

A letter of Father Francisco Godinho, S.J., from Western Tibet (Tsaparang, August 16, 1626.)

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The letter which we publish here both in French and in an English translation was not utilised by the Rev. C. Wessels, S.J., in his *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia (1603-1721)*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1924.

It is found in: *Advis certain d'une plus ample découverte du Royaume de Cataï, Avec quelques autres particularitez notables de la coste de Cocincina. & de l'antiquité de la Foy Chretienne dans la Chine.* Tirées des lettres des P.P. de la Comapgnie de Iesus de l'anné 1626./ A Paris Chez Sebastien Chappelet ruë Saint Iacques au Chapelet, M.DC.XXVIII./ In 8vo; pp.28, all counted.

The description of this edition is taken from H. Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, IV (1907-1908), col. 2900, where we find also that a copy of its exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, under the mark o3²m. In the Paris edition of 1628, Father Godinho's letter is at pp. 4-11.

The late Father E. M. Rivière, S.J., *Corrections et additions à la Bibl. de la C. de Jésus, Supplément au .. de Backer-Sommervogel* (Toulouse, 7 Rue Boulbonne), fasc. 2 (1912), col. 240. fasc. 3 (1913), col. 481, knew of this edition, indicated its whereabouts and library mark in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and noted that the letter by Francois Godin, of whom the translator said that he was a Portuguese was at pp. 4-11.

The late Father E. M. Rivière made, however, the mistake of placing the *Advis certain* under Sommervogel's No. 1 of de Andrada, instead of under his No. 4.

The Paris edition of *Advis certain* was not unknown to Frs. Auguste and Aloïs de Backer, S.J., (*Bibl. des écrivains de la C. de J.*, 1 (1853), p.17); but their description of it is imperfect.

C. Sommervogel refers to two other editions of the letter:—

1. *Advis certain d'une plus ample découverte du Royaume de Cataï, Avec quelques autres particularitez notables de la Foy Chrestienne dans la Chine.* Tirées des lettres des P.P. de la Compagnie de Iesus de l' anné 2 1626. Bourdeaux, 1628; in 8vo.

Though Sommervogel does not refer to this edition for Godino's letter, we should expect that his letter is contained therein, as the book appears to be a reprint of the Paris edition or *vice-versa*.

2. *Extrait des lettres adressées au R.P. General de la Compagnie de Iesus, contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus memorable depuis 1621, jusques à 1626, ès Indes au grand Mogor, et principalement [sic] en Ethiopie, au Royaume de Tibet et en la Chine.* Av. Pont-a-Mousson. Par François Gaunault. MDCXXVIII in 8vo : pp.242; without Gaunault's dedication to Mr. de Lairvelz. Abbé de Sainte-Marie Majeure.

This contains (p.200 sqq.) Fr. de Andrada's letter to the General evidently the Annual Letter of Aug. 15 1626 which Godinho alludes to in his letter of August 15 1626: it contains also Godinho's letter at p. 232, as shown by C. Sommervogel, III. 1521.

We should expect that, as de Andrada's Annual Letter of 1626 and Godinho's letter were both written at Tsaparang within a day's interval of each other, they reached Europe simultaneously, and that, therefore, Godinho's letter should be found in print together with de Andrada's in editions other than French. Such, however, does not appear to be the case. The Spanish edition of 1627, and the Italian edition of Rome, Corbelletti, 1628, both of which I have seen, are without Godinho's letter: as for the Portuguese editions of de Andrada's letter, there did not exist, known to bibliographers, any complete text till Sr. F. M. Esteves Pereira's *O descobrimento do Tibet*, Coimbra, 1921. Fr. Franco's *Imagem da virtude* (1717), and Fr. Manoel da Veiga's *Relaçam geral*, Lisboa, 1628, are both very incomplete. Esteves Pereira published the Portuguese text of de Andrada's Annual Letter of August 15, 1626, from rotographs. It is strange that no complete Portuguese text should have been published in 1627.

There are two difficulties to be settled about Father Godinho: his nationality, and the length of his stay in Tibet.

Sommervogel (III. col. 1521) calls him François Godin, and gives the following particulars about him: "Born at Mons in 1583; entered the Society on November 29, 1600; taught philosophy; was applied to preaching and left for Thibet. According to a note communicated to me, he seems to have left the Society and to have died in Savoy in 1633."

C. Wessels, *op. cit.*, p 72 n. 2 writes: "Francis Godinho was born at Evora (Portugal) in 1596, entered the Novitiate in 1615; and sailed for India in 1619. Owing to ill-health, he remained only one year in Tibet, and after two years spent at Agra he definitively returned to the mission-district of Goa, where he was engaged at Daman, Diu, Goa and Bassein. He died at Goa, January 30, 1662. Sommervogel (III. 1521)) confuses this missionary with a certain Francis Godan of Mons (Belgium), who never was in Tibet."

Franco's list of Jesuit Missionaries who left Lisbon for the East between 1541 and 1723 (*Synopsis Annalium Provinciae Portugalliae, Augustae-Vindelicorum & Graecii MDCCXXVI*) gives, indeed, a "Francisco Godinho, Lusitanus" as having left Lisbon for the East in 1619. He was not yet a priest, and appears to have been as Fr. C Wessels concluded our Tibetan Missionary. The portions sent me from the *Advis Certain* of Paris, 1628, do not contain the reflection alluded to by Fr. Rivière, viz. the statement by the translator that François 'Godigny' was a Portuguese: however 'Godigny's' letter of August 16, 1626, speaks of Guge as bigger than "our Portugal."

To determine his nationality and stay in Tibet further, I have examined a number of Jesuit MS. letters from Tibet and Mogor (1624-28), of which I

have rotographs in my possession: a laborious piece of work, but which made me jot down at the same time whatever movements of the Mogor and Tibet personnel I could discover. In 1910, I tried to make up similarly for the gaps in the Jesuit Catalogues of Mogor for 1624-41 by consulting some of the letters in my collection for 1631-37. Cf *J. and Pros A.S.B.*, N.S. vol. VI (1910), pp. 531-532.

The result of my examination this time may prove useful to others than myself.

1. From an account by Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa (*Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS.*, 9855, foll. 46r-51v).

Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa left Goa for Mogor with Fr. Andre Boves, the new Superior of the Mogor Mission on February. 15, 1620.

2. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to Fr. Virgilio Cepario (Sāmbhar, September 17, 1624).

Corsi left Rome for India 27 years before and has been nearly 25 years in the Mogor Mission. After more than 10 years at the King's court and his suit; he enjoys since 1624 the quiet of Sāmbhar, as Chaplain to Mirzā Zū-l Qarnin. Fr. Antonio de Andrada is the Superior of the Mogor Mission.

3. Letter of Fr. Antonio de Andrada to the Provincial of Goa, from Tsaparang (Western Tibet). September. 10, 1625 enclosed in an Annual Letter from Goa, dated February 20, 1626.

The Annual Letter states that, after his return to Agra from his first expedition to Tibet, de Andrada had applied to Goa for helpers. He had been told that Missionaries would be sent him: but as they could not reach him in time for the expedition planned for 1625, he was asked to take with him Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa, who was on the spot.

de Andrada's letter begins thus: "Father Gonçalo de Souza has to his account to give to your Reverence¹ a fuller report about this journey of ours and our arrival in Tibet, and therefore I do not do so at length. We left Agra for this country by the shortest route existing, so that, having started from Agra on the 17th of June,² we entered this first city of Tibet,³ on the 28th of August,⁴ the feast of St. Augustine." Further: "I expect to send still this year to Your Reverence sundry news from here.... To those who will come I shall send an itinerary..... I shall write to Your Reverence still this year what will be settled on this point.⁵ Until ours come, I am alone with two little boys whom I took from here to Agra and brought back with me this time. They are company enough for me; for I am not without the company of the Holy Angels, as I trust in the divine goodness."

This solemn way of speaking clearly shows that on September 10, 1625, de Andrada was alone. What had become of Fr. de Sousa? Had he gone back almost immediately after his arrival at Tsaparang? Had he to give to the Provincial a full report in writing from some place like Agra, or orally at Goa? As for Brother Manoel Marques, de Andrada's companion on the journey

to and from Tibet in 1624, there is not in this letter nor in any other the slightest allusion to a journey by him to Tibet in 1625. He had barely escaped death during a serious illness contracted on the journey in 1624. Moreover, de Andrada's letter from Tsaparang, August 15, 1626, says, "We, two Fathers, left Agra in the beginning of June, 1625."

