The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island; its Geology and Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.
ERRATA.

Page 142, for "Committee Meeting" read "Council Meeting."
Page 148, line 42, for "Kaṇṇakai" read "Kaṇṇaki."
Page 148, line 43, omit "and turned her out of doors."
Page 149, note 0, for "Puṇanāḥuḥ" read "Puṇanānūru."
Page 149, for note † substitute the following note: — "† Sundara-
múrtti Deváram on Tiruppukalúr beginning Míṣukkilá-
tánai."
Page 191, line 16, after "1081," insert "and certainly prior to 1112."
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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

CEYLON BRANCH.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 27, 1893.

Present:

The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. F. H. M. Corbet.

Mr. Staniforth Green.

Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting of Council held on November 4, 1892.

2. Elected the following resident Members:—Mr. G. A. Joseph; N. Mendis, Mudaliyar; Mr. J. Harward.

3. Read a letter from Mr. G. A. Joseph tendering his resignation as Assistant Secretary.

Resolved,—That the Council has received Mr. Joseph's letter with the greatest regret and accept the resignation with the greatest reluctance. The Society is deeply indebted to Mr. Joseph for the devotion with which he has worked in its interests, and for the great amount of personal trouble he has taken in the performance of the duties of his post.

The Council requests Mr. Joseph's acceptance of the honorarium which he has hitherto refrained from drawing out of consideration for the Society.
The Council tenders its thanks to Mr. Joseph for consenting to carry on the duties of Assistant Secretary until the Annual General Meeting, and authorises his employing a clerk on a salary of Rs. 20 per mensem from the 1st February, if necessary.

4. Laid on the table draft Annual Report for 1892.
   Resolved,—That the draft Report be completed and referred to the Hon. J. A. Swettenham and Dr. Vandort.

5. Resolved,—To nominate the following Office-Bearers for 1893:
   
   President.—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Colombo.
   Vice-Presidents.—Mr. G. Wall, F.I.S., F.R.A.S.; the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.; the Hon. Col. F. C. H. Clarke, R.A., C.M.G.

   Council.

   Mr. D. W. Ferguson.            Mr. P. Ramanathan, C.M.G.
   Dr. H. M. Fernando.             Mr. W. P. Ranasingha.
   Mr. P. Freudenberg.             Mr. E. S. W. Senathithi Raja.
   Mr. Staniforth Green.           Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna.
   Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie.        Dr. H. Trimen.
   Mr. F. M. Mackwood.             Dr. W. G. Vandort.

   Hon. Treasurer.—Mr. F. C. Roles.

6. Resolved,—That the Annual General Meeting be held on such date as may be fixed by His Lordship the President.

7. Laid on the table a Paper by the late Mr. Israel Homer Vannia Sinkam on "The Snakes of Ceylon."
   Resolved,—To refer the Paper to the President and Mr. Ramanathan for their opinions.

8. Read a letter from Government with reference to the vote of Rs. 200 given for the preservation of the Dutch Records, and laid on the table connected correspondence:

   No. 140. Colombo, November 10, 1892.

   SIR,—With reference to the letters addressed to you on behalf of the Society, under date February 7, 1888 (quoted in the Proceedings of the Society for 1887–88 at page 110, copy of which is enclosed), September 22, 1888, and October 28, 1889, I have the honour to request that instructions may be issued that the balance of the vote to the Colombo Museum for the preservation and translation of Dutch Records may be paid over to the Honorary Treasurer of this Society, in order that the amount (£12. 0s. 3d.) due by the Society for translation into English of Dutch Records relating to Ceylon may be settled, and particulars of expenditure furnished.

   (2) In this connection the Council begs to remind the Government that the Sub-Committee of the Legislative Council appointed to consider the Supply Bill of 1891, in their report (Sessional Paper LXIII. of 1890) wrote that they "willingly recommend the very modest provision for the preservation and translation of Dutch Records."
(3) The task before us of translating the remainder of the more interesting portions of the Dutch Records is a formidable one, but promises to be fruitful of most valuable results, in throwing much light upon the history and administration during the Dutch occupation from 1640 to 1795.

(4) In view of the importance and urgency of the work of translating and publishing these records and thus making their contents practically available, the Council trusts, that as the Estimates for 1893 are now under consideration, the present small vote of Rs. 200 for the preservation and translation of Dutch Records may be increased.

(5) Of the amount voted to the Museum under the sub-head in 1891, only Rs. 146.25 was spent, but this year nearly the whole vote will be exhausted, and next year it is hoped that the work may be energetically carried on, so that a larger sum than Rs. 200 can be profitably employed upon it.

I am, &c.,

H. C. P. Bell,
Honorary Secretary.

To the Hon. the Colonial Secretary.

Colombo, December 13, 1892.

SIR,—With reference to your letter No. 140 of the 10th ultimo, relative to the vote of Rs. 200 for preservation and translation of Dutch Records, I am directed to inform you that the money voted in previous years is not available now.

(2) I am to add that it was not intended to vote this amount annually for the object in question, and as there appeared to be no necessity for including this item in the estimates of expenditure for next year, it was omitted.

I am, &c.,

H. L. Crawford,
for Colonial Secretary

The Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Branch,
Royal Asiatic Society.

9. Laid on the table correspondence with the Archaeological Commissioner re the balance of the Excavation Fund.

Resolved,—That the final decision of the question be deferred pending reference to the Lord Bishop.

* For correspondence see pp. 12 to 17.
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum Library, Tuesday, February 14, 1893.

Present:

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. F. H. M. Corbet.  Dr. Lisboa Pinto.
Mr. Staniforth Green.  Mr. F. C. Roles.
Mr. J. A. Henderson.  Dr. W. G. Vandort.
Mr. E. F. Hopkins, C.C.S.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Acting Honorary Secretary.

Visitors:—Six gentlemen.

Business.

1. At the request of the President, Mr. Joseph acted as Secretary.

2. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on November 4, 1892.

3. It was announced that the following gentlemen had been elected Resident Members:—Messrs. G. A. Joseph, J. Harward, and N. Mendis, Mudaliyâr.

4. Mr. Joseph read the following Annual Report of the Council for 1892:

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1892.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit to this Meeting their Annual Report for the year 1892.

Meetings and Papers.

There were four General Meetings of the Society held during the year, and five Papers read. The first Meeting, which was the Annual General Meeting of the year, was held on the 19th of March last. After the Annual Report had been read and adopted and the Office-Bearers for the year elected, the President of the Society, the Lord Bishop of Colombo, reviving a much appreciated practice, delivered an address on "The Verification of the Ancient Chronicles and Histories of Ceylon." The President was followed by Mr. F. Modder with a Paper "On Sinhalese Weights and Measures."

The second Meeting was held on the 9th of August, when three Papers were read, one by the Lord Bishop of Colombo on "The Identification of Sirivâddhanapura of the Mahâvamsa, chapter LXXXV.," another on "Ritigâla" in the North-Central Province, contributed by Mr. J. B. M. Ridout; and the third by Mr. F. Lewis, entitled "Notes on the Nidification of Chrysophlegma Xanthoderus" (yellow naped woodpecker).

The third Meeting was held on the 10th of October last, when a Paper contributed by Mr. L. Nell on "The Ethnology of Ceylon" was read. This Paper gave rise to much discussion, and it was thought advisable to adjourn the Meeting for another day to permit Members who wished to continue the discussion an opportunity of so doing.

The Meeting was accordingly postponed to the 4th of November, when a prolonged discussion took place.
The Society now counts on its roll 6 Honorary Members, 15 Life Members, and 234 Ordinary Members, making in all a total of 253 Members.


The following Members have resigned during the year:—Mr. M. S. Crawford, Dr. MacDonald, Messrs. G. D. Miller, A. G. Perman, W. R. B. Sanders, G. J. A. Skea, J. F. Tillekeratne, Mudaliyár, W. van Langenberg, and W. H. Wright.

The Council have with regret to record the death of four of the Members of the Society since the last Annual General Meeting, viz.:-


In Sir Samuel Grenier, Attorney-General, the Island has lost a public man of the utmost integrity and uprightness, whose place it will be difficult to fill. Sir Samuel joined the Society in 1866; but his onerous professional and official duties prevented his taking an active part in our work.

By the death of Mr. A. M. Ferguson, C.M.G., this Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has been deprived of one of its oldest and most valued Members, and the Island in general has lost one of the best informed of its colonists: a man of prodigious memory and encyclopedic information, who had an intimate acquaintance with the people and the country. Mr. Ferguson was a Member of the Council for many years. In addition to the many other services rendered to the Society, he contributed an interesting Paper to the Society's Proceedings of 1885, entitled "Plumbago with special reference to the position occupied by the Mineral in the Commerce of Ceylon, and the Question discussed of the alleged existence in the Island of the allied substance, Anthracite." Mr. Ferguson also, at a conversazione held under the auspices of this Society in 1887, delivered an address on the "Pearl Fishery, Tank Regions, and Buried Cities of Ceylon."

The following is a list of his principal writings, taken from "Writers on Ceylon":—


**Council.**

Two of the Members of the Council of 1892, viz., the Hon. Mr. Panabokke and Mr. H. H. Cameron, having been, by virtue of rule 16, deemed to have retired by least attendance, the vacancies caused by their retirement were filled by the appointment of Drs. Kynsey and Vandort. Dr. Trimen and Mr. Ramananthan who, under the same rule, vacated their places by reason of seniority, were re-elected. The Hon. J. A. Swettenham was elected a Vice-President of the Society in place of Mr. T. Berwick. Mr. W. H. G. Duncan having resigned his appointment of Honorary Treasurer in consequence of his contemplated absence from the Island, the Council resolved to offer the post, pending confirmation at the next General Meeting, to Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, who has accepted it.

**Publications.**

Journal Vol. XI., No. 39, 1889, was issued from the press. It contains the following Papers, viz.:—(a) “A Visit to Ritigala, in the North-Central Province,” by Mr. A. P. Green, F.R.S. (b) “Note on the Botany of Ritigala,” by Dr. H. Trimen, M.B., F.R.S., &c. (c) “Etymological and Historical Notes on Ritigala,” by Dr. D. M. de Silva Wickremasinghe. (d) “Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Four Koralés, Kegalla District,” by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (e) “Essay on the Construction of Zoological Tables, with a Tabular Diagnosis of the Snakes of Ceylon,” by Mr. A. Haly, Director, Colombo Museum. (f) “Johann Jacob Saar’s Account of Ceylon, 1647-57,” translated by Mr. Ph. Freudenberg, Imperial German Consul.

All Papers read before the Society last year were printed before being read, and proofs were issued to Members likely to interest themselves in the subjects dealt with, or to take part in the discussion.

A list of Members up to date (with their addresses) is in the Press. The Proceedings for 1889-90 have been compiled and are ready in manuscript.

Since the year 1891 the following arrears have been caught up, viz.:—Journals Vol. XL, No. 38, 1889; Vol. XL, No. 39, 1889, and Proceedings, 1887-8. The numbers of the Journal which remain to be issued are Vol. XL, Nos. 40 and 41, of 1890, and the Proceedings of 1889-90. These will be taken up as soon as the Government Printer has leisure. He was unable to attend to this last year owing to heavy official demands on the Government Printing Press.

The Journal for last year, Vol. XII., 1892, No. 43, will be issued to Members shortly.

The Society has to acknowledge its obligations to the Government Printer and his Assistants for their courteous attention and readiness to help the Society in the printing of its publications.

**International Congress of Orientalists.**

Professor T. W. Rhys Davids was appointed (on the authority of the Council) to represent the Society at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held in London in September last.

**Library.**

The number of volumes (including separate parts of periodicals) added to the Society’s Library since the commencement of 1892 amounts up to the end of the year to 250. Many of the books have been presented to the Society, and several others obtained in exchange for the Society’s publications. The names of the following donors amongst others may be mentioned:—The Secretary of State in Council for India; the Bureau of Education, United States, America; the Ceylon Government; the Trustees of the Indian Museum; the British Association for the Advancement of Science; the Trustees of the British Museum; the Committee of the North-West Provinces and Oudh Provincial Museum, Lucknow; Dr. Adolph Bastian; the Director of Public Instruction; and the Hamilton Association.

**Cataloguing.**

A Catalogue of the Society’s Library has not yet been printed. One was begun as part of a Catalogue intended to embrace the two collections of books in the Museum, that belonging to the Society and the other to the Government, which were amalgamated for the purpose. As, however, the collections were separated in 1891, and as a fresh Catalogue of the Government Library has been commenced, the Catalogue of the Society’s books should now be published independently. The manuscript list is practically complete, and all that remains to be done is to finally revise the arrangement of the “slips” already written, to add the names of the books received since the date at which the preparation of the Catalogue stopped, and to pass the work through the press. The compilers deserve the thanks of the Society for their efforts to bring out a Catalogue of the
Society's Library. As the bulk of the work has already been done by Messrs. F. H. M. Corbet and D. M. de Zilva Wickremasinghe, it seems not unreasonable to hope that some Member of the Society will come forward, as Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and W. E. Davidson did in 1882, and by seeing through the press a new Catalogue of the Library, ensure its being more widely availed of in aiding the researches and studies which the Society was established to promote.

Archæology.

Owing to pressure of work in the Surveyor-General's Office it has been found impossible to issue the requisite drawings for the Progress Reports of the Archæological Commissioner on his work at Anurâdhapura during the past year and a half. This is greatly to be regretted, but seems unavoidable under present circumstances.

During the year has appeared, however, a full and elaborate Report by Mr. H. C. P. Bell on the Kâgalla District, the first scene of the Archæological Survey's labour.

At Anurâdhapura, in the North-Central Province, the survey has been prosecuted with all the vigour possible, with a limited vote and a labour force not exceeding 100 hands. The fine Monastery (or Nunnery) at Pankuliya (three miles north of the Bō-tree on the left bank of the Malwatu-oya) has been systematically and thoroughly excavated. The solitary so-called Kiribat Vehera (dâgaba), a mile north-west of Pankuliya, and half a mile north of the Vijayarâma ruins, has been attacked, and one quadrant of its periphery laid bare. The identification of this dâgaba should greatly aid towards fixing the position of other ruins in the ancient city.

Other ruined buildings nearer the town have been dug up, and have yielded interesting archæological "finds."

Round Abhayagiri Dâgaba, at the group of the ruined monasteries, excavations have extended along the southern and western faces of the dâgaba, and have exposed to view more than one building of great interest—notably a large pilima-gê (image house), with massive walls of the Polannaruwa type.

More of the ancient roads have been followed out, and surveyed, and plotted together, with the whole extensive range of ruins near Jêtâvanarâma Dâgaba.

Vast as was the ancient city, there is every reason to hope that it is gradually being made to give up its plan to steady and intelligent investigation, and thus more than justifying the continuance of the Archæological Survey.

Two circuits were also carried out, as last year, in the course of 1892 through a portion of the North-Central Province, and several unknown inscriptions and ruined sites discovered.

Prospects for 1893.

The following Papers have been received:—

(1) Kurunêgala Vistaraya; with Notes on Kurunêgala, Ancient and Modern, by Mr. Frank Modder.

(2) Chelappadikaram, by the Hon. P. Coomaraswamy.

(3) Notes on the Nidification of Sturnornis Senex and Cissa Ornata, by Mr. Frederick Lewis.

(4) On the Isles of Jaffna, by Mr. T. Kâsipillai, F.R.H.S.
Finances.

The annexed statement of the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the year shows a credit balance of Rs. 274.46 brought forward from 1891, and an income of Rs. 2,705 in 1892, making a total credit of Rs. 2,979.46, which is Rs. 342.63 more than last year.

The amount expended in the purchase of books was Rs. 37 only, as against Rs. 740.86 in 1891, and on printing Rs. 431.06, as against Rs. 732.96. The amount received from Members by subscription was Rs. 2,147.25, as against Rs. 1,254.75 in 1891.

The amount spent on charges account was only Rs. 468.84, as against Rs. 878.55 in 1891, a difference of Rs. 409.71.

The Society is in debt; but the amount to its credit in the Bank and the arrears of subscription still to be collected will cover this indebtedness.

General Account for 1892.

The Honorary Treasurer in account with the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch).

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Colombo, December 31, 1892.

F. H. M. Corbet,
Honorary Treasurer.

5. The following Office-Bearers for 1892, nominated by the Council, were duly elected on a motion proposed by Mr. F. H. M. Corbet and seconded by Dr. Lisboa Pinto, viz.:

President.—The Right Rev. R. S. Copleston, D.D., Lord Bishop of Colombo.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. G. Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S.; the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.; and the Hon. Col. F. C. H. Clarke, C.M.G.

Council.

| Mr. D. W. Ferguson          | Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.  |
| Dr. H. M. Fernando          | Mr. W. P. Ranasingha       |
| Mr. P. Freudenberg         | Mr. E. S. W. Šenáthi Rája. |
| Mr. Staniforth Green       | Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna. |
| Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie    | Dr. H. Trimen.            |
| Mr. F. M. Mackwood         | Dr. W. G. Vandort.        |

Hon. Treasurer.—Mr. F. C. Roles.

6. The Chairman said that on behalf of those returned to office he begged to thank the Members for electing them, and he desired to take that opportunity of apologising for the very formal nature of that evening's proceedings. He was afraid it had been due in part to his absence from Ceylon. Had he been in the Island a little more during the past month he would certainly have tried personally to provide something more interesting.

It would be the duty and aim of the Council to provide during the coming year as many Meetings of interest as the Members, by contributing Papers, should enable it to supply, and they would be glad to know that there were already in the hands of the Council some Papers which would enable it, in part at any rate, to attain that object.

7. The Proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, moved by Mr. F. C. Roles.
COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 28, 1893.

Present:

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freudenberg.  Mr. F. C. Roles.
Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.  Dr. W. G. Vandort.
Mr. J. Harward  Honorary Secretaries.
Mr. G. A. Joseph

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of a Meeting held on January 27, 1893.

2. The following gentleman was elected a Resident Member, viz. — Mr. E. Booth.

3. Laid on the table a (printed) Paper by Mr. F. Modder, entitled "Kurunégala Vistaraya; with Notes on Kurunégala, Ancient and Modern." The Lord Bishop of Colombo raised the question as to whether Papers could be printed before being passed by the Council. Resolved,—That Mr. F. Modder's Paper be accepted and read at a General Meeting.

4. Laid on the table the following Papers:

   (a) "Chelappadikaram," by the Hon. P. Coomaraswámy.
   (b) "A Temple Festival in the Mullaitivu District," by Mr. J. P. Lewis.
   (c) "The Temple of Cítittrevylader Kovil, Mullaitivu District," by Mr. J. P. Lewis.

   Resolved,—That the Papers be referred to Messrs. P. Rámanáthan and J. Harward for report.

5. Laid on the table Notes by Mr. F. Lewis on "The Nidification of Sturnornis Senex and Cissa Ornata."

   Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted as one to be read.


   Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. H. C. P. Bell for his opinion.


   Resolved,—That the translations be referred to the Hon. Mr. Swettenham and Mr. P. Freudenberg, and that they be requested to make selections to be printed in the Society's Journal, or in case they recommend the printing of the entire translations, that it be done.
8. Laid on the table a Paper by the late Mr. Israel Homer Vannia Sinkam on the "Snakes of Ceylon," together with the opinions of the President and Mr. Râmanáthán, to whom the Paper was referred in accordance with a resolution of the Council.

Resolved.—That the extracts recommended by the Lord Bishop be laid on the table, and printed.


CIRCULAR.

For the Opinions of Members of Council.

No. 142. Colombo, November 21, 1892.

At a General Meeting held on February 12, 1884 (Proceedings, p. xxv), at Sir A. H. Gordon’s suggestion a subscription paper was set on foot for Archæological purposes. His Excellency headed the paper, and a sum of Rs. 825 was at once forthcoming, to be devoted "to the excavation of the covered chapels of the Mirisawëtiya Dágaba at Anurâdhapura, and to further archæological research."

(2) The fund has remained untouched since the excavation of the east chapel of the Mirisawëtiya Dágaba. There is a balance of Rs. 642-21 still unexpended.

(3) Mr. Bell, in a letter to the Council (No. 148 of December 16, 1890, published in Journal No. 42, p. 30), kindly undertook to supervise any archæological work at Anurâdhapura which the Society might be disposed to prosecute, and to furnish a statement of the results of, and the expenditure incurred in, such exploration, if the Council voted the money for certain alternative schemes which he suggested.

(4) The Council resolved "that the whole balance be placed at the disposal of Mr. Bell to be devoted to the objects for which the money was originally subscribed" (Journal No. 42, p. 31).

(5) Mr. Bell, in answer, wrote to the Council under date October 30, 1891, and he has since called attention to his letter. This letter was not dealt with ere this owing (i.) to the want of a quorum; on two occasions the Council was summoned, but did not meet; and (ii.) to want of time on two occasions, when the Council did meet, to discuss this amongst other subjects.

(6) In this letter Mr. Bell points out that the wording of the resolution of the Council "leaves the matter in statu quo," as the "object for which the money was originally subscribed appears to have been to carry out excavation at Mirisawëtiya Dágaba." Mr. Bell suggests "that the opinion of the Sub-Committee under whose direction the work on Mirisawëtiya Dágaba was commenced should be taken, as to the disposal of the balance on the Excavation Fund." The surviving Members of the Sub-Committee are Sir A. H. Gordon and Dr. W. R. Kynsey. Mr. Bell recommends the setting up of the Buddhist Railings (discovered by him in 1890) as a work of greater archæological importance than the others originally suggested.

G. A. Joseph,
Assistant Secretary.
Correspondence.

No. 112. Anurâdhapura, September 3, 1891.

Sir,—I have the honour to invite attention to my letter No. 148 of December 16 last, relative to the restoration of some ruins out of the unexpended balance of the Excavation Fund, to which I have as yet received no reply.

I am, &c.,

H. C. P. Bell,
Archæological Commissioner.

The Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Branch,
Royal Asiatic Society.

No. 182. Colombo, September 5, 1891.

Sir,—With reference to your letter of the 3rd instant, I have the honour to inform you that your letter No. 148 of December 16, 1890, was laid before a Meeting of the Council of this Society held on May 13 last, when it was resolved "That the whole of the balance of the Excavation Fund be placed at the disposal of Mr. Bell, to be devoted to the objects for which the money was originally subscribed."

I am, &c.,

H. C. P. Bell, Esq., C.C.S.
Archæological Commissioner.

G. A. Joseph,
Assistant Secretary.

Anurâdhapura, October 30, 1891.

Sir,—In continuation of my letter No. 148 of December 16, and in reply to your No. 182 of September 5 on behalf of the Council of the Asiatic Society, I have the honour to point out that the wording of the Resolution of Council placing at my disposal balance of the Excavation Fund leaves the matter in statu quo.

The object for which the money was originally subscribed appears to have been to carry out excavations at Miriswaṭiya Dâgaba. An Archæological Sub-Committee was appointed (see Resolution of Council of the Asiatic Society's Committee, dated March 24, 1884), consisting of His Excellency the Governor (Sir A. H. Gordon), President; the Hon. J. F. Dickson, C.M.G., Vice-President; and W. R. Kynsey, Esq., P.C.M.O., to direct that work in co-operation with the Government Agent and the Provincial Engineer of Anurâdhapura. The amount subscribed was Rs. 840.

Work on Miriswaṭiya Dâgaba was at once commenced under the immediate superintendence of Mr. S. M. Burrows, C.C.S.

The result was disappointing—nothing of real value was discovered. It was found that no chapels existed on three sides of the Miriswaṭiya Dâgaba, and all that was laid bare were the mouldings and plaster covering of the Dâgaba. (Statement of President, General Meeting, January 29, 1885.)

† See also Excavations at Anurâdhapura (S. M. Burrows), Ceylon Asiatic Society's Proceedings, 1887-88, pp. cii., ciii.
Subsequent excavation, however, in the course of the restoration of Mirisawetiyi Dagaba undertaken by a Siamese Prince, has shown that chapels do exist on the north and south sides, but in a very dilapidated state.

I would therefore suggest that the opinion of the Sub-Committee, under whose direction the work on Mirisawetiyi Dagaba was commenced, should be taken as to disposal of the balance on the Excavation Fund. Possibly the Sub-Committee may consider that the restoration of the north and south chapels of Mirisweeti Dagoba, if practicable, should take precedence of the works recommended in my letter No. 148 of December 16 last.

But if I may be permitted to venture an opinion, the setting up of a portion of the “Buddhist Railing,” discovered last year, appears to me of greater archaeological importance than the other works suggested, and its result likely to be more effective.

This letter has been delayed owing to my absence on an extended circuit.

I am, &c.,

The Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

H. C. P. Bell,
Archaeological Commissioner.

No. 132.
Colombo, October 26, 1892.

SIR,—I have the honour to invite your attention to my letter No. 112 of September 3, 1891, and to request that you will be good enough to favour me with a reply. I would remind you that more than a year has elapsed since the despatch of the letter under reference.

I am, &c.,

The Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

H. C. P. Bell,
Archaeological Commissioner.

No. 133.
Colombo, October 29, 1892.

SIR,—In connection with my letter of the 26th instant, No. 132, I have the honour to request you to alter therein the words “letter No. 112 of September, 1891,” to “letter of October 30.”

(2) I beg that you will submit my letter of the 26th instant, No. 132, amended, as requested, together with this letter, to the next Meeting of Council, which is to be held I understand on the 4th proximo.

I am, &c.,

The Hon. Secretary, Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

H. C. P. Bell,
Archaeological Commissioner.

Extract from Annual Report, 1886.

“The balance remaining on the Excavation Fund raised by special subscriptions in 1884 amounts to Rs. 440-05, besides a small balance of Rs. 40 remaining in Mr. Ivers’ hands from the advance of Rs. 200 issued to the Government Agent, Anuradhapura, at different times. As
the work of the Mirisawetiya Dagaba (for which the fund was originally subscribed) is completed, the Committee is of opinion that the funds may be usefully transferred to the general funds of the Society, to be applied to such other excavation schemes as may commend themselves to the Committee at its discretion. To this proposal the consent of the Special Committee appointed to deal with this fund (of which His Excellency the Governor is Chairman) has been solicited."

(1) I came across this passage to-day, and quote it here in the hope that it may be of use.

(2) I can find no record showing that any decision was arrived at by the Committee.

January 12, 1892.

G. A. Joseph.

MINUTES BY MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.

So far as I can recollect, the Council meant at the time it passed the resolution, that the unexpended balances should be placed entirely at the disposal of the Archaeological Commissioner, to be spent on such archaeological work as he (the Commissioner) chose, whether it be the restoration of the "Buddhist Railing" or that of the two "Pavilions" near the Ruanweli dagaba, or the excavation of the Jétawanarāma, or any other work. One of the original objects for which the money was originally subscribed was "to further archaeological research." The resolution of the Council dated May 13, 1892, is comprehensive enough, I think, to authorise Mr. Bell to spend the money on the restoration of the "Buddhist Railing" if he thinks best.

E. S. W. Senāthi Rāja,
Honorary Secretary.

Received and returned, November 24, 1892.

I was not present at any Council Meeting at which the question came up. [It appears to me that the letter of October 30, 1891, should have been dealt with, either at a Meeting, or (as now) by circulating it, without a year being allowed to lapse, and attention invited.]

H. C. P. Bell,
Honorary Secretary.

I agree with Mr. Senāthi Rāja.

November 29, 1892.

F. H. M. Corbet,
Honorary Treasurer.

Seen. Returned December 2, 1892.

S. Green.

The Archaeological Commissioner should be authorised to spend the money in any explorations or other works he thinks best. He is fully warranted, in my opinion, in doing so already, by the terms of the object for which the grant was originally made—"to further archaeological research."

December 4, 1892.

H. Trimem.
I agree with Dr. Trimen.
December 8, 1892.
F. C. H. Clarke.

I think the Archaeological Commissioner should have a free hand in spending the money on any work he considers worth, in accordance with the object for which the money was subscribed.

W. P. Ranasingha.

The point is whether the setting up of the Buddhist Railing (as desired by Mr. Bell) comes within the purview of the resolution, that the fund collected should be devoted to "The excavation of the covered chapels of the Mirisawetiya Dagaba and to further archaeological research."
The work of "setting up" is not "excavation" nor "furthering of archaeological research."
Apart from the resolution, I would like to see Mr. Bell's desire realised.

January 13, 1893.
P. Ramanathan.

As far as I can gather from these papers the Archaeological Commissioner has as much power as this Council to dispose of the money in question.

A. de A. Seneviratne.

I quite agree with Dr. Trimen.
January 16, 1893.

J. P. Lewis.

Seen.
January 17, 1893.

F. H. M. Corbet.

Mr. Bell should be authorised to spend the balance as he proposes, i.e., on the restoration of the Buddhist Railing.

Received and returned January 19, 1893.
W. R. Kynsey.

I agree with Dr. Kynsey.
January 20, 1893.

W. G. Vandort.

I agree with Dr. Kynsey.
January 20, 1893.

J. A. Swettenham.
I entirely agree with Dr. Trimen's opinion.

January 22, 1893.

G. WALL.

[This circular was laid on the table at a Meeting of the Council held on the 27th instant, when it was resolved that the final decision of the question be deferred, pending reference to the Lord Bishop of Colombo, President of the Society.]

The sum referred to was not, I think, collected by the Royal Asiatic Society, as such, nor placed at the disposal of the Council as such: it was, as I understood it, only accidentally connected with the Society. I consider, therefore, that I have nothing to do with it, and have no objection to any use that may be made of it, so long as it is not the act of the Society.

But if it were proposed that the Society should directly or indirectly undertake any restoration whatever, I should be obliged to protest against it as alien from the objects of the Society. I should recommend, therefore, that the Council should reply that the Fund in question does not belong to the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, and that there is no objection on the Society's part to Mr. Bell's using it as he sees fit.

February 1, 1893.

R. S. COLOMBO.

On a motion proposed by the Chairman, the Lord Bishop of Colombo, Resolved—That there is no objection on the part of the Society to the expenditure of the balance of the Excavation Fund, raised by special subscription in 1884, in the manner proposed by Mr. Bell and recommended by Dr. Kynsey, the remaining Member of the Special Committee, and that the Treasurer is hereby authorised to hand the balance over to Mr. Bell.

10. Laid on the table correspondence with Mr. J. F. W. Gore re the compilation of an Index to the Society's Publications:

No. 200.

March 21, 1893.

DEAR SIR,—I am informed by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Honorary Secretary of this Society, that you most readily consented to undertake the onerous duty of compiling for the Society an Index to its publications.

2. On behalf of this Council of the Society (which it is not convenient to call together at present) I accept your kind and generous promise of such valuable help and assistance, for which, I am sure, the Council and Members will be deeply grateful to you.

I have to ask you to be good enough to confirm your assent given to Mr. Bell, so that I may inform the Council of your kindness, and send you a set of the Society's publications to start work with.

I am, &c.,

J. F. W. GORE, Esq.

G. A. JOSEPH,
Hon. Sec., R. A. S. (C.B.)
Dear Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 21st instant, I shall have much pleasure in undertaking the compilation of an Index to the above Society’s Publications, and will use every care in its preparation.

I presume that you desire an Index to the titles of the various Papers comprised in the Society’s Journals, &c., giving the names of the authors, and the number and date of the issue in which each appeared. I am glad also to learn that you will be able to send the books here. I would suggest that they be sent in instalments, arranged consecutively according to date. After making a list of the contents of each instalment, it would be returned for the one next in order. The lists would, when completed, be re-arranged in the form of an alphabetical index. Each instalment might consist of one package of the weight of (say) 40 lb., or several, as most convenient.

I could begin the work on, say, the 7th April, and in the meantime such suggestions as I have made are of course subject to your approval.

G. A. Joseph, Esq.,

J. F. W. Gore.

Resolved,—That Mr. Gore be requested to send for approval a specimen page of the Index he proposes compiling for the Society.

11. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. F. H. M. Corbet (late Honorary Treasurer), requesting an audit of the Society’s accounts:—

Resolved,—That Mr. B. G. L. Bremner be requested to be good enough to oblige the Society by auditing the accounts up to the date of the Annual Meeting.

12. Resolved,—That a General Meeting be held on the 6th of May next, and that the following Papers be read:—“Kurunegala Vistaraya,” by Mr. Modder; “Notes on the Nidification of Sturnornis Senex and Cissa Ornata,” by Mr. Frederick Lewis.

13. His Lordship the Bishop having to leave the Meeting, Mr. P. Freudenberg was voted to the Chair.

14. On a motion proposed by the Hon. Treasurer it was resolved that the Hon. Treasurer be instructed to issue a Circular to Members whose subscriptions are more than two years in arrear, informing them that unless payment is made before June 30 rule 30 will be enforced.
COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, Friday, May 19, 1893.

Present:
Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G., in the Chair.
The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.
The Hon. A. C. Lawrie.
Mr. F. C. Roies, Honorary Treasurer.
Mr. J. Harward, Honorary Secretaries.
Mr. G. A. Joseph.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed the Minutes of Council Meeting held on March 28, 1893.

2. Fixed the next General Meeting for June 3, the Papers to be read being the same as those advertised for the Meeting of May 6.

3. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. Bremner regretting his inability to audit the Society’s accounts.

Resolved,—That Mr. Stanley Bois be requested to audit the accounts for 1892.

4. Laid on the table the following Circulars:—

   (1) No. 212 of April 6, 1893, covering a Paper by Mr. J. P. Lewis on “The Temple of Chittirnoyiláda Kóvil,” referred to Messrs. P. Rámanáthan and J. Harward for their opinions.

   (2) No. 213 of April 6, 1893, covering a Paper by Mr. J. P. Lewis on “A Temple Festival in the Mullaitívun District,” referred to Messrs. P. Rámanáthan and J. Harward.

Resolved,—That it be brought to the notice of Mr. Lewis that some parts of this Paper (2) are likely to displease those who agree with the religious ceremonies therein described.


Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted and printed.

   (4) No. 211 of April 6, 1893, covering a Paper by Mr. S. Alexander, entitled “An Archaeological Account of Pat-tawatta,” referred to Mr. H. C. P. Bell for his opinion.

Resolved,—That the Paper be returned to Mr. Bell, and that he be requested to undertake its editing.

5. Laid on the table specimen of the “Index” sent in by Mr. J. F. W. Gore.

Resolved,—(i) That the specimen be referred to Mr. Bell, and that he be requested to arrange with Mr. Gore for its completion; (ii) that the Council express its great indebtedness to Mr. Gore for consenting to undertake the work.
6. Mr. T. B. Pohath { Proposed \} by \{ S. M. Burrows, c.c.s., Seconded \} by \{ C. Drieberg, \\
was elected a Member of the Society.
7. Laid on the table a list of Dutch books recommended for purchase by Mr. F. H. de Vos. 
Resolved.—That the books be purchased.

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COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 8, 1893.

Present:
The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, c.m.g., Vice-President.
F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting of Council held on May 19, 1893.
2. Proposed by Mr. Harward, "That a General Meeting be held that night at 9 p.m., and that Mr. White's Paper, entitled "Notes on Knox's 'Ceylon' in its Literary Aspect," be read. 
Seconded by the Hon. J. A. Swettenham.—Carried.
3. Resolved,—That a vote of thanks be accorded to Mr. Stanley Bois for auditing the Society's accounts.
4. Laid on the table an application for membership from Mr. A. M. Perera, Superintendent of Minor Roads, Kandy.
The Hon. Mr. Swettenham proposed that the application do stand over for consideration at the next Meeting of the Council.
Seconded by Mr. Roles.—Carried.
5. Resolved,—That the Lieutenant-Governor (Vice-Patron of the Society) be requested to preside at the next General Meeting of the Society, to be held on August 10 or some approximate date.

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GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 10, 1893.

Present:
The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, c.m.g., Vice-President.
The Hon. P. Coomáraswámy. | The Hon. Justice Lawrie.
J. Henderson. | F. C. Roles,
Visitors:—Two ladies and six gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on February 14.
2. It was notified that Mr. E. Booth and Mr. T. B. Pohath had been elected Members since the last General Meeting.
3. Mr. Joseph read the following Paper:—
NOTES ON THE NIDIFICATION OF STURNORNIS SENEX
(WHITE-HEADED STARLING) AND CISSA
ORNATA (CEYLON BLUE JAY).

By F. Lewis.

The White-headed Starling is, I believe, the rarest of Ceylon birds, its natural home being those parts of the country where the rainfall is well over 100 inches per annum.

In the course of many years I have only met with it at rare intervals. It is a gregarious species living in small flocks of from four to ten birds, when it may be found affecting small clumps of forest, but at no time far away from extensive forest-clad ranges of hills. In this way I found it in Rasa-galla forest, Balangoḍa; Bambarabotuwa, north of Pelmadulla; Eratna, below Adam's Peak; and Wellankanda, in the wildest part of the Kukulu Kóralé.

In April, 1892, Mr. G. W. Jenkins, of Sana Estate, managed to procure for me an egg, and soon after I proceeded to the spot and saw the nest. This was placed in the hollow (decayed portion) of a kokaṭiya tree (Garcinia termophylla), some fifty feet or so from the ground, and was very roughly lined with decayed leaves and twigs, but upon no systematic plan, except that the leaves appeared to be mostly of one kind.

The egg is in colour a beautiful light glossy blue, broad oval in shape, but rather acute towards the "narrow end." My specimen measures 1½ in. by ¾ in.

In 1876 I procured, while resident in the Dikoya district, what I believed to be the egg of the Ceylon Blue Jay (Cissa ornata), but the specimen being in fragments, I was unable for years to verify my supposition or secure a perfect egg. In January last Mr. J. Gray, of Balangoḍa, procured for me a perfect egg from the forest of Bambarabotuwa, and I am also indebted to him for a second specimen, though not in good preservation.
The nest that I found in 1876 was placed in the branches of a lofty tree, and was composed of small twigs, forming a rather large structure, of somewhat ragged outward appearance. The depression in the middle was small, but on this I am not able to place much significance, as the nest had served its purpose, and the birds had departed, so probably it was in a disordered state when I found it.

The egg, considering the size of the bird, is small, broad, oval, and glossy. My specimen measures $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $\frac{10}{8}$ in. The ground colour is a pale olive green, shaded over with blotches and streaks of a dull faint sepia colour, these markings being more confluent on the two ends than round the body of the egg.

The breeding season for the Blue Jay is seemingly in January, for I learn from Mr. Gray that he procured three nests this year during that month.

I take the liberty of recording both these "finds," as the first is unique, while the second, though recorded by Legge and Murray, is of rare occurrence owing to the shy habits of the bird.

4. Mr. Harward then read the following Paper:
NOTES ON KNOX’S ‘CEYLON’ IN ITS LITERARY ASPECT.

By H. White, C.C.S.

[An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon in the East-Indies, together with an Account of the Detaining in Captivity the Author and divers other Englishmen now Living there, and of the Author’s Miraculous Escape. Illustrated with Figures and a Map of the Island. By Robert Knox, a Captive there near Twenty Years. London, Printed by Richard Chiswell, Printer to the Royal Society, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul’s Churchyard, 1681.]

This fascinating book, which has won well-earned praise for the accuracy of its descriptions, simple but vigorous style, and fairness and moderation of its tone, is surpassed, I venture to say, by no work in the English language in pathos and dramatic interest. But I wish here to consider the book not so much as a pathetic drama, a romantic narrative, a vigorous account of an unknown country, but as a piece of literary workmanship. I cannot call to mind having ever met with any notes on what I may call the purely literary aspect of Knox’s book, though it is well known and appreciated as a rare storehouse of information on the then condition of the Kandyian kingdom.

At the outset we must bear in mind that this book was written by a sailor who had been a captive among the Kandyans for twenty years. Knox was only seventeen years of age, a mere boy, when on January 21, 1657, his father’s ship, the frigate Ann, set sail from London to trade from port to port in India. In November, 1659, when Knox, as he himself tells us, was nineteen years old, the ship put in to Cottiar bay. The crew were made captives and carried off into the Kandyian country. Knox remained a captive for twenty years, escaped to Mannar in 1679, and reached England in 1680. He lost no time in the preparation of his book. He even wrote part of it on the voyage home, as he mentions in his letter of March 18, 1681, to the Committee of the East India Company, when he presented his manuscript work
to them, and in August, 1681, the book was published with illustrations and a map; or, as Knox expresses it:—

What I formerly Presented you in Writing having in pursuance of your Commands now somewhat dress'd by the help of the Printer and Graver, I a second time humbly tender to you.

This was almost exactly twenty-four years after the author first set sail with his father as a boy of seventeen, and less than twelve months after he reached England. The book is truly a marvellous production as a piece of literary work when we consider the above circumstances, but still more when we consider, what is hard to realise, that for twenty years its author had no books save three (which will be mentioned hereafter), no writing materials, and no society except that of one or two of his fellow captives and of course his Kandyan captors. To use his own words to a chief who came to sound him with a view to his employment at the Kandyan court:—

When I came ashore I was but young, and that which then I knew now I had forgot for want of practice, having had neither ink nor paper since I came ashore.

The marvel is that he even remembered his own language.

There are two things which charm us in Knox’s book—and here I am thinking mostly of the personal narrative, for the book is in two parts—the descriptive portion and the personal narrative. There is the charm of the subject and the charm of the style.

The secret of the charm of Knox’s style is that his English is the English of the Bible, which with two other books was his sole reading during his long captivity. He says:—

We had with us a Practice of Piety and Mr. Rogers’ seven Treatises called the Practice of Christianity." With which companions we did frequently discourse; and in the cool of the Evening walk abroad in the Fields for a refreshing, tyred with being all day in our House or Prison.

And again:—

I had read my two Books so often over that I had them almost by heart.

* A copy of this book is in the Society's Library.—B., Hon. Sec.
He describes in a passage, which is too long to quote, how he fell in with an English Bible, and it is evident that this, too, he read so often that he had it almost by heart. He is steeped in the style of the Bible, which has become his natural language, and his pages teem with direct and apposite Biblical allusions. Of the Kandyen king he says:

Like Rehoboam he added yet more to the people's yoke... he daily contriveth and buildeth in his Palace like Nebuchadnezzar.

Of himself, when forced to leave his quarters owing to an incursion by the Dutch, he says:

This called to my remembrance the words of Job: "Naked came I into this world and naked shall I return."

In one passage he likens himself to Elijah under the juniper tree, and in another to the captive Jews. The elephants he met in the woods in the course of his flight to Mannar he looked upon as a help to him in his flight, and compared them to the darkness which came between Israel and the Egyptians. Not only does Knox thus continually use illustrations drawn from the Bible, but he has acquired a Biblical tone of phraseology. The offerings of the Sinhalese are "arms and oblations." He says—

God gave us favour in the sight of this people. God was pleased by their grief and heaviness to move these heathen to pity.

Temple offerings he calls "sacrifices offered to idols," and he speaks of "the famine of God's word and sacrifices." It would be tedious to multiply examples: the perusal of a page of the personal narrative will show that Knox was simply saturated with the Biblical style.

The following specimen will show what I mean. Speaking of himself after the death of his father he says:

Thus was I left Desolate, Sick, and in Captivity, having no earthly Comforter, none but only He who looks down from Heaven to hear the groaning of the Prisoners and to show himself a Father of the Fatherless, and a present help to them that have no helper.

To leave this branch of the subject, I should now like to give some instances of Knox's aptness of diction, a curiosa
felicitas of language which I have always admired. Take this passage on the talipot tree:

It is as big and tall as a Ship’s Mast and very streight, bearing only Leaves: which are of great use and benefit to this People; one single Leaf being so broad and large that it will cover some fifteen or twenty men, and keep them dry when it rains. The leaf being dried is very strong and limber, and most wonderfully made for men’s Convenience to carry along with them; for tho’ this leaf be thus broad when it is open, yet it will fold close like a Ladies’ fan, and then it is no bigger than a man’s arm. It is wonderful light, they cut them into pieces and carry them in their hands. The whole leaf spread is round, almost like a Circle, but being cut in pieces for use are near like unto a Triangle. They lay them upon their heads as they travel, with the peaked end foremost, which is convenient to make their way through the Boughs and Thickets. When the Sun is vehement hot they use them to shade themselves from the heat. Soldiers all carry them; for besides the benefit of keeping them dry in case it rain upon the march, these leaves make their Tents to ly under in the Night. A marvelous Mercy which Almighty God hath bestowed upon this poor and naked People in this Rainy Country! One of these I brought with me into England and you have it described in the Figure.

