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OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH

24898

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 19, 1926.

Present:

His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., G.B.E.,

Patron, in the Chair.

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. M. M. Anthonisz
" K. W. Atukorala, Muhandiram
The Hon'ble Sir J. T. Broom, Kt.
Mr. R. A. Cader
" J. W. de Alwis
" P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A. (Cantab.)
" R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala, B.A. (Cantab.)
" J. de Silva, B.A. (Lond.)
" W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar
" G. E. Harding, B.A. (Lond.)
" E. M. Hare
" E. C. T. Holsinger
Miss B. Hunsworth
Mr. A. E. Jayasingha
" A. P. A. Jayawardana

Mr. A. Mendis
" T. Muttucumaru, B.A. (Lond.)
Prof. S. A. Pakeman, M.A. (Oxon.)
Revd. M. Pannalankara
Mr. S. Pararajasingham
The Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera
Dr. L. A. Rajapaksa, LL.D.
Mr. H. T. Ramachandra
" E. Reimers
" Joseph E. Rode
" Louis Siedle (Jr.)
" Sri Nissanka
" C. Suppramaniam
" F. A. Tissavarasingha
" L. J. B. Turner, M.A. C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A. (Lond.), C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: 4 Ladies and 15 Gentlemen.

Business:

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 7th October, 1925, were read and confirmed.

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2. The Governor then introduced the lecturer for the evening. It was a great pleasure to him to find himself occupying the presidential chair at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Ceylon. When he was there in the old days he used to preach to the members of the Public Service the necessity of joining the Society, and the duty that they owed to the Colony which they served, to contribute to the records which the Society compiled of all that dealt with the History, Archaeology of the Island. He had not been in Ceylon long enough to be able to judge how far that doctrine had been accepted by the present generation, but it was his earnest hope that all members of the Public Service would recognize the importance of contributing to the Ethnological, Archaeological and Scientific knowledge of the Colony, which contributions should be given to the Society and placed on record.

He would like to say in connection with Dr. Pieris, with what great interest he had watched his literary career since his departure from Ceylon. Dr. Pieris had been kind enough from time to time to send him copies of the books he had written which were important contributions on a comparatively modern period of Ceylon History. He had made the Portuguese period his special province. The essay which he was going to give them that night concerned a passing incident during the period of the Portuguese occupation. He then called upon Dr. Pieris to read his paper.

3. Dr. Pieris said. Your Excellency, in the absence of a President, it gives me the greatest delight to welcome you once more within these walls. The active interest which as President you used to take in this Society is still remembered with gratitude, and we are convinced that your return as our Patron will stimulate the younger members of the Public Services, and others who take an intelligent interest in the history and people of this country, to take on their shoulders a fairer share of the burden which we have so long done our best to carry. This Society can view with some complacency the change which has come over the outlook of the public towards the subjects which we have tried to foster. When fourteen years ago you wished me farewell, Your Excellency used an expression which I shall now recall to you. "Keep this Society going," you said "It is of the utmost importance to your country." Well, we have done our little best, and at any rate we have helped to collect some valuable material. Since your departure we have had Professor Geiger's important work on the Mahawansa. It is chiefly owing to your interest that I was able to place before the public De Queiroz's great compilation, of which a translation from the competent hands of Father S. G. Perera is now in the Press. The contents of the Foral of Jaffna have been published, and a full translation of Vol. III. of the Portuguese Tombo, and a *précis* of a part of Vol. II. are now ready. Important contemporary narratives of the time of Constantino de Sa have been secured from Portugal, and the Archivist, Mr. Reimers, has traced a volume of Maps of that period at the Hague. Photographs of another series of Maps, dated 1650, have been obtained from the Library of Congress at Washington, and will soon be available to the public. Arrangements are being made to reproduce the Maps and Plans in the *Resende* Mss, and the valuable letterpress which accompanies them has been translated and only awaits revision on my next visit to England. Perhaps the most exciting find of all is a series of nearly a hundred long letters from the Kings who lived at Kotte, Sitawaka and Senkadagala during the obscure period 1540-1550. Then there is Ove Giedde's Diary of the Danish expedition, which is the subject of to-day's address.

*** THE DANES IN CEYLON.**

By P. E. PIERIS.

Early in 1620 a small Danish fleet, which had been despatched from Denmark, sailing from Kronenburg on the sound on 13th August 1618 under the command of Roelant Crape, for the purpose of opening up trade with Tanjore, reached Ceylon with the welcome news that an armament would soon arrive to assist King Senevirat. This was the result of the mission on which the King had sent Boschouwer five years before for he had left Ceylon on 5th May 1615. The Envoy had been unsuccessful in his negotiations with the Hollanders both at Batavia and in Europe, as these people were too preoccupied with their own schemes regarding the Moluccas and the political complications which culminated in the Thirty Years' war, to attend to Ceylon. He therefore turned to Denmark, which, with the great commercial prosperity which followed the close of the Swedish war which ended in 1603, was determined to bid for a share in the Eastern trade, and had in 1616 formed a Company to carry out this project.¹

Boschouwer was indeed fortunate in the time of his arrival. Danish sailors had taken part in the earliest voyages of the Hollanders, and the reputation of Ceylon for wealth was great. This was not lessened by the persuasive eloquence of the Envoy, who went about with all the state of a Prince, and insisted on receiving the honours due to an Imperial Ambassador. He was received by King Christian IV at Friedrichsburg on the eighth of November 1617, as recorded in the King's

1.—There were nine Directors, including the Admiral and Vice-Admiral who went with the Company's ships, and these were to receive a Commission on all goods carried on the outward and homeward voyages. The King was one of the largest shareholders.

* Note.—This Article was not intended for publication in the Journal and is only introductory to the Translation of Giedde's Diary prepared by Miss Mary Mackenzie, which will be printed shortly.—P.E.P.

Private Diary, and he produced his credentials dated 22nd March 1615, from the Imperial Camp at Domdre (Dumbara?) which he appears to have fabricated. Suspended from them was the impression of a large seal in red wax, and bearing as a device a shield divided in accordance with the rules of Heraldry, and displaying ten Coats of Arms. Round the shield was the Chain of an Order, and above a great Crown. This document purported to give full authority to "Marcelo, Prince of Migomuwa, Kukulu Korale, etc., Chief of the Order of the Golden Sun; President of the High Council and the War Council; Second in the Privy Council; Admiral and Captain-General of the Seas in the Empire of Ceylon" in case of his failing to obtain assistance from the Hollanders, to enter into negotiations and to make Treaties with all other potentates.

The result was that on the 30th of March 1618 a Treaty was signed at Copenhagen, by which an alliance was established between the two Kings for a term of seven years. During that period King Christian undertook to support Senevirat against his rebellious subjects, and for this purpose to send three hundred experienced soldiers with the necessary stores, the cost of the expedition being payable immediately on the arrival of the fleet in Ceylon. The monopoly of the Ceylon trade for twelve years was guaranteed to the Danes, and the duties levied on exports and imports were to be divided between the two Kings. A Sinhalese representative was to reside permanently in Denmark, and a Sinhalese Company was to be formed to carry on trade with that country. Finally Senevirat was to assist the promulgation within his dominions of the Christian Faith according to the Augsburg Confession.*

2.—The treaty was in Dutch and engrossed on nine quartos of parchment. Attached to it was Boschouwer's seal with its device of ten Coats of Arms, with the so-called Order of the Golden Sun, and the legend "M. Deyp Piagotty Migomme Bandar." (Schlegel.)

The Danes were delighted at the excellent bargain which they thought they had made, and Boschouwer was treated with the greatest favour by King Christian, who stood as sponsor to the son who was born to him. The Company on its part made large advances of money to him, on the conditions however that he was not to land in Ceylon till one of Senevirat's officers took his place, and that his family and personal effects were to be retained on board till the terms of the Treaty were carried out.

The substantial fruit of this Treaty was that on the 29th of December 1618 a fleet of five vessels with Ove Giedde as Admiral set sail for Ceylon. The two largest vessels, namely, the Elephant which served as the Admiral's ship, and the David, which carried the Envoy and his party, were provided by King Christian, while the Company had fitted out two others, the Christian and the Copenhagen. Accompanying them was a provision boat supplied by the Hollanders. On board there were three hundred stout mercenaries—Danes, Germans, French and English—while the cargo included a large stock of lead and tin, which was expected to find a ready market. Among the stores were 283 carcases of oxen which the King had bought from his wife's mother Ellen Marsvin. Unfortunately the Admiral was wanting in that tact which was essential for the maintenance of harmonious relations with the haughty Envoy, while his excessive severity soon made him disliked among the men. The friction culminated in a violent scene at Table Bay, where the Admiral attempted to intercept the correspondence which Boschouwer was sending to Copenhagen by the English fleet which was met at that port. The result was that when the fleet set sail again, the David slipped away from her companions and made her way to Stephen van Hagen's Bay, where she arrived

in September 1619. Here Boschouwer, who had been ailing for some time, as well as his little son, died.

³ The Admiral continued on his voyage with the rest of the ships, and in heavy weather cast anchor off Panawa on the 19th of May 1620. His vessel was soon boarded by some men in Portuguese costume, whose gallant bearing much impressed the Danes. They brought a message from Barretto: he was close by with 400 men and was prepared to join anyone who would fight the Portuguese. He therefore invited the Admiral to come on land and build a fort there, a request with which the latter, in view of his instructions, was unable to comply.

He now sailed on to Pallegama, where the *David* had already arrived with her dismal news. To add to the Admiral's depression, he now learnt not only that Senevirat had in 1617 made a Treaty with the Portuguese, but that Crape's vessel had been destroyed by the latter⁴, though the Commander himself and thirteen of his men had found shelter with the Nayaker of Tanjore, who had given them Tranquebar for their maintenance.⁵ Giedde was hospitably entertained by the Vannia⁶ who visited him on board. He presented the Admiral with a sapphire ring which he took off from his own finger. The two then went on land and partook of a meal served under a linen awning stretched on poles fixed on the sand

3.—Giedde's Diary of the voyage, entered from day to day by himself and the account of his doings, were presented to the Danish Chancellor Friis van Kragerup on 1st May 1623, and are published by Schlegel.

⁴—The capture of Crape's vessel is referred to by de Quieroz, p. 514, and Fy. S.iii.,353. The incident is reported in Fernao d'Albuquerque's letter to the King of 12th Feb. 1620. Bols mao ii.7.

⁵—This subsequently became the Danish settlement of Danisborg.

⁶—These headmen are all spoken of as Kings. Those of Pallegama and Maticaloa were brothers.

A letter⁷ was also despatched to the King to announce the arrival of the armament, and containing a request that the cost thereof might be furnished without delay. He himself sailed on to Kottiar, to await a reply. On the King's orders none of his men were allowed to proceed to the Capital for fear of being seized by the Portuguese. At the same time messengers arrived from Mayadunna, who was in the neighbourhood, and who now sent an authority which he had received from the King to negotiate with the Danes on his own behalf. Giedde however, while expressing his willingness to befriend Mayadunna, decided not to give any definite answer till he heard from the King.

On the 24th June the King's Secretary and an aged Mudaliyar came on board with a letter from Court. They wished to know if the Danes undertook to drive the Portuguese out of the country, while Giedde on his part demanded payment of the Company's claim, and showed a Portuguese translation of Boschouwer's Treaty to the Secretary, who was familiar with the language. The latter expressed his surprise at its terms. He was sure that the Envoy had no authority to bind the King by such conditions. Even before he set out on his mission the Portuguese had plundered the Capital and driven the King to shelter in his mountain fortress. His army, which then numbered 5,000 men, had since been reduced to about two or three thousand by the revolt of Baretto who had killed his best officers, so that he had no capable Commander left. He had also robbed him of his most precious jewels, including his greatest treasure, a cat's eye which for its size and beauty was beyond price, for he knew where they were concealed.

7.—The letter was written in German. The costs were fixed by Giedde at 94,449 rix dollars.

It was therefore out of the question for the King to raise the sum which was demanded from him.

Giedde was greatly perturbed by this development and sent one of his staff with the Secretary to discuss the matter with the King. Four days after their departure, on the 2nd of July, Mayadunna himself sought refuge with the Danes, for the Portuguese were close on his tracks, and was conveyed by them to the neighbouring island of Paravi Tivu. Mayadunna rewarded Giedde for the assistance, with a wonderful sapphire and a ring set with rubies. Complaints however were soon made that his people were robbing the country side, and Giedde advised the aggrieved people to meet violence with violence. There were also complaints that the Danes themselves had shot five of the King's best cows, and Giedde could only plead that unless they were regularly provided with meat they would have no alternative but to obtain it for themselves.

On the 28th of July the Secretary returned with a message from the King that Boschouwer's credentials were a forgery, and that the only offer of terms he had been authorised to make were that whoever came to his assistance could retain any two of the harbours which were taken from the Portuguese. The Council thereupon resolved that Giedde himself should wait on the King to discuss the situation. Before however he could start news was received that the Portuguese, who were now close at hand, had attacked and killed Baretto. It seems that the latter had attacked and killed the Vanniya of Panawa and was plundering his house, when the Portuguese who had come up from Galle, fell on him in great force. He had made a desperate effort to escape to a high hill which is said never to have been climbed before, when he slipped down and fell, and was immediately slain. De Sa, who was in pursuit, sent his head to Senevirat (De Quieroz p.596).

On the eighth Giedde and the Secretary started on their journey,⁸ while the King on his part came to Venthanen to meet them. A small house had been prepared with linen awnings for Giedde's reception and he was escorted there by one of the courtiers over linen spread on the ground for a distance of 20 yards. On the morning of the 17th⁹ he was given an audience. Giedde speaking in German which was interpreted into Portuguese addressed the monarch by a string of titles¹⁰ which Boschouwer had invented for him. The King listened with amusement till at last even his trained self-control gave way, and placing his hand over his mouth he turned to his Ministers and laughed aloud. After the interview was over he sent his Secretary to inquire what was the meaning of the title of the Golden Sun with which he had been saluted, for the only title which he had was that of King of Lanka. Giedde, taken much aback, offered to delete the rigmarole from his official documents, but was told that he need not trouble, for their presence, while they benefitted none, also did no harm.

The negotiations which followed were, if Giedde is to be believed, conducted on his side with a degree of acrimony which if conveyed to the King, might have had

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- 8.—The route taken was by way of Mottuaram, Pallegama, Sampanturai, Patipal, Nilgala, Hocheville, Bibile, where Giedde specially noted the pepper plantations. Cannpaduble, from there to a lake, and thence to Venthanen.
- 9.—The King had arrived the previous evening, but as he was having his head washed he could not see Giedde. The ceremony of washing was a most elaborate one.
- 10.—The titles as given by Baldaeus were as follows:
 "Raja Singa, emperor of Ceylon, king of Candea, Cota, Ceytanaca, Dambadan, Amorayapore, Jafnapatnam; prince of Ouva Mature, Dinavaca and the four Corles; great duke of the seven Corles, Matale; earl of Cotiar, Trinquenemale, Batecalo, Velase, Vintana, Drembra, Panciapato, Veta, Putelaon, Valare, Gale, Belligaon; Marquis of Duranura, Ratienua, Tripane, Acciapato; lord of the sea-ports of Alican, Columbo, Negombo, Chilau, Madampe, Calpentyn, Aripiture, Manaar and of the fishery of precious stones and pearls; lord of the golden Sun."
 (Churchill Voyages Vol. III p. 601).

embarrassing results. The latter's attitude was quite simple. Boschouwer's credentials were a forgery, he had in all important details exceeded his authority, and it was not possible for the King to provide the sum of money demanded from him. He was however anxious for help and was prepared to purchase it on the terms offered to the Hollanders, namely, the retention by them of two of the fortresses which might be captured. In spite of Giedde's discourteous behaviour, it was noted that the King cordially shook hands with him when he left after one of his interviews. Giedde had stated that he was authorised to remain in the country till another representative arrived from Denmark. Thereupon the King offered to give him the appointments and emoluments held by Migomuwe Rala, with the rank of a Prince.

The King pressed the point, were the Danes strong enough to drive out the Portuguese? Otherwise he could not take the risk of a breach with them after the peace he had entered into three years ago. To this question Giedde could only give an evasive reply. He had no authority to enter into hostilities with the Portuguese, and as a matter of fact the three hundred men he had started with were greatly reduced in number by death and desertions.

The consequence was that Giedde was notified that he had permission to leave, and that the King would send his own Ambassador to Denmark. Giedde thereupon begged for a cargo of merchandise, but the King had none in stock save some wax and pepper to which Giedde was welcome, and the latter was informed that his escort was ready to start.

Bluster had been carried to the extreme point but had failed, and therefore Giedde began on a different track. The result was that on the 22nd at ten o'clock

at night, a fresh treaty in 24 articles was signed. The preamble declared that as Migomuwe Rala had acted falsely and outside the scope of his authority in respect of the first treaty, the King could accept no obligation thereunder. The King ceded to the Danes the whole district of Trincomalee, reserving for his subjects the right to worship at the shrines which were there. Authority was given to the Danes to construct a fort and garrison the same immediately, the King promising to assist in the work, to provision the garrison at his own expense, and to support it with his own army in case of any attack. Such forts as were captured by the allies together with their ammunition, would be the property of the King of Denmark, but the booty was to be shared between them. The monopoly of the trade of the country was granted to the Danes from among the European races, and the King undertook to assist them to secure cargo. They were also allowed to fell timber, such as ebony, which they required, in any part of the Island. Their own trade was to be exempt from duty, but they could levy their own duties at Trincomalee, except in respect of what was imported for the King's personal use. There were provisions regarding wrecks and the preaching of Christianity, while the right to coin *larins*, *fanams* and similar coins was reserved for the two Kings.

The acute tension was over and the signing of the Treaty, which was in Portuguese, was accompanied by much laughter and talk. It was examined by Schlegel in the Danish archives with a translation in Sinhalese. The signature of the King was attested by that of two of his Councillors, and the impression of his seal, which was very small, was made in wax across a silken thread.

The King lent Giedde his son's horse to use on his return journey, and promised to allot to Boschouwer's wife some villages for her maintenance; he also

explained what his views were with regard to Mayadunna, and presented Giedde with an elephant and some precious stones. The following morning the Admiral started¹¹ for the coast, reaching his fleet on the 30th.

On the 1st of September the Council met. There was no longer any doubt that the Danes had been badly deceived by Boschouwer, and Peter van Zanten, a Hollander with much experience of the East, who had accompanied him to Denmark, was judged to be guilty of abetting him in the fraud. He was a shareholder in the Company and a member of the Council itself; from this he was now expelled, and at the same time he was turned out bag and baggage from his cabin. Boschouwer's body was taken on land and buried without any ceremony, while a few days later the remains of his son were interred with great solemnity, as being the godson of King Christian. An inventory was prepared of all the property of the late Envoy and of his wife, for the benefit of the Company, and she was allowed to retain only one maid servant to attend on her. She was however allowed to accept Senevirat's offer of protection, though she subsequently left the Court and went to Tranquebar, for which place Giedde himself set sail¹² on the 10th of the month.

It was not till the 21st of March 1921 that Giedde¹³ returned to Kottiyar. He found that the David had sailed away, the Copenhagen was wrecked beyond all

11.—The route taken was by way of Vargamme, Nilgala, Talleville, Battevitti, Sampanturai and Mottuarm.

Giedde was accompanied to Court by a suite of seventeen of whom several had to be left behind owing to illness.

12.—He was accompanied by an interpreter provided by Mayadunna.

13.—The proceedings of Giedde in these waters, as in the case of the early Portuguese, were pure acts of piracy. All trading vessels were regarded as lawful prey and were captured, unless they were protected by a pass from a Spanish officer or belonged to some one the Danes were anxious not to offend.

hope of salvage, and little or nothing had been done by Erich Grubbe, who had been left in charge, towards constructing the proposed fort. Indeed this latter's period of residence is only rendered noteworthy by the fact that he took the opportunity to strike some *larins*¹⁴ with the legend "Don Erich Grubbe," thus assuming for himself a royal privilege and a Portuguese title.

It was clear to Giedde that further delay on his part would only lead to greater loss, for the soldiers on the *Patience*, a vessel which he had captured at Cape Verde on the way out, were in a state of mutiny. He therefore set about collecting such cargo as he could, while he sent urgent and repeated messages to the King offering to build a fort if the materials were supplied, and also requesting that the Ambassadors whom the King proposed to send to Denmark,¹⁵ should be despatched together with a worthy present for King Christian. These proved of no avail, while Mayadunna's request that a fort should be built on his account was refused. Giedde therefore made his final arrangements. Offenders to whom justice had to be administered were duly punished, three of them being keel hauled. Instructions were given for the guidance of the soldiers who were to go to Tranquebar,¹⁶ one being that under no circumstances were they to leave their table after meals till Grace had been said. And then at midnight on the 31st of May, as Grubbe¹⁷ who had been sent with

14.—One of these was presented to Giedde on his arrival.

15.—Giedde further sent a verbal message to the effect that if Senevirat so desired, either he or Grubbe could remain in the Island till further instructions were received from Denmark.

16.—The pay of a soldier at Tranquebar was fixed at six fanams or half a rix daler a week, with free rice.

17.—As a matter of fact Grubbe made his way back to Denmark shortly after Giedde.

his three horses on an urgent mission to Court had not yet returned, Giedde fired a cannon and hoisted anchor on his way home.¹⁸

4. In moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer Mr. Collins stated that though the existence of the Diary in the British Museum had only lately been revealed it was only fair to say that the late Mr. Donald Ferguson must have been aware of its existence and have been familiar with the text to which he made more than one allusion in various writings.

But, so far as was known, the diary had never been translated and published. Ferguson had been cut off too early in life to have done so.

He was in a position to state, however, that Government had agreed to the publication of the diary in the Journal of the Society.

They were deeply grateful to Dr. Pieris for his interesting paper.

18.—The cargo collected by Giedde consisted of tamarinds, wax, honey, arrack, fish, ebony and pepper.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 26, 1926.

Present :

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt. D., C.C.S., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., Vice-President.

Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,
Honorary Secretaries.

Business :

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 7th October, 1925, were read and confirmed.

2. Letters from Dr. Joseph Pearson and Mr. L. J. B. Turner regretting their inability to attend the meeting were read.

3. The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., Colonial Secretary, was nominated as a member of the Society and it was decided that on election he should be invited to become the President of the Society.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "The Fourteenth Century in Ceylon History," by Mr. C. E. Corea.

Resolved that the Paper be accepted for reading, but that Mr. Corea be first addressed in terms of a minute by Mr. Codrington suggesting certain amendments to the Paper.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "The Sinhalese Alphabet and the language of the early inscriptions," by the Revd. Suriyagoda Sumangala Thero.

Resolved that the Paper be referred to a sub-committee consisting of Mr. H. W. Codrington, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara for favour of their opinion.

Resolved that the Revd. Suriyagoda Sumangala Thero be informed that it will not be possible to arrange a meeting at which this Paper can be read before the 20th of April.

6. Laid on the table correspondence ending with the Colonial Secretary's letter dated 3rd November, 1925, on the subject of the compilation of a Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary, together with a report by Prof. W. Geiger.

Resolved that the names of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mr. H. W. Codrington and Prof. W. Geiger be recommended to Government for appointment to serve on the proposed committee.

7. Letter dated 18th March, 1926, from the Librarian, Public Library, Colombo, inquiring whether the Society would supply the Library with a copy of the Society's Journal free of charge, was read.

Resolved that a copy of the Journal be sent free.

8. Letter dated 13th November, 1925, from the Colombo Apothecaries Co., stating that they have no way of substantiating their claim for extra charges and that they have no option but to credit our account with the amount, was read.

9. Letter dated 1st February, 1926, from the Agent, Imperial Bank of India, stating that the accounts, *viz.*, Chalmer's Oriental Text Fund and Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund that stood in the name of the late Mr. G. A. Joseph have been transferred to the Society, was read.

10. The following ladies and gentlemen were elected as members of the Society, *viz.*, Mrs. E. Hunsworth, Mrs. Isabel Lovell Dorsey and Messrs. Ralph St. Louis Pieris Deraniyagala, B.A. (Cantab.), S. A. M. Sugatapala, James de Silva, B.A. (Lond.), Gregory Louis Augustine Dunphy, Collin Alfred Wijeyesekara, Dr. Louis A. Rajapaksa, LL.D., B.A. (Lond.), and Dr. Gunapala Piyasena Malalasekara, M.A. Ph.D. (Lond.).