4. Letter of Fr. Joseph de Castro to Fr. Joseph Baudo, SJ., Turin (Kabul, August 24, 1626).

This year three Fathers and a Brother went to Tibet, "a distance of a month's journey from Agra."

5. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to the Assistant (?), Rome (Dinduana, 'terra do governo do Mirza,' October 15, 1626).

The Fathers who went to Tibet had brought for Mirzā Zū-l Qarmin's chapel candlesticks, a silver cross, a chasuble, etc.; also a chalice of massive gold with precious stones, which with the work had cost at Goa 3,750 xerafins, equal to little less than Rs. 4,000 of Mogor money. On October 12 [1626], on leaving for the Court, the Mirzā had given the chalice to Fr. Corsi. The names of the Fathers who went to Tibet, their number, the time when they met Corsi and the Mirzā are left out; in fact, we are not sure that they visited Corsi. Dinduana is not in the Atlas and Index of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, nor in Johnston's *Royal Atlas*.

6. Letter of Fr. Antonio de Andrada to the General (Tsaparang, August 15, 1626)⁶

"In this letter I intend giving to Your Paternity a brief relation of this Mission of Thibet, which five of us, of the Company, have entered." The date of the arrival of the new-comers and their names cannot be fixed from this letter; but it follows from our No. 3 that, as four had gone up in 1626, Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa had come down, in 1625.

7. Letter of Fr. Francisco Godinho (Tsaparang, August 16, 1626), *i.e.*, the letter published below.

The journey to Tsaparang had taken eight months. Not a word about the starting-point, or the names of his companions. The addressee was probably the Provincial of Goa, who did not require any information on these points, and who may have been informed by other letters, not known to us now, about the date of the arrival of the party in Tibet.

Fr. C. Wessels, *op. cit.*, pp.71.72, gives the names of the new-comers as: Frs. João de Oliveira, Alano dos Anjos, and Francisco Godinho. We shall find that this is correct. The Brother with them was Manoel Marques, as we learn from later letters (Nos. 11, 13).

8. A joint letter of Frs. Antonio de Andrada, João de Oliveira, and Alano dos Anjos⁷ (Tibet, Aug. 29, 1627).

There were three members of the Society in Tibet; the year before, they had written to the General, announcing that they had sent from Tsaparang 6,000 cruzados given them by the King of Tsaparang.⁸ This sum was to be

forwarded to Europe and invested there, for a permanent endowment of the Tibet Mission.

We conclude from this letter that Fr. Francisco Godinho and Bro. Manoel Marques had left.

9. Letter of Fr. Antonio de Andrada to the General (Tibet, September 2, 1627).

They were three of the Society at Tsaparang in 1627. At Christmas 1626 they were four Fathers, but one of them presently left for Hindustan. One of the Fathers had been very ill, and on the point of death. de Andrada's two companions had been with him for "not more than a year."

We gather from this letter that Brother Marques had left before Christmas, that Fr. Godinho had left after Christmas, and that it was apparently he who had been so very ill. The wonder is that a man, who had just recovered from illness, was allowed to cross the mountains in the very heart of winter. It follows, too, that de Oliveira and dos Anjos, de Andrada's companions in 1627, as shown at last by our Nos. 10, 11, 13, had arrived in 1626.

10. Letter of Fr. Antonio de Andrada to the General (Goa, Dec. 20, 1631), covering the next three to the quoted.

de Andrada introduces the three letters (Nos. 11-13) by stating that, when they wrote, Frs. João de Oliveira and Alano dos Anjos had been a year and a half in the Mission, and that Fr. Antonio Pereira had newly arrived.

At the end of the three enclosures we have the signatures of: Fr. Antonio de Andrada, the Provincial, and of his consulters: Frs. Antonio Mendez, Alvaro Tavares, Joam de Valasco, and Dos Pro [Domingos Pereira].⁹

11. Letter of Fr. Alano dos Anjos to the Provincial of Goa (Tibet, November 10, 1627).

He had been about a year and a half in the Mission. The Brother had gone to Agra only to take down the gold sent by the King of Tsaparang for the endowment of the Mission. Speaking of presents given to the King since the time of his arrival in Tibet, he says:

"And first, immediately on our arrival, the *saugate*¹⁰ which we offered him was a pair of *espingardas*¹¹ which he had asked for; after that, the same year, on Easter-day,¹² which was the day when he laid the first stone of the Church and house, the Father,¹³ wishing to acknowledge what he was doing for us, invited him with the Queen, and the Prince,¹⁴ and other people, and he came showing the great affection he has for the Fathers, the fact being that he never goes outside¹⁵ except to his Brother's.¹⁶ And so, while he was in our house, the following articles were offered him, to wit: a Reliquary of gilt copper went to our Father Superior by our Reverend Father General; a four-barreled pistol (*de quatre canos*), made in Salsette, and worth ten Xes,¹⁷ an Ambre *piela*,¹⁸ which I went to buy with Bro. Marques before we came (value: 10 xarafins), and a Malavar *traçado*,¹⁹ sent by Fr. Andre Palmeiro, then Visitor. And these are the pieces which I saw given from the time I have been here; and they may amount to some 40 or 60 xarafins," whereas the King had

given Rs. 8,000, not counting the house for the Fathers and the Church, both of which he had built at this expense, and other help daily bestowed on them.

We gather then from this letter that Bro. Manoel Marques had come up in 1626, and that his party was at Tsaparang some time before April 12, which is very surprising, as it was not the usual time for crossing the mountains.

12. Letter of Fr. Antonio Pereira to the Provincial of Goa, [Tibet], November. 12, 1627.

He had not been in the Mission as long as his companions; on his arrival, presents worth Rs. 20 had been given to the King.

13. Letter of Fr. João de Oliveira to the Provincial of Goa (Tsaparang, November 16, 1627).

Fr. Francisco Godinho had written to de Andrada that by order of the Provincial he had informed him (the Provincial) of the prospects of the Mission. On the occasion of the arrival of Bro. Manoel Marques and Fr. Antonio Pereira, some small presents had been given to the King, the Queen, and the Prince. The brother had taken down to Hindustan Rs. 8,000 worth of pearls (*aljofre*), gold and wool, given by the Raja for the endowment of the Mission.

“From a letter of Fr. Godinho we learned that they also blamed Fr. Antonio de Andrada by saying that, after writing the Annual Letter which he sent yonder to Goa last year,²⁰ he made another on the sly, without our knowing about it, because we wrote it; and now I think Your Reverence will still find in Goa some one who knows the writing of Fr. Francisco Godinho and mine, as it was we who wrote it,²¹ and, if Your Reverence should catch hold of this lie, as I am sure you will, we should all esteem it a favour that Your Reverence give the satisfaction which this matter and the rest require. I do not know for what purpose Fr. Superior should have taken the trouble of writing two letters.” He adds that, as he ends his letter, Fr. Alano dos Anjos has received the news that he is called away to go and report to the Provincial about the state of the Tibetan Mission.

We shall come back further to the question of the writers of the Annual Letter of 1626.

14. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to the Provincial of Goa (Ajmer, April 13, 1627).

After writing his letter, Fr. Francisco Leão had arrived, and he (Corsi) had shown him his letter. The date of the letter follows this announcement.

15. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to the General (Ajmer, September 8, 1627). Fr. Francisco Leam is the new Superior of Mogor.

16. Letter of Fr. Joseph de Castro to the Assistant of Portugal, Rome (Kashmīr, July 26, 1627).

They had had a Christmas crib at Lahore, after he had returned with Jahāngir from Kabul (therefore, on /December 25 1626). Jahāngir had given for it 1000 cruzados. His painters had come to the Church to copy the

ornamentations of the Church, as an illustrated description of the crib and of the rest in the Church was desired for insertion in the royal Chronicles. Jahāngir himself had come to the Church, walking from the palace to the Church under a dais carried by five European Catholics. The next Christmas they expected to do better. The Provincial was going to send Bro. Joseph Dias, an artist, and the new Superior had brought new instrument and players.

“Two months ago, there arrived here Fr. Francisco Godinho, who returned from Tibet, because he was ill there: we are two now, more consoled *in Domino*.”

Is it likely that, between December 25, 1626, and the middle of May 1627, Godinho had come to Kashmir by Tsaparang-Mānā-Badrīnāth-Agra-Lahore? Had he not gone straight to Kashmīr from Tsaparang?

17. Letter of Fr. Joseph de Castro to Fr. Joseph de Castro to Fr. Claudio Septalio of Como (Kashmīr, August 15, 1627).

At Christmas [1626] there were two Fathers at Lahore: Fr. Joseph de Castro, and another in charge of the Church.

18. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to the General: Agra, May (*sic*) 1628. Corsi had been sent to Mogor in 1599, and had entered it in February 1600; in 1625 he was Superior of the Mogor Mission a second time, his first term as Superior having fallen between that of Fr. Antonio Machado, who had died at Agra, and that of Fr. Andre Boves.

19. Letter of Fr. Francisco Corsi to the Provincial of Goa, relating events of the end of 1627 to June 23, 1628.

Fr. Francisco Leam was at Lahore at the end of 1627; with Fr. Joseph de Castro he had come to Agra, where were Frs. Matthew de Payva and Antonio Pereira. (The latter's stay in Tibet had therefore been of very short duration.) During the Holy Week of 1628, Corsi, de Castro, de Payva, Leam, and Pereira were at Agra; they were still there on May 21, and probably too on June 13; at any rate, the first four were.

20. Letter of Fr. Francisco Leam to the Provincial of Goa (Agra, October 6, 1628).

This letter, a copy in Fr. Francisco Corsi's writing, is headed with a note by Fr. Corsi, stating that Fr. de Andrada, the Superior of the Tibet Mission, who had power thereunto, deposed Fr. Francisco Leam from his superiorship, and that a similar order of deposition had come from the Provincial of Goa. In his letter, Fr. Francisco Leam tries to exculpate himself.

The reasons for the severe measure against Fr. Leam are set out in No. 18. Fr. Leam had given much offence by mixing himself up in a lawsuit about property between Andre de Sousa, a Goa-born Portuguese, and husband of the widow of Pietro Gradenigo, who had died in Sind, presumably at Tatta, and three Venetians: *viz.*, Bardanim [Bernardine] Maffei, the new King Shāh Jahān's physician, and a relative of the Jesuit historian Fr. Peter Maffei; Jeronymo Veroneo, the goldsmith, and future architect of the Tāj; and Angelo

Gradenigo, merchant, musician, cook, and self-styled gun-founder, the brother of Pietro Gradenigo. Among these who had tried to bring about an amicable settlement was 'Henrico Vapor,' a Dutch Protestant, and a great friend of the Fathers. During these difficulties, the Mīrzā was at Agra.

I have no letters for 1629 and 1630, neither did Fr. Wessels find any. It is, therefore, all the more matter for regret that a volume of MS. letters, formerly in the Archives of the Provincial of Goa, and presented by W. Marsden to King's College, should not now be forthcoming. Cf. my article on *The Marsden MSS. and Indian Mission Bibliography in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution, Finsbury Circus, E.C. 2, Vol. III, Pt. 1, 1923, p.139, where the contents of the volume are described thus: "Letters written by Portuguese Missionaries from Ajmir, Agrah, etc., during the years 1626 to 1668; also from Antonio d' Andrade, in Tibet, to the Mission in Cashgar; with an Account of political and military transactions during the reign of the Emperor Akbar, Small 4to."

The Librarian of the School of Oriental Studies, Mr. O. Murray Browne, informed me on June 19, 1924, that this MS. volume "does not appear in the British Museum list which Dr. Ross quotes in our Bulletin, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 516 seq., nor was it ever received by us from King's College. The authorities there have recently sent us word that they can find no more manuscripts, and it has therefore to be assumed that quite a number out of the whole collection have somehow or other been lost." More probably, the MS. is not lost, but hiding. It may have tempted some former 'research-worker.'

About the 'Mission in Cashgar' we have no other information but the bare mention in the description of the above MS. If de Andrada wrote to them from Tibet, he must have done so before 1630, as before that date, according to Fr. Wessels (*op. cit.*, p.75), he was recalled from Tibet to become Provincial. After that he became Rector of the College, a second time, and died on March 19, 1634. The trend of events in Mogor and Tibet, as far as known to us till the end of 1628, is not of a nature to make us forestall a Mission in Kashgar (Turkestan). We can only guess how a Mission was sent or established there. Perhaps an effort on Kashgar was made by Jesuit Fathers in Persia. But were there any Jesuits yet in Persia before 1634?

21. Letter of Fr. Nuno Coresma to the Provincial of Goa (Agra, December 14, 1635), after his return from Tsaparang with Bro. Manoel Marques, when the Tibet Mission was a first time abandoned.

On arriving at Agra on December 11, 1635, he had found in the house of the Fathers only Fr. Alano dos Anjos. The rector and Fr. Machado were 80 *kōs* away, in the *laskar* or camp of Mirzā Zū-l Qarnīn. Fr. de Oliveira was at Lahore, selling some houses which Shāh Jahān had ordered to return to the Fathers. He himself was going to leave for Damão, as soon as he had the permission of the Rector of the 'College.'

22. Letter of Fr. Antonio Mendez to the General (undated, but with the year '1636' added by an archivist.).

Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa had been appointed to Cafraria some 15 or 16 years before, but had shown such repugnance to go there that he had been sent to Mogor; after some years here, he had returned, and the Provincial, Fr. Valentim Carvalho, was going to make him a Superior, when he died a few days after his return.

Fr. Francisco Godinho had left the Mission dos *Galeoês*, and that of Tibet and Mogor "in the way which was written to Your Paternity, and, though he lived with little satisfaction in the Colleges of the North,²² where he was since his coming. yet Fr. Provincial let him make his profession and made him Rector, as must have been written; both the one and the other succeeded so little that he is in the state in which the same Fr. Provincial—perhaps to his chagrin—will write to Your Paternity."

The Provincial had acted differently with Fr. Alano dos Anjos, though he had not run away from Tibet like the others. It was said that Fr. Coesma had sent him back from Tibet to Mogor. "Fr. Antonio²³ d' Oliveira told me that Fr. Provincial much resented his coming and sent him the order of going back to the Mission with all haste. Fr. Provincial did not act with the Portuguese Fathers as he did with that Frenchman."

This must settle the question of Fr. Francisco Godinho's nationality, since de Souza, Godinho, and dos Anjos are mentioned in succession. Fr. Antonio Mendez, an old man, one of the Provincial's consulters in 1631, describes Godinho as a Portuguese. Besides, as Godinho was alive in 1636, when Mendez wrote, he cannot be the François Godin who "seems to have left the Society and to have died in Savoy in 1633."

Summarizing our results, we can reconstruct the Catalogue of the Mogor and Tibet Missions, at least partially, thus:-

1619. — At the death of Fr. Antonio Machado (on which see my *Mīrzā Zū-l Qarnīn* in *Mem. A.S.B.*, Vol. V (1916), and p.136 *n.1*) Fr. Francisco Corsi becomes Superior a first time.

1620.—Add Fr. Andrew Boves, as Superior of the Mogor Mission, to my list in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI (1910), p.530. Sommervogel was right in bringing him to Mogor proper.

Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa left Goa for Mogor on February 15, 1620, together with Fr. Andre Boves; he must have been in Mogor and Tibet from 1620 to the end of 1625 at least.

1621.—Fr. Andre Boves was probably still in Mogor until Fr. Antonio de Andrada came as Visitor and Superior in 1621 (cf. *ibid.*, p.530). de Castro, Corsi, and Matthew de Payva must have been in Mogor in 1621-24.

1624.—For the personnel in Mogor in January 1624 cf. *ibid.*, p.531. Our letter No. 2 shows how quickly their status was modified. Corsi went to

Sāmbhar and J. de Castro replaced him in the King's suite. Corsi wrote from Sāmbhar on September 17, 1624.

Go to *Tibet* and come back to Agra (March 30—beginning of November, 1624); Fr. Antonio de Andrada and Bro. Manoel Marques. Corsi was Vice-Superior during de Andrada's absence.

1625.—In Mogor, the personnel remains apparently much the same as in 1624: viz:-

Fr. Mathew de Payva;

Fr. Joseph de Castro, in the King's suite;

Fr. Francisco Corsi, as Vice-Superior (probably with the Mirzā at Sāmbhār);

Bro. Manoel Marques.

Go to *Tibet*: Fr. Antonio de Andrada and Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa; departure; June 17, 1625; arrival at Tsaparang: August 28, 1625. de Sousa returns the same year (before September 10), and is not heard of again in the Mogor letters examined above; however, the catalogue of the members of the Society of Jesus for 1627 mentions the Mogor Mission as his place of residence; his name drops out of the catalogues in 1633. Cf. Wessels, *op cit.*, p. 70 n. As he died almost at once on reaching the Colleges of the North, he may have stayed in Mogor till 1631 or 1632.

