

Desperately Seeking Capuchins:  
Manoel Freyre's *Report on the Tibets and their Routes*  
(*Tibetorum ac eorum Relatio Viarum*)  
and the Desideri Mission to Tibet<sup>1</sup>

Michael J. Sweet  
University of Wisconsin-Madison

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**Abstract:** *This article contains the first complete translation of the Portuguese Jesuit Manoel Freyre's 1717 confidential report on his journey to Tibet as the companion of the famed Italian Jesuit missionary, Ippolito Desideri. The introduction examines the Desideri mission in its historical context of declining Jesuit influence, opposition from other orders, and differences between Jesuits in Rome and India over the desirability of establishing a presence in Tibet. Reading Freyre's account against Desideri's writings and other contemporary documents, the paper concludes that Freyre's covert charge was to gather intelligence on the Capuchin missionaries in Tibet and surrounding areas. It is argued that this hidden agenda determined key decisions: leaving Ladakh and traveling to Central Tibet against Desideri's strong wishes, Freyre's abrupt departure from Lhasa, and his long stays in areas of Capuchin influence on his return trip to Agra. Freyre's observations of Tibetan culture are discussed, as well as his generally negative evaluation of Tibet, and it is concluded that he did not support any additional investment of Jesuit human and financial resources in a Tibet mission.*

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## Historical Background of the Jesuit-Capuchin Struggle over Tibet

By the latter half of the seventeenth century the rising tide of worldwide Jesuit influence had begun to recede. Faced with French dominance in global politics, the Society of Jesus and its traditional ally the Papacy, both of whose fortunes had been closely linked with a now weakened Portugal, found themselves increasingly on the defensive. As a part of the general assault the Franciscan orders, particularly the French-supported Capuchins, played a major role in challenging the Jesuits' missionary activities, although the Jesuits continued to wield significant influence in France throughout the early eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> In 1703 the anti-Jesuit Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith ("the Propaganda") condemned the Jesuits for permitting their Chinese and Indian converts to retain some of their indigenous religious rituals, in what became known as the Chinese and Malabar rites controversies,<sup>3</sup> and Pope Clement XI confirmed their ruling by papal decree. In that same year, the Propaganda, again with the approval of the Pope, awarded the Tibet mission field exclusively to the Capuchins,<sup>4</sup> although it was well-known that the Jesuits had previously established a mission in what is now southwestern

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<sup>2</sup> The combined efforts of the anti-Jesuit forces (including Spain and its Neapolitan allies), and a loss of prestige even in Portugal itself, would eventually lead to the complete suppression of the Society in 1773, and its expulsion from all their missions. See *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), 1:878-84; Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. Dom Earnest Graf, vol. 33 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1957); Giacomo Martina, *Storia della Chiesa: Da Lutero ai Nostri Giorni* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1994), 2:205-319; and Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 571-96. The political situation of the Jesuits during this period was extremely complex, and in the brief context of the present paper I have only been able to outline it in very broad strokes. Among the most bitter French opponents of the Jesuits were the Gallicanist advocates of a strong French national church and the pietistic Jansenists who had strongly condemned Jesuit practices and theology as heretical. The Portugal-France dichotomy was in fact less rigid than Alden asserts; Jesuit influence in France declined after the death of Louis XIV (1715), but remained significant throughout the early eighteenth century. Desideri himself, after leaving Tibet, did not report to Goa and mainly resided in the areas of India under French Jesuit authority, ultimately returning to Europe under their auspices and being well received at Versailles and Fontainebleau by the French nobility and clergy in 1727. See Luciano Petech, *Missionari Italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1952-54), 7:60-97.

<sup>3</sup> In 1978 the name of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Sacra Congregatio Christiano Nomini Propagando*) was changed to the present Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (*Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli, o de Propaganda Fide*). On the Chinese rites see David E. Mungello, *The Chinese Rites Controversy: Its History and Meaning* (Nettetal, Netherlands: Steyler Verlag, 1994); on the Malabar rites see the article "Ritos Malabares" by J. Correia-Alfonso in the *Diccionario Histórico*, 4:3372-75.

<sup>4</sup> On the Propaganda award of the Tibet mission to the Capuchins see Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xxxiv-xxxviii, and Silvia Castello Panti, "Nuovi Documenti su Ippolito Desideri," in *Miscellanea di Storia delle Espedizioni* (Genova: Fratelli Bozzi, 1975), 153-78. The decree is short and very general, giving the Italian Capuchins permission to build a new mission "on the shores of the Ganges in the direction of the kingdom of Tibet, or in other more advantageous places" ("*Item agendum cum praefato Procuratore Generali pro erectione novae missionis Capuccinorum italorum ad oram Gangis versus regna Tibet, seu in alio loco opportuniore*," Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xxxvii). On the history of the Capuchin mission to Tibet, see Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xxxiv-xcviii.

Tibet in 1624 that they maintained until the 1640s.<sup>5</sup> At the time of this award, the Society of Jesus, acting through Fr. Michelangelo Tamburini (1647-1730),<sup>6</sup> the Permanent Vicar General (effectively the regent for the aged General Tirso González), reportedly conceded the mission to the Capuchins.<sup>7</sup> Be that as it may, when Tamburini himself succeeded to the Generalship in 1706 he instituted a campaign to reestablish a Jesuit presence in Tibet, thereby initiating a twenty-five year struggle between the Jesuits and the Capuchins which came to an end only in 1732 with the final judgement of the Propaganda in favor of the Capuchins.

As is the case with much that concerns the Tibet mission, we can only speculate on what Tamburini hoped to gain by his Tibet strategy, since the 1703 award by the Propaganda had been definitive and unambiguous. Perhaps he realized that in the face of increasing encroachments on Jesuit prerogatives by other orders some response was warranted, even if he suspected that in the long run they could not prevail. To reestablish the Jesuit mission in Tibet may have been a futile gesture, but it did put the Capuchins on the defensive. In pursuit of this new aggressive policy Tamburini made a number of attempts in the years following his assumption of the Generalship to gather information, recruit missionaries and once again establish a mission in Tibet.<sup>8</sup> In the meantime, the Capuchins had not been idle; by 1707 they were resident in Lhasa, and in 1712 they were petitioning the Propaganda in Rome for more money and men. In that same year Tamburini handpicked Fr. Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733) for the Tibet mission, in yet another attempt to reestablish the Jesuit presence in Tibet. As later events bore witness,

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<sup>5</sup> On the first Tibetan mission see C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1602-1721* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1924), 43-93, and Hugues Didier, *Les Portugais au Tibet: Les premières relations jésuites (1624-1635)*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Chandeigne, 2002), 29-139. This was the mission in Rtsa pa rang established by Fr. de Andrade; see also note 24 below. As Petech points out (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xxxiv), the apparent priority of the Jesuits in Tibet was vitiated from the point of view of the Propaganda by the fact that the de Andrade mission was sponsored by the Goa province of the Jesuits without approval by the Propaganda (established only in 1622, with less authority than it was later to acquire); its financial support came from local sources and not directly from Rome, which also undermined its legitimacy.

<sup>6</sup> He led the order during a long and troubled period (1709-30). He was an astute ecclesiastical politician and great promoter of Jesuit missions; see the article on his generalship by G. Mellinato in *Diccionario Histórico*, 2:1650-54. The significance of the Tibet mission for Tamburini is indicated by its mention during his funeral oration; see Fabrizio Martelli, *Michelangelo Tamburini XVI Generale dei Gesuiti: Omaggio di Montese al suo illustre concittadino e alla sua famiglia* (Formigine, Italy: Golinelli, 1994), 133.

<sup>7</sup> In his *Memoriale* to the Propaganda of 1729 (found in vol. 84 of the *Congregazioni Particolari* in the Archivio Storico of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples) Felice da Montecchio, the Capuchin who was Desideri's chief opponent in the battle over jurisdiction of the Tibet mission, advances evidence that the Jesuit province in Agra had definitively given up the Tibet mission, and that was communicated to the Pope by Tamburini, who in 1703 finally declared to him that "*la Compagnia non avea piu veruna propensione sopra que' Regni*" (*Congregazioni Particolari* 84:104b; citations to da Montecchio's works in this paper follow their numbering in the *Congregazioni Particolari* 84 dossier). However, in another memorial of the same year da Montecchio acknowledges that he has no actual documentation of this statement (*Congregazioni Particolari* 84:137b). In my opinion it is quite plausible that Tamburini, the effective leader of the Jesuits at that time, would have been consulted on the award of Tibet to the Capuchins and given his assent to the Propaganda and to Clement XI.

<sup>8</sup> These failed attempts are described by Petech in *Missionari Italiani*, 5:xiii-xiv.

Tamburini had finally found the right man. In what may be seen as a conciliatory gesture towards the Papacy's traditional ally, the actually pro-Jesuit but highly circumspect Pope Clement XI, who only nine years earlier had ratified the award of Tibet to the Capuchins, gave this rival mission his blessing in an audience attended by Desideri in September 1712.<sup>9</sup> However, when Desideri arrived in Goa in 1713 he found that there was already significant opposition to his mission on the part of the Jesuits in India, doubtless based on their knowledge of the Capuchins' right to the Tibet mission field and their recent activities there, the shortage of manpower for their already-existing missions, and financial considerations.<sup>10</sup> In his early letters to Tamburini<sup>11</sup> Desideri writes of the potential obstacles to his mission from his fellow Jesuits, pointing out that the funds intended for the Tibet mission had already been diverted to other purposes. The opposition prompted him to insistently request a patent from the General giving him absolute, complete and independent authority to open the Mission to Tibet despite any local opposition to the contrary, and this request was in fact granted in 1714. Thus it would seem that the Jesuits in Rome and India did not see eye to eye on the matter of Tibet – the Roman agenda was shaped by larger geopolitical issues, while the Indian viewpoint was guided by pragmatic considerations based on the local situation and its priorities.

## Freyre and his Selection for the Tibet Mission

Fr. Manoel Freyre,<sup>12</sup> if remembered at all by Tibetologists, is perhaps dimly recalled as Desideri's traveling companion. Little is known about his life apart from his role in the Desideri mission and the facts, such as they are, may be briefly stated:

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<sup>9</sup> Desideri did not specify the exact date — it was sometime between the celebration of his first mass (31 August) and his departure from Rome on 27 September 1712. He was introduced to Pope Clement by Orazio Olivieri, the Secretary-General of the Society of Jesus. Desideri's friend and fellow missionary to the Indies, Ildebrando Grassi, S.J., was also present at this audience. See Enzo Gualtierio Bargiacchi, *Ippolito Desideri S.J.: alla scoperta del Tibet e del buddhismo* (Pistoia: Brigata del Leoncino, 2006), 10. For Desideri's account of this meeting see his *Historical Notes*, book 1, chapter 1, in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:122-23. For a general account of Desideri and his mission Wessels (*Early Jesuit Travellers*, 205-281) and Hosten ("Letters and Other Papers of Fr. Ippolito Desideri S.J., a Missionary in Tibet (1713-1721)," [Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1998]) remain important sources, as well as Petech's account of his life and work in *Missionari Italiani*, 5:xv-xxxvi, and Bargiacchi's synthetic biography cited above.

<sup>10</sup> On the Goa province's severe shortage of missionaries during this period see Alden, *Enterprise*, 581-82. Another Jesuit who had been considered for the Tibet mission, Fr. Giuseppe Martinetti, wrote a letter to Tamburini dated 29 November 1713, detailing all of the reasons why a Jesuit mission to Tibet would be a fruitless waste of resources (Hosten, "Letters and Other Papers," 21-27).

<sup>11</sup> Such as in his letters of 15 November and 13 December, 1713, from Goa and from Surat respectively (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:5-9).