11. Laid on the table a list of the following members elected by circular, *viz.*, Messrs. T. Muttucumaru, B.A. (Lond.), N. J. de Silva, N. K. de Silva Wikramasingha and R. W. F. Jayasingha.

12. Considered date and business of the next General Meeting.

Resolved that this be left in the hands of Mr. H. W. Codrington and the Honorary Secretaries.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colonial Secretary's Office, June 14th, 1926.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., C.B.E.,
President, in the Chair.

Mr. Lionel de Fonseka
The Hon'ble Mr. W. A. de Silva
Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate
Mudaliyar
The Hon'ble Mr. D. B. Jaya-
tilaka, M.A.

Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
The Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera
Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
C.C.S.,

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S.,
Hony. Secretary.

Business :

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 26th March, 1926, were read and confirmed.

2. The draft Annual Report for 1925 was read and passed.

3. Considered the nomination of Office-bearers for 1926-27.

The Honorary Secretary stated that under Rule 18 Dr. P. E. Pieris, Senior Vice-President, retires in order of longest continuous service, and that under Rule 20 the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and Prof. R. Marrs retire by seniority, and Mr. A. M. Hocart and Mr. Lionel de Fonseka by least attendance.

Resolved to recommend that Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka be elected a Vice-President in place of Dr. P. E. Pieris, and that Dr. Pieris, Mr. Hocart, Mr. de Fonseka, and Mudaliyar Herod Gunaratna be elected members of the Council.

4. Laid on the table the following papers: (a) Sinhalese Magic and Spells by the Hon'ble Mr. W. A. de Silva, (b) The Log Book of Admiral Baillie de Suffren, 1781-1784, by Mr. A. W. Seymour, C.C.S.

Resolved that Mr. de Silva's Paper be read at the Annual General Meeting and that Mr. Seymour's Paper be referred to a sub-committee consisting of the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera, Messrs. L. J. B. Turner and C. H. Collins for favour of their opinion.

5. The following gentlemen were elected as members of the Society, viz., Messrs. Richard Leslie Brohier, Gardiye Hewawasam Dharmaratna Kumardasa, Franklin Charles Gimson, B.A., C.C.S., and Percival Stephen Maartensz.

6. Considered date and business of the Annual General Meeting.

Resolved to leave this in the hands of the Honorary Secretaries; a date being fixed early in July if possible.

7. Resolved to recommend to the next General Meeting that Rule 25 of the Society's Rules and Regulations be amended by the substitution of the words "on such date as the Council may appoint" for the words "in March" in line 2 thereof.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 2, 1926.

Present:

His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., G.B.E.,
Patron, in the Chair.

Mr. M. M. Anthonisz	Mr. A. P. A. Jayawardana
„ W. E. Bastian	„ C. H. Jolliffe, A.M.I.M.E.
„ Razeen A. Cader	„ A. Mendis
„ J. W. de Alwis	„ H. Sri Nissanka
„ George E. de Silva	Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
„ Peter deSilva, B.A., (Lond.)	The Hon. Mr. Edward W. Perera
„ P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A.	Mr. H. T. Ramachandra
„ R. St. L. P. Deraniyagala, B.A.	„ J. L. C. Rodrigo, M.A.
„ S. Baron Dias	„ S. M. A. Sugathapala.
„ A. E. Jayasinha	„ C. Suppramaniam
The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.	„ F. A. Tissavarasinghe
	„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,
Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: 3 Ladies and 16 Gentlemen.

Business:

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on the 19th February, 1926, were read and confirmed.
2. Mr. C. H. Collins read the following Annual Report for the year 1925, which was adopted on a motion proposed by Mr. L. J. B. Turner and seconded by Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala.

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1925.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit their Report for the year 1925-26.

MEETINGS AND PAPERS.

Three General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year. The Annual General Meeting was held on the 27th March, 1925, when the Annual Report and a Paper entitled "Rajasinha II. and his British Captives" by Mr. Edmund Reimers were read. At a General Meeting held on June 5th, "Notes on Some recently discovered Portuguese Plans" by Mr. Edmund Reimers and Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S., and a Paper entitled "Identification of the Port of Kalah" by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S., were read. The third General Meeting was held on October 7th when Mr. Frederick Lewis, F.L.S., read a Paper on "Johnson's Expedition to Kandy in 1804." His Excellency Mr. Cecil Clementi, C.M.G., delivered a presidential address entitled "Prolegomena to a Scientific Study of the Sinhalese Language."

PUBLICATIONS.

Journal Vol. XXIX. No. 77, 1924, was issued containing in addition to the proceedings of the Meetings, the following Papers and Notes :—

(i.) The Worship of Muruka or Skanda (the Kataragam God) with an account of an ancient Tamil Lyric in His praise and side-lights from Greek Religion and Literature, by the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A. (Cantab.).

(ii.) The Socketed Clay Piping from Kotte (Jayawardhanapura, circa 1415-1457), by the Hon'ble Mr. E. W. Perera.

(iii.) Vijaya Bahu's Inscription at Polonnaruwa by Mudaliyar C. Rasanayagam, C.C.S.

(iv.) Excerpta Maldiviana by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S. (Retired).

(v.) The Council Chamber inscriptions at Polonnaruwa by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

(vi.) The Doratiyawa Sannasa by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S., and Mr. D. P. D. Mirihelle.

(vii.) Note on Greeving's Diary by Mr. D. P. E. Hettiaratchi.

(viii.) The Crooked Comb by Mr. H. W. Codrington, C.C.S.

MEMBERS.

The Society has now on its roll 366 members of whom 46 are Life Members and 9 Honorary Members.

During the year the following 20 members were elected, *viz.* Messrs. E. C. T. Holsinger, T. D. S. A. Dasanaika, A. M. Caldera, B.A. (Lond.), S. A. Vinayakam Pillai, W. E. Pine, D. J. A. Abeyaratne Irving B. Gunawardana, Charles Hubert de Mel, B. L. Sarnelis Silva J. R. Toussaint, C.C.S., M. M. Anthonisz, L. E. Blaze, B.A., P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A., E. M. Hare, H. Sri Nissanka, Joseph E. Rode, Dr. A. Rajasingham, Mr. S. V. A. Rajapaksa, Messrs. E. H. vander Wall, and L. P. Jayasuriya.

LIFE MEMBERS.

The following have become Life Members, *viz.*, Messrs. A. de S. Kanakaratna and S. O. Sirimanne.

DEATHS.

The Council records with regret, the deaths of the Rt. Rev. Dr. R. S. Copleston, D.D., the late Metropolitan of India, and of Mr. C. Batuvantudave.

The late Right Reverend Dr. Reginald Stephen Copleston joined the Society in 1882 as a life member and was elected President in 1885, which office he held till 1901. He contributed the following Papers to the Society's Journal, *viz.* :—

(i.) On the first fifty jatakas.

(ii.) Address on the Verification of the ancient chronicles and histories of Ceylon.

(iii.) The identification of Sirivardhanapura of the Mahawansa.

(iv.) The Epic of Parakrama.

(v.) A sketch of the Early History of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

At a General Meeting held on 5th June, 1925, the following resolution on the death of the Right Rev. Dr. Copleston was passed :—

"That the Council and members of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society place on record the sense of loss which the Society has sustained through the death of the Right Revd. Dr. Reginald Stephen Copleston, who was a life member and for 17 years President of this Society."

RESIGNATION.

The following gentlemen resigned their membership during the year, *viz.* :—

The Right Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D., Messrs. B. W. C. Leefe, T. B. Madawala, E. L. P. Ratnayaka, S. A. Vinayakam Pillai, and U. D. R. Caspersz.

PATRON.

The departure of His Excellency Sir William Henry Manning, K.C.M.G., C.B., Patron of the Society, falls outside the period now under review, but the thanks of your Council and the members of the Society are due to him for his assistance, the frequency with which he presided at its meeting and the interest he always took in its proceedings. His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., who had been President of this Society from 1909 to 1912, has kindly consented to succeed Sir William as Patron.

VICE-PATRON AND PRESIDENCYSHIP.

Sir (then Mr.) Cecil Clementi, K.C.M.G., who was elected Vice-Patron of the Society in 1923 succeeded the late Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, Kt., M.A., as President of the Society in the same year. He resigned from these offices on leaving the Island in October, 1925, to assume the Governorship of Hong Kong.

Your Council desire to place on record their sense of indebtedness to Sir Cecil Clementi for the valuable services which he rendered to the Society during the last three years as Vice-Patron and President.

HONORARY SECRETARY.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., who went on leave in December, 1924, returned to the Island in September, 1925, and having been re-elected, relieved Mr. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., of his duties as Co-Honorary Secretary. The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Codrington for his assistance during this period.

COUNCIL.

Under Rule 18 the Senior Vice-President, Dr. Joseph Pearson D.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., retired by longest continuous service. Messrs. H. W. Codrington, B.A., C.C.S., and R. G. Anthonisz, J.P., I.S.O., were elected Vice-Presidents.

Under Rule 20, Messrs. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., A. M. Hocart retired by seniority, and Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne and Dr. R. L. Spittel by least attendance. Two of these being eligible for re-election, Messrs. L. J. B. Turner and A. M. Hocart were re-elected. The other two vacancies were filled by the election of Dr. Joseph Pearson and Mr. E. Reimers.

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library including parts of periodicals numbered 203. The Society is indebted to the following institutions for valuable exchanges, *viz.* :—

The Geological Society, London; Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland; The Smithsonian Institute, The Pali Text Society, London; The American Oriental Society; The Asiatic Society, Bengal; The Asiatic Society, Bombay; The Musée Guimet, Paris; The Royal Colonial Institute; and l'Ecole Française de Extrême Orient, Hanoi.

For donations to the following, *viz.* :—The Archaeological Survey of India; Archaeological Survey of Burma, The Government of India; the Director, Colombo Museum; The University of Punjab, Lahore; The Government of Siam; The Rev. Father S. Gnanaprakasa-ar, Nallur; Prof. W. Geiger, Munich; and the Forest Department, Madras Presidency.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY FUND.

The following have been purchased during the year from the above fund, *viz.* :—

- i. Articles on Ceylon.
- ii. Maccready: Selalihini Sandesa,
- iii. Sinhalese Pamphlets.
- iv. Goldsmidt: Archaeological Reports, 1875-81.
- v. Upham: Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon, Vols. I.-III.
- vi. Royal Asiatic Society Centenary Volume.
- vii. Farrar: Old Ceylon.
- viii. Seligmann: The Vedda's.
- ix. Dhalla: Zoroastrian Civilization.
- x. Rhy's Davids: Pali Dictionary.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK IN 1925.

The acting Archaeological Commissioner has responded to the request of the Council and favoured it with the following summary of the work done by his department in 1925 :—

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUMMARY, 1925.

The work of conservation was continued during 1925.

In completing Monastery "I" at Anuradhapura, it was necessary to replace the missing stones of the retaining wall of the pond to prevent the collapse of the surrounding masonry and earth. This was done by slabs of concrete faced with cement mixed with gravel. So far the result has proved satisfactory and casual observers have not detected the false stone, whilst experts cannot be deceived. It is, however, too soon to judge its efficacy, as the cement and the stone must weather before one can tell what the result will be.

In the course of the work at this Monastery it became apparent that the ancient builders were not so exact as might at first be supposed. Their stones were sometimes cut short and a gap resulted.

Such mistakes were also discovered to a much greater extent at the Hāṭa dā ge at Polonnaruwa, where the biggest work of conservation has been carried on, and is now nearing completion.

As one corner of the Sat Mahal Prāsāda next to the Hāṭa dā ge was threatening to fall, an iron collar was put round one of the upper storeys and the building repointed. It is doubtful whether it will be

possible to dispense with the iron collar, as was hoped, on account of the bricks at the bottom of the floor being in too dilapidated a state to make underpinning sufficiently satisfactory for the support of the heavy weight of the upper storeys.

The Hataras Kotuwa of Rankot Vehera was underpinned and repointed, as the foundations had badly deteriorated and the brick-work was beginning to sink.

The work on the Indi Kaṭu Sāya at Mihintale was completed. It was at first assumed that the dome was hemispherical, but it is more likely to have been elongated, as a circular outline can only be obtained by placing the bricks in steps, a method of building dagabas which may be possible, but for which there is no authority.

A plaster of Paris model of a conserved monastery on the Arippu Road was prepared, and presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, where it is hoped that it will be of considerable value to students in England.

A plan of Anuradhapura showing the sites of ancient ruins has been drawn and printed in pocket form.

A trace was made of parts of an ancient road from Anuradhapura to Mannar which the villagers still point out and call Randōli Pāra.

A small expedition was undertaken to Galbendi Niraviya in the Vilpattu Game Sanctuary. The place was difficult to locate but eventually revealed an extensive site covered with platforms some of which were obviously double. It is impossible to see whether the others are single or double without excavating. Almost all are rubble, as at Vehera Bandigala.

In addition to the Archaeological and Ethnological Section of part 2 of the Ceylon Journal of Science, which gives a summary of the research work up to the present, a systematic account with photographs and architectural drawings has been started by the publication of Mr. E. R. Ayrton's papers in the form of the 1st volume of the Archaeological Survey Memoirs. The 2nd volume is already in the hands of the Printer, and it is hoped that annual publications will in future be possible.

ANNUAL GOVERNMENT GRANT TO THE SOCIETY.

In response to the application made by your Council for an increase of grant, the Government kindly decided to give the Society an extra Rs. 500 per annum for a period of three years and informed the Council that this extra grant will not be continued after this period, unless private subscriptions have in the meantime increased proportionately.

ACCOMMODATION.

There is no room for expansion of the Society's library, and systematic arrangement together with logical classification is quite impossible in the present unsatisfactory state of affairs.

ETYMOLOGICAL SINHALESE ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

The correspondence, on the subject of the compilation of an Etymological Sinhalese English Dictionary, between the Education Department and Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, was referred to your Council for their advice by the Director of Education. A sub-committee consisting of Prof. Robert Marrs (Chairman), Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Gate Mudaliyar

W. F. Gunawardhana and the Revd. Suriyagoda Sumangala Thero, was appointed to consider and report whether a Dictionary such as is proposed is desirable, and if so, on what lines it should be written.

The Council forwarded a report to the Director of Education with a copy of the same to the Government, suggesting that it should be referred to Prof. Wilhelm Geiger on his arrival in the Island for his opinion and advice. This was done and Government forwarded a copy of Prof. Geiger's report, with a request that the Council would suggest the names of suitable persons to form a preliminary Sinhalese Dictionary Committee, to advise Government on the subject.

The names of the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, Mudaliyar A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mr. H. W. Codrington and Prof. Geiger were accordingly recommended for appointment to serve on the committee.

FINANCES.

The annexed balance sheet discloses a balance of Rs. 3,127'41 to the credit of the Society. The receipts last year amounted to Rs. 3,235'57 and expenditure was Rs. 4,215'67.

The balance sheets of the Chalmers Oriental Text Fund and of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund, showing balances of Rs. 1,009'50 and Rs. 2,032'81 to the credit of the Society are also annexed.

Your Council desire to thank Mr. Herbert Tarrant for having so kindly audited the Society's accounts for the year under review.

**Receipts and Payments Account of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH,
for the Year 1925**

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JOURNAL, R.A.S. (CEYLON).

[VOL. XXX.]

PARTICULARS	Amount		PARTICULARS	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.		Rs.	Cts.
Balance on the 31st December, 1924 :—					
R.A.S., C.B. A/c. in Bank	3,582	14	Charges	2,624	03
Cash on Hand	29	25	Salaries	1,050	00
Petty Cash	19	25	Books Account :—		
Postage	17	93	Purchases R.A.S. Library Fund	236	52
R.A.S. Library Fund in Bank	458	94	Building do	86	00
			Sundries :—		
Entrance Fee			Postage	101	12
Sale of Publications			Petty Cash	114	75
Life Membership Commutations			Bank Charges	3	25
Government Grant				219	12
Sundries :—			Balance		
Commission	00	60	R.A.S., C.B. Account		
Bank Interest	38	87	(Current) Imp. Bank	Rs. 1,958	08
			R.A.S. Library Fund,		
Annual Subscription, 1926	42	50	Imp. Bank	136	42
1925..	1,543	50		2,094	50
1924..	257	25	R.A.S., C.B. Account (Fixed		
1923	22	00	Deposit, Imp. Bank :	1,000	00
			Cash on Hand	16	85
			Petty Cash	4	50
			Postage	11	56
				3,127	41
Rs.			Rs.	7,343	08

Audited and found correct,

(Signed) HERBERT TARRANT.

30th June, 1926.

(Signed) AUBREY N. WEINMAN.

Hony. Treasurer,

Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

Receipts and Payments Account of the Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund for the Year 1925.

PARTICULARS.	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.
Balance on the 31st December, 1924	.. 1,009	50
	Rs.. 1,009	50

Audited and found correct.

(Signed) HERBERT TARRANT.

30th June, 1926.

Receipts and Payments Account of the Ceylon Chinese Records Translation Fund for the Year 1925

PARTICULARS.	Amount	
	Rs.	Cts.
Balance:—		
Fixed Deposit	.. 1,200	00
Current Account	.. 832	81
	Rs. 2,032	81

Audited and found correct.

(Signed) HERBERT TARRANT.

30th June, 1926.

(Signed) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,
Hony. Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

(Signed) AUBREY N. WEINMAN,
Hony. Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, C.B.

3. On a motion proposed by the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and seconded by Mr. F. A. Tissavarasinghe, the following office-bearers for 1926-27 were elected :—

President :

The Hon. Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher, C.M.G., C.B.E.

Vice-President :

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A.

COUNCIL :

New Members :

Dr. P. E. Pieris, Litt.D., C.C.S.,
Mudaliyar Herod Gunaratne,

Re-Elected:

Mr. A. M. Hocart,
„ Lionel de Fonseka.

Honorary Treasurer :

Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman.

Honorary Secretaries :

Messrs. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Aubrey N. Weinman.

4. On a motion proposed by the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and seconded by Mr. H. Sri Nissanka, Rule 25 of the Rules and Regulations of the Society was amended by the substitution of the words " on such date as the Council may appoint " for the words " in March " in line 2 thereof.

5. The Chairman introduced the lecturer and the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva read the following Paper entitled " Sinhalese Magic and Spells."

SINHALESE MAGIC AND SPELLS.BY W. A. DE SILVA.

Apart from ceremonies, dances and incantations performed for averting what is believed to be the evil powers of spirits and demons, there is a class of magic, which is practised to some extent in Ceylon with the object of casting spells on others and causing them injury. The methods pursued for this purpose are designed with a degree of elaboration showing the wide and varied extent to which the cult has been carried among the Sinhalese at one time or other.

Black magic is practised for causing injury to men as well as animals and even to trees and inanimate objects. In this connection the influences of the senses, such as sound, sight, smell, touch, taste and mind are all brought into bearing.

The aspects of planetary movements indicating times of the year, month and day and the phases of the moon are also taken into account in the practice of black magic in addition to designs, drawings and incantations.

The rites and incantations practised for injuring individuals take the form of sympathetic magic either worked through the association of ideas of similarity or of contiguity or both. In both these the assumption is that things act on each other at a distance "through a secret sympathy, the impulse being transmitted from one to the other by means of what we may conceive as a kind of invisible ether, not unlike that which is postulated by modern science for a precisely similar purpose, namely, to explain how things can physically affect each other through a space which appears to be empty."

In the one case it is believed that an effect resembles its cause, and in the other it is believed that things, which have been once conjoined or had been in contact remain, and in such relations that whatever is done to the one must similarly effect the other.

The following is a rough classification of some of the methods believed to be effective in causing injury to others:—

1. The selection of maleficent times and hours.
2. The reciting of verses with a particular arrangement of letters and syllables known as *vaskavi* (verses that cause evil).
3. The reciting of charms.
4. The casting of evil eye (*esvaha*).
5. Utterance of evil words (*kata vaha*).
6. Direction of evil thoughts (*ho vaha*).
7. Direction of confusion through imprecations (*evol*).
8. Direction of devices (*devol*, *angam*, *pilli*).
9. Devising of traps (*hadi*).
10. The direct charming of objects (*huniyam*).

Persons who practise black magic consider that the evil effects of their efforts are intensified when they select certain special times and hours for their practice. Every day, hour and moment are either auspicious or inauspicious in accordance with the movements of the planets. Some times are auspicious for all activities, other times are neutral, some others are maleficent. The charts which are prepared by astrologers who calculate the aspects of the planets give particulars of these hours computed each year for the guidance of those who believe in them. A person intent on doing a maleficent act selects the most maleficent time for his activities.

In addition to auspicious and inauspicious hours prescribed for general purposes, there are other means adopted to intensify the effects of these devices.

There are several books in Sinhalese dealing with this matter. One is known as Yama Kāla (the hours of the god of the nether world). Another Brahma Kāla (the hours of Brahma). There are also Paucapakshi and Indragurulu.

I have not seen a copy of Brahma Kāla, though mention of it is made in other works. The Yama Kāla consists of 165 four-line verses. A translation of Yama Kāla made by me is published in the Ceylon National Review, Vol. 2, Page 202. I quote here a few verses from this book:—

- | | | |
|----|-------------------|--------|
| 5. | ඳිවිදින දවසට | වන්නේ |
| | එළි උනු පස් පැය | කින්නේ |
| | යම දෙව් වයඹට | යන්නේ |
| | එ වෙලාවට පල | යන්නේ |
| 6. | අලු කහ අලයක් | අරගන |
| | හබ අඳුරගෙ නම | ලියවින |
| | දුම්රි මල් තටුවෙ | තියන |
| | එකසිය අටවර | මතුරන |
| 7 | සුදු කඩමල්ලක | අකුලන |
| | අකුලා නම ඉතේ | කඩන |
| | යන්ට පිටත්වෙලා | සොඳින |
| | ජපකළ කහ අලය | රැගෙන |
| 8. | ගම් හබ අය මෙ එන | කොට |
| | මගදි සරිලා ඔහු | හට |
| | ජපකළ අල රැගෙන | අතට |
| | මුනබලා බිඳපු | කලට |
| 9. | තුන් දවසින් මරණ | ඔහුට |
| | ඉසිවරු පැවසූ | සැමියම |
| | තුන්මස පසුවෙන | අතරට |
| | තව සතියකක් මැරෙති | එවිට |

On Sunday, five peya (2 hours) after sunrise Yama Devi (God of the nether world) goes towards the north-west. Start at that hour, take a fresh turmeric (*Curcuma Longa*) root, write on it the name of your rival, place it on a tray of flowers, fumigate it with

Dummala (resin) after repeating the charm a hundred and eight times, tie up a folded white cloth round your waist and keep the root secured in its folds. When you meet the person who has a quarrel with you, take the charmed root in your hand, look intently at his face and break the root. In three days he will die, and according to the words of the Rishis, before the lapse of three months six others of his relatives will meet with death.

Pancapakshi and Indragurulu deal with the arrangement of letters and syllables identified with animals and placing them in position in accordance with their antagonism or friendliness.

Vas Kavi or Verses for Inflicting Evil.

In the composition of Sinhalese verses, poets have directions as to the arrangement of certain letters and syllables. Such arrangements are either beneficent, neutral or productive of evil. These affect the poet himself and in a minor degree those who recite the verses. But in preparing Vas Kavi, that is, verses composed specially for causing injury on others, the poet follows certain directions which enable him and his readers to be freed from the evil effects, but in which he directs the evil towards a particular person or object.

Sinhalese grammars give brief directions as to the composition of verses and indicate the proper use of letters and syllables to avert these evil effects. These consist of: arrangement of long and short syllables in groups of three known as *Gana* of which there are eight, four being beneficent and four maleficent; letters which are auspicious and inauspicious; and letters represented as animals whose conjunction is good or evil, according to the character and antipathy of animals placed side by side; also auspicious and inauspicious sounds and auspicious and inauspicious objects and terminal letters used in rhyming a verse.

