

MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO SRI LANKA (CEYLON) IN THE
'CAIXAS DA INDIA' OF THE ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO
ULTRAMARINO IN LISBON

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In volumes VIII and IX of the *Boletim Internacional de Bibliografia Luso-Brasileira* (July-September 1967, July-September 1968) Mrs. Daya de Silva published a bibliography of manuscripts relating to Sri Lanka (formerly called Ceylon) available in the archives and libraries of Portugal.¹ The price she paid for her attempt to make it comprehensive (she covered all the important archives and libraries) was that her examination of documents was often cursory and her descriptions of their contents inadequate and occasionally even misleading.² Her work can therefore be described at best as a preliminary list and in no sense a comprehensive bibliographical guide to the documents.

1. Vol. VIII, pp. 533-552, 647-675; Vol. IX, pp. 84-157, 499-527.

2. I shall give two examples where the documents are inadequately described and two where the descriptions are misleading, drawing all four examples from documents in the 'India Caixas' of the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon.

(i) In file 205 of *caixa* 11 are several important documents on Sri Lanka:

(a) A letter dated 7 October 1632 from the Count of Linhares to the king of Portugal relating to several matters: complaints made by the people of Jaffna against the clergy; the abolition of offices of chiefs in Jaffna; the Jaffna fort; the proposal to colonize Jaffna with Portuguese *casados* and the proposal to prohibit the export of arecanut and *chaya* roots from Jaffna.

(b) Two memoranda dated 2 January 1634 and 22 December 1633 by Beichior Botelho da Sylva and Pedro de Miranda Cabral on the above matters.

(c) Two copies of a memorandum by the captain-general Diogo de Mello de Castro on the problems the cinnamon monopoly had created.

(d) Observations of two persons on (c) above.

(e) Discussion of the 'Conselho da Fazenda' on (c) and (d).

(f) Two copies of a statement on the proceeds from the sale of cinnamon in 1629.

(g) Two copies of a memorandum by Diogo de Mello de Castro on the need to suppress the post of *vedor da fazenda* in Sri Lanka.

(h) Observations of two persons on (g).

All these documents are described by Mrs. de Silva in one sentence: 'Various letters on Ceylon and Jaffna 1631-1635 (21 folios).' See Vol. IX, p. 516. This is clearly inadequate and not of much use to a research worker.

(ii) File No. 141 in *caixa* 3 contains a five-page letter dated 13 November 1614 from Antão Vaz Freire, the *vedor da fazenda* in Colombo, to the king of Portugal. The letter gives a detailed description of the issues and events in the conflict between Freire and the captain-general Dom Francisco de Meneses Roxo, on revenue collection, on land allotment, on gem mining, on the operation of the cinnamon monopoly and on how Meneses had prevented Freire from exercising the duties of his office. The letter goes on to state that with the arrival in Colombo of Roxo's successor, Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, happy relations were established and consequently the work on the *tombo* which Freire had initiated made very rapid progress. This document is described by Mrs. de Silva as 'A report on the services of Antão Vaz Freire in Ceylon (Antão Vaz Freire (Vedor) of Ceylon to the king 13.11.1615' Vol. IX, p. 510. See under *caixa* 4. (contd.)

A further problem is that certain collections of documents she examined have been since re-arranged, and where this is the case, her bibliography no longer serves the purpose of helping a student to trace a document. This is the case with the collection I describe in this paper. For these reasons, the time has come to carry the work done by Mrs. de Silva a step further by updating and correcting it and by providing a more detailed guide to the rich collections of Portuguese archival material relating to Sri Lanka. In this paper, I shall attempt to do this for one collection of historical documents in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Overseas Historical Archives) in Lisbon—the ‘*Caixas de Documentos Soltos*’ also called ‘*Caixas da Índia*’.

Apart from Mrs. de Silva’s work, there is only one published guide to the collections in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), namely *A Secção Ultramarina da Biblioteca Nacional - Inventários*, (Lisboa 1928) by M. A. Hedwig Fitzler and Ernesto Ennes.³ This work, as the title page makes it clear, analyses only the codices of the AHU. The equally important manuscript collections in the *caixas* (metal cabinets) and the *maços* (bundles) are for the most part uncatalogued, in that or any other published guide.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the AHU initiated a dynamic programme to provide research workers with guides to source material available in Portuguese archives, relating to selected areas or subjects. One of the areas selected was Ceylon (as it was then called) and the ‘*Primeira Relação de Documentos, Manuscritos, Iconografia e Cartografia, Relativos a Ceilão, existentes no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Biblioteca Nacional, Torre do Tombo e Arquivo da Casa dos Marqueses de Fronteira em Lisboa*’ was prepared in 1959.⁴ But this list

- (iii) File 127 in *caixa* 3 has a document entitled ‘Lista dos despachos que se derão na junta desta ilha de Ceilão.’ Mrs. de Silva describes it as ‘A list of letters sent to the Council of “Fazenda” in Colombo (Balthasar Marinho, writer of Ceylon 18.9.1615).’ Vol. IX, p. 510. See under *caixa* 4.

The document is not a list of letters, but a list of land grants to individuals. Mrs. de Silva has misunderstood the word ‘*despacho*’, usually meaning despatch (in the sense of report) but used in the 17th century to denote rewards for royal service. Her description of the document is therefore wrong.

- (iv) File no. 124 in *caixa* 3 contains a certified copy of viceroy Azevedo’s decree of 16 May 1615 suspending the Board of Land Allotment in Colombo on the ground that lands had been granted before the completion of the *tombo* and to non-residents, thus violating royal orders. Mrs. de Silva’s description of the document is ‘The trade in cinnamon. Viceroy to the vedor of Ceylon 6.6. (sic) 1615.’ See Vol. IX, p. 150.

In her catalogue of documents on Sri Lanka in *caixa* 4 Mrs. de Silva refers several times to the Council of ‘Fazenda’ in Sri Lanka. No such body was ever set up in the island. The reference is probably to the ‘Junta’ for land allotment.

³ Also called, elsewhere in the same work, *Inventário dos Codices da Secção Ultramarina da Biblioteca Nacional*. But this *Inventário* itself is incomplete, since it does not list all the codices in the AHU.

⁴ Typescripts available in the AHU, as part of a larger work, ‘*Especies Documentais Relativas as ultramar Portuguese E antigos Dominios*’.

seems thoroughly incomplete, even in relation to the AHU collections. For example, it lists only 15 documents as relating to Sri Lanka in the India *caixas*⁵ but, as my own list makes clear, most individual *caixas* of 17th century documents contain many times that number relating to the island.

According to my information, there are 372 *caixas* and *maços* relating to India in the AHU, covering the years 1509—1852. Of these, I have examined in detail 16 *caixas*, covering the period from 1509 to September 1644 and the following list covers these 16 *caixas*.

How did the collection of documents in the *caixas* originate? As the Portuguese monarchy began to develop commercial and political relations with non-European territories from the 15th century onwards, it began to set up new administrative organizations to handle these relations. The process was no different from the modern practice of setting up a new department of government in response to a new need. These administrative organizations were successively the *Casa da India* (India House), the *Conselho da Fazenda* (Revenue Council), set up in 1591 above the *Casa da India* and not as a substitute for it, the *Conselho da India* (India Council) which existed for ten years from 1604 to 1614, the *Conselho da Fazenda*, which supervised overseas activities jointly with the *Conselho do Estado* (Council of State) from 1614 to 1643, and finally the *Conselho Ultramarino* (Overseas Council) set up in 1643.⁶

The word '*conselho*' (council) which many of these bodies bore would suggest, at least in its modern English connotation, that they were primarily advisory and/or deliberative bodies. They did have advisory functions and in the recruitment of councillors, colonial experience counted a great deal, as in the case of the short-lived *Conselho da India*. But the Portuguese word *conselho*, as used at the time, denoted organizations with executive and administrative functions just as the English word 'council' was used under the Tudors for bodies with similar functions. The *Casa da India* as well as the several councils were, therefore, the Portuguese equivalent of the Colonial Office, charged with the function of taking decisions and implementing them, in the name and on behalf of the king of Portugal, on matters relating to the overseas territories and trading stations. The fact that both the *Conselho da India* and the *Conselho Ultramarino* met for three hours every working day of the year serves to underscore their administrative functions. A 17th century Spanish official has referred to Councils as ears and eyes of the king; he might well have added that they served as the arms of the king too.

