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COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 6, 1916.

Present:

The Hon’ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt., Senior Vice-President, in the Chair.

Sir P. Arunáchalám, Kt., M.A., Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. R. G. Anthonisz. Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara,
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P. Mudaliyár.

Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S. Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S. Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 27th November, 1915.

2. Read and passed the draft of the Annual Report for 1915, subject to a few alterations.

3. Considered date and business for the Annual General Meeting.

Mr. Joseph mentioned that the President was of opinion that a Paper, now being prepared by Mr. E. J. Wayland, Assistant Mineral Surveyor, on “the Stones of the Navaratna,” was interesting and suitable for reading at a Meeting of the Society.

Resolved,—That Mr. Wayland’s Paper be accepted for reading and publication.

Resolved,—That the Annual General Meeting be held on the 27th March, and that the business be as follows:—

1. Minutes.
3. Election of Office-Bearers.
4. Mr. Wayland to read his Paper on “the Stones of the Navaratna.”

4. Mr. Joseph read a letter from Mr. John Harward resigning his office of President.
Unanimously resolved,—That Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam be nominated for the office of President and that the place of the Hon’ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, who had to retire under Rule No. 18, be filled by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

5. Mr. Joseph moved, under Rule 10, that Mr. John Harward, M.A., Oxon., Director of Education, retiring President of the Society, be recommended for election as an Honorary Member for life.

Mr. Joseph said that Mr. Harward joined the Society in 1893, was elected as Honorary Secretary in 1898, and had been President from 1912.

Unanimously resolved,—That Mr. John Harward be nominated for election as an Honorary Member for life of the Society.


Mr. Joseph pointed out that Dr. A. Nell and Mudaliyár A. Mendis Gunasekara retired by seniority, and Messrs. P. E. Pieris and F. H. de Vos by least attendance.

Resolved,—That Mudaliyár A. Mendis Gunasekara and Dr. A. Nell be recommended for re-election in place of Mr. F. H. de Vos and Mr. P. E. Pieris, and that the Hon’ble Mr. K. Balasingham and the Hon’ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere be nominated to the other two vacancies and that Sir Ponnambalam’s place on the Council be filled by Mr. J. Harward.

7. Resolved,—To recommend that the Council be composed as follows:—

Patron:
(Vacant.)

Vice-Patron:
The Hon’ble Mr. R. E. Stubbs, C.M.G.

President:
Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., Cantab.

Vice-Presidents:
Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Cantab.
The Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D., Oxon.
Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., Cantab., C.C.S.

Council:
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. E. W. Perera.
Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A., L.L.B.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D. Sc.
Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., Oxon., C.C.S.

The Hon’ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt.
Mudaliyár A. Mendis Gunasekara.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
The Hon. Mr. K. Balasingham.
Mr. John Harward, M.A.

Honorary Treasurer:
Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.

Honorary Secretaries:
Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S. | Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.
ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 27, 1916.

The Hon’ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt.,
Senior Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Cantab., Vice-President.

The Rt. Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D., Vice-President.

| Sir Ponnambalam Arunácha-
| lam, Kt., M.A., Cantab. | Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S. |
| Mr. R. W. Byrde, C.C.S. | Mr. T. A. A. Rahim. |
| Mr. W. B. Dolapihilla. | Dr. Donald Schokman. |
| The Ven’ble F. H. de Winton. | Mr. W. Samarasinha. |
| Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P. | Mr. W. T. Southorn, C.C.S. |
| Mr. J. J. Goonawardana. | Mr. R. Sagarajasingam. |
| Mr. Allanson H. Gomes. | Mr. F. A. Tisseverasinha. |
| Mr. C. W. Horsfall. | Mr. D. S. Wijeyesinha. |
| Mr. C. H. Jolliffe. | Mr. C. P. Wijeyeratne, J.P., |
| Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S. | U.P.M. |
| Mr. T. A. A. Rahim. |
| Dr. Donald Schokman. |
| Mr. W. Samarasinha. |
| Mr. W. T. Southorn, C.C.S. |
| Mr. R. Sagarajasingam. |
| Mr. F. A. Tisseverasinha. |
| Mr. D. S. Wijeyesinha. |
| Mr. C. P. Wijeyeratne, J.P., |
| U.P.M. |

Visitors: Six ladies and thirty-eight gentlemen.

Business.

1. Mr. E. B. F. Sueter read the Minutes of the last General Meeting.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1915.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for 1915.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Two General Meetings of the Society were held during the year. In March the Annual General Meeting was held, when the Annual Report was read and Mr. J. Harward, the President,
delivered an Address on "Fra Mauro's Map." Mr. W. A. de Silva read a Paper entitled: "The Popular Poetry of the Sinhalese," at a General Meeting on October 18th, at which His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers presided.

PUBLICATIONS.

One Number of the Journal, Vol. XXIII., No. 66, was published during the year. It contained, in addition to the proceedings of the Council and General Meetings, the following Papers:

1. "Medical Literature of the Sinhalese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
3. A Recent Find of Coins, by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.
4. A lecture on "The Failure of the Portuguese and the Sinhalese People," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

The printing agreement with the Colombo Apothecaries Co. was perfected at the beginning of the year. The Journal for 1914 is in the press, and will be issued early in 1916, in which year it will be possible to finish the Journal for 1915, and to bring the work up to date. The printing of arrears is necessarily slow, but three sets of the Society's publications—the Journal, Notes and Queries and D'Oyly's Diaries—will be ready in 1916.

CEYLON NOTES AND QUERIES.

At a Meeting of the Council of this Society, held on the 16th November, 1915, it was unanimously resolved to resume the publication of the Ceylon Notes and Queries, beginning from the first quarter of 1916.

D'OYLY'S DIARY.

Vols. I. and II. of this work, with glossary, notes and index by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., are in the press and will be issued shortly.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Owing to the suspension of Archæological operations there is nothing to report under this head.

MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 436 Members: of these 45 are Life Members and nine Honorary Members. During the past year the following Members were elected:

Life-Members.—The following became Life-Members during the year:—Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz; T. H. Chapman and S. R. C. T. Pettachi Chettiyar.

Resigned.—Six Members resigned:—Mr. P. A. Barlow; Sir John Keane, Bart.; W. Piyyaratana Thero; Messrs. C. A. Perera; K. J. Saunders and L. G. Ø. Woodhouse.

Deaths.—The Council record with regret the death of the following Members, viz.:—Messrs. Chapman Dias Bandaranaike; James Conroy, C.C.S.; H. F. C. Fyers; R. A. Miranda; Sir W. W. Mitchell, Kt.; Mr. J. L. P. Siriwardana, Mudaliyár; the Hon. Sir H. VanCuylenburg and Mr. J. VanLangenberg, K.C.

Library.

All the books in the Library have had location marks put on and have been listed. A start has been made to compile a card catalogue. The additions to the Library, including parts of periodicals, numbered 356. The Library is indebted for donations to the following:—Sir R. C. Temple, Bart.; the Archaeological Survey of India; Royal Historical Research Society, Bangkok; Dr. A. K. Coomara Swamy; the Governments of Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab; the Government of Ceylon; Planters’ Association of Ceylon; Superintendent, Government Printing, India; Messrs. C. A. B. Kurunweera, A. de S. Kanakaratne, B. Lewis Rice; Consulaat der Nederlanden, Ceylon; Department van Onderwijs en eeredienst, Batavia; Prof. D. M. de Z. Wickramasinha, M.A.; Postmaster-General, Ceylon; Director of Education, Colombo; Editor, Wilson Bulletin.

Exchange of Publications.

Valuable exchanges were effected during the year with the American Oriental Society, Newhaven; American Geographical Society, New York; L’Académie Impériale des Sciences, St. Petersburg; Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft; Canada Department of Mines, Ottawa; Royal Colonial Institute; Pali Text Society, London; Asiatic Society of Japan, Tokyo; Geological Society of London; Mahabodhi Society, Colombo; Royal Society of Victoria, Melbourne; the Editor, Collegian; the Siam Society; Department of Agriculture,

COUNCIL.

According to Rule No. 18 the Senior Vice-President, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., had to retire as he had served for four continuous years, and the vacancy was filled by the appointment of the Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, Bishop of Colombo. Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár, and Dr. Joseph Pearson having retired by seniority, and Messrs. P. E. Pieris and E. B. Denham by least attendance under Rule 20, and two out of these four gentlemen being eligible for re-election, Mr. P. E. Pieris and Dr. Joseph Pearson were re-elected. The vacancies on the Council caused by the retirement of Messrs. E. B. Denham, Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár, and by the appointment of the Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston as a Vice-President were filled by Messrs. F. H. de Vos, H. W. Codrington and Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam.

VOTE OF THANKS TO H. E. SIR ROBERT CHALMERS,

PATRON OF THE SOCIETY.

His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers, K.C.B., Governor of Ceylon and Patron of this Society, left the Island in December, 1915. The following resolution of the Council was sent to His Excellency before his departure.

Resolved,—That the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society desires to thank His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers for the constant interest which he has taken in its proceedings. His Excellency’s presence, and the scholarly manner in which he has handled the questions dealt with, have added very greatly to the interest of the Society’s Meetings and have been much appreciated by its Members. The Council regrets the loss of a patron who is an eminent Pali Scholar, as well as an active well-wisher to the Society.
Sir Robert Chalmers in reply wrote:—"I appreciate highly the very cordial and handsome terms in which the Council have seen fit to record their appreciation of my efforts as Patron of the Society to advance the objects they and I have at heart."

CHALMERS ORIENTAL TEXT FUND: ALUVIHARA EDITION.

On the eve of his departure His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers wrote to the Council offering as a gift 1,000 copies of the first work of a series of critical recensions of Pali Works projected by him and outlining a scheme of building up a reproductive fund by the sale of these copies and of utilising the fund for future publications of a similar kind. The Council passed the following resolutions which were communicated to Sir Robert Chalmers.

Resolved,—That the Council thank His Excellency Sir Robert Chalmers for the generous offer contained in his letter of 23rd November, 1915, to place at the disposal of the Council 1,000 copies of the two volumes of the Aluvihara Edition of the Papanca Sudani. The Council has much pleasure in accepting this offer and will make arrangements for devoting the proceeds of the sale of these volumes to the issue of future publications of a similar kind. The Council also desires to express its sense of the great value to Oriental Scholarship of the scheme of critical editions which His Excellency has inaugurated. It is further resolved that the proceeds of the sale be formed into a special fund and be called "The Chalmers Oriental Text Fund."

Sir Robert Chalmers, K.C.B., replied to the President as follows:—"Will you, as President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, be so good as to express to the Council of the Society my thanks for the readiness with which they have been so good as to meet my wishes about the Aluvihara Edition and about the Oriental Text Fund with which they have associated my name. I leave the Island with a confident belief that in the scholarly hands of the Council a wise discretion will be exercised in the management of the Fund for promoting scholarship in Ceylon."

FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 4,242·80 to the credit of the Society at the end of the year; but the liabilities to be met for printing will nearly exhaust this balance. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 2,393·89, and the expenditure was Rs. 2,308·84. The accounts have again been audited by Mr. Herbert Tarrant, and the Council offer their thanks to him for his kind services.

The Council trust that the annual grant of Rs. 500 from Government, which was discontinued after having been drawn for 27 years, will be renewed before long.
## Balance Sheet of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1915.

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<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rs.</th>
<th>Cts.</th>
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<td>Salaries a/c</td>
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<td>Petty Cash</td>
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<td>Sundries, Balance 31st December, 1915</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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| Total Rs.                        | 6,551| 64   |

### RECEIPTS

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<td>Balance from 1914</td>
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<td>Life-membership Commutations</td>
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<td>Sundries a/c</td>
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<td>Subscriptions—1916</td>
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### PAYMENTS

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<td>Salaries a/c</td>
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<td>Petty Cash</td>
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<td>Sundries, Balance 31st December, 1915</td>
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<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,993</td>
<td>00</td>
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</table>

| Total Rs.                        | 6,551| 64   |

Audited and found correct.

(Sgd.) GERARD A. JOSEPH,
Honorary Treasurer.

(Sgd.) HERBERT TARRANT.
The Report was adopted on a motion proposed by Dr. A. Nell, and seconded by Mr. W. A. de Silva.

ELECTION OF MR. HARWARD AS HON. MEMBER.

3. Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam moved the election of Mr. John Harward as an Honorary Member of the Society under Rule 10. He said:—I am privileged to submit to you a motion in regard to the retiring President. Before doing so I desire to thank you for appointing me President of this Society. I appreciate the honour all the more, as this is the first time that a Ceylonese has been called to this office in the 70 years or more of the Society’s existence. It is no easy task to fill adequately a post which has been held and adorned by men of the distinction of the late Sir Edward Cressey, Chief Justice; Dr. Copleston, the Metropolitan of India; Sir Hugh Clifford, our late Colonial Secretary; and not least Mr. Harward. We have all heard with the keenest regret of his retirement. His services are so highly appreciated that the Society would very gladly have re-appointed him President; but he is, unfortunately for us, unable to continue in the office owing to ill-health and possible departure from the Island. He joined the Society in 1893, the year after he arrived in the Island as Principal of the Royal College. In 1898 he was appointed one of the Hon. Secretaries of the Society. He held that office for about 15 years, until 1912, when he was appointed to the office of President, which he is vacating to-day to our great loss. We cannot sufficiently thank him for all he has done for us throughout these years. His devotion to the interests of the Society, his scholarship and culture, his sound judgment, tact and unwearied industry, in spite of arduous official duties as Principal of the Royal College and then as Director of Education, in spite of the claims of other Societies such as the Friend-in-Need Society, of which he was long the Secretary and latterly the President, in spite, too, of indifferent health, have laid the Society under a load of obligation, which we can never forget. The only return we can make is to elect him as Honorary Member under Rule 10. The rule provides that this honour may be conferred on any person who has rendered distinguished service towards the attainment of the objects of the Society. This is an honour rarely conferred. There have been only ten such members in nearly three-quarters-of-a-century, though our rules permit of a maximum of twelve at any one time. We do ourselves honour in so honouring one who not only possesses in an eminent degree the qualification required by the rule, but is among the most distinguished and meritorious of our public servants. No more conscientious official, no greater educationist has laboured among us, no truer lover of our people, no stauncher champion of culture and high ideals. In these respects as well as by the beauty and charm of his character, his thoroughness in all his work, his indomitable strength of will and courage in the face of difficulties and even physical suffering, his life has been an
example and an inspiration to us. And his retirement from the public service, should it unfortunately occur, will be a most grievous loss to Ceylon. I have much pleasure in moving that Mr. Harward be appointed Honorary Member of the Society under Rule 10.

Dr. A. Nell, in seconding the motion, said that he had great pleasure in endorsing what was said by the proposer.

The motion was carried unanimously.

4. Mr. C. W. Horsfall proposed the election of the following Office-bearers for 1916:—

Patron:
(Vacant).

Vice-Patron:
The Hon. Mr. R. E. Stubbs, C.M.G.

President:

Vice-Presidents:
Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Cantab.
The Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D., Oxon.
Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., L.L.M., Cantab., C.S.

Council:
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
,, R. G. Anthonisz.
,, E. W. Perera.
,, D. B. Jayatilake, B.A., L.L.B.
,, C. W. Horsfall.
Dr. R. Joseph Pearson, D.Sc.
Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A.
Oxon., C.S.

The Hon. Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere, Kt.
Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyár.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
The Hon. Mr. K. Balasingham.
Mr. J. Harward, M.A. Oxon.

Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Treasurer.

Dr. Donald Schokman seconded.—Carried.

5. The Hon. Secretary announced that there were certain exhibits on view, exhibits of the illustrations intended to be included in the forthcoming Memoir of the Colombo Museum, on Sinhalese Banners and Standards.* They included coloured plates of the Royal Sinhalese Flags and of the “Navandanna” and “Salágama” castes, and in black and white of other castes and various provinces and districts.

6. In the absence of Mr. E. J. Wayland, Mr. C. Hartley read the following Paper:—

STONES OF THE NAVARATNA:
Their mythical significance and superstitious lore.

By E. J. Wayland, F.G.S., &c.
Assistant Mineralogical Surveyor for Ceylon.

"The real art that dealt with life directly was that of the first men who told their stories round the savage camp-fire. Our art is occupied, and bound to be occupied, not so much in making stories true as in making them typical; not so much in capturing the lineaments of each fact, as in marshalling all of them towards a common end."

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

The purport of the present address is sufficiently announced in its title: but whereas no apology is needed for the presentation of the subject, it may seem scarcely fitting that one who is no Asiatic Scholar should presume to speak on matters so intricate and complex as those involved in the study of the Navaratna.

But in a country like Ceylon where almost every natural object, from the tall peaks of its mountain zone to the prickly grass which grows upon its shores, is invested with a legend, or finds a place in superstitious lore, even a Mineral Surveyor may learn of mines other than those of gold and sapphire; mines whose working costs are paid in human interest, and whose profits are the wealth of understanding. Into the open levels of such a mine as this I propose to lead you to-night; not in the capacity of a proud discoverer, but as a guide, conducting a distinguished party from whom he hopes to learn more than he teaches. Forasmuch as my official work has brought me into close contact with gems and gemmers I find an excuse, if not a vindication, for this pleasurable service.

2. INTRODUCTION.

Since so many of the legends which have found their way into European folk-lore are traceable through Sanskrit
to an Aryan origin, it is hardly surprising to discover that not a few of the modern superstitions which have grown up around jewels had a generalised and common ancestor in Sanskrit times. So striking, however, is the difference in tone between the many beautiful stories, still told over the cottage hearth, and the sometimes quite unlovely myths with which gems are invested, that one is almost inclined to regard this association in an ancient classic tongue as a matter of chance, and to see in the difference of tone a difference of birth.

Nor will archæology be disposed to contradict us: for in those bygone days, when our pastoral forefathers journeyed forth into a virgin world, their cognisance of the precious stone was almost nil.

In India, doubtless, was the cult of gem-stones earliest attained by the Aryan wanderers who settled there. But the knowledge of rare and precious minerals was slowly acquired. The aboriginal and possibly Palæolithic inhabitants of India* would jealously guard such knowledge as they had concerning precious stones, to which they would certainly attribute supernatural origin and powers. But one may well imagine some dusky savage tempted by his Aryan contemporary to barter. A gem perhaps would change hands, and the aborigine would depart the richer, may be, by a well-fashioned celt or two; but not, one may be sure, till he had expostulated with many a wild gesture and many a hushed word upon the wonderful and mystic attributes his stone possessed. So by continued exchange, further intercourse, and fresh

---

* Of late years several discoveries of stone tools of Palæolithic type have been made in India. There can be little doubt that the early stone-age people knew some, at least, of the indigenous gems and regarded them with superstitious reverence and fear. A knowledge of gem-stones may therefore be presumed to have sprung up in Palæolithic times; and it seems probable to the present writer that aboriginal tribes were still in existence when the Aryans arrived. It is extremely likely, however, that much of the early lore was passed on to the conquerors indirectly; that is to say, through the modiﬁying medium of the Turanian peoples who inhabited the Upper Indus plains.
discovery, was a knowledge of gem-stones gradually elaborated. So, too, tradition, adopted, modified and matured, grew into that mystic lore which spread as commerce spread to find new expression and fresh significance in other lands.

Of this westernised mythology I have little to say. It is too large a matter to be dealt with here; nor would it be relevant to our present subject to follow the vagaries of superstition throughout the march of history. We are concerned at present with what, for the want of a better mode of expression, I am disposed to call the Hindu aspect of the Nāwaratna.

3. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NAWARATNA.

The Nāwaratna or nine-gem ring is as certainly Indian by birth as the Breastplate of Aaron is Babylonian in origin. Nor can the influence of the former upon the minds of Eastern men be counted less than the power of the latter upon the Israelites of old; and if the gems of the Breastplate are still to be traced in the "birth-stones" of Europe, it may be said that the Nāwaratna is still potent of good and evil among those who exercise its cult.

The nine-stone ring refers in the primary and original sense to the heavenly bodies Sol, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, and the triform Luna, thus maintaining the magic numbers of seven and three; and in the secondary sense (only understood in India) to the nine poets of the court of the mythical Vikramāditya.*

Mythology has it that when the gods interrupted Mahādeva and Pārvatī, the nine jewels dropped from the

* With regard to the identification of Vikramāditya several opinions exist. According to Wilford ("Vicramaditya and Salivahana: their respective Eras," "Asiatic Researches" Vol. IX., Essay IV., pp. 117-243) eight or nine different people have been severally claimed as the mythical king. Sir George Birdwood ("Indian Arts." London, 1880, Part II., p. 186) places the date of Vikramāditya's court at B.C. 56, while Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy ("Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists." London, 1913, p. 375) suggests that Chandragupta II. (A.D. 375-413) may have been the true Vikramāditya.
anklet of the goddess; in each of them Shiva beheld his own reflection. They were afterwards transformed into the Kanyás or heavenly maidens.