There are eight *Ganas*. These are described in the following two verses in the "Heladivabhidānavata." :—

බුඹ් ගණේ ගුරුම තුනයි සිරි සැප දෙයි	ම	ගණේ
දේව ගණේ ලගුම තුනයි ආයුස දෙයි	න	ගණේ
වායු ගණේ අගට ගුරයි අභිද්‍රුම වෙයි	ස	ගණේ
සුරි ගණේ මැදට ගුරයි රෝග වඩයි	ඒ	ගණේ
මැදට ලගුයි දිවිමර වෙයි වග්ගි ගණේ	ර	ගණේ
මුලට ලගුයි දීර වඩයි වාග් ගණේ	ය	ගණේ
අගට ලගුයි විනාසවෙයි අගස් ගණේ	ත	ගණේ
මුලට ගුරයි සැප පැමිණෙයි වසු ගණේ	ව	ගණේ

Earth Gana three long syllables brings prosperity
is (M) Gana

Divine Gana three short syllables brings long life
is (N) Gana

Wind Gana ends with a long syllable brings exile
is (S) Gana

Sun Gana middle with long syllable brings sickness
is (J) Gana.

The middle is short syllable brings death the Fire
Gana is (R) Gana

The first is short syllable brings enterprise, water
Gana is (Y) Gana

The last is short syllable brings destruction sky
Gana is (T) Gana

The first is long syllable brings health lunar Gana
is (B) Gana.

The following is the classification of auspicious and inauspicious letters, viz:—

එ ක ය ම ර ජ අ ණ න ල ආ	අවා	කර
උ ප ඩ ග හා භාර නම් හිරි වේ	අම	ර
සුර කර පෙර පසු වැඩ දේ	අවා	කර
නසා සුඛ සියල් තරතුරු මැදුම්	ස	ර

a k y m r j a n l ng are evil letters; u p b g h are human letters; the rest of the letters of the alphabet are divine.

If divine letters are placed at the beginning of a verse, or on either side of a name, they bring good luck,

and evil letters destroy all good; as for human letters, their effect is neutral.

There are eight divisions of letters into different animals.

Four of the animals are direct enemies of each of the four others respectively. They are as follows:—

Mongoose	අ ම ත ල	a o t l	Buffalo	ආ ම ද ව	a ò d v
Owl	ඉ ක න ස	i k n s	Leopard	ඊ ග ප හ	ig p h
Cobra	උ ජ බ ල	u j b l	Horse	ඌ ට ම අ	ú t m ng
Crow	එ ඩ ය	e d y	Deer	ඒ ණ ර	á nr

Of these, the mongoose, buffalo, owl and leopard are direct enemies of cobra, horse, crow and deer.

In arranging the letters in a verse, an antagonistic letter to the letter, with which the name of a party regarding whom the verse deals with, brings him evil.

එක දෙන තුන් සතර කෙළමනා	අවට ගැණ
පසට පසට ගැණ දුටු අම්මරු	යො නින
මරණ සෝක ලෙඩ වැසනය දිළිඳු	දෙ න
අතිටු මෙ යොන් දැනැදින කවි බඳිනු	ගෙ ණ

Count the letters in the order of one two three four

In each group of five letters if unfriendly animals are placed

Death, sickness, calamity and poverty will result

So recognize these evil animals in the composition of verses.

There is also a classification of auspicious and inauspicious sounds. Inauspicious sounds, if placed at the commencement and the end of a verse, bring ill luck, whereas auspicious sounds placed in a similar way bring good luck.

සුව සිරි පින් සුව, සුසිරි සතුටු අම බඳ
 දිය වැඩ තදන් සොම්නස්, පිම්බුරු වෙසෙස් යාපන්
 දෙකන් දේ රැකන්, පිහිටා ඉටා සුවටා
 බමුට්ටා සඳ, සොඳ, පැහැදේ බෙණේ නිරවේ
 වැණි වේ පවති සිරිමත් මෙ අ, සඳ හා
 යළිදු ලොවැට මෙන් ගෙණ නිසු බැඳුමෙහි යොදන්න

නුසුබ නොසිටි අකුසල් පව් දුසිරි නොසතුටු
නැසුම් දෙවිනස් අපවැඩ පිඩා මරණ දුක් හා

නොවේ නොනාඩුරු නොහවා නොපිහිටායේ
කණ ගොලු බිහිරි පිල පිළිකුල් කලි දුමුල්වේ

මිල සැලුම් සෝ වැහැසුම් හැඳුම් ගිහිරුම් බැඳුම්
බිඳුම් වැනසුම් පහලු, නැති ඉතිරි සදහරණේ.

Words such as:—

Health, fame, happy, good, prosperity, pleasure,
divine influence.

Fame, strength, joy, purity, ability, virtue, victory,
life,

Protection, stability, success, satisfaction.

Brightness, completion, good, clear, ease, stability,
growth, continuance,

Existence, stability, these and others of similar
purport.

Take these in accordance with the usage of the
world, and employ them in composing verses of praise.

Bad, misery, demerit, sin, evil, unpleasant,

Destruction, sorrow, harm, ill-treatment, death,
suffering,

Despair, unsteady, useless, wavering,

Blind, dumb, deaf, lame, disgust, dirt, weak,

Drooping, unrest, weeping, sobbing, crying,
thunder, binding,

Breaking, destruction, waste, no, and words of this
nature should be avoided.

There are objects, whose mention at the commence-
ment and at the end of verses, are auspicious and others
inauspicious: words as Buddha, Brahma gods, teachers,
gold, cows, rivers, honey, etc., are auspicious; and war,
fire, lightning, hell, evil spirits, etc., are inauspicious.

බෝසත් බම් උමිදු මෙහෙසුරු දෙමිදු මුනි ගුරු
සුරතුරු රුවන් බදකළහෝ ගහ මගුල් මේ

මහසෙල්සෑ විමන් හි රජ ගජ කුසුම්කැන්
රිඹි සද සිරි සරසම් උමා සෙමර සක්සත්

දිය රම් කදකුමරු ලෝපල් වරුණ වෙසවුණ
මඬලග සෑවි මිදුරුඅම් ඉති ලොව මගුල් වත්තම්

අනුමයදත් අනෙ අසුරිඳු හත් ගිරිඳු යල
 මිගුරජ උමතු බලදෙව් තමස් අරිටු මිරිදුසත්
 යුදගිණි නල සෙන ගුවන් වළ බා ගිලුව
 නරක රකුස් බු පිසස් යම සැසඳාලට මගුල්
 සිකුරු දුම්කොහලි පලග නිවට ඉඳු දූල්
 මෙ අ පටත් අවසන් බැඳුම් ගරහත් මියනෝ

In regard to letters placed at the end of rhymes, there are four letters which bring ill luck if used, unless they are preceded by other letters similar in each case. The letters thus counter-indicated are ya, va, ha, n.

Instances are related of poets who failing to observe these directions have suffered. The more popular a work and the more read it is, where rules of letters have not been followed, the greater is the evil effect on the author. There is an instance related of a Sinhalese poet Vāttāwe Unnāṇse (The Buddhist monk Vāttāwe) who composed the well-known Sinhalese poem Guttala Kavya. It is said when the poet composed his work he was very proud of his achievement and sent it to another learned monk a poet of great eminence and asked him for his opinion on the work. The critic pronounced it to be an excellent poem of exceptional beauty and merit, but added that Vāttāwe "will this time become an exile" for the *Gana* (syllable) in the first verse spelt for him disaster. Vāttāwe saw that he had courted disaster, and without waiting for some calamity that was likely to send him to exile, he voluntarily left the Island and travelled in distant lands.

However, in *Vaskavi* or verses composed specially for the purpose of directing evil influence, the composer follows instructions given for the combination and arrangement of letters and sounds, and direct them against the object of his animosity or the animosity of the person who employs him. The practice of *Vaskavi* is still fairly common in the Island. Sometimes a person engaged in litigation goes to a poet and gets verses composed and reads them for a number of days

to bring confusion of mind to his adversary; a person who loses his property through a theft goes similarly to a poet and gets verses made against the unknown thieves; a person who has some contest with another resorts to a similar resource. The practitioner makes more money out of such verses than from composing literary works.

Many instances are related of well-known Sinhalese poets who, on occasions, had composed effective *Vaskavi* for attaining some useful object.

There is the instance of Kunkunāwe Unnanse, who finding a branch of a Bo tree overhanging a shrine room, and not wishing to cut it down being a sacred tree, composed and recited a verse which had the effect of breaking down the branch.

It is related of the Poet Totagamuwe Sri Rahula Thero that on a certain occasion a Hindu Sannyasi, who was carrying an image of the god of Kataragama, refused to uncover and show it to him when the Poet composed and recited a verse which had the effect of burning the drapery which covered the image and exposing it to his view. The following is the verse reputed to have been composed on this occasion:—

පඬු රුසු නැගී දද බැඳ තමර	සිලු
මරුසු දින දරණ තෙඳ නළිනිකල	අලු
දළුසු නඳ නිසුනි හිමිවන තෙදිය	මුලු
පසිසු මබ සරණ දුකුමට මසින	අලු

Another Poet Barana Ganitayā is said to have composed the following two verses to recover his wife who had fled from him on one occasion:—

අත්බර අයුද දරමින් සිටි කඳ කුම	ර
යුත්තෙඳ අසුර යුදවනි ජය ගතෝ පෙ	ර
පත්කර හුදුනිනම් මගෙ දිගැසිය පට	ර
අත් අරවා හඬමි මම තගෙ කදිර පු	ර

පවරා කදිර පුර පුද ලබනා	තුමිමා
නොහැරා මම නිසමි ඇතිදුක් නොව	නිමිමා
පවරා හුදුනි නමි මගෙ දිගුසිය	නමිමා
ලදුරා මම ගනිමි තගෙ වල්ලි	අමිමා

Kandakumara! who bears weapons in his hands, who
In the past vanquished the Asuras in battle
If thou dost not recover my wife for me
I shall send thee away from thy city of Kadiragama.
The great one who is receiving homage at Kadirapura
I am telling thee without reserve the sorrow that
has fallen me.

If thou dost not cause my wife to repent and come to
me

Know ye, I shall wrest away from thee thy consort
Valliamma.

Incantations.

Charms are also recited for causing evil to others, but these charms are usually accompanied by other devices. Incantations are composed by bringing together letters, syllables and words and arranging them so as to be effective in gaining the required results. Almost all Sinhalese charms are of old origin, some dating to thousands of years. Some of the charms are in colloquial Sinhalese, others are a mixture of Sanscrit and Sinhalese words and a large number are derived from Maldivian known as Kaldu. The similarity of some of the words in the old Maldivian language and old Sinhalese, especially as seen in charms and incantations, opens a wide field for inquiry as to the identity of the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon and the Maldives. A number of charms contains words of Telugu, Canarese, and the languages of Deccan.

Evil Eye, Evil Words and Evil Thoughts.

There are persons to whom are attributed certain powers, through which they are able to cast spells on others without any charms or devices. These persons often do not cause the injury voluntarily, but their look, words and thoughts when directed towards an object or a person affect such persons adversely.

Esvaha or evil eye is averted by many a device, for instance, one commonly notices a scarecrow or the skeleton of the head of a buffalo or some strange object in a garden or field where cultivation is carried on. These objects being conspicuous attract the eye of the passer-by before he could observe the cultivation and the evil effects of his sight or words or thoughts therefore strike the scarecrow and the growing crop is saved from disaster. Similarly one notices a chank shell or bell hung round the neck of cows, bulls and horses as a protection against similar evil effects. Children are made to wear amulets for the same reason.

Húniyam is the generic term for all forms of charms and spells, that are used with some device for controlling the activities of others and for causing them harm and injury. One of the principal forms of *Húniyam* is what is known as *Ina* or controlling the will of others. For this purpose, various charms and articles are used. A person, seeking a favour from another, will wear a flower, use a perfume or oil or carry a stick or an amulet or give some charmed food or drink. These devices are believed to gain him the favour of the party concerned. A man in love will resort to similar devices for obtaining favours.

"Marangana Sāhālla," describing the temptations to which Prince Siddhartha was subjected to by the Evil one, gives a description of a medicament, which describes in general the preparation of such drugs and their use.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|---|
| 139. | සද අඳුන් බෙහෙතුන් මරගන එදි | න |
| | රද ගලේ කොට පෙකර මතුර ග | න |
| | එද මදන යකු බේනට දිවේ ල | න |
| | යොද පස් තෙලෙන් අවුසද ගුලි කර | න |
| 141. | ඉනා ගුලිය අමරාලා මතුර ගෙ | න |
| | තනා දෙබුම පිට නලලේ නිලක ල | න |
| | මනා ලෙසට ඇමරු බෙහෙත් ගුලි තු | න |
| | ඉනා වෙලා එන්දුයි අප අදහ ගෙ | න |

On that day the daughters of the Evil one, having prepared the medicament.

Having charmed it on the washerman's stone at the bank of the stream

Getting the demon of passion to take possession of the drug

Made it into pills by mixing it with five kinds of oil.

Having prepared and charmed the Ina pills

Rubbing the same on the eye-brows and on the forehead

And with these three pills well prepared (said they)

Will he be attracted to us and come to us?

Another form of charm is known as *Angang*. When the person who charms blows his breath on to the victim, it is believed that the victim falls down in a fit.

Pilli is another form. Where mummified animals and human beings are used, it is believed to be so effective that an evil demon takes possession of the mummy which moves about and carries out orders. The dead bodies generally used are those of beetles, owls and human beings. In the case of beetles and owls the evil one is able to fly and attack a particular person and cause him injury and illness. In regard to human forms, the *Pilli* is used for causing the death of a named person who is at a distance. The performer repeats his incantations on a dead body at a graveyard or the mummified body of a child. When the charm becomes effective, the demon takes possession of the body and gives it animation. On this, he places a sword in its hand and orders it to its destination, even if the victim may be hundreds of miles away from the place. The performer himself is said to run a risk, for if the *Pilli* find that it is not able to attack the victim owing to precautionary measures taken by him by the use of an amulet or a counter-charm, the *Pilli* returns and

kills the originator. There are numerous stories current regarding such practices not only as village gossip, but such incidents are related in stories dating back several hundreds of years. There is such a story in the *Saddharmāḷaṅkāra*, a prose Sinhalese work, an adaption of a Pali work *Rasavāhini* written about the eighth century A.C. The story is worth repeating. A king's revenue officer made his periodical visit to a sea coast town for the collection of taxes. The advent of the revenue officer was heralded with much pomp. The streets and houses were decorated for his reception, and a special house prepared for his stay. He was received by the elders of the place and conducted in procession. On this occasion, while he was passing a certain street inhabited by wealthy traders, a lady of exceptional beauty attended by her maids was watching the procession from the terrace of her house. The revenue officer happened to notice her and was so infatuated with her beauty that he sent presents and a message to her inviting her to come to him. The lady indignantly refused the overtures and told the messenger that her employer was a foolish deluded man and that she was a married woman faithful to her husband who was away on a voyage. The revenue officer was not deterred by this message, but thought that, if he were able to get the husband killed, he may have a chance of marrying the woman. With this object, he called together expert magicians and asked them whether they could devise a charm by which this merchant who was on board his ship could be killed. One magician agreed. The revenue officer accompanied him to a cemetery where the magician selected a corpse and his incantations were so effective that he was able to make an evil demon take possession of the corpse. A sword was placed in the hands of the demon and he was ordered to proceed and destroy the merchant. People in the ship saw an evil one approaching them and they

were struck with terror. The merchant who kept himself self-possessed knew the method of averting such calamities. He was a religious man and he ordered all his men to join him in the meditation of universal goodwill. This acted as a counter-charm, and the demon turned back and returned to the magician. The magician sent him back three times, and three times he returned and on the last occasion the demon turned on the magician and the revenue officer and hacked them with the sword intended for their victim and killed them on the spot.

Another from of *Hūniyam* is to charm a thread or the stem of a creeper and make the victim step over it. The thread or the creeper is kept with the magician, and until it is destroyed the victim is believed to suffer in various ways.

There is also a charm, that is very often used by litigants to confuse the minds of witnesses. The name of the victim is written on pieces of palm leaf which are charmed and dropped in a vessel filled with water. At the time the witness is to give his evidence a person takes the vessel of water and starts shaking it. It is believed that as long as the process of disturbance is continued the mind of the victim gets disturbed, and he is prevented from giving coherent answers to questions put to him.

Another method of causing temporary inconvenience to one's enemies is to engrave the victim's name on a piece of charmed metal, and at any time desired the metal plate is put on the fire; as long as the metal is on fire the victim is said to suffer pain, and when the metal sheet is taken out of the fire and cooled, the victim recovers. The construction of a small image to represent a victim and the use of pins and needles at various points is largely resorted to, and there are a very large number of such devices. The following verses

from *Dhātu Sāntiya* ධාතුසාන්තිය repeated as a curative measure for ills caused by spells, give descriptions of a large number of such devices:—

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
| 49. පස් ඉටි අරගන රූපෙ තන
නමකුරු පිහිටා කටුද ගස
සොහොන් පොළේ පස් යට වලල
සෙස්ස දැතු අන යට ඉහිලෙ | ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ |
| 50. හොඬල අළේ ගෙන රූපෙ කප
පස්ලො වානේ කටුද ගස
සතර සන්ධිතුල රුදු කර
උඹිදැතු අණයට ඉහිලෙ | ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ |
| 51. දිවි සම් මුව සම් ගෙන විගසි
ජම්ම නැකත තම රුවද ලිය
ගසමින් විස කටු මතුර ලසි
දෙනත දැතු අණයට ඉහි ලෙ | ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ |
| 52. ඉඹුල් ලිය ගෙණ රුවට නෙල
දවස නැකත නවකුරු පිහිට
අසාර නවයට කටුද ගස
අකුදැතු අණයට ඉහි ලෙ | ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ |
| 53. කිකිලි විජුද ගෙණ ඇස්ස ගස
ඉසකෙස් ඇදි වන තුල් දම
සියොගත සැමනැන ගෙඩිද නැගෙ
සිරොදැතු අණයෙන් ඉහිලෙ | ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ |
| 54. රැගෙණ එදු කඩදසි වලි
තමරුව ඇද දිවි කැදලි දම
සියොගත සැමනැන ගෙඩිද ගැස
ශ්‍රීව ධාතු අණයෙන් ඉහිලෙ | ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ |
| 55. පැහිටි ගෙඩිය ගෙණ ඇස්ස ගස
ඉසකෙස් මුත්‍රා වැලිද දම
ගෝරු මඩෙ යට සිරකර මි
තබා දැතු අණයට ඉහිලෙ | ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ |
| 56. තම හිස අඩියේ වැලි ගනිමි
මතුර දලුක් හිර කරවා ග
නැන නැන සියොගත කේදි වැටෙ
අභිධාතු අණයට ඉහිලෙ | ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ |
| 57. ගෙඩාල් කැවේ තම රුවට නෙල
සුංඛර අසාර අකුරු ලිය
හුමස් අරණයේ මතුර දම
පරිධාතු අණයෙන් ඉහිලෙ | ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ
ත්තේ |

51. A piece of skin of a leopard or deer is taken. An image is drawn and the name of the Nekat (constellation) under which the victim is born, is written and charmed needles are inserted through it.

52. An image is hewn of Imbul (*Eriodendron Anfractuosum* D.C.) stem, the names of the day, and the constellation under which the victim is born, are written as well as nine evil letters, and needles are inserted through these.

53. An egg is taken and after chipping it at the top some hair and a thread from a cloth worn by the victim is put in and charmed.

54. The image is drawn on a leaf and placed in a nest of red ants.

55. A fruit of *Citrus limetta* is taken and after chipping the top; hair, urine and sand are charmed and put inside and the fruit is buried in mud.

56. Sand from the footstep of the victim is taken and charmed, and placed inside the stem of Daluk. (*Euphorbia, antiquorum*. 2).

57. A brick is shaped like an image, evil letters are inscribed and thrown into an ant-hill in the jungle.

58. Ash, charcoal and sand from a place of cremation are taken and shaped into an image, and charmed needles inserted.

59. An image is made from the root of ginger (*zingiber officinale*: Rox) and needles inserted all round, charmed and thrown in a forest.

60. The cast skin of a serpent is taken and human nails and hair are stuffed into its neck charmed and buried in a bypath.

61. An image is made from the root of Tolabo (*Crinum asiaticum* 2) and charmed needles are inserted.

62. An image is drawn on the leaf of kaluhabarala (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*), charmed and rolled, and thrown in water.

63. Five kinds of bees' wax are melted in a skull, an image is made and needles inserted, and then heated in a fire made of the dry wood of five varieties of Citrus.

64. An image is made of fine clay and nine charmed needles are inserted.

65. Three lime fruits are charmed, the name of the victim written and needles inserted, etc.

It is stated that there are four thousand four hundred and seventy forms of evil spells practised by ill-disposed, cruel individuals to bring disaster on human beings.

The belief in the existence of these evils naturally gave rise to a class of charms and ceremonies through which the evil effects are counteracted. These counter-acting charms are of two kinds, first curative, second curative and revengeful. In the last case, not only is the victim cured of the ill effects, but also the person who is responsible for causing the spell is injured in return.

I give below two verses out of a large number of charms and verses to indicate the nature of the belief in being able to return evil for evil.

8. උඹින් වඹින ඉරසඳු දෙවියන් බලයෙ	න්
සිමින් වඹින මිහිකන් ආදර හනි	න්
ඇසින් කර දමා කළවුන් එලාගනි	න්
භූතීන් යකුනි පලයන් පෙරලා කැපුවෙ	න්

15. ගවසින් උගේ සිටිනා තැන් බලා	ගන්
ලමසින් උගේ යන එන තැන් බලා	ගන්
යහමින් උගේ වියගේ මුලම කා	ගන්
පෙරලා මෙතන කැපුවෙමි එතනට පල	යන්

8. Through the powers of the gods Sun and Moon above and the grace of the goddess of Earth who is below Lay the perpetrators of this evil by dazzling them
Quit ye the evil one for I have severed the spell which will return to the doer.

15. Mark where the fellow's cattle are

Mark where his children go

Destroy his whole clan

I have severed the spell here and return ye to the evil doer.

The practice of counteracting and curative charms are naturally general and widely distributed, and the ceremonies are so numerous and varied that they will to be described separately. In the meantime, it may be briefly noted that these curative methods consist of charms, incantations, dances, the cutting of charmed lime fruits, creepers, roots, coconuts, pineapple and pumpkin and the giving of medicines after certain incantations. In the incantations, very often religious ideals are mentioned. A specimen of such a verse is quoted below :—

තුන් ලොව් සතහට අමාරසය දෙන ගෞතම මුනි වඩි	තෙයි
ලන්කර බුදුවට අසඹන ගණනක් දැනුමට එතුරු වෙ	තෙයි
පින්කළ මුනිඳුගෙ දහම් ගුණෙන් මෙම යකුන්ට හිඳි හරි	තෙයි
මින් සත් අභියව කළපින බන්දන එමුනි අතින් කප	තෙයි

The Lord Gautama Muni arrived to give success to the three worlds

He attained enlightenment and for aeons became the teacher of the good message

Through the virtue of the words of the meritorious Teacher I send fire to these demons.

And I sever all evil spells in the name of the Great Teacher.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 8th, 1926.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Edward W. Perera, M.L.C., in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A., Vice-President.

Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Muda-
liyar,„ A. Mendis Gunasekara,
MudaliyarMr. W. F. Gunawardhana,
Gate Mudaliyar„ L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
C.C.S.Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S., and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman.
Honorary Secretaries.*Business :*

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 14th June, 1926, were read and confirmed.

2. The following gentlemen were duly elected members of the Society, viz., Messrs. Norman Kaikshushru Choksy, D. S. Jayasinha, Philip C. R. Jayasuriya, M.R.A.S., Alexander Perera Jayasuriya, Don Charles Rajakaruna Gunawardhana, B.A., C.C.S., Garrett Champness Mendis, Don Simon Alfred Samaranayaka, Wijayamuni Douglas de Zoysa, J. D. Dharmasena and Revd. Jinawarawansa M. Jinananda Bhikku.

3. A letter dated 22nd September, 1926, from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, regarding the compilation of Etymological Dictionary of the Sinhalese language, and a letter from the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka on the same subject were tabled.

It was resolved to inform Government that the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka had been invited to accept the position of Editor-in-chief and Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana, Gate Mudaliyar, and Mr. A. Mendis Gunasekara, Mudaliyar, had consented to be editors. The programme proposals put forward by the Hon. Mr. Jayatilaka were adopted, and together with the estimate of the cost of the work during the first year.