5. Seven of the 15 documents listed there actually relate to Malacca and not to Sri Lanka. Perhaps the cataloguer confused the two!
6. For a detailed discussion of these organizations, see Mendes da Luz, *O Conselho da India*, (Lisbon, 1952). Marcelo Caetano, *O Conselho Ultramarino*, (Lisbon, 1967). It should also be noted that the *Conselho da Fazenda* and the *Conselho do Estado* were not concerned exclusively with 'colonial' matters.

Predictably, the various Councils spawned a great many official documents in the course of transacting their business and many letters and reports, particularly from overseas, were also laid before them. Some of these might be brief notes conveying a royal decision—say to grant a *merce* of a sum of money to the widow of a captain who had died in royal service—and asking the Council to carry out the order. Some were letters and papers sent from Portuguese overseas stations to the home authorities to seek their guidance or for their information. To this category would belong the famed 'Books of the Monsoons', as well as the copies of the standing orders issued by the viceroys of Goa, and the long reports sent by Andre Sallema, *vedor da fazenda geral* in Goa, on the progress of the negotiations with the Dutch for the implementation of the ten-year truce between Portugal and the United Provinces. Many papers placed before the Councils related to the purchase and shipping of pepper from India. As the *Casa da India* and the three Councils had to engage and provision the ships for the *Carreira da India*, recruit the sailors to man the ships and raise the capital and merchandise for the Indian voyages, many documents dealt with these problems—and these eventually formed part of the Council archives. Several times in the seventeenth century there grew frustrating feelings in Europe that affairs in India were slipping from Portugal's grip. Lisbon therefore called for reports as a first step in the drive for reform and reorganization. Such reform drives were particularly in evidence in the 1630s when the Iberian monarchy's affairs were under the guidance of a zealous minister, the Count of Olivares. Several *orçamentos* (financial statements) relating to the Portuguese territories in the East and many reports on the properties held by the Jesuit order in Asia, now available in archives in Portugal, resulted from the attempts of the Lisbon and Madrid authorities to introduce reform. Many complaints against royal officials also came before the Councils—from other officials, from the municipalities or the Catholic religious orders.

Office procedure followed by the Councils in Lisbon on receipt of these letters and reports seems to have been of the simplest type. On receipt of a letter or a report a clerk made a note, usually on the last page, giving the name of the sender, what it was about and sometimes the date. (In the case of the annual letters from Goa, 'the Books of the Monsoons', however, this procedure does not seem to have been adopted). The document then appears to have been placed before the Council for its orders. Many documents carry the Council decision on the last page, where minutes such as '*respondeu*' (replied) or '*satisfeita*' (dealt with) indicate the action taken.⁷ Where the document dealt with several matters, Council decisions were often recorded on the margin, against the relevant paragraphs.

7. The following examples, drawn from documents in the AHU, will make this clear :

- (i) Provizao p^a se meter mais agoa e biscoito na nao capitania-caixa 2, doc. 75.
- (ii) C^o da faz^a Respondida em 23 de dezro^o de 1615 - caixa 3, doc. 69.
- (iii) INDIA 615, Sobre Mathias Glz, feitor de Goa-ao Tribunal da fza-caixa 3, doc. 142.
- (iv) Ceilao 1619, Da Camara de Colombo - caixa 5, doc. 167.
- (v) D^o Bispo de Cochim, Ao conselho de fazenda - sobre diferentes particulares-caixa 6, doc. 60.

After a document had been dealt with in the Council, it was sent to the *cartorio* (record office) attached to the Council Office. The repository arrangements for the care of documents would depend on their classification. In the case of documents forming a series, such as papal bulls, peace treaties or the 'Books of the Monsoons', the documents would go into the appropriate codex to be filed or bound together. Other documents (*documentos soltos* or loose papers), were placed in a *maço* (bundle) or a *gaveta* (literally a drawer, but also a cabinet where valuable documents were kept). The *maços* and *gavetas* were usually kept in *armarios* (cupboards). Documents stored in *armarios* generally carried a note on the last page for easy reference and identification.⁸ The Portuguese had at that time not developed a proper filing system; documents not forming part of a series were not classified (or stored) subject-wise but only placed one on top of the other, in the order in which they had been dealt with in the Councils.

At a later date, perhaps when these documents were brought over to the Biblioteca Nacional (National Library), the loose documents were classified by area. Thus was the Indian collection born, now kept in 372 *caixas* and bundles at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. The first document in the collection is dated 1509, but only some 20 documents in the whole collection belong to the 16th century, and it is only from the next century that documents become freely available.

Each *caixa* at the AHU contains about 200 documents. The documents are kept inside thin office-file covers and these files are numbered consecutively. The files are arranged chronologically according to the dates of the documents inside. Each file cover carries the *caixa* number, the serial number and the date of the document. Where several related documents bearing different dates are placed within the same file cover, the usual practice has been to give the date of the earliest document on the file cover, but there are many exceptions. It is also important to remember that documents in a *caixa* may have to be re-arranged from time to time as when those whose dates were previously illegible are assigned to definite dates with the help of other documents. For the same reason, documents may have to be moved out of one *caixa* into another and this would alter the serial numbers of documents in both *caixas*. The present writer found, when he re-visited the AHU in 1978-79, that many of the documents he had studied in 1962 now bear a different serial number. Similarly many documents described by Mrs. de Silva in 1968-69 as found in a given *caixa* are now kept in a different *caixa*.

8. Here is an example, taken from a document in the 'Corpo Cronológico' collection in the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon:-
'Armario 15
Maço 116 no. 86, no. 15547
A 1 de Fevereiro de 1618
Parte 1a
Carta do conde do Redondo visio Rey da India escrita a S. Mag que trata varios successos pertencentes a Cide de Ceilao' (sic).

In the present paper, I shall give the *caixa*, the serial number assigned to the file-cover containing the document, as well as the date to help the student to identify and study the documents.

Caixa I (Call Mark 323)

This *caixa* has 108 documents, ranging in dates from 1509 to 1611. Only 21 of them belong to the sixteenth century. Only one refers to Sri Lanka.

Doc. 92 'Consulta' (i.e. consultation, discussion) dated 15 December 1610 on a request made by Dom Fellipe, a prince from Sri Lanka, for a grant to cover his travel expenses to Coimbra to study at the University there. The document is in good condition.

Note.—The prince referred to was Nikapitiye Bandara, grandson of King Rajasinha of Sitawaka. See, Don Peter, W.L.A., *Studies in Ceylon Church History*, (Colombo, 1963), p. 113., and Fernão de Queirós, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, (Colombo, 1930), pp. 708–9.

Caixa 2 (Call Mark 324)

This *caixa* has a total of 147 documents covering the years 1612–1614.

Doc. 102 An office note regarding a letter dated 2 October 1613 received from the municipal chamber in Colombo referring to the services of its citizens to the Portuguese crown and the privileges that had been conferred on them and requesting that these be preserved and extended.

The document carries the minute '*Que assim se faça*' (So be it) at the end.

Doc. 127 Two certified copies of the *alvara* (decree) issued by the viceroy Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo (1612–1616) and dated Goa, 22nd April 1614 making cinnamon production in Sri Lanka and export from there a royal monopoly. Copies certified by Affonso Roiz de Guevara, the secretary. The documents are in good condition.

Note.—On the antecedents of this decree and its importance, see Abeyasinghe, Tikiri, *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon, 1594–1612*, (Colombo, 1966), pp. 146–150.

Doc. 128 Certified copy of the *regimento* (standing orders) issued by the viceroy Azevedo (1612–1616) at Goa on 23 April 1614 to Manoel Mascarenhas Homem sent to take up duties as captain-general in Sri Lanka. Copy certified by Affonso Roiz de Guevara. Document partly illegible.

Note.—The Portuguese text of this document as well as an English translation is published in *A Study of Portuguese Regimentos on Sri Lanka at the Goa Archives*, by Tikiri Abeyasinghe (Colombo, 1974), pp. 42–51.

Doc. 130 Certified copy of the letter dated Goa, 18 April 1614 issued by the viceroy Azevedo in the name of the king of Portugal confirming the appointment of Cristovão Alures de Almeida to the post of *vidana* (superintendent) of the *chaleas* (cinnamon — peelers). Certified copy issued in Colombo on 30 June 1614 by Balthazar Marinho, the secretary, to the superintendent of revenue. The document is insect-eaten in places.

Doc. 137 This file has two documents :

- (1) Certified copy of a decree (*alvara*) dated Goa, 3 October 1614 issued by the viceroy Azevedo allowing the citizens of Colombo to export the cinnamon they had already prepared at the time the royal monopoly was created. Copy certified by Affonso Roiz de Guevara.

