agra. Ciò non ostante. trovandosi nuove di buona speranza intorno al Thibet determinò il detto P. Visitatore di mandarmi per la detta Missione, e di procurarmi compagno; e per tale s'offerì il P. Manoel Freyre, che già da alcuni anni stava quì in Delly alla cura di questa Cristianità. Mà Per chè entrava già il tempo delle pioggie, che totalimpossibilitavano mente il. poter subito partire fui mandato al Coll. o d' Agra, per proseguire lo della studio lingua, che in Surat avevo Diradandosi cominciato. le (P. 2) pioggie nel fine d'agosto partij d'Agra, e tornai a Delly. Quivi con maggior impegno, e zelo procurò il P. Visitatore di rendermi in tutto spedito per l'esecuzione de' miei desiderj; e a tal fine prese in presto dall Sio. ra D.a Giuliana Diaz da Costa Benefattrice d.a Comp.a bastante denaro per un copioso viatico, quale giudicò esser necessario per una tal' impresa. Oltre di ciò pose dal canto suo tutti i mezzi, che umanam.te potevano da uno zenlante Supe-

at Surat till the 26th of March. on which day we set out, all three, on our journey. On the 11th of May, we arrived happily at Delly,<sup>1</sup> where presently arrived a letter from the Fr. Provincial, wherein he ordered me to remain in the College of Agra. Notwithstanding this, as we got about Tibet news holding out good hope, the said Fr. Visitor decided to send me to the said Mission. and to find me a companion;  $^2$ and Fr. Manoel Freyre, who for some years already was at Delly in charge of this Christianity, offered himself as such. But, as the season of the rains had already set in, which made it quite impossible for us to be able to start at once, I was sent to the College of Agra, in order to continue the study of the language, which I had begun at Surat. When (P. 2) the rains grew less, at the end of August,<sup>8</sup> I left Agra and returned to Delly. Here, with greater energy and zeal, the Fr. Visitor tried to get me quite ready for the execution of my desires, and to that end he borrowed from the Signora Dona Giuliana Diaz da Costa, Benefactress of the Company, sufficient money for an ample viaticum, which I judged necessary for such an enterprise. Moreover, he used on his side all the means which humanly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From this passage we can conclude that the three Jesuits travelled together throughout from Surat to Delhi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This passage again shows that the choice of Fr. Freyre was not made at Surat.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Desideri may not have been able to leave Agra on Aug. 22, or the evening of Aug. 21, as his letter of Agra, Aug. 21, 1714, shows he intended doing.

riore porsiper il presente intents usando anche finezze di giovevoliss.e prevenzioni, le quali meriterebbero d'essere quì rappresentate, mà per non essere a V. P. molesto, le tralascio. Solam.te prego V. P. che per la sua singolar benignità, giacchè non posso iodar le dovute grazie, a chi mi hà tanto, e con tanto impengo favorito, si compiaccia di mostrar' al medesimo P. Visitatore quel gradimento, che veram te merita, e a dargli le dovute grazie per lo zelo mostrato in questa santa impresa, e che mostra per aprire almeno un' altra Missione, se S.D.M. si degnerà di condurre a fine i di lui santi e fervorosi desideri.

Si degni altresì V. P. di benedire e il P. Manoel Freyre, che meco viene pemio Superiore, e me, e tutti i nostri passi, e di raccomandare di continuo a S.D.M., e far raccomandare da' Nostri, specialm.te Novizj, buon successo di questa il nostra impresa. Si compiaccia S.D.M. di concedere a V. P. vera felicità. ogni е consolazione, come desidero; e posto a' piedi di V.P. mi raccomando a' suoi SS. Sacr.i, e oraz.ni, e la supplico d.a sua S.a Benediz.ne.

could be used by a zealous Superior for the present object, resorting even to refinements of most useful attentions, which would deserve to be related here; <sup>1</sup> but, not to be troublesome to Your Paternity, 1 omit them. Only, I pray Your Paternity that, as I cannot give due thanks to one who has favoured me so much. and with so much industry, you would in your singular kindness be pleased to show to the same Fr. Visitor that approbation which he truly deserves. and to give him due thanks for the zeal he has shown in this holy enterprise, and which he shows, in order that at least one other Mission be opened, provided it please His Divine Majesty to bring to issue your holy and fervent desires.

Moreover, let Your Paternity deign to bless both Fr. Manoel Freyre, who comes with me as my Superior,<sup>2</sup> and me, and all our steps, and to commend unceasingly to His Divine Majesty, and to get commended by Ours, specially the Novices, the good success of this our enterprise. May it please His Divine Majesty to grant to Your Paternity all true happiness and consolation,  $\operatorname{as}$  I desire; and, placed at Your Paternity's feet, I commend myself to Your Holy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We conclude that the Visitor was at Delhi when Desideri arrived there, and that the letters-patent of the Visitor were sent from Delhi to Desideri at Agra. Cf. previous letter, note 1, page 615.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> One of the reasons why Freyre was appointed Desideri's Superior on the Tibet journey may have been that he was 5 years Desideri's senior. Desideri was, however, a great deal pluckier, as the sequel shows.

Div. P.M.R.da.

Delly 20. 7bre 1714.

## Ind.mo in X.po Servo, e Minimo suddito Ippolito Desiderj.

(P. 3.) Posto l'essersi il P. Manoel Freyre spontaneam.te offerto per venir' alla Missione dl Thibet, e di aver con tal' offerta di se stesso promosso un' affare di tanto bene, mi fò ardito di supplicar V.P., che in caso che da Goa scrivano i Sup.iori a V.P. per ottenere la grazia di far fare la Professione a detto P. Manoel Freyre, si degni V.P. di concedere un benigno rescritto a tal Mi perdoni V.P. il supplica. molto ardire, che in questa mia lettera mi prendo; e spero, che così farà, ben conoscendo, derivar tutto da un' animo impegnatiss.o  $\mathbf{a}$ promovere questa S.ta impresa, e perciò corrispondente, per quanto posso, a chiunquo favorisce, e aiuta und tal' opera. E di nuovo posto a' suoi piedi, la supplico d.a sua S.a Benedizione.

(P. 4.) (Address:) Al M.to R.do in X.po P.re N.ro Il P.re

Michel' Angelo Tamburini Prep.to Gn.le

d.a Comp.a di Gesù.

sacrifices and prayers, and I crave your Holy Blessing.

Your Very Reverend Paternitv's.

Delly, the 20th of September, 1714.

Most unworthy Servant in Christ, and Least Subject.

Ippolito Desideri.

(P. 3) Since Fr. Manoel Frevre has offered himself of his own accord to come to the Mission of Tibet, and by such an offering of himself has promoted a matter of such usefulness, I make bold to ask Your Paternity that, in case the Superiors write from Goa to Your Paternity to obtain the favour of making the said Fr. Manoel Freyre make the Profession, Your Paternity deign to grant a kind rescript to that request. May Your Paternity pardon me the great boldness which in this letter I venture to show; and I hope you will do so, well knowing that all proceeds from a heart entirely pledged to promoting this Holy enterprise, and therefore eager to make a return, as far as I can, to whoever favours and asists that under-And again, placed at taking. your feet, I crave your Holy Blessing.

(P. 4.) (Address:) To Our Very Reverend Father in Christ, Father

Michel' Angelo Tamburini, **Provost General** 

of the Company of Jesus. Rome.

la via.

Roma.

1st via.

(Below the address, traces of an octagonal seal with the monogram of the Society, I.H.S., in which the H is surmounted by a cross; below this monogram, the seal shows three nails, with the heads of the nails upwards.)

(Endorsements made in Rome:) Goana.

Delly 20 Septembris 1714.

P. Hippolytus Desiderii.

Scribit iam iam in procinctu ad Missionem Thibethensem cum socio P. Emanuele Freyre, cujus expeditionis laus debetur praecipue P. Josepho a Sylva actuali Visitatori Mogorensi, quod explicat narratione quae acciderunt ante discessum.

Petit ut R.V.a laudet zelum extraordinarium P. Visitatoris, et ipsum ac simul P. Emmanuelem Freyre benedicat, eosque faciat Deo comendare praecipue a nostris Novitiis.

Et quia P. Emanuel Freyre voluntarie se obtulit ad illam missionem petit, ut si e Goa illi petant apud P. V. professionem, dignetur P. V. a ipsam professionem illi concedere.

Rs. 22 Septembris 1726.

(Endorsements made in Rome:)

Goa things.

Delly, 20th September, 1714. Fr. Hippolytus Desideri.

He writes that he is now ready to start for the Tibetese Mission with Fr. Emmanuel Freyre as his companion, the praise for this expedition being due chiefly to Fr. Joseph da Sylva, actual Mogorese Visitor, which he explains by relating what happened before the departure.

He asks Your Paternity to praise the extraordinary zeal of the Fr. Visitor,<sup>1</sup> and to bless both him and Fr. Emmanuel Freyre, and to have them commended to God, chiefly by the Novices.

And, as Fr. Emmanuel Freyre offered himself voluntarily for that Mission, he asks that, if from Goa they request for him the Profession from Your Paternity, Your Paternity deign to grant him the profession.

Answered: 22nd September, 1726.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The General's secretary seems to have been quite elated by the zeal shown by Fr. Joseph da Sylva. Desideri had not used the word 'extraordinary'.

<sup>2</sup> It will appear extraordinary that this letter of Dec. 20, 1714, was answered only 12 years later. There is no knowing through what vicissitudes it may have passed before reaching Rome. Circumstances had changed so entirely that the goodwill shown in answering it at all proves that the delay was no fault of the General's Curia. The answer was likely an order calling Desideri to Rome; but he had left Pondicherry for Rome on Jan. 21, 1727, i.e., before the General's answer could reach India. Earlier orders to the same effect had, no doubt, reached him before he left India. 7. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri S.J.,<sup>1</sup> to the General of the Society of Jesus (Leh, Lasakh, Aug. 3, 1715).

Being destined to the Mission of Tibet, I left Goa on the twenty-first of November 1713,<sup>2</sup> and on the 4th of January 1714<sup>3</sup> arrived at Surat where Father Joseph de Silva, the Visitor of the College and Mission of Agra, already was. As he did not like that I should go alone to such distant places,<sup>4</sup> he proposed to me after some time as my Companion Father Manoel Freyre, who, he said, was to be the Superior.<sup>5</sup> During the time that I was obliged to remain at Surat, I began studying the Persian language. On the 26th of March <sup>6</sup> I started with the Father Visitor,<sup>7</sup> and on the 11th of May <sup>8</sup> arrived at Delhi, where Father Freyre's coming to Tibet was ratified.<sup>9</sup>

As, owing to the rains, I had to wait three or four months, I was sent to Agra where I continued studying the language. At the end of August<sup>10</sup> I returned to Delhi, where I found

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Puini, pp. 361-370. The letter is in the Sommario of the Case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in the Mission of Tibet.

<sup>2</sup> Puini (p. 5) has Nov. 17, 1713, for the departure from Goa. Wessels (p. 210) has Nov. 13, 1713, which is evidently a mistake, since Desideri wrote a letter at Goa on Nov. 12, and another on Nov. 15, 1713. Cf. Letters 1 and 2. In the letter from Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, we have Nov. 20.

<sup>3</sup> On this date see our note 1 to Letter 4. Also Jan. 4, in the letter from Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

4 As Tibet.

<sup>5</sup> This is one of the passages whence Puini and Wessels concluded that the choice of Fr. Freyre was made at Surat.

<sup>6</sup> Note again the date of departure, March 26, against March 25 (Puini, 6); also March 26 in the letter from Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

7 And Fr. Melchior dos Reys.

<sup>8</sup> No discrepancy found for May 11.

9 Doye fu ratificata la venuta del P. Freyre al Thibet.

It may be on the strength of this passage that Puini (p. 6) states that at Surat Fr. Joseph da Sylva, the Visitor of the Mogor Mission, wanted to appoint Freyre as companion and Superior of Fr. Desideri. Puini (p. 6) can be misunderstood to say also that Freyre became Desideri's companion from Surat, whereas Freyre was at the time at Delhi, as we have seen. Fr. Wessels (p. 210) also says that at Surat Desideri learned that Freyre was to be his Superior and travelling companion. Freyre seems to have offered himself voluntarily at Delhi, after his interview with Desideri the first night they were together. In this letter it is said that 'after some time ', the Visitor proposed to Desideri Fr. Freyre as a companion. The conversation can be understood to have taken place at Surat; but Desideri may be anticipating events. When next he says that on arrival at Delhi the going of Freyre was ratified the meaning may be only that it was approved there by the Visitor who had come along from Surat. It is, of course, possible that, when Desideri learned that the Provincial of Goa would send him a companion only after a year, he and the Visitor cast about for a companion in Mogor, and that Desideri was asked by the Visitor to feel his way with Freyre.

<sup>10</sup> The same expression 'end of August', as in Letter 6.

Father Freyre, and our departure was delayed till the 23rd of September, the day we began our journey.<sup>1</sup>

On the 10th of October,<sup>2</sup> we arrived at Lahor, and, as there was no Father or Priest, we heard the confession of the Christians and gave them Holy Communion. On that occasion, I baptized a baby which a layman had already baptized, but without the necessary formula; also an old woman, and two adult ladies who were well prepared and instructed.

On the 19th of October,<sup>3</sup> we set out from Lahor and in a few days arrived at the Caucasus Mountains.<sup>4</sup> These mountains are very rough and steep, owing to their height; they form like a ladder of mountains, one rising above another, till one reaches a horribly high and steep mountain, called the Pir Pangial, whom the superstitious travellers pay great reverence and offerings to, as they pass, in the belief that (P. 362) it is the abode of a very old man, the custodian of those mountains; opinion, which I believe is founded on the fable of Prometheus.<sup>5</sup> Some of those mountains are perpetually covered with snow and ice. It took me twelve days to cross those mountains on The difficulty I met was that I had often to get on foot foot. across torrents of very cold water, molten snow in fact, between pieces of ice and over most troublesome stones; sometimes, the stones were so troublesome, the torrent was so violent, and I got so benumbed by the piercing cold water that, to pass those torrents, I was finally obliged to hang on to the tail of some pack-bullock which happened to cross. After that, benumbed and wet as I was, I would continue on my way braving the wind and the sharp cold, against which my clothing protected me very ill. Rough though these mountains are, they are very fertile in many places, and pleasant on account of the great variety of trees; they are inhabited and governed by petty kings subject to the Emperor of the Mogor.

On the 12th of November,<sup>6</sup> I arrived at Cascimir,<sup>7</sup> where shortly after, in consequence of what I had suffered before, I had a sharp attack of dysentery, accompanied by complete

<sup>6</sup> Nov. 13 (Puini, 6; Wessels, 211).

<sup>7</sup> Srinagar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 23rd Sept. (Puini, 6); 24th Sept. (Wessels, 211); 23rd Sept. in the letter from Lhasa, April, 10, 1716, to Fr. Illdebrando Grassi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 9th Oct. (Puini, 6); 10th Oct. in the letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 19th Oct. (Puini, 6); 19th Oct. in the letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> They passed through the town of Little Gujarat, and left it on Oct. 28. (Puini, 6.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Pir Panjal. The pass is at an altitude of 11,400 feet. *Pir* means a holy man. Cf. the similar passage in the next letter. 'The name Caucasus, and the fable of Prometheus, as we learn from Strabo (L. XI. Georgr.), were transferred to the Indic mountains by the Macedonians already in the time of Alexander the Great.' (Cf. Georgi, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Roma, 1762, p. 452.)

loss of appetite and weakness, so much so that I was in danger of death. At Christmas I rallied sufficiently; but, not long after, in February, I was so ill that every one, and Father Superior too, thought I had not long to live. However, during the six months<sup>1</sup> that we were forced to stay in Cascimir, the mountain-roads being blocked with very deep snow and ice, I made myself acquainted with the Persian language.

On the 17th of May,<sup>2</sup> we started for Tibet. In spite of all the care which Father Superior and I had taken for more than a year, we had never heard except about two Tibets.<sup>3</sup> The first, which stretches from North to West and is only a few days from Cascimir, is called Little Tibet. The people are Maomettans, like its petty kings, who are subject to the Emperor of the Mogor; hence, although the country is productive, it does not produce the fruit we looked for. The other Tibet, which is called Great Tibet, stretches from North to East. Either Tibet is continually in relation with Cascimir, owing to the great trade in wool, which comes from Great Tibet. The journey from Cascimir to Ladac, otherwise called Ladas, which is the fortress and capital where resides the absolute King of

<sup>3</sup> The more I reflect on this passage and the explanations which follow in this letter and the next, the less I understand how much Desideri and Freyre knew of Tibet and its divisions, when they left Delhi, and why they chose the Kashmir route. Surely, both knew that the Capuchins had gone to Tibet by way of Bengal and Patna. It was their fault, if they knew not. Fr. Martinetti knew it, and the other Fathers in Mogor must have known it too. The question for the Jesuits was where de Andrada had been. They did not, we find, discover he had been at Tsaparang. Did they know he had gone to Tibet via Srinagar, and mistake the Srinagar of Kashmir for the Srinagar of Garhwal ? We have nothing about that in Desideri's long relation (edn. Puini) or in his letters. Leaving Delhi, Desideri knew of Little or Lesser Tibet (Baltistan), also of a Great or Greater Tibet. He expected a better harvest in Great or Greater Tibet, no doubt because he had heard that little Tibet (Baltistan) had become mostly Muhammadan. (Cf. Letter No. 5.) The Greater or Great Tibet he knew of he placed no doubt near Little Tibet, or in Ladakh; else, he would not have gone to Leh (Ladakh) by Kashmir and Little Tibet. What then did he discover at Leh? That the Great Tibet of Ladakh was also called 'Buton' (Bhutan), and that there was a still greater Tibet, the one whither the Capuchins had gone. But he knew or should have known that before, it appears to me. He should have known before that Tibet stretched beyond the whole northern frontier of Nepal. and that the Capuchins had reached it almost in a direct line from Patna. To put Desideri's discovery otherwise. On leaving Delhi he had heard of only two Tibets (Baltistan and Ladakh). He may have heard Ladakh spoken of as Thibet Kalan or Bara Thibet' (Puini, 27), i.e. Great Tibet. In Ladakh he found there was a third; the one where were or had been the Capuchins. Freyre at once concluded that this third Tibet was that of de Andrada, and Desideri himself was inclined to think that de Andrada had been in U-Tsang, the capital of which he learned, if he did not know before, was Lhasa. Yet, because the Capuchins were there, or had been there, he was inclined to stay in Ladakh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From Nov. 12, 1714, to May 17, 1715.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> May 17 in Puini (pp. 6, 11; Wessels, 211) and in the next letter.

Great Tibet, takes a month, if one goes leisurely up the mountains and down again. The first 6 or 7 days the journey is tolerable; after that the road becomes abominable and remains so several days; not only is the ground itself very rough, but the road is rendered a great deal rougher by the unceasing cold, the icy winds, and the snow through which one must travel by day, whereas, at night, one must sleep in the open, exposed to all these inclemencies; (P. 363) for, in those Kingdoms, barring something or other one stretches on the ground, the ground is one's bed. This Tibet commences at a high and very snowy Mountain called Kantel,<sup>1</sup> the ascent of which constitutes the extreme limit of the dominions of Cascimir, the descent forming the beginning of the territory of great Tibet. We crossed this very snowy Mountain, and so entered this Tibet on the 30th of May, the day of the Ascension.<sup>2</sup>

That day, as also the previous day and the day following, there fell much snow where we passed. This road among snow and ice continues up to Dias, the first fortress and inhabited place of that Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> From Dias onward, the road is also

 $^2$  30th May (Puini, 6. 11. 25. 26; Wessels, 211; also in the next letter).

<sup>3</sup> Identified with Dras by Puini (p. 20) and Wessels (p. 212).

'When in 1822 Moorcroft visited Pashkyum, a town south-west of Kargil, on a tributary of the Suru River, the Rajah showed him a book, which he had inherited from his grandfather. It was an edition of the Old and New Testament from the Papal Press dated in the year 1598. It was bound in morocco, with the initials IHS surmounted by a cross stamped on each side of the cover. How it had come there no person could inform me, but it might possibly have been given to the former rajah by Desideri who visited Ladakh, although it is very doubtful if he reached Le.' (Moorcroft, II. 22.) The device on the cover of the book evidently points to its Jesuit origin, but from the date 1598 it can hardly be supposed to have been carried out to Tibet by Desideri in 1715; it would rather have been left there by Father Azevedo during his visit to Leh in 1631. (Wessels, p. 214 n. 3.)

Many other explanations are possible. The Jesuits used to accompany Akbar and Jahangir periodically to Kashmir, *i.e.*, to Srinagar. One of the Raja's ancestors may have come to Srinagar to pay his respects to the Emperor and have made the acquaintance of the Jesuit Fathers. Did not rajas of Baltistan give their daughters in marriage to the Moghul Emperors, notably to Akbar? In that case they may have come on a visit to the Emperor's court at Lahore, or Agra, and have met the Jesuits. This is not the only case of Jesuit MSS. travelling high up the Himalayas.

A copy of the Speculum veritatis or Aina-i-Haqq Numā, dated 1678, was found in an obscure corner of the Kunawar Mountains and sent to Csoma de Koros. Cf. Th. Duka, Life and Works of A. Csoma de Körös, London, Trübner, 1885, p. 96. This is a work in Persian by Fr. Jerome Xavier. Cf. JASB., 1914, p. 68 n. 2.

We note in passing that Moorcroft may not have known of Fr. Desideri's letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716, the only text by Desideri which was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Kantel. The name of the mountain is not given in Puini (p. 11), but at his p. 26. Wessels (p. 211) and Puini (pp. 11, n. 1, 19) identify it with the Zoji-la; height 11,120 ft. Where did Moorcroft (quoted by Wessels, p. 211) discover that Desideri calls it Baltal Kotal? We do not find that Desideri gives it that name.

rough, although the snow lies on the very top of the mountains, not where one passes. The journey from Dias to Leh is likewise all the time over mountains, truly the abode of horror, aridity and desolation. These mountains succeed one another, or are placed one above the other; or, what is oftenest the case, they are so near to one another that they are separated only by icy cold water issuing from the snow which melts till it snows again the next winter; and, as the water runs over stones, fragments of mountains, it forms awful torrents. It is impossible to travel by the top of the Mountains, owing to the perpetual snows; hence, there remains only the road half-way down, that is along the slopes of the said mountains. But, ah me! the road is so narrow than one cannot frequently rest on it straight one foot at a time; one must proceed step by step, one foot behind the other, with difficulty and trouble, suspended in such a way that, if the foot slips ever so little, one must fall down the precipice among the rocks and be killed in the furious torrents flowing at the bottom; if by good luck one were to escape death, one would at any rate be half broken to pieces or miserably maimed, as we saw happening to some poor people. Therefore, all the time, one must advance with fluttering heart and trembling feet, and, on one's lips and in one's inmost heart, fervent commendations to God. The more so, as those mountains, in addition to such paths, are such by nature that, being composed of arid rocks, there is not a tree, not the smallest shrub, not the smallest blade of grass to which, in one's time of danger, one might cling ever so little with trembling hands, if not with safety, at least with some hope. About myself I confess plainly that I often gave myself up for lost; and, if I always escaped happily, I attribute it to the special protection of St. Venantius.<sup>1</sup> At other times, one must cross furious torrents; generally the bridge is nothing but a narrow piece of stake, (P. 364) offering not an inch of security to one's dubious feet. At one place there is a kind of bridge which is truly curious. It is not made of stone, or of wood or of stakes, but of ropes made with thin branches of trees. When passing over such ropes, one must go quite barefooted and commend one's soul to God. This sort of bridge is called Zampà, and, whenever I think of it and how we passed, I tremble and turn pale.<sup>2</sup> But, to say nothing of the quality of the road, there are other discomforts: the great cold, the stormy winds, the deep snow, sleeping on the

long current; Ladakh is mentioned there, and so is Leh, as the capital of Ladakh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is a St. Venantius, martyr, born at Camerino and honoured there, but the place is very far from Pistoia, Desideri's birthplace, and I do not find that St. Venantius is one of the special patrons of travellers.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Cp. Puini, p. 28, where the same bridge appears to be described. Puini says (p. 28, n. 1) there is still a rope-bridge over the Dras, between Tashgam and Chanegund, about 20 miles from the fortress of Dras.

ground under the bleak cold roof of the sky, and finding nothing else to eat than wheat-meal (farina di Grano) and roasted barley. which the Natives eat without any preparation; and even that it is not always to be had: because one does not every day come across a village or settlement, nor can one buy it at all those places; besides, it is extremely difficult to find a handful of firewood for cooking the said meal after reducing it to paste with water; nor must I forget mentioning the no small trouble to which one's eyes are exposed for several days: for, as one has to travel on the snow, the rays of the Sun fall first on the snow and are then reflected into the eyes, which is a cruel torture. I found no small discomfort in that, and for some days I was obliged to walk with my eyes almost completely bandaged with my handkerchief. Add to this the great annoyances one is subjected to, not from robbers, for people here do not resort to that art, but from custom-house officials, to whom, besides the money they exact, one must give a certain amount of tobacco, candy-sugar and coloured cloth, and all for mere thanks. Tobacco, cloth, as also bangles and suchlike things are so to say necessary in all those places, because, as those Kingdoms have no currency of their own, the only currency being a silver coin from the Empire of the Mogor, which is equivalent to five Roman giuli, bartering is much in use, especially in buying small articles. Such is the journey from Cascimir to Leh, otherwise called Ladas, namely up to the capital of this great In those mountainous Kingdoms there is not a single Tibet. city, not a single large agglomeration. On that journey, which, if one travels quite leisurely, takes a month, we spent 40 days, arriving at Leh or Ladas on the 25th of June.<sup>1</sup>

I shall now say something about this great Tibet, which is also called Buton.<sup>2</sup> As I have already said, it begins at a high and very snowy Mountain named Kantel and stretches from North to East. (P. 365) It has a King, called in the Tibetan language Ghialpo.<sup>3</sup> The name of the present King is Nima Nimghial.<sup>4</sup> This King is independent, and in Tibet itself there is a petty King who is subject to him, his Tributary.<sup>5</sup> In the first settlements we came to, the population is Maomettan; elsewhere, they are gentiles; yet, they are not as super-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 26th June (Puini, 6. 11. 25. 29; Wessels, 214); 25th June in the next letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bhutan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Puini (p. 78 n.) romanizes the word in the form rgyal-po.

<sup>4 &#</sup>x27;The same therefore as Nyi-ma-nam-gyal, the great-grandson of Seng-genam-gyal, as appears from Dr. Marx' Ladakh documents.' (Wessels, p. 215, referring to JASB., Vol. LX, Pt. I (1891), p. 99.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Desideri refers here to a Muhammadan kinglet, subject to the King of Leh, who gave him a passport and entertained him at dinner; he also sent servants with the Fathers up to the rope-bridge. (Puini, 27-28.) Wessels (p. 214) calls him independent, by mistake. Wessels supposes him to have lived at Kargil, in the Muhammadan part of Ladakh.

stitious as the Gentiles are in other parts, and it would seem that they have had in olden times some knowledge of our Holy Faith.<sup>1</sup> God, whom they call Konciok,<sup>2</sup> in their language, is according to them one and Trine. They have their Rosary, and, when reciting it, they say Om ha hum.<sup>3</sup> When asked what Om ha hum means, they say it is God; then, coming down to the particular, that Om means mind, or arm, that is Power; ha means Word; Hum means the heart, and the three words together mean God. Moreover, they say promiscuously Konciok cik, or one God, and Konciok Sum, or Trine God.4 (336) They also adore a being whom they call Urghien, who, according to their calculations, was born about 1700 years ago.<sup>5</sup> Some, when asked whether he is God or Man, answer that he is both God and Man. They say he had neither father, nor mother, but was born from a flower; however, in their pictures and statues they represent a Lady with a flower in her hand and say she is Urghien's mother. They adore other beings, who, they say, are not God, but Saints of God. In their Churches, they have an Altar with a cloth and antependium (con tovaglia e palliotto). In the middle of the Altar they have something like a Tabernacle, and they say that it is like a particular place for God and Urghien, which Urghien they say, however, is in Heaven, near to God. They have also their Religious, called Lamma; these wear a special dress, different from that of the Laity, and they do not, like the Laity, keep the tuft of Hair on their Head, nor ear-rings in their ears, but wear the tonsure. They do not marry, but most observe perpetual celibacy. It is their office to study the Books of their Law, which are written in a language and characters different from the common current ones; they must assist (at prayers) and recite (them) as in choir,6 perform their ceremonies, rites and offerings in their Churches, in which they have Lamps burning; and they offer to God and to Urghien wheat or barley, flour or paste, and, in other small neatly polished vessels, water. When these things have been thus offered on the Altar, they next eat them like holy things, (P. 366) and as if they were Relics. Usually, these Religious live many of them together in the same house, and away from the seculars, by whom they are greatly venerated and respected.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Desideri says he was mistaken in this matter of former Christianity, and in what he writes here of God and the Trinity. Cf. Puini, 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Kon-ccioá (Desideri); dKon. mchhog = Ratna = precious (Puini, 232).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Om mani padma hum (Puini, 259).

<sup>4</sup> Puini (p. 319) places in A.D. 747 his arrival in Tibet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 'These and other errors regarding the religion of the Tibetans, into which Desideri fell before he studied it fully, were noted and corrected by him in the Relazione, as may be seen at pp. 186–188 of this volume.' (Note by Puini at this place.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A maniera di loro is probably a misreading by Puini for a maniera di coro. At this place the next letter has: à manière de choeur.

They have their local Superiors, and acknowledge one as their general chief and Superior, who is like a General or Pontiff, whom even the King greatly looks up to and pays reverence to, as to one above himself.

These Lammas, the King and his ministers, and the rest also consider both of us as European Lammas, and, seeing us recite our Office in different places and at different times, all of them have shown themselves very eager to know what sort of book we praved out of, and they have asked with much curiosity the explanation of the pictures which in the Breviary represent the chief Mysteries of the Life of Christ; and, when they have seen and heard it all, all echo the same words: 1 'Nuru, Nuru,' which means 'Very well! very well!' And nearly all add two things: first, they assert that their book and ours is the same (which I do not, however, believe), and secondly, they exclaim: 'Oh, if you knew our language, or, at least, if we knew yours!' From all this it may easily be inferred that their dispositions are good, and that they are well disposed to hear: Fides autem ex auditu (Faith then cometh by hearing).<sup>2</sup> (37) The nature, or character, of the People is gentle and tractable, averse to doing harm to others. The laity are not allowed to marry more than one wife. In their law it is allowed to eat every sort of meat, also beef, which is against the custom of the other Gentiles; neither do they admit the transmigration of Souls.

These people have no culture; they are ignorant, having no sciences, nor any arts, nor relations with other nations, except with porters (*facchini*) from Cascimir, who come here to take wool. These places are very tough, as may be gathered from what has been said above. The Winter lasts the greater part of the year, and on the top of the mountains there is snow the whole year. They are also very poor, all of them. The country produces only Wheat and Barley, nothing more: for the country is all rocks and arid mountains. Besides Wheat and Barley (from which they also make a kind of wine), they eat meat and make great use of butter. The houses, which are very small and narrow, are made of stones placed one above the other and joined at most with mud. They have no other clothes but woollen ones.

As soon as we arrived within sight of this Leh or Ladas, Father Superior, tired of the many toils and sufferings of so long a journey, began to think of returning to the Mogor, and he asked and tried to find out whether there was for returning to the Mogor any other road than the one we had come by. Two days after our arrival, we went to visit the Lampò,<sup>3</sup> or the Chief Minister (P. 367) and first person after the King. In fact,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Convengono in questo Epifonema. An epiphonema is a sentence used in exclamation. <sup>2</sup> Rom. 10. 17. <sup>3</sup> Longbo (Wessels, 214).

Father Superior had obtained in Cascimir and brought with him a letter of recommendation for him.<sup>1</sup> The visit consisted in presenting the letter and asking a passport for our departure. The Lampò received us very well; he showed us honour and treated us kindly, after which he regaled us on butter and Cia.<sup>2</sup> The day of Saints Peter and Paul,<sup>3</sup> the King sent us word that he awaited our visit. Father Superior excused himself for that day; whereupon, the King let us know that he would receive us after three days. Finally, we went to visit the King. He received us very well, very courteously. The next day, the King called for us again, and he expressed a wish that we should bring with us for our visit some things of ours to gratify his curiosity. So, all my baggage, little and insignificant as it was, was taken across. This time, the King did not receive us sitting on his throne, as on the first occasion; but very courteously and very confidentially. He was delighted to see our Books, our poor wardrobe, our Disciplines, Chainlets and Rosaries; and he said that he esteemed much more seeing that than Pearls, Jewels and precious things. After much civility, he regaled us (it was the third time he did so) with plenty of wheat-meal and butter.

Father Superior asked with much insistence that they should give him as soon as possible the passport for our departure; but the King and the chief Ministers answered that they wished and requested us to stay at least another fortnight (15 altri giorni). Father Superior accepted. They had two reasons in keeping us back. The first was that they would be pleased to see us stay here (indeed, I had asked two persons to obtain from the king permission to that effect); but Father Superior did not like to remain, and, in case I remained, according to my wish, he proposed conditions unobtainable from these peoples. The second reason was that, if we wanted to go by all means, we had before us a journey of at least three months, and that, as the King had to send people that side, he wished us to go with them for our greater safety.

Our second visit took place on the 4th of July; 4 on the 5th, the King sent us a fourth repast consisting of a Kid. On the 6th we were invited to visit the Supreme Lamma, of whose

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Fathers had also a letter of recommendation from the son of this minister, who had treated them very honourably, at a place several days beyond the rope-bridge (Puini, 29).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Tea.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> June 29. They had arrived at Leh on June 26 (Puini, 6, 11, 25, 29; Wessels, 214); 25th June in the next letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Two visits to the King have already been referred to in the last but one paragraph preceding this one. The first visit was to be 3 days after June 29, the second was the day following. The next letter says that the first visit to the king was on July 2; the 2nd, on the 4th, the 3rd on the 8th; the visit to the Grand Lama is there put down on the 6th July; and the 1st and 2nd visits to the Lampo on the 2nd day after their arrival and July 9th.

importance I have spoken above. We were received and treated, both by him and the other chief Lammas, with great familiarity and courtesy. Among them one is the King's cousin and another is the Lampo's son. At the end we were treated to flour and butter. On the 8th, we were called for the third time to a familiar visit at the King's, and honoured with flour and butter. On the 9th, we were invited to visit the Lampò the second time. He especially showed a great desire, as others had done, that we should know his language, or that he should know ours, so that we might easily converse about our (P. 368) Holy Faith. Then I, as I had done already at other times. seizing the opportunity I was looking for, offered to remain here and learn the language; but Father Superior, as on other occasions, made much difficulty; hearing which, they changed the conversation and said that in their Kingdom there are Lammas enough, and thus my hopes and efforts were disappoint-I pray to God not to allow that in this matter I be ever, ed. on my part, in the least guilty in his Divine sight; nay I wish to stay here motionless as a stone and die a thousand times, but melior est obedientia quam victimae (obedience is better than sacrifices).<sup>1</sup>

I said above that, as soon as Father Superior arrived here at Leh, he started inquiring very carefully whether there was another road in order to return to the Mogor by way of Srinagar; he understood that on that road there are mountains. that it is necessary to go on foot and that there are robbers. Accordingly, as it was impossible to go that way and he did not want to go back the way we had come, he made new inquiries and found out that further before us lies another, a third, Tibet. He inquired about the journey and heard that it is one of three months (which means four for us, who always go very slowly),<sup>2</sup> and that there are no mountains. Moreover, it was known for sure<sup>3</sup> that the Capuchin Fathers went to that third In fine, he learned that, as a fact, this third Tibet is Tibet. very near to the Mogor, and that it is the easiest way of all to return thither; hence he wanted to go to this third Tibet, and, from the second day of our stay here, he started pressing and importuning the King, the Lampò, the Great Lamma and others to get a Passport. That was precisely what troubled me.<sup>4</sup> For, if Father Superior does not like on any account to remain in this Tibet, he also protests against remaining in the third, and declares he is resolved to return to the Mogor, although his doing so may oblige me too to go back with him to the Mogor;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I Kings 15. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Passage in square brackets by Puini.

<sup>3</sup> Si seppe certo 'It was known for certain', which can mean that the certain knowledge was acquired at Leh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This shows what patience Desideri had to practise with his Superior at Leh, for the rest of the journey up to Lhasa, and at Lhasa itself.

for, since the Third Tibet is so far and necessitates much expense, there is evident danger that, when we arrive there and Father Superior persists, as he does, in returning to the Mogor, whereas I wish to stay in the third Tibet to begin a Mission, the money given us be insufficient for both purposes; and, as I cannot stay against his will, I may be forced to return to the Mogor with him, and so our journey and the plans of the Superiors will prove abortive. Add to this that it is sure that the Fathers of Propaganda<sup>1</sup> went there, and so there is no need there of other Missionaries. Again, other people having come from there, we have questioned them, and, as far as we can gather, it does not appear that they have effected anything all this time, so that it seems there is little or nothing to be expected on that side.<sup>2</sup> All this made me resolve not to go to the third P(. 369) Tibet, the more so as I had at least two strong reasons for remaining in this second Tibet. The first reason is that I see these people so well inclined and disposed, since even the chief personages of the land have many times shown that they wish us to stay here and learn the language to converse about the things of Our Holy Faith. Your Paternity<sup>3</sup> well knows that for one who wishes to open a Mission this is a blow which goes to his very heart, a chain binding his feet. The second reason why I should remain here was the following. T was in doubt whether to open a Mission in the second and third Tibet. Now, since I cannot do so in the two places at the same time, I had to consider, according to the right rule of charity, which of the two Tibets stood in greater need. In this second Tibet there neither was nor is any Missionary, nor is any likely to come, owing to the great asperity of these places, where, as I have seen with my own eyes, snow begins to fall and pile up in the middle of July. Missionaries have gone to the third Tibet and are there perhaps yet.<sup>4</sup> Now, just as, if I found two persons in great need and had only one morsel of bread, I ought to give it to the one who is in greater want, so too in this This granted, I felt a scruple in my soul and I proposed case. it to the Father Superior. His answer was that, if I wished to stay, I might; however, he made me understand that he would not discuss the point, and that I would have to give an account

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Capuchins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> These 'other men' did not know by July 1715 that the Capuchins had left Lhasa in 1711. A previous set of men seems then to have told the Fathers that they had met the Capuchins at Lhasa, or in the third Tibet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This style of address makes it clear that the letter was addressed to the General of the Society at Rome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> If Desideri was sure by 1714 that the Capuchins had left in 1711, he may have thought now that the Capuchins had returned.

to the Superiors. After that he said that, in any case, he wanted to go to the third Tibet, where Father Andrada had been,<sup>1</sup> that being the intention of the Superiors. Left in doubt, with reasons for either alternative, I decided to follow the Father who had been appointed as my Superior, feeling sure that, before God and before Man, he cannot be condemned who, obeying in things not manifestly sinful, conforms to the will of the Superior, to whom it belongs to give an account to God and to Man both for himself and his subordinate. Meanwhile, it is decided that, as soon as we have the Passport, we shall go to the third Tibet. If I have erred in my decision, the error will have been of the mind, not of the will.

The third Tibet is a three or four months' journey from During the first 10 or 12 days the journey is across here. mountains, after that through level country all the time. Those plains are deserts, uninhabited; only now and again do shepherds go there with their flocks, remaining there some time under tents. At times, the road is infested by neighbouring Tartars; so, there is some danger. The third Tibet is also called Great Tibet; it is not in mountainous, but level country, (P. 370) and not very distant from China. In the said third Tibet the law and religion is exactly the same as in this second Tibet; therefore, what I have said about it must be understood to apply also to the third Tibet. Its chief place is called in the Tibettian language Urzan;<sup>2</sup> in the Persian language, Arghiangh; <sup>3</sup> while in the Indostan language, or that of the Mogor, it is called Lassa or Lassan.<sup>4</sup> The king and the chief Lamma

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> How did Freyre now know that de Andrada had been in the third Tibet, if he had gone in search of his Mission in the second Tibet or Ladakh, and did not know in 1714 that there was a third Tibet? Did he conclude it now, after finding no traces of de Andrada's Mission at Leh? The people at Leh could not have remembered de Andrada, who never was there. They might have remembered de Azevedo and d'Oliveira (1631); they might have remembered the King of Tsaparang whom they went to fight in 1629-30, and took a prisoner to Leh, they might have remembered European lamas at Tsaparang till 1640. They seem to have remembered nothing of all this; but then their oblivion was no proof that the Jesuits had been in the third Tibet, and not in the second.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> U-Tsang, Lhasa being the capital in the Province of U, and Shigatze the chief town in the Province of Tsang.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> What does this represent in Persian? Argun, used at Leh, has been understood by recent travellers to apply to a Christian.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In his Notizie Istoriche (Wessels, photograph facing p. 276), Desideri writes: 'Omitting little Thibet, which is otherwise called Balti-stan, and middle Thibet, which is called by the other name of Lhata-yul, of both of which I have said something in the first Book, I limit myself for the present to giving an account of the third, and Great Thibet, which is the chief of them all.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Though the government, the extent and the limits of the first two are different, the manner of governing, the Religion, and the customs of all three are quite the same and common, without difference.

of that Kingdom reside there, and it is there that the Capuchin Fathers went and are perhaps still; and it is credible (*credibile*) that our Father Andrada was there in olden times. There is a rumour, but I am not sure, that, 10 or 12 years ago, the King of the said third Tibet sent men to the Mogor in search of the Fathers of the Company; for they say that a dress, a bireta and other things of Father Andrada remained there. Those men, not knowing that we resided at Agra, and Delby, arrived at Surat and gave out that the King of Tibet wanted, as Masters of the true law, the Fathers of the Company. The Capuchin Fathers who are at Surat kept the matter quiet, and, without letting the Company know, went to Tibet,<sup>1</sup> near the said Urzan or Lassa lies Napall; Napall is not far from Patnà, and from Patnà to our College at Agra the journey is very good, and of one month only. If God gives me the grace of arriving there, I shall give your Reverence better information in another

A clear proof that neither Desideri nor Freyre knew that de Andrada had been at Tsaparang, near Totling, in Nari Khorsum. I have not found Tsaparang yet in Desideri's writings.

<sup>1</sup> One of the reasons why Desideri does not feel sure of the rumour is that so far he has not met the King who had invited Jesuits to his dominions. The story is now supposed to have happened in 1705 or 1707; but it ought to have happened earlier, if the Capuchins of Surat kept their counsel to obtain in 1703 that Propaganda should send them to Tibet, where the Jesuits had formerly been. I find no trace of such a story in the history of the Capuchins. We do not understand how a king of Tsaparang or its neighbourhood, or of some other part of the third Tibet, or of Nepal, could have sent men to Surat to discover Jesuits, and that these men did not discover Jesuits at Lahore, Agra, or Delhi. Who then talked of a soutane, a biretta, and other things left in Tibet by Fr. de Andrada? Yet, there was such a story, as we found in Desideri's letter from Surat, Dec. 30, 1713 (No. 4); it existed in 1706, as we noticed in note 6 of our introduction. Was the story invented at Surat to explain to the Jesuits how the Capuchins happened to have been sent to Tibet? One of the Capuchins sent to Tibet in 1704 was Fr. Francis Mary of Tours. He had been many years at Surat, had gone about 1701 to Pondicherry, had there taken information about the methods of the Jesuits and their Malabar rites, and gone over to Rome, where he was in 1703. He published a tract against the Malabar rites and the Jesuits at Liege, and the Jesuits were suspected of having got him away from Rome to Tibet, to be rid of him. If Fr. Francis Mary of Tours was suspected of having ousted the Jesuits from Tibet, the whole story of the embassy, and d Andrada's biretta may have been invented by imaginative parishioners of the Capuchins at Surat. Had the story not been a mere suspicion on the part of some Jesuits in India, might they not have made bold to ask the Capuchins point-blank what ground there was for it?

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The third, and chief Thibet, is by us Europeans and in the Persian writings called Thibet absolutely. In the Hendustana, or Mogolese tongue, it is called Butant, which means Country of the Gods, that is of the Idols. In their Maps the Geographers give it various other names, calling it at times Kingdom of the Grand Lumà, or of Lhasà; others call it Ussang, others Barantola. But in the language of this Country, it is called Bodyul; at p. 34, Butan, 'and in the language of this country it is called Po.'

letter.<sup>1</sup> Bengala is not very far from the third Tibet, and the road is good, and the Capuchin Fathers went from there.<sup>2</sup>

In conclusion, casting myself at Your Paternity's feet, 1 beg of you to excuse the trouble I give you by asking you to recommend me, with all the efficacy of your most fervent soul, to God in your Holy Sacrifices and Prayers, and to give me finally your holy blessing.

Leh, in the second of the 3 Tibets.

Your Most Reverend Paternity's Very unworthy and least servant and subject, Ippolito Desideri.

8. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, S.J. (Lhasa, April 10, 1716).

For this translation I have used to some extent the work of C. Markham, Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet . . . . 2nd edn., London, 1879, pp. 302-308, but I have restored the original spelling of the proper names as in Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, Paris, 1781, tome XII, pp. 430-445, and have made the translation more literal. I also show the pagination as in the tome of the Lettres edifiantes et curieuses just indicated.