I venture to say that no one could better this description. Again, take this account of the kabaragoyá*

There is a Creature here called Kobbera guion, resembling an Alligator. The biggest may be five or six foot long, speckled black and white. He lives most upon the Land, but will take the water and dive under it: hath a long blew forked tongue like a sting, which he puts forth and hisseth and gapeth, but doth not bite nor sting, tho’ the appearance of him would scare those that knew not what he was. He is not afraid of people, but will ly gaping and hissing at them in the way, and will scarce stir out of it. He will come and eat Carrion with the Dogs and Jackals and will not be scared away by them, but if they come near to bark or snap at him, with his tayl, which is about an Ell long like a whip, he will so slash them, that they will run away and howl.

This is true to the life and most graphic. Or take this of the Siphalese:

At their leisure when their affairs will permit they commonly meet at places built for strangers and way-faring men to lodge in, in their language called amblamb, where they sit chewing betel and looking one upon the other very gravely and solidly.

Or this of their paddy fields:

*Hydrosaurus salvator (order Saurea).—B., Hon. Sec.
Neither are their steep and Hilly Lands uncapable of being thus overflown with Water. For the doing of which they use this Art. They level these Hills into narrow Allies, some three, some eight foot wide; one beneath another, according to the steepness of the Hills, working them and digging them in that fashion that they lye smooth and flat like so many Stairs up the Hills one above another. The Waters at the top of the Hills falling downwards are let into these Allies and so successively by running out of one into another, water all; first the higher Lands and then the lower. The highest Allies having such a quantity of Water as may suffice to cover them, the rest runs over unto the next, and that having its proportion unto the next, and so by degrees it falls into all these hanging parcels & Ground.

Or this of termites or white-ants:—

There is a sixth sort called \textit{Vaeos}. These are more numerous than any of the former. All the whole Earth doth swarm with them. They are of a middle size between the greatest and the least, the hinder part white and the head red. They eat and devour all that they can come at; as besides food, Cloth, Wood, Thatch of Houses and everything excepting Iron and Stone. So that the people cannot set anything upon the ground within their houses for them. They creep up the walls of their houses and build an \textit{Arch} made of dirt over themselves all the way as they climb, be it never so high. And if this \textit{Arch} and Vault chance to be broken, they all, how high soever they were, come back again to mend up the breach, which being finished they proceed forwards again, eating everything they come at in their way. This Vermin does exceedingly among the Chingulays, insomuch that they are continually looking upon anything they value to see if any of these \textit{Vaeos} have been at it. Which they may easily perceive by this \textit{Case} of dirt which they cannot go up anywhere without building as they go. And wherever this is seen no doubt the \textit{Auts} are there. In places where there are no houses, and they can eat nothing belonging to the people, they will raise great Hills like \textit{Butts}, some four or five or six foot high; which are so hard and strong that it would be work enough to dig them down with Pick-Axes.

Knox evidently took the greatest pains to make what he describes clear to his readers, and there is no doubt that his accurate and graphic method, aided by the excellent pictures, bring home to us in a most vivid fashion the customs, appearance, and domestic economy of the Sinhalese people.

From a philological point of view the book is most interesting. We see the changes which the lapse of two

* Sinhalese \textit{Veyo}.—B., \textit{Hon. Sec.}
hundred years has wrought in the meaning and spelling of our English language. To illustrate this let us look at the following words which I have taken from these pages.

In the letter to the East India Company Knox speaks of "the land in which I was captivated," meaning imprisoned or held captive; it has now come to mean "entranced" or "delighted." For Knox’s use of the word cf. Jeremiah xxxix. (contents of the chapter: "The city ruined, the people captivated.") and 2 Kings xvii, (contents, "Samaria for their sins is captivated").

In one passage he speaks of a certain flower as being of a "murry" colour. This is mulberry coloured, the l having superseded the earlier r: cf. Latin morus, "mulberry tree." The word "murry" is now obsolete. He also speaks of the "tingling" of bells where we should now say "tinkling." The two words "tinkling" of a bell and "tingling" of the skin or flesh are identical, the meaning being "vibration." "Ortyards and plantations": "ortyard" or "wortyard" is the original of our present "orchard." "Imbezelled," where we now write "embezzled." The old spelling shows the connection with "imbecile," and the meaning is "to weaken by taking little by little," or "filching." "A blew or red shash about their loyns." What we now call "sash" is a Persian word originally spelt, and no doubt pronounced "shash." Knox says in one place: "We thought it no boot to sit longer." "Boot," which now survives in the negative "bootless," we find in the Bible, in the form "boots" and "booteth." It is from the base "bet" good, whence "better," "best."

Of the Bó tree he says: "The leaves shake like an asp." The form "aspen" now used is an adjective, like "oaken" or "ashen" or "wooden," and we should not say, as is sometimes done, "shake like an aspen," but "an aspen tree"; or, as Knox says, "an asp." Of the Kandyan nobles he says: "They carry a painted cane, and sometimes a tuck in it, in their hands." "Tuck" is an obsolete word for "rapier," and "a cane with a tuck in it" is what we should now call a
“sword-stick.” He also speaks of the “tricker” of a crossbow. “Trigger” is the more modern form. With “tricker” cf. the Dutch “trek,” to draw or pull. He speaks of the Sinhalese as churning butter with an implement “somewhat resembling a chocolate stick.” This is not the familiar stick of chocolate which you extract from the automatic machine by placing a penny in the slot, but the “whisk” with which the then highly esteemed cup of chocolate, so constantly referred to by authors of this and the succeeding age of Queen Anne, was stirred and frothed.

The word “punctually,” now strictly limited in meaning to accuracy in the matter of time, is used by Knox in the old sense of “exactly” or “accurately.” “I knew not punctually where my companions were.” Cf. “punctilious,” of exact, orderly, and formal behaviour. “Let” and “letted,” in the sense of “hindered,” “prevented,” and “holpen” for “helped,” which we have in our Book of Common Prayer, are always used by him; and he also uses the word “angle,” meaning fishing rod and line, and thus reminds us of dear old Isaak Walton.

I cannot forbear to transcribe the passage where this word is used. It is when he meets with the Bible:—

The Boy having served the English knew the Book, and as soon as he had got it in his hand came running with it calling out to me, It is a Bible. It startled me to hear him mention the name of a Bible. For I neither had one, nor scarcely could ever think to see one. Upon which I flung down my Angle and went to meet him. ....... Upon the sight of it I left off Fishing, God having brought a Fish to me that my Soul had longed for and now how to get it and enjoy the same all the Powers of my Soul were employed.

The word “naturally,” in the sense of “by nature,” should be noted in the passage—

The Land is generally covered with Woods, excepting the Kingdom of Ourah and the counties of Oudipallet and Dolosbaug, which are naturally somewhat clear of them.

“Fashion,” meaning “shape,” occurs in the description of the grain tana:—

The fashion flattish, the colour yellow and very lovely to the Eye.

* Uva; Udapalátá; Dolosbágé.
Observe "drugster" for "druggist": "The berries the drugsters in the city do sell in their shops"; and "sallettings" for "salads." "The Dutch on that Island in their Gardens have Lettice, Rosemary, Sage, and all other Herbs and Sallettings that we have in these Countreys." The old Italian word is salata, "salted or pickled (herbs)."

I rather distrust Knox's taste in vegetables, I must say. He speaks of one herb which "being boyled is almost as good as asparagus." I have never met with that delicious herb yet, and I take leave to doubt the assertion.

The jambu * fruit is to him "amiable to the eye." The expressions, "rice is more plenty here than there," and "monies was very low with us," show interesting changes in idiom.

Two words now obsolete deserve mention: one is "overthwart." Speaking of talipot leaves: "With these they make their tents; fixing sticks into the ground and laying other pieces of wood overthwart after the manner of the roof of an house, and so lay their leaves over all to shoot the rains off." The other is "tarriance," meaning sojourn or remaining. Even "tarry" is now seldom seen, and "tarriance" never.

Some changes in spelling—and there are many—are noteworthy. Hoes used in cultivating paddy fields Knox spells "houghs," no doubt pronounced 'hoes. Cf. the spelling and pronunciation of "dough" in making bread. It is odd that we have altered "hough" to "hoe," while we have altered the old "plow" to "plough," in the one case from complex to simple and in the other from simple to complex. Blue, the colour, Knox spells "blew." His spelling and the expression he uses, "several black and blew blows," bring out forcibly the actual connection there is in etymology between "blue" and "blow." Blue is the colour produced by blows.

By some freak or other Knox spells "glue" "glew,"

* Sin. jambara, colloq. jambu, "rose apple," Eugenia jambosa.—B., Hon. Sec.
which is wrong. The derivation is from "gluten." Perhaps he thought "glew" ought to keep company with "blew."

Knox never mentions any books except the three alluded to above, and I have searched his work through to find any indications of his having received an education in what is vulgarly styled "book learning." It would seem that he knew Latin, or at least knew of the existence of Latin, for he says of the Sinhalese: "They have a language somewhat differing from the vulgar tongue (like Latin to us)"; but the only Latin words in his book are the not very erudite words "per annum," so we can hardly set him down as a Latin scholar. Or perhaps he forgot his Latin like the Claimant, the would-be Sir Roger Tichborne. He uses a few phrases which somewhat smack of the law, e.g., "Scot or lot," "Hand and seal," "Heriots." But these are all I have been able to find.

He is very reticent about himself outside of his captivity. He says nothing about his birthplace, parentage, or education. All we know is that he was an Englishman, and that he had a brother and sister whom his dying father commended to his care.

He makes very few references to England, and hardly ever draws any parallel between what he saw in Ceylon and what he must have seen in England. He mentions that the divisions of Ceylon are like the counties and hundreds in England, and he speaks of one chief as the "high sheriff." He compares the king's palace to Woodstock Bower, and notes that the Sinhalese ploughs do not bury the grass as ours do, and that is about all.

And while on this part of the subject it is curious to note that Knox nowhere in his book makes the faintest allusion to home politics, though his book was written during the time of the fiercest civil and religious persecution in England, and only a few years before the revolution which overthrew the Stuart dynasty. We know that he was not a Roman Catholic, and we can infer that he was not a Puritan, as he and his comrades mention a feast they had on Christmas Day, but we do not know whether he was an advocate of monarchy
or a Republican. He expresses his views of the Kandyan king’s tyranny, but no opinion as to monarchy in general.

Although he tells us very little of what he had been, he relates frankly enough what habits he picked up during his captivity, and the appearance he presented at the time of his escape. On his arrival at Mannar he says—

It seemed not a little strange to us who had dwelt so long in Straw Cottages among the Black Heathen and used to sit on the Ground and eat our Meat on Leaves, now to sit on Chairs and eat out of China Dishes at Table.

And in Colombo—

We being bare-foot and in the Chingulary habit, with great long Beards, the People much wondered at us, and came flocking to see who and what we were; so that we had a great Train of People about us as we walked in the Streets.

And Batavia—

We finding ourselves thus kindly entertained and our Habits changed, saw that we were no more Captives in Cande, nor yet Prisoners elsewhere; therefore cut off our beards which we had brought with us out of our Captivity, for until then we cut them not; God having rolled away the reproach of Cande from us.

Knox adopted the Siňhalese habit of chewing betel, and he also smoked a pipe, or, as the Siňhalese say, “drank tobacco.” I have not been able to find many Siňhalese idioms in the English of Knox, but he does say “tobacco is used by both men and women, but more eaten than drunk in pipes.” To “drink tobacco” is a literal translation from the Siňhalese, but I am not sure that the expression was not used in England in Knox’s day. I fancy I have seen it, but cannot remember where. He also speaks of “this country butter,” “my own country fashion,” “a fathom high,” “a span high,” which he may have picked up from the Siňhalese.

Speaking of the skill of the native doctors he mentions one who would set a broken bone “with that speed that the broken bone after it was set should knit by the time one might boil a pot of rice and three curries.”

These I think are about the only Siňhalese idioms to be found.
There is, as could be expected, very little humour in Knox's book, but I have culled two rather comical expressions and one bull, although he was no Irishman. He says of the headmen:

These Inferior Officers commonly get their Palaces by Bribery. Their Children do pretend a right to them after their Father's Death, and will be preferred before others, greasing the Magistrate.

This does not mean smearing that functionary with cocoanut oil, but, as we would punningly put it, "applying palm oil."

Again, speaking of the method of catching fish in shallow water with a basket, he says:

These baskets they jobb down and the ends stick in the mud, which often happen upon a Fish.

To "jobb" is now only used as pure slang. Knox's bull is only a small one: we might describe it as a "this country bull." He describes Kandy as "three square like a triangle.

In spite of his lack of education in the ordinary sense of the word, this castaway sailor lad has given us a most delightful book, which is as interesting as "Robinson Crusoe," and in style it is the equal of Defoe's masterpiece, although Defoe was what might be styled an experienced literary man, and is now an English classic.

Knox's work was favourably ushered into the world with a brief preface by Sir Christopher Wren, and a longer one by Robert Hooke, a portion of which I will quote. He says:

He has in this History given you a taste of his Observations, in which most Readers, though of very differing Gusts, may find somewhat very pleasant to their Pallat. The Statesman, Divine, Physician, Lawyer, Merchant, Mechanick, Husbandman, may select something for their Entertainment. The Philosopher and Historian much more. I believe at least all who love Truth will be pleased. Read therefore the Book itself, and you will find yourself taken Captive indeed, but used more kindly by the Author than he himself was by the Natives.
5. His Lordship, the President, expressed the indebtedness of the Society to Mr. White for his Paper. He spoke of Knox's extraordinary accuracy of observation, and the remarkable vigour and straightforward simplicity with which his observations were recorded. They were indebted to those who directed attention to excellencies of that kind—excellencies which in a Society like that they deserved to cultivate and encourage. He rejoiced to see that close observation and careful collection of facts of which they had a specimen from Mr. Lewis, and which constituted the basis of scientific results. He trusted Members of the Society would consider no facts falling within their purview too insignificant to be recorded and contributed to the transactions of the Society. They could not always expect long or elaborate Papers, but he was sure that Members who would contribute facts which came under their observation would always find a hearty welcome from the Council for anything they could give.

6. Mr. Harward next read the following Paper:
KURUNEGALA VISTARAYA;* WITH NOTES ON KURUNEGALA, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

By F. MODDER.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The Kurunégala Vistaraya is a topographical description of the city of Hastisailapura (Kurunégala) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There are various editions and different versions of the Vistaraya extant in the Seven Kóralés, and of the half a dozen or more I have had the opportunity of examining and collating, for the purposes of this translation, no two copies agree in detail, though they agree in the main, each editor making his own emendations and additions to the original, or supposed original, as his taste and fancy led him, in the hope perhaps of making his edition fuller and more attractive than its predecessors, and bringing it up to date.

The Vistaraya makes no pretension to scholarship; indeed it is devoid of all literary merit, and judging by the plain and often commonplace language in which it is written, and the unsystematic arrangement of the subjects dealt with therein, it would appear that the editors were men of ordinary intelligence, their one object being to reduce into writing the legends, traditions, and other historical information respecting men, places, and things which might otherwise have been lost to the world.

As a chronological authority no importance can be attached to the work. But as an interesting topographical account of the city of Hastisailapura, with multifarious scraps of historical and other information not usually found in the more regular historical books of reference, it is perhaps on a par with such sister-works as Kaḍaim-pot, which treat of the boundaries of the ancient divisions of Ceylon, and from which a great deal of invaluable information may be gleaned; Vitti-pot, which describe the state of the villages in the Seven Kóralés and Puttalam District, and record the amount of paddy land cultivated in each village, the height of water in the tank, the number of dams and tracts of land, large and small, the

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* Being a translation from the Sinhalese of a description of the city of Hastisailapura (Kurunégala) in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with a collation from other contemporaneous Sinhalese records, and notes and comments.
number of horowwas to the tank, the number of temples and amount of land dedicated to them, and many other details peculiar to each village; and other contemporaneous records, such as *Tudapat, Patunu, Așna, Wansa, Lekam-miți, &c.*, all which doubtless throw a flood of light on the history of the Island. The *Vistaraya*, however, gives in addition to these details the derivation of the names, not to be obtained elsewhere, of a large number of villages, *Kóralés*, and *Hatpattus* in the Seven *Kóralés*.

Maha Mudaliyár L. de Zoyza, in referring to the *Vistaraya*, remarks that—

It is by an anonymous author. It gives an interesting account of the topography of the city in ancient times, and is probably as old as the period when Kurunégalá was the seat of kings in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The work is quite unknown in the low-country, and I believe even in Kandy.⁷

As already observed, one manuscript contains matter not found in the other, and perhaps the edition which L. de Zoyza had access to did not disclose the name of the author: but one that I had the good fortune to read ascribes the authorship to Pusbadēwa Terunnánse, and gives the following particulars as to its alleged authenticity:—

It was preserved by Hettǐ Basnāyaka Mudiyánse when Kurunégalá was a royal city; when Dambadēniya was the seat of Government, by Hanjuwa Mudiyánse, the village being so called owing to tiles having been made there; when Sitāwaka was the seat of Government, by Seneviratna Mudiyánse; and at the time of Rāja Sigha, who defeated the Portuguese at Colombo, by Disānāyaka Mudiyánse.

**Translation.†**

Shortly after Kuvénī‡ was discarded by King Vijaya it is said that the royal city of Kurunégalá was founded,§ the

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† To Mr. H. M. Ekanayaka, Principal of the Buddhist School, Kurunégalá, I acknowledge my indebtedness for willing assistance rendered to me in the preparation of this translation.

‡ A full account of the desertion of Kuvénī by King Vijaya is given in the *Kuvénī Așna*. For particulars as to her invoking the gods on the heights of *Yakhéesa-gala* (abbreviated from *Yaksa-đes-bi-gala*, so called after the circumstance) to punish King Vijaya for his faithlessness, and as to her prayer being answered by King Vijaya’s nephew, Páŋduwasa, being afflicted with divers diseases, see “The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunégalá.” (C. A. S. Journal, Vol. XI., No. 40, 1890.)

§ The *Vistaraya* does not state, and we cannot gather from the context, who the founder was, but there is reason to believe that it was Vijaya.
situation being to the north of Vilbáwa, and occupying a central position near the rocks Etá-gala, Ibbá-gala, and Kuruminiyá-gala.*

[The Vistaraya then enumerates the trees, the beasts, the birds, including the fabulous birds, and other bipeds and quadrupeds to be found in the city; and refers to a row of lakes with good ferries to facilitate bathing, and containing pleasant and sweet waters, with the lotus and blue and white lily floating thereon. By the row of lakes is doubtless meant Udawattavéwa (the Kurunégalà tank†), Wannahavéwa (now a field), Weneruwéwa, and Vilgoďavéwa.]

There are four parapet walls surrounding the rock on which the sun-god is worshipped. Four palaces stand on the rock,‡ and below it four parapet walls. For the protection of the city there is a battery (ádhára bēmma).§

Below Kuruveniyagala stands the royal stores [the dimension—probably the length—of which is given as 80 cubits]: from the sleeping palace of the king it is 12 fathoms to Kuruveniyagala, 35 fathoms to Ibbá-gala, and 20 fathoms to the great stone wall [mahá gal táppa, probably the battery hereinbefore referred to] on the west; and 12 fathoms to the south stands the Niráviya.

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* For derivations of these names, and legends and traditions about these rocks, with notes on temples standing thereon or connected therewith, see "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunégalà." (l. c.)

† For a description of this tank, which is 104 acres in extent, and said to have been built in 1319 by King Bhuwaneka Bāhu III., as well as for other interesting particulars regarding it and Wenneruwéwa tank, see Ceylon Literary Register, Vol. VI., pp. 380-3.

‡ Forbes, in his Eleven Years in Ceylon (Vol. I., pp. 193–4), refers to the remains of buildings on the bare rock (Etá-gala), one of which contained the dañadá relic removed thither by Bhuwaneka Bāhu from the more ancient capital of Polonaruwa, 1319 A.D. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell (Vol. II., pp. 81–2), referring to these ruins, concludes "that they must in former days have been intended for religious purposes."

§ The Maháwansa records that Vijaya Bāhu II. "surrounded it (Hatthigiri) with a wall and a moat, and such like works."—Ch. LXXXVIII., English translation, p. 305.

‖ Referring to Etá-gala, Casie Chitty says (Ceylon Gazetteer, pp. 145–6): "At the west end of the hill the kings of Kurunégalà had a palace," on the
In the city there are 300 wells (*úrú-lin*), *500 houses of valiant and powerful ministers, 500 houses of the dancing women, 500 houses of the Brahmins, 800 houses of the dhobies, 800 houses of the potters, 700 carpenters' sheds, 4 stables for horses, † 3 stables for elephants, 2 herds of hunting buffaloes (*dada mígon*), ‡ an aviary, a kennel, and 700 powerful skilled and trained soldiers.

The formation of the city is as a full-blown lotus placed on the palm of the hand.

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site of which now stands the residence of the Government Agent of the Province, known as the Máligáwa. Tennent refers to the grounds being strewn with "fragments of columns and carved stones, the remnants of the royal buildings." (*Ceylon, II.,* 345.) The disappearance of these relics of a bygone age may easily be accounted for. Bennett (p. 393) says: "Many huge slabs of granite having various animals, both known and fabulous, sculptured on them lie scattered about; of these the British lion, the Caledonian unicorn (extraordinary though it be), and the Ceylon elephant appeared to have formed part of the zoological medley of the ancient ornaments of a Sighelese Máligáwa. Mr. Pennel (the then Government Agent) offered me my choice of these ponderous masses, but as it may well be supposed there were weighty reasons for my not removing them." Some of these are yet to be seen built up at the back of the Máligáwa stables by the late Mr. O'Grady, Government Agent; but the most valuable ones, and particularly a stone window of the palace at Yápahn, rescued and removed thither by Mr. O'Grady, and described most graphically by the late Mr. John Bailey, c.c.s., in *Once a Week* (1864, pp. 225–281, where a well executed sketch of it appears), were transported to Colombo, and now occupy a prominent place among the archaeological exhibits of the Museum.

* These wells are very common in the Kandyan district. They are circular in shape, about three feet in diameter, and instead of being built up with stone, earthen rings made by the village potter, and each about a foot and a half broad, are inserted and fitted in from the bottom of the well, increasing from two feet in diameter as they come up to the top to three feet. The earthen rings are called *úrákotta*, and the wells are known as *úrákšta* *lin*, abbreviated into *úrá* *lin*. The *úrákotta* help to keep the water cool, and if they could be made of larger dimensions so as to fit into wells of all sizes, they would certainly be a useful and a cheap substitute for stone. Each of the rings used at present can be made at a cost of about 37½ cents, and the cost of a well thus built would not exceed a couple of rupees.

† Two pairs of stirrups and some cooking utensils were found near the Galébandára shrine some years ago, and were sent to the Colombo Museum by the Hon. F. R. Saunders, then Government Agent. The place where they were discovered was probably the site of the royal stables, mounted orderly or cavalry guardroom.

‡ These animals were used in the manner of decoys, trained so as to allow the sportsman to take cover behind them and to shoot at the game.
To the south of the Niráviya is a stone-built well and an úrá-linda.

To the west of the sleeping palace of the king above mentioned, distant a hundred large bows, lies the bund of the lake. Round the edge of the lake grow flower plants * * [enumerated], and the lotus and lily grow in the lake, beautifying its appearance. The lake abounds with fish. Royal gardens lie around the lake * * [the plantations are enumerated] with innumerable bee-hives on the trees.

About a hundred bows’ distance* from the sleeping palace is the Dañadá Máligáwa.†

On the east of it, 9 fathoms distant, stands the Náta Dévalé.

In a pit excavated in the rock, four cubits deep, lies buried a treasure consisting of 21,000 masuran or pieces of gold, with a relic of Buddha of the size of a grain of undu.

From this spot, on the opposite bank of the stream, stands the Mahá Dévalé [probably dedicated to Vishnú], on the west, at a distance of 60 fathoms, the Náta Dévalé, 60 fathoms away the Pattini Dévalé, and 80 fathoms away the Kattaragama Dévalé.

At Uđa-wahala-watta (the upper court, or queen’s apartments) stands the crematory; at Pallé-wahála‡ (the lower court, or harem) the granaries.

* According to Pridham, nine eiyat are equal to one dunna or bow—about nine English feet—and 500 dunu are equal to a heçkuma or mile. Cf. “bowshot.”

† According to the Mahávansa King Parákrama Báhu II., son of Vijaya Báhu III., who reigned in Hastisailapura from 1240 A.D. to 1275 A.D. (Turnour), caused his brother Bhuvaneka Báhu, the sub-king, to build a large viháré in the noble city of Hatthigiri, and a beautiful paríteya, which was called Mahá Mahinda Báhu (chap. LXXXVII., English translation, p. 290). The remains of the royal founder were buried in the Mahá Viháré. On a visit to Hatthigiri by Vijaya Báhu II., during his father’s lifetime, “he caused an excellent image-house of three stories to be built, and a great image of Buddha to be made there ...... and the prince called it (the establishment) Bhuvaneka Báhu Paríteya, after the name of his uncle.” (l.c.) (LXXXVIII., p. 305.) Parákrama Báhu IV., who began his reign at Kurunégala in 1295 A.D. (Turnour), “caused a three-storied temple of the tooth-relic of great beauty to be rebuilt within the courtyard of the king’s palace.” (l.c.) (XC., pp. 316-17.)

‡ Which correspond with the modern Uđawalpol and Palléwalpol.
To the west of Hastipura-nuwara is "Brahmin street" (Bamunu-vidiya); on the east "Sand street" (Veľi-vidiya); on the south "Street of the gods" (Deviyó-vidiya); on the north the "Great" or "Main street" (Mahá-vidiya).

The city is protected by three rocks: on the west by Aŋgaŋ-gala, east by Lunuketiya-gala, north by Andá-gala; and (is bounded) on the south by the village Virabáhu gama,* east by the village Millowa, and west by Tittaweli gama.†

There are four tanks for the use of the city: on the west Vilgoja-veva; south Weneru-veva, Udawatta-veva, and Wanahá-veva, near the city; on the north-west Đevasgomoșa; on the west Wanakuta-paruwata—all which surround the city.

The principal royal villages (gabadá-gam) are—

- Habáge, 350 amunams paddy sowing extent—(inclusive of) the royal village Bandaráketa of 25 amunams.
- Vilbáwa, of 35 amunams.
- Nayiliya, of 33 amunams.
- Đembepola, of 12 amunams.
- Millowa, of 12 amunams.
- Messagammama, of 65 amunams.

Of the 350, total number of villages, there are 12 royal villages belonging to the gamwasan pașgu—

- Maraşuwawa, of 65 amunams.‡
- Bamunugedara, of 65 amunams.
- Đevasgomoșa, of 20 amunams.§

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* Modern Vilbáwa, and once a royal city, known as Vilbá-nuwara. The Pretender in the rebellion of 1817–18 is said to have been a native of this village. There is a Buddhist temple here, which is largely resorted to by people of the district. Andimadé, a metrical composition, speaks of the king who reigned here, and Mr. H. Parker informs me that in the course of his reading he met with a reference to Kásyapa as a ruler of this city.

† Tittawella. A Kadainpolota gives the dimensions of the city as 6 yodunu in length, 3 in breadth, and 6 in circumference, and states that it had 10,000 villages within it. Four slabs of rock marked the limits, surrounded by Étá, Andá, and Wanagiriya rocks. Within the city were a college, a tank, a row of palaces, with which the city was adorned, and the city itself was sufficient to contain the inhabitants of a kingdom.

‡ Now a viháre gama.

§ Modern Vëwagedara.
Siyambalângonuwa, of 65 amunams.
Bissówapattuwa (a tract).
Tittavella, of 65 amunams.
Tittavella Illukpiṭiya, of 25 amunams.
Bandârajekta, about 7 amunams.
Kalohagedara, of 12 amunams. *

This side of Kalohagedara, Handapânduma (evidently so called
owing to a moon and bow carved on the rock), 12 amunams.
Bordering Diggala, 12 amunams.
Bamunugama.—A Brahmin village on the west of Kurunēgala,
5 amunams.

Below it, on the banks of the Maguru-oya, is [the pond]
Kunâna-eṭa, so called owing to the royal palanquin having
been buried there. From this eṭa, proceeding the distance of
a mile, is Ran-munda-wala, so called from the gold ring [of
the king probably] having fallen in and been lost here. Below
Kimbukoṭuwa is a stone bridge. To the south of the sleeping
palace of the king, Nīra-dolosāgê. To the west thereof a
stone-built well. † On the summit of Etâ-gala a stone-built
pond. This side of Hunupola there is a stone-built well. ‡
These were the three places at which the king had his warm
baths.

Inside the cave of the city rock there is carved the figure
of a Vėldâ boy holding a bow in each hand. In the cave in
which this figure is carved are to be found 20,000 masuran,
pieces of gold coin.

On the top of the wall on the summit of Etâ-gala is found
the seat, like unto that of King Śakraya.

Ibbâ-gala Vihārē was founded by Vidiya Rāja.

Etâ-gala Vihārē by Devenipetiṣsa. That Vihārē was
endowed with 3 amunams of paddy land, garden, and houses.
On the stone at the threshold of that vihāre, with Pusba-
dēwa Terunnânse, five hundred (priests) attained Rahatship.

* Now a blacksmiths’ village.
† Probably the well at Polattapiṭiya, from which a large section of the
townfolk draw their supply of drinking water.
‡ This may be identical with Rājapīhilla, or “the King’s spout,” on the
Kandy road, the sole structural remnant of the royal city. It has been
built up, and is a favourite public bath, and supplies drinking water to
the town. The road leading to the bath is called after it.
Angaṇ-gala Vihārē, which is to the west of the city, was endowed with Kaḷuwakọtuwa, consisting of 7 amunams, as well as with the land which lies below the stone pillar on the east and below and above Mutu-pokurugala, and out of Veboḍa, 3 amunams.

Uḍattaṇapola, of 12 amunams, was assigned to those who performed the office of conch-blowers to the city, as also Habāgé, 12 amunams.

The following villages were required to supply salted meat (heḷi-mas-dena-gam) to the city:—Yaṅkalla, Doraṇa-pola, and Ibbāgōmuwa.

The following villages to supply dried meat (poḷumas-denagam):—Maḍawu and Mehiyalla.

The following villages to supply salt (luṇu-dena-peta-villi-gam):—Teliyagonna and Mallawapiṭiya.

The following villages to supply the royal stores with trunks, winnows, baskets, beds, and chairs:—Ahugoda and Mayila.

The following villages to supply fresh milk (huṇ-kiri):—Heraliyavela, Malkaḍuwewa, Yaṭavehera, Ketamuna, Aṭakahavela, Nembilikumbura, and Kōngahagedara.

Close to the city under the stone pillar standing in the galveṭiya (stone fence), on which is carved the figure of a woman, lay buried 15,000 masuran. There are also the pictorial representations of four lions and four elephants.

Navaratṭa Maṇḍapaya was built by Boyagena Navaratṇe Mudiyānse, and Weneruṇewa by Pusbadeva Terunvahánse. These two meritorious works were performed on the same day. Treasures consisting of golden beds, chairs, flags, spittoons, rings, pearls, and gems were buried (in the tank) at the depth of a nul-palama. By the power of the gods these treasures are invisible.

To expiate the sin committed by the burial of Appuhāmī of Boyagena [as a billa offering for the breach in the bund of the tank], the king built Galapiṭa Vihārē at a cost of 15,000 masuran. On the rock on the bund an alms-offering
was given to the priests of the viháré, which was dedicated to the priesthood.∗

Between the Kurunégala tank and Wanahá-vewa were the royal pinfold and dairy.

Above Kudávewa were the stables for the horses.

In Yántanpâlawa were the stables for the elephants.

At Kavuđawatta was the stabling for the trained hunting buffaloes.

At Ritiyâgasyâya the palanquin-bearers resided.

The villages assigned to supply jaggery to the city were Indulgoḍakanda, Moratenna, Gabbala, Parapé, and Hinguruwaka, lying close to each other.

The following marked the gravels of the city:—Kayikâvala, lying below Heraliyavala, Pilikaḍa, Maraṭuwâkaḍa, Úrupâkaḍa, Kalohagedara, Galapitagala, Kolâmune-oya, Mivewa, Wadakaḍa [Kadawata].

To the four blacksmiths who accompanied King Vijaya were granted the following villages:—Kaḍupitiya, Kammaltota, Naṭandúwa, Ve̲wijagama, Timmagama, Ayuwandana, and Hénégedara.

The following (toyil-gam) were the villages assigned to the tom-tom beaters:—Lindepiṭiya, Poramulla, and Talâoṭuwa.

The following (radá-gam) to the dhobies:—Haŋgawatta and Radâpola.

The following (badahêla-gam) to the potters:—Badahêla-gama and Budanapiṭiya.

Kônpolâ is so called owing to a hut having been built on a kôn tree, living in which the original inhabitants founded the village.

∗ Tradition has it that the bund of the Kurunégala tank could never be kept in repair. The only way in which it could be done was by offering a bîlla, the sacrifice of a life. Appuhâmi volunteered to give his life on condition that the king would raise his son to an Adigårship. The king having assented, Appuhâmi was placed in the breach and buried alive, since when it is said the bund has not given way. In addition to the rank, money and lands, as well as the paṭa-bendi name of Navaratna, were bestowed on this officer. The effect of the bîlla must have passed away, for in 1877, in the course of certain repairs, the bund burst, and much damage was done to property by the flow of water.
King Vijaya bestowed the following villages on his ministers:—Kónpola, Tiregama, and Damunugoda.*

To the shield-bearer, Paliya Mohaṭṭāla, was assigned the village Paliyagama, so called after the shield.

To the sword-bearer was assigned the village which is called after him, Kaṭugampola.†

To the Brahmins who accompanied the king, to one was granted the village Bamunákoṭuwa, to another Bamunussa, to a third Divulgaspiṭiya, and to a fourth Bamunávela.

To Hēṭṭi Basnāyaka Mudiyānse was assigned the village Udādigena, which lies to the west of Kurunėgalā.

Lying below it, Erathuduliya, was given to Baṇḍāra.

Doraṭiyāwa was bestowed on Vijayapāla Mudiyānse.‡

To Navaratna Mudiyānse the village Boyagena was given. Akaragena to Akaragena Baṇḍāra.

Millowa to the Adigār.

Galgomuwa to Galgomuwa Mudiyānse.

Mābōpiṭiya to the Haḷuwaḍana Nilame.

A king named Vijaya reigned in Hastipura during the time of Kakusanda Buddha, the said city lying at a distance of 400 gaws from Siṇhapura. During the time of Konāgama Buddha this city was also ruled by Vijaya. During the time of Kāsyapa Buddha also was this city ruled by a Vijaya, as well as in the time of Gautama Buddha. On account of this circumstance Kurunėgalā becomes, comparatively, the principal city of the thirty-five capitals in the Island of Laṅkā.

* The soil in all these villages is very fertile, there is a superabundance of water; but the present inhabitants are of the Beruwaya and Chāliya castes.

† Modern Kaṭugampola, after which a Hatpattuva and a Kōralé take their names.

‡ This was the founder of the Doraṭiyāwa family. During the rebellion of 1848, Doraṭiyāwa Raṭēmahatmeśa of the Hiriyāla hatpattu, a lineal descendant of the first-named chieftain, captured the Pretender, and was presented by the Government with a gold medal and chain for his meritorious services. For particulars see Ceylon Literary Register, Vol. VI., p. 110.
[Here follows an enumeration of the villages which formed the three divisions of the Kingdom Máya, Ruhuṇa, and Pīhiṭi, all of the wealth of which Vijaya became possessed during his reign.]

To Vīra Bāhu, the son of Kuvēni, was assigned the village Virabāhu, and to his daughter the village Talkotā.

After reigning twenty-eight years he went to heaven.

[Then follows a list of the successors of Vijaya, and the periods during which they reigned. These are inconsistent, and appear fabulous when compared with the chronology supplied by the Mahāvansa, Rājawaliya, or Rājaratna-karaya.]

Bhuwaneka Bāhu entrusted to his son the kingdom as well as the subjects. On the seventh day thereafter he died. On the son by the Queen of Meḍakeṭiya† [a woman of the harem, yakada-doliya, cf. ran-doliya], he bestowed his wealth, in consequence of which circumstance the prince was called Vastuhimi Kumāraya.‡

Eight hundred and ninety-five rulers reigned in Kurunegala: thirty kings by the name of Tissa, thirty by the name of Bāhu, and thirty by the name of Sinha.§

Vastuhimi was massacred, and the prince who was at Kaṭuna-dāwa was installed in sovereignty under the title of Paṇḍita

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○ Modern Vilbāwa. The present incumbent of the temple says that the name of the village is derived from the half-moon-shaped pond—vil-bēwe—which lies a short distance from the temple.

† Other accounts give Asseduma as the native village of this woman.

‡ Or Vathima Kumāraya, as he is sometimes called, was the Muhammadan usurper, who was hurled headlong from the top of Etā-gala by his dissatisfied ministers and killed. At the spot where his mangled corpse is said to have fallen stands the Galēhayanḍā shrine, which was erected to his memory by his co-religionists. Vathima Lane, which leads to the shrine, is called after him. For further particulars see "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunegala." There is a picture of Vathima on one of the walls of the Úrupakāda temple.

§ This certainly looks fictitious compared with more authentic history.
Parákrma Báhu, and he removed the seat of Government to Dambadeniya.*

In Hastipura there were 700 sculptors, 700 masons, 800 dhobies, 900 elephants, 12,000 Tamils, 12,000 Síphalese, 24,000 officers, 75,000 ministers, all of whom left Kurunégala and settled at Dambadeniya, there living in glory like that of Śakra Devéndra. The king departed this life having reigned twenty-two years.

Kurunégala is derived from the fact of the settlement of the people of kíru-ráta, who were known as Kuruvitínyaó.†

[Here follows a description of Munúdakonḍapola, the city in which Prince Irugal Baṅdára reigned. As its history is so identified with that of Kurunégala, most of the villages which formed the ancient principality being now part and parcel of the modern District of Kurunégala, a translation of the account is inserted here.]

The principal villages surrounding the city (Munúdakonḍapola), royal villages:—

Bógoḍa, assigned to the Adigar.
Palavahala.
Naṭagenta, the village of Mahá Terunvahánsa.‡
Kédapátechera, assigned to the person who held the looking-glass (kédapota) to the king. The village was given to Kandégedara Mudiyánse.
Rukattana, 25 amunams, to the Mudaliyárs (Mudélipéru).
Udakatura, 20 amunams.
Yaṭikatura, 12 amunams.§
Navagatta, 12 amunams.
Siválogedara, 20 amunams.
Humukumbura, 12 amunams.

* The Kaḷundá Paṭúna refers at length to this interesting incident and to the circumstances under which the legal heir to the throne, like "Cincinnatus awful from the plough," was made king. The Paṭúna is a metrical composition, of which the author is said to be a poet of Miténvela. A translation of nearly the whole of it is given in "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunégala."

† For other derivations see "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunégala."

‡ On the hill the ancient city stood. The village is now a vihárégama.

§ Modern Uḍakadura and Yaṭikadura.
Irugal Baṇḍāra was so called owing to his having been born by the queen who was born out of the flower Dunukė-mala growing in the garden Dunukė-watta, and begotten of the Sun.

Kirimuna* received its name from the circumstance of milk having flowed out of the rock standing in that village for the use of the child.

Mahākeliya, formerly Manakiriya.
Irugal Baṇḍāra lived on Naṭagenakanda.
Devagedara is so called from the construction of the tank. The Prince Idirimána Kumáraya resided at Bógoḍa.
Palanay Kumáraya above Kelimuna.
Irugal Baṇḍāra, whilst reigning at Munḍakoṇḍapola-nuwara, sent for his mother, the queen, who was in Kurunėgala, and having stopped the Sun in its course, an alms-giving was made, when Navagattarāla, by the aid of the trained soldiers, massacred Irugal Baṇḍāra, who fell a victim to their sword.† Owing to this circumstance the people of Dewamėda are considered disloyal.

The event was commemorated by the erection of a stone pillar, which was intended as a sign to prohibit the employment of men of this district in the service of the court.

The Navagatta man was tried and hanged for this demeanour at Rukattana. Of his accomplices, the Dikvehera man was impaled, the Ratkaravuwa man was tied to two posts brought near to each other, and torn asunder by the cords which bound the posts being severed.

Since then Munḍakoṇḍapola has been abandoned.

* Modern Kelimuna.
† Irugal Baṇḍāra was a powerful and independent prince, and tradition says that the king was jealous of the power and influence exercised by him. Accordingly a band of ruffians was employed to assassinate him. While the prince was preparing to bathe in the tank near Baṇḍārakoswatta he was slain by one of the assassins with his own sword. The head on being severed is said to have fallen on the rock, which formed part of the bund, and the rock was rent asunder. Owing to the circumstance the rock is called Pattaragalā. Baṇḍārakoswatta (which Casie Chitty translates as 'the king's jak tree grove') was the place where Robert Knox and his father lived until the latter died.
The royal fields which were cultivated for King Vijaya out of the kingdom were—

Ilukpiṭiya keta.
Habágé keta.
Talampiṭiya keta.
Ilukvela keta.
Pileṣa Idirimārayinne keta.
Ilukwela Kalingu Rajjuruwange keta.
Wattawallala Pitima Rajjuruwange keta.
Úrugala Duṭugamunu Rajjuruwange keta.
Gampola keta.
Dolosbágé keta.
Paṇḍuwasara Rajjuruwange keta.
Dēdigomatissa Rajjuruwange keta.
Vihinawe Dambadēni Rajjuruwange keta.
Haragoma Gurudeṇiya Parakama Bābu Rajjuruwange keta.

[Reference is then made to the number of fields in the Tri-sinhala, or three ancient divisions of the Island, Pihiṭi, Ruhunu, and Māya, the extent covered by oyas, tanks, rocks, and forests, the lands submerged by inundations. The derivation of the divisions are given as follows: Ruhunu-raṭa was so called owing to the earth (ruhunu-pas) found there; Māya-raṭa owing to the great wisdom and subtility of the inhabitants; and Pihiṭi-raṭa owing to the sacred bō-tree having been planted there.]

Kurunēgala stands in the centre of these divisions.

Hiriyāla derives its name owing to hiriyal* having been found in the tract.

Dewamēda, owing to its situation between the Dēdurū-oya and the Maguru-oya.†

* Hiriyal is sulphuret of arsenic, Arsenicum auripigmentum. It is of a reddish-yellow colour, and is largely used by the natives in painting. Sādilingam, vermilion, or mercury sulphide, which occurs native as cinnabar, the chief ore of mercury, is also used by natives for painting images. The hiriyal is sprinkled over the vermilion to give it a gloss. Both these substances are sold in the native bazaars. (Magazine of the School of Agriculture, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 17.) Hiriyāla gives the name to a Hatpattuva.

† Dewamēdi Hatpattuva is said to have been so called owing to its originally lying between the Dēdurū and Maguru oya; but since the re-division of the Seven Kōralēs, only a portion of it is included by these rivers. According to a Kaḍaim-pota, sixteen stone pillars, with figures of parrots carved on them, marked the limits of this division.
Kaṭugampola [originally Kaḍugampola], from the fact of the district having been granted to the person who bore the king’s sword.

Piṭigal, owing to ḍal-piṭṭi (rice flour) having been found in the crevices in the rock.∗

Giratalan, owing to an arecanut cutter (giraya) having been made and presented by the people to King Vijaya on the occasion of his visit thither.

Owing to the two duna trees growing in the field it received the name of Duna-gaha-pattuva.

[Siyāṅe Kōralé was so called owing to 100 persons having assembled and held a marriage festival.

Aḷūt-kūruva, after the settlement of the new people from the Solirata brought by Gaja Báhu after his victory.†

Paraṇa-kūruva, on account of the residence of the old inhabitants there.]

Hewawisė, from the fact of 20 soldiers having been sent to settle there by King Gaja Báhu.

∗ A Kaḍaim-pota gives the following interesting particulars: A husbandman possessing much power, in the hope of becoming a great man, thought within himself of raising an eminence by heaping up paddy, upon which he intended to build a palace, to command a view of the sea and the ships and boats sailing thereon. With this object he constructed irrigation works, cultivated large tracts of paddy land, and having collected the paddy, heaped it up in the shape of a high rock. He ordered his son to go to the summit, and asked him whether he could see the ocean and the sailing of ships. The son, fearing lest he would lose the heap of paddy, ascended to the top and replied that he could not, although he actually could see the ocean. The father, enraged at the disappointment, kicked down the heap, which was scattered all over the face of the country. The paddy, which had decayed and become reduced to flour (piṭṭi), having been found strewn on the meadows and rocks (gala), the country Piṭigal-raṭa was so called.