Note.—On the importance of the information in this document, see C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1617–1638*, (Colombo, 1972), p. 195.

- (2) Certified copy of viceroy Azevedo's standing orders (*regimento*) dated Goa, 22 April 1614 giving instructions on the implementation of the royal monopoly in cinnamon. Certified by Affonso Roiz de Guevara. Both documents are in good condition.

CAIXA 3 (Call Mark 325)

This *caixa* has 190 documents, covering the year 1615. For documents on Sri Lanka, this *caixa* is one of the richest.

Doc. 6 Three copies of the royal *alvara* (decree) dated Lisbon, 10 February 1615 making the production of cinnamon in Sri Lanka and its export a royal monopoly. Documents in good condition.

Note.—This decree gives royal confirmation to the viceregal decree of 22 April 1614. (see *caixa* 2 doc. 127).

Doc. 44 Letter issued by Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, (later Portuguese captain-general in Sri Lanka) from Colombo in February 1614, stating that when he visited Colombo in January of that year he

found Antão Vaz Freire, the *vedor da fazenda*, living in the Franciscan Convent in Colombo. The document is insect-eaten in places, including the date, but the red wax-seal on the document is beautifully preserved.

Note.—This is one of the many documents of this period referring to the conflict between the captain-general and the revenue officials. This document should really be placed in the previous *caixa*.

- Doc. 48** Letter from the Archbishop of Goa dated 6 February 1615 to the king of Portugal referring to great quantities of cinnamon coming to Goa from Sri Lanka. The document is in good condition.
- Doc. 54** Part of a letter written by Antão Vaz Freire, *vedor da fazenda* in Sri Lanka, about the year 1614 to the king of Portugal. Freire's seal is intact and is well-preserved. The document is incomplete.
- Doc. 105** Copy of a royal letter dated Lisbon, 30 March 1615, referring to the grant of the *vidanaship* of the port of Weligama. The document is partly illegible.
- Doc. 115** Certified copy of a decree (*alvara*) issued by the viceroy Azevedo in Goa on 14 May 1615 ordering the superintendent of revenue in Sri Lanka to hand over possession of two villages, namely Pendagore (Pendangoda?) and Mapitigama to Francisco Rey. Copy certified by Balthazar Marinho in Colombo on 30 May 1615.
- Doc. 118** Letter dated Colombo, 28 June 1615 written by Antão Vaz Freire to the High Court (*Relação*) in Goa, accusing the captain-general Dom Francisco de Meneses (1612—1614) of malice and vindictiveness in bringing in legal action against him, and stating that he (Freire) should not be cited to appear before that Court in the action that Meneses had brought against him and others. This document is insect-eaten in places.
- Note.*—This document also illustrates the conflict between the captain-general and the *vedor da fazenda*.
- Doc. 124** The second of three certified copies of viceroy Azevedo's decree dated Goa, 16 May 1615 suspending the board of land allotment in Sri Lanka and giving reasons for this decision. Copy certified by Balthazar Marinho, secretary to the treasury, in Colombo in September 1615. Document is partly insect-eaten, including the date of certification, but the date appears to be either 17th or 27th.

Doc. 125 A certified copy of a letter dated Goa, 15 May 1615 issued by viceroy Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo authorizing Francisco Rey to buy two villages Pendangore (Pendangoda?) and Mapitigama and enjoy them subject to payment of quit-rent and residence in the island. Copy certified by Balthazar Marinho in Colombo on 17 September 1615. In places, the document is illegible due to insect-attacks.

Doc. 127 Certified copy of a list of land-grants made by the board of land allotment. The document gives the name of the allottee, the reason for making the allotment and the name or names of villages allotted. Among the prominent allottees were the well-known Sinhalese poet Dom Jeronimo Alagiyawanna *mohottiyar*, (whose *paraveni* villages of Hissella, Mundugama and Iligoda were confirmed) the treasury secretary Balthazar Marinho (who received Kodagoda and Weligama, among others), the conqueror of Jaffna Philippe de Oliveira (who received Maggona) and the well-known *casado* and land-owner Lançarote de Seixas (who was granted Madampe and Anavilandana).

These grants were made by the board of land allotment on 22 June 1614.

This copy was certified by Balthazar Marinho in Colombo on 18 September 1615.

Doc. 128 Certificate of the grant of the village of Eliviche by the board of land allotment on 21 June 1614 to the daughter of João de Palhares, killed in military action in Malvana. The certificate is dated Colombo 28 September 1615 and was issued by Balthazar Marinho. The document is partly destroyed by insects.

Doc. 131 A certified copy of viceroy Azevedo's decree dated Goa, 24 January 1613 ordering that certificates issued by the board of land allotment in Sri Lanka should be signed by all three members of the board. Certified copy signed by Balthazar Marinho in Colombo on 29 September 1615.

The document is insect-attacked in places.

Doc. 132 A certified copy of the standing orders issued by viceroy Azevedo in Goa on 9 October 1615 to Dom Nunalves Pereira going to Sri Lanka as captain-general. The document is partly illegible due to moisture-soakage and insect-attacks.

Note.—In this document, several paragraphs of the standing orders issued to Nunalves Pereira's predecessor as captain-general, Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, are reproduced almost verbatim. See *caixa* 2 doc. 128.

- Doc. 133** A summary of the information contained in the dues-register (*foral*) completed by the *vedor da fazenda* in January 1615. The document is dated Colombo, 13 October 1615 and signed both by the *vedor*, Antão Vaz Freire, and his secretary, Balthazar Marinho.

According to the information in this document, the Portuguese crown was entitled to receive the following revenues from Sri Lanka in the year 1615:—

from quit-rents on lands allotted to Portuguese and native <i>foreiros</i>	21,002	<i>xerafins</i> $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>larin</i>
from arecanuts	17,090	<i>xerafins</i>
from customs dues	8,000	<i>xerafins</i>
from precious stones	3,000	<i>xerafins</i>
from the dues of the cinnamon peelers	220	<i>xerafins</i>
the value of the 1,022 <i>bahars</i> of free cinnamon	30,660	<i>xerafins</i>
	79,972	$\frac{1}{2}$
less freight payable on cinnamon	6,132	
total	73,840	$\frac{1}{2}$

The two officials state that in addition to the above items, the king's treasury was entitled to receive also income from *maralas* (death-duties), the sale of elephants, and from a few other sources.

Note.—One paragraph of the document is almost totally illegible today, but in 1962, I succeeded in reading most of it.

- Doc. 135** Letter dated Colombo, 22 October 1615 issued by the captain-general Manoel Mascarenhas Homem commending the zeal of the *vedor da fazenda* Antão Vaz Freire in completing the *tombo* of Portuguese territories in Sri Lanka. The wax-seal on the document is well-preserved. The document is insect-attacked, but legible for the most part.

- Doc. 136** Letter dated 28 October 1615 issued by the *vedor da fazenda* Antão Vaz Freire and Balthazar Marinho, secretary to the treasury, commending the contribution made by the captain-general Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, towards the completion of the *tombo*. The document carries both signatures.

Doc. 139 Copy of a petition made by Lourenço Correia da Franca, who had been granted the village of Alapalla and its appurtenances for his services during the Portuguese attack on Balana and Kandy in 1611. Antão Vaz Freire and Balthazar Marinho have endorsed the petition on 3 and 4 November 1615 respectively. The document is insect-eaten in places.

Doc. 141 Letter dated Colombo, 13 November 1614 from Antão Vaz Freire, the *vedor* in Sri Lanka, to the king of Portugal, describing in great detail the issues and events in the conflict between Freire and the captain-general, Dom Francisco de Meneses Roxo, 1612—1614. The areas of conflict included revenue collection (which Meneses usurped), areca collection and gem-mining (both of which Meneses ordered to be carried out on his personal account) and work on the *tombo* (which Meneses hindered). Freire pays a warm tribute to Roxo's successor, Manoel Mascarenhas Homem 1614—1616, for support in the *tombo*—compilation and goes on to criticize Azevedo's orders regarding the cinnamon monopoly. This document is very important for the conflict between the two branches of the administration.

Unfortunately this document is not in a good state of preservation. *Note.*—This document should really be placed in the previous *caixa*.

Doc. 143 Memorandum dated Colombo, 19 November 1615 drawn up by Antão Vaz Freire. It contains a point-by-point rebuttal of the reasons given by the viceroy Azevedo in May 1615 for suspending the board of land allotment (see *caixa* 3 doc. 124). Freire goes on to criticize Azevedo's orders relating to the cinnamon monopoly and the sale of land.

This is a very important document.