Fr. Desideri writes of this letter, as published in Lettres edifiantes et curieuses:

'In the XVth small volume of the same collection there is a letter of mine, which, when I had arrived at the capital of the third Tibet, I wrote in Italian to Father Grassi, giving him a short account of my journey. I take this opportunity to remark that in it the date and time of our arrival and of our departure from Kascimir must be corrected; but that is not the chief point I wish to draw attention to now; I want to remark that in the said Letter I myself made a mistake about two very important and essential points, which I represented very differently from what I have declared in the Relation. Speaking of the second

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From Leh to Lhasa the journey was performed on horseback. The Fathers had 7 horses: two of these were for the Fathers; 4 others were used by 3 Christian servants and a gentile interpreter; only two horses reached Lhasa; and one of these was in a pitiable state; the other died shortly after the arrival. (Puini, 52. 53.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Desideri calculates that, leaving Rome in October 1728 for Port Louis in Lower Brittany, and embarking there in January or the beginning of February, 1729, one will arrive at Lhasa only in April or May 1730, or after a year and a half; leaving Rome in November 1728 for Portugal one will arrive at Goa about the middle of September 1729; going by Surat, Agra, Patna, one will leave Patna in December 1730, and reach Lhasa not earlier than April 1731, or a year later than by the first route. (Puini, 81.) The French ships called regularly at Chandernagore.

Tibet, or Lhata-yul, and of the religion there current, I said first that those people do not admit metempsychosis, but believe that the wicked go to Hell and the good to Heaven; secondly, that they seemed to have some knowledge of God and of the Most Holy Trinity. On these two points I made a gross mistake, and erred greatly in the understanding of both.' (Puini, 186.)

This letter is so similar in many things, choice of details and disposition of the matter, to the previous one, that I am of opinion that he took with him to Lhasa the previous letter, written from Leh, and used it for the composition of the present letter.

(P. 430) A letter from Father Ippolito Desideri, Missionary of the Society of Jesus, to Father Ildebrando Grassi, <sup>1</sup> a Missionary of the same Society, in the Kingdom of Maissur.<sup>2</sup>

## At Lhassa, April 10, 1716.

Reverend Father,—The peace of our Lord be with you. Having been appointed to the Tibet Mission, I left Goa on the 20th of November, 1713,<sup>3</sup> and arrived at Suratte on the 4th of January, 1714.<sup>4</sup> Being compelled to sojourn here awhile, I took advantage of my leisure to learn Persian. On the 26th of March,<sup>5</sup> I set out for Delly, where I arrived on the 11th of May,<sup>6</sup> and where I found Father Manuel Freyre, who had been appointed to the same Mission as myself.<sup>7</sup> On the 23rd of September <sup>8</sup> we together began our journeys towards Tibet. We went by way of Lahor, which we reached on the 10th of October,<sup>9</sup> and (P. 431) where we had the pious satisfaction of administering the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist to some Christians, who were bereft of Pastors. We left Lahor on the 19th of October,<sup>10</sup> and in the course of a few days reached the foot of the Caucasus.

The Caucasus is a long range, consisting of remarkably steep and lofty mountains. After crossing one mountain, you encounter a second still higher; this is in turn succeeded by a third, higher than either of the two former ones; and the higher

<sup>2</sup> Mysore.

- 4 Cp. note 1 to Letter No. 4.
- <sup>5</sup> Cp. note 6 to Letter No. 7.
- <sup>6</sup> Cp. note 8 to Letter No. 7.
- <sup>7</sup> 'Who had been appointed' can be used against my theory at note 9 of Letter 7.

<sup>8</sup> Cp. note 11 to Letter No. 7.

- <sup>9</sup> Cp. note 12 to Letter No. 7.
- <sup>10</sup> Cp. note 13 to Letter No. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'The companion of Desideri's travels from Rome to Goa in 1712; he was born at Bologna in 1683 and became a Jesuit at Rome, January 23, 1699. After working in the Mysore Mission, he died at Pondicherry, May 22, 1731.' (Wessels, p. 207 n. 4.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cp. note 1 to Letter No. 7.

you mount, the more you have to mount, till you reach the highest of all, named *Pir-Pangial*.<sup>1</sup>

The Gentiles hold this mountain in great awe; they bring offerings to it, and in their superstition worship a venerable old man, whom they believe to be guardian of that place. Herein is doubtless contained a reminiscence of the fable of Prometheus, who, according to the poets, was bound in chains to the Caucasus.<sup>2</sup>

The summit of the highest mountains is always covered with snow and ice. We took twelve days to traverse these mountains on foot, (P. 432) crossing with incredible difficulty impetuous torrents, which, formed by the melting of the snow, dash down with extreme violence amid rocks and boulders. The torrents which we had ever and anon to stem, and the rocks, made it an extremely difficult business to get across, and often was I compelled to hang on by the tail of a bullock passing at the same time as myself, to avoid being carried away by the force of the stream. I do not speak of the extreme cold I had to suffer, through not having taken the precaution to obtain clothing suitable for so rude a climate.

This country of mountains, though in other respects so awful, is pleasing in several places through the number and variety of its trees, the fertility of the soil, and the different races which inhabit it. Some petty States here are dependent on the Mogol. The roads are not everywhere so impracticable for a horseman or for a *giampan*, a sort of palanquin.<sup>3</sup>

On the 10th of March<sup>4</sup> we arrived at Kaschemire.<sup>5</sup> The enormous quantity of snow (P. 433) which falls during winter, and which absolutely closes up the passes, obliged us to remain there for six months. An illness, apparently caused by the first hardships I had undergone, reduced me to the last extremity. I did not fail in continuing my study of Persian, and in making inquiries respecting Tibet; but, though I took every pains, I could then learn only about two Tibets. One extends from the north to the west, and is called Little Tibet, or Baltistan. It is a few days' journey from Kaschemire, and its inhabitants and the princes governing it are Mahomettans and tributaries of the Mogol. However fertile this country may be, it is sure to be barren as far as preachers of the Gospel are concerned; for a long experience had taught us only too surely to expect but little fruit in countries where rules the impious sect of Mahomet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Himalayas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. text, and note 15 to Letter No. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cf. Hobson-Johson, s.v. Jompon (Hindi: jānpān, japān, also jhampān, jhāpān, Bengali: jhāmpān, jhāpān), a portable chair; where our passage in Desideri is given as containing the oldest use of the word.

<sup>4</sup> Markham notes rightly that March appears to be a mistake for November. The date is Nov. 13 (Puini, 6), or Nov. 12 (Puini, 362).
5 Srinagar.

The other Tibet, which is called Great Tibet, or Buton,<sup>1</sup> extends from the north to the east, and is a little farther from Kaschemire. The route thither is pretty well frequented by caravans, which go every year in quest of wool, and as a rule runs through defiles. The first six or (P. 434) seven days, the journey is not very trying; but, as one goes on travelling, it becomes very difficult, through the wind, the snow, and the excessive rigour of the biting frosts, to which must be added having to rest at night on the bare ground, and at times on snow and ice.

Great Tibet begins at the summit of an awful snow-clad mountain, called Kantel.<sup>2</sup> One side of the mountain belongs to Kaschemire, and the other to Tibet. We left Kaschemire on the 17th of May, 1715,<sup>3</sup> and on the 30th, the feast of Our Lord's Ascension,<sup>4</sup> we crossed this mountain, that is to say, we entered Tibet. Much snow had fallen on the path, which winds between mountains, as far as Leh (otherwise called Ladak, the fortress where the king resides), which are the very picture of desolation, horror, and death itself. They are piled one a top of another, and so close as scarcely to leave room for the torrents which course impetuously from their heights, and (P. 435) dash with such deafening noise against the rocks as to stun and appal the stoutest traveller. Above and at their foot the mountains are equally impassable; you are therefore forced to make your way about half-way down the slope, and the path, as a rule, is so narrow as barely to leave room for you to set down your feet; this obliges you to pick your way with extreme care. A false step, and you are precipitated down the abyss with the loss of your life, or at least with broken limbs, as befell some of our fellow-travellers. Were there bushes, you might cling by them: but these mountains are so barren that neither plants nor even a blade of grass grows thereon. Would you wish to cross from one mountain to another, you must pass over the foaming torrents between, and there is no bridge, save some narrow, unsteady planks, or some ropes stretched across and interwoven with green branches. Often you are obliged to take off your shoes in order to get a better foothold. I assure you that I shudder still at the bare remembrance of these dreadful passages. (P. 436) The difficulty of the roads is not the only inconvenience; you must add to it the sharpest cold, furious

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bhutan.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 'According to Vigne, the summit of Bultul (Zojila pass) is the Mount Kantul, of the old map. It is north-east of Srinagar (Kashmir), on the road to Baltistan (Little Tibet).'—(Note by Markham.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Desideri protests in the text we quoted in our introduction to this Letter that the date of departure, May 17, 1715, in *Lettres èdifiantes et curieuses* is wrong; but we find no other date in several passages of Desideri's other writings. Cp. text of Letter No. 7 and note 19 there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cp. note 22 to Letter No. 7.

winds, abundant snows, the necessity of sleeping on the ground exposed to the inclemency of such a rough climate, and of eating only flour made from sattu,1 which is a kind of barley. The people of the country eat it unprepared; but we generally made a broth of it, and it was no small thing for us to get enough wood to cook it.

One's eyes are terribly tired with the reflection of the sun's rays from the snow, which dazzles and nearly blinds them. I was obliged to bandage mine, and admit only just enough light to see my way. Then, every second day or so, we encountered customs-officers, who, not content with demanding the usual dues, exacted all they pleased and by any right they fancied.

In these mountainous provinces there are no large towns. There is no particular coinage, that of the Mogol being chiefly used; each piece of money is worth five Roman Giuglii. Trading (P. 437) is usually carried on by exchange of goods. The journey from Kaschemire to Ladak we made on foot, and it lasted forty days, so that we reached the last-named place only on the 25th of June.<sup>2</sup> The kingdom of the second Tibet begins, as I have already remarked, at Mount Kantel, and extends northeastwards. There is only one Ghiampo,<sup>3</sup> or severeign ruler; the present one is called Nima Nangial,<sup>4</sup> and he has a tributary king below him. The first races one meets are Mahomettans; the others are Gentiles, less superstitious than in the other idolatrous countries.

Here is what I learnt of the Tibetan religion. They call God Konciok, and they appear to have some notion of the adorable Trinity, for at times they call him Konciokcik (one God), at other times Konciok-sum (trine God). They use a kind of chaplet, over which they repeat these words: Om, ha, hum. This they explain by saying that Om signifies knowledge or an arm, that is, power; ha is the word, and hum is the heart or love, and that these three words mean God. They also worship a being (P. 438) called Urghien, who, so they say, was born seven hundred years ago. When asked if he be God or man, some reply that he is both God and man, that he had neither father nor mother, but that he was born of a flower. Nevertheless they have statues representing a woman with a flower in her hand, and her they call the mother of Urghien. Several other personages do they worship and treat as saints. In their churches you may

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'A chenopodium, something like the quinua of Peru. It is cultivated at heights of more than 5,000 feet, chiefly for its grain, but the leaves are also used as a pot-herb. (See "Punjab Plants" by J. L. Stewart, M.D., Lahore, 1869, p. 179.)'--Note by Markham, who read battu, and omitted some lines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. note 26 to Letter 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Markham writes Gyampo. We have Gyalpo in Letter No. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Nima Nimghial in Letter No. 7.

see an altar covered with a cloth and ornaments; in the middle of the altar is a kind of tabernacle, wherein, they say, Urghien dwells, though on the other hand they assert he is in Heaven.<sup>1</sup>

The Tibetans have Religious, called Lamas. They are clad in a uniform different from that of the laymen; they neither plait their hair nor carry ear-rings, as other men, but wear a tonsure like our Religious, and have to observe perpetual celibacy. Their occupation is to study the books of the law, which are written in a tongue and in characters differing from those ordinarily in use. They recite certain (P. 439) prayers in chorus (en manière de choeur); and theirs it is to celebrate rites, to present offerings in the temples, and to light the sacred lamps there. They offer up to God wheat, barley, paste and water, in little vessels of scrupulous cleanliness. When an offering has been made, the remainder of the food is eaten as if it were consecrated. The *lamas* are greatly respected; as a rule, they live together, shut out from all profane intercourse; they have local superiors, and also a general superior, whom the King himself treats with great veneration.<sup>2</sup>

The King and many of his court looked upon us as *lamas* of the faith of Jesus Christ, who had come from Europe. When they saw us reciting our prayers, they were curious to see what books we were reading, and they eagerly inquired the meaning of the various pictures therein contained. After having carefully examined them, some of them said among themselves. '*Nuru*', that is, 'very good'. They added two things: Firstly, that their book is very like ours, which I cannot believe; what appears more certain to me is that, though several of them (P. 440) may know how to read their mysterious books, not one can explain them. Secondly, they often said: 'Oh! if you knew our language, or if we understood yours, what pleasure it would give us to hear you expound your religion!' This proves that these peoples would be rather well disposed to relish the Christian truths.<sup>3</sup>

The Tibetans are gentle and docile in character, but uncultivated and coarse. There are neither arts nor sciences among them, though they are not wanting in intelligence. They have no communications with other nations; no sort of meat is forbidden to them; they do not hold the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and do not practise polygamy; three points in which they differ from idolatrous natives of India.<sup>4</sup>

As you may have learnt from what I have said, the climate is very severe, and winter prevails nearly all the year round. The mountain tops are always covered with snow; the soil yields

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Letter No. 7 for the whole of this paragraph: Urghien was born about 1,700 years before (Puini, 365; in Letter No. 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Same remark.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Same remark.

only wheat and barley, trees, fruits, and vegetables being rarely seen. The houses are small, narrow, and built of stones piled in rude fashion one above the other. They use nothing (P. 441) but woollen stuffs for their clothes.<sup>1</sup> From the time that we are at *Ladak* we have had no other lodging but the hut of a poor man from Kaschemire who lives on charity.<sup>2</sup>

Two days after our arrival we went to call on the  $Lompo,^3$ who is next in rank to the King, and commonly called his right arm. On the 2nd of July we had our first audience of the King himself, who received us seated on his throne. On the 4th and 8th we were again summoned to his presence and he then treated us more familiarly. On the 6th we paid our respects to the Grand Lama.<sup>4</sup> He was accompanied by several other Lamas, one of whom is a son of the Lompo, and another a near relative of the King. They received us most honourably, and presented us with some refreshments, as is the custom of the country.

These honours and tokens of friendship did not, however, prevent our being disquieted by them. The wool trade serves to draw many Mahomettans from Kaschemire to Ladak. Some of these, prompted either by jealousy or hatred of the name Christian, told the King and his ministers that we were rich merchants, with pearls, diamonds, rubies, (P. 442) divers precious stones, and other valuable commodities in our possession. An officer of the court came to our lodgings; everything was opened before him, and the report he made thereon excited the King's curiosity. His Majesty ordered to be brought unto him the basket and the leather bag, in which we carried our small effects such as linen, books, sundry writings, some instruments for self-mortification, chaplets, and medals. The King examined everything, and then openly declared that it gave him greater pleasure to inspect goods of this sort than to see pearls and rubies.<sup>5</sup>

Affairs were in this state, and I was thinking of tarrying in a country where I had resolved to suffer whatever it might please Providence to inflict upon me; I was even in the highest degree overjoyed at having a settled state, where I could labour towards the salvation of men's souls; I was already beginning to learn the language, with the hope of seeing my teaching bring forth some day, even among these barren rocks of Tibet,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Same remark.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A new detail. The use of the present indicative would show that the letter was partly written at Leh, and continued at Lhasa. It is less likely that two letters have been made into one. In the first case, we understand better the similarities with Letter No. 7, and but, if Letter No. 7 had been despatched from Leh, why was not the present letter?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Lampò in Letter No. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cp. note 42 to Letter No. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In Letter 7, this inspection is said to have taken place the day after the first visit to the King; therefore, on July 3.

fruit acceptable in the sight of the Divine Majesty, when we learnt that there was a third Tibet. After several consultations, it was decided, against my wish, that we should go (P. 443) thither and discover it. The journey takes usually from about six to seven months,<sup>1</sup> and the route lies through countries of deserted aspect, and scantily peopled. This third Tibet is more exposed to the incursions of the border Tatars than the other two Tibets.

We left Ladak, therefore, on the 17th of August, 1715,<sup>2</sup> (32) and we arrived at Lassa, whence I have the honour to address you, on the 18th of March, 1716.<sup>3</sup> I leave you to imagine what I had to suffer during this journey, what with snow, ice, and the excessive cold of these mountains. Shortly after our arrival, certain tribunals of the country occasioned us a good deal of annoyance. Thanks to God, this storm was appeased in the following manner. I was passing by the palace to attend one of the tribunals, when the King, who was seated in a balcony with one of his ministers, happened to be informed who I was.<sup>4</sup> Our case had been made known to this minister, who is a thoroughly just and equitable man, and he took occasion to represent to the prince the wrong that was being done to us.<sup>5</sup> The King immediately summoned me to his presence, and gave orders that we should be no more troubled.

A few days after I called upon (P. 444) the minister referred to, and he good-naturedly rebuked me for not having yet presented myself to the King. I excused myself on the ground that the custom of the country did not allow people to approach those in authority without making them some present, and that I had nothing worthy of so great a Prince's acceptance. My excuse, though genuine, was not listened to. I was obliged to obey and repair to the palace. More than a hundred people of consequence were awaiting audience in the hall. Two officers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Letter 7 (Leh, Aug. 5, 1715) Desideri speaks of 3 months (four, if travelling is slow). As he took himself 7 months (Aug. 17, 1715-March 18, 1716) to cover the distance to Lhasa, it would seem that he added at Lhasa this passage about a 6 or 7 months' journey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 27 Aug., 1715 (Puini, 8. 11); 17 Aug. (Puini, 25, 32; Wessels, 214, 215).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> March 18, 1716 (Puini, 8. 50).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> It is evident that Frs. Desideri and Freyre were recognised as Europeans wherever they went and declared themselves such at Lhasa. They were recognised as European Padres at Leh, and the passports they received there up to Trescij-Khang must have described them as such (Puini, 33). The Tartar princess in whose company they travelled from Trescij-khang or Cartoa (Gartok) up to Shigatze could not be unaware of their being Europeans. See besides Puini, p. 62, and the explanation of Gokarki Lamar, ibid., p. 299.

<sup>5</sup> 'On arriving at Lhasa, he was requested to pay a sum of 120 rupees, due to the Cartoa (Gartok) custom house, but he was left off on entering a protest.' (Wessels, 220 n. 4.)

took down their names, according to custom, and carried the paper to the King, who immediately gave orders for my admittance together with a great Lama. The Lama's present was a considerable one, while mine was quite insignificant; nevertheless, that of the Lama was deposited at the entrance, according to custom, while the King ordered mine to be brought to him, and, to show how pleased he was with it, he kept it by him. This in this court is considered an exceptional mark of favour. He made me sit down opposite to him and quite close, and for the space of two hours plied me with innumerable questions, without speaking a word to the others present. At last, having spoken in commendation of me, he bade me good-bye. (P. 445) On several occasions after my first visit I strove to take advantage of the King's kindly disposition and to discourse of our holy religion, and of the mission I wished to undertake in his kingdom, but unfortunately I had no opportunity of doing This monarch is of Tartar race, and some years ago he this. conquered this country, which is not very far from China, for it takes only four months to travel hence to Pekin. Not long since, an envoy came thence, and he has since returned to Pekin.

Having given you, Reverend Father, this brief account of my travels, and of what happened since my arrival in the capital of the third Thibet, it only remains for me to entreat the aid of your prayers, as I do insistingly. After so many painful travels, I need them sorely to sustain me in the labour of the ministry to which the divine goodness has called me, all unworthy though I be. In the hope of sharing in the blessings of your holy sacrifices, I have the honour to be, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Ippolito Desideri.

Freyre's name reappears in the Mogor catalogue of December 1718, and November 1719. On the first date he is placed at Delhi. His name no longer appears in the Mogor catalogues of Dec. 1724, Nov. 1727, etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Not a word is said of the time of Fr. Freyre's departure from Lhasa. Probably, this letter was taken to Mogor by Fr. Freyre. Not a word either is heard in this letter and the previous ones of three Christian servants and an interpreter who accompanied the Fathers from Srinagar on May 17, 1715. (Cf. Wessels, 211.) These three Christians and the non-Christian interpreter continued from Trescij-Khang to Lhasa. (Puini, 52.)

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The other Father, my companion, having been accustomed for many years to reside in warm countries, was unable to resist the extreme cold and great subtility of the air in a country so entirely different; hence, after resting some days at Lhasa he resumed his journey in another direction, (p. 51) returning to Hendustan by the shorter and more frequented route of Nepal. And so, I remained alone for some time, the only missionary, the only European, in the entire territory, in the immense extent of the three Thibets.' (Puini, 50-51.)

9. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717).<sup>1</sup>

(P. 370) Our Very Reverend Father in Christ,

At the end of July, last year, by way of Goa and Portugal I wrote lengthily to your Paternity about my journey from Goa up to this third and chief Tibet, my remaining alone in this Tibet, and what had occurred till the end of the (P. 371) said month.

On the 9th of August, 1716, the chief Minister of the King, a Tartar, summoned me in the King's name to the Palace, and this is what happened to me on that occasion concerning the object of the Mission. I was asked for what express purpose I had come to this Kingdom and had remained in it. I answered that I had come solely to teach them and preach to them the Holy Faith. Then I was asked how many years I was going to remain in this Kingdom, I answered that, if they embraced the Holy Faith, I should remain here till my death. I was then told that they wished in everything to be well informed about our Holy Faith; and so, I was ordered to remain in this Kingdom and to continue studying carefully the language. These points settled, I was given many great, urgent, nay importunate proofs of the King's liberality; but, with God's help, I was always firm and unshaken in giving ever one and the same answer, to wit: that I coveted none of their honour, none of their greatnesses, none of their riches, in a word, no personal temporal advantage, but only the glory of God and their eternal salvation. They gave me a hard fight on this point; but the loving Jesus kept my heart very firm. Thus ended the audience, which for the said two points lasted 23 hours.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Puini, pp. 370-376. This letter is also in the *Sommario* of the case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in Thibet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A full account of the interview appears in the Relation (Puini, 62. 63), where the name of the generalissimo, ten-drup-cô-ring is misspelt Fan-drup-zo-ring. We translate the entire passage.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;A few days after our arrival at Lhasà, I was called to the Palace by order of the king. I went and was introduced to a Tartar noble, called Fan-drup-ze-ring, the king's commander-in-chief over all the forces in the kingdom. Having received me with great politeness and obliging manners, he asked me in the king's name where I came from, what was my quality, condition and profession; for what reason or on what business I had come to those parts and to that court; finally, how long I intended staying there. I answered I had come from distant countries, separated from them, not only by countless vast countries; but also by immense expanses of sea; I had come from the West to that extremity of the East, from Europe to Thibet. As regards my condition and quality, I was religious; as regards my profession, I was in religion a Lamà, whose obligation and office it was to guide others in the right path of religion; I was actually employed and bestirring myself in trying, with all my might, to draw those in error from the paths into which they had gone astray, and to bring them to our holy Law, it being the only true and lawful path, out of which there was no way leading to Heaven and eternal salvation. As

On another occasion, in the same place and in a similar audience,<sup>1</sup> I was asked the difference between our law and theirs. I did not venture to answer such delicate topics by word of mouth *ex professo* and in public, so long as I had not made a very perfect and prolonged study of the language, and so I pledged myself to explain the whole thing little by little in different books, in which one can speak more diffusely and tread more securely. They told me to write and then to show them what

for the object and business for which I had come to these countries, and had repaired to that Court, it was precisely the thing of which I had told him. I was sure that they were in extreme error, and had but too lamentably strayed from the right path; I was not ignorant that, in their wretched plight, they had no one to show them the snares they were entangled in, no one to point out to them the precipices down which they were falling headlong to their irreparable doom. Hence, from countries so remote, from one end of the world to the other, across vast seas and over long tracts of land, despite long and painful journeys, despite toils, horrors and dangers, had I come, for no other object, with no other intention, but that of being able to dissipate with the light of evangelic truth the thick darkness of the gloomy night of ignorance and error which had until then, and for so long, enveloped them and their countries. In fine, with these and other like expressions, I made him understand that I had come to Thibet for no other purpose than to establish a mission there, teach our holy faith and draw to it and guide in it whoever wished to embrace it. Finally, as regards the length of time I was going to stay there, I answered that, as far as depended on my will and intention. since my object was so hard, so laborious and so universal, (p. 63) unless the king's authority or the orders of my superiors came in the way, I wished for nothing else than to continue the enterprise in hand until my death, and not only to end my life in it, but resolutely to give my life for it.

'With the help of God, my answers made a good impression on the heart of the generalissimo. With loving expressions of gratitude and satisfaction, he cheered me, saying that not only should I not meet with opposition in my undertaking, but the King and the whole court would willingly hear what I could tell them about so grand, just, and important a matter. Then, after other most courteous compliments and loving assurances of his friendship and protection, he gave me leave, and, going to the king, explained to him faithfully and minutely the whole tenor of my answers.'

There was an interview with the generalissimo a few days after March 18, 1716 (Puini, 62. 63); an interview with one of the king's familiars, on April 28 (Puini, 63); on May 1, he presented to the king, 'two cordial stones, called Gasper' Antonio Stones, a pod (cocco) of Brasile balsam, and a small vessel of apoplectic balsam.' Each article had an inscription in Thibetan, showing its virtues and the manner of using it. On this occasion he asked and obtained the king's permission for freely exercising his office of Apostolic Missionary (Puini, 63). Instead of due pietre cordiali, chiamate Pietze di Gaspar' Antonio, Fr. Wessels (p. 224) has: 'due Pietri di Belzoar di Goa.'

'On the 29th of April and the 1st of May, 1716, I made known in the king's public audience that I had come to make a Mission and to teach the Holy Law of Jesus Christ, and on the 10th of August, 1716, in the Royal Palace I received, not only the mission, but the order, to teach the Holy Law, and to remain here for the purpose.' (Letter No. 15.) Does Desideri not give wrongly here the date of Aug. 9 to the interview of April 29 and May 1?

<sup>1</sup> Was not this the interview of Aug. 9, 1716?

I had written; for they would examine it with pleasure. Trusting in God's help, I accepted the task very willingly, and with a lively desire of the glory of the most amiable Jesus.

At the beginning of September, I was invited to go for three or four days to a garden, or palace, of the King's. That day was a Thursday; and, as it was well known that it was my custom (for, being then alone, I had no convenience for saying or hearing Mass) to spend the whole of Friday in retirement in my Chapel, I excused myself for the whole of Friday and Saturday. On Sunday morning, I went, accompanied by people from the court who had been sent to conduct me. That day I was examined concerning the progress I had made in the language; I was made to read in public, and explain; after that various points pertaining to the law were discussed; before that, and in the course of it, I was twice given a repast. Finally, when I had seen all the sights of the Palace and of the (P. 372) Garden and place, I returned home in the evening.

In the months of June, July and August, to distract myself from my uninterrupted application to the study of the language, I had kept composing every day for some hours two booklets in Italian.<sup>1</sup> In the first, I refute the widespread error that everyone can be saved in his law, and I show that there is but one road to salvation, all the rest leading to perdition. In the second, I refute the transmigration of the Good (*de Buoni*). On the 8th of September I started by myself to translate into his language the first of my said two booklets, and, to make it still more attractive, I did it in Tibetan verse.

On the first of October there arrived here three Capuchin Fathers sent by Propaganda.<sup>2</sup> Having had beforehand news of their arrival, I went to meet them outside, and conducted them to my house, or rather to my room; <sup>3</sup> there I received them, and there we lived all four of us till about the middle of October. I tried to treat them as well as the quality of these countries and my poverty allowed. However, they got the rent

<sup>8</sup> Though foreigners could only rent houses, Desideri was allowed to buy a large house, well situated, near the great square, on the famous Kora road, on the South side (Puini, 180). Desideri may have learned at a later date, when passing through Patna in 1725, that the Capuchins were allowed by 'the present Great Lamà' to buy a plot of land for their hospice on the N.E. side of Lhasa (Puini, 180).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These two booklets in Italian are not mentioned by Fr. Wessels as at present in the possession of the Society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Frs. Domenico of Fano, a physician, who had gone to Lhasa at the end of 1709, or the beginning of 1710; returned to Bengal, 1711; went to Rome, 1713; appointed Prefect of the Mission, 1714; returned with 6 others; back in Bengal, end of Aug. 1715; set out from Nepal for Lhasa, Aug. 4, 1716, with Fr. Orazio della Penna di Billi, who had arrived at Chandernagore on Sept. 1, 1713, and had been sent to Nepal in December 1714; the third man appears to have been Fr. Giovanni Francesco of Fossombrone, a physician, who had arrived in Bengal with Fr. Orazio della Penna.

of other rooms contiguous to mine and within the same house. There we live with exemplary uniformity in all things, and with mutual and more than fraternal charity. I do not fail to help them in everything I can, especially in teaching them the language; and they surpass me not only in courtesy, but in excesses of courtesy. Hence, I humbly beseech Your Paternity to be so good as to send some Father there in Rome to thank their Father Procurator General, from whom they depend; besides, I have the boldness to beg of Your Paternity to be so kind as to send them some words of thanks through the said Father Procurator General; for they well deserve it.

The said Fathers have with them a decree of Propaganda, passed some 60 years ago, by I do not know what Sovereign Pontiff, in which it is forbidden under Ecclesiastical penalties etiam patribus Societatis (also to the Fathers of the Society), to establish themselves where there are already Missionaries of another Religion sent by Propaganda.<sup>1</sup> The Father Prefect of the said Capuchin Fathers has not had the courage to present that Decree to me; nay, on learning in Nepal that the Company had arrived here,<sup>2</sup> he was on the point of not coming, and from the Kingdom of Nepal he informed Rome asking guidagendum (what was to be done); <sup>3</sup> and he came with the intent that, if he found me at all punctilious or with any pretensions to priority, he would at once go back with his Companions. Therefore, on behalf of the Company, I show every mark of respect to the Missionaries of the Holy Faith,<sup>4</sup> just as I wish them to do everywhere towards the Company. The said Fathers wishing to celebrate Holy Mass on the feast of St. Francis,<sup>5</sup> were so good as (P. 373) to show me their letterspatent, with much humility.6 Granting the said Decree, the doubt may arise which can lay claim to having been first in this Mission, the Capuchin Fathers, or the Company, and whether, on the strength of the Said Decree and with no other reasons to the contrary, they are liable to incur the said Ecclesiastical penalties, or I. On the side of the Capuchin Fathers this may militate in their favour that, although they quite abandoned this Tibet in 1712,7 yet several of them were here for some

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It was a decree of Jan. 15, 1656. Cf. our section 12.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  Fr. Freyre must have met the Capuchins in Nepal, on his way back to Agre.

 $<sup>\</sup>tilde{3}$  This letter is therefore anterior to Aug. 4, 1716, when Domenico of Fano set out from Nepal for Tibet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Sent by the Congregation de Propaganda Fide.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Oct. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> As if asking Desideri's permission. Their reason was that they were in Desideri's house.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In Letter 15, Desideri gives 1711 as the date of the Capuchins' departure from Lhasa. Different writers oscillate between 1711 and 1712, and we have not so far any authoritative proof to decide which date is correct.

vears. On the side of the Company what favours us is that, on the 7th of September 1715, when we entered this Tibet, and on the 18th of March 1716, when we arrived at this Capital, there was not in the whole of this Tibet a single Missionary of Propaganda, and that, on the 1st of October 1716, when the aforesaid Missionaries, that is the said three Capuchin Fathers, arrived here, the Company had already been in actu and alone in this Mission for a year and 24 days.<sup>1</sup> On that account, though I have heard there is such a decree, I have been loth to abandon this Mission of my own accord, but have written repeatedly to the Father Provincial of Goa, since I depend on his Instructions, and chiefly on those of Your Most Reverend Paternity, and I am not my own master. Moreover, not only have I been unwilling to abandon this Mission of my own accord, but I have thought that, in conscience, I neither must nor may abandon it on any account, considering that, by such special favour of God, I am actually so well fixed, so well employed, and have so far progressed with the affairs of the Holy Faith and my writings concerning it. I do not speak for my own sake: for I am aes sonans et cimbalum tinniens (sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal); <sup>2</sup> I am *Miser et miserabilis* (wretched and miserable); <sup>3</sup> I am but a fire-band saved by the Divine Mercy from the fire of hell; but I speak ut honorificetur in omnibus et ab omnibus Deus (that in all things and by all God may be honoured),4 who is mirabilis in consiliis suis qui infirma mundi eligit (wonderful in his counsels, who chooseth the weak things of the world)<sup>5</sup> in order to make the infinite power of his Divine greatness shine out the brighter. The different Capuchin Fathers who were here during several years did not succeed in making it known that they had come for the purpose of preaching and of teaching the Holy Faith, as I know for sure and am ready to swear, if necessary, and as they themselves (at least those here in Tibet) confess.<sup>6</sup> I do not say this to cast a slur on the zeal of the Capuchin Fathers, because it was the fault of those who tried to frighten and impede them, as I also discovered at once.7 But, glory to Jesus, Deus est et quis resistet ei (God is, and who will resist Him ?).8 Considering all the above things, and not knowing what to do, I have thought that, to enlighten the Congregation of Propaganda and to justify and forearm myself and the Company, it would be good to write the enclosed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He calculates from Sept. 7, 1715.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. 13. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Apoc. 3. 17.

<sup>4 1</sup> Pet. 4. 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> 1 Cor. 1. 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> How could Fr. Desideri have proved this?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Does he mean that the Lhasa officials tried to frighten him away soon after his arrival ?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cp. Job 9. 4.

(P. 374) letter to the Sovereign Pontiff,<sup>1</sup> who, I hope, will be pleased with it; hence, I beg your Paternity to present it or have it presented to him, excusing me for the quality of the paper, since the Mission and the great distance where I am allows only this and no more.<sup>2</sup>

As for news. In the middle of October, after I had satisfied the dictates of Hospitality towards the Fathers, I took up again and continued the translation of the first of the aforesaid two booklets and finished it in the beginning of November. The whole of November I retouched it, and copied it neatly. The whole of December I had it revised and copied nicely, and for all the rest, running into the necessary expense, I put it in order. On the 6th of January,<sup>3</sup> after saying and applying Holy Mass to that intention. I went to the royal Palace with the three Capuchin Fathers,<sup>4</sup> where, after other necessary expenses, we were introduced with very great solemnity to an Audience from the King in the great and magnificent royal hall. There assisted at it a very large assembly of persons from the Lamma's Court (that is their Priests and Religious, who are at the same time Doctors), and of other people. The King made us sit down opposite him, after he had first received (according to the custom of Asia) the offering of my present and at the same time taken into his hand my book, which I presented; after that, he made us drink the Cià.<sup>5</sup> Then, untying and opening the book <sup>6</sup> with his own hands, he did the honour of asking me, although he already knew that I had myself written and translated it, who had composed and translated it. I answered I had done it myself, without help from anyone. He next asked me who had put it in verse. I replied that it was my own work. After that he asked how much longer I wished to remain in the Kingdom. I answered, till my death; which caused much emotion in the whole gathering. Then he asked who was my Deutà,<sup>7</sup> that is, my God. I answered that I acknowledge and adore only the true God, the Creator of all things. 'How many Gods are there?' he asked. 'Only one God,' I answered, 'one in essence and Three in Persons.' 'How are the three divine

<sup>1</sup> Desideri says in Letter 15 (Kuti, Sept. 21, 1721 that he knows for certain that his letter of Febr. 1717 to the Pope, and the present letter to the General reached their destination in 1718.

<sup>2</sup> The oblong pages on which Desideri wrote some of his MSS. (cf. Wessels, pp. 274-275) must have been Tibet paper.

<sup>3</sup> 6th January 1717.

<sup>4</sup> Between January 6, 1717, and June 1717 one of the three Capuchin Fathers, apparently Fr. John Francis of Fossombrone, went to settle at Takpo, where he could obtain wine for the needs of his companions at Lhasa.

<sup>5</sup> Tea.

<sup>6</sup> The untying shows that the book was covered with wooden boards, as the style of binding is in Tibet.

7 Devatā: god.

Persons called ?' he asked; and, after hearing my answer, taking occasion of the name of the Holy Ghost, he started at once of his own accord (for you must know that he is a man of much intelligence and great ability) to make several objections against the absolute immateriality and incorporeity of God, and he listened to my answers to the said arguments, and how God. being of his nature quite incorporeal, took a human body and became true Man for man's sake, for our salvation. After that, he himself read the whole dedication of the Book; it contained a eulogium, also in verse, of the king himself; and, after that he proceeded and read a good portion of the first Chapter. (P. 375) Then, handing the Book to one of his Lamma's and making him read from it, he started making different arguments in defence of the devilish error of transmigration, having asked me before how often I had been born and reborn. He also heard my answers to each of his arguments; after which, he continued to have the Book read; and, while I remained paying attention, noon came, when a signal was given and the Audience was dismissed, the King having heard and spoken to no one else.

A few days later, he called for me several times to question me on the important point whether, the one road of salvation excepted, all the rest led to eternal damnation, and he inquired a great deal whether this was indeed to be understood of all. Some days after, the above-said Tartar Minister sent me word that the King keeps my Book near him, continues to read it, and discusses what he reads. I have placed the matter in God's hands. *Ejus voluntas fiat* (His will be done).<sup>1</sup> At present, things have remained in suspense on account of the festivities of their new year,<sup>2</sup> and shortly he will go personally to war against another King.<sup>3</sup> *Fiat voluntas Dej* (God's will be done).

For the last month, owing to my past labours, I have been somewhat troubled in health, and my Master is in prison for heavy debts.<sup>4</sup> In the beginning of March, or sooner, I shall resume the study of the language and of Tibetan Books, and, this year, I hope with God's help to arrange a Doctrine,<sup>5</sup> a Grammar, and a Dictionary,<sup>6</sup> and to translate in this language the second of my two booklets, that is, the refutation of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Adapted from: *Fiat volunbtas tua* (Thy will be done), in the Our Father. (Matt. 6. 10.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Monlam. Cf. Puini, 290, 306.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> No doubt, the war against the King of Kokonor, which brought the Giongars to Lhasa in 1717, and brought about Ginghes-Khang's assassination.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> His teacher of Tibetan, evidently. He would have been a Lama. <sup>5</sup> Catechism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Capuchins at Lhasa in 1707-11 appear to have made already a beginning of a grammar and a dictionary. Fr. Orazio della Penna may have helped himself with Fr. Desideri's work for his dictionary of about 35,000 words, which still exists in the Bishop's College Library, Calcutta.

the devilish error of the transmigration of Souls.<sup>1</sup> May the loving Jesus give me strength for it. I add to what I have said that the Capuchin Fathers brought a fine present and a letter of His Holiness for this King.<sup>2</sup> The present was almost entirely lost with many other good things, and with some sum of money the letter arrived,<sup>3</sup> and I translated it faithfully into this language, and on the 4th of December,<sup>4</sup> Fathers and I, with some expense, we presented it with great solemnity to the King who . . . . . . was highly pleased with such great honour,<sup>5</sup> and he is making efforts to recover the present and the stolen goods. This is the news I can give from the end of July to the present date.

From the middle of April until now, that is these last 10 months, I have written 11 letters to the Father Rector of Agra<sup>6</sup> and to the Father Provincial of Goa, and I have not had a single answer till now. I left Portugal 4 years ago,7 and during all that time I have not had any letter from Europe. Three years and three months ago, I started from Goa.<sup>8</sup> and all that time not a single letter has reached me from the Superiors of Goa; 9 (P. 376) which cannot but give me anxiety. as I am new and entirely unprovided for in these parts, and to promote the service of God I have been obliged to run into much expense; the money is almost at an end, and not a letter comes for me. I do not know how things will go. If, in this point, things continue the same way, as it is impossible to live on alms here,<sup>10</sup> I shall be forced by and by to make my way towards the College of Agra and towards Goa. I am cutting down my expenses as much as I can, and shall continue to do so, lest the

<sup>1</sup> Four of Fr. Desideri's Tibetan MSS. are still in the possession of the Society of Jesus, but their contents have not been examined yet by a Tibetan scholar. (Cf. Wessels, 274-275.)

<sup>2</sup> The letter, dated January 6, 1714, is among my collection of materials for the history of the Capuchins in Tibet.

<sup>3</sup> sic, for the punctuation in Puini.

<sup>4</sup> Dec. 4, 1716.

<sup>6</sup> The Rector of Agra in the Catalogue of December 1716, is Fr. Melchior dos Reys, who, we know, was appointed in 1713, and reached Agra at the end of May 1714. The next catalogue of December 1718 shows that Fr. Alvarus de Albaquerque became Rector in March 1718. Fr. Melchior dos Reys appears, therefore, to have been Rector at Agra between the middle of April 1717 and Febr. 15, 1718.

<sup>7</sup> On April 7, 1713.

<sup>8</sup> On Nov. 17 or 21, 1713.

<sup>9</sup> He had received at least two letters from the Provincial of Goa before he left Delhi for Tibet in 1714. Since then, it is less surprising that he had received no letters. Fr. Freyre was probably not back at Agra till the second half of 1716. By way of Patna and Nepal, where were the Capuchins, letters might have reached Desideri already, at least from Agra.

<sup>10</sup> Like the Capuchins, Desideri always refused the money which his Tibetan friends urged him to accept.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Che al maggior segno gradì un si grand' onore.

blame be mine; when we shall have nothing left to stint, he will render an account to God for thus abandoning the Mission who is responsible for it. I refuse to believe that the thing will happen; but, if ever it happens, from now I place my justification in Your Paternity's hands.

Let Your Paternity pray much and make the whole Company pray much for wretched me, for the good success of this Mission and the salvation of these poor souls. If all of you were here, you would all of you weep all the time at the sight of the Devil's hard and palpable tyranny. One cannot relate all that in writing; we should require for it a volume and more. I cast myself at your feet and humbly ask your Blessing.

Lhassa, the 15th of February 1717.

Your Most Reverend Paternity's Very unworthy servant in Christ and subordinate, Ippolito Desideri.

Every year ships leave the Port of S. Ualo in France for Bengala and these Indies. It is the fastest route for answers.

10. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Felice of Montecchio Capuchin, Patna (Takpo, March 12, 1718).<sup>1</sup>

(P. 376) Very Reverend and dear Father,

I am informed from Goa<sup>2</sup> that, in November 1717, Missionaries of the Company must have been sent from there to this Tibet,<sup>3</sup> and it seems to me that there is not time enough for me to write to them at Agra. Accordingly, I make bold to avail myself of Your Very Reverend Paternity's well-known and very special kindness, and to ask you humbly (P. 377) kindly to remit to them the letter herewith, on their arrival at Patna. I have no knowledge whatever of such Missionaries; <sup>4</sup> hence, I cannot guess whether, on their arrival at Patna, they are likely to fulfil the duties they have contracted towards the kindness of Your Most Reverend Paternities,<sup>5</sup> and whether

<sup>4</sup> The meaning may be that he did not know them personally, or did not know them yet by name.

<sup>5</sup> Delle PP. loro M.M. RR.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Puini, pp. 376-377. Letter taken from the *Sommario* of the case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in Tibet. Fr. Felice of Montecchio was then the Prefect of the Capuchin Mission of Tibet. The letter above shows that he resided at Patna, in Bihar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It may have been by this letter that Desideri was appointed Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Tibet. Cf. his letter 14 (Lhasa, Dec. 21, 1719).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> One of the first letters written by Desideri from Lhasa, after his arrival there on March 18, 1716, would naturally have been to ask for companions, chiefly as Fr. Freyre was not willing to stay. Some were probably sent in November 1717. We do not know their names.

they are aware of the debts which, as Missionaries destined to this Tibet, they happen to have incurred by anticipation, considering the exquisite attentions which I have hitherto received and continually receive from the most courteous and most religious Charity of the Very Reverend Capuchin Missionary Fathers, in particular of Your Very Reverend Paternity, who with your innate kindness know how to compassionate so many importunities of mine and of our Fathers of Indostan.<sup>1</sup> Whatever happens, I beg from now of Your Very Reverend Paternity to be so good as to overlook their little knowledge and complete inexperience, and to double the merit of your most religious Charity by giving them a share in the favour of your most prudent directions, especially as regards the journey. If, on their arrival or before their departure for Nepal, the order should have come from Rome that the Company is to desist from labouring in this Mission of Tibet,<sup>2</sup> then, in case such an order emanates who can give orders to the Company, that is from the Sovereign Pontiff, before whose commands I humbly bow my head, I humbly beg of Your Very Reverend Paternity's prudence to see to it that the said Missionaries should not uselessly push further, but should return at once to Agra or await my return at Patna. I hope Your Very Reverend Paternity will excuse my great boldness and will honour me with your most esteemed orders. Recommending myself to Your Holy Sacrifices, I sign myself, as I am,

Takpò, from the Hospice of the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers, the 12th of March 1718.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This indicates that by now Desideri and the Fathers of Agra had often had recourse to the services of Fr. Felice of Montecchio at Patna. Letters from and to Desideri would naturally be addressed to him for transmission.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In answer to the Prefect Fr. Dominico of Fano's letter sent to Propaganda from Nepal before leaving for Tibet on August 4, 1716.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Takpo or Takpo-Khier is the Province where Desideri then was. The Capuchin hospice was at Trong-gnee. (Wessels, pp. 225, 251, 268, 269.) Fr. Wessels marks Takpo on his map, but not Trong-gnee. The place is mentioned in Puini, p. 14, (where it is spelt Trong-gneî). It was 8 days from Lhasa. Desideri may have gone there to explore the country, and to escape from the political troubles which the victory of the Giongars in December 1717 had led to. Puini writes that he went there for greater safety. He adds (p. 65): 'At Takpo-Kier, he continued the study of other Buddhist books, and almost completed another work of his in refutation of the errors of the Tibetan religion. The work was divided into three parts: in the first, he refuted the doctrine of transmigration; in the second, "the chief error of the Tongpagni" (sTong.pa.nyi); in the third, he explained how to understand the Christian doctrine; this last was in the form of a dialogue. This work "was very well received by the Lamas and the doctors, who read and examined it, and who came in numbers to read it again and study it together."' At p. XLIII, Puini returns to the description of this MS.: 'In the first (part) he refuted the doctrine of transmigration; in the second, he refuted the Buddhist doctrine which regards the world as non-existent, and teaches liberation from all illusion; in the third, he expounded the principles of Christianity.'