<sup>12</sup> More commonly called by the Latin version of his given name, Emmanuel. I follow the convention here of using the vernacular forms of given names. Place names and Tibetan words that do not already have a standard English rendering will be given in Extended Wylie Transliteration and THDL Phonetics (you can switch between these two by selecting "Scholarly View" or "Popular View," respectively, from the Specify View drop-down menu in the lefthand sidebar of this page) with Freyre's form in parentheses at the first occurrence.

he was born in Ancião, Portugal<sup>13</sup> in 1679 and entered the Jesuit order at Goa in 1694. In 1710 he was at the Agra mission and in 1714 at Delhi where he served as the pastor of the Roman Catholic community.<sup>14</sup> In 1717, approximately eleven months after leaving Lhasa, he wrote and submitted the report which forms the basis for this paper while staying in Agra, and in 1718 he was back in Delhi. However, after 1719 Freyre's name disappears from the Jesuit rolls. It is clear that he had left the Society, because in 1724 he petitioned for reinstatement. However, for whatever reason, this did not occur, as his name is found neither in later rosters of members nor in lists of the deceased.<sup>15</sup> The circumstances under which he left the Society, what he did subsequently, and even the year of his death are unknown.

How did Freyre come to be associated with the Tibet mission? From January to March 1714 Desideri was staying in Surat with the Capuchins (who in 1699 had succeeded in obtaining an order from the Propaganda displacing the Jesuits and securing the mission there for themselves).<sup>16</sup> There he became acquainted with Fr. José da Silva, the Jesuit Visitor in Agra, Tamburini's direct representative and as such the most powerful Jesuit functionary in the Goa Province. The two men later traveled together to Delhi, arriving on 11 May. The very night Desideri arrived in Delhi he met Freyre for the first time. As Desideri wrote in a letter of 21 August 1714,<sup>17</sup> Freyre, after hearing him expatiate on the Tibet mission, enthusiastically offered to join him. Shortly thereafter, Freyre received official approval from da Silva who, significantly, appointed him Desideri's superior. Freyre was later ratified in this position by Tamburini himself.<sup>18</sup>

In Desideri's subsequent letters and writings he expresses open contempt for Freyre, whom he had come to view as having been foisted on him by da Silva.<sup>19</sup> Desideri apparently believed that the decision for Freyre to accompany him had already been made beforehand, and that Freyre's seeming enthusiasm and eagerness

<sup>13</sup> A small town located in the hilly Leiria district of west-central Portugal.

<sup>14</sup> Desideri estimated the Catholic community in Delhi to number about three hundred persons. Letter to Fr. Francesco Piccolomini dated Agra, August 21, 1714 (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:12, 13) and to the General of the Society in Rome, Michelangelo Tamburini, dated Delhi, September 20, 1714 (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:20).

<sup>15</sup> See Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, 222n2.

<sup>16</sup> Charles J. Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759* (New Delhi: Concept, 1994), 27. The instigator of the Jesuit expulsion from Surat may well have been the very same Fr. François Marie of Tours who later initiated the Capuchin Tibet mission; he was in Surat at the time and was a prominent opponent of the Jesuits – see Hosten, "Letters and Other Papers," (1938): 567-767; (rept. 1998), 71n1.

<sup>17</sup> The meeting is described in his letter from Agra to Fr. Francesco Piccolomini of 21 August 1714 (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:12).

<sup>18</sup> On their discussions in Surat see Desideri's letter to Tamburini of 5 August 1715 (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:22); on his meeting with Freyre in Delhi his letter to Tamburini from Delhi of 20 September 1714 (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:17, 21). See also Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 228n1, on the issue of the appointment.

<sup>19</sup> See for example his letter to Tamburini from Leh 5 August 1715 in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:29-31, and Desideri, *Historical Notes*, bk. 1, chap. 9, in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:183. Both Wessels (*Early Jesuit Travellers*, 210) and Petech (*Missionari Italiani*, 5:xvi) are of the opinion that Freyre was in fact assigned by da Silva.

to join him in his mission were, in fact, a charade, though to what purpose Desideri himself may never have divined. In any case, given Freyre's conduct on their journey, Desideri's animosity is perfectly understandable, as was his change of heart concerning Freyre's sincerity. As for Freyre, it is our contention, based on a reading of his report in the light of other documents, that as an experienced India hand and a person who had already demonstrated sufficient competence to be appointed to the leadership of the Catholic community in Delhi, he had been tapped by da Silva to gather intelligence on the activities of their Capuchin rivals. The unsupported speculations of earlier writers that Desideri and Freyre were in fact spies<sup>20</sup> appear to be half-correct; Desideri remained entirely unaware of Freyre's covert mission, as far as we can judge from his available writings.

### **Freyre's Report: Its Content and Significance**

Not long after his arrival at Agra in March 1717, approximately eleven months after leaving Lhasa, Freyre prepared a report in Latin for his superior, who was almost certainly his compatriot, the aforementioned José da Silva, the Jesuit Visitor in Agra.<sup>21</sup> It is dated 26 April 1717 and entitled *A Report on the Tibets and their Routes (Tibetorum ac eorum Relatio Viarum)*.<sup>22</sup> Some have speculated that one of the hidden agendas of Freyre and Desideri's mission was to gather intelligence for a land route linking the Jesuit missions of China and India.<sup>23</sup> If such was the case, Freyre's superiors must have been solely disappointed in him, since his *Report* is devoid of useful geographical data.

<sup>20</sup> These early twentieth century writers on Tibet, Graham Sandberg, Percival Landon, and Thomas Holditch, appear to have been principally motivated by anti-Jesuit sentiments. See Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, 209n1-3.

<sup>21</sup> The supposition that Freyre addressed the Report to da Silva is based on internal evidence. It was signed as written at Agra, addressed to his superior, and assumes a prior knowledge of the mission. Da Silva was still the Agra superior in 1717; see Frederick C. Danvers, *A History of the Portuguese in India* (London: W. H. Allen, 1894), 278.

<sup>22</sup> "Of the Tibets [*Tibetorum*]," refers to the three Tibets, or ethnically Tibetan areas, recognized by European travelers in the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth centuries: "little Tibet" or Baltistan; "great Tibet" or Ladakh/western Tibet; and Potente, Barantola, Bootan, or the Kingdom of Lhasa, that is, the two central provinces of Dbus gtsang that were called "the third Tibet" by Freyre and Desideri. See Filippo de Filippi, ed. and trans., *An Account of Tibet: The Travels of Ippolito Desideri 1712-1727* (1937; rept. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995): 28-29, and note 24 below.

<sup>23</sup> Castello Panti, "Nuovi Documenti," 161, speculates that seeking a land route between Beijing and Agra was an objective of the Tibet mission, and that this was a priority given the decline of Portuguese sea power. Despite the lack of geographical information in Freyre, Desideri does provide much new and valuable geographical knowledge about Tibet in his *Historical Notes*. The overland journey through Tibet by Johannes Grüber and Albert d'Orville (1661) was made specifically for this end, owing to insecurities in the maritime route at that time due to Dutch pirates: Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xxi. The memorandum presented by Fr. François Marie of Tours to the Propaganda requesting permission for a Capuchin Tibet mission also mentions the desirability of opening up a land route from Persia through Tibet to China, which would make the journey easier and eliminate the resistance which some had to making Asian missions due to the long and difficult journey to get to them even after they have made the perilous sea voyage. ("*Sed postquam ad Thibet perventum esset, credo quod facile iter aperiretur a Perside in Thibet et ad Chinas; quod tollere deberet repugnantiam quam habent aliqui pro illa missione ob distantiam a mari illiusque penetrandi difficultatem.*") Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xxxvi.)

Basically the *Report* is an account of Desideri and Freyre's journey from Delhi to Lhasa, and then of Freyre's return alone to Agra. It is a lively narrative containing a wealth of detail on their day-to-day experiences on the road (events which Desideri sometimes glosses over or omits in his writings), acute observations on religion and local customs, and accounts of their more sustained contacts with Tibetans and Mongols. One of the most attractive features of the *Report* is the author's open expression of admiration for the Tibetans' hospitality, generosity, and lack of xenophobia. Unlike previous missionaries and travelers, Freyre understood that the Tibetans followed a religion quite distinct from that of the Hindus, and that the Tibetans were not, as had long been believed, lost or fallen-away Christians. Nevertheless, despite his high opinion of the Tibetans as people, Freyre regarded Tibet as a barren and poverty-stricken wasteland, its religion as the grossest idolatry, and its material culture mediocre at best. Leaving aside the intrinsic interest of Freyre's account, however, the primary importance of the *Report* for Tibetology and missiology is the light that it sheds on the purpose and conduct of the Desideri mission.

### **Conflicting Missions: The Decision to Travel to the Third Tibet and Freyre's Return to India**

When Desideri and Freyre left Delhi on 24 September 1714, each man had his own mission. Desideri believed that their aim was to reopen the mission founded by Fr. António de Andrade (1580-1634) almost a century earlier. Freyre, however, had been entrusted with an intelligence-gathering mission by da Silva, of which Desideri had been kept entirely in the dark. It has long been known that neither Freyre and Desideri nor anyone else at that time had a clear idea of where de Andrade's mission had been located, much less how to get there. As surprising as it may seem, all positive knowledge of the de Andrade mission had been entirely lost by the early eighteenth century, notwithstanding his detailed and widely-circulated published account of 1634 and the incorporation of some of its information (albeit in a confused manner) by the famed Jesuit polymath Fr. Athanasius Kircher in his *China Illustrata* of 1667, a best-seller throughout Europe in its Latin original and many vernacular translations.<sup>24</sup> It was this lack of accurate knowledge that accounted for Freyre and Desideri's unnecessarily long and arduous route through western Tibet, which began at Srinagar in Kashmir, rather than Srinagar in Garhwal, the jumping-off point for Rtsa pa rang where de Andrade

<sup>24</sup> See Athanasius Kircher, *China Illustrata*, trans. Charles Van Tuyl (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1987), 58, 69. On the generally poor state of geographical information about Tibet available to Europeans at the beginning of the eighteenth century see Sven Hedin, *Southern Tibet* (Stockholm: Lithographic Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army, 1917), 1:188-229, and Romolo Gandolfo, "Bhutan and Tibet in European Cartography (1597-1800)," in *The Spider and the Piglet: Proceedings of the First International Seminar on Bhutan Studies* (Thimbu: Centre for Bhutan Studies, 2004), 96-107. The situation is summed up well by Hosten, "Letters and Other Papers," 11: "Had he [Desideri] known where de Andrada [sic] had been, all might have been different. But, he did not know, nor did Fr. Freyre, nor did the two Fathers at Agra (1714), nor did the Visitor and the Provincial at Goa, nor any of the Fathers who since 1703 had been busy collecting information about reopening the Jesuit Mission of Tibet." See also Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xxxiv.

had established his mission; indeed, both Kircher and a 1717 Jesuit document mistakenly have de Andrade going through Kashmiri Srinagar.<sup>25</sup>

Desideri and Freyre spent six months in Srinagar, preparing for their work in Tibet by studying Persian, yet another indication of their ignorance about the place to which they were going.<sup>26</sup> They obviously had no useful briefing prior to their departure. The two men, together with their porters and servants, resumed their journey on 17 May 1715, and arrived in Leh on 25 June.<sup>27</sup> In his *Report* Freyre gives his version of what happened next:

Here we lingered for 21 days, and were indeed frustrated in our hopes, since we did not discover any trace of the Capuchin fathers, or any information about them. On the contrary, we learned that no one from Europe had ever arrived in Ladakh before us. Shortly thereafter, however, a Kashmiri coming from Ru thogs (*Rudak*) told us that there was a third Tibet larger than the other two, where he himself had seen certain poor men wearing shaggy rough woolen capes and felt caps which hung down in the back, who were distributing many kinds of medicine to the people, and he definitely knew that they were Europeans. From these details I realized that these were the Capuchins. I inquired how long the journey was, and he said it was three months, with many wastelands to be traversed on the way. At the time we were indeed terrified by what he said, as winter was almost upon us. Nevertheless, we prepared for our expedition.