It was further resolved to inform Government that some additional funds might be required to purchase certain collections of words. The cost could not be stated at present but was not likely to be large. The question of the composition of the Committee of Management was considered and it was decided that the following should be invited to serve :—

Mr. L. J. B. Turner (Chairman), Prof. R. Marrs, the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera the Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva, Dr S. C. Paul, Mr. C. H. Collins, and Mr. A. N. Weinman (Secretary).

4. A letter dated August 20, 1926, from the Secretaries, Fourth All-India Oriental Conference, Allahabad, inviting delegates from the Society was read.

Resolved that the Secretaries of the Conference be thanked for the invitation and that the Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka and Gate Mudaliyar W. F. Gunawardhana represent the Society at the Conference.

5. The report of the sub-committee appointed to consider the Paper entitled "The Log Book of Admiral Baillie de Suffren, 1781-1784" by Mr. A. W. Seymour, C.C.S., was tabled.

6. A letter dated 11th June, 1926, forwarding four parts of the Sinhalese magazine entitled "Vidyodaya," from the Principal, Vidyodaya Oriental College, Maligakanda, requesting an exchange with the Journal of the Society, was tabled.

Resolved that the Nayaka Thero be thanked for the four parts of the magazine and be informed that the Council regrets their inability to comply with his request.

7. A letter from Mr. Leslie de Saram, relating to the discovery by Dr. P. E. Pieris of a translation into English of Valentyn's "Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien" was read.

It was resolved first to ascertain whether other translations into English are not available.

8. The date and business for the next General Meeting was left in the hands of the Honorary Secretaries.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, December 1st, 1926.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, M.A. (Oxon.)

Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. Lionel de Fonseka
 The Hon. Mr. W. A. de Silva
 Mr. Herod Gunaratna, Muda-
 liyar
 „ A. Mendis Gunasekara,
 Mudaliyar

Mr. W. F. Gunawardhana,
 Gate Mudaliyar
 Dr. S. C. Paul, M.D.
 The Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera
 Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A.,
 C.C.S.

Mr. C. H. Collins, B.A., C.C.S. and Mr. Aubrey N. Weinman,
 Honorary Secretaries.

Business :

1. The Minutes of the last Council Meeting held on the 8th October, 1926, were read and confirmed.

2. The Secretary stated that Government had voted the necessary money to start the work on the Dictionary from January 1st, 1927.

Resolved that as requested by Government a report to Government *re* progress of Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary be made half yearly by the Managing Committee through the Council of the Society.

3. A sub-committee consisting of Mr. L. J. B. Turner, the Hon. Mr. E. W. Perera and Mr. C. H. Collins to consider offers of papers for reading at meetings of the R. A. S. made by members of the Society and a draft programme of meetings was appointed.

4. The following gentlemen were duly elected as members of the Society, *Viz*:—Messrs. Andrew Boyd and J. R. G. Bantock,

5. Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka who represented the Society at the Fourth All-India Oriental Conference gave an account of the proceedings and he was requested to write a short note on the subject for the Journal.

*Extracts from the Dag-Registers of Batavia.
Translated and compiled by the late Mr. F. H. de Vos,
Barrister-at-law.
Contd. from Vol. XXX No. 78, 1925.*

**AO. 1642—TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND
COUNCIL.**

DAG-REGISTER AO. 1643—1644.

Published by the
DEPARTEMENT VAN KOLONIËN

Under the Supervision of

Dr. H. T. COLENBRANDER.

Adjunct-Archivaris, Ryksarchief, The Hague (1902).

PREFACE.

All the parts of the split-up Dag-register for the years 1643-1644 have not come down to us but what has been preserved forms an interesting portion. I have put it together from the Indian Letters and papers of the Chamber Amsterdam sent to Holland (pp. 88-110) from the already mentioned source at Karlsruhe and the Sweers-collection at the *Ryksarchief*. As will be seen, of the five parts into which the work was divided by virtue of the Resolution of 1st February 1642, three have been preserved in their entirety: the accounts *re* Surat-Hindostan, Ceylon-Goa, and Coromandel.....

At first it escaped my attention that in the aforesaid Sweers-collection a part of the account Ceylon-Goa is twice copied. In the copy made for the printer some attached documents were not copied. The care of my assistant in the publication of this work, Mr. W. G. van Oyen, Adjunct Commies, *Ryksarchief*, has placed me in a position to take these interesting documents from the other copy (they are not in the Archives of the East India Company) and to place them at the end of the text.

* * * *

Statement of the parts compressed in the now published text.

Account from the despatches from Ceylon (1643-1644) pages 205-212, 221-225, 229-236, 237-238, 242, 307-310.

I also think it well to refer to the documents incorporated with the text some of which, so far as I am aware, are nowhere to be found in the archives of the Company.

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Protest of Pieter Boreel to Don Phillippo de Mascarenhas at Colombo 22nd February, 1643, p. 208. Contra protest from de Mascarenhas to Boreel 26th February, 1643, p. 210.

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Letter of Raja Singa to Joan Thyssen, 23rd March, 1644, p. 307,

Letter from the same to the same, 4th April, 1644 p. 309.

H. T. Colenbrander.

* * * *

12th January 1644.

There arrive in the afternoon.....also a Portuguese *navet* " Nossa Sra de Concepção de St. Bernardo," 100 *lasts* burden, which coming from Macao to Goa, and passing Malacca, ignorant of the interruption of the Treaty, was held up by Governor Jeremias van Vleet.....

* * * *

13th January 1644.

The ship " Leeuwarden " hove in sight and the commissioners sailed to the Portuguese *navet* to get the aforesaid *fidalgos* on board..... Coming ashore they were admitted to audience by the Governor-General and Council who expressed regret that the relations between them and the Viceroy of Goa were such that the Governor of Malacca was obliged to give orders to stop their voyage. The Viceroy only was to blame as he had refused to surrender the lands under Crux de Gale which belonged to us by the Treaty..... Whereupon the retired General Domingo de Lamara replied that the differences between us and the Viceroy over the jurisdiction of Gale was no reason, as they had no knowledge how they arose.

3rd March 1644.

There come news from Commander Claas Cornelisz Bloc from the Bay of Goa under Date 13th November that it was reported that the Portuguese had obtained reinforcements of from 5-600 men of whom 300 were sent to Ceylon.

News was received at Coromandel that the Portuguese Governor of Sant Thome had received letters that Heer François Caron had appeared before Colombo with 11 ships but could not effect a landing as a large body of Portuguese had followed him all along the coast, so that leaving as if he desired to sail to Galle with the whole fleet, at night turned back and unexpectedly landed close to Negombo, and the Portuguese, being cut off from the city, were defeated, 400 being killed and Negombo at once taken; and that our force had straightway marched on to Colombo to attack that city. God grant that this is true and that Colombo was afterwards brought under our power!

* * * *

11th April 1644.

At night there arrives the Resident Jarich from Bantam bringing news..... that the Fortress of Negombo in Ceylon was taken by storm, 300 Portuguese killed and about 150 taken prisoners.

About midday there arrived the (English) *jacht* "de Goede Hoop" in the Bay bringing letters from Heer François Caron, dated 15th February, stating that having landed at Galle with his whole force on the 20th December last, he had marched to a certain place close by where the enemy had established themselves with the hope of driving them from there, to make the district of Galle safe for us; but having arrived at the place, found it so inaccessible and such an advantageous position to the Portuguese, who were there in occupation with 540 men, that it was not thought prudent to attempt to take it, and returned, without accomplishing anything, to Galle, where having embarked the whole force and sailed together to Colombo, he intended to take that place by force, which also could not be done, on account of the unsuitability of the coast and the rough sea preventing landing of the men there, especially the guns, at least so long

as the enemy followed us all along the shore. So that finally it was decided to proceed to Negombo and to capture the fortress and to march from there by land to Colombo, which happened on the 9th January, for which praise the Almighty for ever. As we approached the fortress the enemy had divided its force of 700 men into 22 sections before forming up in battle array, which we, after two hours fighting, defeated and at the same time captured the fortress pressing the fleeing Portuguese within the gates. And there fell in the said battle on the Portuguese side 300 men and 150 were taken prisoners. On our side there fell in action 52 persons, among them 4 lieutenants, same number of ensigns, and there were about 140 wounded. Negombo having been conquered in manner aforesaid and affairs there being a little arranged, His Honour, after some days, marched by land with his whole force to Colombo, but being checked by the enemy at the river of Moetewael about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour's distance from the city, after waiting there for six days broke camp and returned to Negombo converting the said fortress into a royal stronghold sufficient to withstand a tolerable force, as will be particularly seen in the detailed account given.

In celebration of this victory a thanksgiving service was held in the evening in the big church (Batavia) on the orders of the Governor General, by the Predikant Abraham Fireth, and thereafter the bells were rung three times and volleys in the castle and round the city were fired and answered and the Councillors of India and their wives remained with the Governor-General being entertained by him.

* * * *

17th April, 1644.

There arrives Heer François Caron with the ships "Fredrick Hendricq," "Wesel," "Snoecq," and "Grol," with the Sergeant-major Willem van der Beecq and skipper Wybrandsen from the Island of Ceylon, having put the fortress of Negombo in a good state of defence being garrisoned with 500 brave soldiers under the command of the opperkoopman Pieter Vinceboons and the Captain..... Syms. On his departure His Honour anchored opposite

Colombo with the intention of exchanging some of our imprisoned taken at Billigam for some of their prisoners. Don Philippo was agreeable to this, but our people had all taken service with the enemy and did not want to be released.

For the defence of Negombo by sea the *jachts* "Wingurla" and "Zutphen" remained there..... The *jachts* "Santvoort" and "Defshaven" remained beyond Galle.

* * * *

22nd April 1644.

A little after the Portuguese.....were admitted to audience by the Governor-General..... The aforesaid Portuguese having left, there landed the prisoners brought with the ships from Ceylon by Heer Caron, 105 men, among them 3 Captains, young men, and some subordinate officers. The Governor-General quartered them all in the Hospital here giving them ordinary soldiers' rations.

* * * *

11th May 1644.

There arrive the *jacht* "Arent" from the coast of India with letters from the Commandeur Claas Blocq, opposite Goa, stating that the *jacht* "Arent" was passing Negombo in Ceylon, where the *jachts* "Cleyne Sutphen" and "Wingurla" had tied together and brought in 5 to 6 Portuguese *champans* carrying rice and other provisions from Choromandel to Colombo: that this came in handy to us and apparently would create a scarcity of provisions with the enemy, who, to take revenge and to prevent such occurrence, sent a fleet of rowing vessels after the aforesaid *jachts*, with, so it seemed, the intention of capturing them or causing them to sail away. But they had with God's help so courageously and manfully repulsed them, that not only was the said fleet defeated but a part of it destroyed and a galley sunk. All which was done by the *jacht* "Wingurla," the "Zutphen" not being able to come to her assistance in time. Wherefore it was resolved by the Governor-General and Council to present on behalf of the Company, the skipper of the aforesaid *jacht* "Wingurla" with a gold chain to

encourage him and others to such valorous deeds. The curious reader can see particulars of these things in the special reports on the same.

* * * *

18th May 1644.

In the afternoon the chaloup returns bringing lettersfrom the President Jan Thyssen from Galle and the opperkoopman Vinckbooms from Negombo.....

* * * *

21st May 1644.

In the afternoon there arrive the *jachts* "Delfshaven" and the ship "de Hasewint" from the Bay of Goa *via* Ceylon with 12570 lbs. cinnamon consisting of 290 packages, among them 186 from Raja Singa, the rest taken at Negombo.

* * * *

27th September 1643.

On the 27th September there appeared "de Hasewint"bringing letters from the Commissaris Boreel dated 24th April stating that the Viceroy at Goa had, contrary to expectation and reason, refused us the lands to which we were entitled and had broken the treaty, etc.

* * * *

8th February 1643.

The *jachts* "Leeuwerk" and "Limmen" sent by Commissaris Boreel from Galle arrived with the long expected ratification of the treaty which was published at Batavia on the —October 1642.

The letter of Heer Boreel says that the treaty had not yet been published by him in Ceylon as Don Philipppo had unlawfully, denied their right according to the treaty to the dependencies of Galle, and was rejecting their claim..... The Viceroy had sent six fidalgos and two courteous letters to obtain the release of the *jacht* "Clein Reynsburch" saying that the same did not rightly belong to us as it was captured after the publication of the treaty.

On the same day there arrived at the port of Batavia the *jacht* "de Sterre" sent on the 17th March by the

president Jan Thyssen of St. Cruz de Gala. He says in his letter that on the 14th October Sr. Lourenso Fereira de Britto, who had been before this Captain of Galle and our prisoner, came there with a letter from Don Philipppo in which the publication of the treaty and maintenance of the same were sought and with the articles of the treaty ratified and exchanged by His Majesty, and as, according to the second article, the mutual ratification of it was not found therein, he refused to accept it and it was put off for the further orders of His Excellency the Governor-General and the Council of India. The aforesaid de Britto had the audacity to pretend that they (Portuguese) were always the most powerful in the field, that we possessed no lands at Galle, that the Portuguese, according to the usages of war with the sword, were masters up to the walls of the Fort (without any reference to us) and that we were therefore under their jurisdiction. Who ever heard such a strange and unfounded proposition?

* * * *

7th November 1642.

The *jacht* "de Sterre" arrived at Galle on the 7th November from Pulicat with two captured Portuguese champans. Pieter Boreel, the Commissaris, with the ships "Banda," "Delfshaven," "Leeuwerck," and "de Paauw," landed there on the 1st February with the Portuguese treaty mutually ratified. For this purpose he sent the opperkoopman Marten Vinck on the 5th with the ship "Roemerswall" to Colombo to Philipppo d' Mascarenhas to notify the treaty to him. If he accepted it as binding, his army, which since the 20th September was occupying a good position two miles outside Galle, should retire to his own ground, which he could not see his way to do. Whereupon Heer Boreel protested against Don Philipppo Mascarinhas in writing which writing he sent to Colombo on the 23rd February, and before his departure for Goa had received no answer to the same. On the 3rd March there appeared at Galle before the President Jan Thyssen two ambassadors by name ColumboNeynde and Aripali Neynde on behalf of the Kandyan King with letters to Heer Boreel which were sent to him the next day by the ship "Roemerswall." It seemed that His Majesty would

willingly be included in the treaty if the lands of Kalutara river were made subject to him. On the 9th March there was brought by Ignatio Sarmento Carvalhe, Portuguese, to Jan Thyssen on the orders of Heer Boreel the counter-protest and answer of Don Philippo which will be referred to at length hereafter. His Honour had ordered us to cease hostilities in Ceylon till further orders from Goa. Notwithstanding this the Portuguese still kept to their unjust order that no native should furnish us any supplies. If a coconut was sold to us the seller had to give by way of penalty four fowls to the adigar ; if it was a head of cattle they threatened the villagers to cut not only their ears and noses but also to punish them with death. This was unbearable and seemed should be redressed with force, as beri-beri, dropsy and other diseases were very much on the increase at Galle and in a garrison of 612 men there were 59 sick. Don Philippo had deceived himself that he would not grant an inch of land to us in Ceylon but would buy Galle for a reasonable price, ridiculous reports, which made the blood of the Dutch there boil and embittered them against the Portuguese, and that at that time although it was only 20 companies strong of white troops, they could revenge themselves for all this insult and ridicule. It was sought for this purpose a reasonable force with one or two mortars with their accessories to be used against the enemy together with 20 to 25 copper kettles to boil rice in.

The king Raja Singa's brother Visia Palang was, having been sometime in close confinement, taken by the Portuguese to Goa, with the intention of making him a Christian and getting him to make a will, in order by that means to become lawful heirs to his lands. Don Philippo gave out that about May he expected great reinforcements from Goa. The assistant Nicolaas Hosteyn died at the Kandyan court on the 19th October. Raja Singa had sent the property left by him to the koopman Maerschallck at Batecalo. He also desired another fit person versed in the Portuguese language, which appeared unreasonable as Raja considered these persons as his own, which could be inferred from the refusal of the deserted sergeant and the sending up of the

drummer. The captain major of the Portuguese army by name Anthonio da Motta Galvao had agreed to give us 100 buffaloes against payment, but instead of these he sent us only six lean ones which were returned to him, and afterwards eleven others were sent with some frivolous excuse. Don Philippo appeared, to our regret, to have granted the village Biligam, which did not belong to him, to Ignatio Sarmiento Cravalhe, to derive some profit and maintenance therefrom. He gave out that he had bought the city of Galle from the Dutch for a certain price and that, therefore, some of the inhabitants had been delivered over to them to be punished, and that the rest would be sent by us as slaves to Batavia and such like intolerable falsehoods. Raja Singa had again, as a bait, sent a gold chain and gold hat-band and some crystal to the President Joan Thyssen as a present.

To-day we were informed by letter dated 25th February from Galle from the Commissaris Pieter Boreel and other papers brought here by the aforesaid "Kleyn Reynsburch," that His Honour, as before stated, had arrived at Galle with his fleet on the 1st February. Afterwards, on the 3rd, he had sent to the camp of Anthonio da Motta Galvaon the mutually ratified articles of the treaty for 10 years between Don Joan, the Fourth, King of Portugal, and the States General of the United Netherlands. Thereupon, the next day, captain Pedro Teria, on behalf of the said captain-major, appeared before Heer Boreel who gave him notice that they should, with all their people, quit our lands and give us possession thereof. But he and Don Phillippo and many other Portuguese were of opinion that Galle was only an *aldeia* or village without a foot of jurisdiction outside its walls, and, in like manner, all the lands had been devised to His Majesty of Portugal by the King of Cotta, Joam Periampandaer, as he had no heirs, and that therefore Don Joan became Emperor of the whole island. Also that we could have no claim to the lands seeing that, since the conquest of Galle, we were under the rule and slavery (as falsely stated by them) of Raja Singa's dissave, and such like unfounded and windy talk, imagining that now they have a King of their nationality, there was nobody like them, and now stronger

than before under the rule of Spain. The aforesaid Heer Boreel noticing the aforesaid unfounded claims of the Portuguese sent on the 22nd February, with his letters of justification of our well-founded claim, the following protest to Don Philippo Mascarinhas, General of Colombo:— According to the orders dated 22nd February and 15th March 1642 of Their Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, written to the Governor-General Anthonio van Diemen, residing at Batavia, was not only, on the 7th October following, the armistice between the Crown of Portugal and Their High Mightinesses published, not only in the Fort and City but also on the ships in the port of Batavia, to be observed and caused to be observed here, but also on the special directions of Their High Mightinesses, I was commissioned by the Governor-General and Council of India to notify in writing the treaty and ratification of the 10 year's armistice to the Portuguese residing in the places of our district to be observed by hem.

The armistice was published on my orders at Malacca on the 5th December 1642. When I arrived at the Fort of Galle, 1st February 1643, I intended publishing the armistice there, not doubting that it would have been ratified there, understanding from the President Jan Thyssen and Council there that the ratification was sent there by the most serene Jan the Fourth of Portugal on October last only, which could not be accepted as it had not been previously sent to Holland, which was essential according to the 2nd article.

Further after your notification, the Portuguese and other nations, being soldiers under your rule, were not removed but are to this day on our lands. I therefore thought fit to send to you the opperkoopman Sr. Martin Vinck with the treaty and ratification of our respective sovereigns relating to the 10 years truce, also the publication thereof at Batavia, and thus the treaty and ratification were considered good and binding, so that your Honour should at once be pleased to order the soldiers under your command to quit our lands which they were then occupying, and yield them and the neighbouring lands up to us, which, if you had

done, would have induced a willingness on our part to publish the treaty at Galle.

But your letter to Marten Vinck in answer to mine clearly shows that you are not disposed to take your soldiers from our lands and to give us possession of the same which were won by the sword and hypothecated to us. Your Honour cannot claim that we have no forts therein. Nor could you insist that we have no jurisdiction outside the walls of Galle. Your Honour's people denied that we had, for after I announced to Captain-Major Anthony de Motta Galvaon at the camp in the Galle corle, two companies were stationed at Cogeale, at Vacquel some lascoreens, and at Gindure the road was shut up with poles to prevent free ingress into the lands of our people coming from Gale, and they were threatened with death by your soldiers, stating that they had express orders thereto by you if they passed the camp landwards without passes from the Captain-Major Anthony de Motta. And by this the treaty was broken by the Portuguese according to article 12. So I protest to you Don Philippo Mascarenhe, General of Colombo, against this injustice.

I shall go to Goa to personally arrange with the Viceroy the affairs of Ceylon.

Done at Galle 22nd February, 1643.

(Signed) P. Boreel

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On the 1st March Sr. Laurencio Ferrera, on behalf of Don Philippo de Mascarenhas arrived in a boat about 4 miles from Galle bringing a letter of contra-protest to Heer Boreel to the following effect :—Your protest, to which this is an answer, is unjust. You seem rather to seek war than peace

.....

(Signed) Philippo Mascarenhas.

Colombo, 26th February, 1643.

* * * *

Heer Boreel, on the 2nd March, from the ship "Banda" lying at anchor close to Madampe, replied to Don Philippo Mascarenhas sending the letter by Sr. Lourenso Ferrera....

On the 5th March he met the ship "Romerswal" sent by Jan Thyssen to him with two ambassadors from Raja Singa. His Honour (Thyssen) also sent two letters from His Majesty with a gold chain adorned with a medal, a medal to be worn on the hat and a belt of corded gold as presents. His Majesty desired that Jaffnapatnam, Setta Corles, Quartre Corles, etc., should be granted free to him from the Portuguese when he would be prepared to enter into the treaty. He thanked Heer Boreel for the good attention paid to the two Queens sent to His Majesty by Chinana of Pulicat with the ambassador, and sent to Baticalo at their request from Galle in one of our ships.

On the 29th June their arrived at the port of Batavia the ship "Reynsburch" bringing letters from the Commissaris Boreel of date 29th April, in which he relates that he was entertained by the Viceroy (Goa). After he had presented the letter of the Governor-General and his commission, the following were delegated to treat him with full authority, Anthonio de Faria Machado, 1st inquisitor of the Holy Office and chief councillor of state, Andre Salema, Controller-general of the state and councillor of state, and Joseph de Chaves sub-major, secretary of state and councillor. The deputies and Viceroy were of Don Philipppo's unfounded opinion, that Ceylon was in the year 1580 by the King of Cota Juaon Perepandar, who died a Christian and without heirs, devised to Hendrik the last King of Portugal so that none but themselves (Portuguese) were entitled thereto; that Raja Singa an infidel King does not figure in the treaty as he is an intruder and tyrannical King without any right to hypothecate the island etc., as appears fully from their protest dated Goa 21st April 1643.

Visiapalla, Raja Singa's brother, who was confined in a Franciscan monastery, had, on Boreel's arrival at court (Goa), requested the Viceroy to be allowed to be present, which was refused. Robert Wems, one of our riflemen, who had deserted to the Portuguese was again taken unto the Company's service by Heer Boreel on the promise that he would not be punished. On the 22nd Boreel took leave of the Viceroy.

Contra-protest by the Commissaris Boreel to the Deputies of the Viceroy. The protest of the 21st April read at Goa is full of lies. We sought free possession of the whole of Saffragam. Hereupon Sr. Antonio de Faria Machado answered that the promise of Raja Singa was of an infidel not of a believer.—An intruder King and tyrant can grant no rights, so say the deputies; but he is not an intruder for his mother was Dona Cattarina brought by the General Pero Lopes de Sousa from Manaar to Kandy in the year 1590 and declared by his very mouth as the only empress and rightful heir to the throne of Ceylon. She married there first Don Joan of Austria thereafter Cennerat Adassyn who was the present Raja Singa's father. His father and he have always been in possession of this Kingdom.

You say that we (Dutch) are to be abominated for having dealings with him (Raja Singa). You have assisted him in 1607 with your whole force against Madune and Antonio Baretto, prince of Uva, who wanted to expel Cennerat Adassyn from the country. Can you at one time have dealings with a King whose forefathers have since 1590 been in uninterrupted possession of Kandy and with whom our nation has had dealings since 1602, and now forbid us from doing the same? Done on board the ship "Banda" lying at the port of Goa the 25th April 1643.

(Signed) Boreel.