Your Most Reverend Paternity's

Very humble, very devoted, and very obliged servant,

Ippolito Desideri,

of the Company of Jesus.

Fr. Wessels writes: 'His plan was to write in the Tibetan language a refutation of the errors of their doctrine and a defence of the Catholic religion. But he had hardly set to work when it was interrupted by a violent catastrophe. The Tartars invaded the country. Lhasa was taken and sacked, and on December 3 the king and his ministers were Not thinking himself safe at Sera, Desideri retired to the murdered. Province of Takpo-Khier at eight days' journey from the Capital, where he found time and opportunity to finish his book. His retirement lasted till April 1721 with the exception of a few months (p. 225) at Lhasa. In one of his visits to the Capital he gave his book to read to his former teacher of Tibetan, one of the cleverest among the Lamas. It consisted he tells us of three volumes. The first argued against the migration of souls as taught by Buddhism, the second attacked the main error into which the Tongba-gni falls, the denial of an Absolute Being (Ens a se), Creator of the world, Itself uncreated. The third volume was constructive and in the form of a dialogue gave an exposition of the Christian doctrine.

'The work caused a great stir and "my house suddenly became the scene of incessant comings and goings by all sorts of people, but chiefly learned men and professors, who came from the monasteries and universities, especially from those of Sera and Bree-bung, the principal ones, to apply for permission to see and read the book"' (pp. 224-225). 'Desideri notes (MS. A. Book I, ch. XV, p. 91) that he took the

'Desideri notes (MS. A. Book I, ch. XV, p. 91) that he took the book away with him when he left Tibet. I surmise it is the third of the Tibetan MSS. mentioned by Wessels on page 275, but this must be left for Tibetan scholars to settle. It consists of 704 pp. and bears the initial date of June 23, 1718. The second of the above-mentioned MSS. dated Dec. 8, 1717, must have been begun immediately on his arrival at Takpo-Khier. See p. 275.' (*Ibid.*, p. 225, n. 1.)

We know that the first section on the transmigration of souls was written in Italian in June-August 1716, and was campleted by Sept. 8, 1716, when Desideri began putting into Tibetan verse another Italian treatise of his on the one way of salvation. (Puini, 372.) We know also that he intended in March 1717 or even earlier to begin a Catechism and the translation of his Italian treatise on the transmigration of souls. (Puini, 375.)

A Tibetan MS. of his (Wessels, 274, MS. 1) has the date July 1, 1717, on the first page, and consists of 54 pp. This MS. already may be the translation of his treatise on transmigration, or his Catechism.

Another Tibetan MS. of his (Wessels, 275, MS. 2) is dated on the first page December 8, 1717, and on the last are the words in Latin: The feast of the Blessed Aloysius Gonzaga saw the end of this treatise. 1718. The last date is, therefore, June 21, 1718. The initial date of this MS. could hardly have been written at Takpo, as Desideri was at Lhasa, in the Sera monastery on Dec. 1, 1717, and apparently several days after, and as the journey from Lhasa to Takpo took 8 days, and often as much as a fortnight, according to the calculations of the Capuchins. I think therefore that the second MS. was begun at Lhasa and was completed at Takpo, where Desideri was by March 12, 1718.

A third Tibetan MS. by Desideri (Wessels, 275, MS. 3) bears the initial date June 24, 1718. This MS. was clearly begun at Takpo, where Desideri was on August, 4, 1718. It is the largest MS., one of 704 oblong pages,

About September, if God gives me life, I hope to return to  $Lhasa.^1$ 

Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Capuchin, Patna (Trong-gnê, Aug. 4, 1718).<sup>2</sup>

(P. 378) Very Reverend and very honoured Father,

On receiving, in the month of July last, the inestimable honour of your Very Reverend Paternity's most excellent and to me most pleasing letter, dated the 23rd of December 1717,<sup>3</sup> I had for the first time the much longed-for consolation of receiving the esteemed orders which you were pleased to impart to me.<sup>4</sup> Although I had for a long time wished with all my heart and was eagerly wishing for the good fortune of complying with your Very Reverend Paternity's orders, yet this time I rejoice extremely that I have not had even a remote chance of performing them.<sup>5</sup> Your Very Reverend Paternity was pleased to request me warmly that I should not fail to recommend earnestly your Very Reverend Religious to the Fathers of Our Company in Pekin; for you add that you have heard that the said Very Reverend Fathers will be conducted to Pekin against their wish.<sup>6</sup> Not only, therefore, have I not executed the

33,  $5 \times 18$ , 5 cm., and having 35 lines to the page. The first page photographically reproduced in Wessels' book shows that it is in Tibetan verse, from the regularity of the divisions within the lines. We naturally think that this is the work in three sections or volumes which the Lamas of Lhasa came in such numbers to examine during a visit of Desideri to Lhasa, the more so as Fr. Desideri says he brought the MS. back to Europe. Desideri was for some time at Lhasa in 1719, after which he returned to Takpo.

A fourth MS. by Desideri in Tibetan (Wessels, 275, No. 4) consists of 128 narrow strips  $(33,5 \times 13,5 \text{ cm.})$  with 7 lines to the page. It is undated and appears to be also in verse, from the regularity of the divisions within the lines. Might this be a copy of the treatise on the one way of salvation presented to King Cinghes-Khang on January 6, 1717? If it is, the first page, also photographically reproduced by Fr. Wessels, is likely to contain the poetical dedication to the King, of which he speaks in Puini (p. 274).

Desideri's doings at Takpo hardly appear in his writings, as made known to us by Puini and Wessels. The Capuchin at Takpo on March 12, 1718, was probably Fr. John Francis of Fossombrone, who in June 1717 appears to have been at Takpo (Letter 11).

<sup>1</sup> We do not know whether he returned to Lhasa about September 1718. All we can say is that cur letter of Aug. 4, 1718, is still from Takpo; our next one from his pen is from Lhasa, and is dated Dec. 21, 1719.

 $^2$  Cf. Puini, pp. 378-382. Letter from the Sommario of the case between the Jesuits and Capuchins for priority in Tibet.

<sup>3</sup> This letter had travelled very slowly, though it was the best season of the year for travelling.

<sup>4</sup> This may have been Fr. Felice's first letter to Desideri, or his first request for a service.

<sup>5</sup> The trouble to which Fr. Felice referred has passed away.

<sup>6</sup> A strange request, which can have been prompted only by the Capuchin Fathers at Lhasa. The trouble arose in the beginning of June 1717, and appears to have been over within three days. The first day the

orders sent me, but I make bold humbly and most urgently to beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity kindly to write to some correspondent of yours in Pekin and recommend to him my own self, since I have been importuned much more strongly by the Chinese than the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers about being conducted against my wish to that Metropolis.<sup>1</sup> The more surely to obtain the favour of such a recommendation,<sup>2</sup> Your Very Reverend Paternity will pardon me if, in all sincerity, without even the slightest alteration in the affair, and without any the least admixture of passion, I subjoin here a most faithful account of the affair, and if, in order to declare the truth just as it is, coram Deo (before God) I am somewhat too minute and prolix in my account.

In the beginning of May 1717, there arrived at Lhassa three Ambassadors of high rank, a Vakil<sup>3</sup> and other officials sent by the Emperor of China to the late King of this Tibet. King

Chinese ambassadors insisted on Fr. Desideri's going to Pekin and taking service at the Emperor's court; the next day, the Capuchins and Desideri were importuned the same way; the next day the matter was referred to Cinghes Khang, who asked the ambassadors to leave the Fathers in peace, since they refused to go. Why should the Capuchins, after that, have troubled Fr. Felice for obtaining from Desideri a letter of introduction to the Jesuits of Pekin, unless they thought that Desideri alone would not be conducted to Pekin? If they thought he too would be taken to Pekin, there was no need of a letter of introduction; he would himself be the best recommendation in their favour; if they thought he would be left at Lhasa, while they were taken to Pekin, did they doubt he would not recommend them to the Jesuits of Pekin ? Would he do at Fr. Felice's request what he would not grant to the Prefect, Fr. Domenico, at Lhasa? Desideri answers what he considers wrong information given by the Capuchins of Lhasa, and his suspicions appear to fall, not on the Prefect, but on Fr. Orazio della Penna, who in June 1717 was the only other Capuchin at Lhasa. In fact, one of the two spoke his mind clearly. In what sense? We are not told. Was the suspicion on Fr. Orazio's part that Desideri or the Jesuits of Pekin, or both, had tried to get the Capuchins away from Tibet, so as to remain sole masters of the field ? We have no knowledge of letters of Desideri's to China before June 1717. Desideri refutes the suspicions, whichever they were, by saying he was importuned more than the Capuchins. At the time of writing, and since December 1717, when the Giongars took Lhasa, there could have been no question any more for the Chinese ambassadors to take to Pekin, against their wish, the Capuchins and Desideri. Did not the Chinese ambassadors, who had helped in fortifying Lhasa against the Giongars, lose their life in the attack on Lhasa? Fr. Felice's letter of Dec. 23, 1717, followed a letter from the Capuchins at Lhasa, who must have written shortly after the affair. Fr. Desideri takes it as a thrust at himself, rather than as a serious request. Fr. Felice could afford to be malicious, since Desideri depended on his services at Patna to forward letters to and from him.

<sup>1</sup> In spite of the *umilmente*, *e* con ogni efficacia, 1 consider Desideri's request for a like service at Pekin only a disguised way of paying off good Fr. Felice.

<sup>2</sup> Desideri continues his malicious tone.

<sup>3</sup> An attorney. One is surprised to hear this word from Lhasa, but perhaps it was the best equivalent for one at Patna.

Cingheskan, his very intimate correspondent and a relative of his own Family. Owing to the bad water on the journey, some Chinese servants of the Ambassadors, troubled by humours and beginnings of dropsy, had recourse to the Very Reverend Father Prefect of the Capuchin Fathers, (P. 379) Father Domenico of Fano, who with indefatigable and indiscriminate Charity exercises in Lhassa the medical profession. By the grace of God the treatment was successful and procured relief to the sick Chinese. By this means, from the end of May, the Chinese servants knew the European Fathers, but the Ambassadors and chief officials had not yet had the opportunity of a close acquaintance. At that time, the Reverend Father Francesco Orazio della Penna, the Vicar of the Hospice of the Capuchin Fathers at Lhassa, and I were in a Convent of these gentile Tibetan Monks, studying this language and their books.<sup>1</sup> One day, in the beginning of June 1717, the said Reverend Father Vicar and I, tired of our continual study, went out of the Convent one evening for a short stroll. Coming back, we met not far from the said Convent a Chinese Ambassador, acquainted with the language of this Tibet, and a retinue of his people. The Ambassador stared at us, scanned us from head to foot, and asked us whether we were Europeans, of those who are at Pekin. The answer was in the affirmative. The Ambassador asked us again what we were doing at Lhassa and where we lived. Finally, when we had arrived at the Convent and wished to take leave of them, I begged the Ambassador for the favour of taking to Pekin two letters of mine. He told me to write them and bring them to his house, and he would favour me with delivering them at their address. I wrote the two letters, one for the Father Provincial of the Province of China,<sup>2</sup> the other to Father Ludovico Gonzaga.<sup>3</sup> Two days later, when I had gone to remit the first via (copy) to the first Ambassador, the second Ambassador, who lived in the same house, stopped me and wanted the letters himself, assuring me that he would forward them. I was called to audience by the first Ambassador, who, after much courtesy, asked me how many Europeans we were at Lhassa. I answered: three. He inquired my name. I said my name was Ippolito Desideri, Jesuit. He wrote the name; after which, he said: And how are the others called ? I answered that the first was called Father Domenico, Capuchin; and the second, Father Francesco Orazio, Capuchin. He wrote these two names as well. The Vakil then intervened and asked me whether we would go to China. I said clearly no, to which he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> According to Puini (p. 64), Desideri lived at the Ramo-cche convent from March 25, 1717, till the end of July.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Name unknown to me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The only Ludovico Gonzaga in A. Franco's list is 'P(ater) Ludovicus Gonzaga,' an Italian, who came out, a priest, *via* Lisbon in 1706.

replied that he would request us (to go). I replied that, instead of that, I would ask (him) to recommend us to this King, to whose Kingdom we had been sent and where we were living. The supreme Chief, or Ambassador, promised to do so, and asked me to write afresh the two letters for Pekin and bring them to him, as he too wished (P. 380) to forward them. Back at the Convent, I wrote the second via (copy) of both letters.

The next morning, very early, the very Reverend Father Prefect sent to the Convent a note asking us whether we were willing to accompany him on a visit to the two Chief Ambassadors and the Vakil. We accepted, and went all three. On arrival. we were at once conducted to see the Vakil, and the other Officials, and the Chinese servants, who were ill, some more, some less. The Very Reverend Father Prefect felt their pulse, questioned each about his indisposition, and promised to each of them for the next day the medicine. After that, we were admitted to audience by the first Ambassador. After sundry compliments, he asked for our names. First he wrote Father Ippolito Desideri, Jesuit; next, Father Domenico, Capuchin; next, Father Francesco Orazio, Capuchin; each one of us personally helping him to his own name. Then, beginning in the same order, he asked what science or art we know. I answered that I knew no art and no science. 'And what are you doing in Lhassa ?' he asked. I answered that I was studying the language and examining the books of the Tibetans. Within the space for my name he wrote according to my answer. The Very Reverend Father Prefect answered he was a Doctor, which was written in the space for his name. The Reverend Father Vicar answered like myself, and his answer was recorded alongside of his name. After that, the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers added that another Companion of theirs was at Takpò, and that two others were on their way to Lhassa. The first Ambassador again wrote their names: Father Gio. Francesco.<sup>1</sup> Capuchin, Doctor; Father Angelico,<sup>2</sup> Capuchin, Doctor; and Father Buonaventura,<sup>3</sup> Capuchin, applied to the study of the language and of the books. He handed the writing to the Vakil and sent us to the second Ambassador. This one likewise asked us the same questions, wrote in the same strain,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> It would have been natural if the Capuchins had first named their companion at Takpo. Accordingly, I think that Fr. John Francis of Fossombrone was then at Takpo. He had arrived in Bengal with Fr. Orazio della Penna on Sept. 1, 1713.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Fr. Angelico of Brescia came to Bengal at the end of August 1715, together with Fr. Domenico of Fano, then back from Rome.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Fr. Buonaventura of Pedona arrived at Chandernagore with Fr. Angelico of Brescia, at the end of Aug. 1715. Had he been previously in Tibet, we should have heard of him as learning the Tibetan language with Desideri and Fr. Orazio, which is not the case. He may, therefore, safely be regarded as on his way from Nepal to Lhasa in June 1717.

called for a number of sick servants, dressed, went out with us and the Vakil, and with the latter and the writing repaired to the King's palace. The Father Prefect went home, and the Father Vicar and I returned to the Convent. We laughed, the three of us: for we imagined the Ambassadors were joking.

The next morning, the Vakil, a Tartar favourite of the King, and a Tibetan went to the house, and, on finding the very Reverend Father Prefect, they persisted asking whether he was willing to go to the Court of Pekin, and they made him grand promises, and the Tartar added that the King wished to know the intentions of each Father, and that, if they wished to go, he would give them horses, beasts of burden, clothes, food, and money, and servants up to Pekin, and that there they would be well treated. (P. 381) The Father Prefect answered emphatically 'And where are the two others?' they asked. 'They no. are at the Convent,' he responded, 'And, as for Father Francesco Orazio, Capuchin, he depends on me, and refuses.' They added: 'And Father Ippolito, Jesuit?' 'Question him,' he replied, 'and you will know.' The Very Reverend Father Prefect came immediately to the Convent, and, on entering the place where the two of us were, studying: 'Do you know,' said he, 'that the Chinese are not joking ? For me and Father Vicar the matter is already settled; now they insist on getting at least the Jesuit, and they will be here presently for that." Arrived the Vakil, the Tartar and the Tibetan; they fought me stubbornly to extort my consent; they insisted and held out great promises, and I defended myself with different reasons; at the end I asked what need they had to take me there. The Vakil answered clearly, so as to be heard by all who had ears, what he said the previous morning, when the Very Reverend Father Prefect felt his pulse: 'He had been running up and down for ten years, on behalf of Amullakhang (as they call the Emperor of China), to Moscovy, to Kasckar, to Tartary, to Tibet and other parts, and from the first day he had been ordered by Amullakhang to bring to Pekin, at whatever expense, the Europeans, professing sciences or arts, whom he might meet anywhere.' Finally, the Tartar decided to take us all three to the King's Palace, that the King himself might decide, on hearing our intentions. The King made us most courteous and royal offers for the journey, and reassured us, to know our will; and, hearing that we all persisted in our refusal, he decided thus: 'It was not just', he said, 'to force us against our will, and we could remain quietly in his Kingdom,' which decision extinguished the heated efforts of the Chinese.

I have now given very minutely an account of whatever happened, and I declare myself quite ready to confirm on oath all this, as I have here related, before Your Very Reverend Paternity, before anyone who might have been informed other-

wise than I have written, before Your Very Reverend Father Procurator General, before His Eminence the Lord Cardinal Sagripanti, and before His Holiness. I now beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity to excuse me if, in all candour, I expose to you confidentially a suspicion of mine. On reading Your Very Reverend Paternity's above-recited orders, I have suspected that, not from any bad intention, no, but because you had not been fully informed by the other side, you wished rather, under otherwise polite expressions, to give me the unmerited mortification of politely and covertly pricking me than (P. 382) of honouring me with Your most welcome and most revered orders. Such a suspicion is not without foundation, because each one of the members of your Mission, the Superior excepted, has too warmly and too openly come out with it. But time, which clears up all things, will, I hope, make known authoritatively and justly, whenever necessary, truth and innocence. Pardon my too great candour and excuse the trouble which I rightly take to defend, if not my own reputation, at least that of my Religion, which, from my experience of 18 years, always and everywhere makes it her rule to profess respect, dependence and veneration for the most Illustrious and most Venerated Religion of the Capuchin Fathers, which it specially singles out among all the other Religions.

In conclusion, if this time I have not had occasion to obey you, I hope at least that Your Very Reverend Paternity's inborn kindness will not fail to employ me with other commands in your most esteemed service. Humbly begging you once more (as I have done in other letters) that, in case Fathers of the Company, sent to this Mission, should pass, you would deign to help them and favour them with your most loving protection and timely directions, and recommending myself too to your devout and holy Prayers, I humbly kiss your sacred hands, and with every respect, call myself

Trong-gnê, from the Hospice of the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers, the 4th of August 1718.<sup>1</sup>

> Your Very Reverend Paternity's Very devoted, very humble and much obliged Servant,

> > Ippolito Desideri,

of the Company of Jesus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidently, no letters had yet reached telling Desideri that the Mission was to be left to the Capuchins; it is strange, however, that Desideri asks Fr. Felice to help the Jesuits, if any come to Tibet, to come through, instead of repeating the warning of March 12, 1718, of sending them back, in case the Tibet Mission is assigned exclusively to the Capuchins.

12. Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda to the General of the Society of Jesus for recalling his subjects from Tibet (12, 12, 1718).

Decretum Sacrae Congregationis. Generalis de Propaganda fide die 12 decembris 1718.

Referente Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo Domino. Cardinali Francisco Barberino. Sacra Congregatio, inhaerendo ac confirmando Decreta alias edita sub diebus 15 januarii 1656, 28. Aprilis 1698, prima Martii et 20 Septembris superioris anni 1717, statuit, et mandavit serio, atque districte injungit, ac praecipit Patri Praeposito Generali Societatis Jesus, ut juxta ejusmodi Decreta omnino. dimittat Missiones in Regnis Tibeti, utpote P.P. Capucinis Italis diu jam assignats; atque inde, quacumque dilatione. tergiversatione, ac mora sublata revocet, ac removeat suos Religiosos, qui ad eas excolendas inconsulta Missiones Sacra Congregatione, imo, et contra. ejjus Decreta se contulerunt.

Decree of the General Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, the 12th of December 1718.

On the report of the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord, Cardinal Francis Barberini, the Sacred Congregation, adhering to and confirming the Decrees already published on the 15th of January the 29th of April  $1656.^{1}$ 1698,<sup>2</sup> the 1st of March and the 20th of September of last year 1717,<sup>3</sup> decided, and earnestly ordered, and strictly enjoins and ordains that, in keeping with these Decrees. the Father Provost General of the Society of Jesus give up altogether the Missions in the Kingdoms of Tibet, these having been assigned already long before to the Italian Capuchin Fathers; and that without any deferring, tergiversation and delay he recall thence and remove his Religious, who without consulting the Sacred Congregation, nay, even against

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the decree referred to by Desideri in letter 9 as having been spoken of by Fr. Domenico of Fano to himself at Lhasa, shortly after the arrival of the Capuchins on Oct. 1, 1716. It was not shown to Desideri. All Desideri remembered on February 15, 1717, was that it was more than 60 years old, and forbade 'even to the Fathers of the Society' to go to Missions where Missionaries of another Religious Order, sent by the Propaganda, were already established.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The date should be 1698, as appears from our next document. This decree could have nothing to do with Tibet in particular; it may have reiterated the decree of January 15, 1656.

reiterated the decree of January 15, 1656. <sup>3</sup> These two decrees may have answered Fr. Domenico of Fano's letter written to Propaganda from Nepal, before proceeding to Lhasa on Aug. 4, 1716. It is, however, difficult to understand that a letter from Nepal written, say in May or June 1716, by which time Fr. Freyre may have appeared in Nepal, could have reached Rome by March 1, 1717. By Dec. 21, 1719, the Capuchins may have had knowledge of the two decrees of 1717. Cf. Letter 14.

its Decrees,<sup>1</sup> went to cultivate those Missions.

Datum Romae die et anno, quibus supra. Given at Rome, on the day and year as above.<sup>2</sup>

13. Letter of the General of the Society of Jesus recalling Fr. Ippolito Desideri from Tibet (Rome, 16, 1, 1719).

Admodum Reverende Pater in Christo. Pax Christi.

Very Reverend Father in Christ.

Jam anno elapso P. Provinciali Goae scripsi, ut V. R. e Missionibus Tibeti revocaret, cum mihi ita a Sacra Congregatione de Propaganda fide fuerit ordinatum ex eo, quod Missiones utriusque. Regni Tibeti PP. Capucinis cum exclusione cujuscumque alterius Religio-

nis fuerint concreditae. Re-

The Peace of Christ.

Already last year, I wrote to the Father Provincial at Goa, telling him to recall Your Reverence from the Missions of Tibet, as I have been ordered to do so by the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith,<sup>3</sup> because the Missions of the two Kingdoms of Tibet <sup>4</sup> were entrusted to the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Launay (II. 378), referring to Bullarium Capucinorum, t. VII, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> Probably, not in answer to the decree of Propaganda of Dec. 12, 1718, but of March 1, 1717, and September 20, 1717.

<sup>4</sup> The two Tibets mentioned here must mean Ladakh (or Great Tibet) and what we now call Tibet *par excellence*, with capital at Lhasa. The General speaks of a letter received from Desideri. This must be his letter from Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717, in which however there is question only of 'this Thibet,' the Tibet of Lhasa. Another letter received by 1718 appears to have been that from Leh, Aug. 5, 1715, which probably was sent off from Lhasa through Fr. Freyre after March 18, 1716. In that letter three Tibets are mentioned: Little Tibet (Baltistan), Great Tibet (Ladakh), and the third Tibet of Lhasa and the Capuchins, also called Great Tibet; in that letter Desideri expresses doubts only for the two Tibets of Ladakh and Lhasa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The words: 'Nay, even against its Decrees' were a hard blow for the General and Desideri. Desideri regarded them as an unmerited rebuke, calling for justification. If the decrees of 1656 and 1698 were violated, it was not, it appears to us, until Freyre and Desideri, after passing through the first and second Tibets, crossed into the third on Sept. 7, 1715, knowing the Capuchins had been there and thinking they were yet or might yet be there. For crossing the border, there was the excuse of going to reopen the Tibet Mission of de Andrada, and for Freyre his seeking an easier route back to Mogor. Could the mere fact of travel-ling through the third Tibet up to Lhasa, chiefly in the absence of the Capuchins, be construed into a violation of the decree ? When Desideri and the Capuchins found themselves together at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716. and a few days later Desideri heard of the decree of 1656, he wisely interposed an appeal to the Sovereign Pontiff and the Propaganda in February 1717, having between April 1716 and Febr. 1717 written many letters to his Superiors. Had Propaganda itself, created in 1622, remembered sufficiently what the Jesuits had done in Tibet since 1624, when in 1703 and 1704 it assigned Tibet to the Capuchins?

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petii et inculcavi haec eadem mea. jusa hoc anno tum dicto P. Provinciali, tum R. V. in meis responsoriis ad suas, Lisbonam jam missis, quatenus inde per viam ordinariam naviu m Goae isthuc dirigerentur.

Quantumvis de prompta hujus meae dispositionis executione dubitari non possit, nihilominus ex novo Illustrissimi D. Secretarii Congregationis de Propaganda fide impulsu, renovo hisce meis, quae per aliam viam ad R. V. diriguntur, eumdem meum ordinem, cum plurimum me urgeat executio jussuum Sacrae Congregationis, praesertim ob Decreta 15 Januarii 1665, at 28 Aprilis 1698, emanata, quibus cavetur, ne ullus in locis, aliis Religionibus pro Missionibus assignatis, novam Missionabsque expressa Sacrae em Congregationis licentia fundet. Quando R.V. dedi licentiam se transferendi ad Regna Tibeti, assignatio haec Missionum Tibeti facta a Sacra Congregatione Capucinis nota mihi non erat: imo a me fuit. suppositum, quod, cum dicta Missio fuerit a nostris Patribus. funCapuchin Fathers, to the exclusion of any other Religious Order. This year, I have repeated and urged these my same orders to the said Fr. Provincial, and to Your Reverence in my answers to your letter (letters?)<sup>1</sup> which I sent to Lisbon,<sup>2</sup> to be taken thence by the ordinary route of the Goa ships.<sup>3</sup>

Though there can be no doubt regarding the prompt execution of this my disposition, yet, owing to a new urging on the part of the Most Illustrious Lord Secretary of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith,<sup>4</sup> I renew my same order by this letter, which is sent to Your Reverence by another route, as I am greatly bound to execute the orders of the Sacred Congregation, chiefly because of the Decrees passed on the 15th of January, 1665,<sup>5</sup> and the 28th April 1698,<sup>6</sup> by which it is forbidden to anyone to establish, without the express leave of the Sacred Congregation, a new Mission in places assigned as missions to other Religious Orders. When I allowed Your Reverence to go to the Kingdoms of Tibet, I did not know that the Missions of Tibet had been thus assigned

<sup>4</sup> The new urging should then have been later than Dec. 12, 1718.

<sup>6</sup> April 29, 1798 (Read: 1698) in our previous document.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Desideri, who knew that his letter of Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717, had been received in Rome in 1718, thought the General alluded to it in this letter of his (Cf. Letter 15); but more than one letter may be meant in the Latin: *in meis responsoriis ad suas*, where it is not clear whether *suas* refers to an understood *epistolas* or *literas*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Not received by Desideri.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> So then, the General repeated his orders between Jan. 1 and Jan. 16, 1719, by the Lisbon-Goa route, apparently in answer to the decree of Dec. 12, 1718.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Jan. 15, 1656, in our previous document.

data, et ab iis usque ad annum 1650, quo ob persecutionem fuerunt ejecti, culta, ab aliis non amplius fuerit reaperta; hinc R. V. novam hanc dispositionem, à novis notitiis à Sacra Congregatione receptis provenientem non miretur, et hisce meis receptis illico de ista Missione discedere disponat, cum merito, quod Eam coram Deo ob iter tam arduum in se susceptum, et per cognitionem. nostrae S. Fidei cum solidis principiis et tanto zelo in memorato Regno promotam acquisivisse confidimus, cui sollicitam obedientiam Suae Divinae Majestati acceptiorem quam si omnia illa Regna ad sedem veram converteret, adjungat, et statim me de executione. hujus meae dispositionis informet, qui me S.S. Sacrificiis et orationibus suis commendo.

to the Capuchins by the Sacred Congregation; <sup>1</sup> nay I supposed that, as the said Mission had been founded by our Fathers and had been cultivated by them till the year 1650, when they were expelled on account of persecution, it had not been reopened any more by others;<sup>2</sup> accordingly, let not Your Reverence be surprised at this new disposition caused by new informations received by the Sacred Congregation, and, on receipt of this my letter, prepare to leave that Mission at once, with the merit which we trust Your Reverence gained before God by undertaking so arduous a journey and by promoting with solid beginnings and so much zeal in the said Kingdom the knowledge of our Holy Faith. Add to it exact obedience to His Divine Majesty, which will be more pleasing than if you were to convert all those Kingdoms to the true Faith,<sup>3</sup> and inform me

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He allowed in 1712, as appears from Letter 15. Difficult as it is to explain how the General did not know yet in 1712 that Tibet had been assigned to the Capuchins in 1703 and 1704, that they had been sent to Tibet in 1704, and had entered it in 1707, we have his word for it, and a reason is given. Fr. Tamburini was General from Jan. 3, 1706, only, to Febr. 28, 1730. Desideri in his letter of Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721, tells him how the Capuchins, sent by Propaganda, entered Tibet in 1708 (sic) and left it in 1711. On Jan. 16, 1719, the General knew from Desideri's letter of Febr. 15, 1717, that the Capuchins had re-appeared at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716. In 1714 he must have learned that the Capuchins had left Tibet in 1711; for Fr. Domenico of Fano appeared that year at Rome, asking for men and money to re-open the Tibet Mission, and bringing a letter of recommendation to the Procurator General of the Jesuits from Fr. Vautrain Baudrè, S.J., of Chandernagore, and from Fr. Ory, S.J., Procurator at Paris, whose letter is dated Jan. 2, 1714. (Cf. L. Besse, S.J., in Revue historique de l' Inde francaise, Vol. 2 (1918), p. 181.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The exact date when the Tsaparang Mission was given up remains to be ascertained. Efforts to re-enter it were made in 1640, and Brother Marques was a prisoner at Tsaparang in 1641 and we do not know when he was released or whether he was released at all. (Wessels, 88.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Latin should apparently give: ad veram fidem, the more so as f and s (when not final) looked almost the same in writing and printing. Launay also translates by: à la vraie Foi (I. 34).

at once of the execution of this my disposition. I commend myself to your <sup>1</sup> Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

Romae, 16 januarii 1719.	Rome, the 16th of January
Servus in Christo	1719. Your Servant in Christ,
Michael Angelus Tamburinus.	Michael Angel Tamburini.

14. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus (Lhasa, 21 Dec., 1719).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: Goana Epist, 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

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## Molto R. do in X. po P.re N.ro, P.C. CCCXVII.a.

Avendo frainteso, che la S. C. di Prop.a ad instanza de' P.ri Cappuccini voglia discacciar la Comp.a da q.te Missioni, considerata la cosa nel Sig.re, ex vi dll' avermi il P. Pro.le di Goa già addossato il carico di Sup.re di c.ta Miss.e, mi sono stimato in coscienza gravem.te obbligato ad Appellare alla S.C. di Prop.a ed al Som. Pont.e, e a umilm. te dimandar si a q.to, come a g.lla, che espressam.te, e p.mezzo dlla P.V.M.R.mi facciano giungere ordine di portarmi a Roma p.esporre la verità, li legitimi Jus, e ragioni dlla Comp.a.Accludo qui il foglio dll' Appello, il di cui med.mo teno re invio parim, te a Sua Santità. Così hò giudicato in

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Our Very Reverend Father in Christ.

The Peace of Christ.

Having understood<sup>2</sup> that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, at the request of the Capuchin Fathers, wished to expel the Company from these Missions, I, having considered the matter in the Lord, on the strength that the Father Provincial has already laid on me charge of Superior of the this Mission, have considered myself seriously obliged to Appeal to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and the Supreme Pontiff, and humbly to ask both the latter and the former that they send me expressly and through Your Very Reverend Paternity the order of betaking myself to Rome, to expose the truth, the lawful rights, and the reasons

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tuis in Latin, instead of suis?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Frantendere is translated in the dictionaries by to understand ill. Probably Desideri means: 'having understood more or less.' The Capuchins had not shown him the decree of Propaganda of Dec. 12, 1718; it does not seem to have reached them till January 1721, but they may have let Desideri understand that they knew it was preparing. Besides, there was a decree of March 1, 1717, and of Sept. 20, 1717.

coscienza esser' io obbligato a umilm. te reclamare, constandomi con evidenza che la Comp.a è apertissimam.te a torto aggravata con Informazioni non giuste, e in tutta la Comp.a nessuno hà l'evidenza che io hò sopra di ciò.

Se in ciò hò fatto bene, hò scaricato la mia coscienza. Se hò fatto male, non è stato malizia di volontà, ma errore d'Intelletto, e p.ciò condonabile. Ciò non ostante, se la P.S.M.R. giudica, aver' io fatto male, mi sottopongo a tutti quelli gastighi che le piacerà di darmi. In tanto supplico di nuovo la P.S.M.R. dlla grazia tante vol te con altre mie lettere chiestale, che si degni di mandarmi espresso as soluto ordine di portarmi speditam.te a Roma, dove se piacerà a Dio di condurmi, e se averò la sorte di buttarmi a' piedi dlla P.S.M.R., e a voce dichiarar tutto q.llo, che m'occorre, sp.o mi comanderà ella med.ma di liberam.te parlare, e pugnare pro Justitiâ; e p.la riputazione dlla Comp.a, le di cui ragioni ignorandosi, e sapendosi il discacciamento, e misero esilio, si può dal Mondo sinistram.te di essa giudicare.

Si degni pregare, e far pregare con tutto fervore il Sig. re p. il buon successo di tali

of the Company. I include here the leaf of the Appello (I appeal), the same tenor of which I send likewise to His Holiness. Thus have I judged in conscience that I am obliged to protest humbly, as it is to me clear to evidence that the Company is very plainly burdened wrongly with informations that are not just, and in the whole Company no one has the evidence which I have thereon.

If in this I have acted well, I have discharged my conscience. If I have acted wrongly, it has not been ill will, but error of judgment, and therefore is pardonable. This notwithstanding, if your Very Reverend Paternity judges that I have done wrong, I submit to all the punishments which it will please you to give Meanwhile, I again beme. seech Your Very Reverend Paternity for the favour I have so often asked you in my other letters, that you deign to send me an express and absolute order to come quickly to Rome, where, if it shall please God to bring me, and if I have the good luck of casting myself at the feet of Your Very Reverend Paternity, and to say orally whatever occurs to me, I hope you yourself will order me to speak freely and to fight pro Justitiâ (for Justice), and for the reputation of the Company, whose reasons not **kn**owing, and knowing of the expulsion, and wretched exile, the World may judge her ill.

Deign to pray and to cause to pray with all fervour to the Lord for the good success of miei Appelli, e p. me, che di tutto cuore mi racc.o alli suoi SS. Sacr.i, e umilm.te dimando la sua Paterna Benediz.e.

D.P.V.M.R.

Lhasà, nel Tibet 21. X' bre 1719.

In caso che la P.S.M.R. giudicasse che coressero gli Appelli umilm.te la supplico ad interporre le sue raccomandazioni, a tutti q.lli Sig.ri Cardinali, e altri, che giudichi, sì in Prop.a, come appresso Sua Santità poter essere favorevoli, e con calore pigliar l'impegno. Zeli, p. q.te povere anime in estremo bisognosiss.e, e Iddio N.ro Sig.re le darà un gran premio nel Paradiso.

Ind.mo e Minimo Servo, e Suddito,

Ippolito Desiderj.

(Endorsement made in Rome.)

Goana 1719. Lhasâ Thibetti 21 Decem.

P. Hyppolitus Desiderii.

Post decretum S.Cong. quo obligatus a Thibetto exire, ductus conscientia rogat P.V.m enixissime, ut eum evocet Romam, quia sic agitur de causa Dei, nec per literas quae habet potest plene edocere, et ideo interponit Apellationem ad S. these my Appeals, and for me, who with all my heart commend myself to Your Holy Sacrifices, and humbly crave your Fatherly Blessing.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's,

Lhasà, in Tibet,

21st December, 1719.

In case Your Very Reverend Paternity should judge that the Appeals<sup>1</sup> should run their course, I humbly beg to you to interpose your commendations with all the Lords Cardinals, and others, who you may judge can be favourable, both in Propaganda and before His Holiness, and can warmly do the needful. Please bestir yourself zealously for these poor souls who are extremely in need, and God Our Lord will give you a great reward in Paradise.

Most unworthy and Least Servant and Subject,

Ippolito Desideri.

(Endorsement made in Rome.)

Goan things, 1719. Lhasà of Tibet, 21st December.

Fr. Hyppolitus Desideri.

After the decree of the Sacred Congregation, by which he was obliged to leave Tibet, his conscience prompting, he asks Your Paternity most earnestly to call him to Rome, because God's cause is here at stake, and he cannot by letters

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The two appeals to the Pope and to the Propaganda reached Rome, as we see in the endorsement below.

Sedem, et a Sanct. Sua petit, ut eum jubeat Romam usq; proficisci. Cujus copiam his accludit, quemadmodum quae scribit ad Sacr. Cong.; petit qdsi R.V. ita judicet, promoveri faciat ejus causam coram Sacr. Cong. saltem secreto. fully say the things he has; and therefore he makes Appeal to the Holy See and asks of His Holiness to order him to go to Rome. A copy hereof he includes in his letter, as also what he writes to the Sacred Congregation. He asks that, if Your Paternity judges proper, you should promote his cause before the Sacred Congregation, at least secretly.

Rs. Jan. 1723.

Answered: January 1723.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The answer of January 1723 must have called Desideri to Rome; for why did he leave Delhi, *i.e.*, the Mogor Mission, for Patna in 1725, leaving Patna for Pondicherry on Nov. 21, 1725? He may have been commissioned at the same time to bring to Rome the process for the beatification of Blessed John de Britto. Collecting the necessary papers would have filled the time between his arrival at Pondicherry (Jan. 10, 1726) and his departure thence (Jan. 21, 1727).

I cannot say when Desideri returned to Takpo. We find him there on Sept. 28, 1720 (Puini, 355), as we shall see in Section 19. By that time his companion, when he resided at Trong-gne, in the hospice of the Capuchins, must have been Fr. Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Jesi; for. when on April 4, 1721, Desideri left Takpo for Lhasa and Nepal, Fr. Giuseppe Felice was his companion between Lhasa and Kuti (Puini, 82.87) and the two must have been a considerable time together if both worked at Trong-gne at the translation of the Lam-rim-ccea. (Wessels. p. 225.) 'The Relation alludes to the translation of one or two books by Urgyan-pa, the first apostle of Buddhism in Tibet, and chiefly to the translation of a text wherein the doctrines of Lamaism are briefly exposed "with admirable method, exact compendiousness and singular talent." In fact Desideri asserts having made the translation of this "great and very useful book," for the instruction of the Capuchins Father Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Iesi, the latter writing and he dictating. But, in another part of his Volume, which he wrote while at Rome, he regrets missing a text translated from the Tibetan, which would offer useful exercise to the Missionaries; and he adds: "It would be well, to know all the chief errors of the Tibetans, to procure here (at Rome) the translation of the Lam.rin.chhen.ba, or at least the same in the Tibetan language: in that case, if it pleased God to give me life, and I were ordered so, I offer myself to make exactly the translation for the utility of that Mission."" (Puini, 'This book, entitled Lam.rin.chhen.ba, "The precious Docp. XLIII.) trine", is attributed to Tsongkhapa, the reformer of Lamaism, and the founder of the orthodox Church, now prevailing. Lam meaning "way " has also, like the Chinese word Tao (road, way), the meaning of doctrine science.' (Note by Puini, p. XLIII n. 2.)

Desideri may have left his translation of the Lam.rin.chhen.ba with the Capuchins at Lhasa. We find that Fr. Orazio della Penna ascribes to himself in 1737 the translation of the Lam.rim.Cembo, or the three great ways leading to perfection, and of two other works: the Chiap-sa-Drovà and the Sozor-Tharbe-do. Copies of these translations may perhaps be found yet in the Library of Propaganda or in the Archives of the Capuchin Order at Rome. 15. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society of Jesus Rome (Kuti, Tibet, 21 Sept., 1721).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: Goana Epist, 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

## Molto R.do in X.po P.re N.ro Gn.le, P.C.

Nel Genn.o di q.to 1721. ricevei una Riveritiss.a della P.S.M.R., in data dell Genn.o dell 1719, e dalla S.C. di Prop.a trasmessami p. mezzo de' P.ri Cappuccini. Come figlio di Obbedienza risolvei subito di eseguire li suoi comandi, e di lasciar q.ta Missione. Allora li torbidi dl Regno, e li gran freddi non mi p.misero il pormi subito in cammino, mà a' 4. di Aprile di quest'anno 1721. partij da Takpo, dove mi trovavo. A' 14. di Aprile arrivai a Lhasà, dove il M.R.P. Prefetto de' P.ri Cappuccini di q.ta Missione mi presentò un decreto dlla Sac. Cong. di Prop. a, che (se mal non mi ricordo) finisce con q.te parole =Immò contra Decreta ejusde Cong.nis.

t

## Our Very Reverend Father General in Christ,<sup>1</sup> The Peace of Christ.

In January of this year 1721, I received a Most Reverend letter from Your Very Reverend Paternity, dated in January 1719,<sup>2</sup> and transmitted to me by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda through the Capuchin Fathers. As son of Obedience, I determined at once, to execute your orders and to leave this Mission. The troubled state of the Kingdom <sup>3</sup> and the cold season did not then allow me to set out at once; but, on the 4th of April of this year 1721, I left Takpo where I was.<sup>4</sup> On the 14th of April, I arrived at Lhasà, where the Very Reverend Father Prefect of the Capuchin Fathers of this Mission presented to me a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda,<sup>5</sup> which (unless I re-

<sup>2</sup> January 16, 1719.

<sup>4</sup> Fr. Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Jesi appears to have come away also on that occasion, after which Trong-gneè in Takpo Khier seems never to have been occupied again.

<sup>5</sup> The decree of Dec. 12, 1718, ends thus: Imo, et contra ejus Decreta.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This letter appears to be written on thin Tibet paper. It covers one oblong page, the rotograph of which measures,  $11_{10}^{4}$  inches. Desideri must have been badly off for paper at Kuti; for, though he generally used a fine bold handwriting, he managed to compress 82 lines within the space of  $9_{10}^{4}$  inches. The writing, extremely small and close, is however quite legible, except for a space of 14 lines, where the endorsement, written at Rome on the back of the paper, shows through on the recto.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Chinese had taken possession of Lhasa in Oct. 1720, and killed as many Giongars as they could find. On the journey from Lhasa to Kuti (April 28—May 1721) Desideri and the Capuchin Father were obliged to choose the Gyantse road, and to avoid the road to Shigatze, owing to the disturbances which were still rife on that side. (Puini, 82.)

P.re N.ro M.to R.do, Iddio p.mezzo di S. Ignazio ei comanda, che siamo pronti a ricevere anche con gusto ingiurie, calunnie, e quanto il mondo hà in orrore; è vero; mà è altresi vero che Dio hà eletto la Comp.a p. instromento dlla sua gloria, e della salute dll 'anime; e p.ciò vuole che ella procuri di rendersi tale: Mà come sarà riconosciuta p. tale, se porti in faccia lo smacco di Disobbediente. e p.tinace agl' Ordini di Roma, quando elle non è tale? Io p. me stimo grave, graviss.o obbligo di coscienza il sincerar' il Mondo, che la Comp.a di Gesù non merita tale smacco. p.chè in tutta verità non hà mancato, nè hà fatto in verun modo contro gl'ordini dlla Sac. Cong. intorno a q.ta Missione. Mia intenzione era stendere, e publicare un Manifesto a tutto il Mondo sopra ciò, ma temendo dlla disapprovazione dlla P.V.M.R., che mi è Padre, me ne sono as-Solam.te nel Genn.o tenuto. di q. to anno con altre mie hò fatto instanza, e adesso la rinovo alla P.V.M.R. di venir' a Roma p.chè mi giudico obbligato a parlare. Una tal' instanza (non 1' abbia a male) mi sono stimato obbligato di farla alla S.C. di Prop.a e al Som. Pontee.

member badly) ends with these words: 'Immò contra Decreta ejusdem Congregationis' (Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred Congregation).