† In the reign of Waṇkanāsika Tissa, 110 A.D., an incursion was made by the Malabars, headed by the king in person, who carried away 12,000 Siphalese as slaves to Mysore. Gaja Báhu, 113 A.D., avenged the outrage by invading the Soli, or Chola, country with an expedition which sailed from Jaffnapatam, and brought back not only the rescued Siphalese captives but also a multitude of Solians, whom the king established in various parts of the island. (Tennent’s Ceylon, Vol. I, pp. 396–7; Rājawaliya, p. 229; Turnour’s Epitome, &c., p. 21.)
Gantihé, from the fact of 30 captives of Gaja Báhu having settled there.

Vihinawa, owing to the 29 settlers.

Hatalispaha, owing to the settlement of 45 captives.

Visideké, of 22 captives.

Katuwana Gandaha, of 10 captives.

[Tumpáné, of three fifties of the captives; Hewaheta, of 60 soldiers; and Ganhatara, of 4 captives.]

Kamuttu-gedara, from the fact that the last man of the captives settled there.

[Hárasiyapattu, from the fact that each of the pattus, or divisions, having formed the settlement of 100 captives.

Matalé, owing to a large gang of the captives having been sent thither.]

Kalágama, owing to the creeper, Kalávéla, over which the embankment was built.

[Sivuru-pattuwa, owing to the residence of a great number of priests.]

The 700 followers of King Vijaya* formed 700 villages round the city of Kurunegala.

Those who came with Pañduwasa formed 900 villages. In the time of Pañdukábbha 1,000 villages were formed. In the time of King Muṭasíva 3,000 villages.

During the time of King Gatanaissa, in the three divisions (Tri Sinhala) 4,000 villages were formed.

In the time of Devanipétissa buffaloes were brought from the continent of India. These were put into folds at Koppola. Mitővélá belongs to the Palléwahala.

Yakakaqamaraqadá are the villages bestowed on the Dissawa appointed for the district.

Talampitiya, Parábëbila, Hawhéwa, Vihinamaya, Dìya-

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* Magul Kóralé, a division of the Vanni hatpattu, at present subdivided into Magul Opata and Magul Mëdagandahaya Kóralés, according to tradition received its name, which implies "the country of marriage," on account of the seven hundred noblemen who accompanied King Vijaya to the Island having celebrated their marriage in this part of the country. (Casie Chitty's Gazetteer, p. 157.)
dora, and Unnaliya belonged to the Bissowa Baṇḍāra, the queen born of the dunuké flower.

Galboḍagama* and Vėwagama were given to the Adigárs on their appointment.

The following are the names of the principal villages and of the chiefs who were appointed to guard the king and the city:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Chief</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Millowa Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Bamunugedara Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doraṭiyáwa Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Raṅgoma Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bóyagena Navaratna Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Raṅawana Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akaragané Baṇḍára</td>
<td>Mohotṭowa Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bamunáwala Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Rukattana Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tittawella Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Etanawatta Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bammunussa Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Dematajuwa Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baḍalowa Kuruppu Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Divulgasiṭiya Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratkarawa Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Kalugomuwa Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Węgolla Hewanannaha</td>
<td>Galatombowa Mudiyanse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Minhettìiya Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Baṇḍára</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pepealwela Hitthihami</td>
<td>Kaṭupiṭiya Māmpe Dissáwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidapola Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Kāriyapperuma Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galgomoowa Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Habágę Etágala Patirinęhé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapagomoowa Mudiyanse</td>
<td>Habágę Adikāri Mudiyanse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chief of these is Alakāswara Mudiyanse.

[Here follows the particulars as to the authenticity of the work, which are quoted in the Introduction.]

From each Ėtkanda and Ąpgaṅgala Vihárés, 500 priests assembled at the póya gē for convocation; and owing to the bell which was hung to invite the priests to the dining hall, Geđigé-pattuwa was so called, and adjoins Uḍawahalawatta-vela.

The pond on Ibbágala was named Vėtakeiyiyá-pokuṇa, owing to the vėtakeiyiyá trees growing there.

The pond on Ėtá-gala was called Avusadha-pokuṇa, from the fact of the medicinal plants and creepers growing in it.

Thus ends the “Description of Kurunégala” (Kurunégala Vistaraya).

Now a Duraya village, famous for the fertility of its fields and the site of the Polgahawela railway station.
UNLIKE other cities and royal capitals of a by-gone age,
with—

Temple's palaces, and piles stupendous,
Of which the very ruins are tremendous,
there is nothing to indicate or even suggest that the modern
town of Kurunégala was once the seat of kings. Time's
effacing finger seems to have obliterated almost every vestige,
and written the word "Ichabod" on every part of this once
romantic imperial capital. It has passed away—

The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,
Leave not a wreck behind.

But for the natural landmarks, such as Elá-gala, Ibbá-gala,
and Kuruminiyá-gala, in the neighbourhood of which it is
said "the noble city of Hattigiri lay," it would be impossible
to identify even the site which it occupied upwards of seven
hundred years ago.

Judging by the physical bounds given in the Vistaraya,
and the length, the breadth, and the circumference assigned
thereto by Ka��im-pot, the city and its immediate surround-
ings must have embraced an area at least ten times that
which is now covered by the modern town, recalling to mind
the well-known lines of Coleridge:

So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round:
And there were gardens bright, and sinnous rills,
Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.

Nowhere can be found a description of the city and its
palaces, but an adequate idea may be formed of the magni-
ficence and splendour which characterised the city from the
graphic account which the Maháwansã (Chapter LXXXV.,
vv. 62 and 63) records of some of the temples.
These temples evidently stood in the courtyard of the royal city, but none of the descriptions given in the Vistaraya or Mahāvaṇsa apply to the vihārā now standing at the foot of Etá-gala or to that on Ibbâ-gala, the building of which tradition assigns to pious King Devānampiyatissa, and in whose precincts there is a copy of the Śripāda, said to have been made to accommodate a princess who could not undertake the pilgrimage to Adam’s Peak to worship at the original; nor do they apply to those at Wandurā-gala, Vilbāwa, Úrupākaḍa, or Maraḷuwáwa.

While the Vistaraya refers to the heterodox déwalés, the Mahāvaṇsa makes mention of the orthodox vihārés which raised their sacred fanes within the enceinte of the city—a system which prevails to the present day, by which those edifices are built in close contiguity, and within the same enclosure.\

The greater portion of the modern town was evidently the site of the royal palaces, which doubtless stood on the Māligáwa grounds and the Kachchéri premises, the sleeping palace of the king being only twelve fathoms from Kuruweniyagala; and the upper and lower courts, Uḍa and Pahalawahala, being identical with the modern Uḍawalpola and Palléwalpola; while the site of the majority of the temples might fairly be assigned to the modern Polattapiṭiya; but alas!—\

Where holy ground begins, unhallowed end
Is marked by no distinguishable line:
The turf unites, the pathways intertwine.

Judging by the lay of the land, it is quite possible that the waters of the Kuruné gala tank submerged all the marsh lying between the Dambulla road and high ground above the modern tennis courts in the Māligáwa premises. There was a high bank along the line now taken up by Sharpe Road and a portion of Rájapihilla Road, which probably in days gone by formed the basis of an embankment or stone wall.

* Oriental Monachism, Chap. XXIX.
The removal of the seat of Government to Dambadeniya in 1346, and the gradual desertion of Kurunegala by the nobles and chiefs, who assembled at the new capital, reduced the city of Hatthigiri to ruins, its villages to desolation, and its cultivated lands to wilderness and jungle, the population dwindling down to a handful of Durávós. *

From the necessities of their position neither the Portuguese nor the Dutch saw much of the interior of the Island, much less that portion of it known as the Kandyan Provinces, and discouraged travellers of other nations from visiting or describing it. So that Kurunegala lay buried in its insignificance, not even receiving a passing notice from that veracious chronicler Robert Knox, who, as well as his father, was a captive in the district, and the latter of whom died and was buried at Bandarákoswatta. It remained in that humble condition until the memorable year 1815, when the Union Jack was hoisted at Kandy, and the establishment of the British dominion in the interior was proclaimed by the cannon of the city, and Kurunegala was once more selected as the next place of importance to the mountain capital.

The military records of 1815 are unfortunately not forthcoming, but there is abundant evidence to show that shortly after the Kandyan Convention Kurunegala was created a military post.

One of the earliest structures in Kurunegala during the time of the British was the Cantonment. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who was Commandant at Kurunegala and Judicial Agent of the Seven Kóralés, and devotes nearly the whole of the second volume of his work to his experiences in the district, describes the Cantonment as—

Built in the form of a square. In outward appearance the houses and bungalows are very like neat comfortable thatched cottages, and afford much better accommodation than I had cared for. The Commandant's house and offices occupy one side of the square, and have gardens behind them laid out with great neatness and regularity

* Casie Chitty's Gazetteer, pp. 145–8. [Kurunegala, as the capital, was abandoned for Gampola about A.D. 1347.—B., Hon. Sec.]
by my predecessors in the command of the district. There are several good-sized rooms in the house, all upon the ground-floor. ** **. The other sides of the square are occupied by the houses of the officers and troops, guard-house, &c. At a short distance from the cantonment there is a bazaar.*

The exact site of the cantonment cannot be determined upon, but such data as "the rocky mountains rising abruptly and close to the cantonment," and the existence of "Parade Street," point to the conclusion that it lay in the vicinity of, or at least the greater part of it covered the grounds now occupied by, the Judge's quarters and the timber depot.

The Kachchéri (at least the nucleus which has since been enlarged and improved into the present substantial and commodious structure) was doubtless contemporary with the cantonment. In 1848 the rebels, whilst endeavouring to break open the vault, which is said to have contained £1,500, were surprised by the troops from Kandy under Lieutenant Annesly. The marks of the axes used by the rebels are still to be seen on the door-shutters of the vault.

The Máligawa was in building in the time of Campbell on the very spot where of old stood the palace of the kings. The present structure with its appurtenances was erected on the old site in 1880. The grounds, which are well laid out, remind one of an English park.

Wesleyan Chapel.—Shortly after Campbell's arrival at Kurunégala the troops were busy constructing a temporary place of worship for Europeans, which it was thought would answer until a permanent chapel was constructed. Sir Edward Barnes, Governor, on a visit to Kurunégala, gave permission for the erection of a mission school and chapel on—

A piece of rising ground, about 600 feet in circumference, in the centre of the population, and surrounded on all sides by public roads.

The site is further described as—

Half encircled with tremendous rocks, which are clothed with verdure in most places to the very summit, and often saluted by clouds. Their bases are covered with mighty forests to the edge of

* * Excursions, Adventures, and Field Sports in Ceylon, Vol. II., pp. 5, 6.
the town, which is bounded on the other side by fine rice fields and some of the most beautiful gardens, producing all kinds of vegetables and flowers.

The building with the view it commanded is thus described:

A road only separates our garden from the great rock behind it, which is a delightful shelter in some seasons, and always a beauty. The front of the building is quite open, and commands a view of the whole cantonment across a small valley. The two sides of the house command the most enchanting view of near and distant mountains, fields, and woods. From the front of the house the garden lies on a slope, and is bounded by another new road.

The chapel was in the centre of the principal buildings, with rooms at each end, and the whole was finished in the best style and kept in the neatest order. The entire cost was Rds. 3,300. The chapel was opened on the 20th of December, 1821, by the Rev. Mr. McKenney, who preached an impressive sermon from Matt. vi., 16, "Thy Kingdom come." The Rev. Robert Newstead was the incumbent. By successive grants the mission premises extended to 321 ft. by about 200 ft. in the widest part. In 1829 Kurunégala was struck off the roll of the Wesleyan Mission, and the premises sold to Government to be utilised as a court-house, respecting its use for divine service whenever required.*

The chapel evidently stood just above the present Police Court, and a venerable almond tree towers over, and almost covers with its outstretching branches, the site which the chapel and mission house once occupied. At present only a few scanty remnants of the foundation are visible, while the cocoanuts planted by the Rev. Mr. Newstead are now stately palms. There was a quaint slab of rock in the burial ground on the Kandy road, with the inscription "ZION HOUSE, 1821," which doubtless formed part of the doorway of the chapel.

The Mosque, at the corner of the new road to the tank, as well as St. Ann's Roman Catholic Church, is coeval with the Wesleyan Chapel, and is referred to by Casie Chitty. During

* Hardy's Jubilee Memorials, pp. 146-8.
the rebellion of 1848 the panic-stricken townsfolk took refuge in the latter place, which, strange to say, was not entered by the rebels.

The other buildings are of comparatively recent date.

The Wesleyans were allowed a plot of land 100 ft. by 90 ft. on the Kandy road to be used as a burial ground. After the mission was abandoned it was used by Christians of other denominations. It contains two interesting tombstones, one to the memory of Capt. Alex. McBean (ob. February 8, 1821, æt. 40 years), who was Agent of Government of Pahaladoḍospattu, Seven Kóralés, with modified jurisdiction under the 35th clause of the Proclamation of 1819, under superintendence of the Agent of Government of the Seven Kóralés; and the other to the memory of Margaret (ob. March 4, 1824, æt. 49), wife of Major Andain, Her Majesty’s 16th Regiment, Commandant at Kurunégalá. This burial ground was closed in 1868.*

The charm of the town of Kurunégalá lies in the unusual beauty of its position, resting as it does within the shade of Etá-gala, or the elephant rock, from which it derives its name. It has passed through manifold vicissitudes. Anon a royal city, it crumbled into the dust of a village of Durávós, then elevated into the capital of a Province; it continues daily to rise in importance, and with the inestimable benefits of railway extension, it is beyond all doubt that the pride of a fabled splendour of a descent from the Sun, or a kindred relation to the Lion, is fast vanishing into the true glory, the real prosperity, and the solid advantages, commercial, moral, and intellectual, which the Kandyan Provinces have derived from their union with the British Crown.

7. On the motion of the Hon. Mr. Swettenham, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie, the writers of the Papers were accorded a vote of thanks.

8. The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chair, moved by the Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie.

* For further particulars see Ceylon Literary Register, Vol. iv., pp. 13, 14.
COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 5, 1893.

Present:

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.

F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.

J. Harward  Honorary Secretaries.
G. A. Joseph

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on July 8, 1893.

2. Resolved,—That the following gentlemen be elected Resident Members of the Society:—

(1) A. M. Perera, Superintendent of Minor Roads, Kandy.

(2) O. Collett, Planter, Bin-oya, Watawala.
    Nominated by G. Joseph and J. Harward.

3. Laid on the table letters from the Secretary of the Gordon Technical College, Geelong (dated June 5, 1893), and from the Director of the University of the State of New York (dated May 8, 1893), calling for exchanges of publications.

Resolved,—That both institutions be thanked for their kind offers, and that (1) the Gordon Technical College be informed that the Society's publications are not likely to be of interest to them; (2) and that the Library of the State of New York be asked to buy the publications, and that a list of them be sent.

4. Considered a suggestion of Mr. Harward's "That the Society should offer an annual prize to encourage the study of the classical languages of the East in Ceylon schools."

After some discussion, on a motion proposed by the Hon. Mr. Swettenham, it was decided that the matter do stand over for future consideration.

5. Considered the advisability of altering Rule 18 so as to constitute four Members as a quorum of the Council.

Resolved to give notice at the next General Meeting of this proposal.

6. Laid on the table copy of printed card issued to Members notifying date and business of next General Meeting to be held on the 11th instant.

Resolved,—That the Council approves of the date fixed and the business as notified.
GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 11, 1893.

Present:

Sir E. Noel Walker, K.C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor, Vice-Patron,
in the Chair.

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President.

W. E. Davidson.  F. C. Roles.
Dr. S. Fernando.  E. S. W. Senāthi Rāja.
Dr. W. G. Keith.  Hon. F. R. Saunders, C.M.G.
Dr. Lisboa Pinto.

J. Harward  Honorary Secretaries.
G. A. Joseph

Visitors:—Nine ladies and eighteen gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on July 8, 1893.

2. Notified the election of the following Members since the last General Meeting:—

   O. Collett.
   A. M. Perera.

3. Mr. Harward (Honorary Secretary) gave notice that at the next Meeting it will be proposed that four Members constitute a quorum of the Council, instead of five, and that it will be moved that rule 18 be altered accordingly.

4. The following Paper was read by the writer:—
THE EPIC OF PARAKRAMA.

By the Right Reverend R. S. Copleston, D.D., Lord Bishop of Colombo, President.

The Paper which I have the honour to read requires some apology in this learned Society, as being concerned not with research, but only with criticism; yet the importance of the passage of literature which is my subject may, I hope, justify my attempt to place it before you in a popular light. For the history of Parákrama is an important section of an important book.

Of the native works of literature which Ceylon has produced, the Maháwansa is, if I am not mistaken, by far the most important. I venture to claim for it even the high title of a classic. It consists, as is well known, of a history of the kings and of the Buddhist Community of Ceylon from the earliest days till the arrival of the English in Kandy; though the earliest portion, up to the third century B.C., is mere legend, and the latest portion a mere brief addition to complete the book. It is the work in parts of authors contemporary with the events which they relate, and in other parts of compilers who at intervals "wrote it up to date" from public records or from tradition. It is composed in Páli verse, and in one metre (with trifling exceptions) throughout—that common metre of long trochaic lines, in which all the principal Indian poetry is written.

A work on this scale, and with this dignified purpose, stands on the higher levels of literature;—that is, if its structure; its contents, and its style are at all worthy of its pretensions. And as much as this may safely be said of the Maháwansa. As history, it covers a long period—more than twenty centuries: is on the whole trustworthy; and narrates events of importance: as literature, it is boldly planned and executed with fair consistency; and its narrative, while of very unequal merit, is at its best well arranged, graphic, dignified, and even beautiful. The
language in the best portions is easy and clear, and
the metre—one well adapted to narrative—is used with
admirable flexibility.

While this may be said of the Maháwáṣa as a whole, its
historical and its literary merits are not similarly distrib-
uted—one part excels in historical value, another in
literary charm. Without now inquiring which portions are
most valuable as history, or even what is the degree of
historical value of the section which concerns Parákrama, I
may certainly treat this section as standing among the
highest in literary merit.

I ought here to say how greatly I am indebted to the
Siṁhalese translators, Sumanagala Terunnánsé and the late
Paṇḍit Baṭuvantudávé, and to the English translator, L. C.
Wijesiṣha Mudaliyár. I have not actually borrowed from
their works (with a small exception) the translations which I
shall quote, but I could have done nothing without them. For
the identification of the few places to which I have referred,
I am indebted to the learning and courtesy of Vēlivitiya
Dhammaratana Terunnánsé of the Vidyodaya College.

Parákrama the First, justly called Parákrama the Great,
who flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century of
the Christian era, is the most prominent figure in Ceylon
history, and the hero par excellence of the Siṁhalese nation.
There is only one name that can rival his, that of Duṭṭha-
gámini, who drove out the invaders of his country fourteen
centuries before, and whose figure on the historic canvas is
invested with even more romance, but with far less of reality.
The chapters which treat of Duṭṭhagámini are highly
poetical, but they are altogether a slighter matter than the
long and detailed section which records—and, as I believe,
with much historical accuracy—the exploits of the later hero.

It is not as history, however, whether accurate or otherwise,
that I am considering this section of the Maháwáṣa to-night,
but as a poem, or material for a poem. I propose to show in
what degree it has the qualities of an epic poem, in unity
and dignity of subject, and imaginativeness and beauty of
treatment. On the former of these two points I expect to convince you easily that the subject had in it, in an eminent degree, the "makings" of an epic; and I think also, as to treatment, that the writer was not unconscious of the opportunity which his subject gave him, but saw its greatness, grasped it to some extent as a whole, and was elevated to something of the standpoint of a poet by the impression which it made upon his imagination. The vivid conception which he had formed of the person and career of his hero gives to his work both unity and poetic interest.

Of that magnificent figure and those splendid exploits the author was, I think, an eye-witness. Three considerations lead me to conclude that he was a contemporary: first, and chiefly, the fulness of detail in the whole narrative of Parâkrama's life. Secondly, that, in contrast with this, his death is not recorded. It is only said that he reigned thirty-three years; and between this reference and the main record of his life there is a break in the continuity of the work, chapter 78 being in the main a repetition of what has been already stated in chapter 73, and both 78 and 79 being rather retrospective summaries than contemporary narrative. At that point,—between chapter 77 and chapter 78—as I conjecture, a later writer took up the pen after Parâkrama's death. A third reason for thinking that our author was a contemporary is, that the closing lines of chapter 77 are written in the present tense—a thing which I have not noticed in the conclusion of any other chapter.

If this is the case, our author stood too near his subject for an epic poet's purpose. Its details were too close to him: he could not see his hero's life a whole. And the consequences of this disadvantage are evident in his work. It is too often an accumulation of details, and wanting in breadth of treatment. But although the author either could not, because a contemporary (as I think), or did not, from want of grasp, allow details to be sufficiently merged in broad effect, I still think he did to a great extent grasp Parâkrama's career as a whole. If he had been asked to state in what
Parákrama's greatness lay, he would have replied: "He brought all Laṅká under one rule." That was Parákrama's great exploit; that was the great action which gives unity to his history. He brought all Laṅká under one royal canopy, made it one nation again. Our author recognises this in a true patriotic spirit. He genuinely rejoiced in the unity and greatness which had been restored to his native country; and the monarch who had achieved it was not only the master whose deeds it was his business to record, but was enthroned in his imagination, the hero of his heart.

He is not describing a monarch alone, but a popular hero; a well-known and well-loved character, whose fun and love of sport, whose kindliness of heart, as well as his reckless daring, had endeared him to every man in his dominions. In using these terms I am but putting into modern language what breathes throughout these chapters, though it finds a very different expression. I fancy I perceive in them, in spite of the conventional turns of phrase, the feeling which in a modern might have prompted the exclamation:

Oh! was there ever such a knight, in friendship or in war,
As our sovereign lord King Henry, the hero of Navarre!

The hero's earlier days, with their rough fun and incessant adventure, were evidently regarded, in the popular mind, with the same sort of homely affectionate admiration with which the English remembered the boisterous youth of Henry V., to whom—though here I must be forgiven as an Englishman for putting in the proviso, *si parva licet componere magnis*—Parákrama is a Siṃhalese parallel. Thus the hero's well-marked personality, and the achievement of one transcendent action, made it possible for our author, though standing too near to him in time, to grasp his career as a whole, and to be sensible of its poetical value.

To the disadvantage for poetical purpose, of too great nearness to the events, I attribute in part the fact—which can hardly be disputed—that the earlier portions of the life are more interesting than the later. These earlier portions are
also—and this is a point to which it is important for me to call attention—cast in a conventional form. They are modelled according to the received patterns of Indian poetry, with incidents which, from the Rāmāyāna onwards, are attached to the birth and youth of heroes.

It is in this form that I prefer in the first instance to state the fact which I will now state in another shape.

The earlier part of the life of Parākrama bears a remarkable likeness to the stories of the life of Gotama in its later forms, as told, for instance, in the Lalita Vistara. His birth was announced, to a father who had long been praying for a son, by a glorious messenger from heaven. The accomplishment of the prophecy was intimated by the appearance of a beautiful white young elephant entering the chamber where his mother lay. On his birth supernatural signs appeared, and all nature was filled with joy. Sages, interpreting the signs which accompanied his birth, and the marks which were found upon his person, announced his future power. He would be able, they said, to bring not only all Lāṅkā, but even all India under one dominion. But there was one sad prophecy, as there was in the case of Gotama, amid all these brilliant auspices. The father—not, as in Gotama’s case, the mother—was soon to die. The young prince was brought up after the pattern of the Indian princes; soon mastered the Vedas and all the arts, and became accomplished in horsemanship, sword-play, and archery; and when he had been removed after his father’s death to his uncle’s court, lived there in great ease and pleasure, the object of the king’s unwearied care and love. But from this pleasant home a noble resolution called him forth. He feared that he might lose, amid those pleasures and comforts, the aspiration which he felt kindled in him to raise his father’s house from its obscurity and make all Lāṅkā one. In the enthusiasm of this high purpose, he departed by stealth, at night, alone; and the very term is used of his “going forth,” which has been represented for English readers, in the case of the Buddha, as “renunciation.”
The closeness of the parallel is obvious. I have hinted at two alternatives for its explanation. Did the writer of the Maháwansa consciously and intentionally delight to trace, as he thought, in his hero’s history a faint copy of that of the object of a Buddhist’s veneration? Or is the case rather that these incidents were so essentially part of the stock-in-trade of the biographer of heroes, as to have attached themselves inevitably in the poetic tradition, first to the name of Gotama, and afterwards to that of Parákrama? It is certain that some of the features are as old as the Rámáyana.

We read in that poem that to Dasaratha, the father of Rámá, when he had been “engaged in austerities with the view of having sons born to him,” and had offered in particular the horse-sacrifice with that object, there appeared a mighty being, as messenger of Pajápati, and announced to him that he should have a son (1, 44). There was no elephant in his case, but on his birth celestial music sounded, and flowers fell from heaven. And the youth of course was brought up in the same accomplishments of riding, swordsmanship, and archery. On the whole, it seems to me more likely that the writer, familiar with the Indian epics, and also, of course, with the lives of Gotama, could not help constructing his narrative upon the well-known framework, than that he was consciously parodying a biography which to him was sacred.

He was not, however, so much of a Buddhist as some of his predecessors or as his successor among the Maháwansa writers. In his chapters the morals, drawn from every king’s death or conduct, about the lesson of the worthlessness of perishable things, are few, and less earnest. There is a great contrast, for instance, between this:

Even so all the riches that men lay up for themselves by much suffering are lost in a moment; yet alas! foolish men set their heart on them alone—

which I take from Mr. Wijesígha’s translation of one of the
earlier chapters;* and this which follows on the record of Parākrama's acts of secret policy, when he was spying out the country which he intended afterwards to conquer:

Thus do all the endeavours of beings endued with the power of meritorious deeds heaped up in former births meet with no hindrance, but are crowned with success. Let, therefore, the prudent man take this to heart, and become diligent in the performance of good deeds.†

In some places (as at the end of chapter LXV.) the moral is conspicuous by its absence. On the other hand, records of Hindú customs and ceremonies are frequent.

I have already had occasion to sketch very briefly the narrative of the hero's youth, and although there are lines here and there which rise quite to the level of poetry,—in the description, for instance, of the reception of the elephant by Queen Līlavatī, and of the gladness of nature at the prince's birth,—it is not until we come to his resolution to quit the pleasures of his uncle's court that we meet with a passage which lends itself to quotation.‡ The prince had been considering how little men of high station especially ought to value life, in comparison with glory that cannot die. He called to mind not only the exploits recorded in the Ummagga Jātaka, but those of Rāmā and of the heroes of the Mahābhārata, and that of the Brāhman by whom the royal race of Magadha was raised to power. "All these," he cried, in verses which in the original are of remarkable eloquence:

All these great deeds, though the doers are here no longer, are famous in the world to this very day. Life is worth living to those who have the capacity to achieve a rare and surpassing career like theirs. For me, born in Kshatriya race, if I do not something worthy of Kshatriya heroism, vain will my life be. They were blest, it is true, with times far more favourable; but in wisdom and all other gifts why should they be better than me?

To understand the purpose to which the young prince was devoting himself we must glance at the condition of Ceylon at that time.

† Ibid, chap. LXVI., 158.  
‡ Ibid, chap. LXIV., 39 et seq.
The land was divided (after the death of the illustrious Vijaya Bāhu, who was contemporary with William the Conqueror) by the dissensions and intrigues of the royal family, into four parts.

Over the northern kingdom, of which Puḷatthi, or Poḷon-naruwa, was the capital, Gaja Bāhu, a cousin of Parākrama, was reigning at the time of our story. This was still looked on as the principal kingdom, the true Siṃhalese throne.

The southern part of the Island, which in the palmy days of the united monarchy had been administered by one subordinate prince, was now divided into three so-called kingdoms under Māṇābharanā, our hero's father, and his two brothers.

Under this divided government and these weak rulers the condition of the country had not been happy. These rulers lived, the historian tells us, like village headmen, without dignity and without ambition. They made no attempt to fulfil the opportunities of their office to the good of others and their own; but with hearts set only upon cruelty were utterly gone out of the path of duty.

It does not appear that these chieftains were in any true sense kings over large provinces, or that their provinces put together covered the whole of Southern Ceylon; on the contrary, the three places in which they are respectively said to have reigned are all (according to Dhammaratana's identification) in the southern Bintēnna, the low-country of Ūva, in the triangle between Passara, Balapgoḍa, and Hambantoṭa.

Saṅkhathali, where our hero was born, is identified with the modern Aḷupota in Wellassa, which is also called Māligātēnna, and where there are still ruins of a palace. There is now a resthouse there, a few miles, as the crow flies, southeast of Passara. His father's little dominion reached southwards at least as far as Puṅkhagāma or Piḷagama, believed to be now Galgé, on the border between the Buttala and Kataragama districts. His uncle Vallabha had his chief city somewhere in the Kolonnā Koralé, and Sirimēgha, his other
uncle, at Mahanágakula, now Mágala or Nágala, in Buttálappattuwa. On the death of Parákráma's father this uncle took his place, and it was with him that our hero was living (near, as I have said, to Passara) at the time at which we have arrived. But this small province did not satisfy Parákráma's ambition. His ambition was to regain the northern kingdom, the ancient seat of power, which his cousin Gaja Báhu now occupied. He did not seek to win it for himself, but for his uncle and foster-father. Against his other uncle, Vallabha, who shared the south, he had apparently no designs: he probably foresaw—what did occur, though only after a long struggle—that whoever ruled the north and a part of the south could not fail ultimately to regain the remainder of the south. His definite aim therefore was to gain Poñon-naruwa and the rest of Gaja Báhu's kingdom. He was content to set about this patiently, and not to make the attempt till he had trained soldiers and captains, and collected war materials and money. He would begin by making himself acquainted with the extent of Gaja Báhu's strength, and the degree of attachment of his ministers and people. The object therefore of Parákráma's setting forth was to spy out the northern kingdom, and at the same time to train a body of followers who should be devoted to his person, and have implicit confidence in his fortune.

Our author is careful to show how deliberately the prince set himself to form a little band of immediate followers, to impress them with his determination, convince them of his invincible courage, and perhaps to commit them to his cause.

This latter aim—to commit his followers to his cause—probably explains a step on which the writer lays emphasis, though it is not altogether to the hero's credit. On leaving his uncle, the prince went into the district near Badalatlathali, or Badulla, which was under the care of a certain general named Sañkhá, whose guests both king and prince had lately been. This general very properly hesitated to encourage the young prince's escapade, and was trimming very judiciously between pleasing the prince and pleasing the king. He
entertained the nephew well, but meanwhile communicated with the uncle. Parākrama, perceiving this duplicity, at once had the general put to death—an act calculated to convince Gaja Bāhu that he was disaffected towards his uncle, and to commit his own men to his cause,—but one which could not, without a good deal of explanation, be divested of the appearance of rebellion. After this it became necessary for the prince to lead for a time a life not far removed from that of an outlaw; and this gave him of course the best opportunities for winning the hearts of his men. He astonished them by displays of courage such as the following:—

When he had dwelt there some days, the inhabitants of the province gathered from every side, thinking “We will capture this prince,” and pouring in great excitement incessant showers of arrows, they surrounded the village and opened fight with ardour. The soldiers who had come in the prince’s train, professing that they would lay down their lives in case of need, were now distracted with fear; and except the men who bore the prince’s state canopy and his sword they all fled hither and thither, in the very sight of the royal youth. When he saw his comrades thus flying, he smiled quietly, and seeing here an opportunity to display courage at its height, “With my weapon alone,” thought he, “I will terrify and put to flight the foe.” “Bring me a sword!” cried the prince with a sudden shout, and at that strong deep utterance of his, forthwith his soldiers, as they heard the sound of the trumpet-shell of victory spread through the circuit of the regions, saw the heads of some of the enemies’ warriors fall severed to the ground. Then those who before were fleeing stopped and turned, and fought and routed that force of many thousands; then they gathered round the prince with homage, and praised the heroic deed that he alone had done.

He entered with zeal into field sports, and took part in boyish games even in the midst of danger, as the following passage indicates:—

So all full armed these mighty ones, like the host of Mára, set forth in fury along the road which the spies pointed out. At all the four quarters they entered the village and on every side surrounded the prince’s house. The prince, clad in a red blanket on account of the extreme cold, was sitting playing at a game such as young men love. Made aware by the loud noise that the foe was close at hand, and seeing not one of his own attendants at that moment, he tightened the knot of hair upon his head, and clad as he was with the blanket, wrapped it very closely round him, and with sword in hand, in terrible guise,
he went forth into the midst of the conflict like a maned lion among elephants. In a moment the foes were flying in all directions (every foeman was facing a different way).

Of his audacity as well as his love of a joke, the following is related:

He sent for one of Gaja's generals, from a certain Kalāvēwa (I do not see how it can be the well-known place far in the north), by name Gōkança Nagaragiri, that he might learn how far he was loyal to that king. The general knew already enough of Parākrama to obey, but not unnaturally—after the Badulla general's fate—he came with a large bodyguard and not without anxiety. Parākrama received him with all honours, and provided him with the best of lodgings. But in the night Gōkança dreamed a dream. He thought he saw his couch surrounded by armed men come to kill him. With a cry of terror he leapt (or fell) out of bed, and regardless of his troops and attendants, his sword and his standard, he ran into the jungle, where he wandered about till dawn; and as soon as he could see the way rushed off to his own village. His soldiers followed in equal panic and arrived by different paths at Kālavāpi. And when the prince heard the tidings of this flight, he laughed and (remained there a short time). He was very fond of conversation, and in those days whenever he was overcome with fatigue there was nothing like this story to drive his fatigue away.*

After no very long time spent in these preliminary adventures he made his way northward, not without contests, to the borders of his cousin's kingdom. His entering those borders for the first time was a critical moment, and the poet has not failed to emphasize it by a touch which unfortunately our English translator has omitted. He entered it with a bound—rañño raṭṭhasimaṇi samullaṅghiyuyuṃgami—as Cēsar put spurs to his horse and leapt over the Rubicon.

King Gaja Bāhu, though not quite undisturbed at the manner of the young prince's approach, persuaded himself

* Mahāwansa, chap. LXVI., 35-56.
that he must be come in peace and in jealousy of the uncle whom he had left, and welcomed him heartily. Parákrama's life at his cousin's court was a triumph of dissimulation, but it is a remarkably picturesque scene. Not only did he ingratiate himself with the king, for whom he obtained his own sister's hand, and with all his nobles, but he went continually about among the common people, entering with sympathy into all their needs, and, without appearing to do so, fostering all their grievances. A device which he used for gaining access, without appearing to seek it, to their houses is too curious to be left unnoticed. He kept a tame elephant which he trained to run at him; and when he was near the house of a person whom he wished to win, he would pretend to be charged by the elephant, and would run for shelter into the house.

The list of his spies is amusing, and shows us what were the classes of itinerant traders and performers in those days.

That he might learn exactly who among the inhabitants of the outlying portions of the king's domains were attached to him and who were disaffected, he looked out men who were clever in many devices and skilled in the languages of various countries, and also foremost in loyalty; and among them, such as were learned in poisons he sent about in the guise of snake-charmers. Some the ingenious prince made fortune-tellers (from marks on hand, &c.); some as harp-players in the guise of Candálas or Brahmans. From among Tamils and others he chose a great many skilled dancers and singers, and sent them about as showmen of leather puppets and other entertainments. Some he sent about as pedlars offering rings, bangles, glass beads, and such-like goods for sale.

Some were to equip themselves with umbrella and staff or walking-stick, and so on, and assume the likeness of ascetics, and like faithful devotees to go from village to village as if to pay their homage at shrines.

Others assumed the parts of itinerant teachers to teach letters or the use of arms to children; others went as physicians, some were alchemists, some sorcerers, and some goldsmiths and the like.

Some of these spies, who went as Buddhist monks, found their way into houses, entered into close intimacy and confidence with the
inmates, by whom they were maintained and waited on, and obtained the position of moral instructors and guides. In this capacity they undermined the loyalty of those persons, and gave such counsel as should bring them under their own influence.

The result of all this policy was, that in course of time Parákráma had become acquainted with the mind of every courtier and almost of each commoner in the realm he desired to conquer, had friends in every corner of it, and knew every path in its forests.

Acquainted as he was with the various kinds of paths, the prince ascertained exactly from hunters the way by which a force could enter the city and the way convenient for his own spies. Himself, too, roaming the forest near the city under pretence of hunting, could distinguish all the ways and byways by marks which he set.

After a time, when he felt any longer delay would be time lost, he returned to his uncle's court at Saňkháthali; but it was not long before Kitti Sirimegha died, and Gája Báhu saw without apprehension his young friend established on the neighbouring throne.

His first care was to develop the resources of his country. He was extremely conscious of its smallness and poverty, but he seems at once to have taken in hand districts far beyond any of which we have heard as having been practically under his father's or his uncle's sway. From Adam's Peak to the sea, he is said to have placed his soldiers; he drained the marshes of the Pasdun Kórálé, and built a causeway (or anicut?) across the Deduru-oya in the Kolonná Kórálé—part of a system of irrigation works, ruins of which, Mr. Wijesínya tells us, are still to be seen.

It is impossible not to admire the high conception of the duties of a ruler which is here set forth:

All throughout this realm that belongs to me, he said to his ministers, besides the many corn lands that are ripened by the water of the rain-clouds, the fields maintained in dependence on rivers whose waters fail not, and on mighty reservoirs, are few; and the kingdom includes very many rocky mountains and thick forests, and great far-stretching marshes. In such a land as this, surely not even the least

* So both translations from Nánásanketakomate.
drop of the water that the rain supplies should go to the ocean without bringing help to man. Except those places where the mines are of gems and silver and such-like precious things, in every other spot provision must be made for maintaining fields. Not to live for the people’s good, but merely to enjoy the good things that have come to our hand,—such a life is utterly unfit for men like me!

And again—

Let there not stand in my realm in any spot whatever even the space of one small plot of ground that is not of use.

He had unbounded confidence in the capacity of human skill to redeem the desert into garden ground, and inspired his ministers with the same.

Meanwhile he was collecting stores, and by the sale of gems (for the gem-producing part of the country was in his dominion) he was accumulating money; and he was training soldiers and captains. He was evidently convinced that the hope of a restored national unity lay in the training of native troops; he knew how ruinous was the system, which had come very largely into use, of depending on Velakkára or mercenary troops from among the Tamils (as their title Velakkára shows) and other races of the continent. Our author does not expressly state this, but he represents his hero as a Siyáhalese to the backbone, who always preferred the homeborn to the foreign. Of this the striking episode of the Siyáhalese sword is an illustration, though it occurs at a later period of Parákrama’s career.

Again and again, with that prudence which the author delights to extol, side by side with his impetuous bravery, the king counted up his resources in men and material, and decided that the time for movement was not come; but at last it did come, and he entered on the great career of conquest. That career was not exhausted by the attainment of his immediate object, for after he had subdued the north of his own Island and erected his royal canopy over all Lanáka, he had many rebellions at home to quell, and he carried his victorious arms, we are told, to the continent of India, and even to the far shores of Aracan.
But those later glories lie a little beyond my present scope: it is enough for our epic purpose to leave our hero with his foot upon his foes in Laṅkā, and all that great future opening before him; for one evening’s Paper at any rate it must suffice if I can conduct him in triumph to Puḷatthi.

The course of the campaign, if we could identify even a fair proportion of the places, would be very interesting as a study of geography, but it must be confessed that in other aspects it is tedious. Our author’s battlepieces in this part are utterly inferior to those in which he describes the hero’s later contest with Mánābharana. In that part there is incident and detail, here there is neither, and the contrast is so marked that one is tempted to think of a difference of authors. I incline to think that the later contest took place in the author’s neighbourhood, while of the earlier campaign he had only the official reports.

In this part at least the author seems to have no appreciation of the poetic value of vicissitudes of fortune. The record of uniform success is extremely tedious. This general defeated the foe at such a place; another general won a great victory at such a place; at another place Parākrama’s general killed multitudes of the enemy; the foes came out to meet the king’s forces at such a place but were utterly destroyed;—and so on to an interminable length.

If a defeat has to be admitted it is mentioned briefly and obscurely. After Parākrama’s forces had taken Puḷatthi and Gaja Bāhu was a prisoner, Mánābharana, the rival king of the south, came suddenly northward, joined his forces to those of the northern kingdom, and utterly defeated, as the author says, “all that large host.” The reader has some difficulty in assuring himself whether it was Parākrama’s army that was defeated, for neither is his name mentioned, nor is the defeated force called the king’s. Mr. Wijesiriha has introduced the name of Parākrama into his translation (and very rightly, for it helps his reader), but he ought to have put it in brackets, that the reticence of the author might be seen.
Nor is there any description of battle scenes beyond the very slightest: not even is the cutting off of heads and limbs specified, as in the Indian epics; and there is very little bloodshed. This part of the work then is not a description of battles, but a list of victories; and has rather the appearance of having been worked up from an official report. In some places the names of the generals and the places where they fought are crowded into the verse just as thick as they can be packed.

But the tedious list of victories is interrupted by one noticeable touch of character and heroic incident. It struck the king, when he was halfway in the campaign, that he could disencumber himself of all his generals and take Puḷatthi by himself, with no soldiers but the band of immediate followers whom he had personally trained.

Under the pretext of a summons to attend a festival of Buddha, which he had ordered one of his generals to arrange for this purpose in a place on the way towards Puḷatthi, he proposed to leave his ministers and advance alone. But his generals saw through the scheme, and their loyal eagerness to be in the forefront of the campaign defeated the king's purpose. He advanced therefore with a well-organized force.

I have mentioned that I owe the identification of the places to which I have referred to Dhammaratana Terun-nānāse. I am myself unfortunately entirely unacquainted with that branch of the subject; but few inquiries of the kind would be more interesting than one which should result in a map of the country as it was in the twelfth century, with an itinerary of Parākrama's marches. But even such information as I have enables me to draw your attention to a fact which cannot fail to interest. The scene of this royal history lay in exactly that region which an inhabitant of modern Ceylon, at any rate until a few years ago, would have been likely to select, if he had been asked to mention the least attractive and the most unhealthy portion of the Island—the districts of Buttala, Wellassa, and Yaṭikinda in the Southern
Bintenna. In these districts, by the energy of Sir A. H. Gordon and Mr. F. Fisher, field hospitals have lately been established, and my colleague, Mr. Dunnett, is promoting schools. That this region was in Parâkrama’s time either very populous or highly civilized the Mahâwanâsa does not imply; but it implies a condition considerably in advance of that to which that country has now sunk; and I indulge the hope that the connection of which I am reminding you between these fever-stricken districts and the most illustrious name in Sinhalese history may contribute in some slight degree to promote their restoration.

Parâkrama conducted the war, as far as his own part in it went, with moderation; but he was not able altogether to restrain the violence of his soldiers, and this violence and rapacity gave rise to the one reverse which, as far as I have noticed, attended Parâkrama’s arms in this part of his career. The chiefs and inhabitants of the invaded country invited the assistance of Mânábharâna, Parâkrama’s cousin, son of Vallabha, who still held one of the divisions of the southern country. This prince, though really insignificant, was weak enough to think that the crisis was his opportunity, and that he could first assist Gaja Bâhu to repel Parâkrama, and then step himself into Parâkrama’s position and defeat Gaja Bâhu. He came northward suddenly, joined his forces to those of the northern king, and inflicted a severe defeat on the army of our hero (who seems at the time to have been in the south), and then treacherously seized Gaja Bâhu, and proposed to put him to death.

Parâkrama soon repelled Mânábharâna, and of course had Gaja Bâhu at his mercy; and the kingdom was then virtually his own. This gave the hero an occasion for the exercise of a splendid generosity. The defeated king Gaja, in despair of any other refuge, entreated the Buddhist monks of Poḷonnaruwa to intercede for him; and at their suggestion Parâkrama gave back to his vanquished opponent the crown which had been the object of his whole life’s enterprise, and returned to his own country.
Gaja made no attempt to take unfair advantage of this concession. He retired to another city, and made a solemn gift of the kingdom, by an inscription on a stone tablet in vihára: "I have given the royal country to Parákrama." Soon after this he died and Parákrama took possession of Pułatthi.