Freyre's expectation of meeting the Capuchins in Ladakh might seem rather odd to us, knowing as we do that the Capuchins had never ventured there but had concentrated all of their efforts on Central Tibet.<sup>28</sup> But for Freyre and Desideri Ladakh *was* Tibet, as it was to geographers and cartographers of the period. The missionaries would have known of the regions to the east (if they had known anything about them at all) under such designations as Potente, Bharantola, Bootan, Utsang, or the Kingdom of Lhasa. Since Freyre knew that the Capuchins had been

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<sup>25</sup> As Wessels (*Early Jesuit Travellers*, 58-59) points out, details about the route were already hopelessly confused by the time of Kircher's 1667 account. Kircher gives de Andrade's route as Lahore-Srinagar-Rtsa pa rang; the map in *China Illustrata* (see Van Tuyl's translation cited in note 24 above, appendix) shows only Kashmiri Srinagar, at a deceptively short distance north of Little Gujarat. Kircher was doubtless following the information he received from Grüber, who gives the Srinagar-Ladakh-Rtsa pa rang route in his "Responses to the Questions of the Duke of Tuscany" appended to the 1670 French edition, *China Illustrata: La Chine d'Athanase Kirchere de la Compagnie de Jesus Illustrée Plusiers Monuments Tant Sacrés que Profanes* (Amsterdam, Jean Jansson, 1670; rept. Geneva: Unicorn, 1980), 319-320. The summary of Jesuit missionary activity in Tibet written by the Jesuit Fr. Fracassini for the Propaganda proceedings of 1717 ("Informazione della Missione del Thibet, fondata da Padri della Compagnia sino 1624," in *Congregazioni Particolari*, 84:33a-36a) also erroneously states (33a) that de Andrade left for Tibet from Srinagar in Kashmir.

<sup>26</sup> As they soon discovered, Persian had no utility in Tibet; other than Tibetan itself, Hindustani (in which Freyre can be assumed to have been fluent) was widely used as a lingua franca in the Himalayan region.

<sup>27</sup> Or 26 June, according to Desideri (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:167).

<sup>28</sup> One would naturally think that Desideri and Freyre would have had some knowledge of the Capuchin mission. Desideri stayed at the Capuchin hospice in Surat for nearly three months (4 January to 26 March 1714, according to Hosten, "Letters and Other Papers," 35). While there, he presumably heard about the Capuchin mission to Tibet, which was a matter of general knowledge at the time.

sent to “Tibet,” it was entirely reasonable for him to hope to find them in Ladakh. He was naturally disappointed that they were not there, since his mission was to gather information on their activities, and so was eager to pursue his quarry to the newly-discovered “third Tibet.”<sup>29</sup>

However, perhaps unbeknownst to Freyre, Desideri had been reporting to Rome all along on the course and progress of their mission.<sup>30</sup> In his letter to Tamburini of 5 August 1715, written on the eve of their departure from Leh,<sup>31</sup> Desideri presents Freyre’s decision to leave Leh as motivated by his personal considerations, which overrode his commitment to the mission in which Desideri believed they were both engaged. It should be recalled that the General of the Order to whom Desideri was writing had approved Freyre’s assignment as Desideri’s companion and superior and, it is reasonable to assume, was aware of Freyre’s charge to gather intelligence.<sup>32</sup>

Be that as it may, Desideri wrote Tamburini that Freyre, worn out by the rigors of the journey to Ladakh, had begun to make inquiries immediately upon their arrival in Leh about a shorter and easier route back to India. Such was Freyre’s eagerness to leave for the south that only two days after their arrival he was badgering the king of Ladakh for a passport allowing them to depart. Desideri went on to say that after making further inquiries Freyre learned of the third Tibet and of certain men there who Freyre deduced must be Capuchins, and that one might quickly and easily return to India from this third Tibet. When Desideri offered to stay behind in Leh to improve his Tibetan and establish a mission, Freyre “made difficulties” and set conditions which were impossible to fulfill. Desideri expressed his fear that because Freyre had declared his intention of returning to India, he might be forced to return with him, “and render useless our having gone there and the plans of our Superiors.” He reported that he had pointed out to Freyre that with the Capuchins already in the third Tibet there was no necessity for them to go there; there was a greater need for them to remain in Ladakh, he argued, where there was no mission at all. Freyre, he continued, would have none of this and told

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<sup>29</sup> Desideri confirms Freyre’s account that they only knew of the first two Tibets until coming to Ladakh; “With all of the diligent inquiries which the Fr. Superior and I had made for over a year, we had not found information concerning any other than the [first] two Tibets.” Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:23 (letter to Tamburini of 5 August 1715). See note 22 above and Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, 203

<sup>30</sup> While Freyre may have been cognizant that Desideri was in contact with Rome, the *Report* betrays no awareness of the contents of Desideri’s letters, which contradict Freyre’s account in ways that would have been highly embarrassing and detrimental to him.

<sup>31</sup> This is the long letter dated 5 August 1715: Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:22-32.

<sup>32</sup> Tamburini was not beneath being highly disingenuous with Desideri as is clear from the letter recalling him from Tibet of 16 January 1719, in which Tamburini claims he knew nothing of the award of the Tibet mission to the Capuchins when he sent Desideri to on the mission: “*Quando diedi à V.R. licenza d’andare al Tibet non mi era noto quest’assegnamento fatta dalla Sacra Congregazione della Missione di Tibet.*” (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:61; Hosten, “Letters and Other Papers,” 97.) This is simply unbelievable; as da Montecchio put it (in his *Risposta* of 1729, *Congregazioni Particolari*, 84:105b): “it is certain that all of the expeditions of the Sacred Congregation [of the Propaganda] were too publicly known in Rome for this not to have penetrated to a General of the Jesuits.” Desideri must have eventually become aware that Tamburini had not been honest with him, at least by the time he was back in Rome researching the archives for his unsuccessful defense of the Jesuit mission.

Desideri that he would not discuss the point, that he, Desideri, could stay if he wished, but that he would have to answer for it to their Superiors. Desideri goes on, “After that [Freyre] added that, in any case, he wanted to go to the third Tibet, where Fr. de Andrade had been in the past, as these were the plans of the Superiors [emphasis mine].” Desideri expressed his doubt to the General that de Andrade had ever been in the third Tibet, and with great reluctance and with obvious bitterness, informed the General that he has decided to obey “the Father whom they gave me as a Superior,” who would eventually have to answer for his actions to the higher authorities.

Freyre did not write a word about this altercation in the *Report*, nor did he mention the rationale that he had given Desideri for leaving Ladakh, namely that de Andrade had been in the third Tibet. He had argued to the very reluctant Desideri that their orders were to go where de Andrade had been and he claimed, erroneously, that the third Tibet was clearly that place. The overt mission had to yield to the covert one and this may have been merely a convenient argument to gain Desideri’s compliance. That Freyre had been told that one might easily return to India from the third Tibet would certainly have provided him with an additional incentive to go there, if we accept Desideri’s characterization of Freyre’s impatience to depart as a result of having been worn out by the rigors of hard travel. As a consequence of Freyre’s insistence on leaving, the two men and their party then embarked on what turned out to be a harrowing and nearly fatal seven months journey to Lhasa, a distance of nearly 1300 kilometers across the high and arid Tibetan plateau in winter. It appears that from then on the two men were rather distant from each other; Freyre, for example, did not make Desideri a party to, nor inform him about, the highly interesting colloquy he had on the subject of transmigration with the Mongol *bla ma* at Bkra shis sgang. Desideri for his part reported that Freyre, whom he refers to throughout somewhat dismissively as “the other Father,” did not ordinarily travel in the same part of the caravan with him.<sup>33</sup> A month after their arrival in Lhasa on 18 March 1716 Freyre, having found no Capuchins there either (they were to return seven months later), left for India, leaving Desideri behind in charge of the now one-man mission. We may infer that Freyre’s orders did not include his staying on to assist Desideri in tending the mission, given his lack of defensiveness on this matter in the *Report*; had he indeed unjustly “abandoned”

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<sup>33</sup> After mentioning that he had mastered the basics of Tibetan and was able (unlike Freyre) to carry on a conversation with the woman governor and Mongol noble whom Freyre calls Casal (see Freyre’s *Report*, 19 ff), in whose company they had traveled from Bkra shis sgang to Central Tibet, Desideri discusses the privileged position that he had attained with her: “...almost every day the princess had me travel in her company, and when we arrived at the place where we were to make camp she gave orders for my horse to be taken care of and invited me into her field tent, which had been set up in advance. She had me take some refreshments and kept me there until the other Father and our party arrived, asking me questions about our European countries, our customs, our Holy Religion, the images that she saw in the breviary, the way we pray, and about the journeys we had taken and the lands through which we had passed” (Desideri, *Historical Notes*, bk. 1, in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:180-181). As Petech notes (*Missionari Italiani*, 5:277n68) the name “Casal” does not appear to be a Mongolian or Tibetan name or title, nor has the identity of her husband, the Mongol governor of Mnga’ ris before her, been traced.

Desideri, as the latter bitterly expressed it, he would have had to account in some fashion for such a gross dereliction of duty.<sup>34</sup>

On his return journey Freyre spent five months in Kathmandu staying with the Capuchins and gathering information that he included in his *Report*. He was indiscreet enough to arouse the annoyance and suspicion of Fr. Domenico da Fano, the Prefect of the Capuchin Tibet mission.<sup>35</sup> Leaving Kathmandu, Freyre arrived in Patna where he fell deathly ill and was forced to remain for three months. He movingly describes being nursed back to health by Fr. Felice da Montecchio, the Capuchin Superior at Patna. In an account written in 1729 da Montecchio described Freyre as a difficult person who insisted on his prerogatives and the legitimacy of the Jesuit Tibet mission. He pointedly remarked that Freyre refused the hospitality of the Capuchin house in Patna (however grudgingly offered that might have been), and instead stayed at the Dutch factory – that is, with the Protestant enemies of the Capuchins’ French protectors.<sup>36</sup>

Back in India, his mission completed (albeit not very successfully), Freyre expresses no desire to return to Tibet, and neither requests nor recommends that others be sent there in his stead. As it turned out, no other Jesuits were dispatched to Tibet, and it was not long before financial support ceased as well; for over three years Desideri was reduced to living on the charity of his Tibetan friends and the

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<sup>34</sup> Desideri speaks of arriving at the Tibet mission “with Fr. Manoel Freyre, who had been given to me as a companion at Delhi, but who abandoned me as soon as we arrived (*ma che appena giunto m’abbandonò*)”: Desideri, *Historical Notes*, bk. 1, chap. 17, in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:215.

<sup>35</sup> Da Fano complained that Freyre’s long stay in Kathmandu was an obstacle “to the jurisdiction which the Propaganda has peacefully enjoyed up until now *alla Giurisdizione di Propaganda fina all’ora pacificamente goduta*.” See Felice da Montecchio, *Risposta alla Relazione della Missione del Tibet data dalli RR. PP. Della Compagnia di Gesù contro de’ Capuccini* (Rome: Typus Pompei Campana, 1729); *Congregazioni Particolari*, 84:106b. Da Fano warned da Montecchio, at that time the Capuchin superior at Patna, that Freyre was on his way there and might try to impose on the Capuchins in Patna as he had done in Kathmandu. In a letter, dated 8 June 1716 and directed to the Procurator General of the Capuchins (excerpted in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:80), da Fano complains about the expenses of putting up Freyre, who had with him three servants and two horses and he had Freyre sign a letter of credit (*polizza*) for five hundred *scudi* to cover any possible expenses that he might incur during his stay. Interestingly, the reason Freyre gave da Fano for his having left Lhasa was that there was not enough money left after the long journey (which had cost one thousand *scudi* since leaving Delhi, Freyre said) to support two missionaries there. Da Fano describes this as Freyre’s pretext or excuse (*pretesto*), and reports that Desideri has stayed behind “I suppose with some plan.”