Our Very Reverend Father, God commands us through Saint Ignatius to be ready to receive even with pleasure insults, calumnies and whatever the world abhors. It is true; but it is also true that God has chosen the Company for an instrument of his glory and of the salvation of souls; and, therefore, he wishes that she try to render herself such. But, how will she be recognised as such, if she bear on her face the insult of having been disobedient and obstinate against the orders of Rome. when she is not such? I, for me, consider it grave and very grave obligation of conscience to justify to the World that the Company of Jesus does not deserve such insult, because in all truth she has not failed. nor has she acted in any way, against the orders of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda regarding this Mission. My intention was to spread and publish a Manifesto to the whole World on this matter; but, fearing the disapprobation of Your Very Reverend Paternity, who are father to me. I have abstained therefrom. Only, in the January of this year, in other letters of mine, I made the request, and I now renew it, to Your Very Reverend Paternity of coming to Rome, because I consider myself obliged to speak. Such a request (please, do not take it ill) I have considered myself

La P.S.M.R. mi serive, che quando mi diede licenza di venir' a q.ta Missione, non sapeva che quà stessero altri Religiosi. Scrive molto bene p.chè quando in Roma nel 1712 mi diede tal licenza, quando nel 1713. me la confermò il P. Prov.l di Goa, quando con specifica Patente nel 1714. me la confermò il P. Visitatore, quando a' 30 dl maggio dl 1715. entrai nel p.o Thibet, quando a' 26. di Giug.o 1715. arrivai alla capitale dl  $2^{\circ}$ Thibet. quando a' 7 di 7bre 1715. entrai in q.to 3° Thibet, guando a' 18. di Marzo 1716. arrivai nella Regia di q.to med.o Thibet; quando a 29. di Aprile, e p.o di Maggio dl 1716. manifestai nella publica Udienza dl Rè esser' io venuto quà p. far Missione, e p. insegnare la s.a Legge di Gesù X.po; quando a'10. Ag.o 1716. ebbi nel Palazzo Regio non solo missione, mà ordine p. di insegnarla d.ta S. a Legge, e quì restare p. tal fine; Quando in Luglio, Agosto, e 7bre dl 1716. composi in q.ta lingua un libbro introduttivo (che dipoi con molta solennità, e publicità presentai a q.to Rè) sopra l'unicità dlla vera legge di salute etc., In nessuno di tali tempi, nè pur' un solo Religioso Europeo si trovava, obliged to make to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and to the Sovereign Pontiff.<sup>1</sup>

Your Very Reverend Paternity writes to me that, when you gave me permission to come to this Mission, you did not know there were other Religious here. You write very well, because, when in Rome you gave me such permission in  $1712^{2}$  when in 1713the Father Provincial of Goa confirmed it me, when with a special Patent the Father Visitor confirmed it me in 1714, when on the 30th of May, 1715. I entered the first Tibet, when on the 26th of June, 1715, I arrived at the capital of the second Tibet, when on the 7th of September. 1715. Т entered this third Tibet, when on the 18th of March, 1716, I arrived at the Royal City of this same Tibet, when on the 29th of April and on the 1st of May, 1716, I make known in the King's public Audience that I had come to make Mission and to teach the Holy Law of Jesus Christ, when on the 10th of August, 1716, in the Royal Palace I received, not only the mission, but the order to teach the said Holy Law, and to remain here for that purpose, when in July, August, and September of 1716 I composed in this language an introductory book (which, later, I presented with much

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He made it to both in Febr. 1717, repeated it to the Holy Father from Kuti, Sept. 21, 1721, and wrote to the Pope and the Propaganda from Takpo, in January 1721 (as we see at the end of this letter for the last date).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Before his departure from Rome on Sept. 27, 1712.

nè in q.to, nè negl'i altri Thibetti.

Sappia dunque, che la Sac. Cong. di Prop.a, ed il Som. Pont.e Clem. XI. aveva mandati li P.ri Cappuccini a q.to Thibet p.Missionarij Ap.lici. Essi arrivarono quà nel 1708. e dipoi nel 1711. ne partirono; il p.chè lo dirò in Roma, se mi daranno licenza di venire, e se Dio mi ci condurrà con vita, e sanità di corpo, e di mente. Dopo una tal partenza, ancorche alcuni stessero in Nepàl Regno contiguo a q.to Thibet, nessun di essi rientrò mai in q.to Regno, se non dopo aver saputo il mio arrivo a Lhasà Regia di q.to Thibet, e allora tutti affaccendatisi, al p.o di 1716. 8hre arrivarono я,

solemnity and publicity to this King)<sup>1</sup> on the oneness of the true law of salvation, etc., at none of those times, not even one single European Religious was found, either in this Tibet, or in the other Tibets.

Know, therefore, that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and the Sovereign Pontiff Clement XI. had sent the Capuchin Fathers as Apostolic Missionaries to this Tibet. They arrived here in 1708,<sup>2</sup> and after that, in 1711,<sup>3</sup> they left from here. The reason why, I shall tell in Rome,<sup>4</sup> if they give me leave to come, and if God brings me there with life and soundness of body and of mind. After such a departure, although some stayed in Nepal,<sup>5</sup> a Kingdom contiguous to this Tibet, none of them ever re-entered this Kingdom, except after having heard of my arrival at Lhasà,

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Orazio della Penna gives at times the date 1711, at times 1712

<sup>4</sup> Was not the reason in Desideri's mind what he wrote to the General on Febr. 15, 1717: 'The different Capuchin Fathers who were here during several years did not succeed in making it known that they had come for the purpose of preaching and teaching the Holy Faith, as I know for sure and am ready to swear, if necessary, and as they themselves (at least those here in Tibet) confess. I do not say this to cast a slur on the zeal of the Capuchin Fathers, because it was the fault of those who tried to frighten and impede them, as I also discovered at once.' The only Capuchin then at Lhasa who had been for a period at Lhasa between 1707 and 1711 was the Prefect, Fr. Domenico of Fano. Did he confess that the Capuchins during that period had not succeeded in making it known they were Christian priests? If he did, I doubt his statement. Or that they had not succeeded in making it known that they came to spread their faith? Again, if he did, I doubt the statement.

<sup>5</sup> Orazio della Penna and two others went from Patna to Nepal in 1714. I do not know any by name who stayed in Nepal between 1707 and 1714.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On Jan. 6, 1717.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> More correctly, on June 12, 1707. Cf. for this date, rarely given, Klaproth's Breve Notizia del Regno del Thibet dal Fra Francesco della Penna di Billi, an Extrait du Nouveau Journal Asiatique, Imprimerie Royale, Janvier 1835, p. 41.

Lhasà, Diranno, che avevano interrotta, e non lasciata q.ta Missione. Diro altresì io, che la Comp.a sin da tanti anni aveva interrotta, e non lasciata q.ta Missione; e in fatti non asserit gratis, mà constat a posteriori, poichè in tal tempo da g.ta Prov.ia furono mandati rimandati, e successivam.te rimandati p.ri p. q.ta Missione; mà chi può contrastar con la morte, e li giudizij, e decreti di Dio ? Dico dunque che il punto non istà nell'esser la Comp.a costretta a partir da q.ta Miss. ne, poichè non gli mancano

the Royal City of this Tibet,<sup>1</sup> and then all in a great hurry, on the 1st of October, 1716, they arrived at Lhasà.<sup>2</sup> They will say that they had interrupted, not abandoned, this Mission. I shall say also that the Company had during so many years interrupted, not abandoned, this Mission, and in fact non asserit gratis (she does not assert gratuitously), but it is clear a posteriori, since during that time there were sent, sent again, and sent again successively, by this Province, Fathers for this Mission: <sup>3</sup> but

<sup>1</sup> They may have heard of his arrival at Lhasa through Fr. Freyre, who must have passed through Nepal in June or July 1716, on his return to Agra.

<sup>2</sup> Desideri wrote on Febr. 15, 1717: 'On learning in Nepal that the Company had arrived here (at Lhasa), he (the Prefect, Fr. Domenico of Fano) was on the point of not coming, and from the Kingdom of Nepal he informed Rome, asking *quid agendum* (what was to be done); and he came with the intent that, if he found me at all punctilious or with any pretentions to priority, he would at once go back with his Companions.' Though he may have found Desideri more punctilious in the matter than he expected, he was right in not going back.

<sup>8</sup> To the Jesuits who were established at Tsaparang and at Srinagar (Garhwal), or visited Ladakh, Kuch Bihar, the present Bhutan, Shigatze, Gyantse and Nepal, between 1624 and 1654, we might add Frs. John Grueber and Albert d'. Orville, who between 1661 and 1662 were at Lhasa and Khatmandu (Nepal) during their journey from Pekin to Agra; Fr. Henry Roth, S.J., of Agra, who in 1667, on his return from Europe, appears to have been given by the Viceroy of Goa a letter of introduction to the King of Nepal, and Fr. Mark Anthony Santucci, S.J., who between Sept. 1679 and January 1780 was for some months in Nepal. (For the last name see H. Josson, S.J., *Hist. de la Mission du Bengale Occidental*, Vol. 1, p. 91.)

Fr. Henry Roth, S.J., wrote from Rome, in 1664, shortly before the battle of St. Gothard, which was fought on Aug. 1, 1664 (Cf. Stöcklein's Welt-Bott, No. 35, p. 113): 'If God grants me life and his blessing, I shall pay a visit to the vast Kingdom of Pettent (Bhutan) or Lassa, in order to settle in the town of Nepal: for I cannot be harassed there by the Mahometans, who throw between our feet one obstacle (?) after the other, and are almost our only hindrance.' (Gibt Gott mir das Leben und seinen Segen/ will ich einen Versuch thun in das weitsichtige Reich Pettent oder Lassa. und mich in der Stadt Nepal setzen : dann allda ich von denen Mahometanern nicht kan beunruhiget werden / welche anderwärtig uns einen Brügel nach dem anderen zwischen die Füsse werfen / und schier unser eintzige Hindernus seynd.)

He continues (p. 114): 'In the Kingdom of Pegu there are for want of our people only two Missionaries; in the country of Tibet, however, owing to the very same reason, there is none at all, although the King has invited me by letters the fourth time to convert his Kingdom. Only, luoghi, e Regni dove occuparsi; mà dico che a mio parere la Comp.a è gravissimam.te obligata a giustificarsi corā hominibus, e a mostrare che non sussiste q.llo sfregio postogli in fronte a forza di male Informazione Immò contra Decreta ejusdě Sac. Cong.nis—Io p.me col far' instanza al Som. Pont.e, alla Sac. Cong., ed alla P.V.M.R. di venir' ad informare legittimam. te e a parlare di quel che devo, e con replicarle adesso l'instanza, specificandone un poco il motivo stimo di avere scaricato

who can oppose death and the judgments and decrees of God? I say then that the point is not that the Company is constrained to leave this Mission. for places and Kingdoms are not wanting for her to keep herself busy: but I say that in my opinion the Company is very seriously obliged to justify herself coram hominibus (before men) and to show that the slur cast to her face by dint of bad informations: 'Immò contra Decreta ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis' (Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred

I was not able to travel thither, as obedience has bound me to the Christianity in Mogol'. (In dem Reich Pegu seynd Wegen Mangel unserer Leuten nur zwey Missionarii: in der Landschaft Tibet aber aus eben dieser Ursach gar keiner: obschon der König zum vierdtemal mich / sein Königreich zu bekehren durch Briefe eingeladen hat. Allein es stunde nicht bey mir dahin zu reisen/weil mich der Gehorsam an die Christenheit in Mogol angebunden hat.) When in 1709 Fr. Koch wrote that a King of Tibet had invited the Fathers to his kingdom, had there perhaps survived a remembrance of the letters addressed to Fr. Roth? Is it likely that the King of Tibet who wrote to Fr. Roth before his journey to Rome (1662-1664) was merely the King of Srinagar (Garhwal) at whose court Roth was between 1656 and 1659? (Wessels, p. 199 n. 2.) Further study may clear up the problem.

Is it possible that Fr. Roth should have received by Aug. 1, 1664, four letters from the King of Nepel inviting him to his country? We can hardly imagine that any of these letters had been received before the arrival of Frs. Grueber and d'Orville from Nepal to Agra, shortly before April 8, 1662. Granting that Grueber brought the first of these letters with him to Agra, when could the next three have been received ? Grueber and Roth arrived at Rome on February 20, 1664. They must have set out about the middle of 1662 from Agra. Yet, before Aug. 1, 1664, Roth speaks of settling down in Nepal on his return to India. In the Mission Catalogue of November 1667 he is mentioned as destined to begin the Nepal Mission. He died at Agra, on June 20, 1668, less than 48 years old, and his death appears to have been due to hardships contracted in trying to open a new Mission in Tibet, broadly understood. The letter of the Viceroy, Count de S. Vicente, to the King of Nepal is dated Goa, February 23, 1766. The letter, one of mere friendship, urged on the Viceroy by the King of Portugal, states that the bearers of the letter are Fathers (Jesuits) going to the Kingdom of Nepal in order to live and settle therein. We can hardly doubt that Roth, if not one of the bearers of the letters from Goa, was destined to present it at the Nepal court. How he conducted that Mission is not known so far. Probably he had a companion. Neither do we know whether the king of Nepal was of Khatmandu or of Bhatgaon; but we know that the King of Khatmandu, Pratapa Malla, had taken such a liking to Grueber and d'Orville that he was unwilling to let them go except on condition of their returning. (See our Doc. 30 at the end.)

la mia coscienza. Se la P.S. M.R. mi darà licenza, ubbidirò, verrò, e se sarà necessario, e così commandi l' Obbedienza così comandi l' Obbedienza tornerò dove mi manderanno, e comanderanno, e dove sia volontà di Dio.

La P.S.M.R. nella sopra accennata sua lettera da me ricevuta nel Genn.o di a.to anno mi comandava, che le dessi notizia dlla esecuzione. Può liberam.te rappresentar' alla Sac. Cong.di Prop.a, come io con tutta veneraz.ne rispettando li di lei reveritiss.mi comandi, senza tergiversazione. senza dimora, e anche senza repugnanza hò obbedito fedelm.te. Vero è, che io presentem. te non istò fuori affatto dl Thibet, mā nell' ultimo confine di esso, mà q.to è (come potrà informarsi dlla verità) p.chè in q.to spazio di mezzo trà q.ti paesi freddissimi, e gl' altri caldiss.mi in q.ti Mesi, cioè sino a Xbre è non probabile, mā certa, certif.a, inevitabile la morte a volersi inoltrare, onde in tanto non vò presentem te innanzi.

Congregation), is irrelevant. As for me, by making to the Sovereign Pontiff, and to Your Very Reverend Paternity, the request to come lawfully and inform, and to speak of what I ought, and by renewing the request now, specifying somewhat the motive thereof. I deem I have discharged my conscience. If Your Very Reverend Paternity gives me leave, I shall obey, I shall come; and, if necessary and Obedience this commands, I shall return whither they will order me and send me, and where it be God's will.

In your above-mentioned letter received by me in the January of this year, Your Very Reverend Paternity commanded me to give you information as to the execution. You can freely represent to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda how I, with all veneration, respecting their very reverend commands, without tergiversation, without delay,<sup>1</sup> and even without repugnance, have obeyed faithfully. It is true that for the moment I am not quite outside Tibet, but at the last limit thereof; but, as you will be able to certify the truth thereof, that is because in this intervening space between these very cold countries and the others which are very warm, during these months, that is up to December, death is not only probable,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The words of the decree of Propaganda of Dec. 12, 1717, were that 'without any deferring, tergiversation and delay, he (the General of the Society) recall thence and remove the Religious who without consulting the Sacred Congregation, nay, even against its Decrees, went to cultivate those Missions '.

in quanto Iddio me lo proibisce; e p.chè una tal proibizione è affatto indispensabile, lo proibisce ancora la med. a Sac. Cong.ne.

Del resto arrivato che sarà il tempo quanto è dal canto mio infallibilm.te partirò, e andarò al n.ro Coll.o di Agra. Dissi quanto è dal canto mio; Perchè se Dio in q.to tempo mi chiama a se, ò se mi giungessero ordini in contrario di chi mi può comandara, solam.te in tal caso non partirò; del resto fuori di q.te due circostanze, infallibilm.te infallibilm.te stia con l'animo ropisato.

La supplico a rappresentar' alla Sac. Cong.ne di Prop.a, e al Som. Pont.e, come hò bisogno di manifestar loro cose molto importanti agl'interessi dlla S.a Fede, e dlla Sac.Cong.ne circa q.ta Missione del Thibet, e che io sgravo la mia coscienza sopra di loro.

La P.S.M.R. diceva parim.te nella sua sopra accennata lettera, che nel 1718. p. la via di Portogallo mi aveva mandato l'istesso orine, e che aveva in detta occasione, e via risposto ad alcune mie. M.to R.do P.re N.ro, io da q.to Thibet hò scritto a lei non molte, ma moltiss.me lettere, e di nessuna di esse hò avuto nè pur una risposta. Mi sonovenute alcun altre lettere varie volte di altri N.ri, come dl P.Gio. Batt.a Conti più volte, dl P.Galuzzi,

but certain, attested, inevitable, for who wants to go further; hence, for the present I do not go forward, inasmuch as God forbids it me, and, as such prohibition admits of no dispensation, the same Sacred Congregation of Propaganda too forbids it me.

However, when the time will come, I shall, as much as depends on me, start without fail, and shall go to our College of Agra. I said: as much as depends on me: because, if God at this time calls me to himself, or if orders reach me to the contrary from who can command me, in that case only shall I not start; these two circumstances excepted, I shall start without fail, without fail, hence, let Your Very Reverend Paternity be easy in mind.

I request you to represent to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda how 1 require making known to them things very important for the interests of the Holy Faith and of the Sacred Congregation concerning this Mission of Tibet, and that I discharge my conscience on them.

Your Very Reverend Paternity also said in your abovementioned letter that in 1718, by way of Portugal, you had sent me the same order, and that on the same occasion and by the same route you had answered to some of my letters. Our Very Reverend Father, from this Tibet I have written to you, not many, but very many letters, and to not one of these have I received even There have come one answer. to me some other letters several

dl P.Corsoni, di M.ro Silvestri, &c. mà dlla P.S.M.R. solam.te mi è venuta la soprad.a, e nel 7bre dl 1718. mi giunse la di lei risposta a quella scritta da P.re. M.to R.do, secondo Goa. l'umano è cosa che desanima molto li Missionarij, e li potrebbe far raffreddare nel servizio dlla Comp.a. Sò che non è difetto dlla P.V.M.R., e pociò dico che comandi molto calcatam.te a' Sup.ri di q.ta Prov. ia. acciocchè con tutta premura ponghino diligenza, affinchè le lettere de' Sup.ri maggiori non si p.dino tutte, tutte affatto, mà almeno alcuna arrivi nelle mani, de' poveri Missionarij, affinchè restino q.ti maggiorm.te animati. Dell' altre risposte, che aspettavo, non ne stavo con tanta avidità, mà la risposta di q.lla, che le inviai nel Febb.o del 1717. con una inclusa p.presentarsi a' Piedi dl Som. Pont.e, ne sono stato p. molto tempo con somma aspettazione, mà nè pur q.ta mi è giunta, e forse sarà q.lla, che la P.S.(?) M.R. dice avermi scritta nel 1718. di risposta. Io dico, pazienza. Mà la P.S.M.R. p.il motivo sopradetto, che è molto considerabile, non deve in verun modo soffrire; mì con ogni calore ed efficacia deve porre il dovuti remedii.

times from others of Ours. as from Fr. Giovanni Battista Conti, several times, from Fr. Galuzzi, from Fr. Corsoni, from Master Silvestri, etc.:<sup>1</sup> but from Your Very Reverend Paternity there came only the abovesaid one, and in the September of 1718 there arrived your answer to the letter written from Goa.<sup>2</sup> Very Reverend Father, humanly speaking this is the thing which much discourages Missionaries. and which might make them grow cold in the service of the Company. I know it is no fault of Your Very Reverend Paternity, and I judge that you should order very strictly the Superiors of this Province. with all haste to use diligence, so that the letters of the higher Superiors be not lost all of them, all of them quite, but that at least one of them should reach the hands of the poor Missionaries, that they may be the more encouraged. Of the other answers I was expecting I was not so eager; but, as for the answer to the letter I sent you in the February of 1717, with one enclosed to be laid at the Feet of the Sovereign Pontiff, I have been waiting for it with keenest expectation for a long time past; but not even that has reached me, and perhaps it is the one of which Your Very Reverend Paternity says you wrote an answer in 1718.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> To Fr. John Baptist Conti and Fr. Corsoni Desideri commended himself in his letter to Fr. Piccolimini (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> There were 2 letters from Goa, one of Nov. 12, 1713, the other of Nov. 15, 1713.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Very likely, indeed: for it was received in Rome in 1718, as Desideri, says lower; and as we have the proof for the letter to the General, which

P.re N.ro, la confesso ingenuam.te quello che hò nel cuore. Io(?) come (?) duna (?) mia lettera mandai nel 1717. al Som. Pot.e, una acclusa, alla P.V.M.R. l' a ltra acclusa, al S.re Card.(e?) Tolomei, (2) words? not read) acclusa al Sing.re Co: (ending not read) Fedri(?) Mi si asserisco P.certo, che a.te durono in Roma recapitate nel 1718. dezzo dl Rev.do allora p. Proc.re, in oggi Cn.1 de' P.ri Cappuccini non(?) esser venuta nè pur' una sillaba di rispost dl Som. Pont.e ò a suo nome, ed il sape (sic) p. evidenza come egli, senza esser(e) prevenuto in verun modo e averne motivo anticedente, nel 1714. scrisse una sua lettera a un Rè infedele, mi hà sommam. te, in estremo grand.te(?) scandalizato, L'istessa impressione

I say: Patience. But Your Very Reverend Paternity, for the reason abovesaid, which is a very considerable one, must not bear with it in any way, but must with all warmth and efficacy apply the necessary remedies.

Our Father, I shall confess to you candidly what 1 have in my heart. When in 1717 I sent a letter of mine to the Sovereign Pontiff (I sent) one enclosed to Your Very Reverend Paternity,<sup>1</sup> another enclosed to the Lord Cardinal Tolomei, (another?) enclosed to the Lord (Count ?) Fedri(?).<sup>2</sup> I declare for certain that these were delivered in Rome in 1718 through the Reverend then Father Procurator General, now General, of the Capuchin Fathers. That not a syllable of answer should have come from the Sovereign Pontiff, or in his name, and that I should know to evidence how he, without being forestalled in any way, and having had no antecedent motive for it. in 1714 wrote a letter of his to an infidel King,<sup>3</sup> has very much,

<sup>1</sup> The letter to the Pope was enclosed in the letter to the General, and so must the others have been.

 $^{2}$  The writing is illegible chiefly at this place, for the reason given in our note 1.

<sup>3</sup> We know of no other letter to an infidel King written in 1714 than one by Pope Clement XI to the King of Tibet, Cinghes-Khang, as Desideri regularly spells the name. Why does Desideri here consider himself scandalised at such a letter? Because the king had given the Capuchins no occasion for gratitude in 1707-1711? We know too little of that period to be able to judge of the reason. The letter of the Pope speaks, however, in very glowing terms of the kindness of the king to the Capuchins during that period, and that on the authority of Fr. Domenico of Fano who had come to Rome from Lhasa. In his letter of Febr. 15, 1717, to the General, Desideri did not say he had been scandalised. He

is in our present collection, we have the proof for the letter to the Pope, since published a letter of Febr. 13, 1717, in his *Bibliotheca* a MS. copy of a letter to the Pope, dated Febr. 13, 1717, was seen by Puini in the Library of the Propaganda.

potrebbe fare agl' altri Missionarij da Comp.a, se scrivendo al p.o Sup.re dlla Comp.a e a chi tiene il luogo di S. Ignazio, non vedessero mai giungere nè pur' una risposta. Torno a ripetere, che *constat u posteriori*, che il defetto non è dlla P.V. M.R., e che p.cio con tutta eff icacia e calore cerchi di chi sia la colpa, e assolutam.te vi ponga rimedio.

In altre mie mi sono doluto con la P.V.M.R. che dal 1718. in cui da Agra m' era giunto uno scariss.o sussidio, sino a q.to 1721. ero stato totalm.te abbandonato, e stavo in estreme miserie, e ultime necessità. In fatti q.to viaggio l' hò fatto (inclusivè conttutte le fermate, e dimore necessarie, &c.) e mi convien farlo con denaro parte imprestatomi da q.ti P.ri Capuccini, e parte ricevuto p.limosina; e ciò sarà sino ad io arrivar' a Patnà nel Mogol, dove (conforme ebbi

extremely, scandalised me. The other Missionaries of the Company might have the same impression, if, when writing to the first Superior of the Company, to him who holds the place of Saint Ignatius, they never saw arriving even one answer. I repeat again that it is clear a *posteriori* that the fault is not with Your Very Reverend Paternity, and therefore with all efficacy and warmth seek out who is at fault, and apply to it effectually the remedy.

In other letters of mine I complained to Your Very Reverend Paternity that since 1718, when from Agra there reached me a very paltry subsidy, up to this year 1721, I was completely abandoned and lived in extreme misery and utmost need. In fact. this journey I have undertaken it (including the necessary halts and delays, etc.) and I must make it with money partly borrowed from these Capuchin Fathers, and partly received in alms;<sup>1</sup> and that

I do not think that the passages can be understood to refer to a letter for an infidel king sent by the Procurator General of the Capuchins. We have no clue to such a letter. If we had, we should think of some other infidel king, who had given no antecedent motive for such a letter, and should then think of Nepal, or perhaps the King of Sikkim, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Desideri had made so many friends in Tibet that, when, at last he was obliged to accept alms, for his return, not a little would have been pressed on his acceptance, had not many of his best friends lost most of their goods during the Giongar troubles of 1717-21. Before that, he had refused help on more than one occasion. Cf. Puini, 315.

himself translated the Pope's letter into Tibetan, and was present on Dec. 4, 1716, when the letter was presented to the King. We publish the Latin text and give a translation of it among our Materials for the history of the Capuchins in Tibet. Even if the King had given no antecedent motive for kindness on the part of the Pope, for an exchange of letters and presents it was gracious on his part to command the Fathers to his kindness. Such was the practice of the Popes in the Middle Ages, as we have abundant proofs in the case of the Emperors of Ethiopia, the Moghul Empire, and China, when they sent thither the Dominicans and Franciscans.

lettera dal direttore Olandese l'altra sera) sono giunti p.mio sussidio quegl'aiuti che da tanto tempo in quà con tante lacrime hò dimandato. Perciò siccome p. il passato hò notificato necesità, a cui sono stato ridotto, così adesso manifesto l'aiuto preparatomi.

Mi souviene adesso un' altro Nel Marzo dl 1718. punto. notificai alla P.V.M.R., e di nuovo notifico, como p.esser' io stato solo in q.ta Missione senza verun' altro dlla Comp.a ancorchè abbia avuto con molte replicate lettere l'avviso di far la Professione, p. non aver' alcuno competente, in mano di cui poterla fare, non potrò farlo se non arrivato in Agra, (se Dio mi darà vita, e sanità) nel fut.o Mese di Marzo dl 1722, ancorchè p.me il tempo di farla fosse nel principio dl 1718. Non istò a ripetere li motivi apportati alla P.V.M.R. nel Marzo dl 1718. circa il supplicarla a degnarsi di farla correre, come se fosse stata fatta al suo tempo debito; mà tralasciati quì tali motivi, le rinuovo la med.ma supplica, confidando, che l'esser' io stato con tante miserie in q.ti luoghi p.servizio dlla Comp.a non mi si abbia a convertire in pregiudizio di giudicare male di me, da chi ne' tempi futuii negl' Archivij leggerà, e troverà aver' io fatta la Professione quattro anni, e più dopo il debito tempo.

will be so until I arrive at Patnà in the Mogol, where (according to a letter I had the other evening from the Dutch Director) there have arrived for my subsidy those helps which for such a long time heretofore I have asked with so many tears. Accordingly, as I have made known the straits to which in the past I was reduced, so I now make known the help prepared me.

now think of another T point. In the March of 1718 I notified to Your Very Reverend Paternity, and I notify again, how, having been alone in this Mission, without any other of the Company (though I had had in many repeated letters the instruction of making the Profession), yet, having no one competent in whose hands I could make it. I shall not be able to make it until I arrive at Agra (if God grants me life and health) in the next month of March 1722; <sup>1</sup> however, the time for me to make it was in the beginning of 1718. I shall not repeat the reasons adduced to Your Very Reverend Paternity in the March of 1718, regarding my request to you that you may deign to make it count as if it had been made at the time when it was due; but, omitting here these motives, I renew to you the same request, trusting that my having been in these places amid such miseries for the service of the Company, will not in my case be turned to the prejudice that I shall be thought ill of by who In fine posto umilm.te a' suoi piedi la supplico umilm.te di farsi, che abbia la consolazione di qualchè sua risposta che in fatti mi giunga nelle mie mani, e a darmi qualchè riscontro, se le lettere da me mandate nel Genn.o scorso al Som.Pont.e, alla Sac. Cong.ne di Prop.a, e alla P.V.M.R. p. mezzo de'. P.ri C app.ni p. la via di Francia, siano giunte, ò nò.

La supplico in oltre a pregar' incessantem.te e far molto da' N.ri pregare p.me, acciocchè se p. li miei demeriti mi sono reso indegno di servire (come bramavo sino alla morte) la Comp.a in q.ta Miss. ne, almeno p.mezzo dlle loro efficaci intercessioni obtenga da Dio grazia di poterla in qualchè altro modo servire, e non esser' a essa inutile sino alla mia morte. In fine la supplico umilm.te a graziarmi dlla sua Paterna benedizione.

D.P.V.M.R.

Kutti, ultimo confine dl Thibet, e p.o termino dlla giurisdizione di Nepal, 21. 7bre 1721.

Ind.mo in X.po Servo, e Minimo Suddito, will in future times read in the Archives and will find that I made the Profession four years and more after the time when I should have.

At the end, placed humbly at your feet, I humbly beseech you to make me have the consolation of some answer of yours which shall duly come into my hands, and to give me some indication whether the letters sent by me last January to the Sovereign Pontiff, to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and to Your Very Reverend Paternity, through the Capuchin Fathers by way of France, have arrived or not.

Moreover, I beg of you to pray unceasingly, and to make Ours pray much, for me, so that, if owing to my demerits I have made myself unworthy of serving the Company in this Mission (as I longed to do till death), I may at least through their efficacious intercessions obtain from God the grace of serving her in some other manner, until my death, and not be useless to her. Finally I humbly beg you to favour me with Your Fatherly Blessing.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's

Kutti, the last limit of Tibet,<sup>1</sup> and the first limit of the jurisdiction of Nepal, the 21st of September 1721.

Most unworthy Servant in Christ, and Least Subject.

Ippolito Desiderj.

Ippolito Desideri.

(Endorsement made in Rome):

Goana 1721.

Kutti ultimo termino Thibetti 21. 7 bris.

P. Hyppolitus Desideri.

Dat rationem, cur tandiu in Thibetto demoratus sit post decretum exeundi, quia expectavit occasionem opportunam. Queritur, quod non acceperit responsum à Sum. Pontif. a Sacr. Cong. et a P.V. litteris datis 1718. Reiterat preces ad eundũ (?) Romam, quia ad id tenatur in conscientia. Petit ut moneantur Sup. res. Prov.ae ne retineant multo tempore literas Superioris Maioris ad subditos. Cum non habuerit Socium Societatis, in oujus manibus Professionem emitteret, quae emissa fuerat 1718; illam emittet Agrae 1722; petit ut restituatur ad suam antiquitatem.

(Endorsement made in Rome):

Goan things, 1721.

Kutti, the last limit of Tibet, 21st September.

Fr. Hyppolitus Desideri.

He gives as his reason for having remained so long in Tibet. after the decree of going away, that he awaited a favourable opportunity. He complains of not having received an answer from the Sovereign Pontiff, from the Sacred Congregation, and from Your Paternity to the letter of 1718. He reiterates the request of going to Rome, because he is bound thereto in conscience. He asks that the Superiors of the Province be told not to keep back for a long time letters of a higher Superior to his subjects. As he had no companion of the Society in whose hands to make the Profession, which was to have been made in 1718, he will make it at Agra in 1722; he asks that it be brought back to the former date.

Rs. Jan. 1723.

Answered: January 1723.

16. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to His Holiness the Pope (Kuti, Tibet, Sept. 21, 1721).<sup>1</sup> (p. 382).

Most Blessed Father,

Obeying the orders received, I left the Tibet Mission and am on my way to the Mohol.<sup>2</sup> I make bold humbly to prostrate myself at Your Holiness's most Venerated Feet, and to represent to Your Holiness that I feel the need of manifesting by word of mouth and personally to Your Holiness some matters concerning the Holy Catholic Faith and its propagation, which I am greatly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. Puini, pp. 282-383. He says at p. 360 n. 1 that this letter is found in MS. in the Library of the Propaganda. Sommervogel, Vol. IX, No. 9, says this letter appeared in *La Revista Europea*, July 1876, p. 293.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Mogol.

obliged (p. 383) in conscience to make known. Meanwhile, I exonerate my conscience before Your Most Venerated Feet, humbly beseeching Your Holiness to deign call me to Rome, under an express permission and command, and to see, in that case, that the Father General of the Company of Jesus order me, with all solicitude and speed, to come thither. With all my heart I pray to the Most High to deign grant to Your Holiness a long, prosperous and peaceful reign, for the exaltation and propagation of the Holy Faith.

And, hoping for a favourable answer to this prayer, I add to it another, that of being admitted to kiss most humbly and reverently Your Sacred Feet and imploring Your Paternal, Apostolic Blessing and Indulgence.

Kutti, the 21st of September, 1721.

(Your) Very Humble, very Reverent and very Devoted Subject, Servant and Son.

Ippolito Desideri,

of the Company of Jesus.

17. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to the General of the Society in Rome (Kuti, Tibet, 5 Oct., 1721).

(From documents in the possession of the Society of Jesus: Goana Epist., 1569-1742 (Goa. 9).)

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M.to R.do in X.po P.re N.ro, P.C.

Con altre mie hò notificato alla P.V.M.R., aver'io obbedito agl' ordini dlla med.a P.V.M.R., e dlla Sac. Cong. di Prop.a con lasciar q.ta Miss e dl Thibet. P.ma di porre l'ultimo passo (tanto, e non più mi rimane) fuori dl Thibet, ho giudicato d'appellarmi al Som. Pont.e, specialm.te p. la non meritata taccia data alla Comp.a con q.lle parole dl decreto dl 1718. Imò contra †

Our Very Reverend Father in Christ, The Peace of Christ.

In other letters of mine I have notified to Your Very Reverend Paternity that I have obeyed the orders of the same Your Very Reverend Paternity and of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, by leaving this Mission of Tibet. Before making the last step (so much, and not more remains to me) outside Tibet, I have judged proper to appeal<sup>1</sup> to the Sovereign Pontiff, especially be-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By a new appeal to the Pope, enclosed with this letter, as appears below.

Decr.a ejusdě Sac. Cong.nis. Così mi sono stimato gravissimam.te obbligato in coscienza a difendere la mia carissima Madre la Comp.a di Gesù. Li motivi non li replico, p.chè li potrà la V.P.M.R. intendere dalla copia (che quì accludo) dll' appello mandato a sua Santità med.ma. Se hò fatto male, non è malizia di volontà, ma errore d' Intelletto.

Dall' altre mie lettere, e da q.ta combinerà la P.V.M.R., essermi io fermato già quasi cinque Mesi in quest'ultimo termine di q.to Thibet, e si maraviglerà di tal dimora. Nò, P.re N.ro M.to R.do. Iddio vuol la pronta Obbedienza, mà senza ammarsi<sup>1</sup> spontaneam.te. In q.ti Mesi passati, e tuttavia un'altro poco, l'inoltrarsi avanti è un certo morire. In atti così è merto quel P. Cappuccino, che a' 27. di Maggio giunse qui in mia compagnia, e che, restando io quì, proseguì p. Nepàl. Adesso col sopravenir' il freddo anche in quei Paesi bassi cessa moralm.te il р. icolo, onde io coll' aiuto di Dio, e con la fiducia in esso partirò p. Nepàl, e da Nepàl andarò (se a Dio piacerà) al Coll.o d'Agra, dove sp.o trocause of the undeserved slur cast on the Company by these words of the decree of 1718: Iñò contra Decreta ejusdem Sacrae *Congregationis* (Nav. against the Decrees of the same Sacred Congregation). Thus have I judged myself very seriously obliged in conscience to defend my very dear Mother the Company of Jesus. The motives I do not repeat, because Your Reverend Paternity will be able to understand them from the copy (which I here include)  $^{1}$  of the Appello (I appeal) sent to His Holiness himself. If I have done ill. it is not ill will, but error of judgment.

By combining other letters of mine with this one, Your Very Reverend Paternity will see that I have stayed already about five months at this last limit of this Tibet, and you will marvel at the delay. No. Our Very Reverend Father. God wants prompt Obedience, but not that we kill ourselves. To go forward during these past months, and for a little while longer, is certain death. In fact, that Capuchin Father who on the 17th of May arrived with me here, and who, while I stayed here, continued to Nepal, died in that way. At present, when the cold comes down also on these low countries, the danger morally ceases; hence with the help of God and with trust in him, I shall leave for Nepal, and from Nepal shall go (if it please God) to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sic, for ammazzarsi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The letter of Kuti, dated Sept. 21, 1721, with the present one.

verò gl'ordini dl P. Prov. le di Goa.

Con q.ta occasione rinuovo all P.V.M.R. l'instanza, e supplica fatta in alter moltisa.e mie lettere, cioè, che si degni di mandarmi espresso ordine di portarmi in p.sona a Roma, avendo necessità di parlar' a voce alla P.V.M.R., alla S.C. di Prop.a, e al Som. Pont.e.

P.re N. ro il mio intento non è di voler'a forza la Comp.a nel Thibet. Q.to non è affare mio; mà il mio intento è di porre in chiaro l'Innocenza dlla Comp.a, li suoi Jus, privilegij, e ragioni, e nell' istesso tempo proveder'al bene di q.te. anime, che Dio m'aveva dato, ò col tornar quà la Comp.a, ò se non vogliono così, almeno con manifestar' alla S.C. di Prop.a, e al Som. Pon. e molte cose necessariss.e le q.li non posso tutte notificare p. Lettere, Memoriali, e Scritture, mà solo a voce. Se la P.V.M. R. mi concederà la grazia di portarmi col suo comando a Roma, bene quide; se nò; p.

the College of Agra, where I hope to find the orders of the Provincial of Goa.<sup>1</sup>

On this occasion 1 renew to Your Reverend Paternity the request and petition made in very many other letters of mine, to wit, that you deign to send me the express order of going to Rome, in person, as I have need to speak orally to Your Very Reverend Paternity, to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and to the Sovereign Pontiff.

Our Father, my intention is not to want by all means the Company in Tibet. That is not business of mine; but my intention is to make clear the innocence of the Company, its right, privileges and reasons, and at the same time to provide for the welfare of these souls which God had given me, either by the return of the Company hither, or, if they do not want it so, by at least manifesting to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and to the Sovereign Pontiff many things most necessary which cannot all be made known by Letters, Memorials and Writings, but orally only. If Your

Desideri must have met Fr. Felice of Montecchio again at Patna in 1725, and it was the lot of both to meet again at Rome in 1728 and plead against each other their reasons for having been first in the field. The Tibetan field, however barren of results, was in the eyes of both too good to be given up without a square fight.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In his *Relazione*, Desideri writes: 'The Capuchin Father who had come from Lhasa and had been my companion up to here, continued his journey, as he had been appointed to the hospice of Kattmandù in Nepal; but, after arriving at the said city, he passed to a better life two months later. I, on the contrary, judged it advisable to remain at Kutti till the winter, because the transition from the climate of Thibet to that of Nepal, and from Nepal to the Mogol, is very harmful; the more so as at that time there was great mortality at Kattmandù, owing to Influenza, as Father Felice of Morro just mentioned experienced. I left therefore Kutti on the 14th December in company with Father Felice of Montecchio, who had arrived there meanwhile.' (Puini, 87.)

parte mia averò sgravato la mia coscienza.

Supplico la P.V.M.R., che le risposte dlle lettere di quest' anno, che la P.V.M.R., si degnerà mandarmi, le consegni, e faccia inviare con tutta raccomandazione, poichè l'altre risposte (toltane la p.a allelettere di Goa) non mi sono giunte, e la P.V.M.R. dice averle mandate p. Goa.

In fine umilm.te prostrato a suoi piedi la supplico dlla paterna Bened.nee S.S. Sacr.ij.

D.P.V.M.R.

- Kuttì, ultimo termine dlla mia partenza dal Thibet, 5. 8bre 1721.
- Ind.mo in X.po servo, e Suddito,

Ippolito Desiderj.

(Endorsement made in Rome):

Goana, 1721. Kutti, Thibetti 5. Octobris. P. Hyppolitus Desideri.

Executus est promptissime ordinationem a S.Cong. et a P.V. emanatam exeundi à Thibet; post obtentam comoratus est tandiu ibi, quia expectabat occasionem minus noxiam, et in qua ejus vita certum periculum non subiret, ut successit comiti Capuccino, qui mortuus Very Reverend Paternity grants me the favour of going by your order to Rome, bene quidem (well indeed): if not, I for my part shall have discharged my conscience.

I beseech Your Very Reverend Paternity that, for the answers to the letters of this year which Your Very Reverend Paternity will deign to send me, you consign them and have them sent with every recommendation, because the other answers (excepting the first, answering the letters from Goa) have not reached me, and Your Reverend Paternity says you sent them by Goa.

At the end, humbly prostrate at your feet, I crave your Fatherly Blessing and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's,

Kutti, last limit for my departure from Tibet, the 5th October, 1721.

Most Unworthy Servant in Christ, and Subject,

Ippolito Desideri.

## (Endorsement made in Rome):

Goan things, 1721. Kutti of Tibet, 5th October. Fr. Hyppolitus Desideri.

He complied most promptly with the ordination sent by the Sacred Congregation and by Your Paternity of leaving Tibet; after he had received it, he remained so long there because he awaited an opportunity less harmful, one in which his life should not be **690** 

est. Reiterat deprecationes ad obtinendam facultatem adeundi Roman, quas interponit tactus scrupulo, et ductus conscientia; et sperat eam exoraturum ad S. Fidei, et veritatis manifestationem. exposed to evident danger, as happened to his Capuchin companion, who died. He renews his request to obtain the permission of going to Rome, bringing it forward, because induced by a scruple of conscience; and he hopes to obtain it for the sake of manifesting the (interests of the) Holy Faith and the truth.

Rs. Jan. 1723.

Answered: January 1723.

18. The Mission of Tibet is assigned to the Capuchins (1732).

(From a note in the possession of the Society of Jesus; no date.)

Missio Tibetana privative Capuccinis tradita.

(In another writing): Nell' Anno 1732. la Sacra Cong. ne di Propaganda, senza toccare verunaltra cosa, di quelle re quali si agitano nelle scritture del p. Felice da Montecchio, e del P. Desideri, decretò che la Missione del Tibet appartenesse privative a PP. Capuccini: come era stato decretato da Papa Clemente XI. The Mission of Tibet given over exclusively (?) to the Capuchins.

In the year 1732, the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, without touching any other thing of those which are discussed in the writings of Fr. Felice of Montecchio and of Fr. Desideri, decreed that the Mission of Tibet should belong exclusively (?) to the Capuchin Fathers, as had been decreed by Pope Clement XI.

19. Desideri on the political events in Tibet (1707-1721). (P. 338).

## I.

This great kingdom of Great Tibet fell into the hands and power of the Tartars in the following manner.

The Tibetan king, who reigned at the end of last century (P. 339) and in the beginning of the present one, being continually at war with the king of the kingdom of *Ciang* (*Tsang.*) had appointed, as his generalissimo and the defender of his kingdom, a Tartar prince, the brother of the petty king of Kokonor and a relative of the Emperor of China. Through his valour, this prince put an end to the wars continually waging between the King of Uu (*dBus*) and the King of *Ciang* (*gTsang*). He conquered the latter kingdom, took the great fortress of Jêgacé, destroyed (? col disfare) the king and all his people and family, and subjected the whole country above-mentioned to the king of Uu, or of Lhasà. The said Tartar prince having won the applause and esteem of many by this victory, and by his valour and prudence, the ungrateful Tibetan king. carried away by envy and political suspicions, requited badly the services of the defender of his kingdom; for, instead of rewarding him liberally, he caused poison to be secretly given to him and to one of his ministers, called Targum-treê-scij. The treachery being remarked in time, they succeeded, thanks to medicines, in escaping the danger. The ungrateful king did not desist, however; he tried again to poison them, though once more in vain. After that, the Tartar prince placed himself at the head of his troops and declared war against the Tibetan king. In a short time, he took possession of Lhasà and forced the king to retire to a strong fortress, at no great distance from the said city. Having tried in vain to force the place, the Tartars had recourse to trickery. They made the said king believe that the Great Lama himself, appealing to his revered authority, called him out of that place and invited him to accept the terms of peace which the Tartars would propose. The credulous king left the fortress, with the result that the Tartar prince and the minister suddenly fell upon him and killed him. Having thus taken possession of the whole kingdom, the Tartar prince became king under the name of Cinghes-khang, and his minister became viceroy. The whole kingdom agreed to the change, which was confirmed by the authority of the Emperor of China, who then and subsequently sent ambassadors to acknowledge Cinghes-khang as absolute master of the whole of Tibet and establish him the more firmly and for ever on the throne.

The nobility of his extraction, his kinship with the Emperor of China and his personal valour rendered Cinghes-khang greatly feared and respected by all his subjects; the foreigners likewise, of whom there are plenty in the Third Tibet, greatly esteemed him for his qualities and moral virtues. He showed himself extremely fond, too, of foreigners, and the further the countries they came from, the greater was his goodwill for them. Sharp, lofty in his views and quick-witted, when he had heard me propose to him sundry points of religion directly opposed to his beliefs, he was continually discussing with me, (P. 340) and very ably too; and he assured me that, if I could convince him of the falsity of the doctrines he followed, he would become a Christian with the whole of his Court and of his people. He governed the country with rare prudence and was most upright and just in his decisions. Endowed with these and many other natural gifts and virtuous qualities, he maintained himself on the throne till December 1717, when his end was the more

lamentable as the course of his reign had been the more successful. The causes of his woeful end were as I shall now explain.