There was still a great deal of fighting to be done before Mánábharaṇa was finally subdued; and I am sorry to find myself obliged to dispose of it all in a single sentence. When the dominion of Lãká was at length completely attained, then the magnificent works for which Parákrama's name is best remembered were still to be begun. That portion of his life, in which he exercised the power attained, is a distinct subject; the course of heroic action by which he attained it is all that I have tried to sketch to-night. It was given to him to unite the careers of a Julius and of an Augustus; we have followed him to the point at which the greater Roman's course was cut short, and leave our hero prepared to inaugurate the Augustan age of Lãká.

6. Mr. Harward read the following statement with regard to the continuation of the series of Papers on "The Ancient Industries of Ceylon," by Geo. Wall, F.I.S., F.R.A.S., Vice-President:—

After a brief summary of the results of his earlier Papers, the writer stated that the problem to be solved was to ascertain the extent of the population of Ceylon in early times, and how they were occupied. The criterion to be employed was an estimate by an expert of the number of days' work required for the construction of some of the great public works carried out under the early kings. From a comparison of this number with the recorded time taken over the same works, it would be possible to infer the number of men employed. The writer showed in outline how such a calculation might be made, and how the numbers of the other sections of the population might be deduced from it.

7. A vote of thanks to the Chair and to the writers of the Papers was passed on a motion proposed by Mr. Justice Lawrie.

8. Sir E. Walker having acknowledged the vote of thanks to the Chair, addressed the Meeting, and endorsed the vote to the Lord Bishop and to Mr. Wall. His Lordship having replied, the proceedings terminated.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 11, 1893.

Present:
The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
Mr. Justice Lawrie.  Mr. E. S. W. Senáthí Rája.
Mr. F. M. Mackwood.  Dr. W. G. Vandort.
Mr. W. P. Rañasingha.  
Mr. F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.
Mr. J. Harward  
Mr. G. A. Joseph  } Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on August 5, 1893.

2. Resolved,—That the following candidate for admission into the Society as a Resident Member be elected, viz.:

Mr. S. G. Lee  { Proposed } by  { Mr. J. Ferguson.
   { Seconded }  { Mr. E. S. W. Senáthí Rája.

3. Considered the passing of a vote of condolence at the next General Meeting on the death of the late Hon. Col. F. C. H. Clarke, Vice-President, and of moving a resolution at that Meeting to place on record the sense of regret of the Society at the loss sustained.

Resolved,—That the Council recommends that the matter be brought before the next General Meeting.

4. Resolved,—That a General Meeting be held on October 28, 1893 and that the following be the business for the Meeting, viz.:

   (1) To read the printed Paper entitled "Chilappatikāram," by the Hon. P. Coomaraswámy, laid on the table.
   (2) To move that Rule 18 be altered so as to constitute four Members a quorum of Council, instead of five.
   (3) To pass a vote of condolence on the death of the late Col. F. C. H. Clarke, Vice-President of the Society, and to move that the sense of regret of the Society at the loss sustained be placed on record.

5.Resolved,—That any other Paper sent in before October 28 be referred to a Sub-Committee consisting of the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, Dr. Vandort, and Mr. J. Harward, and, if approved by them, be read at the next Meeting.


Resolved to purchase Cunningham's Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Sakas, and Kushans.

The Honorary Secretary was asked to ascertain the price of the other two books recommended, viz., Taylor on The Alphabet and Cunningham's Coins of Ancient India, and report to the Council.

7. Discussed the question whether Mr. George Wall's statement (read at the last Meeting) with regard to the continuation of his Series.
of Papers on "The Ancient Industries of Ceylon" should be printed in the Journal, and in what form.

Resolved,—That a short summary of the statement be published in the Journal.

8. The Honorary Treasurer read a letter received from Mr. H. Nevill, complaining (i) of the want of a Catalogue, and (ii) inquiring whether Members are allowed to take out books without limit.

Resolved,—That as regards the inquiry as to what number of books Members are entitled to take out at one time, Mr. Nevill be referred to Library Rule 41.

9. Laid on the table in manuscript tentative specimen of a Catalogue of the Society's Library containing a list of Ceylon Books. The Council discussed the arrangement to be adopted in compiling the Catalogue, and decided in favour of a Classified Catalogue.

10. The Council was informed that the late Mr. H. Pedro Perera had taken out some books belonging to the Society, which had not been returned, and which were now reported as not forthcoming.

Resolved,—That the matter be left entirely in Mr. Joseph's hand, and that he be authorized to adopt whatever course he considers best to get back the books.

11. Discussed the desirability of calling in books that had been out of the Library for any length of time.

Resolved,—That the Secretaries be allowed to call in all books, without exception, issued previous to August 15, for the purposes of verification and cataloguing.
GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 28, 1893.

Present:
The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
Mr. P. Arunáchalām.
Hon. P. Coomāraswāmī.
Mr. S. G. Lee.
Mr. W. Pereira.
Mr. W. P. Raṇaṣiṅha.
Mr. E. S. W. Śenāṭhi Rāja.

Mr. J. W. Seneviratna.
Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.
Mr. F. W. Vane.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors:—One lady and six gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on August 11, 1893.

2. It was announced that since the last General Meeting the following Member had been elected, viz., Mr. S. G. Lee.

3. On a motion proposed by Mr. Harward, and seconded by the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President, it was unanimously resolved, on the recommendation of the Council, "That a vote of condolence be passed on the death of Hon. Col. F. C. H. Clarke, R.A., C.M.G., &c., Vice-President, and that the sense of regret of the Society at the loss sustained be placed on record."

4. Mr. Harward proposed "That Rule 18 be altered, by changing the first word five to four, thereby constituting four Members a quorum of the Council, instead of five." With regard to the alteration, he said the reason of it was not that there was any intention of revolutionizing the constitution of the Society, but simply because on more than one occasion Meetings of the Council had to be adjourned owing to the failure to get together a quorum.

Mr. Gerard Joseph seconded the motion, which was carried nem con.

5. The following Paper was then read:—
CHILAPPATIKÁRAM.

By the Hon. P. COOMÁRASWÁMY.

This poem, known as Chilappatikáram, is of great interest to the Ceylonese—firstly, because it is the only Tamil work of any antiquity that refers to Ceylon after the period of Rávana; and secondly, because it is, so far as I know, the only one which records the history of Pátiñi, whose worship is more largely prevalent in this Island than anywhere else.

No apology is therefore needed for attempting a short account of (1) the author of this work; (2) the period at which he lived; and (3) the work itself.

It will be remembered that Southern India was in ancient times under the rule of three Tamil dynasties, known as the “Chéras,” “Chólas,” and “Pándiyas.”

* The whole Tamil land in those times, according to the author of Chilappatikáram, was between the sea on the east and west, Kumari (Comorin) on the south, and Tiruvéñkañam on the north.

The three different dynasties ruled over the following regions, according to ancient authority:—

(1) சேரைக்குள பஞ்சியார் கிழமை வரும் வத்தாற அணும் குமரைக்குள பஞ்சியார் கிழமை வரும் வத்தாறை

The Chéras kingdom extended on the north to Palañi, on the east to Tenkasi, on the south to the sea, and on the west to Kójikkúdu (Calicut); in length 80 kátams.

(2) சோலையை வரும் வத்தாற குமரைக்குள பஞ்சியார் கிழமை வரும் வத்தாறை

The Chólas land was bounded on the east by the sea, on the south by the river Velláru, ever engaged in strife with its shore, on the west by Kóddóikkairai, and on the north by river Peñai; in length 24 kátams.

(3) பஞ்சியார் வத்தாற வரும் வத்தைக்கு குமரைக்குள பஞ்சியார் கிழமை வரும் வத்தை

The boundaries of the Pándiyan Kingdom are, north Velláru, west Peru-veli [“great plain”], south Kaññi [“virgin” = Kumari], and east the sea; in length 56 kátams.

42—93
1.—The Author.

The author of Chilappatikaram was himself the younger son of the then reigning Chéra, and was known as Ilan-ko-adjikal (Ilan “young”; kó “prince” or “king”; adjikal honorific term) and Chéra-muni. It is said of him that as he was one day sitting with his elder brother Chenkutittuvañ by their father in the palace at the ancient city of Vañchi, an astrologer, being ushered into the presence of the king, looked at both the young princes, and pointed to the younger prince (our author) as the one who bore in his body the astrological marks indicative of kingship. Much disturbed by the thought that his elder brother’s right of succession might be interfered with by reason of the astrologer’s remarks, he at once renounced the world and lived the life of a muni (ascetic). Hence the name of Chéra-muni (“the ascetic of the royal house of the Chéras”).

2.—The Period at which the Author lived.

Now, when did he live?

In order to arrive at a conclusion upon this question we have to ascertain at what known period his poem was considered an ancient classic.

We know that the Tamil Ráma¥a was completed and recited by Kampan before the Academy of Literature in the Sakápta (Saka) year 808, equal to 886 of the year of Christ, on the authority of the well-known stanza recited on the occasion:

* This shortly is:—Kampan’s Ráma¥a was recited or published (ara¥kettal) in the month of Pápkuñi (March-April), on the day when the moon was in the constellation Hasta, after the Sakápta year 807.

Hasta, according to Monier Williams, is part of the constellation Corvus and, according to the same authority, which tallies with our Tamil calendars, the Saka era commenced in the 78th year of Christ.
We also know that 107 years before, i.e., in the year of Christ 779, the Tamil translation of the Skánda-puráṇa was published by Kachchhiyappar. Before Kampan’s Rámáyaṇa and Kachchhiyappar’s Skánda-puráṇa, the poem now under notice, viz., Chilappatikáram, and some other works, such as Chintámani, Mañimékalai, Kundaḷakési, and Vaḷayápati, which are all referable to about the same period, had acquired throughout the length and breadth of Tamil territory not only the reputation of being classics, but classics of ancient times. For works to have attained such a reputation in a conservative land like India, some centuries at least must have passed since their publication. I shall therefore be not far wrong in supposing that at the time of the Tamil Skánda-puráṇa (Anno Christi 779) these five poems were over five or six hundred years old. Mr. C. W. Támótharam Pillai, formerly Judge of the High Court of Pudukkóṭṭai and one of the most enlightened Tamil scholars of our day, believes that Chintámani was published about 1,800 years ago.

There is internal evidence in Chilappatikáram itself to show that it was also composed about that time; for the author states that at his time Gaja Báhu of Ceylon was on a visit to the Chéra kingdom, and that on his return he introduced into Ceylon the worship of Pattini. The author refers to Gaja Báhu as having been the guest of his brother Čenkuṭṭuvan. The Maháwánsa speaks of only two Gaja Báhus as having reigned in this Island. Which of them is referred to in the Chilappatikáram?

Gaja Báhu I. is believed to have reigned circa 113 Anno Christi, while Gaja Báhu II. reigned in 1142, long after the

* Nachchinárkiṇiśyá, the well-known commentator, lived 1,200 years ago (cf. Mr. C. W. Támótharam Pillai’s Preface to Puruṣatikáram), and wrote a Commentary on Naṭkírar’s Tirumurukóṭṭupadai, which at his time was regarded to be an old poem; and Naṭkírar in his commentaries cites Chilappatikáram.

† Cf. Preface to Virachóliyam.

Tamil Rāmāyaṇa was published. It is therefore clear that the reference in the poem is to the first Gaja Báhu.

We may therefore safely conclude that Chilappatikārām, like Chintāmaṇi, was written certainly more than eighteen centuries ago.

3.—The Subject-matter of the Poem.

Let me now pass on to the subject treated in this poem.

On the eastern coast of Southern India, where the Kávéri meets the Indian Ocean, was situate Pukár, alias Kávéripúmpaṭṭiṇam, the “City of Flowers,” beloved of King Kari-kálan. In this city lived two merchant princes, Mahá-sáttuvaṇ and Mánáyakkaṇ.

It was arranged between these two that Kóvalaṇ, the son of the former, should be married to Kaṇṇakai, the daughter of the latter. The marriage was celebrated with the pomp and ceremony befitting the wealth and rank of the parents; and the bridegroom of sixteen and the bride of twelve lived together happily for some years in a house built for them by Kóvalaṇ’s mother.* Kóvalaṇ unfortunately fell into the toils of a danseuse, Mádavi by name, deserted his home and wife, and spent some years with her, losing all his immense fortune. Repenting eventually, he returned to his lonely wife and proposed that they should travel to Madura, the capital of the Páṇḍiyas, and sell Kaṇṇakai’s priceless anklets, and with the proceeds thereof retrieve their lost fortune by trade. The faithful wife, always obedient, agreed, and after several adventures in the course of a journey of many days they reached Madura. Leaving his wife in the house of a shepherdess, Kóvalaṇ paced the streets of Madura with the view of selling one of her anklets. He met a goldsmith and showed him the anklet, and the goldsmith, who was a thief of the first water, and who was already under suspicion of having stolen an anklet belonging to the queen

* Note here the custom of young married people quitting their parents' houses soon after marriage and living by themselves—a custom which among us Tamils has now fallen into disuse.
of Madura, desired Kóvalan to remain where he was, promising to mention to King Pándiya that the anklet, which was only fit for a queen, was for sale. The villain went at once to the palace and informed the king that he had discovered the thief who had stolen the queen’s anklet. The king, without inquiry, ordered his guards to behead Kóvalan if he was in possession of the queen’s anklet, and he was accordingly beheaded. Kaṇṭakai having heard of this calamity, proceeded to the palace, taxed the king with injustice, and complained that her husband had been beheaded without any investigation; and her transcendent virtue caused a part of Madura to be burnt down. Fourteen days after her husband’s death she herself ascended the heavens.

The poem consists of Padikam, Uraiperukatturai, and three parts:

I.—Pukár-kândam, relating to the birth, marriage, and life of Kóvalan and Kaṇṭakai at Káverippúmpattinam, up to the time of their departure to Madura.

II.—Madurai-k-kândam, a recital of the events at Madura up to the attainment of Svarga by Kaṇṭakai.

III.—Vañchi-k-kândam, where are related the subsequent events, such as how some Védás saw Kaṇṭakai’s translation to Svarga, their account of it to the Chéra King, the establishment of temples for the worship of Kaṇṭakai, who ever afterwards was called Pattini, in different parts of India and in Ceylon.

Reference to Gaja Báhu is made in two places—first, in the chapter entitled Uraiperukaṭṭurai, as follows:

From that day the Pándiya kingdom suffered from want of rain, and famine and poverty prevailed daily; but on the Pándiya King Ijañcheliyan, then residing at Koṭkai, sacrificing 1,000 goldsmiths to Pattini and celebrating her worship, rain fell, and the land was freed from poverty and disease.

Hearing this, Kosar, the King of Koṅkumaṇḍalam, also celebrated her worship in the same manner, and rain became plentiful in his land.

Hearing this, Gaja Báhu, of sea-girt Ceylon, having first built a sacrificial stone (Palipidam) for daily sacrifices, then having built
a temple (Kóddam),\(^\circ\) believing that Pattini would bless him and his land, celebrated on the full moon day of Ádi (July-August) her worship, and caused processions in every street of his city, and thus brought on rain, and made his land more fruitful than ever.

Hearing this, the Chóla King, Perunádkilji, in the same manner built a temple and made daily sacrifices to Pattini.

The second reference occurs in Vañchi-k-kándam in the chapter Varantaru Kátai, which, translated, runs thus:—

Having listened joyfully to the words of the Brahmans, and having built a temple for Pattini, who destroyed by fire the capital of the song-renowned land of the Pánjíyas, having directed that daily festivals should be celebrated in her honour, and having begged Tevikai to offer flowers and incense, the lord of the world, Chênkûtuvan, stood worshipping, and in his presence worshipped other princes, including the Northern Koğgas, the Malwa princes, and Gaja Bâhu, king of sea-surrounded Iânkai (Ceylon).

The following points are worthy of note in this work. Unlike the generality of books in Tamil, this poem does not begin with an invocation to the deity, but begins thus:—

Let us praise the moon, let us praise the moon, for resembling the shade-giving white umbrella of Chóla, he (the moon—masculine in Tamil) protects the world.

Let us praise the sun, let us praise the sun, for resembling the Tikiri of the lord of the Kávéri country, he goes round Mount Meru.

Let us praise the rain, let us praise the rain, for, like Chóla, it confers prosperity continuously on earth.

Let us praise the City Pukár, let us praise the City of Flowers, for in this ocean-bound earth with Chóla's family it excels everything else.

As I have said before, the poem is divided into three parts, each part containing ten chapters.

In chapter I., MañkaJa Váltuppádal, it states that the guests at the wedding of the hero and heroine were invited in a way now rare even amongst princes in India. Maidens were sent out on elephants to invite the guests, and the commentator says that it was then the usual mode of invitation. Another custom, now unusual, is mentioned at the conclusion of the marriage. The assembled women, after blessing the bride and bridegroom, prayed that their king

\(^\circ\) It will be interesting to ascertain where this temple was built.
might ever be prosperous. At the present time among Hindús this is not usual in private ceremonies, though in their temples blessing the ruling sovereign takes place on festival days.

In the second chapter (II.), *Mañaiyarampátuṭṭa Kátai*, is related the daily life of Kóvalan and Kaṇṭakai, and amongst other things it is there stated that the merchants of the city were also shipowners, *kalam* being used to denote ships.

In the next chapter (III.), *Arankétu Kátai*, is given a full and interesting description of a dancing girl, the qualities and qualifications of a dancing master, music teacher, singing master, the player on wind instruments, the musical instruments then in use, and the different modes in the music of that time; and the learned commentator of the poem, Aḍiyárrkunallár, gives a full commentary on these matters.

The fourth chapter (IV.) is entitled “The Beauty of Evening,” and gives a description of sunset, moon rise, the loves of Mádavi, the dancing girl and Kóvalan, and the sorrow of Kaṇṭakai at her separation from her husband.

The fifth chapter (V.) deals with the celebration of the worship of Indra. A beautiful description of Pukár,—the chief seat of government of the Chólas at the time,—its buildings, busy streets, the foreign merchants and their ways, the sellers of perfumes and flowers, embroidery workers in silk, cotton, and rat furs, follows. Mention is also made of the different kinds of food used, amongst them *piṭṭu* and *appam*, not unknown now to our European residents. Toddy was sold by the women of the lowest caste, as also was fish; and *vetṭilai*, “the betel leaf,” then, as now, universally used in India and Ceylon, is also mentioned.

The sixth chapter (VI.), entitled “Sea-bathing,” describes how the inhabitants, from the prince down to the peasant, proceeded on stated occasions to the sea, and how they spent their day after sea-bath. It also describes the scents,
ointments and cosmetics, jewellery and other paraphernalia used by the fair sex of the time.

The seventh chapter (VII.), Kāṇalvari, is one of the most interesting parts of the poem to Tamil scholars. It contains the songs said to have been sung by Kóvalan and Mádaví at the river side, in various metres, in praise of the king, river Kávéri, the city of Pukár, and on other subjects. The rhythm and sweetness of the several songs can only be appreciated by those who are well versed in Tamil, and are certainly not excelled in any other literature. It is here that Kóvalan and Mádaví quarrel, each believing, but without cause, the other to have been unfaithful, and the final separation takes place.

In the opening lines of the eighth chapter (VIII.), Vēṇīt Kātai, reference is made to an incident in the physical history of Southern India, which I think is not known to European scholars. The southern boundary of Tamil India thousands of years ago seems to have been a river named Kumari, and in the time of the Pāṇḍiyan King Jayamákiritti, alias Nilantarutiruvit Pāṇḍiya (the prince in whose reign Tolkāppiyam attained its highest fame), the sea is said to have invaded a large part of South India, and the river Kumari with much land south of it was submerged in the sea which now washes the shores of Cape Comorin. This chapter also mentions four cities, Madura, Uṟantai, Vañchi, and Pukár, as having been royal residences. It also gives in detail the mode of playing on the musical instruments called the yāḷ or viṇai.

At the end of this chapter is a stanza, part of which I translate for its quaintness in describing Vasanta, the period when the rule of Kāma, the Indian Cupid, was all-powerful:—

All you lovers who have quarrelled come together in the name of the Bodiless, thus sings the Kokilam.

The ninth chapter (IX.) gives an account of Kanaṇakai’s dream foreshadowing the death of her husband, the
arrival of her husband, their reconciliation, and, "old fate forcing, they set out before sunrise" to Madura to sell the anklets.

The next two parts, consisting of twenty chapters, relate their travel to Madura, the death of Kóvalan, the destruction by fire of Madura, the end of Kaññakai's earthly life, and her worship by the several princes already mentioned.

I have written these lines in the hope that some of the eminent scholars who are Members of this Society will be induced to make a careful study of this poem, one so valued by the Tamil scholars of old that it is known as one of the Pañchakávīyas, "the five poems" par excellence in Tamil, and to publish the results of their studies. I also trust that European scholars will be induced to study Tamil literature more than they have hitherto done, because I feel sure that that mine contains gems at least as valuable as those found in Páli. The Jain literature, which, if not more interesting than, is at least equal to, Buddhist literature, is mainly in Tamil.

Before concluding, I would like to render thanks to Mr. Suváminátha Aiyar, Tamil Paññit of the Government College, Kumbhakónam, for publishing for the first time this ancient work after much labour.

And I the more appreciate this, as he was induced by me to undertake the task of collating and publishing what, in a few years more, would have been utterly lost to the world, in the same manner as several hundreds of equally valuable Tamil works have been lost.

The President hoped they were going to have some discussion on the Paper read. There were two points in particular which had given him considerable anxiety.

He could not help thinking, as regarded one point, that there was a mistake in the passage which represented the Kandyan king as having sacrificed a thousand goldsmiths! During the earlier part of the present century a Frenchman might have been said to have sacrificed a
thousand *Louis*. By that term was not meant a thousand members of the royal family, but coins that bore the name of Louis. Possibly "goldsmith" in the present case meant a *gold piece*, and he could not but hope there was some mistake either in the reading or the translation.

With regard to the date of the poem, he believed the reader of the Paper was prepared to find that what he had advanced was a new view—at any rate to those who had access only to European scholars. He (the speaker) had referred to considerable authorities upon the point, and he had read Dr. Caldwell's "Grammar" and Sir William Hunter's "Gazetteer" on the subject. It was right that the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society should be informed that with regard to that great era and landmark, as it undoubtedly was, the publication of the Tamil *Rámáyana*—there was very great doubt about it, and Dr. Caldwell brought it down to the year 1100. He was not satisfied, from the quotations made by the author of the Paper, that the Tamil translation of the *Rámáyana* was made in the ninth century, or that the Tamil translation of *Sakánda-puráṇa* was made in the eighth century. There was nothing to show that those prefatory verses were written by the authors themselves. From what he had read of Dr. Caldwell it seemed to him that Kamban, the famous Tamil poet, had lived in the reign of Vira Rajendra Chóla, in the eleventh century.

**Mr. Sénáthi Raja** said that the interest of the Paper consisted, as His Lordship very properly remarked, in its throwing some light on the history of Tamil literature. The difficulty which Oriental scholars hitherto experienced in regard to Indian literature in general, whether Sanskrit or Tamil, was the fixing of the exact dates and period when different authors lived. That difficulty was to some extent removed, in the case of Sanskrit authors, by the labours of foreign scholars. But in regard to Tamil literature there were very few foreign scholars who laboured in that field, and among them the only noteworthy and reliable men who attempted to give any chronology in regard to Tamil literature were Drs. Caldwell and Burnell.

Dr. Caldwell was, no doubt, an eminent philologist, and he has done immense service to Oriental scholarship by his great work "The Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages," but with regard to the chronology which he gave of Tamil literature he had no very reliable materials before him. He arbitrarily assigned the beginning of Tamil literature to the eighth century of our era, his reason being that most of the early Tamil works were composed by Jain authors.

Dr. Caldwell thought, moreover, that Jainism had its origin in Northern India about the beginning of the fifth century, and that it spread to Southern India only about the eighth. He did not know what authority Dr. Caldwell had for his statement that Jainism
originated only in the fifth century. From Buddhist writings, for instance in Sutta Nipāta, he found that there were Jains in the time of Buddha. Two philosophers were said to have had some discussion with him, and among them were Majjali Gosala and Nighanta Nataputta. The first was an Ajibaka and the second was a Nighanta. It was a well-known fact that those two sects were admittedly Jains. The Aṣoka inscription, about 250 B.C., made mention of Jains; and the Mahāvaṃsa said that Abhaya, king of Ceylon, in the fifth century B.C., built a temple to Ajibaka, and that a Nighanta ascetic called Giri lived at Anurādhapura. From these facts it was evident that Jainism had its origin, not in the fifth century of Christ, but that it existed even in the fifth century before Christ, in Ceylon. The chronology based by Dr. Caldwell on that authority was, therefore, valueless for historical purposes.

As regarded the age (or date) of the poem Chilappatikāram, the fact that it made mention of Gaja Bāhu, king of Ceylon, was, he thought, important. This Gaja Bāhu appeared to have been a contemporary author, and a younger brother of the then reigning Chēra king. Now, there were only two Gaja Bāhus in the history of Ceylon—one who reigned in the second century of our era and the other in the twelfth. The one referred to in the poem could not possibly be the second Gaja Bāhu, and for this reason: from an inscription given in Wilson’s Mackenzie Manuscripts, the Chēra kingdom was conquered by the Chōjas under their king Āditya Varma in 894 A.D., and was absorbed in the Chōla kingdom and passed into the hands of another dynasty of Mysore, called Hoysala Ballalla, in the tenth century of our era. The Chēra kingdom was, therefore, practically extinct from 894 A.D. If the author of Chilappatikāram was the brother of the reigning king of Chēra, he could not have lived after 894 A.D. Before that period there was only one Gaja Bāhu, and that was Gaja Bāhu I. Again, the Mahāvaṃsa said that Gaja Bāhu I. invaded the Chōla kingdom. It was perhaps on that occasion that Gaja Bāhu visited the Chēra king, who possibly might have been an ally in the war against the Chōjas. Again, from an inscription given in the Indian Antiquary, he found that Vira Rajendra Chōla, otherwise called Kolatunga Chōla, was crowned king in 1079 A.D. They all knew that Kolatunga Chōla was associated in Tamil literature with the names of Kambaṇ and other poets. Dr. Burnell thought that Virachōliyam a grammatical treatise in Tamil, composed by a Buddhist called Buddha Mittra, was completed in the reign of Vira Rajendra Chōla. In a commentary to that work, written by the author himself, he quotes Chilappatikāram as an authority. It was clear, therefore, that Chilappatikāram must have been composed before the eleventh century. As there was only one Gaja Bāhu before that period, they could not but come to the conclusion that the Gaja Bāhu referred to in the poem must be Gaja Bāhu I. Again, Chilappatikāram made mention of Kolkata as one of the capitals of the Pāṇḍiyas. They
knew from the writings of Greek geographers that about the first and second century before and after Christ, Kolkaí was the emporium of the East, and that before the sixth century, as they knew from the writings of Kosmas, it had dwindled into insignificance. It seemed, therefore, that the author of Chilappatikāram must have lived before the sixth century. For the reasons he had stated he thought they must take it that the Gaja Bāhu referred to in the poem must be the first king of Ceylon of that name, and that the poem Chilappatikāram must have been composed in the second century A.D. He did not support the arguments adduced by the author of the Paper, from the prefatory verses attached to the Tamil translation of Rāmāyana and Skanda-purāṇa. In the preface to a Tamil edition of Chilappatikāram recently published, which contained a summary of the whole book, the Tamil editor called attention, he might remark in concluding, to the fact that the name of Gaja Bāhu was mentioned, and arrived at the same conclusion as he (the speaker) did, viz., that by the Gaja Bāhu of the poem was meant Gaja Bāhu I.

Dr. W. G. Vandort thought the evidence of the poem as to priority did not depend very much on tradition and conjecture. There was one argument referred to by the last speaker which was, he thought, important, as fixing the date as approximately as possible, in showing that the Chēra dynasty was extinguished somewhere about the ninth or tenth century. They had a historical legend in support of the fact. If the author of the poem was the son of the reigning Chēra monarch, why should he be anonymous? It seemed unlikely that a Chōja prince should be forsaking his own house and indulging in such fulsome adulation as brought about the downfall of his own people. But the chief interest in the poem was its ethical significance—the view of human life which the poet took—the fundamental principle on which the structure of the poem depended. For instance, it contained the very first record, so far as he knew,—his experiences comprised only the Indian Antiquary,—of the apotheosis of a woman not of royal blood—not even of the warrior or priestly class—but a woman of the people—one of the bourgeoisie, exalted to the Indian Pantheon, not for any heroic deed, not for any act of self-sacrifice or heroic devotion, but for the commonplace virtues of domestic life.

Mr. Harward remarked that the reading of Mr. Coomáraswámy's Paper had given rise to a very interesting discussion on the question—namely, that of synchronising the poem—whether it was written in the reign of Gaja Bāhu the First or Second. Another question raised was that regarding the goldsmiths. The Chairman had expressed the hope that it was a mistake, and that the real reading of the word was gold coins. But he (the speaker) was afraid they denoted goldsmiths. But he hoped the number was not correct, and that it was not a full thousand. He believed that owing to the conduct of the goldsmith,
who was the "villain of the piece" in the poem, there was still a belief that goldsmiths were the objects of the special wrath of the heroine of the poem, or the powers that be, and he fancied ignorant people still believed that a village of goldsmiths was always burnt down once a year.

7. Mr. Harward said that as the discussion had been rather prolonged, he would move that the reading of Mr. Modder's Paper be postponed for the next General Meeting.

Mr. G. A. Joseph seconded the motion, which was carried.

8. Dr. Vandort had much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy for his most interesting Paper. If he had done no worthier service, he had excited some interest in Tamil literature among scholars other than those of his own race, and for that service he thought the Society owed him a special acknowledgment.

Mr. Ráñasínga seconded the vote, which was carried.

His Lordship had great pleasure in conveying the vote of thanks to Mr. Coomáraswámy for his Paper.

Mr. Coomáraswámy acknowledged the vote.

9. Mr. P. Rámanáthan said the Chairman had shown very intelligent interest in the subject under discussion. His Lordship had carefully studied the case, and he (the speaker) for one had watched with admiration the trouble he had taken in dove-tailing in all the little facts contra and presenting them to the consideration of the Meeting, in as clear a manner as possible. It was only right that the question on the other side should have been put before them in that way. He was sure that they would accept his proposal for a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

The vote having been passed, and His Lordship having acknowledged it, the Meeting terminated.
COUNCIL MEETING.

November 7, 1893.

Present:

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Colombo, President,
in the Chair.
Mr. P. Ramanathan, C.M.G.
Mr. F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.
Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on September 11,
1893.
2. Read the following letter from Mr. J. F. W. Gore on the
subject of the paging of reprints:

DEAR SIR,—With reference to the reprints of the Journals of the
Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I write to inform you
that I have completed (No. 12, in the Press, excepted) a series of
Tables showing the correspondence between their paging and that of
the originals. It is intended that this shall form an appendix to the
Index now in preparation, so that persons in possession of a mixed
series of part Numbers may be enabled to consult the Index without
danger of confusion.

To the best of my knowledge I have now examined specimens of all
the originals as well as of all the reprints (except No. 12), and it must
be considered fortunate that so complete a series has been available.
The Museum copy of the Journal, from which the Index is being
compiled, appears to consist entirely of originals, with the exception
of Part I., which I have marginally marked with original page Numbers.

Since many of the past numbers (originals and reprints) are
becoming scarce, it may shortly be necessary to issue a second series of
reprints, as well as to continue reprinting those Numbers hitherto not
reprinted.

I therefore take this opportunity of recommending that in future
each page of such reprint should be made to contain exactly the same
reading matter as is found on the page of the original from which it is
reprinted, and should be numbered as in the original. An increase or
decrease of the margin might, I think, be made to allow for any
difference in the sizes of the type used formerly and now; while if
the original page ends in a divided word, so should the page of the
reprint, even if it be necessary to divide it in the middle of the last
line. Probably the appearance of the reprinted page would be in a very
slight degree suffer; but, as against this must be set the great
advantages of securing uniformity with the Museum or standard copy, and
of obviating the necessity of issuing, to all who possess a copy of the
Index, a fresh correspondence-table with each future reprint.

Honorary Secretary,
R. A. S. (C. B.)

I am, &c.,
J. F. W. Gore.
Resolved,—That the Council do approve of Mr. Gore’s suggestion, that in future each page of a reprint should be made to contain exactly the same reading matter as is found on the page of the original from which it is reprinted, and should be numbered as in the original.


Resolved to purchase General Cunningham’s *Coins of Ancient India*.

4. Resolved.—That the following candidate for admission into the Society be elected a Resident Member:—

J. E. Pohath { nominated by } B. W. Bawa.
{ seconded by } C. M. Fernando.

5. Considered the appointment of a new Honorary Treasurer in place of Mr. F. C. Roles, who resigns the office on leaving the Island.

Resolved.—That Mr. A. P. Green be offered the Honorary Treasurership, and in the event of his declining the office it be offered to Mr. Stanley Bois, and that in the meanwhile Mr. Joseph be appointed Acting Honorary Treasurer to take over the books and papers.


Resolved.—That the Council approves of the proposed answer.

7. Laid on the table a Paper from Mr. T. B. Pohath, entitled “Sketch of the Life of Premier Ėhelapola.”

Resolved.—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. Rámanáthan and J. Harward for their opinion.

8. Laid on the table a Paper by Veślivitiya Dharmmaratana Terunnánse on “Buddhist Robes,” and read the Lord Bishop’s minute thereon.

9. Laid on the table correspondence with the Hon. W. W. Mitchell regarding his election as a Member.

Resolved.—That the Honorary Treasurer do write to Mr. Mitchell notifying him of his election.

10. Resolved,—That a General Meeting of the Society be held on the 2nd ultimo, and that Mr. Modder’s Paper on “Yápahuwa,” of which notice had been given, be read.

11. The Honorary Treasurer laid on the table a list of Members whose subscriptions were in arrear for over two years, and who by Resolution of the Council dated 28th March, 1893, should be struck off the roll.

Resolved,—That the names of several defaulters be at once struck off the list, but that should any Member whose name is erased pay all dues before December 1 next, his name may remain on the roll of the Society.
GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, December 2, 1893.

Present:
The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.
S. G. Lee and H. Sri Sumangala Terunnânsé.

Visitors:—Five gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on October 28, 1893.

2. Notified the election of the following Member since the last General Meeting, viz., J. E. Pohath.

3. In the absence of the writer, Mr. Harward read the following Paper:—
ANCIENT CITIES AND TEMPLES
IN THE KURUNEGALA DISTRICT: YAPAHUWA.

By F. H. Modder.

Prefatory Note.

The Seven Kóralés, or Kurunégala District, has within its territorial limits the site of many an ancient royal city, as also temples of renown, which writers on Ceylon have omitted all mention of, or, if referring to them, have devoted to them so little space that it can hardly be said that justice has been done to the subject. Where the space given to a notice of these sites and temples is brief, it may safely be assumed that very little was seen, if anything, by those who undertake their description. For instance, notwithstanding the fact that the ruins of Yápahuwa are less remote and more accessible than those of Polonnaruwa, they find no place in the books of the principal writers on the Island, not even in the scholarly review or the Ruined Cities of Ceylon by Sir J. Emerson Tennent. If that eminent writer had visited these ruins he would not in his chapter on the Fine Arts among the ancient inhabitants, have passed this hasty judgment:

Carving appears to have been practised at a very early period with singular success; but as in later times it became so deteriorated that there is no difficulty at the present day in pronouncing on the superiority of the specimens remaining at Anarájapóora over those which are to be found among the ruins of the later capitals, Pollanarrua, Yapahu, and Kornegalle. *

* Ceylon, Vol. I., p. 483. Mr. H. Parker considers the stone work in some of the ruins at Rájaggana, near Galkájavala and about 45 miles from Kurunégala, of a character quite equal to that of the older buildings at Anarádhopura, if not in some cases superior. I hope to devote a Paper to the history of the "Palace Court Yard,"—the name of the place translated—and to give an account of its interesting ruins. Prince Sélaya or Sala, son of king Dutugamunu, is said to have founded the city, in which case it will be about 2,020 years old. At all events, the date of the oldest buildings cannot be more than one or two hundred years after Christ.
The vast and rapid changes which progress and civilization have effected since British rule in Ceylon are daily diminishing the labour and difficulty of accomplishing a trip to these sites and scenes of an ancient and bygone civilization; while the facilities of travel afforded by railway extension render the journey as easy of undertaking by the million, as it once was by a favoured few. These facilities have, moreover, the tendency of fostering and encouraging the spirit of unrest which is manifesting itself in the most populous parts of some of the Provinces of the Island, so much so, that it requires, as aptly remarked by alocal writer—

no prophetic faculty to be able to picture that in a not too remote future there will be found amongst the grim ruins of a bygone age happy colonies emulating the industry and prosperity of the generations whose monuments overshadow them.°

It is with a view of evoking greater interest in, and bringing into more prominent notice these cities and temples, which played so important a part in the history of the past, but have lain buried in oblivion and forgotten by the world, that I have endeavoured to prepare (mostly from existing, though scattered, information) this Paper on Yápahuwa. I propose to give it the first place, and to follow it up by others.

I.—YÁPAHUWA.

Yápahuwa is situate in the Pahala-visideka Kóralé of the Wanni Hatpattu, lies 32:20 miles to the north-east of Kurunégala, and rises 767.5 feet above the level of the sea. The shortest approach to it is via the Puttalam road. Proceed 15.30 miles along it, turn to the right at Pádeṇiya,† go 11.90 miles on the

† Pádeṇiya, a village in Dewamédi Mędagandahe Kóralé, of the Pahaladólospattu (now Dewamédi Hatpattu), situated on the road from Puttalam to Kurunégala, 43 miles east of the former place and 15.30 miles from the latter. The road to Siyambalagomuwa-oya, the boundary of the new Úva Province, branches off at 20 miles. It has a temple on a rock, Galpíṭa Viháré, with images and a dágoba. According to Lieut.-Col. Campbell, “An old Buddhoo Temple built upon an insulated rock, from
minor road, turn at Daładágama to the right, and after travelling 3.50 miles turn to the right again at Heṭṭipola, and you are 1.50 mile from Yápahuwa. If a view of the entire chain of the “animal-shaped rocks” of Kurunégala is desired en route, one may start for Yápahuwa along the Dambulla road, turn to the left at Muttettu-gala 1.40 mile, proceed along the Kaḷu-galla road 25.15 miles (traversing the important and extensive forest of Pallékele, probably the largest and richest in the Island), turn to the left at Madagala 7.45 miles, thence to Heṭṭipola, turn to the left, and 1.50 mile will bring one to the required destination. This route is 3.30 miles longer than the former, which is far pleasanter to travel over for at least half the distance, as the road up to Pádeniyya and thence on to Daładágama is what is known as a principal

whence there is an extensive view over a seemingly agreeable, though rather thickly wooded, country, has been fixed, it may be supposed on account of its strength, as a military post for the abode of both officers and soldiers. This rock is surrounded by low marshy jungle and fine paddy fields, with here and there pools of stagnant water, which are often entirely dried up, and from such a country may be expected to arise that malaria which is thought to produce fevers and other diseases. (Excursions, Adventures, and Field Sport in Ceylon, 1843, Vol. II., p. 16.) At the time Campbell wrote, Lieut. Logie of the 73rd commanded the troops here, and received as Agent of Government an allowance of about £200 per annum. The soil in its vicinity is very fertile, and produces immense quantities of paddy. The temple, having been for some time occupied as a military post, was restored to the priests in consequence of the insalubrity of the place. (Casie Chetty’s Gazetteer, p. 179; Pridham, Vol. II., p. 648.) Migastenna Adigár made a fort here and ruled with severity. The incumbent of the temple still shows the visitor the stone pillars to which people were tied to be lashed. In the rocks below the bañagé is a deep hole, which contains a constant supply of good water. A pokuya lower down holds a good deal, even during a drought. The viháré is said to be of great age. There are some finely carved pillars, a good figure of Buddha, and several prettily carved ivory offerings. The painting outside has all been effaced. The resident priests do not pay much attention to the improvement or restoration of the buildings. (Diary, Administration Report, N.-W. Province, 1888.) The natives say that the soldiers stationed here were visited with sickness owing to their having desecrated the sacred edifice! In consequence of the storing up of salt, the walls are so saturated with saline matter that no paintings could have stood, or been executed on them thereafter, even the plastering giving way.
thoroughfare, and therefore metalled and in good order. The route via Muttettu-gala and Kaḷugalla passes over minor roads, which are only gravelled, and in many places not permissive of very comfortable travelling; but it is much safer than the other. Going by the Puttaḷam road, 5·15 miles from Pădeniya, is the path which leads to Ebbávelapiṭiya, and about half a mile before the turn to Heṭṭi-pola lies Kaikávala on the right, by the wayside. At both these places elephants have more than once been kraaled, and the chances are greater of an unexpected encounter with one of these beasts than journeying by the longer route. *

In 1850 Mr. John Bailey,† of the Ceylon Civil Service, was, according to the testimony of the priests of the adjoining temple, only the third Englishman who had ever explored these ruins. In an admirable sketch on "Yapahoo" from his pen, published with illustrations in Once a Week ‡ (from which much of the material incorporated into this Paper has been gleaned), Mr. Bailey points out that the first Englishman was General Fraser, who halted near the city when marching some troops through the country during the rebellion of 1817; the second being that writer's companion, Mr. J. Woodford Birch, of the Ceylon Civil Service,§ to whom

* For a graphic description of the Elephant Kraal in 1884 at Ebbávelapiṭiya from the pen of the late Sir W. H. Gregory, who was personally present as the guest of Sir A. H. Gordon (now Lord Stanmore), Governor, see Murray's Magazine for September, 1884, and for an excellent account of the Kraal at Kaikávala in 1886 by Mr. S. M. Burrows, c.c.s., see MacMillan's Magazine for January 7, 1888, under the title of "Something like a bag: some experiences of an Elephant Kraal in Ceylon."

† This able officer was a son-in-law of Sir Henry Ward, Governor (as was his contemporary, Mr. A. Young Adams), and he has left ample testimony of his talents in the excellent reports on irrigation and other subjects written by him. To the regret of all who witnessed his brilliant and prosperous career, he was forced to resign his appointment much too early in life owing to severe injuries sustained to his thigh by repeated fractures in two unfortunate accidents.

‡ Vol. XI, Nos. 269 (August 20), 271 (September 3, 1864).

§ Mr. Birch was foully assassinated in the Straits Settlements, while holding office there as Colonial Secretary.
the merit is due of having first drawn attention to these very beautiful ruins.

Mr. Bailey, who seems naturally offended at the undeserved slight passed on it by Tennent, expressed his opinion that—

Yapahoo is certainly the finest specimen of exquisite work, . . . . in point of architectural beauty and richness of design far excels all the ancient capitals of the Island.

The ruins of the palace—

prove that in design and execution the architects of Ceylon, in the thirteenth century, had certainly not deteriorated since the days of their predecessors, when Anuradhapoora flourished.

The correctness of this judgment is more than amply supported by what has been disclosed by the restoration of some of the ruins in 1887, by Mr. A. E. Williams of the Public Works Department, to whose Report I am indebted for the information as to the progress, completion, and details of the work which he carried out.

Mr. L. C. Wijesinha, the learned translator of the Mahāvamsa, notes—

The names Subha-pabbata, Subhāchala, Subha-giri, are all meant for the city of Yapawewe—pabhata, achala, and giri being synonyms for "mountain." Subha-pabhata would mean "the beautiful mountain," and so would the Sinhalese Yāhau, contracted to Yāpau.⁰

And Mr. P. A. Templer, Government Agent :—

The proper Sinhalese name is Yasapawewe—yasa meaning fine and pawewe (pavata) a mountain. S and h being interchangeable, Yasapawewe became Yahapawewe, and then Yapawewe; the lost h being ultimately transferred to the latter part of the name and making it Yapahuwe.† The natives, even the most intelligent, have never been able to give any explanation of the name, beyond a hesitating reference to a pahu "back again," of which it was supposed to be a corruption.

The city was founded during the usurpation of Māgha, about 1225 A.D. Amongst the chieftains who "had built for themselves in the great strongholds and mountainous parts of the country, cities and hamlets," and "defended the

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⁰ *Mahāvamsa*, XC., p. 315, notes.

