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ESUIT MISSIONARIES

IN

NORTHERN INDIA

AND

Inscriptions on their Tombs, Agra.

(1580-1803.)

By Rev. H. HOSTEN, S. J.

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JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NORTHERN INDIA
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JESUIT
BIBL. MAJ.
SEMINARY

We congratulate ourselves on having procured a copy of the "*Catholic Calendar and Directory of the Capuchin Missions in India, 1906.*" It is a neatly got up volume of 162 pages and comes all the way from the Catholic Mission Press of Bettiah.

A Calendar and Directory, all in one, "it has taken the character of a historical record of our Catholic Missions" in Northern India. As such, it is a real mine of information. Many a name once glorious in the annals of our ancient Missions figures there, reclaimed from ages of oblivion. To Catholics in Northern India, especially, it must be gratifying to find themselves placed in possession of so much of the long neglected and forgotten records of the past. The long lists of Missionaries buried up and down the broad plains of the North constitute a valuable manual of Christian Archæology, with which to decipher the half-effaced epitaphs on their tombstones and conjure up the noble ideals they continue to teach us from their graves.

Rev. Fr. Felix, o. c., of the Lahore Mission, has done his work well, and merited the gratitude of all those who feel interested in the work done by our Missionaries in days gone by.

To us, Jesuits, one of the most pleasing features in this patient compilation is a list of some of the Missionaries of the Society, who, during the XVIIth and XVIIIth cen-

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turies, spent themselves and were spent in Northern India, A. M. D. G.¹ Even to us, who have in modern times resumed their labours in India, their history is, alas ! but little known. Most of the records of their work were lost—perhaps irremediably—in the evil days of persecution, and what remains of them could not be brought together except with infinite pains and much expense. The very names of many of these pioneers of the Catholic cause in North India are forgotten ; indeed, it may come as a surprise to many that a few crumbling tombstones continue to bear silent testimony to their achievements.

Many years ago, Mr. Fred. Fanthome attempted to make out some of the inscriptions in the Agra Catholic Cemeteries ; but it was no easy task, and the result—as must be the case with all beginnings—proved very inadequate².

With the help of two Ancient MSS. in the Agra Mission Archives, Fr. Felix has supplemented his work and brought to light several inscriptions hitherto left unnoticed. We may be allowed to go over the same field with him and offer what little help we can to clear up some of the doubts still lingering over it. For the sake of easier reference, we shall dispose the inscriptions, as read by Fr. Felix, in chronological order and submit a few particulars about the names which they commemorate. We do not mean, however, to limit our observations to the Missionaries of the Society of Jesus whose epitaphs have been deciphered. Others there are about whose apostolate a few facts have been preserved, or the knowledge of whose names may lead our *confrères* in North India to the discovery of their last resting-place. This result, how-

1. Cf. *Op. cit.*, pp. 45, 52 and 118.

2. Cf. *Reminiscences of Agra*, 2nd Ed., Calcutta. Thacker, 1895. pp. 65 and 82.

ever trifling in appearance, would be a considerable gain in our present condition of almost complete ignorance as to the beginning and development of our Northern Missions.

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE MARTYRS' CHAPEL, AGRA.

1.	Fr. Emmanuel d'Anhaya, Clericus	...	+ Aug. 1633, in prison.
2.	„ Emmanuel Garcia, Clericus	...	+ March 23, 1634, in prison.
3.	„ Francis Laufranki	...	+ July 1, 1634.
4.	„ Anthony da Fonseca	...	+ Aug 7, 1634.
5.	„ Francis Corti ³	...	+ Aug. 1, 1635 (Italian).
6.	„ Anthony Machado ⁴	...	+ Apr. 4, 1636 (a).
7.	„ Joseph De Castro (b)	...	+ Dec. 15, 1646, Lahore.
8.	„ Anthony Cesques	...	+ June 28, 1656 (German).
9.	„ Francis de Souza	...	+ Dec. 4, 1657, Agra.
10.	„ Albert Dorville	...	+ Apr. 2, 1662.
11.	„ De Mattos (c)	...	+ Sept. 12, 1664.
12.	„ Henrique—?	...	+ Apr. 6, 1667 (German).
13.	„ Henriquez (d)	...	+ June 20, 1668, Agra.
14.	„ Joseph da Costa, s. J.	...	+ March 21, 1685, Delhi.
15.	„ Marcus Antonius Santucci	...	+ Aug. 1, 1689 (Italian).
16.	„ Matthew de Peyra ⁵	...	+ Aug. 1689,
17.	„ Anthony de Magathenes ⁶	...	+ Oct. 17, 1702, Delhi.
18.	„ Joseph de Payra ⁷	...	+ Jan 7, 1706 Buxar. Buried Feb. 19, Agra.
19.	„ Philipp Le Conceyçad, ⁸ Carm. Disc.	...	+ Oct. 1, 1710, Delhi.
20.	„ (Augus) tino (?) Borgia	...	+ Oct. 8, (17) 11 (?) (German)
21.	„ Antam Gabelsperger	...	+ March 9, 1741, (e) (German).
22.	„ Francis da Cruz (f)	...	+ May 22, 1742, Delhi.
23.	„ Matto Rodriquez ⁹	...	+ Oct. 6, 1748, Nazware ¹⁰ .
24.	„ Andrew Ströbl	...	+ March 30, 1752, Agra.
25.	„ P. F. Xavier	...	+ 1767, Foyabad (?) ¹¹ .

3. Corsi.

4. Mr. Fanthome's discrepancies are the following : (a) 1635 ; (b) da Castro ; (c) Paulo De Mattos ; (d) Henrico ; (e) 1761 ; (f) De Cruz.

5. de Payva (?).

6. de Magallens or de Magalhães (?).

7. de Payva (?).

8. de Conceyçao (?).

9. Rodriquez (?).

10. Narwar.

11. Fayzabad or Faizabad (?).

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CATHOLIC CEMETERY,
PADRITOLA, AGRA.

26. „ Joseph Tieffentaller, s. J. ... + July 5, 1785, Lucknow.
27. „ F. X. Wendell, s. J. ... + March 29, 1803, Lucknow.

From a letter of Fr. Felix we learn that there are three Catholic Cemeteries at Agra : the 'Old Catholic Cemetery', dating from the time of Akbar and situated in Manza Lashkerpur ; another, the Roman Catholic Cemetery, Native City, Agra, commonly called 'Padritola', and a third one, no longer used, which is situated about a mile to the North of Lashkerpur in a village granted by Jahángir to the Missionaries. It was probably the Firingtola where the European merchants lived in Bernier's time.

In the 'Old Catholic Cemetery' rises a handsome octagonal building, still in good repair, surmounted by a dome and bearing the appearance of a chapel. It goes under the name of 'the Martyrs' Chapel' or that of 'Fr. Santus' Chapel, from the name of Fr. Santucci, one of the Jesuit priests buried in it. This chapel was originally erected to the memory of a certain Armenian merchant, Khoja Mortenepus. The date of his epitaph (1611), the oldest in the Chapel, as also the high opinion in which he was held, his wealth and the conspicuous place he occupied leave no room for doubt¹².

The inscriptions on the tombstones cover the floor of the Mortuary Chapel and partially the walls. Fr. Santucci is buried in the left vault, the remains of Khoja Mortenepus resting in the right vault near those of the Armenian Bishop

12. The translation of Khoja Mortenepus' epitaph runs thus : "Here lies holy Khwaja Mortenepus, Armenian, who was a professed disciple of Crispius (Christus?), and who was a righteous man ; whatever he had he gave in charity to the poor in token of fidelity to his adored Master, in the year one thousand six hundred and eleven from the birth of Christ." Cf. *Transactions of the Archæol. Soc. of Agra*. (Jan. to June, 1876), Delhi Gazette Press, Agra, 1876, p. VI.

Zakur of Tabriz (1615) and four other Armenian priests.¹³ A much dilapidated inscription is that of Fr. Emmanuel Monteyro, a Jesuit Missionary in Tibet about 1641. The year of his death has not been deciphered.

Frs. Joseph Tieffentaller and F. X. Wendel lie buried behind the old Cathedral in Padritola, a modest slab with a short latin inscription covering their grave. Strange to say, Fr. Felix found similar slabs at Lucknow. A fragment with the name of Fr. Joseph Tieffentaller was also found at Muttra,

Neither Fr. Felix nor Mr. Fred. Fauthome seem to have been aware of the work done by Mr. A. [Christison?], as early as 1876. We are greatly obliged to Mr. W. Irvine for pointing it out to us. Mr. A. C. drew up a ground-plan of the Mortuary Chapel showing the position of 13 slabs and the inscriptions on 11 of these. He abandoned as hopeless two inscriptions on the slab under the altar, and two others on a slab (5'-5" × 2'-6") on the N. side. The slabs in the upper row of 5, nearer the altar, are 5'-5" × 1'-11", the next row of 5 measuring 5'-2½" × 1'-11". There are 6 slabs with 2 inscriptions, 4 with 1, and 1 with 3.

Mr. A. C. professes to have read the names of 20 of the Priests. In reality, he read only 19, for what he took to be the name of one of the Fathers is an incorrect rendering of some Portuguese words. Thirty years ago, some of the inscriptions were much neater and clearer than they are now. In some cases, A. C.'s readings are extremely felicitous and will help us to supplement Fr. Felix' work. A Portuguese scholar would find it an easy task to reconstruct the inscriptions.

13. The epitaphs on the tombs of three of these priests were translated by Mesroub J. Seth. Cf. *History of the Armenians in India*. Calcutta, 1895, p. 25.

A. C. read all the inscription recorded by Fr. Felix, except Nos. 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 24. It will be useful to note some of his divergences and additions.

No. 1. Clerco, Aug. 2, 1633, 'morto pela fee na prisão.'

No. 2. Clerco, 'morto no Carcere pela fe.'

No. 5. Corsi.—No. 7. No mention of the place of demise.

No. 9. + Nov. 4.—No. 10 + Apr. 8.—No. 11. P. Pº
De Mattos,

No. 13. Henrique Roa, 20 de Junho 1668.—No. 17.
Antº De Mag^{es} ; buried Feb. 10.

No. 18. Joseph De Paiva, died at Pexaop.—No. 21.
Antem Gabelsperger, died at Janegar [Jaynagar, Sivai
Jaypur ?].—No. 23. Matth. Rodrigues, died at Narvare.—
No. 25. Foyabad.

No mention of the nationality of the Priests, nor of the words 'Lahore,' 'Agra,' occurs in A. C.'s decipherings.

All the inscriptions, except that of Fr. Matth. Rodrigues, begin with the words AQVI IAZO, *i.e.*, 'Here lies,' thus testifying that however far from Agra they may have died, the Missionaries were interred in the Martyrs' Chapel. Such a practice was not uncommon in those days ; for we read of Abú-l Fazl conveying his mother's body from Lahore to Agra.

As a typical instance of one of these inscriptions we copy the following for further reference :

AQVIIAZO PE
HENRIQVEROA
FALECEO AOS
20 DE IVNHOD'
1668.

It will be remarked that in the above lists no inscription bears a date anterior to the year 1633. It is, however, well known that our Missions in Northern India go back to the year 1580.

The explanation lies in the fact that the first Missions to Akbar were of a tentative and transitory nature.