Doc. 144 Letter dated Colombo, 20 November 1615 from Antão Vaz Freire to the king of Portugal giving an account of the *tombo* and *foral* (dues register) he had completed. He refers to having found many ancient palm-leaf documents, and uncovered many instances of misappropriation of royal dues. The *tombo* is described as consisting of four volumes, written on 1834 sheets of imperial mark paper and covering 4,640 villages. He also describes measures he had adopted to increase the royal revenues and criticizes viceroy Azevedo's orders regarding the cinnamon monopoly. The document is only partly legible.

Doc. 147 Letter dated Colombo, 24 November 1615 from Antão Vaz Freire to the king of Portugal, referring to harassment and intimidation of those who worked on the *tombo*, such as Manoel Mascarenhas Homem and Balthazar Marinho, by the viceroy, Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo.

The document has been subject to insect-attacks.

- Doc. 148 The statement of Jeronimo Barnardes Barbosa, secretary to the factory in Colombo, testifying to the fact that the viceroy Azevedo had issued orders to hand over certain sums of money to his procurator.

CAIXA 4 (Call Mark 326)

This *caixa* has 210 documents relating to the years 1616—1617.

- Doc. 2 A copy of the royal letter of 14 February 1615 to the Portuguese viceroy at Goa, with the viceroy's reply dated Goa, 2 January 1616 written on parallel columns. The royal letter is printed (but not the reply) in *Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Monções* (Academia de Sciencias, Lisboa 1885) Tomo III pp.205-225.

Note.— Only some dozen paragraphs in this long letter refer to Sri Lanka.

- Doc. 9 Letter dated Goa, 14 January 1616 from the viceroy Azevedo to the king of Portugal explaining how his *criados* continued to hold land in Sri Lanka, even after they returned with him to Goa.

The document is in good condition.

- Doc. 10 Letter dated Goa, 14 January 1616 from the viceroy Azevedo on the cultivation of some lands within the city-limits of Colombo.

The document is in fair condition.

- Doc. 26 Letter dated Goa, 5 February 1616 from the viceroy Azevedo to the king of Portugal explaining why he had exempted cinnamon already prepared at the time the royal monopoly was created from the operation of that monopoly. The document is in good condition.

Note.— On the importance of this document, see C.R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1617-1638*. (Colombo, 1972), pp. 195-6.

- Doc. 27 A request dated 8 February 1616 made by Dona Antonia Baracha that her husband, Antão Vaz Freire, be allowed to return to Portugal from Colombo, where he was *vedor da fazenda*.

- Doc. 71 Certificate issued by Diogo do Couto, *guarda-mor* of the *torre do tomo* in Goa, that Luis Pereira de Vargas took part in a Portuguese expedition against the kingdom of Kandy in August 1611, when the fort of Balana was taken and the city of Kandy was burnt.

Doc. 94 Letter dated Colombo, 26 November 1616 from Antão Vaz Freire discussing how the Franciscan College in Colombo was to be founded and financed. The document, on its margin, carries the minutes of the discussion in the "Conselho da Fazenda" in Lisbon. Insects and moisture have made the document illegible in places.

Doc. 98 Part of a statement made by 37 Portuguese who were taken prisoner by the Dutch when the Kalutara fort fell to them in 1655, and were later released. It describes the misery and the sufferings of the prisoners. The statement was discussed in the '*Conselho Ultramarino*' on 2 December 1656.

Note.—The year on the document has been read as 1616 and the document consequently put into the wrong *caixa*. The document is in good condition.

Doc. 110 Viceroy Azevedo's reply dated Goa, 18 December 1616 to the royal letter of 20 February 1616 referring to the need for strengthening Colombo's fortifications. The royal letter is printed in *Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Monções* tomo III, (Lisboa, 1885) pp. 394-5.

Doc. 147 Document dated 20 February 1617 giving a list of offices auctioned in Portuguese territories in the East, and the amount for which each office was sold. Several offices in Sri Lanka are mentioned in this list.

Doc. 195 A signed statement issued by the officers of the municipal chamber of Colombo on 22 October 1617 certifying that the Franciscan fathers have performed an outstanding service during the military campaigns undertaken by the Portuguese against rebels and enemies and in converting the people to the Catholic faith.

Doc. 201 An eight-page, closely-written letter dated Colombo, 21 November 1617 from the municipal chamber of Colombo to the king of Portugal outlining 26 charges against Nuno Alures Pereira, captain-general, 1616-1618. The charges include unjust confiscation and allotment of land, lack of firmness in administration, particularly in keeping soldiers in check, interference with judicial processes, threatening and insulting behaviour to municipal officers, and the implementation of the royal monopoly in cinnamon in an oppressive manner.

CAIXA 5 (Call Mark 327)

This *caixa* has 201 documents in all, and they date to the year 1618.

Doc. 8 Goa viceroy Conde de Redondo's reply dated 6 January 1618 to the king's letter of 31 March 1617, asking him to persuade Antão Vaz Freire to continue one more year as *vedor* in Colombo, and if he is unable or unwilling to do so, that Lançarote de Seixas or Pedro de Almeida Cabral be appointed *vedor* in his place. The

king's letter and the reply are written on parallel columns. Both documents are printed in *Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Monções* tomo IV, (Lisboa, 1893), pp. 221-223.

- Doc. 9** Certificate dated 6 January 1618 issued by Dom Manoel de Azevedo, former captain-major of the field, testifying to the services of the Franciscan friars in war, in conversion and in embassies to Kandy.
- Doc. 10** Viceroy Conde de Redondo's reply dated Goa, 7 January 1618 to the king's letter of 10 March 1617 asking for copies of all *regimentos* issued by the viceroy Azevedo to captains-general in Colombo. See *Documentos Remettidos* IV, pp. 39-40.
- Doc. 17** Viceroy Conde de Redondo's reply dated Goa, 11 January 1618 to the king's letter of 20 March 1617 on misappropriations of royal revenues by Dom Francisco de Meneses, captain-general 1612-1614. See *Documentos Remettidos* IV, pp. 26-27 (where, however, the date of the royal letter is given as 10 March).
- Doc. 59** Letter dated Goa, 1 February 1618 from Antão Vaz Freire to the king of Portugal stating that he does not wish to serve as *vedor* in Sri Lanka for a further period.
- Doc. 87** Royal instructions on the sale of offices in Portuguese territories in the East. Attached to the document is a list dated 16 February 1618 of offices that had been sold and the amounts realised from such sales. Included in the list are several posts in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 116** Proceedings of an official inquiry into Nuno Alures Pereira's (captain-general 1616-1618) conduct in using moneys in the custody of *vedor da fazenda* of Malacca when the latter arrived in Colombo in January 1617. Statements from all parties involved are attached.
- Note.*—These sums of money were useful to the captain-general in his anti-insurrectionary campaigns of the years 1616-17.
- Doc. 149** A letter dated Colombo, 2 November 1618 from Lançarote de Seixas, the *vedor da fazenda*, to the king of Portugal, criticising the conduct of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, captain-general 1594-1612, as the founder of a vicious system where revenues due to the king's treasury from cinnamon, elephants, arecanuts and judicial fines, came to be regarded as the perquisites of office of the captain-general. He points out the difficulties of breaking with this well-entrenched system.

Doc. 156 Letter dated 10 November 1618 from the municipal chamber in Colombo to the king of Portugal requesting that the privileges of the city of Évora (in Portugal) be conferred on it. The writing is fading and the document is insect-eaten in places.

Doc. 157 Copy of a petition from the municipal chamber of Colombo to the king of Portugal, enumerating the services of its citizens to the Portuguese crown during numerous revolts and wars, and pointing out how the creation of a royal monopoly in cinnamon had led to cessation of external commerce and impoverishment of the citizens, without compensating benefits to the crown. The document carries no date, but Nuno Alures Pereira, the captain-general, has attested to the truth of its contents on 18 October 1618. Moisture and faded writing make this document illegible in places.

Doc. 158 Certified copy of some clauses in the contract between the Portuguese crown and Tome de Souza de Arronches in 1595 relating to cinnamon export. The document is incorporated in a letter dated 13 (?) September 1618 from the officers of the Colombo municipal chamber.

Doc. 167 Letter dated Colombo, 21 November 1618 from the municipal chamber in Colombo to the the king of Portugal, giving an account of the rebellions of 1616-17, the peace treaty of 1617 and the poor state of the fortifications in Colombo. The letter goes on to criticize the royal monopoly in cinnamon and the policy on allotment of land. It ends with a plea that the citizens be allowed to play a role in shaping policy in the island, as they had done during recent revolts and wars.