1626.—In *Mogor*, the personnel seems to have comprised only:-

Fr. Francisco Corsi, as Vice-Superior, with the Mīrzā at Dinduana (October 15, 1626) and at Sāmbhar (?);

Fr. Joseph de Castro, in the King's suite, at Kabul (August 24); at Lahore, on Christmas day (1626) with another Father (perhaps, Fr. Gonçalo de Sousa).

There must have been another Father at Agra: probably, Fr. Mathew de Payva.

In *Tibet*: at Tsaparang, Fr. Antonio de Andrada who wrote thence the Annual Letter of August 15, 1626.

Go to *Tibet*, from Goa or from the West Coast, passing apparently through the place where was Fr. Corsi: Frs. João de Oliveira, Francisco Godinho, Alano dos Anjos. They were joined by Bro. Manoel Marques, probably at Agra, since their journey lay through Kumaun. They arrived before Easter, which in 1626 fell on April 12. Fr. Francisco Godinho wrote on August 16, 1626. Bro. Marques left Tsaparang for Agra before Christmas with Rs. 8,000 from the King. After Christmas, Fr. Godinho left Tibet:

1627.—In Mogor: Fr. Francisco Corsi at Ajmer, whence he wrote on April 2 and September 8.

Fr. Francisco Leam, the new Superior, was at Ajmer on April 13; at Lahore at Christmas.

Fr. Joseph de Castro with the King in Kashmīr, whence he wrote on July 26 and August 15; at Lahore at Christmas.

Fr. Francisco Godinho, back from Tibet, was in Kashmīr from about the middle of May, and was still there on July 26.

Bro. Joseph Dias was expected at Lahore for making the Christmas crib.

Fr. Mathew de Payva must have been at Agra.

In *Tibet*: at Tsaparang, Frs. Antonio de Andrada, João de Oliveira and Alano dos Anjos. Letters of the first: August 29 and September 2; of the second, November 16; of the third, November 10. On November 16, 1627, dos Anjos is called away from Tibet to the Provincial to give an account of the Mission.

Go to *Tibet*: Bro Manoel Marques and Fr. Antonio Pereira. They arrived at Tsaparang before November 12, 1627, when Fr. Pereira wrote a letter.

1628.—In *Mogor*: Fr. Francisco Leam (the Superior) and Fr. Joseph de Castro, who came from Lahore to Agra. At Agra they met:

Fr. Matthew de Payva;

Fr. Anthony Pereira (back from Tibet);²⁴

Fr. Francisco Corsi, who had apparently accompanied the Mirzā to the Court, as the Agra *darbār* of Shāh Jahān's enthronisation, early in February (cf. V. A. Smith's *Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 392) must have necessitated the Mirzā's presence at Agra. All five were at Agra for the Holy Week. The first was still there on October 28, 1628, when he wrote a letter; by this time he had been deprived of his office of Superior. The 2nd, 3rd, and 5th, and apparently too the 4th, were at Agra on June 13, when Fr. Corsi wrote.

In *Tibet*: Fr. Antonio de Andrada, with—to all appearances—Fr. João de Oliveira and Bro. Manoel Marques. Fr. Alano dos Anjos must have gone to the Colleges of the North or even to Goa in 1628.

1635.—See letter No. 20 above. Fr. Joseph de Castro was in Mogor till his death (December 15, 1646); Fr. Francisco Corsi died on August 1, 1635.

To return to Fr. Francisco Godinho of 1626. We were told above (No. 13) that he and Fr. João de Oliveira wrote the Tibet Annual Letter of August 15, 1626. My rotographs of the original letter, a '1a via,' show three different writings: (A), that of Fr. Antonio de Andrada, whose writing, bad enough when he wrote to his Provincial at Goa, might have given rise to a '*miramur*' in Rome; accordingly, he merely signed the letter, though its composition is, without any doubt, his; (B), the writing of another member of the Mission, which comparison with a letter of November 16, 1627, shows to be Fr. João de Oliveira's; (C), the writing of a third member, which for want of similar signed specimens we could not have identified, but for Fr. João de Oliveira's unexpected revelation. (C), who wrote by far the greater part of the long Annual Letter of 1626, his writing being in the usual superior style of Portuguese penmanship, was Fr. Francisco Godinho. This explains how, as he wrote one day after dating the Annual Letter of 1626 (August 15), most of his reflections on Tibet in the letter published below coincide with de Andrada's.

I need add only that Godinho's letter of August 16, 1626, kindly copied for me by Mr. C. Petillon, was carefully collated by M. l'Abbé A. de Becdelièvre (August 23, 1924). To both I tender here my very sincere thanks.

Text of the letter

[N. B.—I have divided the text into paragraphs, numbered for easier reference.]

SUMMARY: 1. *Date of letter: Tsaparang, August 16, 1626; —*

2. *Eight moths spent on the way; general description of the journey through the snows of Kumaun; —3. Rocky summits; rivers and marshes; porters; vegetation; the Ganga;—4. Ugly types in Kumaun; low mentality; vile eating;—5. Little Tibet recently become Muhammadan; beliefs, supposed to be Christian, in Great Tibet; the Triune God, Angels, Heaven, Hell;—6. Guge greater than "our Portugal"; the Sopō at war with China; Ladakh; Utsang; the ancient city of Cathay; Guge and religiousness of its people;—7. Lamas; Om mani padme hum; de Andrada's meaning for it; the Annual Letter of August 15, 1626; Lama practices; their book studied by the Fathers;—8. Eagerness for baptism; a mosque pulled down by the Abbot of Toling in 1625;—9. The king lays the foundation stone of the Jesuit Church of Tsaparang, Easter, April 12, 1626; the ceremony; erecting crosses on hilltops; one erected on August 15, 1626; reverence for the cross a proof of the ancient religion of the country.*

1. [P. 4, 1. 7] Voicy ce que ledit P. Godigny en escrit de la ville de Chaparangua, size an Cataï ou grand Thibeth, en date du 16. d'Aoust 1626.

2. La bonté divine qui nous avoit inspiré le dessein du voyage de Cataï, autrement le grand Thibeth, nous y a conduits heureusement. Ce n'a pas esté sans faire beaucoup de chemin: car nous avons mis huit mois entiers en ce yoyage, à cause qu' il nous a fallu passer tout le long de l' Empire du grand Mogor; au sorty duquel nous sommes entrez dans un autre Royaume qui est un peu plus petit, & se nomme Comao: mais neâtmoins nous auons eu plus de peine à le traverser, pource que nous avons esté contrains de voyager continuellement sur de tres hautes montagnes, qui semblent que la Nature a choisies pour estre les tresors de ses Neiges, tant elles y sont entassées; & ce qui acheve d' incommoder a l'extremité les yoyageurs, c'est que ces monceaux de Neiges qui affoi blissent vos yeux & vos pas, ne [P.5] semblent vous esblouyr ny vous faire glisser, qu' afin que vous tombiez dans des effroyables precipices, qui pendent aux deux flances de ces rochers.

3. Nous avons donc marché, ou plustost grimpé et roulé par des cimes de Rochers qui s'entretiennent, voyât tousiours de part & d'autre au fonds des abysmes de grandes rivieres escumantes, qui font un bruit de torrent entre les pierres & les cailloux. Apres quoy nous fallut aussi passer; Mais pourtant

Dieu a voulu que deux choses allegeassent les peines de ces chemins: la premiere, c'est qu'il y a des gēs du pays qui vous portent comme les ramasseurs des Alpes, à grand marché, & fort à l'aise: L'autre, que d'aucunes de ces Montagnes sont revestuēs d'un vergay fort agreable aux yeux, & se tapissent de Tulipes & de diverses fleurs, si tost que les neiges s'escoulent en quelque part. Tout le pays est entrecouppé de fleuves, de ruisseaux, & de fontaines en fort grand nombre, dont les eaux sont, mais encore bonnes & fort salubres. Le Roy de tous ces fleuves, est le Gange, que les Naturels appellent Ganga. Il rase les pieds de ces montagnes, avec tant [P. 6] de vitesse qu'il effraye les voyageurs, principalement à cause que le feste des rochers où est le chemin, n'a pas plus d'un grand pam de largeur. Neantmoins comme j'ay dit, on y passe, & ce sont les chemins ordinaires des gens du pays, qui leur sont plus agreables que les plaines des campagnes ou des prairies.