<sup>36</sup> Da Montecchio (*Risposta alla Relazione*, 106b), describes Freyre as having made difficulties, insisting on his right to say mass at the Capuchin chapel, and on the priority and continued validity of the Jesuit mission to Tibet (which da Montecchio dismisses as not founded on sufficient church legal authority). He also pointedly mentions the Capuchin offer of hospitality to Freyre, and his preferring to take “lodgings at the Factory of the Dutch gentleman.” Freyre mentions in the Report that the Dutch also paid all of his expenses; they had been bitter enemies of the ascendent French for decades, most recently in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714). Da Montecchio and Freyre continued to maintain at least an externally friendly relationship for a time, as witnessed by Freyre’s letter from Agra (dated 29 March 1718, in Latin), profusely thanking da Montecchio for a gift of tobacco that he had sent, as well as for having had other Capuchins convey one hundred rupees to Desideri in Lhasa which Freyre had entrusted to them while at Patna (contained in da Montecchio’s “Sommario” C, see Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 3:46; text in *Congregazioni Particolari*, 84:262b-263a).

Capuchins.<sup>37</sup> Although at the conclusion of his *Report* Freyre rhetorically defended the Jesuits and ridiculed the Capuchins, in his silence on the matter of reinforcing the mission and his decidedly negative characterization of Tibet, he demonstrated his agreement with the Indian Jesuit consensus that any mission to Tibet on their part would be an unprofitable venture. In the light of all the evidence, one must question whether the Jesuit hierarchy was ever strongly committed to the success of Desideri's enterprise in the first place.

### Reasons for this Translation and the Style of the *Report*

The only previous rendering of Freyre's *Report on the Tibets and their Routes* is found as an appendix to Filippo de Filippi's partial 1937 translation of Desideri's *Historical Notes (Notizie Istoriche)*.<sup>38</sup> De Filippi, a well-known mountaineer and a physician, was interested primarily in exploration and history.<sup>39</sup> He omitted significant sections of Freyre's *Report*, such as the long theological dialogue between Freyre and the Mongol *bla ma* who was his and Desideri's host at Bkra shis sgang as well as Freyre's remarks about the Muslim view of Tibetan religion. De Filippi often freely paraphrased rather than translated (a quite understandable strategy given Freyre's often vague and confusing prose), and in places he significantly distorted the sense<sup>40</sup> and there is no discussion or analysis of the text. For these reasons, and with all due respect for this pioneering effort's many virtues, I have considered it desirable to make a new translation of Freyre's *Report* which would follow the original more closely, and hopefully better convey its tone and meaning, as well as to elucidate its significance through reference to Desideri's account, other documentary sources, and its historical context.

<sup>37</sup> In his letter to Tamburini from Kuti dated 21 September 1721 he reports that from 1718 until the present "I have been totally abandoned and have been in extreme misery and want. In fact I have had to make this journey [from Tibet], including all the necessary stops and sojourns and such, with money in part lent to me by those Capuchin fathers, and in part received as charity." Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:85.

<sup>38</sup> De Filippi, *Account*, 351-61. Desideri's book has been generally referred to in the past as the *Relation (Relazione)*; however, more recently scholars have generally used the short title of *Notizie Istoriche*, basing this on the title given in the most finished of the manuscripts: *Historical Notes on Tibet and Memoirs of the Travel and Mission Made There by Fr. Ippolito Desideri of the Company of Jesus Written and Dedicated by Himself (Notizie Istoriche del Thibet e Memorie de' Viaggi e Missione ivi Fatta dal P. Ippolito Desiderj della Compagnia di Gesù Dal Medesimo Scitte e Dedicata)*. De Filippi omits approximately a quarter of Desideri's account, including much material of historical and religious studies interest (see Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:xxxiv-xxxv). For the fullest account of the vicissitudes of the *Historical Notes* since Desideri's time see Enzo Gualtierio Bargiacchi, "La *Relazione* di Ippolito Desideri fra storia locale e vicende internazionale," *Storialocale: Quaderni pistoiesi di cultura moderna e contemporanea* 2 (2003): 4-103. The present writer is preparing a full translation of the *Historical Notes*.

<sup>39</sup> On de Filippi's career and his work on Desideri see Bargiacchi, "La *Relazione* di Ippolito Desideri," 61-72.

<sup>40</sup> For example, de Filippi (*Account*, 351) turns a simple description "... the interior being fitted up with small rooms," (*intus mansiusculas aptantes*) into a disparaging judgement: "...such are the narrow rooms in which the poor pass their lives." He sometimes leaves out significant phrases or sentences, and adds his own interpretations of likely meanings. See notes to the translation, below.

Freyre's Latin is rough and ready and far from the Ciceronian style which was still the model for Latin prose in his time. His sentences are at times sprawling, awkward, ungrammatical and confusing, and his writing occasionally bears the marks of his native Portuguese.<sup>41</sup> His choice of Latin for the *Report*, at a time when most official reports and letters within the Catholic church were written in Italian or another vernacular, may reflect this document's status as a private and privileged communication. When reading Freyre's *Report* one should keep in mind that it was likely written somewhat hastily, following very strenuous travel and a recent life-threatening illness; what it lacks in literary polish is compensated for by the vivid immediacy of his narrative.

### ***A Report on the Tibets and their Routes***

[page 194] Very Reverend Father in Christ:

On September 24, the Feast Day of Our Immaculate Lady of Mercy, in the year of our Lord 1714, the Rev. Fr. Ippolito and I said farewell to the city of Delhi and after seventeen days arrived in Lahore. Leaving there we crossed the river known as the Ravi, and after a four days' journey arrived at Little Gujarat, so-called by the local people to distinguish it from Great Gujarat which borders on Cambay.<sup>42</sup> This Little Gujarat is situated at the foothills of the Himalayas (*Caucazi*)<sup>43</sup> where some geographers, particularly the French, have placed Srinagar (*civitas Cazimir*, Kashmir City).<sup>44</sup> Starting out from the foothills, we finally reached Srinagar only after a journey of fourteen<sup>45</sup> days traveling over steep trails which were truly terrifying. The Himalayas, which are very snowy, encircle the world, as it were,

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<sup>41</sup> On possible Portuguese influences see below, notes 56, 71, 91, 103. Some of Freyre's grammatical errors are pointed out in my notes to the translation. It is possible that some of them may actually be mistakes in the transcription of Freyre's manuscript; which is given in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 7:194-207, and utilized in making this translation [the page numbers of the transcription are given in brackets in the translation]. After strenuous efforts I was finally able to obtain a photocopy of the unique original manuscript (Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele, Fondo Gesuitico 1384/32). Unfortunately, this copy, made from a microfilm of the original, turned out to be largely unreadable due partly to the darkening resulting from the copying process as well as bleeding of the ink through the manuscript pages; what is legible does suggest that the transcription in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, is accurate. If the manuscript is, as Petech states, the author's own autograph, the number and ubiquity of his errors leave little doubt as to Freyre's less than expert command of Latin.

<sup>42</sup> That is, distinguishing the city of Gujrat in Punjab from the Gujarat region.

<sup>43</sup> "Caucasus" was used as a general term referring to Asian mountain ranges, including the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas; see de Filippi, *Account*, 377n15.

<sup>44</sup> It is unclear to me whom Freyre might be referring to here, although doubtless he would have lost no opportunity to get in a dig at the French, enemies of his order and homeland. The best French map of the region at this period, that of Delisle dating from 1705, clearly situates Srinagar in Garhwal on the route to Rtsa pa rang, and places the capital of Kashmir quite a distance north of little Gujarat, though closer than it appears on a modern map. This map also makes the route through Kashmir seem the likely route to "Tibet," by which it indicates Ladakh and western Tibet ("Le Royaume de Grand Tibet") calling Central Tibet "The kingdom of Lassa or Boutan." However, this map does not appear to have been very influential at the time. See Hedin, *Southern Tibet*, pl. 40 and 225. On the other hand, the map in Kircher (see trans. of *China Illustrata*, appendix), shows only Kashmiri Srinagar, at a deceptively short distance north of little Gujarat.

<sup>45</sup> For *quattuordicim* read *quattordecim*.

from east to west and abound in many species<sup>46</sup> of trees as well as useful<sup>47</sup> medicinal herbs. They rise far above the clouds, are tortuous and steep, but are so narrow in the foothills, one touching the other, that they barely offer a way out for the mountain torrents. For the few and scattered inhabitants, there is little flat land left [for them to dwell on].

To the west of Srinagar is Kabul (*Cabul*), further to the north is Kashgar (*Cascar*), to the east the Ghakkar people (*Ghacares*),<sup>48</sup> and to the south, Hindustan. Srinagar is situated on a small plain within the Himalayas where they turn to the north, so that all the rivers which come together there flow west through those same Himalayas as one. This river waters the territories known as Peshawar (*Pexaor*) and flows from there through the lands of the Sindhi people which border on those of the Persians, [page 195] and after forming a port at the market town of Sindh,<sup>49</sup> well known for the merchant ships which gather there, it empties into the sea.

Srinagar is a large and densely populated city surrounded by a body of standing water<sup>50</sup> upon which for a distance of two miles both pleasure boats<sup>51</sup> and those employed for carrying cargo are to be generally encountered. A river<sup>52</sup> flows through the middle of this city which clears away its refuse. The houses of the poor are constructed of pine logs only, without any other materials, for they are built by laying one pine log upon the other crosswise so as to form a square building, the interior being fitted up with small rooms. They tie on a roof made of poles,<sup>53</sup> piling earth on top of it which they sow with many white and violet colored lilies. The mansions of the wealthy, on the other hand, are constructed of stone and are quite lovely for they have attached gardens planted with trees and many rose bushes and plane trees hung with grape vines. The people are tall and good-looking, although they are Muslims and pagans [*ethnica*, that is, Hindus]. They are cowardly in spirit and shifty by nature, and they are zealously attached to the physical remains of their families and to the bodies of their princes, going daily to reverently kiss [their tombs].<sup>54</sup> When undertaking any activity they carefully study not indeed the Divine Will, but their almanac,<sup>55</sup> that is, the prognostications of the stars, and rely more on the predictions of the Brahmins than on Divine Providence. There is good and abundant produce; wheat and rice, many kinds of lentils, white and black grapes, pears, and apples are sold cheaply in the marketplace all year round. [The inhabitants speak] various languages: Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, and finally their own Kashmiri.

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<sup>46</sup> For *spicierum* read *specierum*.

<sup>47</sup> For *proficui* read *proficuis*.

<sup>48</sup> The Ghakkar (*Ghacares*) were a “predatory Muslim population” who maintained their autonomy until 1765; Freyre is completely in error in placing them to the east of Srinagar, as they were actually located in the Salt Range of western Punjab. See Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 7:230n2.

<sup>49</sup> This refers to the port city of Tatta, the principal commercial center of the region at the time. Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 7:230n3.

<sup>50</sup> Referring to Srinagar’s famed Dal Lake.

<sup>51</sup> For *navibus* read *naves*.

<sup>52</sup> This is the Jhelum, see Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 7:230n4.

<sup>53</sup> For *astulis* read *hastulis*.

<sup>54</sup> For *devota* read *devote*. This is an accurate description of the veneration of saints’ tombs common among the predominantly Sufi Muslims of South Asia.

<sup>55</sup> *taquvimum*. Cf. Persian/Urdu *taqvīm*, almanac.

Here we stayed for six months, pursuing the tortuous and guttural Persian language, and everyday inquired high and low for the routes and ways to enter Tibet. We were finally informed by the locals<sup>56</sup> that there were few people in the Tibetan kingdoms, or more accurately, that there were nomadic shepherds minding their flocks, moving about between various dwelling-places wherever the snows had melted to provide them with a little bit of ground with grass for fodder, and which offered them a milder and sunnier climate. [We were also told that] there is no firewood to be found there, either from trees or bushes. The local people strongly declared that we would have to carry our own food and supplies and double blankets for our bodies, and must bring guides for the routes. Finally, [they also told us that] the snows were sometimes deeper than any others falling from heaven and that the rivers were rock-hard.<sup>57</sup> If I were to relate to an audience everything they told us, people would easily believe me to have overstepped the bounds of human credulity.