* * * *

On 4th July there arrived the ship "t Vliegende Hart" with letters from President Joan Thyssen of the 21st May. . . . informing us that the ships "Delfshaven," "Welsingen," "Cleyen Sutphen" and "t Vliegende Hart" had appeared at the port of Galle with the opperkoopman Marten Vinck who stated that Heer Boreel could arrange nothing at Goa. Whereupon Jan Thyssen and Council resolved to send a company of 300 picked soldiers, the dissave, and some lascoreens, under the command of Captains Paulas Doncq and Joan van der Laan as the enemy intended to fortify themselves at Belligam. He heard at the same time that 400 soldiers were on their way from Colombo to Matara as reinforcements,

which he could hardly believe. He therefore thought it inadvisable to leave Belligam and for greater security sent the "Cleyne Sutphen" there with provisions. The onderkoopman, Jochem Assenburg, having arrived there with the said ship, announced to the said Captains the intention of the President. But these Captains being instigated by the King's dissave and other blacks or natives that they were to cut off the expected succours, left Belligam contrary to orders and marched the night through pathless morasses four miles landwards to Acuiras when they arrived early in the morning very tired and wet, having had a nine hours sharp encounter with the enemy. And as the Portuguese were well under cover in the jungle we were vanquished and 80 Dutchmen killed and taken prisoners and all the officers, with about 70 wounded, retired in confusion and fled, most of them without arms, to the "Cleyne Sutphen" in the bay of Belligam. If our people had been pursued by the enemy only a few would have escaped, the more so as the rascally natives, who before appeared to be favourably disposed towards us, appeared then as enemies by night to cut off the heads of some of our tired and sodden wounded, to be in more favour with the Portuguese.

By this unexpected non-observance of orders we lost ground not only east of Galle as far as d'Equel 14 miles further but also much territory to the west of Galle, from which place some cinnamon-peelers had already come to our great loss and shame. For which reason the President and his Council resolved to send Captain Paulus Doncq, who was in command of the advance guard, with the "Vliegende Hart" to the Governor-General there to answer for his rash act. Captain van der Laen remained till his wounds were healed to be sent here (Batavia) for the same purpose. Heer Jan Thyssen appeared to be disposed, if out of this garrison of 550 men there remained 250 sound men, to get back Belligam for our people, but the least he could spare from the "Cleyne Sutphen" (which could not come out of the bay of Belligam) as a convoy to the wounded were 150 men. According to reports the enemy also suffered considerable damage and took 36 of our soldiers as prisoners. So Don Philippo's brother,

Antonio de Mascarenhas, threatened to march from his camp at Manicareware to Galle, which apparently ended in smoke. Therefore the President sought reinforcements and succours in men, munitions and provisions to end the war in Ceylon, which God grant. On the 28th August there arrived the ship "Wingurla" with letters from Heer Boreel from which it was learnt that His Honour arrived at Baticalo on the 8th June. Finding there nothing ready for delivery by His Majesty of what he had promised, Heer Boreel on the 9th wrote to Raja Singa and received an answer on the 29th by two deputies who had come with much windy talk. Whereupon the Commissaris Boreel was obliged, after much waiting, to send the opperkoopman Pieter Paets on the 3rd June to Samandura, 7 miles from Baticalo to receive the goods, which consisted only of 2790 lbs. wax and 2100 lbs. pepper; and this after one month's waiting and at the highest price. According to Raja Singa's advice in his letter of the 19th May there were at Cattiarum 20 elephants (*alias* as well as tuskers) sent for the Company and to be received by it, but when on the 11th July Heer Boreel arrived there, the false rumour ended in smoke.

Raja Singa had again endeavoured to send some ambassadors with a large retinue to Batavia with his needless letters, which was refused for good reasons by the Commissaris. His Majesty had sent him (Commissaris) a copy of a letter written to him by the Portuguese Anthonio de Lima from Colombo from which it appeared how the Portuguese were defaming our people and that Raja Singa was desirous of being included in the treaty.

* * * *

27th September 1643.

On the 27th September there arrived the "Hasewint" with a letter from the President Jan Thyssen, addressed here on the 25th June from Galle, intimating that since his last letter nothing much had taken place there except that Don Philipppo, in view that the Kings were at peace with Don Joan the Fourth, had liberated all the French and English prisoners among the 36 Dutch prisoners, given them a month's pay and had allowed them leave to go to

Portugal whilst he detained the Dutch. And the said Philipppo had at Colombo caused a general mobilisation of all able-bodied men to proceed to Malvane and from there to Manicareware, his intention being unknown. The river a mile from Belligam to Galle had stakes driven into it by them so that it could not be crossed except in small boats. Our garrison at Galle consisted of 525 men among them 200 sick and wounded, so that, without further success it was not advisable here to attempt anything against the enemy. The President Jan Thyssen seeks in a private letter to the Governor-General to be retired from service by September. On the 24th October, there arrived in the *jacht* "Limmen" from Galle, Captain Jan van der Laan to answer his charge of misconduct at Acuiras. On the 20th November there was received by the "Banda" a letter from the President Jan Thyssen dated Galle 6th September, stating that the ship "Sandtvoort" had unexpectedly arrived there with the "Heemstede" bringing the desired provisions, cash, ammunition, etc. The enemy had again left Acuiras with all their forces for Scimby about two miles from Galle, where they, according to them, expected Don Philipppo to meet them with a large force, they having with this in view cleared the paths, or perhaps this was done for purposes of a retreat. Five of our soldiers, French and Dutch, deserted to the enemy, the sixth, who wanted to do so, was caught and deservedly hanged on the gallows.

* * * *

December 1643.

Don Philipppo tried, through the scoundrel of a deserter St. Aman to induce our soldiers to desert, promising to give them for Galle 4000 reals of eight, by shooting arrows with letters on to the flat space opposite the fort. They also endeavoured to poison our people by the sale of prepared tobacco, by reason of which a black man and woman, who came as deserters, were arrested, for which the man, as an example to others, had his hand nose and ears cut off and sent back to the enemy, in return for which they characteristically killed 30 of our innocent inhabitants who had gone out with passes to buy provisions, men women and children,

by which one can judge of their cruelty and bloodthirstiness. Many Sinhalese were, through the Almighty, visited with a pestilential sickness called *bisigis* (Port *bexigas*) and like small-pox. Two or three were afflicted with it but recovered. With the *jacht* "Delfshaven" 28 sick soldiers were sent to the coast to recuperate. Since last February, we had heard nothing from Raja Singa or the Kandyan court, so his intentions are unknown. With the arrival of the afore-said force, that is the safe and sound voyage of Heer Caron, the President Jan Thyssen had no reason to doubt good success. The predikant Joannes Starthemius arrived there in good health and it is hoped to do good service to God's Church and the congregation.

* * * *

April 1644.

On the 5th April, 1644 there were brought by the English *jacht* "d'Adviso" over Coromandel and Bantham letters of 13th November last written by the Commandeur Claes Cornelissen opposite the bay of Goa, mentioning that the opperkoopman Cornelis van Sanen had reported that 500 men were brought to Goa by the Portuguese, 300 of whom were sent to Ceylon and the rest distributed among the *craecquen* (boats)—These pretended that they had come to bring about an armistice according to the treaty, boasting that the Dutch did not own more than a radius of $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles round about Galle and that they would remain in the possession of lands to which we were entitled, that we might commission someone to collect the profits of the lands until otherwise ordered from the Netherlands, that they should be allowed to enjoy free navigation to Portugal, before the "Paauw," with its cargo of silk, which was unjustly seized, would be released by them pretending that they would cause our fleet to evacuate from there, getting ready with that object in the bay the galleon St. Sacramento, two carakels, the *jacht* "de Paauw" and an oyster dredger, which all ended in smoke.....

After the Portuguese (Francisco Britto d'Almaida and Friar Gonsalvo de St. Josepho) and our Commissioners had discussed the treaty and settlement of the boundaries of the

lands of Ceylon and the release of the ship "de Paauw" and its cargo, and coming to no agreement on account of the pigheadedness of the Portuguese, the Commander Block and his Council sent a protest to Goa.

On the 11th April there arrived at this port (Batavia) the "d'Engelsche Hoopwel" with letters of the 15th February last written by François Caron and Council from the camp and conquered fort of Negombo, from which it was gathered that His Honour on the 30th September 1643 with a fleet of 9 ships, containing 1550 men, had left this port for Ceylon.....and, God be praised, arrived at the bay of Galle with 1400 men among them 300 sailors and 300 soldiers with the intention to surprise the enemy who had stationed themselves at Hakmine a mile and a half from Galle, with 540 men, and thus all the more easily to sail to Colombo with some hope of success. But after our men had got across many bad roads, morasses, jungles and rivers, they eventually arrived near their destination which they found to be inaccessible and marshy, with a small plot of raised ground in the centre, open towards the North of Colombo, so that our people on the 26th instant, returned to Galle and the Portuguese to Colombo. It was therefore resolved to sail on the 1st January 1644 with the whole force in the port of Galle, to Colombo, and afterwards to inspect close to the ramparts (Colombo) the coasts, bays, rocks, shallows, and rivers along the sea coast in a small boat with the President Jan Thyssen, the skipper-commandeur Reyndert Wybrants, Steeven Pietersen skipper, and the opperkoopman Vinckeboons, and being about a cannon shot on the south side of the city of Colombo, found no suitable place to land guns, artillery, etc., except the river of Pantura, four miles from Colombo, which also was not quite suitable on account of the breakers to land guns. Sailing northwards they found the Fort (Colombo) so well fortified, that they saw no chance of landing their troops, whereupon the general Caron resolved to sail with his fleet to Negombo, to strengthen that place and to march from there with his army close to Colombo.

7th January

On the evening of the 7th January His Honour appeared before Negombo with his fleet and anchored in 6 fathoms of water, where he learnt that the island Fernando Dabreu, situated close to Negombo, had been provided with batteries and trenches to prevent our people from landing. Wherefore it was thought advisable to land on the north side being the land side, making the necessary preparations on the 8th, that is to land all the force consisting of 1400 armed men divided under 9 standards and in 3 squadrons in small vessels right close to shore in three fathoms water when a sign would be given at daylight. The advance guard was under the command of the President Jan Thyssen with the opperkoopman Vinckebooms and Captain Paulus Donck, the main body under General François Caron, the sergeant-major Joannes Burgers and Captain Hendrick Man, and the rear guard under the opperkoopman Marten Vinck, Captains Nicolaas Jacobsen Syms and Hendrick Hendricksz. Everything being thus arranged and the appointed signal being given with a lantern on the yard arm of the main yard hung up on the 9th., an hour before daylight, and the force with the 4 prince guns being landed in three distinct journeys on the north side of the fortress without resistance at 2 o'clock by day, they marched in order against the enemy's fort with the intention of encamping beyond cannon shot of Negombo and then of considering what was best or most advisable to be done. But the force was advanced too far and close to the enemy's position within musket shot by a certain zealous lieutenant or guide, when they were on their knees praying in the enclosure of the fort. They at once stood up crying " St. Jago " and made a furious attack on us who met them in battle array so far as the bush of creepers permitted. There were at the first encounter double volleys, the front rank firing their rifles from their knees and the rear rank standing, which caused considerable loss on both sides, and our party getting the upper hand, resolved to fall on them with muskets, spears and side arms, whereupon the Portuguese having lost heart, fled in confusion in all directions. In this encounter many were killed and our men suffered some injury

as far as the enclosure (pagger) where we were followed, where we found a gun, and we turned to the gate of the fort and opened the wicket, taking after that the bastions of Negombo and its defences in the space of two hours. The fire had reached the powder magazine which wiped out the square over the fort, the church, and other buildings without damage to us but to our great inconvenience. At the first encounter 81 Portuguese and 52 Dutchmen, among them the Lieutenants David Finexs, Pieter Timmerman, Joannes Hartman, Jan Brandenburg with the ensigns Jan Corsel, Gelely Cornelis, Balthazar Luiybeek, and Joan van Gulich were killed, besides 140 wounded, and the Portuguese who gave out that they were 700 strong, lost 300, 150 taken prisoners and the remaining 200, among them the traitor St. Aman, saved themselves by fleeing to Colombo. The chief Portuguese who fell at this engagement were Don Antonio Mascarenhas, brother of the Governor of Colombo, Don Philippo, Don Anthonio de Motta Galvao, Captain-major, Diego de Mesquita, Captain of the Fort, with still other captains and unknown soldiers of the cross. In the same day of the battle Don Philippo had gone from Colombo with 20 companies of soldiers to the relief of Negombo, but meeting the fugitives on the way who told them everything, returned to his quarters. We had three deserters with us and, as an example to others, they were hanged on the gallows.

One of our soldiers who undressed Don Anthonio d' Mascarinhas in the thick of the battle, found in his pocket the following resolution signed by him and Anthonio de Motta Galvao and 18 other Captains :—Don Antonio Mascarinhas and the Captain Major Anthonio da Motta Galvao, having submitted to the undersigned captains of the infantry what is best to be done under the circumstances for the service of His Majesty, whether the island called George Fernando Dabreu should be protected or whether they should check the advance of some of the Dutch companies who were said to have landed on the other side of the Fort of Negombo, the same having not been taken into consideration by the said captains, seeing that they did not know whether it was an invention (the landing) to cause us to quit the island which

we found most convenient, it was unanimously resolved not to quit the same but to remain there till the enemy's designs are rightly known, in order thereafter to do what would be most serviceable to His Majesty.

At bottom

In the Island this 9th January Ao 1644 and signed

Don Anthonio Mascarinhas

Anthonio de Motta Galvao

Anthonio Ferere de Masedo

Gil. Vaz Parere da Cunha

Heronimo Vieyra

Thomas Anthunes

Miguel de St. Amand

Manuel Lorenzo da Silva

Francisco Fereira

Manuel del Gado

Joan de Siquera

Ruy Lopes Couty

Anthonio Cardoso

Gregorio Rebeira Machado.

Notwithstanding the resolution, Antonio de Motta Captain-major often had warned Don Antonio Mascarenhas with these words when our people were landing. "Your Excellency sees that the enemy has, according to their wish, brought a part of their force on land and some more will soon follow, let us go and disable them to prevent the rest from opposing us." Having repeated this two or three times he became excited and said "see what the enemy is doing, let us go out before it is too late." Whereupon Mascarinhas replied haughtily "no not so, let them all appear and then we can attack them all together with greater honour." Whereupon the said Captain-major replied "I declare before God and the world that if any disaster overtakes us I am not to blame." They could have prevented our landing and could have killed many of us (the landing being slow and the sea being rough) but the Almighty did not so will it.

April 1644.

On the 13th there were 4 dissaves or governors sent with 2000 lascoreans or Singalese soldiers and letter dated 11th January, by Raja Singa to the assistance of the Dutch, and appeared before Heer Caron at our encampment close to Colombo. After that, 11 days after the capture of the Fort of Negombo being employed in its reparation and that of its enclosure, the general, in pursuance of a resolution of the 20th January, left Negombo by land and along the coast in ships, (leaving a hundred men there with double rations) with 1003 men divided into 4 companies, and all the Sinhalese for Colombo. They arrived at noon next day at the Mutual river, half a mile from the city and halted but were checked. They thereupon put up an earth rampart on the river side as a defence against the enemy's cannon which was fiercely playing on them from three different places on the opposite side. At the mouth of the river, at a projecting neck of it, a battery was made the same night with sand-bags to plant guns on and the fleet was anchored close to our encampment. On the 22nd January there were, not without considerable trouble risk and loss, two light brass guns of 12 lbs. and 2 ditto culverines of 10 lbs. landed from the ship "Amsterdams boot," with two mortars, and mounted on the battery. We opened fire at night about 10 o'clock and the enemy was not silent but replied with the shooting of 7 of our men. After spending 6 days in getting across the river which was found to be wide, marshy, and occupied by watch posts, we gave it up as a bad job, with the intention however to make an attempt on the south side before abandoning the prey. When we arrived there we found a deep wide moat made since last year, a double rampart and two closed bastions round Colombo. So that this fortress could not be approached there with such a small force but with a courageous band of 3000 men, seeing that (so we were informed) the enemy had there

900 European soldiers including the recent reinforcement of 400 men.

600 citizens.

1000 mestices and trained caffers, and
1500 married Sinhalese,
altogether 4000 men strong. Therefore, but reluctantly, it
was resolved by us and the Dissaves of Raja to quit the
place and march by land to Negombo, telling the fleet
also follow there.

After the guns had again, with much trouble and loss,
been taken from the "Fredrik Hendrik" on the night of the
27th and put on board the ships, and the force had marched
to Negombo, our people and the 2000 Sinhalese reached the
old encampment at 10 a.m. on the 28th and rested. And as
Negombo after the departure of the ships, was threatened
with a siege, there was taken into consideration the great
profit to be derived from the cinnamon districts, which were
here the best, richest, and most productive, stretching 11 miles
south and north of the centre of the lands between Colombo
and Negombo, which with the 23 miles under the Galle
jurisdiction consisted of 34 miles of cinnamon lands. It was
therefore decided by Heer Caron and his Council with the
approval of the Dissaves, according to the plan made by the
opperkoopman Pieter Vinckebooms to fortify Negombo
with an earth rampart, 4 bastions, the curtains rivetted with
coconut trees, sodded outwards and inwards with a moat
36 feet broad and 10 deep, with two half moons opposite the
curtains on the land side and garrisoned with all the force,
each person getting for the work besides his ordinary rations
6 stuivers a day, and the 150 Sinhalese should be rewarded
for the labour by whatever could be captured. Thereupon
our force being divided into four divisions began the work
together with a will and great zeal on the 1st February,
hoping to finish the work by the beginning of March when
it was the intention of Heer Caron to leave the place for
Colombo to find out whether our men taken prisoners at
Acurasse had, as we heard to our regret, entered the service
of the King of Portugal, and then to return to Galle. Nothing
special has been accomplished so far as Raja Singa was con-
cerned. Only his men 2000 strong, who had also gone
opposite Colombo to our assistance against the Portuguese

remained a cannon shot outside Negombo or our encampment.

The *jachts* "Santvoort" and "Delfshaven" were to appear before Puncto Gale, "Cleyne Sutphen" and "Wingurla" before Negombo for the protection of the bay, and the ships "Snoeck" and "Grol" were to come here .. In case the Viceroy wished to liberate the men of the "Paauw" the following

50 Portuguese were sent by the "Delfshaven" in exchange;

10 Paulists.

2 Franciscan monks.

10 merchants and soldiers.

3 priests,

25 common soldiers captured at Negombo.

But if the men of the "Paauw" had already been liberated, Heer Blocq was to liberate in turn all the Malacca Portuguese as a recompense, and the remaining 28 should be sent on our ships to Batavia so that they may ere long be again seen in Ceylon.

From the letter of the 15th February written here by the "English Hoopwel" by the President Joan Thyssen and received to-day, there was no news conveyed except that if they wanted to conquer Colombo, a force of soldiers and sailors as appeared this year in Ceylon was necessary. Also that matters will never be right in relation to Raja Singa unless we and the Portuguese joined together and warred against him. The aforesaid President seemed disposed to bind himself to the Company for another three years if he could obtain his predecessor Coster's rank and pay. The koopman Gerrit Moutmaker, who on account of the departure of the President Jan Thyssen and the opperkoopman Martin Vinck, remained as the Chief of Galle, advises in his letter of the 22nd February, that Raja Singa had ordered all the cinnamon-peelers and inhabitants of the Galle corle not to live closer than 6 to 7 miles from Galle. He has ordered some of the foremost of our special Sinhalese, among them

the Dissanaïke, on account of their great friendship with the Dutch, to appear before him at Kandy to be punished, and not to supply our people with provisions, in the hope that thereby we may fall into poverty. The Portuguese remarking this, collected in the meantime the cinnamon on the side of Colombo as far as Alicoon, threatened again to settle at their old encampment outside Galle, which caused our natives to take refuge within the walls of Galle.

On the 17th ditto appeared at this port the ships "Fredrick Hendrick", "Wesel", "Snoeck", and "Grol", with the General François Caron, having left hither from the bay of Galle on the 19th March. It was ascertained from his report that His Honour, having with great labour and expense of f. 3286, after 37 days put the Fort of Negombo out of danger, and having sodded the walls and curtains on the seaside, left for Galle with the ships, except the *jachts* "Sutphen" and "Wingurla" which remained there, the fort being fortified by 20 iron and 7 brass guns and 500 men among them 450 soldiers divided into 5 companies, being well provisioned for 10 months, the opperkoopman Pieter Vinckebooms (who was a good engineer and soldier) being left with orders to keep an eye on the enemy's designs. Raja Singa was not at all pleased with the strengthening of Negombo, saying that it was done without his advice, endeavoured to get us to again march towards Colombo, paying us in words and inducing us to throw away our chances. For this purpose on the 26th February last, he sent three ambassadors to Heer Caron asking him whether it was known that he (Raja Singa) was sprung from the sun, and that he was not properly addressed by the Governor-General according to his rank, as over the signature of a letter addressed to him by the Governor-General there were the words "Your affectionate friend" which did not quite square with his ideas about himself. He was also addressed as "You" instead of "Your Royal Majesty," and the murder of Commander Coster has been laid to his charge, and such-like inanities. After they had answered this letter in due form and put everything on a proper footing, they went to His Majesty, who at once called back the 2,000 men (except a few who were keeping

watch) who had been with us before Colombo and were at that time encamped a cannon shot outside Negombo. In the meantime he was in vain warned to deliver cinnamon, elephants, wax, etc. He had presented to Heer Caron a tusker 5 cubits high as a return for some presents, as a token of friendship on his departure, but His Honour had to send a ship to Baticalo to take on board also the 20 elephants left there through Heer Boreel's hasty departure, in which event he would answer the Governor-General's letter.

When our ships appeared before Colombo on the 6th March to release our prisoners, and Don Philipppo's commissioners had come on board on the given sign, it was indeed discovered that they, ignoring all honour and their oath, had given themselves to the service in this island of Don Juan, King of Portugal.

After Heer Caron had garrisoned Galle with 887 Dutch and provided the place with all necessaries, with the intention of shortly sending 400 of them to Madampe and the river Alican (being the boundary between the lands of Galle and Colombo) in order to understand what had taken place there, there happened what is recorded under 17th April.

The President Jan Thyssen says in his letter of the 18th March that it would not be strange if, as rumoured, Raja Singa had made peace with the Portuguese. The Company's forces in Ceylon were 1387 men. The comforter of the sick, Josephus Balbianus desires to be promoted proponent. From letters dated 23rd and 26th July from the opperkoopman Lourens de Maerschalcck from Baticalo, it appeared that he had sent the *jacht* "Limmen" to Chaman-dure to get some elephants. A Portuguese champan with 300 amunams of arecanuts was captured by the Dutch. The crew who escaped and came ashore were caught by the Sinhalese and taken to His Majesty at Kandy. Rev. Johannes Sterthemius writes that the Holy Communion was celebrated at Galle for the first time on Christmas Day.

The President Jan Thyssen writes (28th March) that the three captured champans coming from Mannar to Colombo laden with rice, etc. were brought to the port of

Galle. The crew consisted of 1 Portuguese, 4 toepasses, 6 women and 41 Malabars who were put to labour in chains. The work which remained to be done at Negombo was almost complete, and the Sinhalese, in consequence of Raja's conduct, has fled inland. Our people also captured there 9 champans laden with rice, and the prisoners were put in chains and put to the completion of the works. Raja Sinha had betaken himself to the hills of Kandy and gathered all his people at Mupeligame. From the letters of the 24th April, it was learnt that the Portuguese had acquitted themselves manfully, had received from Goa as reinforcements at Colombo 10 fusts fully manned and a galley with which they attacked the *jachts* "Cleyne Sutphen" and "Wingurla". In the encounter they lost their galley, two fusts with 2 to 300 men, among them their captain-major Bernard de Meneses, besides suffering other losses. The rest of the ships, therefore returned to Colombo, were refitted and sent to Mannar by Don Philipppo with provisions.

May 1644.

After the King's dissave Ekenack Mudalyar had caused all the inhabitants about 3 to 4 miles round Galle to repair to the hills, he again appeared on the 16th April at Galle with the intention of enticing away all the fishers, toddy-drawers and others in our service. For this reason one of his lascoreens was seized and put in chains, whom his master the dissave artfully traced to exculpate. The force at Galle consisted of 1570 men.

22nd January, 1643.