In India the jewel is set as a horoscopic square of which the ruby, symbolic of the sun, occupies the centre: to the east is Venus (the diamond), to the south-east the moon at full (a pearl), to the south is Mars (the coral), to the south-west a waxing moon (the jacinth), to the west is Saturn (a sapphire), to the north-west is Mercury (the emerald), to the north a waning moon (a cat’s eye), and to the north-east Jupiter is represented by a topaz.

Such is the nature and order of precedence of the stones. Besides these points three others are sometimes recognised, i.e., Above (governed by Brahmá), Below (governed by Sheshanága) and Centre (governed by Shiva). These, however, are not represented in the ring. In Burma the orthodox setting of the Nauaratna is an eight-rayed lotus bloom celestially suggestive of the planes of heaven and typifying terrestrially an octagonal earth. The disposition and order of the stones is that of its Indian prototype except that the moonstone is sometimes used to take the place of the jacinth. Now-a-days the orthodox arrangement is not always adhered to and the stones vary a good deal in accordance with the local mineralogy; for none but the wealthy can afford to purchase valuable gems whose habitat is in some distant province. Local variation is to be expected, indeed it is a condition of survival; and when one reflects that the Nauaratna was a very antique talisman in the days when Gautama received his revelation, that in all probability this remarkable example of symbolic art not only exceeds by far all others in age, but takes one back to a period long before the dawn of history, it becomes apparent how little variation has
actually achieved and how reflective, therefore, the *Nawaratna* was, and is, of the Hindu attitude towards life’s enigmas.

4. **Symbolic Aspects.**

Antiquity in dogma has sometimes been held to argue for its truth; there is, I think, something to be said for this, for while it may be dangerous to press the argument too far and persuade oneself into a too literal acceptance of traditional belief, it is unquestionably foolish to maintain that, because the sequence of a story can be shewn improbable, therefore the narrative stands for nothing more than idle fiction or deliberate falsehood. As in literature, so in other arts.

In the earliest stages of religious enquiry symbolism is as indispensable to progress as it is in mathematics; and to the thoughtless may be equally misguiding. One is taught at school that \( t = \frac{s}{u} \), or, in other words, that distance divided by velocity equals time, and one may reasonably ask, is it really so? We know that strictly this is not the case, nor can many of us believe that Brahma was conceived within a blossom. On the lines of the above formula, as Prof. John Perry used to point out at the Royal School of Mines, one might divide sofas by tables and expect to get chairs. The fact is that \( t = \frac{s}{u} \) is a statement about the relationship of human perceptions, as is the story of the birth of Brahma from a lotus bud which sprang from Vishnu’s navel: but with the difference that, while in the one case the formula stands for an observed mutuality, in the other the fable has reference to a traditional correlation. The validity or otherwise of Hindu tradition need not detain us. It is sufficient for our purpose to note that the gods of the Pantheon are to the myths of antiquity as the figures of mathematics are to formulæ; that neither formulæ nor myths are an end, but a means towards an
end, which, in the latter case, is not only the interpretation of past events but also the direction of future behaviour.

"The poets were practical sociologists, using the great power of their art deliberately to mould the development of human institutions and to lay down ideals for all classes of men."* Such at least is the esoteric view: and to the enlightened Bráhman, surely, the fiery ruby in the Nawaratna must stand for the great creative conception and all that it implies and teaches. In the exoteric or vulgar view, its significance is chiefly superstitious.

5. The Ruby.

In spite of its vast assemblage of devas the Hindu religion is essentially monotheistic. Brahm, the god of gods, the great neuter being, is neither personified nor worshipped, nor are altars erected to the name. Brahmá, the creative power of Brahm, is personified but hardly worshipped;† for the act of creation is finished and Brahmá rests. But Vishnu, the preserver, and Shiva, the destroyer, must be propitiated, since these are the days of their pilgrimage. Brahmá, Vishnu and Shiva are the Hindu triad; metaphysically they are matter, spirit and time; physically they are earth, air and water; but as with lesser gods their functions overlap and they tend to coalesce. They are represented by a single symbol—the ruby.

Red is the colour peculiar to the creative power, that is Brahmá; Vishnu is fire as the ruby is; fire is the symbol of the ever changing, that is time and hence Shiva. The Hindu philosophers well knew that destruction was change; the permanence of the works of Brahm was

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† By the holy lake Pokar (Pushkar), in Rájputána, stands the only temple in India erected to Brahmá, the Creator.
realised in India long before the Principles of the Conservation of Matter and Energy were clearly enunciated in Europe. So the Hindu triad is represented by Sūrya the creator, the preserver, the destroyer. More than this, the ruby stands for the great cosmic cycle or kalpa, wherein Brahmrā wakes and begins the creation which Vishnu sustains and Shiva finally destroys.*

The symbolism of the ruby is endless: it stands not only for the three great gods, their attributes, and every incarnation of the triad, but in a special sense for Sūrya, the sun-god—the supreme being of remote antiquity.†

*The following account of Hindu chronology is compiled from various sources, but the figures were obtained from Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy’s summary of the Hindu Universe in “Myths of the Hindus and Buddhists.”

One day in the life of Brahmrā.

| 12,000 deva-years = 432 × 10⁷ earth-years. |
| 14 manvantaras (each of which is presided over by a teacher or Manu). The manvantaras are separated by floods which exterminate all but a few living things which are spared to re-populate the earth. |
| 1,000 yuga cycles or mahā yugas, each of which is divided into four yugas arranged in ascending order of appearance as follows:— |

- Kali yuga = $432 \times 10^9$ earth-years
- Dvāpara ,, = $864 \times 10^3$ ,, ,, $(432 \times 10^4)$ or
- Tretā ,, = $1,296 \times 10^3$ ,, ,, (mahā yuga) 432×10⁴ years.
- Satya ,, = $1,728 \times 10^3$ ,, ,, (satya yuga)

At the close of each Brahmrā-day the universe is resolved into chaos (i.e., absorbed into Deity), retaining only "a latent germ of necessity of re-manifestation." The night of Brahmrā is equal in length to his day. During the night Brahmrā sleeps on the back of the mighty serpent Shesha (duration) which is also named Ananta (endless). Brahmrā’s life is 100 Brahmrā-years, at the end of which the entire creation, including Brahmrā himself, is resolved into the great chaos enduring for another 100 Brahmrā-years. Then arises a new Brahmrā who begins a new creation. The state of creation, potential and actual, lasts for five Brahmrā-lives, after this everything will be absorbed into Deity. The present Kalpa—the Varāha Kalpa, so called because the boar (varāha) incarnation of Vishnu was manifested in it—is the first day of the 61st year of the life of the fourth Brahmrā, and our year (A. D. 1916) is the 5016th year of the Kaliyuga of the 28th Mahāyuga of the 7th manvantara of the present kalpa.

The student will do well to compare the above statement with Chapter XXIV., Dubois and Beauchamp’s “Hindu Manners and Customs,” Budavod’s “Indian Arts,” p. 39, and “Asiatic Researches,” Vol. IX., pp. 242-243.

†The mythological position of Sūrya is well explained in Kennedy’s “Ancient and Hindu Mythology.” London, 1831, Chapter XIV.
The ruby is remindful, therefore, of all the adventures of deity recorded in the thousand and one legends and epic tales of India. To us in Ceylon, however, it will suggest more particularly the beautiful story of Ráma and Sítá.

The Hindus divide the ruby, as they do other important gems, into four castes: (1) the Bráhmin, (2) the Kshatriya, (3) Vaisya and (4) Súdra, of which the first only is the true ruby, the other three are varieties of spinel. The possession of a Bráhmin ruby confers safety upon the owner and insures the best of fortune, provided it is kept clean and uncontaminated by contact with rubies of inferior rank. It insures honours and competence, it averts dangers, quenches the thirst, strengthens the body, purifies the blood, and is regarded as an excellent specific for biliousness and flatulency.* Certain red fluids concocted by the Hindu medicine men are said to contain ruby; so artfully, however, is this ingredient disguised that mere science is unable to detect its presence.

The ruby is the ripe fruit of the kalpa†tree and, like the lingam, is emblematic of the reproductiveness of life; for Shiva was the first male and Devì, his sakti (consort), the Great Mother.

So too the ruby recalls the well-known stories of Krishna, the eighth avatára (incarnation) of Vishnu—a new comer among the devas, for his worship appears not to have been considerable before 300 B. C. Krishna, the all-powerful, the confounder of gods, the adviser of princes, the divine boy miraculously conceived within the womb of Devakí, Son of man yet son of god, the searcher of hearts, through whom salvation is obtained by the love of him. He too is represented by the ruby; and, it is said, may be propitiated by offerings of that gem.

* The Burmese are said to bury a ruby in their flesh in order to obtain invulnerability.

† The kalpa tree (Kalpataru, Kalpastru, Kalpavriksha, or Manoratha ddyaka): a magic tree which grows in Índra's paradise. It grants all desires.
"He who worships Krishna with rubies will be re-born as a powerful emperor; if with a small ruby he will be born a king."

In the wonderful city of Dwáráká, wonderfully created and wonderfully destroyed, wherein Krishna took up his abode with the Yaduvamsís, some have traced a parallel with the New Jerusalem as described in Revelations 21; but it should be noted that, while the ruby does not appear among the foundation stones of the City of the Lamb, it is a conspicuous jewel in Dwáráká.


The cardinal points which are represented by the stones of the Navaratna are controlled by Regents which, in the order of sequence of their representative gems (after the ruby) are: Indra, Agni, Yama, Nírút, Varuna, Váyu, Kuvera and Isána. (See Table, page 161). The Prince of the Regents is Indra who, with his subordinates, lives in Swarga.†

Besides these male Regents there are female guardians of the cardinal points. They are not the consorts of the Regents and receive little or no consideration as cosmic powers. Their function in this connection is somewhat obscure.

The cult of Indra, so authorities tell us, long antedates the worship of Vishnu and Shiva. He and his genii are pre-vedic gods indigenous to India. They are

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† Swarga is a kind of Olympian Paradise on Mt. Meru, at the north pole. On the summit of the mountain is the city of Brahmó, below and surrounding it are the cities of the various minor gods. Swarga is densely populated, for besides the great gods $333 \times 10^8$ minor deities and other personages are said to dwell there. Of these, however, only twelve are recipients of direct worship: they are Súrya, and the eight Regents: Káma (the god of love), Kártíkeya (the Commander of the celestial armies) and the Ashwíns, the twin dawn-gods or heavenly physicians, who are worshipped as one. Other important inhabitants of Swarga are the rishi (or holy penitents of whom Gautama is one), the Prajápatiś (the ‘lords of creatures,’ the first beings created by Brahmó), the Ápearas (dancing girls), and the two forms of celestial musicians, the Kinnaras and Gandharvas. The vehicles of the gods also dwell in Swarga.
the powers of nature and the granters of man’s deserving wishes. In Swarga do the souls of men rejoice during the interval between one birth and another; for departed spirits spend part of their time in hell and part in heaven according to their deserts.

Unlike the deities of later days the cosmic gods do not incarnate.

7. **The Diamond.**

The diamond is the stone of the east, that is of Indra, and is dedicated, curiously enough, to the planet Venus (or Sukra).

Indra is the firmament; he is called "the thousand eyed" in reference to the galaxy of heaven. He is the king of immortals, the Jupiter of the east, the god of the storm and the elements. He lives in the city of Amaravati, surrounded by his dancers. Indra is not truly great as a god, for it is related that Ravana, the ten-necked, subdued him and forced him to weave garlands of flowers. Of old he was propitiated as the bringer of fertility in the form of drought-dispelling rains, but from this position he has been deposed. Mr. Wheeler* suggests that "this degradation of Indra may possibly be due to the fact that he was a tribal god notoriously hostile to Brâhmans; and it is certainly very suggestive, from this point of view, that he has come to be regarded as the great deity of the Burman Buddhists. It is still further remarkable that at Benares, the headquarters of Brâhminism, he has been replaced by a special rain god."†

He is called the god of wealth (in the sense of possession, not of hoarded wealth, for Kuvera is that). He has an all-prolific cow and an eight-headed horse. The Pârijâta tree, which arose from the churned ocean, and four others equally bountiful, grow in his garden. He is lord

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* "History of India", Chapter iii., 21, 330.
of the wind as Váyu is. His consort is Indrání and his vehicle the elephant whose trunk is to be seen in a water spout. The iris (Rohitam) is Indra's invisible bow. Indra is sometimes identified with Sakra, the giver of evil counsel.

The diamond, like the ruby, is recognised in four castes. The Bráhmin diamond should have the whiteness of crystal. The Kshatriya diamond should be of a brown hue like the eye of a hare. The Vaisya should have the lovely shade of the kadali blossom, while a stone of the Súdra caste should present "the sheen of the polished blade."* The first insures good luck: it brings friends and riches and power; the second staves off decrepitude; and the third and fourth insure general good fortune and success.

Diamonds are known in all manner of colours, but deep clear tints are rare. A coral-red or a saffron-yellow diamond, say the Hindus, is for the exclusive use of kings; but the stone must not be parti-coloured. A white diamond spotted with red would quickly bring death to the wearer. A well-formed octahedral crystal of this gem is greatly prized in India; indeed badly formed crystals are often ground and faceted afresh to obtain this desirable shape. But a triangular stone is to be avoided as it engenders quarrels and misunderstandings. A square stone begets in the wearer vague feelings of fear and fits of trembling, while a diamond with five corners brings death. A stone to be efficacious as a talisman should be received as a gift: to buy a stone is to rob it of its powers. Above all, however, the flawed diamond is to be remembered and avoided as saints avoid the devil; it must not be bought, received, or presented, since its power of evil is unlimited; such a stone, it is said, could rob Indra of his heaven.

Diamond, of course, figures in the city of Dwáráká already mentioned. It forms the base of the trunk of the kalpa tree. "The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiouen Tsang, who visited India between 629 and 645 A. D., tells of the wonderful "Diamond Throne" which, according to the legend, had once stood near the tree of knowledge, beneath whose spreading branches Gautama Buddha is said to have received his supreme revelation of truth. This throne had been constructed in the age called the "Kalpa of Sages;" its origin was contemporaneous with that of the earth, and its foundations were the centre of all things; it measured one hundred feet in circumference, and was made of a single diamond. When the whole earth was convulsed by a storm or earthquake, this resplendent throne remained immovable. Upon it the thousand Buddhas of the kalpa had reposed and had fallen into the "ecstasy of the diamond." However, since the world has passed into the present and last age, sand and earth have completely covered the "Diamond Throne" so that it can no longer be seen by human eye."

The diamonds from the Panna mines are said to be the fragments of a gigantic specimen buried there long ago by an ascetic.†

The Sanskrit name for diamond (vajra) means thunderbolt; it is also called Indra's weapon (indrâyudha). Yama, it is said, came to earth on a flash from Indra's diamond (i.e., lightning). By the propitious offering of a diamond at the throne of the gods Nárvána may be attained. According to an ancient story which most of us have heard in one form or another during childhood's days, diamonds were once to be found in Ceylon (Serendib). They lay in great quantity at the bottom of a steep-sided gorge whose depths were infested with

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serpents. No one dared descend the abyss, but the gems were recovered by the practice of throwing meat into it; the stones, so the story goes, adhered to the flesh and were thus brought to the surface by birds.*

Diamonds are said to be of great medicinal value, but for curative purposes only the best diamonds may be used—or are charged for perhaps. Very unsavoury is the process of purification and preparation of the gems according to the Hindu pharmacopoeia. Diamond-containing medicines figure, it seems, as specifics for almost every complaint under the sun.

8. The Pearl.

The Regent of the S. E. is Agni, the fire god. In his character of the giver of light and warmth he is lord of the living and a gentleman of distinctly amorous nature: the story of his attempted seduction of the wives of the rishis is well known. It was he who by a flash impregnated Gangá, the great river goddess. She conceived, it is said, and brought forth wealth (¿Kumara). This strange story has been thought by some to have reference to the discovery of gold in the Ganges. Agni it was who protected Sítá from Hanuman’s fire when the immortal monkey set Lanká ablaze. The fire-god is the chief of the Vasus and the author, it is said, of the 5th Veda or Agama.—The first four proceeded from the 4 mouths of Brahmá; who, so the legend has it, had five heads, till one of them was struck off by Shiva.

Agni is supposed to reside in some of the hot springs of India; and his propitiation commonly takes the form of fire worship. His parentage is not without interest, for it is said (Rig Veda. VIII.; 23, 25) that he is the son of the Vanaspatis or deities of the large old forest trees.

* Diamonds show a strong tendency to cling to greasy surfaces, and the fact is made use of in the separation of diamonds from other stones at Kimberley and elsewhere.
The planetary guardian of the S. E. is CHANDRA, the full moon, that is the pearl of the Navaratna. CHANDRA, who is generally a male deity, but sometimes female, is the lord of plants, and his emblem is an antelope or as the Sinhalese say (in reference to a well-known legend) a hare. SASADHARA is a name applied to the moon with reference to the Buddhist story. The origin of CHANDRA seems a little obscure. In one account the sun becomes the moon, another says that a flash of light from the eye of Atri (the Hindu equivalent to the ether of modern science) was received by the goddess of space, and that she, in consequence, gave birth to CHANDRA. The moon is variously described as the husband, the wife and the son of Surya. CHANDRA in his male form was wedded to the twenty-seven daughters of Daksha—the father of constellations—but it is said that he was transformed into a female when entering the forest of Gauri with his favourite consort, on account of a curse set upon the place by Shiva, who had been surprised there by some men while he was paying his attentions to Rohini, the favourite consort of the moon.

CHANDRA is supposed to dwell for two and a half days in each of the twelve rāsis or celestial chambers.*

Another name for CHANDRA is Soma, a term originally applied to a plant, the intoxicating juice of which was used in certain rites of moon worship.†

As may be expected the moon, in its various phases, forms the subject of a large number of legends; while the marks upon its visible face are accounted for in all manner of curious ways. The sun, so one legend has it, married the moon, but she proved an unfaithful spouse; so Sol, in order to punish her—for, although he likes not

† The Soma plant (Sarcostemma viminala, vel brevistigma) is the Hom of decorative art. It figures conspicuously in Eastern and Western mythology, and has been identified with the Tree of Life which stood in the garden of Eden. Fermented juice of the Soma is said to have been the first intoxicant known to Aryans.
destruction, he is Father of Chastity—cut her in two, but afterwards granted her permission to assume her complete shape once a month.

The dark patches on the moon are said to be the marks made by Gautama’s shoe, which the great Rishi flung when he discovered that satellite flirting with his wife. Another story has it, the moon paid his attentions to the wife of Jupiter (Vrihaspati), and that Jupiter flung his loin cloth, all wet from recent ablutions in the Ganges, at the moon; and that the marks on Chandra’s face bear witness to the accuracy of Vrihaspati’s aim.

It is in the moon that the sainted dead are said to dwell, and it was for this reason no doubt that the early Hindu Buddhists worshipped that orb.

The representative gem of the S. E. is the pearl. This beautiful gem entered into the composition of the city of Dwārakā. Pearls adorned the boughs of the kalpa tree and were sometimes used as eyes in figures of the gods. *

The holy tank constructed by Máya was incrusted with pearls. They figure conspicuously, too, in the adornment of Sṛṅ.†


The coral, which is the next stone in order of precedence, is the gem of the south, over which Yama presides. Mangala (or Mars) is the planetary guardian. Yama’s kingdom is the kingdom of Hades.

According to some legends Yama was the first to tread the path of death and thus became regent of the dead. His soul descended to earth in a flash of lightning and he was born of a thunderbolt.

* Kunz, loc. cit., p. 240.
Thus Yama is the sovereign of the earth and the judge of departed spirits. He is lord of the Pitrís (or great progenitors) who inhabit the moon and whose day and night is as a mouth to mortals. He is also said to be the offspring of the sun and of Aditi, the mother of gods. He is identified as a form of Vishnu and is sometimes regarded as Shadadéva, the seventh Manu.