Blessed Rudolph Aquariva and his two Companions: *Fr. Francis Henriquez* and *Fr. Anthony de Monserrat*, who arrived at Fathepur Sikri in 1580, had left for Goa before the end of 1583. Henriquez had left even earlier, probably about the end of 1581, and the return of Monserrat must have taken place in 1582. ¹⁴

14 Monserrat accompanied Akbar on his Kábul expedition, and seems to have written a MS. account of it at Goa. The year of the expedition is given as 1581 or 1582 by various authors; but, the former is more likely. Indeed, in April 1582, the Emperor sent an embassy to Goa and permitted Monserrat to accompany it. While at Goa, Monserrat must have composed his Memoirs. MACLAGAN sought in vain for a copy. The following statement of PRINCE FREDERIC OF SCHLESWIG HOLSTEIN (Count von Noer) is, however, conclusive: "An excellent report (anonymous), dated from Goa, November 26th, 1582, is in my hands; it describes the state of things at Akbar's court and is a copy from the Spanish archives obtained by the good offices of Don Pascual de Gayangos." This communication may comfort Mr. Markham and contradict the remark which he makes concerning the loss of his copy: "The loss is irremediable." The missing narrative is, moreover, often *literatim*, reproduced in Du Jarric, pp. 599-610." (Cf. *The Emperor Akbar*, translated by MRS. A. S. BEVERIDGE, Calcutta. Thacker, 1890, vol. I, pp. 331-2.) Quotations from this MS. were made by Count von Noer regarding the Gujarát and Kábul expeditions. CAPTAIN F. WILFOED, too, must have possessed a copy of Monserrat's Memoir. He quotes it *per transennam* in connection with Kábul and Lake Mansarowar (W. Tibet). (Cf. *Asiatick Researches*, VIII, 1805, pp. 324, 382 and IX, pp. 212, 230.) The Report of the Provincial of Goa (November, 1590) contains, apparently, a reference to the MS. (Cf. *Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar*, by C. D. MACLAGAN, C. S., from notes recorded by the late General R. Maclagan, R. E. *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, 1896, No. 1, pp. 47, 49, 53, 63). FR. C. SOMMERVOGEL in his monumental work (*Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*. Nouvelle Edition-Bruxelles, O. Schepens, 9 vol., 1890-1900) has nothing about Monserrat's sojourn in the Moghul Empire and his six years' captivity in Arabia. He had left Lisbon in 1574 and died at Salsette (Goa) March 5th, 1600.

The second Mission, organized in 1591 under *Fathers Edward Leitam*,¹⁵ *Christopher de Vega* and a *Companion*, not yet in priest's Orders, whose name has not come down to us,¹⁶ was even more ephemeral. Principally bent on the conversion of Akbar himself and finding their efforts futile, they withdrew from the field in 1592.

We have failed to discover the name of this companion, not yet in priest's orders. It could hardly have been Abraham Georges, a Maronite, as his name appears only in 1592 on the list of those who sailed from Lisbon to the East.¹⁷ Born at Aleppo in Syria and educated in Rome at the Maronite College, Abraham Georges joined the Society at the age of nineteen. His perfect knowledge of the customs and languages of the East singled him out for the Eastern Missions. First applied—so we learn from Fr. de Guilhermy's *Ménologe du Portugal*, Vol. I., p. 411—to the Missions of Malabar and of the Great Moghul, he attempted in 1595, under the disguise of an Armenian, to penetrate into Abyssinia; but the imprudence of a young Abyssinian, who acted as his guide, exciting the suspicions of the Mahomedans who lorded it over the island of Massouah, he perished at their hands in the first days of May 1595, at the early age of 32. The news of his death created a stir at Akbar's Court.¹⁸

15. MACLAGAN (*Op. cit.*, p. 63) remarks that he is called Leitanus in Latin. "Hough, he adds, calls him Leighton, and he may have been an Englishman." We beg to observe that 'Leitam, Leitão' is distinctly a Portuguese name. He may have joined the Society in India, for his name is not on Franco's list.

16. Cf. C. HAZART, s. J., *Kerckelyke Historie*, II Deel. Antwerpen. M. Cnobbaert M. DC. LXVII. p. 256.

17. Cf. A. FRANCO, s. J., *Synopsis Annalium Soc. Jesu in Lusitania (1540-1725)*. Augustæ Vindel., 1726. List in Appendix.

18. Cf. MACLAGAN, *Op. cit.*, p. 76.—Cf. *Relations d'Orient*. Bruxelles, Polleunis, 1906. Jan. 1906, pp. 153-9.

It was only in 1595 that a Mission was started in North India which was destined to carry on the work of evangelization in an unbroken duration of close on two hundred years. Its pioneers were *Fr. Jerome Xavier*, nephew to the great Apostle of the Indies, *Fr. Emmanuel Pinheiro* and the lay-brother, *Benedict Goes*. They arrived at Lahore in 1595, and laboured long and well in the vineyard entrusted to their care. *Fr. Jerome Xavier* died at Goa, June 17th 1617, Philip III, so we read in the Spanish Menology, proposed him to the Holy See for the Archbishopric of Angamale (Cranganore), probably as Coadjutor and with the right of succession to *Fr. Francis Roz, s.J.*, the then Archbishop. The news of *Xavier's* nomination came only after his death.¹⁹

19. *Xavier's* nomination to the Archiepiscopal See of Angamale is contradicted by PAULINUS A S. BARTHOLOMÆO in his *India Orientalis*, Romæ, 1794, p. 65.—Mr. Maclagan gives us a fuller list of *Xavier's* Persian works than any we have seen. Besides the *Mirātu-l-quds* (Mirror of Holiness) or *Dāstān-i-Masīh* (Life of Christ), the *Dāstān-i-San Pedro* or Life of St. Peter, the *Aīna-i-Hoqq Nāma* or Truth-reflective mirror, he notices the following from catalogues : (a) 'Lives of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ, composed in Persian, by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J. at Agrah, at the court of the Emperor Jahāngīr in the year 1609.' *Svo. Bibl. Marsdeniana*, p. 305. (Cf. *Uri. Bibl. Boll. Cod. Cat.*, p. 270.)

(b) 'Psalterio de David conforme a edição vulgata traducido pelo P. Jeronimo Xavier da C. de J. na cidade de Agra, corte do gran Mogol Jahāngīr.' (Persian translation of the Psalms of David.) *Svo. (Bibl. Marsd.)*, p. 305).

(c) 'The Guide of Kings, composed in Persian, by P. Jeronimo Xavier of the C. of J. and addressed to the Mogol Emperor Jahāngīr in the year 1609'. *Sin. fol.*, (*Bibl. Marsd.*, p. 305).

PROF. BLOCHMANN (*Proc. As. Soc. Beng.*, May 1870, p. 140), MR. REHATSEK (*Calc. Rev.*, Jan. 1886, p. 18), MR. H. BEVERIDGE (*J. A. S. Beng.*, 1888) and MR. RODGERS (*As. Quarterly Rev.*, July, 1890, and *Royal As. Soc.*, March 10th, 1896) have all investigated portions of the literary work of *Fr. Jerome Xavier*.

Cf. MACLAGAN *Op. cit.*, pp. 110-113.—Abstracts of the letters from the Agra Missionaries (1600-09) will be found in the extremely valuable Annual Relations of F. Guerreiro, s.J. (5 Vol.) For details on *Xavier* and *Pinheiro* Cf. also W. Hawkins', Sir Th. Roe's and Terry's accounts.—On *Jer. Xavier's* family connections with St. *Fr. Xavier*, Cf. J. M. CROS, s.J. *Saint François de Xavier*. Paris, Retaux, 1900. Vol. I, p. 134.

Pinheiro's activity found ample scope at Lahore. He turned his attention to the people rather than to the Court, though his influence with the Moghul Grandees was by no means inconsiderable. His death occurred at Goa about 1618.

The best known of this party of three is Bro. Benedict Goes. His adventurous journey across Tartary to China has won the admiration of succeeding generations. Three years of incessant toils and hair-breadth escapes brought him to Sou-Tcheou in Kan-Sou (1605), where he succumbed to the fatigues of the journey on April 11th, 1607.²⁰

In 1600, *Fr. Francis Corsi* was sent to Lahore to help *Fr. Pinheiro*. We find him in 1604 spending some time with *Jerome Xavier* at Agra. "He has learnt Persian, writes the latter, and commenced Hindustani, the language of the country, and by his capacity and desire to learn he will soon master Arabic as well." He was back in Lahore in 1605. When *Terry* was in India, in 1616, *Corsi* was about 50 years old. He is described as a Florentine, and, "if he were indeed what he seemed to be, a man of a severe life, and yet of a fair and affable disposition." *Bernier*, who lived on terms of close intimacy with our Fathers at Agra (1660—1665) refers doubtless to him in the following passage: "I have learned of a Mahumetan, that was son to an officer of *Jehan Guire*, namely, that this King being one day in a debauché, called to him a certain religious man of Florence, whom he called *Father Atech*, as being a little fiery man; and after he had commanded him to say all

20. Cf. *ABBÉ HUC, Christianity in China, Tartary and Tibet.* New York, Sadlier. Vol. II, pp. 163—182, and *F. GUERREIRO, S.J. Relaçam Annal.* (1607-08.) Lisbon. P. Crasbeeck, 1611, foll. 23-27. *SOMMERVOGEL* is wrong in assigning the year 1606 as that of his death. *JOS. BRUCKER* in the *Etudes*, Paris, 1878, has an article on him. *JOSE DE TORRES* made his adventures the subject of a historical novel in 1854.

he could against the Law of Mahumet, and for the Law of Christ, in the presence of many knowing Mullahs, he would have made this terrible tryal of both those Laws, *viz.*, that a great pit should be made, and a good fire in it, and that Father Atech with the Gospel under his arm, and one of those Mullahs with the Alcoran under his, should cast themselves both together into that fire, and that he would embrace the Law of him that would not burn. But that the sad countenance of the Mullahs altogether astonished, and the compassion he had of the Florentine Father, who accepted the condition, diverted him from it." ²¹ (Cf. *Inscr. No. 5*).

Under Jahángír and during Xavier's and Corsi's incumbency, several Mahomedan Princes were baptized. "This, year, Anno 1609, writes Sir Thomas Herbert, Currown, another of Jaugheer's sons, ²² and other of his friends (to make his way the easier to the Crown) prevailed with Jaugheer that his kinsmen Shaw Selym's Brother's Sons might be Christened; which accordingly was done in Agra; the Jesuits that baptized the young Princes named them Philippo, Carlo and Henrico; that year also they baptized another Grandson of Ecbar's, by the name of Don Edoard." ²³

21. Cf. FRANÇOIS BERNIER, *Travels in Hindustan*. Reprinted from the Engl. transl. of H. Ouldinburgh (1684). Bangabási Press. Calcutta. 1904 pp. 271-2. For a similar story attributed to the Jesuit Missionaries (1581) by Badāuni and by Abū-l-Fazl to Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva, Cf. MACLAGAN, *Op cit.*, pp. 41-2, 52. The same story crops up again in Fr. Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty in India*. The hero in this instance was Fr. Joseph d' Acosta, and the result was that "they caused him to change his name, and the Emperor no longer called him by any other name than that of Father Ataxe, which means the Fire Father." We may remark that, unless Fr. d' Acosta's Missionary career was an exceptionally long one, he could hardly have been in Agra under Jahángír, as he died only in 1685.