On the 22nd January, Hcer Gardenijs at Pulicat received two letters from the king Raja Singa's brother at Colombo, addressed to the chiefs of the Dutch East India Company, of the purport as in the following translation :—

In the name of God,

Lord of Lords, a God of Lords, great as the sea, clear as the sun, lord of three worlds, a man chaste, not desirous of married women, who speaks the truth, of great understanding in all things, that he investigates into everything,

and protector of those who flee to him. All this and so great am I Vigeopalla Haraiya who sends this letter to our Dutch in forts or ships or in what places soever, and all to whom it may concern subordinate governors, admirals, commanders. What wrongs Raja Singa, my brother, has done to me must be known to Your Honour. There is no need to speak about everything but I am constrained to advert to some matters. My fault in being here is that he has cut off all communications with Galle and Baticalo. I have always willingly served my brother and assisted him in the defeat of the Portuguese, but he has returned evil for good. God knows all the trouble he has given me and He will judge the same in due time. Through my misfortune I have fallen into this hell. Before I came here I told these things to the captain of Baticalo with the object that he should offer me his assistance, if not, on failure of the same, I should be obliged to flee to Colombo. But I have received no help from him in anything. The 30 Hollanders were not sent, and what is more, I have received no answer which he will admit if you ask him. This is the reason why I am here.

On the 9th day after my arrival here there appeared at this port some ships of our Hollanders. The Portuguese were seized with great fear and anxiety and I was sought with fine words to defend this place with my people, whereupon the whole city was given over to me which made me quite contented. But to my misfortune our people did not disembark nor was I given any intention in what respects I could be of service, but they left as they came, after which departure the general prayed me to devise some means of poisoning the Hollanders at Galle, whereupon I in answer said, when my brother practised treachery against the admiral of the Hollanders and killed him, I was sad the whole day and night and told my brother whether he was born to allow such an everlasting slur to be cast on his race, and am I to be the same as he, a traitor to the Dutch, which must be indeed and far from me. After this they did not trust me much, but the bishop of the city and all other gentlemen requested me that I should take the oath of allegiance to the king to help him in everything, thinking that a refusal would

lead to great uproar and trouble, said that I was willing to do so when letters in respect of the same came from the king of Portugal. This made them distrust me and they said :—

“When you killed two Portuguese generals, shipped many elephants for the service of the Dutch at Cottiar, destroyed a ship of the Sultan and sent the Moors free to their country, were you not sorry? But now being on our side and not on that of the Dutch what reason have you to be sorry about the death of their admiral? What good have the Dutch done to you that you are so much disposed towards them?” And they said further :—“There is now a treaty between us and the Dutch. We shall soon get back Galle for we are not in agreement and then what profits you the favour of the Dutch? What profit will you gain?” Whereupon I was very sad. Some days after, Centerman showed me letters from the General that he was lord of Galle to the third generation. “Now I shall take prisoners the Prince of Orange and your brother.” Whereupon I being angry, said, “You are less than a servant of the admiral and how dare you speak like this?” And I thereupon struck him. The general on hearing this at once came out to attack me. At that time there were with me 2,000 men and three of our relations together with 3 Hollanders who had deserted to me. When he came close to me my people cut up 5 to 6 Portuguese and they killed one of my men with a bullet, but the bishop, priests, and all the people came and became friends again, but they hanged the three Hollanders. Another Hollander who lost his big toe and was taken at the Fort of Negombo, I quietly sent to Galle. The other three as they had now begun to stink I sent to Kandy. I thus saved 15 up to now although it is true I am now a prisoner with the Portuguese. I seek the welfare of the Hollanders and cannot remain longer in this place. Any ship that arrives here which you order to go away I shall send away, if I am to go to Galle I shall do so, if our people go by land and you order me to go to them I shall go. You people must not distrust me because Wyvaladarma Soyria Mahawit practised treachery on the Dutch at Baticalo or because my brother Raja Singaraja has been a traitor to the Dutch. That is all true but all the

fingers of a hand are not alike. I seek your friendship as your nature is good, as you are of good credit, high understanding, of good form and trustworthy, which is not the same with other people but only the Dutch. I therefore, seek your friendship. You know who is the chief of Ceylon. I am he. When I was yet young and played about I told the other children: "The Dutch must be called here, this (country) must be given to them and a treaty must be made with them. Now although I am a prisoner and grown up, I still seek your friendship. I have written this to you without fear, if the Portuguese knew this I should be in danger of my life. Yet with great courage, at my risk, I have desired to write to you of my friendship if you be pleased to be of assistance to me. If a ship arrives here give a sign from the mast head and openly tell me what you want me to do. The people that I send you from here can be fully trusted. If you do not believe them take an oath from them. If I enjoy your assistance it is unnecessary to say here what advantages you will gain but deeds will show. In my country there are gold, elephants and precious stones. There is also quick silver everywhere, so great is my country. I am of a generous disposition. If you gain the honour and fame of my release you will not want all the riches of my kingdom. Once before I gave my word to a Portuguese and kept it till his death. How could I not keep my word with you? So long as I do not receive any answer or help from you a day seems to me a year. This letter which my people bring to any place whatsoever where the Dutch may be whether at sea or on land, can be read by them. The contents thereof can be translated into Dutch and sent to Jacatra and one to the Lords of Holland, our friends. Notwithstanding the peace the Portuguese have secret orders to deceitfully occupy Galle. If any secret leaks out I shall inform you. This is the ninth letter I have written to you.

I am unspeakingly sad in this city of Colombo.

THE EMPEROR VIGEOPALLA."

27th September, 1643.

There arrived the "Hasewint" and from the letters of the 9th and 10th July, written by the opperkoopman Laurens Pit (Heer Gardenijs being ill) it was understood that the Commissaris Pieter Boreel having arrived there (Pulicat) on the 22nd June from Ceylon, was, on the 1st June, seized with a colic and species of apoplexy and died suddenly, and was the next day buried in great state in a masonry tomb in a most conspicuous part of the cemetery of Pulicat. His papers, property, etc., were sealed and inventozized and were to be landed here from the "Harderwyck."

Heer Gardenijs regrets the death of the Commissaris because he (Commissaris) who had great faith in him would have set at rest all the vile imputations made against him (Gardenijs) but if the Almighty spared his life he would be able to meet all the charges made against him.

Report from the successive advices from Ceylon, Goa, Wingurla and the Coast of India since 3rd November, 1642. Protest by the Commandeur Claas Cornelis Block, 29th October, 1643, against the Count of Aveiras, Viceroy, and his Council over the Portuguese government of India relating to the unreasonable grounds of the possession of the lands between Galle and Colombo, also the unconventional seizure of the Dutch ship "Paauw."

It is well known that as soon as the ratification of the treaty between the Netherlands and Portugal was made, it was announced by the Governor-General van Diemen but rejected by the Viceroy (Goa). The Dutch ship "Paauw" laden with silk (which in good faith entered Goa) was seized. Our right to the lands of Ceylon disputed.

Answer of the deputies of the Viceroy, Goa, 5th November, 1643 :—

The ambassador Pieter Boreel maintained that we should grant the Dutch the possession of some lands between Galle and Colombo, claiming those of Saffragam under a hypothec from the King of Kandy. We answer that there

are no lands in the district of Galle as an appanage to Galle, a town which has never been a village, camp, or fort.

As regards Saffragam how can a usurper and tyrant grant any rights?

(Signed) ANDREAS MIJS,
 „ ANTONIO FARIAS MACHADO
 „ JOSEPH DE CHIAVEYS,

Sotto Maijoor.

Reply :

Articles 6th, 7th, and 8th are clear. Each party shall remain in *statu quo*.

Translation of letters written by the Kandyan King Raja Singa to the President Jan Thyssen.

Letters dated 23rd March 1644 (*See Journal, R.A.S. C.B., Vol. XVIII., p. 182*) and 4th April 1644 (*Ibid p. 183*).

DAG-REGISTER, 1644-1645.

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 the Supervision of Dr. J. de Hullu,
 Adjunt-Archivaris, Ryksarchief, The Hague (1903).*

INTRODUCTION.

The first seven pages of this part were printed when I took over the publication of the Dag-Register from Dr. H. T. Colenbrander.

The manuscript here published is among the papers from India in the archives of the Chamber Amsterdam. A duplicate copy of the part of the account Goa-Wingurla Ceilon was found in the Sweers collection in the *Ryksarchief* This Dag-Register contains valuable information respecting Ceylon, although much of it has already been made known by van Geer's "Okpomost van het Nederlandsch Gezag over Ceilon" where some of the documents here reproduced in the text are published.

* * * * *

J. de Hullu.

* * * * *

From letters from Goa it appeared that the Viceroy Don Philip de Mascarenhas, having left Colombo with 17 frigates in April, was caught in such a violent storm about the Indian coast that 10 of them were wrecked, but all the crew (excepting two fidalgos, among whom was the admiral of the fleet) were saved by clinging to masts and planks. The rest were driven ashore at Manaar close to Cape Comorin of whom five died and only two with the Viceroy were saved.

Account of the successive advices received from Ceylon, Goa, Wingurla and the Coast of India since 1st September 1644-10th November, 1645*****The commissioners of the Viceroy, viz., Manuel Pareira, Joseph Pinto Pareira and the padre Gonsalo Veloso having, on the morning of the 3rd October, 1644, came on board in a gilded boat, showed to Herr Maatzuiker their commission authorizing them to settle their differences with the Dutch. On the 6th October, 1644, the padre Gonsalo Veloso appeared with a white flag bringing a letter from the Viceroy requesting Herr Maatzuiker to come ashore where good quarters would be provided for him. He landed in great state on the 13th October. The forts, ship and frigates fired their guns, and a cannon ball perilously passed over the boat. At Pangim he was welcomed by the Viceroy's son who took him to the Viceroy where he was courteously received in great state.

The following (translated from Latin) was agreed on.

* * * *

3. Cessation of hostilities.

4. King of Kandy to be included in the treaty.

* * * *

7. The workmen of the Island of Ceylon called Chaleas employed in the peeling of cinnamon, to carry on their work.

* * * *

Time will show whether we can get anything from Raja Sinha who it is said had entered into a treaty with Don Philippo.

* * * *

The *jachts* "Heemskerke" and "Delffishaven" arrived from Ceylon before the bay of Goa on the 28th October

1644 and came to the fleet with letters from the President Jan Thyssen dated 5th October, and from Julius Schilfly, chief of Negombo, written on the 16th ditto, relating how Don Philippo, in persuance of his threats, besieged the fort of Negombo from the 27th May to the 14th August with an extraordinary force of 1,200 European Portuguese, 3,600 Sinhalese, 300 Caffers, and 14 pieces of artillery from 8, 12, 18 and 24 lbs. iron, and had fired over 7,000 rounds. He, remarking that we were not to be forced to surrender by cannon ; on the 23rd July, in clear mid-day, divided his said force into 38 companies and three times commenced a general storm and attack. But our force, with God's help, repulsed them so courageously, that they were dispersed in disorder with the loss of 400 men among whom was Bernardo Mendosa, captain of the camp, three sergeant-majors, and many captains who were left under the bastions, besides many wounded, there remaining in all of their force only 12 companies. On our side we lost only 23 men among them Capt. Gerrit Meyer, Lt. Hans Philips van Warnstadt, Joan Anthony Stalpaert and other officers, and 64 wounded. But besides these a large number of people died of dropsy and starvation at Negombo. Don Philippo being repulsed in this manner, retired under fire to the huts on the night of the 24th August. The said *jachts* "Heemskercken" and "Delffshaven" appeared before Negombo on the 1st September, and anchored before Galle two days afterwards, where Jan Thyssen, after he received news of the siege, had since 29th June sent a force of 580 men landwards to Colombo with the hope thereby of diverting the enemy and putting a stop to the siege, which did not disturb Don Philippo. Being thus ignominiously dispersed, he sent his remaining force consisting of 500 soldiers under the command of Lourens Fereira de Britto to Hangergam, situated six miles from Colombo on the Galle side, but besides these there were still 400 serviceable citizens at Colombo and this was the entire Portuguese force in Ceylon, and according to the raw forces which had arrived from Portugal last May, they expected large reinforcements from Goa. Our force was captured at Belitot ten miles N.W. of Galle, His Majesty of Kandy kept wavering, and could not

be regarded either as our friend or open enemy. Don Philippo had the previous May sent him an embassy, which, it is said, was favourably received, but their negotiations remained a secret. But it looked as if the treaty between him and Don Philippo was concluded or soon would be, so that it appeared on all sides that we were not in much favour with him. The garrison of Galle consisted of 940 men and that of Negombo of 380, there being many invalids among them. Julius Schiffely, a Swiss and lately Capatain-lieutenant was given the command of Negombo on the 26th August, on the death of the gallant Vinckeboons, but the President Jan Thyssen was soon expected there, which was necessary as it was somewhat risky, the enemy being so near, to trust such a fort to an unknown foreigner. Don Philippo also was fully aware of this, an attempt having already been made for the surrender of the fort for 20,000 dollars as appeared from a letter in his own handwriting. Therefore the Heer Maatzuiker on his arrival in Ceylon intended, for greater security, to hand over the command of this fort to another person and to reward his (Schiffely's) services in some other way.

The ships "Westvrieslandt," "Enchuysen," the galleon "Bergen-op-Zoom," "Armuyden," "Heemskerck," and "Delfshaven" were, on the 15th November, sent with a force under the command of Heer Block to Ceylon with the terms of the truce.....but its publication was to be deferred till the arrival of Maatzuiker in Ceylon....

* * * *

The Viceroy Conde d' Aveiras would leave for Portugal in March 1645 as Don Philippo, who was to succeed him, could not come to Goa from Ceylon before that date.....

The 28 soldiers, which formed the garrison there (Wingurla), were ready with the six brass guns dismounted there, to go to Ceylon with Heer Maatzuyker.....

* * * *

1st December, 1645.

Heer Maatzuyker intended to leave Wingurla for Ceylon on the 1st December, with the ship "Rotterdam," the *jachts*

"Paauw" and "Zeemeeuw" and, at the request of the Viceroy, to touch at the Bay of Goa to take the ambassador Father Gonsalo Veloso and the commissioner of the merchants Francisco Ingerte to Batavia by way of Ceylon. He sent the terms of the truce to the Directors, to Suratte, and Persia for publication. Notwithstanding this truce our richly laden ships were warned not to go to Portuguese forts or harbours, to prevent an arrest similar to that of the "Paauw.".....

On the 18th January, there arrived here with the ship "N. Amsterdan" by way of Coromandel letters from Heer Jan Thyssen dated Galle 10th September, 1644, mentioning how Negombo was violently besieged and that His Honour, to divert the enemy, had taken the field with 580 men as before stated at length. In the hospital there (Negombo) there were more than 240 invalids, and since the departure of the fleet 105 men had died, among them the opperkoopman Gerrit Moutmaecker (who died on the 7th July), and the Predikant Johannes Stertenius who died on the 25th. At Colombo, according to certain reports, there was great scarcity and dearth of rice, but the Portuguese make out that they expect provision from Goa. Raja Singa (of whom no one can make out anything) is not making any effort to deliver anything (either cinnamon, wax, elephants, etc.) to the Company in reduction of the expenses incurred, but on the contrary endeavours in a sinister way to take the cinnamon peelers from our lands to the hills, but Jan Thyssen had taken 48 cinnamon peelers against the wishes of the Raja's dissaves and paid 60 rixdollars for the delivery of 100 bhaars of cinnamon, and he will not fail to get a larger quantity as 1,000 bhaars can be had for 1,500 reals. But if the Company held a great force there Jan Thyssen maintained that the income and tolls of arecanut would compensate for the loss of the cinnamon and much of the expenses. But time will show.

The Viceroy Conde d' Aveiras had written to Raja Singa on the 14th May 1644 that he understood the reason why His Majesty of Kandy did not come to the assistance, at their

request, of the Dutch against Colombo, and trusted more in Portuguese than Dutch support, as any further agreement which His Majesty may enter into with Dom Philippo would be strictly maintained by the King Dom Joao the Fourth, indeed better than Dutch promises, and much more such like talk. Raja Singa says in his letter of the 5th October, to the President Jan Thyssen, that according to the treaty all the conquered forts should be given over to him, but the rule that when enemies take a thing they do not return it, does not apply in the case of friends. The season for the gathering in of cinnamon had passed, but he gave hopes of getting something. When he promised the same his country was disturbed, but now it was in peace. He desired not to permit our people to induce the blacks with gold to return to their duties and cinnamon peeling as was the case. But if all these people were not handed over to his dissave (whom he was sending for the purpose) he placed no reliance on the rest of the terms of the treaty between His Majesty and ourselves. He also enjoined the President Jan Thyssen that on the receipt of his letter, he should at once go with his force to Galle as the inhabitants were in a state of terror. The Portuguese ambassador Diego de Sousa da Cunha was still at the court and promised to send Raja an account of the negotiations between him and the Portuguese (if such could be believed), threatening in vain to come down to the plains from the hills with his men, and saying that he would not furnish Negombo with provisions (as it was fortified without his orders) unless it was given over to him, and such like idle talk. Dom Philippo wrote to Raja on the 21st September from Colombo that he was ordered by His Majesty Dom Joan the Fourth (whose queen had given birth to a son named Alphonso) to go to Goa to relieve the Viceroy Conde d' Aveiras. Pieter Vinckeboom seeks in his letter of the 22nd June through the President Jan Thyssen to be assisted in the siege with 20,000 lb. gun-powder, 300 balls of 6 to 12 lb., 2 cases matches, 100 hand-grenades, a quantity of drugs and provisions. When 50 of our men with 12 slaves went out to bring in some hewn coconut logs from the island Walcheren, they were attacked by the enemy, some soldiers

and slaves were left behind, the rest saved themselves in a demi-lune, where an alarm being raised the place was stormed and abandoned by us. In this skirmish 10 Dutchmen, besides a corporal and gunner were killed and many wounded. The next day the half moon was dismantled by them having before removed a pederero of 4 lb. iron left there by us. May the Almighty repair this loss with a better victory. Certain small vessels arrived there (Galle) from the Maldives with some dry fish, and Jan Thyssen wrote a complimentary letter to the Sultan of the place with a present of a piece of white brocade and red satin.

On the 11th April, there appeared at this port Heer Joan Maatzuyker, having executed his commission, Father Gonsalo as ambassador of the Viceroy, and Father Ingerto commissioner of the merchants. They left Goa on the 9th December. Having arrived at Cochin on the 16th December the Portuguese ambassador desired that they should land, and announce the truce to the Governor of the place, which took place. The Governor Manuel Mascarenhas Omem, a discreet and good-hearted man, showed papers of his appointment by the King of Portugal as Governor or General of Ceylon in the place of Dom Philippo, and therefore intended going there by the first opportunity. Before the city of Cochin our people found a Portuguese ship which had sailed there straight from Portugal (without our knowledge) and it was to sail back from there to Portugal. The truce was published in solemn form. At Cabo Comorin advices were received from Batavia and Ceylon that Dom Philippo made no further attempt on Negombo after the siege. When Heer Maatzuyker arrived at the fleet at Negombo on the 27th he heard from Jan Thyssen about the settlement of the boundaries of the lands on both sides of the fort. After he had put everything in order at Negombo, he, on the 29th December, with the President Jan Thyssen and the Commandeur Blocq sailed for Colombo with the ships "Rotterdam," "Westvrieslant," "Enchuysen," "Bergen-op-Zoom," the galleon, and "Heemskerk", and arrived there the same day, firing a salute of guns which was answered by Dom Philippo from the Fort. The padre ambassador

Sr. Inatio Sermento and other qualified persons having come on board with a letter from Dom Philippo earnestly and in a very friendly manner invited Heer Maatzuyker to come ashore to see Dom Philippo. To this he answered that if His Excellency did not desist from such unreasonable propositions, it was better that he should remain on board not to rouse each others blood. The said persons went back ashore to announce this answer to His Excellency.

At mid-day the Father ambassador with some commissioners came on board again in the Viceroy's boat, stating that we would find the Viceroy Dom Philippo well disposed towards us, as the previous absurdities were not worth talking about and that in order that Heer Maatzuyker may be better informed about things, he should come ashore to have an interview with His Excellency. Therefore Heer Maatzuyker, Jan Thyssen, and the said padre came ashore leaving the care of the ships to Commandeur Bloecq. He was here received in great state with a salute of guns and led between a company of soldiers to the Viceroy's house where he was welcomed by His Excellency and his nobles. Heer Maatzuyker was thereafter led to his quarters, which appeared to be the largest and finest house in Colombo, and courteously received by his host Domingos Martyns, a charming man. On the 1st January there came a special fidalgo from the Viceroy to wish Heer Maatzuyker a lucky new year, which wishes were reciprocated by Heer Geleynsen.

(Here follows negotiations about the fixing of the boundaries of the lands claimed by the Dutch on one side and the Portuguese on the other).

On the 12th January, Heer Maatzuyker took leave of the Viceroy.

On the 13th the truce was proclaimed at Negombo.

The Commissaris Vink writes from Galle that the Portuguese *jacht* "Nossa Senra de Concepcao de St. Bernardo," captain, Manuel Gorge d'Silva, who had a pass from the Governor-General to go from Macao through the straits of Malacca, had arrived there *en route* to Goa.

On the 28th January Dom Philippo sent a courteous letter with a gold chain and a pretty straw hat with a gold band as a present to Heer Maatzuyker. On the 31st January Heer Maatzuyker and his council granted to Heer Jan Thyssen an extension of his service under a new three years contract with the title of Vice-Governor at 300 guilders a month.

The Commissaris Marten Vink was to remain at Negombo as chief, and in his place as *secunde* at Galle the opperkoopman Henrick van Thuynen. After Heer Maatzuyker had put everything in order he left Negombo for Colombo on the 15th to take the padre ambassador from there, and arrived at the bay in the afternoon. The next day the Viceroy Dom Philippo sent with Padre Gonsalo a fine Portuguese chaloup with some provisions as a present to Heer Maatzuyker which were thankfully accepted, and in the evening he sailed from there to Galle. On the 20th of the same month (Feb.) Her Maatzuyker arrived with his ship at Galle where he lodged in the house of the President Jan Thyssen and the padre ambassador in the house of the Commissaris Vink. Dom Philippo had by letter of the 22nd asked Heer Maatzuyker that the bastard child of the scoundrel St. Amand should be sent to him, with the request that we should disregard the injury done to us by the father, but have some regard for His Excellency who would do anything to please us, which was granted to His Excellency for various good reasons and for the favour of the release of the wife and children of Domingos Alures.

The letter of Raja Singa in answer to that of Heer Maatzuyker received at Galle on the 28th February, was as follows.

(See Vol. XVIII. Journal, R.A.S., C.B., 185).

After the bearers of the letters had told Heer Maatzuyker that they understood from His Majesty that he would never enter into any treaty with the Portuguese, the following letter in answer was given to them.

(See Vol. XVIII. Journal, R.A.S., C.B., p. 187).

Raja gave out that he intended sending ambassadors to the King of Spain and the great Turk, asking for assistance.

Negombo had a garrison of 530 men and Galle 840. In order to spread Christianity among the Sinhalese they wanted some good visitors of the sick and especially a predikant for holding services at Galle in place of the late Rev. Sterthemuis, as in the whole island there were only 2 visitors of the sick, as Balbianus had obtained his discharge by expiration of time.

The Viceroy Dom Philippo, after being relieved by Manuel Mascarenhas Oome left Colombo for Goa on the 31st March, but was shipwrecked with the loss of 24 fusten, but it was certain that he had saved himself at Calpentyn between Negombo and Manaar, but whether he will remain the winter at Jaffna or go to Goa, time will show.

Heer Jan Thyssen intended greeting the new general Manuel Mascarenhas Ome with a courteous letter and to ask him as the elephant-catching was to take place soon whether he could accommodate us, either by sale or loan with 4 cow-elephants. The koopman Laurens Maerschalc writes in February, March, and April from Baticalo to Governor Jan Thyssen of the scarcity of provisions there. Raja caused two veddahs, who had secretly supplied the Company with wax, to be killed.

Capt. Lambert Camholt at Matara with the lascoreens was reinforced by most of the men who returned from Mapouligamme and Capt. van der Laan was at Hackman with 200 white and 100 black soldiers. The Franciscans, who, it is said, never paid any taxes to the King, had on our approval paid 85 reals for the villages possessed by them.