† Administration Reports of the North-Western Province, 1886, p. 45A.
people and the religion from the disturber,” was Subha Sénápati, a noted general.

He built a city like unto Alakamandá on the top of Subha Pabbata, a mountain difficult of access to the enemy, and dwelt there like unto Vessavana, keeping at a distance the Kerala demons and defending that portion of the country and the religion thereof.⁰

When King Parákrampa Báhu II., owing to old age and infirmity, made over the government of the kingdom to his son Vijaya Báhu IV. at about the close of the thirteenth century, the latter selected his brother Bhuvanéka Báhu to “command the great army that held the northern country,” and sent him “to tarry at Sundara Pabbata (Yápahuwa) as an outpost against the invading Tamils.”†

The ruler of the land then journeyed throughout the country and, after a visit to Kurunégala, took with him “the four-fold army” to Subhagiri (Yápahuwa.) At this time Chandabhánu, at the head of a powerful army, proceeded to and encamped at Yápahuwa, but he and his men were utterly defeated and put to confusion after “a fierce battle like unto the battle of Ráma.”‡

Thereafter the king—

enclosed that city with a high wall and a moat, and built there and finished a palace of exceeding great beauty, and made provision for the support of the great priesthood that dwelt in that city. And he encouraged his younger brother Bhuvanéka Báhu and caused him to stay there as before.§

On the murder of King Vijaya Báhu in the second year of his reign, at the instigation of his treacherous General Mitta, Prince Bhuvanéka Báhu, who was then in Dambadeñiya, fled from that city and journeyed by night in a litter to Subháchala (Yápahuwa). Mitta’s men overtook him, and hurled their pointed weapons at the litter with such fury that the trappings gave way. The prince leaped out of the carriage and made his escape to Kálagalla, where, mounting an elephant, he crossed the great river Koḷabhírña, which

* Maháwayya, LXXXI., p. 271.  † Maháwayya, LXXXVIII., p. 305.
‡ Ibid., LXXXVIII., p. 303.  § Ibid., LXXXVIII., p. 306.
was then in flood, and continued his flight till he reached *Subha-pabbata.*

Mitta was soon afterwards slain. Bhuvanéka Bahu was brought back to Dambadeniya by the army, which stood faithful to the royal family, and anointed king in 1277 A.D. After subduing his Tamil foes he remained a few years in Dambadeniya and then removed the seat of Government, as well as the sacred relics, to *Subháchala,* "and caused that royal city to be greatly extended and adorned, so that it shone with exceedingly great beauty, and himself dwelt there." The king who caused this handsome palace to be built was a zealous Buddhist, and caused copies of the *Tripiṭaka* to be written and distributed over the Island. He established daily offerings to the *daḷadā* or "tooth-relic."

The king died after reigning eleven years. A severe famine then broke out, and the country was invaded by a Pándiyan army commanded by Ariya Chakkravati, who, having laid waste the country—entered the great and noble fortress the city of *Subhagiri.* And he took the venerable Tooth-relic and all the solid wealth that was there, and returned to the Pandian country.†

In 1288 the seat of Government was transferred to Polonnaruwa, since when Yápahuwa ceased to be the capital; nevertheless it continued to be a place of considerable importance for over 200 years thereafter.

In the reign of Sree Praakarama Kotta, a descendant of the royal family was made Dissave of Yapahoo, and shortly after the accession of Jaya Bahoo II., 1464 A.D., he rebelled, put the king to death, and was raised to the throne under the title of Bhuvaneka Bahoo VI.

In 1527 A.D. Yapahoo was the place of refuge of the two elder sons of Wijaya Bahoo VII., when they fled from their father, who sought their lives. They assembled their forces, and attacking him in their turn, murdered him, and the eldest became king as Bhuvaneka Bahoo VII.

The last mention of Yapahoo in history is in the reign of Don Juan Dharmapaala, whom the Portuguese set up in 1542 A.D.; when among the many aspirants to the throne, one, a Malabar, took up his residence

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*Maháwansa, XC., p. 313.*
† *Maháwansa, XC. p., 315.*
here. It was probable at this time that the city was destroyed by the Portuguese; and it has ever since been deserted.ο

A copy of Yápahuwa Vistaraya (the poorest specimen of a Vistaraya I have seen, being especially scanty of information) ascribes the building of the city to King Parákrama Bāhu, and gives the following quaint particulars in respect thereof:—

Eight gows from Anurádhapura, attended by the chief ministers and other officers of State of the three kingdoms, the building of the city of Yápahu Nuwara was begun on the rock called Sundaragiri-paruvcata, after which the city was named.

That same king (Parákrama Bāhu) commanded that it should be constructed of stone only, and that the following workmen should be engaged: 120 lacs of masons, 100 chief blacksmiths, 250 hangidi, 3,000 painters, 400 carvers.

The Adigārs thereupon commanded some to cut stone pillars, some to carve, some to smooth, some to carve figures, some to paint, some to carve figures of elephants, some figures of lions, some of wolves, some figures of men, some of geese, some of birds, some nágā figures, some figures of gods, some figures of women, some of creepers, some of parrots, some of peacocks, some figures of beaters of tom-toms, some figures of dancers engaged in the act of dancing, some of conch-blowers engaged in blowing, some of figures engaged in wrestling, some to carve representations of beds, some of stone doors, some of stone doorposts, and some of stone steps. These stones were then painted over by the painters.

In this style four māligāwal of nine storeys each were built, with stairs leading up to them. Round these 500 smaller houses of inferior workmanship were also built.

A store eighty cubits high, 500 houses outside the fort, 1,000 double shutters for the houses, a stone wall 7 ft. high, a metal rampart encircling it, 1,000 golden arches, 1,000 silver arches, were also constructed, and adorned with 1,000 flags with flaps and cloth dolls appended thereto, there being also 1,000 elephants, 1,000 horses, 24,000 mercenaries, 2 lacs and 68,000 inhabitants in all.

Like Śakraya, enjoying health and happiness, and so reigning, the king built and adorned the city, the only material used being stone.

The great King Parákrama Bāhu told his ministers who lived here that it was improper to live in this world without considering the life in this world and the life to come, and published by beat of tom-tom the injunction that all should fulfil the precepts of aṭa-sīl, pau-sīl, hear bāna, give alms and robes to priests, plant bō-trees, make offerings,

ο Once a Week, Vol. XI., p. 284.
and honour and maintain their parents. Accordingly the king gave
alms to 500 priests, 500 novices, and to the sick.

These deeds being insufficient to entitle him to merit, the king,
after reigning eleven years, and looking to the cave of Reś-seruwa, on
Thursday, under the asterism Pusa-neketta, departed to heaven!

Yápahuwa is a gigantic solitary boulder, the greater part
of one side of which is perfectly perpendicular, rising
abruptly from the plain, and commanding a glorious and
extensive view of the surrounding level country, whose
jungle-covered surface is picturesquely broken by numerous
isolated hills and rocks with which it is studded. A bund
runs right round it in front, enclosing a considerable area.

At a point some 200 ft. above the plain, to which the
ground slopes with a steep descent, was built the Palace. On
one side of the Palace stands the Daładá Máligáwa, below it
lay the city, of which the only vestige remaining is an
occasional embankment which tells of some pleasant tank
that has been dry for ages.

The absence of all remnant of the dwellings of the people, which is
the case with regard to all the ruined cities in Ceylon, is easily
accounted for by the fact, that under the native Government only
royal and religious buildings and those of the higher nobility were
built of stone; the lower orders being only permitted to erect houses
of the most temporary description.  

Knox, in his quaint description of the houses of his time,
supports this theory; while the custom which prevailed among
the native potentates was so tenaciously adhered to that even
after the British occupation, when permission was granted
to natives of certain rank to tile their dwellings, "the said
privilege" was only extended to "persons who have or may
receive commissions for office under the signature of the
Governor of the Island."  

The city was approached by water supplied from the adjacent
tank, a sufficient depth of water being maintained when necessary
by bunds raised outside the main or city bund, thus affording a
moat of considerable depth and width all round the city. These
bunds are in an excellent state of preservation.

* Once a Week, l. c., p. 226.
† Mr. A. E. Williams (Sessional Paper LI., 1886, p. 1).
At the time of Mr. Bailey's visit he found the Daladá Máligáwa—"a plain stone building without ornamentation, and hardly worth describing"—"substantial and in wonderful preservation." His description of the ruins of the palace, as he found them thirty and seven years before any attempt was made to restore them, is worth reproducing.

The palace was approached by a succession of three flights of steps. The first leads over the main bund—

into what are now paddy fields, but which doubtless formed the business part of the city,

and consists of twenty-four steps with a plain balustrade. A few of these were in 1850 in tolerable order.

The entrance chiefly used now is a breach in the bund made by the priest in charge of the viháré. A fine double-stone culvert built through this bund, and still in use, takes off the water so enclosed into the moat outside.

The second flight of steps had almost disappeared in 1850. Mr. Bailey says:—

The nature of the ground, a steep sloping bank, with frequent rocks, required the erection of a mass of masonry to support it. This has fallen away, and the steps⁰ are doubtless covered by the débris of the building and the vegetable deposits of ages. Here and there a huge stone shows its edge; and the course of the flight is traceable by the stanchion-holes, which appear on the faces of the rocks up which it led.†

This flight opens on to a terrace, from which rises the last flight. It consists of thirty-five steps, flanked with "balustrades of grotesque design and very elaborate execution." One side of the upper flight Bailey found entirely overturned, and the grotesque and emblematic figures which formed that side of the balustrade lay half or entirely buried in the ground. It was wonderful that what remained should be so perfect.

The grand entrance to the palace is now reached.

It is impossible not to be struck with its graceful proportions.

* Discovered by Mr. Williams to be 40 in number.
† Once a Week, l. c., p. 226.
It is composed of three huge blocks of stone. The doorposts, or jambs—each a single stone—measure 11 ft. 6 in., exclusive of foundations, and are in girth 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 4 in. The lintel is a single stone, 8 ft. 6 in. long, but of greater bulk than the jambs. They are beautifully fluted, and the carving is as sharp as when the mason laid his chisel down. On either side are columns, whose capitals represent the lotus flower depressed. These are sadly out of the perpendicular, and if, indeed, they have not already fallen, I fear they soon will leave the doorway standing by itself, for they are built, and not, as most of the columns are, hewn out of a solid block.  

The doorway opens into a moderately-sized hall, which was lighted by two windows, one on either side of the door, of rare and exquisite carving.

One was perfect in 1830, but the other had fallen and its fragments were scattered around. The remaining one would doubtless have soon shared its fate, had not Mr. O'Grady, then Government Agent of the North-Western Province, removed it to Kurunégala, where, in the beautiful grounds of his residence, itself the site of the royal city of Hastisailapura, he erected it with other choice specimens of stone carving as a monument to ancient art.  

Thence it was transported to Colombo, and now occupies a prominent place among the archaeological exhibits at the Museum.

The description which Mr. Bailey gives of this window, accompanied by a sketch, is too deliciously graphic to be omitted:—

The name given to it (the window) by the natives exactly describes it—“Sivoomædurukaooolowa,” “the perforated palace window.” It consists of one slab of stone measuring 4 ft. 7 in. by 3 ft. 3 in., and 7 in. thick. This thickness, however, is only preserved along the mouldings at its outer edges. Within the mouldings it has been reduced to an uniform thickness of three inches.

The surface of the slab of stone has been perforated into forty-five rings or circles, which admitted the light into the entrance hall, somewhat in the fashion of the tracery work at the Tāj at Agra. In each circle is a sculptured figure, and scarcely two figures are alike. . . . The circles of the lowest row contain grotesque Bachanalian figures, which represent jolly, laughing fellows, and are executed with great humour. Above them are nātch girls, all slightly different in attitude. They occur again in four circles near the centre of the

○ Once a Week, l. c., p. 281.  
† Once a Week, l. c., p. 283.
window, and in a row near the top. The row of circles above the nāṭch girls contains figures of animals, which are repeated vertically along the mouldings on each side of the window and continued in a horizontal row, the third from the top; in short, they form the outer ridge of a square pattern, comprising the twenty-five centremost circles of the window. The figures of these animals, it will be noted, vary considerably. Eight have the elephant’s trunk, and are evidently intended to represent the “gaja-sī́ha.” It is remarkable that this is, so far as I know—and there are very few ruins in Ceylon that I have not thoroughly examined—the only example in which the fabulous animal is represented in any but a couchant attitude. Seven appear to be the same animal without the trunk, in which case (since the “gaja-sī́ha” is the “elephant-lion”), the characteristic of the former being removed, the latter should remain; but I am bound to say the resemblance to a lion in these seven circles is the very faintest. But the centre circle of the third row from the bottom contains a pair of perfect lions rampant. The nine circles remaining of the twenty-five before mentioned form again a distinct square pattern within the other, of which four lotus flowers, or stars, mark the angles. The row of circles at the top of the window contain figures of the “hansa,” the “royal,” rather than the “sacred,” bird, of which Tennent has given so many curious particulars, and which in Ceylon as well as in Burma was one of the emblems of the national banner. If this be intended for the “hansa,” as I believe it to be, it certainly differs from the usual representation of it, and much more nearly resembles the Burmese figure as given by Tennent (Vol. I., p. 485, first edition). It is very unlike the bird as it appears in the sculptures at Anuradhaapura (Vol. II., p. 619), and the clay figure of it in the palace at Kandy (Vol. I., p. 487); it is equally unlike one of the oldest “hansas” I have seen—a beautifully moulded relief on a brick from the very ancient Naga Wihare at Maagampattoo, mentioned in the Mahāwansa and founded by Maha Naaga, brother of Devenipia Tissa, 306 B.C., the founder of the ancient city of Maagama.

The peculiar beauty of the window consists rather in the general effect produced by the arrangement of the figures with which it is so profusely decorated, than in the ornamentation itself. Seen from a little distance the details are lost, and the window appears to be of beautiful tracery work and of regular pattern. It is only when closely examined that the quaint designs I have endeavoured to describe are observed. . . . It is much to be regretted that the rough texture of the stone should be so unworthy of the skill of the sculptor. Had it been executed in white marble, or even in the magnesian limestone which abounds in Ceylon, the effect would have been infinitely more lovely.*

* Once a Week, l. c., pp. 281–83. The sketch is reproduced from the engravings in Mr. Bailey’s Paper.
YAPAHUWA.

Stone Window.
Mr. Bailey found the whole of the superstructure on one side of the doorway had disappeared, but two of the walls of the vestibule on the left hand as you enter the doorway were saved; but the displacement of the stones foretold that the fate which attended the corresponding wing on the right, which had quite fallen away, would overtake it.

The doorway opens upon the terrace, the palace having been built upon the sloping ground, at the base of the wall of rock, which rises many hundred feet above the surrounding plain; the foundations were consequently of the most substantial description, and the masonry raised upon them very massive. Mr. Bailey says:—

But nothing can exceed the regularity of the courses of cut stone and the perfect fitting and binding of each block. Both the terraces which project in advance of the main building and the main building itself are ornamented with carved stone moulding, below which are groups of figures in bold relief, resting on a lower moulding, designed to represent the upturned leaves of the lotus. The figures are excellent, and in great variety of attitude. They represent nātch girls, not oppressed with clothing, who are dancing with great spirit to the energetic music of tom-tom beaters and flageolet players, whose whole souls are in their work. The intense gravity of their faces is admirable; while the whole scene is so well "told" that you can almost fancy you can see their heads nodding in time to their music, and hear the castanets in the girls' hands. The overhanging moulding has protected these figures from the weather, and the details are perfect. The ornaments of the female figures and the expression of their faces are as though the sculptor had but just completed his work.

Commenting on the ruins of the palace, Mr. Bailey writes—

It is probable that the building was never completed; and this its brief occupation as the seat of government renders more than likely. For it is impossible to conceive that masonry so substantial and sculpture so elaborate would have been lavished on a building which was intended to be of such modest extent. The existing ruins appear to have been those only of the entrance hall of some magnificent palace which it was designed to complete. For the remains are indeed those of a building too small even for convenient residence, though sufficiently large to have served for the state entrance to a noble palace, which, if completed in the same style, would have far eclipsed in magnificence anything which is to be found at Pollannarua or Anuradhapoora.

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\[ ^{o} \textit{Once a Week, l. c., p. 281.} \quad \] \[ \textit{\dagger \textit{Once a Week, l. c., p. 227.}} \quad \]
Mr. Williams, under instructions from the Government conveyed through the Director of Public Works, rebuilt in 1886 the third or topmost flight of steps, with its heavy and elaborate balustrades, as well as the Palace surmounting. *

He found that the whole of the balustrading on the left side of the steps (looking up towards the main gate) had fallen down, and that the stones were almost entirely buried. The existence of the walling on one side, though in a very ruinous condition, gave him an idea of the original design, and acted as a guide in restoring the missing side. †

The first work, which involved both time and labour, was the collecting of the missing stones, most of which had to be dug out from a considerable depth below the surface. A good rubble masonry foundation was then laid, the wall rebuilt, and the carved figures placed in position. The other side was then pulled down and rebuilt, the stones being previously numbered. The steps were all reset from the bottom.

The two "siñhayás" which surmounted the pedestals on either flank of the lower steps had to be supported by an iron bar let into the chest and base of each, as the forefeet of both had broken off in their fall, the pieces being found and cemented on.

Mr. Williams does not think the "gaja-siñhas" a pair, one of which had evidently never been completed. From this fact, as well as after careful examination of the work, he concludes that the last flight of steps and vestibule constituted simply the entrance to what was intended for a very elaborate building; moreover, that it was at the last built hurriedly. ‡

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* Why his report should purport to be on "The Restoration of the Dañadá Máligawa" is unaccountable, that building being quite distinct from the Palace, as already pointed out:
† In the middle of 1889 a slight settlement on the left hand side near the top of the upper flight of steps was discovered.
‡ Mr. H. Nevill, c.c.s., inclines to the belief that the picturesque ruins were those of the Dañadá or "tooth relic" sanctuary, and a part only of the royal Palace. The relative positions of the later Palace at Kandy, and the
On the rises of some of the steps were found Tamil figures roughly cut in the stone, from which Mr. Williams infers that the workmen were brought from India.

The walling to the right of the main entrance had entirely disappeared, but as in the case of the balustrade, the existing wall on the opposite side afforded an accurate model for rebuilding.

A monolithic pillar, 13 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft., stands at each angle of these two halls. Two of these columns had to be lifted up from a depth of some 30 ft. to 40 ft.

which was a matter of difficulty owing to limited tackle.

The lintel of the main doorway had to be lifted up nearly 13 in. to allow of the jambs being raised and set plumb; the jambs, exclusive of foundation, are 11 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., and the lintel 8 ft. 6 in. long and nearly twice the thickness of the jambs.

All the platforms upon which these halls rested had to be rebuilt, from the wonderfully carved dado that runs quite round the building; in fact, the whole top work had sunk inwards, and was both out of level and out of the perpendicular.

Two very beautiful monolithic columns remain unfixed.

The place they should occupy is pointed out and fixed on the ground plan accompanying the report.

One is broken into three pieces; holes have been drilled in the broken pieces for doweling them together.

Two other most elaborately carved columns, whose place is indicated on the plan, were discovered much broken. None of these were fixed owing to the necessity of some support, and from a slight uncertainty about their position. The ground on both sides of the building was full of broken tiles, proving the existence of a former roof.

One column was found quite by itself at the back of the palace, but its position could not be determined.

A very beautiful stone was found over 4 ft. below the surface some way to the right of the main gateway, pointing to the suspicion that it was on its way to the Wihára below. The stone is cut into the form of a lotus, resting upon a similar inverted flower of much larger dimensions. It was possibly used for placing offerings on.

Daññadó sanctuary there, a part of the palace precincts, he concludes, afford an existing illustration of this combination of temple and palace.—

Tuprobanaian, February, 1887, p. 8.
The two windows were filled in with bricks faced in cement to give a support to the right window, the carved stone over it being badly broken in its fall to the bottom, and for the sake of harmony in the other.

The frame of the right window was found with the exception of two or three pieces, which could easily be dressed and fitted; but the carved tracery work, save a very few pieces, is still missing. If this frame were fixed, even without the carved work, Mr. Williams thought a replica of the frame of the window in Colombo would be required for the other side. It was found necessary to point most of the joints in cement, to keep off vegetation, which has been the ruin of all ancient buildings in Ceylon.*

Mr. Williams proposed that the ground between the palace and the rock should be excavated by running cross trenches to ascertain if any buildings existed there. Another place where excavation might yield interesting and satisfactory results is, he conjectured, at the steps leading into the city on the tank side, as everything that came in and went out of the city must have passed over these steps.

Although these proposed excavations were to be taken in hand shortly after the restoration of the Palace, for one reason and another they were ultimately abandoned. It is to be hoped that they may be undertaken by the Archæological Commissioner when he is free to extend his labours in this direction.

It is much to be regretted that the restored buildings do not receive sufficient attention, and lack all supervision. The buildings and the surroundings could, with very little trouble and expense, be looked after and kept clear of weeds and jungle, but they are shamefully neglected. Steps should

* For the substantial manner at least in which he executed the work entrusted to him Mr. Williams deserves some credit; but one cannot help agreeing with the remark of Sir Arthur Gordon (now Lord Stanmore), on a visit paid to Yâpahuwa in 1889, that: "A pity so much mortar was used; it destroys the character of the ancient stone work."
be taken to see that the clearing and weeding are done regularly and systematically, and not by fits and starts. The Government have given a vote for this purpose, and some responsible person should be entrusted with the supervision of the work and the necessary outlay on it.

Under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance of 1889, section 4, and by Proclamation in the Gazette of November 15, 1889, Yápahuwa was constituted a district, and it comprised the following sub-districts:—(1) Hiriylála Hatpattu, (2) Vanni Hatpattu, (3) Demala Hatpattu, and (4) Rájakumára-vanni Hatpattu of Puttalam. In consequence of the difficulty and at times the impossibility of working the statutory provisions, and the confusing changes which have from time to time been introduced in respect of the constitution of the district and sub-districts, the divisions above referred to do not exist, and the Ordinance is a veritable dead letter in the North-Western Province.

The population of Yápahuwa, according to the Census of 1881, was 8 houses, with 8 families, consisting of 14 males and 10 females, total 24 persons. That for 1891 is given as 10 houses, 10 families, 19 males, and 21 females, making a total of 40 persons. Even making every allowance for the figures employed by the anonymous author of Yápahuva Vistaraya (which partake of the exaggeration common to all Oriental narratives, with regard to the population which once filled the city), who can picture to himself the magnificence and splendour, the life and bustle, the gorgeous processions in which kings and queens were conveyed in golden chariots drawn by gaily caparisoned horses, and recall the gay sites where of old was held high festival with revelry and song, and not realize the sad truth that—

It was a gallant spot in days of yore,
But something ails it now: the place is curst.
4. The **Lord Bishop** in addressing the Meeting said he regretted that he was unable to add anything to what had been written by Mr. Modder about these ruins in his Paper. He had hoped when last in the North-Western Province to visit these ruins; but was prevented from doing so. He hoped, however, before long to visit the spot. The Society was much indebted to Mr. Modder for his Paper and for the trouble taken in its preparation.

About the description of the window there was one matter Mr. Modder did not refer to; and that was the four-spoked wheel in the middle of the window. He thought Mr. Modder should be asked about this. There were minute descriptions given about all the drawings on the window, but no reference was made to this wheel in the middle of it.

5. A vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Modder for his Paper, on the motion of the Hon. Mr. Swettenham seconded by Mr. Harward.

6. A vote of thanks to the Chair concluded the proceedings of the Meeting.
COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 15, 1894.

Present:

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.

Mr. W. P. Rañasinha. | Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on November 7, 1893.


   Resolved,—That the author be thanked for his Paper, but in view of the opinions of the Sub-Committee it be not accepted.

3. Laid on the table a letter dated September 1, 1893, from the University of North Carolina, United States of America, inviting an exchange of publications.
Resolved,—That the Institution be thanked for its kind offer, but informed that the Council regret that they are unable to assent to the proposal.

4. Read letter dated November 30, 1893, from Mr. J. F. W. Gore, reporting progress with the "Index" to the Society's Journals.

5. Read letter from Mr. F. H. M. Corbet, dated November 9, 1893, and addressed to the Honorary Secretary, regarding the sale of the Society's publications in England.

Resolved,—That Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson be asked whether they are ready to carry on the agency upon the terms specified in their letter of April 10, 1888.

6. Laid on the table "Revised List of Members." Mr. Harward explained that the Council's resolution No. 11 of November 7, 1883, "any Member not paying arrears of subscriptions by December 1, 1893, shall be struck off the List of Members," could not be carried out owing to the Honorary Treasurer having accepted subscriptions after that date from Members who were in arrear, and also as no notification had been given to Members of the Council's resolution.

Resolved,—That as the resolution has not been put in force, the date up to which subscriptions may be accepted from defaulting Members be fixed at February 15, and that notice be issued to the Members accordingly.

7. Read a letter from Mr. F. H. Modder, dated January 4, 1893, regarding his becoming a Life Member.

Resolved,—That the Secretary do communicate with Mr. Modder in accordance with Rule 31.

8. Laid on the table a Paper from Dr. Solomon Fernando on "Buddhism," together with his letter dated December 5, 1893.

Resolved,—That the author be thanked for forwarding the Paper, but that he be informed that as it is in the nature of a controversial discussion it cannot be accepted.

9. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1894.

The Honorary Secretary stated that under Rule 16, Mr. Staniforth Green and Dr. Trimen vacated their seats by reason of seniority, and by reason of least attendance the Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna, Mr. D. W. Ferguson, and Dr. H. M. Fernando.

Resolved,—That Mr. Staniforth Green and Dr. Trimen be nominated for re-election for 1894, and that Mr. D. W. Ferguson and Dr. H. M. Fernando should be deemed to have retired by reason of least attendance.

10. Resolved,—That the Secretary do communicate with Mr. A. P. Green, and inform him that as he is contemplating a trip to England as mentioned in his letter of November 8 last, the Council have decided to nominate another Member to take up the duties of Honorary Treasurer for 1894.

11. Resolved,—That Mr. A. Thomson be asked to allow himself to be nominated by the Council Honorary Treasurer for 1894.
12. Resolved,—To nominate the following Office-Bearers for the year 1894:—

President.—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Colombo.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. G. Wall, F.I.S., F.R.A.S.; and the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G.

Council.

Mr. H. H. Cameron, c.c.s.       Mr. W. P. Ranasingha.
Mr. P. Freudenberg.              Mr. E. S. W. Senathí Rája.
Mr. Staniforth Green.            Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna.
Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie.         Mr. H. F. Tomalin, A.R.I.B.A.
Mr. F. M. Mackwood.              Dr. H. Trimen.
Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.        Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Hon. Treasurer.—Mr. A. Thomson.


13. Resolved,—That Mr. Stanley Bois be asked to kindly consent to audit the Society's accounts for 1893.

14. Resolved,—That the Annual General Meeting be held on January 27, 1894, that His Excellency the Governor be asked to preside, and that the following be the business:—

(1) To read the Annual Report for 1893.
(2) Election of Office-Bearers for 1894.

15. Read and approved, subject to certain amendments, the draft of the Council's Report for 1893.
GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 27, 1894.

Present:
The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President.
Mr. A. P. Green.
Mr. S. G. Lee.
Dr. Lisboa Pinto.
Mr. P. Ramanathan, C.M.G.
Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: Six gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on December 2, 1893.
2. Read the following Annual Report for 1893, viz.:

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1893.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to lay before this Meeting the Annual Report for the year 1893.

Meetings.

Five General Meetings of this Society have been held during the year. The following is a list of the Papers read:

1. "The Nidification of Sturnornis senex (White-headed Starling) and Cissa ornata (Ceylon Blue Jay)," by Mr. F. Lewis.
2. "Notes on Knox's 'Ceylon' in its Literary Aspect," by Mr. H. White, C.S.S.
3. "Kurunégala Vistaraya, with Notes on Kurunégala, Ancient and Modern," by Mr. F. H. Modder.
5. A Statement by Mr. G. Wall, Vice-President, with regard to the continuation of his series of Papers on the "Ancient Industries of Ceylon."

Members.

The number of Members of the Society is now 200. Of these, 7 are Honorary Members, 17 are Life Members, and 176 are Ordinary Members.

During the year 1893 nine Ordinary Members were elected, viz., Messrs. J. Harward, G. A. Joseph, N. Mendis Mudaliyár, E. Booth, T. B. Pohath, A. M. Perera, O. Collette, S. G. Lee, and J. E. Pohath.
The following seven Members have resigned, viz., Rev. J. Scott, Ven. E. F. Miller, Messrs. W. van Langenberg, H. Bois, and H. Fraser, Miss Frédoux and the Hon. R. Reid, C.S.
The Council have the melancholy duty of recording the loss which the Society has sustained by the death of four of its Members:—
Col. F. C. H. Clarke, R.A., C.M.G., Vice-President; Dr. F. A. Vanders-
magt, Mr. William Goonetilleke, and Mr. M. S. Crawford, C.C.S.

By the death of Col. Clarke the Society has lost one who took a keen interest in its proceedings, and whose intellectual gifts were of an unusually high order.

Mr. William Goonetilleke, though for many years a Member of the Society, took little part in its proceedings, but his loss is one which must be felt most keenly by all who take an interest in Oriental scholarship and research. His brilliant natural gifts, enlarged as they were by years of unceasing study, had earned for him a high reputation in Europe as well as in the East.

The Council regret to have to call the attention of the Society to the number of Members who owe heavy arrears of subscriptions. In some of these cases they have been obliged to issue a final notice that, unless the arrears are paid before a certain date, the Members' names will be removed from the Society's list.

Library.

The Library has been enriched during the past year by the addition of 232 volumes, pamphlets, and periodicals. The works added to the collection have been acquired chiefly by the exchange of publications with Societies and learned Institutions in Europe and America.

The Society has gratefully to acknowledge the substantial additions that continue to be made to the Library by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State in Council for India. Several works of reference, directories, handbooks, &c., referring to India have been presented during the past year.

The Library is also indebted to the following donors for additions to its collection, viz.—The Ceylon Government; the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, James Burgess, F.R.G.S., &c.; the Lord Bishop of Colombo; the Colombo Museum Committee; the Hon. P. Coomaraswamy; Messrs. F. H. M. Corbet, J. M. Perera, and G. A. Joseph.

The book cases are rapidly filling up again, and the need of greater accommodation for the books has been felt. The Library wants a room large enough to allow of expansion, and to permit of a rational classification of the books upon the shelves. An extension of the building will alone meet the emergency; and the Society therefore welcome the steps taken by the Government to provide, in the near future, premises sufficient for all requirements.

Catalogue.

A simple catalogue (as suggested in the last Annual Report) has been begun, and it is hoped will be completed and printed by the end of 1894. The work of cataloguing has been considerably delayed owing to the non-return of books by Members. Special requisitions (on the authority of the Council) for their return were issued, but in some cases have not been noticed. Members are requested to return any books in their possession called for, in order that the work of cataloguing may be pushed on.

Journals.

The Society has published during the year the following numbers of its Journal, viz.:—Vol. XII., No. 43, 1892, containing the following
Papers: (1) "The Verification of the Ancient Chronicles of Ceylon," by the Lord Bishop of Colombo, President; (2) "Sinhalese Weights and Measures," by F. H. Modder; (3) "The Identification of the Sirivadhanapura of the Mahawansa, Chapter LXXXV," by the Lord Bishop of Colombo; (4) "Ritigala," by J. B. M. Ridout; (5) "Notes on the Nidification of Chrysophlegma xanthoderus," by F. Lewis. Vol. XI., No. 40, 1890: (1) "Wouter Schouten's Account of Ceylon," translated from the Dutch by P. Freudenberg; (2) "Henricus van Bystervelt's Embassy to Kandy," translated from the Dutch by F. H. de Vos; (3) "The Animal-shaped Rocks of Kurunegala," by F. H. Modder.

A reprint of Journal No. 12, 1860-61, is nearly completed. Several other Numbers of the Journal having gone out of print, it has been decided to reprint them, and this will be gradually done.

All arrears in the issue of the publication of the Journals of the Society have been caught up. Vol. XI., No. 41, of 1890, containing Lieut.-Colonel St. George's translation of "Joao Rodrigues de Sá e Menezes' Rebellion de Ceylan," and the Proceedings of 1889-90, are ready, and are laid on the table with this Report.

The Journal for 1893, Vol. XII., No. 44, is also ready, and an advance copy of it is laid on the table this evening. This is the first time the Society has been able to bring out its Journal so expeditiously, —the result chiefly of printing Papers in advance of their being read, and to the amalgamation of the Journal and Proceedings under the scheme referred to in the Annual Report for 1892. The Council feel that the thanks of the Society are due both to Mr. H. C. P. Bell for his labours as Editorial Secretary, and to the Government Printer and his Assistants, without whose ready co-operation and assistance so much editing work could not have been accomplished.

The Council constantly receive applications from Societies and Institutions for exchanges of publications or for donations of our Journal. These applications, though in some cases the Council has been obliged owing to their number to refuse, yet afford gratifying testimony of the increasing appreciation entertained for the publications of the Society.

Index to Journals.

Mr. J. F. W. Gore has laid the Society under an obligation by undertaking the work of compiling a full Index to the Society's publications. In this work he has now made considerable progress. The task, which in itself involves great labour, has been rendered more difficult by the fact that the pages in the reprinted Journals do not correspond with those of the original editions. Mr. Gore has devoted much labour and ingenuity to removing this difficulty, and the Index is being drawn up in such a way that it can be used by those who have the original or reprinted editions or mixed sets. The pagination of all future reprints will be uniform with that of the original editions.

Archæology.

All interested in the Archæological Survey of the Island will read with satisfaction the following brief summary of his year's work with which Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the Archæological Commissioner (who is one of the Society's Honorary Secretaries), has by request favoured the Council:—

The Archæological Survey of Anurâdhapura and the North-Central Province has been steadily advanced during 1893.
In Anuradhapura, with a labour force averaging 100 hands (men, women, and boys), a good deal of fresh excavation was carried out.

North of the town three miles, work on the large dagaba, known as Kiribat Vehara, was brought to completion. In addition to the quadrant of the outermost circumference (lowest pesava) of the dagaba laid bare by trenching in 1892, the whole of the inner and a portion of the exterior wall of the quadrangle surrounding the dagaba has been traced. The steps and approach on the north, east, and south sides have been opened out, and a shaft, 14 ft. in diameter, sunk down the centre of the dagaba, reaching virgin soil at a depth of some 40 ft. from the present summit of the mound. No relic chamber was discovered, the dagaba (as was anticipated) having been doubtless gutted centuries ago by invaders from Southern India. Much interesting light has, nevertheless, been gained as to the construction of the large dagabas of Anuradhapura, among which should in future be classed Kiribat Vehera. The survey shows it to have been approximately 420 ft. in circumference, or somewhat smaller than Mirisweitiya Dāgaba.

The scattered ruins lying in the jungle between Jētawannārāma and the Vijayārāma Monastery have proved, under excavation, to be a coterie of Hindū shrines and appurtenant buildings. In two Śiva déwāles the granite lingam was unearthed in situ. This was clearly a distinct Tamil quarter.

Excavation has been commenced (i) at the fringe of the Jētawannārāma ruins, near "the Twin Ponds" (Kuttam-pokkunu), and (ii) south-east of the town half a mile across the Malwatu-oya, at Toturela—the ruins whence the colossal sedent Buddha was removed to the Colombo Museum in 1891-92. This latter group of ruins is likely to prove a monastery as complete and as replete with interest as those of Vijayārāma and Pankuliya already dealt with by the Archæological Survey.

But chief attention has been concentrated on the Abhayagirīya ruins. By the excavation of two more sections (east, south-east, and south) the whole of the ruined area about the dagaba has at length been dug, exposing to view in all nearly 100 buildings, large and small, grouped together in distinct yet conterminous monasteries ranged round the stūpa with a regard to order which excites admiration. With the excavation of the four mandapas of the dagaba piazza—the clearing of the four off-set altars of the dagaba itself—and the running of a trench round half its base from east to west, and clearing the fallen débris off the three ambulatories (pesaval)—so as to permit of a true survey of their circumference—work at the Abhayagirīya ruins will be closed, and operations shifted to Jētawannārāma, or some other equally important quarter of the ancient city.

In the examination of the antiquities of the North-Central Province, as supplementary to the central work in Anuradhapura, great strides have been made during the past year. The Commissioner, in the course of two circuits, visited all known ruined sites in the following divisions:—Udiyankulam, Ulugalla, and Mātombuwa Kūralēs of Hurulu Palāta, and the Kiralava, Unduruva, and part of the Māmīnīya and Kēlēgān Kūralēs of Kēlēgān Palāta.
Of the seventeen kóralés of the extensive, and in great part wild, North-Central Province, thirteen have now been wholly, or in part, examined, and a great number of hitherto unreported inscriptions copied.

A very thorough exploration of the slopes and peaks of that little known range, Ritigala-kanda, which rises 2,500 ft. sheer from the plain, resulted in the discovery of valuable additions to the antiquities of the Province, and incidentally to the small but interesting flora recorded from this mist-topped, forest-clad mountain.

Alteration of Rules.

At a General Meeting held on October 28, 1893, it was resolved that Rule 18 be altered by changing the first word "five" to "four," thereby constituting four Members a quorum of the Council instead of five.

Office of Honorary Treasurer.

Your Council was unfortunately deprived of the valuable services of Mr. F. C. Roles, the Honorary Treasurer, for part of last year, when he left the Island in November. The duties of the Treasurer have since then been kindly undertaken by Mr. A. P. Green.

Finances.

The following is a statement of the income and expenditure of the Society during the year:

Ledger Balances, December 31, 1893.

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<tr>
<td>Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. P. Green</td>
<td></td>
<td>49 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total                           | 4,479 82   |

Audited and found correct:     | A. P. GREEN, |
                               | Honorary Treasurer. |

Stanley Bois.                   |               |

Colombo, December 31, 1893.

* For Papers on Ritigala by Dr. H. Trimen and Messrs. A. P. Green and D. M. de Z. Wickremesinghe, see Journal No. 39; and by Mr. J. B. M. Ridout, Journal No. 43, 1894.
General Account for 1893.

The Honorary Treasurer in account with the Asiatic Society of Ceylon.

\[\begin{array}{l|rr}
\text{Dr.} & \text{Rs.} & \text{c.} \\
\hline
\text{Balance in Bank of Madras brought forward} & 1,540 & 17 \\
\text{Members’ Subscriptions} & 2,314 & 75 \\
\text{Government Grant} & 500 & 0 \\
\text{Entrance Fees} & 73 & 50 \\
\text{Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. P. Green} & 49 & 1 \\
\text{Balance in Treasurer’s hand} & 2 & 39 \\
\hline
\text{Total} & 4,479 & 82
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{l|rr}
\text{Cr.} & \text{Rs.} & \text{c.} \\
\hline
\text{Purchase of Books} & 37 & 93 \\
\text{Printing} & 1,342 & 43 \\
\text{Charges Account} & 1,152 & 99 \\
\text{Balance in Bank of Madras} & 199 & 26 \\
\text{Balance in Savings Bank} & 642 & 21 \\
\hline
\text{Total} & 4,479 & 82
\end{array}\]

Audited and found correct:

A. P. Green, Honorary Treasurer.

Colombo, December 31, 1893.

Co-operation of Members.

In conclusion, the Council embrace this opportunity of inviting the co-operation of the Members in the work of the Society. The real value of the Society lies in those studies and researches which it promotes amongst its Members. The Council would welcome with pleasure an increase in the number of Papers giving the results of original research in any of the lines of study, which it is the aim and object of the Society to encourage.

2. The Report was adopted on a motion proposed by the Hon. J. A. Swettenham and seconded by Dr. Pinto.

3. The following Office-Bearers for 1894, nominated by the Council, were elected on a motion proposed by Mr. A. P. Green and seconded by Dr. Pinto:

President.—The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Colombo.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. G. Wall, F.L.S., F.R.A.S., and the Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., C.C.S.

Council.

Mr. H. H. Cameron, C.C.S. | Mr. W. P. Ranasingha.
Mr. P. Freudenberg. | Mr. E. S. W. Senaththi Raja.
Mr. Staniforth Green. | Hon. A. de A. Seneviratna.
Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie. | Mr. H. F. Tomalin, A.R.I.B.A.
Mr. F. M. Mackwood. | Dr. H. Trimen, F.R.S.
Mr. P. Ramanathan, C.M.G. | Dr. W. G. Vondert.

Honorary Treasurer.—A. Thomson.

4. The President returned thanks on behalf of himself and his colleagues for the trust again reposed in them. He congratulated the Society upon a year which had not been a particularly eventful one, but which had been characterized by a great increase in the business-like way in which the Society's affairs had been conducted, as witnessed in particular by the promptness with which the Journal of Proceedings had been placed in their hands that day. He thought they might look forward, with the help of the Members of the Society, on whom, after all, the success of the Meetings depended, to at least an equally successful and interesting year during 1894. (Applause.)

5. A vote of thanks to the Chair concluded the proceedings of the Meeting.
COUNCIL MEETING.

Monday, March 12, 1894.

Present:
The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.
Mr. A. P. Green. | Mr. H. F. Tomalin.
Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie. | Dr. W. G. Vandort.
Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of a Meeting held on January 15, 1894.

2. Resolved,—That the following candidates for admission into the Society as Resident Members be elected:

   Rev. F. H. de Winton { Proposed by { The Lord Bishop of Colombo.
   { Seconded by { Mr. J. Harward.

   Mr. H. G. Bois
   { Proposed by { Mr. H. C. P. Bell.
   { Seconded by { Mr. G. A. Joseph.


   Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. W. P. Rañasiñha
   and Mr. H. C. P. Bell for report.

4. Laid on the table the following names of Members struck out of the List for default of payment of arrears of subscription, in accordance with the Council's resolution of January 15, 1894, viz.:

   Mr. W. N. P. Aserapppa. | Mr. W. A. Ratnayaka.
   Mr. D. S. Dias Bandaranayaka. | Mr. K. L. don C. Seneviratne.
   Mr. J. M. Chitty. | Mr. A. T. Shamsedeen.
   Mr. Peter de Saram. | W. Subhuti Terunnâne.
   Mr. C. E. Jayatilleke. | Hon. P. A. Templer.
   Dr. H. A. Keegel. | Mr. K. M. Tissainayakam.
   Mr. L. F. Lee. | Mr. S. Weerackody.
   Mr. W. N. de A. W. Rajapaksa.

   The Honorary Secretary informed the Council that only those Members who had not answered the several letters informing them of their indebtedness to the Society were struck off the list.

   Resolved,—That the above-named Members be informed that their names have been removed from the List of Members of the Society.


   Resolved,—That the matter be more fully entered into after May if Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson continue to carry on the agency for the Society after that date.
6. Laid on the table a letter from Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson, dated February 26, 1894, inquiring what discount should be given to booksellers for the sale of the Society’s publications.

Resolved.—That pending reconsideration of the question Messrs. A. M. & J. Ferguson be authorized to allow 25 per cent. discount to the trade.

7. Read a letter from Mr. J. F. W. Gore, dated February 21, 1894, reporting further progress in the Index to the Society’s publications.

8. The Council was informed that Mr. A. Thomson was unable to undertake the duties of Honorary Treasurer until the middle of the year, and that Mr. A. P. Green had kindly consented to continue to discharge the duties of the office meanwhile.

Resolved.—That Mr. Green be thanked for his offer to thus assist the Society, and that the Council readily accept the offer of Mr. Green’s services until relieved by Mr. Thomson.

9. Considered the advisability of binding the several parts of Journals and periodical publications now stored away.

Resolved.—That the Journals and Proceedings of the Parent and Branch Societies of the Asiatic Society be bound at a cost not to exceed Rs. 150, and that the Honorary Secretaries do draw up a list of the other publications which they recommend should be bound.

10. Laid on the table portions of the Catalogue in manuscript, and considered the advisability of printing it.

Resolved.—That the Catalogue be further proceeded with and again submitted to the Council.

11. Laid on the table a letter from the Xe Congrès International Des Orientalistes requesting that a Delegate or Delegates be appointed to attend the Congress to be held at Geneva from September 3 to 12, 1894.

Resolved.—That the Parent Society be asked for further particulars about this Congress, and for information as to whether the Society would recommend the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to appoint a Delegate or Delegates.

12. Considered a letter from the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia regarding the transmission of subjects of Natural History.