22. Khurram, later Shāh Jahān.

23. Cf. *Travels*. Ed. 1677, p. 74.

Our own historians are not less explicit. Fr. J. Jouvancy, S.J., dwells with evident delight on the gorgeous pageant which wound its way through the streets of Agra, on the first of these auspicious occasions.²⁴ All the European residents of Agra, some sixty in number, Portuguese, Venetians, Poles, Armenians and Englishmen, took part in the function, mounted on horseback and arrayed—like Orientals—in purple and gold brocade. Capt. Hawkins was there carrying “St. George his flag for the honour of England”²⁵ before the white elephants bringing the young Princes to the Jesuit Church. Before the ceremony, Jahángír would have said: “What will happen when India will see me, too, a Christian?”

According to Roe, the English Ambassador at Jahángír’s Court, these Princes reverted to Islám, on finding they could not get Portuguese women as wives. On the face of it, this is improbable. Herbert says on the contrary that Sháh Jahán, before ascending the throne, had two baptized sons of Daniyál executed.²⁶

Jahángír had a great fancy for religious pictures. Some of his apartments were adorned with them, and an attentive reading of Fr. Ferd. Guerreiro’s *Relaçam*²⁷ convinces us that he had scenes of Christian art painted on the walls of his Palace at Agra. We surmise that these obnoxious paintings were daubed over in the beginning of the reign of Sháh Jahán, a less tolerant ruler. Some day we may hear that, as in the case of the Christian paintings at Fatehpur-Sikrí, they have been brought to light again from under a layer of whitewash.

24. Cf. *Epit. Hist. Soc. Jesu*. Gandavi. 1853. Vol. IV, pp. 234-5.

25. Cf. *N. W. P. Gazetteer*. Vol. VII, p. 605.

26. Cf. *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

27. *Relaçam annal das cousas que fizeram os Padres da C. d. J. nos annos de 607 & 608...* Lisboa. Crasbeck. M. D C. XI, pp. 6-22.

Of *Fr. Anthony Machado* we know little. He came to India in 1586 and proceeded to the North in 1602 and went to keep *Fr. Jerome Xavier's* company at Agra. On September 4th, 1604, Xavier reported: "Fathers Pinheiro and Corsi are at Lahore, and *Fr. Anthony Machado* and myself are here in Agra." In 1613 he became Superior of the Moghul Mission, says *Fr. C. Sommervogel, s.J.*, "and died at Angola, August 27th, 1627." There is a confusion of names in *Sommervogel*. There must have been two *Anthony Machado* one who, according to *de Guilhermy*, died at Angola, August 27th, 1627, aged 33; the other, a Missionary in North India, who lies buried at Agra. (Cf. *Inscr. No. 6*).

An unpublished letter of *A. Machado*, translated into English, and informing the General of the Society in Rome of *Jahángir's* closing the Churches in the kingdom of Mogor is kept at the British Museum (*MSS. Bibl. Coton. Vespasianus, F. XII*). It bears date: April 9th, 1615, Agra.

Another Missionary who seems to have been connected with the Moghul Mission at a very early stage of its history is *Fr. Francis Cabral*. *Fr. Pinheiro* wrote about him from Lahore in 1605: "I should be glad if Your Reverence could communicate this letter to Father *Francis Cabral*, who by his labours here may be called the founder of this Mission." But, barring this allusion, we know nothing of his stay in North India. He died at Goa on April 6th, 1609, after a remarkable career in Japan.

For most of the above particulars we are indebted to *Mr. E. D. Maclagan*, who has conducted the history of the Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar up to the year 1605.

One could hardly find a fuller or more sympathetic presentation of this extremely interesting period. ²⁸

What we have been able to discover on the two subsequent centuries amounts to very little : a few dates, a few names and some fragmentary evidence as to their work. A Seminary library in the Himalayas is not the Imperial Library of Calcutta ; still, where all is yet Cimmerian darkness, we should consider ourselves amply repaid if these few scraps of intelligence were to the future historian of the Catholic Missions in Northern India what—to use an Eastern simile—the glow of the fire-fly is on the path of the benighted traveller. We can, at least, redeem the insufficiency of our own information by pointing out to the erudite the literary activity of some of these Missionaries and directing them to the sources for an ampler history.

During the reign of Jahāngīr (1605-1626), we meet with some new names, the first being that of *Fr. Andrew Bova* [*Boves*]. Sommervogel gives about him the following details : “ Born at Messina in 1569, he entered the Society in 1581. [and came to India in 1597]. A Missioner from 1600-05,

28. Cf. *Op. cit.*, *J. A. S. B.*, 1896, pp. 38-113. Price : Rs. 2 (?). Apply : 57, Park Street, Calcutta. Maclagan publishes for the first time : (a) an original MS. letter of *Jerome Xavier* (Agra, Sept. 6th, 1604), *Brit. Mus. Marsd. MSS.* 9854, foll. 7-19 ; (b) a letter of *Fr. Emmanuel Pinheiro* to Manuel da Veiga, Provincial at Goa (Lahore, Aug. 12th, 1605), *Brit. Mus. Marsd. MSS.* 9854 ; (c) extracts from a letter of *Fr. Anth. Botelho*, *Brit. Mus. Marsd. MSS.* 9853 ; (d) a Firman of *Akbar* to the Provincial of Goa, (In the moon of Feb. 1583), *Brit. Mus. Marsd. MSS.* 9854, fol. 5. These letters are not, however, published in their entirety.—FANTHOMÉ, *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-30, publishes from the Archives of the Agra Diocese another of *Akbar's* Firmans. From a long note communicated to us by Mr. H. Beveridge, I.C.S. (retired), we learn that the Marsden MSS. Add. 9853-55 form 3 Vol. in 4° and contain mostly Portuguese documents bearing on the Jesuits Missions in N. I. We have a special paper in readiness on this subject. We have to thank in quite a special manner Mr. H. Beveridge and Mr. W. Irvine, I.C.S., for many valuable references.

he acted as Procurator to the Province of Cochin during the next five years, spent seven years in the Moghul Mission and died in Malabar (1634)." The only letter of his mentioned by Sommervogel was written at Sirian, in the Kingdom of Pegu (Burma), March 28th, 1600; but, there exists another of November 14th, 1602, in which he relates the martyrdom of Fr. Francis Fernandes at Chittagong. It is by mistake that our Menologies make him die with Fr. Noel Salerno, another Sicilian, on April 5th, 1605, burnt to death during a naval engagement between the Portuguese and Arrakanese fleets. In the long account of the hostilities by F. Guerreiro, Fr. Salerno is alone reported to have perished.

The name of Fr. Joseph de Castro is found as early as the year 1615. The English translation of one of his letters (Agra, April 10th, 1615) to Fr. Claude Aquaviva is preserved in the British Museum.²⁹ We hear of him again in 1617, in connection with the foundation of the College of Agra. "In the northern part of the city, between the new and old walls, rose an imposing College building, which was remarkable for its architectural beauty even in a city of famous buildings. This College had been liberally provided with funds, about the year 1617, by a rich Armenian, . . . , Mirza Zulkarnen, who had been appointed by the Great Moghul Governor of the Province of Sambala [Sambhar]. To prevent the confiscation of these funds by an arbitrary act of the Moghul rulers, Mirza sent Father Castro to Goa, in order to buy up landed properties at Bandra in Salsette, A part of these estates was at Parel, in the island of Bombay, for we

29. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL. *Bibl. Cottoniana, Vespasianus* F. 7, XII, *Catalogo dos MSS. Portuguezes existentes no Museu Britannico*, per FERD. FR. DE LA FIGANIERE. Lisbon, 1853. 8vo. p. 125. The original is pointed out at p. 126, and must be found at fol. 112 of *Cod. Titus* 8, VII.

read in Tieffentaller's Geography that the Jesuits had landed properties at Parella (Parel), and the rents derived from them belonged to the College of Agra, but that they had come into the hands of the English."³⁰

Father de Castro's name is met once more in 1633,³¹ and in 1640 in conjunction with that of the Augustinian Friar, Fr. Manrique.³² On his way through the North Manrique employed himself in obtaining the liberation of some Portuguese prisoners, Fr. de Castro introducing him to Asaf Khan, the Prime Minister.

Manrique states on the authority of Fr. de Castro that the far-famed Taj-mahāl was designed by a European architect. Fanthome mentions a Firman granted by Akbar to one Father Joseph or "Yusuf."³³ Assuming this information to be correct, Father Yusuf must have been Fr. de Castro. As far as we know, no Missionary under Akbar, except he, could have borne this Christian name. Still, it is strange that Maclagan, who exhausted the subject of the Jesuit Missions in Akbar's time, should have found no allusion to Fr. de Castro. Was not the Firman issued in the time of Jahāngír? (Cf. *Inscr. No. 7.*)

In 1624, we become aware of the presence at Agra of Fathers *Anthony d' Andrada* and *Manuel Marquez*³⁴. On

30. Cf. S. NOTI, S. J., *Joseph Tieffentaller S. J., a forgotten Geographer of India*. Reprinted from 'East and West'. Bombay. Kirnaya-Sagar Press. 1906, p. 8.—This estate, together with the improved buildings, is known as the "Parel Government House and Ground."

31. Cf. further.

32. Cf. FANTHOMÉ, *Op. cit.*, p. 55.

33. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

34. Cf. A. LAUNAY, *Histoire de la Mission du Thibet*. Lille. Desclée, 1903, Vol. I, p. 23; or ABBÉ HUC, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 216-234.—The latest account of d' Andrada's travels, and, at the same time, the least up-to-date, is that of the late REV. GRAHAM SANDBERG: *The Exploration of Tibet (1623-1904)*, Calcutta, Thacker, 1904. Cf. pp. 23-27. In the eyes of the author, d' Andrada was the perfect type of a 'wily' Jesuit, and his narrative, the product either of his fertile brain or of the clever tamperings of the home authorities.

March 30th, 1624, they left Agra together in the train of the Great Moghul, who was going to the North. Arrived at Delhi, Fr. d' Andrada, followed by a *lay-brother* and two Christian servants, joined a caravan of devout pilgrims bound for Badid (*sic*) [Badrināth?], in the Western Himalayas.³⁵ Their purpose was to reach the mysterious land of Cathay, where, ever since the days of Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva, the Missionaries of Agra had suspected they might find remnants of former Christian [Nestorian?] Communities. They were fortunate enough to reach the town of Chaprang (Tsaparang), in the Gartok district of Western Tibet. On November 8th, 1624, d' Andrada wrote from Agra to his brethren in Europe his account of "*A new discovery of Great Cathay or of the Kingdoms of Tibet.*" In 1625, he returned to Chaprang and laid the foundations of the Jesuit Missions in Tibet. About 1650,³⁶ a political revolution obliged the Missionaries to abandon the field.

During these 26 years, no fewer than 23 Missionaries were sent to Tibet, and this allows us to form an estimate of the numbers of those who must have been employed during the same period on this side of the Himalayas. Possibly, many of the Missionaries sent to Chaprang had previously spent some time in North India, or again, it is likely that after the violent break-up of the Tibetan Missions some of them settled down there. In the case of *Fathers Thomas de Barros*,

35. It has repeatedly been asserted that the travellers passed through Srinagar (Kashmir). What ground is there for this assertion? In our opinion, the most obvious route lay across Srinagar, in the Garhwāl District (N.-W. Prov.), lat. 30° 13' N., long. 78° 48' 15" E.