As Regent of the dead he is attended by his dogs which are known as "the spotted ones." These creatures act as guardians of the departed and keep off evil spirits: in folklore the dog plays a similar part.

Yama's kingdom is in the south, that is Hades, and for this reason no temple should be built to the south of a village; for prowling spirits might contaminate or carry off the offerings. Among the Bhuiyars Yama is regarded as a dream ghost who sits upon the chest of his victims and frightens them.

The coral in worship will subdue the three worlds.*

Of coral are the young leaves of the kalpa tree formed. In the city of Kasavati, the sixth rampart was composed of this stone; beyond the seventh rampart were seven rows of palm trees of which the sixth row was composed of palms of agate, whose fruit and leaves were of coral, and of coral palms, whose leaves and fruit were of agate.

In India there appears to be no superstition with regard to wearing coral next the skin, but in Europe the practice is condemned; for in mediaeval times it was thought that the coral, when placed next the flesh, sucked out the wearer's life and like its possessor became pale.

The coral in India, in common with several things which come out of the sea, is regarded as a safeguard against witchcraft and the evil eye.

The Mangars of Bengal place coral (and silver coins) in the mouths of their dead. They lay their hands upon the stone in order to be purified.

Coral ashes are often used in India for medicinal purposes, while rings carved from coral are regarded as protective against the rays of the tropical sun.

10. Jacinth.*

The Regent of the S. W. is Niritá (or Nirut) Once upon a time he was Pingaksha—a merciful hunter who gave his life to save some harmless but wealthy travellers from his uncle's murderous designs. Pingaksha was rewarded for his gallantry by a place in the heavens.†

According to Moor‡, Nirut means one with a disagreeable countenance. "His name occurs but seldom in writings or conversation........His consort is Nirriti, who seems to share with him the honour of his government; and a man becoming criminal on certain points, it is incumbent on him to "sacrifice a black or one-eyed ass, by way of a meat-offering to Nirriti, patroness of the south-west, by night, in a place where four ways meet"—"Let him daily offer to her in fire the fat of an ass; and at the close of the ceremony, let him offer clarified butter, with the holy text Sem, and so forth, to Pavana, to Indra, to Vrihaspati and to Agni, regents of wind, clouds, a planet, and fire." Ins. of Manu, chap. XI., verses 119, 120.

Niritá was once the female fiend of death recognised by people of remote antiquity. She has been gradually elevated from the status of a Rakshasha to that of a goddess.

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* The term jacinth which is derived from an ancient Hindu word is used indiscriminately for cinnamon garnet (Hessonite) and a yellowish variety of zircon. Strictly speaking, the name should refer to the latter species, but the stone used in the Nawaratna under that name is generally some form of garnet. (See Herbert Smith "Gem Stones," London, 1912. pp. 211 and 229).


The corresponding planet is the waxing moon, or the ascending node; which is represented by Rāhu, the head of the dragon who is supposed to cause eclipses of the sun and moon.

The dragon, disguised as a god, drank nectar from the churned ocean, but the sun and the moon discovered the fraud and told Vishnu, who in his anger severed the head and fore-quarters of the dragon from the rest of the trunk. The fore part became Rāhu and the hind quarters Ketu. Rāhu, by way of revenge, periodically swallows the sun and the moon (i.e., at the time of the eclipses).

"By a curious process of anthropomorphism," says Crooke (I. 21.), "another legend makes Rāh or Rāhu, the Dusâdh gosling, to have been not an eclipse demon, but the ghost of an ancient leader of the tribe who was killed in battle.* A still grosser theory of eclipses is found in the belief held by the Ghasiyas of Mirzapur, that the sun and moon once borrowed money from the Doom tribe and did not pay it back. Now in revenge the Doom occasionally devours them and vomits them up again when the eclipse is over."

Rāhu is never regarded with generous feelings; his very name means looser or seizer; and at the time of an eclipse Hindu women beat tins and pans in order to drive Rāhu from his prey.†

The gem of the S. W. is the jacinth, and with this stone can Rāhu be propitiated. In the Kalpa tree, as we have seen, the young shoots were of coral, the older leaves are said to be composed of jacinth.

The amethyst is sometimes said to be sacred to Rāhu.

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* Cunningham "Archeological Reports," XVI., 28.
Surya is sometimes regarded as Regent of the S. W. He was one of the great Vedic gods and as Sūraj Nārāyana was regarded as Vishnu occupying the sun. Another of his names is Prajāpati (‘lord of creatures’). Ushas (the dawn) is his wife. Surya could be relied upon to check the exuberance of Indra; and in this connection Crooke (1.77.) records a Hindu procedure for averting deluge. The method was to pay a Brāhman ‘to make sixty holes in a piece of wood and run a string through all of them. While he is thus ‘binding up the rain,’ he recites spells in honour of Sūraj Nārāyana, who is moved to interfere.’

Six hundred years ago there were no less than half a dozen large sects of sun worshippers in India, but their numbers seem to have declined of late. The Saura sect, who worship Surya, wear a crystal necklace in his honour.

11. Sapphires.

The Regent of the W. is Varuna, whose planet is Saturn, which is represented by the sapphire.

Varuna is lord of the oceans; and, because of the oceans’ depth, of darkness. He is a lord of punishment; and, like Neptune, carries the trident. He, too, is one offspring of Aditi and is counted as one of the suns.

Just as Agni, one of the great gods of the past, survives in the fire worship of the Agnihotri Brāhmīns, so Varuna, in the degraded form of Barum, the weather god, is remembered in the sailor’s worship of boats before a journey. For the rest he is hardly thought of. But Sani (Saturn), the guardian planet of his quarter, receives more consideration.

Sani is possessed of the evil eye to a marked degree; his glance, it will be remembered, burnt off the head of Ganesa. To encounter the glance of Sani is to court misfortune for a quarter of a century; but fortunately his evil influence can be counteracted to some degree by
wearing an iron finger ring. All offerings to Sani are black, i.e., charcoal, black cattle, sesamum, etc. His vehicle is, appropriately enough, the vulture.

Saturday is the day under the influence of the ill-omened Saturn. Crooke, on the authority of Chevers,* shews how the great cholera outbreak at Jessore in 1871 was accounted for by inferences drawn from the fact that August of that year (when the sickness was at its height) contained five Saturdays. Five is the number appropriate to Shiva, the destroyer.

"The wearing of a ring of sapphire, sacred to Sani or Saturn, is supposed to turn out lucky or unlucky, according to circumstances. For this reason the wearer tries it for three days, that is, he wears it on Saturday, which is sacred to Saturn, and keeps it on till Tuesday. During this time if no mishap befalls him, he continues to wear it during the period when the planet's influence is unfavourable; but should any mishap befall him during the three days, he gives the ring to a Bráhman."†

Sapphire forms the roots of the kalpa tree and was used to deck the cross roads of Dwáraká. Medicinally it is supposed to be good for diseases of the eye.

12. EMERALD.

The emerald is of special interest to us since it is symbolic of mercy or Budha, who presides as planetary guardian over the N. W. quarter. Vayu, Pavan or Marut, sometimes called Anila, is the regent. Pavan is the chief of the Maruts (wind gods). He is father of Hanuman, as Shiva is also said to have been. Pavan's character is not entirely above question.

The emerald is symbolic of Budha, the 5th of the seven rishis; each of whom, so the fable says, married one of the stars of the Pleiades which were subsequently

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* "Medical Jurisprudence for India," 415, sq.
† Cooke, loc. cit., p. 18.
expelled from the Arctic regions by their husbands on account of a supposed misbehaviour with Agni.* The emerald is also Vishnu's stone. Offerings of the emerald to Vishnu in his Krishna avatāra, will insure knowledge of the soul and things eternal. Of this gem were the pillars of the city of Dwāraṅkā made, and from the shoots of the kalpa tree were many beautiful emeralds suspended.

The emerald has a greater place in the lore of S. America than in that of India; nor is this surprising when its habitat is considered. The emerald proper does not occur in India; but aquamarines, which are only emeralds of a different shade (both emerald and aquamarine being forms of beryl), do occur there. It is probable that several other green stones were at one time used as emeralds. The green zircon is a likely substitute, green sapphire is another. According to an anonymous Eastern writer†, Ceylon is said to be the place of origin of the green sapphire, where it is generated in caverns from the suppuration and solidification of the essence of water. "The natives dig wells into these places and wash the sand extracted from below for the various minerals which are disseminated in it." In point of fact the green sapphire has a wider distribution than this. Some of the best known come from Queensland at the present time.

According to the Hindu superstition, which does not appear to be older than the thirteenth century, emerald is regarded as a curative for dysentery, biliousness, and bad appetite; it may also be used to ward off the attacks of demons.

* Swāha, the wife of Agni, fearing the wrath of the Rishis, impersonated each by turn and thus gratified her husband's ardour.

† For some account of his work (the Jawāhirnāmeh), see Journal R. A. S. No. VII., 1832, pp. 353—363.
13. Catseye.

The catseye represents the waning moon, that is Ketu, or the descending node. Of this planet Kuvera is the regent and his quarter is the northern.

Kuvera is the lord of material wealth. He is represented as selfish and deformed. Vittessa, Visvavāra and Vaisrāva are other names of his. He is sometimes identified as Pulastya, the fourth of the Brahmadicus (or children of Brahma created for the purpose of supplying the earth with inhabitants). Kuvera resides in the gorgeous city of Alaka (Chitravatha). His attendants are the Yakshas and the Guhyakas, in whose form men addicted to evil passions and miserly ways are re-born. *

Ketu, the dragon’s tail, gives out meteoric showers it is said. He is regarded as a demon of disease and is propitiated by some northern Indian tribes by means of fire sacrifices.

Ketu’s connection with the waning moon has already been mentioned. Another story (Rig Veda. X., 85, 5) says that the waning of the moon was caused by the gods drinking up the nectar; while yet another legend ascribes the phenomenon to an unfriendly act of Ganesa. Ganesa one day fell off his vehicle—the rat—and the moon laughed at him; then Ganesa, in his wrath, declared that nobody should look upon the face of the moon again. The moon begged forgiveness and “the remover of obstacles” granted that on his birthday only (Ganasa Chaturthi) should he be so disgraced.

The worship of Ketu is almost a thing of the past; today he is regarded merely as a demon of disease.

One story has it that Ketu was transformed into the red-apparitions which are commonly referred to in the older folklore. Possibly it is on account of this the carbuncle (garnet) is sometimes considered to be sacred to Ketu.

* Cooke, loc. cit., p. 79-80.
The catseye is more generally considered the stone of Ketu.

The uppermost part of the kalpa tree is composed of catseye.

In Ceylon the gem is regarded as a charm against evil spirits.

14. Topaz.

The topaz, which is the last of the stones of the Nawaratna, is the gem of Jupiter (or Vrihaspati), who is the planetary guardian of the N. E. over which Isána holds sway. Isá, Isana and Isani are variants of one of the thousand names of Shiva the three eyed. Isá is also the moon. He and his consort Isani appear to change sex occasionally. Isá, in the female form, is the energy of nature.

The legend of Vrihaspati and the moon has been already referred to.

The topaz does not figure largely in Hindu mythology; it may be remembered, however, as the gem which forms the middle of the bole of the kalpa tree.

Isána, like the other planetary guardians, is an ancient and degraded god. The downfall of Indra and his host is perhaps recorded in the legend, which shews not only how the Prince of the Regents was made to weave garlands; but how Agni was forced to cook; Surya to supply light by day and Chandra light by night; Varuna to carry water, and Kuvera to furnish cash in accordance with the wishes of Rávana.

All the nine planetary spheres are supposed to have formed themselves into a ladder by means of which Rávana ascended to his throne.

15. General Conclusion and a Reminder.

Such in general is the significance of the Nawaratna. It is a talisman of good fortune to be invoked at propitious moments and especially at marriage. In Ceylon
the arrangement of the stones and even the nature of them varies a good deal. The construction of the ring will often occupy a lengthy period, sometimes nine months, sometimes nine years, each stone being set at an appointed time.

Figures of the nine planetary gods, placed back to back, are commonly to be seen in Hindu temples. Often before starting to worship any of the greater gods the devotee will smear himself with sacred ashes and walk nine times round the group in the direction of the sun. The mediation of the planetary guardians and of Ganesha is sought by all who would ask a boon of the greater gods, while the Panikkars of the Malabar coast regularly worship the nine planets.

The Navaratna is an epitome of Hindu philosophy and religion and a talisman of inestimable worth. It is a thing to be treasured and preserved as the work of a great master should be preserved with all its faults and fine delineations.

One hears that Western crafts are progressing in the East; this is well enough, but surely it is a matter for regret, if, as I have been told on good authority, wealthy Rájas and other moneyed folk are patronising the arts of Europe to the detriment of Oriental cult.

It would be a pity indeed if such jewels as the Navaratna were forgotten. This talisman, however, is too representative, too essential, to be easily deposed. None the less there is danger of degradation from another source—that of the manufactory.

Fate, necessity, call it what you will, drives crowds of hapless peasants to the towns. There, life is dwarfed, and a man must "do as Rome does" or depart.

Demand and supply are the components of a force which sets the great pendulum of commerce swaying between the dead points of poverty and wealth. And "a man must live;" so cities expand and workshops grow;
the green sward becomes a cinder-path, and the pure waters of earth, polluted by the filth of factories, assume the warning colours of a serpent. Thought, like life itself, is subjugated to the common law; and the deep reverence for Nature, born of man’s responsive heart, and expressed in a thousand and one creations of symbolic handicraft, is forgotten in the turmoil of machinery.

There is little incentive to self-expression in creative work. The market does not want it; it prefers the cheap design, stamped out with endless repetition and unerring accuracy, to the patient work of the artisan, with its many idiosyncrasies, its evidence of human frailty and masterful conception. Repetition and decline in art go hand in hand—either may be the symptom of the other—while significance strained and warped during its long journey through the ages, is at last forgotten, and nothing but superstition, a foolish and degenerate thing, remains to indicate a nobler past.

The Navaratna, associated with the five-gem talisman, the Pancharatna,* becomes the zodiacal jewel of Babylon—the Pleiades and Hyades.†

The Breastplate on the ephod, belonging to the days which succeed the Babylonian captivity, i.e., the period of the Second Temple, is the outcome of this union; while to-day the last degenerate survivals of the ecclesiastical treasure are to be seen in cheap imitation jewelery which finds a ready sale as "birthday" brooches at holiday resorts in Europe.

Nor are the beautiful things in the East, it seems, to escape this degradation; for it may be said with greater

* The Pancharatna consists of gold, diamond, ruby, sapphire and pearl.
† The seven invisible, and the five visible signs at the summer solstice. The Hyades are a cluster of five stars in the constellation of Taurus. The Pleiades were in later times represented by the seven tragic poets of the Court of the Ptolemies (cf. the nine poets of Vikramaditiya’s Court).
certainty of many Kondakuru (කොංදකුරු) than Lord Kelvin said of atoms: "they bear the stamp of the manufactured article." Indeed with engaging, if somewhat superfluous, honesty, not a few of these ornaments declare themselves to have been Made in Germany. Moreover, it is only too easy to show that many of the poorer Sinhalese are losing touch with the deeper meanings of the talismanic cult, while some of the better educated people scout the ancient lore of symbolism as a thing unworthy, utterly foolish and foul.

Speaking of the Navaratna in India, Sir George Birdwood said:—†"In consequence probably of its wide association with the "nine gems" of the court of Vikramaditiya, its planetary character has become very much obscured among ignorant Hindus; as the horse-shoe ornament with its seven gems, so much affected by horsey men, has passed out of recognition among ourselves; and as that of the combined circle and crescent-shaped brooch with its five pendants has been forgotten by the Arabs and Turks, although it has descended to them directly from the Chaldeans..............The vault of heaven, the womb of Nature, with its included constellationary life, and, above all, the seven guardian planetary, and twelve zodiacal divinities, is what is represented by the horse-shoe, the Navaratna, and the ark, and other similar symbols. The heaven above us is at once the celestial Mount Ararat, and the celestial ark which survives the deluge of time; it is the palladium and shield of the universe; and the horse-shoe and the Navaratna are magical images of it."

One can hardly doubt that the original symbolism was purer than the highly localised equivalent of later times; that it typified, at first, not so much the phenomena of

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* Hair ornaments much worn by Sinhalese women.
† Society of Arts. March, 1887.
Nature and the attributes of men, as the hidden powers discovered by ascetics to lie behind these things. But a symbolic figure rapidly becomes an idol, and a jewel, dedicated to its cause, soon acquires a potency of its own. Nevertheless, if we are prepared to put aside a prejudice, we may see in this most ancient of jewels, man's picture of the "Great Beyond;" his early attempts to understand the causal powers of life and death; his appreciation of influence for good and evil: in a word, his recognition of the Gods.

If the results have not been altogether beautiful, neither have they been altogether bad; and, if the seer in his endeavours to look upon the "face of God" has peered into the mirror and beheld the goodness of man, nonetheless has he discerned a noble truth; in noble fashion too has he recorded it. With much patience and consummate skill has he rendered his interpretation of life and his philosophy of the infinite—misguided, if you will have it so, and premature perhaps, but not entirely mistaken. Much has he produced full worthy of the highest praise; much to recall two best known but never hackneyed lines of Keats.

The nine-stone ring claims our consideration and respect as a record of one of the earliest attempts to grapple with problems which are still unsolved; and if there are points in which the sages were certainly in error, there yet remain others in which we are probably not right.

But apart from these questions, the Navaratna is a worthy treasure deserving an honourable place in Art; for is it not, like the jewel of Truth it embodies, "a thing of beauty" and "a joy for ever"?
The Cardinal Points, their Regents, Planets and Gems.

(Hindu Representative Planets, which correspond to the Pancha Marga system of Planets are given in the following Table.)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female Guardians</th>
<th>Alternatives</th>
<th>Usually accepted</th>
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<tr>
<td>Brahmani</td>
<td>Saraswati</td>
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<td>Narayani</td>
<td>Lakshmi</td>
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<td>Maheswari</td>
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<td>Varuna</td>
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<td>Jevani (Jea)</td>
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<tr>
<th>Male Guardians</th>
<th>Alternatives</th>
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<td>Agni</td>
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<td>Kayvan</td>
<td>(Marut) Ahiha</td>
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<td>Kuvava</td>
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<td>Jevani (Jea)</td>
<td>Chandra Prithu</td>
<td>Narasinha</td>
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<tr>
<th>Representative Gems</th>
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<td>Topaz</td>
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Notes:
- Ʉ: Consort of Varahi or Vahan.
- ɇ: Or Mitha, a planet of Vahan.
- Ɉ: Or another planet of Vahan.

(See page 143.)
THE HINDU SOLAR SYSTEM.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE.

This is the centre portion of a plate (published on January 1st, 1809, by Mr. J. Johnson, of 72, St. Paul's Church Yard) which appears in Moore's "HINDU PANTHEON" under the number 88 and the title of "The Hindu Zodiac and Solar System." It was copied from a picture painted by a Hindu (? Jeypoor) artist.

In the letterpress Moore says: "I have heedlessly numbered these figures without adverting to their relative importance." (p. 284.)

The figures represented are as follows:
1. Surya and Aruna his charioteer.
2. Vrihaspati.

Each figure is named in Persian.
Sukra's vehicle is somewhat problematical, It has been suggested that it may be a rat. The following vehicles are alternatives:

1. For Surya, a lion (while his chariot is drawn by a seven-headed horse).
2. Vrihaspati, a boar.
4. Rahu, a tortoise.
5. For Budha, an eagle.
6. Mangala, a horse.
7. Chandra, a hare.
8. Sani, an elephant.
9. Sukra, a camel.
7. There was no discussion.

8. The Ven. the Archdeacon, in proposing a vote of thanks to the writer of the Paper, said:—I am sorry there is no discussion at all. It is a very learned Paper which Mr. Hartley has just read so well. I have been asked to propose a vote of thanks to the writer of the Paper, which I have much pleasure in doing. Mr. Wayland wrote that he is no scholar, but certainly he shows in the Paper the possession of an enormous amount of knowledge and also shows most careful study of this remarkable gem, which is described at much length. I have pleasure, sir, without any further discussion, in proposing a vote of thanks to the writer of the Paper.

Mr. R. W. Byrde: I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The vote was carried unanimously.