4. Aussi diroit on à voir ces pauvres Indiens, que ce sont des singes et des gueunuches, tant ils sont laids à voir. Et veritablement je puis meshuy dire, depuis que j'ay quitte l' Europe où la Nature fait moins de fautes és visages, que j'ay veu des difformitez de toutes facons: mais les plus monstrueuses faces, ce sont celles de ce Royaume: & ce ne sont pas les boëttes de Socrates qui enfermoient tant de belles et bonnes choses sous des arabesques, & grimaces de Satyres; mais comme és sacs des charbonniers le dedans est encore plus noir que le dehors, ces pauvres ames qui habitent des corps si mal faits, sont des monstres de vice; elles ne respirent que le ventre; & toute leur Divinité, est le Manger. Aussi cette nation est si materielle & brutale qu'elle ne cognoist point d'esprit superieur ny n'est pas seulement capable de se forger des Idoles. Je ne serois pas creu si je disoy ses ordures, & j'offenceroy vos yeux [P. 7] de les depeindre. Èn un mot, ils mangent les animaux tout cruds, devoràs les boyaux & les intestins, quoy qu'il ait dedans; sans faire aucune difference du bon ny du mauvais. Tout ce que Dieu leur a laissé pour marker en eux de l' humanité, & empescher qu'on ne les prit pour des Guenons, c'est qu'ils aiment grandement les hommes, mesmement les yovageurs & estrangers, car ils les accueillent, avec des tesmoignages de joye & de bien-veillance extraordinaire.

5. Nous avons done passé ces costes, de montagnes pointuēs tout le long du Comao, jusqu'au grand Thibeth: care il y a un autre Thibeth, qui s'appelle le petit, qui changea n' aguerres l'idolatrie de Mahomet & tomba de fievre en chaud mal. Les peuples de ce grand Thibeth ne sont pas idolatres: car nous avons trouvé qu'ils recognoissent l' Vnité & Trinité adorable du vray Dieu, ils savent qu'il y a trois Hierarchies d'Esprits Angeliques, divisés en neuf choeurs, selon les differences de leurs excellences & dignitez, Qu' il y a un Enfer qui attend les meschans, & un Paradis pour la recompense des bons. Mais parmy ces veritez, il s'est meslé tant de nuages d'erreur, que le voisinage des Payens leur a faict prendre par contagion, [P. 8] qu'il faudroit les appeler

Payens, si leur bon naturel & rare piété ne les rendoit tres-dociles à quitter tout le mal qu'ils ont puisé du gentilisme.

6. Ce Royaume, d'où je vous écris celle-cy, est plus grand que nostre Portugal. Il tient ceste mesme Religion que je viens de dire, comme font aussi beaucoup d'autres Royaumes, encore bien plus amples & opulens, qui confinent avec celuy-cy. Le nom du plus puissant & estendu est *Sophos*: car il tient depuis la Chine iusqu'en Moscouie, & fait maintenant teste à la Chine, demeslant par les armes divers differens qu'ils ont ensemble. Que si vous en voulez voir quelque peinture assez amenante à la verité, regardez le dessus de la Tartarie vers le Septentrion dans vos chartes de Cosmographie imprimées en Europe, car elles ont assez bien recontré en cecy. L'autre Royaume s'appelle *Laduca*; le troisieme *Usang*; aupres duquel Cité de Cataï, le nom de laquelle on a donné à tous ces Royaumes. Je suis en l'un d'iceux nommé *Oque*, les Naturels duquel sont estimez par deça les plus vitieux & corrompus de tous les deux Thibeths, & cependant je puis déposer que de tous les Indiens du Levant, je n'en ay point encore pratiqué qui ayent tant de probité [P. 9] d'esprit, ny d'inclination aux choses divines & éternelles. En un mot, il est tout certain qu'ils ne savent pas seulement les noms de l'impureté, ny de ces autres enormités que la ruse & la malice ont produites.

7. Ces Royaumes ont beaucoup d'Ecclesiastiques ou personnes dediées particulierement au service de Dieu, ils les appellent *Lamas*. Ce sont des ames nourries dans l'oysiveté, mais pourtant assez blanches & nettes de mal, d'autant qu'ils s'occupent fort à la priere vocale. La plus frequente d'icelles est coprise [sic] en ces paroles *Om mani pat mem ri*, Paroles qu'ils n'avoient jamais entenduës iusques à la venuë du R. P. Antoine Andrade qui a faict la premiere decouverte de ces Terres neuves, & qui leur dit qu'elles signifioient *Con io sumb dic Patrom ro, c'est à dire, Seigneur Dieu pardonnez nous nos pechez*: de sorte que maintenant ils les disent & plus volontiers & plus devotement en ce sens.

Les moeurs & usages de ces peuples sont descrits au long dans les Annales que nous avons adressées à N. R. P. General. Le principal office de ces Ecclesiastiques, est de mettre les mains sur tous ceux qu'ils recontrent, dissant qu'ils ont une vertu speciale d'attirer sur eux de grandes faveurs du Ciel. Ils sont fort ignorans, & il n'y a point [P. 10] d'autre difference entre eux & le peuple que celle de la robbe: car on ne les ordonne avec autre ceremonie qu'avec l'investiture d'une longue tunique, comme une de nos robes de chambre, & on leur met une mitre close sur la teste. Ils ont un livre qui est le depositaire de tous leurs secrets & sciences: & ils s'en fient tellement à ce Code, qu'ils se contentent d'y savoir lire pour s'estimer honnestes gens. Nous estudions ce livre pour penetrer leurs mysteres, & maximes.

8. Quoy qu'ils ont desia conceu tant d'opinions de nous & de la Foy Catholique, qu'au lieu qu'és autres regions nous pressons les peuples de se faire baptiser; icy, nous leur differons ce Sacrement pour en aiguiser le desir

& accroistre l' estime par le delay. Il y en a une infinité qui nous sollicitent de leur departir ceste faveur. Nous en recevons peu & ne refusons personne. Les esprits de ce païs ordinairement sont aigus, et perçans, capables de toutes sortes de sciences. Les moeurs & inclinations tres-bonnes & honnestes, la haine des Idoles y est parfaicte, comme aussy celle des impostures de Mahomet dont ils abhorrent les Mosquees. Le frere du Roy qui est Lama en fit desmolir une l'an passé.

9. Et le Roy nous a faict bastir cette année 1626, dans sa ville de [P. 11] Chaparangua une Eglise qui est à la verité petite, mais tres-belle, & tres riche, & dont la structure respond aux frais & despenses Royales que sa Maiesté y a voulu faire. Elle fut commencée le propre jour de Pasques, auquel jour le Roy luy mesmes y voulut porter & poster la premiere pierre, avec beaucoup d' or qu'il espancha sur les fondemens. Apres luy la Reyne Mere, & tous les Princes, & les *Lamas* de la cour en firent de mesme. L' Eglise est dediée à nostre Dame d' Esperance. On voit pardeça force Croix que nous avons plantées sur des montaignes. La premiere que nous dressames ce fut le jour de l' Assomption de la sainte Vierge. Le Roy en fait faire beaucoup d'autres qui seront posées sur des hautes et belles Pyramides: car l'usage en est frequent icy, mesmes sur les sepulchres. Il ne se peut dire combien ils cherissent & reverent la Croix: comme c'est la plus belle marque de leur ancienne religion, aussi est ce la chose qu'ils honorent uniquement; le Roy et les grands en portent chacun une penduë au col. Pour le peuple nous ne leur permettons par pour encore cette sainte & precieuse enseigne, mais leur en faisons esperer le bien, nous le leur faisons ainsi desirer plus ardemment.

English Translation

1. [P. 4,1.7]. This is what the said Father Godigny writes about it from the town of Chaparangua²⁵, situated in Cataï or Great Thibeth, under date of the 16th of August 1626.

2. The divine goodness, which had inspired us the design of the journey to Cataï, otherwise called Great Thibeth,²⁶ has led us to it happily. It was not done without much travelling: for we spent eight full months on this journey, as we had to cross the whole Empire of the Great Mogor: on issuing from which, we entered another Kingdom, which is a little smaller,²⁷ and is called Comao:²⁸ however, we had more trouble in crossing it, because we were obliged to make our way continually on very high mountains, which Nature seems to have chosen for the treasuries of her snows, so high are they piled up there; and what inconveniences travellers exceedingly, is that these heaps of snow, which weaken your eyes and your progress, seem [P.5] to dazzle you and to make you slip only to make you fall into awful precipices yawing on both sides of those rocks.