36. Cf. A. LAUNAY, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 255, where a letter of the General of the Society of Jesus is quoted. They withdrew in 1652, according to the Capuchin Chronicles (*ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 30); in 1656, according to FR. H. DESIDERI, S. J. Cf. C. PUNZI, *Il Tibet*, Roma. 1904, p. LI.

Francis Morando, Manuel Monteyro and Stanislas Malpichi, at least, this is an authenticated fact. But, we must not anticipate.³⁷

37. The Jesuit Missions of India being at that time parcelled out between the Provinces of Cochin and Goa, Missionaries were sent from both into Tibet. Those of Goa kept to the West, whereas the Fathers of Cochin must have penetrated into the Himalayas by way of Bengal, where they had houses. Thus they gained access to Nepál and Bhutan, for both names appear in their accounts. Among the stations occupied by the Jesuits in Tibet and adjoining countries about this time, Fr. L. Carrez notes Chaprang, Mana, Rudok, Ladak and Srinagar (Kashmir). We are not without misgivings as to the identity of the latter place. The Srinagar of the Annual Letters was, we suppose, in Garhwál. We may remark besides that the word 'Bhutan' may also point to Garhwál and Almora, a large number of the population there calling itself even now Bhotiyas. As early as 1582, Bl. R. Aquaviva called them Bottans. Cf. H. BEVERIDGE. *J. A. S. B.* New Series, p. 331.

H. DESGODINS in *Le Thibet, d'après la correspondance des Missionnaires*, Paris, 1885, pp. 458-9, and A. LAUNAY, (*Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 30), give us the list of the Jesuit Missionaries sent to Tibet. In 1624, Fr. d' Andrada and a lay-brother; in 1625, d' Andrada and Fr. Gonzales de Souza; in 1626, Fathers Stephano Cacella and Giovanne de Cabral; in 1627, Fathers Giovanne de Olivayre, Alano dos Angios [*alias* Alain de Angelis; *alias* Alain de la Bauchère, Cf. SOMMERVOGEL] and Antonio Pereyra; in 1629, Fr. Manuel Diaz; in 1631, Fathers Francesco de Azevedo, Dominico Capece and Francisco Morando; in 1635, Fathers Caldeira and Pietro de Freitar; in 1640, Fr. Thomas le Barros; in 1641 and subsequent years, Fathers Stanislas Malpichi (*sic*), Ambrosio Correa, Bonaste Godigno, Emmanuel Marquese, Bartolomeo Fontebona, Faustino Barreyros and Emmanuel Monteyro. SOMMERVOGEL mentions, besides, one Fr. Francis Godin, born at Mons, who wrote a letter from Chaprang, Aug. 16th, 1626. A short account of the Mission is found in *L'India Orientale soggettata al Vangelo* da MICHEL ANGELO LUALDI, Roma, MDCLIII, pp. 364-6. Cf. also on the work of Fathers Stephen Cacella and Giovanne Capral (*sic*) (1627) J. C. CORDARA, s. J., *Historia Soc. Jesu*, Romæ, MDCCCLIX, Pars VI, Tomus II, p. 132-3. Cacella and Cabral were sent in 1626 by the Province of Cochin; but they stayed barely a year at Cambirasis [Gamba, Kambha Rájya?] (Cf. *As. Journ.* XV, p. 300), the Capital of a kingdom (?), which is described as lying to the East of the Tibet evangelized by d' Andrada. They paid still a flying visit to the neighbouring kingdom of Urang [U-tsang?] and were recalled to Cochin. It was probably on the return journey that Cacella died, November 13th, 1630. The *Litteræ Annæ* of 1632 mention Bhutan [Nepál?] as the place of his death, but Sommervogel speaks of the kingdom (?) of Morang [on the way from Chini to Shipki, Western Himalayas]. According to the same *Litteræ Annæ*, Fr. Emmanuel Diaz died likewise in Bhutan in 1629.

Mr. W. Rees Philipps, of Ennerdale, Torquay (England), directs us to some passages in Fr. Jacq. de Machault's *Relations*, among others to his '*Relation de ce qui s'est passé . . . jusques à l'An 1644 . . . au Malabar . . .* Paris, 1645.' We regret much our inability to quote these passages, having none of de Machault's many valuable Annual Relations. In the work quoted above, pp. 292-5, "will be found a description of the Mission to Cathay undertaken by Fr. Stephen Cassella (*sic*) and two other Fathers, 'of the first of the Province' (of Malabar). They went from Cochin to Bengal, ascended the Ganges (Brahmaputra?) and passing through the kingdom of Coccio [Kuch Behar?] advanced into Cathay or what they thought to be such."

Mr. Philipps' hypothesis that 'Coccio' stands for 'Kuch Behar' appears to us a happy one. "I went from Bengala, writes Ralph Fitch. (1586), into the country of Conche, which lieth 25 daies journey Northwards from Tanda [a village in the Maldah Dt.]. The King is a Gentile, . . . his name is Suckel Counse [Sukladuge]. . . . The port is Cacchegate There is a country 4 daies journie from Couche or Quickeu [perhaps Quickeu in MS.], which is called Bottanter and the cite Bottia, the King is called Dermain. . . ." Cf. J. H. RYLEX's *Ralph Fitch*. London, Fisher Unwin, 1899, pp. 111-2, 116.

Later on we find a flourishing Mission in the direction of Kuch Behar, *viz.*, at Rangamati, on the Brahmaputra, and "27' N." Cf. *Lettr. Edif.* Paris, 1781, Vol. XIII, pp. 272, 288-91, and *Scritti del P. Marco della Tomba*, Firenze, 1878, p. 59.

Some of the dates in Abbé A. Launay's list lie open to criticism. Padre J. M. d'Aguiar proposes some corrections to the catalogue we published in the *Catholic Herald* of Calcutta (1904, p. 733); but the whole subject is yet involved in doubt and would need laborious investigations into the documents of the period. Cf. *O Vinte e tres de Novembro*, Aleppi, 1904, p. 131.

Fr. d' Andrada was poisoned at Goa and died March 19th 1634; Bartholomeo Fontebona, a lay-brother, died at Hooghly in 1627, aged 50; Francis Godin in Savcy in 1633; Alano dos Angios in Tibet, about 1634 and Emmanuel Monteyro at Agra. John Cabral governed for a time the Mission of Japan and ended his days at Goa as Rector of the Professed House.

A history of the Missions of Tibet was left in MS. by Fr. John Cabral: '*Relação Copiosa dos trabalhos grandes, que padeceo na Missão do Tibeth.*' Machado refers to it as follows: "Foy mandado a Roma antes do anno de 1635 e a ouidio ler a P. Fernando de Quieroz como escreve na Vida do Irmão Basto, Liv. II, Chap. 22." Is anything known as to the present whereabouts of that MS.? It is useless to say how highly an edition of it would be valued here in India. FR. THEOD. RHAY, a German Jesuit, besides his *Relatio rerum memorabilium Regni Mogoris*, Neoburgi, 1663, 4°, wrote '*Descriptio Regni Thibet*, Paderbornæ, typis H. Pontani, 1658, 4°'. Many of the letters of our Tibetan Missionaries may still be preserved in various Archives in Europe. This would be the time to bring them to light again.

The first years of Shāh Jahān's reign were marked by a fierce, though short, outburst of fanaticism, and the Jesuit Missionaries stationed in his dominions passed through the ordeal of persecution. The reason of this sudden change in the friendly relations which had hitherto existed between them and the Moghul Princes is to be sought for in Bengal. A rabble of *Franquis* (Europeans), in the pay of the King of Arrakan and of the Mughls, "with some small and light gallies did nothing but coast about that sea, and entering into all rivers thereabout, and into the channels and arms of Ganges, and between all those isles of lower Bengale, and often penetrating even so far as forty or fifty leagues up into the country, surprized and carried away whole towns, assemblies, markets, feasts and weddings of the poor Gentiles, and others of that country, making women slaves, great and small, with strange cruelties; and burning all they could not carry away..... These were the pyrates that made Chah-Jehan, who was a more zealous Mahumetan than his father Jehan-Guire, to express at last his passion, not only against the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits, Missionaries of Agra, in that he caused to be pulled down the best part of a very fair and large Church that had been built, as well as that of Lahor, by the favour of Jehan-Guire, who as I said, did not hate Christianity; and upon which there stood a great steeple with a great bell in it, whose sound might be heard over all the town, not only, I say, against those Jesuits, but also against the Christians of Ogouli; for being impatient to see them connive at the pyrates, to make the name of the *Franquis* formidable, and to fill their houses with slaves that were his own subjects, he wasted and ruined them, after he had both with fair

words and menaces drawn from them as much money as he could ; and because they were indiscreetly obstinate, in refusing what he demanded of them, he besieged them, and caused them all to be brought to Agra, even their very children, their Priests and Friars.³⁸ This was a misery and a desolation not to be parallel'd ; a kind of Babilonian transmigration. There they were all made slaves ; the handsome women were shut up in the seraglio, the old women and others were distributed among divers Omrahs. The young lads were circumcised and made pages ; and men of age renounced for the most part their faith, either terrified by the threatenings they heard daily, that they should be trampled upon by elephants, or drawn away by fair promises. 'Tis true, that there were some of those Friars, who persisted, and that the Missionaries of Agra, who notwithstanding all this unhappiness remained in their houses, found means afterwards, partly by friends, partly by money, to get many

38. Nearly 1,000 persons were slain and 4,400 were made prisoners. The College directed by the Jesuits at Hooghly was completely wrecked.—“On the 11th Muharrum [1043 A. H.] Kásim Khán and Bahádur Kambú brought * * * 400 Christian prisoners, male and female, young and old, with the idols of their worship, to the presence of the faith-defending Emperor. He ordered that the principles of the Muhammadan religion should be explained to them, and that they should be called upon to adopt it. A few appreciated the honour offered to them and embraced the faith ; they experienced the kindness of the Emperor. But the majority in perversity and wilfulness rejected the proposal. These were distributed among the Amirs who were directed to keep these despicable wretches in rigorous confinement. When any one of them accepted the true faith, a report was to be made to the Emperor, so that provision might be made for him. Those who refused were to be kept in continual confinement. So it came to pass that many of them passed from prison to hell. Such of their idols as were likenesses of of the prophets were thrown into the Jumna, the rest were broken to pieces.” Cf. *Bádsháh-Náma* in Sir H. ELLIOT'S *History of India*. London, 1877, Vol. VII, pp. 35 and 42-3.

of them away, and to have them conveyed to Goa, and to other places belonging to the Portugueses." 39

The fall of Hooghly took place on September 20th, 1632, a date elaborately worked out by Mr. W. Irvine, and the sad train of Christian captives must have reached Agra in the early part of 1633. It will be remarked that the death-rate for the Missionaries in 1633 and 1634 is unusually large. Two clerics, *Father Emmanuel d'Anhaya* and *Father Emmanuel Garcia* died in prison in 1633 and 1634, '*pela fe*, for the faith,' and two priests followed them to the grave in 1634. (Cf. *Inscr. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4*). We shall not be far from the truth, if we suppose that the two clerics, at least, were made prisoners at Hooghly and succumbed to the ill-treatment they were made to suffer in prison. We do not think that these clerics were Jesuits; for Bernier asserts that the Missionaries of Agra, "notwithstanding all this unhappiness" were left unmolested in their College. Our histories, besides, so far as we have been able to ascertain, do not mention them among our martyrs. They must therefore have been "some of those Friars who persisted"; in other words, they must have belonged to the body of Augustinian Friars on whom the evangelization of Bengal had devolved in those days.⁴⁰ The name of "The Martyrs' Chapel" still given to the place where they lie buried finds a ready explanation in the fact that they persisted in the faith to the end. In the sequel of

39. Cf. BERNIER. *Op. cit.*, pp. 156-159. Manucci has another explanation of the causes of the hostilities.

40 Cf. *Bengal Cath. Herald*, May 28th, 1842.—What evidence is there for the author's statement that "four of the Priests who had escaped the massacre at Hooghly were torn to pieces by wild elephants"? For the usually accredited account of Fr. John da Cruz' miraculous preservation from a similar death the author bases himself on 'MS. Records', without, however, insisting on their origin or nature.

the history of the Moghul Mission we know of no other cases of Missionaries killed in the cause of religion.