9. The Bishop of Colombo proposed a vote of thanks to the chair. He said: I have much pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman of this evening. While we regret the absence of Mr. Harward, our former President, we welcome our Vice-President, Sir Christoffel Obeyesekere in the chair this evening. Perhaps he will find the time for some few remarks upon the Paper which has been read, because I know he has to some extent studied the subject and he has shown me a book, written fifty years ago, in which reference is made by the Hon. Mr. Alwis I think, to this nine-fold gem. I have great pleasure in proposing the vote of thanks.

Mr. Walter Samarasinghe seconded.—Carried.

10. The Chairman said: I thank you, my Lord, most heartily for the vote of thanks. I have ever found pleasure in coming to meetings of this kind, especially when a European gentleman produces a Paper upon Oriental ideas and Oriental events. It is seldom that we find Europeans taking that interest. There are very few that come here in whom we find that trait, barring our Lord Bishop and his brother, the late respected Metropolitan, and our late Governor Sir Robert Chalmers. There were very few gentlemen who took interest in Oriental matters, and in Oriental literature, and there is nothing so gratifying to an Oriental like myself as to be present at a meeting where we learn so much. With regard to the Nawaratna his Lordship referred to my having studied the subject. It is far from it. The Nawaratna is a gem that is very well-known and it does not require much study, for even in the villages enquiry from any Buddhist priest or a peasant proprietor would elicit the information that to be without a Nawaratna argues want of means and want of respectability, as the following lines in Sinhalese will show:—

Māṇikya mukta gomedaṅ
Vajraṇ vaidūrya vidrumaṅ
Indra nilaṅ pushpārāgaratnaṅ cathinay
marakaṅaṅ matam.
The *Nawaratna* has been known for a long time among the villagers and very few Europeans hear of it. It has been written about by the late Hon. Mr. James de Alwis in his contribution to Oriental Literature and will be found on page 118 of that volume. It is as follows:—"I may here give Mr. Kindersley's translation of the passage through the medium of Tamil, namely, coral, pearl, catseye, emerald, diamond, sapphire, ruby, topaz. The ninth is left undetermined. It is the *Nila*, perhaps the *Nilamani* of Tamil; *Nila-ketha* in the Sinhalese. It is called only blue-sapphire of great value. I am here adverting to the fact that the blue-sapphire is sometimes formed of the Ceylon ruby, which may be seen in various stages of formation produced by a mixture of a lake and blue." He enters at length into this *Nawaratna* and discusses many points like the author of this Paper. Mr. Alwis' articles appear to have been written in 1863—fifty years ago. It is, therefore, gratifying to find a gentleman who has been amongst us only within the last four or five years, devoting his spare time to matters of this kind. Before he leaves us, I hope he will furnish further contributions, which will form valuable additions to this Society as well as to the various libraries.
COUNCIL MEETING.


Present:
Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., Cantab., President, in the Chair.
Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Cantab., Vice-President.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Mr. A. M. Gunasekara, Muda-lyár.
Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.
Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
The Hon'ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesékara, Kt.
Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 6th day of March, 1916.

2. Read the names of the following Members elected since the last Council Meeting, viz:—

(1) S. W. K. Wipulasenasabha: W. D. C. Wagiswara. Thero: recommended by F. A. Tissevirasingha.
(2) K. K. J. A. Sylva: recom. W. A. de Silva.
   recommended by F. A. Tissevirasingha.
(3) Oliver E. Goonetilleka: P. E. Pieris.
   recommended by Gerard A. Joseph.
(4) M. M. W. Vidurupola: W. Chas. de Silva.
   recommended by D. Buddhadasa.
   recommended by Gerard A. Joseph.
   recommended by P. E. Pieris.

3. Considered and passed the election of the following Members:—

(1) W. Ratanapala Thero: recom. T. Medhankara.
   recommended by M. B. Medagama.
(2) M. S. V. Somaratana Thero: H. C. P. Bell.
   recommended by E. Sueter.
   recommended by P. E. Pieris.
4. Mr. Joseph mentioned that Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., had consented to deliver a lecture on Ceylon Numismatics sometime in October.

Resolved,—That Mr. H. W. Codrington be thanked for his offer, and that it be accepted.

5. Read a letter, dated 14th June, 1916, from Mr. V. J. Tambipillai asking that the time of opening the Library be extended.

Resolved,—That Mr. V. J. Tambipillai be informed that the Council regret that they are unable to accede to his request, as the Society has to conform to the Colombo Museum hours, which the Director does not propose to extend.


Resolved,—That the Institution be informed that, as the Colombo Museum (which is housed in the same building) exchanges its publications with the Bernice Panahi Bishop Museum, the Council do not feel justified in adding to the exchange list.


Resolved,—That the Council feel that, as the Kitsirimevan Kēlani Inscription has been dealt with by Mr. H. C. P. Bell in the *Ceylon Antiquary*, any criticism concerning it should appear in that Journal.

8. Laid on the table a Paper entitled: "Sissiyānu Sissiya Paramparāwa," by Mr. G. W. Woodhouse, C.C.S.

Resolved,—That, as the Paper had been offered to the Parent Society, the Council do not feel in a position to accept it.

9. Mr. Joseph mentioned that Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam had kindly consented to deliver a lecture at the next General Meeting on "The Pollonaruwa Bronzes."

10. Considered the appointment of a Member of Council in place of Mr. J. Harward, M.A.

Resolved,—That Mr. E. B. Denham, Director of Education, be appointed to fill the vacancy.
COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 27, 1916.

Present:
Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., Cantab., President, in the Chair.
Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyár.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall.
Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.
Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
The Hon'ble Sir Christoffel Obeyesekara, Kt.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on Tuesday, the 11th July, 1916.

2. The President mentioned the services done to the Society by the late Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.
   Resolved,—That the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society desires to record its deep regret at the death of Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary of the Society for the last three years, and its appreciation of his valuable services and untiring zeal and devotion to the welfare of the Society, and to offer its sincere condolence to Mr. Sueter and the other members of the family on their bereavement.

3. Considered the appointment of an Honorary Secretary in place of the late Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S.
   Resolved,—That Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., Oxon., C.C.S., (who has consented to serve) be appointed.

4. Considered and passed the election of the following members:
   (1) A. Saralankara Thero: S. W. K. Wipulasenasabha, recommended by W. D. C. Wagiswara.
   (2) J. N. C. Tiruchelvam: S. Vythianáthan, Mudaliyár, recommended by John M. Senaviratne.

5. Read a letter, dated 22nd September, 1916, from Mr. P. E. Pieris, C.C.S., regarding the Buddhist Ruins at Chunnágam.
   Resolved,—That the Government be asked to take the necessary steps to acquire, conserve, and excavate the ruins and that Mr. Freeman, G. A., N. C. P., the Officer in charge of the Archeological Survey Department, be asked to support the Society’s appeal to Government.

6. Dr. Nell mentioned the delay in publishing the Papança Sudāni, the first work undertaken of the Aluvihára Edition of the critical recension of Pali Works inaugurated by Sir Robert Chalmers.
   Resolved,—That Mudaliyár Simon de Silva and A. Mendis Gunasekara be asked to communicate with the Printer and expedite the publication and report results.
GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 6, 1916.

Present:

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., Cantab.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. W. Byrde, C.C.S.
Mr. C. H. Collins, C.C.S.
Rev. J. P. de Pinto.
Mr. U. B. Dolapihilla.
Mr. T. Terence Fernando.
Mr. A. P. Gooneratne.
Dr. V. D. Gooneratne.
Mr. J. J. Goonawardana.
Mr. C. W. Horfall.
Mr. C. H. Joliffe.
Mr. E. W. Kannangara.
Mr. A. Mendis.

Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. Donald Obeyesékara.
Dr. Joseph Pearson, D. Sc.
Mr. R. C. Proctor.
Mr. Joseph E. Rode.
Dr. Donald Schokman.
Mr. John M. Senaviratne.
Mr. Joseph Tiruchelvam.
Mr. E. J. Wayland.
Mr. Clement P. Wijeyeratne,
J.P., U.P.M.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.       Honorary
Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S.       Secretaries.

Visitors: Three ladies, fourteen gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of the last General Meeting held on 27th March, 1916.

2. Read the resolution of the Council on the lamented death of Mr. E. B. F. Sueter, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

3. The Chairman introduced the lecturer.

4. Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., Oxon., C.C.S., delivered the following lecture:—
CEYLON NUMISMATICS.

BY H. W. CODRINGTON, B.A., OXON., C.C.S.

The earliest coins in the Island are the eelllings, so
englished from their Sanskrit name purāṇa (old); they are
found throughout India from the Himalayas to Ceylon.
The method of manufacture differed from that of the
more modern coins in that they were made from strips
of hammered silver, which were cut up into oblong pieces
of the required weight of 32 ratis or about 56 gr., the
corners being snipped where necessary. It is probable
that they were issued by private bodies or persons and
impressed with various punch-marks by the money-changers
or shroffs through whose hands they passed. They were
current in North India probably as early as the first part of
the 4th century B.C., to the beginning of the Christian
era and in S. India probably for at least two, if not
three, centuries longer.

The later eelllings are of a roughly circular shape and of
a greater thickness than the earlier rectangular coins.
Those found in Ceylon vary greatly in weight and this
may indicate that during the later period of their currency
they were taken by weight and not by tale.

There can be but little doubt that these eelllings are the
kahavanās of the earlier Sinhalese inscriptions. The kār-
shāpanā of Manu was of copper; the kahāpanā of Buddhist
tradition was of gold, but it is certain that in parts of
India the coin of this name was of silver. The name,
as so often, has remained unchanged though denoting very
varying weights and applied to different coins: compare
the Roman pound and its derivatives in Europe, such as
the pound sterling, the pound Scots, &c., and the history
of the solidus, the soldo, the sou, &c.
In South India up to as late as the xii. century, as shown by inscriptions, gold passed by weight, taxes being paid in kalañjus and mañjádis of gold side by side with the use of coins: the same was the practice in Ceylon according to the lithic records of the ix.—x. century. This must have been very ancient.

The ealding was succeeded by the single die coin. The symbols once punched at random gradually became fixed and collected in one die, the reverse being blank or punch-marked. Prof. Rapson, writes: “In the place of a number of symbols punched into the coin from time to time, there appears at a later period a definite type made up of a collection of these symbols struck from a die.” A few silver coins of this type have been found in Ceylon.

We next come to a rectangular coinage in copper. This is cast and not struck and has as its chief characteristic a standing bull. The pieces are of three weights, apparently of about 210, 35 and 17½ gr.

The large “Elephant and svastika” circular copper coins found at Anurádhapura, Mihintalé, Tissa and Mán-tota, are undoubtedly of Ceylon origin. The design consists of various symbols and is an excellent illustration of Prof. Rapson’s dictum. The pieces are of two sizes, one large averaging about 260 gr., the other smaller and weighing about 19 gr. The fact that they are circular and struck shows that they are later than the cast rectangular Bull type. From general considerations of style as exemplified in North Indian coins they must date between the 2nd century B.C., and the beginning of our era. We may perhaps be able to date them more precisely; for the railed svastika appears in the Dambulla inscription of Devanapiya Maharajassa Gamiña Tisa, i.e., Saddhá Tissa, brother of Duţuşemunu, (B.C. 137-119) and in the Gallena inscription of Waļagam Báhu (B.C. 104, 88-76). The large size is characteristic of South Indian coins of the time.

The next is the Lion type copper series, hitherto styled
"Pallava" or "Kurumbar." They are of the utmost rarity in India, only two having been found there, and as they bear the national symbol of the lion and are the commonest of the older coins found at Anurádhapura, it may be safely said that they are of Sinhalese make. The design recalls that on many coins of the Andhra dynasty which came to an end about 200 A.D. The date of their currency can be fixed by finds at the Abhayagiri dágoba, if this be really the Jetavanáráma dágoba built by Mahasen who reigned from A.D. 277 to 304. None have been found at Sígiriya or Połonnaruwa. They are apparently of three weights.

We now come to the foreign coins current in Ceylon, chief among which are the Roman. Mr. Sewell in his Paper on Roman Coins found in India (J.R.A.S. 1904) distinguishes five periods in the Roman trade with India:

1. The Consulate, during which there was hardly any commerce, the seaborne trade being small and coastwise. The only coin of this period found here is a denarius of c. B.C. 124-110.

2. Augustus to Nero, ob: 68 A.D. A great demand for pepper, spices, fine muslins, perfumes, pearls, and precious stones, especially the beryl, sprang up. The beryl was found only in Pádiyúr, Coimbatore District and possibly at Vániyambádi in Salem District, in the neighbourhood of the mines, at which places the largest number of coins has been found. In South India no less than 612 gold and 1,187 silver coins have been unearthed besides other large hoards. Ceylon has no counterpart to these.

3. Nero to Caracalla, ob. A.D. 217. A revulsion from luxury set in. Only 32 gold coins can be counted and these not in the same locality as in the last period. Only three finds have been discovered in Madura, the rest being in the cotton growing countries in the Kistna, Nellore and Cuddappah districts. In Ceylon we have a series of base metal Alexandrine tetradrachms of Nero, Vespasian,
Hadrian and Lucius Verus, probably one hoard, and two silver coins of Trajan and Geta. A quantity of coins of the Antonines is recorded but without details.

4. From the death of Caracalla trade almost entirely ceased owing to the internal and external confusion in the Empire. Ceylon supplies a few copper Alexandrine coins of Aurelius and a base silver antoninianus of the elder Philip. A few coins of the same period have occurred in South India.

5. From A.D. 364 onwards occurred a slight revival of trade mostly with Travancore and the South-West coast. The quantities of copper coins found at Madura and on the East coast have been considered as showing that Roman agents were resident. In view of the recent identification of similar coins in Ceylon this period should date at least from 330. In the Island the coins comprise a few of Maximian II., Maximin II., and Licinius I., and quantities of the emperors from Constantine the Great to Arcadius and Honorius; the only gold pieces are of Theodosius II., and ? Anastasius. The gold solidi in India are of Constantius II., Theodosius II., Leo, Zeno, Anastasius and Justin I., who reigned in 518. A gold coin probably of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine A.D. 613-641,* was once in the Colombo Museum and a similar piece has been found in South India. Trade came to an end with the capture of Alexandria by the Arabs in 638.

The small Roman copper coins of the 4th century and the first years of the 5th century are found at almost every petty port round the coast and in many places in the interior; the principal exceptions are Jaffna, Trincomalee and Polonnaruwa. At Sigiriya out of 1,687 coins found all but 12 are Roman copper showing that they formed the currency in the time of Kasyapa I. (479-97). Most are very worn and illegible, indicating their long use.

The Roman coinage was so popular that imitations were

* Possibly of Constans II. and Constantine Pogonatus.
made, at first fairly good and later of a more and more debased type, the so called Naimana type from the place where many were found. A fine gold half solidus was found between Véyangoda and Nihirigama; the design is slightly rougher than that of its prototype and its chief defect is in the lettering which evidently baffled the Sinhalese minters. These coins may well have been issued by the king, for the reproduction of a favourite type has ever been the usual course in India.

The use of the solidus in Ceylon is illustrated by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote at the beginning of the 6th century: (Yule's translation.)

"Concerning the Island of Taprobane.

This is the great island in the Ocean, lying in the Indian Sea. By the Indians it is called Sielediba but by the Greeks Taprobane. In it is found the hyacinth stone. It lies on the other side of the Pepper Country. And round about it are a number of small islands in all of which you find fresh water and coconuts. And these are almost set close to one another. The great island, according to what the natives say, has a length of 300 gaudia, and a breadth of the same number, i.e., 900 miles. There are two kings on the island and they are at enmity with one another. The one possesses the hyacinth, and the other has the other part in which is the great place of commerce and the chief harbour. It is a great mart for the people of those parts. The island hath also a church of Persian Christians who have settled there and a Presbyter who is appointed from Persia, and a Deacon, and all the apparatus of public worship. But the natives and their kings are quite another kind of people. They have many temples on the island, and on one of these temples which stands in an elevated position there is a hyacinth, they say, of great size and brilliant ruddy colour, as big as a great pine-cone, and when it is seen flashing from a distance, especially when the sun's rays
strike on it, 'tis a glorious and incomparable spectacle.

From all India and Persia and Ethiopia many ships come to this island, and it likewise sends out many of its own, occupying as it does a kind of central position. And from the remoter regions, I speak of Tzinista and other places of export the exports to Taprobane are silk, aloes-wood, cloves, sandal-wood, and so forth according to the products of each place. These again are passed on from Sielediba to the marts on this side, such as Male where the pepper is grown, and Kalliana, whence are exported brass and sisam logs, and other wares, such as cloths (for that also is a great place of business): also to Sindu, where you get the musk or castorin, and androstachya: also to Persia, Homerite, and Adule. And the island receives imports again from all those marts that I have been mentioning, and passes them on to the remoter ports, whilst at the same time it exports its own produce in both directions...

This same Sielediba then set, as it were, in the central point of the Indies and possessing the hyacinth, receiving imports from all the seats of commerce, and exporting to them in return, is itself a great seat of commerce. Here let me relate what there befel one of the merchants accustomed to trade thither. His name was Sopatrus, and he has been dead to my knowledge these thirty-five years past. Well, he had gone to the island of Taprobane on a trading adventure, and a ship from Persia happened to put in there at the same time. So when the Adule people with whom Sopatrus was went ashore, the people from Persia went ashore likewise, and with them they had a certain venerable personage of their nation. And then, as their way is, the chief men of the place and the officers of the custom house received the party, and conducted them before the king. The king having granted them an audience after receiving their salutations, desired them to be seated, and then asked: 'In what state
are your countries? and how go your affairs?'. They answered 'Well'. And so as the conversation proceeded the king put the question, 'Which of you has the greatest and most powerful king?' The Persian elder snatched the word and answered, 'Our king is the greatest and the most powerful and the wealthiest, and indeed is the king of kings; and whatever he desires, that he is able to accomplish'. But Sopatrus held his peace. Then quoth the king, 'Well Roman, hast thou not a word to say?' Said Sopatrus, 'Why, what is there for me to say after this man hath spoken as he hath done? But if thou wouldst know the real truth of the matter, thou hast both the kings here: examine both and thou shalt see thyself which is the more magnificent and potent'. When the prince heard this he was amazed at the words and said, 'How made you out that I have both the kings here?' The other replied, 'Well, thou hast the coins of both—of the one the nomisma [solidus] and of the other the drachma (i.e., the miliareion). Look at the effigy on each and you will see the truth'. The king approved of the suggestion nodding assent and ordered both coins to be produced. Now the nomisma was a coin of right good ring and fine ruddy gold, bright in metal and elegant in execution. For such coins are picked on purpose to take thither, while the miliareion, to say it in one word, was of silver and of course bore no comparison with the gold coin. So the king, after he had turned them this way and that and had studied both with attention, highly extolled the nomisma, saying that in truth the Romans were a splendid, powerful and sagacious people''

Cosmas adds:

'And the king of Sielediba (gives a good price for) both the elephants that he has, and the horses. The elephants he buys by cubit measurement; for their height is measured from the ground, and so the price is fixed according to the measurement, ranging from 50 to 100
nomismata or more. Horses they bring to him from Persia, and these he buys and grants special immunities to those who import them".—(Cathay and the Way Thither).

The solidus is of importance as its weight, whether by coincidence or not, continued as the Sinhalese kalanda down to the beginning of the 19th century. It was fixed by Constantine in 312 at 1/72 of the pound, i.e., 70.22 gr. but the coins even when in mint condition weigh less, varying from 67.7 to 70 gr. The weight of the solidus was continued in the dinár of the early Khalifs.

The last Roman-Byzantine gold coin, as we have seen, is one of Heraclius I. in the first half of the 7th century. The first mention of what is presumably the gold Sinhalese coinage is in a Tamil inscription at Anurádhapura of the 7-8th century, recording a gift of 30 ḫakkāsu or "Ceylon kásu", the kásu then being a gold coin.

The earliest gold piece of the well known Dambadeni kási type hitherto found may, perhaps, from the style of the Nágari letters, be dated from the 9th century. This series has on one side the standing figure of the king and on the other the same figure in a squatting position, a type which can be traced back to a Gupta original. The average weight of the gold pieces is about 68 gr., the highest in a well preserved specimen of the earliest issues being 69.1 gr. This is the actual weight of the Sinhalese kalanda of 20 madaṭiyas. Now the madaṭiya or mañjádi seed in the dry zone of Ceylon is heavier than that of the wet zone and weighs about 4 gr. or more, and we should expect a kalanda of some 80 gr. Nevertheless the kalanda, as known to have existed in the Portuguese period, in the time of Knox, and in the 18th century, closely approximates to the solidus in weight and in view of the extensive use of the Roman coin in the Island it seems possible that the Sinhalese kalanda was assimilated to it. The use of coins as weights by the people is well
known in India: the present rupee, for example, is exactly one tola.