The Jesuits, who possess various villages, and, among others, in the Galle District, Bamberande, whose patent had expired on the 31st October, claimed by virtue of a new confirmation of the year 1642 granted by the King, possession of their villages for another 9 years and that they should be given the village Monifferen to the north of Negombo.

The ascendancy which the Roman Catholics had obtained over the inhabitants was, on our orders duly checked,

and it was not permitted to the Moors to settle inland, so as to prevent the inhabitants being converted to their faith, but they all had to confine themselves to the sea-coast. Many Sinhalese have shown a willingness to embrace our religion and it is hoped that with the zeal of Rev. Hilarius and two schoolmasters, good results will follow.

The Portuguese ambassador Diogo de Sousa de Cunha who had remained over a year at Court in order to enter into a treaty with the King, returned to Colombo with his mission unfulfilled.

EXCERPTA MĀLDIVIANA.

By H. C. P. BELL, C.C.S. (Retired).

**No. 5. THE MĀLDIVE ISLANDERS:
PHYSICAL TRAITS & GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.**

Foreword.

Into his exhaustive and illuminating "*Report on the Census of Ceylon, 1921*," Volume I, Part II, Mr. L. J. B. Turner, M.A., C.C.S., has embodied, by way of profitable illustration, more than a score of excellent vignettes of "Ceylon Type" natives, male and female.

The purpose of the present Paper is to supplement, and round off, the illustrations of the Census Report, with a series of typical group photographs of Māldivians, mainly belonging to the Northern and Southern (as distinct from Central) Atols of the Māldive Archipelago, Ceylon's one Dependency; accompanying the Plates by some description of the physical traits and general characteristics of the Islanders.

No apology seems needed—the writer having been privileged freely to revise for press its Chapter IX (pp.95-108)—for "lifting," from the *Census Report*, (whilst venturing to expand and annotate here and there, *quantum sufficit*) so much of the letter-press anent "The Māldive Islands" as is germane to the subject in hand; in as much as the particulars set out by the Census Commissioner in his Report of 1921 had of necessity to be drawn in great degree from the known authorities—very few in number—who have afforded reliable information in real detail touching the Group.

These are: *Ibn Batûta*, A. C. 1344 (*C. A. S. Journal*, Extra No. 1882); *Pyrard*, 1602-7; *Christopher and Young*, 1835; *Ceylon Sessional Papers*, XLIII, 1881; XV, 1921; *Census Report*, 1911; *C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXVII, Extra No. 1919.

Plates.¹

In regard to the Plates, it appears quite unnecessary to burden this Paper by a superfluity of photographs of Islanders from the Atols which intervene between the three most Northerly (Tiladummatí, Miladummaḍulu and Málosmaḍulu), and the two (Huvadú and Addú, with Fua Mulaku Island midway) lying to the extreme South of the Group.

Physical divergencies shade off so imperceptibly in the natives of these intermediate Atols, that, whilst speech and mannerisms might possibly bewray them, looks and garb would not afford any appreciable differentiation.

Plate I.

Men of Tiladummatí, Miladummaḍulu, and Málosmaḍulu, Atols: 1922.

Plate II.

Women, Girls, and Child of Mále Island: 1920; 1922.

Plate III.

Women, Girls, and Children of Mále Island and Mulaku Island (Mulaku Atol): 1920; 1922.

Plate IV

Men, Women, and Boy, of Huvadú (Suwádiva) and Addú, Atols: 1883.

Plate V.

Men of Huvadú (Suwádiva) and Addú Atols: 1922.

Plate VI.

Women, Girls, and Children of Fua Mulaku Island and Gan Island (Addú Atol): 1922.

THE MÁLDIVE ISLANDS.

The Coral Archipelago known as "The Máldive Islands" extends in the Indian Ocean from lat. $7^{\circ} 6' N.$ to lat. $0^{\circ} 42' S.$, and between long. $72^{\circ} 33'$ and $73^{\circ} 44'$; covering 470 miles N. and S. by 70 miles E. and W. at widest.

To North, in lat, $8^{\circ} 20' N.$, separated by the "Eight Degree Channel," lies the isolated reef-bank of Minicoy (M. *Maliku*), distant 110 miles from the nearest Lakkadive shoal further North, and 70 miles from Ihavandiffuḷu, the most Northerly of the Máldive Atols, to the South.

The Máldives are grouped together in clusters called "Atols" (M. *atoḷu*; Sip. *etula*), of which there are nearly twenty in all; but, with an eye to administrative facilities, the Máldivians themselves have confined the Atols to Thirteen Divisions for some centuries.

Ihavandiffuḷu Atol (included fiscally with Tiladummati Atol) lying since the loss of *Maliku* (Minicoy) to the Rájas of Káñṇanúr—at the extreme North end of the Máldive Islands is some 350 miles from the Indian Continent; Mále, where the Sultán resides, central, about 400 miles South-West of the nearest port of Ceylon.²

1. Inhabitants.

At this day it is not open to doubt that the whole Archipelago—including *Maliku* (Minicoy), now grouped with the Lakkadives and no longer owing allegiance to the Sultáns of the Máldive Islands—was occupied, either directly from Ceylon, or, alternatively, about the same time as the B. C. immigration into that Island, by people of Aryan stock and language.³ This supposition is supported greatly by the close kinship between the Máldive and Sīṇhalese languages.

Gradually, from continuous contact and intercourse with natives of the West Coast of India—chiefly Malabar *Mápiḷlas* (vulgarly “Moplahs”),—the influx of Arabs and other aliens, and the occasional importation of African slaves, many characteristics of the original type have been considerably modified. Very markedly is this the case in the Northern Atols, which have been necessarily much more exposed to foreign influence than those lying South.

Muslim predominance, enhanced steadily by regular trade and commerce in the course of three or four centuries at least, culminated in the overthrow of Buddhism, the ruling religion of the Group, and the conversion of the Islanders to Islám in mid-twelfth Century (A.H.548: A.C. 1153-54).

Since that period the Islands have been governed by a succession of Muḥammadan Sultáns (or, very occasionally, Sultánas), except during the fifteen years of Portuguese forcible occupation in the Sixteenth Century (A.C. 1558-1573).

2. Population.

The latest Census (1921) gives the full number of inhabited islands as 217; containing 38,174 males and 32,239 females, or a total population of 70,413.

It was to be expected that the Northern Atols should possess most population; to wit, Tiladummatí, 10,108; Málosmaḍulu (North and South), 7,793; Miladummaḍulu (North and South), 7,021.

The only Southern Atol showing a figure as high as even the last-named is the largest of all the Atols, Huvadú (Suwádiva), with its 7,020 inhabitants.

Mále, the Capital of the Group, though in area approximately but one mile East and West by half a mile across North and South, easily by itself outnumbers, in its over-dense population of 6,127 males

and females, that of any of the Atols as a whole, saving the four above specified.

With the exception of 217 foreigners on Mále Island (137 Borahs, 22 Malabars, and 58 Ceylon Moors), the inhabitants of the Máldives were, in 1921, entirely Máldivian, and all Muḥammadans

3. Physical Traits.

The Islanders are peopled at this day by a civilized race, originally of Aryan source, which exhibits characteristics both of that and Dravidian type.

In the more Northerly Atols very many present traces of Arab and *Mápiḷḷ* (Moplah) physiognomy; this lessens Southwards so gradually as to be hardly traceable step by step.

Most of the types at Mále, and further North, are familiar enough in Ceylon among the Moormen and Southern Indian races. The Southern Islanders approximate much more closely to the Sinhalese.⁴

The Islanders are admittedly a hardy people; due to their predominant occupations, chiefly as sailors and fishermen "elect of the sea."⁵ Old persons, both men and women, are quite common throughout the Atols.

In general the natives are of a dark-brown hue; but among the higher classes at Mále are found Nobles (*M.Boḍun*) and ladies very much lighter in complexion, owing probably to marriage with light-skinned aliens.

The women are usually somewhat fairer than the men. They have regular features, are shapely in figure, and for the most part goodlooking—some distinctly pretty—when young. For the rest, in stature the majority, like the men, are short, though tall women are to be seen occasionally here and there.⁶

The average height of the men is 5 ft. 2 ins.; but instances are not unknown of individuals, of very fine physique, standing over 6 ft.⁷

Being Muslims, the men, from the Sultán downwards, without exception, keep their heads shaved; as usually their faces also, though free to allow as much hair to grow on the latter as they like—a noteworthy departure from the custom of three centuries back: this permitted the soldiers, officials, and those of gentle birth to wear their hair as long as the women, whilst forbidding all save church dignitaries and *Hájis* to grow long beards according to fancy.

4. General Characteristics.⁸

As a race the Mádivians are most inoffensive. Naturally a somewhat timid people, their isolation still induces a certain degree of aloofness and suspicion which in former days was more strongly exhibited.⁹

Crime of a heinous character is scarcely heard of on these Islands; even theft and personal violence are of rare occurrence; murder has been very seldom known.¹⁰

In their conduct to foreigners the Islanders are thoroughly humane and generous;¹¹ towards each other noticeably obliging, rendering one another prompt and willing assistance; and to their kindred extremely affectionate.¹²

The Nobility is exceptionally hospitable; and not wanting in a refined sociability, which ever exhales that charming courtesy, the distinguishing badge of the true Muslim gentleman.

Of the natives of the Capital (Mále) it has been remarked recently (1920):—

“In regard to the inhabitants of Mále (whose physical characteristics have been frequently described by visitors), it is pleasant to record, with the experience born of close observation, that a delightful spirit of ease and contentment seems to prevail universally. So far as can be judged, the natives appear to be healthy and well-to-do. They go about their respective

business cheerfully, and with an air of settled purpose and determination, preserving the while the silent observant demeanour which customarily marks the Muḥammadan. The very bazárs (native and foreign) present none of that noisy bustle and semi-confusion daily experienced in the crowded marts of Southern India and Ceylon.

“Discipline and self-control rule from the highest to the lowest, side by side with the fullest toleration and freedom of action—the latter extending in the case of the ordinary women (albeit under Muslim regime) to the limit of permitting their appearance in the streets unveiled.”¹³

5. Dress.

The ordinary dress of the men consists of short drawers (*M.harawálu*); a cloth wrapped round the waist (*M.mundu*), after the Siphalese fashion; and a kerchief twisted over the head (*M.ruma*). Sometimes a thin shirt (*M.kuru libás*), generally white, is worn.

The mode of dress in the early Seventeenth Century, as minutely described by Pyrard, must have been both richer and more elaborate. It included the use of turbans and silk scarves.

The women follow the Low-Country Siphalese custom of wearing a waistcloth (*M.féli*), which is woven on the Islands themselves, coarse in texture, but striking and tasteful in its colouring—chocolate ground relieved by black and white stripes. The upper part of the body is covered by a long, loose-fitting, coloured blouse (*M.libás*), of cotton or silk, reaching to the knees, short sleeved, and edged at the neck with gold or silver tinsel lace.

Ear-rings, necklace, bracelets and other ornaments may deck the person.

Their luxuriant black hair is bound into a knot—at Mále on the right side of the head, in Atols further South on the top;—upon which a chocolate kerchief of native make (*M.ruma*) is jauntily set.¹⁴

6. Occupations.

The labouring classes, exclusive of those engaged in pursuits connected with trade, follow various employments as a means of subsistence.

Among the men the occupations much the most favoured are fishing¹⁵ and sea-faring: other industries are husbandry; gathering coconuts; toddy drawing; and a few minor activities.

Less than a score are employed now-a-days in the delicate art of turning out the exquisite and unique lacquer-work produced on these Islands, chiefly for the use of Royalty and the Nobles.

Some choice jewellery is also made in a few islands.

To the women are left, well-nigh entirely, the making of coir; lace-work; mat-weaving; and the collection of cowries.¹⁶

7. Trade.¹⁷

Far the largest Export trade of the Islands consists in that well-known comestible of Oriental natives dried "Máldive fish" (*M.kummala-mas*; *Sin umbalacada*). coconuts (*M.kári*), and coir (*M.ronu*)—the two latter products being shipped almost exclusively to India. Tortoise-shell (*M.kahabu-fat*) is also regularly exported.

The total Exports from the Máldives to Ceylon rose beyond ten and a half-fold between 1860 (£20,136) and 1919 (£215,906). Over the same period, the Import trade of the Islands grew to more than five times the value of sixty years before: 1860 (£5,101); 1919 (£26,434).

8. Language and Script.

The language (*M.Divchi bas*) spoken by the Islanders is substantially the same throughout the far-flung Group—including *Maliku* (where it is termed "*Máhl*")—though dialeetal variations of the Mále standard naturally occur; particularly in the Southern

Atols, which have been less affected by foreign intercourse.

A very large proportion of the Máldivian vocabulary consists (a) either of pure Sinhalese words, modified by vowel changes and—owing to Arabic influence—the adoption of the dento-labial consonant “f” for the labial “p,” or (b) of derivatives from roots common to both languages.

Trade, and other intercourse, with alien races have added a considerable number of words of foreign origin, chiefly Hindustáni.

The oldest form of Máldivian script yet discovered, (i) “*Evéla Akuru*” (lit. “Ancient letters”), is that found on a few copper-plate grants (*M.lómáfánu*) which have survived to this day.

This type, strikingly resembling medieval Sinhalese lithic script, gradually developed into the (ii) “*Dives Akuru*” characters (lit. “Máldive letters”); which, though no longer employed, are known to a limited number of Máldivians on the Group. Both (i) and (ii) are read from left to right.

The third form of character, (iii) “*Tána*” (or “*Gabuli Tána*”)—based on Arabic and Persian elements, and, like them, read from right to left—seems to have been in concurrent use with (ii) “*Dives Akuru*” from the Seventeenth Century at least, if not earlier.¹⁸

NOTES.

1. **Plates.** The men, women, and children of Plates IV (7, 8), and VI (11, 12), and the women and children of Plates II (3), III (5, 6), are dressed in ordinary garb. Most of the men in Plates I (1, 2), V (9, 10), have donned shirts (*M.kuru libás*) for the occasion.

Plate I (1). The Islanders in front belong to Miladummadulu Atol (North); those at back to Tiladummati Atol.*

* Men of Kujuduffuri and Diddú Islands (Tiladummati Atol) and Má Kaḍudú (Miladummadulu Atol, North).

Plate I (2). In the front row the men are from Málismaḍulu Atol (North); those behind from Málismaḍulu Atol (South)*

Plate II. The two female figures of (4) are Mále ladies.

Plate V. The Islanders of (9) came from Huvadú (Suvádiva) Atol; of (10) from Addú Atol.†

Plate VI. The women and children in (11) belong to Fua Mulaku Island; those in (12) to Gan Island of Addú Atol.

The mixed Photographs (*Plate IV*, 7, 8) were taken at Colombo in 1883, when Máldive *o i-faharu* were visiting Ceylon during the N.E. Monsoon.

Close approximation to Sinhalese type is well exhibited by some of the Islanders in this Plate.

2. **Map.** For a compact small-scale "Map of the Máldive Islands." See Plate I, *C.A.S. Journal*, Vol. XXX, No. 75, 1925.

3. **Date of Occupation.** Such was the tradition among the Maldivians themselves, according to Pyrard, even in the early Seventeenth Century:—

"They hold that the *Maldives* began to be inhabited only four hundred years ago, and that the first who came and peopled them were the *Cingalles* of the island of Ceylon (which is not far distant), and were idolaters, but afterwards changed their religion; it being about one hundred and fifty or two hundred years at most since they received Mahomedanism, through the Moorish and Arabian navigators, who, while trading over all the continent and islands of the East Indies, brought there also their law, which has since remained in most of those parts." (Pyrard, *Voyage; Hak. Soc.* I, p.265-6).

Pyrard post-dates the Muslim Conversion of A. C. 1153-4 by at least 250 years, and the original immigration still more egregiously.

4. **Foreign Influx.** "A large number of foreigners from all parts meet there and make it their home; besides many Indians who from time to time are wrecked there This is why the people living at *Malé* and the neighbouring parts

* Men of Inguraidú and Midú Islands (Málismaḍulu Atol) North and Tuládú (Málismaḍulu Atol, South).

† Men of Gaddú Island (Huvadú) Atol of Huludú and Hitadú (Addú Atol).

towards the North are more polished, genteel, and civilised; while, those toward the South are ruder in language and habits, and also are less well-formed in body, and darker. . . . The Northern parts, are more frequented by foreigners, who usually marry there. There, too, pass all the ships, which enrich the country and tend to civilise it Albeit the people of the South are no less well-informed and clever than the rest, perhaps more so in some ways; but as for the nobles, they are all in the North." (Pyrard. *loc. cit.* p.105).

5. **Sea-faring Race.** The Máldive Islanders are expert and intrepid mariners, whose picturesque boats (*M.odi-faharu*, *dóni-faharu* used to be seen in many Indian ports, not infrequently.

Formerly—"sailing upon different stars (by means of their effective, if primitive, nautical instruments) in lieu of points of the compass"—they made long, greatly adventurous, voyages, from the "tempest-haunted" Atols, in their small, light-built, but most sea-worthy vessels, as far as Aden, Calcutta, Penang, Sumátra, &c., braving the storms and formidable currents which sweep round the Indian Ocean and elsewhere. (*C. A. S. Journal*, Vol. XXVII, Extra No. 1919).

6. **Women.** "In truth they seemed to be pretty and engaging enough, as much by reason that they are neatly dressed as that they are well formed, of good figures, and winsome ways; albeit they are of an olive skin, for the most part, although you will find many brunettes, and many quite fair, just as in other parts." (Pyrard, *loc. cit.* p.169).

7. **Stalwarts.** A-Gaḍuvaru Maniḥuḷu, *ex-Sultān* Muḥammad 'Imád-ud-dín V, son of Sultān Ibráḥim Núr-ud-dín; and Músá Máfāt Kilégefánu, son of Numára Gaḍuvaru Ḥasan Fárina Kilégefánu, both now dead, were noticeable in 1920 among such exceptionally tall, well-built Nobles.

8. **General Characteristics.** The Maghrabín traveller in A.C. 1344, Ibn Baṭúṭa, not unnaturally speaks highly of his Muslim co-religionists:—

"The inhabitants of the Máldive Islands are honest and pious people, sincere in good faith and of a strong will: they eat only what is lawful, and their prayers are granted." (*C. A. S. Journal*, Extra No., 1882 p.6).

The "infidel" Portuguese, Barbosa (A.C. 1518), finds few good points:—"The men of the Isles have no weapons whatever; they are feeble folk, yet right cunning, but very clever; and above all things they are mighty magicians." (Duarte Barbosa: *Hac. Soc.* Vol. II, p.104).

Pyrard, the French captive, who spent seven years (1602-7) on the group, is ultra-eulogistic:—

"In short, the people are exceeding adroit, much given to the manufacture of all kinds of things, and excelling therein, even in letters and science, according to their notions; but more especially in astrology, in which they make great business. They are a prudent and circumspect people, very cunning in trade and in social life. And while they are valiant, and courageous, and skilled in arms, they live under a complete system of law and police (Pyrard, *loc. cit.* p.106).

For more recent accounts of the Islanders, see the details given by Lieutenants Christopher and Young (*Transactions Bombay Geographical Society*, 1836-8), and *Sessional Papers* XLIII, 1881; XV, 1921.

9. **Misgiving.** Displayed unmistakably less than a century back in connection with the Survey of the Maldive Archipelago by the Indian Navy vessels in 1834:—

"The suspicious nature of Captain Moresby's avowed object co-operated with political circumstances upon minds whose characteristic trait is fearfulness. They objected to the surveying flags, and were not satisfied until they were permitted to set up their own also." (*Trans. Bombay Geo. Soc.*, *loc. cit.* pp.103-4).

10. **Murder.** For very many years past only two murders are reported to have occurred on the Maldive Islands:—

(a) A party of islanders from *Hodaidú* of Tiladummati Atol (who, when seized and tried at Mále, admitted their crime, pleading starvation), landed on *Lubo Kađu* an uninhabited island planted with coconuts; and to escape detection, killed the only two watchers.

(b) A woman of *Kađuđú* (Kolumađuđu Atol) made away with her child, by drowning it.

As punishment at the Maldives in such cases, after trial and sentence by the *Kázi*, the murderers are led

round the main streets of Mále with their faces blackened, and a rope round the waist; besides being subjected to other humiliations. They are then taken to the sea-beach and beaten with the official leather thong (*M. durá*) and special rod of four canes tied together (*M. hataru fan etteyo*); chastisement up to 19 strokes being the full tale allowed: thereafter all are banished to various Atols.

The Death penalty has long ceased to be enforced on the Islands.

11. **Humanity.** See *C. A. J. Journal* Vol. XXIX, No. 76, 1925, pp. 207-8.

12. **Affection.** When Galoju-ge Gomá, his aunt, lay slowly dying at Mále in 1922, H. H. the Sultán Muḥammad Shams-ud-din III, did not fail to leave the Palace every day to attend on her in person.

13. **Sessional Paper, XV, 1921,** "The Máldive Islands" p. 43.

14. **Dress.** In mid-Fourteenth Century, according to Ibn Baṭūṭa, the women would appear to have had no covering either for the head, or for the upper part of the body:—

"The women of these Islands do not cover the head: the Sovereign herself does not so. They comb their hair and tie it up on one side. Most of them wear only a cloth, covering them from the navel to the ground; the rest of the body remains uncovered." (*C. A. S. Journal*, Extra No. 1872 p. 11).

Two centuries and a half had worked great change in both these respects, for Pyrard (*loc. cit.*, pp. 166-7; 106-07) writes:—

"As for the women, first of all they have a large coloured cloth of cotton or silk, which covers them from the waist to the ankles, and serves as a petticoat. Above this they wear a robe of taffetas, or of very fine cotton, but very long, reaching to the feet, and with blue and white borders. To give a notion of its shape, I cannot better describe this robe than by comparing it to the chemises which the women here wear. It is a little open round the neck, and fastened with two little gilt buttons, and likewise open at the throat in front, but no further at the breast. . . . Their arms are charged with heavy bracelets of silver, sometimes from the wrist up to the elbow: some of them have them

mixed with tin, chiefly the poor, while the rest have them of fine and massive silver."

"The hair, is in general black. . . . They dress it by taking all the hair from the front behind, and drawing it as tight as possible, so that not a hair strays hither or thither; then they tie it up behind and make a large knotted bunch; and in order to enlarge that they use a perruque of man's hair (but as long as a women's), in form like a horse's tail."

15. **Fishing.** Of the male earners nearly 60 per cent., or 14,760, depend upon fishing for their livelihood (*Census Report*, 1921).

16. **Other Occupations.** Coir makers, 9,224; lace-workers, 1,586; husbandry, 1425; mat-weavers, 777; cowry collectors, 348, mostly women. (*Loc. cit.* 1921).

Most coir (of which there are 12 kinds in all) is prepared in Ari Atol.

The cowry trade is rapidly dwindling. In 1911 (*Census Report*), there were 1045 (194 males, 851 females) collectors, or thrice the number of ten years later

Almost all the ornamental "Máldive mats," so highly valued for their choice execution, are made from a rush growing at Huvadú Atol. They exhibit many neat patterns, in which black, brown, yellow and white are blended tastefully.

17. **Trade.** For fuller particulars touching the Trade and Commerce of the Máldive Islands, *Sessional Papers* XLIII, 1881: XV, 1921; and *Census Report*, 1921, may be consulted.

18. **Language and Script.** Regarding the Máldivian Language and Script see *Sessional Paper* XLIII, 1881, C. A. S. Journal Vol. XXVII, Extra No. 1919, and Appendices; Vols. XXIX, XXX Nos. 75, 76, 77, 1922-1924.

Maldivian Islanders : 1922.

PLATE I.