If we had only Bernier as our guide, we might think that the Jesuits passed unscathed through these troublous times. It was not so. One of their number, too, perished. Under the year 1633, Fr. H. Dugout, s.J., gives us the following laconic information: "*Fr. Ignatius Fialho*, cut down with scimitars in the Moghul Empire." ⁴¹ Neither the exact date nor the place of the martyrdom are known. The Menology for Portugal consecrates a short obituary notice to the Martyr. "Hundreds of neophytes had been forcibly circumcised; the Missionaries had been cast in prison and cruelly maltreated. Fr. Joseph de Castro had been scourged three times, and four executioners had struck him one hundred blows on the soles of his feet and one hundred cuffs on his face, till his body was all but a gaping wound. To crown all, Fr. Fialho, while, fearless of death and holding his crucifix aloft, he generously exhorted the faithful to suffer all rather than deny Jesus Christ, fell pierced with several sword-thrusts."⁴² Our surmise is that the Father was killed at Agra. Even should he have died in the Provinces, it would not surprise us, if his remains—on the supposition that they were recovered—had been deposited in the Martyrs' Chapel. We have remarked before that, when a Missionary died away from Agra, it was not uncommon that his body was conveyed to the capital. Further researches may eventually lead to the discovery of the Martyr's tomb.

An Armenian at the Court [Mírzá zúl qarnín?], and a Venetian gentleman, Jerome Vereneo, exerted themselves in ransoming some of the Hooghly prisoners. One Sháh 'Alau-d-din had several interviews with Asaf Jáh and procured the release of some of the prisoners.

41. *Nos Martyrs*. Paris. Leroy. 185, Rue de Vanves. 1905.

42. Cf. FR. E. DE GUILHERMY, s.J. *Ménologe du Portugal*. Vol. II, p. 90.

The missionary career of *Fr. Francis Lanfranki*, a Portuguese, was of short duration. He had left Lisbon only in 1632. (Cf. *Inscr. No. 3.*) We can discover nothing about *Anthony de Fonseca* (Cf. *Inscr. No. 4.*)

Of *Fr. Thomas de Barros* Abbé A. Launay asserts that he was sent to Tibet in 1640, and we know from Sommervogel that he was for a time Superior of the Missions of Mogor and Tibet, after which he became Rector of Damaun, Baçaim and Goa. He died at Rachol, April 13, 1658.

For details on *Fr. Morando* we turn to Sommervogel's invaluable work. "In *Fr. Maracci's Relation*⁴³ translated by *Fr. de Machault*, we read p. 23: 'Father Francis Morando, a Bolognese and a great scholar in the Parthian⁴⁴ and Industani language . . . must actually reside at Agra . . . to get copied and collected in one volume the excellent works of *Fr. Hierosme Xavier*, nephew to *St. Francis*, who . . . composed several books, and translated others, as the Gospels in the Parthian tongue.'⁴⁵

43. It is of April 1649.

44. Persian.

45. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, *Op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, Col. 1340.—An interesting account of Xavier's translational occupations is found in his letter dated Agra, September 6th, 1604. Cf. MACLAGAN, *Op. cit.*, pp. 95-6. After mentioning *João Battista Vechieta*, a learned Florentine, who had arrived at Agra in the course of his Eastern peregrinations and found much favour with Akbar, he continues: "He has much friendship for us, in proof of which he gave us a book of the Holy Gospels in Arabic with the Latin at the foot, printed in the Vatican, which we value very highly. He had also with him the Psalter of David in Persian, which he obtained with great pains and at great cost from a Jew who had it in Persian, but in Hebrew characters. It was translated two hundred years ago by an eminent Jew of Persia. We gave ourselves to the transcribing of these books with much delight. While the Italian was here, he copied in Persian character the Books of Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Judith and Esther, which he had in Persian, but in Hebrew character, and gave them to us freshly copied into the Persian tongue and character, but though the characters are new, the translation is more than two hundred years old; he obtained them from some Jews in Persia, at a good price. We gave him the book of the four Gospels in Persian, which he greatly desired, for he said that they had the Gospel of *St. Matthew* in Persian at Rome, but would like very much to have the other three. Last year we sent to Rome another book of the Gospels in Persian, the translation of which is more than 300 years old. God grant that it arrived safely! We are now arranging the same Gospels in Persian with the corresponding Latin at the foot, which God willing will be much esteemed in Europe."

C. Hazart, S.J., quoting Annual Letters, purporting to be written from Mogor in 1650, states : "The same year and the previous ones, the King of Srinagar [Garhwál?] wrote several letters to the Fathers at Agra expressing his great desire to see them, but, as for several weighty reasons this had so far been impossible, he requested as a great favour to have them all together in a portrait." These letters are probably contained in "*Relatio triplex de Rebus Indicis*, Antverpiæ, ap. Jac. Meursium, 1654" mentioned by Hazart among his authorities. Müllbauer (Cf. *Geschichte der Katholischen Missionen in Ostindien*, Freiburg, 1852, p. 284) states further from the *Annual Letters* of 1653 that Fr. Stanislas Malpica, S.J., received about 1648 from the Rájah of Srinagar, Garhwál, the permission of building a church in his estates. The last date in this reference, communicated by Mr. W. Irvine, appears to us puzzling. We may remark here that a confusion of names may have given rise to the prevalent notion that the Jesuits conducted about this time a Mission at Srinagar, the Capital of Kashmir.⁴⁶ We also suggest that Fr. Malpica, whose name we have noticed on the list of Missionaries sent to Tibet, went no farther North than Garhwál. We have it on the authority of Mr. Fred. Fanthome that Malpica acted for a time as preceptor to Prince Dárá, Sháh Jahán's eldest son.⁴⁷ He alludes, we think, to the following passage in Manucci : "The Fathers at the Court of Prince Dárá were three. [He refers to the years 1656-58.] The first was Father Estanislav Malpica, a Neapolitan ; the second,

46. Cf. J. M. D'AGUIAR in *O Vinte tres de Novembro*. Aleppi (India), 1904, p. 132. He quotes FATH. MAN. GODINHO, S.J. "*Relação da Viagem da Índia...*" p. 215.

47. Cf. FANTHOMÉ, *Op. cit.*, p. 55.—Stanislas Malpica was born in 1600 at Cantagora, in the Kingdom of Naples. He joined the Society May 29th 1623, and died before 1676, the last mention of him belonging to the year 1673.

Pedro Juzarte, a Portuguese, and the third *Henriques Buzeo*, a Fleming. The last was much loved by the Prince, and every time he went to Court he received fifty rupees and two shawls."

Father Pedro Zuzarte (sic) died at Lisbon in 1688. Forty-three years before, he had embarked for the East, and after a long term of useful ministrations at Goa, Agra and Macao was deputed in his old age to Rome. Notwithstanding his entreaties, he could not obtain from the King of Portugal, who held him in the highest esteem, to return to the Eastern Missions. Towards the close of his life, he had become almost completely blind and retired to the novitiate to prepare himself in prayer for the last great journey.⁴⁸

An interesting problem gathers about the name of *Henry Busi*. Writing about 1665, Father C. Hazart, S.J., says of *Henry Uwens* that he was born at Nimègue and had spent nearly 24 years at Agra as teacher to the Emperor's son.⁴⁹ On the other hand, Fr. Alexander de Rhodes, S.J., who was in Surate from September 30, 1647, to February 3, 1648, met there Fr. Henry Buscé (sic), a Fleming,⁵⁰ on his way from Goa to Agra. Hazart has confounded the name of Henry Uwens with that of Henri Busi. Information received by Mr. W. Rees Philipps from Fr. Van Meurs, S.J., shows that Henry Busi, in Flemish *Buis*, was born December 28th 1613, entered the Society at Mechlin in 1632, and went to India in 1647. He had taught Mathematics at Lisbon for four years and was sent on the Moghul Mission to satisfy Prince Dará's keenness about European sciences. He belong-

48. Cf. DE GUILHERMY, *Mémoir. de Portug.* Vol. I, p. 198.

49. Cf. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 277.

50. It will be remembered that Fanthome read only "Henrico", which would be his Christian name. Where did Fr. Felix glean that he was a German?

ed to an honourable family of Nimegue, which had given several of its members to the Society of Jesus, and was allied to that of Bl. P. Canisius. On the other hand, Henry Uvens, a kinsman of Henry Buis, was born April 23rd, 1618, and entered the Society October 15th, 1634. Like Henry Buis he belonged to the Flandro-Belgian Province. The Catalogues of that Province show him in 1641-2 as having gone to China; but, from this moment he disappears from our records. He is not in the list of Missionaries who embarked at Lisbon, and what became of him remains a mystery.

Manucci the Venetian Ambassador, mentions Busi in several places and gives details of his death. Though he assigns no year, he places it just after the death of Rájah Jay Singh (1667), adding that he was 53 years old. The date of his death: April 6th, 1667, read by Fr. Felix on one of the epitaphs is in agreement with our Archives. (Cf. *Inscr. No. 12*).

Bernier testifies no less than Manucci to the cordial relations existing between Prince Dára and Busi. "He [Dára] hearkened of late very willingly to the Reverend Father Buzee, a Jesuit," he writes, "and began very well to relish what he suggested." And elsewhere, "'tis certain, he says, that, whilst Jehan-Guire lived, these Fathers were respected and honoured in this Court, and that they conceived great hopes of the advancement of Christianity in these parts; but that since that time they had had no great cause to hope much of it, except perhaps what they received by that familiarity which our Father Buze had with Dara." 51

51. Cf. *Op. cit.*, pp. 6, 272.—Dara died uttering these words: "Mahumet has ruined me, the Son of Mary will save me." Cf. CARROU, *Hist. Gén. de l'Emp. du Mogol*, p. 225. Many have thought that his sister, Jahānāra, died a Christian; but, the inscription on her Mausoleum near Delhi does not bear out this supposition.