At the time when Cinghes-khang became master of the kingdom, the Grand Lamà of Tibet was a most dissolute young man, unbridled, and stained with every vice. Moreover, he started doing things contrary to the inviolable customs of the Lamàs and of the Religious; such as taking the greatest care of his hair, drinking spirits to excess, and indulging in gambling; finally, he let himself be carried away by his lust to such a degree that not a beautiful person of either sex escaped the onslaughts of his ungovernable passions. To bring him back to the right path, the advice of the wise king Cinghes-khang proved unavailing; unavailing too his severe reprimands; nor did he succeed better when he threatened to put a violent stop to conduct which contaminated the whole of his Kingdom.

So, when matters had first been arranged with the Emperor of China through repeated mutual embassies, king Cinghes-khang, under cover of specious pretexts, obliged the Grand Lamà to leave Lhasà, and to go towards China in the suite of the Tartars and of his own most faithful servants. On the journey, the Grand Lamà was shown the king's orders, which condemned him to death: Now, before the execution of the sentence, from which there was no escape, he said to some of his friends that, after his death, they should tell his dear Tibetans not to mourn for him, but to wait for his return; he would come back to them, and would accordingly be reborn on the frontiers of China; they should look for him in that direction, and in due time they would find him back. Thus said, he was executed according to the King's order: and the king appointed in his stead a Religious of Tibet somewhat advanced in age, whom he raised to the throne and dignity of Grand Lamà. When the news became known, great was the grief of the Tibetans, and great the indignation which the Religious conceived against the Tartar king. They would have liked to avenge the Grand Lamà's death by deposing and killing the king; but, finding themselves powerless for that, they tried secretly to compass their design in another manner. How, I shall say presently. The Tibetans, (P. 341) and especially the Religious, refused to acknowledge the Grand Lamà, yet, before the peremptory orders of the king and the dreaded authority of the Emperor of China, all submitted externally and acclaimed the new Grand Lamà with outward shows of reverence and obedience. Nevertheless, their reverence was so utterly feigned that almost all, at that very time, plotted secretly to free themselves of the Grand Lamà and of the king himself.

Accordingly, the Tibetans, and in especial the Religious, who were more deeply implicated in the conspiracy than the rest, turned to the king of independent Upper Tartary, asking him to help them in effecting their designs. The said king was a

friend and relative of king Cinghes-khang. He accepted, however, to betray him. Under pretence of new demonstrations of friendship towards the king of Tibet, he  $\operatorname{sent}$ him ambassadors, asking him to accept the hand of his daughter for his eldest son and thus draw closer the ties of kinship already existing between them; would he, therefore, condescend to send his son to his Court in Upper Tartary? King Cinghes-khang accepted the proposal and sent his eldest son with many of his servants and a large number of soldiers on horseback. After some time the king of Upper Tartary asked of king Cinghes-khang a considerable amount of gold and silver and large numbers of horses and soldiers, alleging disagreements with China and the fear of disturbances in the kingdom of Iarkand, which, a few years before, he had barbarously subjugated. King Cingheskhang, who by nature was unable to suspect evil, especially in a friend and relative, quickly sent whatever the king of Upper Tartary had requested.

Meanwhile, throughout Tibet the news was that a child, a few years old, and born near Sining, on the frontiers between Lower Tartary and China, had spoken and had said (which happens frequently in Tibet, as I have had occasion to show) that he was the Grand Lamà who had been put to death by king Cinghes-khang, but had been reborn, conformably to the promise he had made to his dear Tibetans; the throne of Lhasà belonged to himself; he was most eager to see again his devoted disciples; his only wish was to try again to procure and further their welfare, and to save them from the vast ocean of toils, as they call the cycle of transmigrations in which they erroneously believe. (P. 342).

It is difficult to imagine what a commotion this piece of news produced on the minds of the Tibetans, especially of the Religious, and though eager they were to see placed again on his throne their Grand Lamà, whose return they had so anxiously expected and longed for. They thought that the king, who belonged to their own sect, would at once make diligent inquiries into the new reincarnation; but they were disappointed. The king of Tibet sent to the place where the said child was some Lamàs and doctors to examine very minutely (such being the custom in Tibet, as I explained more in particular above) whether the said child was the Grand Lamà who had died and been reborn; now, these Lamàs and doctors, having gone and made the necessary examination, returned to Tibet and reported to the king that they had not been able to discover sufficient signs to make them recognize in the said child the person of the former Grand Lamà. Accordingly, the king not only did not allow the said child to come to Tibet, but to obviate disorder he contrived that the Emperor of China should have the said child taken and put into a fortress, where he was surrounded by trusty guards. For many years the Tibetans made every effort to obtain from the king of China their Grand Lamà; all their attempts proved, however, useless. In the end, impatient of further delays, and becoming bold and resolute, they determined to execute and accomplish without more ado the conspiracy which, long before, with the help of the king of independent Upper Tartary, they had set on foot against king Chinghes-khang and the Grand Lamà, whom they would not accept as lawfully elect.

The chief instigators of the disorders, which were the outcome of what we have related, were different Lamàs and almost all the Religious of the three chief convents and great Universities of Tibet: to wit, the great convent of Breebung, the great convent of Serà at Lhasà, and the great convent of Jegacè. the capital of the province of Ciang. They bribed many grandees of Tibet and some of the King's ministers, and made them promise that, when the time for assisting the enemies would be at hand, they would lend their help for the success of the enterprise. All this and many other things having been secretly arranged in Tibet, they sent a large picked body of Religious, the youngest and most robust, to independent Upper Tartary, where, with the help of that king, who gave them some troops of Tartar soldiers, they enrolled themselves under the command and conduct of Gè-ring-ton-drup, and (P. 343) three other generals. Two of these were monks, who had studied and been solemnly promoted to a doctor's degree at the said great convents and Chief Universities of Breebung and Serà, at the capital of Lhasà.

Gè-ring-ton-drup had also studied at the famous convent and large University of Jegacè, where he had been a Religious. He was a very near relative of the king of independent Upper Tartary; a man of keen intellect, bold, intrepid and warlike, he was accustomed to fatigue, no toils intimidated him; his horse and his arms were everything for him; in fact, we might compare him to a miniature Alexander the Great, whose qualities were revived in his person; and he was destined to show to the world that those who have been schooled in the liberal arts and trained in the career of sciences turn out the bravest and most victorious sons of Mars.

When the said army had enlisted under the banners of such a general and was ready to march upon Tibet, another army was levied at the same time to be sent against China, to prevent the Emperor from succouring Chinghes-khang, his friend and kinsman, and to try moreover to take possession of the child who was said to be the incarnation of the Grand Lamà. If this design succeeded, there would be no further need of a campaign; for, if they got hold of the child and could conduct him triumphantly across Tibet, the whole country would acclaim and welcome him as their longed-for and legitimate Sovereign, and all would turn their backs on king Cinghes-khang. In this way, the conquest of Tibet would cost less blood to the Tartars and the Tibetans, and the results would prove more lasting.

When these two armies issued from independent Upper Tartary, the false rumour was spread that king Cinghes-khang's eldest son was returning to Tibet with his bride and a large escort. King Cinghes-khang was in the habit of leaving the city of Lhasà at the beginning of June and of going with his Tartars to a pleasure-seat in the north, called Dam, where he would indulge in the pleasures of the chase till about the end of October. In the year 1717, when he received the false news of his son's arrival, he left Lhasà in the middle of June and went to Dam. not for the usual hunt, but to meet the sooner his eldest son, whom he longed to see again. While he was nursing these sweet hopes, lo! suddenly from his hereditary estates in Lower Tartary, there arrived breathless, after a precipitous flight, and accompanied by only a handful of followers, (P. 344) his second son, who, with tears in his eves, revealed to his father the treachery so perfidiously planned against him by the king of independent Upper Tartary, whose army was to arrive within a few hours at that very place, as indeed happened. Without a minute's delay, the king picked together for battle his Tartars and some Tibetan servants whom he had with him, and bravely prepared with his son to resist the enemy, who in a short while came to attack the king and his small force.

This first battle would speedily have sealed the doom of king Cinghes-khang and put an end to his dynasty, if his second son had not discovered the secret pact between some of his father's servants and the enemy for killing him and triumphing without striking another blow. The said prince, having therefore punished the traitors without delay, conducted the battle in quite another direction and after a quite different manner; so that king Cinghes-khang with the small force under him was victorious in several engagements and gained a very advantageous position, which barred the enemy's march upon Lhasà and made it impossible for them to communicate with the rebels of Tibet. In this manner, the king foiled all the attempts of his open and secret enemies for the space of three months, *i.e.* from the beginning of August till about the end of October. During this time, the king called up from all the provinces, even the remotest, all the troops of the kingdom and collected them in the city of Moreover, through the industry and skill of some Lhasà. ambassadors of the Emperor of China who had come to Lhasà during the previous months, marvellous work was done for fortifying the whole of the great circuit of the said city of Lhasà, up to the Potalà inclusively, with new walls and gates, with manifold forts and ravelins, ditches and palisades and other suitable means of defence, all of which would have made the place impregnable for the host of enemies without, had not

treachery been lurking within that *very* enclosure, within those very fortifications.

As the above-said place of Dam is unprotected towards the north, and greatly exposed to intolerably cold winds during the cold season, which about the end of October had already begun to make its rigour felt, the king and his son and all their people abandoned their position at Dam and retired to the capital city of Lhasà, which, as I have said, had been well fortified and strongly supplied with troops. The enemies did not move or advance; and, notwithstanding the unbearable cold tormenting them at Dam, they remained there still (P. 345) another full month, without making any hostile demonstration. Their intention was to await the arrival of the other army which they had left on the frontiers of China. They hoped that with them would come the said child, the supposed incarnation of the Grand Lamà of Tibet. They were, however, disappointed. The said army was of a sudden completely defeated by the Chinese, and the pretended Lamà of Tibet was left in closer confinement than before and guarded more jealously.

Hearing this news, and foiled in his hope of obtaining indispensable help from the army whose arrival he had awaited, the generalissimo Gè-ring-ton-drup was reduced to straits whichever way he turned. To advance to the siege of an excellently fortified city, and fight with only six thousand soldiers a whole kingdom, was too foolhardy to think of; to turn back and return the same way as he had come was tantamount to exposing his life and the lives of his soldiers to the fury and just vengeance of the Chinese. What did he do? He kept the discomfiture of the army he had awaited an impenetrable secret, and he succeeded so well in dissimulating it that he made his soldiers and the Tibetans believe most firmly that the army which had gone against China had not only been victorious, but that it was bringing to Tibet the new Grand Lamà; therefore, they should offer no resistance, but open the gates to one who was going to re-establish on the throne of Lhasà its lawful and much longed-for Lord. Having thus prepared the way, the said general advanced with his troops against the capital of Tibet.

On the 21st of November, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, they appeared in the neighbourhood of Lhasà, advanced even to where they were hardly safe from the artillery (the guns not being very big), and immediately split up in four divisions: the first, under Gè-ring-ton-drup, remained on the north side, near the great convent of Serà; the second went to take up its position on the west side, not far from the other chief convent of Breebung; the third went to station itself on the east side, so as to be in communication with the other convent of Kânden; finally, the fourth division placed itself on the south side, on the bank of the Great river, which flows in the neighbourhood of Lhasà. No sooner did these divisions appear than the religious and the Lamàs went out in a body from the abovesaid convents, welcomed the Tartars with joyful shouts and acclamations, and brought them food, weapons and ammunition; and, what is more, a large number of the young men of all the convents took up arms and, dressed as soldiers, joined (P. 346) the new-comers, thus swelling considerably the too small numbers of the army.

During the night of the 30th of November, after midnight, the enemies fiercely assaulted the walls of Lhasà from every As agreed upon, they were supplied in some places direction. with ladders, and the north and east gates were opened to The enemy entered the unhappy city, and after a short, them. though bloody, resistance, they were masters of the place by dav-break. Amid delirious rejoicings, the victorious army carried Gè-ring-ton-drup in triumph to the royal palace. Trussikhang, as it is called, but found it despoiled of all its contents: for the king and his family, together with the Viceroy, the generalissimo, and a few other ministers of his court had evacuated it and retired to the great palace of Potalà, the Grand Lamà's residence, which, situated on a spacious, though not very high, eminence of hard rock, forms a very strong fortress.

Hardly had Gè-ring-ton-drup entered the royal palace when, with his permission, all his soldiers, and, more greedy than the rest, the religious of the above-said convents who had joined his army as soldiers, scattered and, with naked swords in their hands, ran to all the houses, to pillage and sack, without sparing anyone, not even those who had secretly intrigued with Their greed not being satisfied with what they found them. in the houses, they went in search of what had been kept and placed in the convents and in the temples. Not even then was their cupidity appeased; they returned several times to all the houses, and, sparing neither age, sex nor rank, they struck some with the point of their swords, beat others all over the body with inhuman cruelty, suspended others, with their hands tied behind their back, from the beams of the soffit (del soffitto) and scourged them repeatedly, or again tormented others in other barbarous ways, and all that to make them confess where they had secreted their riches. Two full days and two full nights they continued thus, until they had stolen, unearthed and collected all the most precious things or anything of value which they could find, both in the city of Lhasà and in its vicinity. It was pitiful to see persons, formerly rich and very well-off, and the welthiest merchants, reduced to a lamentable condition. almost quite naked, and with no other consolation than that all shared the same wretched plight. Among those who suffered most from the stealing of property and ill-treatments were the very reverend Capuchin Fathers, (P. 347), who were robbed of everything they had, as much as about 500 Roman scudi. All that was left to them was some little money which they had buried in the place where they kept their fire-wood. One of

these Fathers was stripped stark naked and cruelly scourged, so much so that for a long time afterwards he suffered most painfully from his wounds. As for me, I had lived for some months at the University of Serà, in order to study more conveniently their chief books and get accustomed to their manner of discussing. At the time when the hostile Tartars came to besiege Lhasà, I was at the said University, and I was advised to return to the said city, as to a place offering less danger and greater safety. I judged it, however, more prudent not to budge from where I was, and so I suffered no personal violence, nor was I robbed of the little money I had on me, or of my bed, or of the things of my chapel. On the other hand, whatever I had at Lhasà, in the Hospice of the Capuchin Fathers, was stolen, only some money excepted, which I had hidden in the abovesaid place.

On the third day, which was the 3rd of December 1717, the barbarians turned all their efforts and all their fury and greed against the said great palace of Potalà, the magnificent residence of the Grand Lama. With engines and ladders and other contrivances, they scaled the outer ring of walls on the south side; then, having occupied the rock and seeing that all other efforts to penetrate into the palace and the fortress would be useless, they had recourse to fire; and, having forced the chief big gate by means of it, they entered, not to cease the tragedy, but to commence others of a new and more horrible nature. Meanwhile, king Cinghes-khang, the Viceroy and the generalissimo had slipped out by a secret door on the north side, and, mounting good horses kept ready for the purpose, had taken to flight. When the enemies remarked they were gone, they gave chase at once. At a certain place, the fugitives were stopped in their flight by a ditch strengthened by a double palisade; here they were overtaken, and, though they defended themselves bravely, king Cinghes-khang was killed in the affray. When Gè-ring-tondrup was informed of the fact, he went at once to where the king had been killed and where his corpse still lay; he made a great show of grief, spoke with the highest praise of his virtues and gave him an honourable funeral.

To the second son, the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij and the dead king's generalissimo, whose name was Ten-drup-çê-ring, were reserved greater and longer misfortunes and a further display of great deeds. (P. 348) The three of them, after avenging the king's death by slaying a goodly number of enemies, bravely forced their way through them, and, as not one could equal the speed of their horses, they continued their flight, and disappeared from the sight of their pursuivants. When they had run a long time, they went at dead of night and at the risk of their lives to take refuge in the house of a great Governor of one of the chief provinces of Tibet. This province, which is in the north-east of Tibet, is called  $T\hat{a}z\hat{e}$ , whence the said Governor was called Debà-Tâzê.

During their flight, the hostile Tartars, driven by their insatiable greed of plunder, had penetrated forcibly into the great palace of the Potalà. Here they found the Grand Lamà who had been appointed by king Cinghes-khang. Of his own accord, he yielded to them his throne, and asked as a favour to be allowed to spend the rest of his life, like a simple private Religious, in his old convent.

They also found in the Potalà the Grand Lamà of Jegace, who is esteemed as the second oracle of Tibet, his authority being enhanced by his enormous wealth and his very advanced age. These qualifications had gained him the greatest esteem and reverence, not only from king Cinghes-khang and the whole of Tibet, but also from the Emperor of China and the victorious general Gè-ring-ton-drup, whose superior and director he had been formerly, when the said general lived and studied for soveral years as a Religious at the great convent and University of Jegace. So then, the said Lamà of Jegace, trusting to the authority which his rank and his age gave him, reproved bitterly his bold enemies for their perfidy and treachery, the murder of the king, the death of so many innocent people and the sack of the town; and he added that, as life would be too heavy a burden to him thenceforth, he had no other wish than to share the fate of so many wretched people whom they had slain. These words saved from a murderous sword the widowed queen and her youngest son, a child three or four years old, whom she had near her; but they were despoiled of everything they had and kept prisoners in Gè-ring-ton-drup's power.

When the Tartars had emptied the great palace of Potalà of all its former inmates, they stripped it of all its contents. No one would believe me if I were to detail the extraordinary amount of booty which was taken at this sack; for no one would be able to credit, still less to value, the immensity of the wealth and the rareness of the treasures which were found in the said palace, especially in the thrones, in the apartments of the Grand Lamà and in the temple of the idols, which stands (P. 349) in the chief part of the said palace. Only one who has seen such treasures and examined them again and again can form a sufficiently adequate idea of them.

The second son of king Cinghes-khang, the Viceroy and the generalissimo of all the troops of Tibet had, during their flight, taken refuge in the house of the Debà-Tâzê with the intention of prosecuting their journey towards China; but, whereas they thought they would find at his house a brief respite from their fatigues, they found in it the beginning of new and harder trials. The said Debà-Tâzê belonged to the most conspicuous family of Tibet; he was closely connected with the native kings of the country, a long line of whom had

governed it before they were dispossessed by king Cingheskhang for reasons recounted above. Moreover, he was but too eager, old as he was, to recover for himself the royal crown which once had belonged to his family. Besides, he was a hardhearted and more than feline character, as is shown by the execrable thing he had done many years before. He had an only son, a young man of high intellect, affable manners and endowed with such good parts that king Cinghes-khang, who loved him with a father's affection, kept him at his court, loaded him with favours and raised him for his care talents to the most important charges. All this, however, was not to his father's liking, though he ought, it seems, to have rejoiced at it, rather; jealousy and the hatred he felt towards the sovereign suggested to him the fell design of poisoning his own son. So then, prompted partly by his hatred for the deceased king Cingheskhang, partly by his inhuman nature and unbridled ambition. he sent ambassadors to Gè-ring-ton-drup at Lhasà to let him know that the fugitive sovereign 1 and his son 2 were in his power, helpless. Gè-ring-ton-drup despatched from Lhasà a big body of armed Tartars, who, on arriving at the place indicated, loaded with fetters victims already under arrest and brought them to the conqueror's feet. His orders were to keep the prince and the Vicerov apart in separate prisons; after which, he had the conquered general Ton-drup-ce-ring <sup>3</sup> placed before him, and, finding him insensible to threats, he tried to mollify him by kindness and promises; but all his artifices were unavailing, so strong was the man's courage, so firm his lovalty to his sovereign.

When the Vicerov Targum-tree-scij had been confined to a rigorous imprisonment, the barbarous usurpers of Tibet, knowing that all the King's and the Grand Lamà's treasures, much of which they had been unable to discover, had always been in his keeping, tried (P. 350) for a long time with inhuman cruelty to make him confess where these treasures were kept hidden. I was dying to help somewhat the said Viceroy, who from the first days of my arrival at Lhasà had been my affectionate friend and had shown himself quite openly ready to further the success of my mission but, much as I tried, I could give him no other help than procuring him a bed of mine, and supply a faithful servant of his with some money, so that he might every day give him Cia<sup>4</sup> to drink. The Tartars, baulked by the firmness of that very loyal Viceroy, and seeing that they could obtain nothing from him, resolved to send to the king of Upper Tartary the said Vicerov with the queen, the young prince, and king Cinghes-khang's second son, in order that, on their arrival there, they might meet with a cruel death.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sic, for Viceroy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Sic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Read: and the sovereign's son.

The victorious Tartars, suspecting opposition to the execution of their iniquitous enterprise, conducted with them as secretly as possible, and under strong surveillance, the said four persons. They had already entered the desert which, from the north-west, by the upper road of China, leads to Upper Tartary, when the news of their movements reached the ears of Tendrup-ce-ring, who had finally been set free. Without losing a moment, he set out all alone and succeeded in overtaking the prisoners. He attacked resolutely the guards conducting them, and at the first blow managed to save from their hands the Viceroy, who fled and recovered his liberty. Meanwhile, he received the sad tidings that Gè-ring-ton-drup, hearing of his sudden departure from Lhasà, had avenged himself by barbarously killing his wife. The news of this cruel deed only added to his anger and his boldness. Rushing again among the enemies, who still held the king's widow and her two sons. he tried to set them free; but, overpowered by numbers, he fell himself into the hands of the Tartar soldiers, and was massacred.

When the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij had, as we said above, recovered his liberty by flight, he started making plans of revenge. Leaving the desert which on the east side, and across China, leads to Upper Tartary, he took the north road, and coming down, alone and incognito, to the province of Cang, he crossed the other provinces until he arrived at the other, great desert which, stretching from the west as far as Cartoa.<sup>1</sup> leads from there to Yarkand, whence it goes directly to independent Upper Tartary. Having crossed the whole of this desert and arrived at Cartoa, he started collecting at once (P. 351) and encouraging some scattered military outposts which king Cinghes-khang had formerly sent there to defend those furthermost parts of Tibet against the invasions which his treacherous enemies might have attempted on that side. Having brought together a small body of troops, he inspired his soldiers with eagerness to avenge in the blood of their enemies their king and his family, and proceeded to block the Cartoa pass, so that the barbarian usurpers might not receive any help from their own country or have any intercourse with it.

His plan did not prove unsuccessful. As the Chinese had occupied the eastern route, and he did not yet know the snares which were being laid for him in the north, the king of independent Upper Tartary,<sup>2</sup> or of the Giongars (as the Tartars of that Tartary are called in that language) sent repeatedly his envoys by way of Cartoa in order to obtain from that side reinforcements and thus strengthen his army in Tibet, which was now getting weaker and weaker. But not one of

those who were sent from Lhasà to the country of the Giongars or were sent from there to Tibet, managed to escape with his life when arriving at Cartoa, the place where the Viceroy Targumtree-scij and his small band lay in ambush. Seeing that, after much waiting, none of the envoys whom he had sent to Upper Tartary returned and that none of the auxiliary troops promised appeared from there, Gè-ring-ton-drup, the general of the Giongars, did not know whether this was the result of obstacles met on the way, or because the king of the Giongars was unable to help and continue the enterprise. He then took it into his head to send to him all the booty, and to re-awaken in him by the sight of such wealth his desire to assist him with a strong force and complete the conquest of Tibet. Accordingly, he sent by the western route, that of the great desert, which emerges at Gnari and Cartoa, a large well-armed body of his Giongars, and entrusted to them the whole of his treasures, whatever he had amassed not only from the sack of Lhasà, but from a great part of Tibet.

After a long journey of four months, the said Giongar force was now approaching the frontiers of their country and anticipating the pleasure of a triumphal entry, when, on arriving at Cartoa, Targum-tree-scij sent to meet them some of the Tibetans whom he had collected and won over to his cause. They went out, unarmed; and, far from assuming a menacing attitude, they manifested joy, and behaved like friends who, on hearing of the arrival of the Giongars, wished to make them forget the discomforts of a toilsome journey. In this way they induced the Giongars (P. 352) to rest there a few days, in fieldtents, which they had prepared for them. They stopped, therefore; and they were quite willing, all of them, to stimulate the newly begun rejoicings by potations of Ciang and Aracca, copious quantities of which had been prepared for them. It is the custom, both among the Tartars and the Tibetans, not to stop drinking such like liquids, even when importuned by them, until all the pots placed before them have been emptied. The Giongars had already drunk very deep, when the Tibetans, acting on Targum-tree-scij's instructions, made the chief officers of that large force understand that it was not the custom for people indulging in drink to keep their arms about their person: for, when people get drunk, they are apt to start quarrelling, to come to blows, and, having their arms about them, they may turn a joyful convivial meeting into a scene of fighting and bloodshed. The Giongars, already under the spell of excessive libations, their minds obnubilated, did not reflect on the danger of such a proposal; and, when their arms had been taken and safely stowed away, they resumed with renewed zest the task of emptying the cups, with the result that many dropped down, overcome by sleep, while the rest were unfit for any rational action. Then the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij (sic) ordered his small force to kill everyone of the Giongars with their own weapons, and not to let even one escape and carry home the sad tidings. This was done; the immense treasures, which these barbarian robbers had brought so far, were taken, and the Viceroy kept them intact at Cartoa itself so that, when the Chinese came, as he hoped, to take possession of Tibet, he might carry them back to Lhasà and surrender them to the Chinese, by way of thanking them for having avenged the death of king Cinghes-khang and of his family. By this one blow, Targum-tree-scij all alone reduced the Giongars to such straits that not only did they despair of obtaining from their country any succour of fresh forces, but with their reduced numbers they were unable to maintain their hold on Tibet and were forced to see the entire country pass into the hands of the Chinese, as we shall now explain.

The Emperor of China was doubly irritated against the Giongars: not only had they, without any declaration of war, sent an army to occupy his states on the side of Sining, but they had treacherously deprived of his kingdom and of his life king Cinghes-khang, his friend and kinsman. Anxious to remedy all this without bloodshed, he sent with due precautions (P. 353) his ambassadors to the generalissimo of the Giongars, the usurper of Tibet, Gè-ring-ton-drup, to persuade him to desist from his enterprise and represent to him the dangers which obstinacy would expose him to. Gè-ring-ton-drup, emboldened by his victories, replied to the ambassador of the Chinese sovereign that by the sword he had taken possession of Tibet and by the sword meant to maintain his power over it.

To repress the pride of the Giongars, and avenge the death of king Cinghes-khang and the wrongs done to himself, the Emperor of China sent to Tibet in 1719, from his states of Sining and other provinces in their neighbourhood, a large army composed exclusively of Chinese, partly pagans and partly Maomettans, none of the Tartars, who compose the mainstay of his army, being sent along with them. There are two routes from China to Lhasà: the shorter one, which generally takes three months, goes west from Sining, crosses a long and troublesome desert, and emerges north of Lhasà; the other required more than three months; it strikes southwards from Sining and goes to the province of Tazentu, in the kingdom of Kham, which forms part of the kingdom of Tibet; then, turning to the west, it runs through other parts of Kham and other provinces of Tibet till it reaches Lhasà; this second road, although much longer, is very convenient, for it passes all the time through inhabited places. However, the officers and commandants of the above-said army, who were mostly Maomettans, fearing to meet with serious obstacles along this second road, took the former one and came marching across the said desert. Owing to their numbers, the length of the journey,

and their slow progress, the army, on arriving at Dam, a place not far from and north of Lhasà, but thinly populated, suffered seriously from want of food. At first, they could revictual themselves at once; but not so afterwards. As soon as they reached the said place, they occupied an advantageous position and constructed a stone entrenchment to defend themselves from attacks on the part of the enemy. On hearing of the arrival of the Chinese army, the Giongars marched at once against Dam, whither they called up all the forces of Tibet. After many engagements, always indecisive, the Chinese were compelled to fall back on their entrenchments; but, as soon as they had retired to them, they were surrounded on all sides by the forces of the Giongars and Tibetans; (P. 354) every pass was blocked against them, so that they could not receive or procure even the smallest succour in the way of provisions. They were reduced to such want that, after eating their own animals, they started eating the flesh of the comrades who were continually dying of hunger. In their extremity, they asked some Lamàs to intercede for them and obtain from the Giongars the permission of leaving their entrenchments and returning home, without any further warlike action on their part. The Giongars consented, on condition that the Chinese would come out quite unarmed. The Chinese accepted the condition; but, the moment they left their enclosure, the perfidious Giongars attacked them, unable as they were to offer any resistence, and killed them to a man.

The Emperor of China now levied from many provinces and from his own court of Pekin a countless army, composed no longer of Chinese only, but also in great part of his Tartars. Moreover, several petty kings of Lower Tartary, his vassals and feudatories, also joined the said army with all the forces of their States. Only one who has had experience of the immence wealth of the Emperor of China and has witnessed it at least partly, can form an idea of the great provisions of all sorts, arms, munitions, implements, engines and animals with which he abundantly supplied that numberless host. To say nothing of the rest, I say only that all the officers and every one of the soldiers were given liberally and beforehand full five years' pay.

I do not know whether Your Reverence <sup>1</sup> will believe me, but I protest that I do not exaggerate in the least, and that I tell only what I have seen with my own eyes. No sooner had the Chinese come to Tibet the second time, than the whole of that kingdom, vast as it is, was in a very short time so abundantly supplied with silver that the metal became most common among the people, insomuch that it was necessary to forbid its being accepted for buying and selling. The said silver (as is the custom in China) was not minted money, but pure, unalloyed silver and in pieces of three sorts, big, middling and small. At much risk and expense, the Tibetans sent this silver from Lhasà to Nepal, a journey of three months to and fro, to have it exchanged against the minted money, of the three petty chiefs ruling over the entire kingdom of Nepal. These, without taking any interest or discount, exchanged their usual money against an equal weight of the said silver, and (P. 355) each one of them, especially the petty king of Kadmandù, made a profit of several millions by the exchange.

The wise Emperor's chief aim in sending that army was not to repress violently the boldness of the Giongars, but to alienate from them and conciliate to himself the minds of the To effect his design, he could not find a better Tibetans. means or one more efficacious with those people than policy, even though he did not relish choosing this means. As I have said above, some had already spread throughout Tibet the news that their venerated Grand Lamà, whom king Cingheskhang had caused to be put to death, had been reborn at a place not very far from Sining, in the dominions of China. For a long time these credulous and superstitious people were longing for the return of their Grand Lamà, who hitherto had been well guarded in a safe fortress by the guards of the Emperor of China. Entreaties, artifices, violence, conspiracies on the part of the Tibetans, all had been useless towards recovering and replacing on the throne their reborn Lamà. What then did the Emperor of China? He drew forth from that fortress the supposed reincarnation of the Lamà, and sent him to Tibet with the second army. At the same time he addressed edicts to all the Lamàs and Religious, to all the Governors of Tibet and their subjects, announcing to them the arrival of the longed-for body; if they had the heart to take up arms and fight him, they could join the ranks of the deceitful Giongars; but, if in the young man he sent them they acknowledged and revered their Grand Lamà, they should, at the approach of the troops now on their way to restore him to his throne, obey the orders which the ministers and officers of the Emperor of China would give them.

This second Chinese army did not, like the first, come by way of the said eastern desert; it took the other road of which I have spoken above. It came in good order and slowly; and everywhere people bowed and submitted to the orders of the Emperor of China. In virtue of these orders, suddenly and almost at the same time the whole of Tibet flew to arms; and, from the boys of twelve years upward, there was not a man, old or infirm though he was, who was not obliged to serve as a soldier. During those months I was in the province of Takpokier, at a place called Trong-gnee, and for greater safety's sake I had retired to the palace of the governor of the said province,

who was a religious: he too was obliged to start for the army, leaving a substitute. In the evening of the 28th of September. (P. 356) 1720, a little after sundown, I received from a general of the militia of those provinces the order to present myself the next day at his camp, with arms, a horse, a pack-mule and two persons in my service, armed likewise, and on foot; in case I transgressed his orders, the penalty was death. My quality and authority of Lamà was of no avail; for all the different Lamàs of Tibet received similar orders and were threatened with the like penalty. Your Reverence can well imagine how I was taken aback by so peremptory an order. Seeing my consternation, the good Vice-Governor, an old man of great authority, and somewhat related to the said general, consoled me and let me hope that, thanks to his interposition, he would be able to save me from my troublesome predicament. In fact, he set out, and, arriving the next morning at the said general's tent, he pleaded so well in my favour that they sent me with all speed counter-orders, excuses and compliments.

Though, on that occasion, all the Tibetans were armed, all were not called upon to join the Chinese army; only some were called up, but the others were told off to different places to block all the passes in every direction, not only at the extremities of the kingdom, but at the frontiers of each separate province. Thus every outlet was cut off against the Giongars and every means of escape taken from them.

Instead of losing heart, the Giongars, roused and maddened more than ever by their innate boldness, ran to meet the army of their enemies, and, while these thought themselves secure, in the silence and darkness of the night, they fell upon them unexpectedly and butchered many thousands of poor Chinese. The blood of their enemies roused the Giongars to still greater frenzy; the next night, they returned to the attack with such resolution and dash that they doubled the slaughter. The third night, they attacked again, and this time they turned their efforts to the side where was the Grand Lamà. All around him stood the chief captains and such vast number of Tartars that by themselves they consitituted a formidable host. Eager to penetrate up to the Grand Lamà, the Giongars, made such a nimble and violent onrush and started again such a massacre among their enemies that, their weapons blunted and rendered useless by the long and continued striking and killing, they judged that the fight wearied them more than it harmed and dismayed the Chinese. (P. 357)

Such is precisely the object of the Chinese when they form their enormous armies, composed for the greater part of persons who by their age and weakness seem to be a hindrance rather than a help. China being exceedingly populous and prolific, it matters little to her if in a few battles she loses many thousands of men; nay, she manages to derive considerable profit from the loss itself. In a word, their object in letting the enemy revel in such a slaughter is that in the end they may be utterly tired out and be already in great part defeated by sheer weakness. Then they bring out the most considerable and most stalwart portion of their army, attack their worn-out enemies and have no difficulty in gaining the hoped-for victory.

It is exactly what happened this time, too. On the fourth day, the Chinese did not wait for the Giongars to attack them: they forestalled them. When it grew dark, lights and fires were lit in all the tents and pavilions of the Chinese camp, to let the enemy know that they were watching, and to make them distinguish the said pavilions, whose occupants, besides, had been almost entirely wiped out. Meanwhile, the Tibetans of China and of Lower Tartary, under cover of the darkness, divided into three big divisions. The first remained where it was, to guard and defend the Grand Lamà; the second took up its position in front of the camp, facing the enemy; but this time the Chinese were sent to the rear of the camp and distributed among the tents and pavilions; the third division, issued from the camp in great silence, and after a long detour, stationed itself at the back of the enemies. Then, at a given signal, they suddenly assailed the Giongars, who now plainly saw the difference between those whom they had fought the previous nights and those whom they were fated to contend against this time. The fight raged most fiercely. In the end, reduced to a handful, the Giongars, the arrogant usurpers of Tibet. and their general-in-chief, Gè-ring-ton-drup, were shamefully routed, and the paltry remnant of their forces made for the western desert. Gè-ring-ton-drup did not venture, however, to push on towards Cartoa, where he knew that the redoubted Targum-tree scij yet was; he struck northwards, a prey to despair, utter spite and no less shame, and tried to cross the impassable barrier of mountains which on that side are the abode of everlasting horror. The rumour is that, among those wastes, than which none more horrible are to be found on earth, he whose inhuman cruelty had filled such vast kingdom with terror and carnage ended his career. (P. 358)

After awful catastrophes which had lasted nearly twenty years, the victory of October 1720 secured to the Emperor of China the absolute dominion over the whole of this third Tibet or Bhutan. It is at present governed by him, and it is thought that it will remain subject, for many centuries and without opposition, to his mighty power.

I shall not speak of the great festivities celebrated everywhere, and especially at Lhasà, in honour of the Chinese who had re-instated on the throne of the Potalà the much longedfor Lamà. I shall not enlarge on the great moderation shown by their victorious army. For brevity's sake, I omit these and many other things which would well be worth recording. I shall say only what helps to show that the intention which the most wise Emperor of China, pursued in that enterprise of the conquest of Tibet was merely to vindicate the death of king Cinghes-khang and of his cruelly betrayed family.

I said above that the city of Lhasà was taken by the Giongars, not by force of arms, but by the secret machinations of some, partly seculars and partly Lamàs, traitors to king Cingheskhang, who opened the gates of the city and helped with ladders the said Giongars. I said also that the Debâ Tâzê, with horrible treachery, had surrendered to the power of the Giongars his fugitive guests namely the king's second son, the Viceroy Targum-tree-scij, and general Ton-drup-ce-ring. After the final victory of the Chinese, the traitors were cast into different prisons, and by decree of the Emperor were condemned to die a shameful death in public. Many influential persons, the Grand Lamà included, made every endeavour to obtain the pardon of the culprits; but to no purpose. They were dragged out of their prisons and led, bare-footed, bare-headed and manacled, to the place of execution. In front and behind marched long lines of Chinese and of Tartars from China, and in the centre came, filthy, and covered with shame, the execrated traitors. In this way were they conducted first round the magnificent idol-temple, called in that language Lha-brang, or the Palace of the Lhas; next, throughout the public streets of the city; finally, to the place reserved for the execution of the death-sentence. The Lamàs were beheaded by the executioner: the Debâ-Tâzê and the rest were shamefully tortured and pierced with arrows, until they expired miserably (ff. 63v-80v).

## II.

(P. 359). It is good to know that, although the barbarous and ambitious king of independent Upper Tartary had no other intention than to extend his dominions and treacherously to take possession of the kingdom of Tibet and the immense treasures which he knew it contained, yet he did not conceive or plan the enterprise, but was pushed to it, dragged into it, by the urgent solicitations of others.

For a long time the religious, called Ubàs (*Uba*), those of the yellow cap, had nursed in their heart hatred against the religious dedicated to the worship of Urghien; but, fierce and uncontrollable as was their long-standing rancour, the flame of it smouldered silently. It burst forth when king Cingheskhang, justly condemning to death the Grand Lamà, the special chief of the Ubàs and their great protector, freed Tibet of the pestilential contagion with which the said Grand Lamà's unbridled lust and pernicious dissoluteness infected the Kingdom. Then the Ubàs, seeing on the one hand that they were without a chief and had no hope of soon getting one, on the other that

their antagonists were not only unscathed but under a chief. and increased daily in power, wealth and repute, could no longer repress within their hearts the flame of jealousy and hatred. It blazed forth so violently that nothing now would extinguish At first, they tried to give vent to their wrath in private it. meetings; in conversations with private persons, at the court of Tibet itself, nay at the court of China too; then, bands after bands of them went to Upper Tartary, and there with shouts and cries they lamented their lot and asked for help and succour from those people. Turning to the King, they spoke to him thus: 'Since religion groans under violence and oppression, it is just, Sire, that you should protect and vindicate What war so just as that which aims at repressing the it tyranny of a sacrilegious king and at protecting holiness. the most revered and venerable, yet impiously ill-used ? What enterprise more glorious than that can prince like you wish for ? The victory is sure; and the advantages to accrue from it are immense.' 'And,' added they, 'if our words do not move you, the Grand Lamà himself, now a prisoner in an impregnable strong hold, joins his prayers to ours, and your reward will be the best that can be coveted, the gratitude of him who sees prostrate at his feet, not only entire peoples, but princes and kings. As long as a reward so unexampled, so worthy of envy lies within your reach, of what use is it (P. 360) to remind your magnanimous self of the rich spoils, the immense hoards of gold and silver which the conquest of Tibet will secure to you? A few of your troops suffice; we ourselves, religious though we are, shall take up arms, everyone of us, to fight for the cause which we came from so far to plead before you.'

The Tartar king let himself be persuaded by such honeyed words and such rosy prospects. Now, the moment the Ubàs felt themselves patronised by that sovereign and supported by his troops, they grew bold and chose as their commander one Gè-ring-ton-drup, who had fromerly been a Religious among the Ubàs: as their second commander they chose another, who vet retained the name and habit of a Religious. Under such chiefs they advanced impetuously against Tibet, killing, massacring, destroying and robbing. In the houses, they broke into a thousand pieces the statues of Urghien, threw into the flames the books dedicated to him and forbade his cult under pain of confiscation. After the houses they attacked the temples, destroying all those where Urghien was worshipped and plundering their contents. In those temples they quartered their troops and stabled their horses; others they demolished or burned down. The same fate overtook the convents and places of pilgrimage consecrated to Urghien, large numbers of their inmates, monks and nuns, being tortured and slain. All over Tibet, finally, there were massacres of every sort, from which neither age nor sex nor condition offered any protection. (ff. 187r-192r).

## III.

(P. 313). The religious in Tibet are of the two kinds: those of the first class are the religious of the yellow cap, whose chief is the Grand Lamà of the Potalà. The others, of the second class, are the religious of the red cap, who, though acknowledging for supreme chief of their sect and religion the Grand Lamà of the Potalà, have nevertheless for the immediate and special chief of their class that Grand Lamà of whom I said above that he has his residence on that great mountain in the province of Takpo.

The religious of the yellow cap are devoted exclusively to Sciakkia Thubbà, inasmuch as they recognize him as the founder of their class. Though the religious of the red cap venerate Sciakkia Thubbà as their universal lawgiver, they are specially addicted to Urghien as to the founder of their class, and they make profession to be specially devoted to his cult, veneration and imitation, having some special rites, which they have not in common with other religious. These religious of the red cap are less numerous than the others, but universally in Tibet they are more esteemed and revered, because they observe greater retirement, and also because, at least exteriorly, they are more edifving. Incredible and inexplicable is the implacable jealousy and hatred which the religious of the first class have for those (f. 117v).of the second.

The enmity between the two sects is not confined to an internal rancour; it also bursts forth at times into violent (P. 314) persecutions, which bring not only ruin and almost extermination on the rival religious, but ruin and extermination on the whole wretched kingdom of Tibet, as I myself witnessed.

One should know that during the time I was in Tibet, the cruel usurper of that country, Gè-ring-ton-drup, was a religious of the yellow cap, who had made his studies in the great convent and university of Giegazze. Two other Captains, chief commandants of his army, were also religious of the yellow cap, and a great part of the soldiers composing it were also of that kind. Hardly had this army appeared in the neighbourhood of Lhasa, when presently all the religious of Serà, Breebung, and of other convents of that sect ran in arms. No sooner had they made themselves masters of Lhasa and of Tibet, than it was shown that their intention was not to replace the Grand Lamà on the throne of the Potalà, but to give vent to the rage they felt against their rivals, that is, of the red cap. Before, while they marched on Lhasa, they gave to understand that they brought with them from China the pretended and longed-for Grand Lamà, to place him in the post befitting him; that was false; for, not only did they not think of reconducting the Grand Lamà from China to Tibet, but, when the Chinese themselves came to bring him back, they were strongly opposed, preventing him from setting

foot again on the soil of Tibet. From the first day when they took possession of Tibet to their last defeat, that is, from the first of December 1717 up to about the end of the month of October 1720, they hardly did anything else than with pitiless butcherings give vent to their fury against the religious of the other rival sect, and against whatever might have any connection with them. They sacked and destroyed convents; the richest and most esteemed Lamàs were either killed miserably, or forced to save their lives by flight; fugitive and despoiled of everything, they sought refuge in dark, impenetrable caverns. Not without compassion, and not without tears, did I succour in his flight the Lama of Lungar,<sup>1</sup> wretched fugitive, who with difficulty had escaped from the hands of the barbarous persecutors. He was (P. 315) a very fat man, very affable and courteous, of excellent nature, lord of a great fief, abounding in wealth, powerful by his kinship with great and very conspicuous families, and universally much loved and respected. He had a very great friendship with me; and on the occasion that I was during the space of two years in the province of Takpò, he invited me frequently to spend two or three days in his company; and, as he was very liberal, he had many and many times offered me ample gifts, chiefly of gold in quantity, which I always refused to accept.

In their mad fury they broke the statues of Urghien, burnt his images and books, as many as with minute search they could find. They forbade under pain of death to retain and keep any of his statues, books and images, and strictly forbade to all the Tibetans to recite any prayer to the said Urghien and to invoke him in any manner. It is true, however, that afterwards the Chinese replaced everything as it was in the time of king Cinghes-khang, and before the arrival in Tibet of its fatal usurpers, the barbarian Giongars. (fols. 117y-118r).<sup>2</sup>

20. Desideri's dates in Puini and in our letters. (P = Puini; W = Wessels.)

1684. Dec. 21. Birth of D. at Pistoia (W. 207). 1700. April 27. Enters Society of Jesus (W. 207).

<sup>2</sup> Puini, 313-315.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 'The palace and convent of Lungar, the head of which is one of those Lamàs who are allowed to take a wife in order to obtain an heir, is situated on a strong cliff, which on three sides is entirely surrounded by water, and on the other side is joined by a fine and magnificent ascent to the land, and finally ends on the public road. On this side, on the said ascent is the sumptuous entrance to the palace and the convent. On another side, there is (P. 315) a secret door, hidden and known to a very few only, which by a rapid descent goes to join the foot of the cliff and the bank of the water.' (Note by Desideri.) Puini, 314-315.—Lungar is also mentioned in passing in Puini, 299.