The gold Sinhalese coin was known by the name of kahavanuva and its fractional pieces, the $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$, by the names of pala and aka. It was coined until the Tamil invasion under Rājarāja at the commencement of the 11th century and this king adopted the Sinhalese type for his own coinage. It has been held hitherto that the Sinhalese copied Rājarāja’s issues, but the finds of undoubtedly earlier coins of the type in Ceylon and the fact disclosed by Tamil inscriptions that the Ilakkāsu was in use in South India in the reign of the Chōla king Parántaka in the 10th century disproves this contention.

The native coinage was restored by Vijaya Bāhu I., but the metal is usually base, often hardly distinguishable from silver. The copper money (Dambadeni kāsi), so commonly found, commences with Parākrama Bāhu I. in the 12th century, in which period no gold appears. This is also the feature of the South Indian coinages and apparently was due to the exhaustion of such auriferous deposits as existed in the extreme south. The Sinhalese copper coinage continued into the 13th century. The most interesting of the series is the Lion coin of Parākrama Bāhu I. with its distinctively South Indian features. The unusual presence of the Sinhalese lion would seem to demand some explanation: the most probable seems to lie in the conquest of the Pāṇḍyan country by Parākrama, whose general, Lāŋkāpura, commanded that his kahāpana should be current on the mainland (Mahávansa, Chapter LXXVII., 104).

Just as in South India the disappearance or scarcity of the older gold coinage led to the introduction of gold money from the Deccan, so in Ceylon, where in the 14th century we find the first mention of fanams. These pieces of base gold weigh about 5½ gr. and were originally the tenth of the gold coin of some 56 gr. which perpetuated
the name as well as the weight of the later drachma. This unit ultimately, when reduced to 52½ gr. by the Vijayanagar kings, became the pagoda which was in use in Ceylon in the Kótté period.

Before leaving the native medieval coinage, we may note the fact that progressive degradation of design is the rule rather than the exception throughout India. The same holds good of Ceylon. The early medieval gold kahavanuwa, copied from a Gupta original, though rough, is much superior to the copper coinage of the 12th and 13th centuries and almost every step in the course of debasement can be traced in our coins. The standing figure ultimately became the assortment of lines and dots to be found on the fanam: the human figure is still faintly traceable on the Dutch 17th century copper struck at Negapatam.

Foreign coins must now again attract our attention. The Arabs are said to have arrived on the Malabar coast in A.D. 844 and to have settled at Káyalpađāṇam in the Páṇḍyan kingdom in the same century. The Muhammadans were of great importance in that country: in the 13th century, according to Rasiduddin, one of them was minister to the Páṇḍyan king while his brother was the farmer general of the customs of the Persian Gulf and was under contract to send yearly to South India 1,400 Arab horses, each of which was reckoned worth 220 dinárs of red current gold (Elliot, Historians of Muhammadan India). The Arab settlement in Ceylon apparently dates from the 10th century at least: unfortunately the Kufic inscription dated A.H. 317 (A.D. 929/30) in the Muhammadan cemetery at Colombo, mentioned in the Trans. R.A.S., i. 545, is lost. Whatever may be the actual date, it is undoubted that from the 10th to the 15th century the Arabs were undisputed masters of the sea either as traders or as pirates or both combined: in the 14th century one with five hundred Abyssinians was master of Colombo, the chief centre of Muhammadan trade in the Island.
Trade with the west was carried on by two principal routes, the one leading by Aden to Alexandria, the other through Hormuz up the Persian Gulf and so by land to the Mediterranean.

The horse trade already referred to (cf. also Cosmas) came through Hormuz and was one of the reasons why de Albuquerque captured that place. The fall of Vijayanagar, whither the horses were taken, at the hands of the Muslim princes of the Deccan and the consequent decay of the trade, then a Portuguese monopoly, was one of the chief causes of the decline of Goa. N.B.—Mention of the Arab horse in an inscription of Niṣaṇka Malla, 12th century.

It is not surprising that gold Muhammadan coins, with dates from A.D. 1087 to 1290, have been found in the western parts of Ceylon. A specimen of the coinage of the Persian Mongol king Abaga 1265-82 has been selected for illustration: on one side the legend is in Mongolian characters which are of Syriac origin and show the influence of the Nestorian missions.

Side by side with the Arabs were the Chinese traders. From about the 10th century their junks came to Ceylon to exchange their goods with the Arab ships, which previously went all the way to China (Encycl. of Islam, art. China). A few coins of the two Sung dynasties—10th to 13th century—have been unearthed at Polonnaruwa and Yápahuwa. The Chinese resorted to the Malabar coast as late as the 15th century and their presence in Ceylon is attested by the trilingual Galle inscription.

The Portuguese on their arrival at Colombo in the first decade of the 16th century found as the only locally made coin a fanam of very base gold, only worth one-third of the fanam current on the Coast and in the North of Ceylon. (This Kōṭṭē fanam seems to have been gradually debased into the Kandyan fanam, which is of silver, often very impure). At that period the pagoda was the chief coin throughout the great Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, while all along the West coast of India and the shores of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf the two principal
trade coins were the xerasim and larin of Hormuz, then the great centre of commerce. All these coins were current in Ceylon. The xerasim (Arab. ashrafi) was quite unknown till recently when a small find was discovered up-country. The larin, so called from its having been first made at Lar in Persia, is a silver wire struck on both sides with a die with Persian or Arabic characters: its peculiar shape is perhaps due to the facility with which it could be concealed in the folds of the turban, &c., in those piratical times and regions. At any rate it became very popular and was issued by the kings of Hormuz and of Bijapur, the Shah of Persia, and the Sultan of the Maldives. In Ceylon it was bent into the shape of a hook—whence its name (koku ridi, mahu angutu)—and was made by private individuals as recorded by Knox, who says: “There is another sort which all People by the King’s Permission may and do make. The shape is like a fishhook, they stamp what mark or impression on it they please. The silver is purely fine beyond pieces of Eight. For if any suspect the goodness of the Plate, it is the custom to burn the Money in the fire red-hot, and so put it in water: and if it be not then purely white, it is not Currant Money”.

The Portuguese based their currency system upon these three coins, the pagoda, the xerasim and the larin, issuing the gold S. Thomé to represent the first, the silver xerasim in lieu of the gold one of Hormuz, and the tanga for the larin. Their coinage at first was doubtless intended to represent the actual value of the prototypes, but in process of time lost all relation thereto through debasement of the metal and diminution of the weight.

The chief mint was at Goa, but the Captains General of Ceylon, de Azevedo (1594-1612) and Constantine de Sa (1619-1630) also issued money. In addition the Goa mint issued special coins for Ceylon at a later period, of the DS type. The Portuguese coins were forged by enterprising
Sinhalese and the Dutch authorities at Galle in 1655 had to recall the double and single tangas and stamp such of them as were genuine with the monogram of that town. Of course the countermark was also forged. The double and the single tanga are the tangom massa and poddi tangom of Knox: the latter is still to be found in the Service Tenures Registers under the name of tangama, equal to half of the larin (Sinhalese, ridi or massa).

The Spanish piece of eight or pataca was introduced by the Portuguese: it played a considerable part in the eastern trade and with the Venetian sequin (Vilisivānu), which however had appeared in India before the arrival of the Portuguese, was a trade coin of almost universal use in both hemispheres. In India and Ceylon it was rated at 5 larins—ridi paha. It continued in use under the Dutch, whose standard coin was the silver rix-dollar of very much the same value, and was employed to pay the British troops.

The numismatic history of the Dutch East India Company in the Island chiefly centres round a chronic lack of specie, the gold and silver being drained from the country by the exigencies of the linen trade with Madura with the result that the currency mainly consisted of copper, which was over-issued. The ducatoon or "silver rider" appeared towards the end of the 17th century and gradually displaced the rix-dollar as the real standard, the latter having become a money of account. To supplement the copper currency struck in or for Ceylon various foreign coins were in use, such as pagodas, fanams, Persian 'abbāsis and Moghul rupees (Surattī rupiylāl) as well as the smaller silver coins of the Netherlands, and from 1731 a vast quantity of duits—the V.O.C. chalkies—which those of the older generation still remember. The first regular mint of the Ceylon Government was established about the middle of the 18th century at Tuticorin, where pagodas and fanams were struck chiefly
with a view to the Madura trade. In 1781, owing to the war with England, the mint was transferred to Colombo and the issue of Ceylon rupees began in 1784. From 1783 three mints for the issue of copper *doedoes* existed at Colombo, Galle and Jaffna, a supplementary one being established later at Trincomalee. The *doedoes* are thick lumps of copper of two and one stuivers: one of the most curious of the local issues is a bar of copper struck to represent a half larin or $4\frac{2}{3}$ stuivers in 1785. The Colombo mint continued after the re-establishment of the Tuticorin mint and was situated at the Bankshall near Kaymans Gate.

In 1785 appeared paper money, the *Kredit Brieven*, which were issued with no sufficient reserve of coin in such quantities that within a year there existed no currency medium except paper and copper. The gold and silver coins were sold and commanded a high premium. The result was that the copper became the real standard instead of the ducatoon, and the rupee, which in 1784 was worth 30 stivers, very shortly rose to 48.

This was the state of affairs when the British rule began, and the new administrators were no better experts in currency matters than their predecessors. The English copper coinage with the elephant on it was supplemented by two local issues of silver rixdollars or "Ceylon rupees" (*et rupiyal*) as well as a rixdollar struck in England in 1821 and fanam tokens made in Ceylon in 1814 and 1815. The depreciation commenced by the Dutch continued until 1825 when British silver and British denominations were introduced, the 1821 rixdollar being rated at 1s. 6d., about its proper value. In 1833, no more silver being imported from England, the real medium of currency became the rupee, finally legalised in 1869. The decimalization of the coinage was carried out in 1872.

An interesting subject is the fall of the rixdollar.
Originally a silver coin practically equivalent to the Spanish piece of eight or dollar and rated at five larins, it became a money of account worth, in 1784, about 3s. 4d. In 1785, owing to the over-issue of paper money, this imaginary coin fell to about 2s. 3d.: by 1812 it was 1s. 9d. and in 1825 1s. 6d. This was three-quarters of the then value of the rupee, or the modern 75 cents, which sum is still known as a patāgayā or ridē paha, originally applied to the piece of eight. The rating of the rupee at 2s. of course gave us the Ceylon currency pound of Rs. 10.

A word as to the old-style mint. The arrangements were of the simplest. Two men were employed: one squatted down and slipped in the pieces of roughly shaped metal between the lower die fixed in a log in the ground and the upper which he held in position by tongs. The actual striking was done by the second man with a hammer, and the coin was ready for circulation.

In conclusion I would desire, in the interests of the numismatic history of Ceylon, to point out the desirability of a systematic inspection of private collections, especially with a view to supply missing links, e.g., in the gold medieval Sinhalese series: and secondly the great importance of persons hearing of treasure trove endeavouring to secure the whole find. Treasure trove is usually hopelessly dissipated by the time Government hears of it. As an example of the importance of keeping the coins together, I may mention the find of a copper coin of Dharmāsóka Déva with some early gold kahavanu: this is a common coin and might easily have been thrown away, yet its presence shows that the gold coins were current into the 13th century.

Appendix. Since this lecture was delivered, Mr. P. Ė. Pieris' excavations at Kcantaródat in the Jaffna Peninsula have brought to light some small copper coins of two new types, the "Tree and Svastika" and the "Lion and Svastika," the latter of which seems to be the precursor.
of the "Maneless Lion" coin. The svastika on both is of the railed variety peculiar to Ceylon.

The same site has yielded fifty Roman coins of the fourth century. One very worn piece, almost certainly Roman of the same period, has been found recently at Polonnaruwa. In addition, coins of the following emperors have come to light:—Tiberius (Judæa), Claudius, Commodus (Alexandria), Elagabalus (Sidon or Carrhæ), Maximin I., Diocletian (Alexandria), Maxentius, and a tremissis of Heraclius I.

Mr. R. C. Proctor said:—The figure on the obverse of the Sinhalese coin of the Lāṅkēśvara type, I think, deserves closer scrutiny than it has yet received. The figure has some slight resemblance to human form: this circumstance and the reading of the legend on the reverse probably led Rhys David to conclude that the figure was that of the King.

On European coins the figure of the King is a common feature, but Eastern Kings did not usually issue coins with their figures stamped, though exceptions may be found in countries where Grecian and Bactrian influence had predominated.

If the figure on the Sinhalese coin under notice was that of the King, we should expect to find the King delineated in a worthy manner. Instead, we find a crude and fantastic figure, without symmetry and without form, quite out of keeping with the progress the country had attained. The coin belongs to the 12th century A.D.—a period which, according to the historian, was "the most glorious period of the Sinhalese history." Judging in the light of evidence afforded by history and by the remains of art of this period which has come down to us, one should hesitate to accept the opinion of Rhys David as conclusive.

If we will arrange the coins of the period in the chronological order of the Kings in whose names they were
issued and examine them carefully, we shall not fail to note some variations in the designs. The strokes and dots and "limbs" will be found on some more closely held together, while on others they seem to be asunder, suggestive of a tendency to go apart. The dots on some differ in number. Amidst the variations, we trace no distinguishing feature to suggest the sex of Queen Līlavatī on coins issued in her name. This is certainly curious if the figure was intended to represent her.

On some Indian coins may be recognised symbols which would seem to be parts of, or, more like detachments from, the figure of the Sinhalese coin.

The origin of the Laṅkėsvaṇa type of coin is ascribed to Laṅkāpura Daṇḍanātha (literally War Lord of Ceylon). According to the Mahāvaṇa, he subdued the Chōla King, made over the Kingdom to Vīra-Pāṇḍya—the nominee of King Parākrama Bāhu of Ceylon—and ordered that the Kahaṇa coin of Ceylon, with the superscription of King Parākrama Bāhu, should be used throughout the country. This is confirmed in a general way by a South Indian inscription which, however, suggests that Daṇḍanātha was more or less compelled to return to Ceylon and that before he departed he scored a diplomatic success by entering into a treaty with the Chōla King on behalf of his master, King Parākrama Bāhu of Ceylon.

It might be that at a conference held for the settlement of the terms of peace the design of the figure on the Kahaṇa coin was settled. The design was perhaps to symbolise the relations of the suzerain and the feudatory States by an artful arrangement of the various emblems belonging to the States that were parties to the treaty, so that a resemblance to a human figure in a standing posture with State paraphernalia might be obtained. This figure would suggest a political ideal.

I am not sure of my data and venture to suggest that the subject may be investigated further.
Relative to "hook" coins or larins, referred to by the learned lecturer, I may say I came across a coin somewhat allied to this class but known in the country as "pincers coin" (Tamil: Kuraddu Kasu, Sinhalese: Anđu Massa). It was minted, according to tradition, at Munnessaram, during a period when the brahman of the Munnessaram temple is said to have ruled the Chilaw and Puttalam Districts in the name of the goddess. The shape of the coin is that of a pair of pincers, hence the name.

On the outer aspect of one of its forks or handles was an inscription which, with some difficulty, was found to be in Choḷa-Grantham. The reading of it was, I believe, Parasrama.

Mr. Codrington replied to Mr. Proctor. He said: If, as it has been attempted to show in this lecture, the so-called Laṅkēsvara type dates from the ninth century, if not from the seventh, Mr. Proctor's theory falls to the ground. The coin certainly preceded the Choḷa invasion of Ceylon in the eleventh century.

If the inscription on the larin was in Choḷa-Grantham, the coin is unique and Mr. Proctor should publish his discovery with a plate.

On a motion proposed by the Chairman, and seconded by Dr. Nell, a vote of thanks was accorded to the lecturer.

A vote of thanks to the chair, proposed by Mr. R. W. Byrde, C.C.S., and seconded by Mr. E. J. Wayland, terminated the proceedings of the meeting.
GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, December 1, 1916.

Present:
His Excellency Sir John Anderson, K.C.B.,
Patron, in the Chair.
The Hon’ble Mr. R. E. Stubbs, C.M.G., Vice-Patron.
Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, Kt., M.A., President.
Mr. C. Hartley, M.A., Vice-President.

Mr. K. W. Atukorala.                      Dr. A. Nell, M.R.C.S.
Mr. R. W. Byrde, C.C.S.                   Mr. Forrestor Obeyesékara.
Mr. B. S. Cooray.                         Mr. R. C. Proctor.
Mr. G. J. de Silva.                       Mr. J. E. Rode.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.                  Mr. R. Sagarajasingham.
Mr. U. B. Dolapihilla.                    Mr. W. Samarasingha.
Mr. C. H. Z. Fernando.                    Dr. Donald Schokman.
Mr. T. Terence Fernando.                  Mr. John M. Senavatne.
Mr. A. H. Gomes.                          Mr. Christie Senavatne.
Mr. Oliver E. Goonetilleke.               Mr. E. J. Wayland.
Mr. Gabriel Gunawardana.                  Mr. D. R. Wijeyewardana.
Mr. C. W. Horsfall.                       Mr. C. P. Wijeyaratne.
Mr. C. H. Jolliffe.                       Mr. N. D. A. S. Wijayasinha.
Mr. F. Lewis.                            Mr. S. W. K. Wipulasen-  
Mr. P. M. Menon.                         sabha Thero.
Mr. C. Namasiyam, J.P.                    Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, C.C.S., Honorary Secretary.

Visitors: Nine ladies, thirty-eight gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on 6th October, 1916.

2. His Excellency Sir John Anderson said:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen. I do not think that your President requires any introduction from me to you, as I am sure you all have the great privilege of knowing him longer and more intimately than I have had. I have known him by repute for a great many years as a distinguished member of the Ceylon Civil Service. In the many departments he has served, in everyone he left the impress of a resourceful, vigorous and thoughtful mind, and I know that, since his retirement
has deprived the Government of the advantages of his services, he is devoting the same ability to the literary and social work on which his heart is set. I have much pleasure in introducing your President."

Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchalam, rising amidst applause, said that before he proceeded to the lecture he wished on behalf of the Society to tender a hearty welcome to His Excellency on this his first visit as Patron. They were proud to enjoy the patronage of one so distinguished for scholarship and statesmanship. It was perhaps not generally known that that Society was the oldest literary Society in the East, barring the Asiatic Society in Bengal. Over 20 years ago they had celebrated the Jubilee of the Society and they were now well on to the 75th year of their life. They might call it the centenary, if they counted the time when the Chief Justice Sir Alexander Johnston, the founder of literary and scientific research in British Ceylon, paved the way for that Society by his indefatigable investigations and by bringing together learned men and collecting and translating ancient works. The Society had tried to do their work as well as they could. Their Natural History collection formed the nucleus of the collection in that beautiful museum, which they had induced that great Governor Sir William Gregory to found and in which the Society now met. The Government had recognized the value of the Society's work by substantial help. Of late years they had been deprived of the Government grant and of the facilities which they used to enjoy of printing their publications in the Government Press. They had tried to do their best with the limited resources, but he felt sure that under His Excellency's auspices and encouragement they would be able to increase their usefulness to the public.

3. Sir Ponnambalem Arunáchalam then delivered his lecture on:—
POLONNARUWA BRONZES AND SIVA WORSHIP AND SYMBOLISM.

An Account of the Natarájá and other Saiva Bronzes found at Polonnaruwa and now in the Colombo Museum, with an Explanation of their Symbolism and their relation to the Saiva Siddhánta system of philosophy.

By

SIR P. ARUNÁCHALAM, KT., M. A. CANTAB.,
President, R. A. S. (Ceylon).

I

The Bronzes that I propose to speak about were discovered with others in the years 1907 and 1908 by the late Archaeological Commissioner, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, while pursuing his excavations in the "buried city" of Polonnaruwa, and are now in the Colombo Museum. It is, perhaps, the most important find yet made by the Commissioner. Some of the principal images were unearthed near a Siva temple, popularly but erroneously called the Daladá Māligáwa, or the Shrine of the Tooth Relic, and distinguished in Mr. Bell's Report (Sessional Paper No. V. of 1911) as "Siva Dewále No. 1." The other bronzes were found near a building which he has designated "Siva Dewále No. 5" (Sess. Paper VI. of 1913).*

In February, 1909, I wrote for the late Director of the Museum, Dr. Willey, a short paper identifying the bronzes. It was published, with illustrations, in the Spolia Zeylanica of September, 1909. Another description by Dr. A. K.