Manucci draws a very flattering portrait of the man : " He was a man of great judgment, very learned, well-regulated in act and speech. He was of fine presence, tall and portly, imposing respect by his mere appearance. He was very polished, a good mathematician, one who in a few words solved the most difficult problems. To such estimation was he held that even Aurengzeb on his journey to and stay in Kashmír [1662-3] wished for his company."

Inscription No. 8 mentions a certain *Fr. Anthony Cesques*, a German, Under the name of Fr. Henry Roth, of whom we shall hear presently, we find the following in Sommervogel : " On May 24th, 1664, before returning to the East, Fr. Roth composed at Trent a latin eulogy of Fr. Anthony Ceshi (*sic*), + 1656, whom he had known in the Missions."

An interesting passage, which we cull from Fr. A. de Rhodes' "*Voyages et Missions*" Paris, Julien, 1854, p. 399, tells us more about him; while it introduces us to *Fr. Anthony Botelho*, another Missionary at Agra : " Before the English ship was got in readiness, God greatly consoled me by the arrival of our Fathers, who came from Goa and stayed some time with me in Surate.

" Three of them left, a few days later, for the College of Agra, a distance of 40 days from Surate ; the first was Fr. Anthony Botel [Botelho], a Portuguese, a man of great merit and influence, who was sent as visitor and Rector of the College which is in that town, the capital of the whole kingdom ; the two others were Fr. Anthony Ceski (*sic*), a German, and Fr. Henry Buscé, a Fleming, both of them young men, already in priest's orders, with aptitudes for learning the languages of the country. The letters I received lately in Rome [1651-52 ?] tell us of the great fruits which accompany the labours of these three Fathers in the Kingdom of Mogor.

“The fourth was Fr. Torquato Parisiano, an Italian, who came disguised as an English merchant, and was going to Suaken, a harbour of Ethiopia.”

Sommervogel helps to complete our knowledge about Father Cesques. His correct name is Anthony Ceshi di Santa Croce. “Born at Borgo in Val Sugana (Tyrol) on February 9th, 1618, he entered the Novitiate at Rome in 1633. He left for India November 1st, 1643, arrived at Goa August 26th, 1645, and died at Agra, June 28th, 1656.”⁵² Fr. Kircher, s.j., is evidently in error when he states in his *China illustrata* that Anthony Ceshini (*sic*) was for 30 years a Missioner in the Moghul Empire.⁵³ Speaking of the Rájah of Garhwál, Manucci says: “I knew two Italian priests, great friends of this Rájah, Father Estanislás Malpique and Father Chesco.”⁵⁴

Father Botelho is said by Fr. J. Marucci (Cf. *Relation*, 1649) to have acted during 16 years as Chaplain to one Sikander, an Armenian gentleman probably the father of Mírzá Zú-l Qarnín. His estate lay, we think, near the Sambhar Salt Lakes. Under Jahángír, the Mírzá was appointed Faugdar there. In a Latin Report kept at the

52. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL. *Append.* Vol. IX.

53. Cf. French Ed. by Abraham Roger, Amsterdam. 1670, p. 364.

54. Father Ceshi's bibliographical notice comprises a collection of *Spiritual Letters*, printed at Trent, by Carlo Zanetti, 12°, pp. 240. The dedication of the book is dated September 6th, 1683. About 12 pages of biographical details will be found in “*Calendario ecclesiastico per l'anno 1857, pubblicato ad uso del popolo della città e diocesi di Trento dal SACERDOTE NICOLÒ TONEATTI*. Trento, Marietti, 8°, pp. 283. The Italian translation of Fr. Roth's eulogy of Ceshi is at p. 121-3. Fr. A. Huonder, s.j., remarks that Cesqui (*sic*) belonged to the Province of Upper Germany and that MS. information is preserved in the Archives of the German Province. Cf. *Deutsche Jesuiten-Missionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Freiburg. Herder, 1896, p. 174.

British Museum, Father Botelho mentions that he saw several statues or figures sculptured near Akbar's tomb at Sikandra and that among them were the heads of several of the Jesuit Padres. Tavernier saw similar paintings over the tomb of Jahángir near Agra. "When you reach Agra from the Delhi side, you meet a large bazaar, close to which there is a garden where the King Jahángir, father of Sháh Jahán, is interred. Over the gate of this garden you see a painting which represents his tomb covered by a great black pall with many torches of white wax, and two Jesuit Fathers at the ends. One is much astounded at seeing that Sháh Jahán, contrary to the practice of the Muhammedans, who hold images in abhorrence, has allowed this painting to remain and it can only be in consequence of the fact that the King his father and he himself had learnt from the Jesuits some principles of mathematics and astrology."

Fr. Henry Roth, born at Dillingen, December 18th, 1620, is one of the glories of the Agra Mission. He left Ingolstadt with Fr. Francis Storer, in 1650, under instructions from the General of the Society to proceed to Ethiopia in disguise, and enquire after the fate of Fr. Torquato Parisiano, whose whereabouts were, it was thought, at Mocha.⁵⁵ In 1651 the two travellers were at Smyrna, whence they pursued their journey *viâ* Ispahan to Goa. Here Francis Storer was told off to Ethiopia. He penetrated as far as the Capital and, thanks to this knowledge of surgery, found favour even at the Emperor's Court. He died in Ethiopia in 1662. Roth was posted at first to the Island of Salsette near Goa; but, we find him soon after acting as interpreter to the Portuguese Ambassador at the Court of a petty native Prince. About 1654 (?), he settled in Agra and governed as Rector the

55. Cf. A. HUONDER, S.J. Op. cit., pp. 213-14.

College there.⁵⁶ A violent persecution swept over the Christian Community of Agra during Roth's incumbency. The King [Sháh Jahán] has given orders to kill all the Missionaries when they would meet for the Sacred Mysteries the next Sunday. Happily the matter oozed out, and the Fathers could place themselves in safety together with their flock. It was probably on this occasion that Fr. Henry Busi was cast into prison to be eventually released by Mirzá Zú-l-Qarnín. Bernier knew Fr. Roth at Agra, and he acknowledges his indebtedness to him for much of his knowledge touching the religious and philosophic beliefs of India.⁵⁷ Father Roth returned to Europe in 1662 with Fr. John Grueber, and went to Rome to ask for a new batch of Missionaries.⁵⁸ In 1664, he had returned to Agra. He

56. "A College was founded at Agra in 1621 and a station at Patna" Cf. HERGENROTHER, *Histoire de l'Eglise*. Paris. Palmé. 1892. Vol. VI, p. 51. The creation of a mission at Patna is spoken of as of a *fait accompli* in the *Littere Annue*, Cochin, Dec. 20th, 1620. The Nawáb of Patna, who invited the Superior of the Jesuits at Hooghly to come and build a Church at his Capital, was a Catholic and had been baptized at Goa under the Viceroyalty of Don Ruy Lorenço de Tavora. Cf. *Catholic Herald*, Calcutta, 1906, pp. 804-5. The College, as we have seen, was a few years older. "In Agra, writes BERNIER, the Rev. Frs. the Jesuits have a Church and a College, where in private they teach the children of some twenty-five or thirty Christian families, that have (I know not how) gathered and settled themselves there by the charity of those Fathers, the Christian doctrine." Cf. *Op. cit.*, p. 270. Where did MONSIEUR DE THÉVENOT, who visited Agra in 1666, get at the following extraordinary statement: "Some affirm that there are twenty-five thousand Christian families in Agra"? Cf. SLEEMAN. *Rambles and Recollections*. Westminster. A. Constable. 1893. Vol. I, p. 404.

57. Cf. *Op. cit.*, pp. 109-12.

58. He wrote an account of the Christian community of Kabúl, which he must have visited on his overland journey: "*Inaudita de Regno Caboul Christianorum, Potente Ethnicorum incognito hactenus...*" While in Rome, Fr. Roth made probably the acquaintance of Fr. Balthasar Loyola Mendez, S.J., the only son of the King of Morocco and a convert from Mahomedanism. The interview would have laid in the heart of the Prince the germ of his vocation to the Moghul Mission. Unhappily, he died in Spain in 1667, while on his way to India. The whole Catholic world lamented his loss. Cf. C. HAZART. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 315-8; Vol. II, p. 278. Some of Roth's MSS. are at the Royal Library of Brussels, Nos. 6828-29, fol. 415.

was well versed in Indian questions, and some of his writings still extant might throw much light on the political condition of the North India of his days. One of the first Europeans known to have unravelled the mysteries of Sanskrit, he could conduct in that language religious discussions with the Pandits.⁵⁹ Fr. Kircher, s.J., has inserted in his works his disquisitions on the ten Avatars, and mentions: "*Exactissimum opus totius Grammaticæ Brahmanicæ cujus et rudimenta is primus Europæ communicavit.*"⁶⁰

His death occurred at Agra, January 20th, 1667, according to Sommervogel, on June 20th, 1668, according to Fathers Thoelen, de Guilhermy and Huonder. With this information before us we are able to fill in the blank in the inscription on his tomb (Cf. *Inscr. No. 13*). To remove all doubt we have A. C.'s earlier decipherment: "Aqui jazo Henrique Roa, falleceo 20 de Junho 1668", the orthography 'Roa' being that of Bernier and Manucci. We may rejoice, therefore, in having rediscovered the tomb of the first known European Sanskrit Scholar.

In connection with Fr. Roth we have mentioned *Fr. John Grueber*. He was in Macao in 1659, whence his mathematical attainments called him to Peking. In 1661, he received orders from Rome to return to Europe and confer with the General of the Society on important matters. All the harbours of the East being in the possession of the Dutch, he determined to travel overland to India. *Fr. Albert d'Orville*, surnamed the Count, a Belgian born at Brussels, accompanied him. A thirty days' journey brought them to Singhanfu; sixty days later they were at Lhassa, the longitude and latitude of which they determined with remarkable

59. Cf. E. BALFOUR, *Encycl. of India*. London. Quaritch. 1885. Art. "Roth."

60. Cf. MAX MULLER, *Lectures on the Science of Language*. London. Longmans. 1866, 1st Series, pp. 168, 172.

precision.⁶¹ After a month's stay there, they proceeded to Nepál and obtained from the Rájá of Katmandu permission to preach the Gospel in his kingdom. Fathers Grueber and d'Orville could not well have inaugurated this Mission themselves, as they must have reached Agra *viá* Morang, about the end of 1661. Here, Fr. d'Orville's health broke down. He died April 2nd, 1662. (Cf. *Inscr. No. 10*). Fr. Felix, o.c., was able to reconstruct his name by means of a sketch of the epitaphs of the Martyrs' Chapel kept in the Agra Mission Archives.

Fr. Mark Anthony Santucci must have been a very saintly priest. Fr. Joseph Tieffentaller, s.j., testifies in 1785 that Christians and pagans alike flocked to his grave and made vows to him: "*Ubi Christiani infidelesque vota facta exsolvunt.*" (Cf. *Inscr. No. 15*.) Franco mentions 'Marcus, Antonius, Italus,' who came to India in 1668. We may safely conclude to the identity. A letter of Santucci's, and another of João Leitam are preserved among the Marsden MSS. at the British Museum. One *Fr. Joam Leitam, s.j.*, a Portuguese, left Lisbon in 1670 for India.