[page 196]So, after worshiping God, we set out on our journey on 17 May, in the year of our Salvation 1715.<sup>58</sup> For eight days we crossed over a number of different rivers among pleasant trees still covered with snow, walking with our porters who carried our provisions and theirs, and who every day patiently showed us the caves<sup>59</sup> where we might stay the night. But on the eighth day after we had left Kashmir we came to the Barren, or rather, to use the Indic word Syâ [Persian *sīyāh*], the Black Mountains of Tibet. And when toward evening snow began to fall from the heavens, we went a bit out of our way to a goat-fold which was not far from the ascent to another mountain, and there at last we spent the night.

The next day when we emerged from the cavern and saw that the path into the mountains that lay before us was covered with new frost, the porters said, “If we head for the mountain top, danger will threaten us, someone may perhaps slip and fall into a ravine; it would be easier to put up with the flying snow and wind in our face and the lack of sunlight by proceeding<sup>60</sup> through the steep<sup>61</sup> valley than to carry out a brother who has fallen.” Walking through the snow, which was sometimes ten and sometimes fifteen cubits deep, we were not able to climb out of the valley that day, although two men cut through the ice with an ax, making steps for our feet. Thereupon, using this same method they led us to a cleft in another mountain, and with more ice falling from the heavens two of our servants became feverish, whom we were able to make more comfortable further inside the mountain, leaving our things outside. We swallowed down half-cooked rice squatting on our haunches, not sitting on the ground as is our custom. The night

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<sup>56</sup> Freyre’s *naturalibus*, literally “by blood relations,” is influenced by the Portuguese *natural*, meaning native or local inhabitant, properly *nativus* in Latin.

<sup>57</sup> *versosque in saxa fluvios*, that is, they freeze over into solid ice.

<sup>58</sup> Both the transcribed text and the manuscript have 1714; this was a slip of Freyre’s pen, as he has just told us above that they left Delhi in September of 1715 – clearly, he is referring here to 17 May 1715, their actual date of departure from Srinagar which accords with Desideri, who records this date in several different places: Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:23, 163; and 7:176.

<sup>59</sup> Lit., “various openings in the rocks” (*aliquod petrarum foramen*).

<sup>60</sup> Reading *pergentes* for *per gentes*. De Filippi wants it both ways (*Account*, 352): “To follow the valley and the inhabited places.” Freyre leaves little doubt that they were traveling through an uninhabited region here, as they were forced to spend the nights in caves.

<sup>61</sup> For *proruptam* read *praeruptam*.

having passed in such fashion, Rev. Ippolito and one of our Christian servants were not able to see the rapidly brightening dawn. I noticed there was a pupillary liquid flowing from their eyes which was caused by the glare of the snow. Immediately the Muslim porters, who were lying a little apart, came up to us and humbly entreated us to return to Kashmir, citing as their reason the glare of the snow which would soon blind everyone if we did not give up this journey that we had so rashly embarked on. Addressing them I said “My brothers, what you are asking is reasonable. But be advised that on the day that you re-enter Kashmir, I will most surely have you thrown into prison.” Then I stealthily presented a half-*scudo* to the one among them who was their leader, advising him, “Since you are their leader, lift up the spirits of the others and give them encouragement.” For my part, since the Kashmiris [page 197] are a poor and humble people, I mollified them with mild words.<sup>62</sup> Each one tore a piece from his worn outer garment<sup>63</sup> and with the coals remaining from the cooking fire began to darken the white pieces and veil their eyes with them. We [Fathers] only used our little handkerchiefs dipped [in the charcoal] and we also rubbed our eyes with snow, since snow itself eases burning eyes. At last we crossed the river named Sind which rises from these snows, whose waters flow northward and water Kashmir on the opposite side from whence they are born. We now proceeded until noon when we finally came to a place where the earth was not covered with snow and which allowed us a longed-for rest. At that time the porters put down their loads and washed their foreheads and feet with the river water, attempting to check the fluid [flowing from their] eyes. But we [Fathers], being little accustomed to the cold, only sprinkled our faces with water. Afterwards we ate the rice which had been cooked the day before, and when we arose we followed the Sind river,<sup>64</sup> and would follow it for several days thereafter, always spending the night under the sky. We followed it indeed for many days [until] another river coming from Ladakh received the river we had been following. Now, in fact, not two [rivers] but one, it flows into Little Tibet which is inhabited by Muslim shepherds, and from there flows toward Peshawar, finally merging with the great Indus.<sup>65</sup> After traveling for a long time through the desert, where we saw only a few small huts, we arrived in Ladakh on 25 June.

Ladakh is also called Leh (*Slel*). It is, in fact, a small town of hardly 2,000 inhabitants, the shape of which is like that of a wasp hive, inasmuch as each person lives in a cavern, wherever fortune has offered it to him. Their ruler is a petty

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<sup>62</sup> Freyre’s skillful handling of the porters’ incipient revolt gives evidence of his practical abilities. The phenomenon of porters refusing to proceed any further, usually at a difficult or exhausting point in the journey with the motive of exacting higher wages, has long been common during Himalayan treks; I myself experienced this while trekking in Nepal. See for example the account by Marco Pallis of a similar incident during his expedition in the 1930s, in *Peaks and Lamas*, 3rd revised ed. (London: Woburn Press, 1974), 34-36.

<sup>63</sup> Orig. *perizoma*, from the Greek, literally a garment which girdles the loins; Freyre uses this in rather a loose sense, elsewhere in this account, to refer to any coat or outer garment.

<sup>64</sup> “Sind” is a general name given to rivers of some importance; here it refers to the Dras river. Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 7:230n6.

<sup>65</sup> In fact, the river which flows from Ladakh to Peshawar is also the Indus. Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 7:230n7.

king named Nyi ma rnam rgyal (*Nima Nimojāl*).<sup>66</sup> These people eat the flesh of rams, goats and sheep. Bread is completely unknown, but they esteem as a delicacy roasted barley flour well worked by hand in a small wooden dish with butter and tea (*châ*), which comes from China. These people are so filthy and famished that when I tried to stop a certain Tibetan woman from eating lice, saying to her “*Ma zo*,” that is, “Do not eat,” she answered that she was wasted by hunger and there was nothing else to eat.

Here we lingered for 21 days, and were indeed frustrated in our hopes, since we did not discover any trace of the Capuchin fathers, or [page 198]any information about them.<sup>67</sup> On the contrary, we learned that no one from Europe had ever come to Ladakh before us.<sup>68</sup> Shortly thereafter, however, a Kashmiri coming from Ru thogs<sup>69</sup> told us that there was a third Tibet larger than the other two, where he himself had seen certain poor men wearing shaggy rough woolen capes and felt caps<sup>70</sup> which hung down in the back, who were distributing many kinds of medicine to the people, and he knew for certain that they were Europeans. From these details I realized that these were the Capuchins. I inquired how long the journey was, and he said it was three months, with many wastelands to be traversed on the way. At the time we were indeed terrified<sup>71</sup> by what he said, as winter was almost upon us. Nevertheless, we prepared for our expedition.

The petty king would summon us from time to time not, in fact, to discuss the word of God, but to seek and receive certain small presents.<sup>72</sup> To the question as

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<sup>66</sup> Nyi ma rnam rgyal was the ruler of Ladakh; he assumed the throne around 1700 and abdicated in 1725; see Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:229n9.

<sup>67</sup> One of several inconsistencies in Freyre’s account. There is no previous mention of searching for the Capuchin fathers as their goal; Desideri strongly implies that Freyre was actually seeking the quickest route to return to India after their harrowing journey to Ladakh; see introduction and note 31 above.

<sup>68</sup> This is yet another example of their ignorance about previous missions: the Portuguese Jesuit Francisco de Azevedo was the first known European to visit Ladakh, in 1631. On his experience there, which has some curious parallels to that of Freyre, see Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, 101-111, 304-05.

<sup>69</sup> Ru thogs had been a secondary mission station established by de Andrade; see Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, 72-3, 77.

<sup>70</sup> The text has *pila*, which makes no sense in this context and is most probably an error for *pilea*, the nominative plural form of *pil(l)ium*, a felt cap. As a practical measure to deal with the frigid Tibetan climate the Capuchins may have adopted one of the types of Tibetan felt caps worn by monks (as well as by laymen) which have ear or neck protectors hanging down in back or on the sides; see for example illus. b, c, and j in Austine Waddell, *Tibetan Buddhism* (1895; rept. New York: Dover Publications, 1972), 196. If the Dutch had been wearing their cowls, one would certainly have expected Freyre to use *caputium*. In fact, the Capuchins had been very circumspect during the earlier phase of their mission, and did not wear their habits – see David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet* (New York: Praeger, 1968): 221. De Filippi (*Account*, 354) omits the details of their clothing, stating only that they “were clad in robes.”

<sup>71</sup> The text has *exterritos...parantes*, rather than *exterriti...parant*, another example of Freyre’s shaky grammar, suggesting a possible calque of the Portuguese *atterorizados...preparantes*.

<sup>72</sup> This is in complete contradiction to Desideri’s account of a very warm reception by the king, who in fact sent presents to them, and after initial suspicions showed a strong interest in learning about Christianity; see Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:169-71. In this passage Desideri mentions his disappointment about not staying in Ladakh to re-establish the mission, and diplomatically gives the reason for their decision to go to Lhasa that “if there was the head and basis of that false sect, it seemed that this would be a more opportune place for our intention, and moreover because this was the Tibet

to why we had come to his kingdom, we said that some of our brothers of the same religion had come to Tibet before, not for profit or in hope of trade but to preach in order that the people might come to know God.<sup>73</sup> This barbarian, having not paid the least attention to what we had said, asked for the three guns that were at our lodging in exchange for which he would give us four horses.

Leaving [the court] we went to his steward in order to receive the horses. He received us kindly and questioned us about the secrets of God, that is, how many books of God there were. The Muslim interpreter quickly interrupted and answered that there were four sacred books of God, the books of Moses, David, Christ and Muhammad. We knew how to count to ten in the Tibetan language and responded, “There are not four books of God,<sup>74</sup> but only three, the books of Moses, David and Christ.” Afterwards, having obtained leave to depart, the Muslim took me aside and rebuked me saying, “When we discuss religions,<sup>75</sup> brother, should it seem to you that there is something that you must say to contradict [me], please do not do so in the present company lest we bring disrepute upon ourselves;<sup>76</sup> you should explain it later in private.” I responded to this assertion of his, “If you are speaking about mundane matters, brother, I agree. However, regarding the mighty works of God<sup>77</sup> both you and I need to expound things clearly. If I am [but] a poor stranger in this kingdom, you do not have any influence here either. Go in peace.”

At that time, even though it was August, it was [already] snowing. Girding up for the journey we looked for supplies and bought three more horses for carrying loads through the desert, and we also hired three helpers, or I should rather say

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to which we were more precisely destined by our orders.” However, once they get to Lhasa he notes that “Since the other Father, my companion, was accustomed over the space of many years to living in hot countries, he was not able to resist the extreme rigors of great cold and the great atmospheric thinness of that totally different climate, and therefore, after some days rest at Lhasa, undertook another voyage, and by the shortest and most frequented road returned to India.” Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:183.

<sup>73</sup> Desideri reports that they had been suspected of being rich merchants, but that when they explained to the king their religious purposes and showed him the simple religious objects they had brought with them, he was satisfied and made them another present (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:170-171). De Filippi shifts the referent here from the Capuchins to Freyre and Desideri, although the text does not support this interpretation.

<sup>74</sup> Freyre quotes the response in Tibetan here, but there is a lacuna in the manuscript, rendered in the transcription “*xocxoc mion gi, sumo yoto = ??? mi 'ong gi gsum yod do*” but *non quattuor, sed tres tantum esse* makes it clear that the missing numeral is four (*bzhi*). The four versus three book distinction is a commonplace still used in Muslim-Christian interactions; see Rory Stewart, *The Places In Between* (New York: Harcourt, 2006), 281: “I am a follower of Hazrat Jesus. We have three books, you have four...”