* For a full description and illustrations of the temples, reference is requested to those Reports and the plates therein (pages 17-24 and plates XVI.-XIX. of Sess. Paper V. of 1911, and pages 4-7 and plates X.-XIV. of Sess. Paper VI. of 1913). A list of the bronzes with illustrations is given in pages 36-7 and plate XXI. of the former Report and in page 17 and plates XVII.-XIX. of the latter Report.
Coomara Swamy (with illustrations) appeared in the Memoirs of the Colombo Museum, Series A, No. 1, published in 1914. Other illustrations have been prepared for this Paper. None of the illustrations quite do justice to the originals. I am indebted to the present Director, Dr. Pearson, for permission to show some of the original bronzes to-day.

The Siva Dewâle No. 1 is the choicest example of a Hindu temple found at Polonnaruwa, if not throughout the Island, and lies just south of the elevated quadrangle within which lie the ruins of Buddhist and Hindu shrines, combining the architectural features of Ceylon, South India and Cambodia in strange and not inharmonious grouping. The Dewâle is all of carved stone, delicately fitted and wrought. "In almost every detail," says Mr. Farrer in his Old Ceylon, "the thing is perfect, and perhaps it is more than fancy that finds Hellenic memories in the purity of its line and the perfection of its proportions.... Tradition calls this lovely jewel of stone-work the Daladá Mâligâwa of Polonnaruwa, asserting that this was the shrine of the Tooth Relic. Tradition here lies, for this temple is not Siâhalese but Tamil of the finest, it is not Buddhist but Hindu, it is not a shrine of the Tooth Relic but a temple of Siva the Destroyer. The Tooth Relic, we know, was treasured in the Waṭa-dâ-ge, and in all probability this Saivite shrine, so beautiful and ornate, is some family chapel of Parâkrama Bâhu the Great, who, for all his cult of Buddhism and its ancient monuments, never swerved from the faith of his ancestors."* The traditional name may be due, as Mr. Bell conjectures, to the building having been at some time or other used as a temporary resting-place of the Tooth Relic, pending its permanent lodgment in a Buddhist shrine worthy of its sanctity. Tradition also assigns the construction of the temple to King Kîrti Niṣâanka, who seated himself on Parâkrama's throne in 1198 A.D.

* The Court religion in Ceylon was usually Brahminical, the kings and nobles being closely connected by marriage and other ties with S. India. Parâkrama Bâhu himself was (as Mr. Still shows by an analysis of his ancestry) not more than 22/64 Siâhalese.
The temple is similar in plan and structure to, but more elaborated than, the Siva Dewále No. 5, or the better preserved shrine indicated in Mr. Bell's Report as "Siva Dewále No. 2," but hitherto called Vishnu Dewále in spite of its obtrusive indications of Siva worship, the bull and the lingam still found there. That Siva Dewále No. 1 was also devoted to the same worship is conclusively established by the finding here of the bronze images described below as well as of the pedestal of a Siva lingam.

II.

Before proceeding to a description of them, I will deal with their probable date. Mr. Rea (Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Southern Circle, Madras Presidency) declares the temples to be similar in outline to Chóla and Pándya temples of the 11th and 12th centuries in India. The Siva Dewále No. 1 is, he says, generally more advanced in plan and ornate architectural detail than the Siva Dewále No. 2; the former, with its pilaster-lined walls and niches for images, somewhat resembles the detached Subrahmanya shrine in the great temple of Siva (Brihad-íšvara) at Tanjore. This temple is a Chola structure of the 11th century, and the Subrahmanya shrine—a gem of South Indian Architecture—is ascribed by Ferguson to the 12th century, an opinion in which Mr. Rea concurs. He assigns the same date approximately to Siva Dewále No. 1. A short pillar-slab, inscribed with Grantha Tamil characters, unearthed in the hall (mandáppam) records* that it was set up by Lánká Vijaya Senevirat, a Sinhalese general, by order of King Gaja Báhu II. (1242-1264 A.D.). Mr. Bell thinks this pillar was not originally connected with the temple but brought later from elsewhere.

In Siva Dewále No. 2 there are three inscriptions cut on the walls in Grantha Tamil characters which give a safer

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* Arch. Commissioner's Report for 1907 (Sess. Paper V. of 1911, page 37.)
clue to the date. The longest of these inscriptions* records a grant of a lamp and lamp-stand to the temple, and that the temple authorities and servants hold themselves responsible for the keeping of the lamp alight for ever.† The date of the grant is mentioned as the reign (No. of the year missing) of Parakésarivarman alias Udaiyár Sri Adhirájendra Deva, a Tamil King of the Chola dynasty who ruled in South India circa 1070-1073 A.D. His valour and greatness are described in the first nine lines of the inscription in ornate Tamil prose. One of the predecessors of Rajendra Chola I. (1029 to 1042 A.D.) is referred to in another of the inscriptions.

This was about the period when, according to the Mahá-vápsa, the rule of the Chóla kings in Ceylon was at its zenith. The Sínhalese king Sena V., who ascended the throne at Polonnaruwa about 991 A.D., having quarrelled with his commander-in-chief, had to take refuge in the Roháṇa country, leaving his capital in the hands of the Tamils. His successor, Mahinda V. (1001 A.D.), lived with great difficulty for 12 years at Anurádhapura and then was driven to Roháṇa. The Tamils had hitherto come mainly from the Pandýan kingdom of Madura, and whether as invaders, allies, rulers or colonists, had exercised a predominant influence in the Island. The rival Chola dynasty, whose seat was at Kánchipura, near Madras, was now in the ascendant. The king of Chola, hearing of the distracted state of the Island, sent an army which overran the whole country, captured and deported Mahinda to India (where he died 12 years later) and "stationed themselves in the city

* Arch. Commissioner's Report for 1906 (Sess. Paper XX. of 1910, pages 22, 26-7.)

† The presiding deity, Siva, is here called "Vánavan Mádévi Ísvaram Udaiyár, Lord (Udaiyár) of Jana nátha mangalam," the last name being that by which the city of Polonnaruwa was known to the Tamil rulers and meaning "the auspicious (city) of (Siva) the Lord of creation." It is called in other inscriptions "Pulainári or Jana-náthapuram in the Chola land of peerless fertility" (Saññita Gérgéy wáravarina máyānámañci), and again "Pulainári or Vijayarájapuram." (Arch. Report for 1909, Sess. Paper VI. of 1914, p. 27.) Pulainári is the Tamil form of Polonnaruwa, itself a contraction of Pulastiya nagara, "city of Pulastiya."
of Pulatti (Polonnaruwa) and held possession of the King’s
country even unto the Rakkhapásána-kañtha* place” (Mahá-
vañsa, LV. 21-23). Thenceforward the northern half of the
Island was securely held for half a century as fief of the Chola
kings until Vijaya Bāhu I. (son of Mahinda) threw off the yoke
(1065 A.D.). It is to this period of Cholian conquest, contempor-
aneous with the period in English history from Cnut
to William the Conqueror, that the Hindu temples of
Polonnaruwa and the bronzes in question belong. One of
the other inscriptions in Siva Dewále No. 2 refers to a date
about 8 years later than the victory of Vijaya Bāhu. We
may take it, then, that the bronzes are about eight and
a half centuries old.

III.

The images which I shall deal with are those of Siva,
the principal member of the Hindu Trinity, of his consort
Sivakámi or Párvati, of some of his principal saints, his
favourite charger (the bull Nandi) and the Sun-god (Súriya).
The bronzes are characterised by the precision that comes
of long tradition and practice. But there is inequality
in style and finish. Some of the bronzes are heavy,
commonplace and conventional, showing the artist struggling
with imperfect realization of his ideals, defective knowledge
and training and insufficient mastery of the technical
difficulties; others are distinguished by consummate power
and are “a music to the eye,” as, for example, Sundara-
múrti in plate VIII., which is unsurpassed in the expres-
sion of religious rapture, and Chaṇḍeswara in plate
IXa.

The most important are the bronzes of the dancing Siva
known as Naṭa-rájá or (in pure Tamil) Āḍa-vallár. In design
and detail the bronzes do not differ from the bronzes in the
temples of to-day, showing that there has been little or
no change in the ritual and conventions of worship. The
images of Naṭa-rájá are scarcely equal in execution to the

* Rakwána?
Nāṭa-rājā in the Bṛihad-īśvara temple in Tanjore or that in the Madras Museum.*

The principal Naṭa-rājā found in Polonnaruwa is shown in plate I. and on a smaller scale, in plate II. a and b, the front and back view. Plates III. and IV. show two smaller figures of Naṭa-rājā (front and back view), but incomplete, as the halo is wanting, and in IV. also the braided locks. The dance represents the cosmic activity, of which Siva is the director and therefore is called King (or Lord) of the dance (Naṭa-rājā or Naṭesā). "Think of our Lord," says a devotee, "as the peerless dancer and dancing master, who abideth in all bodies as heat in fuel and maketh all creatures dance.†"

This form is a favourite symbol of Siva worship in the Tamil land of South India and Ceylon, but is not, as far as I know, found in Northern India except in temples of Siva established there under Tamil auspices. It is in Tamil land that the traditions of the dance had their origin and still have their yearly celebrations.

No Hindu image is deemed suitable for worship until it has been consecrated by elaborate ceremonies designed "to draw to" it (ā-vāh-anam, Lat. ad-veh-o) the Divine Presence and make it what in Christian language might be called "a vehicle of Divine Grace." When an image has been deprived of its daily services or defiled by contact of unworthy hands, it must be consecrated anew before worship. The images are daily robed, jewelled and garlanded, and worshippers see scarcely more than face or hands. The almost nude bronzes before you you must imagine to be so robed and adorned in order to see them as they are seen in the temples. Dr. Pope, a great missionary and scholar, who spent over half a century in Southern

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* See plates III. & IV. in Gangoly's South Indian Bronzes.

† திருவடவுர் அதிகால் பூநாம், புராண வரலாறு வேளாணார்

(Tiruvātavūr-adīkāl Purāṇam, புராண வரலாறு வேளாணார்

ஏற்றையே, 75.)
India and has edited, with an excellent translation and commentary, *Tiru-váchakam*, the ancient and popular Psalms of Tamil-land daily recited in the temples, says (p. xxxv):

"It is sometimes thought and said that the idols in these temples are mere signs, representing as symbols the Divine Being and some of His works and attributes. This is not altogether an adequate statement of the case. Each image by a peculiar service, which is called árāhanam, becomes the abode of an in-dwelling deity and is itself divine. . . . Devout and enthusiastic worshippers amid the glare of the lamps and the smoke of the incense seem to be carried away so as to entirely identify the invisible object of their thoughts with that which is presented before their eyes. It was certainly so with our poet. If it be remembered that some of these images have been actually worshipped, tended, garlanded and treated as living beings for a thousand years, that each generation has done them service and lavished gifts upon them; that they are connected by association with long lines of saints and sages; and that it is earnestly believed that Siva's method of manifestation is by, through, and in these,—as what we should call sacraments of his perpetual presence,—we shall understand with what profound awe and enthusiastic affection even images, to us unsightly, can be beheld by multitudes of good and excellent people."

IV.

The orthodox Hindu teaching held it to be irreverent and illogical to found artistic ideals of the Divine upon any strictly human or natural prototype, and recognizing the impossibility of human art realizing the form of God, sanctioned only an allegorical representation. "The artist," says an ancient Sanskrit writer, Sukrácháriya, in his *Sukra Náti Sára* or Sukra's Elements of Polity, a work translated into the Tibetan language in the 7th century A. D., "should attain to the image of the gods by means of spiritual contemplation only. The spiritual vision is the best and truest
standard for him. He should depend on it and not at all upon the visible objects perceived by external senses. It is always commendable for the artist to draw the images of the gods. To make human figures is bad and even irreligious. It is far better to present the figure of a god, though it is not beautiful, than to reproduce a remarkably handsome human figure." This of course is the antithesis of Greek Art, which glorified physical beauty and strength and made the beautiful man or woman the type of God.

"Spiritual contemplation," says Havell, "is the key note of Hindu Art, as it was of the art of Fra Angelico and other great Christian masters: the whole philosophy of Indian Art is in these two words, spiritual contemplation, and they explain a great deal that often seems incomprehensible and even offensive to Europeans." Regarding all we see in Nature as transitory and illusive phenomena and the Divine Essence as the only reality, Indian Art cared little for the scientific study of facts, for anatomical detail, for the cult of the lay figure or the nude model. A faithful representation or imitation of Nature, though attained by him when he liked, was not to the Indian artist the end or a serious concern of Art. He strove, however imperfectly, to pierce the illusive appearance of things and realize something of the Universal, the Eternal and the Infinite.

"Whatsoever a thing may be, to see in it the One Reality is true Wisdom," says Tiruvalluvar (Kural, 355.)*

Eko devah sarva bhuteshu gūdah sarvavyāpi sarvabhutān-
tarātma
Karmādhyakshah sarvabhutādhivāsah sākshi chetā kevalo
nirguṇāscha.

"The One, luminous, hidden in all beings, pervading all, the innermost self of all, overseer of all acts, dweller in all beings, witness, perceiver, alone, free from all qualities." (Śvetāsvatara Upanishad, 6, 11.)

* சிவீஸ்வாதரா உபநிஷத் ஆலயம்
தேஹராஸ்தர் உலகம் சந்திகை.
Any attempt to represent in art this Being, transcending thought and speech, must necessarily be futile. How inadequate, for instance, are the representations by Michael Angelo in the paintings which adorn the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel at Rome and which are generally regarded as the grandest creation of Modern Art?

Mr. Laurence Binyon, poet and art-critic, writes thus of the Indian ideal and its influence in shaping the ideals and imagery of Chinese and Japanese Art now highly appreciated in Europe. "The Indian ideal claims everywhere its votaries, and the chosen and recurrent theme is the beauty of contemplation, not of action. Not the glory of the naked human form, to Western Art the noblest and most expressive of symbols; not the proud and conscious assertion of human personality; but instead of these, all thoughts that lead us out from ourselves into the universal life, hints of the infinite, whispers from secret sources—mountains, water, mists, flowering trees, whatever tells of powers and presences mightier than ourselves: these are the themes dwelt on, cherished and preferred." (Painting in the Far East.)

V.

A correct judgment of a nation's art is not possible unless the critic divests himself of prepossessions and endeavours to understand the thought of that people and to place himself in their point of view. As a great French savant, Taine, has said: "Quand on veut comprendre un art, il faut regarder l'âme du public auquel il s'adressait." As you can only speak to a person in a language which you both know, so you can only appeal to his artistic side by means of some common tradition, feeling, symbolism. Art is, it is true, in one sense a universal language, but every nation's art is the outward and visible expression of, and intimately associated with, the national culture and sentiment, uses the symbols best understood by the people to whom it is addressed, and requires for its appreciation a familiarity with the national
life and thought. This is especially the case with Indian Art, which is essentially idealistic, mystic, symbolic and transcendent, and cannot be judged by the canons of Greek Art, the Renaissance or the Art of modern Europe, which are all in greater or less degree naturalistic and realistic.

The symbolism by which Indian Art conveyed its ideas is, to the Westerner, almost an insuperable obstacle to aesthetic appreciation. He cannot see a figure possessing more than the usual complement of limbs without uttering a groan of pain at this anatomical monstrosity. The question, however, is not one of Anatomy but of Art. The London Times some time ago observed, in a review of Mr. V. A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon: "The four-armed Siva is not a whit more anatomically impossible than the winged angels or the centaurs which have been represented by the greatest artists of the West—not to mention those cherubs of Italian art whose anatomical deficiencies, from the school master's point of view, gave an ever memorable opportunity to the humour of Charles Lamb. The fact is, that no artist of genius, East or West, has ever cared a straw about anatomy when he had anything to gain by disregarding it. Extra limbs can be badly composed, just as the ordinary number can, but each case must be judged on its own merits; nor is it possible, in dealing with a definitely symbolic work of art, to separate the symbolism from the art so drastically as Mr. Vincent Smith is inclined to do. Nor, again, can the symbolism of one section of Hindu mythology be justly separated from the rest and condemned as the product of a diseased imagination because it represents certain terrible aspects of Nature, which undoubtedly form a part of the whole and have to be taken into account in any deep and sincere conception of the universe."

Sukrachārya says in the work from which I have already quoted: "In order that the form of an image may be brought out fully and clearly upon the mind, the image-maker must meditate and his success will be in proportion to his
meditation. No other way, not even seeing the object itself, will answer this purpose."

Something of this impatient refusal to be limited by the outward semblance of things and by the conscious imitation of them, something of this striving after the inner and informing Spirit by unlocking the treasures of sub-consciousness, marks the effort of all the new schools of European Art and especially of the Vorticists. Their painting and sculpture, crude as they seem to us, have raised fundamental aesthetic questions, and caused heart-searchings as to the sculpture commonly regarded as the greatest, that of Greece. That remarkable Vorticist sculptor, Gaudier Brzeska,* who died last year, at the early age of 23, fighting for France, uttered regarding Greek sculpture what the Times calls "a profound piece of criticism." He said: "The fair Greek saw himself only. He petrified his own semblance." Commenting on this, the Times says: "It is the weak point in Greek sculpture, as compared with Egyptian, that it is entirely conscious and sharply limited by the effort to make the statue as like some reality as possible. The Egyptian was freed from his own egotism by his deeper religious feeling. His desire to make his gods more like gods than men delivered him from the thraldom of mere imitation, and made him more the master of the riches of his own sub-consciousness." The Times adds that it is as absurd to condemn the works of the Vorticists because they are not like any natural thing, as it would be to condemn the fugues of Bach because they are not like any natural sounds: it may be that we are puzzled by it only because we have the habit of looking for likeness in sculpture and painting, and if we could free our minds and eyes of that habit, the musical meaning of it would be clear to us.

VI.

According, then, to the traditional Hindu view which Sukráchárya has expressed, the sculptor of an image of Siva

* Pronounced Jaersh-ka. The organ of the Vorticists was the Blast.
should engage in meditation. To help the artist-devotee in his meditations there exists a body of contemplative verses (dhyāna), which set forth the distinguishing features of the particular manifestation of God desired and sometimes the spiritual meaning of the conception. The success of the artist would correspond to the extent to which he entered into the spirit of these conceptions and realized them in his own consciousness. The limitations of these conventions need not, except to the mediocre, be a barrier to artistic expression, any more than the high formalism and convention of Greek tragedy hampered the genius of Sophokles or Euripides.*

In the Dhyāna Ratnāvali the devotee thus meditates on Siva as Naṭa-rājā.

Šayāpamāratorddhvā sthitapadavilasad vāmamuddhritya pādam
Jvālāmālāsamadhye naṭanaphanisamam vyāghrapādādi-sevyaṃ
Bhasmoddhūlitamaṅgavidrumanibham hastāgpādāgra-kam
Vahnm dolākarābhayam daṃmarukam dhyātvā naṭesam bhaje.

"Luminous foot on dormant Apasmāra (a Titan) planted, left foot raised in the midst of a garland of flame, with dancing serpents, by Vyāghrapāda and others worshipped, with ashes daubed, body of coral hue, tip of hand to tip of foot (pointing), fire, pendent hand, hand of refuge, drum:—
(on these) meditating, I worship Naṭesa (Lord of the Dance)."

In another stanza Siva is meditated on together with his consort thus, and is called Sabhesa, the Lord of the (dancing) Hall,

* There were also laid down for the apprentice-student certain canons of proportion in the ancient technical books on Art, known as the Śīpa Śāstra, of which the chief are Āgastiya Sakalādihikāra, Kāsyapīya, Sukranitisāra, Sārasvatīya, &c. Some account of them will be found in the recently published work of Mr. O. C. Gangoly on "South Indian Bronzes," a valuable work (in spite of defects due to ignorance of Tamil and limited knowledge of Sanskrit) and one which it is not creditable to the English-educated Tamils of India and Ceylon to have left to a Bengali gentleman to write.

Since this paper was printed, I have seen the valuable work on Hindu Iconography, by Mr. Gopinatha Rao of Travancore.
Dhyāyet koṭiravigrabham trīnayanam śītāṃśugangādharam
Dakshināṅkhristhita vāmakunchitapadam sārdula charmām-
baram
Vāhnim dolākarābhayam damarukam vāmēśivām śyāmalām
Kalhāram japasraksukām kāṭikarām devīṃ sabhesam bhaje.