3. So then, we walked, or rather climbed and tumbled across continuous tops of rocks, our eyes plunging all the time on both sides to the bottom of

the abysses of big foaming rivers, which flow between stones and on pebbles with the noise of a torrent. After that, we found it hardly easier to manage rivers and long marshes, which we had also to cross. However, God granted that two things should alleviate the hardships of those roads: the first is that there are people of the country who carry you, like the sledge drivers of the Alps, fast and very conveniently; the other, that some of those mountains are clothed with verdure which is a great pleasure to the eyes, and that as soon as the snow melts anywhere, they get decked with Tulips and divers flowers. The whole country is intersected with rivers, brooks, and springs, in very great number, and their water is not only beautiful and clear, but also good and very wholesome. The King of all these rivers is the Ganges (*Gange*), which the Natives called *Ganga*. It sweeps past the foot of those mountains so [p.6] rapidly that it frightens the travellers, chiefly because the top of the rocks, where the road is, is not more than a good palm broad. However, as I have said, one goes along it, and they are the ordinary roads of the people of the country, who find them more agreeable than the level paths of plains and meadows.

4. Now,²⁹ judging from the looks of those poor Indians, one might think that they are monkeys, she-monkeys, so ugly are they. And truly I can now say that, after I left Europe, where Nature makes fewer mistakes with people's faces, I have seen difformities of all sorts; but the most monstrous faces are those of that Kingdom; and they are not the boxes of Socrates, which contained so many fine and good things under the arabesques and maces of Satyrs;³⁰ Godinho would have been clearer if he had said: "Their boxes (heads) are not like the one of Socrates..." but, as with the bags of charcoal-burners the inside is still blacker than the outside, those poor souls, tenanted such ill-shapen bodies, are monsters of vice; they think only of the belly, and their only God is eating. Moreover, that people is so material and animal-like that they do not know of a superior spirit³¹ and are not even able to fashion for themselves Idols.³² You would not believe me if I spoke of their filth, and I should offend your eyes, [P. 7] were I to depict it. In one word, they eat animals quite raw, devouring the guts and intestines, whatever their contents, without making difference between what is good and what is bad.³³ The only thing God has left them to mark them as humans and to prevent one from taking them for monkeys, is that they are very fond of men, even travellers and strangers: for they receive them with tokens of extreme joy and kindness³⁴.

5. So then, we passed along the sides of those steep mountains, all across Comao, up to Great Thibeth: for there is another Thibeth, called Little Thibeth,³⁵ which not long ago trucked its idolatry for the superstition of Mahomet, and fell out of the frying-pan into the fire. The peoples of this Great Thibet are not idolaters: for we have found that they acknowledge the adorable Unity and Trinity of the true God; they know there are three Hiérarchies of Angelic Spirits, divided into nine Choirs, according to the differences of their excellencies and dignities; that there is a Hell which awaits

the wicked, and a Paradise for the reward of the good³⁶. But these truths have become mixed up with so many clouds of error, which through the neighbourhood of the Pagans has spread to them like a contagion, [P. S] that one should call them Pagans, were it not that their good disposition and rare piety renders them very docile to surrender all the evil they have drawn from heathenism.

6. This kingdom, whence I write this letter, is bigger than our Portugal.³⁷ It professes that same Religion which I have just said, as do also many other kingdoms, much bigger and more opulent still, which border on this one. The name of the most powerful and vastest is *Sophos*:³⁸ “que confina por hua parte com a China, e por outra com Moscouia.” Once, “monarcha dos Sopos.” for it stretches from China up to Muscovy, and it is at present opposing China, settling by force of arms diverse differences they have together.³⁹ If you want to see of it a rather truthful picture, look at the upper portion of Tartary towards the North in your maps of Cosmography printed in Europe, for they are pretty well correct in the matter. The other kingdom is called *Laduca*;⁴⁰ the third, *Usang*,⁴¹ near which is that famous and ancient City of *Catai*, the name of which has been given to all these Kingdoms.⁴² I am in one of these, called *Oque*,⁴³ the Natives of which are considered to be beyond⁴⁴ the most vicious and corrupted of both Thibeths; yet I can assert that, of all the Indians of the East, I have not met any having so much uprightness [P. 9] of mind or so much inclination for things divine and eternal. In one word, it is quite certain that they do not even know the names for impurity, nor for those other enormities which cunning and malice have produced.⁴⁵

7. These kingdoms have many Ecclesiastics, or persons specially dedicated to the service of God. They call them *Lamas*. They are souls bred in laziness; yet, very white and free from evil, seeing that they are much given to vocal prayer.⁴⁶ Their most frequent prayer is contained in these words: *Om mani pat mem ri*,⁴⁷ words which they had never understood till the arrival of the Reverend Father Antonio Andrade, who made the first discovery of these new Lands, and who told them that they meant: *Con io sumb dic Patrom ro*, that is *Lord God, forgive us our sins*;⁴⁸ so that they say them now more heartily and more devoutly with this meaning.

The manners and customs of these peoples are described in detail in the Annual Letter which we have addressed to Our Reverend Father General.⁴⁹ The chief work of these Ecclesiastics is to lay their hands on all those whom they meet, and they say that they have a special virtue to draw on them great favours from Heaven. They are very ignorant, and there is no [P. 10] other difference between them and the people than their dress; for the only ceremony with which they are ordained is that they are invested with a long tunic, like one of our dressing-gowns, and a closed mitre is put on their head.⁵⁰ They have a book which is the repository of all their secrets and knowledge; and they trust so much in this Code that, if they can read it, they are satisfied and

esteem themselves honourable people. We are studying this book to learn their mysteries and maxims.⁵¹

8. Although they have already conceived such a high opinion of us and of the Catholic Faith, yet, whereas in other countries we urge people to get themselves baptised, here we postpone that Sacrament to whet their desire and increase their esteem for it by the delay. An infinite number of them request that we should impart to them this favor. We receive few, and turn away no one. The mind of the people of this country is generally sharp and penetrating, and able to take in every kind of knowledge. Their manners and inclinations are very good and virtuous; their hatred of the Idols is perfect, and so is their hatred for the impostures of Mahomet, whose Mosques they abhor. The King's brother, who is a *Lama*, had one of them demolished last year.⁵²

9. And the king has had built for us this year 1626, in his town of [P. 11] Chaparangua, a Church which, though small indeed, is very pretty and very rich,⁵³ the building corresponding to the Royal outlay and expense which his Majesty was willing to make for it. It was begun on the very day of Easter, on which day the King himself condescended to carry and lay the first stone and he scattered much gold on the foundations.⁵⁴ After him, the Queen Mother, and all the Princes, and the *Lamas* of the Court did the same.⁵⁵

The Church is dedicated to Our Lady of Hope. One sees yonder⁵⁶ plenty of crosses which we have planted on mountains. The first one which we erected was on the day of the blessed Virgin's Assumption.⁵⁷

The King is having many others made, which will be placed on fine Pyramids: for the use of it is frequent here, even on the tombs.⁵⁸

It is impossible to say how much they cherish and revere the Cross: as it is the best proof of their ancient religion.⁵⁹

So is it what they honour solely. The King and the grandees wear each one, hanging from their neck. As for the people, we do not yet allow them this holy and precious token; but we make them long for it more eagerly by making them hope for its blessings.

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling,
September 22nd, 1924.

Notes:

1. The provincial of Goa.
2. 1625
3. Tsaparang, the capital of Guge.
4. 1625
5. The way to be followed. The King of Tsaparang wanted the new Fathers who were expected to come by another route than the twice followed, in 1624 and 1625, by de Andrade, i.e., the Srinagar (Garhwāl)-Badrīnāth-Mānā Pass-Tsaparang road; his own men would go to Jahāngīr's territory through the lands of a neighbouring a neighbouring Rāja with whom he wasmaking arrangements, and would bring the Fathers up all the way on horseback. This corresponded perhaps to the present Simla-Poo-Shipki route. Another road from Agra, longer than the one by the Mānā Pass, but easier, would have taken the Fathers through Almorā. We should then hear of Lake Mānasarowar and Mount Kailās, which is not the case, although we are told they crossed Kumaun.
6. Fr. C. Wessels, op, cit., has been somewhat unfortunate with the date of this letter. He writes: August 16, 1626 (p. 74 n. 4, 5; p. 76 n. 2); August 14, 1626 (p. 92); August 15, 1726 (p. 71 n. 1); August 15, 1626 (p. 71 n. 2). It should be August 15, 1626.
7. His real name was Alain de la Bauchère.
8. This letter to the General is not in my collection of rotographs.
9. A 'Father' John Valasco, a Castilian, came to India in 1611; a Domingos Pereira, a Portuguese, came to India in 1593; another of the name, also a Portuguese, in 1611 (neither a priest yet); "Father" Alvaro Tavares came to India in 1630. Cf. Franco's list, where Antonio Mendez does not appear.
10. Present.
11. A kind of matchlock.
12. April 12, 1626.
13. de Andrada, no doubt; the Superior.
14. The king's only son, 14 years old.
15. To eat.
16. The Abbot of Toling.
17. Xefarins.
18. *Piyāla*. (Pers.): cup.
19. *Terçado*=a short broad sword.
20. 1626.
21. The accusations were utterly unfounded; the MS. of the Annual Letter of August 15, 1626, a 'la via' or first copy, was signed by de Andrada. If Godhino, de Andrada, and Oliveira had remembered this, would it not have been sufficient to point this out, and to add that it was clearly enough composed by de Andrada, and that Godhino and Oliveira, as the writings showed, had been merely the copyists?