712		REV. H. HOSTEN	[VOL. IV,
1707.		Arrival of the Capuchins at Lh in Wessels (p. 223), quoting protesting against 1708. Th is June 12, 1707, not June 19	g Georgi, and he exact date
1711.		Departure of the Capuchins	
1712.	Aug. 28. Sept. 27.	(Letter 15). Ordained Priest (W. 207). Leaves Rome for Lisbon, via toia, Livorno (P. 5).	Florence, Pis-
	Oct. 22. Oct. 31. Nov. 22	Embarks at Livorno (P. 5). Arrives at Genoa (P. 5).	
1713.	Nov. 23. Middle of March.	Embarks at Genoa (P. 5). Arrives at Lisbon (P. 5).	
	April 7. July 25. Aug. 17. Aug. 27.	Embarks at Lisbon (P. 5); Apri Arrives at Mozambique (P. 5). Leaves Mozambique (P. 5). Arrives at Goa (P. 5).	
	Nov. 12. Nov. 15. Nov. 17. Dec. 7.	Embarks at Goa (P. 5); Nov. 2) Disembarks at Bassein (P. 6).	No. 2.) 1 (P. 361).
	Dec. 21. Dec. 30.	Arrives from Bassein on foot a ill the same day (P. 6). Letter to the General, Surat (!).	
1714.	Jan. 1. Jan. 4. March 25.	Leaves Daman (P. 6). Arrives at Surat (P. 6. 361). Leaves Surat for Delhi (P. 6); 361).	
	May 11.	Arrives at Delhi (P. 6. 361), 10 c to Agra, a 7 days' journey.	lays later goes
	Aug. 15(?)	Receives at Agra from the Visit da Sylva, letters-patent for Ti	
	Aug. 17.	Receives from Fr. Man. Fre from Delhi (Letter 5).	
	Aug. 21. End of Aug.	Writes Letter 5 from Agra to F. Leaves for Delhi (P. 6).	r. Piccolomini.
	Sept. 23.	Leaves Delhi for Lahore (P. 24 (W. 211. 273).	6. 361); Sept.
	Oct. 9.	Arr. at Lahore (P. 6); Oct. 10 (	P. 361).
	$\begin{array}{c} \text{Oct. 19} \\ \text{Oct. 29} \end{array}$	Leaves Lahore (P. 6. 361).	$(\mathbf{D}, \mathbf{c})$
	Oct. 28. Nov. 13.	Leaves the town of Little Gujra Arr. at Srinagar, Kashmir (P (P. 362); Nov. 13 (W. 273).	
	About	Falls ill (P. 362).	
	Christ- mas.	The Procurator General of t or the Pope writes a letter King in 1714 (Letter 15).	

- 1715. February. Almost dying (P. 362).
  - May 17. Leaves Srinagar (P. 6. 26. 362; W. 273).
  - May 29. Fall of snow (P. 363); up to the evening they were within Kashmir territory (P. 26).
  - May 30. Enters Baltistan, after crossing Mt. Kantel (P. 6. 25. 363); in the morning begins the ascent of Mt. Kantel; in the evening is at the foot on the other side, in Baltistan (P. 28). Cf. Letter 15.
  - May 31. Fall of snow (P. 363).
  - June 26. Arrives at Leh (P. 6. 11. 25. 29); June 25 (P. 364); June 26 (Letter 15; W. 273).
  - June 28. Interview with the Lampo or Prime Minister (Letter 8).
  - June 29. Invited to visit the King (P. 367).
  - July 2. 1st Interview with the King (Letter 8).
  - July 4. 2nd Interview with the King (P. 367, and Letter 8).
  - July 5. 4th meal 'sent' by the King (P. 367).
  - July 6. Interview with the Chief Lama (P. 367, and Letter 8).
  - July 8. 3rd Interview with the King (P. 367, and Letter 8).
  - July 9. 2nd Interview with the Lampo (P. 367).
  - Aug. 5. Letter to the General from Leh, *i.e.* Letter 7 (P. 370).
  - Aug. 27. Leaves Leh (P. 11); Aug. 17 (P. 25. 32; W. 273).
  - Sept. 7. Proceeds towards the populations of this Kingdom (Ladakh) (P. 11).
  - Sept. 17. Arrival at Trescij-khang (Tashigong) (P. 25), till the evening of Sept. 7, when they arrived at Trescij-khang, travelled in Ladakh territory (P. 32. 33. 373); entered third Tibet on Sept. 7 (Letter 15).
  - Oct. 9. Leaves Trescij-khang, last town of Ladakh (P. 11. 43); meets Tartar Princess (W. 216).
  - Oct. 11. Meets Tartar Princess and travels in her company (P. 12); 9 Oct. (P. 12 n. 1). Arrives at Cartoa (P. 43); arrival at Gartok, Oct. 11 (W. 216).
  - After the Leaves Cartoa, *i.e.* Gartok (P. 44). middle of October.
  - Nov. 9. Arrives at the highest mountain of the Ngnari Giongar (Mt. Kailash) (P. 44).
  - Nov. 10 Arrives at the highest mountain of Ngari (about). (P. 12).

	Dec. 1.	At a level place, freer from snow, called Toscia (P. 44).
1716.	Jan. 4.	Arrives at the first populations of the third Tibet (P. 12). Arrives at Serchia (P. 47).
	Jan. 28.	Leaves Serchia (P. 12. 47), goes via Serchia and Gjegazze (P. 47).
	March 18.	Arrives at Lhasa (P. 13. 50. 373; Letter 15; W. 273).
	Some days later.	Interview with Ten-drup-çê-ring, the King's generalissimo (P. 62. 63).
	April 10.	Writes to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi; Letter No. 8.
	April 28.	Interview with one of the King's familiars (P. 63).
	April 29. May 1.	Interview with the King (Letter 15). Do. ( <i>ibid.</i> ); is authorized to buy a house (W. 224).
	July (end of).	Writes to the General via Goa and Portugal of his journey up to Lhasa (P. 370) and to the unknown correspondent to whom he wrote the letter of Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717, published by Zaccuria (cf. our No. 26).
	Aug. 9.	Interview with the Generalissimo (P. 371); Aug. 10 (Letter 15). The interview lasted 23 hours (P. 371).
	June– Aug.	Writes in Italian two little books of religion (P. 372; Letter 15).
	Sept. 8.	Begins translating into Tibetan verse his booklet on the one way of salvation (P. 372).
	Oct. 1.	Arrival of three Capuchins at Lhasa; Desi- deri gives them hospitality in his room (P. 372); his lodgings were near the great square, almost on the famous Khora road, on the south side (P. 180).
	Oct. 4.	The Capuchins say Mass in Desideri's room; feast of St. Francis of Assisi (P. 372-373).
	Oct. (about middle	The Capuchins take rooms near Desideri's, in the same house (P. 372).
	of) Nov. (ond)	Finishes the Tibetan translation of his first booklet (P. 374).
	(end). Dec.	Revises the translation of his first booklet and has it copied neatly (P. 64. 374).
	Dec. 4.	Goes to the King's Palace with the 3 Capu- chins, and presents the Pope's letter which he had translated into Tibetan (P. 375). Studied in 1716 the Prophecies of Urghien (Lungten: Lung.bstan.pa) and the Life of

The 1st prophecy, that Urghien (P. 247). the Tartars of Lower Tartary would take Tibet was fulfilled before Desideri's arrival, in that Cinghes-Khang had taken it; the 2nd, that those of the other Tartary would invade Tibet, came true in 1717; the 3rd, that these latter would despoil Tibet and send its treasures to their country, was fulfilled in 1717 and 1718; the 4th, that they would kill Lamas and destroy temples and convents, was verified in 1718-21; the 5th, that Cinghes-Khang, pointed out by name, would be killed and his family destroyed, came true in 1717 and 1719; the 6th, that the Chinese would take Tibet. happened in 1719 and 1721 (P. 248).

- 1717. Jan. 6. Goes to audience at the Royal Palace with the 3 Capuchins, and presents his book (P. 374).
  - Febr. 13. Writes a letter to the Pope (cf. our section 28); also the letter to an unknown correspondent which Zaccuria published (cf. our section No. 27).
  - Febr. 15. Writes to the General from Lhasa (P. 276); says that he has been somewhat unwell for nearly a month; in March, he hopes to resume his Tibetan studies and to work at a Catechism, a Grammar and a Dictionary, and to translate his second booklet (P. 276). Has written 11 letters to the Provincial of Goa and the Rector of Agra since April 1716 (P. 376); sends a letter to the Pope.
  - Febr. Writes a letter to the Pope, to the General, Cardinal Tolomei, and Count (?) Fedri (?). Cf. Letter 15.
  - March 25- Lives at the Monastery of Ramo-cce (W. end of 224; P. 64).

July.

- May (beginning). Three chief Chinese ambassadors arrived at Lhasa, with a Vakil and other officials. Their servants applied for medicines to Fr. Domenico of Fano, a physician, at Lhasa. They were treated till the end of May, and knew the Fathers for Europeans (P. 379).
- June (beginning). Desideri and Fr. Orazio della Penna who were studying Tibetan in a convent meet one of the Chinese ambassadors, to whom they say they are Europeans (P. 379).

Two days later, Desideri visits the first and the second Ambassadors. The next day Desideri and the two Capuchins, Domenico and Orazio, go to the two Ambassadors; their names and professions and abilities are written down; the same is done for a Capuchin at Takpo, and two others on their way to Lhasa; the three were: Fr. John Francis (of Fossombrone), physician (Takpo?), Fr. Angelico (of Brescia), physician, Fr. Bonaventure (of Pedona), student of the Tibetan books. The Chinese wanted the Fathers to go to Pekin; all refused, and king Cinghes-Khang decided to leave them in peace.

- July 1. Date on Desideri's Tibetan MS. of pp. 54 (W. 274).
- Aug. Moves to the University of Sera (W. 224; P. 64).
- Nov. 21. The Tartars of High Tartary camp before Lhasa (P. 345).
- Nov. 30. After midnight, they assail Lhasa (P. 346). Desideri was then living at the University of Sera (P. 347).
- Dec. 3. They attack the Potala. King Cinghes-Khang is killed while in flight (P. 347).
- Dec. 8. Date on the first page of his Tibetan MS. of 117 large oblong pages (W. 275).
- Dec. Stay at Trong-gneê, in the Province of Takpo-Khier (W. 273).
- 1718. March 12. Writes from Takpo to Fr. Felice of Montecchio (P. 377): has news that Jesuits will be sent to Tibet in Nov. 1717.
  - March. Writes to the General (from Takpo?) that, being the only Jesuit in Tibet, he cannot make his Profession (Letter 15).
  - June 21. Date on last page of his Tibetan MS. of 117 large oblong pages (W. 275).
  - June 24. Opening date on his Tibetan MS. of 704 oblong pages (W. 275).
  - Aug. 4. Writes from Takpo to Fr. Felice of Montecchio, Patna, in answer to his letter of Dec. 23, 1717, what happened at Lhasa to himself and the Capuchins in June 1717.
  - Sept. Receives the General's answer to his letters from Goa (Letter 15).

Received a small subsidy from Agra in 1718 (Letter 15).

1938]	LETTERS	AND PAPERS OF FR. IPPOLITO DESIDERI 717
1719.		<ul> <li>The town of Jegaçe (Shigatze), much damaged by the Giongars, is rebuilt, renewed and enlarged (P. 50).</li> <li>The Emperor of China sends an army from Sining in 1719, which is destroyed at Dam (P. 353-354).</li> </ul>
	Dec. 21.	Has seen order of Propaganda (Dec. 12, 1718 ?) at Lhasa; writes from Lhasa to the General, and sends an appeal to the Pope, and the Propaganda.
1720.		Another Chinese army is sent to Lhasa via Takpo-khier, where Desideri then was at Trong-gnee (P. 355).
	Sept. 28.	Desideri is told to join the army; but is begged off by the Lama Governor (P. 355- 356).
	Oct.	<ul> <li>The Giongars destroyed, Lhasa and Tibet pass into the power of the Chinese (P. 358).</li> <li>From Dec. 1, 1717, till about the end of Oct. 1720, the monks of the yellow cap, helped by the Giongars, persecute fiercely the monks of the red cap, followers of Urghien, killing them and destroying their temples and convents (P. 314).</li> </ul>
1721.	Jan.	Receives at Takpo the General's order (Jan. 16, 1719) recalling him from Tibet (Letter 15).
	April 4. April 14.	Leaves Takpo (Letter 15). Arrives at Lhasa (Letter 15); Apr. 16 (P. 8; W. 269. 273).
	April 21.	Sees at the Capuchin Hospice of Lhasa the Decree of Propaganda telling him to leave Tibet (P. 82).
	April 28.	Leaves Lhasa for Kuti with Fr. Giuseppe Felice of Morro di Jesi, Capuchin; travels by Ghiangh-ze, and did not meet Fr. Felice of Montecchio (Patna, 1708-21) who was going to Lhasa by the Giegazzê route (P. 82; W. 273).
	May 30.	Arrives at Kuti (P. 86; W. 273); Fr. Felice da Morro goes to Nepal, and dies of the influenza raging at Khatmandu (P. 87).
	June 29.	Date on last page of Desideri's Tibet MS. of 54 pp. (W. 274).
	Sept. 21.	<ul> <li>Writes a letter to the General from Kuti (Letter 15).</li> <li>Writes a letter to the Pope from Kuti (Letter 16).</li> </ul>

	Oct. 5.	Writes a letter to the General from Kuti (Letter 17).
	Dec. 14.	Leaves for Nepal with Fr. Felice of Mon- tecchio, back from Lhasa (P. 9. 27); Dec. 27 (W. 273). Travels by Nesti (P. 87).
	Dec. 27.	Arrives at night at the Capuchin Hospice of Khatmandu (P. 9. 88).
1722.	Jan. 14.	Leaves Khatmandu for Bhatgaon (P. 9. 16).
1,22.	Jan. 20.	Leaves Bhatgaon (P. 16).
	Febr. 6.	Arrives at Patna (P. 9. 15).
	March 19.	Writes a letter to Fr. Felix of Montecchio, ex-Prefect, then at Patna, whom in another
		paper he summons to answer his grievances at the Pope's tribunal.
	March 23.	Leaves Patna (P. 9).
	March 31.	Arrives at Benares (P. 9).
	April 20.	Arrives at Agra (P. 9); April 22 (W. 273).
	Sept.	Arrives at Delhi (P. 9); stays there till 1725
	copt.	(W. 271).
1725.	Nov. 21.	Leaves Patna (P. 9).
1120.	Dec. 20.	Arrives at Chandernagore (P. 9).
1726.	Jan. 10.	Arrives at Pondicherry (P. 9).
1.20.	Dec. (mid-	Leaves Mylapore for Pondicherry (P. 10).
	dle of).	(1, 10)
	Dec. 23.	Arrives at Pondicherry.
1727.	Jan. 21.	Embarks at Pondicherry for Europe (P. 10).
	Febr. (end	Arrives Mauritius (P. 10).
	of).	, ,
	March	Arrives at St. Denis, in the Island of Bourbon
	(begin-	(P. 10).
	ning of).	
	April 12.	Passes the Cape of Good Hope (P. 10).
	April (end of).	Passes before St. Helena (P. 10).
	May.	Ascension Island.
	June 11.	Arrives at Fort St. Pierre, Martinique (P. 10).
	June 22.	Re-embarks (P. 10).
	Aug. 11.	Arrives at Port Louis in Brittany (P. 10).
	Sept. 12.	Paris (P. 10).
	Oct. (mid- dle of)	Embarks at Marseilles for Genoa (P. 10).
	Nov. 4.	Pistoia (P. 10).
	Dec. 11.	Florence (P. 10).
1500	Dec. 23.	Rome ; Jan. 23, 1728 (W. 271. 273).
1728.	June 22.	Finishes his Notizie Istoriche (W. 279; title- page dated 1733).
1733.	April 14.	Death at Rome (W. 271).

## 21. An Article on Fr. Desideri by Prof. Carlo Puini (1895).

Di alcuni lettere inedite ò ignorate del P. Ippolito Desideri d. C.d.G., Missionario nel Tibet.

Innanzi che l'operosità di geografi e viaggiatori insigni di questi ultimi tempi si fosse rivolta verso quell'immenso altipiano chiuso del Kuen-lun e l'Imalaia, le conoscenze che si avevano del Tibet erano assai scarse, e dovuti a pochissimi. 'Le plus clair de nos renseignements sur l'intérieur de la région tibétaine, scrivera Vivien de Saint-Martin nel 1873, c'est aux missionaries que nous le devons, au P. della Penna notamment et surtout à Messieurs Huc et Gabet.' Ma, è noto, un viaggio molto più importante era stato fatto colà centotrent' anni prima dei due missionari francesi, da un nostro missionario pistoiese, il P. Ippolito Desideri; il quale inoltre fecevi un soggiorno di oltre dieci anni. I viaggiatori che si sono portati verso quella regione, non fecero, per molto tempo, che girare intorno al Tibet per ogni lato, varcandone appena quà e là confini. Samuele Turner. i tra gl' inglesi, fu quello che più vi s' interno nel 1783, ma dovette fermarsi al sud Thsang-po: e il Dr. dello Hoocker e il Campbell si spinsero appena oltre il Tikhim.

Of some unpublished or unknown letters of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, of the Company of Jesus, a Missionary in Tibet.

Before the activity of the geographers and great travellers of modern times was turned towards the immense closed table-land of the Kuen-lun and the Himalayas, the knowledge we had of Tibet was very small, and was due to a very few. 'Le plus clair de nos renseignements sur l'intérieur de la région tibétaine,' wrote Vivien de Saint-Martin in 1873, 'c'est aux missionaries que nous le devons, au Ρ. della Penna notamment et surtout à Messieurs Hue et Gabet'. But, as is known, 130 years earlier than the two French Missionaries, a much more important journey had been made there by a Missionary of ours, Fr. Ippolito Desideri, of Pistoia, who moreover stayed there more than ten years.<sup>1</sup> For a long time the travellers who went towards Tibet did nothing more than turn around it from every side, and hardly crossed its frontiers here and there. Among Englishmen, Samuel Turner is the one who stayed there longest, in 1783; but he had to remain south of the Thsangpo. for Dr. Hoocker<sup>2</sup> and As Campbell, they scarcely pushed beyond Tikhim.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Puini writes under the impression formerly shared by so many that Desideri stayed in Tibet till his return to Europe. He was in Tibet from 1716 to the end of 1721.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Read: Hooker.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Read: Sikkim.

Il Desideri è quegli, tra gli antiche e odierni viaggiatori che ha percorso più gran plarte del Tibet, e che si è più lungamente trattenuto in mezzo a quelle genti.<sup>1</sup> Egli era perciò da aspettarsi da lui meglio che dagli altri, maggiori e distesi ragguagli del paese; egli era da aspettarsi dagli studiosi della geografia, della linguistica, della storia e delle religioni, specie del Buddhismo, un validissimo aiuto. Ma non fu cosi. Mentre le lettere. le relazioni, le notizie inviate a Roma dal P. Orazio della Penna (o Pennabilli, o Penna di Billi, della provincia di Macerata), nominato di sopra, e di Christiano Belligatti, altro cappuccino suo compagno di missione, furono almeno messe a profitto dal P Antonio Giorgi, per compilare quel suo grosso ed indigesto volume, a cui dette il titolo di Alphabetum Tibetanum (Roma, 1762); degli scritti del Des ideri, niuno s'avvantaggiò. Vero è che il Collegio di Propaganda non ebbe quasi nulla di lui; o almeno nen ha quasi nulla a' dì d' oggi. Di cose edite non si conosce del nostro pistoiese che una lettera, nelle Lettres édifiantes et curieuses (t. XV, pag. 183; ediz. Aimé-Martin, T. III, pag. 519), un' altra nella Bibliotheca Pistoriensis della

<sup>1</sup> Il P. Antonio Andrade, portoghese, nel 1624 percorse in parte la strada del Desideri, ma non s'interno tant' oltre nel Tibet, quanto quest' ultimo.

Desideri is the one who traversed a greater part of Tibet than any ancient and modern traveller; he also sojourned longer than any other among its people.<sup>1</sup> From him therefore, more than from the rest, were to be expected greater and (more) detailed accounts of the country; from him had the students of geography, linguistics, history and religions, in particular Buddhism. to expect valuable help. But it was not so. The letters. relations. and informations sent to Rome by the abovementioned Fr. Orazio della Penna (or Pennabilli, or Penna di Billi, of the Province of Macerata), and of Christiano<sup>2</sup> Belligatti, other Capuchin, his companion in the Mission, were at least utilised by Fr. Antonio Georgi for compiling that large, undigested volume of his to which he gave the title of Alphabetum Tibetanum (Rome, 1762); but no one took advantage of the writings of Desideri. It is true that the College of Propaganda had almost nothing of his; at any rate, it has almost nothing nowadays. Of published things by our Pistoia countryman there is known only a letter in the Lettres édifiantes et curieuses (t. XV, p. 183; Aimé-Martin, T. III, p. edn.

<sup>1</sup> In 1624, Fr. Antonio Andrade, a Portuguese, did part of the journey of Desideri, but he did not penetrate into Tibet as far as the latter.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fr. Orazio della Penna was at Lhasa in 1716-32, and 1741-45.
 No other Missionary is known to have been so long at Lhasa or in Tibet.
 <sup>2</sup> Read: Cassiano Beligatti.

Zaccaria, e una breve notizia nel Journal Asiatique.<sup>1</sup> D' inedito, la Congregazione di Propaganda Fide non possiede che una relazione da lui fatta il 13 Febbraio 1717 e diretta al S. Padre; la quale si trova tra le 'Carte riferite delle Indie orientali e Cina', sotto quella data; e una breve lettera del Settembre 1721, diretta pure al S. Padre, dal quale impetra l'ordine di essere chiamato a Roma, per potere riferire a voce intorno a cose di gravissima importanza, riguardanti la fede. Intanto la Relazione particolareggiata del viaggio del Desideri, fatta da lui, un grosso volume in 4°. di 650 pagine, giaceva da assai tempo nella biblioteca di un colto pistoiese, raccoglitore assiduo

<sup>1</sup> Notes sur le Tibet par le P. Hippolyte Desideri, recuellies par N. Delisle. Nouv. Journ. As., VIII, 1831, pp. 117-121. Vedi anche Astley, Coll. of Travels, Vol. IV. Più tardi furono pubblicati alcuni consigli del Desideri ai missionari del Tibet, e qualche notizia bibliografica, nella Rassegna Europea, Giugno-Luglio 1876. 519; <sup>1</sup> another in the Bibliotheca Pistoriensis of Zaccaria.<sup>2</sup> and a brief notice in the Journal Asiatique.<sup>3</sup> Of what is unpublished, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide possesses only a relation by him, dated the 13th of February, 1717, and addressed to the Holy Father; this is found among the 'Carte riferite delle Indie orientali e Cina', under that date: and a short letter of September, 1721, also addressed to the Holy Father, whom he begs 4 for the order of being called to Rome, in order to report on matters of very great importance concerning the faith.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, the detailed Relation of Desideri's journey, written by him, a large in 4to volume of 650

<sup>1</sup> Notes sur le Tibet par le P. Hippolyte Desideri, recuellies par N. Delisle. Nouv. Journ. As., VIII, 1831, pp. 117-121. See also Astley, Coll. of Travels, Vol. IV. Later were published some points of advice for the Tibet Missionaries, and a bibliographical notice in the Rassegna Europea, June-July, 1876.—Puini (II Tibet, p. XLII) gives for the last reference: Rivista Europea, June-July, 1876.—H.H.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Puini (Il Tibet . . . secondo la relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri . . . 1715-1721, Roma, 1904, p. XLII) writes that the text is also in the Sommario. As this text must be in Italian, it ought to be followed in future in preference to translations, which have generally had to be followed. We have ourselves no access to the Sommario for the English translation of this letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Puini, op. cit., p. XLII, refers to p. 185 of the Bibliotheca Pistoriensis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Puini, op. cit., p. XLII, refers to a short writing published by Klaproth in Journal Asiatique, 2<sup>e</sup> serie, t. VII, 1831.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Desideri refers to this writing in his letter to the General, dated Lhasa, 15th February, 1717. (Cf. Puini, op. cit., 373-374.) Why did Puini not publish it in his *11 Tibet*? The letter in Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, being also of the 13th February, 1717, appears to be the one addressed to the Pope on the same date.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> This letter is in Puini, op. cit., p. 382-383. It is dated Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721.

d'ogni memoria che illustra la sua terra: e dopo la morte di lui, passò, insieme con l' intera collezione di manoscritti e stampe, nella Biblioteca Magliabecchiana di Firenze, dove oggi si trova.<sup>1</sup> Questa Relazione a spese della *Società geografica italiana*, e per cura dell' illustre geografo Prof. Marinelli, vedrà finalmente la luce.

Ogni notizia, ancorchè di minima importanza, intorno alla materia di cui alcuno si occupa, giunge pel solito sempre gradita. Periciò il mio dotto Collega non isdegnerà seguenti appunti, dove si i indicano, oltre le cose inedite del Desideri citate di sopra (una Relazione e una Lettera nel Collegio di Propaganda) altre tre Lettere del tutto ignorate dagli studiosi; o almeno di cui nessuno ha tenuto di conto: sebbene valessero certo quel poco che si cognosceva del nostro missionario. Queste lettere si trovano in un Som*mario* per una causa della S. Ruota romana. I Sommari contenevano i documenti, che erano nominati e citati nel processo: si stampavano a pochissimo numero di esemplari, diciotto o venti tutto al più, tanto da servire a' magistrati, giudici e avvocati, che avevano

pages, had lain a long time in the library of a learned Pistoiese, a diligent collector of every document throwing light on his country; after his death, it passed with his entire collection of manuscripts and printed works into the Biblioteca Magliabecchiana of Florence, where it is to-day. This Relation will finally see the light at the expense of the Società geografica italiana, through the care of Professor Marinelli, the great geographer.

Every bit of information. even of the smallest value, is welcome when always it touches matters with which we are busy. Accordingly, my learned Colleague will not disdain the following notes pointing out, in addition to the unpublished things by Desideri which we mentioned above (a Relation and a Letter in the College of Propaganda), three other Letters quite unknown to scholars; at any rate, no one took notice of them, though surely they were worth as much as the little that was of our Missionary. known These letters are found in a Sommario for a case laid before the Roman Rota. The Som*mari* contained the documents which were referred to and cited in the process; they were printed at a very small number of copies, eighteen or twenty at the most, having to serve

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Di questo MS. fu data ampia notizia in un articolo intitolato: Di una Relazione inedita d' un viaggio al Tibet del P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia, scritta da lui.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An ampler review of this MS. was given in an article entitled: Di una Relazione inedita d' un viaggio al Tibet del P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia, scritta da lui.

che fare con la causa. Terminata la causa, la più parte di questi Sommari passava negli studi degli avvocati, andava tra la cartaccia, così che pochissimi se ne conservano. I Sommari sono perciò quello che v' ha di più raro tra le cose stampate. Questo Sommario che contiene le Lettere del P. Desideri, apparteneva ad una causa di controversia. da decidersi forse dal Collegio di Propaganda, tra PP. Capuccini e PP. della Compagnia di Gesù, quanto al primato della fondazione della Mission tibetana. La lettera del P. Desideri, menzionata dinanzi, che si trova nell' archivio di Propaganda, fu probabilmente indirizzata al Pontefice in occasione ne di quella consollecitare la troversia; per licenza di venire in persona a dire le proprie ragioni, e difendere l'Ordine a cui apparteneva. Ecco la data e il soggetto delle Lettere contenute nel Sommario.

II. 'Lhassa, 15 Febbraio 1717.'-Pure diretta al Padre Generale dell' Ordine. Parla dei suoi studi di lingua tibetana, e della composizione, in quella stessa lingua, di alcuni libretti only for the magistrates. judges, and barristers who had to deal with the case. When the case was ended, the greater number of these Sommari passed into the offices of these barristers, and got among their waste paper, so that very few are kept. The Sommario, containing the Letters of Desideri belonged to a case of dispute, to be decided perhaps by the College of Propaganda, between the Capuchin Fathers and the Fathers of the Company of Jesus, regarding priority in the founding of the Tibet Mission. Desideri's letter, mentioned above, which is found in the archive of Propaganda, probably was addressed to the Sovereign order to solicit Pontiff in his permission to come and state personally his reasons and to defend the Order to which he belonged. Here then is the date and the subject of the Letters contained in the Sommario.

I. 'Leh, in the second of the three Tibets, 5th August, 1715.'—It describes his journey from Gora (November 1713)<sup>1</sup> to the Capital of Ladak, and his stay in the same; and it is addressed to the Father General of the Company of Jesus.<sup>2</sup>

II. 'Lhassa, 15th February, 1717.'—Also addressed to the Father General of the Order. He speaks of his studies of the Tibetan language, and of the composition in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is in Puini, op. cit., pp. 361-370.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Read: Goa.

di controversia religiosa, dove si propone di combattere il buddismo.

III. 'Scritta da Takpò nel Tibet li 4 Agosto 1718, a F. Felice da Montecchio cappucino in Pattuà nel Bohar.'— Quest' ultima è di pochissima importanza, trattandosi di gare e puntigli tra ordini religiosi. same language of some booklets of religious controversy, in which he intends combating Buddhism.<sup>1</sup>

111. (Letter) written from Takpò in Tibet, the 4th August, 1718, to Friar Felice da Montecchio, Capuchin, at Pattuà in the Bohar.'<sup>2</sup>—This last is of very small importance, as it deals with disputes and punctilios between Religious Orders.<sup>3</sup>

Prof. Carlo Puini.

Prof. Carlo Puini.

22. Desideri's *Notizie istoriche* and other Italian writings noticed by Fr. Wessels.

Fr. Wessels writes of the Notizie istoriche (P. 275):--

'MS. of 430 pp.,  $27 \times 30$  cm., in a very clear handwriting, not Desideri's.<sup>4</sup> It has title-page and preface, and is divided into three books, each subdivided into chapters; it seems ready for the press.

'In the preface Desideri states that at first he had no intention of publishing anything, but now does he so at the instance of others. The last page of the MS. is dated June 22, 1728, the title-page 1733; did he hesitate all these years till his sudden death in 1733 prevented the publication?

'The MS. is cited as: Desideri MS.

'Its contents are as follows:

Notizie Istoriche del Thibet e Memorie de' Viaggi e Missione ivi fatti dal P. Ippolito Desideri de la Compagnia di Giesù. Dal medesimo scritte, e dedicate 1712–1733.'

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 370-376.

<sup>2</sup> Read: Patna in Bihar.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 378-382. It is one of the most interesting letters now extant.—Puini, op. cit., p. XLII, refers to still another letter by Desideri in the Sommario. It is dated Takpò, 12th March, 1718, and is addressed to Fr. Felice of Montecchio. Puini published it, op. cit., pp. 376-377.

<sup>4</sup> I am inclined to think that the opening-page of Bk. II, appearing in Fr. Wessels' plate facing p. 276, is in Desideri's own writing. I say this after having handled a number of rotographs of Desideri's letters dated from 1713 to 1721. The writing in Fr. Wessels' plate is more slanting than in my rotographs; but Desideri's writing could undergo changes by 1728, and the changes I remark are too trivial to affect my opinion. (Historical accounts of Tibet and Memoirs of the Journeys and the Mission there made by Fr. Ippolito Desideri, of the Company of Jesus. Written and dedicated by the same. 1712– 1733.)

We proceed by translating the subjects of the chapters.

Pp. 3-6.

TO THE READER.

BOOK THE FIRST.

Memoirs of the Journey from Rome up to Lhasa, Capital City of the third Tibet, and mission undertaken there.

Ch. I, pp. 1–4.	Departure from Rome and journey up to Lisbon.
Ch. II, pp. 4–10.	Voyage from Lisbon up to height of the Cape of Good Hope.
Ch III, pp. 10–16.	Continuation of the voyage by sea up to Mossambiche and then up to Goa. (P. 276.)
Ch. IV, pp. 16–28.	Departure from Goa and Journey up to the city of Delly, Capital of the Empire of the Mogol. Brief accounts of that court.
Ch. V, pp. 28–35.	Of the Churches and Christianity which the Company of Jesus has at Delly and of some notable Christians living there.
Ch. VI, pp. 35–42.	Stay in the city of Agra, and accounts of the Mission which the Company of Jesus has there.
Ch. VII, pp. 42–47.	Departure from Delly; arrival at Cascimir and stay in that city. Some accounts of that place.
Ch. VIII, pp. 47–54.	Departure from Cascimir and journey up to Lhasa, Capital of the second Tibet.
Ch IX, pp. 54–57.	Stay at Lhasa, Capital City of the second and Great Tibet. Departure and arrival at Trêescy-Khang.
Ch. X, pp. 57–69.	Journey of the Great Desert of Ngnari Giongar and help received from the com- pany of a Tartar Princess.
Ch. XI, pp. 69–75.	Entering the first populations of the third and Greatest Tibet. Continuation of the journey and arrival at the Capital. Visit to the King and to the Prime Ministers. Beginning of Mission in that Kingdom.
Ch. XII, pp. 75–80.	Protection from the King. Help given to the same and to the Prime Minister in a certain danger. Gratitude shown by the same. Refusing their gifts and offerings.

Ch. XIII,	First Book composed by the Author in that
pp. 80–85.	language and solemnly presented to the King at a public Audience.
Ch. XIV,	Study of the Books and of the errors of those
рр. 85–88. Съ VV	People.
Ch. XV, pp. 88–92.	Other books composed by the Author in that language.
Ch. XVI, pp. 92–101.	Account of the Mission which the Company of Jesus has had in Tibet, from its founda-
ri	tion up to the time of the Author. (P. 277.)

## BOOK THE SECOND.

Accounts of the Nature, Customs and Civil Government of Tibet.

Ch.	I, pp. 1–6.	Limits and situation of Great Tibet.
Ch.	II, pp. 6–12.	Climate and fertility of the country of Tibet.
	III,	Of the Musk animal and of other animals
	pp. 12–17.	which are in Tibet.
	ÍŶ,	Of the Rivers of Tibet and of their Boats
	pp. 17–20.	and Bridges.
	<b>V</b> , pp. 2026.	Of the Western Part of Tibet and of some
	, <b>, , ,</b>	of its Provinces and Cities.
Ch.	VI,	Of the City of Lhasa, Capital of Tibet, and
	pp. 26–32.	its environs.
Ch.	VÌÌ,	Of the neighbourhood of Lhasa and the
	рр. 32–35.	intermediate Provinces of this Tibet.
	Ϋ́ÎΗ,	Of the Provinces of the Western <sup>1</sup> part of
	рр. 35–38.	Tibet.
Ch.	ÍX,	Of the Dominion of Tibet which passed
	рр. 38–42.	into the hands of the Tartars.
Ch.	X, pp. 42–47.	Revolutions in Tibet before its Dominion
		passed from the Tartars to the Chinese.
Ch.	XI,	Unhappy end of King Cinghes-Khang and of
	pp. 47–53.	his Family.
Ch.	XII,	Of the Dominion of Tibet when it had
	рр. 53–60.	passed from the Tartars to the Chinese.
Ch.	XIII,	Of the civil Government of Tibet.
	рр. 60–68.	
Ch.	XIV,	Of the dress and food used in Tibet.
	рр. 68–77.	
Ch.	XV,	Of the Letters and Alphabet of the Tibetans,
	рр. 77–83.	and the ability of that People for Studies
		and Arts.
Ch.	XVI,	Of the bodily dispositions, occupations,
	рр. 83–90.	gymnic games (ginochi), agriculture and
		inclination of the Tibetans.

- Ch. XVII. Of the marriages of the Tibetans.
- pp. 90-96. Ch. XVIII, Customs of the Tibetans regarding the dead. pp. 96-103.

BOOK THE THIRD.

Departure from the Mission of the Kingdoms of Tibet; passing over to other Missions and return to Europe.

Ch. I, pp. 1-8. Departure from Lhasa. Stay made at Kutti. Departure from the last limits of Tibet and arrival in the Kingdom of Nepal.

Ganges.

Mogol.

- Some accounts of the Kingdom of Nepal. Ch. II, pp. 8–18. (P. 278.)
- Journey from Nepal up to the Ganges and up Ch. III, pp. 18–27. to the City of Patna. Ch. ÍV,
  - Some accounts of the City of Patna.

Departure from Patna, and journey up to the City of Agra. Accounts of the Cities of Benares and of Allahabad and of the

Stay made at Agra.

Mission made at Delly, Capital City of the

Exposes the causes of the disturbances which

In which is continued the description of the

and his Vazir Nezam-em-muluk.

arose in the Mogol between the Emperor

disturbances of the Mogol between the Emperor and the Grandees of the Court.

pp. 27-36. Ch. V, pp. 36-43.

- Ch. VI, pp. 43–57. Ch. VII,
- pp. 57-66.
- Ch. VIII, pp. 66–77.
- Ch. IX, рр. 77-85.
- Ch. X, pp. 85–91.
- Ch. XI, pp. 91–102.
- Ch. XII, pp. 102-106.
- Departure from Delly. Return to Patna. Going to Bengala. Voyage to Pondiscery. Accounts of the City of Pondiscery. Going to the Mission of the Carnat.
- Accounts of the Mission which the Company of Jesus fruitfully exercises in the Kingdom of Carnat.
  - Departure from the Mission of Carnat. Accounts of the City of Meliapur, and of the memories which are preserved there of the Apostle St. Thomas. Accounts of the City of Madrassa.
- Departure from the Ch. XIII, Indies. Voyage to pp. 116–123.<sup>1</sup> Europe. Mortal illness at sea. Grace received by the intercession of the Ven. Fr. John de Brito.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Does the pagination pass from p. 106 to p. 116 without intervening matter, or does Ch. XII go up to p. 116?

[VOL. IV,

- Ch. XIV, pp. 123-132.
- Ch. XV, pp. 132-137.
- Ch. XVI,
- pp. 137–146. Ch. XVII,
- pp. 146–157.
- Ch. XVIII, pp. 157–165.
- Ch. XIX, pp. 165–175.
- Ch. XX, pp. 175–210.

- Continuation of the voyage after the Cape of Good Hope. Islands of St. Helena and of the Ascension. Passing the Line and arrival at the Island of Martinique in America. Arrival at Port Louis.
- Journey from Port Louis to Paris, and from Paris to Marseilles.
- Journey from Marseilles to Genoa. Going through Tuscany and arrival at Rome.
- Opinion of the Author regarding the doctrine required in Missionaries of the Indies; and first how great it ought to be. (P. 279.)
- What doctrine and of what particular kind
  ought to be the doctrine which is indispensably necessary in the Missionaries who are destined to the conversion of the Infidels in the Indies.
  - In what manner the above-exposed and necessary doctrine can be promoted in the Missionaries who are destined for the Indies.
- In which is shown the grave obligation 0. indispensably incumbent on every Christian, of helping and promoting the Missions to be made among the Infidels; and in what manner such obligation can be discharged by each one in his own state.

22nd June, 1728.

Fr. Wessels continues:—

'Another MS.,  $27 \times 195$  cm., to be cited as MS. B. seems to be a first draft on account of its many erasions, corrections and additions. It contains much of what is found in MS. A., but it has, besides, a great number of chapters dealing with the religion of the Tibetans. These chapters are, naturally, beyond the scope of the present work.

'The sequence of Books and Chapters in MS. B. is somewhat puzzling: Book I covers 138 pp. and its division into 16 Chapters corresponds to that of Book I in MS. A.

'Book II from p. 1–124 parallels chapters 1–13 of MS. A. Book II. They are immediately followed by some chapters that form part of Book III, which treats of the religion of Tibet; the headings are:' (Here we proceed by translating from the Italian.)

Ch. I, Of the Grand Lamma, Chief of the Religion. pp. 135–140.

Ch. II, pp. 140-156. Reasons persuading (me in the belief) that the above-mentioned incarnation of the new Grand Lamma is work immediately (proceeding) from the Devil.

- Ch. 111, Answer to the arguments of who thinks that pp. 156–169. The deceit related is the artifice of men, and not of the Devil.
- Ch. XIX, pp. 175–185.<sup>1</sup> In which are continued the accounts referring to the Grand Lamma and other inferior Lammas of Tibet.
- Ch. XX, pp. 185–203. Of Religious men and women of Tibet; of their convents, dress, institute and customs.

Ch. XXI, Different kinds of Religions who are in pp. 203–214. Tibet.

'Leaving one page blank there now follows from p. 216-260 the rough copy of chapters 14-18 of Book II, MS. A. After another blank page these are followed by 16 chapters, not assigned to any Book; the headings are subjoined.' (P. 280.)

- Ch. XXVII, pp. 262–275. In which we begin to treat of the errors and of the Religion of the Tibetans. And first we explain the system of the Metempsychosis or Pythagoric transmigration, as it is maintained and believed by the same.
- Ch. XXVIII, pp. 276–288. Opinion of the Tibetans regarding the animals, and certain living Beings by them called Itaa which they believe, and affirm to be destined to Hell (che coso (sic. in W.) credino affermino in ordine all' Inferno).
- Ch. XXIX, pp. 288-310. Continues the accounts of other things which the Tibetans maintain and believe concerning the explanation of their system of Metempsychosis.
- Ch. XXX, pp. 310-317. Exposes and explains another most enormous and primary error of the Sect of the Tibetans, which consists in denying the existence of an *Ens a se* and non-caused, and of any primary cause of all things.
- Ch. XXXI, pp. 317-324. Whether the Tibetans, denying the existence of the true God, admit some fabulous Divinity, or are absolutely without knowledge of God.
- Ch. XXXII, pp. 324-337. Of three classes of objects of worship and of invocation which the Tibetans admit. The quality thereof is explained and it is shown that in them they recognize no Divinity.

Ch. XXXIII, pp. 337-347.

Ch. XXXV,

Ch. XXXVI,

pp. 371-381.

- Of what the Religion of the Tibetans contains in order to morality, or in order to virtue and vices, and in order to regulating manners.
- Of the Legislator of the Tibetans and of Ch. XXXIV, pp. 347-357. some fables they relate of the same.
  - Of two other chief Idols of the Tibetans, one called Cen-ree-sy, and the other called pp. 357–371. Urghien.
    - Of other fables about the above-said Urghien, which the Tibetans believe and spread.
- Ch. XXXVII, Tibet anciently without law. King Si-Kiong-teuzzen seeks a Religion. For the pp. 381–388. purpose he sends Ambassadors to divers parts and picked young men to Hendustan. (P. 281.)
- Ch. XXXVIII, By whom the false Religion was introduced pp. 388-402. into Tibet. First temple built in that Kingdom; books translated into that language; Convents of Religions instituted there and other industries used there to disseminate the errors.
- Ch. XXXIX, Of other inferior objects of veneration inpp. 402-413. voked and revered by the Tibetans.
- Ch. XL, Of some places held in veneration by the pp. 413-422. Tibetans and of what they observe towards them. Of their rosary and their fasts.
- Ch. XLI, Solving some doubts and questions which pp. 422-433. might occur regarding the matters hitherto treated.
- Ch. XLII, Of some Relations and authors who have treated of Tibet, and judgment regarding pp. 433–443. them.<sup>1</sup>

The Desideri MS. used by Puini. 23.

Puini's preface treats exclusively of the MS. by Desideri which he used for his work Il Tibet, Roma, 1904. We translate his preface.

(P. VII.) The manuscript containing the Relation of Fr. Ippolito Desideri's journey in Tibet, formerly in the possession of Cav. Rossi-Cassigoli of Pistoia, a diligent collector of the memoirs of his native city was found back by me in 1875, on indications I received from Prof. Gherardo Nerucci.<sup>2</sup> Even

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Much, perhaps most, of the matter in the extra chapters of MS. B. is included in the MS. used by Puini, as will be seen on comparison. <sup>2</sup> Markham, Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet, etc.,

London, 1876, p. lix;—Bulletino italiano degli studi orientali, year 1876, Nos. 2-3;—F. Von Richthofen, China, Vol. I, p. 673.—C.P.

then I had the idea of publishing it, with the explanations and notes which it required; but the owner of the MS. did not consent; rather, on the advice of a friend, he preferred to give up, against adequate compensation, the ownership of the copy to the London Hakluyt Society, which, on hearing that it had been found back, had intended to make of it an English translation with the necessary comments.<sup>1</sup>

When the Pistoia gentleman died, the Rossi-Cassigoli collection was acquired by the National Library of Florence, and Desideri's MS. thus became public property. Then, my former intention returned, and I started studying again that part of the Relation which concerns chiefly Buddhism and the Lamaie Church. Meanwhile, the Italian Geographical Society in one of its meetings held in the year 1896 deliberated about entrusting the care of publishing the important journey of the Pistoia Jesuit to the ever-regretted (P. VIII) Prof. Giovanni Marinelli, who soon had an exact copy of the MS. made, and with his inborn courtesy allowed me to use it at my convenience for my special studies on Tibet and Desideri.<sup>2</sup> The premature death of the eminent Geographer prevented the execution of the plan of the Geographical Society. In the course of 1901, in another of its meetings, it decided the publication of my old piece of work, which for years was almost completed. It now sees the light with the modifications and additions which greater experience has suggested to me.

The MS. from which are taken the materials of this book is a small size folio volume of about 630 pages.<sup>3</sup> It bears the title:

Breve e Succincto ragguaglio del viaggio alle Indie orientali del Padre Ippolito Desideri della Compagnia di Gesù.

This title cannot refer however to more than the first quire (quaderno); in all the rest there is question of Persia, Kashmir, India, the Mission of the Jesuits; and a goodly half of the volume concerns Tibet.