Caixa 6 (Call Mark 328)

This *caixa* has 149 documents in all, covering the years 1619-1621.

Doc. 7 Letter dated Goa, 1 February 1619 from Godinho de Heredia describing, among other things, the riches of the island of Sri Lanka.

Doc. 8 Copy of a statement prepared on the orders of Ambrosio de Freitas, *vedor da fazenda*, setting out particulars of Catholic clergy of the various religious orders working in Sri Lanka, the names of the villages that they hold and the revenues derived from these villages. This copy had been prepared in Goa, and is in good condition.

Doc. 34 Report dated Goa, 15 February 1619 by the Bishop of Cochin on the cultivation of pepper and the operation of the cinnamon monopoly in Sri Lanka. The document is in good condition.

- Doc. 58** Report dated Goa, 21 February 1619 by the Bishop of Cochin on the villages held by the Jesuits in Sri Lanka.
- Insects and moisture have affected the document, but it is still readable.
- Doc. 90** An office-memorandum embodying a decision taken in Goa by the viceroy and the archbishop primate on 6 October 1602 to send out clergy of the Society of Jesus to Sri Lanka, notwithstanding the religious monopoly that had earlier been created in favour of the Franciscan order, and the royal letter of 12 October 1612 approving that decision. These two documents are copies prepared in Goa on 12 September 1619 and are in good condition.
- Note*—The background to this decision is described in Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Rule*, pp. 193-198.
- Doc. 94** Letter dated Colombo, 13 November 1619 from the municipal chamber of Colombo, complaining against the land policy followed by the Portuguese authorities, the system of collection of quit-rents and the administration of justice. The document is only partly legible.
- Doc. 95** A Lisbon office-minute on two inquiries held in Sri Lanka, on the loss of the movable properties of the late king of Jaffna and on misappropriations by Jorge de Albuquerque, captain-general, 1621-1623. The document has no date, but there is a reference in it to the receipt of letters dated November-December 1621 from the *vedor da fazenda* in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 102** Letter dated Goa, 29 December 1618 from Ambrosio de Freitas da Camara to the king of Portugal on the moneys owed to Dom Francisco de Meneses, captain-general, 1612-1614.
- Doc. 104** Incomplete document listing the services of João Roda Monteiro, who had taken part in a Portuguese attack on Kandy in 1611.
- Doc. 110** Letter dated 2 November 1619 from Francisco da Costa Prestrelo, a former factor in Colombo, containing a long, rambling account on a number of matters, such as land allotment, misappropriations of royal dues by officials, unjust enrichment among Portuguese, and the twelve villages to be set apart for the expenses of the conquest. This document had been handed over to the Bishop of Cochin, who had constituted a one-man commission of inquiry on Portuguese affairs in Sri Lanka. The document is in good condition.

Caixa 7 (Call Mark 329)

This *caixa* has 171 documents in all, covering the years 1622 and 1623.

Doc. 24 A reply dated 11 February 1622 from the Portuguese governor at Goa, Fernão de Albuquerque, to the royal letter of 26 March 1620 on the request made by the municipal chamber of Colombo that its citizens be freed of the arecanut impost and that they be allowed to continue receiving the free cinnamon that king Dharmapala of Kotte (1551-1597) had granted to them annually.

Doc. 41 A note stating that the king of Portugal had by his letter of 24 February 1622 ordered that the practice of captains-general allotting land in Sri Lanka or cancelling allotments on their own authority should cease.

Note.—This note led to the promulgation of a royal decree dated 6 March 1622 (see Goa Archives, codex 2358 f. 177 verso or British Library, Addl. Manuscripts, 28164 ff. 1542-3 or Addl. Ms. 20, 869 ff. 88-89).

Doc. 134 A note dated 31 August 1623 stating that the king had noted that Antão Vaz Freire, the former *vedor da fazenda* in Colombo, had been cleared of the charges preferred against him, on an inquiry held by the Bishop of Cochín.

Caixa 8 (Call Mark 330)

This *caixa* has 232 documents in all, covering the years 1624 and 1625.

Doc. 3 Copy of the king of Portugal's letter of 19 March 1623 disallowing an order made by governor Fernão de Albuquerque on military expenditure of the Portuguese government in Sri Lanka, and the Goa viceroy's (Dom Francisco da Gama, the count of Vidigueira) reply dated 17 January 1624 to the king's letter.

Doc. 10 Letter dated 29 January 1624 from the *vedor da fazenda* at Goa to the king of Portugal referring, among other things, to the armada in which Constantino de Sa de Noronha, captain-general, went to fortify Trincomalee on the eastern coast of Sri Lanka.

Doc. 14A Viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama's reply dated 29 January 1625 to the king of Portugal's letter of 24 February 1624 on fortification in Jaffna, Trincomalee and Batticaloa.

- Doc. 70 Viceroy Admiral's (i.e. Dom Francisco da Gama's) reply dated Goa, 21 January 1625 to the king of Portugal's letter of 21 February 1624 on the revenues due from quit-rents on land in Sri Lanka and from the sale of arecanut.
- Doc. 74 Viceroy Admiral's reply dated 23 January 1625 to the king's letter of 26 February 1624 on supplying the needs of the churches in the island.
- Doc. 76 Two letters dated 26 February 1624 and 21 March 1624 from the king of Portugal to the viceroy at Goa—on the need to keep apart some villages in Sri Lanka for supplying the necessities of the Portuguese garrisons and on the arrears of salary due to Antão Vaz Freire, former *vedor da fazenda*, and the replies of the viceroy to these two letters (Replies are dated 23 January 1625 and 27 January 1625).
- Doc. 77 A letter dated 15 January 1624 from the vicar-general of the Augustinians in India, enumerating their services to the Portuguese crown (including services performed in Sri Lanka) and a 'consulta' of the Revenue Council on 24 January 1625 recommending that the Augustinian order be allotted some villages in the island for the maintenance of clergy belonging to that order.
- Doc. 91 Viceroy's reply dated Goa, 27 January 1625 to the king of Portugal's letter ordering the setting up of a council of officers for financial matters.
- Doc. 96 The king of Portugal's letter of 24 February 1624 on foundry works for manufacturing arms in Sri Lanka and the viceroy's reply to this letter.
- Doc. 108 The viceroy's letter dated Goa, 12 February 1625 to the king of Portugal referring, among other things, to Lançarote de Seixas and Miguel Pinheiro Ravasco, two *vedores da fazenda* in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 115 Copies of the observations made by five officials of the Goa Council of State on whether the king of Portugal should confirm the properties that had been granted to the Jesuits in Sri Lanka by Portuguese officials.
- Doc. 125 Copy of the king of Portugal's letter dated 10 February 1622 informing the viceroy at Goa that he had confirmed for a period of three years the properties held by the Jesuits in Sri Lanka.

Doc. 126 Count Admiral's (i.e. Dom Francisco da Gama's) letter dated Goa, 25 February 1625 on the inquiry held by the Bishop of Cochin relating to revenue matters in Sri Lanka.

Docs. 144, 148, 164, 165 and 166. Notes conveying the king's decisions of 12 March and 23 March 1625 on the 'consultas' of the Revenue Council and Council of State on several matters relating to Sri Lanka. The documents give no indication of what the matters referred to were; they merely state the bald fact of the king's approval. Unless the research student can establish with a reasonable degree of certainty the subject matter of the 'consultas', these documents would not be of any use.

Doc. 224 The king's letter dated 26 March 1625 on the arecanut impost and the free cinnamon enjoyed by the citizens of Colombo. The viceroy's reply dated Goa, 15 December 1625 is given on a parallel column on the same sheet of paper.

Caixa 9 (Call Mark 331)

This *caixa* has 222 documents in all, covering the years 1626—1629.

Doc. 3 Copy of the king of Portugal's letter of 31 March, 1625 referring to the complaints of the municipal chamber of Colombo that the claims of Portuguese settlers had not been accommodated when land grants were made, notwithstanding royal instructions to do so, and the Count Admiral's reply (original) to this letter, dated Goa, 10 January 1626. The document has been affected by moisture and its edges are decaying.

Doc. 9 Copy of the king of Portugal's letter of 25 March 1625 to the viceroy at Goa on the obligations of blacksmiths in Portuguese territories in Sri Lanka and the viceroy's reply (original) dated Goa, 20 January 1626.

Doc. 13 Copy of the king of Portugal's letter dated 21 March 1625 to the viceroy at Goa conveying his decision that the post of *vedor da fazenda* in Sri Lanka should not be suppressed and the viceroy's reply dated Goa, 20 January 1626.