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22. Such places as Damão, Diu, Chaul, Bandora, Salsette near Bombay, etc.
23. Probably, João de Oliveira, who had been in Tibet.
24. It is not likely that there were two of the name: one in Tibet, one at Agra. Fr. Leam was greatly displeased with Antonio Pereira of Agra. Had he come away from Tibet without orders?
25. Tsaparang, the ancient capital of Guge, Western Tibet; on the Sutlej.
26. Nowhere in 1624-1626 does de Andrada identify Great Tibet with Cathay. His Annual Letter of August 15, 1626, says that Guge, Ladākh, Mariul, Rudok, Utsang, and two other Kingdoms to the East of it, as also Sopo form Great Tartary.
27. A great deal smaller.
28. Kumaun now comprises the districts of Almorā, Nainī Tāl, and Garhwāl. If the present meaning of Kumaun applied to these same parts in 1626, we should conclude that the party of 1626 followed the same route as de Andrada in 1624 and 1625. but there had been questions of another itinerary to be followed by the new party, as we have shown above, and in 1581 we find Fr. Antonio Monserrate, S.J., applying the name of Kumaun Mountains to the snow-capped mountains sighted between Thānesar and Ambāla. Moreover, if the travelers had come by the Badrīnāth-Mānā Road, could they have spoken of the absence of idols on the way? In 1624, de Andrada wondered at the number of little shrines along that road. Neither does de Andrada allude in 1624 and 1625 to porters carrying travelers, or to marshes. The mention of the 'Ganga' in 1626 is not conclusive, as the name, which merely means 'river,' is often applied in a loose sense. From Agra, *via* Delhi, Simla Hills and Chini, the travelers would have found probably that easier road by which the horses of the Raja of Tsaparang might have brought them up all the way. The very early arrival of the party of 1626 also militates in favour of a new road. In 1624 and 1625, by the Mānā Pass, de Andrada could not reach Tsaparang before the end of August, as the Mānā Pass did not open before the end of July. On the other hand, no horses are mentioned in 1626, and Fr. de Castro says that three Fathers and a Brother had gone to Tibet, "a distance of a month's journey from Agra." In 1625, de Andrada calls the Agra- Badrīnāth-Tsaparang road the shortest existing. Besides, what had been unfeasible in 1624 and 1625 may have been relatively easy in 1626, if the Fathers at their disposal all the means which the Rāja of Tsaparang could set in motion. How is it, for instance, as we are told in a covering letter from Goa (February 20, 1626), that between November 1624 and June 17, 1625, the worst time for traveling in the Himālayas, the Rāja of Tsaparang had 'fusilladed' Fr. de Andrada at Agra with requests for his return?
29. Am I right in translating *aussi* by 'now'?
30. The face of Socrates is here called a box, as I understand. "His ugly physiognomy excited the jests both of his friends and enemies, who inform us that he had a flat nose, thick lips, and prominent eyes, like a Satyr or Silenus." (W. Smith, *Classical*

Dictionary, 19th edn., 1880, p. 173, s. v. Socrates. Godinho would have been clearer if he had said: “their boxes (heads) are not like the one Socrates...”

31. Exaggerated remark.
32. Other exaggeration. Yet, Godinho had been in India from 1619.
33. This is more correct.
34. This proves them to have been very human, indeed.³⁵
35. Baltistān, and other parts of Kashmīr.
36. The same reflections on these points of the Tibetan creed are in de Andrada’s Annual Letter of August 15, 1626.
37. A comparison not found in our earlier letters.
38. In the Annual Letter of 1626, twice ‘o Sopo’. “que confina por hũa parte com a China, e por outra com Moscouis.” Once, “monarcha dos Sopos”.
39. The Annual Letter of 1626 does not refer to any war between the Sopo and China.
40. ‘Ladaca’ in the Annual Letter of 1626; Ladākḥ.
41. U-Tsang, comprising Lassa.
42. If we had only this letter to go by; we might think that this ancient city of Cathay was Lassa; but the Annual Letter of 1626 shows there is question of a mysterious city. “What they call Catayo is not a particular kingdom, but a great city, called Katay, the capital of a province very near to China, of which they say that the great Monarch of the Sopos is lord.” (Annual Letter of 1626). We do not find the name of Lassa in de Andrada’s letters of 1624-26, though ‘Utsang’ occurs several times.
43. A curious spelling for Guge. The Annual Letter of 1626 has ‘Coqué,’ which F. M. Esteves Pereira (*O descobrimento do Tibet*, 1921, p. 80) read ‘Coqué.’ I dispose of rotographs of the very MS. rotographed for F. M. Esteves Pereira, and I make it out to be ‘Cogué.’
44. *Par deçà*. To render by ‘beyond’ should we not have *par dela*? To render it by ‘less’ (vicious) would, however, defeat Godinho’s next assertion. Besides, further, we have again *par deçà*, where the meaning clearly is ‘away from here,’ ‘yonder’, ‘beyond.’
45. Nowhere in our letters of 1624-26 does de Andrada speak on this point with the assurance of our new-comer. “Of polyandry Azevedo says nothing; in fact, none of the Tsaparang missionaries mentions this pernicious Tibetan practice, which is spoken of at length by Desideri. One practice which Azevedo mentions is a *ius primæ noctis*.” (C. Wessels, op cit.; p. 100). This is correct, so far as the letters thus far found go; but a great deal more of the literature on the Tsaparang Mission must be still in hiding.
46. The remark is incongruous.
47. The Annual Letter of 1626 has, as read by F. M. Esteves Pereira and myself, “Om mani patmeonri.” See his *O descobrimento*, pp. 102-103, where the formula occurs four times. Godinho has: “Om mani pat mem ri.” I hesitated

about the men of my copyst;but M.I'AbbéA. De Becdeliévre has rewritten the word: a clear *mem*. Why the ending *ri* instead of *hum*?

48. As none of the Lamas could interpret the "Om mani patmeonri," de Andrada told them to give to the formula the meaning here stated. They were so much addicted to the formula that it was hopeless to make them abandon it, we are told.) "*Conjoe sumbo gâ dipâ ta e Ró*," in the Annual Letter of 1626, as copied by Senhor F.M. Esteves Pereira in his *O descobrimento*, p.103; but "*Conjoe sumbo gâ dipâ ta em Ro*", *ibid.*, p.137. I read: "*Conjá sumbo ga dipa tâ e [?] Ró*," which de Andrada translates: "Lord, pardon me my sins" (*Senhor, perdoaimé meus peccados*). We now get from Godinho : "*Con io sumb dic Patrom ro*, that is, *Lord God, forgive us our sins.*"

M. Sylvain Levi (*O descobrimento*, p.137) suggested the following : "*Conjoe, dkon mchog*, means 'precious;' '*sumbo, bsum-bo*, 'master;' '*ga, na (nga)*, 'I'; '*dipa ta, sdigpa dag*, 'the sins'; '*em* must correspond to the word 'pardon;' might it be *dbyen*, 'to put aside, 'separate' ? It is more than doubtful. *Ro* seems to be the word *rogs*, 'help,' which is used to form the respectful imperative in the spoken language."

Can we get nearer to correct Tibetan with de Andrada's specimen of one-year-old Tibetan studies?