"Meditate on Him, resplendent as a million suns, three-
eyed, wearer of the moon and the Ganges (on his head),
right foot planted, left foot bent, in tiger-skin clad,—fire,
pendent hand, hand of refuge, drum,—on the left the Lady
Sīvā, dark of hue, water lily, rosary, parrot, hand on hip—
the Lady and the Lord of the Hall (Subhesa) I worship."

Śuddhasphāṭikasamkāsam jaṭāmakutamandītam
Makutamtrigunam nāgām prabhāmāndala mandītam
Dakshinamusthitam pādam vāmapādan tu kunchitam
Prasṛitamvāmahastan cha dakshahastāhavayapradam
Vāmahaste sthitam vahnim dakshine dāmarum tathā
Sarvābharaṇasamuyuktam apasmāroparisthitam
Vāme gaurisamāyuktam trimbh*................. nchitam.

[bhaje tryambakam uchritam]

"Like pure crystal, adorned with crown of matted hair-
crown of the three guṇas,† serpent, circle of flame, right foot
planted, left foot bent, left hand stretched, right hand off-
ering protection, fire in left hand, drum in the right, adorned
with all ornaments, standing on Apasmāra (the Titan), on
the left to Gauri joined, ............. [I worship the
standing Śiva.]"

* The concluding words of the last line are imperfect in the original
MS. and my friend, Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyābhusana, Principal o
the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, has suggested the words in brackets
instead.

† The Guṇas, the three ingredients or constituents of nature,
corresponding pretty closely to the three principles of the soul ac-
cording to Plato (Republic, IV. 441 E, 442 A.):

(1) Sattva (λόγος or ὁ λογιστικὸν)—Purity or good-
ness, producing illumination and mildness, wisdom, grace,
truth, &c.

(2) Rajas (θύμος or ὁ θυμοσιδίες)—Passion or energy,
producing activity and variability, mental exertion,
courage, learning, &c., and also worldly covetousness, pride,
falsehood, sensual desire.

(3) Tamas (ἐπιθυμία)—Darkness or ignorance, producing
sluggishness, arrogance, lust and other depraved attach-
ments.
VII.

Such meditations as these are materialized in the bronzes of Nāṭarāja and Śivakāmi, and for their correct understanding require some knowledge of Hindu philosophy, religion and traditions, especially of the Saiva Siddhānta School, the basis of the Siva worship introduced into Polonnaruwa by the armies of the Chola Kings. The Saiva Siddhānta system is the chief contribution of the Tamils to philosophy and religion, and in the opinion of the learned Dr. Pope is "the most influential and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of the religions of India." This attempt to solve the problems of God, the soul, humanity, nature, evil, suffering and the unseen world is little known to Western scholars. Dr. Pope,* who devoted many years to the study and exposition of this system, Mr. T. M. Nallasami Pillai and others who have laboured in the same field, have touched little more than the fringe. Only a brief outline, limited to the needs of this lecture, is possible here.

The Saiva Siddhānta postulates three entities, viz. God (pāti, ṣe or ṣeṣe, literally, Lord or King), the Soul or rather aggregate of souls (pāṣu, ṣe, lit. cattle), and Bondage (pāṣam, ṣeṣe), the sum total of all those elements which fetter the soul and keep it from finding release in union with God. Pāṣam is, in one of its aspects (malam), the innate taint clinging to the soul from of old as verdigris to brass and corresponding in a way to the 'original sin' of Christianity; in another aspect (māya) it is the material cause of the universe. The scheme of the universe has for its aim the removal of the soul's impurity and its union with the Lord. This is effected by His energy (Śakti, ṣeṣe or ṣeṣe, arul, Grace), which abides in Him inseparable from Himself and is the gracious instrument of His operations.

* For over half a century a missionary in South India and, later, teacher of Tamil and Telugu at Oxford and chaplain of Balliol College. See especially his translations of the Saiva Psalms (Tiruvōchakam) with the valuable notes thereon; Nallasāmi Pillai’s translations of Siva-gnāna-Bodham, Siva-gnāna-Siddhiyār, etc.
Though God and the soul are eternal entities, the Saiva Siddhānta takes great pains to make out that they are not two entities nor yet one, and calls itself Pure Non-dualism (Suddhādvaita), being equally removed from the Dualism of such religions as Christianity, Mohammedanism and Vaishnavism and from the Monism of the Vedānta. God is often compared by the Saiva Siddhānta philosophers to the first letter A of the Tamil and Sanskrit alphabets, which represents the English sound u in but, the first sound that issues from the mouth when it opens. The sound underlies and energizes every other sound and is also a distinct and the first sound. So God pervades and energizes all souls and nevertheless stands apart, Himself, of all things the source and the chief.

The Siva-gnāna-bodham, the chief Tamil authority of this school, thus explains what the Vedas mean, when they say 'Ekam Sat,' 'All that is, is one.'

"'One,' say the Vedas*. Behold, it is said of the One. The One is the Lord. Thou, who sayest 'One,' art the Soul. Lo, in bondage art thou. If the One were not,—. If vowel A were not, letters there would be none. In this wise say the Vedas 'One.'"

"Like song and its tune, like fruit and its flavour, the Lord’s energy everywhere pervadeth, non-dual. Therefore say the great Vedas not 'one' but 'not-two.'"†

God thus permeates and vitalizes all things, has neither name nor form, is beyond speech and thought, time and space. This conception of the Absolute is well brought out in the ordinary Tamil word for God காதவு (Kadavul), meaning that which transcends (Kad) all things and is

* Ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti (Rig Veda, 1, 164-46).
"All that is, is one. Poets call it by many names."

† காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு காதவு
the heart (ul) of all things. When the Absolute becomes manifest, it is as Force (Sakti, शक्ति or शक्तिः), of which the universe is the product, being from cycle to cycle evolved by Force from cosmic substance (Maya) and again involved. Hindu philosophers do not admit creation and destruction, in the sense of production out of nothing and reduction to nothing. Their conception of creation which they call projection (srishti, स्रिस्थि, स्रेष्ठिः, tōryam), and of destruction which they call contraction, involution or withdrawal (samhāra, सम्हारः शुद्धिः, oṣukkam), is more akin to Huxley's: "All the choir of heaven and the furniture of the earth are the transitory forms of parcels of cosmic substance, wending along the road of evolution from nebulous potentiality, through endless growths of sun and satellite, through all varieties of matter, through infinite diversities of life and thought, possibly through modes of being of which we neither have any conception nor are competent to form any, back to the indefinite latency from which they arose."

VIII.

Not brute and blind, however, but full of intelligence and grace is the Power which thus makes and unmakes, and which by the sages of India is accordingly regarded as the Universal Mother and, being inseparably inherent in God, is also called the Consort of God.

"Mother of millions of world-clusters, Yet Virgin by the Vedas called."

This Power is addressed by Chidambara Swami in the Panchātikāra vilakkam, 'Exposition of the Five Operations,' in these words:

"My head I crown with lily feet of Sivakāma Sundari, Who with the Absolute inseparably is blended

* Huxley, "Evolution and Ethics."
† Tāyumānavar, तायुमानवर तत्त्वज्ञानी भक्तिः.
As flower and scent, sun and ray, life and body,
As gem and lustre, form and shadow, word and meaning,
Who to the manifested Lord as Consort shines,
Who ever cures the life-hunger* of her children, all living things,
With ceaseless bliss ambrosial feeding and in Freedom's mansion establishing.".

The various manifestations of this Power are grouped by the Saiva Siddhánta school under five heads, which are deemed the principal aspects of the great Mother and are called the Five Acts (pancha kṛitya, pāḷi, pāḷi, aśrama or māra); (2) Maintenance or Preservation (ṣṭhitī, ṣṭhitī, ṣṭhitī or ṣṭhitī); (3) Withdrawal or Involution (samāhāra, pāḷi, pāḷi, pāḷi); (4) Veiling or Obscuration (tiro-bhāva, pāḷi, pāḷi); (5) Grace (anvṛtāna, or arul pāḷi). The evolving energy (Brahma, the Creator) evolves for each soul according to its deserts out of primordial substance a body (tān), organs of knowledge and action (karaṇa), pains and pleasures (bhoga) and spheres (bhuvana) to experience them in. The maintaining or preserving energy (Vishnu, the Preserver) maintains them for a time for the soul's experience. The involving or destroying energy (Rudra, the destroyer) withdraws them and makes them disappear to be projected again. The obscuring energy (Maheśa) entangles the soul in them so that, unable to distinguish the real from the unreal, it identifies itself with its transitory envenomments, calling the body and the organs 'I' and the experiences and spheres 'mine.' When the soul has passed through the discipline of these experiences in many births, the gracious energy (Sadāśiva) enlightens the ripened soul, delivers it from its delusion and bondage, establishing it in union with God, which is Freedom (Moksha, pāḷi, vidyā), the final goal and fulfilment of every soul.

In this union the soul, set free by the Holy Spirit (pāḷi, pāḷi), the gracious energy of the Lord, from the

* pāḷi, the liability of the soul to reincarnation and further development until it becomes ripe for union with God.
influence of its innate taint and from the fettering consciousness of the senses, lives eternally in the conscious full enjoyment of His presence, "thral to the Lord." (Siva-gnána-bodham, IX., 6.)

"Like crystal pillar that absorbeth light (of sun at zenith) and hath no shadow, so no darkness remains to lay hold of him." (Tiruvarutpayan, 67.)

The earliest manifestations of the Divine Energy are Vibration (Náda) and the Word (Vách)* which is the Logos of St. John. Among the later manifestations the most venerated in India is Umá or Sivakámi, beloved of Siva. According to an ancient tradition, she appeared in response to the prayers of a Himálayan king as an infant floating in a golden lily lake and was thence taken and reared by the king until claimed by Siva. From this tradition she is also called Párvati, the Lady of the Mountain.

She is thus addressed by Tayumánavar in her esoteric and exoteric aspects:

"Mansion and wealth, children and friends around, Splendour ever and throne, the certainty That Death's dark messengers draw not nigh, Wisdom's light, purity, wondrous powers,— All these are mine, so with thy feet my thought be one, † O Mother that hast Thy seat beside the dark-throated Lord! ‡ Light and bliss of knowledge supreme, that swallowest religions as oceans rivers! O Stillness, the Vedas' goal, Thy form seen where Vibration ends,

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* Etymologically the Latin voz.
† "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." St. Matthew, VII., 33.
‡ Siva, whose throat is said to have been stained dark-blue with a dread poison, which would have destroyed the world if he had not swallowed it on its production at the churning of the ocean by the celestials for the nectar of immortality.
O Wisdom, consumer of me and thought!*  
Lady Umá, beauteous as the moon, Madhu Súdana’s†  
sister,  
Who loveth mountain haunts and wast born dear to  
the Mountain King as the apple of his eye! ‡  

"From the elements to Vibration Thou showest  
To me as false; myself to me unveiledst.  
In the core of my intelligence standing,  
‘Stand still, free, in spirit-space all filling,  
Without beginning, without end,’ Thou saidst,  
And skilfully establish’dst me, O Mother  
Who vouchsaft pure knowledge and bliss,  
Yielding all the heart desireth.  
Forgetting Thee can I, poor wretch, live?  
Darling of the three-eyed Lord,§ of all ills  
The panacea, beyond the reach of them  
That lack the inner eye which illumineth  
The Vedas and excellent Ágamas,  
Beyond the deaf who hear not the praise of thy might,  
Beyond the stricken with the plague of controversy!  
Lady Umá who loveth mountain haunts and wast born  
Dear to the Mountain-king as the apple of his eye! "||  

Though Umá or Sivakámi is the female manifestation of  
Siva, she, being his inherent energy, is inseparable part  
of him and is spoken of exoterically as the left part. Siva  
is thus both male and female, and one of his names is  
Ardha-Náriśa, ‘the half-female Lord.’ This recalls the  
old Orphic hymn:  

Zeús ἀρσεν γένετο, Zeús ἀμβροτος ἐκλετο νύμφῃ  
"Zeus was a male, Zeus was a deathless virgin."

In token of the dual sex, Siva is represented as wearing in  
his right ear a man’s ear-ring (makara Kundala, ಕ್ವಲೊ or  
ಮಕರಾ, and on the left a woman’s (tátanka or tófu, Gərə).  
In a popular psalm of Mánikkaváchakar, he sings:  

"The Lady is in Thee, and Thou art in the Lady;  
Ye both are in me your servant."

* The sense of I, and thought with its correlative sleep or  
oblivion, have to be consumed by the Holy Spirit (Sakti), for the  
union of the soul with God.
† Vishnu.
‡ Táyumánavar, ತಾಯುಮಾನವರ್, 1.
§ Siva. See p. 23.
|| Táyumánavar, ತಾಯುಮಾನವರ್, 3.
IX.

The mystic dance of Siva symbolized in the Naṭarāja bronzes is said to have been danced in a remote age in the forest of Dārkāvāna after the overthrow of a body of heretics who, puffed up with the pride of learning and of skill in ritual and magic, regarded themselves as independent of Siva’s authority and self-sufficing. The dance was, it is said, repeated for the benefit of two devotees, Patanjali and Vyāghrapáda, at Chidambaram or Tīlai (in the South Arcot District of the Madras Presidency), which is therefore held in the highest reverence by the worshippers of Siva and is called Kóyil, “The Temple” par excellence.

The Skanda Puráṇa relates the legends of the dance in Dārkāvāna (Daksha Káṇḍa, Chapters XIII. and XIV.; and in Tamil, Kachchiappa Swámi’s Kandapuránam, Daksha Káṇḍa, 30—127.) The Kóyil Puránam of Umápati Sivácháriyar (written in the latter part of the 13th century) relates the legends of the dance at Chidambaram and the inauguration by King Hiranyavarma of a commemoration festival, which continues to be celebrated there every year, on the sixth lunar asterism (áruadrá) of the months of Márkáli (December—January), and draws immense crowds of pilgrims. It is an important festival in every Siva temple in S. India and Ceylon.

The shrine at Chidambaram is unique in combining the exoteric and esoteric aspects of Siva worship. The Naṭarāja dancing the cosmic dance is separated from the Holy of Holies by a veil, which is seldom raised and only as a special boon to favoured individuals. There is then revealed mere space, the ether filling it being the symbol of God. But even this subtle, all-pervading element is deemed an inadequate symbol, for the ether is to the Hindu sages unintelligent matter (jādákása, “material-space”), while God is chid-ákása, “Spirit-space,”—pure being (sat), pure intelligence (chit), pure bliss (ánanda). Hence the mystic name of the shrine, Chid-ambaram, “Spirit-space,” ambaram being another word for ákása.
Māṇikkavāchakar, a great Saiva saint and apostle, whose figure in bronze was found at Polonnaruwa (Plate Xd.) and whose spiritual history was largely linked with the shrine, sings thus in one of his psalms (Kirtti-tiruvakaval):—

"The holy feet, that danced in the ancient city
Of Tillai, dance in all living things,
In beauty of infinite diversity shining,
Making, unmaking, earth and heaven
And worlds celestial and hosts of sciences,
Driving away my darkness and taking up
Loving abode in the hearts of His servants."

(After an enumeration of His gracious manifestations to them):—

"The mighty Lord of Kailás’ echoing peak
Who graciously maketh thrall of each and all
By contrivance meet, bade me, a dog,
Enter blissful Tillai’s hall of glory,
Crushing the I in me to make me His."

The redemption of souls is thus regarded as the culmina-
tion of God’s operations in the universe; and the dance,
while symbolizing these operations, is believed to have its
counterpart in the subjective experience of saints.

"The silent mystics, rid of the three-fold taint,
And drinking deep the bliss that wells
Where self hath ceased, they behold the dance
Of our gracious Lord in the sacred hall."*

The hall is the devotee’s heart, and the dance beyond
speech and thought.

* குடும்பம் குடும்பம் குடும்பம் குடும்பம் குடும்பம்

cries Tāyumānava. ‘‘O God, Ocean of Mercy, that dancest
the dance of bliss in the Hall of pure Consciousness beyond
the plane of thought!’’

Often, in the yearly commemorative festival referred to
above, you see male devotees dancing in ecstasy in the attitude
of the Natarāja. Probably in olden times female devotees,
too, so danced. Here e.g. is a hymn put in the mouth of flower-girls in the TIRU-vāchakaṁ (>({t}umavē, 5).

"Lord Siva, who weareth on his locks the cassia o'er which the bees dance, 
He came in the flesh, seeking me, and within me entered. 
That I might dance and dance and shout before all the world; 
For Him, the eternal Dancer, King of the heavenly hosts, 
gather we lilies.

X.

A hymn sung by Saint Mānīkkavāchakar at Chidambaram and often recited in the temples (>({s}Varāvē) well brings out the view of the Saiva Siddhānta, that temples and churches, usually regarded as Houses of God, are but passages to the true House of God which is in man's heart "made beauteous by the flood of His Grace.” When He has taken his abode there, all distinctions of race, religion, caste, sex, &c., disappear—"who here is my kins? who is not?"—and there is naught save the splendour of the Lord.

This experience, not beyond the grave but here in this life, is the goal of the devotee. The methods employed to gain it are called Yoga, a word etymologically the same as the English Yoke and meaning the yoking of oneself to God. Bhakti Yoga, the method favoured by the Saiva Siddhānta, seeks realization of God by the way of Love. This Yoga the worship in the temples, with their service of song and prayer and music, sacraments and fasts and works of mercy, is designed to foster, gradually purifying the heart and making it fit to be the "House of God," His "great holy shrine" (Tiruppeperunturai*), "the City of Siva" or, in the language of Jesus, "the Kingdom of God," of which he too said "Behold, the Kingdom of God is within you."

"O Supreme Splendour that rises within me welling forth as ambrosia,

* Also the name of the celebrated temple associated with the Saint's spiritual history.
Having blocked the ways of the five traitor senses that
ever delude me,
Graciously show Thyself to me as Thou art,
Clearest of the clear, Lord Siva, Dweller in the great
holy shrine,
O Bliss transcending all states without end, O my Love!
With love Thy servant’s body and soul melting in bliss,
Sweet grace, by me not deserved, Thou didst grant.
For this I have naught to give in return.

* * * *

O King, Father to me that am the servant of those that
love Thee,
Light of Truth that, entering body and soul, has melted
all faults and driven away the unreal darkness,
Full, waveless, clear Ocean of Ambrosia, Siva, Dweller in
the great holy shrine,
O Knowledge* known there where speech and knowledge†
are dead,
Make known unto me, how shall I speak of Thee?

Perfect Fulness, flawless Ambrosia, Mountain of endless,
flaming Light,
O King that camest unto me as the Vedas and the mean-
ing of the Vedas and didst fill my mind,
Siva that, like torrent brooking not banks, rushest into
the mouth of my heart, Dweller in the great
holy shrine,
Sovereign Lord, Thou hast made thy abode in my body.
What more can I ask Thee?

O Splendour that rises in my heart as asking, asking I
melt!
Thou whose lotus-feet grace the crowns of celestials,
Siva, Dweller in the great holy shrine,
Who art all-pervading space and water and earth and
fire and air,
Who art other than they, Whose form in them is
hidden,—
I rejoice, having seen Thee this day.

This day in Thy mercy unto me Thou didst drive away
the darkness and stand in my heart as the
rising Sun.
Of this Thy way of rising—there being naught else
but Thou,—I thought without thought.
Nearer and nearer to Thee I drew, wearing away atom
by atom, till I was One with Thee, O Siva, Dweller
in the great holy shrine.

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* Pure Intelligence, the Absolute, where there is no conscious
differentiation of subject and object.

† Impure Intelligence or differentiating consciousness.
Thou art not aught in the universe. Naught is there save Thou.
Who can know thee?
Thou that, sprouting as the earth and all the spheres, spreadest as matchless expanse of light,
Fire water-laden, Pure One beyond the reach of thought,
Sweetness that wells forth in the heart made beauituous by the flood of Thy grace,
Siva, Dweller in the great holy shrine,
Who here is my kin? who is not? O Splendour that makes me bliss!"

*[Tiru-Váchakam, Gaṇapádá Śū-káñjana]*

**THE BRONZES.**

**XI.**

**SIVA as NÁTA RÁJÁ or “Lord of the Dance”.** Colombo Museum Register No. 15, 13, 88, 283; No. 1 on pedestal. Height of the bronze 90·4 cm. or 36·16 in. Plate I. is the front view, and Plate I.a and b the front and back view on a smaller scale. The dance represents the operations of the universe (see supra, pp. 194, 200, 201, 204, 208, 209). The bronze is a fine specimen of this manifestation of Siva.