Doc. 16 List of letters received from Goa in 1626 and forwarded to the *Conselho da fazenda*. Several letters relating to Sri Lanka are referred to. (The letters are not available in the file).

Doc. 36 The Goa viceroy's reply dated 25 February 1627 to the king of Portugal's inquiry of 27 March 1626 on the progress of the Jaffna land *tombo*. Attached to the viceroy's reply is a list of the revenues of the Jaffna territories, taken from the books of a former factor there. The latter document has several lacunae.

Docs. 65, 66, 84, 85, 87, 95 and 96 Notes conveying the decisions taken by the king on 13 March and 31 March 1626 regarding several 'consultas' of the Councils of Revenue and State relating to Sri Lanka. As in the case of similar documents in the previous *caixa*, no information beyond the bare statement of the king's decision is available in these files.

Doc. 86 Note dated 31 March 1626 from the king to the Revenue Council on papers relating to Sri Lanka submitted to him. The papers are not available in the file.

Doc. 148 Letter dated Jaffnapatnam, 20 November 1626 from Felipe de Oliveira, captain of Jaffna, to the king of Portugal, explaining his differences with Ambrosio de Freitas da Camara, the *vedor da fazenda*, on the compilation of the *tombo* of the Jaffna territories. This document is very important, but it is not in a good state of preservation.

Doc. 154 The viceroy's reply dated Goa, 6 February 1626 to the king of Portugal's letter of 29 March 1625 on the recovery of quit-rents due from the *lascarin* troops in the Portuguese territories. Attached to the letter is an undated and unsigned report on the same question from Constantino de Sa de Noronha, captain-general in Colombo.

Caixa 10 (Call Mark 332)

This *caixa* has 217 documents, covering the period 1630-January 1635.

Doc. 28 Copy (prepared in the 1630s) of a letter-patent dated 20 October 1605 by which Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, captain-general 1594-1612, granted some lands in Sri Lanka to the members of the Society of Jesus. The grant was subsequently confirmed by a succeeding captain-general, Constantino de Sa de Noronha, on 5 January 1619.

Doc. 29 Papers connected with the grant of lands in Sri Lanka to the Jesuit order. (Documents in this file are connected with those in the previous file). The file contains, among other things,

(i) copy of the king's decree dated 2 April 1621 restoring to the Jesuits for three years all lands and villages which the Bishop of Cochin had ordered to be taken away.

- (ii) copies of petitions submitted by the procurator for the Society of Jesus applying for restitution of lands.
- (iii) copies of a statement dated 29 August 1631 made by Lançarote de Seixas, former *vedor da fazenda*, containing particulars of lands held by the Jesuits and the incomes therefrom.
- (iv) original document dated 7 December 1632 by which Dom Jorge de Almeida, captain-general, restored the village of Munnessarama to the Jesuits.
- (v) several statements (copies as well as originals) made by judges, municipal councillors of Colombo, the Count of Aveiras (viceroys), Dom Jorge de Almeida (captain-general), Dom António Mascarenhas (captain) and Lourenço Teixeira de Macedo (captain with some 30 years' experience in the island) setting out in detail the services of the Jesuits and the need for more clergy for missionary work in the island.
- Doc. 64** Papers connected with the application made by *frei* Manoel de Rosairo, *procurador* of the Dominican order, for the payment of the usual allowances for six parish churches which the order was planning to put up in the Two *Korales*, Sabaragamuwa and Jaffna.
- Doc. 86** The king of Portugal's note on the award of a *merce* to João de Costa, who had served, among other places, in Jaffna in the time of the rebellions there.
- Doc. 100** Extract from a petition made by the Count of Vidigueira that the captains-general and *vedores* in Colombo were hindering the production of his 'privilege' cinnamon (this privilege had been granted in perpetuity to his famous ancestor Vasco da Gama by king Dom Manoel) and requesting that they be instructed not to do so.
- Doc. 105** Extract from a letter of the municipal chamber of Goa dated 30 December 1633 criticising the royal monopoly over cinnamon in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 139** Applications from João Serrão da Cunha to the king of Portugal to be allowed to produce 50 *bahars* of cinnamon in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 181** Viceroy Conde de Linhares' reply dated 7 December 1634 to the royal letter of . . . March 1634. The viceroy refers to the death of Constantino de Sa de Noronha, captain-general, and argues that the fort at Batticaloa was badly sited. This document is in poor condition.

Doc. 200 Two letters (one of them an original) dated Colombo, 20 December and 16 November 1634 from Diogo de Mello de Castro (captain-general in Colombo) to the king of Portugal. One of them criticises the king's order to set apart some villages for the expenses of the conquest. The second letter describes the miserable conditions under which Portuguese soldiers serving in the island lived and fought, and goes on to say that the recent reduction in the rice-ration allowed to them has aggravated their problems. This letter also contains the complaint that the full income from the sale of cinnamon was not available to the Portuguese administration in Sri Lanka.

Note— For the importance of the information in these documents, see Abeyasinghe, Tikiri, *Portuguese Regimentos*, pp. 22-23.

Caixa 11 (Call Mark 333)

This *caixa* contains 225 documents, covering the year 1635.

Doc. 1 Memorandum dated Lisbon, 7 January 1635 by Julião de Campos Barreto on Diogo de Mello de Castro's proposal that a galleon carrying soldiers should sail direct to Sri Lanka.

Doc. 5 Comments by several parties on the petition made by the Brothers of the *Camara de Misericordia* in Colombo that the *Misericordia* be given authority to nominate suitable persons to hold custody over lands and properties left to it by deceased persons for the marriage of orphaned girls.

Doc. 55 Copy of the king of Portugal's letter granting a *merce* to Manoel Pessoa de Carvalho for services rendered to the crown, among others, in war against Kandy and as captain of Galle and Batticaloa.

Doc. 145 Papers relating to the application made by Dom Jorge de Almeida for the liberties and privileges he had earned as captain-major in India. The papers contain incidental references to his services as captain-general in Sri Lanka.

Doc. 205 This file contains a number of documents, all of them relating to Sri Lanka:

- (1) The viceroy Conde de Linhares' reply dated 7 October 1632 to the king of Portugal's letter of 10 March 1631 relating to several issues; the complaints of the people of Jaffna against their parish priests; the proposal to dispense with the services of native chiefs in Jaffna; the Jaffna fort; the village of Tambalagama; the proposal to colonize the Jaffna lands with Portuguese *casados*; and the proposal to prohibit the export of arecanut and *chaya* roots.

- (II) Two memoranda by Bechior Botelho da Sylva (2 January 1634) and Pedro de Miranda Cabral (22 December 1633) on the issues referred to above.
- (III) Two copies of an unsigned and undated memorandum by Diogo de Mello de Castro on how the cinnamon monopoly had adversely affected the revenues of the Portuguese living not only in Sri Lanka, but also in other Portuguese forts in India such as Cochin and Cannanore.
- (IV) Observations of Julio de Campos Barreto (6 January 1635) and Luis de Seixas (13 December 1634) on Diogo de Mello's memorandum.
- (V) Office-minutes and a lengthy record of a discussion in the *Conselho da Fazenda* on (III) and (IV) above. (Some parts of the minutes can be read only with great difficulty).
- (VI) Two copies of a certified statement on how much the cinnamon sold freely in Colombo had fetched in 1629.
- (VII) Two copies of an undated and unsigned memorandum by Diogo de Mello de Castro adducing reasons for his suggestion that the post of *vedor da fazenda* in Sri Lanka be suppressed.
- (VIII) Observations made by Luis de Seixas (13 December 1634) and Julio de Campos Barreto (6 January 1635) on Diogo de Mello de Castro's memorandum regarding the abolition of the post of *vedor*.

Caixa 12 (Call Mark 334)

This *caixa* contains 153 files of documents in all, covering the years 1636 and 1637.

- Doc. 43** Copy of the king of Portugal's letter of 12 February 1636 to the viceroy Pero da Silva and the latter's reply dated 6 November 1636. There is an incidental reference in this letter to a factor in Jaffna.
- Doc. 55** Copy of the king of Portugal's letter of 26 March 1636 and the viceroy's reply dated Goa, 9 November 1636. The letter and the reply both refer to financial difficulties in Goa. This correspondence makes it clear that proceeds from the sale of cinnamon from Sri Lanka were being used for Portuguese commitments in other parts of Asia.
- Doc. 62** The viceroy Pero da Silva's reply dated Goa, 9 November 1636 to the king's letter of 26 March 1636. The viceroy refers to permission having been granted to some citizens of Cochin to purchase cinnamon in Sri Lanka.