After this brief and succinct account, in the form of an itinerary, which I have just mentioned, and which occupies the first ten pages or so, Desideri describes the Empire of the Mogol, and speaks at length of Donna Giuliana Dias da Costa,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A. de Gubernatis, Scritti di Marco della Tomba, Firenze, 1878, p. xix.—C.P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Published in several fascicles in the *Rivista italiana di Sociologia*, in the *Rivista geografica italiana*, and in *Studi di Filologia Indo-Iranica* of Professor Bullè.—C.P.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> When I examined it to make a description of it for the *Bulletino italiano degli studi orientali* (July, 1876), the pages were not numbered and the volume was loose; now the volume is bound and numbered by leaves, which are about 320.-C.P.

who lived at that court, where she had won great esteem. chiefly for her skill in medicine and surgery. Next, he uses several pages to speak of the Mission (P. IX) in that country. and of Fr. Rodolfo Acquaviva, who was very learned in Persian. in which he wrote several religious treatises. Continuing next his journey, he describes Kashmir, and chiefly the capital 'called Earthly Paradise by all the peoples of the Mogol': thence, crossing the Himalayas by the Zoji-la pass, he enters the Tibetan country about the end of May 1715, beginning the journey which is of special interest to us and forms the argument of this volume. After a six years' stay in Tibet, he crosses again the Himalayas, returns by way of Nepal to the dominions of the Great Mogol, describes again its countries, and speaks at length of his apostolate up to his return to Europe, which took place in 1726.<sup>1</sup> The MS. finishes with some advice and considerations on the Mission in India, and in Tibet, which fill more than 50 pages.

The entire contents of the MS. run on consecutively without division into chapters, or any other division,<sup>2</sup> and not unfrequently the same subject or what may be regarded as belonging to the same subject, is treated in several separate parts of the volume, which makes the reading of it tedious and not sufficiently profitable. Accordingly, for what regards the matter contained in that part (P. X) of the Relation which refers to Tibet, and which is the greater part, I have tried to arrange it methodically, subdividing it, according to the subjects, in Parts, Chapters and Paragraphs, so as to render the book as useful as possible for students of Tibetan things, giving them the means of profiting easily by the abundant information which Desideri supplies us with on the geography, the customs and the religion of Tibet.

It seems that Desideri wrote his Relation at the request of an ecclesiastic, to whom he shows much deference. Throughout his voluminous manuscript he never names him; and, when

<sup>2</sup> Only towards the end of the MS., the part containing the narrative of the return is divided, I cannot understand for what reasons, into three chapters, numbered 13, 14, and 15.-C.P.

Book II of MS. A. noticed by Fr. Wessels begins the return journey at Ch. 13, and continues the voyage up to Port Louis (Brittany) and Marseilles through chapters 14 and 15.—H.H.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The narrative, conducted in the order I have said, ends at fol. 263v, with these words: 'Meanwhile, be Your Reverence pleased that, stopping the course of my narrative, I humbly beg you to deign accept my humble service, wherein, not with ornaments of choice and elegant diction, but with the simple and rough plainness of a candid narrative, I have not aimed at anything else than executing your esteemed orders, and attesting my obedience, which as most humble and most devoted servant I have always professed for you, etc.' From these words it is seen that Desideri was led to write at the express request of some Father Superior of his. From fol. 264 there are, in great part, discourses concerning the Mission and the Missionaries.—C.P.

he turns to him directly, as required at times by the form he gives to the narrative, he calls him simply Your Reverence. When he had already traversed India and Tibet, and shortly before he made ready to leave the East, Desideri met this priest in the kingdom of the Carnatic (di Carnat), where he was in apostolic mission; and à propos of this meeting he writes; 'The few accounts which I could give you only in passing (alla sfugita) about my journey to Great Tibet, of the customs and sects of these countries, excited in Your Reverence such a desire of being fully and very minutely informed about them, that, before we parted from each other, you wished to have from me a reliable promise that I would transmit to you, at least from a distance, a complete and precise account of them '. In fact, during his voyage from Pondicherry up to France, notwithstanding the inconvenience he suffered, the serious illness which afflicted him, and the duties of Chaplain of the ship which were entrusted to him, 'he had nothing more at heart than to fulfil the best way he could the promise he had given '.1

Though Desideri asserts that he composed his narrative during the voyage which brought him back to Europe, he must have written it partly in Rome, as it seems to me certain indications would go to show; or at least he must (P. XI) have completed it there. To the Relation, addressed to that ecclesiastic, were added, no doubt by Desideri himself, a few pages of introduction with the title: Breve e succincto ragguaglio del viaggio all' Indie orientali (Brief and succinct relation of the journey to the East Indies); and at the end (fols. 264r-272r) an Aggiunte d' una breve recapitolazione di ciò che appartiene semplicemente a' sopra riferiti viaggi, e alcuni più importanti sentimenti del' autore intorno alle missioni dell' Índie (Addition (consisting) of a brief recapitulation of what appertains simply to the above-related journey, and some more important ideas of the author regarding the missions of the Indies): after that, comes (fols. 272v-316v) a Conclusione del presente ragguaglio, e sentimento dell' autors intorno alle Missioni dell' Indie orientali (Conclusion of the present relation, and opinion of the author regarding the Missions of the East Indies).

The manuscript now owned by the Magliabecchiana is certainly not Desideri's autograph; one recognizes in it very

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 1726, which Fr. Desideri spent in the Carnatic Mission, the Superior was Fr. Venance Bouchet, one of the most learned and literary men that Mission has produced. His own previous studies could not but make him receive Fr. Desideri with unbounded enthusiasm. He was the very man who would have insisted on having from Desideri a full account of his travels and experience, and of the religion of Tibet. Desideri's Superior, he could exact a solemn promise that the work would be written. Moreover, to Fr. Bouchet is attributed a life of Blessed John de Brito, the Marava martyr, the process for whose beatification was entrusted to Desideri.—H.H.

clearly three handwritings, but all of the time. The Italian orthography is not always well observed; and, in particular, the last of the three writings, which from certain indications appears rather to have been made under dictation, seems to be that of a somewhat ignorant copyist. Nevertheless, the orthography of the Tibetan words, excepting some mistakes, is very well observed; all the Tibetan words and proper names, though transcribed as Desideri had learned to pronounce them, are easily brought back to their literary form by one who has some familiarity with that language, which to us is also a guarantee of the exactness and authenticity of the accounts collected by Desideri and of the knowledge he had acquired of the language of Tibet.<sup>1</sup>

24. Two specimens of Desideri's Tibetan writings.

1. Facing p. 274 of his work, Father Wessels publishes the first page of a Tibetan MS. by Fr. Desideri, which contains 704 oblong pages,  $33.5 \times 18.5$  cm., having 35 lines to the page. The opening page is dated June 24, 1718.

2. The second specimen, also facing p. 274 of the same work, is the first page of another Tibetan MS. by Desideri, containing 128 narrow strips,  $33.5 \times 13.5$  cm., with 7 lines to the page. The MS. is undated. Both MSS. belong to the Society of Jesus in Europe. We have commented somewhat on these two Tibetan MSS. and two others by Desideri at pp. 106-107, note 8.

25. Bibliographical notes on Fr. Ippolito Desideri.

From: Sommervogel, Carlos, S.J., Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Vol. 2 (1891), cols. 1963-1964.

Desideri, Hippolytus, born at Pistoia in 1684, entered the novitiate, May 9, 1700; left for the East Indies in 1712, and was from there sent to Tibet. In 1727 he was sent to Rome, to carry thither the process for the beatification of Blessed John de Britto, and he died there on April 14, 1733.

1. Letter of Father H. Desideri to Father Ildebrandus Grassi (Translated from the Italian). On Tibet. At Lassa, April 10, 1716;—in the Lettres édif., 15e recueil, pp. 183–208;— (edn. 1843), t. II, pp. 531–535.—Reprinted, t. VII, chapt. 7 of Histoire des Voyages, by the Abbé Prévot (Paris, 1746–1789).

Translated into German in Father Stöcklein's Welt-bott, No. 175.

2. A letter dated Febr. 13, 1717; in the Bibliotheca Pistoriensis of Father Zaccaria, pp. 185-186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> If the Desideri MS. used by Puini was written mostly on board ship, one might expect it to have been worked out less carefully than the two MSS. noticed by Fr. Wessels, both of which are divided into Books and Chapters.—H.H.

3. Alla sacra congregazione da propaganda fide Difesa I della Compagnia di Giesù in ordine alla missione del Tibet, e difesa del M. R. P. Generale della medesima Compagnia contro le scritture del R. P. Felice da Montecchio Cappucino, *Sine loco* (Roma), Typis Giannini et Mainardi, 1728, 4to, pp. 18 unnumbered.—Alla sacra . . . Difesa II della Compagnia di Giesù e del P. Ippolito Desiderj della medesima Compagnia, contro le . . Ibid., id., 1728, 4to, pp. 31 unnumbered.—Alla sacra . . . . Difesa III della Compagnia di Giesù contro la scrittura del P. Fr. Felice da Montecchio Cappuccino, intitolata Risposta alla relazione della missione del Tibet data da' PP. della Compagnia di Giesù. Ibid., id., 1728, 4to, pp. 19 unnumbered.

4. Notes géographiques sur le Tibet,<sup>1</sup> recueillies par N. Delisle et publiées par Klaproth;—in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1831, t. VIII, p. 117–121.

5. Travels into Tibet in 1714. By Hippolit Desideri, an Italian Jesuit. Now first translated from the French; in t. IV of Astley's Collection of Travels, and at pp. 302–308 of Markham's Magazine.

I believe it is the translation of No. 1.

6. (Advice of Fr. Desideri to travellers);—in the *Rivista* Europea, June and July 1876.

 $\overline{7}$ . In No. 1 he says that he has composed two works in Tibetan: the first to refute the error that all can save themselves by following their law; the second against metempsychosis. He began to translate the second in verse.

A. Map of Hindustan.

B. Letter (in Italian), dated Agra, 1714, 4to, pp. 4.—In the Library of Stonyhurst, England (A.I. 36, 2nd part).

C. Translation of the Sahorim or Kangiur. (Zaccaria: Bibl. Pistoriensis, p. 186.)

D. An Italian, Mr. Carlo Pruini announced that he had found back a MS. of Father Desideri which he intended publishing. It is perhaps the one of which there is question in Markham's *Magazine*. He gives details on this Missionary (1876, No. 1, p. 21, and No. 9, pp. 233-254) and adds that an inhabitant of Pistoia possessed one of his MSS., dated 1727, and containing 500 pages: Di una Relazione inedita del viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia, scritta da lui stesso;—in the Bulletino italiano degli studii orientali (Firenze), anno 1, Luglio, 1876, pp. 33-42.

From Sommervogel, Carlos, S.J., Bibl. de la C. de J., Vol. 9 (1900), cols. 204-205.

Desideri, Hippolytus:

Born on Dec. 21, 1684, admitted on April 27, 1700 . . . He spent 5 years in Tibet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Read : Tubet.—H.H.

8. Di alcune lettere inedite o ignorate del P. Ippolito Desideri, d. C. d. G., Missionario nel Tibet;—in Lavori presentati al professore Giovanni Marinelli nel venticinquesimo anniversario delle sue nozze. Firenze, tip. M. Ricci, 1895, in 8vo, pp. III-104. (By Carlo Puini.)

9. Letter, from Kutti, Sept. 21, 1721, to the Sovereign Pontiff; in La Revista Europea, July 1876, p. 293.

Narucci<sup>1</sup> (Gherardo). Intorno al Padre Ippolito Desiderj de Pistoia d. C. d. G.,—in *La Revista*, July 1876, pp. 289–294.— He mentions therein the Relazione (see D) owned by Mr. Phil. Rossi-Cassigoli of Pistoia. At MS. D. correct *Pruini* to *Puini*.

From Ernest M. Rivière, S.J., Corrections et Additions à la Bibliothéque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Supplément au 'de Backer-Sommervogel', Troisième Fascicule, Toulouse, Chez l' Auteur, 7. Rue Boulbonne, 1913, cols. 431-432.

10. Viaggio nel Tibet del P. Ippolito Desideri, dal Prof. Carlo Puini—in *Rivista geografica italiana*, t. VII (1900), pp. 562-582.—The chapter relating to Tibetan Buddhism was published by Puini in *Studi Italiani di filologia Indo-iranica*, t. III.

Carlo Puini: Il P. Ippolito Desideri e suoi Viaggi nell' India e nel Tibet (1712–1727). Il Buddhismo nel Tibet secondo la rela zione inedita del viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri. Firenze, G. Carnesecchi e Figli, 1899. In 8vo, pp. XXXII-63.

Carlo Puini: Il Tibet. (Geografia, Storia, Religione, Costumi) secondo la Relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri (1715– 1721).

Roma, presso la Società geografica italiana, 1904. In 8vo, pp. LXIV-402. (Memorie della Società geografica italiana, Volume Decimo.)

A. Magnaghi: Il Tibet nella Relazione del P. Ippolito Desideri,—in *Rivista geografica italiana*, t. XI (1904), pp. 76–108, according to the previous work.

Henri Cordier, Bibliotheca Sinica, 2nd edn., cols. 2904-2905.

Comments: (1) What does Sommervogel mean by Markham's Magazine? Desideri's letter of Lhasa, April 10, 1716, to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi, S.J., is at pp. 302-208 of Clements R. Markham's Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa, London,

<sup>1</sup> Sic, for Nerucci.

Trübnar and Co., Ludgate Hill, 1876. In his preface, p. vii, Markham says simply: 'The narratives of Grueber, Desideri, and Horace della Penna, Catholic priests who visited Lhasa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are given in an Appendix'.---For 'fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' read '17th and 18th centuries'.

At p. lix he writes: 'The manuscript containing the narrative of his (Desideri's) journey to and residence in Tibet has recently been examined by Signor Carlo Puini. That learned scholar reports that it is in the library of a private gentleman at Pistoia, and consists of a large folio volume, dated 1727, of about 500 pages, closely but very clearly and legibly written. It contains a great abundance of notices respecting the geography of Tibet, and the manners and customs, and religion of the Tibetans. There are two other documents of Desideri in the library of the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome. The first is another narrative, dated February 17, 1717,<sup>1</sup> soon after his arrival at Lhasa, and addressed to the Pope, and the second is a letter written in autograph by Desideri to the Pope.

'Father Desideri also translated the "Kangiar" of the great reforming Lama, Tsong-khapa, into Latin.'

Markham adds in a note at p. lix: 'Signor Carlo Puini examined the manuscript at Pistoia on November 19, 1875, and he will be furnished with copies both of it and of the documents at Rome. He will then write an exhaustive paper on Father Desideri and his travels, and eventually he hopes to publish the manuscript itself, with the necessary elucidations. I am indebted to Colonel Yule for this important news respecting the Desideri manuscripts, and their contemplated publication, which ought to be promptly followed by an English edition'.

(2) No. 7 in Sommervogel (II, cols. 1963-1964) should have been marked as a MS. under one of the letters of the alphabet.

(3) Not in Sommervogel's No. 1, but in Sommervogel's No. 2 does Desideri mention the two treatises. On the Italian treatise on the one way of salvation and the Italian treatise against transmigration, see Desideri's letter to the General (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717), and his letter to an unknown person in Zaccaria's *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, pp. 185-186.

(4) See the same two letters on his translation into Tibetan verse of the two Italian texts mentioned under our No. 3. These two Tibetan texts are likely to exist still among the MSS. preserved by the Society of Jesus in Europe. See on it note 8 of my section No. 10.

(5) On the composition of a Catechism, a Grammar and a Dictionary, see Desideri's letter to the General (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717), p. 375 in Puini. The Catechism appears to have been added to the treatise on transmigration and to the refutation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> February 13, 1717, in Puini, Il Tibet, p. xlii.

of the chief error of the Tongpa-gni. Cf. note 6 of my section No. 10.

(6) Zacharia is our authority for the statement that Desideri translated into Latin a compendium of the Sahorim or Kangiur by Tsongkhapa. Is not this the Lam-rin-chhen-ba, or Precious Doctrine by Tsongkhapa, of which we speak in note 3 of our section No. 14?

(7) To Sommervogel-Rivière must be added as published by Fr. C. Wessels the letter in the Stonyhurst Library (Agra, Aug. 21, 1714), to which I refer in my introduction.

(8) Sir E. Denison Ross, Director of the School of Oriental Studies, London, writes to Sir Edward Maclagan on 31-11-1929 that Sir Filippo de Filippi 'is working on an entirely new manuscript, which he is editing and of which he is giving us an English translation for the Broadway Travellers. He speaks in his last letter of having "completed the annotation of Books I and II, which will form Volume I of the publication". Since one of the MSS. described by Fr. C. Wessels is divided into 3 books, whereas Puini's has no divisions, we cannot be far wrong in guessing that the MS. used by Sir Filippo de Filippi is the identical MS. described by Fr. Wessels or a copy of the same. This, indeed, is good news.

(9) The notes on Tibet collected by N. Delide and annotated by Klaproth (*Journal Asiatique*, 2<sup>e</sup> serie, Vol. 8, pp. 117–121, do not quote Desideri textually. Nothing shows from what MS. by Desideri these notes were obtained.

(10) Prof. Puini's study and extracts from Desideri's MS. in *Studi italiani di filologia indo-iranica*, Vol. 3 (1899) (comprise pp. I-XXXII; 1-63. It was republished in book-form at Florence the same year. Cf. above Rivière: Carlo Puini, Fr. P. *Ippolito Desideri e suoi Viaggi*....

In Robert Streit, O.M.I., Bibliotheca Missionum, Erster Band, Munster i. 3., 1916, Verlag der Aschendorffschen Buchhandlung, we find that Desideri's letter of Lhasa, dated 10.4.1716, and addressed to Fr. Grassi, appeared in the following publications:—

(1) Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, XV Recueil, Paris, M. DCC. XXII, pp. 183–209. Cf. Streit, p. 377.

(2) Joseph Stöcklein, S.J., 'Welt-Bott', Sibender Theil, Augspurg and Grätz, 1726, No. 175, pp. 90–94 (the date is here given, erroneously, as 10.4.1715 by Streit). Cf. Streit, p. 385.

(3) Astley's Collection (New General Collection of Voyages and Travels, London), Vol. IV (M. DCC. XLVII), pp. 655-658, the title being: Travels into Tibet, in 1714. By Hypolito Desideri, an Italian Jesuit. (This collection also contains: Travels through Tibet, to and from China, by several Missionaries, pp. 649-651.—Travels from China to Europe, in 1661. By John Grueber, Jesuit, pp. 651-655.)

(4) Prévost's Histoire Générale des Voyages . . . La Haye, Vol. IX, M. DCC. XLIX: Voyage d'Hipolyte Desideri au Tibet, 1715, pp. 455-460. Cf. Streit, p. 450.

(5) Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande ..., Leipzig, bey Arkstee und Mervus (a translation of Astley's Collection), Band 7 (1750): Reisen nach Tibet, Im Jahre 1714, durch Hypolitus Desiderius, einen italienischen Jesuit, pp. 562-568. Cf. Streit, p. 451.

(6) Cartas Edificantes Curiosas, Madrid, En la Officina de la Viuda de Manuel Fernandez, Tomo Decimo, MDCCLV, pp. 50-61. Cf. Streit, p. 465.

(7) Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses . . , Paris, Tome XII, M. DCC. LXXXI, pp. 430-446. Cf. Streit, p. 537.

(8) Choix des Lettres Edifiantes, Paris, Tome VIII, MDCCCXXVI, pp. 268–278. Cf. Streit, p. 577.

From H. Cordier, Bibliotheca Sinica, IV. 2905-2906.

(1) Desideri's letter of Lhasa, 10.4.1716, appears also in *Pant. litt.*, III, pp. 531-535.

(2) Hugh Murray, Historical Account, I, Ch. IX, pp. 441-445.

(3) Puini's Il Tibet was reviewed in the Geographical Journal, XXV, No. 1, January 1905, pp. 84-85. By A. H. Keane.

(4) C. Puini.—Il Matrimonio nel Tibet. (Riviste Italiana di Sociologia, amo W, 1900, pp. 149-168.

Review: L'Anthropologie, XI, 1900, pp. 629-633, by Ch. de Ujfalvy.

(5) Carlo Puini's Lhasa (Rivista geog. italiana, X, 1903, pp. 546-548.

26. Letter of Fr. Francis Borgia Koch, S.J., to Fr. Anthony Mordax, S.J., Vienna (Goa, 1706).

(From Fr. Stöcklens Welt-Bott, Vol. 5.)

(P. 83, Col. 2) Num. 117.	(P. 83, col. 2).	No. 117.
Brief	Letter	

Patris Francisci Borgiae Koch,

der Gesellschaft Jesu Missionarii, aus

der Oester reichischen Provintz An

- R.P. Antonium Mordax,
- des Probhauses gedachter Societät bey
- of Father Francis Borgia Koch,
- Missionary of the Society of Jesus,
- of the Province of Austria. To
- the Rev. Father Anthony Mordax,
- Rector of the House of Probation of the said Society near

Sanct-Anna in Wien Rectorem und No-

- Geschrieben zu Goa in Indien um das
- Jahr 1706. Der Tag und Monat seynd

nicht angemerckt worden. Innhalt.

Betrifft seine Vorhabende Reis von Goa biss Agra, der Hauptstadt in Mogor, und ferners nach dem West-Tartarischen Königreich Thibet.

Ehrwürdiger Pater in Christo'.

**P**.C.

Euer Ehrwürden eifferigem Gebett und Mess-Opfern schreibe ich es zu/dass/da so viel andere aus dem Schiff gestorben seynd/ich/der sie in ihren Kranckheiten fleissig bedient/ und viel Gutes zu würcken Gelegenheit gewonnen hab nach einer Kranckheit/so zwey Monat gewähret/nichts destoSanct-Anna, Vienna, and Novice Master.

Written at Goa, in India, about the

year 1706. The day and month were

not noted.<sup>1</sup>

Contents.

Concerning his forthcoming journey from Goa to Agra, the Capital in Mogor, and further to the Kingdom of Tibet in Western Tartary.

Reverend Father in Christ, The Peace of Christ.

I ascribe to Your Reverence's fervent prayer and Sacrifices that, while so many others died on board the ship, I, who served them assiduously in their illness and had the opportunity of doing much good, did nevertheless arrive here alive after an illness which lasted two months.<sup>2</sup> Accord-

<sup>1</sup> The date of this letter should be 1709 rather than 1706. Fr. Stocklein says that the day and the month of the letter were not known to him; the year must have been omitted too; else, Fr. Stocklein would not have said that the letter was written 'about' 1706. We have several clues for the date 1709.

(1) Franco's list mentions as having left Lisbon for India in 1709: 'Fr. Francis Borgia, a German.' The party was one of 4 Portugese and three Germans, the two other Germans being 'Christophorus Mater' and 'Fr. Francis. Filiscus.' None are noted as having died on the way.

(2) Fr. Martinetti, with whom Fr. Koch was to go to Tibet, writes in 1713 that he had during three years taken information on the Tibet Mission. The three years in question would be 1709-12.

(3) Neither Martinetti nor Koch appears in the Mogor Catalogue of January, 1708; both are mentioned in the Catalogue of January 2, 1710.

(4) The Provincial Manoel Sarayva wrote to the General on January 3, 1710, that Frs. Martinetti and Koch had been charged to go to Tibet from Agra. (Wessels, 207.) Now, as Fr. Koch says that, soon after his arrival at Goa, he was destined to Agra and Tibet, his departure for Agra would naturally fall at the end of 1709, if he is the 'Fr. Francis Borgia, a German,' who arrived at Goa, (about Sept. ?), 1709. Martinetti being also a newcomer of 1709, it was natural to appoint both him and Koch for Tibet, as two others destined for Tibet in 1708 had had to be turned away to Mysore, for want of men on that side.

<sup>2</sup> Franco mentions none of the Jesuits of 1709 as having died between Lisbon and Goa; neither does Fr. Koch; but the party of 1709 may have

vitzen Miestern.

weniger noch lebendig allhier angelangt bin. Derenwegen seynd Euer Ehrwürden in dem Vorgeben/als könte man seinen Evffer auf der Reis nicht ausüben/übel berichtet worden: allermassen ich gäntzlich dafür halte/dass/wann ich auch bald nach meiner Ankunfft allhier gestorben wäre/es wegen so mancherley Wercken Christlicher Liebe mich einer dergestalt mühseligen Schiffahrt dannoch nicht reuen solte. Ohbesagter mein Zustand ist vielmehr von unanständiger Nahrung/als einiger andern Ursach entsprungen/weil wir acht Wochen lang nichts als Bohnen in Oehl/Reis in Oehl/wie auch Brod in Wasser und Oehl gesotten genossen haben: allhier aber in Indien gewöhnen wir uns allein an Reis und abgeschmacktes Wasser/als wo kein kühler Trunck zu bekommem ist: ja seit ich aus Teutschland verreiset bin/darf ich wohl sagen/dass ich niemals kalt Ubrigens getruncken habe. lebt man sonst hier zu Land in unsern Collegilis zimlich gut/als in welchen an Fleisch und Wein Kein Abgang ist. (P. 84, col. 1)

Die Missionarii hingegen müssen die Seelen/so sie bekehren wollen/mit Gebett und Fasten gewinnen/angesehen die Heyden dieser Orten zwar Häuffig/aber zugleich dergestalt haessstarrig seynd/dass der abgöttische Teuffel/welcher in innen steckt/sich mit keinem andern Mittel lässt austreiben. ingly, your Reverence was badly informed when you were told that one could not exercise one's zeal on the journey; anyhow, I am quite of opinion that, even had I died soon after my arrival here. I should not on account of so many works of Christian mercy regret so toilsome a voyage. My aforesaid condition was due to improper food rather than to any other cause: for during eight weeks we had nothing else to eat than beans in oil, rice in oil, and also bread boiled in water and oil. However. here in India we accustom ourselves to rice only and insipid water, since no cooler drink can be had there: indeed. from the time I left Germany I daresay I have not drunk anything cold. For the rest, here in our Colleges one lives tolerably well, as there is no lack of flesh-meat and wine. (P. 84, col. 1)

On the other hand, the Missionaries must gain with prayer and fasting the souls they wish to convert, considering that the pagans of these parts are indeed many, but at the same time so stubborn that the idolatrous devil in them does not let himself be expelled by any other means.

overtaken the party of 31 Jesuits of 1708, which did not reach Goa till Sept. 25, 1709, and lost 5 of its members on the voyage. Martinetti belonged to the party of 1708.

Dessen ungeachtet seynd deren Heyden in diesem Land Indien so viel/deren Christen hingegen so wenig/dass ich ungleiche Zahl beyderseits nicht füglicher vorstellen kan/ als wann ich sage/der Kleine Hauffen deren Glaubigen/ wann er mit der unendlichen Schaar/deran Unglaubigen verglichen wird gebe nicht mehr aus/als ein eintziger Kern gegen zehen Metzen Getreids: doch sevnd die Salsettische Inseln gantz Catholisch.

Die Provintz Goa versiehet ausserhalb der Landschafft dieses Nahmens anderwärtig dermalen folgende Missionen: die in dem Reich von der Sunda, allwo nur etliche tausend Christglaubige zu finden seynd: die in dem Reich Mayssur: die in dem Königreich Schitur: die bev denen Kafferen in Africa: und letzlichen die in dem grossen Reich Mogor, in dessen Haupt-stadt Agra würcklich drey unserige denenselben Unglaubigen das Evangelium predigen; ein wahrhafftif gar zu geringe Zahl Arbeiter für einen so volckreichen Ort/ welchem cine Besatzung in von zweimal hundert tausend Mann unterhalten/die übrige Inwohner aber Million-Weisegezehlt werden. Das Glück hälte mich bald getroffen/dass ich von meinen Obern wäre dahin geschickt worden/um allda zu varbleiben; allein/indem ich dieses schreibe/wird mir angedeutet/ich solle auf einem Schiff/so gantz segelfertig ist/ nach Surate fahren/und mich

Besides, the pagans in this land of India are so many, and the Christians on the other hand are so few that I cannot represent more suitably the uneven number on both sides than by saying that, when the small number of the faithful is compared to the countless host of the infidels, it amounts to no more than a single grain compared to ten measures of wheat; however, the islands of Salsette are entirely Catholic.

In addition to the district of the name of Goa, the Province of Goa provides now elsewhere for the following Missions: the Mission in the Kingdom of Sunda, where are to be found only some thousands of Christians; the Mission in the Kingdom of Mayssur; the Mission in the Kingdom of Schitur; the Mission among the Kaffirs in Africa; and finally the Mission in the great kingdom of Mogor, where in the capital thereof, Agra, three of ours zealously preach the Gospel to its infidels: <sup>1</sup> truly much too small a number of labourers for so populous a place, which has a garrison of two hundred thousand men, while the other inhabitants are counted in millions. Soon I had the good fortune of being destined by my Superiors to remain there; and however, while I write this, I am told to go to Surate by a ship which is quite ready to sail, and from there to go to Agra, there to learn the Tibetan tongue, and then

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Catalogue of Mogor for January 1708 has 3 Fathers in Mogor; that of January 2, 1710, notes four, besides Martinetti and Koch.

von dannen zwar nach Agra verfügen/um daselbst die Thibetische Sprach zu erlernen/ demnach aber meine Reis mit Patre Martineti, einen Wälschen Jesuiter ferners nach dem Reich Thibet fortsetzen/welches zwischen Mogol, Persien/ der Kalmukischen und grossen Tartarev. und dem Ertz-Reich Sina light; weil nemlich der König von gedachtem Thibet sehnich um Missionarios anhält/und wir in dessen Gebiet die ersten Christum verkünden werden. Ich brech ab/und eile auf das Schiff/damit ich die Gelegenheit nicht versäume: befiehle also um des Bluts Christi willen uns beyde/wie auch unsere Mission und die Heyden/welche unser warten /in Euer Ehrwürden und gesamter allerliebsten Provintz Oesterreich HH. Mess-Opfer und Andachten.

Euer Ehrwürden Goa, Anno 1706. Diener in Christo, Borgias Koch, der Gesellschafft

Jesu Missionarius.

to continue my journey with Father Martineti, an Italian Jesuit, towards the Kingdom of Tibet, which lies between Mogor, Persia, Kalmuk Tartary and the Empire of China; for the king of the said Tibet eagerly asks for Missionaries, and we shall be the first to preach Christ in his dominions.<sup>1</sup> I stop, and hasten to the ship, lest I lose the opportunity; so, by the Blood of Christ, I commend both of us, as also our Mission, and the heathens awaiting us, to the Holy Sacrifices and prayers of Your Reverence and of the very dear Province of Austria.

Your Reverences, Goa, 1706.<sup>2</sup> Servant in Christ, Borgias Koch, Missionary of the Society of Jesus.

27. Fr. Francis Anthony Zacharia, S.J., on Fr. H. Desideri, S.J., with letter from Lhasa, Febr. 13, 1717.

(From Bibliotheca Pistoriensis a Francisco Antonio Zacharia, Augustae Taurinorum, MDCCLII, pp. 185-186.)<sup>3</sup>

(P. 185) Desideri (Hippolytus)	(P. 185) Desideri (Hippolytus).
	On the 13th before the Kale- da of January (Dec. 20) in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I find these indications as unsatisfactory as ever. By 1708 the Capuchins had gone to Nepal; therefore, the Jesuits could not expect to be the first Missionaries on that side. From what side, then, had a king of Tibet sent invitations for Missionaries. ?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the hurry of the departure, it is possible that Koch forgot to date his letter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> As this extract, copied for us in London by Sir Edward Douglas Maclagan (188 West Hill, Putney, London, S.W. 15) reached us on

Hippolytus, tum Romae Societati Jesu nomen dedit VII. Idus Maias CIOD a. CC sed a. CIDIOCCXII ad Thibetanas Missiones profec-Inde XIII. Februar. tus est. CIDIDCCXVII. literas а. scripsit, quas heic recitare non inutile visum est.

Alla fine di Luglio 1716. scrissi altra, dando nuova de' miei lunghissimi, e difficilissimi viaggi, e del mio arrivo in questa Capitale di Thibet a' 18. di Marzo del detto anno, ed insieme notizia del succedutomi quì sino a detto tempo.

A'nove d' Agosto fui mandato a chiamare al Palazzo del Re, dove ebbi lunga, e famigliare udienza per ricerca del fine, per cui ero venuto, e dimoravo in questo Thibet; risposi, che unicamente per inseguare la S. Fede. Io fui interrogato, quanto tempo quì mi tratterrei risposi, che fino alla morte, se essi volessero abbracciare la S. Fede; la risposta fu, che volevano essere in tutto year 1684, was born Hippolytus, who gave his name to the Society of Jesus at Rome on the 7th before the Ides of May (May 9) in the year 1700, and left for the Tibetan Missions in 1712. From there he wrote on the 13th of February, 1717, a letter which we think it useful to quote here.

At the end of July 1716, I wrote another letter,<sup>1</sup> giving news of my very long and very difficult journeyings, and of my arrival in this capital of Tibet on the 18th March of the said year,<sup>2</sup> and at the same time an account of what happened to me here up to the said date.

On the 9th of August,<sup>3</sup> I was summoned to the King's Palace, where I had a long and familiar audience, at which they asked me for what object I had come and was staying in this Tibet. I answered that it was solely to teach them the Holy Faith. I was asked how long I would stay here. I answered I would stay until my death, if they wished to embrace the Holy Faith.

December 2, 1929, we have placed it here, so as not to disturb what we wrote above. Desideri's letter enclosed in the extract, and dated February 13, 1717, is evidently from Lhasa. The name of the addressee is not given. The letter may have been written to a Jesuit or to a person of Desideri's family. There is a request to be remembered in the addressee's prayers, but no reference to 'Holy Sacrifices'. It is evidently not addressed to the Pope, though he wrote a letter to the Pope on the same date. The letter must be compared with the one he wrote to the General of the Society two days later. It was but natural that he should dwell on the same topics in both. It is worth remarking that there is no direct allusion to the arrival and doings of the Capuchins.

<sup>1</sup> This letter too remains to be discovered. In his letter of Lhasa to the General, Febr. 15, 1717, Desideri begins by saying that he wrote to the General at the end of July, 1716, by way of Goa and Portugal. We do not possess that letter to the General, and it is possible that this courier did not reach.

<sup>2</sup> The same date in other letters.

<sup>3</sup> The same date in the letter to the General (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717).

instruiti della mia S. Fede, e Legge, e che perciò restassi quivi, ed imparassi bene la lingua. Dipoi mi furono fatte molte, ed efficacissime esibizioni, ed of ferte dalla regia liberalità, ma io tutto efficacemente ributtai, non volendo altr' onore, che la gloria di Dio. nè altro bene, che la salute dell'anime loro. Al principio di Settembre fui invitato, e condotto ad un Giardino, e Palazzo in Campagna del Re. dove fui esaminato del profitto fatto nella lingua specialmente, nell' intelli genza de'libri, e mi furono domandate varie cose della mia S. Legge. Al principio di novembre essendo già arrivata una lettera latina del Papa a questo Re, io la tradussi in questa lingua. Essendo stato alcune volte richiesto, e privatamente, e pubblicamente della differenza tra la mia, e la loro legge, nè arrischiandomi a tratt are exprofesso a voce sì delicati punti sino a non possedere perfettamente questa lingua, aveva promesso di spiegare loro tutto a poco a poco con alcuni libri: a tal fine ne'mesi di Giugno, Luglio, ed Agosto composi due libri; il primo in confutazione del pessimo, e tanto sparso errore, che dice potersi ognuno salvare nella sua legge, ed il secondo in confutazione del diabolico er-

Their answer was that they wished to be fully instructed in my Holy Faith and Law. and that accordingly I should stay there and study the language well. After that, many and very strong offers and invitations came to me from the King's liberality, but I strongly declined it all, not wishing any other honour than the glory of God, and no other good than the salvation of their souls. In the beginning of September,<sup>1</sup> I was invited and conducted to a Garden and Palace of the King outside the town, where I was examined on the progress I had made in the language, especially in the understanding of the books, and I was asked various things about my Holy Law. In the beginning of November, 88 there had already arrived a Latin letter from the Pope for this King, I translated it into this language.<sup>2</sup> Having been asked sometimes, both privately and publicly, the difference between my law and theirs, and not wishing to venture on treating ex professo and orally points so delicate, until I possessed this language perfectly, I had promised to explain the whole to them little by little in certain books: with this object, during the months of June, July and August<sup>3</sup> I composed two

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The same date, *ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Capuchins arrived at Lhasa on Oct. 1, 1716, and, though part of their presents for the King was lost, the letter from the Pope and some money arrived, apparently somewhat after the arrival of the Capuchin Fathers. The letter of the Pope was presented to the King on Dec. 4, 1716. Cf. Letter to the General, Febr. 15, 1717 (p. 375 in Puini).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The same period of time in the letter to the General, Febr. 15, 1717.

rore del trasmigrazione Pittagovica. Agli otto di Settembre comincial da me stesso a tradurre in questa lingua, e in versi Thibettani il primo di detti due libri, e dopo averlo posto bene all' ordine, a' 6. di Gennajo 1717. dopo detta, ed applicata a questa fine la S. Messa, andai a palazzo del Re, dove fui ammesso nella Real Sala dell' udienza, ove stava il Re nel suo trovo circondato da un molto copioso consesso di Grandi, e persone della corte, e di Lammâ, che sono i loro Religiosi e Dottori. Il Re ricevè il mio regalo, e prese nelle sue mani il mio libro, e mi fece sedere in faccia al suo trono, e mi fece bere il Cià. Dipoi con le sue sciolse. e apri il mio libro, e mi domando, quanto tempo ancora resterei in questo (p. 186) Risposi, che fino alla Thibet. mia morte, il che cagionò molta tenerezza in tutto il consesso; indi mi domandò, qual fosse il mio Dio. Risposi, che io non riconosco, nè adoro, se non un solo Dio creatore del tutto, Mi domandò, quanti Dei vi siano, Risposi che un solo, unico nell'essenza, e trino nelle persone. Mi domandò i nomi delle tre divine persone, e presa occasione del nome del Spirito Santo, essendo egli di gran mente, e di molto capace ingegno, da se stesso si pose a farmi varj argomenti contro la purissima spiritualità, ed incorporità di Dio, e udì le mie risposte a detti argomenti, e come essen-

books: the first in refutation of the very bad and so widely spread error which says that everyone can be saved in his law: and the second, in refutation of the devilish error of the Pythagoric transmigration. On the 8th of September <sup>1</sup> I began by myself to translate in this language and in Tibetan verses the first of the said two books; and, when I had put it in good order, on the 6th of January, 1717, having said and applied Holy Mass to this end, I went to the King's Palace<sup>2</sup>, where I was admitted into the Royal Hall of audience. where the King was on his throne, surrounded by a very great assembly of Grandees, and persons of the court, and Lammâs, who are their Religious and Doctors. The King received my present, took my book into his hands, bade me sit in front of his throne, and made me drink the Cià. Then with his own hands he untied and opened my book, and asked me how much longer I would remain in this (p. 186) Tibet. I answered I would remain until my death, which caused much emotion in the whole assembly. Next, he asked me what my God was like. I answered that I acknowledge and worship only one sole God, creator of all things. He asked me how many Gods there are. I answered: Only one, sole in essence, and trine in persons. He asked me the names of the three divine persons, and, taking occasion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The same date, *ibid*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The three Capuchins went with him on that occasion.

do Iddio di sua natura incorporeo, per amore, e salute nostra, si era fatto uomo. Dipoi da se stesso lesse tutta la dedicatoria del Libro, che è un elogio del Re medesimo in versi Thibettani, poichè ad esso è dedicato il libro. Indiancorchè gia sapesse il tutto, come stesse la cosa, per farmi quest' onore appresso gl' altri, mi domandò, chi avesse composto, e posto in questa lingua quel libro; risposi, che io stesso senz' aiuto di verun uomo. In oltre mi domando, chi l'avesse posto in versi Thibettani, risposi, che io solo da me medesimo. Dopo di ciò lesse un buon pezzo del primo capitolo, e di poi diede il libro in mano di uno di detti Dottori, che fra tutto il consesso era il più vicino al Re, e dal medesimo dottore il fece leggere. Di poi da se stesso si pose a farmi argumenti in difesa della transmigratione, e a ciaschedumo argomento udì le mie risposte, dopo le quati continuò a farsi a leggere il libro da detto Dottore, ed in quel mentre arrivato il mezzo giorno, fu licenziata l'udienza, senza che il Re in tanto tempo avesse udito altri, nè parlato ad altri. Pochi giorni dopo mi mandò ad interrogave a casa molto per minuto sopra quel punto, che la via, o legge della salute è una sola, e tutte le altre sono d'eterna dannazione. Il Re tiene appresso di se e va leggendo il libro, e facendone conferenze. Faccia Iddio, nelle cui mani sta l'esito, ed al quale tocca a parlare al cuore. Varie altre

of the name of the Holy Ghost, he, being a man of great intelligence, and very penetrating mind, began of himself to make various arguments against the pure spirituality and incorporeity of God, and listened to my answers to the said arguments, and how God, being of his nature incorporeal, had become Man for our sake and salvation. Next. by himself he read the whole dedication of the Book, which is a eulogy of the King himself in Tibetan verses: for the Book is dedicated to him Then, though he knew quite well how things were, in order to give me that honour before the others, he asked me who had composed that book and put it into that language. I answered I had done it myself, without help from anyone. Moreover, he asked me who had put it into Tibetan verse. I answered I had done it by myself alone. After that, he read a good portion of the first chapter, and then gave the book to one of the said Doctors, who of all the assembly was nearest to the King, and he made the said Doctor read. Next, by himself he began using against me arguments in defence of transmigration, and he listened to my answers to each argument; after which he continued to make the said Doctor read the Meanwhile, book. midday came, and the audience was dismissed, and during all that time the King had not heard any others, nor spoken to any others. Some days after, he sent to my house to question

volte con varie persone ho ayute private dispute di sì fatti punti di Religione. Da un mese in quà sono stato un poco travagliato nella sanità, a causa delle passate, fatiche. Quanto prima ripiglierò lo studio, e le fatiche, che è quanto posso per ora dar di nuovo.

Non si scordino giammai di pregare per me nelle loro orazioni, ne forte cum aliis praedicaverim, ipse reprobus efficiar, e acciocche i miei peccati non pongano impedimento alla conversione di queste genti, e caramente abbracciandola, resto pregando Iddio a darci grazia di rivederci in Paradiso, Amen.

Neque hos solum libros scripsit P. Hippolytus quorum in superioribus libris <sup>1</sup> mentio. Nam in latinam linguam (quod sane Missionariis ad dignoscendos illius gentis errores usui maximo esse potest) convertit Tibettanarum Sahorim, seu Kangiur qui Bibliorum instar ipsis est in centum et octo

me very minutely on the point whether there is but one way and law of salvation. and all the others are of eternal damnation. The King keeps the book near him, and he goes on reading it and having discussions about it. May God. in whose hands is the issue, and to whom it belongs to speak to the heart, (grant success). Several other times I have had private discussions with various persons on such points of Religion. This last month I have been a little troubled in health, owing to the past fatigues. As soon as possible I shall resume my study and my labours, which is all the news I can give for the present.

Never forget to pray for me in your prayers, ne forte cum aliis praedicaverim, ipse reprobus efficiar (lest perhaps, when I have preached to others, I myself should become a castaway),<sup>1</sup> and that my sins may not place an obstacle in the way of the conversion of these peoples; and, embracing you lovingly, I remain praying that God give us the grace of meeting each other in Paradise. Amen.

The books mentioned in the above letter are not the only ones written by Fr. Hippolytus: for he translated into Latin (which can be of the greatest use to Missionaries for learning the errors of that nation) a compendium of the Sahorim or Kangiur of the Tibetans, a collection of one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Literis ?

<sup>1 1</sup> Cor., 9. 27.

grandia volumina tributi compendium a Zonkabà quodam magna apud eos sanditatis fama percelebri elucubratum. Alia etiam parabat, quum a Thibetanis regionibus in Italiam remeandum fuit P. Hip-CIDIDCCXXVÍI. polyto A. Romae autem pro suis Missionibus adversus P.P. Cappuccinerum postulata tres non uno temp ore libellos Edidit, obtulitque Sacrae Congregadepropaganda fide. tioni Quod tamen optabat maxime, ut Thibetanum in Regnum rediret, obtinere non potuit, morte intercedente, quae illum ex Collegio Romano ad Superos evocavit XVIII Kal. Majas a. CIDIOCCXXXIII.

hundred and eight large volumes, which is like their Bible, the compendium having been written by a certain Zonkabà, who is held by them in very great opinion of holiness. Fr. Hippolytus was also preparing other things when in the year 1727 he had to return from Tibet to Italy. At different times, while at Rome, he published for his Missions and laid before the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide three small books written against the postulata of the Capuchin Fathers. He could not obtain what he desired most, to return to the Kingdom of Tibet: for death supervened, which from the Roman College called him to Heaven on the 18th before to the Kalends of May (April 14) of the year 1733.<sup>1</sup>

28. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to His Holiness the Pope, Clement XI.

(Lhasa, February 13, 1717.)