Resolved.—That the Institution be informed that the transmission of specimens of Natural History form little (or no part whatever) of the objects of this Society.

13. Asked the Council’s permission to solicit an exchange of publications with the Buddhist Text Society of India, on the recommendation of Mr. H. C. P. Bell.

Resolved.—That Mr. Bell be requested to send a copy of the publications for the information of the Council.
GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 7, 1894.

Present:
The Hon. P. Coomáraswámy, in the Chair.
Mr. F. W. de Silva, Mudaliyár.          Dr. Lisboa Pinto.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. Gerard Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors:—Two ladies and ten gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on June 4, 1894.
2. The following Paper was read by the writer:—
NOTES ON THE SPECIES AND VARIETIES OF
TESTUDO IN THE COLOMBO MUSEUM.

By Mr. Amyrald Haly, Director of the Colombo Museum.

The Colombo Museum contains three species of Testudo in its collection:—Testudo elephantina, Dum. et Bib.; Testudo elegans, Schöpfl; and Testudo iberia, Pallas.

The first of these is the tortoise brought here by the Dutch, which died on March 23 last. This specimen, although mounted and retained in the Museum, can scarcely be said to form part of the Zoological collection: it must be looked upon rather as a reminiscence of old Dutch times, in the same way as a plate, a box, or a sword bearing the monogram "V. O. C." I will therefore say nothing more on this subject, except to refer Members of the Society who wish to become acquainted with the romantic story of our gigantic and extinct tortoises, to Dr. Günther's superb Monograph, or to his two popular Papers on the subject, which will be found in "Nature," Vol. XII., 1875.

For some years I have been very doubtful what species of Testudo existed in Ceylon. The collection contains specimens allied to T. elegans, but which appeared to me to differ so much from the normal form, that I could only refer them to it provisionally; and there was also a purchased specimen, which certainly belonged to no species as yet known from India or Ceylon. As I had to determine the species of the large Dutch tortoise, I took the opportunity of carefully examining our other specimens.

We have six stuffed specimens of T. elegans, and one young in spirits, presented by Mr. W. Ferguson, who contributed so generously to the formation of the Museum collection. I thought it might be of interest to the Society to point out the great range of variation in this species, especially as I have not seen the subject mentioned in any herpetological works.
Outgrowth of 4th vertebral plate in No. 3. Fourth shield broken at A.

Outgrowth of 4th costal shield behind 3rd costal in No. 3, left side.
Vertebral and Costal shield,
left side of young.
Testudo elgans is found from Scinde throughout India to Ceylon. In this Island it is common in all the dry districts, commencing about Puttalam, extending north to Jaffna, and running all along the east coast southwards to Hambantota. If we take specimens Nos. 1 and 2 as normal—and they agree fairly well with the excellent figures given by Dr. Boulenger in the "Fauna of British India"—a very slight examination will show that although no one would separate them as distinct species, they vary considerably. In No. 2 the lumps are not so developed, the concentric striae are more strongly marked, and the yellow streaks are more numerous and better developed. If we place No. 6 beside No. 2, the great difference between them strikes us immediately, and if No. 5 did not form a connecting link, no one would hesitate to say that it was a distinct species. It differs from the diagnosis as given by Dr. Boulenger in the first vertebral being no longer than broad, and in the third being much narrower than the corresponding costal; the ground colour of the carapace is brownish yellow, the radiating yellow rays being only indicated by broken black markings; but a comparison with No. 2 shows much greater differences than indicated by this diagnosis. The areolar spaces are very large, whilst the concentric striae are reduced to four or five in number and very strongly marked. In No. 5 the third vertebral shield is also much shorter than the third costal, but the first vertebral is much longer than broad, thus agreeing with the diagnosis. The areolae are much the same as in No. 6; the concentric striae are almost half-way between No. 2 and No. 6. The areolae are more dotted with black than in No. 6, and although the yellow rays are not quite so much developed as in No. 2, they agree very well with No. 4, the largest of our specimens. But to leave no doubt upon the subject, if we look at the plastrons of the six specimens, we shall see that no two are exactly alike in form or colour, and that whilst No. 5 and No. 6, which are very much alike, differ a good deal from the normal pattern, as represented by No. 1, No. 2, and No. 3, they do not differ more than No. 4.
In none of the species of the Chelonia, which develop epidermic plates, do the vertebral scutes exceed five in number, but in specimen No. 3 there are distinctly six; but this is evidently abnormal, the fifth being an outgrowth from the posterior margin of fourth. There is also a projection of the marginal plate, rising between the third and fourth costals on the right hand side. In specimen No. 4 there are also six vertebral scutes, and an up-growth of a marginal scute, but in this case on the left hand side, and placed between the last marginal and last vertebral scute.

There is no doubt that if the abberations represented in No. 6, or even in No. 5 and No. 6 together, were confined to individuals from some particular locality, say Java, in which the normal form did not occur, that they would be universally acknowledged by all Zoologists to be a distinct species. Would this be correct? I think there can be no doubt that Mr. Ferguson's specimen represents the young of T. elegans. Taking this for granted, the species alters greatly between youth and age. In the adult the carapace is much longer than broad; in the young the length and breadth are almost equal, the margin is scarcely serrated, and the supra-caudal is a broad truncated shield. There is not a trace of a hump, the scutes forming a tessellation over the semiglobular back. The areolæ occupy almost their whole extent, and are strongly granulated, the concentric striae being represented by a narrow smooth margin. In the plastron, the pectorals are much more developed than in the adult, and the inguinal and axillary shields are large and distinct. Let us suppose that our hypothetical species from Java had precisely the same kind of young, should we be justified in calling it anything more than an Island race?

In Dr. Boulenger's division of the genus Division 4 contains those species with a very convex carapace and black with yellow lines radiating from areolæ, or brownish with black radiating lines. No. 1 might be described according to the first system of coloration, and No. 4 comes fairly under the second. T. platynota of Burma differs from T. elegans in the
plastron not having radiating lines, which is the case in our No. 4. In fact No. 4 would be platynota if it were not for the tubercles on the hinder sides of the thighs. If the young of T. elegans and T. platynota agree, they could scarcely be considered as good species.

In contemplating these variations, the question of natural selection inevitably arises. The difference in coloration we cannot imagine to be of any advantage to the different individuals, crawling about as they do on the open plains in the mid-day sun, and having no need for concealment. Nor can we imagine that the greater or lesser development of the humps is any more advantageous; in fact there seems to be no point for natural selection to select from, and we are confronted with an inherent tendency to variation, which appears to me to form part of the diagnosis of many species throughout the animal kingdom. That this is the case here is clearly proved by the young. In this little tortoise we find six vertebral scutes, but in this case the number is not increased by a posterior outgrowth of the fourth, but by the division of the second into two nearly equal shields. On the right hand side there are four costal shields, but on the left the second is broken into two large, distinct, well-formed plates, making five costals on that side. I need scarcely point out how interesting a series of individuals of this species would be, illustrating the way in which the adult characters are acquired, and showing whether the abnormal characters of the young are retained or obliterated.

I cannot feel absolute certainty about the third species in our collection, as it has never been figured but once, and that work is not in our library, but the magnificent diagnosis of Dr. Boulenger rarely leaves much doubt as to what species an individual should be referred, and I have therefore entered this specimen on the list as Testudo iberia. There are two objections to this being a Ceylon species: first, that this is the only specimen ever procured; and secondly, that the nearest locality from which it is recorded is the
south-east of Persia. The first objection has little weight. The paddy-field deer is by no means uncommon, and yet during nearly twenty years’ residence in the Island I have never seen one, nor have my interviews with headmen and promises of large rewards to native huntsmen availed to secure a specimen for the Museum. As for the geographical distribution, this species extends from the Atlantic coast of Africa, all along the south coast of the Mediterranean, through Asia Minor into Persia.

The British Museum contains a specimen of the closely allied species *T. leithii*, found in Egypt and Syria, which is labelled Scinde. This Dr. Boulenger accounts for by the hypothesis that Dr. Leith purchased a specimen imported into that country. This may be the case with this individual. It is useless, however, to discuss the question, until we obtain more information; suffice it to state that it was purchased of a man who said he picked it up on the seashore at Vellawatta, and that he had seen the species before.

3. Mr. Harward read the following:—
NOTE ON A SINHALESE INSCRIPTION OF 1745-46 A.D.*

By Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe.

Text.

(1) දෙ බ්‍රේස් කාමු නෝර්යෙ නම් අමතර හෙවත්
(2) අන්ධ්‍ය බිය වු මෙහෙයට මෙහෙයට දේවත්
(3) මද මකින් කෝඩ පර්යේජන්කේ මෙන් නුවෝ අමතර හෙවත්
(4) අම්මර සිංහල මෙන් නිෂ්ට සිංහල අමතර හෙවත්
(5) මැසිල්ල් මැසිල්ල් ගමන් කැම්ම

Transcript.

(1) Śaka varsha eva dahas sa siya hepta hatala pemini†
(2) Krodha‡ nam vû mema varshayehi Iśvarádhhipatívû a
(3) ntima viṇṣatiyehidî Satara Koralé Disáva.§ lebi ti
(4) bêna Lewuke tenanneha† visin** veṣa karavá da
(5) kkaváput†† kala tuwakkuyayi.‡‡

Translation.

This is the cannon which Lewuke, the minister holding
[the office of] Disáwa over the Four Kóralés, has had made
and presented [to the Dutch] in the year named Krodha, the
1667th of the Śaka era [which is] in the last viṇṣati (period
of twenty years) of the cycle under the regency of Iśvara
(Jupiter Cyclus).

* Engraved on an old cannon lying in the Royal Museum in Amsterdam,
deciphered from a pencil rubbing furnished by Dr. Kern, Professor of
Sanskrit and Comparative Philology of the University of Leyden (Leiden).
† The date on the inscription—Śaka 1667—covers portions of the two
years 1745 and 1746 of the Christian era. In the absence of a more definite
date, it is not possible to say if the presentation of the Sinhalese cannon
to the Dutch took place in 1745 or 1746. The word pemini, "arrived" or "ap-
proached," seems, however, to point to the commencement of the Śaka
year, which may, therefore, fall in the latter half of 1745.
‡ Krodha, in Indian astronomy the 59th year of the 60 years cycle of
Iśvara or Jupiter.
§ Disāva stands for disāka, meaning "quarter" or "direction," here technically used as the title of a chief of a district.

|| The fact that Lewuke was the Disāwa of the Four Kóralés in 1745 is, so far as I know, not stated in any of the records hitherto published. We have here the earliest authentic reference to him in name and title, by which we are able now to identify this Lewuke with the Disāwa of Four Kóralés who played an important part in the negotiations of the Dutch with the Siphalese in the last century.

Lewuke was a staunch Buddhist, and as such he did much to patronize his religion. He restored vihāras, and endowed them with lands for the maintenance of the priesthood. A representation of him "wearing the peculiar red conical hat of the day" may be found painted on the right wall inside the Dambullakanda vihārė—a rock-cut temple in Walgam Pattuwa of Kinigoda Kóralé.—(See "Report on the Kégalla District," Sessional Paper XIX., 1892, p. 39.)

¶ Tenannēha (lit. "the lord of a place") means an "office" or "minister." It is a compound of tenan and vēhe, the semivocal v being here assimilated to the preceding n. The origin of this n is not clear. It may, as Professor Kuhn suggests, be a relic of the sign of the genitive plural. We know, however, that it is always added to the stem of Siphalese nouns signifying animate objects in the formation of oblique cases in the plural, as gurunţa satun, visākāvange, velandungen, &c. Tena or tena (Sans. athāna) is used here in the sense of "one in possession of a place or situation." Vēhe is Sans. Bhavat (nom. havān), used as a term of respect in speaking of a person. The third person singular present indicative of bhū is in Māhārāṣṭri and Hindi Prakrit, havai, from which a participle havat (nom. havān for bhavān) can be formed. It may well be that the Siphalese vaha or vāha comes from this Prakrit form havat of Sans. bhavat: havat becoming by metathesis vahat, then vāhay or vahay, and finally vēha or vaha. In vahanāse we have again the insertion of the n before the suffix se.

** Visin in Sighalese, considered an instrumental suffix, is in reality an altered form of Sanskrit or Pāli vasena, the instrumental of vasam used adverbially (Childer's Pāli Dict.) and in composition with the preceding word.

†† Dakkavāpu stands for the past participle of causative dakkavananawā.

†† Tuwakkuc, a word of Persian origin meaning "firearm," which appears under various forms in many languages of Europe and Asia.

4. The following Paper was read by the writer:—
KOSTANTINU HATANA.

By F. W. DE SILVA, Mudaliyár, Galle.

Kostantinu Haṭana is the title of a little poem in Sinhalese composed by a native Christian (whose name I am unable to find out) about the early part of the seventeenth century, probably. It consists of nearly 187 verses in various metres, and is very interesting reading, treating, as it does, of the successful march of Constantino de Sá, the great Portuguese Captain-General, against the forces of Máyadunna under the rebel chiefs Anthony Baretto and Kāngara. It is an elegant composition, and reflects great credit on the author. He appears to have studied the standard Elu works very carefully, and to have read a great deal of Hindú Mythology (to judge by the allusions)—an acquaintance with which is so essential to a Sinhalese poet. I find, moreover, that he has made a special study of Alagiyawanna’s works, such as the Kusa Játaka, Subhásita, and Sewul Sandésaya, and is indebted to him for several beautiful ideas. A perusal of the work affords evidence of the fact that his sympathies were on the side of the Portuguese; but it is nevertheless characterized by fairness and moderation of tone. I incline to think that the writer was an eye-witness of the stirring events narrated by him, as the account given of the progress of the campaign is so graphic and vivid.

Although the subject of the poem does not lend itself to a description of all the features of a mahá kávyā, he has introduced, in their proper places, forest scenes, aquatic sports, &c., to enhance the interest of his narrative. The alānkāra introduced into the poem is both chaste and beautiful.

I have the honour to lay before this Society the results of my study of this poetical work, in the hope that they will be
of interest to members in connection with the recent publication of the younger De Sā’s account of the Rebellion in Ceylon. The account, as far as it goes, is in perfect agreement with De Sā’s narrative in the main. It must be borne in mind that this work deals solely with De Sā’s march against the forces of Māyadunna, and the causes which led up to it. But the great rebellion in which De Sā suffered defeat at the hands of Rāja Siṃha II. forms the subject of Mahā Haṭana, another Siṃhalese poem by Kirimetiyawe Dāsi mēti. I hope to consider this book in a subsequent Paper. I may state, en passant, that Kirimetiyawa’s work is inferior in literary merit to the native Christian poet’s composition. So much for the general features of the work. Let me now proceed to give a brief summary of the contents.

The two rebel chiefs, Baretto and Kāngara, find favour by means of deceit and treachery at the Kandyian Court, and are granted Úva and Tunkinda (verse 15). From Badulla—where the preparations are made—an expedition is organized to gain Vellassa, Batticaloa, and Vellawāya; and they proceed to attack the fortress of Sabaragamuwa, spreading disaffection among the inhabitants of Denawaka Pasrata, Mātara, Kukulu Kōralē, and Pasyōdun Kōralē (verses 17, 18), in opposition to the Kandyian king, to whom they now owe allegiance. Thereafter they proceed against the king himself,—an act of perfidy which is very happily illustrated by our poet:

\[
\text{\begin{verbatim}
උජජු ය්‍යුම්කා නඟ
ඈස්වර කොළඹ්‍යුම්කා නඟ
උජජු සාහිත්‍යය නඟ
උජජු මාර්ගීය නඟ
\end{verbatim}}
\]

Like the Asur Basma who, obtaining a boon from Īswara, turned against that deity himself and gave chase to kill him.

He and his sons escape: they are taken and confined in some remote place in the Wanni, the palace robbed, and the guards put to death. With the Wanniyyans they now begin
to fight the Portuguese; and being unsuccessful invite over from the Chóla country the Prince Máyadunna (who had been in hiding there), promising to support his pretensions; and recommence their hostilities against the Portuguese. The country being now in a disturbed condition—dissensions in every part of it—the authorities and the priests in Colombo meet for consultation, and decide upon appealing for help to the Viceroy at Goa. This personage, on receiving intimation of the unsatisfactory state of Ceylon affairs, sends Constantino de Sá, as being the best man he could find, to set matters right. De Sá lands in Colombo with a band of trusty followers, and hastens to Malwána, the Portuguese sanatorium. From this place he goes on to Mênikkadawara (in Beligal Kóralé) on business connected with the expedition he is about to undertake, and returns to Malwána; whence, after satisfying himself of the allegiance of his men, he sets forth, attended by captains and other officers, in great pomp and state on his march of conquest. The route taken by the General is through the following places:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mápiṭigama</th>
<th>Teppanáwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deqambođa</td>
<td>Nivitigalla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kananwela Ferry</td>
<td>Mađawela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kosgama</td>
<td>Kónpiṭiṭya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bópé</td>
<td>Pollemuré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puwakpiṭiṭya</td>
<td>Balaṅgoḍa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitāwaka</td>
<td>Mędđegam Nuwara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A lively description of each of the villages on the way is given. He destroys some of the villages by fire, including Mędđegam Nuwara, which he burns to the ground, with all its palaces, houses, &c. At Lellópiṭiṭya the encounter with the enemy takes place with disastrous results to the forces of Máyadunna and the rebel chiefs. The king escaping, the chiefs are taken captive—32 in all, chained two by two—and are brought to Malwána; into which De Sá makes a triumphant entry from his successful expedition against the Siṃhalese forces.
To the above résumé of the work I should wish to add a few observations suggested by some passages in the book, letting the poet speak for himself where desirable.

That our author was a native Christian is abundantly clear from the opening verses:—

I adore Jesus Christ, the chief of all mankind, who is full of loving-kindness.

I adore the deity born of the womb of the Virgin Mary, like unto a flame emitted by a lamp of solar rays.

We read that De Sá was highly connected, being a descendant of the family of the Master of the Robes to the Portuguese kings,† and that he was a distinguished General, who had served in other parts of the world with conspicuous ability. The vessel which brought De Sá appears to have been a war-ship which had taken part in previous similar expeditions, and the course of which on the high seas was guided by the stars.

The navigation, it is said, was done according to the málimi sástraya (laws of navigation?). The vessel itself is quaintly described:—

---

* Kusa Játaka

† —
The great garuda-like ship, its vanquished enemies the snakes, its sails the wings of this fabulous bird, arrived at the port of Kolom-pura (Colombo).

The march of the enemy to the field is a very imposing scene: we read that the General was carried in a State litter gaily decked. I cannot resist the temptation to quote this stanza for its beautiful versification:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{වැමල්ලේ අංගිලි ආසූ යොඳම්} & \quad C \\
\text{හැලකු වැලික් ආසූ යොඳම්} & \quad C \\
\text{සන්තුරා අංගිලි ආසූ යොඳම්} & \quad C \\
\text{සොහෝ ආසූ යොඳම්} & \quad C \\
\end{align*}
\]

Entering a beautiful palanquin set with gold and gems, inlaid with ivory and decked with festoons of pendant pearls put in motion by waving chámaras.

The Captains rode in palanquins amid the noise of drums and trumpets. The poet says that the whole army moving in this manner presented the spectacle of the mighty ocean rolling on land—a favourite comparison with Oriental poets for a tumultuous army on the march. The villages passed on the way are graphically described, with details as to the halting stations. At Sitáwaka the poet introduces us to a bevy of maidens disporting themselves in the river, and I leave him to describe these water-nymphs in his own inimitable style:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ජුල්ලේ ආලියක් ආසූ යොඳම්} & \quad O \\
\text{බිසියක් ආලියක් යොඳම්} & \quad O \\
\text{මෙතුරු ආලියක් යොඳම්} & \quad O \\
\text{සොහෝ ආලියක් යොඳම්} & \quad O \\
\end{align*}
\]

Dressing themselves in red cloths, taking in their hands drinking horns, tying up their hair bound with flowers into a firm knot, drinking wine moderately with the wantons, in this manner the pretty maidens disported themselves in the water.

\* Garuda, the bird and vehicle of Vishnu. He is generally represented as being something between a man and a bird, and considered as sovereign of the feathered kind: he was the son of Kāsyapa and Vinátā and younger brother of Aruna.—Clough.
Maidens, who in beauty excelled the heavenly nymphs, plunging into the water, captivate the eyes and minds of onlookers by the display of their charms.

The beauty of the original is almost lost in translation.

The destruction by fire of Medigam Nuwara appears to have been complete—the whole town, consisting of the Chitrakūṭa vimāna, Magul maṭuwa (Audience Hall), the royal kitchen, the dining hall, the hot-water bath, the queen’s apartments, and the stately mansion of Baretto, being burnt to the ground. Here is a battle-piece:

Some spearing the enemies put the bodies away from them, while others by one shot kill two or three at a time. Some spare those who beg for mercy, while others seize and bind those who are about to flee, without killing them.

I notice that the kastána in the days of our poet was not the innocent-looking ornament which we now find dangling by the side of a Mudaliyár on official occasions, but a formidable weapon used with deadly effect on the plains of Lellópiṭiya.

We read in the published narrative that the General “had a gallant bearing added to a shapely, well-proportioned form and figure, tall and strong, with an expression at once pleasing and manly.” This is confirmed by what our chronicler says with regard to the hero’s personal attractions. In this verse his person is described:
The village maidens of birth, on account of their steadfast gaze at our Governor without winking, who in beauty is the Anāṅga of old before he was reduced to ashes, resembled the heavenly nymphs.

I think that this description could not be improved upon, and that the younger Sā must confess himself beaten by our poet in this particular. The concluding verse runs thus:

May the sovereign be long-lived!
May the enemy be vanquished!
May prosperous times be nigh!
May the whole world advance in prosperity!

Patriotic sentiments which, I suppose, we can all heartily re-echo with pleasure.

This work, of which I have attempted to give a brief sketch to-night, is very rare. I cannot undertake to say that my copy is complete, though the narrative goes on without a break, as I could not get another copy for the purpose of collation. My object in bringing the book to the notice of this learned Society is, partly to supplement with fuller details the meagre account given in the published narrative about Māyadunna, and partly to interest Members in the study of a work, unique in its kind, which is the only "war poem,"—if I may be allowed the term,—the Mahā Haṭana excepted, which we have in Sinhalese, so far as I have been able to ascertain.*

5. A vote of thanks was accorded to the writers of the Papers read, on a motion proposed by Mr. Harward.

6. A vote of thanks to the chair concluded the proceedings of the Meeting.

* The writer has evidently not seen Paraṅgi Haṭana.—B., Hon. Sec.
COMMITTEE MEETING.

Colombo Museum Library, August 9, 1894.

Present:

The Lord Bishop of Colombo, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Justice Lawrie. | Mr. W. P. Ranasingha.
Mr. H. F. Tomalin.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

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Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on July 7, 1894.

2. Laid on the table a Paper from Mr. Ranasingha on "Gaja Bāhu I.": referred to Mr. H. C. P. Bell and Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted and read, and that it be previously printed and circulated.

3. Laid on the table a Paper by Mr. F. W. de Silva, Mudaliyār, entitled "Notes on the Sports and Games of the Sīhalese."

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. Justice Lawrie.

4. Read a letter from Mr. J. P. Lewis, c.c.s., dated July 31, 1894, offering a Paper on "The Archaeology of the Waṭṭi," intended to be published in his "Manual of the Waṭṭi District."

Resolved,—That the offer be accepted, and that the Paper be referred to Mr. Harward for report, and that the question of publishing it in the Society's Journal do stand over.

Resolved,—That a Meeting of the Society be held on September 8 next, or on such date as the Secretaries may think fit, and that it be left to their discretion to fix the Papers for reading.
GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 8, 1894.

Present:

Hon. J. A. Swettenham, C.M.G., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Arunáchalám, C.C.S.  Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G.
Hon. P. Coomáraswámy.  Mr. W. P. Ránasígha.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: One lady and eight gentlemen.


Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on July 7, 1894.

2. The Chairman informed the Meeting that His Lordship the Bishop of Colombo, President, was prevented from attending owing to ill-health.

3. The following Paper was read by the author:—
WHICH GAJA BAHU VISITED INDIA?

By W. P. Raṇasīṅha.

In the interesting Paper on Chilappatikāram, read by the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy on October 28, 1893, before this Society, he inferred that the Gaja Bāhu mentioned in that poem was King Gaja Bāhu I., who reigned in Ceylon about 113 A.D. In the discussion that followed, our President (the Bishop of Colombo) was rather inclined to question the soundness of the conclusion. Since then I have turned over a few pages of Siṃhalese literature and archæology, and I am glad to find that the following references taken therefrom corroborate the testimony furnished by Tamil literature, that Gaja Bāhu I. did indeed visit the Chōla country in South India, and did in fact introduce into Ceylon the worship of Pattinī.

The Mahāwaṅsa speaks of Gaja Bāhu I. as the son of Vaṅkanāsika Tissa, but makes no mention of his having gone to India. He began his reign in 113 A.D.: Gaja Bāhu II. began his reign in 1143 A.D.

In the Rāja Ratnākaraya, a history of Ceylon of some authority, written in 1542 A.D. by Walagampaya Terunnāṁse, it is recorded:—

"The brother of Mahaludé was Vakṇetīs (Vaṅkanāsika Tissa). His son was Gaja Bāhu. Having heard that in those days the inhabitants of Laṅkā were in servitude at Kāveri he was vexed, and taking the iron club made by his father, which was wont to be carried by fifty warriors, he struck the sea with it, and by the power of his merits caused the sea to be divided, went over the Chōla kingdom without so much as wetting his feet, and having exhibited his prowess brought back the prisoners of war and the tooth-relic and the alms-bowl which the Tamils had taken away, and went to heaven after performing many meritorious acts, both secular and religious."

The whole of this passage, except as regards the statement that the tooth-relic was brought back to Laṅkā by Gaja Bāhu
I. (which, according to the President, was not in Ceylon till the fourth century A.D.), is supported by an earlier work, the Pájávaliya, which was composed by a monk called Buddhapatra, Chief of Mayurapáda Pirivena, about the year 1288 A.D. or, according to B. Gunasékara Mudaliyár, 1309 A.D.

The passage I refer to is as follows:

"His (Vehep's) son Vakñeṣṭissa (Vañkanásika Tissa) reigned three years. His son King Gaja Báhu having heard that during his father's reign men were sent to Káveri for service, sent for his ministers, and having inquired about it became indignant, and having taken the iron mace which his father caused to be made for him, accompanied his warriors, and having taken the mace, which was wont to be lifted up by fifty men, in his right hand and circumambulated, struck the sea with it, and by his merits divided the sea and went over to the Chóla country without wetting his feet; and having exhibited his prowess, and having captured twice as many as those who went to serve at Káveri, and enjoined that thenceforth none should go to work at Káveri, came back, and having kept guards round the shore, and having published his victory by beat of tom-tom, and having done many meritorious acts, reigned twenty-two years and went to heaven."

Two other works of independent authority refer to the same incidents in a fuller form, explaining the cause of the invasion of Gaja Báhu I. The works I allude to are the Mahá Rájávaliya and Wanni Rájávaliya.

The following passage I take over from Mahá Rájávaliya and translate thus:

His son Vannesi (Vañkanásika) reigned three years. During his reign the King of Chóla having come to this Lañká with Tamils from the Chóla country, took away to the Chóla country 12,000 prisoners of war. During the reign of Gajabá, son of King Senanambapa, whilst he was going about the city in the night he heard an old widow's lamentations because her two sons were carried away by the Chóla king, and thinking that there must be some injustice in the city he marked the door with lime and went to his palace. In the morning the king sent for his ministers and inquired of them about the rights and wrongs in the city. Then the ministers said, "It is like a wedding house of Indra." Then the king's wrath was kindled against the ministers, and he sent for the woman of the house whose door had been marked with lime; and she said, "When the Chóla king carried
away 12,000 prisoners my two sons were taken away too, and therefore I was crying." Then the king, having comforted the poor woman, was displeased with the doings of his father; and having said, "I shall go to the Chóla country," went to Jaffna with an army, and having given leave to the army he went with the warrior Nila and struck the sea with his mace and divided the waters and went to the Chóla city, and having intimidated the Chóla king sat on the throne like Indra, king of gods. Nila getting hold of the elephants of the city struck one against the other and killed both. When thus the Chóla city was being devastated the ministers informed the Chólian king of it. Then the Chólian king asked King Gajabá, "Are the Siṃhalese people come to destroy this city?" Then King Gajabá said, "Except the small boy who accompanied me hither, there is no army with me," and sent for the warrior Nila and kept him by his side. Then the Chólian king asked him, "Why did your Majesty come alone?" Then King Gajabá answered, "Your Majesty's father during my father's reign brought 12,000 prisoners—I am come to take them away." Then the Chólian king replied, "One of our ancestors fought the gods and conquered them: shall I give your people back?" Then King Gaja Bāhu said, "I shall destroy this city and reduce it to ashes; will you give me for my people 24,000 men or not?" and having pressed sand produced water, and having squeezed the iron mace also produced water, and having thus enlightened the Chólian king obtained 24,000 as prisoners with interest, and also the gem anklet of the goddess Pattigí, and the arms of the four gods of the four temples, and the alms-bowl which was carried away during the reign of King Walagambá; and having warned him not to do such a thing in future, came to Laṅká with the prisoners, sent them to their own lands, and the rest he placed in Ālūktkúru Kóralé, and having reigned twenty-four years he went to heaven.

It will be observed that no mention is here made of the restoration of the tooth-relic as recorded in the Rajaratnákaraya. I think the reference in the Rajaratnákaraya is an interpolation by some ignorant copyist. But it is interesting to note that the fact that some Chólians were brought over and placed in Ālūktkúru Kóralé during this king's reign is supported by an old tradition to the same effect still current amongst the Siṃhalese.*

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* Cf. the name of the village Teṅgipāta in the Rāgam pattuwa of Ālūktkúru Kóralé.—B., Hon. Sec.
The carrying away of the alms-bowl by the Tamils during the reign of Waṭṭagāminī Abhaya is related in chapter XXIII. of the Mahāwansa.

I would now refer to a poem called Gajabá Katháwā, in Siṃhalese. Neither the date of the work nor the name of the author is given in the book, but all that appears in the Rājawaliya is related in it. Gajabá’s father’s name appears in this work as Bapa Rāja. I thought that Bapa meant father, and not one of the names of the King Vaṅkanásika Tissa. In the Wanni Rājawaliya he is called Vannēsinambá Rāja. In this book the following occurs: “E Sinambá Rajuge put Gaja Bāhu,” “that Sinamba’s son Gaja Bāhu.” In the Rājawaliya which is in the Museum Library the words “ōhu put Pīvanedi nam raja” occur, which I read “ōhu pit Venēsinam raja,” “his son Vannēsinam Raja.” A few lines below this the following words occur: “Gajabá Sinanambaba rajuge put,” “Gajabá, son of King Sinanambaba,” which I take to be a clerical error for “Vannēsinambapa.” Whether Bapa, which occurs in the Gajabá Katháwa and in the Rājawaliya, means “father,” or was another name for Vaṅkanásika Tissa, it is difficult to say.

Mr. Bell mentions Tiyambarahéna as a déwálé sacred to Pattini Deviyó, and one of the oldest in the Kégalla District. The sannasa carries its founding back to Gaja Bāhu I., the rescuer of the Siṃhalese captives in India. The date given in this sannasa is, as Mr. Bell says, palpably wrong, but, as he adds, probably crystallizes some old tradition that Gaja Bāhu caused to be built at Kēlani Nawagomuwa a déwálé for the gem anklet of Pattini, and afterwards had it removed to Tiyambarahéna.*

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* "When 1,088 years had expired from the death of our Lord Buddha, in the 852nd year after the establishing of the Buddhist religion in Lāpká, the King Gaja Bāhu, having heard that his subjects of the Island of Lāpká were carried away as slaves to Káverí," &c.—Archaeological Survey of Ceylon: Report on the Kégalla District, page 56.
Discounting the poetic description as regards the division of water by striking the sea with the iron mace, the exploits of Nila in the city of Chóla, and the production of water from sand and the iron mace, there is, I think, no reason to doubt that the king who went to the Chóla country was Gaja Báhu I., and that it was he who established the worship of Pattini in Ceylon.

We ought to be thankful to Mr. P. Coomáraswámy for having brought to the notice of this Society the Tamil poem Chilappatikáram, which is of great interest from various points of view, not the least of which is its remarkable confirmation of Siňhalese history; for, from an entirely foreign source, the accuracy of many of our historical works besides the Mahávaṇṣa has been established, as to the time when one of its ancient kings reigned in Ceylon, and as to how he introduced the worship of one of the most popular goddesses into the Island.

4. Mr. Arunáchalámi inquired of Mr. Raňasíňha if any explanation was possible of the omission of the Mahávaṇṣa to record so important an event as the visit of Gaja Báhu to India, and the introduction by him into Ceylon of the worship of the goddess Pattini.

Mr. Raňasíňha said that the Siňhalese chronicle did not purport to be a complete history of each and every Siňhalese king’s reign, but a good deal of selection was exercised by the chronicler. The Mahávaṇṣa was a history not so much of Ceylon as of Buddhism in Ceylon, and perhaps the monkish chronicler preferred to omit all reference to the introduction of a worship that the orthodox Buddhists would not approve of.

Mr. P. Coomáraswámy: “The question is, which Gaja Báhu visited India at the time of the Chera King, Senkuṭţuvan? In my Paper read in October last I expressed the view that it was Gaja Báhu I. I am now glad to find that view confirmed by the Siňhalese authorities cited by Mr. Raňasíňha. While collecting materials for a Paper on the age of certain Tamil poets, I have come across many facts which leave no doubt whatever as to the correctness of this conclusion. I shall to-night state only one argument.

Those who have some acquaintance with Tamil literature are aware that the term Vallal is specially applied to twenty-one persons for their unbounded munificence. They were divided into three classes of seven each, and the third class included two Tamil princesses, Pékan and Pari, who were contemporaries. Pékan had a quarrel with his wife Kannakai—whose name was the same as the heroine of Chilappatikáram—and turned her out of doors. Many friends interfered, and amongst them Kapilar and Paraňar, both of whom addressed
several poems to the prince on the subject, and brought about a reconciliation. *Kapilar’s* friend and one of his patrons was Prince *Pārī*, and on *Pārī’s* death the aged poet’s untiring endeavours to wed *Pārī’s* portionless daughter—for *Pārī* died poor—to some one of the great princes of Southern India, and his visits to court after court with that object, form an interesting chapter in Tamil literature.

"*Paraṇār’s* chief patron was the Chera King Senkuṭṭuvan, who, according to the Chilappatikāram, was visited by Gaja Bāhu. *Paraṇār* addressed to Senkuṭṭuvan several poems, including the fifth *Pattu* of the *Padiṭṭuppattu*, and received from him several important gifts, including *Umbakāṭṭuvāri*.

"These are all matters to be gathered from our ancient Tamil poems,⁶ and the poems addressed by *Kapilar* and *Paraṇār* on the occasion above mentioned are also extant.

"For the purposes of the present investigation we have to remember that the two *Valḷai’s*, *Pēkan* and *Pārī*, and the two poets, *Kapilar* and *Paraṇār*, were contemporaries, and that the Chera King Senkuṭṭuvan was *Paraṇār’s* patron. Now *Pārī* is mentioned in one of the hymns of *Sundara Mūrtti* thus:† "Even if you flatter cowards by styling them *Bhimas* and *Argunas*, and misers *Pāris*, who will reward you now-days, O ye poets?" *Sundara Mūrtti*, as you are aware, is one of the three authors of the sacred hymns of the Tamils known as *Devāram*. Where is the earliest authentic reference to him? The researches of Dr. Hultsch enable us to answer this. Plate No. 38 given in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. II., part II., page 152 et seq., which is a copy of one of the inscriptions at the temple at Tanjore, gives the weight of the images worshipped at that temple and, amongst them, of the images of *Sundara Mūrtti* and *Paravaiyār* his wife. The inscription is dated the twenty-ninth year of the reign of *Rāja-Rāja-dēca*, which has been ascertained to be 1033 of the Christian era (*South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. I., page 169). I do not ask you to say how many centuries must have elapsed after *Sundara Mūrtti’s* death before he and his wife came to be worshipped in a temple of *Siva*; but this fact remains that *Pārī* must have been long prior to 1033, which date is at least 100 years before Gaja Bāhu II. began his reign in Ceylon. As there are only two Gaja Bāhus between the first and twelfth centuries of the Christian era, and as *Pārī, Kapilar, Paraṇār*, and Senkuṭṭuvan were contemporaries, the prince who visited Senkuṭṭuvan was undoubtedly Gaja Bāhu I.; and as this visit must have occurred during this reign, that is, between 113–125 after Christ, we are able to fix the dates of the Chera King Senkuṭṭuvan, and the two poets *Kapilar* and *Paraṇār*, as prior to the second half of the second century."

Mr. J. Harward said that, in view of the record made so persistently in the several Siṃhalese works cited by Mr. Raṇasinha, the tradition that Gaja Bāhu I. visited India appeared to him worthy of acceptance as a boná fide tradition, and as that was constantly associated with the introduction into Ceylon of the worship of the goddess *Pattiṇī* we need not hesitate to believe that Gaja Bāhu I. introduced that worship.

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* Consult, among others, *Chirupāṇaṭṭuppadaī, Pattiṭṭuppattu, Paraṇāṇur, &c.*

† *Sunkaramurttiévāram* in Tiruppukalur Midukkalātāgai.
But it did not necessarily follow that Chilappatikāram was written in the time of Gaja Bāhu I. He could conceive of a learned society discussing in 3000 A.D. the age of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, and arguing that Tennyson was a contemporary of King Arthur. If earlier specimens of English literature did not exist for purposes of comparison, Tennyson's work might be ante-dated by a thousand years. It would be well, therefore, to prove the age of Chilappatikāram by the internal evidence of the style, language, &c., and he hoped that this aspect of the question would receive the attention of Tamil scholars.

Mr. Coomáraswámy said that the author of the Chilappatikāram was the brother of King Senkuṭṭuwan, whom Gaja Bāhu I. visited, whereas Tennyson could not be cited as King Arthur's brother.

Mr. Harward said that it was not unusual in some countries and some ages for poets to write under the name of persons who had flourished at an earlier date.

Mr. P. Rámanáthan said that the internal evidence of the style and language of Chilappatikāram proved its age, and he trusted that Mr. Coomáraswámy would collect all such evidence and make it part of his next Paper.

The Chairman stated that it was interesting to find that the traditions of both sides of the Gulf of Manllár concurred in alleging that it was Gaja Bāhu I. who visited India and introduced the worship of Pattini into Ceylon, and the point might be considered as established. In addition to the authorities quoted he referred to that of Valentyn, who seemed to have drawn some of the materials for his ancient history from sinhalese works not now extant in Ceylon. Valentyn (vol. V., p. 67) stated that Wankamasika Rája (who reigned three years) was succeeded by his son Beeja Rája, who reigned twelve years, during which an expedition arrived from India, which took 12,000 captives. Valentyn's narrative went on to relate the reign of Gaja Bāhu I., describing his visit to India, and giving many details of his reputed exploits. He would take this opportunity to point out that the title of Mr. Raṇasiṅha's Paper, "Which Gaja Bāhu visited India?" suggested that only one Gaja Bāhu visited India. We had no materials before us to determine the question whether or not Gaja Bāhu II. also visited India. He felt sure the Society was very grateful to Mr. Raṇasiṅha for his interesting Paper.

A vote of thanks to Mr. Raṇasiṅha for his Paper was accorded on a motion proposed by the Chairman.

5. Mr. Harward read the following Paper:—
ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE WANNI.

By Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S.

"THE WANNY"* was the name given to that part of northern Ceylon which is bounded on the north by the Jaffna lake, on the south by the Aruvi river and the District of Nuwarakaláwiya, which now forms a part of the North-Central Province, on the east by the District of Trincomalee, and on the west by the District of Manṣār.

Roughly speaking, the District of Nuvatiya forms the southern half of the Wanni, and that of Mullaittivu the northern half. The area of the Dutch Wanni was computed to be about 2,000 square miles, while that of the two districts above named is 1,864 square miles.

The name Wanni in the Sinhalese chronicles appears to have had a more extensive application than that given it by the Dutch, for it included Nuwarakaláwiya, which was the Mahá Wanni.

Baldaeus applies the name, "the country of the Wannias," to the Manṣār mainland as far north as the Jaffna lake.†

It is however with the first signification given above that the name is used in this Paper.

* It is not certain what the meaning of the name is. Several derivations have been suggested. Tennent mentions two, "one significant of the forest (waṇam) which covers it to a great extent; the other of the intense heat which characterizes the region" (vol. II., p. 508, 4th edition); while according to Cordiner the name means "scarcity" (p. 295). One of the meanings of the word Wanni is fire, but the last two derivations are far-fetched, and so is that from val, denoting the hardness of the soil. According to the Kaipeḍḍu, the district took its name from the Wanniyas from India, who colonized it. In accordance with this view another derivation has been suggested from the Indian Bunniyah, or merchant, but the Tamil form of this is Waṇikai, which could not become Wanni. There is a Wanni Hatpattu in the North-Western Province.

† Churchill's "Voyages," vol. III., pp. 709, 719.
The principal archaeological remains are to be seen in the ancient Sinhalese tanks, most of which have been described in detail in Mr. H. Parker’s reports. These remains consist of massive embankments, such as that at Tanthirmurippu, where the bund is about 2$\frac{3}{4}$ miles long; at Pavaṭkuḷam, where it is 2 miles long; Māmāḍu 1$\frac{1}{2}$ mile, Iratperiyakuḷam and Kanukkēṇi 1 mile; and many of smaller dimensions.

The bunds are generally faced on the inner side with a pitching of stone (alaikkullu Tamil, relapāna Sinh.), as at Pavaṭkuḷam, Iratperiyakuḷam, Paṇḍārakuḷam, &c.

In the bunds are found the remains of ancient stone sluices, which were usually provided with a bisokotuwa, or valve-pit, built of “long slabs of stone of considerable breadth and small thickness, laid on edge and fitted together with great care.” Behind the stonework is a backing of brickwork. There are five of these sluices with bisokotuwas still to be seen at Pavaṭkuḷam, and Mr. Parker says, “so far as I am aware this is the only tank in the Island with more than four.”

With one exception they are in fair order. Māmāḍu had three before its restoration, and Maḍukanda, Kanakaraṇaṭkuḷam, and Periyakuḷam, also restored tanks, had each one. Examples are to be seen at Paṇḍārakuḷam, which has two, and at Mahā Rambaikuḷam, Chēmamaḍu, Matavuvattakuḷam, Putumuṟippukulam, Kuruntaṇkuḷam, Tanthirmurippu, Periyakuḷam, and Kachchilamaḍu. At Tanthirmurippu, unfortunately, most of the stones have been removed to build a Hindu temple,† otherwise it is in a good state of preservation.

With regard to one of the sluices at Iratperiyakuḷam, which is still in use, Mr. Parker remarks:—

We have here a sluice which has continued in working order for 1,770 years or more. It is probably the oldest identified sluice in working order in the Island if this tank is the Alawichcha lake.‡

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† The doorway of the temple at Vellaiya Mulliyawakkal near Mullaitthivu is made of carved stones from Kuruṇṭūrmalai, adjoining Tanthirmurippu.
‡ Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 109.
The tanks were in many cases provided also with artificial spills or flood escapes, some of which remain. The floors and sides of these spill waters were often covered with large wedged stone pitching, as at Pāvatkuḷam, where the spill is 125 ft. long and 60 ft. wide; Paṇḍārakuḷam, where it is 250 ft. long and 21 ft. wide; and Vavuṇikuḷam. The spills were usually built as kalingulas, i.e., they were provided with a series of pillars, upon the framework of which a dam was erected for holding up an extra depth of about 2 ft. of water. An example is to be seen at Pāvatkuḷam.