- Doc. 75 This file contains a number of miscellaneous letters and papers, one of which is Pero da Silva's reply dated Goa, 9 November 1636 to Princess Margarida's letter (written on behalf of the king) on the need to prohibit the use of a foot-path situated next to the customs house in Colombo.
- Doc. 97 Viceroy Pero da Silva's reply of 4 February 1637 to Princess Margarida's letter (of 18 March 1636) referring to a complaint from the count of Vidigueira that he had not been able to produce the cinnamon of his family's 'privilege' and his request that facilities be provided for this to be done expeditiously.
- Doc. 98 A list of charitable contributions that the Portuguese viceroys and governors in Goa had made to the Franciscan convents and churches in the East, including some in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 99 Princess Margarida's letter (on behalf of the king) dated 26 March 1636 to the viceroy in Goa referring to a request from the city of Cochin for permission to prepare fifty *bahars* of cinnamon in Sri Lanka for the expenses of fortification of that city.

Caixa 13 (Call Mark 335)

This *caixa* has 191 files of documents, covering the years 1638 and 1639.

- Doc. 54 Extract from a royal letter of 11 March 1638 granting a post in the Goa customs-house to Salvador Barreto, native of Sri Lanka, for his '*qualidades e casta*'.
- Doc. 55 Extracts from the royal letters of 22 February 1622 and 11 March 1638 granting the post of captain of Mannar to Dom Rodrigo de Moura for his services in the Portuguese expedition to Jaffna in 1591, among others.
- Doc. 93 Extracts from the royal letters of 15 March 1634 and 27 February 1638 granting a post to Antonio Gomes Homem for services in Sri Lanka, among other places.
- Doc. 189 Consultations of the Revenue Council in Portugal on the request made by the Count of Vidigueira that his 'privilege' cinnamon from Sri Lanka be transported in the store-room of the ships, along with the king's cinnamon.

Caixa 14 (Call Mark 336)

This *caixa* has 183 documents, covering the period from 1640 to September 1643.

Doc. 82 A lengthy letter dated 12 December 1640 from the municipal chamber of Goa to the king of Portugal, one paragraph of which refers to the good work done in Sri Lanka by Dom Felipe Mascarenhas, captain-general.

Doc. 83 Service records of two Portuguese (i) João de Souza who had served as secretary to the factory in Colombo and as a soldier during the wars and revolts following the death of Constantino de Sa de Noronha, captain-general, in 1630. (ii) João Delgado, who had served in the Portuguese expedition to Jaffna in 1591.

The writing on the documents is badly faded.

Doc. 103 Copy of a document giving a detailed account of cash, provisions, stores (including needles and hatchets!), medicine and reinforcements of soldiers sent from Goa to Sri Lanka in nine expeditions from October 1640 to September 1642, and the expenditure incurred on these. The document has been prepared on Andre Salles's (*vedor da fazenda geral* in Goa) orders, and part of the information it contains is certified as correct in Goa on 26/28 March 1642. The document also gives information on cinnamon received from Colombo during the same period. There are marginal comments by Dom Felipe Mascarenhas, captain-general in Sri Lanka, on items not included in the list and not received in Sri Lanka.

This document is connected with those in file No. 112.

Doc. 112 Letter dated Colombo, 3 November 1642 from Dom Felipe Mascarenhas to the king of Portugal complaining of carelessness and/or malfeasance by revenue-officials in India. Enclosed is a copy of his letter (undated) to Andre Salles, chief *vedor da fazenda* in Goa, itemizing instances where cinnamon and saltpetre received from Sri Lanka had not been recorded in the books at Goa and expenditure incurred on other stations had been set down against Sri Lanka.

Doc. 113 Letter from Dom Felipe Mascarenhas, captain-general in Sri Lanka, dated Colombo, 9 November 1642 to the king of Portugal describing how the Dutch had refused to proclaim the truce between the two countries, and stressing the need to use the respite to strengthen the defences of the island. He goes on to describe how the viceroy

was allotting villages in Jaffna to private individuals, thus diminishing the treasury revenues. This file also contains the draft of a letter (from Portugal to Goa?) on the need to recover Galle from the Dutch and the need to refrain from allotting Jaffna lands. (The paragraph on the need to recover Galle is struck off).

- Doc. 114** Letter dated Colombo, 9 November 1642 from Dom Felipe Mascarenhas to the king of Portugal, giving an account of the conduct of some officers serving in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 143** A letter dated Goa, 22 December 1642 from Andre Sallema, *vedor da fazenda geral*, explaining the difficulty of obtaining adequate cargoes of spices for loading ships to Europe. The letter refers to cinnamon from Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 161** Documents on the grant of the captaincy of Diu to João Rodriguez de Sa de Noronha for the services of his father, Constantino de Sa, in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 174** (i) Two *vias* of Andre Sallema's letter dated 8 May 1643 to the king of Portugal on the refusal of the Dutch to proclaim the truce. The letter examines – and rejects – the claim of the Dutch that territories dependent on the Galle fort should be theirs.
- Note.*—This letter is published in Prestage and Azevedo, *Correspondência Diplomática de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho*, vol. I. 1643–46, (Coimbra), pp. 377–379.
- (ii) Another letter dated 1 December 1643 from Sallema on the same subject. See also *caixa* 15 file No. 41.
- Doc. 176** 'Consulta' dated 3 June 1643 submitted to the king of Portugal on the application of João Pereira deça for the post of *vedor da fazenda* in Colombo.
- Doc. 183** Letter written from Goa on 28 September 1643 by João de Siqueira Varajão 'captain-major of ships of the voyage', in which a reference is made to cinnamon ships from Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 184** A number of documents exchanged between the Dutch ambassadors and the Portuguese authorities in Goa in the latter part of 1643 on the proclamation of the truce between their respective countries. The question of Dutch claims over Portuguese-held territories in Sri Lanka figures prominently in this exchange of documents.

Caixa 15 (Call Mark 339)

This caixa contains 130 files of documents, covering the period from October to December 1643.

Doc. 9 Letter dated 25 October 1643 from Gregorio de Lucerna Tavares, factor for the Bragança family, to the king regarding the 'privilege' cinnamon of that family.

Doc. 11 Letter of the captain of Mannar, dated 30 October 1643 to the king on the rejoicings of the people on his acclamation as king of Portugal.

Doc. 27 Letter dated Cochin, 28 November 1643 from the Bishop of Cochin to the king of Portugal referring to the difficulties faced by the Portuguese in Sri Lanka on account of the Dutch presence. The Bishop also refers to the complaints made by the poor people and Christians in Jaffna and Mannar against oppression by the Portuguese.

Doc. 41 Two letters from Andre Sallema to the king—(i) letter dated 8 May 1643 on Pieter Boreel's refusal to proclaim the truce and how the Dutch claim to 'the kingdom of Galle' cannot be sustained. He suggests that it might be possible to buy off the Dutch claims, for a price of about 1,000 *quintals* of cinnamon delivered in Goa. This letter is printed in E. Prestage and Pedro de Azevedo, *op. cit.*, pp. 377--379.

(ii) Letter dated 1 December 1643 on the need to deny the Dutch any territorial foot-hold in Sri Lanka, to prevent access to cinnamon. This letter has some office minutes on the margin.

Doc. 44 Letter of Conde de Aveiras dated 3 December 1643 to Pedro de Mendonça Furtado, referring, among other things, to Dutch interests in Sri Lanka.

Doc. 45 Letter dated 3 December 1643 from Jeronimo da Silva to the king referring to his services in Sri Lanka in the time of Dom Felipe Mascarenhas.

- Doc. 46 Letter dated 4 December 1643 to the king of Portugal from the Bishop of Cochin. In this letter he repeats, as far as Sri Lanka is concerned, the information contained in his letter of 28.11.43 (doc. 27 in this *caixa*).
- Doc. 47 The viceroy Conde de Aveiras' letter dated 4 December 1643 to the king of Portugal referring, among other things, to the success of Portuguese arms against the Dutch and the Kandyans.
- Doc. 48 Letter dated 4 December 1643 from Conde de Aveiras to the king. He summarizes the information in document No. 47.
- Doc. 63 Observations dated November - December 1643 by several old India hands on the means of raising relief expeditions for the hard-pressed Portuguese forces in Sri Lanka. João de Siqueira Varejão is the author of one memorandum.
- Doc. 66 Conde de Aveiras' letter dated 6 December 1643 to the king, in which some reference is made to cinnamon from Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 69 Letter dated 7 December 1643 from the Archbishop Primate of India to the king of Portugal. The Archbishop refers to a number of matters—Dutch strength and Portuguese weakness in Sri Lanka, cinnamon production and a Dutch defeat at Akuressa in the south of Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 70 An undated and fragmented remains of an application made by Francisco Barreto, procurator of the Jesuit order of the Province of Cochin, for the payment of maintenance allowances for clergy belonging to his order stationed in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 74 Letter dated 8 December 1643 from Conde de Aveiras to the king of Portugal in which reference is made to the Dutch conquest of Trincomalee and Batticaloa.
- Doc. 78 Letter dated 9 December 1643 from Conde de Aveiras to the king of Portugal. He stresses the need for aid to the Portuguese in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 86 Conde de Aveiras' letter dated 10 December 1643 to the king. He assures that he is endeavouring to send as much reinforcements to Sri Lanka as possible and encloses a copy of a letter dated 12 April 1643 received from Dom Felipe Mascarenhas in Colombo acknowledging the receipt of more aid than he had a right to expect.