<sup>75</sup> *de legibus tratamus*. European Christian writers used *lex* and its Romance equivalents to indicate the general sense of virtuous pagan practice (see *Romans* 2:14-15) and in a more restricted manner to refer to one of the three scripturally-based Abrahamic faiths; see for example the story of the three rings in Boccaccio’s *Decameron* (third story on the first day). By the seventeenth century use of this word was being extended to other religions as well; see Hugues Didier, *Les Portugais au Tibet* (Paris: Changeigne, 2002), 25. Desideri uses this term (*legge*) on many occasions to refer to Tibetan Buddhism, but Freyre does not.

<sup>76</sup> *Ne frates scandalizemur*. “Brothers” here would appear to refer to their Ladakhi auditors, the Muslim appealing to their solidarity as representatives of monotheistic religions based on divinely inspired scriptures (“Laws”) in front of pagans.

<sup>77</sup> *magnalia autem Dei*. De Filippi (*Account*, 355) oddly translates this as “praises of God.”

thieves, [page 199]as guides for the horses and the journey. Having obtained a letter of recommendation from the prince's steward to a lama whom we would be sure to meet,<sup>78</sup> we struck out on the journey on 16 August. After twenty days, during which we were prostrated by the cold and the horses afflicted by starvation, we finally arrived in Bkra shis sgang (*Texegam*) on 7 September 1715. In Bkra shis sgang, a small village of scarcely 100 inhabitants, we, along with a Muslim whose friendship we had secured with small presents, climbed up to visit the lama, who dwelt with others on top of a hill.

We handed his friend's letter to him, and when he had read it and we had exchanged gifts, he urged us to cheer up and said that he would do anything in his power to help us make it through to Lhasa. He then informed us that, "The widow of the deceased governor of this district, who had been summoned by the petty king of Lhasa,<sup>79</sup> will be setting out in October. She will be coming to me beforehand to receive my blessing on her undertaking, and I will request that she bring you to Lhasa in a mutually convenient manner. I would strongly advise you that when Casal (*Caçal*), that is, the lady governor, comes here, you should win her over with presents and visits. Doing that will encourage her compliance and happiness with the instructions I will give her concerning you, and she will help you with her personal resources during the journey."

Having accepted the advice of the Mongol priest,<sup>80</sup> we returned to our party who were in a tent on the plain. Since we were delayed there for a long time, we not only ate up the food that we had with us, but were forced to amass other foodstuffs for then and for later. The cold and the intemperate winds were so oppressive that one day when Fr. Ippolito was washing his face in the river and brought the water to his mouth with hands which had been submerged in the icy river, the water hung down from his beard like little pieces of crystal – a wondrous sight!

But, in the meantime, the lady governor Casal having not yet arrived, the lama would summon us for conversation, from time to time restoring our spirits with food and gifts,<sup>81</sup> and questioning us about the customs of our kingdom, how far away it is, and how many years would be required to reach there. Once, however, he inquired about our religion, asking "Is God one or many?" We responded that "God is one and without beginning or end in Himself,<sup>82</sup> that He freely creates all things and conserves them with His unflinching power for as long a time as it pleases Him, that He pays back each person after death eternally, punishing the evil but

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<sup>78</sup> De Filippi omits this phrase in his translation. Desideri adds that they were also given letters of passage and letters of "solicitous recommendations" not only to the lama at Bkra shis sgang, the capital of the western Tibetan region of Mnga' ris, but also to the governor and steward of that district: Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:171-2 and 247n68.

<sup>79</sup> That is, the current ruler of Tibet, Lajang (Tib. Lha bzang) Khan (1658-1717). Desideri explains that the military detachment which Casal commanded, and which was charged with guarding the frontier, especially from the Dzungar menace, was being recalled and replaced by another detachment (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:172-3). It is interesting that Freyre regularly downgrades the titles of rulers they encounter, in comparison to his companion: thus he calls the rulers of Ladakh and Tibet proper princelings or petty kings (*regulus*), perhaps thinking of the petty rajas of India, whereas Desideri accords both of them the title of king (*re*).

<sup>80</sup> Literally "of the Tartar priest" (*Tartari sacerdotis*). "Tartar" was the standard European term for Mongol from the medieval period onward, but is now obsolete.

<sup>81</sup> *Eulogiis*, Late Latin *eulogia*, gift.

<sup>82</sup> The rest of this discussion is omitted in De Filippi's translation.

rewarding those who love Him, and in Whom, as demonstrated by reason, we live, move and have our being,<sup>83</sup> and are dissuaded by reason from seeking refuge in any other besides Him.”<sup>84</sup>

[page 200]When he heard about repayment he said, “What do you understand concerning my soul?” We said that, “Any person who has a soul created by God from nothing, and instilled singly in the unique womb of his mother’s body, and is born and dies, finds repayment for either good or bad deeds in the other life.” “The soul is not like that,” said the barbarian, “for it goes out of one body and migrates to another and little by little cleanses that which it has committed, and at the point that it is [completely] cleansed it returns to a human body. [This is true] since even human judgement sanctions the punishment of wrongdoing.” “O Sir,” we said, “if you allege that there is a transmigration of souls for the expiation of sins committed, you will damn yourself by your own judgement, for the body will also need to be scourged. For we men do not damage only our souls through the commission of sin, but also our bodies. Since the body enjoys the fruits of its sins, how is it that you do not say that the body transmigrates and thus suffers its punishments? [Since the body does not in fact transmigrate] therefore neither does the soul, and if it were the case [that the soul transmigrates] we would never be without sin, because we kill, cook and eat living beings in whom you claim our transmigrating souls are lodged.”<sup>85</sup> “It is true,” he said. “Men are stained by the slaughter of animals,” and for the rest he was silent.<sup>86</sup>

With the passing of the days while we waited by the river, the next to the last day of September was approaching. Fearing the skies, which were becoming ever darker, we pegged the tent shut at night and slept. It truly snowed so much at night that it felt to Fr. Ippolito as if the earth [itself] was moving, and gripped with an urge to flee, he fled to the Muslim’s kitchen, forgetting even his walking stick. The Muslim sent his servants to us that they might carry our things, and invited

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<sup>83</sup> Quoting St. Paul in *Acts* 17:28, “*In ipso enim vivimus et movemur et sumus.*” Paul was himself quoting the Stoic poet Aratus, and this was “a text constantly used to justify the Christian use of pagan literature”; see D. P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology: Studies in Christian Platonism for the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (London: Duckworth, 1972), 4, 200.

<sup>84</sup> The preceding is a presentation of some key points of Catholic theology.

<sup>85</sup> The Buddhist belief in rebirth, which Catholic missionaries confounded with the pagan heretical view of Pythagorean metempsychosis, was a main subject of Catholic-Tibetan Buddhist controversy from its beginnings; see de Andrade’s account in his second report (1626) of his extensive debate on this subject in Giuseppe M. Toscano, *Alla Scoperta del Tibet: Relazioni dei Missionari del Sec. XVII* (Bologna: E. M. I., 1977), 220-24. In fact, de Andrade makes the same point as that given here, about the sinfulness of killing and eating animals given the Tibetan Buddhist belief in rebirth, and likewise the monks have to concede the point (Toscano, *Alla Scoperta del Tibet*, 223-24).

<sup>86</sup> Desideri, surprisingly, was apparently not present at this conversation, since in his letter to Fr. Ildebrando Grassi sent from Lhasa soon after his arrival (10 April 1716) he states that the Tibetans “reject transmigration,” (Petch, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:37), repeating the error he made in his letter to Tamburini from Leh (Petch, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:27) along with other mistaken beliefs about Tibetan religion which he was subsequently at great pains to correct (see Desideri, *Historical Notes*, bk. 3, chap. 22, in Petch, *Missionari Italiani*, 6:302-304). Desideri later refers to the Tibetan belief in rebirth as one of the main errors of their religion; see, for example Desideri, *Historical Notes*, bk. 3: chap. 7, in Petch, *Missionari Italiani*, 6:165-75). That Freyre seems to have had this important dialogue with the lama without inviting Desideri, or sharing with him the important point about the Tibetans’ belief in rebirth, suggests a cold and mistrustful relationship between the two missionaries following their bitter disagreement in Leh.

everyone into the kitchen. We left the tent because the pressure of the snow had begun to weigh on it, and when more fell the next night, it finally collapsed.

Since we have mentioned the lamas here and there previously, we will now discuss the etymology of their title, their ecclesiastical vestments, liturgical recitations and hierarchy. Thus, “lamo” in the Tibetan language means “the way,” from whence “lama,” that is, showing the way.<sup>87</sup> They clothe their thighs with leather or woolen leggings, and they wear a woolen vest on their chests with a long tunic fastened with a cord or a sash, like the [Christian] clerical tunic.<sup>88</sup> A *calamancho*,<sup>89</sup> that is, a felt hat, adorns their heads, either in the form of a miter or one worn crosswise from the ears over the forehead and nearly a cubit in length; these are all red.<sup>90</sup> Finally, a muslin cloth is folded over the shoulders and they always carry on their work with their arms bare.

[page 201] Their temples are large and passably clean, and are constructed with average skill. The lamas dwell around them in small rooms. Should one of them perceive himself to be less fluent in reading, he will strongly apply himself to committing the readings to memory, disregarding the labor involved. They receive modest portions of food according to their official rank, some dung of cattle or other beasts which is used as fuel, beef, goat or lamb meat, and finally a certain quantity of roasted barley flour. The younger wait upon the older and are engaged for a small salary. They assume the state of lama in adolescence and do not marry, although if they have sexual relations<sup>91</sup> with passing women they do so openly and not covertly, which causes little embarrassment. If someone should take a wife, which happens sometimes as I myself saw in Ladakh, others will not then give credence to him in spiritual matters. It is as if, since he could not even manage his own private life, he would not be able to help others publicly.<sup>92</sup>

My personal opinion is that this nation of Tibetans, just like the Mongols, who are also given the name of Kalmucks or *Sokpos*,<sup>93</sup> do not base their religion on food and drink as others, such as the Indians, do, but only on certain religious formulas and sacrifices to idols. In exchanging [goods or gifts] with others, they never spurn them, regardless of what nation, family or tribe the other may belong to; what is more, they share with foreigners in a friendly fashion, proposing toasts and accepting them. Given that the Muslims observe that the religion and rites of

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<sup>87</sup> This is, of course, a false etymology of *bla ma*, literally, “The Superior” and the equivalent of Sanskrit “*guru*” or master. Freyre (or more likely his informant) has mistakenly derived it from *lam*, meaning way or path.

<sup>88</sup> Late Latin *collobium*, q.v. de Mauro, *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana* “a tunic without sleeves or with short sleeves used by the first monks.”

<sup>89</sup> An unknown word, certainly not Tibetan; Petech (*Missionari Italiani* 7:231n14) derives the first part from Persian *kalla*, head.

<sup>90</sup> This may indicate Freyre’s greater familiarity with “Red Hat,” that is Rnying ma lamas, although he certainly would also have encountered Dge lugs pas (or Yellow Hats) in Ladakh and western Tibet.

<sup>91</sup> For *copulare* (Port. *copular*) read *copulari* (Late Latin “to have sexual relations”).

<sup>92</sup> De Filippi (*Account*, 356) here adds his interpretation “he could no longer be useful to others spiritually.” The sense is that in showing poor judgement (literally, not consulting his own good, *sibi non consulens*) as a private person, by his not merely having a casual sexual relation but entering into the married state (totally incompatible with monasticism in the Dge lugs pa tradition of Ladakh), he destroys his credibility as one who can advise others.