(P. 1) Copia. B'mo Padre. 517

Quella somma benignità degna veram.te d'yn Vic.o di Dio in Terra, che ebbi la sorte di sperimentare, allorche prima di partir di Roma per le Missioni, ebbi la pregiatissima sorte di prostrarmi vmile, e riuerente à Piedi della Stà sua, mi dà adesso animo di pormi di nuouo, se non in persona, (P. 1) Copy. Most Blessed Father,<sup>2</sup> 517

That extreme kindness, truly worthy of a Vicar of God on earth, of which I had the good fortune to be the object, when, before leaving Rome for the Missions, I had the most esteemed fortune of prostrating myself humbly and reverently at the Feet of Your Holiness, encourages me now to place

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Filippo de Filippi (La Capponcina, Settignano, Florence) for the rotographs of this document which Mgr. Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library, ordered to be made at his request. The document must be carefully compared with Desideri's letter to the General of the Society of Jesus (Lhasa, Febr. 15, 1717). Cf. our No. 9.

almeno con q'sto mio foglio, riuerente, e supplicheuole à med. mi uoneratissimi Piedi di sua Stà. Doppo d'esser passato il Tibette piccolo, in cui l'empia seta di Maometto chiude ogni porta all' industrie de Missionari Euangelici: e doppo d'hauer fatto qualche diligenza nell' altro 2.0 Tibette, in cui à cagione della dipendenza, non pare si possa per adesso impiegar con frutto l'industria de Zelanti Missionari; A 7. di Settembre 1715. col fauor di Dio entrai in questo 3.0, e principal Tibette. Indi à 18. di Marzo 1716. arriuai a q'sta Citta di Lhassa, Capitale, e Regia di q'sto Tibette. Qui mi fermai, e benche solo, senza verun Religioso, nè d'altra Relig.ne, nè della Compagnia, non dimeno animato da vn viuissimo desiderio della gloria di Dio, e dell' amoreuoliss.o Gesù Saluatore di tutto il Mondo: con ogni sforzo mi posi all' ardua impresa di trattare de negozi della S. a Fede. Per tal fine giorno, e notto mi applicauo allo studio traua gliosiss.mo di q'sta lingua; p.tal fine mi posi di tutto proposito à leggere, e scrutinare con ogni studio i libbri principali di questa setta: per tal fine da varie perite persone andauo indagando meglio l'origini, i Riti, et opinioni di q'sta setta: per tal fine andauo con varie industrie e spese ancora introducendomi con varie percone, e già m'ero insinuato in vna considerabiliss.a amicizia nella Corte, anzi m'ero insinuato col Re med.mo, fino à sperimentarne finiss.me di-

myself again reverently and suppliantly, if not in person, at least with this paper of mine, at the same most venerated Feet of Your Holiness. Having traversed Little Tibette, where the impious sect of Maomet closes every door to the efforts of Evangelical Missionaries, and having made some diligence in the other second Tibet, where owing dependency it does not  $\mathbf{to}$ seem that the industry of zealous Missionaries can for the moment fruitfully employ itself, with the help of God I entered this third and chief Tibet on the 7th of September, 1715. Next, on the 18th of March, 1716, I arrived at this City of Lhassa, the Capital Royal Court of this and Tibet. Here I stayed, and, though alone, without a single Religious, either of another Religion, or of the Company, vet, animated by a most lively desire of the glory of God and of the most lovable Jesus. Saviour of the whole World. I began with all ardour the arduous task of dealing with matters of the Holy Faith. For the purpose, day and night, I applied myself to the very laborious study of this language; for that purpose, I started whole-heartedly reading and examining with all zeal the chief books of this sect; for that purpose, I kept seeking out better from various able persons the origins, Rites, and tenets of this sect; for that purpose, with various industries and with expenses too, I became introduced to various persons, and I had already

mostraz.ni; per tal fine e non dimandato, e dimandato da priuati, e interrogato da Grandi. e interrogato solennem.te per parte del Rè, haueuo chiaram. te manifestato, e publicato, che il mio intento era d'insegnar in q'sto Regno la S.a Fede; per tal fine interrogato yna volta solennem.te p' parte del Rè, e vn altra volta solenissimte, e con gran publicità dal Rè med.mo, posta la mia risoluzione d'insegnar in q'sto Regno la S.a Fede, quanti anni mi tratterei in q'sto Regno; mi dichiarai, e assolutam.te mi protestai, che se Essi abbracciassero la S. a Fede, resterei quì sino alla morte, e auendomi risposto, che voleuano esser in tutto ben informati della S.a Fede, e che per ciò assolutam.te quì rimanessi; Promisi più volte di restar quì sino alla Morte; p' tal fine, acciòche l' intento di promouer, e di piantar qui la S.a Fede, più facilm.te s'insinuasse in queste Anime. aueuo costantem.te ributtate le molte, liberalissime, e anche importune offerte (p. 2) di questo Rè, efficacem te protestandomi, non voler Io ne i loro onori, nè loro grandezze, nè loro ricchezze, mà vnicam.te la Gloria di Dio, e la loro eterna salute. Vltim.te per tal fine auendomi Essi varie uolte ricercato della differenza trà la Nostra, e la loro Legge e perchè in punti si dilicati, doue ogni minima parola è vn gran che, a sic non mi arrischiauo ancora à spiegar ex professo, in publico à voce;

insinuated myself considerably into the friendship of the Court, and had even reached the King himself, so much so that I received from him most delicate attentions; for that purpose, when not questioned or questioned by private persons, when requested by Grandees and interrogated solemnly in the King's name, I had clearly made known and declared that it was my intention to teach the Holy Faith in this Kingdom; for that purpose, when asked once solemnly in the King's name,<sup>1</sup> and another time most solemnly and with great publicity by the King himself, given my resolution to teach the Holy Faith in this Kingdom, how many vears I would spend in this Kingdom, I declared and protested absolutely that, should they embrace the Holy Faith, I would stay on until my Death, whereupon, as they answered that they wished to be well informed of the Holy Faith, and that therefore I should remain here altogether. I promised many times to remain up to my Death; for that purpose, in order that my design of promoting and planting here the Holy Faith might the more easily find favour with these Souls, I had constantly refused the many very liberal and even importunate offers (P. 2) of this King, strongly protesting that 1 wanted neither their honours, nor their greatnesses, nor their riches, but only the Glory of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> At the meeting with the Tartar, the principal Minister of the King, on Aug. 9, 1716.

m'ero obligato à spigar loro tutto à poco à poco con vari libri: E ex vi di ciò aueuo qui composto due libri, nel p.mo de quali confuto l'errore, che ogn'vno nella sua Legge si puô saluare, mostrando, che vna sola è la via della salute, e tutte l'altre sono vie d'eterna dannazzione: e nel 2.0 confuto il diabolico errore della Trasmigrazione, e questo in due Trattati; il p.mo contro la Trasmigrazione de cattiui; il 2. o contro la Trasmigraz.ne de Buoni. E già haueuo da me stesso tradotto nella lingua, e per più allettatiuo ancora in versi Thibettani, sino alla meta il p.mo di detti due Libri, il quale di poi finito, hò già con molta solennità, e publicità offerto al Rè, il quale ne hà fatte publiche demostraz. i di stima, lo tiene appresso di se, e lo và leggendo, e in quel giorno publicamte da se stesso mi fece argom.ti, e vdì le mie risposte sopra due questioni, cioe, p.mo sopra la purissima immaterialità, e incorporeità di Dio; presa l'occasione del nome dello Spirito Santo. 2.0 sopra la Trasmigraz.ne dell' Anime, e alcuni giorni doppo mi mandò à interrogare per minuto sopra quel punto, che fuori d'vna sola Legge, tutte l' altre sono d'eterna dannazione. Le cose per aiuto, e misericordia di Dio cosi correuano; quando al p.mo di Ottobre 1716. arriuarono trè PP.

God and their eternal salvation. Lastly, for that purpose, when they had asked me many times what difference there was between our Law and theirs. I, considering that in points so delicately, the smallest word is a great one, (said) I did not vet venture to explain it exprofesso, in public, by word of mouth, but I pledged myself to explain it to them little by little in different books. And, on the strength of this, I had here composed two books. in the first of which I refuted the error that everyone can be saved in his Law, showing that the way of our salvation is but one, and that all the other wavs lead to eternal damnation; and, in the second, I refuted the devilish error of Transmigration, and this in two Treatises. the former being against the Transmigration of the wicked, the second against the Transmigration of the Good.<sup>1</sup> And I had already translated by myself in this language, even in Tibetan verse, as a greater enticement, up to the middle, the former of the said two Books;<sup>2</sup> which, when it was completed, I have by now offered to the King with much publicity.<sup>3</sup> solemnity and The King showed in public that he esteemed it; he keeps it near him, and continues reading it. And, on that day, of himself he argued with me publicly, and heard my answers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The letter to the General (Febr. 15, 1717), does not mention the treatise on the transmigration of the wicked.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> He began the translation of his first treatise on Sept. 8, 1716; he may therefore have reached the middle of the translation of that treatise by Oct. 1, when the three Capuchins arrived.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The first treatise was presented to the King on January 6, 1717.

Capuccini Missionari Ap'lici, con vn Decreto, in cui à tutti, etiam Patribus Societ.tis Jesu, non ostante qualunque priuilegio in contrario dalla S. Sede conceduto, sotto Ecclesiastiche pene è proibito l'esercitare qualsiuoglia azzione di Missionario in Luoghi, doue siano già Missionari mandati dalla S.a Cong.ne di Propaganda. Non ostante tal Decreto, attese tutte le soprascritte premesse, guidicai non poter Io senza peccato mortale e senza vn grandiss.o aggrauio della mia coscienza, lasciar questa Missione. In oltre giudicai, che il Decreto non cadesse sopra di me, ne potesse essere intimato à me, poiche in Esso si proibisce il por doue già stiano Missionari di Propaganda; ed Io ero entrato questo Regno, e stauo in attualm.te esercitandomi in questa Missione (p. 3) vn Anno, e 24, giorni p.ma che quà arriuassero i soprad.i trè PP. Capuccini. Con che par manifesto, che chi arriua in q'sta Missione al p.mo di Ottobre del 1716., non possa intimare vn tal Decreto e tali pene Ecclesiastiche à chi antecedentem.te fino da 7.di Settembre del 1715. si trouaua già attualm.te in questa Missione, e in essa con sì considerabili, e publici impegni. Tutto ciò propongo, e riuerentem.te ripongo nelle Mani della Stà sua, vmilm.te chiedendo i suoi comandi, i quali tutti,

on two questions: to wit, first on the pure immateriality and incorporeity of God, the name of the Holy Ghost having offered the occasion; secondly on the Transmigration of Souls. And, some days later, he sent to question me minutely on this point, whether besides one sole Law, all the others lead to eternal damnation. With the help and mercy of God, things were progressing thus, when on the first of October, 1716, there arrived three Capuchin Fathers,<sup>1</sup> Apostolic Missionaries, with a Decree, wherein to all, even to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, notwithstanding any privilege to the contrary granted by the Holy See, it is forbidden under Ecclesiastical penalties to exercise any action as a Missionary in Places where be already Missionaries sent by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding such a Decree, all the abovewritten premises considered, I judged that I could not without mortal sin and without a very heavy burden on my conscience, leave this Mission. Moreover, I judged that the Decree did not apply to me, and that it could not have been intimated to me, because in it is forbidden to enter where be Missionaries of Propaganda; and I had entered this Kingdom and was actually labouring in this Mission (P. 3) one Year and 24 days before the above-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Frs. Domenico da Fano, Prefect; Orazio della Penna, and John Francis of Fossombrone.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The letter to the General (Febr. 15, 1717) says that the Capuchins had not formally served that Decree on Desideri.

anche à costo della mia vita, sempre puntualm.te eseguirò. Non per q'sto però, che dico esser To antecedentem.te entrato in q'sto Regno, pretendo in ciò dimandare, che siano essi richiamati, anzi con ogni efficacia supplico, che siano qui lasciati, sapendo, che doue manca la fiachezza mia, della Comp.a, con gran vantaggio supplirà il talento, lo spirito, e lo zelo di si degni, e si bene scelti Apostolici Missionari; trà quali, e Me, è corsa, e corre in tutto vna totale, e più che fraterna concordia, e amoreuolezza, tanto in casa, che è vna med.ma, quanto in publico; molto perciò desiderando, e supplicando, che i med'mi P.ri rice-uano le dounte lodi, e ringraziam.to di si esemplar carità verso di me, e si profitteuole concordia in tutte le cose. Ad istanzia de med.mi PP. tradussi fedelm.te in questa lingua la Lettera, con cui la Santità sua onorò q'sto Rè. che sommam.te hà gradito, et apprezzato si alto onore. Seruo ancora i med.mi PP. con insegnar loro, per quanto mi permette la mia debolezza, q'sta lingua, e con andar à poco à poco, à loro requisizione, ordinando con diligenza vna Dottrina, vna Grammatica, e vn Dizzionario di q'sta lingua. Seruo ancora loro con aiutarli dalla metà di Ottobre sino al fine, ò più di q'sto Mese, ogni giorno à sodisfare à loro oblighi di Messe. In somma procuro di non mancare in niente verso si degni Missionari della S.a Sede, e verso con me si caritateuoli Religiosi. Non vna Lettera, mà vn grosso

said three Capuchin Fathers arrived here. Therewith it seems plain that who arrived here in this Mission on the first of October 1716 may not intimate such a Decree and such Ecclesiastical penalties to who previously, from the 7th of September, 1715, was already actually in this Mission, and that too under such weighty and public obligations. All this I propose and lay reverently in the Hands of Your Holiness, humbly asking your orders, all of which, even at the cost of my life, I shall punctually execute. always But, on the score of what I say, that is my having entered this Kingdom earlier, I do not on that account request that they be recalled; nay, with all efficacy I beg that they be left here, knowing that where my weakness fails, and that of the Company, the talent, the fervour and zeal of such worthy and such select Apostolic Missionaries will supply: between whom and me there has existed and exists in everything a perfect and more than fraternal concord and affection, as well in the house, which is the same, as in public; wherefore, I greatly desire and beg that the same Fathers may receive due praise and thanks for such exemplary charity towards me, and such profitable concord in all things. At the request of the same Fathers I translated faithfully into this language the Letter with which Your Holiness honoured this King; he was extremely pleased therewith and extremely valued so great an volume sarebbe necessario, se volessi fondatam.te, e veram.te ragguagliare sua Stà di tutto ciò, che appartiene à notizie di q'sto Regno, e alla Seta di queste Genti; perciò lasciando di porre in ciò la penna, rimetto vna tal cosa alla lingua di chi auerà la sorte di porre (p. 4) in persona riuerente la bocca à Piedi di sua Stà. E prostrato con la bocca, e col cuore al bacio de veneratissimi Piedi della Stà sua, vmilm.te dimando la sua Paterna, et Ap'lica Benedizione, et Indulgenza.

Della Santità Sua.

Lhassa 13. di Feb.ro del 1717.

Minimo, e Riuerentiss.mo Figlio, seruo, e suddito

> Ippolito Desideri, della Comp.a di Gesù.

honour. I also serve the same Fathers by teaching them, as much as my weakness allows, this language, and by arranging diligently little by little, at their request, a Doctrine, a Grammar and a Dictionary for this language 1 I also serve them by helping them daily from the middle of the month of October till the end, or more than this Month, in satisfying their obligations for Masses. In fine, I try not to fail in anything towards such worthy Missionaries of the Holy See, and Religious so charitable to me.<sup>2</sup> Not one Letter, but a big volume would be necessary, if I wished fully and truly to report to Your Holiness whatever concerns information regarding this Kingdom and the Sect of these Peoples; wherefore, without turning my pen to such work, I commit such a matter to the tongue of him who will have the good luck of (P. 4) personally kissing with reverence Your Holiness' Feet. And, prostrate to kiss with mouth and heart the most revered Feet of Your Holiness, I humbly ask Your Paternal and Apostolic Blessing and Indulgence.

Of Your Holiness.

Lhassa, the 13th of February 1717.

The Least and Most Reverent Son, servant and subject,

Ippolito Desideri, of the Company of Jesus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From the letter to the General (Febr. 15, 1717) we could not conclude that this triple work was already begun.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In this letter, Desideri, considering himself in the right, deprecates the recalling of the Capuchins. In his letter to the General (Febr. 15,

29. The case of Fr. Ippolito Desideri as represented to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda by Fr. Felico da Montecchio, Capuchin, in Summario A (1728).

Through the kindness of Dr. Filippo de Filippi, we obtained from Mgr. Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library, rotographs of Sommario A, which places before the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda the case of Fr. Desideri from the Capuchin point of view. It is like a preliminary document, which drew answers from Fr. Desideri and counter-answers from the Capuchins. The case was examined by Propaganda between 1728 and 1732, when it was decided against the Jesuits.

The Sommario A is a printed document, of 7 pages, of which only a few copies were printed. The rotographs do not show any pagination; in fact the pages have had to be paginated by the photographer. In parts the lines are numbered. We indicate this numbering wherever we find it.

We subjoin a translation of the whole of this rare publication.

(P. 7)

Alla Sagra CONGREGATIONE De Propaganda Fide Eño, e Riño Sig. Card.

### NICOLO SPINOLA PONENTE

Risposta alla Petitione del R.P. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia della Compagnia di Gesù per la Causa del Thibet.

#### CONTRO E PER

F. Felice da Montecchio Cappuccino

Sommario A.

Typis Giannini, and Mainardi 1728. (P. 7)

To the Sacred CONGREGATION Of the Propagation of the Faith. The Most Emin. and Most Rev. Lord Card.

### NICOLO' SPINOLA PONENT

Answer to the Petition of the Rev. Fr. Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, of the Company of Jesus, for the Cause of Tibet.

### AGAINST AND FOR

Friar Felice of Montecchio, Capuchin.

Summary A.

Printed by Giannini, and Mainardi 1728.

1717), he is not without fear that the Capuchins will urge his recall. They must have done so already from Nepal, before advancing on Tibet. The first decisions against Desideri were taken at Rome on March 1, 1717, Sept. 20, 1717, and Dec. 12, 1718.

20. Letter of Fr. Ippolito Desideri, S.J., to Fr. Felix da Montecchio (Patna, March 19, 1722) and his Appeal to the Pope addressed to Frs. Dominic da Fano and Felix da Montecchio (Patna, March 19, 1717).

# А SOMMARIO.

#### I.

Copia di vna Lettera scritta al P. Felice da Montecchio/ dal Padre Ippolito Desiderij da Pistoia della/ Compagnia di Gesù.

Molto Reuerendo Padre Colen-

Lettera del P. Hippolito Desiderii al P. Felice da Montecchio.

dissimo-Pattnà 19. Marzo 1722. -Dice il Prouerbio-Patti chiari and amicizia lun-

ga. Con che il parlar chlaro non pregiudica alla buona amicizia. Non ascriua dunque la P.V.M.R. à rottura d'Amicizia se Io con tutta chiarezza/[5] le manifesto alcun.mio sentimento. Attribuisca à sgrauio della mia conscienza ciò, che à prezzo del proprio sangue non vorebbe esser stata posta nell' impegno in cui si troua.

Euidenze in generale, ma non indicate. Primo-non esser stato necessario metter la Compagnia in impegno. Secondo-Ricorsi

M.R.P.

 $\mathbf{2}$ .

Mi costa chiaramente, che non v'era occasione/[10]di porre in compromesso la Compagnia di Gesù in quel modo, che v'è stata posta.

# (P. 1.)

# SUMMARY A.

#### I.

Copy of a Letter written to Fr. Felice da Montecchio<sup>1</sup> by Father Ippolito Desiderij of Pistoia of the Company of Jesus.

Very Reverend and Most Venerable Father, Pattnà, the 19th of March, 1722.

The Proverb says: Short reckonings make Letter of Fr. long friends. Hippolytus Wherefore, speak-Desiderii to Fr. clearly ing Felix da Mondoes not damage tecchio. good friendship.

Let not Your Very Reverend Paternity think that our Friendship is broken, because with all clearness I manifest to you a sentiment of mine. Attribute it to the discharge of my conscience: for, not at the price of my own blood, would my conscience have wished to be placed in the obligation in which it finds itself.

Proofs in general,  $\mathbf{but}$  $\mathbf{not}$ pointed out. First: that it was not necessary to implicate the Company.

2. Very Reverend Father, it appears to me clearly that there was no occasion for compromising the Society of Jesus in the manner in which she has been compromised. Ι

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> On December 14, 1721, Fr. Desideri left from Kuti for Khatmandu with Fr. Felix da Montechhio, who in 1721 had gone (from Patna) to Lhasa. Desideri arrived at Patna on February 6, 1722, and left it for Agra on March 23, 1722. It would have been natural if, at Patna, he had been the guest of the Capuchin Fathers. The Superior there would have been the ex-Prefect, Fr. Felix da Montechhio.

essere illegittimi.

Terzo-contro ogni ragione, e verità in tutto corpo della il sola-Lettera mente qui si nomina la Sacra Congregazione. L'espultione del Hippolito, **P**. e della Compagniam dal Thibet diretto impedimento della promulgatione del Vangelo, e Popoli no conuertiti.

Conosco euidentemente, che le Informazioni. е reclamazioni mandate in Roma sono state non legitime. Mi cosapertamete. ta ch'è stato contro ragione, e contro la verità il procurare con non intie-/[15] ri ragguagli alla Compagnia di Gesù quel da essa non meritato sfreggio. che in faccia á

tutto il Mundo alla medesima ridonda da quelle parole-Immò contra Decreta eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis. In fine mi costa euidentemente, che lo sforzo vsato in discacciare me, e la Compa-/[20] gnia di Gesù dà Regni, e Missioni del Thibet è stato vn sforzo direttamente impeditiuo della Conuersione di molte genti, e direttamente opposto alla propagatione della S. Fede Cattolica. Coll' euidente, e sperimentale cognizione di tale incontrastabile verità, incontrastabilmen-/[25] te mi giudico grauissimamente obligato in Coscienza di reclamare, di protestare, e d'appellare in tal causa al supremo, ed immediato formalissimo Tribunale del Sommo Pontefice. Di tal mio appello (che in questo mio foglio aggiungo) ne porto notizia alla P.S.M.R., accioche/[30] ella possa auere quella commodità di dire presso il detto supremo Tribunale le sue raggioni, la quale non hò auuta io appresso qualche altro Tribunale, nell' agimento della prima causa. Quando la P.V.M.R. potrà apportarmi.

know to evidence that the Informations and claims sent to Rome have not been legitimate. It appears to me clearly that, against reason and against truth, through incomplete accounts, was obtained for the Society of Jesus that slap, by her unmerited, which she received before the whole World from these words—Nay, against the Decrees of the same Sacred Congregation. Finally, it appears to me to evidence that the effort made in expelling

Secondly: that me and the Comthe recourses pany of Jesus from the Kingdom and Missions of Tibet has been an effort directly tending to impede the Conversion of

many peoples, and directly opposed to the propagation of the Holy Catholic Faith. With the evident and experimental knowledge of such uncontrovertible

Thirdly: (that were) they against all reason and truth. In the whole body of the Letter, the Sacred Congregation is named only here. The expulsion of Fr. Hippolytus and of the Company from Tibet a direct obstacle to the promulgation of the Gospel, and a reason for the n o n-conversion of Peoples.

truth, I judge irrefragably that I am most seriously obliged in Conscience to complain, to protest, and to appeal in such cause to the supreme and immediate most Tribunal formal of the Sovereign Pontiff. Of this my appeal (which Т add to this paper I notify Vour Verv Reverend Paternity, so that you

may have, for stating your reasons before the said supreme Tribunal, that convenience which I have not had before any other Tribunal, in the discussion of the first cause. (P. 2) Raggioni conuincenti, che

Si darle non esser stato auertio nell'agitarsi la prima causa. mi mostrino non essere io ob-[35] bligato grauemente in Coscienza a tali riclami, ed appelli, sarrò

subbito pronto à desister da essi. Quando poi ella conosca in me vn tal obbligo, la supplico a non auer per male, che Io persista nell' intrapreso appello, e vada à dire à voce (se Iddio così vorrà) le mie ragioni appresso il [40] Sommo Pontefice; e con bagiarle diuotamente le sacremani, mi dico e soscruio qual mi glorio d'essere della P. V. M. R. Vmilissimo, ed Obligatissimo, e Deuotissimo Seruitore. Ippolito Desiderij della Compagnia di Gesù.

# Copia della Citazione. In Nomine Domini. Amen.

Ego Hippol Appellatione del P. Hippolito al Sommo Pontefice contro li PP. Domenico da Fano, e Felice da Montechhio.

Hippolitus Desiderij Societatis Iesu Societatis Iesu Saceerdos, and to al olim in [45] Missione Thibettensi ex parte Tibi Admodum Reuerendo Mon- Patri Dominico à Fano Societatis Iesu superior,

Ca-puccino, and ex parte Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fibe Præfecto; nec non Tibi Admodum Reuerendo P. Felici à Montecchio Predicatori Ca-

# (P. 2) When Your Very

To grant him that he was not told that the first cause was being discussed. Reverend Paternity will be able to give me convincing reasons, which show to me

that I am not seriously obliged in Conscience to make such complaints and appeals, I shall at once be ready to desist therefrom. But, as you know in me such an obligation, I beg of you not to take it amiss if I persist in the appeal I have undertaken, and if I go (God so willing) to state by word of mouth my reason before the Sovereign Pontiff. And, kissing devoutly your sacred hands, I call and sign myself what I pride myself to be,

Your Very Reverend Paternity's Most Humble, Most Obliged, and Most Devoted Servant.

Ippolito Desiderij, of the Company of Jesus.

# Copy of Summons.

In the Name of the Lord, Amen.

# I, Hippolytus Desiderij, Priest

Appeal of Fr. Hippolytus to the Sovereign Pontiff against Fathers Dominic da Fano, and Felix da Montecchio. of the Society of Jesus, and in the of  $\mathbf{the}$ name Society of Jesus former Superior in the Tibet Mission make known to you, Verv Reverend

Father Dominic da Fano, Capuchin, and in the name of the sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide Prefect,<sup>1</sup> as also to You, Very Reverend Father Felix

puccino Missio- [50] nario Apostolico, and ex Præfecto notum facio: Me vt obbedirem Eminentissimis, and Reverendissimis DD. Cardinalibus Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide discessisse jam à Regnis Thibethi, and quam primum profecturum ex tota hac Missione Regnorum Thibethi, and eius fini-[55] bus, transiturumque ad alia loca, quae vllo modo possint ad eamdem Missionem pertinere.<sup>1</sup> Antequam verò ex his Regnis perficiscar<sup>2</sup> aperte dilucideaue profiteor me vllo modo <sup>3</sup> juri illi cedere posse, quod Societas Iesu in Missionem Thibethensem legitimè habuisse, and habere videtur [60] donec aliter à Summo Pontifiece statuatur. Hac de Causa in Nomine Sanctissimae Trinitatis, and inuocato Nomine Iesu appello ad immediatum supremumque Tribunal Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Domini Clementis XI. Summi Pontificis. vel eius successoris. Eoque vos aduoco, vt omnia [65] ea, quae à me contra conatum vestrum expellendi meipsum necnon Societatem Iesu ab omnibus Regnis Thibethi in Indicium deferri possint a vobis metipsis, si ratio-110 <sup>4</sup> nes suppetant auertere conemini. Datum in Vrbe Pattanà die 19. Martij 1722.Hippolitus Desiderij. Socie- [70] tatis Iesu manu propria

da Montecchio, Capuchin Preacher, Missionary Apostolic and ex-Prefect: that, to obey the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lords Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide. I have now left the Kingdom of Tibet, and shall relinquish this entire Mission of the Kingdom of Tibet and its limits.<sup>1</sup> and shall proceed to other places which may not belong in any way to the same Mission. However, before I go from these Kingdoms. I declare openly and clearly that I cannot in any way yield that right which the Society of Jesus appears lawfully to have had and to have on the Tibet Mission. until it be decided otherwise by the Sovereign Pontiff. For which Reason, in the name of the Most Holy Trinity, and after invoking the name of Jesus, I appeal to the immediate and supreme Tribunal of Our Most Holy Lord the Lord Clement XI., Sovereign Pontiff, or of his successor. And to it I summon you, that you may try to avert from yourselves, if reasons there be, whatever can be produced in Judgment by me against your endeavour to expel me and the Society of Jesus from all the Kingdom of Tibet. Given  $\mathbf{at}$ Pattanà, the 19th day of March, 1722.

Hippolytus Desiderij, of the Society of Jesus. In his own hand.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We expect: ad alia laca, quae nullo modo . . . . pertinere; or: exiis locis quae ullo modo . . . . pertinere.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We should have proficiscar.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> We expect: nullo modo.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I cannot say how these figures got in here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> That is, also the districts around Patna which had been assigned to the Capuchins.

(P. 3.)

Copia d'vna Lettera al p. Felice

Lettera del Rño P. Preposito Generale della Compagnia di Gesu al P. Felice da Montecchio, da Montecchio Cappuceino nel Thibee scritta dal Reuerendissimo P. Tamburini Generale della Compagnia di Gesù—

Prima via—in altra seconda via—

Reverendo Padre Padrone Osseruandissimo:-Gli officii ď. Ospitalità, ed ogn'altra attenzione auutasi da miei Religiosi in Ponticheri, ed in Bengala à V.P.R., era talmente douuta al suo merito, che le cortesi espressioni, che si compia-[s] ce farmene non sono, che effetti d'vna speciale, e distinta cortesia. La ringrazio per tanto di si gentili suoi sentimenti, e sia V.P.R. pur certa, che m'obbliga non poco il gradimento, che me ne Desidero altre maggiori mostra. congiunture à codesti miei Padri poterle mostrare l'os-[10]da sequio, che se le deue, ed in cniò incontraranno sempre il mio genio, che è tutto rispetto, e stima verso la sua persona à cui rassegnando la mia più diuota osseruanza mi protesto etc. Della P.V.R.-Roma—30. Aprile 1710.—Deuotissimo, ed Obligatissimo Seruo Michelangelo Tam-[15]burini-nel soprascritto: Al Reverendo Padre Felice da Montecchio Vice-Prefetto del Thibet—Thibet—

Copia dell Ordine del P. Generale mandata al P. Dessiderij P. Preposito Generale al P. Hip-Thibet. (P. 3.)

Copy of a

Letter of the Rev. Fr. Provost General of the Company of Jesus, to Fr. Felice of Montecchio. letter to Father Felice of Montecchio, Tibet, written by the Very Rev. Fr. Tamburini General of the Company of Jesus. First *via*.—The another.

second via is in another.

The services of Hospitality and every other attention shown to Your Reverend Paternity by my Religious at Ponticheri and in Bengala were so greatly due to your merit that the polite expressions which you are pleased to use to me thereon are but prompted by a special and distinct courtesy. I thank you, nevertheless for such kind sentiments, and Your Reverend Paternity may, however, be sure that the pleasure which you show to me in the matter obliges me not a little. I wish those Fathers of mine may find other and greater opportunities to show the kindness they owe you, and herein they will meet my own inclination, which is one of unreserved respect and esteem for vour person. Assuring you of my entire devotedness and respect, I declare myself, etc.

Your Reverend Paternity's

Rome, the 30th of April 1710. Most Devoted and Most Faithful Servant,

Michelangelo Tamburini.

On the address: To the Reverend Father Felice of Montecchio, Vice-Prefect of Tibet.—Tibet.

Copy of the order of the Father General sent to Order of the Most Rev. Fr. Provost General Very Reverend polito per vscir Reuren Molto. dal Thibet. do Padre in Chris-Pax Christi. Sino dall Anno to. passato scrissi al Padre Prouinciale di Goa, che richiamasse V.R. dalle missioni del Thibet per essere tale l'Ordine datomi dalla Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda[5] Fide à cagione d'esser state assegnate le missioni d'ambedue i Regni di Thibet à i PP. Cappuccini ad esclusione d'ogni altra Religione, l'istesso Ordine hò replicato quest' anno al Padre Prouinciale, ed à V.P.R., nella mia risposta alla sua, che hò già rimessa à Portogallo peressere inuiate per[10] la via ordinaria delle Naui di Goa.

Secondos. Benche non posso dubitare della pronta esecuzione di questi miei oridini replicati, con tutto ciò per auere auto doppo vn'nouo impulso da Monsignor Secretario de Propaganda Fide rinuouo ancor Io il medemo ordine[15] con questa mia che sarà inuiata à V.R. per altra strada; poiche assai me preme, che si esequiscano i commandi della Sacra Congregatione massime per i Decreti de-15.-Gennaro 1665. -e di 28.-Aprile-1698.-, nè quali si (P. 4) ordina, che nessuno fondi nuoue Missioni senza licenza[20] espressa della Sacra Congregatione ne luoghi assegnati ad altre Religioni per le Missioni.

Terzo. Quando diedi à V.R. licenza d'andare al Thibet non mi era noto quest'assegnamento fatto dalla Sacra Congregatione alli PP. Cappuccini della Missione del[25] Thibet; anzi mi fù supposto, che dopo d'auer fondata P. P., ed esserui dimorati sino al 1650, quando ne furono discacciati per

to Fr. Hippolito Father in Christ. for leaving Ti-The Peace of bet. Christ. Already last year 1 wrote to the Father Provincial of Goa, telling him to recall Your Reverence from the Missions of Tibet, such being the Order given me by the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, the Missions of both the Kingdoms of Tibet having been assigned to the Capuchin Fathers, to the exclusion of every other Religion. This year I have repeated the same order to the Father Provincial, and to Your Reverend Paternity in my answer to your letter, which I have already sent to Portugal to be sent by the ordinary way of the Goa ships.

Second. Though I cannot doubt of the prompt excution of these my repeated orders, yet, having since had a new push from Monsignor the Secretary de Propaganda Fide, I too renew the same order with this my letter, which will be sent to Your Reverence by another route; for he greatly urges me that the orders of the Sacred Congregation, as expressed chiefly in the Decrees of the 15th of January, 1665, and of 28th of April, 1698, be executed, wherein  $(\mathbf{P}, 4)$  is ordained that no one without express leave of the Sacred Congregation found new Missions in the places assigned for the Missions to other Religious.

Third. When I gave Your Reverence leave to go to Tibet, I did not know of this assignment of the Mission of Tibet made by the Sacred Congregation to the Capuchin Fathers; rather, I supposed that after our Fathers had founded that Mission and had stayed therein till 1650, when they vna persecutione; non si era più riaperta da altri. E però V.R. non si merauigli di questa noua disposizione per le nuone notizie aute-[30] dalla Sacra Congregazione. V.R. dunque in riceure questa mia subbito si diaponga à partire da cotesta missione col merito che auerà acquistato appresso Dio in intraprendere così disastroso viaggio, ed in promouere con luoni principij, e non tanto Zelo la cognizione della no-[35]stra Santa Fede in codesto. Regno, aggiunga quello, della pronta vbbidienza assai più grata à sua Diuina Mæstà, che se conuertisse alla Fede tutti cotesti Regni, e subbito, che potrà mi dia auuiso dell' esecuzione data à questo mio ordine, e mi raccommando à suoi Santissimi Sacrificij, ed Orazioni-Roma 16. Gennaro-1719, D.V.R. Seruo in Christo Michelangiolo Tamburini-Al Molto Reuerendo Il P. Hippolito Padre in Christo. Desiderij della Compagnia di Gesù-Thibet.

Decretum Sacræ Congregationis

Vltimo Decreto della Sacra Congregazione di lasciarsi da' PP. della compagnia alla Missione del Thibet. Generalis Fidei Propagandae habitae Die—12. Decembris 1718.

Referente Eminentissimo, and Reurendissimo DD. Cardinali

Barberino Sacra Congregatio inherendo, ac confirmando Decreta alias edita sub diebus 15. Ia-

were expelled from it by a persecution, it had not been reopened any more by others. And so, let not Your Reverence be surprised at this new disposition due to the new informations received from the Sacred Congregation. Therefore, on receiving this my letter, let Your Reverence prepare at opce to leave that Mission with the merit which vou will have acquired before God by undertaking so disastrous a iournev and by promoting through good principles and with so much zeal the knowledge of our Holy Faith in that Kingdom. Add to it the merit of a prompt obedience, which will be much more pleasing to His Divine Majesty than if you should convert to the Faith all those Kingdoms; and, as soon as possible, inform me of the execution of this my order. And I commend myself to your Holy Sacrifices and Prayers.

Rome, the 16th of January, 1719.

Your Reverence's Servant in Christ.

### Michelangiolo Tamburini,

To the Very Reverend Father in Christ, Fr. Hippolito Desiderij, of the Company of Jesus, Tibet.

Decree of the General Sacred Congregation Propaganda Fi-Last Decree of the Sacred Condei, held on the gregation. by 12th of Decemwhich the Faber, 1718. thers of the On the report Company must Most the leave the Misof sion of Tibet. Eminent and Most Reverend

Lord, Lord Cardinal Barberini, the Sacred Congregation adhering

nuarij-1656. 28 Aprilis-1698. prima Martij, and 20. Septembris superioris anni-1717. statuit, and mandauit seriò, atque distinctè iniungi, e<sup>1</sup> ac pracipi<sup>2</sup> P. Præposito Generali Societatis Iesu, vt juxta eiusmodi Decreta, ominò dimittat Missiones in Regnis Thibeti, vtpote P. P. Cappuccinis Italis diu jam assignatas, atque inde quacuque<sup>3</sup> dilatione tergivexatione, 4 ac mora sublata reuocet, ac remoueat suos Religiosos, qui ad easdem excolendas Missiones, inconsulta Sacra Congregatione, immo, and contra eius Decreta se contulerunt. Datum Romae etc.

Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Generalis Fidei Propogandæ habitae-die. 11. Januarij 1704.

della Decreto S. G. per ii<sup>5</sup> quale il P. Felice da Montecchio fu dichiarato Missionario nella prima spedizione.

Referente R. P. D. Carolo Augustino Fabrono, Secctario, Sac. Congregatio Missionarium Apostolicum in **Regnis** Thibet ad Decennium declarauit P. Felicem à Montecchio Or-

dinis Cappuccinorum sub directione tamen, and dependentia Patris Ioannis Francisci à Camerino Præfecti, vel alterius Præfecseu Vice-Præfecti, à Sacra ti. Congregatione deputandi, cui omnino parere debeat, ac necessarias facultates ad Missiones exercendas ab eodem juxta sibi tributam

to, and confirming, the Decrees issued at other times, on the 15th of January, 1656, on the 28th of April, 1698, on the 1st of March. and the 20th of September, of last year 1717, decided and earnestly ordered and distinctly enjoins and ordains that the Father Provost General of the Society of Jesus, according to the said Decrees, give up altogether the Missions in the Kingdoms of Tibet, as long assigned by now to the Italian Capuchin Fathers, and recall and remove thence, without any postponement, tergiversation or delay his Religious, who, without consulting the Sacred Congregation, nay, even against its Decrees, went to cultivate the same Missions. Given at Rome. etc.

Decree of the General Sacred Congregation Propagandæ Fidei beld on the 11th day of January, 1704.

On the report of the Rev.

Decree of the Sacred Congregation by which Fr. Felice of Montecchio was declared a Missionary in the first expedition.

Fr. Dom Charles Augustine Fabronus, Secretary. the Sacred Congregation de-Father clared Felice of Montecchio, of the Order of Capuchins, an

Missionary for ten Apostolic years, under the direction, nevertheless, and dependence of Father John Francis of Camerino, Prefect, or of another Prefect or Vice-Prefect to be appointed by the Sacred Congregation, as one whom he must obey in all things and from whom he must receive in

<sup>5</sup> Sic. for il.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Iniungit.

<sup>4</sup> Sic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Praecipit.

authoritatem in totum, vel in partem recipiat, seruata semper ipsius Præfecti, vel Vice-Præfecti tam circa facultates, quam circa loca, and tempus easdem exercendi moderatione; Nullo verò modoextra fines suæ Missionis ijs vti quæat, ad quam donec, and quousque peruenerit nulla prorsus exemptione, aut priuilegio gaudere possit. Datum Romae—Die etc.

Franciscus Berberius<sup>1</sup> pro-Præfectus—Eño Carulo<sup>2</sup> Barberino

C. A. Fabronus, Secr.

Rescriptum S Decsioni replicate della Sacra Congregazione in ordine alla prima causa.

Sacræ Congregationis Generalis Fidei Propagandae abitae<sup>3</sup> prima Martij — 1717.— Communicetur Decretum Patri

Generali Societatis Iesu, qui curet omninò seruari-item sub Die 20. Septembris—1717. ad Patrem Generalem Societatis Iesu pro sollicita reparatione.

Decretum Sacræ Congregationis Generalis Fidei Propagandæ habite Die 28. Aprilis 1698. Relatis per Eminentissimum, and Reuerendissimum DD. Cardinalem Noricium Infrascriptis dubijs propositis à PP. Cappuccinis Prouinciæ Touronensis in Vrbe Surattensi Missionarij<sup>4</sup> videlicet. whole or in part the necessary faculties for exercising Missions, according to the authority granted him, always observing the said Prefect's or Vice-Prefect's control respecting both the faculties and the places and the time for exercising them; insuchwise, however, that he may not in any way use them outside the limits of his Mission and may not enjoy any exemption whatever or privilege until and up to what time he reaches it.

Given at Rome. On the day, etc.

Francis Berberinus, Prefect for the Most Eminent Charles Barberini,

C. A. Fabronus, Secretary.

**Rescript of the General Sacred** Congregation Fidei Propogan-De-Repeated cisions of the dæ held on the Sacred Congrefirst of March, gation respect-1717. the first ing Let the Decree cause. he communicated to the Father General of the Society of Jesus, and let him strictly observe it. Likewise (the rescript?) of the 20th of September, 1717, (addressed) to the Father General of the Society of Jesus for his careful attention.

Decree of the General Sacred Congregation Propagandæ Fidei held on the 28th of April 1698.— The Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord, Lord Cardinal Noricius, having reported the under-written doubts proposed by the Capuchin Fathers of the Touraine Province, Missionaries in the Town of Suratte, viz. :

della Risposta Sacra Congregatione su'lnon douersi fondar Mission<sup>1</sup> da altri Religiosi anco Gesuiti, ne luoghi da altri (P. 6) occupati senza espressa permisione della medesima.

Primo. An licitum sit Relicuiiusque gionis Ördinis, vel Congregationis, etiam Societatis Iesu. fundare nouam abs-Missionem. que speciali mandato istius Sacræ Congregationis in locis, vbi alij Religiosi jam habent fundatam.

Eminentissimi PP. rè maturè perpensa decreuerunt negatiuè, and dari Decretum—11 Ianuarij 1656.

Decretum Sacræ Congragationis Propagandæ Fidei die 11. Janmarij 1656.

Sacra Congregatio censuit nullo modo in posterum licere pro bono Decreto sopra **Religionis** Cathocio di essa S.C. licæ ad tollendas Missionainter

rios dissentiones, and litigia in locis, in quibus existunt Missionarij Apostolici vnius Oridinis nouam Missionem aliorum Religiosorum, etiam Societatis Iesu fundare, vel illam sub quouis prætextu, aut auctoritate exercere absque expressa licentia eiusdem Sacræ Congregationis, sub pæna privationis Officij Privilegij, and facultatis ipso facto incurrenda. Non obstantibus quibuscunque in contrarium facientibus.

# First. Whether without special

Answer of the Sacred Congreabout gation forbidding the founding of a Mission by other Religious, also Jesuits, in the places occupied by others, (P. 6) without the express permission of the same.

order from that Sacred Congregation, it is allowed to the Religious of any Order or Congregation. also of the Society of Jesus, to found a new Mission places in where other Religious have already founded

The Most Eminent Fathers. one. maturely weighed the having matter, declared negatively, and ordered to issue the Decree of the 11th of January, 1656.

Decree of the Sacred Congregation Propagandæ Fidei, the 11th January, 1656.

The Sacred Congregation judg-

Decree thereon of this Sacred Congregation.

ed that in the future, for the good of the Catholic Religion, and to remove

the Missionaries from among dissensions and disputes, it be not allowed in any way, in the places where there are Missionaries Apostolic of one Order. to found a new Mission of other Religious, also of the Society of Jesus, or under any pretext whatever or authority to exercise the same, without express leave from the same Sacred Congregation, under pain of privation of Office, Privilege, and faculty to be incurred by the very fact. Anything to the contrary notwithstanding.<sup>1</sup>.

1 Sic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Our Sommario A is different from the Sommario seen by Puini, and containing four letters from Desideri, reproduced by Puini, who also published

30. Letter of the Viceroy Count de S. Vicente to the King of Nepal.

### (Goa, Febr. 23, 1667.)

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(Arch. da India, Livro 2.0 dos Reis Vizinhos, fol. 53v.)

(P. 135) The fame of Your Highness' greatness made me wish for an occasion when I could offer to Your Highness the friendship and all the good relations of this Estate with that of Your Highness: all the more as I was recommended to do so by His Majesty the King of Portugal, my Master, who, great and powerful (P. 136) King as he is, wishes to show love and good-will to all good Princes, such as Your Highness. And, as I was informed that the Fathers, the bearers of this, were going to Your Highness' Court, to live and settle in Your Kingdom, I thought it good to write through them, and not to defer any longer my expressing to Your Highness the desire I have that there should exist good friendship between Your Highness and His Majesty the King of Portugal, my Master.

The Fathers who go to Your Highness' Court are priests of the true God and doctors in his law. They teach good customs, and the way to heaven to those who wish to hear them. Thev have no other intention than that of pleasing God and Your Highness; they do not meddle with trade or the acquisition of temporal goods, but aim only at obtaining the everlasting goods of the other life. And, as they need Your Highness' favour and help. I ask Your Highness to be willing to receive them under your protection, and not to allow anyone to harm them or to prevent their teaching freely the truths which God has revealed and which all must believe to attain bliss. All the kindness which Your Highness will do to these Fathers, I shall esteem as done to my person, and I shall thank you for them on the occasions which will offer themselves. May God keep Your Highness, and enlighten you in his divine grace, and with it have your Royal Person and Estate in his keeping.

Goa, the 23rd of February, 1667. The Count Viceroy.<sup>1</sup>

from it part of a long letter by Fr. Joseph of Ascoli, containing his itinerary from Patna to Lhasa (1707). This *Sommario* is not the only document still to be explored and published.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Julio Firmino Judice Biker, Collecção de Tratados e concertos de pazes . . . . , Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, Tom. IV, 1884, pp. 135-136.