Doc. 96 Extracts dated Lisbon, 17 December 1643 from two entries in the *Livros dos Registos das Mercês* dated 2 April 1621 and 15 April 163... (lacuna) restoring to the Company of Jesus for a period of 9 years the lands that had been taken away from it, on condition that the Company makes no further acquisition of land.

These documents seem to be connected with those in file No. 70.

Doc. 98 Papers connected with an application made by Manoel de Souza de Lacerda, a *casado* in Jaffna, who had served in the armadas carrying reinforcements to Sri Lanka, and as a factor in Jaffna, for a letter of grant (*carta de aforamento*) for the village of Alway, (in Jaffna), which the Conde de Aveiras by grant of 6 December 1643 had given to him on rent (*arendamento*). He includes his service-record, certified by captains of Mannar, captains-general of armadas, and a captain-major of Jaffna. Also included is the original grant by the Count of Aveiras.

Doc. 103 Andre Sallemas's letter dated Goa, 24 December 1643 to the king of Portugal suggesting means by which the income from Sri Lanka cinnamon might be maximised.

Doc. 108 Letter dated Goa, 28 December 1643 to the king of Portugal from João de Sequeira Varejão (captain-major of the *Naos de India*), referring, among other things, to cinnamon from Sri Lanka and the need for increased assistance to the Portuguese garrisons in Sri Lanka.

Doc. 109 Two copies of the same letter as in file 108 (except of course the greeting and the opening sentence) from João de Sequeira Varejão to the Marques de Montelvão, President of the *Counselho Ultramarino*. These letters are also dated 28 December 1643.

Doc. 114 The viceroy Conde de Aveiras' letter dated 30 December 1643 to the king of Portugal, referring to information received from Sri Lanka that the Dutch in Galle were '*oprimidos, doentes, sem socorros...*' (hard-pressed, ill and without aid). He encloses copies of two letters received from Dom Felipe Mascarenhas dated 27 October 1643 and 30 October 1643 advising that the Dutch should not be conceded an inch of land in Sri Lanka and referring also to elephants and the income from cinnamon.

Caixa 16 (Call Mark 340)

This *caixa* contains 173 files, from January to the end of September 1644.

- Doc. 11 An office-memorandum on an application made by Francisco Barreto, procurator of the Jesuit order of the Province of Cochin, for confirmation of the lands held by that order in Sri Lanka. This document is connected with files no. 70 and 96 in *caixa* 15.
- Doc. 14 An application for service-rewards by Francisco de Brito de Almeida, captain-major of the field, captain of Colombo, and *dissave* in Sri Lanka in the 1620s and 1630s. Copies of certificates from Constantino de Sa, Lançarote de Seixas, Dom Felipe Mascarenhas, Diogo de Mello de Castro and the officers of the Colombo municipal chamber are enclosed.
- Doc. 18 'Consulta' of the *Conselho Ultramarino* on an application made by João Pereira deça for the post of *vedor da fazenda*. Two useful memoranda by Jorge de Albuquerque and Antonio Teles de Menezes dated 18 February and 26 January 1644 on the powers and position of the *vedor da fazenda* are enclosed.
- Doc. 26 The service-record of Alvares Ribeiro de Vasconcelos who had died as captain of an *estancia* (company) in 1594 in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 36 The service-record of Gaspar Pereira dos Reis. The document refers to some services performed by the applicant in Galle and Colombo.
- Doc. 49 Memorandum of the *Conselho Ultramarino* dated 25 February 1644 to the king of Portugal suggesting that the royal monopoly in cinnamon export from Goa to Portugal be waived in respect of sailors serving in the pinnaces in the relief expeditions to Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 50 Letter dated Goa, 25 February 1644, from Luis Martem de Souza, referring to the Dutch threat to Portuguese possessions in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 60 Translation of a letter from Mir Mamede Saide, of the Council of the king of Golconda, to the Portuguese viceroy in Goa, referring to his having provided the Portuguese in Colombo with rice, saltpetre, brimstone, iron and cloth. There is no date in the letter, but the Portuguese translation is dated 29 February 1644.

- Doc. 68** Viceroy Conde de Aveiras' letter dated 2 March 1644 to the king of Portugal detailing the steps he had taken to keep the Portuguese in Sri Lanka adequately supplied from Golconda. He encloses a copy of the letter referred to in the previous file.
- Doc. 70** Papers relating to the allegation that the king of the Maldives was enlisting in his service soldiers meant to strengthen the Portuguese fighting forces in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 72** The Count of Aveiras' letter dated 3 March 1644 to the king of Portugal referring to the Dutch having despatched 14 ships to Galle in December 1643.
- Doc. 105** An office-note dated 15 March 1644 originating in the *Conselho Ultramarino* relating to the application of Diogo Leitão de Souza, settler in Colombo, for the confirmation of the post of secretary of the municipal chamber of Colombo.
- Doc. 113** A note dated 18 March 1644, from the *Conselho Ultramarino* on the need to appoint a captain-general for Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 124** The application of Dona Angela de Mendonça in which there is a reference to the services of Diogo de Mello de Castro, her father-in-law, in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 129** Undated memorandum by Duarte da Costa Homem on the possibility of pepper cultivation on a large-scale in Sri Lanka. This memorandum led to a discussion in the Overseas Council on 2 April 1644.
- Doc. 145** Service-record of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, captain-general in Sri Lanka during the years from 1594 to 1612 and later viceroy in Goa.
- Doc. 146** A note of the *Conselho Ultramarino* on an application made by the Society of Jesus for the confirmation of their lands in Sri Lanka.
- Doc. 151** Memorandum dated 25 August 1644 from the *Conselho Ultramarino* to the king recommending that two ships of the *Carreira da India* should sail directly to Sri Lanka carrying reinforcements of troops and should load there the cinnamon for the return voyage.
- Doc. 164** Memorandum dated 20 September 1644 prepared by the *Conselho Ultramarino* on receipt of Conde de Aveiras' letter of 30 December 1643 wherein it was stated that the Dutch in Galle were in a miserable position (see file 114 in *caixa 15*). The memorandum summarizes

the contents of this letter and the enclosures and also of a letter received from the President of the English East India Company in Surat and recommends that the viceroy at Goa be written to that under no circumstances should any territory in Sri Lanka be surrendered to the Dutch.

Dec. 172 Memorandum of the *Conselho Ultramarino* dated 23 September 1644 indicating that according to information in letters received from the viceroy and the Goa municipal chamber it appeared that the Dutch had taken the fort of Negombo in Sri Lanka and had proceeded to lay siege to Colombo. The Council urges the need for immediate aid for the Portuguese in Sri Lanka.

From the mid-seventeenth century to the nineteenth, the evidence indicates that the velocity of circulation of money was negligible. Although there may have been primitive accumulation of specie, Keynes noted the scarcity of specie for all kinds of transactions as a mark of account and a medium of exchange. A century and a half later, Andrews in his diary of an embassy to the Court of Madrid, in 1755, was struck by the scarcity of specie in circulation. "The political state of commerce," he wrote, "was affected in various degrees, especially under the British in the lifetime between 1758 and 1815, and that during this time the use of currency was becoming general both in America, and in the Kingdoms of the East Indies." But he also concluded that "from want of capital for new attachments to ancient customs, better was not to be expected." H.W. Dickinson, *Money and Banking in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1919), p. 2. Even in the capital city of Kandyan which was really a built-up village every cent of gold was treasured like a hoard. After the British conquest in 1815, it is reported that "Anglo-Bank" notes were issued in Ceylon.

This paper was prepared during a visit to Portugal in 1978—79, with a grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon. My thanks are due to the Foundation for sponsoring my visit.