Of the work of *Fathers Francis de Souza, Paul [Peter?] de Mattos, Joseph da Costa, S.J., Matthew de Payva* and *Joseph de Paiva* we know nothing beyond what their epitaphs teach us. (Cf. *Inscr. Nos. 9, 11, 14, 16, 18*). The same remark applies to *Fr. Philip De Conceição, Carm. Disc., Francis da Cruz,*⁶² *Matthew Rodriguez* and *P. F. Xavier.* (Cf. *Inscr. Nos. 19, 22, 23, 25*). With the exception of Fr. Philip, a Carmelite, all were—to all appearances—Jesuits, for the N. I. Missions, West of Patna, continued to be entrusted to the Society up to the year of the suppression.

61. Cf. *Encycl. Britannica.* Art. "Lhassa."

62. We suppose he was at Delhi in 1739 during the occupation by Nadir Sháh.

It is rather significant that between 1689 and 1702, none of the Fathers should have died. Was there a diminution in their numbers? Or, if any died, were they buried elsewhere than in the Martyrs' Chapel?

A passing reference to the work of some of the Missionaries at the end of the XVIIth Century is supplied by Mr. Gemelli, an Italian physician. "On March 17th, 1699, he arrived at the Camp of Aurengzebe (at Galgala) and was hospitably received by the leading Christians serving in his army. They told him it was a pleasure and diversion to serve the Great Moghul, because no prince paid his soldiers better. . . . They were also not deprived of the consolations of religion by their bigoted employer. The Roman Catholics had a convenient chapel with mud walls in which two Canarese priests officiated." ⁶³

The name of *Fr. Anthony de Magathenes* (Cf. *Inscr. No. 17*) strikes us as an erroneous transcript of that of Fr. Magallens [de Magalhaens?]. One of the inscriptions read by A. C. bears 'P^e Ant^o De Mag^{es}', an abbreviation quite compatible with our reading, Fr. Diusse, s.j., in a letter dated Surate, Jan. 28th, 1701, alludes to him as follows: "When the vast States of Indoustan will have been divided among the children of Aurengzeb, whose reign has lasted so long, we do not doubt but these Princes will be favourable to the Missionaries, and protect them openly in all the Provinces, all the more so if they should find them established there already at their father's death. Prince Chalem [Sháh 'Alam] the eldest, has always shown much kindness to our Portuguese Fathers at Agra; of late, he has even called to Caboul, where he is actually with a considerable body of troops,

63. Cf. M. MACMILLAN. *The Globe-trotter in India 200 years ago*. London, Swan Sonnenschein. 1895. pp. 35-6.

Father Magallens, a former Missionary at Delhi and Agra, and has given orders to the Governors and other officers of the places through which that Father will pass to supply him with whatever will be needed for his journey. It is believed that he calls the Father to his court to take charge of the Christians in his suite." 64

In the first years of the XVIIIth century we find also at Agra a German Jesuit named *Fr. Francis Borgia Koch*. Born at Klagensfurt, Oct. 10th, 1678, and admitted into the Society, Oct. 21st, 1695, he taught grammar and belles-lettres. Sommervogel states that he wrote from Goa in 1706 a letter respecting his forthcoming journey to Agra and thence to Tartary. Fr. Huonder writes that he was destined for a Mission to Tibet, the King of which had asked for Missionaries. His death took place at Agra, Oct. 8th, 1711. This brief summary of his career furnished us by Sommervogel and Huonder enables us to decide that the inscription over his grave (Cf. *Inscr. No. 20*) should read: "Francisco Borgia Koch, Oct. 8th, 1711", thus doing away with Fr. Felix' doubts as to his family name, part of his Christian name and the year of his demise. It is strange that Fr. A. Franco should have placed under the year 1709 the departure for the East of one "Franciscus Borgia, Germ." We suggest that the date of the letter from Goa is 1609.

Valentyn relates in *Oude en Nieuw Oostindien* (1726), vol. IV., p. 283, that on December 11th, 1711, when the

64. Cf. *Lett. Edif.* Paris. MDCCXXXI. Vol X. pp. 234-5. Cf. also H. BEVERIDGE, *The Story of Doma Juliana*, in *East and West*, Bombay, June 1903, p. 4.

The Catholic Community of Kábul was still in existence in the middle of the XIXth century. Some of its members may have been the descendants of the European adventurers in the artillery of the Moghul Emperors. Cf. FANTHOME, *Op. cit.*, p. 70. He refers to the "now defunct *Catholic Herald of Calcutta*." [1842 or 1843?]

Embassy of the Dutch Company under Ketelaer reached Lahor, an Armenian Bishop and some Jesuit Priests came out to greet them.

The honour of going to Tibet was reserved to *Fr. Hippolyte Desideri, S.J.*, an Italian. On January 4th, 1614, he was at Surat, where he met *Fr. Joseph de Silva*, the visitor of the Mission and College of Agra. In a letter from Agra he announced that on his journey from Surat to Agra he met at Delhi *Fr. Emmanuel Freyre*, one of his *confrères* in religion, in charge of about 300 Christians. At Agra there were two *Fathers*. One of these offered himself to replace *Fr. Freyre*, who volunteered to second *Fr. Desideri* in his projects of evangelization in Tibet. The two proceeded on their journey *viâ* Delhi, Lahore—where at the time there was no incumbent Missionary—, Srinagar (Kashmir) and Leh (Ladak). At this stage of the journey, *Fr. Freyre* turned back. *Desideri* pushed on and arrived at Lhasa in 1716. With his stay in the Tibetan Capital up to the year 1721 we are not now specially concerned.⁶⁵ In 1721, he returned to Agra, by way of Nepal, and we may remark that he takes no notice of any Jesuit Missions in that country. Subsequently, he laboured for some time at Agra, joined in 1726 the Mission of the Carnatic, and in 1727 took ship for Europe, carrying with him the process of beatification of Blessed John de Britto. Part of his MSS. remains yet unpublished.⁶⁶ They contain valuable information on Juliana d'Acosta, a

65. His own account in the original Italian has at last been published by PROF. CARLO PUINI. *Il Tibet. (Geografia, Storia, religione, costumi) secondo la relazione del Viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri (1715-1721)*. Roma, Societa Geografica Italiana, pp. 402. Lire 10.—It sets at rest many doubts as to the Missionary's career and amply vindicates his character from the hostile innuendos of unprincipled writers.

66. Cf. C. PUINI, *Op. cit.*, pp. 9-10. *Fr. Desideri's* bibliographical notice must be rewritten from Puini's notes.

remarkable Portuguese lady whose influence at the Court of several Moghul Emperors reads like a romance.⁶⁷ We refer the curious to M. Gentil's *Mémoires sur l'Indoustan*.⁶⁸

About the year 1728, we come upon an important fact, the organization of a Jesuit astronomical Mission to the Rájá of Jaypur. Jay Singh II, commonly known as Siwai Jay Singh, was remarkable for his scientific knowledge. He constructed Observatories at Jaypur, Delhi, Benares, Muttra and Ujjain. "Having heard from a Portuguese Missionary of the progress which his favourite science had made in Portugal, he despatched a scientific embassy to Lisbon."⁶⁹ We learn from *Lettres Edifiantes*,⁷⁰ in an account written presumably by Fr. Claude Bondier, S.J., that the name of the Missionary, who thus came into contact with Jay Singh, was *Fr. Emmanuel Figueredo, S.J.*, and that he was sent to Portugal [1727?]. Rousselet asserts that King Emmanuel sent to Jaypur a learned man, Xavier da Silva, who communicated to him the tables of de la Hire printed in 1702. Xavier da Silva was not a Jesuit. Fr. Figueredo was back in India in 1735, for one of his letters dated '1735, in the Kingdom of Mogor', is addressed to the Queen of Portugal.⁷¹

The Jesuits played a conspicuous part at the Jaypur Observatory. In 1733, Jay Singh invited two of the French

67. She is not to be confounded with another Lady Juliana, a lady-doctor in Akbar's zenána, who married the exile John Philip de Bourbon. Cf. COL. KINCAID, *As. Quart. Rev.*, Jan. 1887. The descendants of this Bourbon family form an interesting community in Bhopal.

68. Paris. Petit, 1822, pp. 367-80.

69. Cf. ROUSSELET. *India and its Native Princes*. London. Bickers, 1878. pp. 225-6.

70. Cf. Ed. MDCCLXXXI. Paris. Vol. XV, p. 337.

71. Sommervogel tells us that he was for a time Rector at Agra. Cf. *Op. cit.*, Vol. IX, Col. 337. His name is found in the list of Jesuits deported by Pombal to the Prisons of Azeitão. Cf. *Catal. Prov. Lusit.* MCMIII. p. VII. Appendix.

Jesuit Fathers of Chandernagore to come and help him in his observations on a coming eclipse. *Fathers Pons* and *Claude Boudier* quitted Chandernagore on Jan. 6th, 1734, stopped at Patna in the house of the Capuchin Fathers, at the College of Agra and at the Rájá's Observatory of Delhi, and proceeded to Jaypur where we find them at work in the months of August and September of 1734. According to *Auquetil du Perron*, Fathers *Boudier* and *Pons* would have been instrumental in erecting the Jaypur Observatory. We might grant that they helped in placing the Observatory on a more efficient footing ; but, from their own letter, it is plain that, on their arrival at Jaypur, the observatory was in the main equipped.⁷² *Boudier's* astronomical observations ranging from 1731 to 1735 are still extant.⁷³

"In 1736, writes *Fr. S. Noti, s.J.*, the Rájá secured the services of two Bavarian Jesuits, *Anthony Gabelsberger* and *Andrew Strobel*, who came from Germany at the Rájá's own expense."⁷⁴ After the death of *Gabelsberger*, at Jaynagar or Sivai Jaypur, March 9th, 1741, *Strobel* was the only member of the batch of European astronomers left at Jaypur. Four of his letters were written from that town between 1742 and October 1744, the last being addressed to the Queen of Portugal. With the death of *Jay Singh* (1743), the Observatory at Jaypur was soon allowed to go

72. Cf. *Lett. Edif.*, Ed. cit., Vol. XV, pp. 338, 352. We hear there is a excellent account of Rájah Jay Singh's Observatory at Jaypur by *DR. HUNTER* in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V, p. 177.

73. We have also from his pen: "*Divers Mémoires pour servir à la perfection de la Carte des Indes Orientales, recueillis par un Missionnaire Français.*" *FATHERS DE MONJUSTIN, MARTIN, GARGAM, DE GIBAUMÉ, ORTI* and *TOMASINI* collaborated with him in drawing up these Memoirs. Cf. *SOMMERVOGEL*. Vol. VIII, Coll. 22, 23.

74. Cf. *Joseph Tieffenthaler, S.J.* Reprinted from 'East and West.' 1906. pp. 60. Father *S. Noti* has just completed a fuller sketch in German of this remarkable man.

to ruin, the MSS. became scattered and many of the instruments were sold as old copper. ⁷⁵ In 1743 Strobel went to Agra and on Oct. 27th, 1746, addresses again his royal correspondent, this time from Delhi, whither he had been invited by the Great Moghul, presumably to take charge of the Observatory in that city. He lived very poorly and engaged in many a lively passage-at-arms with the Mahomedan Mullahs. In 1749, he was sent to Narwar, ⁷⁶ and we hear no more of him until the time of his death. (C *Inscr. Nos. 21, 24*). Fr. Felix gives the date as March 30th, 1752, whilst Fr. Huonder, s.J., thinks he died about 1770, and Sommervogel is of the same opinion, asserting that his name drops out of our Catalogues only in 1771. But, from an extract of Tieffentaller's "Narratio expeditionum bellicarum quas Afganes seu Pattanes in Indiam susceperunt," sent us by Fr. S. Noti, we gather that he died at Agra in 1758. Twelve letters of Strobel are to be found in Father Stöcklein's *Welt-bott*, a rare and precious collection of missionary intelligence in 40 volumes.