49. The Annual Letter of August 15, 1626, a day earlier than Godhino's letter.
50. The Annual Letter of August 15, 1626 also describes this mitre has "closed at the top."
51. De Andrada had hopes of opening up U-Tsang, "which I trust will be next year, when the Fathers who have now arrived will have well learned the language, which they are studying now with great fervour and consolation to me" (*O descobrimento*, p. 111, in the Annual of Aug. 15, 1626).
52. We know from de Andrada that the Kashmīrī and other Muhamadans were not allowed to settle within the town of Tsaparang; but not that they had a mosque anywhere in Guge.
53. On August 15, 1626, the Fathers were still actively at work covering the whole of it, inside, with the interesting paintings, chiefly scenes of the New Testament: in the sanctuary, eight panels depicted scenes of Our Lady's life; the reredos of the altar had five panels, not counting the crucifix and image of Our Lady and Child, both these sculptured (*de vulto*); scenes of Our Lord's life were to be painted round the nave.
54. The Annual Letter of 1626 describes the ceremony of the preparations on Holy Saturday, and the laying of the first stone on Easter-day; "The King first threw under it [the foundation stone] a good quantity of gold," says the Annual Letter; hence, we may conclude that others imitated him.
55. The Annual Letter does not mention the presence of the Queen Mother, i.e., the King's mother. She did not live at Tsaparang. We may conclude from the Annual Letter that the Queen was present, and we are distinctly told that the King's grandmother (*mother de seu avó*) lived at Tsaparang and was wholly

devoted to the Fathers. By 'princes' we must understand the King's son, a boy 14 years old, and three nephews and two nieces of the Queen, her brother's children. The Lamas of the Court surprise us more; but, though they were rather hostile at Toling, those of Tsaparang were less so; during the building of the Church, "Lamas of a certain temple outside the city sent a good quantity of tiles" for the Church, and even carried them all the way on their shoulders.

56. *Par deça*. In the sense of *là-bas*?

57. A strange way of speaking, if the ceremony had taken place only the day before writing. And when had the many other crosses been erected, if the first was erected only the day before?

A wooden cross covered with damask had been planted on the site of the foundations of the Church on Holy Saturday, April 11, 1626; but, speaking of the erection of the open air crosses in his Annual Letter of August 15, 1626, de Andrada does not count it as one of them. "And, as we had not yet erected any cross, the King himself bethought himself of the top of this mountain whereon to put the first. It is considerably high, the city rising only half-way up; from all four sides one sees very far. And for people coming from outside the first thing be seen is the Holy Cross planted there on the top, whence it seems to forebode the conquest of this whole kingdom; it is of wood, but covered all over with latten. We shall put the second cross on the Church, which is also on a height, whence it is seen from very far." (Cf. *O descobrimento*, p. 116) I suspect there is something wrong about Fr. Godinho's feast of Our Lady's Assumption: for, if both de Andrada and Godinho speak of the same cross as the first, why does Godinho writing on August 16, not speak of "yesterday?" The Annalist or the copyist of the Annual Letter, writing on August 15, would naturally have said "today," even if he didn't mention the feasts; moreover, we should conclude that, after writing about this first cross at his p. 37, the Annalists finished his letter the very same day, August 15, at p. 40. It looks as if Godinho, still full of the celebrations of the feast of Our Lady's Assumption, the day before, had written 'Assumption' instead of 'Visitation,' the Visitation falling on July 2. Between July 2 and August 15, other crosses mentioned by Godinho, might have been erected.

58. This reference to 'fine high pyramids' is valuable. Could anyone have expected that, as late as 1912 or nearly three centuries later, a wooden cross should be found at Tsaparang lying athwart its 'fine high pyramid'? Yet, such is the case. In 1912, Mr. G. Mackworth Young was good enough to go out of his way on his return from Gartok and visit Tsaparang. He finishes his most valuable report on his journey by this extremely interesting remark "For the casual visitor, if another ever visits Tsaparang, there is, or was, a solitary object from which fancy may conjure a relic of the mission. A row of whitewashed chortens stands near the Dzongpon's house. One of them, some forty feet high, towers above the rest; and on its summit there lies horizontally a weather-beaten cross of wood. It may be that chorten was being built while the Lamas were demolishing the Church

close by; and that some one, carelessly, or perhaps thinking to lay up treasure for himself in two heavens, planted the rejected emblem on the Buddhist tomb. In all else the work of destruction was complete, and nothing is left to remind men that a Christian once reigned in Tibet." Cf. *Journ. Punjab Hist. Soc.*, VII (1919), p. 178. Alas! though so near to the kingdom of heaven, the king of Tsaparang was never baptised by the Missionaries. Revolutions, captivity, and imprisonment at Ladākḥ prevented it. The favour shown to the Missionaries cost him his throne.

In the shorter account of his journey which, at Sir Edward Maclagan's request, Mr. G. Mackworth Young wrote at Sir Edward's residence, Armadale, Simla, on July 24, 1912, I find the following: "The windows of the Jongpon's house—admittedly an ancient building—are much larger than any I have seen in Tibetan houses, considering that they face outwards, and not into a courtyard, and they seem to have something of an European appearance. But there is no other sign of the mission, unless it be found in a wooden cross poised horizontally on the summit of a chhorten thirty feet high, and quite inaccessible. I have never seen such an ornament on any other chhorten; they are usually crowned with representations of the sun and moon. The wood of the cross is dry and not painted or decorated in any way. It is just possible that it was found lying about some time after the dissolution of the mission, and placed, without any particular object, on a newly-built chhorten." That wooden cross on a chhorten thirty or forty feet high may have been one of those which the king was going to erect on fine high pyramids, especially as Mr. Young suspects that the Dzongpon occupied the old house of the Fathers. Chortens are tombs or memorials to the dead, and, if the pyramid, with the cross lying across it, is a real chhorten, it would follow that the king did have crosses erected "even on the tombs," as he intended doing. The punctuation of Fr. Godhino's sentence, but for the discovery of this cross on a chhorten, would have suggested that, before the Fathers came, crosses were frequently found on tombs. Most of us would have met this with a shrug, and would have blamed Godinho for taking (say) swastikas for crosses. The fact is that, though de Andrada saw a mysterious cross on a book at the Toling monastery, in 1625 or 1626, and another, equally mysterious, in a painting at one of the Tsaparang monasteries, at a date later than Godhino's letter, he and other Fathers never speak of the *prevalence* of the cross in Guge before their arrival. Therefore, "for the use of it is frequent here," can hardly mean more than that, after de Andrada's arrival, many people, including the members of the royal family wore on their breast or on their caps the medals and crosses given them by de Andrada. By "even on the tombs" I understand that the King intended placing crosses on the tombs.

59. Does Godhino mean that the reverence for the cross shown by the people was like an instinct born of their ancient profession for Christianity, profession proved by the beliefs he had previously adduced? He cannot mean less. The people's eagerness for crosses and medals, chiefly that of the soldiers going to the wars, was indeed surprising. He may however, mean more, if regarded swastika signs

and such other forms of crosses as do occur in Tibet, on woven fabrics, on the mitres of Lamas, etc., as originally Christian. Moreover, he had copied the passage of the Annual Letter about the mysterious cross of Toling. "About the manner of death of the Son of God they have certain things which differ [from ours]. They say that he died giving his blood, which, because of the many nails put into his body, flowed from it. But of the Holy Cross they know little or nothing. It is true that they have it in their book, and they also paint it with a triangle in the middle and certain mysterious letters which they cannot explain." (Cf. *O descobrimento*, p. 96.)

To comment on this fully ought to take me very far, I have collected of late a large number of facts, mostly not noticed before and coming from Tsaparang, Lassa and other parts of Tibet, also from Nepal and Bettiah (Champāran), which, after much skepticism on my part in this matter in former years, have now led me to think that there is in various parts of India a great deal of embedded Christianity, the origin of which goes back to the first centuries of Christianity. The explanation of it would lie in the fact that the Yueh-chi, who invaded Western Tibet in the first centuries of our era are to be identified with the Getae, by the Romans identified with the Goths, and presumably identifiable with our Jāts. Allied with the Jāts are the Gujrs or Guzrs of Gujārāt and the Panjāb. In these I recognise the Georgians (Gurz or Guzr in Persian, or Gurg), i.e. the Hyrcani, possibly the Chur-che of China, nay the Gurkhas of Nepal. Kennedy, ere this, had attributed to the wandering Gujars the spread of the Krishna stories which are traceable to the Gospel stories, genuine or apocryphal. I go a step further by identifying the Gujars with the Hyrcani, who, before Christ, may have been largely permeated with Jewish beliefs, and through them and the allied tribe of the Alani in China I link up India with China, Manchuria and Corea for all such traces of Christianity as are found in India and the further East. The theory will appear less bold, if I show that tribes once Jewish lived on, as late as 1627, in what was once the common home of the White Huns, to whom the Getae or Jāts, the Guzrs, nay the Rājputs generally, would have belonged. Fr. Antonio Monserate, S.J., wrote from Kashmir (August 15, 1627): "This year some people's offered to become Christians, which are neither gentiles nor Maumettans; they say that, several years [*parechi anni*: many years?] ago, their ancestors were brought here from other parts; until now they have kept their law, which they say is that of Abram, although it is full of errors."