<sup>93</sup> According to Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, n16), Kalmuk and Sog po were used in western Tibet to refer to the Qośot Mongols, who were then ruling Central Tibet.

the gentile tribes of scorching India are concerned exclusively with the purification of the body, they judge the Tibetans and Mongols [by contrast] to be not dissimilar to themselves, but declare them to be neither gentiles, that is, pagans, nor Muslims. This has caused many to suspect that the Tibetans are schismatic Christians but that is to be given little credence, since the Tibetans are truly pagans, just as Europeans were in the past.<sup>94</sup>

Since it is the case that a rumor which comes from a long way off grows ever greater, the title of “Grand Lama” has among some of us come to be considered the equivalent of Supreme Pontiff, whereas anyone at all who independently performs his duties in a *gon pa* (*Kompá*), that is, in a monastery, may receive the title of “Grand.” Now since the Mongols and Tibetans are the poorest of all peoples they sacrifice to their gods with images of poor quality, which are in human form, and are generally made by craftsmen<sup>95</sup> from butter or raw or toasted barley. Nor do they disdain to offer the horns of oxen or rams in veneration of such gods, especially along the roads through the mountain peaks.

[page 202] When one of their superiors migrates, not into another body as they falsely believe, but truly to the pit of Hell, another is elected, not through a search<sup>96</sup> but actually with the help of the Devil. This is how it happens: the Evil Demon enters into someone, usually one of the relatives of the deceased, and informs him about some small possessions. For example, “A certain quantity of gold is in such-and-such a place, hurry up and get it” [or], “When dying I left my leggings underneath some table or other, take care lest they rot” [or], “You will find my robe in my cell on the left as you enter, right by the mousetrap. Be careful that mice do not nest in it” [or], “Hasten to the stable, bring back to me some musk ox hides that I had hidden under the she-ass’s stall because I feared thieves.” In such and other ways the Devil triumphs, ensnaring souls by swaying them to believing in a new resurrection. And finally the one who is possessed by the Devil<sup>97</sup> is elected Lama of the whole monastery.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>94</sup> Here Freyre concurs with Desideri’s correct refutation (Desideri, *Historical Notes* bk. 3, chap. 21, in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 6:295-96) of previous writers who believed the Tibetans to be lost or fallen away Christians. The belief in lost Christians somewhere in Central Asia and in Buddhism as a corrupt form of Christianity was longstanding and tenacious (see for example Hugues Didier, “Die Jesuiten-Mission in Tsaparang, kommentiert und interpretiert nach den Dokumenten in den römischen Archiven der Gesellschaft Jesu,” in *Tsaparang: Königsstadt in Westtibet: Die vollständigen Berichte des Jesuitenpaters António De Andrade und eine Beschreibung vom heutigen Zustand der Klöster*, ed. and trans. Jürgen C. Aschoff (München: MC Verlag, 1989), 96-98, and Henri de Lubac, *La rencontre du bouddhisme et de l’Occident* (1952; rept., Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2000), 33-36, 94-96. De Filippi omits this entire passage.

<sup>95</sup> See Baruch, 6:45, in discussing idols “*a fabricis autem et ab aurificibus facta sunt.*” My thanks to George Goebel for pointing this out.

<sup>96</sup> *Non scrutinio*, that is, not through a real search, as they assert.

<sup>97</sup> *Zabulus*, Late Latin for *diabolus*, the devil, from the Greek *zabolos*.

<sup>98</sup> Compare Desideri’s detailed account of the process of finding a new Dalai Lama; he agrees with Freyre only in ascribing it to the devil: Desideri, *Historical Notes*, bk. 3, chap. 1-3, in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 6:115-138. Fr. Domenico da Fano’s *Relazione of 1713* describes a similar process of finding hidden objects as the means of identifying incarnations, as does the Capuchin *Rappresentanza of 1737* (although by an infant or child) (Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 3:25, 122). Freyre’s treatment of this subject recalls that of in Kircher, *China Illustrata*, 73 (Van Tuyl translation, 66) which was in turn derived from the now-lost accounts of Grüber and d’Orville. On the sources of Kircher’s account of

When the woman governor had returned to the Lama, so that after seeking his blessing she might get leave to depart, we then approached her and with a worshipful gesture presented her with a fine piece of cloth<sup>99</sup> from Bengal, red in color and well-fashioned, for the Mongols love red fabrics, and over and above that we presented her with ten *scudi*. With a truly noble expression, and taking pleasure in our offerings, she looked into our eyes and asked, in a womanly fashion: “Brothers, tell us at length from where you come and what fate has brought you here into our domain?” We explained to her sufficiently well through the Muslim interpreter that we were seeking to go to Lhasa; “Since we are so unused to the cold and ignorant of the climate and roads of these far-flung regions, we would like to join you and your party, if you would accept us well-meaning pilgrims into your company, and we will also give whatever money you think necessary for our expenses.” The woman said, “Well, you are speaking of money, but that is not the reason why I will take good care of you, even using my own resources, but rather because of Dkon mchog (*Conququo*), that is to say, God. Now, do not disregard my advice, namely, not to trust in horses [as pack animals], but to take along oxen suitable for carrying loads, for horses will die of hunger, finding the grass either dried out by the frost or buried in the snow. As for me, I have orders from the king that wherever on my journey there are Tibetan shepherds, they will bring me oxen and take my things to a place where others will come and receive them, and they will similarly carry our things further loaded on their oxen, the shepherds of the previous day returning home.<sup>100</sup> Having the shepherds transport our goods in such a manner, we will take good care of our horses and ourselves. You will not regret the expense for these [oxen].” [page 203] On visiting her the next day we offered her fifty *scudi*, saying, “We are foreigners, ignorant of the local language by which we would be able to determine which and how many oxen would be appropriate, nor are we strong enough even to load them everyday. Let our Lady Casal decide how many<sup>101</sup> oxen we will need, and just as Your Ladyship’s steward takes care of everything entrusted to him, we would like him to take care of our things as well.” “That’s a good suggestion,” she said. “Hand everything over to him, sealed.”

Having done so, we left the small huts of Bkra shis sgang on 8 October, in the Year of Our Lord 1715, traveling in the company of the Mongol woman, trusting in the grace of God and commending ourselves to the power of his Word. This worthy woman would, from time to time, restore us with her own food and, when we were miserable, exhausted by the cold and so parched by the wind that I would often say, I must confess, “O cursed wind,” she then would present us with hot tea and some meat, thus sustaining us in the midst of our suffering.<sup>102</sup> She sometimes encouraged us as well, speaking through a third party [the interpreter],

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Tibet see Baleslaw Szczesniak, “Anthanasius Kircher’s China Illustrata,” *Osiris* (1952): 400-402. On Grüber and d’Orville see Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, 166-203.

<sup>99</sup> Freyre has *patiya*, prob. from Hindi *pañña*, Skt. *pañña* / *paññaka* / *paññika* q.v. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, meaning fine or finely woven cloth, a fine piece of silk.

<sup>100</sup> This is the corvée system that was employed in Tibet until the middle of the twentieth century; it was first noted by de Andrade; see Giuseppe Toscano, *La Prima Missione Cattolica nel Tibet* (Parma: Istituto Missioni Estere, 1951), 98.

<sup>101</sup> Reading *quot* or *quotquot* for *quinque*, which makes no sense in this context, although it does appear clearly in the manuscript.

<sup>102</sup> Compare Desideri, *Historical Notes*, bk. 1, chap. 10, in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 5:180.

that we should not fear the mountains or the masses of snow so long as we did not become separated from the group. One day, seeing me frozen stiff by the cold, she ordered some goatskins to be brought to her and said to me, "Take off your coat and give it to me." I took it off and handed it over to her, and she ordered one of the servants, "Line the sleeves of his coat with these skins, sewn in such a way that his hands will always be covered with the wool which has been turned to the inside."

Another day one of her camels perished in the snows and my<sup>103</sup> horse which I had been riding had become inflamed internally due to hunger and was bleeding from its nostrils. He was unable to proceed any further, and that night finally fell down dead in the snow. I had only a single Muslim servant with me. As the sun was setting, the tracks of those who had gone on ahead of me were also lost to sight. Not knowing what I should do, I stretched out prostrate on the snow and lay down upon my horse's flank so that I might absorb<sup>104</sup> some of his warmth, and waited<sup>105</sup> for the next day. The woman governor was informed [that I was missing] by Fr. Ippolito, and being very concerned for me, sent three horses and two household servants to my rescue; truly she snatched me from the jaws of death, and later comforted me and my party with meat and rice for sustenance. On the following day she gave me a horse to ride, and we set out from there, not by any roads, but through the snow.<sup>106</sup>

[page 204] I am passing over many things, in fact, since it's not possible to speak of everything, but<sup>107</sup> I can't bear to keep silent about how we lived for four months in that wasteland. This is really how it was: coming to the day's halt, we first pitched our tents and set the horses free to graze; not indeed on fodder, but rather on the semblance of fodder. Each [traveler] would tie a rope to [his horse's] foot and go off, each in his own direction, to collect ox-dung. The cattle of those who journey back and forth on the trail leave behind their dung which is really of great help to travelers. We would bring it home wrapped in the ends of our coats and divide it, with half for today's fire, and save the other part for tomorrow's. We would get up very early at dawn and strike a spark from the flintstone, put to the fuel, and keep ourselves warm. We would melt the ice to water in cauldrons, add tea, salt and butter, and let it boil. Meanwhile, we would gather the horses which had been hobbled during the night in the midst of that miserable fodder, [the horses] preferring to stand around rather than graze on it, saddle them and warm our hands at the fire from time to time so that they would not become frozen stiff. Later, seated around the fire, we would keep one hand on the reins, and put the other into the breast of our robes and each would take out from the fur his own wooden bowl, and after sipping what is either a food or a beverage, I don't really know [how to describe it], we would mount the horses and start on our way. Since we never took our clothes off the vermin swarmed on our bodies. Sometimes we

<sup>103</sup> For *meu* read *meus*, which may be just be another slip of the pen, or again, a contamination from Portuguese.

<sup>104</sup> For *attraheram* read *attraherem*.

<sup>105</sup> For *expectarem* read *expectabat*, there being no apparent reason here for the subjunctive.

<sup>106</sup> This incident is also recounted in detail by Desideri, who dates it precisely to the evening of 22 November 1715; he also specifies that the Muslim with Freyre was their interpreter. Desideri, *Historical Notes*, bk. 1, chap. 10, in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 181-82.

<sup>107</sup> For *atuem* read *autem*.

sat basking in the sun and took off our clothes,<sup>108</sup> not indeed to pick [the vermin] off one by one, because it was easier just to sweep them off.

Traveling through the wasteland in this way<sup>109</sup> we at last came to a place in which the mountains were difficult to climb and there was little fodder. Two horses were dying from hunger, one of the Tibetans' and one of ours, and we left them by the road after removing the halters from their muzzles. At sunset that day, after taking a long time to set up camp in a place where neither fodder nor ox-dung fuel were to be found, both we and our horses stood there expecting to die. Then a man came running from a long way off and shouted out to us, "Go to Casal and ask her for fodder and cattle dung." These people had come<sup>110</sup> from the hamlet which we would reach the next day. I ran, slipping on the ice from time to time, and stood at last at the opening of the tent with my hands raised in supplication. Casal asked, "Lama, why don't you come in to the fire?" Stammering I replied to Casal, "*Za minduk, shing minduk (zā menduc, xingue menduk)*," that is to say, there is no fodder and no fuel.<sup>111</sup> [page 205]Hearing that, the Mongol lady commanded that we quickly be given seven bags of fodder and as much cattle dung as was considered necessary for us. From that day on, we began to encounter small settlements, and we never lacked our share of fodder and fuel for each day, thanks to the woman's orders.