Siva stands in a halo or circle of flame (*jvála málá, prabhá mandala, Tamil tiru-vási*), a complete circle (*vrittákára prabhá*) united with the figure both at head and foot. A complete circle so united is rare in such bronzes. The circle issues from the mouths of a pair of dolphins (*makaras*). The halo symbolises the *Praṇava*, the mystic word *Aum*, which is the generalized symbol of all possible sounds and therefore the fittest symbol of the Logos. (Plates III. and IV. show two smaller figures of the Nata-rájá, both incomplete; in both the halo is missing and in IV. also the braided locks.)

The hair of the head is braided, the upper part tied together to form a crown (*baddha věnī*), terminating in a crest of peacock feathers, and at the back a circular knot (*sikhá chakra*) (Plate II.b and Plate IV.b), the lower braids falling loose (*lamba věnī*) and whirling in the dance. At the base of the crown (Plate I.) is a human skull, symbol of Siva’s destroying energy. On the lower braids is a mermaid on the right, representing the river Ganges, symbol of fertility and of God’s Grace. According to tradition, the Ganges, a celestial
river, was permitted by Siva to descend on earth in answer to the prayers of King Bhagíratha, and the force of the fall was broken by Siva receiving it in his matted locks for a time to save the earth from being crushed by the weight of the falling stream; a poetic explanation, probably, of the first issue of the river from the Himálayan snows. On the loose braids on the left are the crescent moon, symbol of Siva's grace and glory, symbol also of time (for the moon is the measurer * of time); and a cobra, which by reason of its deadly venom, may be taken as a symbol of destruction and obscuration, but is here rather a symbol of the cosmic force Kundalini (see p. 214 infra).

Siva is represented with three eyes, symbols of sun, moon and fire and of time past, present and future. The third eye is located between the eyebrows and is known as the eye of wisdom. It is sometimes seen on images of Buddha. It is supposed to exist in all men but closed, except in the Jnáni or Seer. Its site is indicated by the spot of sandal or other aromatic paste which Hindus usually wear on their foreheads to remind them of the latent power of vision which it should be their endeavour to awaken and master. This third eye is probably connected with the pineal gland, which physiologists regard as the vestige of an aborted eye and in which Descartes placed the seat of the Soul.

Siva wears in his right ear a man's ear-ring (makara kundala) and on his left a woman's (tátanka or tódu), to indicate that he is both male and female (see page 207).

He wears a necklace of skulls of Brahmas and Vishnus, symbolising that he has seen the universe created and destroyed times without number. After destroying the universe, he wears its ashes on his body. Hence the use of ashes by his devotees as a sacrament, the symbol of purification by the fire of his Grace, for each soul must lose the world to find God.

* From root má to measure. A month (Sansk. más, Lat. mensis) is the period of time measured by one revolution of the moon, "the mother of the months," as Shelley calls her.
He also wears a necklace of rudrákshas, berries of the elaeocarpus ganitrus, symbols of his pity, being regarded as solidified tears wept by him for the woes of his devotees. Rosaries of these beads are worn by Siva’s devotees. He also wears the upavíta, the sacred thread, over the left shoulder and under the right arm. The upavíta generally consists of 96 strands, representing the 96 tatvas, categories or constituents of the universe. No ritual can be celebrated without wearing the upavíta. Siva here wears it to indicate that He is Lord of all acts (sarva karmáraka).

Cobras (nágas) are coiled round his body and in his hair, symbols of the great cosmic force which the Rája Yogis call Kundalini and represent as a cobra, relics also perhaps of the serpent worship of the aborigines of India and Ceylon. According to the Rája Yogi there runs through the spinal cord a canal called the Sushumna, at the base of which is a plexus called Muládhára (basic) and at the crown in the brain the plexus called the Sahasrára (thousand petalled lotus). In the basic plexus is stored the cosmic energy, an infinitesimal fraction of which is distributed throughout the body by the sensory and motor nerves, and mainly by two columns of nerves called Ida and Pingala on either side of the Sushumna canal. This canal, though existing in all animals, is closed except in the Yogi. He dispenses with sensory and motor nerves, opens the canal, sends through it all mental currents, makes the body a gigantic battery of will and rouses the vast coiled up power from the basic plexus to the ‘thousand petalled lotus’ in the brain. As the power travels up the canal, higher and more wonderful powers of vision and knowledge are gained till the goal is reached of union with God. This power is pictured as a serpent coiled up (hence the name Kundalini) at the basic plexus and gradually rising with hood erect to the plexus in the brain, somewhat as in this illustration (Plate XI.). The serpents of the Nata-rája bronze thus represent the cosmic force coiled in Siva, the Supreme Yogi.
He is represented with four arms:—

1. The right upper hand holding a drum (śāmaruka), the symbol of creation or, more correctly, projection or evolution (srīshti), the source of vibration (nāda), the first stage of evolution. The drum taps are the alternations of phase extending over vast regions of space and time.

2. The right lower hand (abhaya kara) raised in token of dispelling fear and of assurance of protection, symbol of preservation (sthiti).

3. The left upper hand, holding fire, the destroying and purifying element, symbol of destruction or (more correctly) involution (samhāra) and of salvation and deliverance.

4. The left lower hand hanging down (dola kara) pointing to the raised foot as the sole refuge of the soul; symbol of his grace (anugraha).

One leg (sthita pada) rests on a prone asura or Titan (called variously Muyalaka, Apasmāra, Roga-purusha) holding a snake in his hand; the other leg is raised and bent (Kunchita pada). The former foot is deemed the symbol of Siva’s obscuring energy, the latter of his energy of grace and salvation. The prostrate Titan on whom Siva dances was, according to the legend, sent against him by the heretic magicians of Darukāvana and represents the soul’s delusion (Māyā) crushed under Siva’s foot.

He wears short drawers of tiger-skin, and bells below the knee (kantāmanī) worn by heroes in battle, symbols of nāda (vibration), first stage in evolution, and of Siva’s might. According to the legend the tiger, the drum, and the cobras were sent against Siva by the magicians, but Siva killed the tiger and cobras and wrapped the tiger’s hide round himself as a garment and wound the cobras around his body and took the drum into his hand. The whole figure stands on a lotus which probably represents the thousand petalled lotus referred to in connexion with Kundalini sakti (page 214).
Thus the dance represents all the "five-fold acts" of God. This symbolism is set forth in the Books, of which the following may be taken as samples, and more fully in the oral teaching of the Masters.

Lokanāhūya sarvān ḍamarukaniṇadair ghora samsāra
magnān
Datvā vittim dayālu praṇataḥbhayaharam kunchita
pāda padnam
Udhrityedam vimukterayanam iti karād darṣayam
pratyayārtham
Bibhradvalnim sabhāyām kalayati naṭanam ya sa
pāyān naṭesāh.

"Who calleth with the sounds of the drum all men sunk in
the terrors of worldly life,—the Gracious One that giveth
knowledge and destroyeth the fears of his worshippers and,
raising his bent lotus-foot, pointeth with the hand for
assurance, "This is the way to Freedom," and bearing
fire danceth in the Hall,—may that Lord of the Dance
(Nāṭesa) protect us!"

( bènd the, 36.)

"In the drum behold evolution, in the assuring hand
preservation, in fire evolution, in the planted foot obscuration
and in the foot held aloft emancipation.

Driving away māya, burning karma, crushing āpava,* by
the Holy Spirit (Arul) raising the soul and sinking it in the
ocean of bliss,—these are the works of the feet of our
Father."

* These are three aspects of the Pāsam which fetter the soul
(page 202 supra).
Siva as Naṭa-rājā (front and back view). (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 89, 283.) Height of the bronze, 64·5 cm. = 25·8 in., or about a foot shorter than the bronze in Plates I. and II. Flame-circle or halo (Jvāla málu) missing. The crown is of different shape from I., being what is called Karaṇḍa Makuṭa. The crescent moon is on the left side of the crown, the usual position; in Plates I. and II. it is on the braided locks.

Siva as Naṭa-rājā. (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 91, 284.) Height 61·5 cm. = 24·6 in. Type of face different from the two previous Naṭa-rājás; crown (Karaṇḍa Makuṭa) as in Plate III., and bearing crescent moon in the same position. Halo and braided locks missing.

Siva Kāmi or Parvati (front and back view). (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 111A, 288.) The divine energy represented as a female and the Consort of Siva (pages 204-207 supra):

"Mother of millions of world-clusters,
Yet Virgin by the Vedas called."

Height 62·6 cm. The crown is a Karaṇḍa Makuṭa but pointed. Round the throat is a cord with the marriage symbol, Mangala Sūtra (Tamil, Tāli). Below it richly chased ornaments on chest, shoulders and arms. When placed on the altar for worship, the upper part of the body would be covered with robes and jewels, leaving only the head and arms visible. Over the left shoulder and under the right arm is the sacred thread (Upanītā) as in the figure of Siva (page 214). The right hand is in the pose called Kuṭaka hasta or Sinha Karna (lion’s ear), the tips of the fingers in contact with the thumb and forming a circle, in which a fresh flower might be inserted daily. The left hand hangs down loosely by the side (lōl-hasta or lamba-hasta). The lower part of the figure is robed in a sārī drawn up between the legs from behind. Over this robe and round the waist, jewelled zones or
girdles called Mekhalá, Kánchi, etc. The figure stands on a lotus, resting mainly on the left foot bending at the hip. The posture or sway is that called tri-bhanga, having three bends, namely at the hip, the shoulder and the neck.

The following is a sample Dhyáná verse for the meditation of the sculptor, similar to those in pages 200 and 201 on Siva.

Syánam dvinetrám dvibhujám tribhangám
Savyápasavya sthitā kunchítánghirám
Savyotpalám satkanakastanádhyám
Hastányalambám paramesvarám tám.

“Dark of hue*, two-eyed, two-armed, three curved, left foot planted and right slightly raised, blue lily in left hand, possessed of golden breasts, the other hand pendent, the supreme goddess (Paramesvari).”

**Plate VI.** Siva in half-dancing pose, called Sandhyá-nritta-mártti, “Lord of the evening twilight dance.” (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 94, 284.) Height 67 cm. = 26·8 in. The extra arms branch out from the elbow and not from the shoulder as in Nata-rájá in previous plates.

**Plate VI.** Bull Nándi, 1 ft. 5 in. × 1 ft. 2 in. This is Siva’s charger and represents the soul (pasu, lit. “cattle”) of which he is lord, Pasu-pati (see page 202). Nandi is reputed to be a favourite servant and disciple of Siva and was initiated by him in the principles of the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy, which Nandi communicated to the world through a long line of sages to which belonged Meykandatevar, the author of the Tamil Siva-gnána-bodham (See invocation ad init.).

**Plate VI.** Siva-kámi, Consort of Siva. (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 108, 287.) Height 1 ft. 4 in.

A, b and c are in this plate arranged as they usually would be in this group called Sandhyá-nritta-mártti. The bull is stroked by the left hand of Siva, and Sivakámi is looking on at Siva’s dance.

*Syáma, which may be dark brown, dark blue, or dark green, and is a term applied to “a female from 8 to 16 years of age, resembling in complexion the blossom of the Priyangu or in shape its slender stalk.”*
The bull and cow are held in great reverence by Hindus, and their slaughter is a deadly sin. Probably the original reason was sentimental and economic. Bulls were indispensable for ploughing and the cow for milk; and religion came to their rescue, forbidding their slaughter. Economic and sentimental reasons similarly protect the horse from slaughter in many European countries and forbid the use of horse flesh as food.

Siva and his Consort Parvati alias Sivakami, alias Plate VII. Uma, seated at ease (Sukhasana), front and back view. (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 90, 284.) The two figures and the pedestal are in one block. Height of Siva 2 ft. and of the female figure 1 ft. 8 in. This group usually includes a little figure of their son Skanda or Kārtikeya, God of War and Wisdom, whose chief shrine in Ceylon is at Kattragama (Tam., Katirkāmam), a famous place of pilgrimage in the S. E. corner of the Island. The group is called Somā Skanda Murtti = Saha (with) + Umā + Skanda + Murtti, the manifestation of Siva with Umā and Skanda.

Siva is four-armed: one hand on the right holding a battle-axe, and one on the left a deer, the battle-axe and deer having been sent against him by the magicians of Dārukāvana and subdued by him (p. 215 supra). The right lower hand is in the abhaya (‘fear not’) pose, dispelling fear and assuring protection; and the left lower hand is in the Kaṭuka pose.

Sivakāmi holds in her right hand a lotus-bud, and her left hand is in the varada or boon-giving pose.

For other features see description of Naṭa-rājā, pp. 212 et seq.

Sundara-Murtti, front and side view. (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 98, 285.) Height 62·6 cm. One of the chief saints and singers of Siva in Tamil land (circa 800 of the Christian era); a native of Tīru-ārūr near Nagapattam in the Madras Presidency. The story is that on his wedding-day, just as the marriage rites were beginning,
Siva came in the guise of an old Brahmin and claimed him as his thrall by virtue of a bond from an ancestor. The ceremony was stopped; there were violent disputes and recriminations, and the bridegroom was led to an adjoining village and into a temple where Siva suddenly manifested himself in his divine form. The artist has happily caught the young bridegroom at the moment of the vision in his suddenly arrested movement of breathless wonder and awe. The attire is that of a bridegroom,—jewelled ornaments on head, chest, arms, and waist, and anklets. Being a Brahman, he wears the sacred thread (Upavita) across the chest.

**Plate IX.** CHANDESVARA, an apotheosized devotee of Siva. (Museum Register 9: 13, 100, 286) Height 73 cm. He has a shrine in every temple of Siva in Tamil land; no worship of Siva is complete until the final honours are paid to this saint. Here, too, the artist has successfully depicted the moment of rapture when (according to the story) Siva manifested himself, presenting him with a garland of *cassia* from his crown (which the devotee holds in profound reverence between his folded palms) and appointing him chief of his hosts (Ganapati). At the base of the statuette is an inscription in *grantha* and Sinhalese characters, which is in parts illegible and which may be read as “Ganapati Usaba vamse.” Usaba is a Sinhalese word found in inscriptions, meaning excellent. Vamse (Sinh. Vahanse) is an honorific title.

**Plate IX.** SURYA, the SUN-GOD. (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 97, 285.) Height 54 cm. Figure stands on a lotus in erect posture (called *sama-bhangana*); halo round head from top of crown to neck; lotus in either hand.

A sample *dhyana* verse is as follows:

Dvibhujanca dvinetranca kirta makutanvitam
Makutantam kanthamulat prabhamanḍala manditam
Kanthantatanka samyuktam raktavarnan tathaivaca
Sanālābja karopetam hamsāsakta samanvitam
Samapādasthītam padre raktavastrair alankritam.
"Two-shouldered, two eyed, wearing a krīṭa crown, halo from neck to the end of crown, ear-rings (tāṭanka) reaching to neck, ruddy of hue, swan-associated lotus held in the hand by its stalk, standing on lotus with equal foot, adorned with red robes."

The four figures in this group (which are reduced to the same scale) represent the four chief saints in the Saiva Calendar, whose images are to be found in every temple of Siva.

**Appar Swami or Tīru-nāvuk-arasu.** (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 104, 286.) Height 55 cm. He lived about the 7th century. In early life he embraced Jainism and rose to be the head of the great Jain monastery in Pātaliputra in the Tamil country. He subsequently reverted to his ancestral faith and was greatly persecuted by the Jain king, but persevered in his devotion to Siva. He went about the country a mendicant singing in the temples hymns of rare beauty, and weeding the court-yards. He is usually represented, as here, with hands folded in worship, shaven head, rosaries of rudrāksha beads sacred to Siva (see p. 214) on head, neck, chest, &c., clad in a breech clout, and carrying the weeding implement. The title Nāvuk-arasu, "Tongue-King," is said to have been bestowed on him by Siva.

**Sundara-mūrti-swami** (same as Plate VIII. a; for description, see p. 219).

**Tīru-jnāna-sambhanda-swami.** (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 102, 286.) Height 48.6 cm. A younger contemporary of Appar Swami (X. a), and perhaps the greatest of Saiva saints and mystics.

He is said to have received his call while an infant and to have died at the age of sixteen. He is usually (as here) represented as a nude child, with a pair of golden cymbals (said to be a gift from Siva) with which he went about singing his praise. He wears rudraksha beads on his neck, chest and arms, and a golden waist string with pendants.
The collection of hymns of Tīru-jñāna-sambandha-swāmi, Appar Swami and Sundara-murti-swāmi (X. b) is known as the Divine Garland (Tevāram) and, together with the Psalms of Mānikka-vāchaka-swāmi (X. d), has been the mainstay of the religion of Sīva in South India and Ceylon.

MĀNIKKA-VĀCHAKA-SWĀMI. (Museum Register No. 15: 13, 101, 286.) Height 54·2 cm. A great Psalmit of Tamil land who lived about the 5th century of the Christian era. He was prime minister of the Pandiyan King of Madura, but after his call became a mendicant singer and preacher, in which guise he is here represented. The collection of his hymns is called Tīru-vāchakam, "The holy word," and his own name, which means "The golden-speeched," is said to have been given him by Sīva.

He holds in his left hand a palm-leaf manuscript in which is inscribed the word "Namachchivāya," "Adoration to Sīva," the initial word of the Tiruvachakam, which he is expounding, the right hand being in the pose vitarka of a preacher or expositor. The hair of his head is matted, and he wears rosaries of rudraksha beads, and across the chest the sacred thread of the Brahmin.

Dr. Pope, who has written an appreciative life of the saint and published an excellent translation of his Psalms, speaks of him as a mixture of St. Paul and St. Francis of Assisi. He spent his last days at Chidambaram, where most of his hymns were composed. I have given specimens of this at pp. 209-212.
PLATE I.

NĀṬA-RĀJA.
(See pages 212 et seq.)
NATA-RĀJA (front and back view)
NÄTA-RÄJA (front and back view).
PLATE IV.

NĀṬA-RĀJA (front and back view).
SIVA-KÁMI (front and back view), the Divine Energy represented as Consort of SIVA. (See pages 204 et seq.)
VI.

a. Siva, as Sandhya-Nṛtta-Mūrtti, "Lord of the Evening Twilight Dance."


c. Consort of Siva.
Siva and his Consort, as Somáskanda Mórtti = Siva + his Consort Umá alias Siva-Kámi + child Skanda, which should be between them and is missing.
SUNDARA MÚRTTI (front and side view), a devotee of SIVA, struck with wonder and awe at the unexpected vision of SIVA.
a. CHANDESVARA, an apotheosized devotee of Siva.

b. SURYA, the Sun-God.
SAIVA SAINTS.

a. Appar alias TIRU-NÁVUK-ARASU Swámi.
b. Sundara Múrtti Swámi [See Plate VIII.]

c. TIRU-GRÁNA-SAMBHANDA Swámi.
d. MÁNIKKA VÁCHAKA Swámi.
4. His Excellency the Governor invited discussion.

5. His Excellency proposed a vote of thanks to Sir Ponnambalam. In doing so he said that, as nobody seemed to be prepared to discuss that lecture, he had now to discharge the very pleasant duty of proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer. He was sure they all listened with the greatest interest and pleasure to the stimulating and instructive lecture. He was glad he was able to be present at the lecture before going to visit the scene where those interesting relics had been found. He was sure that he would view the ruins at Polonnaruwa with far greater interest and sympathy since he had the privilege of listening to the lecture that night. He was a learner in those matters and a beginner at them, and therefore felt with the others he was not competent to discuss the lecture. He was sure all were greatly indebted to Sir Ponnambalam for the very great labour he must have expended in the preparation of the luminous lecture he had delivered. He would ask those present to give a very hearty vote of thanks to their President for his interesting lecture.

Mr. C. Hartley seconded.

6. Sir Ponnambalam Arunáchal proposed a vote of thanks to His Excellency. In doing so he said he was very grateful to His Excellency for presiding at the lecture and for his gracious appreciation of it, and to those present for joining in the vote of thanks that H. E. had proposed. It now remained for him to propose a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency for honouring them with his presence that night. His Excellency had come at great personal inconvenience, and they greatly appreciated it and felt stimulated by his encouragement. He asked them to carry the vote with acclamation. This was vigorously acceded to.

7. His Excellency expressed his thanks and the meeting terminated.
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