Two Jesuits were at Delhi in 1739 during the pillage and burning of the town by Nadir Shāh. "Our Society, writes Fr. J. Saignes, s.J. (Chandernagor, February 9th, 1740), had two Churches at Dely, which have been burnt in that conflagration. They had been built by the liberality of Emperor Gehanguir Two Portuguese Jesuits, who were always stationed at Dely, were happy enough to escape from the massacre. They were ministering to some remnants of a Christian community, 700 strong. The men able to bear arms were all in the Emperor's service; the greater part were killed. The palace of a Christian lady, celebrated for her

75. Cf. ROUSSELET, *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

76. Cf. A. HUONDER, s.J., *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

piety and much esteemed by the Emperor and the Court had the same fate as our Churches." 77 Was not the lady referred to Isabella Velho, niece to the famous Lady Juliana?

Fr. Joseph Tieffentaller, S.J., would require more than a passing notice; but, thanks to the able sketch of his life and labours lately presented to the public by *Fr. S. Noti, S.J.*, we know more about him than about any of the Missionaries, his contemporaries or predecessors. The following words portray the man as he was during the whole of his career, and more especially during the period that followed the suppression, when he and *Fathers Garet* 78 and *F. X. Wendel*—the only survivors of that once numerous and noble band of Missionaries in Northern India—were left without a flock or Church. "Next to the salvation of souls and their conquest for God, nothing has afforded me greater pleasure than the study of the geographical position of places, the variation of the winds, the nature of the soil, and the character and manners of the regions through which I am travelling. . . . It has been my endeavour to investigate, and commit to writing, whatever fell under my notice. I have spared no trouble, and undergone great hardships to disclose the mysteries of nature thereby to acquire a greater knowledge of the Creator and fix my mind on things heavenly." 79

Fr. Tieffentaller was a most voluminous writer. His MSS., which embrace a cyclopædic variety of subjects, were sent mostly to *Krutzenstein*, a Professor of medicine at Copenhagen. Some of these were published by *Bernouilli*, but, by far the greater part remains to be discovered. His papers on Persian Ethnology, Geography and his history of India

77. Cf. *Lettr. Edif., Mémoires sur le Levant*, T. IV, Paris, 1780, pp. 260-1.

78. We know nothing more about him.

79. Cf. *S. NOTI, S.J., Op. cit.*, p. 10.

under Nadir Sháh and Sháh Alam (1757—1764) would be of immense value at the present day. (Cf. *Inscr. No. 26.*)⁸⁰

With the name of *Fr. Francis Xavier Wendel* we close this already long—though very incomplete—list of Jesuit Missionaries in North India. He came out in 1751, and was in 1756 at the College of Diu. We meet him again in 1764, when he drew up a map representing the strategical positions of the English and Moghul armies.⁸¹ “Father Wendell appears to have been a very influential personage, writes Fr. Noti. It is stated that there are about 5 Firmans in the Cath. Mission Archives, Agra, which were granted to that Missionary by the Great Moghul.”⁸² Major James Rennell

80. We jot down from A. Huonder the following references to Tieffentaller : *Journ. des Savants*, XVII, 17 ; HUNTER, *Gaz. of India*, I. 386 ; V, 140 ; VIII, 132 ; IX, 151 ; X, 32 ; XII, 323 ; Fr. PAOLINO DA S. BARTOLOMÆO, *Reise nach Ostindien*, Berlin, 1798, 235. Sommervogel says he looked in vain for the date of his death and expresses his surprise that his name does not occur after 1770 in the Catalogues of Upper Germany. Many of Tieffentaller's MSS. are believed to have been burnt with his former residence during the Mutiny of 1857 at Lucknow. Cf. COL. ALLAN, *Proc. A. S. B.*, April 1872. On the same occasion disappeared the Polyglot Bible which Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva had presented to Akbar. This collection together with some valuable documents was saved, at first, by one Mr. Nazareth : but eventually all was sold to bazarmen as old paper.

FR. DE SOUZA, S.J., in his *Oriente Conquistado*, Vol. II, informs us that the Saint presented Akbar with a copy of the Bible in four languages, bound handsomely in seven volumes. Father Pinheiro (1595) is a still better authority : “Then he [Akbar] showed us his books, which were many and good : such as the Royal Bible, then other Bibles, Concordances, four parts of the Summa of St. Thomas, one work against the heathen and another against the Jews and Saracens, etc., Soto, St. Antoninus, the *Historia Pontificum*, the *Chronica* of St. Francis, Sylvester, Navarrus and Cajetanus—these two in duplicates ; also the Laws of Portugal, the Commentaries of Alfonso Albuquerque, the Constitutions of the Society, the *Exercitia* and the ‘Ars’ of Father Alvarez and several other books. He gave us as many as we asked for, to wit, all the above mentioned.” Cf. MACLAGAN, *Op. cit.*, pp. 59. 68-9. The Royal Polyglot Bible or *Biblia Regia* was printed for Philip II by Plantyn (1569-1572) in seven volumes. Could this relic of our Martyr be traced out in India ?

81. Photographed in FR. S. NOTI'S *Das Fürstenthum Sardhana*, Freiburg. Herder, 1906, p. 25.—Cf. also p. 60.

82. Cf. S. NOTI, S.J. *Joseph Tieffentaller*, S. J. p. 32.

had been presented by Col. Popham with a map and a MS. memoir on the land of the Rájputs and other Provinces to the S.-W. of Agra, both drawn up "in 1779 by P. Wendle (*sic*). They have been very useful to me, he says, in the geographical description of the great map." ⁸³ (Cf. *Inscr. No. 27.*) Fr. Wendell died at a ripe old age, the last representative in North India of the suppressed Society of Jesus.

We hope that this dry nomenclature of names and dates will prove useful in marking out the broad outlines of the history of our ancient Missions in Northern India. It is only a rudimentary canvas. May the time come when others will quicken it with the imposing figures of our departed heroes! ⁸⁴

One of the immediate advantages this little study will afford to those of our *confrères* whom kindred tastes draw in a like direction is to help them in deciphering the half-obliterated inscriptions which have so far proved refractory to their attempts. Should they meet with epitaphs where only a few letters or figures are legible, let them carefully map out their respective positions. Casual discoveries in our historical records will some day, as in the case of Fathers

83. Cf. JAMES RENNELL, *Description historique et géographique de l'Indostan*. Paris, Poignée 1800. Vol. I, pp. XXI—XXII—Cf. also Vol. I, pp. 198, 199; Vol. II, p. 242 and *Asiatick Researches*, Calcutta, 1805. Vol. VIII. p. 319.

84. SOMMERVOGEL consecrates bibliographical notices to Bl. Rud Aquaviva, Monserrat, Jerome Xavier, E. Pinheiro, B. Goes, A. Machado, F. Cabral, A. Boves, Jos. de Castro, A. d'Andrada, Th. de Barros, F. Godin, E. Diaz, J. Cabral, Alain de la Bauchère, F. Morando, H. Roth, A. d'Orville, J. Grueber, F. Rigordi (?), F. B. Koch, H. Desideri, Cl. Boudier, A. Ströbl, J. Tieffentaller B. L. Mendez and A. Ceschi. For short biographical sketches of J. Grueber, H. Roth, J. Tieffentaller and Ströbl, Cf. A. HUONDER, *Op. cit.*, and H. THORLEN, S.J., *Ménologium . . . der deutsche Ordens provinz*, Roermond, 1901; also E. DE GUILHERMY *Ménologe de la C. de J.*, 14 Vol., for notices on Bl. R. Aquaviva, A. de Monserrat, J. Xavier, B. Goes, Fr. Cabral, A. Bova, A. d'Andrada, I. Fialho, P. Zuzarte, H. Roth, M. Diaz.

H. Busi, H. Roth, Francis Borgia Koch and Anthony de Magelhaens correct our guesses and fill in the blanks.

The scene of the labours of the Jesuit Missionaries, let it be observed, was not restricted to Patna, Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri, Delhi, Lahore, Srinagar (Kashmir) and Kabúl. Narwar and Jaypur were for a time missionary stations, and Fr. L. Carrez, s.j., enumerates further : Sambhar, near the Salt Lake of the same name, and Quetta. In Central India, he notices still Rachur on the Nerbudda (?), long. 77° 51' E., lat. 22° 30' N., without assigning a Residence to it, though in the text accompanying the map it appears as a Mission.⁸⁵

“The history of Christianity in Northern India during the two centuries following Akbar's death has yet to be written, remarks Mr. MacLagan. It is full of curious vicissitudes and there are many episodes, such as that of Dārā Shikoh and of Juliana, which would give interest to such a history.”⁸⁶

It has been said, and we think rightly, that if the Relations of the Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India during the XVIIth and XVIII centuries were published, they would to some extent revolutionize the History of the Moghul Empire. What is true for the North, would be no less so for the rest of India ; all the more, if the various Religious Orders which laboured in India during the first three centuries of the Conquest—Carmelites, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Theatines, Jesuits, Foreign Missions of Paris⁸⁷—were to

85. Cf. *Atlas Geographicus Soc. Jesu. Parisiis.* G. Colombier, 1900. Map No. 42. In the case of Rachur we suspect a mistake. Should it not be 'Raichur', near the Kistna and not far from Bijapur? Remnants of Catholic congregations are still lingering on in that direction. Cf. COL. MEADOWS TAYLOR, *The Story of my Life.* London. Blackwood. MCMII, p. 340.

86. Cf. *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

87. The work done in India by the Foreign Missions of Paris has been ably dealt with by their eminent historian, abbé A. Launay, *Histoire des Missions de l'Inde, Pondichéry, Maïssour, Coïmbatour.* 5 Vol., 8vo.

combine in one great effort to rescue from the dust of their libraries their long accumulated wealth of precious MSS. and rare in-folios. No doubt, we should stand confronted with a hard and heavy undertaking ; but, in these days of monumental enterprises, it would not be unfeasible.

The publication of the Jesuit Relations of North America, preparations for which were begun in 1894 and the first volumes of which appeared in 1896, was completed in 1902. It comprises no fewer than 73 volumes of more than 27,000 pages.⁸⁸

The "Annals of the East India Catholic Missions" would be an even more voluminous store-house of historical materials—profane and religious—unparalleled in breathless interest.⁸⁹

St. Mary's 'Indian Academy'. KURSEONG, Febr. 2, 1906.

88. Cf. *Woodstock Letters*. Vol. 30, No. 3, p. 446.

89. Fr. Felix, o.c., has in preparation a lengthy contribution on the Jesuit Missions in N. I. for the new "*Calendar and Directory of the Capuchin Missions in India*." A number of official documents from the Moghul Emperors will be published for the first time. We understand that he will publish a plan of the Martyrs' Chapel and his readings of the inscriptions.



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