The pillars, which are very irregular in size and shape, are in pairs, a short one in front of a tall one 5 or 6 ft. high, and a few inches distant from it, their line crossing the spill-water slightly in front, i.e., on the tank side of the centre line of the embankment. Between these pillars a temporary dam of sticks and earth would be raised when it was desired to retain extra water at the cessation of the north-east monsoon rains. For this purpose the extra height of the tall pillars would be of no use, and it may possibly have been used as the pier of a temporary foot-bridge, by which travellers could cross the flood that occasionally poured over the spill water.⁰

There is another smaller kalingula 300 yards lower down the stream from the spill. Examples of kalingulas are to be seen at Mahā Rambaikuḷam,† Māmaḍu, Erupotáne, Matavuvattakuḷam, and Paṇḍārakuḷam. At Mahākachchat-kodi the kalingula has a single pillar only. There was a sort of kalingula at the northern end of the bund of the Vavuṇiya tank before its restoration, but it is not visible.‡

With regard to the date of the construction of these tanks, there is perhaps more certainty as to the abandoned tank of Vavuṇikuḷam than any other. Mr. Parker says:—

Vavuṇikuḷam may be included among the earliest reservoirs in the Island. It is mentioned in the Mahāvansa.

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⁰ Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 110.
† Id., p. 183. The pillars at Mahā Rambaikuḷam appear, however, to have been in threes and not in twos, which Mr. Parker has not noticed (diary of September 23, 1889).
‡ Id., p. 179.
And he identifies it with the tank Peliwapigama, which is referred to in the *Mahāwaṇaṇṇa* as situated seven *yōjanas* northward of the capital. A hunter finds some gems "in the stream flowing through the broken embankment of the tank." Mr. Parker remarks:—

The distance of the existing road from Anurādhapura to a point on the Central road due east of the tank is 56 miles; while according to the *Mahāwaṇaṇṇa* the distance to the tank was 63 miles, a slight difference, which may fully be accounted for by the more devious route of the early path. The fact that a stream of size flowed through the breach of the tank proves that it was an important one, and there is no other large one at a suitable distance from Anurādhapura. Lastly, the ancient name of the tank is especially applicable to this reservoir only. Peliwapi is exactly the same as Pālikkuḷam, from which it seems to be evident that the river, the Pāli-āru, has derived its name. What is thus learnt regarding this reservoir proves that it was abandoned, and the resort of hunters (and therefore more or less overgrown with jungle), so early as 161 B.C., when Duṭṭhagāminī ascended the throne. Its state at that period, however, shows that it was breached at some considerably earlier date; and as all that is known regarding the Tamil occupants of Anurādhapura renders it very unlikely that the work is of Tamil origin, the date of its construction may be assigned with comparative certainty to some period prior to 205 B.C., when Ilara became king.

Mr. Parker thinks that it is mentioned also in an inscription that is cut on a rock at Peramiyankuḷam, Anurādhapura. The inscription dates from the time of Wasabha, 66–110 A.D., and among other things it records the gift of the Pāli-nāgarā tank to the Thera Majjhima. Some ruins that are said to be in the forest to the north-west of the tank may be possibly the remains of this *nāgarā* or city. The jungle in which they occur is termed the *Kovilkādu*, or "temple jungle."*

These ruins have been inspected by Mr. H. Nevill, who describes them thus:—

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* Sessional Papers, 1886, pp. 468–469. See also Mr. G. M. Fowler's diary of May 14, 1887.
There is a ruined temple with a large stone Buddha some 8 ft. high still standing erect, but headless, and buried in tiles, bricks, &c., to his shoulder. Near him is Vishnu, broken off at his waist and still erect; two flagstaff sockets or oil mortars over a small ruined dagaba; a temple or two of no consequence,—mere scraps,—and a larger temple with its posts all upset, and its Saivite lingam (sic) broken. There stands an inscribed stone, and after some search I discovered its missing top, broken off for a Pillaiyar.  

Another tank of Siëhalese construction, which probably dates from pre-Christian times, is Pàvatkulam, which was the most important reservoir in the Wanni:—

The bricks employed at two of the sluices are of a much older type than those of the Pàdawiyà sluice, which was built at the end of the third century A.D. Unfortunately there are no inscriptions in the immediate neighbourhood, nor is there any local tradition regarding the originator of the work; this is doubtless due to the occupancy of the place by the Tamils after they seized upon the district. If Siëhalese had always lived at it, the ancient Siëhalese name of the tank might have been preserved. This reservoir is such an important one that it is almost certain to be mentioned in the old historical works, if we only knew what name it bore.†

The only vestiges of the former inhabitants of the place, besides the tank itself, are the ruins of a small dagaba which once existed on a high rock, included in the line of the bund, a large slab for flower offerings which is now placed on an adjoining rock, and a large stone with a roughly carved figure of a five-headed cobra on it.

The stone slab is now known as "The King's Seat," and Mr. Parker's surmise as to how it acquired this name is probably correct. He says:—

From it a good view is obtainable of the tank and part of the watershed, as well as in the opposite direction, and it may perhaps have been placed in its present position by order of some Tamil ruler.

Mahákachchhatkoḍśli in Kilakkumúlai South, which is one of

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* Diary of June 8, 1889.
† Sessional Papers, 1886, pp. 113-114.
the earliest settlements in the Waṇṇi, also probably dates from pre-Christian times. Its Siṃhalese name is Tittāvēli.*

The hill at Kuruntaṅkulaṅ or Piyangala is identified by Mr. Parker as the spot visited by Buddha on his second journey to Ceylon, and the tank would therefore date from at least the middle of the third century B.C. The adjoining large tank, Taṇṇirmuṇippu, may have been of later date, or it may have been repaired later.†

Íratperiyakulaṅ, Mr. Parker thinks, is the “Alawichcha lake” named in an inscription at the base of the large rock which towers above the tank and village, in which case “the lake” must have been constructed prior to 113 A.D.‡

Periyakulaṅ he would assign to the first two centuries A.D., Māmaḍu and Olumaḍu to the second or third century,§ Kanakarayaṅkulaṅ to the third or fourth century, and Vavuṇiya to the fourth or fifth.|| Paṇḍārakulaṅ is also of ancient date, but nothing is known regarding its early name and history.¶

There are two ancient stone dams or weirs on the Kallār and another one on the Pērār, which are fully described by Mr. H. Parker.** Of the former, one, which he calls the “Kuriṃchākulaṅ†† tekkam,” is situated close to where the Puvarasaṅkulaṅ-Venkalamacheḍikulaṅ road crosses the river; the other, which is of superior construction and probably of later date, is some four miles lower down the river. They both appear to be of early date, but Mr. Parker thinks they were built long after the completion of Pāvatkuṇaṃ.

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* Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 186.
† Id., p. 449.
‡ Id., p. 109.
§ Id., pp. 185-439. Māmaḍu is perhaps considerably earlier. It was repaired in the tenth century A.D.
|| Id., p. 180.
¶ Id., p. 444.
†† I could not find that the villagers knew it by this name. It is simply known as the Alaikadḍu ("wave-bund"), as is the other dam lower down the river. (See diary of May 11, 1890.)
The third, the Adukku-kallu anicut, is two miles below the Manimalai tank, and formed a part of the same scheme.*

There is another anicut across the Pāliyāru called Chempakam Cheđdikallu, 2½ miles from Mūnrumurippu, which is supposed to be artificial.

The remains of an ancient stone bridge are to be seen in the jungle behind the Olukkuḷam village near the minor road from Neḻukkuḷam:

It was 200 or 300 ft. long, and was raised upon piers of substantial stone posts. It crossed the stream which flowed from the southern low level sluice and kalingula. The road which passes over it still goes by the name of the Māvata, "the high road," although the ends of the bridge are hidden in dense jungle. The people say that this was a main road from Anurādhapura to Jaffna, possibly by way of Upatissa-nuwara.†

At the lower dam on the Kallāru are to be seen what may be the vestiges of another bridge, which would also have been on a high road from Upatissa-nuwara:

In the up-stream part of the rock on which this lower dam is built, and about 30 ft. distant, there is a row of six socket holes,‡ 9 in. square in plan and about 10 or 12 ft. apart, running straight across the river, and nearly parallel to the dam. One of the holes is only slightly cut and two others are but little deeper; the depth of the deepest one is 9 in. Two gaps exist where the cutting of other holes has not been begun.§

There are remains of ancient irrigation channels: one connecting Māḻukanḍa with Maniyārkulam, a distance of about 2 miles; two at Pāvatkulam, which have been traced 3 and 2½ miles respectively; and also at Putumurrippukulam, Taņnirmurippu, and other tanks.

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* It appears to be called also "The Women's Dam." There is no tradition accounting for the name. (Diary of May 16, 1886.)

A natural ledge of rock across the Pāliyāru, 2½ miles from Panankámam, has been mistaken for an artificial dam. "The gneiss rock has split in such a manner that in places it looks artificial, but that is often seen." (Diary of May 12, 1886.)

† Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 114.

‡ Id., p. 116. They may have been intended to hold posts before the anicut was built, against which a temporary dam was raised when the flood subsided.

§ Id., p. 110.
In the Vavunjiya District the largest Buddhist establishments were situated in Kilakkumulai South in the neighbourhood of Periyapuliyaṅkuḷam, Erupotana, and Madukanda. The rocks at Erupotana and Periyapuliyaṅkuḷam have been explored. "They are full of caves, nearly all of which are partly artificial." Mr. Fowler "found a great many caves and inscriptions which the villagers had never seen before. In some there were remains of brickwork." A stone enclosure was found, which probably surrounded a bó-tree.

On another visit more inscriptions were found, and a curious circular building on the summit of the smaller hill. The remains of a flight of steps are to be traced leading from the large caves and bó-tree enclosure at the foot of the hill up to this building. There are also about forty or fifty stone pillars about 8 ft. high standing round the foot of the larger boulder on which the building is erected. Some appear to be the supports of a verandah or roof in front of the caves, and others are probably the remains of a pilima-ḡé, but no statue could be found. The site of the hill was evidently terraced formerly.

At Erupotana an inscription was found on a rock near the channel through the bund.

The hill is nearly as rich in inscriptions as the Periyapuliyaṅkuḷam hills. There is one over a large cave with a broken statue of Buddha, a pedestal of a sedent Buddha, and other carved stones. The cave is peculiar, as it has a kind of well in it, which has been partly excavated in search of treasure.

The cave was covered with chunam, probably painted formerly. In another cave we found a piece of ancient pottery, apparently a piece of a priest’s begging-bowl. On the summit of the rock there was a dágaba. The level space on the top of the rock has traces of buildings. There are holes cut in the rock, which probably held the supports of a ladder formerly. There must have been an extraordinary number of priests about this neighbourhood.

* December 12, 1886. Mr. Parker copied fifteen inscriptions on this occasion.
† July 14, 1887.
‡ Diary of December 17, 1886.
There are the ruins of two monastic establishments at Maḍukanda, one close to the high road to Trincomalee and the other under the bund at the northern end of the tank. The former, which have been cleared of jungle by the people of the village, consist of a bana maḍuwa with a sedent figure of Buddha and covered pillars, and of the ruins of a pokuna and of a curious chamber or bath. The entrance to the bana maḍuwa is in a fine state of preservation. It has a flight of steps with a makara torana and guardian goddess on each side of the steps. The image of Buddha is somewhat mutilated.

This temple is celebrated as one of the places at which the tooth-relic was lodged on its way from India to Anurádhapura, and the stone slab upon which the enclosing karaṇḍuwa was deposited is still shown. A circle cut on the slab is said to mark the position of the karaṇḍuwa.*

The other ruins at Maḍukanda may be said to have been discovered in 1890, when the jungle which covered the site was partly cleared away.†

At Mahákachchatkoḍi there are rocks, caves, and the remains of several monastic edifices. There are the ruins of a póya-gé; two parallel rows of plain squared pillars, five on one side and three on the other, are still standing. At the end is a flight of steps with one of the doraṭupála stones visible. In the middle is a heap of débris. Further in the jungle are a stone altar and door post. The limits of the square enclosure of the temple are marked by lines of cut stones.

In one of the caves (now utilized as a paṇsala), which is said to have been the vihára-gé, are two headless stone

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* The next halting-place in the north-east is said to have been Erupotána. "If the procession travelled an equal distance between each halting-place the next would be not far from Ruwanmaḍuwa." (Diary of October 15, 1888.)

† See diaries of October 15, 1887, July 9, 1888, and July 23, 1889; also Sessional Papers, 1886. These ruins are described in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), vol. XII, p. 111.
images of Buddha, but both heads are forthcoming. Outside are the bases and feet of these images, and five stones, each having a representation of the srīpāda, or sacred feet of Buddha. One of the srīpāda stones is much larger than the others, and has a bevelled edge. Cut on all the stones between the two feet is a curious ornament, which looks like a vase with a closed lotus flower depending from each side of it.

On the top of the hill are the ruins of a dágaba with an octagonal pillar at the top, and also of another póya-gé, similar to the first one, but with fewer pillars standing.*

The only other Buddhist monastery in Kilakkumúlai South which has left any visible signs of its existence is at Iratperiyakulam, on the side of the road about a quarter mile from the bund of the tank, where are the ruins of a póya-gé with a large sedent stone image of Buddha and the usual two rows of pillars with a flight of steps. Mr. Parker would "hesitate to identify (these ruins) as those belonging to the Tihadiya Viháré, which was probably on the high rock Iratperiyakulamkanda, where some remains were found when the trigonometrical tower was built."†

Fragmentary and isolated indications of the former faith of the Wanni are however here and there met with. In the village clearing at Tirupanmaṇuwa is to be seen a curious stone, which apparently stood on two pillars and a flat stone now lying near it. It is divided into twenty-five sunken compartments of different sizes, some square and some oblong. It is said to be a vidharsena stone, i.e., a stone used by Buddhist priests to assist them in their meditations.‡

Vavuniya, curiously enough, though it has one of the largest tanks of Sinhalese construction, has nothing to show in the way of ruins. In the village is to be seen a Buddhist altar slab for flowers, now doing duty as a Pillaiyár shrine under a large tree. It is said that there was an inscription close to

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* Diary of August 22 and November, 1889.
† Sessional Papers, p. 1886, 109.
‡ See Diary of November 10, 1889.
the tank on a rock over which the Horowapotána road passes, but if it really existed it was completely destroyed when the road was formed. In 1888 some plain cut stones were used for culverts. A small brass or gilt image of Buddha was dug up in a garden at Vavuniya in 1886, and is now in the Colombo Museum.†

On the path to Tavasi-veli is a large carved altar stone.

In Kilakkunulai North there are three ruined monasteries, one at Chémamaḍu, which had an important tank, one at Mālikai, and one at Pālaimóddai. At Chémamaḍu, "beyond the western end of the bund, at about one-eighth of a mile to the west of the minor road, an ancient monastery existed, at which a dágaba and several buildings were constructed. The bricks of the dágaba are of two types, one of which dates from the second or third century B.C.; the other belongs to perhaps the tenth century A.D., and indicates the restoration of the structure by some Sinhalese monarch at that period, after it had been rifled during the previous Tamil usurpa-
tion."‡

At Mālikai the small pilima-gé of the monastery has been turned into a Pillaiyár temple, with the head of the Buddha image serving as Pillaiyár. The entrance steps with the usual balustrade on each side are easily detected, though one balustrade is broken and the other buried. This village, it may be noted, has apparently retained its Sinhalese name (Mālikai = māligāwa).

At Pālaimóddai, near the tank, is a ruined viháré and a stone figure of Buddha about 2½ ft. high seated on a cobra; also a shallow bowl cut in a large stone, and the usual broken stone pillars and scattered bricks. The head of the image has been recently broken off. The Tamils call the site the "Treasure place" (Putaiyalpudḍi).§

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† Diary of March 17, 1886.
‡ Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 440.
§ Diaries of June 6, 1889, and July 4, 1892.
A carved elephant's head with trunk twisted to one side, like those at the Miriswetiya dagaba at Anuradhapura, now serves as a Pillaiyar on the bund of the tank at Kontakkaran-kulam, and a *srīpāda* stone at Paṇrīkkaṇakukulam serves the same purpose.*

Omantai, 8 miles north of Vavuniya on the Jaffna road, "is said to have been one of the places where the tooth rested on its way from India, but as there are no ruins of a Buddhist monastery at the place the tradition may be doubted." It possesses a stone Saivite temple of the usual type, which may have been built out of the ruins of a Buddhist monastery.

There is "a ruined Saivite temple of the Wanniyan times" at Márá-iluppai.

Proceeding northwards we find that Udaiyáur possessed a Buddhist monastery attached to the large tank of Kañkarayankulam. It was established behind the southern part of the bund. The remains may be seen in the jungle. "The *pilima-gē* of the monastery has been converted into a Hindú temple dedicated to Áṇḍiya. It appears to date from the third or fourth century A.D."† Judging from the name of the tank and the local tradition, a petty Wanni king appears to have had his headquarters here.

Built into the bund of the tank were to be seen before its restoration the remains of a bathing-place, which was said to have been the bathing-place of the king who formerly lived here. A semicircular mound projected into the tank, and evidently a flight of steps led from the top of it down into the tank. Only two of the stones of the side walls were in position. The steps are lying about, some broken, in the bed of the tank. The stones of the side wall are backed with brickwork, the bricks having curious marks (five wavy

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* Diary of February 8, 1890.
† Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 439. One relic of this monastery is to be seen at the resthouse. It is srīpāda stone of the size of the larger one at Mahákachchatkodí, about 2 ft. square. It is built in as a step to one of the side verandahs. It was brought from the Hindú temple. (Diary of November 22, 1889.)
lines) commonly found on ancient bricks in the District. The bricks are of the same size as those in the sluice at Venkalachedđikkulam, and bear the same mark,* so probably that tank and this were constructed about the same date.†

In Chinnachchedđikkulam, the south-western part of the Wañi, there are ruins to be seen, as may be expected, in the neighbourhood of the ancient tanks of Sinhalese construction at Venkalachedđikkulam and Marutamađu.

At Venkalachedđikkulam, in the jungle close to the village clearing, are the remains of a brick dāgaba; a number of bricks with marks on them; a large rectangular stone hollowed out on one side, which was apparently a bath; a flat stone 5 ft. by 4 in., and one of the balustrades of a flight of steps, of the usual makara toraṇa shape, such as are seen at Taddayámalai, Madukanda, &c. Probably the other balustrade is buried close by, if not in situ.‡

In the neighbourhood of Marutamađu is a small dāgaba which, like nearly all others in the Wañi, has been opened in search of treasure.

Close to the road from Olukkulam to Kappáchchi, not far from the main road, is to be seen a ruined dāgaba.

In Nāḍuchchedđikkulam, between Pūvarasankulam and Pămpaimađu, is a small pond called Kalmađu with a ruined dāgaba, about 20 ft. in diameter, which has apparently been opened in search of treasure. There are one or two broken pillars near the pool.

At Irasentiraṅkulam, in the same pattu, are the ruins of a viháré and other remains in the jungle near the tank. A Tamil temple was built here, for which many of the stones have been utilized. Curious old tiles have been found here.

* Bricks or tiles with the same mark have been found at Irasentiraṅkulam, Nochchikulam, &c.
  The mark is just as if the five fingers had been drawn lengthwise over the clay when it was wet.
† Diaries of March 23 and June 23, 1887.
‡ Diaries of September 23 and May 12, 1890.
At Matavuvaitakulam, a fine ancient Sinhalese tank in the same division, is a five-headed cobra now set up in a Hindú temple on the bund.

Mētkumulai, the western division of the Wanni, bears signs of having at one time been thickly populated. There are many abandoned tanks, some of large size, and deserted villages. At Iranaiyiluppaikkulam there are some ruins close to the road in front of the village—a pillar, upright, square, on a stone, other stones imbedded in earth, and a quantity of square bricks, with an abandoned and filled-up well.*

There are said to be ruins at a large abandoned tank northeast of Pålampuṭḍi, called Mālikai-kaḍḍinairāvi—pillars and a stone house.† This, it may be remarked, is another place which has retained the Sinhalese name māligāwa, and incorporated it in its present Tamil name, and this word shows that a building of some importance once existed here.

At Vinaiyānkuḷam, one mile south of Pålampuṭḍi, are to be seen a mutilated Buddha and some pillars;‡ and at Chelliya-villu, the extreme limit of the Mullaitivu District, on the Maṇṇār side, is a stone with a socket cut in it for a pillar; and bricks are scattered about in the neighbourhood.§

Paṇaṇkānam, the division north of Mētkumulai, was the headquarters of the Wanni in the time of the Wanni chiefs, and perhaps for that reason the traces of the former Sinhalese inhabitants are but slight. The ruins of Vavunikulam have already been referred to. There is no record that any distinctively Buddhist remains have so far been met with in this pattu.

Mr. Nevill states that there is a large tank four miles from Paṇḍārakāṭkulam, and “this was the residence of the Wanni prince of this district until our time.” He further states that “the temple and houses are still standing, but in ruins.” No one appears to have been to visit them.‖

* June 2, 1884.
† May 15, 1886. The ruins do not seem to have yet been explored.
‡ Diary of September, 1886.
§ Diary of October 2, 1886.
‖ Diary of June 7, 1889.
The only traces (besides the tanks) of the Sinhalese that I have known of as having been found in Melpattu South are the upper half of an inscribed pillar* which I found on the bund of Chinnapúvarasāṅkuḷam, used as a Pillaiyár. This part was about 2½ ft. in height, and had been broken off short at the bottom. It is square, with the top rounded off in a neck and surmounted by a small cone with a claw-like ornament at each of the four sides.

On one face there is the Buddhist wheel, and there are inscriptions on at least two sides.

In Melpattu East there are ruins at Ariyamaḍu and at Kanchúramóḍdaí, adjoining villages, while between Kulan-kuḷam and Ruwanmaḍuwa to the south of it on the way to Padawiya tank the jungle contains many ruins—pillars and bricks scattered about. Those at Ariyamaḍu are about a quarter of a mile from the village, and consist of pillars and remnants of pillars, and an image of Buddha with head and arms gone.† Near the tank at Kanchúramóḍdaí there are a dágaba and other remains of a Sinhalese monastery.‡

Ruhanmaḍuwa, on the south-eastern limit of the Vavuniya District, was probably at one time the residence of one of the petty Wanni kings, and the neighbourhood must have been thickly populated. The ruins here consist of a square brick-walled enclosure, containing numerous pillars, stone mortars, and other dressed stones, but all very rough work. The ground is covered with bricks and tiles. The enclosure was, Mr. Fowler thinks, the king's residence. There is a dágaba in very good preservation, about thirty or forty feet high, and unopened. There are also the remains of pansal and pilima-geval and a stone-inscribed slab. At the entrance to one of the temples is a flight of steps with two small upright stones and balusters, shaped like elephants' trunks. The work is of a much

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* The other half of the pillar is said to be buried in the bund. I tried to get it dug out, but without success. (Diary of June 19, 1890.)
† Diary of May 26, 1884.
‡ Diary of July 15, 1887.
rougher description than the similar entrances at Maḍukanda, Kuruntúrmalai, Tiravíyamalai, &c. The upright stones, instead of having guardian goddesses carved on them as at these places, have simply a rough outline cut into the surface. The steps are of brick.

There was also an ornamental pillar, octagonal in shape, with a figure of a dog with his paw resting on a ball cut on one side and that of a crow on the other, and at the top the Buddhist wheel and other designs. This has since been removed to the Assistant Government Agent's compound at Vavuniya, where it now stands.*

To go on northwards to the Mullaitívivu District. The next Buddhist monastery is found close to the ancient Siṅhalese tank which is now called Paṇḍáракukūlam, in the forest at a short distance to the west of the field. It possibly dates from the second or third century A.D. Its Siṅhalese name is unknown. Similar ruins are to be found throughout this neighbourhood, and there is good reason to believe that the main road by which, in pre-Christian times, travellers proceeded from Anurádhapura to the east coast of India passed down this valley. There appears to have been a regular chain of monasteries marking the route from Paṇḍawíiya northwards through the Waṇṇi.†

I went to see these ruins in 1889. The rocky hill on which they stand is known as Tiraviya-malai ("Treasure Hill"), because, as usual, it is said that treasure is buried there.

It is a half or three-quarters of a mile on the other side of the minor road to that on which Paṇḍárákukūlam lies. The hill is formed out of huge black rocks. Ascending this I came across the ruins of a temple (pilima-ge) built in four parallel rows of rectangular pillars, nine of which pillars

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* Diaries of July 13, 1887, April 19, 1889, and November 5, 1889.
† Sessional Papers, 1886, page 443. The port of embarkation was probably situated 9 or 10 miles south of Mullaitívivu on the Chemmalai lagoon. Travellers by this route would pass Ruwanmaduwa, Ariyámaḍu, and Kánehirámadóджái, Otiyamalai, Kurunturmalai, at all of which places there are ruins of Buddhist monasteries. Paṇḍárákukūlam, however, would be rather out of the way.
were standing, half of them not in the least out of perpendicular. In the midst of the pillars was a recumbent figure of Buddha half buried, and with the head missing.* The figure was about 7 ft. long, both forearms were broken off, but the right one was found, minus the hand.

About fifteen yards from this temple, and (as well as I could make out) south-east of it, is a smaller temple, with only three pillars standing, two of which are broken. But I noticed the tops of two doraṭupāla stones just appearing above the ground, and also the outline of one of the makara toraṇa stones; and on digging I found that the former had figures of guardian goddesses exactly like those at Maḍu-kandu and Kuruntankulam.

The steps are no doubt intact under the surface. This is evidently the entrance to the small temple. This temple has a fourth and smaller pillar, with rounded edges, lying on the ground.

Another fifteen yards from this is a third temple, near a large black rock with three sides perpendicular, the fourth shelving over and forming a cave temple, which, when I visited it, bore evidence of recent occupation by bears.

The pillars of this third temple are of the same height as those of the first, but most of them are larger. They are not square, but rectangular, some being 1½ ft. by 1 ft. by 9 in.

In front of the pōya-gé there is a stone about 1 ft. square with a lotus cut on the top. On digging in the neighbourhood a second stone of the same pattern was found, but not in the proper position. These two stones apparently flanked an entrance gate or flight of steps;† near them was a flat stone roughly hollowed out, probably used to wash flowers in before presenting them at the temple.

There is another large gently-sloping rock forming the summit of the hill, with a flight of stone steps in two stages

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* I found the head in the village compound, to which it had been removed by a villager.
† These stones are now in the Assistant Government Agent’s compound at Vavuṭiya.
leading to the top. Near the top there are large flat stones and a plain semicircular moonstone, 4 ft. in diameter. Another stone near the moonstone, of about the same size, has the surface cut as if some steps had fitted into it.*

There are ruins also in the village—a large flat stone surrounded by upright pillars.

There are extensive ruins at Mannakandal, between Oḍḍuṅkuḍḍān and Putukkuḍiyiruppu, turning off the minor road between the 8th and 9th mileposts, which I went to see in June, 1890. I can find no record of their having been visited or described before, so at the risk of being tedious I give a description of them.

I turned off on the western side of the road between the 8th and 9th mileposts. There is the bund of a large abandoned tank abutting on the road and running at right angles to it. It is covered with jungle, and had never been explored, but there can be no doubt that an important tank existed here.†

The ruins are situated on some rising ground, which is quite flat at the top, and appear to have been enclosed by a wall; close together there are the ruins of seven temples of the usual type, parallel rows of rectangular pillars, and of different sizes. The largest was built on a platform faced with brick, the outline of which is still remaining. The space enclosed within the pillars is, as in the case of all the others, heaped up with débris, bricks, tiles, and earth, and very likely if this were cleared the usual images of Buddha would be found lying underneath in the pilima-ge. I determined to see whether I could find the entrance steps to this larger temple. Taking the side facing east (the building was of rectangular shape, with the long sides on the east and west) I noticed the top of a stone appearing above the surface. Getting the earth cleared away I found it was one of the balustrades of the steps, of the usual elephant-trunk shape.

* Diary of September 15, 1890.
† It has since been explored. It is now called Puliyankulam. It has a stone sluice, and with the connected tank appears to have formed a large irrigation scheme.
At the foot there was another stone just appearing above the surface of the ground, and digging in front of this I found that it had on it the usual figure of a guardian goddess very deeply carved into the stone. The top of the stone, including the head of the figure, was broken off, but I found it close by, though mutilated. I found the other balustrade and stone in their proper position (the latter also broken), and, between the two balustrades, the steps. There are also the ruins of a dágaba close by.

In front of another temple there are three stone steps, diminishing in size from the topmost one. This was probably the main entrance to the whole set of buildings. There are many bricks and tiles scattered all about the place. One tile was found indented at one end with the marks of the five fingers pulled along it when it was wet, like those found lately at Irasentirankulam and Nochchikulam. Not far from these ruins there is a large square pokuna, all four sides built up with cabook-like stone. On measurement it was found to be 90 yards square, but originally I think it may have been 100, as the sides have fallen in. Near it was a rectangular stone, 3 ft. by 2 ft., with raised borders, such as are used to place flowers on before an image of Buddha or a bó-tree.

The people call these ruins Kaṇṇya-kóvil, because there are seven temples, and they say there were seven Waṇṇiyan virgin chieftainesses.*

In the same division, Mélpattu North, there are rock temples at Vávaḍdaimalai, about two miles south of Oḍḍu-chuḍḍán. On one rock there are several pillars of the usual rough kind marking the site of a temple. A flight of steps from this leads down to a pokuna at the foot. The other rock, about 100 yards south of this one, has caves, which were evidently temples.†

* Diary of June 26, 1890. These were probably the seven daughters of Nanti, who are referred to in the Kalveddu.
† Diary of June 4, 1886.
At Kachchilamaḍu there are the ruins of a temple under the tank bund—pillars, cut stones of various shapes, stone steps, bricks, and a headless statue of Buddha.

Another Buddhist establishment existed in the same neighbourhood at Taḍḍayamalai, four or five miles west of Kachchilamaḍu :

In former times there was a monastery near the western end of the Taḍḍayamalai bund. Although many of the best stones and bricks have been removed to the Oḍḍuchudan Hindú temple within the last twelve or thirteen years,⁶ enough remains to indicate the importance of the place. The special feature at it is an interesting piece of dry walling of the Cyclopean style that protected one corner of the brick-walled enclosure of the monastery from the scour caused by the stream that flows through the breach.†

The ruins consist of four balustrades, a stone slab 12 ft. by 6 ft. and 2 ft. and 2½ ft. thick with carved ends, which is said to have been the roof of the temple; a stone "boat" 30 ft. long and 5 ft. deep. Two of the balustrades have a boss carved on them. There are many large boulders lying about, one or more of them masonry built, forming large elevated platforms.‡

This monastery is supposed to be older than that at Kuruntúrmalai.

There are stone pillars, bricks, and other remains of ancient buildings at Chivantaimurippu in the jungle west of the Kokkilay lake, between Kokkutoḍaváy and Taḍḍayamalai.

An interesting and very elaborate sripáda stone which belonged to this place, but which was removed to Koḍḍaikkéni, will be found described in the Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) for 1890. It is now in the Colombo Museum.

At Otiyamalai, in the south-eastern corner of Méḷpaṭṭu North, there is a rock on the bund of the tank with the remains of another monastery on it, a recumbent image of Buddha of crystallized limestone or quartz, under an

* This was done in 1882.  
† Sessional Papers, 1886, page 454.  
‡ See diary of Mr. Moir, 1862.
overhanging ledge of rock which was formerly enclosed by a brick wall in front. Mr. Fowler states that there is an exactly similar cave temple not far from Galkandamaṇḍuwa, the southernmost limit of the Vavuniya District, and that the image is of the same stone, and, like this one, has lost the head and right arm.

But the most extensive ruins in the whole Province are those at Kuruṇṭūrmalai, or Piyangala, at the south end of the embankment of the Kuruṇṭūrkulaṁ tank in Karikkaḍdu-

mūlai South. Mr. Parker thinks that—

This is the spot that is said to have been visited by Buddha on his second journey to Ceylon.†

A flight of stone steps led from the end of the bund to the summit of the hill. The top of the hill is flat, and of elliptical or oval shape. Round the side facing the bund, and possibly round all the summit, a retaining wall of squared blocks of the hard altered gneiss has been built to a height of 7 ft. or 8 ft. at a batter of ½ to 1.

There are several ruins on the hill, and at the back of the northern part of the bund; but they are all dilapidated, more through wilful defacement by the later Tamil occupants than by the action of time.

About half way between the southern end of the bund and the southernmost bund is the site of an ancient temple, with a stone image of a five-headed cobra.‡

Behind the bund there are the ruins of at least three temples or buildings of importance, such as at Maḍukanda, Mahākachchhaṭkoḍi, Iratperiyakulam, &c., having three parallel rows of squared stone pillars; in one case there had been at least three of these rows. At one place there were standing two doratupāla stones covered with carved figures of guardian goddesses, exactly like those at Maḍukanda, but they were more than half buried, and the space between them, where there is evidently a flight of steps, is completely buried, with a tree growing in the middle.§

* Diary of June 17, 1886. See also Mr. Haughton’s diary of June 12, 1883.
† Sessional Papers, 1886, page 449.
‡ Diary of June 12, 1888.
§ Stones were removed from Kuruṇṭūrmalai in 1858 to build the Mullic-

vaikkal temple, I believe.
One of the two makara torana stones which form the balustrade of the steps as at Mañukanda is lying on the surface turned over on its side, and the other is probably lying buried somewhere near. On digging here the top step was seen, and the whole are probably in situ. There is also a large inscribed slab. In another place is a roughly-executed figure of a bull, the head broken off but forthcoming, and a figure representing a worshipper. These figures evidently belonged to the Hindú temple which was built after the Tamil invasion.

There is also a large heap of bricks, apparently the remains of a dágaba, and there are pillars on all sides. *

The town or large village that was built on the low side of the embankments, and traces of which are to be seen in the fragments of pottery that line the beds of the smaller water-courses, is termed Kurungana in the inscription. The Tamil name was Kuruntan-úr. The later Tamil residents built a temple here, and they demolished the viháré built by Sanghabodi and other buildings, and removed nearly all the bricks and the stonework to it. It is not known when the tank was breached and the town was abandoned; all that can be said is that there is nothing to indicate that the place has been inhabited since the thirteenth or fourteenth century. †

There are several of these high rocks with cave temples in the District. The highest is Kumpakannanmalai, to the south of Kuruñtúrmalai, due north of Pañawiya and about two miles from Káddútañdámalai.

This rock was—

Evidently utilized as a cave temple. The sockets and pillars are visible, but no inscriptions. There are pillars standing on the slope of the hill, and there is a built pokuna at the foot. The natives are afraid to shoot at this pool, as they believe it to be haunted. There is a cave under the rock which is a perfect sanctuary for bears, as they cannot be ejected from it. It has three openings on different sides of the rock. The height of the rock is about 300 ft.

This rock was visited by Mr. Pole in 1847, who noticed—

Interesting remains of an old temple—bricks with devices and Tamil letters, cut stone doors, &c., and found in the old stone path.

* Diaries of June 8, 1883, August 5, 1887, and September 13, 1889.
† Sessional Papers, 1886, p. 449.
nearly at the top four old copper coins in a very perfect state of preservation, with characters so distinct that if the language be now in existence some notion may be formed of the date of the remains of the ancient works.

He adds—

I should strongly recommend them [archaeologists] to go to Kompanammalai before it is too late. When the [proposed] road is opened these remains will no longer be protected, as they appear to have been for ages by its position in the depths of the jungle.

At Savarattuveli, in Karikkaḍumulai South, Mr. Nevill saw a ruined temple with a pond near it, and “the basement of a palace or temple close to the houses at Kadḍutadḍamalai” in the same division—pillars, slabs, stones, and bricks scattered here and there.

A hill formed of bricks and stones at Virátthucholai, also in Karikkaḍumulai South, marks the site of another temple.

In Karikkaḍumulai North there are ruins and a broken statue at Putankulam near Tanniyuttu, and an ancient tank at Kanukkéni, badly breached.

The Kumarapúram temple, a comparatively modern structure, though now in ruins, need not be described here, as it has received as much attention as it deserves already in this Journal. The Putukkuḍiyiruppu division has a similar ruin called Kuravil-kovil, about eight miles from the village of Putukkuḍiyiruppu. It consists merely of a heap of bricks with a circular stone on top of it.

In the extreme north of Karunáválpattu, at Putumurippukulam—

The remains of a Buddhist monastery are to be seen in the tract below the tank. Judging by the dimensions of the bricks used in the dágaba the settlement seems to have been of early date. So far as I am aware this monastery is the most northern ruin to which a Sinhalese origin can be attributed. It is only 8 or 9 miles from Elephant Pass.

* Diary of June 9, 1847.
† Diary of January 20, 1889.
‡ Vol. II., Appendix, p. cvi; Monthly Literary Register, vol. I., p. 270.
§ Sessional Papers, 1886, page 465.
INSCRIPTIONS.

Mr. Parker has promised a report "dealing with the archaeology of the northern part of the Island," and giving the inscriptions copied by him, but it has not yet appeared.*

There is an inscription on the inner side of one of the boulders on the Periyapuliyanakułam rock, which has been copied by Mr. Murray, but it has not been published.†

A square inscribed pillar found by Mr. Nevill at Mutaliyakułam, and the upper half of the pillar found on the bund of Chiṅrapūvarasaṅkuḷam, as already described, are now in the Assistant Government Agent’s premises at Vavuṇiya.

The inscription on the latter has not been copied, and neither inscription has been translated.

There is "a fine and interesting rock inscription by Meghawanna Abhaya II. (302–30 A.D.)" near the Maṇiyar-kuḷam tank.‡

Irātperiyanakuḷam.—Inscription by King Gaja Bāhu I. on the bund, recording a gift of food to the priesthood at the Tihadaya Vihārē, on the shore of the Alawichcha lake. It is almost certain that we have here the ancient name of the tank.§

Māmaɖu.—Inscription by Kassapa V. (937–54 A.D.), stating that in his thirteenth year he repaired this and other tanks.§

Mahākachchatkodi.—Inscriptions over the entrances to the caves; probably of date B.C.¶

Oḷumaɖu.—A broken pillar on the bund inscribed on its four faces with characters of the tenth century.¶ This

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† Diary of January 25, 1893; but see also Mr. Haughton’s diary of January 21, 1883, p. 107.
‡ Sessional Papers, 1886, page 109.
§ Sessional Papers, 1886, page 185.
¶ Sessional Papers, 1886, page 186.
¶¶ The stone on which this inscription is engraved was broken by the Public Works Department coolies, but fortunately it has been repaired. The upper part is illegible from having been used as a curry-stone. (December 16, 1886.)
inscription was cut by orders of either Kassapa VI. or Dápuulu V., and on the only face that is sufficiently whole to be translated it is commanded as usual that the cows and cart buffaloes are not to be taken away.* On the other side is a design like a lamp or vase. Mr. Fowler thinks the stone probably came from Taddayamalai.†

Kuruntankulam.—Inscription by Mahindu III. (937-1013 A.D.), who visited the tank with his mother (?) and daughter in the eighth year of his reign. It is on a large slab, and is one of the largest inscriptions in the Island, but for the most part now illegible, containing—

Chiefly a series of rules like those on the Mihintalē tablets, to be observed by the monks who were stationed here, but few references of more general interest are included in it, and allusion is made to the king’s great lake (which would appear to be Tannirmurippu), and also to some disputes that were having an injurious effect on the cultivation. The king, who states that he himself was the writer of the inscription upon the stone, and who appears to have had some doubts regarding his orthographical powers, commands that these rules “shall continue in force, and not be upset or reconstructed if letters are missing.”‡

The town that existed on this site is termed Kurungama in the inscription.

This slab is now in three pieces. The letters on it are very fairly and evenly cut, each one separated by horizontal lines cut as straight as if they had been done with a ruler, and there is a raised border round the stone.§

At Ruwanmaṇwa Mr. Fowler found a large inscribed slab, 7 ft. in width, with a roughly-cut inscription, in characters differing considerably from the rock inscriptions.¶ A pillar removed from here to Vavuniya has inscriptions apparently on two sides.

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* Page 439.
† See reference under note ¶, p. 174, ante.
‡ Page 449.
§ September 13, 1889.
¶ July 13, 1887. Mr. Fowler copied only five lines of it, as it was half buried, but a copy was made of the whole of it in November, 1890, for the Government Agent. (November 10, 1890.)
An inscribed stone has recently been excavated at Periya-kulam during the restoration of the tank. The inscription remains to be copied and translated.

This closes for the present the list of Buddhist archaeological remains in the Wanni, for I do not think that any others have so far been discovered.

Some two hundred copper plaques were found in a garden in Mullaitivu town a few years ago, specimens of which are in the Museum, but such finds have been few in the Wanni.

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APPENDIX.

Mr. H. Parker has, I find, published translations of four of the inscriptions at Periya Puliyan kulam and of one at Erupotana. I take over his notes as they appear in the "Ceylon Literary Register"*:

They are cut at "caves" in some little-known rocky hills at Periya Puliyan kulam, eight miles to the north-east of Vavuniya-Vilankulam. The majority of the inscriptions at this place are of the usual cave type, and are of uncertain age; but the following are of more general interest, as being, in some cases, contemporary with those of the great Indian king Ashoka, and of historical importance.

The chief one is repeated at three caves. All three inscriptions—of which two were copied by Mr. G. M. Fowler, c.c.s., and one by me—are imperfect, owing to the decay of the rock; but on comparing them the full text is obtained, with the exception of part of the last word. The text is as follows, the capitals being mine:

Raja Naga jita raja Uti jaya Abi Anurudi ca raja Utica karapita setama lėna cata disa sagaya agata-nagata Pasa vihara apare ma [wita].

"The most excellent cave caused to be made by the daughter of King Nagas and Abhi Anurudhi, wife of King Uttiya, and King Uttiya, for

* Vol. II., p. 408, "Some Early Inscriptions in Ceylon."
the Assembly of the four quarters, present and absent. Constructed to the west of the Pácına Wihára."

Another inscription at a lower cave is:—

\[ \text{Gāpata tapasa Sumana Kulasa lene sagasa dine agata anagata catu disa sagasa Pāsu wisaraye.} \]

"The cave of the family of the ascetic Sumana, the householder, is given to the Community, to the Community of the four quarters, present and absent, at the Pácına tank."

There is thus no doubt regarding the name of the place. According to the Mahávaṃsa, the Pácına Wihára was constructed by King Dewánāmipiyi Tissa; its ruins have not been identified. The two kings, Nága and Uttiya, are of course the two brothers of that monarch, the former one being the Mahá-nága, who reigned at Mágama in the Southern Province. The first inscription undoubtedly dates from the second half of the third century B.C.

Another inscription, for which subsequent searches were fruitless, was discovered at the same place by Mr. S. Haughton, c.c.s., a few years ago. Unfortunately the copy is too imperfect for a full translation to be made, but it contains special reference to the Ugaḥapati patama Sumana, "The teacher, the supreme Sumana," who is most probably the celebrated Sumana who accompanied Mahinda to Ceylon.

Another inscription runs:—\[ \text{Paruṃaka Uti puta Cuḍanaga lene,} \]

"The cave of Cuḍanága, son of the Parumaka Uttiya." This appears not unlikely to belong to a son of King Uttiya, but he is not mentioned in the Mahávaṃsa.

Another, copied by Mr. G. M. Fowler at Erupotána, is:—\[ \text{Paruṃaka Ma...wa puta Abaya lene sagayaniya [te],} \]

"The cave of Abbaya, son of the Parumaka Ma (hási) wa, established for the Community." If the restoration of the two letters in the unfortunate blank space may be trusted, this may possibly belong to the eldest son of King Múṭasiwa, but there is no proof that such is the case.

I give one more inscription from the same place as the three first ones. It is found along the side of a flight of rock-cut steps up a steep ascent at the end of the largest hill, and it is the earliest instance of what is known in Ceylon as "Perelibasa."* It is impossible to exhibit the freaks of the carver in a bare transliteration. Some of the letters are reversed vertically, some laterally; while two syllables have the consonants transposed, and a few letters are correctly cut. Its transliteration has been unusually difficult, because many of the early

* Irregularly cut inscriptions have been also noticed in the North-Central Province and the Kégalla District of the Province of Sabaragamuwa.—B., Hon. Sec.
letters form other letters when reversed vertically or laterally. It is: *Mekanusapakusa witipagapiṇuwadameda*. Correcting the letters, transposing the consonants in *Sawi*, and then reading it backwards, it runs: *Dameḍawananupi gapati Siwa Kulasauni-kame*, “The work of the family of the devout householder Siwa, beloved of the gods.”

6. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Lewis for his Paper, on a motion proposed by Mr. Joseph and seconded by the Hon. P. Rāmanāthan. A vote of thanks to the Chair concluded the Proceedings of the Meeting.
COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 1, 1894.

Present:

The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, c.m.g., Vice-President, in the Chair.
The Hon. P. Rámanáthan, c.m.g. | Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṅha.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on August 9, 1894.