Having crossed the wasteland we came to rural settlements; it's not important to mention the names of those with just two or three houses. We finally arrived at one larger than these, named Sa skya (*Saquiâ*), on the fifteenth of February, 1716.<sup>112</sup> The Capuchin fathers who come from Hindustan through Nepal also stop off here and proceed on to Lhasa,<sup>113</sup> doing likewise on the return trip, with the exception of one of them, who arrived in Bengal from Lhasa via Sikkim (*Damaxor*, Tib. 'Bras mo ljongs). Leaving both Sa skya and our Lady Governor on the 29th of February, we [Fathers], all alone, but with God accompanying us, approached Gzhis ka rtse (*Zagarché*). Setting out from there we entered Lhasa after a twelve days journey.

As to Lhasa, it is a town which is large enough to form three parishes. Eleven years ago the Mongols brought it under their rule, [taking it] from the Tibetans.<sup>114</sup> The petty king, named Genghis Khan (*Gingykan*),<sup>115</sup> for his part governs peaceably now. In recent years five or six Capuchin fathers from the Marches of Ancona

<sup>108</sup> For *sulutis* read *solutis*.

<sup>109</sup> This phrase was omitted by de Filippi.

<sup>110</sup> The third person plural here, *venerent*, indicates that there were others in addition to the man who addressed Freyre and his party. De Filippi (*Account*, 359) adds his interpretation: "we later learnt that provisions had been sent from a small village we were to arrive at on the morrow."

<sup>111</sup> The Tibetan (*za mi 'dug*) actually means "there is no food," although he obviously got his meaning across to Casal. This is one more indication of Freyre's scanty knowledge of Tibetan, which he acknowledges at various points.

<sup>112</sup> Orig: *ejusdem supra dicti anni*.

<sup>113</sup> This was the Capuchin mission of 1709-11, initially under Fr. Giuseppe da Ascoli and after his death in 1710 Fr. Felice da Montecchio; see Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xlvi-xlviii.

<sup>114</sup> Freyre is here alluding to Lajang Khan's decisive seizure of total power in central Tibet, with the assassination of the Regent Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho in 1705. See Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century* (1950; repr., Leiden: Brill, 1972), 10-13.

<sup>115</sup> The Catholic missionaries always called Lajang Khan "Genghis Khan."

came here,<sup>116</sup> that is, to Lhasa, who, either through the lack of a harvest of souls or for other reasons – they were very little skilled in languages – left this place, and regrouped in Bengal as soon as possible; two of them died in Patna. These kingdoms are very unsuited to Europeans, both because of the extreme cold as well as the lack of food.

Having put Rev. Fr. Ippolito in charge at Lhasa on the 16th of April in the year of Our Lord 1716, I arrived in Nepal after a 42 days journey. There I found five Capuchin fathers and stayed with them for five months. After one of them died there were four left, of whom one was Domenico da Fano<sup>117</sup> who was Prefect of the Tibetan mission supported by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.<sup>118</sup> However, at this time, the plague raged so relentlessly in Nepal (which is actually three city-states governed by three independent petty kings), that in scarcely three months almost twenty thousand corpses were laid out for cremation.

[page 206]Not only was the plague at large in the populace, but the people themselves, after having been goaded to sedition, sent away the petty king, who was subjected to humiliations, and in a mad frenzy<sup>119</sup> they slaughtered seven of his palace servants. Afterwards, the Devil, always an evildoer, was now consumed by violent envy; the pagans wanted to make an attack on the Fathers, but on the one hand, a violent rainstorm toward evening (an angel was protecting us), and on the other hand, their enthusiasm for sacking our houses, miraculously kept them from killing us.

The pretext for their hatred toward the Fathers, whom they also called “Moguls,” was to be found in their monastic robes. Formerly, when the Fathers arrived in Patna they wore a brown habit in accordance with the Capuchin rule. But the Superior, who was named Brother Felice [da Montecchio], had formed a friendship with the Qazi (*Cazino*), the legal prosecutor of the Muslims. The Qazi was offended, not indeed with the Father, but with the dark color of his habit, and requested the Capuchin<sup>120</sup> to discard his almond color[ed habit] and deign to wear blue. The Qazi right away ordered some fine silk cloth to be dyed blue, and in a friendly fashion presented it to the Capuchin, saying, “Sew for yourselves clothes

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<sup>116</sup> Freyre here refers to the five Capuchins who had been at Lhasa during the first phase of the Capuchin mission (1707-11): Frs. François Marie of Tours and Giuseppe da Ascoli, who died at Patna, as well as Frs. Domenico da Fano, Giovanni da Fano, and Michelangelo da Borgogna. See Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xlili-xxlviii.

<sup>117</sup> On Domenico da Fano’s role in the second Capuchin mission to Tibet see Petech’s introduction to *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xlvi-liii and da Fano’s *Relazione*, in Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 3:3-37.

<sup>118</sup> This was the agency of the Catholic Church which had sole authority over foreign missions (subject of course to the papacy and influences by ecclesiastical and secular politics). From its inception in 1622 it was closely identified with the Capuchins and other Franciscans, and in general was hostile to the Jesuits and their more accommodating approach to the high cultures of Asia. See note 3 above, as well as Philip Caraman, *Tibet: The Jesuit Century* (Tiverton, UK: Halsgrove, 1998), 137-41. On the establishment of the Capuchin mission to Tibet by the Propaganda Fide see Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:xxxiv-xxxviii. De Filippi (*Account*, 360) does not translate the phrase *Sacra de Propaganda Congregazione eum adjuvante*.

<sup>119</sup> Literally “like Bacchantes,” referring to the frenzied slaughter of men who had profaned the sacred mysteries recounted in Greek literature, most famously in the *Bacchae* of Euripides. De Filippi omits this characterization.

<sup>120</sup> *culcarem*, literally “the hooded one.”

cut from this cloth.” This was done without delay, and soon the Capuchin fathers were happily wearing blue.

At the time of the plague the Nepalis began to make the accusation that such a blue color, with which the Capuchins had died their habits, was so displeasing and unacceptable to the gods that in anger they had smashed the fictitious<sup>121</sup> undersea bridge which goes from Bengal to Lanka, that is, to Ceylon, which is actually their Elysian Fields. Therefore, the souls of the dead, having found the bridge broken, returned to put others to death, and for that reason, by removing the cause of displeasure, that is, by killing the Fathers, the gods might be placated. But the Capuchins looked out well for themselves inasmuch as they immediately purchased white cotton cloth brought to their house by paid functionaries, and ordered that robes be made after the Nepali fashion as quickly as possible. When the Nepalis saw this they said to the Fathers, “Now things are well – from Moguls you have made yourselves into Nepalis like us.”

After a few days, having left one Father in Nepal, the three others proceeded on horseback to Lhasa and stayed with Fr. Ippolito and some Tibetan servants;<sup>122</sup> all the Capuchins who went to Lhasa stayed in that house. The house belonged to the petty king’s treasury department, and they paid monthly rent, for it is difficult to find housing in Lhasa. The Capuchin Fathers had completed two guest houses, one in Candranagar in Bengal, the other in Patna, and gave out that three more were to be constructed, [page 207]namely one in Nepal, the other in Lhasa, and the last one in Dwags po (*Takpo*)<sup>123</sup> a village eight or ten days’ journey<sup>124</sup> distant from Lhasa, at which it had been ascertained that some grapes were to be found.<sup>125</sup>

As for myself, I went from Nepal to Patna where I was struck down by a grave illness and resided for three months with the Dutch, who not only took care of my expenses, but truly and sincerely treated me with love, and who, as it were, raised me stinking out of the grave.<sup>126</sup> In addition, the Capuchin Fathers, especially the Rev. Fr. Brother Felice [da Montecchio],<sup>127</sup> showed compassion toward my pitiable self which words cannot express, inasmuch as he stayed at my bedside day and night taking care of me, so that if I were to have a hundred tongues worthy to show my gratitude for his kindnesses, I would still never be able to thank him enough.

<sup>121</sup> Taking *fictitium* (Late Latin, “fictitious”) with *pontem*. Compare de Filippi (*Account*, 361) “an imaginary Ceilam [sic].”

<sup>122</sup> For familiis read famulis.

<sup>123</sup> That is, Dwags po khyer.

<sup>124</sup> De Filippi (*Account*, 361) unaccountably translates this (*octo vel decem dierum itinere distantes*) as “ten or twelve days distance.”

<sup>125</sup> Which were essential in making sacramental wine. Petech states that making sacramental wine to supply the mission at Lhasa was one of the objectives, albeit a minor one, for opening this guest house: Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 1:lii.

<sup>126</sup> Freyre is alluding here to Lazarus having been raised up from his tomb by Jesus (John, 11:38-39). My thanks to the anonymous reader for supplying this reference.

<sup>127</sup> Felice da Montecchio (1671-1732) was named vice-prefect of the Tibet mission in 1705, and prefect in 1710. He later was the Capuchin visitor at Patna, an influential post. He made a brief visit to Lhasa in 1721. Besides the personal kindness that he showed to Freyre, Desideri also describes him as a very convivial companion on their journey together from Kuti to Kathmandu (Desideri, *Historical Notes*, bk. 4, chap. 1; Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 7:6), although da Montecchio was later to become his bitter enemy (see following note).

I am writing thus to Your Paternity summarizing the mission to the Tibetans, so that to some small extent Your Paternity may have some little information not only about the roads, but truly also about the Tibetan kingdoms, and finally, most especially about the Propaganda missionaries, who, although they have accomplished nothing for the past eleven years, nevertheless take it badly that the Jesuits send people to what they call their harvest, and have already written many complaints to Rome.<sup>128</sup> I hope that Rev. Fr. Ippolito will write at greater length to Your Paternity. Most Reverend Father, I ask on bended knees for your efficacious blessing.

Agra, 26 April 1717

Your subject in Christ,  
Manoel Freyre

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<sup>128</sup> For *multa* read *multas*. Most active in these complaints was the very same Fr. Felice da Montecchio mentioned above, who with a seemingly obsessive concern submitted a total of fifteen documents to the Propaganda during the proceedings (*causa*) conducted by the Propaganda over the Tibet mission. A contemporary Jesuit described these, quite justly, as containing “much acrimony and invective” against his former friend and travel companion Desideri. See Castello Panti, “Nuovi Documenti,” 170-74, and Petech, *Missionari Italiani*, 3:38-46; copies of all of da Montecchio’s writings on the *causa* are found in the dossier conserved in the Archivio Storico of the Propaganda, *Congregazioni Particolari*, 84 ff.

## Glossary

**Note:** Glossary entries are organized in Tibetan alphabetical order. All entries list the following information in this order: THDL Extended Wylie transliteration of the term, THDL Phonetic rendering of the term, English translation, Sanskrit and/or Chinese equivalent, dates when applicable, and type.

<b>Ka</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>dkon mchog</i>	Könchok				Name
<i>bkra shis sgang</i>	Trashigang				Place
<b>Ga</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>dge lugs</i>	Geluk				Organization
<i>dge lugs pa</i>	Gelukpa				Organization
<i>dgon pa</i>	gōnpa				Term
<b>Nga</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>mnga' ris</i>	Ngari				Place
<b>Nya</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>nyi ma rnam rgyal</i>	Nyima Namgyel				Person
<i>rnying ma</i>	Nyingma				Organization
<b>Da</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>dwags po</i>	Dakpo				Place
<i>dwags po khyer</i>	Dakpokhyer				Place
<b>Ba</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>bla ma</i>	lama				Term
<i>dbus gtsang</i>	Ütsang				Place
<i>'bras mo ljongs</i>	Dremojong				Place
<b>Tsa</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>rtsa pa rang</i>	Tsaparang				Place
<b>Zha</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>gzhis ka rtse</i>	Zhikatsé				Place
<i>bzhi</i>	zhi	four			Term
<b>Ra</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>ru thogs</i>	Rutok				Place

<b>Sa</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>sa skya</i>	Sakya				Place
<i>sangs rgyas rgya mtsho</i>	Sanggyé Gyatso				Person
<i>sog po</i>	Sokpo				Ethnicity
<b>Ha</b>					
<b>Wylie</b>	<b>Phonetics</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Sanskrit/Chinese</b>	<b>Dates</b>	<b>Type</b>
<i>lha bzang</i>	Lhazang				Person

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