1. THILADUMMATI AND MIGADUMMADELU ATOLS.



2. MAIGOSMADELU ATOL.

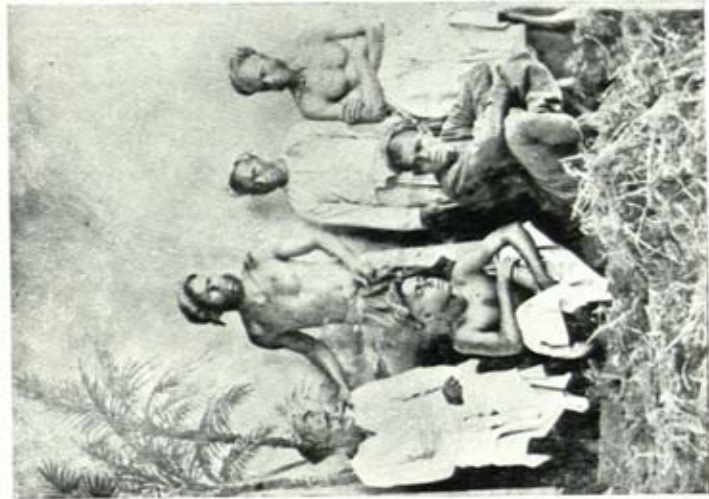




5. MĀLE ISLAND.

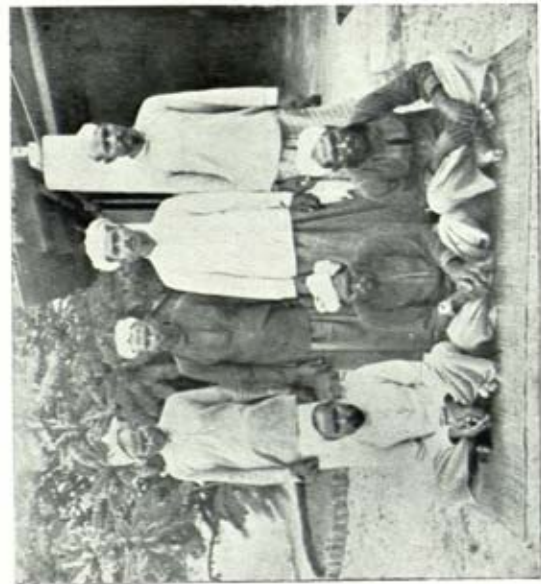


6. MULAKU ISLAND.



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PLATE V.



9. HUVADU ATOL



10. APPU ATOL

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11. FUA MULAKU ISLAND.



12. GAN ISLAND.

THE IHALA PULIYANKULAMA PILLAR.

BY H. W. CODRINGTON, C. C. S.

This pillar-inscription, now in the compound of the Residency at Puttalam, was brought many years ago from the ruins at Ihala Puliyanikulama, some $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile N. W. of the $17\frac{1}{2}$ mile stone on the Puttalam-Anurádhapura road. The upper half is much weathered, as if the pillar had been long half buried in the ground. It is inscribed on two sides only and may have formed part of a building. I am indebted for the excellent estampage to the kindness of Mr. H. C. P. Bell.

The record is dated in the ninth year of Parákrama Báhu I. The *biruda*, given in lines A 8-10, is one of the sixteen "new titles" (අනන්තරාජ), after which, according to the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava*, Parákrama named 360 *pirivenas*. A similar name, Rájavesi-bhujāṅga, was given to "a very pleasant open hall" at Polonnaruwa (Mhv. LXXIII, 87), and to one of the three "branch cities" (*ib.* LXXIII, 151; LXXVIII, 82).

The document is peculiar. It does not contain the usual grant of land and immunities to a temple, and apparently was set up in order to glorify a chief, one Tisa Máranávan, who was an officer of state under Parákrama Báhu and ruled the important principality of Máya-rāṭa, once the appanage of the heir apparent. I am unable to trace anyone of the name in the historical books. The general of Sena II. is called in the *Doḷadā Fūḷāva iya* by the name of Mára Senevirajun. According to the *Mahāvamsa* Buddha of Máragalla served Vijaya Báhu I. (Mhv. LV, 26); his village perhaps was identical with Márapabbata (*ib.* XLVIII, 129) and Nigrodha Máragalla (*ib.* LXXV, 186). But these

villages were in Ruhuna. A chief of Máragiri, by name Mattatála, was on the side of Mánabharana in the civil wars (*ib.* LXXII,43), while one Máragiri Nigrodha commanded under Parákrama at the same time (*ib.* 197,207), apparently in the Máyá country. Clearly the chief mentioned in our present record was of very high rank, and it is probable that his identity is concealed under some title in the *Mahāvamsa* history. Parákrama Báhu had waged no foreign war by his ninth year. The *pararāja* thus must have been Gaja Báhu II. or Mánabharana; Gaja Báhu's country is called *paramaṇḍala* in the last verses of Mhv. LXIV and LXVI, where the word is mistranslated by Wijesinha as "Upper Provinces" and "Upper Province."

The script calls for little comment. The varying formation of *ṣ* in A 11 and 13 should be noticed, as well as the *al* sign in *මුත්තේ* (A 15). The reading *ṣ* in B 5 is justified, in spite of the prolongation of the tail of the letter, by the similar lengthening of *ṣ* in A 13 and of *ṣ* in A 24. The archaic form of *ṣ* in *මුත්තේ* in B11 is remarkable.

Some further points deserve special notice and consideration.

A.1 *Samu*=Skt. *Sammata*, here the first king of the human race. But *sammata* also means "command," "order." The form *samu* appears in the Ambagamuwa inscription of Vijaya Báhu I. in the phrase *ek ten samuyen* in lieu of the *ek ten samiyen* so common in the records of the preceding age. Mr. Wickremaasinghe considers that *ten* is derived from *āsthāna*, "assembly," and so renders *ek ten* by "the Supreme Council." But we may observe four points:—

(1) *Ten* normally comes from *sthāna*, whereas the Sinhalese equivalent of *āsthāna* is *attāṇi* (Ruvanmala, 311) occurring in the same documents as the expression under discussion.

(2) The Royal Council is spoken as *sabhá* or *raj-sabhá*, also in the same documents. Mr. Wickremasinghe in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, p. 218 says: "*Ektān samuyen* more commonly *ektān samiye*. We find this word replaced by *sabhāyen* in Kukurumahan-damana pillar (side A, line 22, above, p. 123), thus confirming our interpretation of this expression in Vol. I, p. 206, note 2." But in this inscription (Ep. Zeyl., II, no. 5) there is no question of replacement. With this "*sabhāyen á Meṇṇigamu Udahi*" should be compared "*sabhāye Nila-vasa Madiyá*" of Nochchipotána (*ib.* no. 2). The real sense is disclosed in the Vévelkēṭiya slab-inscription (*ib.* I, no. 21), where we have: "*ek teṇ samiye á raj-sabhāye hindná Goḷuggamu Raksāim Kudēsenu*." In all these the words "*sabhāyen á*," "*sabhāye*," and "*raj-sabhāye hindná*" have the same meaning and indicate that the chief, whose name is so qualified, was a member of the Royal Council.

(3) The expression occurs not only in grants issued by the king, but also in those made by the *māpá* in the Southern Country, as for example in the Négama (Ep. Zeyl. II, no. 4) and Dorabāwila pillars.

(4) With the phrase there constantly occurs the word ඉඳ, which is regularly used in Sinhalese in connection with royal persons and Buddhist priests and with no one else. The interpretation put forward by Mr. Wickramasinghe considerably extends the accepted use of this verb and hardly is consonant with the language employed by the chiefs of the Royal Council in Kandyan times with regard to the body of which they were members.

To me (2) by itself seems conclusive against any identification of *ek teṇ* with the Royal Council. A solution perhaps is afforded by the analogy of South Indian procedure. There certain officers were sent with

instructions to circumambulate the village or land to be granted and mark the boundaries and carry the royal order into effect. The Sinhalese "one-place-order" (*eka-sthāna-sammāta*) thus would be a command to the chiefs named to assemble at the designated village and set up the pillar of immunity, the *attāṇi kaṇu*, "assembly pillar."

A.18,19. *Māyā-raṭṭe at-rasun dhura koṭa*. *Māyā-rāṭa* as I have shown in a previous number of this Journal (XXIX No. 75, pp.65, 66), was bounded in the time of Parākrama Báhu I. by the Kalá Oya. Ihala Puliyankulama is situated not far to the south of this river. The reading 𑀧𑀺𑀓 is certain; it is not 𑀧𑀺𑀓𑀲 .

A.23,24. The office of "Adhikára" is different from that of "Laṅkādhikára." An examination of the chapters of the *Mahāvamsa* dealing with the reigns of Gaja Báhu and Parākrama Báhu shows that there were a number of "Adhikáras" and apparently two "Adigars of Lanká." The meaning of "Vata-kēmi," more usually "Vat-kēmi," is uncertain; perhaps the officer of the name was employed in financial and revenue work. The Sanskrit equivalent in our text is "Vastu-karma."

B.2-8. *Yasa vāde saka pavatná piṇisa*. Mr. S. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner, who has been kind enough to assist me in the translation of the second half of the text, suggests: "for the purpose of setting in motion or causing the wheel of the recitals (concerning) the glory (of the king) to revolve," and compares *stuti* with the Indian *praśasti*. It seems clear that the *śloka* in B.9-18 is the *stuti* and that it was composed by the minister himself at the royal command. The expression in the Sanskrit, "(This) was composed in accordance with the order (giving) delight to his heart," finds its

exact parallel in the Sinhalese, “(This) praise . . was made . . by command of his lord.” What was the verse composed to perpetuate? *Vāda* is “discourse,” “speech,” “assertion,” “exposition,” and the like. *Vāda-cakra* I take to be analogous to *ajñā-cakra*, which practically implies little more than “order,” “command,” and the whole expression *yasa vādē saka paratnā piṇisa* to mean “in order to perpetuate the assertion or setting forth of the glory,” not of the king, but of the minister himself. In other words the Sanskrit verse and the erection of the pillar were to commemorate the grant of the title “Terrifier of enemy kings” and also possibly of the offices mentioned therein to Tisa Māranāvan. The original sense of “causing the wheel to revolve,” of course, would not be lost sight of by the reader of the inscription.

B.9-18. I am indebted to Mr. Paranavitana for the interpretation of the *śloka* as well as for the reading of සිංහ and the restoration of the following word. The text runs thus:—

නිසාදි මාර සම්මත මහසප්තමාද
 සිංහ නිබන්ධන පරාක්රමබාහු නාමනා
 ශ්‍රී සංඝඛාය නාපතෙතරසිකාර වසතු
 කම්මානවයෙන පරරාජ හයංකරණ

B.19-24. Mr. Paranavitana points out that the Eḷu verse is that known as *kav-gī*, and quotes in support from the *Eḷu-Sandēśakūṇa*:—

වසමිති මත්තෙවෙන්
 දෙසෙන් සෙමෙති දෙසෙකොළොස්
 සතළිස් මතින් බදුහොත්
 කවිනම් මෙවෙ නිදසුන්

“If a verse contains 9 or 10 *mātrās* respectively in the odd lines, and in the even lines 10 or 11 respectively, and if it is composed of 40 *mātrās* (in all), it is named *kav-gī*.”

Our verse therefore reads :—

සිරි සහ බොසිඳු සඳු
පුරුකුම් වදන් වතා
ලකිපුර බරණින් මිහි
කත රුඳුම් වතා නිසැදි

Mr. Paranavitana points out that the lengthening of the last vowel in *ratá* in the second and fourth line is for the purpose of satisfying the requirements of the metre. But the form *-ratá* for *vat* is found in tenth century inscriptions, e.g., *samvatá*.

B.21 වදන්වතා This may mean "possessed of eloquence," "mighty in words." If so, I am not sure that it does not refer to the *ráde saka* declaring Tisa Máranávan's fame. Mr. Paranavitana, however, proffers "who bears the appellation."

B.22,23, බරණින් This may come from Sanskrit *ábharana*, "ornament." Mr. Paranavitana, rightly I think, prefers Sanskrit *bharan*. A king is *Mahí-bhartri* or *mahí-bhrit* "earth supporter."

B.23,24. රුඳුම්වතා Mr. Paranavitana renders the first word by "support," "sustaining," and takes the second as the same as වතා in B.21. I would prefer as the original of රුඳුම් the Sanskrit *rañjana*, which has a transitive sense, "gladdening," and, rather than repeat the meaning of the first වතා, tentatively would make the second a derivative of Sanskrit *vastu*, with the sense "object," "object of love." The whole expression would thus be rendered "the object of love who gladdens the Earth goddess." Mr. Paranavitana's translation of the Eḷu verse is as follows :—

The Earth goddess is for ever sustained by the protection of the lord of Lánká, Siri Saṅgabó, who bears the appellation of *Peṛekum*.

TEXT.

- | A | B |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| 1. ශ්‍රී මහ සමු | සැ මාරනාවනැ |
| ව ආ රජපර | සොමි මිබා |
| සුරෙන් ආ ද | නායෙන් (බොහො) ක |
| ස අත්ති | ලක් කල්ප සි |
| 5. පතළ යස | තව යස වාද සක |
| කිත් නෙද ප | පවත්නා පිණිස කැර |
| බඳු ඇති | වූ මාරන්හැල්ලේ |
| අරි රාජ | හි සතුති (ශ්‍රී—) |
| වෙසනා හුජ | නිසාදි මාර ස |
| 10. ගසැ යන | විවෙන (මහසප්) |
| මිරුදුයෙන් | (මො) ද ගිහිසා (නි) |
| වජ්‍යනා සි | බබ්‍යන පරාසු |
| රිසගබො පරා | ම බාහු නාමනා ශ්‍රී |
| සුම බාහු වත් | සංසංඛාසි නාප |
| 15. හිමියන්වා | තෙරසිකාර ව |
| න්සේව නව | සතුකම්මාන ව |
| වහු වැපැසුර | යෙන පරරාජ හ |
| දියවැකැමා | යංකරෙණ ශ්‍රී— |
| යා රවැ අත් | සිරි සගබො |
| 20. වසුන් ධුරංකා | සියු සතු පැ |
| ව සිරි පරරාජ | රැකුම් වදන් වතා |
| හයංකරයැසි | ලකිසුර බර |
| මිරුදු ඇති අ | ණින් මිහිකත ර |
| සිකාර වතකැ | යුම් වතා නිසැදි |
| 25. මි දලා බිම් හි | |

TRANSLITERATION.

A

1. Śrī maha samu-
va é raja para-
puren á da-
sa at-hi
5. pataḷa yasa
kit teda pa-
banda eti
Ari-rāja
veṣyá bhuja-
10. ngaye yana
viruduyen
vajambaná Si-
ri Sangabo Pará-
krama Báhu vat-
15. himiyanvá-
nséṭa nava-
vanu Veṇe pura
diyaveḷe Má-
yá raṭe at-
20. vasun dhura ko-
ṭa siṭi Pararája-
bhayaṇ-karayeyi
virudu eti A-
dhikára Vataḷe-
mi Dálá-bim Ti-

B

se Máranávanē
svámī vidhá-
nayan (boho) ka-
lak kalpa sthi-
tava yasa váḍe saka
pavatná piṇisa keṇe-
vú Máranhellé-
hi stuti Śrī—
Tishyádi-Mára sa-
civena manas-(pra-)
(mo)da śiṣṭyá (ni-)
baddhyata Parákra-
ma Báhu námnaḥ Śrī
Saṅghabodhi nṛpa-
ter-Ādhikára Va-
stu-karmmahva-
yena Pararája-bha-
yaṇ-kareṇa Śrī—
Siri Saṅgabo-
yindu sanda Pe-
reḷum vadan-vatá
Lakisura bara-
ṇin mihikata re-
ndum vatá nisēdi

TRANSLATION

Prosperity! On the second of the waxing moon of Vap in the ninth year of His Majesty Siri Sangabo Parákrama Báhu, lineally descended from Mahá Sammata and other kings, who is possessed of glory, fame, and splendour spread in the ten directions and who is resplendent in the title of "Paramour of the mistresses of hostile kings," (this) praise (inscribed) at Máranhella was made by Dálá-bim Tisa Máranavan, Adhikára minister and Vata-Kémi, who held command of the Máyá Country as of a vessel in his hand and who was surnamed "Terrifier of enemy kings," in order to perpetuate the setting forth of his glory enduring for a *kalpa* cycle, for length of days, by the command of his lord.

Śrī (This) was composed in accordance with the order (giving) delight to his heart by the counsellor Tishyádi-Mára, Terrifier of enemy kings, Adhikára minister and Vastukarma of King Śrī Saṅghabodhi Parákrama Báhu.

Śrī The lord of Laṅká, King Śrī Saṅghabodhi Parákrama, able of speech, ever is he who gladdens the Earth goddess by (his) support.

NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTE ON AN IMAGE OBTAINED AT
SILAVATIPARVATA TEMPLE.

BY F. LEWIS.

The accompanying plate, prepared under the directions of Mr. Joseph of the Colombo Museum, will illustrate a curious little image that was presented to me by the present incumbent of the Silavatiparvata temple at Moderawana, in the West Giruwa Pattu of the Hambantota District.

In the course of my work in the Southern Province, I had occasion to inspect certain lands at Moderawana, and while so doing, I took the opportunity of climbing up the splendid rock which bears the name given above.

It is quite close to the famous Mulkirigala rock—pronounced by the Priests Mulgirigala—to the westward of it, and considerably lower in point of altitude, but it covers a much larger area than the rock to which the Dutch gave the misleading title of Adam's Berg.

On three sides, this immense rock is more or less precipitous, while on the remaining side the slope though considerable, is not so steep as to make the ascent to the summit difficult.

From a distance, the rock stands out like a huge wedge of stone, towering above the fields and gardens in the vicinity, and is capped by a Dágaba, and a separate tower of unique design.

According to certain traditions, the Priests of Mulgirigala were of a different sect to those of the mountain now under reference, and there was considerable bitterness between the rival sects, with the result that Silavati came to be neglected and fell into such a condition of disrepair as to become little better than a jungle-covered hill-top, within which rested some ruins, venerated only for the sake of their traditions and antiquity.

Which of these two points—Mulgirigala or Silavati—is entitled to claim priority of antiquity, or of reverence, I am not in a position to say, nor have I been able to discover at what date the two flourished in equal splendour as places of worship. Be that as it may, it is worthy of note, that both have inscriptions in ancient "rock letters."

I attempted to copy the inscription I found at Silavati, but so much of the rock being decayed, I was only able to get imperfect outlines of portions of the individual letters themselves.

The present temple, which stands on a ledge near the summit of Silavatiparvata, is a reconstructed building, and forms both the temple, as well as the residence of a Siamese Priest, to whom I am indebted for the little image here illustrated.

My visit to this revered gentleman may be worth describing. On my arrival at the top of the rock, I was met by a tiny boy of 10 years of age, from whom I enquired if the Priest was at home. The little fellow ran off, and quickly returned to inform me that the "Siyam Hamuduruvo" was in, and would be glad if I would enter.

On going into a rather large room, that was curiously draped, I first noticed the sound of ticking, from at least a dozen clocks, all going at the same time. In one corner, seated on a low bed, was the Priest, who seemed at first to eye me with some suspicion, but on hearing me speak to him in Sinhalese, his doubts appeared to vanish instantly. He asked me very politely to be seated, and wished to know if I was alone, or if there were others with me.

On my informing him that I was quite alone, and that I would be glad if I might go round the temple, his interests appeared to brighten up greatly, and he made the interesting remark that I was the only white man he had seen at that spot since he came to reside there, many years previously. So much had his suspicions given way to feelings of trust, that he voluntarily invited me to enter the "Dewale" where he said he could show me some objects of very great

curiosity. I accordingly entered the image room with him, the Priest taking special care to close the door after we had entered. Here I found on a table much like an ordinary office table, a glass cabinet, divided into three compartments ; the central, or largest of which, contained a number of figures of Buddha ; some of brass, some of bronze, and of other materials as well. From their design, most of these appeared to me to be non-Ceylonese in appearance, though they assumed the usual conventional attitudes.

One of the side compartments of the cabinet contained a silver Dágaba, with carved tracery round the cylinders, and below the finial, which last had silver miniature Bò' leaves displayed near its summit.

My companion now removed this from its place and proceeded to unscrew the cupola, which when removed disclosed an inner cupola of glass, that formed a dome over an expanded lotus flower made of gold. From the centre of the flower, a looped and twisted crook-like wire protruded. Taking another ivory dagoba in his hand, and once more unscrewing its cupola the Priest withdrew a small parcel, which he carefully unwound. This proved to be the envelope enclosing an exact copy of the Sacred tooth, now in the Máligáwa at Kandy. This he next inserted into the loop I have just mentioned, and the Priest exclaimed, " there is an exact copy of what is in the great Kandy Temple."

The material from which this " copy tooth " was made, is obviously ivory, but I noticed when the Priest drew my attention to it, that it had peculiar shades of colour, varying from a dull creamy white to a delicate chocolate brown tint according to the position it was viewed from. My companion explained that this variation of colour was produced by the stain given to the ivory by long and constant *hand* rubbing, after it had been made, adding that he had taken a precise scale copy from the venerated original at Kandy, and had made this imitation himself, after long and laborious labour in carving and cutting a piece of ivory till it corresponded exactly in shape, size and details.

But this remarkable piece of work was not the last of his traverses. He next withdrew from a sacred Dāgaba-shaped casket, a small ivory box, highly polished and neatly made. This he unscrewed, disclosing on a bedding of plush, a minute stone, approximately $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch across its longest diameter. This stone was obviously a bead of a pale hyacinth colour, slightly opalescent, and pearly in its gloss. The Priest handled this with much reverence, and informed me in a hushed voice that it was a most holy thing that he held, and one that was beyond price, as it was a bead from a necklace worn by the great teacher of the Buddhist faith himself. He added, that after the old Dāgaba at Silavati had fallen into ruins, an attempt had been made by thieves to find the *Karandūwa pettiya* that the Dāgaba was known to cover, but this had escaped detection, owing to the fact that a deep cavity had been cut into the rock under the foundations for the Dāgaba. Into that cavity the *Karandūwa pettiya* had been introduced and covered by a stone made to fit exactly to the rock that held it.

This covering stone had escaped removal, till the Priest began the reconstruction work, when he found it, and had it raised, disclosing this treasure box, though the latter was found to be splintered.

I did not, of course, question the proofs that this bead was actually one worn by the great sage, nor did I venture to handle it—an attention that my companion obviously appreciated.

He next conducted me round the various buildings that he had rebuilt, and particularly showed me the tower he had constructed to his own design, that stands near the rebuilt dāgaba.

This is of neat design, but its curious ornamentation with plates, gives it a rather quaint appearance.

The Priest next explained that he came over to Ceylon as a pilgrim, not knowing a word of Sinhalese, and that he wandered about at Anuradhapura and other sacred places,

but hearing of Silavati in its fallen glory he had elected to settle there and devote his days to its renovation.

He had taught himself, not only to speak, but to read and write the language of the country, and at the same time by personal appeal to obtain funds to carry out the work of restoration that he showed to me with such justifiable pride.

In his self-imposed solitude, he had to contend with repeated attacks of fever, and he added, with evil spirits that he had sought to destroy him. These had visited him in many forms : sometimes they came in the shape of wild beasts, at others as devils, and at still others as figures who tried to frighten him by making fearful noises. At last, his enemies finding they could not dislodge him by these manifestations, set fire to the brushwood round the temple, and he was all but burned to death. By this fire he lost most of his possessions, some of his images being destroyed by the flames. One in particular had been partly melted by the fire, but as it fell into a crevice in the rock, the greater part of it had been saved. This particular image he desired to present me with in return, he added, for the honour I had done him in coming to see him as no other white man had done.

This interesting man could give me no name for the image, and appeared unable to say if it was the image of God or of a king, but he appeared to attribute its escape from the flames to special virtues in itself.

He gave no name to the image, and appeared to regard it as of minor value, except that it represented a venerated figure.

Its workmanship and general outlines are so unlike Ceylonese work that I think it may be safely supposed to be an importation and that it does not represent any particular God, but more probably represents a prince.



A comparison with the stone figure at Weligama that is popularly reputed to be a statue of Kusta Raja, might throw some light on the subject, and might be of special interest.

F. LEWIS.

5th August, 1920.

P.S.—Since writing the foregoing, I made a second visit to Silavati, with the intention of presenting my kind friend with a small souvenir in return for his generosity. I found that he had left, and I was informed that he had designed to return to his native country after paying a visit to Anuradhapura, but he had fallen ill and died. I could get no particulars of the cause of his illness, nor the date nor place where he died.

He was deeply respected by the people, who in conversation referred to the deceased Priest as a man of great learning, piety, and goodness. I should guess him to have been about 45 years of age, 17 of which he informed me had been spent on this lonely rock.—F.L.





W

14. ✓

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