2. Laid on the table a Paper by Mr. F. W. de Silva, Mudaliyár, entitled "Notes on the Sports and Games of the Siṅhalese." Referred to the Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie for his opinion.

   Resolved (in view of Mr. Justice Lawrie’s opinion).—That Mr. de Silva be thanked for his Paper, and be informed that the Council regret they cannot accept it.

3. Laid on the table a Paper by the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy, entitled "A Half-hour with two Ancient Tamil Poets."

   Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája and Dr. Brito for report.

4. Laid on the table in manuscript a Classified Catalogue of the Society’s Library, and considered the question whether it should be printed in its present form.

   After some discussion, on a motion proposed by Mr. Harward, it was resolved.—That a new Catalogue be drawn up on the lines of the Museum Catalogue, and be submitted to the Council, after the approximate cost of printing has been ascertained.

5. Read a letter from Mr. D. W. Ferguson, dated July 27, 1894, consenting to act as the Society’s Delegate at the Xe Congrés International des Orientalistes.

6. Resolved,—That a complete set of the “Ceylon Literary Register” be procured for the Library, and that the “Monthly Literary Register” be subscribed for, and the back numbers obtained.
COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 20, 1894.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie, in the Chair.

Mr. W. P. Ranasingha.
Dr. W. G. Vandort.

| The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, |
| C.M.G. |

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

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Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on October 1, 1894.

2. Laid on the table the following Papers, viz.:

   (1) A Paper by the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy, entitled "A Half-hour with two Ancient Tamil Poets," referred to Mr. E. S. W. Sénathi Rája and Dr. P. Brito for their opinions.

   Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted as one to be read, and that the matter of printing the two Tamil poems referred to in the Paper, as suggested by Mr. Sénathi Rája and Dr. Brito, be left for future consideration.

   (2) A Paper by Mr. C. M. Fernando on "The Music of the Mechanics of Ceylon."

   Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted, and Mr. Fernando be thanked for forwarding it, and informed that it will be read at a Meeting of the Society.

   (3) A Paper by Mr. T. B. Pohath, entitled "Archaeological Sketch of Gampola."

   Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. W. P. Ranasingha and the Hon. Mr. Justice Lawrie for their opinions.

3. Laid on the table a list of books suggested for purchase by Mr. F. H. de Vos. Passed.

4. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. J. P. Lewis, c.c.s., inquiring whether there is any objection to his reprinting in his "Manual of the Waññi" his Paper on "The Archaeology of the Waññi," read before the Society.

   Resolved,—That the permission applied for be granted.
5. Read a letter from Mr. J. F. W. Gore to Honorary Secretary, dated October 22, 1894, notifying that the *Index* to the Journals and Proceedings of the Society had been completed.

Resolved,—That pending a more suitable expression of thanks to be given hereafter, and to be moved at a General Meeting, Mr. Gore be informed that the Council tenders its thanks to him for the valuable services rendered to the Society by the compilation of the *Index*, and for the great amount of personal trouble taken by him in the compilation of the work.

6.Resolved,—That a Meeting of the Society be held on the 8th or 15th proximo, and that the following be the business for the Meeting, subject to any alterations that may be made by the Secretaries:—

(1) To read (a) A Paper on "The Music of the Mechanics of Ceylon," by Mr. C. M. Fernando.
(b) A Paper entitled "A Half-hour with two Ancient Tamil Poets," by the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy.

(2) To pass a vote of thanks to Mr. J. F. W. Gore for compiling an *Index* to the Journals and Proceedings of the Society, and to move, on the nomination of the Council, under rules 7 and 9, that he be elected a Honorary Member of the Society.

GENERAL MEETING.

*Colombo Museum, December 8, 1894.*

Present:

His Excellency Sir Arthur E. Havelock, k.c.m.g., &c., Patron, in the Chair.

The Hon. J. A. Swettenham, c.m.g., Vice-President.

Mr. P. Arunáchalam.  Mr. P. Kehelpannala.
Mr. W. N. S. Aserappa.  Mr. S. G. Lee.
Mr. J. H. Barber.  Mr. Walter Pereira.
Mr. C. Drieberg.  Dr. Lisboa Pinto.
Mr. P. Freádenberg.  Mr. W. P. Ranasingha.
Dr. H. M. Fernando.  Mr. E. S. W. Senáthi Rája.
Mr. J. Ferguson.  Dr. W. H. de Silva.
Mr. C. M. Fernando.  Mr. W. A. de Silva.
Mr. R. W. Levers.  Dr. W. G. Vandort.
Dr. W. G. Keith.

Mr. J. Harward and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors:—Sixteen gentlemen and fourteen ladies.
1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Meeting held on September 8, 1894.

2. The Hon. J. A. Swettenham moved "That a vote of thanks be passed to Mr. J. F. W. Gore for compiling an Index to the Journals and Proceedings of the Society, and that he be elected an Honorary Life Member, under Rules 7 and 9." He said that the Society was placed under a deep debt of obligation to Mr. Gore for having compiled the Index referred to,—the result of great personal trouble and patience, and a work of great utility to those interested in Asiatic research. He thought the least the Society could do in return was to express its sense of thankfulness by making him an Honorary Member of the Society for life, which he had much pleasure in moving.

Mr. J. Ferguson, in seconding the above resolution, bore testimony to the high character of Mr. Gore's work. He said that from his experience in the publication of statistical information he felt qualified to fully appreciate the usefulness of the Index which had been laid on the table, and a specimen copy of which he held in his hand. Dr. Johnson said, that knowledge was of two kinds: we either know a subject ourselves or we know where to get information about it. Mr. Gore had made it easy to all using his Index to get at the stores of learning and useful compilation in the Society's volumes.

Mr. Arunáchalum inquired whether it was competent for the Society, in view of Rule 1, which defined its objects, to pass the motion. Undoubtedly Mr. Gore had rendered valuable service to the Society, but the point upon which he wished the ruling of the Chair depended entirely on the interpretation of the Rule referred to.

The Hon. Mr. Swettenham, in reply, pointed out that the motion was strictly within Rule 1. Mr. Gore had rendered distinguished services to the Society of the kind contemplated in Rules 7 and 9, and they were calculated to promote the objects enumerated under Rule 1.

His Excellency the Governor had no hesitation in ruling that the motion was in order, and had much pleasure in putting it before the Meeting. The motion was carried with acclamation, and Mr. Gore was elected an Honorary Life Member.

3. The following Paper was read by the Author:—
Dancing the Caffrina.
THE MUSIC OF CEYLON.

By Mr. C. M. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.Cantab., Advocate.

INTRODUCTORY.

Nearly forty years ago Mr. Louis Nell wrote a Paper, which was read before this Society, by way of an introduction to an investigation of Sinhalese music. This I believe to be the only attempt that has yet been made to inquire into the music of Ceylon.* My endeavour is in this and subsequent Papers to do what I can to elucidate a subject which is yet an unexplored region to those interested in Ceylon and its people. It is my purpose to commence with observations on the music of the Mechanics, or the Ceylon Portuguese, to be followed by Papers dealing with the vocal music now in vogue among the Sinhalese: their sacred music, the description and use of Sinhalese musical instruments, and the cultivation of music as a fine art among the ancient Sinhalese.


This Paper consists of a collection of the national tunes of the Mechanics of Ceylon reduced into European notation, prefaced by a few discursive remarks on their ethnology and habits and customs, such as would be of interest to the student of their national music, of which tradition has hitherto been the only vehicle.

The Mechanics form a distinct portion of the inhabitants of Ceylon, connected by ties of kindred, speaking a common language, and possessing habits and customs as distinct as

* Except a short Paper written by me and published in the Royal College Magazine for July, 1883.
any other nationality in the Island. The name Mechanic, generally applied to them as a class, is derived from the fact that they are almost exclusively devoted to the lower crafts of artisanship. They are usually shoemakers, tailors, or blacksmiths, and their conservatism is such that few, if hardly any, are known to have grown out of their ancestral callings.

Their race, as at present constituted, is an admixture of several nationalities, having for its nucleus the offspring of the Portuguese settlers of maritime Ceylon. These Portuguese were wont to take to themselves native wives, and upon the Dutch occupation left behind them a considerable number of descendants. These latter, on account of their faith, to which they rigidly adhered in spite of the persecutions of their conquerors, were debarred from holding office or occupying positions of trust or honour under the Dutch regime, and were consequently obliged to seek refuge in the mechanical arts. Compelled by the circumstances of their callings to move among the lower classes of the native population, they frequently contracted marriages among the latter, and absorbed into their language a host of Sinhalese and Tamil words.

It is also more than probable that the Portuguese descendants freely associated with the soldiers of the Caffir regiments employed by the Dutch, from whom much of the national music of the Ceylon Mechanic seems to have originated. Of this there is ample evidence. I need only refer to the word "Cafferina," and to the tune No. 4 in the collection, viz., "Velinda Mazambicu," which clearly has reference to the Island of Mozambique. Bertolacci, writing in 1817, calls it "a very remarkable fact that of about 9,000 Caffirs at different times imported into Ceylon by the Dutch Government, no descendants are remaining—at least they are in no way to be distinguished among the present inhabitants."* These Caffirs were doubtless absorbed among the

* Bertolacci's Ceylon, 1817, p. 45.
Mechanics of Ceylon. Their language, as now spoken, is as different from Portuguese as English is from Anglo-Saxon. "There is still a large body of inhabitants at Colombo and the other settlements in Ceylon known by the name of Portuguese. A corruption of their original language is still spoken all over the sea coasts. It is very easily learned, and proves of very great utility to a traveller who has not time to study the more difficult dialects of the natives."

There can be no doubt that the present enfeebled and apathetic condition of this race is largely the result of the religious persecution it suffered at the hands of the Dutch for over a century and a half. In the face of numerous plakaats forbidding the harbouring of priests, the solemnization of Catholic marriages, attendance at religious service, and the open observation of the practices of their faith, the Portuguese descendants stood steadfastly by their ancient creed.

A colony of Portuguese, unable to endure the severities of the Dutch Government, fled to the village of Vahakótté, hidden among the mountains of the Mátalé District, where their descendants exist as a community at the present day, professing the Roman Catholic faith, and still preserving, in spite of their surroundings, a few at least of the quaint customs of their forefathers. Writing on this subject Tennant observes:

So effectually does this course of persecution and oppression appear to have crushed the spirit and benumbed the ambition of those subjected to its influences, that even at the present day, under a liberal government, and after a lapse of nearly a century and a half, it is rarely that a Portuguese Burgher aspires to rise above the position to which his forefathers had been reduced by the penal laws of the Dutch.

The music of the Mechanics constitutes a distinct form of national music, and is not characterized by any close resemblance to the national songs of Portugal. It seems to have germinated and grown amongst themselves in their adopted

* Cordiner's *Ceylon*, 1807, vol. I., p. 89.
† Tennant's *Christianity in Ceylon*, 1850, p. 72.
home, in the same way that the Christy Minstrel songs originated among the Negroes of America; and just as the latter express in themselves the characteristics of the American Negro, his broad, if somewhat coarse, humour; his simple, almost childish, pathos, and his intense love of family life—so the "Cafferina" and the "Chikothi" of the Mechanic display the peculiarities of the Mechanic character, improvidence, at times amounting to recklessness, and the pursuit of pleasure at all costs.

The words "Cafferina" (its name denotes its Caffir origin) and "Chikothi" are often synonymously used. But the difference is marked between these two species of tunes. The "Chikothi" is always slow and stately, while the "Cafferina" is faster and more boisterous, and is always in \( \frac{3}{8} \) time, with a peculiar jerky movement, the last note in the bar being generally a crotchet.

The words of the "Cafferina" and "Chikothi" are frequently improvised as they are sung, although there are stock words to every air. The art of improvisation is cultivated by the Mechanic even more assiduously than by the Nigger minstrel who haunts the regatta at Henley. In the later stages of an evening party, when the fumes of beverages stronger than ginger-beer have dispelled the respect for the ordinary amenities of mechanic life, this art of improvisation becomes sometimes a source of offence, and leads to dire results.

I give the words of two of the best known "Cafferinas," with a literal translation of them by way of specimen. In the first, a Mechanic youth is supposed to be addressing the mother of his Sinhalese lady-love. It is entitled "Cingalee Nona" (Tune No. 1) :

\[
\text{Cingalee Nona! Cingalee Nona!}\\
\text{Eu kere kasa,}\\
\text{Porta ninkere, orta ninkere,}\\
\text{Figa namas da.}\\
\text{Figa namas da, none,}\\
\text{Figa namas da.}
\]
Amor Jassoi №7

No 8

Gaffri №9
Sinhalese lady! Sinhalese lady!
I wish to marry,
Your house I want not, your lands I want not,
Only your daughter give.
Only your daughter give, lady,
Only your daughter give.

The following (Tune No. 7) is supposed to be sung by a spinster with a view to matrimony:

Anala d'oru,
Setti peder juntu.
Quen kere anala,
Kasa minha juntu.

I've a ring all of gold,
With seven jewels set:
Want you that ring?—
Then wed me and get.

The "Chikothi" and "Cafferina" are not merely efforts at vocalization. They provide the occasion for dancing, which the Mechanic dearly loves. The dance is performed in couples, each consisting of a lady and a gentleman. Standing apart on opposite sides of the room they dance towards each other, following the music in rhythmic steps, and exchange old-fashioned courtesies when they meet in the middle of the room. Grotesque attitudes and alert movements are indulged in while dancing to the lively tunes of the "Cafferina." The slow measures of the "Chikothi" only call for stately and dignified steps. These dances are got up on very little provocation. A christening, a birthday, an anniversary of any kind, is sufficient excuse; and often on a moonlight night families unite to enjoy themselves at open-air picnics, known in Ceylon as Appa Surei Partei, to regale themselves on hot-baked hoppers and fresh-drawn toddy, and to foot it merrily to the soft notes of the viaule and the banderinha.

A curious feature in the religious services of the Mechanics is that their prayers are not merely read or recited, but are actually chanted—a custom in which they have been copied
by their Sinhalese and Tamil co-religionists. I have included in this collection the two best-known chants, the \textit{Pater Noster} and the \textit{Ave Maria}. The latter is extremely tuneful and devotional. Having gradually lost their own priests on account of the prohibition by the Dutch Government of the education of Roman Catholics for the ministry, the Portuguese settlers of Ceylon were for a long time ministered to by priests surreptitiously brought over from Goa. It is therefore probable that many of the Portuguese chants now in use were derived from the Goanese, who themselves are of Indo-Portuguese origin, and among whom there has sprung up a distinct form of chant, known as the Goanese chant.

The lullabies in use among Ceylonese mothers and ayahs are of Portuguese origin. The word "\textit{doiya}" (traceable to the Latin \textit{dormio} and Portuguese \textit{dormir}) is used to mean sleep when addressing infants. I have included in the collection two of the commonest lullabies. They have lulled to sleep many a Ceylon baby.

The instruments in use among the Mechanics are the violin, the \textit{viaule} or tenor violin, the mandoline (which they call the \textit{banderinha}), the guitar, and a small kind of tom-tom known as the \textit{rabâna}. The mandoline and the guitar are fast becoming obsolete. The Mechanics are clever executants in respect of their own music, but when they attempt European dance music they are less happy, and succeed only in travesty of the original compositions.

With the gradual dissemination of Western ideas and habits of life, with the spread of English education, and with the contempt which it unhappily engenders in certain minds for the institutions of this country, there are many who fear that the Mechanic of the future will resemble only in name his ancestor of the present day. But it is to be hoped that the innate conservatism of the Ceylon Portuguese, which has preserved them as a separate community through the troubles and hardships of the Dutch period, and which is still so characteristic of them, will help, not only to maintain,
but to further develop their national music, of which, unlike some elements in their racial character, they have no need to be ashamed.

Note.—The Author, after the reading of his Paper, introduced to the notice of the Meeting an orchestra of Ceylon Portuguese whom he had got together for the occasion. They consisted of two violins, two guitars, a tambourine, triangle, and a banderinha. Mr. Fernando said he regretted that the viaule, an instrument of the guitar shape, consisting of thirteen strings, was not represented; the only person able to play this instrument just now is old and decrepit, and was unable to be present. There was a specimen of the instrument in the Colombo Museum, which unfortunately could not be got in time to be exhibited. To enforce his contention that he was dealing with music of a European character, and that it was amenable to European notation, he would himself accompany the orchestra on the piano. The orchestra under Mr. Fernando’s direction played the following:

(1) Cingalee Nona (Tune No. 1 in the collection, and perhaps the most popular of Mechanic airs).
(2) Tres pe (Tune No. 12), which means three feet, so called from the marked character of the triple time in which the tune runs.
(3) Anala d’Oru (Tune No. 10), exhibiting an instance of the use of the interval technically known as the dominant seventh.
(4) Velinda Mazambi (Tune No. 4). Undoubtedly of Caffir origin, judging from the name and style of the air.
(5) Coran Janita (Tune No. 14). One of the oldest of their tunes.
(6) Caffri (Tune No. 9). A Cafferina with a very fast movement.

At the conclusion of the music His Excellency the Governor said:—“Sorry as we are at the termination of Mr. Fernando’s interesting Paper, and the very pleasant music and the admirable accompaniment of Mr. Fernando on the piano, we must pass on to the next business.”

4. The Hon. P. Coomáraswámy read the following Paper:—
A HALF-HOUR WITH TWO ANCIENT
TAMIL POETS.

By the Hon. P. Coomáraswámy.

The Paper which I propose to read to-night consists of a translation, somewhat free and short, of two poems: one by Kapilar and the other by Muḍattámakkāṇṇiyár, both of which form part of the collection known as Pattupāṭṭu, or the Ten Poems.

Kurinjippāṭṭu, by some said to be known also as Perunkurinji, was composed, according to the famous commentator Naccinárkkkiniyár, in order to complete the Tamil education of a certain Árya prince by name Pirakattan,* who, judging from the poem, was perhaps the ruler of a mountainous district. The poem consists of 260 lines, and makes mention of many different trees, shrubs, and flowers, such as seldom occur in other Tamil poems. In this translation I have omitted them, as those who seek information on the subject can easily consult the original. The author of this poem was Kapilar, the brother of Tirivāḍuvar, whose Kural is well known. Kapilar’s age must be fixed prior to the second half of the second century of the Christian era. At page 149, vol. XIII., 1894, of this Society’s Journal, my statement that Kapilar and Paraṇar were contemporaries, and that Paraṇar received presents from the Chera king Senkuṭṭuvan, whom Gaja Bāhu I. of Ceylon visited, will be found. This visit took place between 113 and 135 of the year of Christ, as that was the period of the reign of the latter monarch, according to the list of kings given in p. iv. of Wijesinha Mudaliyár’s edition of the Mahāvansa.

* I give this name as it is spelt in Tamil, as I am not certain what the Sanskrit equivalent is: query Prahast a.
Porunarāṭṭuppaḷai, the second of the poems which I have translated, consists of 248 lines, and is sung in praise of the great Chōla king known to history as Karikāla. It purports to describe the experiences of a musician who was the recipient of that king’s liberality. Many matters of interest with regard to the food, mode of life, manners and customs, poets and musicians of the Tamils of ancient times appear in this poem. Karikāla’s age, for the following reasons, was not later than the first century of the Christian era.

(1) The celebrated Tamil poem Kalingattupparanī was written by its author in praise of his patron, king Ko-rāja-Kesari-varman, alias Kulottunga Chola Deva I., of the Chālukya dynasty, who reigned from 1063* to 1112 after Christ. The date of this poem has been correctly fixed as not long after 1081,* which date is also accepted by other Tamil scholars. In this poem Karikāla is mentioned as an ancestor of Kulottunga Chola Deva I., as having gone to Northern India on a tour of conquest, and as having accepted the poem Paṭṭinappalai (which also forms part of the collection Pattupāṭṭu, already referred to), and paid the author of that poem one million six hundred thousand pieces of the gold coin called pon. Many of these and other particulars regarding Karikāla are mentioned in other Tamil works, such as the Periyapurāṇam,† Chitappadikāram, &c. So that according to the Kalingattupparanī, Karikāla’s age was much anterior to 1063, when his so-called descendant Kulottunga Chola Deva I. began his reign.

(2) In volume II., part II., page 153, of the South Indian Inscriptions, Dr. Hultzsch says: “In the two only copper-plate grants which contain a genealogical account of the Chōla dynasty the same three kings”—viz., Karikāla,


† Written circa twelfth century. Cf. Mr. Sundarampillai’s Paper on “The Age of Tirujnāna Sambandha.”
Ko-chengannan, and Ko-killi—"are mentioned as ancestors of Vijayalaya, the grandfather of Parántaka." Vijayalaya reigned about the year 875.* We therefore are enabled to take a further step and say that Karikála's reign was long prior to 875 anno Christi.

(3) The Chilappadikáram, a Tamil poem of the second century† (and it matters little for purposes of this inquiry whether it is of the second century or later by a few hundred years), which records many notable events of the first and second centuries, makes mention of this great prince in different places. It was from him that Mádhavi, the dancing girl, on completion of her studies, after due exhibition of her ability, received the customary first prize granted to experts in music and dance. And this event happened—if the time ranging over the period covered by the several events chronicled in this poem be properly computed—many years prior to the visit of Gaja Báhu I. to India.‡ The ancient commentator of Chilappadikáram, Adivárrkkunallár, and the still more ancient commentary known as the Arumpadavurai, state that Karikála was reigning over the Chóla country at the beginning of Kovalan and Kannakai's career, and that this prince's daughter, Natcoñai, was the wife of Seralátan and mother of Senkuțṭuvan, friend of Gaja Báhu I. I would call particular attention to the following among other passages in the Chilappadikáram which refer to Karikála, his daughter's husband Seralátan, and her son Senkuțṭuvan:

(1) ஹார்கர்கர்கர்கர்காய் பூம்பூம் பூம்பூம் பூம்பூம் பூம்பூம்

* Cf. South Indian Inscriptions, vol. I., p. 112. By studying the list given in this page, and computing backwards from the reign of Rája-rája (Sáka 919 to 930 = 997 to 1008 of the Christian era), it will be found that Vijayalaya's reign will be about the year I have mentioned above.

† Cf. my Paper Chilappadikáram, Journal No. 44, vol. XIII., 1893, of this Society; also Mr. W. P. Ranasingha's Paper, "Which Gaja Báhu visited India?" read in September, 1894; and the notes of discussion on that Paper.

‡ The visit was between 113 and 135 of the Christian era.
Parañar, who addressed the fifth pattu of the Padiṭṭuppattu* to the Chera king Senkuṭtuvan, and, as I have said before, received presents from him, calls him the son of Seralátan by the daughter of Chola:

And in the Manimekhalai, a poem written by Kúlavánikan Sittalai Sáttanár, a contemporary of Senkuṭtuvan, Karikála is spoken of as already dead:

The third step in this inquiry then shows that Karikála was the maternal grandfather of Šenkuttuvan, who, I had almost forgotten to say, is said to have occupied his throne fifty years before Gaja Bāhu visited him.

It is thus shown on the authority of Kalingattuppaparani that Karikála was the alleged ancestor of Kulottunga Chola Deva, whose reign began in 1063. It is further shown, on the authority of Dr. Hultsch, that he was an ancestor of Vijayálaya, who reigned circa 875. And lastly, on the authority of the poems, poets, and commentators above cited, that he was the maternal grandfather of Senkuṭtuvan, contemporary of that Gaja Bāhu who reigned in Ceylon from 113–135.

It may therefore be safely concluded that Karikála, one of the greatest of the Chóla kings, lived prior to the second century of the Christian era, and that the poem Porunarátuppadai, addressed to him by Muḍattámakkanniyár, belongs to the same period.†

* A manuscript copy of which I have the pleasure of possessing.
† From internal evidence, such as the language, structure, &c., of the poem, it can also be shown that it is very ancient.
These two poems which I have now translated are a fair sample of the short poems which were in vogue nearly two thousand years ago in Tamil-land, and display great powers of observation, and are well worth careful study by students of Tamil literature. My translation can give no adequate idea of the rhythm and the terseness and felicity of expression of the originals; for, after all, the best prose translation (which mine does not pretend to be) of a poem can only “tell the story without the song.”

I.—KURINJIPĀṬṬU.

Mayest thou prosper, mother! Pray, hear me with patience.

My lady, whose brilliant brow, soft hair, and lustrous body were pre-eminent among women, is over-borne by a grief that no medicine can cure,—so painful that I have till now kept its cause from you.

Seeing her beauty fade, and her limbs waste; seeing too that others have noticed her bracelets slipping off her wrists, and that the desire for solitude is daily growing upon her, then tossed in mind, not knowing the cause, thou didst seek the help of soothsayers.

Learning from them that her condition was due to the malignant devas,* prayers with incense and flowers didst thou offer, and yet her health hath improved not, and thou art still in sorrow, much perplexed.

Jewels made of gold and set with pearls and rubies, lost or tarnished, may yet be replaced, but when appropriate action, loftiness of purpose, and the desire to act in conformity with the prescribed modes of social life fail, the wise declare that even the Devarishis† have no power to prevent the consequences.

Transgressing the rare restraints placed by her father—possessor of stately chariots—forgetful of the duty to parents and elders, which teacheth us to wait until they choose for us husbands, she hath chosen for herself a lord. If I inform thee, my mother, that this form of marriage, called gāndharvam, is sanctioned of old as consistent with chastity and modesty, shall I deserve blame? Certainly not. Praise, I think, will be my due.

Thy daughter, unable to bear the distress of a concealed love, timid-eyed, bereft of energy, and in bitter anguish, is thus resolved:—

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* Devas, spirits.  † Devarishi, a saint of the celestial class.
Ever shall I remain faithful to my lord. Such shall be my constant duty. Even if the gods grant not that in this life I become his wedded wife, we shall surely, when death ends my sorrows, come together in the next.

Thus she remaineth weeping and wailing, helpless. Through fear of thee and concern for her, I too am overwhelmed with grief, even as the wise who seek to restore peace between two great but passion-borne monarchs.

The usual form of marriage solemnized after the moral qualities of both spouses have been previously ascertained and weighed, begetteth unto them unbroken happiness, and unto their kith and kin friendship and help; but the gân-dharva mode, though rare of occurrence and determined upon in secret, unknown to parents and without previous consultation with any one, is also sanctioned for the salvation of the soul. Such a marriage having already taken place, I have resolved to inform thee. Hear my story and be not angry.

One day thou didst say unto us, “Like unto the elephant’s trunk raised to despoil the tall bamboos of their seed, the millet-stalks in our fields, their gray heads bent with the weight of heavy ears, are swarming with parrots, eager for the corn. Go ye and drive them away, and return when the day has ended.” Thither we went, and, scrambling up the pretty ladder made of canes brought from hill-sides, seated ourselves on the platform built by forest rangers on a tall tree, and took up talal* and tattai † and kulir‡ in our hands, and drove the birds, and remained there until the noonday sun blazed fiercely hot.

The heavy clouds having drunk the waters of the sea so as even to diminish its quantity, with distant thunders resembling the roll of drums gently beaten, causing birds to seek their roosts, overspread the sky. Lightnings flashed like unto the spear wielded by the war-god§ against the asuras. The winds rose and drove the clouds widely, until, trembling and confused, they sent the rains down in torrents on the hills. From the mountains waterfalls came bounding down in foam like unto white lawn,||

* Talal is described by Naccindarkhinated as “அக்கால் கொண்டநிக் கைவியை கஞ்சந்தல் கிள்ளி குறிச்சொற் விதித்ததால்,”
† Tattai he says is “குதிரை கொண்டநிக் கைவியை கஞ்சந்தல் கிள்ளி குறிச்சொற் விதித்ததால்.”
‡ Kulir: “குறிச்சொற் கொண்டநிக் கைவியை கஞ்சந்தல்.”
§ Muruga or Skanda, the Hindū god of war. Asuras, the enemies of the devas or celestials.
|| Cf. “Slow dropping veils of thinnest lawn.”—Tennyson’s “Lotos-eaters.”
and begat in our minds a resistless desire to go into the limpid stream. We sported therein a long while, singing such songs as pleased us. Then wringing the water from our plaited locks, which rolled down our golden backs like glistening sapphires, we, with flushed eyes, dried ourselves and culled *kandal*, *anikkam*, and other fragrant flowers. We heaped them on a rain-washed stone, broad and lying alongside the stream, and weaving garlands wound them round our locks and waists and rested under the cool shade of an *asoka* tree, bearing fire-like flowers and tender sprouts. Now and again by word and song we frightened the green parrots away from the corn fields.

Then appeared before us a mountain chief. His dark blue locks, well anointed and made fragrant with the smoke of the *akil*, were interwoven with many coloured flowers from hill and meadow, tree and fountain. From one ear hung down to his shoulders the purple leaves of the *asoka*; sweet-smelling garlands of flowers mingling with brilliant jewellery, heirlooms in his family, adorned his broad chest painted with *candana*; his strong arms, bracelet, held a many-hued bow and select arrows. His loins were tightly girt with cloth, and at every step the martial tinkle of his *virakkalal* resounded. His fierce hounds, excited by sport, resembling young warriors after a successful battle with a mighty host, ran towards us yelping and baying.

Startled, we essayed to leave our resting-place, but he broke a leafy bough from a tree and drove the baying hounds this way and that. He approached us with the gait of a proud bull walking up to his newly-found mate when he had vanquished his rivals in a hard-fought fight. He spoke to us some pleasing words: "Lovely-eyed maidens," said he, "the game I followed is lost; did it come your way?" Though pleased, we returned him no answer: "If you saw not the game, ladies, will it be an offence to speak to me?" said he, and waited for a reply.

In the meanwhile, drunk with the well fermented fragrant wine handed to them by gazelle-eyed wives living in huts thatched with straw, the watchers became neglectful of the corn-fields until the alarm was raised that the corn stalks were trodden down by an elephant. Fired with anger, quickly stringing their bows, they struck the elephant with

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* Here mention is made of various kinds of flowers, &c., which I omit.
† *Asoka*: *Jodavia asoka*, Roxb.
‡ *Akil* (Sans. *aguru*), the fragrant aloe wood and tree (*Aquiluria agallocha*).
§ *Candana*, here a paste made from the *Santalum album*.
|| *Virakkalal*, a warrior's ankle rings.
swift arrows and drove him away. Trumpeting forth like peals of thunder in times of rain, rooting up forest trees and striking the ground with his strong rough trunk, the fierce animal came rushing towards us even as the god* of death. Knowing no other place of safety, filled with fear and forgetting the restraints of our sex, we ran with trembling limbs to him, the chief. Forthwith he shot his feathered arrows and pierced the beautiful brow of the elephant. Blood overspread the animal's forehead in streams such as flow from goats sacrificed in the presence of women possessed of the god of war. The elephant turned and ran, and we, who had stood together, hand locked in hand like flowers pressed together in a thickly-woven garland of kadambas,† sank to the ground unable to stand.

Seeing our pitiful state, thus did the chief address thy daughter: "Noble lady, beauteous-haired, fear not; I will not leave thee." He lifted her up, and gently stroking her faultless forehead with his hand looked at me and smiled, desiring the favour of my help. Shame and modesty awakening in her mind, much did she strive to slip from his embrace, but he folded her yet stronger in his arms and prevented her. He,—the lord of fruitful country studded with mountains, capturer of maidens' hearts by his victories over enemies; he, whose city-gates ever stand open to all who seek food enriched with ghee,—awakened at last to the fact that she could be his only by the usual formal marriage. Then he called on the war-god, who dwelleth on lofty mountains, to witness that he would soon claim her for his wife. Thus assured we spent that day until sunset in mountain caves, the delight of devas;—our union being due to the wild elephant roaming in the forest full of flowers.

The many-rayed sun in his chariot drawn by seven steeds reached Attagiri,‡ when herds of deer assemble under trees; when cows, issuing from forests, call their calves and overspread the meadows; when the bent-beaked andril,§ nestling in the inner folds of the palmirah leaf, summons his mate with notes like those of the horn; when the snake spits out his gem in order to illumine his path while searching for food; when shepherds from different quarters sound their sweet flutes; when ambal[1] flowers open their petals; when Brāhmans perform their twilight ceremonies; when in

* Yama, the Hindū god of death.  
† Kadamba (Nanoea cadamba), a tree with orange-coloured fragrant blossoms.  
‡ Attagiri (Sans. Astagiri), the mountain behind which the sun is said to set.  
§ Andril, according to Winslow, is the nightingale of India.  
|| Ambal, Nymphaea alba (Winslow).
houses abounding with wealth, women, adorned with sweet-smelling flowers, light their lamps and offer evening prayers; when forest-rangers in their paran* reaching the sky kindle torches with friction-born fire; when black clouds overhang the hills; when wild animals make night resound with their cries, and when birds' notes become frequent. Then did the chief give his pledge: "I shall marry thee, who art decked with brilliant jewels, when thy relations apprise thy people and place thy right hand in mine. For a while yet shall I spend some days here in order to experience the great joy of conversing with thee in private. Be not alarmed." These and other gracious words he said to her, and accompanying us to the stream skirting our town, where the drums never cease to sound, he left us.

Since then has he, with the same love as he had at first, come every night. Often disturbed by the town-guards' approach, or the angry dog's bark, or your wakefulness, or the bright moon's rise, he would depart without meeting her; and even if we, imagining causes of fear when there were none, remained indoors and kept not the tryst, he would depart, never blaming us.

He is not one who has passed the time of youth; nor has vast wealth, which ever hath the tendency to breed evil habits, changed the good qualities due to his birth; he knoweth too that it is not fitting to meet a maiden at untimely hours, and yearneth to ask her hand in marriage in order that their united lives may be spent in the performance of the duties prescribed for the married. But thy daughter, thinking in the meantime of the perils of mountain paths, of bears and tigers hiding in caves, wild oxen and elephants crossing his way; thinking of thunderbolts overhead, demons and snakes roaming the forests, alligators swarming in streams, and robbers and boa constrictors; thinking of all these dangers nightly encountered by him on his way to meet her, is ever in dire distress, her eyes streaming with tears, and alas, she resembleth a tender blossom crushed by rainstorms fearful and heavy.

II.—PORUNARÂṬTUPPAḌAI.

Oh, minstrel, ever careful to avoid the stale food served the day after the festival, and only present when the festival is still at its height!

When thy wife,—graceful as the peacock, gifted with learning, her hair soft as moss, her beautiful brow resembling the crescent moon, her lips red like the ilavam's† young leaves,

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* Paran, a raised platform for watching fields.
† Ilavam, the silk cotton tree.
and eyes gentle and dark under brows arched like the death-dealing bow, her voice sweet as music, and ears shaped like the loop of the scissors* used in trimming the hair, neck slightly curved with modesty, her fingers like the kándal† growing on the summits of lofty mountains, and her small feet resembling in certain respects tongues‡ of hounds tired after a long run;—when thy wife played on the yal, which,—with its two sides low and the middle raised like the impression left by the deer's hoof on wet ground, is usually covered with flame-hued skin and is possessed of pegs fashioned after the crab's eye, its strings rung by slender fingers tipped with nails white as the husked tinaį,§—when thy wife touched the yal, lovely as a bride, with her fingers now fondly resting on, now smoothly gliding over, and now rapidly striking its strings, and sweetly sang the Devapáṇi,‖ then didst thou, with humble mind, offer prayers to the forest-gods that thy journey might be safe and successful. May thy life be long and prosperous, chief of all minstrels!

Even as the sight of the meeting in peace and amity of the three great kings, lords of victorious armies, Chera, Chóla, and Pándiya, is pleasant unto the world, so does thy song ever delight men's minds.

Perchance thou art puzzled and knowest not which of these two paths thou mayest take; let thy choice be the right one. Thy luck has brought me hither, owing to the good deeds performed by thee in former births. I can direct thee to where wealth lies waiting.

* The words are மூலைக் கும்புகள் என்றால் மட்டும். Reference to scissors and their use in cutting hair occurs in several ancient poems, e.g.:—

 KgpeniOLS kampenwi wamel anu wamal
 &mepiw wamal kampenwi wamal anu wamal —Jivakacántámi, Ilák-kanaiyár Ilambakam, stanza 123.

Kalittokai, pálah 32.

† Kándal (Gloriosa superba).

‡ The words are ஐந்து கும்புகள் என்றால் மட்டும். The comparison of the feet of women to the tongues of hounds occurs in other ancient poems also:—

Khpp enepi wamal anu wamal
 &mepi wamal kampenwi wamal anu wamal —Malaiyadukadáñ

Jivakacántámi, Mukti Ilambakam,
stanza 96.

§ Tínaį, Panicum italicum (Winslow).

‖ Devapáṇi, song in praise of the Deity or of any of the celestials (Dvás). For some beautiful examples see Naccinárkkiyár's commentary on the Poruladhiyáram of Tolkápiyám.
If thy desire be to have done with poverty, which hitherto has been a heavy burden, rise without delay, thou, to whom the seven strings of the yud are ever obedient.

I, now rich, in days not long past like the hungry bird seeking the well-laden fruit-tree, went to the palace gates of him whom I shall ever sing; and, when without announcing my wants to the gate-keepers, I entered the palace, hunger and poverty methought were not. I drew near to him, and even before I could strike the Udukkai, the skin of which by long beating is marked like the cobra's hood, and begin my song, he addressed me as one long known to him, and treated me with loving kindness, such that I thought begging was no disgrace. He caused me to be seated before him, and looked at me, his eyes beaming with affection and pleasure.

My garments, vile with dirt and sweat, bearing patches and stitches, and where nits and lice held sway, he caused to be removed, and clad me in silk soft as flowers. Handmaids, who by music, dance, and converse please him, poured out in golden cups intoxicating wine, and I drank to my heart's content, until my sorrows and the fatigue caused by a long journey were forgotten. When I laid me down to rest, the trembling and unsteadiness of the limbs, I being heavy with wine, were all that inconvenienced me. At dawn, when awake, the bright change in my appearance was indeed so surprising. "Am I in a dream?" I exclaimed, but I soon satisfied myself that it was reality.

Hearing my pupils and followers singing his praises, he sent for us and desired us to draw near, and, when we saluted him in the mode usual on such occasions, he made us eat of the flesh of goat and other meat spitted and roasted, and drink plentifully of wine, until we could neither eat nor drink any more. Then sweetmeats of various forms and

* Udukkai, a small kind of drum held in one hand and struck by the other.
† In a poem by Naṭkiyar of the same time as the above, addressed to a Pāṇḍiya, the prince is said to drink from golden cups of wine brought by the Yavanar, which may refer to Grecian or Italian wines.

O Pāṇḍiya of the Victorious Sword! daily delighting in fragrant wine brought by Yavanas in bottles and poured into golden cups by handmaids, mayst thou be (to your enemies) fierce as the sun and (to your subjects) gentle as the waxing moon. [Kalam here may mean bottles or ships.]

This term Yavana is very old; according to Monier Williams it occurs even in Maṇu X., 44; and in Upādīs II., 74, meaning "foreigners," &c.
kinds were set before us, and after making us sit and eat again, he caused Viraliyars* to sing and dance to us. Several days having thus passed, “You must now eat of rice” he said, and a great feast of rice and curries and divers dishes cooked in milk were spread before us, and we ate until we were full unto the throat. Thus did we pass our days drinking and eating meat, when, like the ploughshare which hath often furrowed hard soil, our teeth became blunt, and food and wine were no more welcome.

Then one day said I gently, “O king, who hath no more enemies to conquer, give me leave to go back to my village.” Looking at me reproachfully, “Art thou then departing from us so soon? Receive these,” he said, and gave me elephants male and female and their calves shambling in gait, and chariots numerous, and garments and jewellery in abundance. With these I departed, bidding farewell to poverty for ever. Askest thou, “Who then was thus generous?”

Son of Ilanchetchenni, the Chóla of the ever victorious spear and war chariots innumerable; he, the great king, resembling Muruga, the angry god of war, was born entitled to kingship even from his mother’s womb; wrestler of countries from those princes who refused to acknowledge his sovereignty. As the sun rising from the ocean becomes brighter and more splendid when he advances to noon, so from his youth, ever increasing in power and fame, he, now mighty as Yama, god of death, bears on his shoulders the weight of a matchless empire. He is the great king on whose head the garland of atti† flowers is ever beauteous; he it was that in one battle in the now famous field of Vennil‡ dealt defeat to the Chera and Pándiyan kings.

If nearing the merciful presence of the great Kari-
káṭchola,§ thou dost worship his feet, his gentle eyes will drive poverty before thee for ever, and thou wilt be even like unto the calf which reeketh with satisfaction after full drink of her mother’s abundant and sweet milk. He will clothe thee with silk and give thee to drink of wine in cups of gold. He will place on thy head golden lotus flowers, and to thy wife he will present gold and pearl necklaces and ornaments galore, and feast you all the days of your stay. When it is thy desire to depart, he will give thee a chariot inlaid with ivory, drawn by four milk-white steeds, many

* Viraliyar, women who sing and dance.
† Atti (Fleus racemos).
‡ Vennil, a famous battle, where Karikáṭchola defeated the Chera king Séráidútan, is referred to by many contemporary poets.
§ The reason why this great king received this name—meaning black or burnt-foot Chóla—is explained in the stanza. See the last page of this Paper.
elephants, and villages well-watered and fertile. He will even go seven paces with thee, and, unwillingly parting, graciously say, "Give unto others of what thou hast now received, for riches and life last not long, and fame imperishable shall be thine, and men shall ever honour thee. Fare thee well."

Such the king, who hath long reigned over the Chōla kingdom, rich in paddy and groves of green cocoa palms, part of this broad earth on whose shores the black ocean breaks its waves with ceaseless roar;* such he who, even when young, dispensed justice† to the satisfaction of the old; whose sceptre keeps all straight in the blameless path of duty, whose long reign full of love and mercy is renowned throughout the world.

The foot that was raised to step on the three worlds stopped short after measuring only this earth, for the foot of the lord of well-watered countries was, alas, burnt by fire.

5. Mr. John Ferguson said it would be interesting to know whether the admixture of the native races with the Ceylon Portuguese had introduced a native element into their music.

Mr. Fernando replied in the negative, and observed that the music was essentially European in character, and had developed among the Portuguese descendants of Ceylon in the same way that what is known as Christy Minstrels originated among the Negroes of America.

The Hon. Mr. Coomāraswāmy said that from his knowledge of Indian music he was in a position to corroborate Mr. Fernando's view.

Dr. Pinto supported this view, and remarked that some of these tunes were to be heard at Bombay at the present day, and bore a strong affinity to music which he himself had heard at Lisbon.

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* Here follows a description of the country, &c., which I omit.
† This is an allusion to an occasion when, being quite young, he administered justice to the satisfaction of two aged litigants, who, when they came to him, seeing his youthful appearance, doubted whether they would have justice. The poem is referred to in பெரியகராதையர், stanza 2.

Note the reference to heredity in this stanza.
Mr. Barber referred the origin of Portuguese music to Spain, and said that Spanish music was itself borrowed from the Moors.

**His Excellence the Governor** expressed his conviction in support of the above remarks, and said that during his long residence at Madeira he had heard similar music, which he had no doubt, while being European in origin, had acquired a tinge from the Arab and the Moor. Referring to Mr. Coomaraswamy's Paper he wished to know what European wines could possibly have been imported to India 2,000 years ago.

Mr. Coomaraswamy thought that most probably the wines referred to were brought over with the Embassies from Italy.

Mr. Ferguson remarked that it was quite possible that wine was in those days brought over from Syria and Persia to India.

6. **Mr. P. Freudenberg**, in proposing a vote of thanks to the writers of the Papers, said that upon hearing the music of the orchestra he felt himself transported to the Bay of Naples, where he had heard similar tunes. The work of the Society had until quite recently been confined to Europeans, and it was gratifying that two native gentlemen had contributed such interesting information as given that night. In a few happy remarks he showed that human nature was very much the same to-day as it was 2,000 years ago.

The Hon. Mr. Panabokke, in seconding the above resolution, contended that the Sinhalese had a distinctive music of their own, and referred to several Sinhalese works.

**His Excellency the Governor**, putting the vote to the Meeting, asked to be allowed to include in it the Portuguese band. The vote was carried with acclamation.

7. The Hon. Mr. Swettenham asked the Meeting to record a vote of thanks to His Excellency for presiding that evening at what was one of the most interesting and largest attended Meetings held for a long time.

Mr. Coomaraswamy seconded the vote, which was carried with acclamation, and the Meeting terminated at about 11 P.M.
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